

An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction
of the Social Organization of Athabascan Indians
in the Alaskan Subarctic and
in the Canadian Western Subarctic and Pacific Drainage

by

John Collin Yerbury

B.Ed., Simon Fraser University, 1971

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
Political Science, Sociology & Anthropology

© John Collin Yerbury 1975

Simon Fraser University

January 1975

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: John Collin Yerbury

Degree: Master of Arts

Title of Thesis: An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction of the Social Organization of Athabascan Indians in the Alaskan Subarctic and in the Canadian Western Subarctic and Pacific Drainage.

Examining Committee:

Chairman: Karl Peter

Ian Whitaker
Senior Supervisor

Michael Kenny
Examining Committee

Henry S. Sharp
Examining Committee

Eleanor Leacock
External Examiner
Full Professor, C.U.N.Y.

Herbert Alexander
External Examiner
Assistant Professor
Department of Archaeology

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction of the Social Organization of
Athabaskan Indians in the Alaskan Subarctic and in the Canadian
Western Subarctic and Pacific Drainage.

Author:

(signature)

John Collin Yerbury

(name)

February 28, 1975.

(date)

ABSTRACT

The Dénés or Northern Athabascans of the Alaskan subarctic and the Canadian western and central subarctic, the Pacific drainage and the Plains have long been regarded as having a regional variation in social structure, of which the most evident variation is the east-west gradient from relative cultural simplicity towards relative complexity. The groupings to the east of the Mackenzie River are simpler and more fluid than their counterparts in the west with some groups, such as the Kutchin, having an intermediate position which reflects their geographical position in the gradient. It is my contention that this is not a traditional feature of their culture. Rather, it is the result of adjustment to new circumstances inflicted through European contact.

This thesis attempts to utilize primary documents and their interpretations in order to determine if important features can be found that may denote forms of social organizations among the Northern Athabascans during the initial indirect and direct contact period which may have been of great importance in their prehistory. It also attempts to trace the trends and currents which swept over the Athabascan peoples during the initial stages of the contact period and which may have resulted in a re-alignment of social relationships and in profound changes in their aboriginal way of life.

The primary documents include the accounts of fur traders, explorers, officials, prospectors, missionaries and early ethnographers who recorded historical events and cultural data. These primary materials have been complemented with information extracted from the recent ethnographic

studies among these peoples so that the causality for change in their social organization can be indicated.

Through preliminary reading of early documents and other literature on the Athabascans, it seemed feasible to advance two speculative hypotheses.

The first hypothesis deals mainly with the Northern Athabascans in the Alaskan subarctic and in the Canadian western subarctic and Pacific drainage. The scope of the problem and the adequacy of the material on the cultural groups in these areas suggest that I limit my written work for practical purposes to these groupings.

Their social organization has been described since Father Morice's early studies as having retained remnants of cognatic descent groups or cognatic clans of an ambilineal kind. To develop a hypothesis for such groupings, the literature is examined to indicate whether population decline, the development of ranked clans and social classes, the fur trade economy and white acculturation may be seen as determinatives for producing an integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure from a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization projected for precontact times. The residence patterns would have become ambilocal to retain the ceremonial and economic functions of the original organization but in an intensified form. The initial indirect and direct contact system was conditioned by a situation where there was abundant seasonal fur-bearing resources, but scarce labour. The integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure would have been an attempt to raise the population density to meet the ecological conditions imposed through the fur trade. It is my contention that family groups would have tended to align themselves around such centres as trading settlements, hunting camps, fishing camps and

trading parties.

The analysis of the ethnohistorical and contemporary data on the groups in the Alaskan and Canadian subarctic and Pacific drainage areas will serve as a test case for future research on the Northeastern Athabascans.

The hypothesis dealing with the Northeastern Athabascans will test in a future project, the ethnohistorical and contemporary data to see if the final development of the Mackenzie-Arctic Drainage groupings, as it is known by modern ethnographers, took place during the late 19th century and early 20th century. The bilateral form of cognatic descent as identified by Helm will, then, be examined to discern if it has developed (in the Athabascan hunting and gathering context) from an unilineal kinship structure, most likely matrilineal, in the precontact period, through a transitional stage, the composite band, as defined by Service, in the initial indirect and direct contact period. Assuming some degree of the stabilization of the Northeastern Athabascan way of life after the catastrophic conditions following upon the introduction of contact, it is possible that a situation arose in which nuclear families were moving from one set of bilateral kinsmen to join with others, according to specific conditions of subsistence and trapping pursuits. All aspects of life for these Athabascans would have become reconcilable to such movement and mobility through the mesh of kinship relationships created by nuclear and extended family exogamy and bilateral descent. The bilateral descent and kindreds paved the way for the ecologically improved social arrangements of the Athabascans whose members had suffered depopulation, migration, displacements and amalgamations through the European contact situation. These factors, to

be discussed in future research, would account for the fluid and shifting communities in which unilineal descent and clans no longer appear because a wider integration of stable groups is no longer adaptive.

To: Harold Hickerson

When the people of an unstratified native society barter wild products found in extensive distribution and obtained through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final culmination will be a culture type characterized by individual families having delimited rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers.

Robert F. Murphy and Julian H. Steward.

Well, you're a long hole, and a deep hole, and a mighty singular hole altogether - but I've started in to fill you, and I'm d----d if I don't fill you, if it takes a hundred years!

Mark Twain

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to a number of people who took time from busy schedules to share with me the benefit of their intellectual experiences in assessing and observing similar problematic materials.

A complete listing of the people to whom I am indebted in the course of this research would fill a number of pages. I do wish, however, particularly to express my gratitude to Dr. Ian Whitaker for helping me to crystallize the idea of this research subject very early in my Graduate studies. Dr. Whitaker also deserves very special thanks for acting as my senior supervisor after the sudden illness of Dr. Harold Hickerson. To him, I express my sincere appreciation for his suggestions and encouragement throughout my research.

To Dr. Harold Hickerson, my former senior supervisor, I am especially indebted for his knowledge of ethnohistory and the valuable criticisms and suggestions that he was able to offer during the course of my exploration into his field of study. I also owe an immense debt for his prolonged clinical scrutiny of both the arguments and style of my work. And most of all, I would like to thank him for insisting that the final product of my work should be my own. I wish him the best of health.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Herbert Alexander, Dr. Michael Kenny, and Dr. Steve Sharp who have given me assistance in the completion of this study. I would also like to thank Dr. Eleanor Leacock, my external reader, for her helpful criticisms and comments.

To the members of the Department who assisted me in the typing of this thesis, I am indebted. Without Susan Blair, Estela Racasa, and

Sylvia Hadwen's perseverance and patience at the typewriter, this thesis would hardly have been possible.

My indebtedness extends also to my fellow Graduate students whom I often accosted to discuss various problems or theoretical questions for preparing this thesis. It is safe to assume that some of these people will not concur with all of the thoughts advanced in this manuscript.

A thesis so largely about social organization and kinship ought to be dedicated to those who are so closely involved with me in it, patiently, with devotion, encouragement, and unending tolerance, for a not always tolerant husband and father during this exercise: to my wife and family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	xiv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Footnotes	21
Chapter Two: The Alaskan Geo-Cultural Groupings	22
Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Sources of Data	22
Tanaina	26
Ahtena	44
Upper Tanana or Nebesna	54
Kutchin	65
Comparative Notes	83
Summary and Conclusions	86
Footnotes	88
Chapter Three: The Western Geo-Cultural Groupings	89
Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Sources of Data	89
Southern Tutchone	94
Tahltan	103
Carrier	113

Comparative Ethnographic Data	127
Comparative Notes	133
Summary and Conclusions	134
Footnotes	136
Chapter Four: Summary and Conclusions	137
Footnotes	144
Appendix I	145
Appendix II	175
Bibliography	192

LIST OF TABLES

1. Athabascan Retentions Consolidated and Rearranged 179
2. Prepared Divergence Time Chart 180

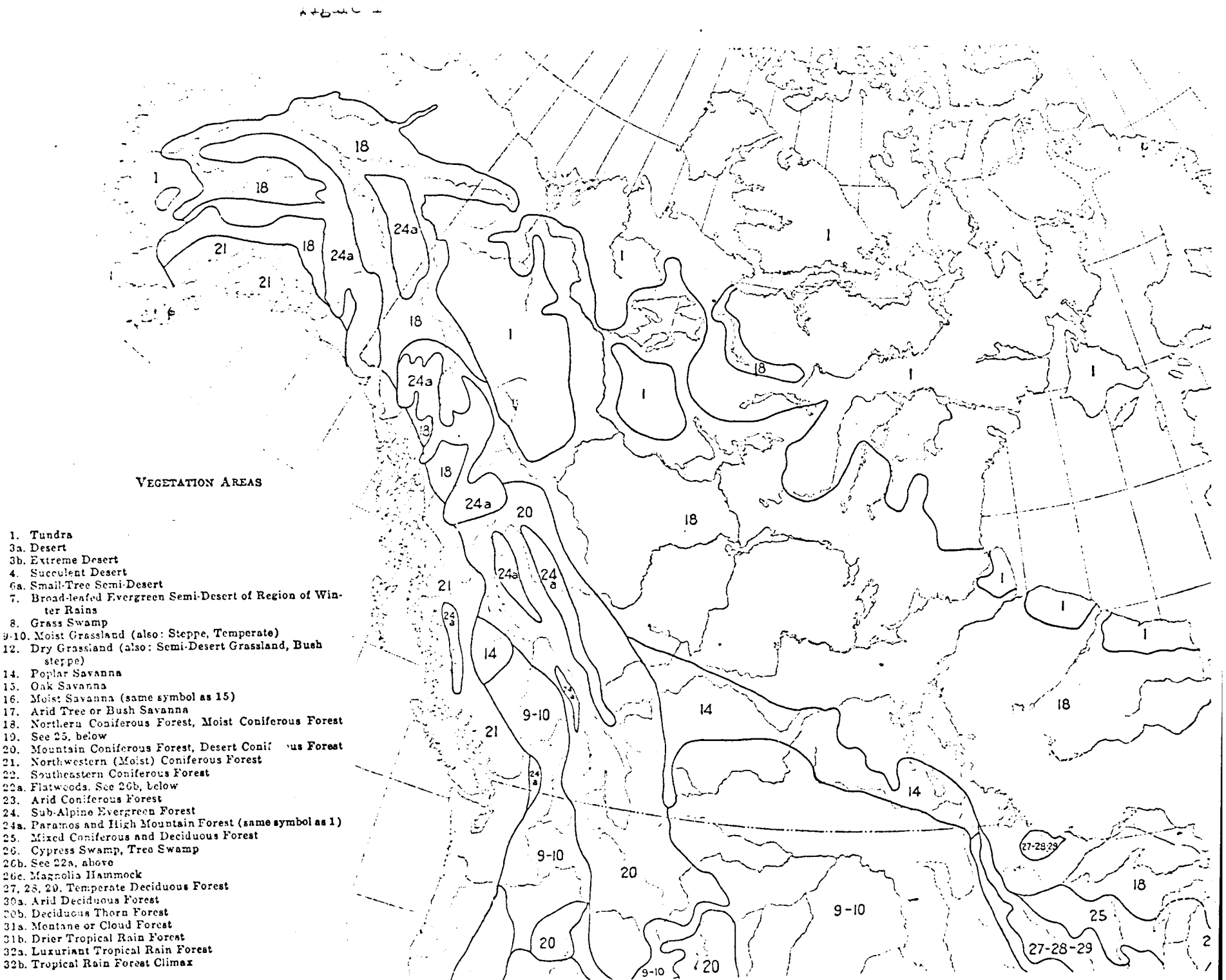
LIST OF FIGURES

1. Vegetation Areas	2
2. Subarctic Athabascan Tribal Locations	4
3. Alaskan Geo-Cultural Groupings	23
4. Tanaina Tribal Divisions	27
5. Tanaina Kinship Terminology	40
6. Upper Tanana Tribal Divisions	55
7. Upper Tanana Kinship Terminology	61
8. Kutchin Tribal Divisions	68
9. Kutchin Kinship Terminology	78
10. Western Geo-Cultural Groupings	90
11. Southern Tutchone Kinship Chart	101
12. Subdivisions of the Carrier Indians	115
13. Carrier Kinship Terminology	125

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The Alaskan subarctic and the Canadian western and central subarctic, the Pacific drainage and the northernmost extremity of the Great Plains is an area of great regional variety, all of it with vigorous relief and trenchant topography. The climatic influence of these features have created a number of distinct regions or biotic zones of tundra, immense coniferous forests, grasslands, high mountain barriers and discontinuous regions of river and lake valley bottoms (Fig. 1). Climatic influences affect flora and fauna association patterns. Within each biotic area species of trees, shrubs, flowers, mammals, birds and insects interact and prosper within the various ecological niches. This interdependence of species includes man in the total life community of all of the biotic areas. Man, plants and animals are mutually adapted. Recognizing this, it is imperative to emphasize that man's culture and his environment form a continuum. One set of factors cannot be well understood without knowledge of the other. My discussion of the Northern Athabascan Indians keeps in the forefront the relationship of these complex factors. Keeping this in mind, I now go on to discuss the Northern Athabascan Indians.

The boundaries of the Alaskan subarctic and the Canadian western and central subarctic, the Pacific drainage and the northernmost extremity of the Great Plains terrestrial biotic zones include the area that the Northern Athabascans were reported to have exploited during the aboriginal period. The territories of the various Northern Athabascan cultural groupings are indicated on the accompanying map (Fig. 2) for our conven-



(After Kroeber 1939, Map 3)

ience (Adapted from Swanton, 1952). This vast area extends from approximately fifty-two degrees north latitude to the Arctic Sea coast and from Hudson Bay to almost the shoreline of Norton Sound in Alaska. The Athabascans were hunters, gatherers and fishermen who subsisted entirely on native resources. Their activities were intimately related to the resources and conditions of the environments in which they lived in the precontact period. The influence of European penetration on the Athabascans who exploited these environments during the initial indirect and direct contact periods profoundly affected aboriginal systems of life-sustaining interactions.

The precontact level of technoeconomic and technoenvironmental efficiency of the Athabaskan hunting and gatherering energy system was subjected to forces which altered their system of life-sustaining interactions. The environmental factors of climate, topography, soil, vegetation, mammals, fresh-water fishes and birds functioned under the controlling factors of climate and topography. These biotic elements made up the prominent, if not decisive, part in the lives of the precontact Athabascans. European penetration led to new adaptations in many spheres of organization.

The exploitation of the environment by both native populations and the Europeans, with their utilization of technology with a greater degree of efficiency, created a changing ecosystem. The expansion of European trading posts and settlements throughout the subarctic, Pacific drainage and Great Plains area was generally perpetuated by the diminishing beaver populations and megafauna in Eastern Canada (Leacock 1954:39; Bishop 1970:1-15). Beaver and the larger fauna were exploited by the Indians for their furs and meat. These by-products were traded to

Figure 2

SUBARCTIC ATHABASCAN TRIBAL LOCATIONS

Adapted from Swanton (1952)

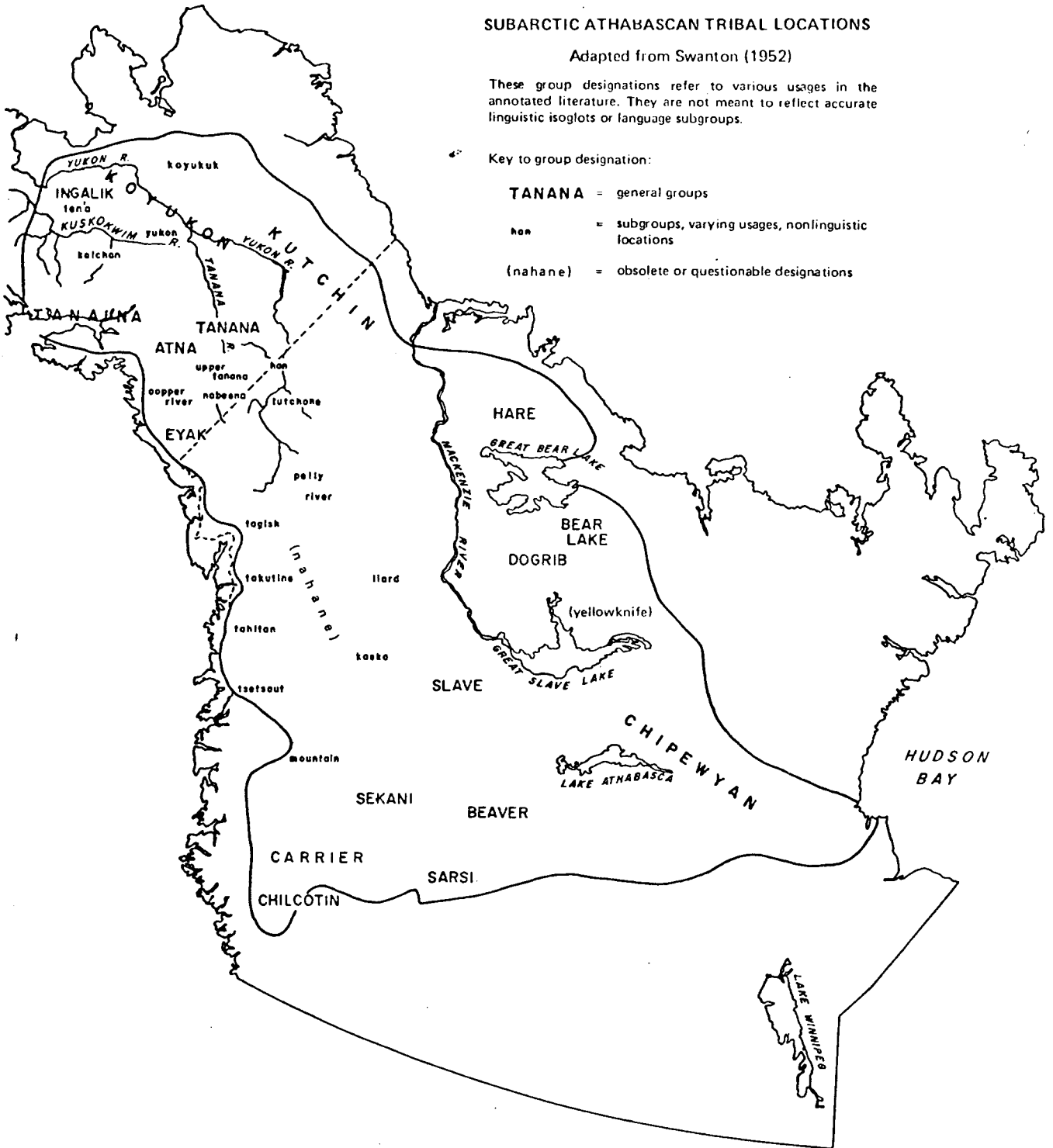
These group designations refer to various usages in the annotated literature. They are not meant to reflect accurate linguistic isoglots or language subgroups.

Key to group designation:

TANANA = general groups

han = subgroups, varying usages, nonlinguistic locations

(nahane) = obsolete or questionable designations



Europeans. With the expansion of European contact and influence into the Athabascan terrestrial biotic zones, it is clear that the relationship of three reciprocally related variables - the environment, the cultures of the precontact Northern Athabascans and the presence of Europeans have played a critical role in the formation of the Northern Athabascans' cultures as modern ethnographers have recorded them. It is again imperative to emphasize that man's culture and his environment form a continuum. One set of factors cannot be well understood without knowledge of the other. It is my purpose in this to utilize ethnohistorical research, involving the interpretation of primary documents covering the historical (postcontact) period to elucidate this continuum.

In recent years there have been a number of contemporary studies of specific Northern Athabascan bands and communities in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon of Canada, and in the state of Alaska (Osgood 1933, 1936a, 1937, 1940, 1958, 1959; Honigmann 1946, 1949; Mckennan 1959, 1965; Helm 1961, 1965; Van Stone 1965, 1974; Balikci 1963). Although many of these studies have been concerned with the cultural ecology of contemporary Athabascan bands and communities, and with the factors of cultural change resulting from European contact, they have characteristically not demonstrated the important advance that ethnohistoric research can make to the analysis of sociocultural and environmental change. Other than brief acknowledgements of historical documents by some authorities, there is little demonstration of how the historical documents can be interpreted to show historical stages of sociocultural organization which have developed as an adaptation to the altered ecological systems of the precontact period, and to the imposed technoeconomic and technoenvironmental

system of the initial indirect and direct European contact period. In essence, it is suggested that the contemporary studies of bands and communities have failed to provide an extensive historical and comparative perspective to the continuum of the Athabascan cultures and their environment throughout the contact period.

In spite of the lack of an historical perspective in the contemporary Northern Athabascan studies, we have been fortunate that a number of scholars involved in work with primary documents have attempted to formulate ethnohistorical methods in how historical data should be interpreted. The work (1940) of the historian, George Hunt, on the Iroquois-Huron wars required abundant and essential documentary evidence to show that the warfare was imposed through conflict among rival European powers and their trading companies as well as intertribal conflict over territorial occupancy and access to lucrative trade routes. These factors can be seen as deriving from the fur trade economy which was the sole determinant for the Iroquois-Huron wars. The recognition of the dynamics of change through documentary research and the conclusions drawn from the material as described by Hunt has influenced several anthropologists who have applied documentary history or ethnohistory to specific research problems.

The first participant in this approach to ethnological science was Eleanor Leacock (1954). Through field work (1950) among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula at Natashquan along the north shore of the St. Lawrence river and through the analysis of historical material on these people, she questioned the aboriginality of the northeastern Algonkian "family hunting territory". The aboriginality of the family hunting territory had been the subject of debate since Speck (1922:83-4;

1923:459) concluded from his own field work (1914-15; 1915a, b) that family or individual property ownership was characteristic of the aboriginal period.

Leacock's work re-examined these assumptions concerning private forms of property ownership. Her field work and re-evaluation of the historical material showed a shift from collective or communal tenancy to the family hunting territory and private forms of ownership as a consequence of the fur trade and the establishment of inherited rights to trap lines by related individuals or an individual.

In essence, the results of her work based on the examination of primary historical documents such as the Jesuit and other early French material displays the potential of such analysis as well as its applicability to research on the Northern Athabaskan area.

The best illustration for the ethnohistorical method has been the work of the anthropologist, Harold Hickerson, who has encapsulated the intellectual contributions of the others. His employment of primary documents began in the mid 1950's with work on Indian land claims under the auspices of the Ohio Valley-Mississippi River Research Project subsidized by the United States Department of Justice. It was necessary for him to utilize primary documents, ". . . to discover and verify occupation and migration patterns, and the make-up of social groups of numerous people." (Hickerson 1970:2). The materials gleaned from various accounts of fur traders, explorers, officials and missionaries culminated in a number of recent publications on the Chippewa (or Ojibwa) (1956, 1960, 1962a and b, 1963, 1966, 1967a and b, 1970 and 1971d). In his demonstration of the contribution that ethnohistory can make to the theories of cultural change and adaptation and of cultural evolution, he has also

provided us with new and contrary information on contemporary perspectives of traditional Chippewa culture widely held.

Recently, his material on the Chippewa has been presented in book form to illustrate ethnohistorical methods. Here, it was his task to discuss three problem-oriented subjects: 1) proto-historic social organization - the clan as an evolutionary problem; 2) tribal ceremony and politics - the Midewiwin; and 3) Chippewa and Dakota warfare. In each case, a different research strategy was required in order to apply the ethnohistorical method. The reconstruction of the proto-historical social organization was achieved through the utilization of primary documents and their interpretations as well as the application of the anthropological technique of analyzing surviving kinship terminology to determine forms of past social organization. His use of primary documents also accounts for change in social organization through time due to European contact.

The second problem, the origin and function of the Midewiwin, was concerned with the "when" and "why" of its development. He, again, employed the primary documents of priests and fur traders with an additional inclusion of the work of later authorities such as the American frontier anthropologist and Indian agent, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, to help bring a solution to these problems. The difference between his ethnohistorical methodology with the first problems and that of the latter is in his attempt to ferret out the information on neighbouring peoples of the Chippewa to support the thesis that the Midewiwan was postcontact. Through the use of both negative and positive evidence, he was enabled to show the postcontact origin of the Midewiwin.

The final problem-oriented study dealt with Chippewa and Dakota

warfare. Hickerson (1970:65) used material from primary documents and also the publications of natural historians such as conservationists, geographers, ecologists and others to show the relationship between differentially changing ecological factors and Chippewa-Dakota warfare during the contact period.

Although his material on the Chippewa is much better documented than our material on the Northern Athabascan peoples (there is an abundance of primary evidence on early historical Algonkians of the east), I am fortunate to be able to draw on his work for suggestions of how to select and to interpret documents and finally to elicit conclusions from them for the reconstruction of Northern Athabascan social organization. I now proceed to discuss some of the theoretical problems that are relevant to Northern Athabascan historical relations.

Julian Steward has been without a doubt the key figure in developing the theoretical presuppositions and assumptions for anthropologists who have studied the Northern Athabascans, as well as Northern Algonkians. In his own development of a theory of culture change, he has attempted to show or to identify the material state of sociocultural relationships in terms of their articulation between the production, distribution and consumption processes within the context of particular ecosystems. The process of analysis has been labelled by Steward as the "method of cultural ecology" (Steward 1955:30).

In application of this method to the Athabascans and the Algonkian Indians of Canada, Steward found that these peoples integrated to form composite hunting bands (1936:338-42; 1955:144-48). His term "composite" was devised to describe communities of unrelated nuclear or biological families who

were ". . . integrated to form villages or bands of hunters, fishers, gatherers and simple farmers on the basis of constant association and co-operation rather than of actual or alleged kinship" (1955:143). The level of sociocultural integration was thought to be the result of two distinctive cultural ecological processes. It was Steward's assertion that the composite hunting band was prevalent in ". . . an area of low population density and of primary reliance upon large herds of migratory game" and that such bands ". . . are of theoretical interest, second because among many groups there co-existed family ownership of fairly small and precisely bounded areas for trapping fur-bearing animals, especially beaver, and band ownership of large areas for hunting game" (Ibid.:143-4). Steward contends that the unusual characteristic of family land ownership was a post-European development through the fur trade (Ibid.:144). In his earlier work (1936), he also showed an appreciation for the historic dimensions as a determinant of the definite cause or causes for every existing cultural phenomenon (Ibid.:339, 344).

During the last decade, June Helm has based her research on cultural-ecological relationships among Northeastern Athabascans of the Arctic Drianage. Her work indicates that Steward's definition of the composite band, when applied to the Athabascans, to be somewhat nebulous with regard to kinship and settlement patterns (Helm 1965:361). She has modified his concept to include regional and local bands as well as multiple family task groups as having ". . . a mode of alliance and recruitment based on the principle of social linkage through bilateral primary bonds of one conjugal pair to another" (Ibid.:380). Her own conclusions point towards bilateral kinship as a socially coherent

system which represents an adaptive adjustment to such environmental disasters as low points of the rabbit cycle, fish failure, regional failure of the moose, or of the caribou migration. This is brought out in her statements that ". . . aboriginal Déné (Athabaskan) populations were small in size and low in density," and ". . . that population was unstable with decimation through famine occurring at what may have been rather cyclical intervals" (Ibid.:382). Her final argument suggests that the bilateral system allows "multiple kinship avenues" to group affiliation due to the environmental conditions and that we should be wary of postulating the assumption ". . . that all human kind at the hunting and foraging level have been allowed by the nature of their environmental resources to achieve a unilocal, band-exogamic system of societal integration." (Ibid.:383). The bilateral system, in her formulation, would appear to have an aboriginal base. Her assertion is supported by the question: "Could conditions in truly aboriginal times have been better?" (Ibid.:382). I will return to her question later in my discussion.

Such controversy as exists regarding the organization of North-eastern Athabaskan society is expressed in Helm's reaction to Elman R. Service's re-evaluation from an evolutionary perspective of Steward's theoretical formulations (Ibid.:361). Service accepts Steward's concept of the composite band as a consequence of the historic period. For him, the causes for the development of the composite hunting band are clearly a result of ". . . the initial shocks, depopulation, relocation, and other disturbances on the early contact period which produced refugee-like groups of unrelated families among the Indians even before the time of the American Revolutionary War" (Service 1968:88). It is his assumption

that the aboriginal Athabascan social organization was very different and we can scientifically assume that the most practical form for foraging peoples is the patrilocal band (1968:88, 127). In essence, it is evident that Helm rejects Service's emphasis upon the disastrous consequences of the European contact period and his lack of consideration for assumed recurring environmental disasters during the aboriginal period.

Her modification of Steward's concept of the composite band and her reaction to Service's rejection of any form of environmental determinism for social organization has led her to conclude that the standard aboriginal system of social organization was bilateral (1965:381). These conclusions were made even though there is accumulating evidence (Sahlins 1972) which indicates that the incomplete ethnographic record of even the surviving marginal hunters-gatherers show all these peoples' material wants are usually easily satisfied if they continue to maintain a fully sufficient means of production.¹ Thus, one is led to question June Helm's basic assumption concerning recurring environmental disasters as a causality for certain forms of social organization.

On the subject of historical support for the conclusion that the standard aboriginal system of Athabascan social organization was bilateral, I can turn to material gathered by Hickerson on the Northern Algonkians which may serve to indicate contrary evidence for Athabascans.

Hickerson traces a shift from a unilineal (patrilineal) to bilateral form of social organization among the Chippewa. He has also traced through the writings of a number of prominent anthropologists the movement from unilineal to bilateral systems among the Siouan, Algonkian and Caddoan tribes of the Mississippi-missouri valley and the Muskogean and Iroquoians in the southeast (1966:1). The determinants for culture change were suggested as the result of missionary influence, reservation conditions, migrations, depopulation, herding, etc. (Ibid.:1). Working from such evidence, it becomes relevant to examine the precontact social organization of the Northeastern Athabascans which may also have been organized as unilineal groups.

More recently, Hickerson (1973) has demonstrated the erosion of pristine egalitarian norms among several North American Indian tribes including the Montagnais, Ojibwa, Huron, Cree, Northwest Athabascans (he could have included the Northeastern groups as well) and the Tlingit. In an article on fur trade colonialism and its impact on the native inhabitants of the New World, he has traced the development of a change in emphasis from tribal egalitarian relations to a state of society with an individualistic orientation. The prime mover for this common North American Indian experience has been the fur trade with its eroding and exploiting effects.

The impact of the fur trade economy was to obliterate the effective aboriginal units of production, the unilineal clan system. The primary social unit became the small family group or band which was reliant on the European traders for its implements of production. The result of this individualization was described as an aspect of economic exploitation which served to strengthen the traders' control over the natives (1973:31).

This became the primary socioeconomic relationship and remains so today. For our Athabascans, intensive research should disclose the historical processes involving the erosion of aboriginal patterns and the formation of the bilateral system as the end product.

There is also an analysis of the American Plains situation by Oliver (1962). He studied the eleven historic Plains tribes who moved into the area after the appearance of the horse. His analysis shows that their new ecological situation on the Plains necessitated not only basic changes in their material culture but basic changes had to be made in their social organization as well. Oliver was able to trace the change in social organization from unilineal, clan organization to bilateral kinship practices for several of the tribes. He demonstrates the shift among the Crow, Gros Ventres, Cheyenne and Teton Dakota. It is uncertain whether or not the Assiniboine, Cree and Sarsi had clans although it is highly conceivable that ethnohistorical research may clear up this uncertainty. The Blackfoot, Comanche, Arapaho and Kiowa-Apache, as far as it can be determined, had no clans. All of the Plains tribes developed a social organization which was fluid and flexible. This was in adaptation to the annual cycle of the buffalo which necessitated a basic pattern of fragmented bands in the winter months and large communal tribal units in the summer months (1962:66-7). In terms of the dynamic Plains situation we must seek out cultural similarities as well as differences to understand what happened to the social organization of the Athabascan Indians while they were under the European contact situation.

The preliminary historical data sought from library sources for this thesis, combined with my reading of past and present field studies,

had indicated that somewhat different interpretations may be made about Northeastern Athabaskan social organization. The theories of Steward, Service and Helm do not adequately explain the development of sequential historical stages of sociocultural organization. Through my re-evaluation of these theories, it has become possible to present new hypotheses which will provide an historical and comparative perspective to the shortcomings in the existing literature.

In this study, I am primarily concerned with the social organization of the Alaskan subarctic and the Canadian western subarctic and Pacific Drainage Athabascans. The scope of the problem and the adequacy of the material on the cultural groups in these areas suggests that I limit my written work for practical purposes to these groupings.

Their social organization has been described since Father Morice's (1906) early studies as having retained remnants of cognatic descent groups or cognatic clans of an ambilineal kind. To develop a hypothesis for such groupings, the literature is examined to indicate whether population decline, the development of ranked clans and social classes, the fur trade economy and white acculturation may be seen as determinants for producing an integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure from a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization projected for precontact times. The residence patterns would have become ambilocal to retain the ceremonial and economic functions of the original clan organization but in an intensified form. The initial indirect and direct contact system was conditioned by a situation where there was abundant seasonal fur-bearing resources, but scarce labour. The integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure would have been an attempt to raise the population density to meet the ecological conditions

imposed through the fur trade. It is my contention that family groups would have tended to align themselves around such centers as trading settlements, hunting and trapping camps, fishing camps and trading parties.

The analysis of the ethnohistorical and contemporary data on the groups in the Alaskan and Canadian subarctic and Pacific drainage areas will serve as a test case for future research on the Northeastern Athabascans.

The hypothesis dealing with the Northeastern Athabascans will test, in a future project, the ethnohistorical and contemporary data to see if the final development of the Mackenzie-Arctic Drainage groupings, as it is known by modern ethnographers, took place during the late 19th century and early 20th century. The bilateral form of cognatic descent as identified by Helm will, then, be examined to discern if it has developed (in the Athabascan hunting and gathering context) from unilineal kinship structure, most likely matrilineal in the precontact period, through a transitional stage, the composite hunting band, as defined by Service, in the initial indirect and direct European contact period. Assuming some degree of stabilization of the Northeastern Athabascan way of life after the catastrophic conditions following upon the introduction of contact, it is possible that a situation arose in which nuclear families were moving from one set of bilateral kinsmen to join with others, according to specific conditions of subsistence and trapping pursuits. All aspects of life for these Athabascans would have become reconcilable to such movement and mobility through the mesh of kinship relationships created by nuclear and extended family exogamy and bilateral descent. The bilateral descent and kindreds paved the way for the ecologically improved

social arrangements of the Athabascans whose members had suffered depopulation, migration, displacements, and amalgamations through the European contact situation. These factors, to be discussed in future research, would account for the fluid and shifting communities in which unilineal descent and clans no longer exist because a wider integration of stable groups is no longer adaptive.

The regional variation in social structure of the east to west gradient from relative cultural simplicity of social organization towards relative complexity will be explained in terms of the relative intensity of European contact. The use of primary documents will later facilitate my effort to define the character of the contact situation in its initial stages among the Northeastern Athabascans as a realignment of social relationships involving profound change from the aboriginal way of life. Empirical data on the features of their aboriginal social organization is lacking, nevertheless, inferences may be drawn from the primary documents which suggest the catastrophic intensity of the trends and currents that swept over the Athabascan peoples during the early contact period and the subsequent historical development of the composite band due to the early contact situation. The intensity of contact in the Alaskan subarctic and the Canadian western subarctic and Pacific drainage was at a lower ebb than to the east. The period of first contact in the former regions was generally later and the evidence points to a lesser degree of migrations, displacements, amalgamations and depopulation than among the peoples in the Mackenzie-Arctic drainage area. The ethnohistorical material provides us with more empirical data on the social organization of the more westerly Athabascans during the early contact period. It is possible with

this data and the use of contemporary studies to provide a more extensive historical and comparative perspective to the character of the continuity of the relationships of the various cultures with their environmental zones throughout the contact period. From this data, it is hoped, in future research, that inferences can be made through extrapolation about the aboriginal Northeastern Athabascan social organization.

After having considered the Northern Athabascan cultural groups in general, I should now discuss the specific groups of Athabascans which have been described by contemporary ethnographers. The anthropologist, Cornelius Osgood, was the first to develop a formal system of distribution for the Athabascans. I use his groupings of the Mackenzie River-Arctic drainage and of the Pacific drainage (See Fig. 2) as a guide for my research, while keeping in mind that the groupings reflect regional variations in social structure, of which the most evident is the east-west gradient from relative cultural simplicity towards relative complexity (1936:21)². In essence, the Athabascan groupings to the east of the Mackenzie are simpler and internally more fluid than their congeners in the west (MacNeish 1956:132-38).³ Some groups, the Kutchin in particular,

will be seen to hold an intermediate position which reflects their geographical location in this gradient (Osgood 1936:3-5). The distribution of the groups into the two cultural divisions, as tabulated by Osgood, is as follows (1936:20-21):

Pacific Drainage Cultures

Ahtena	Nabesna
Carrier	Nicola
Chilcotin	Tahltan
Han	Tanaina
Ingalik	Tanana
Koyukon	Tsetsaut
Kutchin	Tutchone

Arctic Drainage Cultures

Bear Lake	Kaska
Beaver	Mountain
Chipewyan	Sekani
Dogrib	Slave
Hare	Yellowknife

The two main divisions of the Northern Athabascans have been broken down into four geo-cultural areas by George Fathauer. The present work adopts his geographical divisions. A sample of cultural groupings from two of Fathauer's geo-cultural areas is discussed in separate chapters. The four areas were distinguished as: ". . . the Central group, composed of Hare, Bear Lake, Yellowknife, Chipewyan, Dogrib, Mountain, Kaska, Slave, Sekani and Beaver - the last two groups being somewhat marginal; the Alaskan group, composed of Nebesna, Ahtena, Tanaina, Ingalik, Koyukon, Tanana, Han and Kutchin; the Western group, composed of Tutchone, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Carrier and Chilcotin (all members of this division are west of the Rockies and adjacent to Northwest Coast Tribes); the fourth division, composed of one tribe, the Sarsi, with the Beaver being marginal between this division and the central group." (Fathauer 1942:5-6).

The second chapter concerns itself with the Alaskan group. The Ahtena; Nebesna, Tanaina and Kutchin are selected as samples. My procedure is to discuss each group in ethnohistorical perspective to analyze socio-cultural and environmental change.

The third chapter will concentrate on the Tahltan, Carrier and Tutchone, using the same methodological approach.

The Central group and the Sarsi although of interest are not discussed in this thesis. The problems encountered in discussing their ethnohistory would take us beyond the practical limits of research for this thesis.

After following lines of investigation on the two geo-cultural areas, this leads me then to a discussion on the adequacy of the proposed general model for cultural change, which forms the final chapter.

The examination of my proposed hypotheses, the aboriginal matrilineal organization of pre-contact Athabascans, brings once again serious attention to the processes of cultural change. The criteria will be reassessed carefully and critically in preparation for a more sophisticated understanding of Northern Athabaskan social organization through future research on the Central group.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Marshall Sahlins has attempted in his Stone Age Economics to debate a need for an anthropological economics to explain some of the sources of the misconceptions concerning the hunting-gatherer economy. Through his discussions of several cultural groups he led us to re-evaluate our traditional anthropological view of hunting and gathering as a "mere subsistence economy" or an "incessant quest for food" (1972:32-39).
- 2 Osgood sums up this feature of complexity and simplicity by noting that "a consideration of over five hundred traits shows a generally decreasing complexity in the culture of the Northern Athabaskan from west to east with a sharply distinctive break between the relatively rich culture of the Pacific Drainage peoples and the essentially simple patterns of behavior of the aborigines of the Arctic east." (1936:21).
- 3 K. Chang has written a typology of settlement and community patterns in circumpolar societies. His "Eskimo type" has been applied to the Arctic Drainage Athabascans (Helm 1965:361). The classification has been described by Chang as including settlements and communities that "are composed of a more or less transient body of individuals . . . more open (with or without restrictions) than closed to outsiders." (1962:33).

CHAPTER TWO

THE ALASKAN GEO-CULTURAL GROUPINGS

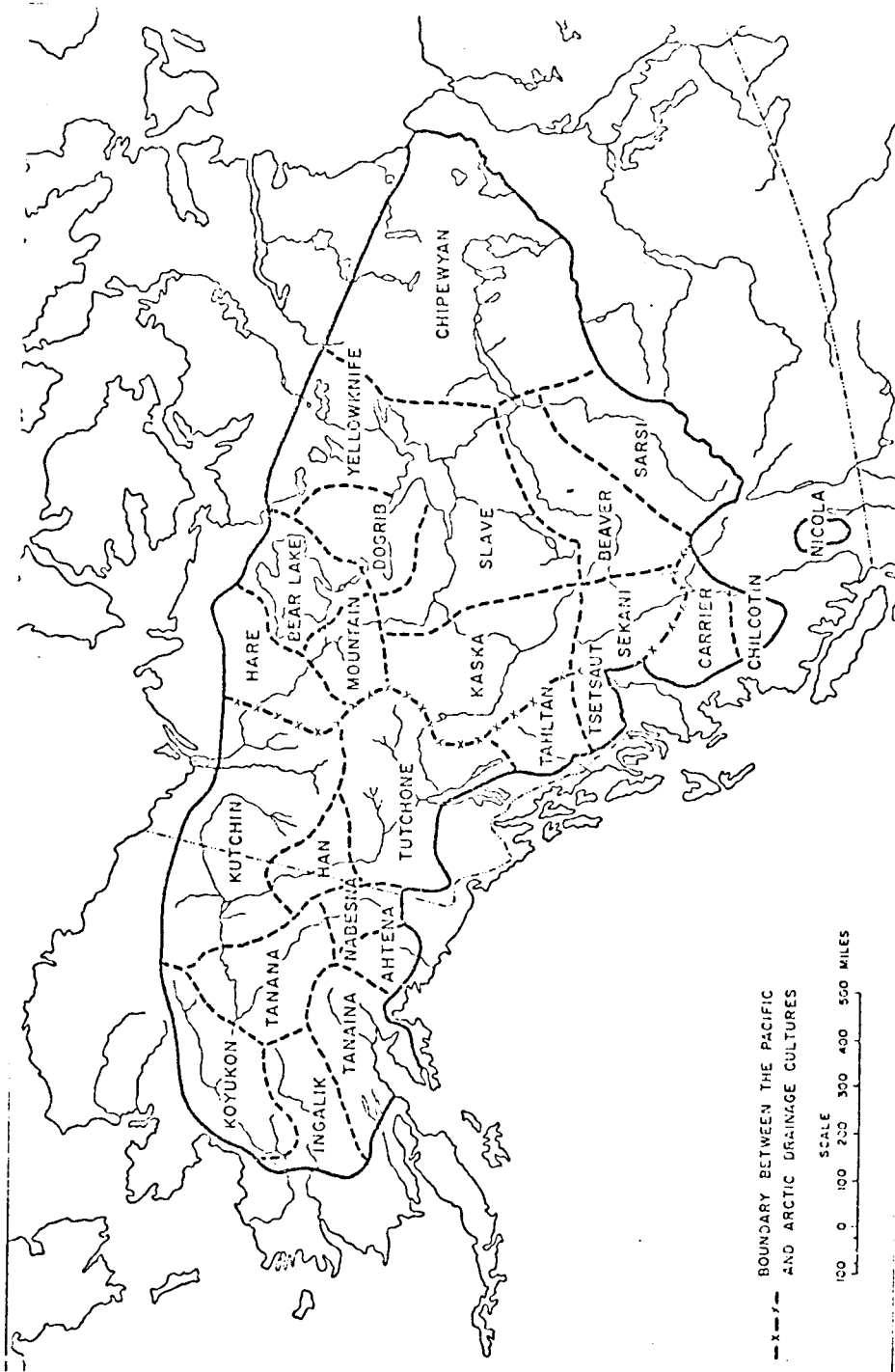
The Alaskan subarctic area includes the habitat which the Nebesna or Upper Tanana, Ahtena, Tanaina, Ingalik, Koyukon, Tanana, Han and Kutchin (See Fig. 3) exploited during the aboriginal period. In this chapter, I am specifically interested in the Upper Tanana or Nebesna, Ahtena, Tanaina and Kutchin since there is a considerable amount of contemporary ethnographic literature on them. My procedure is to discuss each of these groups in ethnohistorical perspective to analyze change in social organization and subsistence pursuits. Together with ethnohistorical data and contemporary Alaskan ethnographic studies, an attempt will be made to project back into the pristine period to determine the aboriginal pattern of the social organization and of the subsistence quest. Further, the European contact and the fur trade period and its relationships with the native populations will be discussed to facilitate the identification of significant aspects of change in Alaskan social organization and subsistence pursuits. Finally, this should give me a more sophisticated understanding of the formulation of the Alaskan cultural groupings as modern ethnographers have recorded them.

Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Sources of Data

The first Europeans to enter western Alaska were the Russian fur traders in the late eighteenth century. There also may have been Japanese and Chinese commercial relationships with the Alaskan Athabascan groups before the Russian contact period (Golder 1968:49, 51-3). The ethnographic

Figure 3

Alaskan Geo-Cultural Groupings



(After Osgood, 1958, Figure 1.)

material on the distribution and classification of Alaskan groups was furnished by a number of Russian and German writers including Veniaminef (Petroff, 1882), Davidof (1810-1812), Zagoskin (1849), Wehrman (1857), Wrangell (Richardson, 1851; Van Stone, 1970), Holmberg (Petroff, 1882), and others. Their detailed ethnographic accounts have advanced our knowledge of the native Alaskan populations. The Russian priest, Veniaminof, recorded a number of ethnographic observations which were limited to the Aleutian Islands and the Alexander archipelago while Davidof, a Russian naval officer, visited and observed native activities on the island of Kodiak and along the North American coast during the early years of the nineteenth century. Holmberg, a Finnish ethnologist who embodied much of Davidof's material with his own, recorded observations which were chiefly on the Kodiak and Sitka areas. Lieutenant Zagoskin of the Russian navy, recorded some excellent ethnographic material on the Ingalik, Koyukon and other tribes in the Norton Sound and the lower Yukon regions while on his expedition in this area during 1842. Wehrman, a Russian naval lieutenant, compiled the first tribal distribution map of Russian America in 1857. Baron F. P. Wrangell, the Chief Manager of the Russian American Company between 1831 and 1836, wrote an interesting ethnographic account of the Tanaina, Ingalik, Eyak, Koyukon, Ahtena and Tlingit. Of all these early ethnographic records, the work of Zagoskin and von Wrangell are the most substantial and fruitful for our purposes.

There were a number of other Europeans such as Lisiansky (1803-6), Cook (1784), Vancouver (1794), Portlock (1786), Dixon (1789) and Meares (1786) who made sea voyages along the coast of Alaska and entered or landed in the vicinity of Cook Inlet for supplies, trade and exploration during the late

eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. These ship officers recorded their day-to-day encounters with the native populations in the area.

In eastern Alaska, the Hudson's Bay fur traders William L. Hardisty (1867) and Strachan Jones (1866) recorded invaluable ethnographic information on the Kutchin for the Smithsonian Institute journals of the 1860's. Two other traders, John Bell (Murray, 1848) and Alexander Murray (1848), preserved information on the Kutchin and Han. The first missionary among the Kutchin, W. W. Kirkby (1848), also participated in writing ethnographic reports on the Kutchin for the Smithsonian Institute.

There are several historical summaries of European activities in Alaska during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ivan Petroff compiled a report in 1882 on the Alaskan area for the Hon. Charles W. Seaton, the United States Superintendent of Census. The report has summarized a number of ethnographic reports by Veniaminof, Zagoskin and others. Sir John Richardson's Arctic Searching expedition (1851) has a reasonably full secondary account of European activities in Alaska as well as a description of the Tanaina and Kutchin tribes.

In this century, the anthropologist, Cornelius Osgood (1936, 1937, 1940, 1958, 1959, 1971) has been the foremost contributor to Alaskan ethnography. He has attempted to reconstruct the Tanaina, Han, Kutchin and Ingalik cultures through the use of elderly informants. His ethnographic work has made a limited use of historical documents. Fredrica De Laguna (1969) has written a number of short articles on the Ahtena (Atna). Joan Townsend (1965) has written an ethnohistorical study of culture change among the Iliamna Tanaina. In 1959, Robert A. McKennan published a monograph on the Nebesna which was based on field work among these people in

1929-30. He has authored several articles on the Kutchin as well. Monographs on the Kutchin have been written by Slobodin (1962), Balikci (1963) and Nelson (1974). A. Clark (1970) has provided several short articles on the Koyukon. There are numerous other sources of material on the Alaskan groups which have contributed to the ethnohistoric and ethnographic knowledge. There are also some very important primary sources such as the Russian American Company reports, the Hudson's Bay journals and missionary diaries which have not been utilized and which should yield invaluable ethnohistoric knowledge for future ethnographic reconstructions.

TANAINA

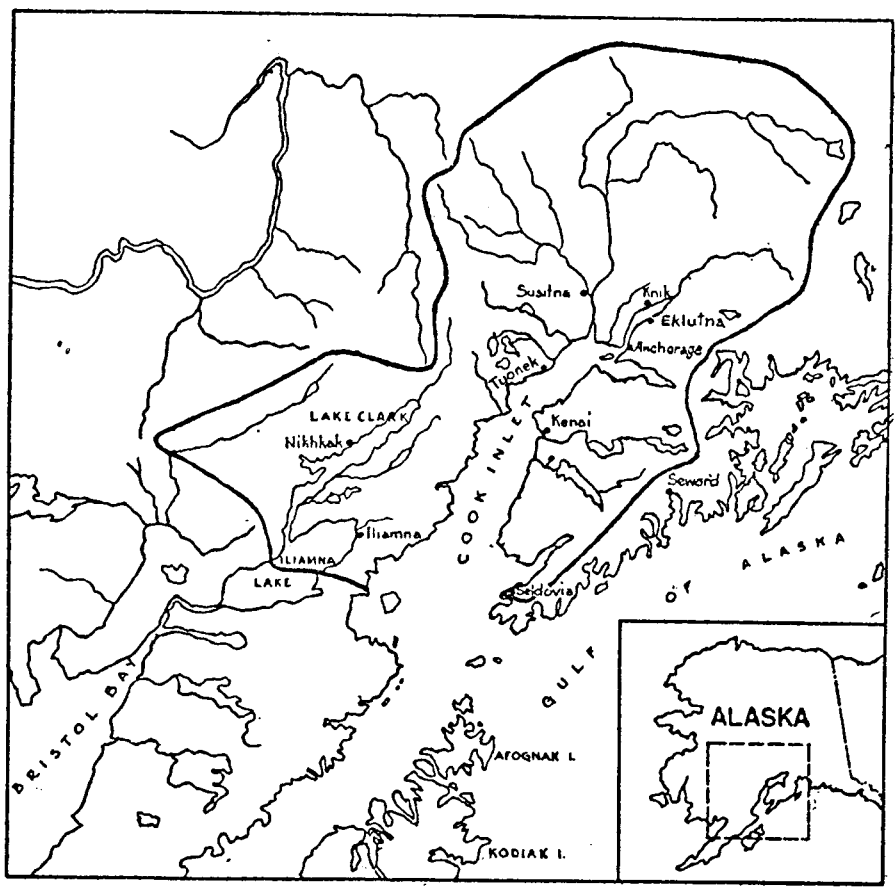
The Tanaina ('People') occupy the area around Cook Inlet including its tributary streams and also the Iliamna Lake region in the Bering Sea drainage (Fig. 4). Osgood has subdivided the Tanaina into their respective habitats. His divisions will be used only as a rough guide since the Tanaina were decimated and disintegrated through one hundred and fifty years of European contact (Osgood 1937:13). His tabulation (Ibid.:13-15) lists the following divisions: 1. the Kachemak Bay group, 2. the Kenai group, 3. the Upper Inlet group, 4. the Susitna group, 5. the Tyonek group, 6. the Iliamna group and 7. the Clark Lake group (See Fig. 4). The tabulation will be referred to during our description of Tanaina social organization and subsistence patterns.

ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Social Organization. In pristine times we can ascertain that a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization flourished. The clans were united into moieties. The information on the makeup of the moieties varies

Figure 4

Tanaina Tribal Divisions



(After Osgood 1966, Map 1.)

from an account of ten or eleven clans in one to four or five in the second (Osgood 1937:128). Another account by Sir John Richardson¹, lists six clans in one moiety and five clans in the second (1851:406).

Richardson's descriptions of the Tanaina system of marriage definitely suggests a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization. The prescribed rules had undergone change; nevertheless, inheritance rules were still adhered to since he reports that a Tanaina man's nearest heirs were his sister's children. This information is implied when he wrote (1851:406):

. . . The Kenaiyer [Kenai] group tradition is, that the Raven also made two women, one of whom is the mother of six races, and the other of five. It was the custom that the men of one stock should choose their wives from another, and the offspring belonged to the race of the mother. This custom has fallen into disuse, and marriages in the same tribe occur; but the old people say that mortality among the Kenaiyer has arisen from the neglect of the ancient usage. A man's nearest heirs in this tribe are his sister's children, little going to his sons, because they received in their father's lifetime food and clothing.²

Mutual responsibility of clan members for murder or injury is indicated in Richardson's account. In the case of a man who was murdered or injured by one of his own clan ". . . the nearest relative revenges it without seeking aid; but if the injury be perpetrated by one of another clan, the allied families are called together to consult on the defence of their honour." (Ibid.:408). The property and clothing of the deceased were divided among the clan members. The interment of the cadaver was done by

members of the other moiety. Relatives would have a festival or feast to the memory of the departed a year after his death (Ibid.: 409).

Osgood's informants (1937:131) told him that the Tanaina clans used individual face paintings. Nathaniel Portlock, while on his voyage round the world for the British, recorded the Tanaina customs of marking their faces. He records on July 29, 1786 that (1968:113):

. . . Most of these Indians had their faces daubed entirely over with red oker and black lead, which gave them a very disgusting appearance; their noses and ears were in general ornamented with small blue beads or teeth, and they had a slit cut in the upper lip, in a line parallel with the mouth, which was adorned in a similar manner. . .

Baron Wrangell (Richardson, 1851) also described both sexes of the Kenai and allied tribes as having smeared their faces with black, blue and red paints (Richardson 1851:403). This custom would appear to be of antiquity.

Residence patterns as described by early accounts would suggest matrilocality in the aboriginal period although prescribed residence rules were not adhered to when Richardson wrote (Ibid.:406-7):

Courtship is a simple affaire with these people. Early in the morning the lover makes his appearance at the abode of the father of the object of his choice, and, without a word of explanation, begins to heat the bath room, to bring in water, and to prepare food. Then he is asked who he is, and why he performs these offices. In reply he expresses his wish to have the daughter for a wife, and if his suit be not rejected, he remains as a servant in the house a whole year. At the end of that time he receives a reward for his services from the father, and takes home his bride. . .

This report is well into the contact period where the exigencies that the Tanaina faced while struggling to survive and prosper in their habitat required them to make adjustments. The matrilineal descent and locality ideologies would only be 'survivals' or 'remnants' of aboriginal practices.

The practice of 'bride service' is very likely a transition between matrilocality and patrilocal or ambilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207).

Judith Brown (1963) has developed a theory which reasons that formally institutionalized female initiation rites are frequent in those cultures in which girls continue to reside in the home of their mothers after marriage (matrilocal residence). The initiation ceremony is necessary as a rite of passage to announce a girl's change in status. She also suggests that female initiation ceremonies are more frequent in cultures where women make an important contribution to the subsistence activities.

The British social anthropologist, Lucy Mair, has also noted the characteristics of puberty ceremonies in patrilineal societies to be held only for boys while in matrilineal societies they are usually held only for girls (1965:75). It should be noted that puberty rites for girls have always been described as rigorous among the Northern Athabascans. The Tanaina are no exception to this practice. The puberty rites are rigorous with a number of taboos associated (Osgood 1966:162). There appears to be a minor puberty ceremony among the boys.

Leadership prerogatives are unclear during the aboriginal period. The power or authority of the chief did not depend upon descent, although descent was becoming important during von Wrangell's time. Submission to a chief was conditional. The fur trade and the acquisition of wealth would have established positions of prestige and rank during the indirect contact period. Portlock (1968:113) writing in 1786 described an individual who appeared to be a chief. It is difficult to determine if it was the chief's material wealth or his role which distinguished him from the other Indians. This individual may have been selected due to his ability as a

trader. Chiefs very likely represented only their particular clan or moiety division. Captain George Vancouver's journal of a voyage to the upper part of Cook's river in April of 1794 suggests these features. It was here that a young chief, named Chatidooltz, conducted the trade for twenty-three natives who visited Vancouver's ship. In comparison to Chatidooltz, the rest of the natives' ". . . humble demeanor manifested the inferiority of them all, excepting one, named Kanistooch, who appeared to be somewhat younger than the chief and to whom also the rest shewed much attention." (1967:110-111). However, another family of about eighteen Indians were invited on board and this ". . . latter party were evidently of a different tribe or society from those with Chatidooltz; but they nevertheless were upon amicable and friendly terms. . . ." (Ibid.:111).

The rank system and status positions, both of which are based on wealth, could have existed before Captain James Cook's exploration of Cook Inlet in 1778. The natives were well acquainted with iron and trading activities at this time. The Russian Adjunct of the Academy of Sciences at St. Peterburg, M. Steller, while on the journey from Kamchatka to America with Bering in 1741, recorded the presence of iron knives among the Aleuts. His journal also suggests what may have been Japanese and Chinese commercial relationships with the native populations of North America extending back a number of years (Golder 1968:49, 51-53).

Producers in an egalitarian society do not generally produce a surplus. The system of ownership and production attempts to stimulate the maximization of mutual aid and cooperation which in turn minimizes the prospect of personal gain and the rise of the standard of living for a few producers through the elimination of the existence of surplus produce

(Sahlins 1960:408). Baron Wrangell notes the Kenai method of correcting an unbalanced economic condition. One of the vehicles for redistribution is for example (Van Stone 1970:11):

. . . a poor man waits until in winter the small lake by which he has settled himself is frozen but not down to the bottom so that there is no water in the vicinity; he then invites the wealthy friends of the other moiety to a feast and treats them with melted snow. His relatives, in the meantime, observe the mocking faces of the friends and overhear them speaking, relate this to the host who right away runs out of the barabara, having on his best clothes. He provides himself with a bow and arrow, and with a look of rage on his face, appears in front of the guests, challenges the audacity of those who would laugh at him, [and] he shoots the arrow through his cheek, lip, or thigh to show that he prefers death to the abuse of his name. Those present, it should be understood, had anticipated just such an occurrence; the rich mocker declares himself ready to pay the injured and this fully satisfies the offended pride of the ambitious man and cunning profiteer, the likes of which is perhaps also found in other countries.

There would appear to be a definite attempt by the Tanaina to balance the economic relationships between the two moieties. Wrangell also notes that they tended to balance competition ". . . even in very trifling things" (Ibid.:11). This would imply aboriginal egalitarian practices undergoing alteration through European contact.

Subsistence. The Tanaina relied heavily upon salmon as the basic article of their diet. Sea mammals, such as hair and fur seal, sea otter, sea lion and porpoise were consumed. The Upper Inlet people used both caribou and salmon as the basic staple of existence. Portlock's journal reports the use of several berries and in particular the use of blackberries for food.

He also reported that the salmon were so abundant that ". . . a most profitable trade might doubtless be carried on here by any persons of

sufficient enterprise to undertake it." (Ibid.:118-9). Urey Lisiansky, a Captain in the Russian Navy, described fourteen settlements, and about three thousand inhabitants who ". . . live better than the Aleutians; because, besides the article of fish, there are wild animals which they hunt, and especially wild sheep, the flesh of which is excellent. The other wild animals are the black and common bear, rein-deer, martins, foxes of different sorts, river otter, rabbits, ermines, beavers, and squirrels." (1968:188). Caribou and salmon meat would have been traded to inland tribes for copper implements supplied by the Atnaer or Copper River people (Ahtena) (Richardson 1851:413). Wrangell described extensive Tanaina trading activities around the headwaters of the Susitna River. He wrote (Van Stone 1970:12):

. . . The Atnakhtyan (Mednovskiy) [Ahtena] also come to this place from Lake Mantylbana in fourteen days travel; also the Mednovskiy Galtsan come from across the mountains in ten days of very rapid travel to visit and trade with the eastern Galtsan (Tanana). The Kenay travel another six days further to the lake, where they meet. All these people have a strong inclination to exchange their goods, and with subtle knowledge they choose and appraise things of the best quality. Thus, for example, porcupine quills to be used for embroidery patterns on parka covers are considered best when brought from the Atna River, and especially esteemed are those dyed red; for this the Mednovskiy use small cranberries and the Kenay crowberries.

Lieutenant Zagoskin who represents the most prominent Russian achievement in interior Alaskan exploration, recorded in 1842 the first ethnographic material on the Yukon and Kuskokwin valleys of Alaska. His description of subsistence patterns affirms the fact that fish were traded by the coastal tribes for fats and deer products indispensable to their economy (1967:197).

The Tanaina lived in two types of dwellings. In the winter they lived in large permanent semisubterranean houses (the Russians called them barabara). Wrangell noted that they " . . . resemble those of the Ugalentsy (Eyak) and Mednovskiy: sizeable, lofty dwellings made of shaped logs with fireplaces in the center, divided on the sides into as many compartments as there are related families who have decided to live together, and with two or more bath houses attached at the ends in which they pass a large part of the winter." (Van Stone 1970:11). In the summer, during the salmon fishing period, the people shared a more lightly constructed smoke house with their drying catch (Osgood 1937:55).

FUR TRADE PERIOD (1787 with the Imperial ukase to 1900).

Social Organization. Traces of matrilineal, exogamous clan organization were evident during the direct contact period in the first half of the nineteenth century. Wrangell's ethnographic account of the Tanaina from 1831 to 1836 shows precontact prescribed matrilineal clan rules breaking down into ambilineal cognatic descent and residence patterns during the contact period (Van Stone 1970:10; Richardson 1851:406). Inheritance practices show that the property of clan members belonged to their clan (Van Stone 1970:10-11).

Polygamous marriages were common and were based on wealth and property. Only wealthy men supported three or four wives (Richardson 1851:407). Father Juvenati, a missionary among the Iliamna group in 1796, attempted to prohibit polygamous marriages. The influence of the fur traders hovered

above missionary influence. Father Juvenati was killed by the Tanaina for his interference. Lisiansky noted in 1805 the dislike of priests by the fur trading Tanaina. He wrote (1968:187):

The person who came from the Bay of Kenay with this cargo of furs, informed me, that the natives were of a quiet disposition, but had so great a dislike to our priests, that they threatened to take away the life of the first that should dare to come amongst them. This dislike commenced in the year 1796, in consequence of the imprudent zeal of one of our missionary monks, who, having prevailed on many of them to embrace Christianity, had too rigidly insisted on their throwing aside, all at once, their native prejudices and customs, and, by authority of holy office, compelled some of them to marry in conformity to the rites of the Greek church. Provoked at last by the daring encroachments of their fanatic stranger, they put him to death, and vowed at the same time perpetual hatred to the whole Russian priesthood.

Residence patterns were shifting from matrilocal to ambilocal or patrilocal. Bride service and bride price were functioning features.³ The Tanaina male was reported to have worked in the household of his wife's family for a year before joining his father's household. The female could ". . . return, if dissatisfied with the treatment she receives, to her father's house, and then she takes with her the dowery the husband received at the conclusion of his year of service. The wife retains as her own property whatever she gains by her labours, and it often happens that the husband makes purchases from her." (Richardson 1851:407). Clan ownership

of property was still implicit. In fact, when a man has several wives in his family, ". . . each has her own household stuff, which may not be meddled with by the other wives, or by any member of the household" (Ibid.: 407). Potlatches were still given at the death of a clan member. The opposite moiety performed the funeral. Property remained within the clan at death. Potlatches were held to secure positions of status. Richardson reported that (1851:407-8):

Banquets, accompanied by dances, songs, and distribution of presents, take place on various occasions. A man, in recovering from sickness, will give a feast for the benefit of those who have shown him most sympathy during his illness. One who spends freely on these occasions is looked up to by his fellow-countrymen, and his advice sought. This is the origin of Toyonhood, or chieftainship.

Conducting a potlatch became one way, among several, in which a poor Tanaina man endeavoured to improve his status (Ibid.:410). This also acted as a vehicle for the redistribution of surplus and wealth.

There appeared to be two classes in the Tanaina social system - nobles and commoners. Wrangell reports that before ". . . the Russians occupied their country, both [Tanaina] moieties united and waged war on the Kadyaks and had to beat off attacks by the latter; prisoners were used as slaves and that is why the Kenay call the native inhabitants of Kadyak (Kodiak) Island utchna, from ulchaga, that is, 'slave'" (Van Stone 1970:11).

The historical data would suggest that Tanaina clan organization was matrilineal, exogamous, ranked and changing towards a more bilaterally emphasized structure.

Osgood's ethnography (1937) on the Tanaina attempts to project back into the proto-historic period by using information obtained from informants.

The information on land tenure rules suggest that ". . . fishing sites and hunting territories were owned by moieties, by clans, by individuals, and that anyone can hunt or fish wherever he pleases" (Osgood 1937:141). The concepts of land tenure and property were difficult to analyze due to the diversity of historical influences upon the various villages. But it is interesting to note what may have been the existence of local clan groups during the aboriginal period. There was a general trend away from this in the fur trade period. Lieut. Learnard's narrative of a trip from Portage Bay to Turnagain Arm and up the Sushitna River in 1900 informs us that in the Susitna area the custom of land tenure had altered. He wrote (Learnard 1900:667):

. . . a son inherits from his father, receiving a certain portion of his father's hunting grounds, generally the territory drained by some stream. If any other native kills game on this ground he pays the owner a certain amount, usually a quarter of the game. This manner of transferring hunting ground is said to account for different portions of the same river having different names; such, for instance, as the Talkeetna, which, according to the natives, has three different names, limited by the junction of tributaries.

There was a difference in inheritance practices between the Kachemak Bay group and the Upper Inlet people. The Kachemak natives inherited from parent to child without considering their moiety. A man's possessions passed to his son and a woman's property passed to her daughter (Osgood 1937:143). In the Upper Inlet, the wealth of a male went in part to his

son and the rest to his clan relatives. A woman's property stayed in her clan through her daughter.

Informants reported the practice of boys being placed under the supervision of an uncle who taught them hunting and fishing skills (Ibid.: 143). The practice of avunculocality may characterize a transition between matrilocality and patrilocality.⁴ This tendency towards bilaterality can be seen in F. A. Cook's, To the Top of the Continent. He reports (1908: 272-3):

The children are put through a very severe course of training to fit them for the duties of later life. At the age of six the boy is turned over to one of his uncles for his first schooling. Little sleep or food is allowed the child, and he is kept busy at hard work. . .

The position of women would have been altered by the contact situation. The matrilineal system did strengthen their position. They were still able to control the marriage of their daughters. Some informants said that women were the bosses of the family while others indicated an equal division of authority (Osgood 1937:137).

The use of kinship terminology can play an important part in reconstructing aboriginal social organization. For instance, if surviving terms can indicate the presence of cross cousin marriage, it would be significant if this practice is linked with clan

organization. Of course, this is not a functionally necessary prerequisite for the presence of clans. Terminology can also show other salient features of social organization as well.

Osgood provides us with a list of kinship terminology for the Tanaina. Unfortunately, we do not have lists of kinship terms prior to the time of his fieldwork (1931). An analysis of terms (See Fig. 5) shows the pattern to be Iroquois but changing toward the Eskimo type. For example, the Kachemak Bay group show the merging of relatives on F's side with those on M's side. The terms for FBS, FZS, and MBS are the same (Ši·a?); FBD, MBD, FZD and BD are the same (Sa·?); FB, F, M, and MB are different; FZ and MZ are the same (šánáná); B and MZS are the same (šonyá); Z and MZD are the same (šóda); and FB and MB are different. The indifference towards bifurcation in the case of FBS and FBD would suggest a change from unilinear descent to bilateral descent.

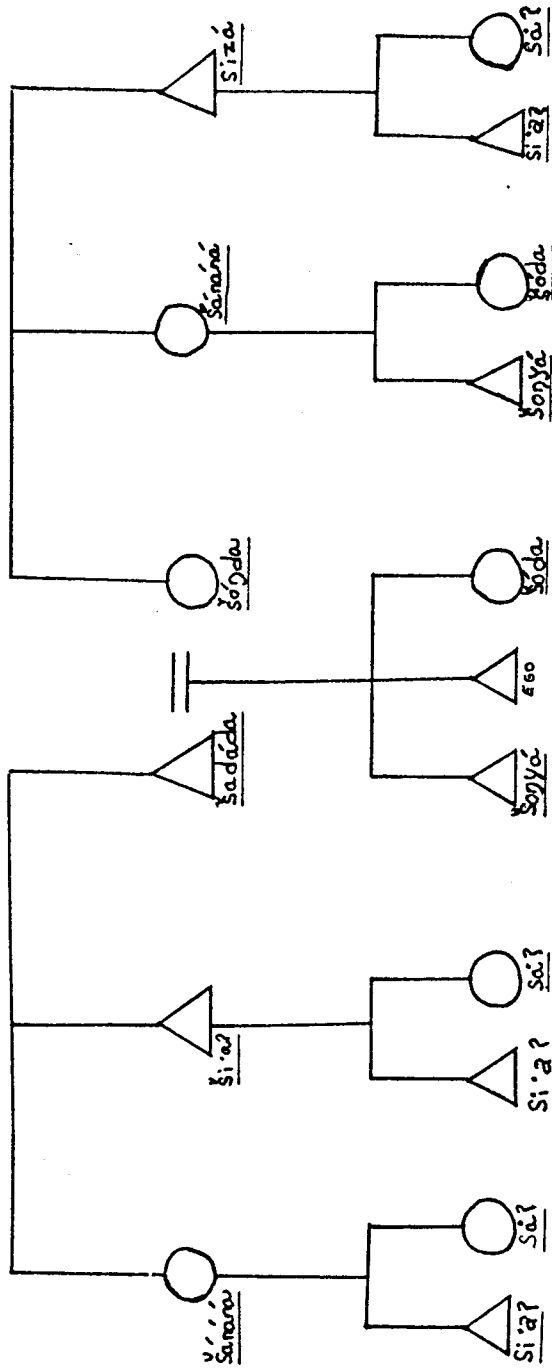
Subsistence. Fishing for salmon remained the basic subsistence pursuit. Sea mammals and game animals continued to supplement their diet during this period. The fur trade remained an economic activity until the 1880's when the fur market dropped. At this time salmon canneries began to operate in southwestern Alaska and the Iliamna Tanaina were active in the commercial fishing industry (Townsend 1970:89).

MODERN PERIOD: After 1900.

Social Organization. Osgood, writing in the ethnographic present

Figure 5

Tanaina Kinship Terminology



(After Osgood 1966:144-45)

(1937), noted that the ". . . manifest aspects of the old clan and class system have faded so far into the background of informant's memories that it is sometimes hard to find people who even know of the former existence of the system." (Ibid.:194).

Most of the Tanaina have been converted into nominal Christians by the Roman Catholic Church and various Protestant denominations (Van Stone 1974:98).

Subsistence. The Tanaina still rely heavily upon fish for subsistence with a secondary reliance upon game animals. Store bought foods are now an important addition to their diets. Commercial traps and nets are bought for fishing. Guns have made hunting a more individualistic task although these people are restricted by modern game laws. Aboriginal dress and technology have disappeared.

SUMMARY

In pristine times, a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization flourished. The clan system provided the necessary integration for cooperative subsistence pursuits. The funeral potlatch was a functioning activity. The property and clothing of deceased clan members belonged to the clan. Leadership prerogatives did not depend upon descent. Trade networks were well established with inland tribes. A rank and status system may have existed before European contact.

The contact period brought about a number of changes in the social organization. There was a tendency towards the formation of an ambilineal cognatic clan organization. The Tanaina had started to lose their prescribed exogamic and matrilineal characteristics. The ranking of clans had become a firm cultural feature through the well-established intertribal trade, direct exchange with fur traders and the subsequent accumulation of wealth. The acquisition of wealth due to the fur trade increased the importance of the potlatch and the attainment of status positions. Wealth eventually undercut the precontact matrilineally based inheritance system.

The social organization would have been directly affected by its relationships with Europeans. For instance, Grigorii Ivanovich Shelekhov, one of the founders of the Russian-American Company, reported that four hundred child hostages had been taken by the Russians in 1784 to ensure peaceful relations from the Indians and Eskimos (Andreyev 1952:34). Petroff's census report also mentions a native Siberian by the name of Kolomin who ". . . had established himself for the Shelikof company at the site of the present Kenai, or Redoute Saint Nicholas, where he lorded it over the natives with great severity and wanton cruelty." (1882:102). This would have affected the indigenous populations.

Disease would have also brought change in the social arrangements of native populations. The contact with the Russians in 1741, the Spaniards in 1775, the English in 1776 and the French in 1786 would have inevitably introduced highly infectious diseases to the aboriginal peoples. Fortlock's observations of Indians in southwestern Alaska in 1787, showed

that many of the adults had smallpox scars but the children under ten to twelve years did not have scars. Lisianski reported (1804) the frequent occurrence of venereal disease, consumption and ulcers among the Alaskan people. Zagoskin (1842) also provided us with interesting information on the most prevalent diseases among the natives. He includes abscesses, eye disease, consumption, syphilis and smallpox in his report. The smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839, would seem to have wrought the most drastic changes among the Alaskan Division of the Northern Athabascans including the Tanaina. The epidemic interrupted the trade relationships between the coast and the Yukon. Zagoskin reported the results of the depopulation by describing the complete abandonment of once populous villages (Ibid.:188-9). Petroff's report indicates the extent to which the Tanaina succumbed to the smallpox epidemics between 1836-40. He notes that in ". . . the vicinity of the trading-posts on Cook's inlet, Prince William sound, and Bristol bay the natives refused to submit to vaccination, the consequence being that 550 persons were attacked by the disease, of whom over 200 died." (Ibid.:113).

This increased emphasis on fur trading activities would have introduced new social arrangements. The aboriginal communal activities had to break down in the face of individualistic subsistence and trading tasks introduced through European contact.

The building of fish canneries in Southwestern Alaska during the 1880's and 1890's increased the propensity for social change. There was also a general loss of self-sufficiency with a growing dependence on the white economic system.

The pressures from traders, missionaries, government officials, teachers and cannery personnel during this century has completely obliterated the corporate clan system. The kinship structure has become fully bilateral.

AHTENA

The Ahtena or Atna ('Ice People') dwell on the Copper River in Alaska. There are three geographical groups. One group has settled on the middle Copper River in the modern towns of Chitina and Copper Center. The second occupies the upper Copper River including many of the inhabitants of Guldana and Christochina. The third group inhabits the area surrounding Mentasta Lake (Hodge 1912:30; McClellan 1961:104-5). The ethnographic material is rather sketchy; nevertheless, an examination of the available information shows that it shares a homogeneous relationship with the material of the other Alaskan groups.

ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Social Organization. Aboriginally the Ahtena social organization was comprised of matrilineal, exogamous clans. Conforming to the pattern of the Alaskan cultures, the Ahtena very likely had a phratry system. The upper Copper River groupings still possessed three nameless phratries during the mid 1950's. The kinship terminology was of the Iroquois type (McClellan 1961:105).

Residence patterns were matrilocal. This pattern has persisted into the contemporary period. McClellan's fieldwork showed that ". . . residence patterns after marriage were prevailingly matrilocal for the first few years." (1961:108). Marriages between cross-cousins were considered the ideal form of marriage.

The phratry divisions were composed of at least ten matrilineal clans. Each clan had its own traditions, songs, and totemic affiliations (Ibid.:105). There was a fully developed system of totemism among the Ahtena. The matrilineal, exogamous clans were unified through tracing their origins to a common ancestor such as the Crow or the Seagull (De Laguna 1969:18). Some clans claim to be identified by an object - red paint, fish tail, or canyon berries. There appears to be no division under the Wolf although there are certain systems of taboos associated with wolves which have interesting parallels with the belief systems of the Chipewyans.⁵ Frederica De Laguna's informants report that (Ibid:25):

. . . A young man should not touch a dead wolf. However, some informants said that a young man could do so, provided he tied brush or a string around the wolf's joints and cut these before removing the skin. Or, red paint might be marked on the fur around the joints, "the way the moon turns."

The inheritance rules show that property was returned to the clan or division of the deceased. Lieut. Henry T. Allen's report of a journey to the Copper River in 1885, suggests this practice. He reported (1889: 265-6):

. . . They [women] and their children are always left in destitute circumstances at the death of the husband, however wealthy he may have been. This arises from the custom of distributing among the tribe at his death the property, the accumulation of which seems to be a great pride, because the demonstration at the obsequies will be in proportion to the wealth of the deceased . . .

The mortuary potlatch was held a year after the death of a male (Wrangell 1970:8).

The attainment of puberty was marked by a period of seclusion for both boys and girls. The regulations were more numerous and rigid for the girls (McClellan 1961:106).

Allen described the Ahtena women's custom of applying red paint to their faces in order to be thoroughly en regle. By 1885, the habit of tattooing was almost unknown which suggests that it was an indigenous custom (1889:262). Both customs were probably used for clan identifications.

Subsistence. The principal subsistence activities centered around hunting for caribou and fishing for salmon. Von Wrangell described the Ahtena technique of hunting caribou. He considered caribou as the principal source of food for these people. The surround method that he presented would have been an intensive communal activity. It was conducted during the spring and autumn. He reported that (1970:7).

. . . when the ice on the rivers and lakes is still strong, they drive the herds of caribou, which are then about, into purposely made pens of poles; the pens have the appearance of a recumbent Roman numeral >, which have openings that are sometimes ten versts wide. When the beasts come to the very corner of the enclosure and begin to cluster, then the savages spear them. Another drive of the caribou occurs in autumn during the return of the animals to the place where they pass the winter; they are driven into lakes and killed in the water from boats . . .

Allen listed fish, rabbit, moose, sheep, caribou, bear, goat, porcupine, beaver, lynx, muskrat, goose, duck and grouse as the mass of their food. He considered fish to be the most important item with rabbits

next in importance. The vegetable products consisted of cranberries, blueberries and cow parsnip (Heracleum lanatum) (1889:260). Groundsquirrels were also an important meat source.

The salmon which ascended the Copper River in the late summer and early fall were essential for subsistence. The fishing and processing activities would have involved a substantial cooperative effort among the Ahtena.

The Ahtena had two house types - permanent and temporary. Allen describes the former as ". . . intended for winter use and are annually occupied during that season, while the latter are extemporized at any place where game may be found." (Ibid.:261). Subsistence pursuits determined the location of the houses since, in general, ". . . the winter house, being on the river, may be said to be occupied during the salmon season, and until February, when the occupants depart for the headwaters of streams, where they hunt and trap, occupying the summer houses." (Ibid:261-2).

Intertribal trade existed in the precontact period. The Ahtena were known for the copper which was found in their territory. The copper was traded to Eyak, Tlingit, Tanaina, and other interior Northern Athabascans. The Ahtena manufactured various implements from the copper (Wrangell 1970: 5; Richardson 1851:413; Latham 1848:187).

FUR TRADE PERIOD

Social Organization. The Ahtena, a highly sedentary group, retained their matrilineal, exogamous clan organization throughout the fur trade

period. The kinship terminology did not alter from the Iroquois type. The phratry system started to disappear. The upper Copper River division retained its phratries although they were nameless. The clans of the middle Copper River division lost a phratry and became loosely organized into moieties. The Mentasta division were to completely lose their phratry system. Inheritance rules did not alter since property remained within the phratry division although the oldest son who traced his descent from the mother became the head of the family at the death of the father (Allen 1889: 266).

Residence patterns suggest that matrilocality was preferred for the first few years in the form of a bride service. After the period of bride service, the husband usually established residence with his own local group. The arrangements were fluid since a man could remain with his wife's family (McClellan 1961:109). This would suggest a change from matrilocal residence patterns to ambilocal or patrilocal residence during the direct contact period. The increasing tendency towards ambilocality may have been an attempt to recruit scarce labour in order to exploit subsistence resources and the fur bearing grounds.

The ideal aboriginal pattern of marriage was between cross-cousins. The contact period brought a slight preference for ego's marrying his father's sister's daughter rather than his mother's brother's daughter (Ibid.:109). This could display a change from an Iroquois situation to a Crow system where FZ displays no tendency to marry MB. However, we do not have the distinction between patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins

in Ahtena kinship terminology although both the Iroquois and Crow system would remain compatible with unilineal descent patterns which performed a dominant role in the organization of production and distribution activities.

Polygyny was practiced to a limited extent. The best arrangement would appear to be a sororal polygyny since McClellan's informants report that ". . . sisters treat each other better." (1961:110). Polygamous marriages may be attributed to the fur trade where several wives would have been advantageous for the work of transportation and packing. According to Allen (1889), the wives ". . . are treated with very little consideration and are valued in proportion to their ability to pack and do general work." (Ibid:265). The polygamous marriages were probably based on the accumulation of wealth by some of the Ahtena men. Allen notes that the women were decidedly in the minority (Ibid.:265).

The emergence of an incipient class structure can be attributed to the influence of the fur trade. Allen divided the Ahtena into the following social classes (1889:266):

. . . Tyones, skillies (near relation of a Tyone), Shamans or medicine men, and vassals of varying degrees of servitude. In all assemblies seats are rigidly assigned according to rank, which is well established among them. The tyones would rarely condescend to consider any of us their equals, nor did they fail to express disgust at seeing the head of our party carrying a pack or pulling on its rope.

Toyons were originally appointed by officials of the Russian-American Fur company to obtain furs from their countrymen. The appointment of Toyons or chiefs may have created the social ranking system of the Ahtena.

The term, Toyon, is a Turkic origin and was a general term throughout Siberia. Von Wrangell suggests that slaves were also common. Only the prosperous ". . . had their Kalgi, or slaves, which they bought from the Kolchan [Kutchin], though they did not acquire them to sacrifice to dead ancestors as do the Kolchan and Kolosh. [Tlingit]"(1970:8).

The fact that the toyon was the overseer for trading activities is evident in Allen's notes on Nicolai, the autocrat of the Chittyna (Chitina River) and the fishing station called Taral on the Copper River (Ibid.:259). Nicolai supervised the trading activities in which (Ibid.:262):

Beads and ammunition are the mediums of exchange used by the intermediate men in obtaining the furs that are carried to the trading station. Nicolai leaves [lives] at his house on the Chittystone River [Chittina River] during his absence at Taral [the fishing station], beads, caps, and powder for the Calcharnies [people not belonging to their tribe], who arrive and deposit an equivalent in furs, - a fact tending to show how definite is the relation between articles of commodity and prices paid for them, and also the mutual confidence amongst themselves.

The mortuary potlatch was a functioning institution. Allen describes the obsequies of an Ahtena man being in proportion to his wealth (Ibid.:265-6). It should also be noted at this point that his observations and the scanty records of the Russians indicates ". . . that the change in number of these people has been very slight for many years." (Ibid:259). This statement hints at the fact that the Ahtena may have been subjected to epidemic diseases in the past. Ivan Petroff described the smallpox epidemic extending from 1836 to 1840. The Ahtena would have been influenced by the epidemic. The inhabitants in the vicinity ". . . of the trading-posts on

Cook's inlet. Prince Williams sound, and Bristol bay . . . refused to submit to vaccination, the consequence being that 550 persons were attacked by the disease, of whom over 200 died." (1882:113). This may account for some of the dissipation of the phratry system and the growing tendency towards ambilocality.

Subsistence. Fish and caribou remained the principal subsistence activities. The other resources continued to supplement their local cuisine. Their seasonal movements continued to be based on their subsistence. However, the fur trade introduced inevitable changes in their material culture and in their subsistence and seasonal patterns. The bow and arrow which was still used during Allen's time was becoming ". . . rapidly superseded by the small-bore double-barrel muzzle-loading shot-guns, of which there are two grades, one very inferior, the other good, with laminated steel barrels." (1889:263). Ammunition had become one of the medias of exchange used by middlemen to obtain furs. The contact by fur traders would have profoundly affected the aboriginal egalitarian social organization which articulates the production, distribution, and consumption processes within the context of the Ahtena ecosystems.

MODERN PERIOD: After 1900.

Social Organization. Catherine McClellan's (1961) fieldwork in 1954 and 1958 provides us with the most complete ethnographic material. Her descriptions of Ahtena social organization are only based on fragmentary memories. Besides the three divisions listed by her, the Ahtena were

subdivided into at least ten matrilineal clans which had specific traditions, songs, and totemic affiliations (Ibid.:105). The totemic affiliations were not described. The clans of the middle Copper River were grouped into a moiety system. The Iroquois type of kinship terminology could still be discerned. Cross cousin marriage, exogamy, bride service, initial matrilocality with patrilocal or ambilocal residence following the initial period was common; a continuing avunculocal pattern was evident.

Subsistence. Fishing and caribou hunting pursuits still provide the primary sources of food. Trapping for fox, lynx, and other fur-bearers has continued to occupy a prominent part in the seasonal cycle of the people. The furs are traded for guns, ammunition, flour, tea, sugar, tobacco, blankets and cloth (DeLaguna 1969:17).

SUMMARY

The Ahtena social organization was integrated by a matrilineal, exogamous clan system in the pristine period. The phratry system provided the necessary widened integration for subsistence tasks. Trade networks were well established with other tribal groups for both sumptuary and subsistence goods. The mortuary potlatch was an established institution. Matrilocality was an established practice. There is no evidence that a ranking or an incipient class system was established. Inheritance occurred within the phratry division although marriage was exogamic. Kinship terminology was Iroquois. Rigorous puberty rites were observed for females.

During the contact period, the Ahtena social organization shows a tendency for an integration toward an ambilineal cognatic clan system. The matrilineal residence patterns were no longer adhered to as in the aboriginal period. Polygyny was practiced to a limited extent by the more wealthy and higher status males. There are some signs of the emergence of an incipient class structure during the fur trade era. Property and wealth remained within the phratry division although primogeniture was practiced with regards to family leadership. The mortuary potlatch was elaborated due to the accumulation of wealth from the fur trade. The phratry and clan system started to dissipate. The contact situation tended to undercut the pristine matrilineally based social organization.

The increased emphasis towards fur trading activities, the direct contact with Europeans, and the influence of European diseases would have altered Ahtena social arrangements. The aboriginal communal activities would have become obsolete through individualistic subsistence and trading tasks. There was a general loss of self-sufficiency with a growing dependence upon the white market economy.

The knowledge of the phratry system has become somewhat obliterated during this century. They are either nameless, forgotten, or only partially remembered. There is a growing tendency towards bilaterality although some unilineal practices are still observed.

UPPER TANANA OR NEBESNA

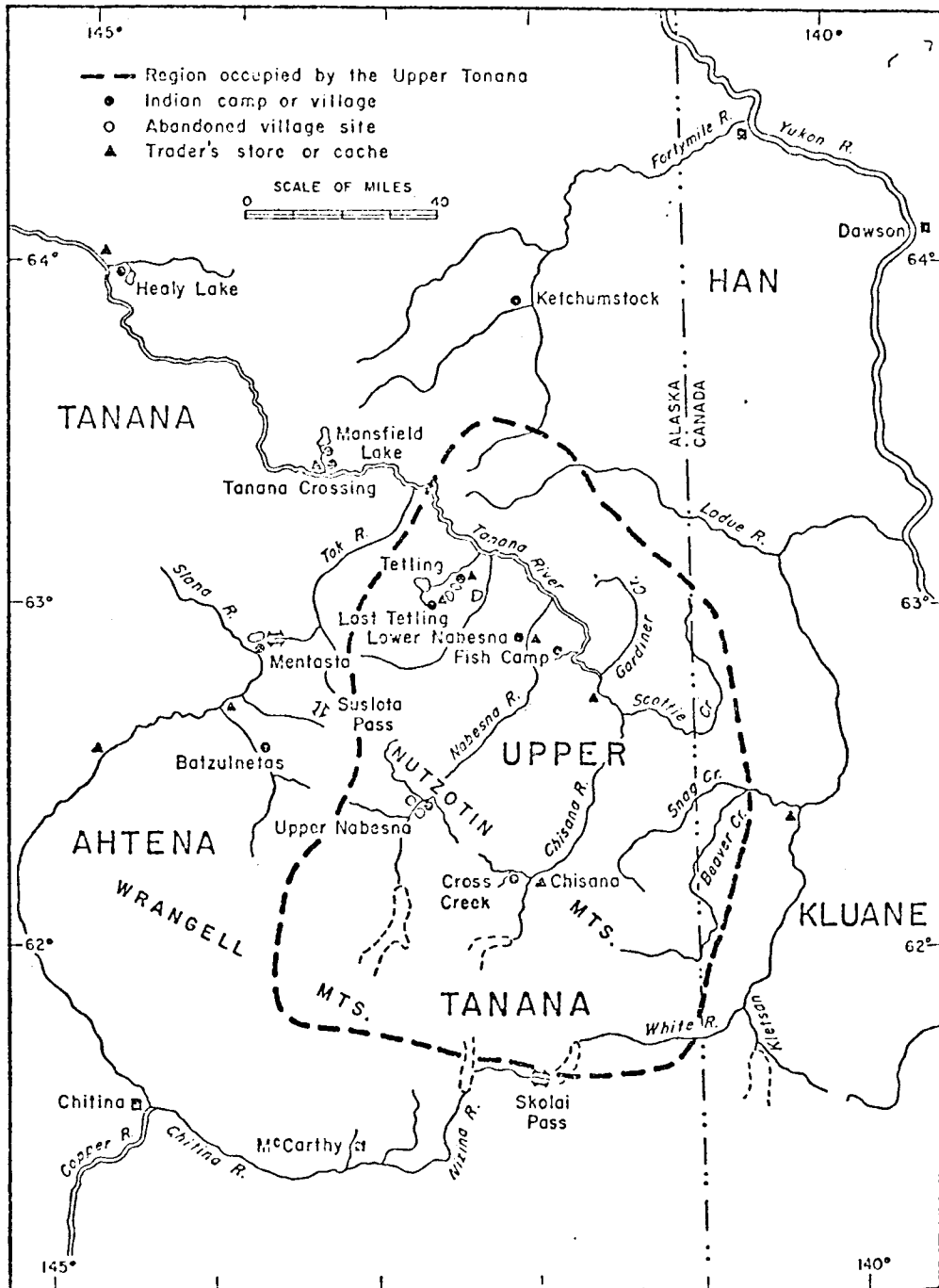
The Upper Tanana or Nebesna ('Mountain People') inhabit the area throughout the headwaters of the Tanana river and its tributaries down to Tok river in Alaska. Their area includes a small section of the White river and its tributaries - Beaver and Snag Creeks in Canada.

The earliest ethnographer in the area, Robert McKennan, who spent nine months in the field during 1929-30, divided the Upper Tanana into five groups (See Fig. 6): the Upper Chisana-Upper Nabesna, Last Tetling band, the Tetling band, the Mouth of the Nebesna band, and the Scottie Creek band (1959:17-8).

The Upper Chisana exploited the biotic zone of the basins of the Chisana, Nabesna, and White rivers while the Last Tetling group was located on a small lake at the foot of the Nutzotin range. The Tetling were situated between Tetling Lake and the Tanana river. The mouth of the Nabesna band had two camps on the Nabesna but their group ranged up to the headwaters of Ladue Creek to the North of the Tanana. They also hunted and trapped on the Tanana to the mouth of Gardner Creek. The Scottie Creek group ranged from the mouth of Gardiner Creek to the mouth of the Snag river on the White (1959:17-8).

These people have been given several cognomens in the literature. The various names often represent the terms used by European informants who represented the neighboring tribes of the Tanana. To add to our confusion, we also have the Tanana included as a member of other tribes. For instance,

Figure 6
Upper Tanana Tribal Divisions



(After McKennan, 1959, Figure 2)

Dr. Richardson included the Tanana as a tribe of the Kutchin-Tanna-Kutchin (1851:Vol. 1, 378). Some of the names for the Tanana are included as Gens de butte (Hudson's Bay term for Mountain Men) (Whympers 1864:223), Tenan-Kutchin (Mountain People) (Dall 1877:29), Tananatana (Allen 1887:136), Santotin or Sa-tahi-o-tin (Dawson 1888:203b), Tennan-tnu-Kokhtana (Petroff 1882:259), and Tannin-Koutchin (Murray 1910:83).

ABORIGINAL PERIOD.

Social Organization. The Nebesna possessed an exogamous, matrilineal clan organization in pristine times. There is a high probability that there were three exogamous groups. Each group was comprised of a number of clans. The phratry system was coordinated through the allocation of mutual responsibility among the divisions. Members from each division attended to the birth and death activities in an opposite phratry. The attendants of a phratry burial were later given a mortuary potlatch by the members of the deceased division (McKenna 1959:123). The phratry system provided a widened integration for hospitality and aid (Ibid.:124).

Tanana marriages were exogamous among the phratries. The prescribed residence rules had undergone change although there was a tendency towards matrilineal residence. This trait would suggest a precontact customary practice. Bride purchase, in the form of bride service, was a common feature during the early part of this century (Ibid.:118-120).

The Tanana women tattooed their faces. The markings indicated the

usual form for the Northern Athabascans. The designs included a series of vertical lines on the chin with horizontal lines across the cheeks (Ibid.: 87).

The girls' puberty ceremonies and menstrual taboos are a matter of interest among the Upper Tanana. The rites were rigorously observed (McKenna 1959:142-3; Guedon 1971:285). Puberty rites for the boys were so minor that they practically went unnoticed (McKenna 1959:143).

Inheritance rules dictated that property should remain in the clan. Property was divided among a deceased clan members relatives. If a man died his wife and children received nothing (Ibid.:130).

Leadership positions were definitely egalitarian. The actual power of a leader was limited. He could persuade and advise the activities of the Tananas but he could not control them. Whatever allegiance of friends and relatives he could acquire was transitory. The position was based on individual ability and ambition and not on clan or family connections. The inheritance system precluded this position from being passed on to his children. In fact, the nature of the leadership prerogatives precluded the position from being passed on to his heirs (Ibid.:131-2).

Subsistence. The climate of the area exploited by the Tanana was somewhat drier than the territory of the Tanaina to the south of them. According to McKenna, the Chisana Basin has a milder winter season than the other regions. He has recorded temperatures showing a minimum of -65° F. in the winter to a maximum of 100° F. in the summer (Ibid.:20).

Spruce, poplars and white birch were the most important species of flora utilized by the Tanana for subsistence purposes (Ibid.:20).

The Tanana occupied permanent or semi-permanent dwellings of logs or bark. Some of the houses were as much as twenty or thirty feet long and they were occupied by several families (McKenna 1959:72).

FUR TRADE PERIOD. (1885-).

Social Organization. Direct contact with the Tanana was relatively recent. The earliest recorded exploration on the Tanana river was made by Lieutenant Allen in 1885. His observations on the Tanana people were meager since his expedition did not encounter too many natives. The sporadic expeditions between 1885 and 1900 do not give us a picture of Tanana social organization. Explorations on the Copper and Yukon rivers lack information on the relationship of the Tanana with the Europeans. However, there is a high probability that extensive trade had been established through the Chilkat Tlingit via the intermediate Kluane (a number of Athabaskan families scattered around the trading posts at Wellesley and Kluane lakes). There was a traditional meeting place between the Kluane and the Upper Tanana at North Fork Island on the White river. The indirect European contact period would have encouraged a change in basic aboriginal activities. The fur trade would have engendered a new emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth and property. The subsequent dependence upon property such as iron implements, blankets, etc. became entrenched only after some alteration in Tanana social organization. Sociocultural change is evident in McKenna's

(1959) ethnographic material.

The Upper Tanana lost a phratry division during the indirect contact period. McKennan's field notes report an exogamous, matrilineal moiety system. Each division consisted of a number of clans. There may have been a loss of totemic ideas concerning crests, privileges and taboos associated with the tracing of descent from phratry animals. The fur trade would have broken this ideological system down. The two remaining phratry systems compare with the divisions reported among the Kutchin and Tanaina. The tcion division was identified with the wolf and its clans were identified with red ocher. The neltchin division was identified with the raven or crow (Ibid.:124-5).

The fur trade period intensified the Tananas' desire for the acquisition of wealth. Subsequently, this had the tendency to favour marriages within their divisions. The practice of endogamy seemed to have its ". . . roots in the desire of each community to outstrip the other, and hence reflect glory upon its headmen." (Ibid.:119). Matrilocal residence was still practiced although bride purchase in the form of service was frequent during this period of social change. It is evident that the unilineal system was breaking down into ambilineal cognatic descent and residence patterns during the indirect contact period.

Polygamous marriages were more frequent. The number of wives depended on a man's ability to obtain and support them (Ibid.:120). Through the accumulation of wealth and property from the fur trade, the older men were often able to obtain several wives while the younger men had none. A girl's parents

favoured a wealthier suitor (Ibid.:118). The fur trade family economy rested upon a definite division of labour. The women's labour included preparing and tanning skins as well as carrying heavy loads and drawing the toboggans (Ibid.:116). Polygyny may have been an advantage for the men engaged in the fur trade to secure wealth and property.

Leadership positions became more important. McKennan reports that such ". . . a position is based on wealth, which in turn is based on hunting or trapping ability plus enough native shrewdness and ambition to utilize such wealth for social advancement" (Ibid.:132). Inheritance tended towards precontact matrilineal descent rules. The brother or the maternal nephew was regarded as the successor of a deceased chief (Ibid.:132).

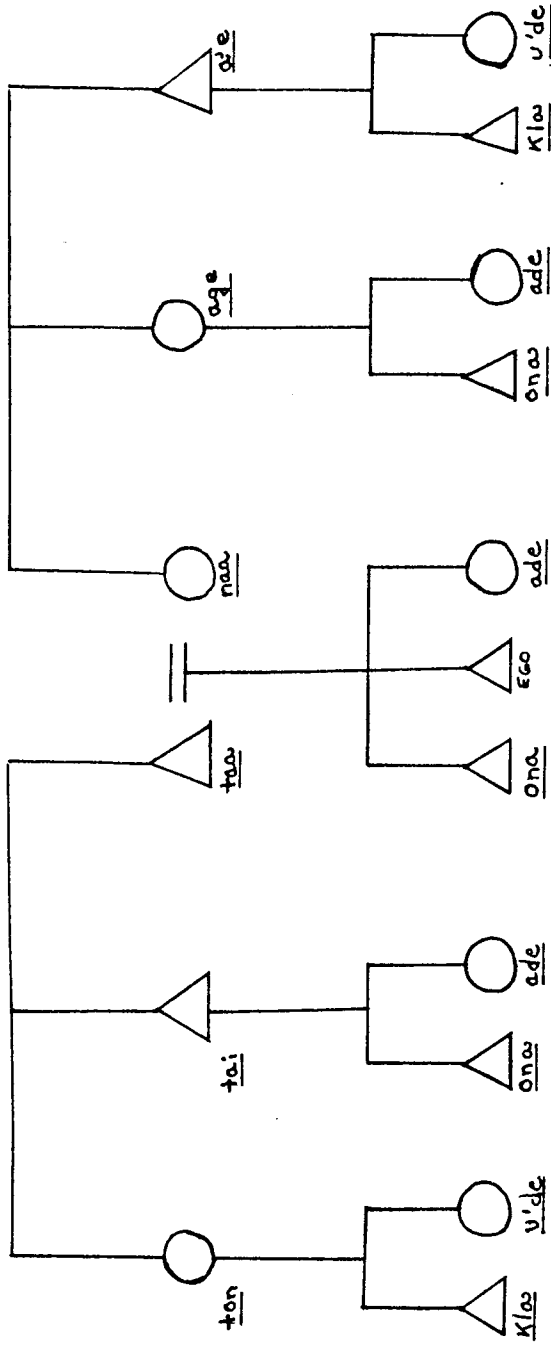
Positions were also attained through the potlatch. It was a mechanism where an individual expressed his desire for prestige. The attainment of prestige was only transitory since a rival could outdo him (Ibid.:132). The gift-giving festival would have developed during the trade period and the subsequent accumulation of wealth (Ibid.:139).

Leadership was still egalitarian. The chief had no formal powers or authority. Through gifts he acquired some allegiance.

The Upper Tanana kinship terminology (See Fig. 7) reveals the exogamous, matrilineal clan organization. There is a tendency, terminologically, to bifurcate parallel from cross cousins. The term for B, FBS, and MZS is ona and the term for Z, FBD, and MZD is ade. FZS and MBS is kla while FZD and MBD is u'de. There is a bifurcate distinction in the first

Figure 7

Tanana Kinship Terminology



(After McKennan 1959:122-23)

ascending generation in which FB, MB, FZ, and MZ are distinguished. There is no evidence for a merging of the kinship terminology of the nuclear family members with the first ascending generational collateral kin types since $F \neq FB \neq MB$ nor does $M = FZ = MZ$. The indifference towards merging F with FB and M with MZ suggests a transition between unilinear descent and bilateral descent.

This system has been classified as Bifurcate Collateral by McKennan (Ibid.:123). However, with the prohibition of parallel cousin marriage and the preference for cross cousin marriage the system can be classified as Iroquois. The high frequency of polygyny which is often sororal polygyny, as well as the practice of the sororate, a delayed sororal polygyny, may lead toward the equation of siblings and both forms of parallel cousins since MZ may be FW. Her children would be ego's half brother and sister reinforcing the Iroquois terminology in biological terms.

The marriage rules confined the marriage of Z and ZD to the opposite moiety or phraties in the precontact period. This created an alliance system among the divisions since cross cousins could become brother-in-laws. The term Kla which is equal to FZS and MBS is reciprocal to the term Kla which refers to a man's hunting partner. The latter is always a member of another phratry. The partnership system is a formalized institution for dividing the products of subsistence activities. McKennan has noted that Tanana men often take their ZH for their partner (Ibid.:50).

Subsistence. Caribou remained the basic subsistence product. The other resources continued to be utilized. Fur trade activities became

increasingly important. Trapping and trading pursuits most likely became dominant. The dependence upon iron implements and other European trade goods engendered change in aboriginal patterns. Old communal activities would have become obsolete while individualistic and plutocratic ideas became characteristic of the period.

MODERN PERIOD: AFTER 1900.

Social Organization. McKennan, writing in the ethnographic present (1929), indicated that only two phratries existed among the Upper Tanana. The clans within each phratry division were so vaguely remembered that most of the younger generation could not identify their clan membership (Ibid.:124). The phratries were no longer totemic. The Tanana clans did not have crests, privileges, or taboos (Ibid.:124).

Communal activities were still practiced through the formation of the hunting partnerships between the two remaining phratries. The phratry division still remained an institution from which a member received both hospitality and aid.

There is a tendency among the Tetling and Lower Nebesna to marry within the phratry division by marrying someone from another clan. The endogamous practice was increasing through the ". . . desire of each community to outstrip the other, and hence reflect glory upon its headman." (Ibid.:119). The stimulation for trade with Europeans brought about the situation ". . . where to be wealthy is the ambition of every Upper Tanana man." (Ibid.:128). This tended to create circumstances in which pristine social values,

such as, a communal sharing of property or wealth and an egalitarian social organization were in contradiction to European trade values where the acquisition of property and wealth with its individualistic features dominated. Both value systems were operative at the time of McKennan's field work.

Subsistence. The Tanana subsistence base still remained primarily caribou. Sheep and moose were the other big game animals utilized. Fishing was an important supplementary part of their diet. The accumulation of property and wealth continued to make up a large part of their economic activities.

SUMMARY

The Tanana aboriginal social organization was integrated through an exogamous, matrilineal phratry system. The Tananas' three phratry divisions were comprised of a number of clans. The divisions provided both hospitality and aid to their members. There was a functioning system of allocating mutual responsibility among the divisions. Leadership positions were definitely egalitarian.

Inheritance rules dictated that property remain in the clan. A deceased clan members' wife and children received nothing. Matrilocal residence was an aboriginal feature.

The indirect contact period stimulated a number of changes in the social organization. There was a tendency for prescribed exogamic and matrilineal rules to become obsolete. The fur trade and the subsequent

accumulation of wealth favoured the practice of endogamy and the formation of cognatic clans. This may have contributed in the long run to the loss of totemic ideas associated with crests, privileges and taboos.

Polygyny was a more frequent practice. Leadership positions lost their more egalitarian nature since the position was based on wealth through hunting and trapping activities. The potlatch or giftgiving feast became important during this period.

Old communal practices had to break down under the weight of the European trade situation. Trapping activities introduced new individualistic social arrangements.

In the direct contact period during the early part of this century, the Tanana still had two phratries in partial operation. The clans within the divisions were only vaguely remembered. The younger generation could not identify their clan membership. Communal activities still co-existed through the hunting partnership. Old value systems existed with the new imposed values. The two systems were contradictory.

KUTCHIN

The Kutchin ('People') or Loucheux (Hare Indian name for the Kutchin) inhabit the lower Mackenzie valley, the Peel river basin, and the region on the Yukon and its tributaries from the mouth of the Pelly river downward (Hodge 1912:739; Jenness 1972:399; Franklin 1970:23). There have been several attempts by a number of authors to classify the various groups of Kutchin.

The classifications are often contradictory both in number of groups and in their distinctiveness. The terms "tribe" and "band" are also used interchangeably. For instance, Dr. Richardson of the Arctic Searching Expedition of 1851 recorded fourteen separate tribes; Strachan Jones divided the Kutchin into twenty-two different groups in his notes of 1866 on these people; Fred Whympere noted eight in his book, with ten on his map; W.H. Dall counted thirteen, one of which was the Nahani at the head of the Keele river; E. Petitot recorded thirteen, however, among them he lists the Dakkadhe that are the Di-go-thi-tinne of the Hare Indians (Richardson 1851:Vol. 1,378); Hodge suggests eleven; Cadzow in his paper, Habitat of Loucheux Bands, lists nine bands which include the Han and Osgood who approached the problem of synonymy afresh, proposed after doing his field work among these people in 1932 that the true Kutchin tribes were seven in number with an eighth tribe, the Birch Creek Kutchin, annihilated by an epidemic of scarlet fever about 1865⁶ (Morice 1910:24; Hodge 1912:740; Osgood 1934:169, 1936:14-15).

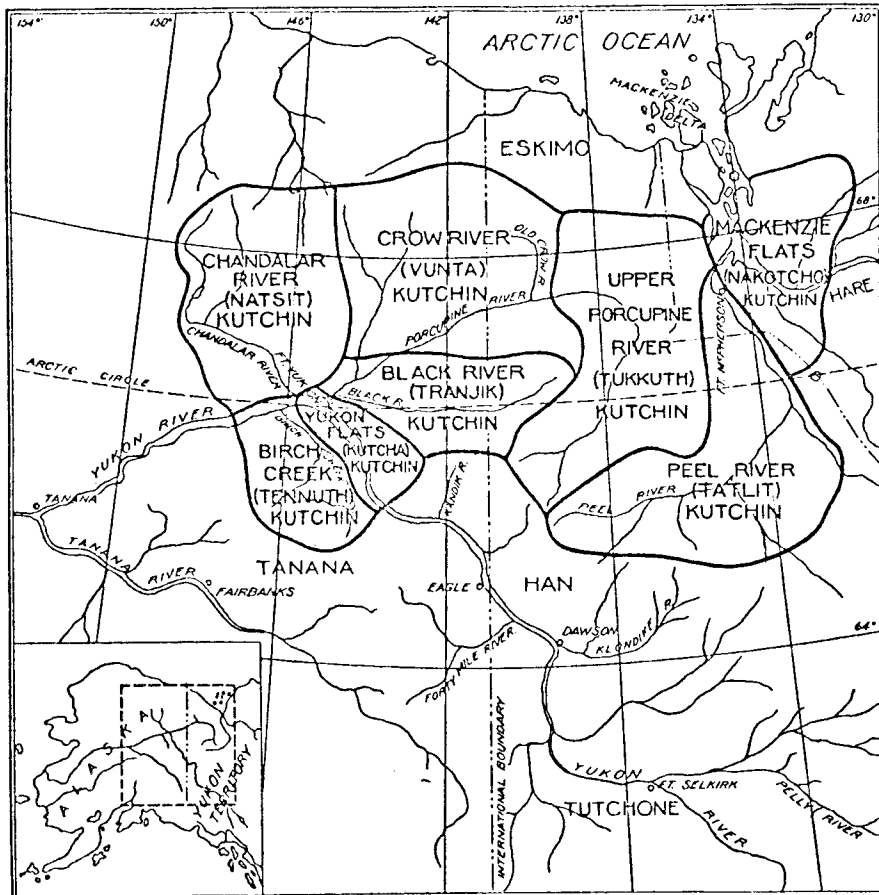
The misuse of names by these authors has increased the difficulty of understanding the early social organization and subsistence patterns of the Kutchin. For our purposes, Osgood's list of tribes will be referred to as the most satisfactory classification of synonymy. These include the Yukon

Flats Kutchin, Birch Creek Kutchin, Chandelar River Kutchin, Black River Kutchin, Crow River Kutchin, Upper Porcupine River Kutchin, Peel River Kutchin, and Mackenzie Flats Kutchin (See Fig. 8). Using his tabulation as a guide, a brief description of kutchin social organization and subsistence patterns is presented through the combined resources of ethnohistory and ethnography. The description will provide details of culture change and persistence.

ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Social Organization. In the precontact period it is highly probable that the Kutchin social system was based on a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization divided into three divisions or phratries (Hardisty 1867:315). The mutual responsibility of clan members is not indicated in the literature for cases of rape, murder, injury, blood revenge, property, or the potlatch. However, clans did seem to play a role in giving a potlatch for a deceased member of another clan (Osgood 1936:126). William L. Hardisty, an early Hudson's Bay fur trader at Peel River House, described three divisions of the Kutchin in 1866. He observed that the children received clan membership from their mother. A man could not marry a member from his own clan since "when it does take place the persons are ridiculed and laughed at. The man is said to have married his sister, even though she may be from another tribe and there be not the slightest connection by blood between them." (1867:315). At the time of his report, the rules were not being strictly observed. It is highly probable that the prescribed social organization was a functioning system during the precontact period.

Figure 8
Kutchin Tribal Divisions



(After Osgood 1970, Map 1)

Richardson (1851:379) reported that the Kutchin women tattooed and painted their faces. The men also employed both red and black paints to their face. Osgood (1937:53) has indicated this feature as the distinguishing marks for clans among the Tanaina. The clan name Tc< c y< refers to red paint for them and similarly the Kutchin clan name na' ts sa<' has a cognate sa< which literally means "red paint" (1936:107).

Puberty rites were observed. A girl had to serve an extended period of taboos and seclusion. During the menstrual periods, a woman had to observe a number of taboos but was not as restricted as at the time of puberty. Boys' puberty ceremonies are unknown among the Kutchin.

Residence patterns are suggested as matrilocal in Hardisty's notes. Matrilocality is indicated when he says (Ibid.:315):

They receive caste from their mother; if a male Chit-sangh [Yukon Flats Kutchin?] marry a Nah-tsingh women the children are Nah-tsingh, and if a male Nah-tsingh [Chandalar River Kutchin] marry a Chit-sangh women the children are Chit-sangh, so that the divisions are always changing: As the father die out the country inhabited by the Chit-sangh becomes occupied by the Nah-tsingh, and so on vice versa. They are continually changing countries, as it were

Origin myths account for the three divisions through the belief that they originated ". . . when all fowls, animals, and fish were people - the fish were the Chitsah, the birds Tain-gees-ah-tsah, and the animals Nat-singh." (Ibid.:315). The three divisions may also reflect the local area which each group exploited. The area between the Yukon river and the Arctic Sea

which the Nat-singh⁷ occupied was exploited for the caribou while the Chitsah⁸ relied upon salmon, whitefish and moose. The Tain-gees-ah-tsa fished for salmon and hunted moose. The latter group would appear to be an intermediate one between the other two divisions (Ibid.:315). Unfortunately, the rules of residence were undergoing change during contact with a complete amalgamation of the three divisions. This may account, in part, for the increased intertribal warfare among the Kutchin. The prescribed precontact exogamous arrangement tended to act as an ameliorating influence ". . . as the worst of parents would have naturally preferred peace to war with his own children" (Ibid.:315).

Leadership among the Kutchin was of an egalitarian nature. The chief had authority but lacked power. The position was not inherited and was a transitory position. The fur trader, Strachan Jones, described the Kutchin government while pointing out these features. He noted (1866:325).

They are governed by the same chiefs in peace and war. The authority of a chief is very limited, for the Indians are very unruly, and not at all disposed to submit to authority. The chiefs are chosen either on account of their wisdom or courage, and not at all on account of birth. They have no insignia of office, and as for privileges they have all that they can take, and none that the others can withhold from them. The chiefs and old men are

all who are entitled to speak in council, but any young man will not hesitate to get up and give his seniors the benefit of his wisdom.

The position of chief may have become more important during the fur trade period. Richardson's journal (1851:391) tells us that to be ". . . accounted a chief among the Kutchin, a man must possess beads to the amount of 200 beavers."

Subsistence. Caribou and fish were the underlying subsistence base on which Kutchin social organization rested in pristine times. John Bell, the Hudson's Bay officer who established Peel River House or Fort McPherson in 1840, informed Richardson (1851:393-4) about the pounds used by the Kutchin for hunting caribou. The pounds Bell described ". . . appeared to him, from the condition of the wood, to be more than a century old. They are hereditary possessions of the families by whom they were constructed." (Ibid.:394). The herding of caribou would have been a highly communal activity (Jones 1866:323). The pounds extended for miles over an area where the caribou had to be driven vehemently towards a narrow passage where stakes were set in the ground with their sharp points towards the entrance. The hunters drove the deer while the women and children wounded all the caribou they could from behind the fence. The fence required a great amount of labour in both the construction and the transport of timber. The wood came from a considerable distance (Richardson 1851:394). The clan system would have provided a widened integration for the recruitment of labour necessary in these tasks during the winter season.

Alexander Murray, a senior clerk of Hudson's Bay who established Fort Yukon in 1847, records the Yukon Flats Kutchin fishing techniques in his journal of the Yukon. Fishing for trout and salmon was a summer occupation while white fish were taken in the fall. The small tributaries to the Yukon and the narrow parts of the lakes in Kutchin territory were barred with stakes and large fish weirs were placed to entrap the fish. Murray reported the immense hauls which were taken in this manner. The fishing and processing activities would have required a large labour force (1910:89).

In the fall and early winter the Kutchin lived on rabbits and moose. The moose were usually snared. In late winter and early spring the Kutchin shifted to the caribou grounds ". . . to make a supply of dried meat, but more particularly to procure skins for clothing, etc." (Ibid.:89).

Berries supplemented their diet. Cranberry and a kind of blueberry were eaten. A type of root resembling the parsnip was also eaten. The botanical name for it is not known (Jones 1866:324). It may have been cow parsnip (Heracleum lanatum).

Intertribal trade for sumptuary goods such as Dentalium and Arenicola shells which were transmitted from the west coast, was most likely an aboriginal activity (Richardson 1851:391). It is difficult to determine what specific subsistence goods were traded during this period.

FUR TRADE PERIOD

Social Organization. Vestiges of matrilineal, exogamous clan

organization were evident during the direct contact period extending from the 1840's to the end of the nineteenth century. There is an indication that the precontact social organization had begun to break down into ambilineal cognatic descent groups in the contact period. Culture change is implicit in the early documents of the first missionary among the Kutchin, W.W. Kirkby (Kirby). He reported to the Smithsonian Institute that (1864: 418):

There is, however, another division among them of a more interesting and important character than that of the tribes just mentioned. Irrespective of tribe, they are divided into three classes, termed, respectively, Chit-sa, Nate-sa, and Tanges-at-sa--faintly representing the aristocracy, the middle classes, and the poorer orders of civilized nations the former being the most wealthy and the latter the poorest. In one respect, however, they greatly differ, it being the rule for a man not to marry in his own, but to take a wife from either of the other classes. A Chit-sa gentleman will marry a Tanges-at-sa peasant without the least feeling infra dig. The offspring in every case belong to the class of the mother. This arrangement has had a most beneficial effect in allaying the deadly feuds formerly so frequent among them.

Kirkby's statement reveals the presence of clans, the practise of exogamy, and the custom of tracing descent through the female lineage. His reference to a form of social stratification based on the clan system is somewhat overstated through its comparison to the European class structure; nevertheless, it indicates the presence of ranked clans. The degree of ranking does seem to relate to the distance from the trading posts. If we use Hardesty's description, the Chit-sa were the closest to the posts while the Tanges-at-sa were the farthest away. The status position of the Chit-sa may have been enhanced through the trade relationship. If the Chit-sa are

the Kutcha-Kutchin (Yukon Flats Kutchin) of Jones (1866:324-5), they were traders. Jones described this group as the traders for Fort Yukon when he wrote (Ibid.:324-5):

. . . they make very little fur themselves, but buy from the other Indians; their standard is called a naki eik, (bead clothing;) it consists of long strings of beads joined together the distance of a foot; the lines are seven feet long. The whole naki eik is equal to twenty-four made beaver, and one of the lines is one or more beaver-skins, according to the value of the beads.

The trading activities may have contributed to the change from what may have been more localized social units or clans to nonlocalized social units. Both Kirkby and Jones have described each Kutchin tribe as having three divisions during the contact period.

The fur trade and the subsequent acquisition of property would have contributed to the development of prestige positions, ranking, and polygamous marriages. Hardesty indicates this when he wrote (1866:312):

All the chiefs, medicine men and those who possess rank acquired by property have two, three, or more wives, so that only few of the young men have wives, unless they can content themselves with some old cast-off widow, who, from ill health and the effects of bad treatment, is no longer able to perform heavy work . . .

He also described these women as " . . . literally beasts of burden to their lords and master." (Ibid.:312). There is a likelihood that their reported maltreatment may have been intensified through the fur trade.

These two early fur traders, Jones and Hardisty, also recorded observations similar to Kirkby on the practise of exogamy, the prescribed custom

of tracing descent, and the preferred tendency towards the formation of ambilineal cognatic descent groups. Jones recorded that (1866:326):

. . . All the Kutchin are divided into three castes, called respectively, Tchit-che-ah, Tenge-rat-sey, Nasah-i. It used to be customary for a man belonging to one of these castes to take a wife from one of the others, but this has fallen into disuse.

And,

. . . A man may take a wife of the same band to which he himself belongs, but if he takes a wife from another tribe, the children belong to the tribe of their mother.

We have already noticed Hardisty's report which names three clans - the Chitsah, Nat-singh, and Tain-gees-ah-tсах. He pointed out that clans are exogamous, that they trace descent through the female, and that the clan ties are stronger than those of the nuclear family and the tribal unit (1867:315). His report also implied that their culture was undergoing change. His explanation for the different divisions among the Kutchin is based on colour. He explains that ". . . Chitsah refers to anything of a pale color-fair people; Nat-singh, from ah-zingh, black, dark - that is, dark people; Tain-gees-ah-tсах, neither fair nor dark, between the two." (Ibid.:315). It is interesting to point out that the skin color radiates from pale near the European fur trade posts to darker skinned people in an area not directly involved with Europeans. Whether interbreeding between Europeans and Kutchin is a factor does not rest upon sound empirical data. Hardisty does mention that the difference of color is scarcely perceptible due to a complete amalgamation of the three divisions.

The accumulation of wealth from the fur trade served to elaborate the funeral potlatch. The potlatch was reported to have lasted for ten to twelve days depending on the rank or status of the individual (Jones 1866: 326). The men who prepared the funeral ceremony were paid according to their rank. For instance, Jones (Ibid:326) has described this arrangement as follows:

. . . The first gets thirty, and pays ten made beaver; the next twenty-five, and pays ten; the next fifteen, and pays five; the next twelve, and pays three.

The men had to repay the giver of the potlatch. Jones does not indicate the relationship of the giver except to say that he is a friend (Ibid.:326).

These brief comments on the Kutchin clan organization ascertains that they were matrilineal, exogamous, ranked, and undergoing change towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure. For a more detailed account of clan relationships, we will now turn to Osgood's ethnography on the Kutchin. Osgood attempted to present a picture of customs during the proto-historic period. Most of his information is on the Peel and Crow River Kutchin with some data on the general Kutchin. The information was derived through the use of informants.

The Peel River Kutchin are reported to be divided into three clans. The exact meaning of the names is uncertain although Osgood has presented them as (1) tcitc ya nut, which has the idea of "servant" related to it. This clan is also called "wolf". (2) Na ts sai is associated with the idea of "rich man". It has been called "crow". (3) Tyc njc ya tsw has been

recorded to mean "a friend on each side" (Osgood 1936:107).

In theory, the clans are supposed to be exogamous although this was not rigidly practised. Descent was, however, traced through the female (Osgood 1936:107-108). Cross cousin marriage would not appear to occur any more than it would with casual marriages outside the incest group. The incest rules appear not to extend outside the nuclear family (Slobodin 1962:44).

The Crow River Kutchin are divided into three clans which have the same names as the Peel River group. The terms "Crow" and "Wolf" are unknown. The same features of exogamy and clan distinctions of wealth and prestige are evident (Osgood 1936:122-123).

His discussion of the general Kutchin adds little to the information that has already been given.

The first published material on Kutchin kinship terms is in Morgan's (1871), Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity. The terms sometimes indicate spelling variations in comparison to Osgood's list. Nevertheless, an analysis of his terms shows that the Kutchin kinship pattern is of the Hawaiian type. This type has also been worked out by Spier (1925:76-77) and Murdock (1949:223). The Kutchin terms for FZD, MBD, MZD, FBD, and Z are the same (Sá-che). Similarly, the terms for FZS, MBS, B, FBS, and MZS are synonymous (Soon-da-ga). For the first ascending generation, the terms for F, FB, FZ, M, MB, and MZ are different (See Fig. 9).

In practise, the Kutchin descent groups should be cognatic descent

groups rather than unilinear descent groups through the female as the literature indicates. The merging of relatives on F's side with those on M's side shows an indifference toward bifurcation. An indifference toward bifurcation would be consistent with bilateral descent.

The actual descent groups rather than being classified as unilinear lineages and clans have shifted toward cognatic lineages and clans. Our problem of interpretation may have been caused by the failure of contemporary ethnographers to see the nuclear family submerged in a situation that is dominated by extended families and other corporate descent groups in which both lineals and collaterals participate.

This feature is present among the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Pacific where the ecological system requires the recruitment of people for labour activities associated with fishing and sea mammal hunting. Kwakiutl villages attempted to attract and to hold as many followers as possible (Rohner 1970).

Historical and ecological factors among the Kutchin tended to realign groups of them around trading settlements where they were dispersed according to seasonal cycles, to variations in faunal distribution, spawning season, trapping activities, activities associated with mining in the late nineteenth century, and to labour activities linked with the white economy. Richard Slobodin's work on the Peel River Kutchin has traced some of the effects of the ecological and historical factors upon their social structure. He says (1962:86):

. . . The local group is what its name implies, a miniature community associated with a locality. In terms of

internal system, or interpersonal relationship patterns within the group, the trapping party and local group approximate to the bilateral extended family; the meat camp, fish camp, and trading party to a system partly segmented by nuclear and paired families, and partly stratified by sib, rank, and age-grouping. Classification by internal system coincides with and is related to classification by size into small group and large group.

His analysis would seem to reinforce the idea that the nuclear linear relatives merge with collaterals through a clan system that provides integration among the members of various regions for environmental and economic reasons.

The meat camp will be used to illustrate this point. The camp was an aggregation of families whose group leader would have been a wealthy, high-ranking person who directed the activities associated with the hunting of caribou. He would collect a group of 15 to 50 cooperating families to participate in the labours of the caribou surrounds. These families would include those of his own clan as well as members of the poorer clans. It is the widened integration exemplified through clan organization that provided the ties between the families who travelled to the northeastern Richardsons from various regions for the hunt which occupied part or all the winter period. Clan membership entitled an individual to a share of the game impounded and it assured him of hospitality in the camp.

This system broke down during the contact period. Perhaps, the acquisition of the breech-loading rifle had the most effect. The larger aggregations became obsolete and smaller social units became the characteristic formal structure of the time.

Subsistence. Caribou and salmon remained the primary resources throughout this period. The means of exploiting these basic items changed. For instance, the introduction of the muzzle-loading guns led to the abandonment of the traditional surround method of hunting caribou. The recruitment of a large labour force was no longer necessary for this task.

Both intertribal trade and direct exchange with the trading posts would have profoundly affected the aboriginal social arrangement. The new arrangement would have been based partly on the prescribed matrilineal, exogamous clan system with a preference towards bilaterality and increased individualism in subsistence and trading pursuits.

The trapping activities throughout the nineteenth century and the activities associated with mining in the late nineteenth century involved the Kutchin in entirely new industries as well as the white market economy. This would have resulted in a loss of self-sufficiency. The introduction of the debt system by the traders would have also bound the Kutchin to these new activities with total dependence upon them.

MODERN PERIOD: After 1900.

Social Organization. Osgood, writing in the ethnographic present (1936), reported that the clan system was forgotten by the younger generation. Elder informants expressed some knowledge of clans but were unable to allocate individuals into them. Knowledge of the aboriginal social structure was vestigial (1936:171). Communal activities tended towards

individualism with a general ". . . disintegration of old feeling toward the band, the house group and the family." (Ibid.:172). Kinship terminology for the aboriginal social organization had no general use and was forgotten (Ibid.:173).

Subsistence. Fishing and caribou hunting activities still provided the primary sources of food. Fishwheels had replaced weirs; nets were store bought; and fishhooks were made of metal. The gun had replaced the bow and the spear. The communal surround was only a memory. Store bought foods were new additions (Ibid.:170).

SUMMARY

The Kutchin social organization was integrated by a matrilineal, exogamous clan system in precontact times. The clan system provided a widened integration for subsistence tasks. Trade networks were established with other tribal groups for sumptuary and subsistence goods. The funeral potlatch was an established system. Residence patterns were matrilocal. There may have been a tendency towards localization of clan groups. Leadership was of an egalitarian nature. There is no evidence that a ranking or a class system was established before contact.

During the contact period, the Kutchin social organization shows a tendency for an integration toward an ambilineal cognatic clan system. The Kutchin were beginning to lose their prescribed exogamic and matrilineal features, though retaining the ceremonial and economic features in an al-

tered form. Ranking of clans became a contact trait through intertribal trade, direct exchange with the fur traders, and the accumulation of wealth. The accumulation of wealth from the fur trade served to elaborate the potlatch. The acquisition of property enhanced the positions of chiefs and shamans by giving them more authority. The accumulation of wealth undercut the aboriginal matrilineally-based inheritance system.

The increased emphasis towards fur trading pursuits realigned groups of people around the trading posts. New social arrangements resulted. Aboriginal communal activities became obsolete through individualistic subsistence and trading tasks.

The gold rush in the late nineteenth century also increased the propensity for these changes. There was a general loss of self-sufficiency with a growing dependence upon the white market economy.

The pressures upon the Kutchin from traders, missionaries, miners, government officials, teachers during this century not only reinforced the Athabascan bilaterally emphasized kinship structure but complicated the clan system so that it finally became obsolete.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Several similarities are apparent among the Ingalik, Koyukon, and Han, and that of the groups emphasized in this chapter. Both the Koyukon and Han had a matrilineal exogamous clan organization (Clark 1970:81; Osgood 1971:39). It is highly reasonable to believe that the Ingalik had a similar

system. Von Wrangell's early account (1839) indicates that the Ingalik (Inkyulyukhlyuat) resembled the Tlingit (Kolosh) in appearance and customs⁹ (1970:13).

The clans were very likely unified in a phratry or moiety system. The terms "wolf" and "raven" were closely associated with the Han moiety divisions (Osgood 1971:40). Osgood also emphasizes that the Ingalik taboos of "the raven, wolf, and wolverine are so strong as to be almost in a class by themselves." (1959:136). This would suggest past totemic affiliations. The Koyukon have a number of animals which are ritually prominent. The wolf and wolverine are included (Clark 1970:81). Exogamy was practised by the Koyukon and it is still practised in a modified form when supervised by elder family members (1970:81). Osgood's informants made it clear that the Han moieties ". . . were not only exogamous but functioned reciprocally in the giving of potlatches which normally followed a death" (1971:41). Zagoskin reports a similar rite commemorating the Koyukon dead (Zagoskin 1967:61-68).

Exogamy and matrilocal residence are suggested in Zagoskin's description of Ingalik political organization when he noticed that ". . . the fathers are the chiefs of their own families, but often among the Inkalit Yugelenut (Ingalik) brothers are living hundreds of miles from each other." (1967:61-68). The Koyukon and Han practised matrilocal residence (Clark 1970:81; Osgood 1971:50).

Koyukon kinship terminology was of the Iroquois type in the aboriginal period. It was undergoing a period of transition from Iroquois to

Eskimo (described as American or Yankee by Clark 1970:81). Osgood's analysis of Ingalik kinship is dated by the period of his field work (1956). The kinship terminology has been labeled as Eskimo. The Han terminology for FZ, FB, MB, and MZ is bifurcate collateral (Osgood 1971:44-5). The type of cousin terminology was not determined although Slobodin's informants definitely indicate ". . . that the preferred marriage was between a man and his MoBrDa, or a girl and her FaSiSo." (Slobodin 1963a:14; cited in Osgood 1971:50). This would suggest a matri-Iroquoian social organization. Descent is now bilaterally recognized among the Koyukon (Clark 1970:81) and Ingalik (Osgood 1959:162-3). It is difficult to assess the descent patterns of the Han. No doubt descent is reckoned bilaterally.

The Ingalik and Han practised tattooing and face painting (Osgood 1940:452 and 1971:95). This custom has been closely associated as distinguishing among clans in the Alaskan cultural grouping. The Koyukon most likely practised this custom since Zakoskin noted that the interior tribes ". . . of the Kvikhpak (Yukon) and Kuskokvin (Kuskokwim) Rivers appreciate highly the metallic color of graphite, draw with it thin lines under the eyes, on the forehead, the cheeks and the beard." (1967:61-8).

Puberty rites for the female are more elaborate and rigorous than for the males among the Ingalik (Osgood 1958:184-9) and Han (1971:49).

From this comparative survey it is seen that there are a number of similar features among the Ingalik, Han, and Koyukon. All of these characteristics would indicate that they were common to all of these groups in an earlier period.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although further archival data and checking are required, the socio-cultural information shows a high degree of homogeneity. All of the groups had a flourishing matrilineal, exogamous clan organization in the aboriginal period. The clans were either united into moieties or phratries. There is an indication that all of the geo-cultural groups practised matrilocal residence. Inheritance rules prescribed that property and wealth remain within the moiety or phratry division. Kinship terminology for the Han, Koyukon, Tanaina, Ahtena, and Upper Tanana indicates the Iroquois type. The recently (1956) recorded kinship terminology on the Ingalik is Eskimo while the Kutchin terminology suggests the Hawaiian type. The latter would not be consistent with the pristine matrilineally-emphasized social organization of the Kutchin. Girls' puberty rites are rigorous among the Han, Ingalik, Tanaina, Kutchin, Ahtena, and Upper Tanana. Information on rites for the Koyukon was not available. Tattooing and face paintings were a common trait for all the Alaskan groups. This custom very likely distinguished individual aboriginal clans. The mortuary potlatch was a functioning system for all. Leadership prerogatives were of an egalitarian nature. The chief had authority but lacked power. The position was not inherited and was a transitory position.

During the contact period, the Han, Kutchin, Ahtena, Koyukon, Upper Tanana, and Tanaina social organizations show a tendency for an integration toward an ambilineal cognatic clan system. All of the groups were beginning

to lose their prescribed exogamic and matrilineal features, though retaining the ceremonial and economic features in an altered form. Ranking of clans became a contact trait through intertribal trade, direct exchange with fur traders, European influence, and the accumulation of wealth. The acquisition of property enhanced the positions of chiefs and shamans by giving them more authority. Very often, the fur traders appointed chiefs to steward fur trapping activities. The accumulation of wealth from the fur trade served to elaborate the potlatch. The increase in wealth and property tended to undercut the aboriginal matrilineally based inheritance system.

The increased dependence upon fur trading pursuits brought new social arrangements. The aboriginal communal activities had to break down in the face of individualistic subsistence and trading tasks. The results are obvious as one traveller recorded - ". . . White men, whiskey, guns, powder and ball, small-pox, debauchery, extermination." (cited in Whympere 1868:227).

The pressures upon all of these groups from traders, missionaries, miners, government officials, teachers, cannery officials during the latter part of the 19th century and throughout this century not only reinforced the Athabascan bilaterally-emphasized kinship structure, but complicated the whole clan system so that it inevitably became obsolete.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Richardson's information was derived from Baron F. P. Wrangell's ethnographic account of the Tanaina published in St. Petersburg in 1839.
- 2 Identifications in square brackets throughout this study are the author's own.
- 3 Bride service or bride price establishes right in the wife, particularly to labour or sexual activities (Schneider 1961:21). There is a high correlation between matrilineal or avunculocal forms of residence and bride service or bride price (Aberle 1961:722).
- 4 Murdock (1949) has stated that the evidence is overwhelming for the development of avunculocal residence as a replacement for matrilineal residence. It can never develop out of neolocal, bilocal, or patrilineal residence (Ibid.:207).
- 5 The Northern Indians (Chipewyan) were seen to "paint the faces of young wolves with vermilion, or red ochre" (Hearne 1971:362).
- 6 Scarlet fever was brought to Fort Yukon from the Mackenzie District in 1865. Epidemics were common for two years along the Yukon river (McKenna 1969:106).
- 7 The Chandalar Kutchin who may have been the Nat-singh had a marked dependence upon caribou (McKenna 1965:28).
- 8 The Yukon Flats Kutchin which may have been Hardesty's Chit-sangh were located in an area that caribou did not come into. To obtain caribou, extensive trips had to be made (Osgood 1936:35).
- 9 The Tlingit had a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization.

CHAPTER THREE
THE WESTERN GEO-CULTURAL GROUPINGS

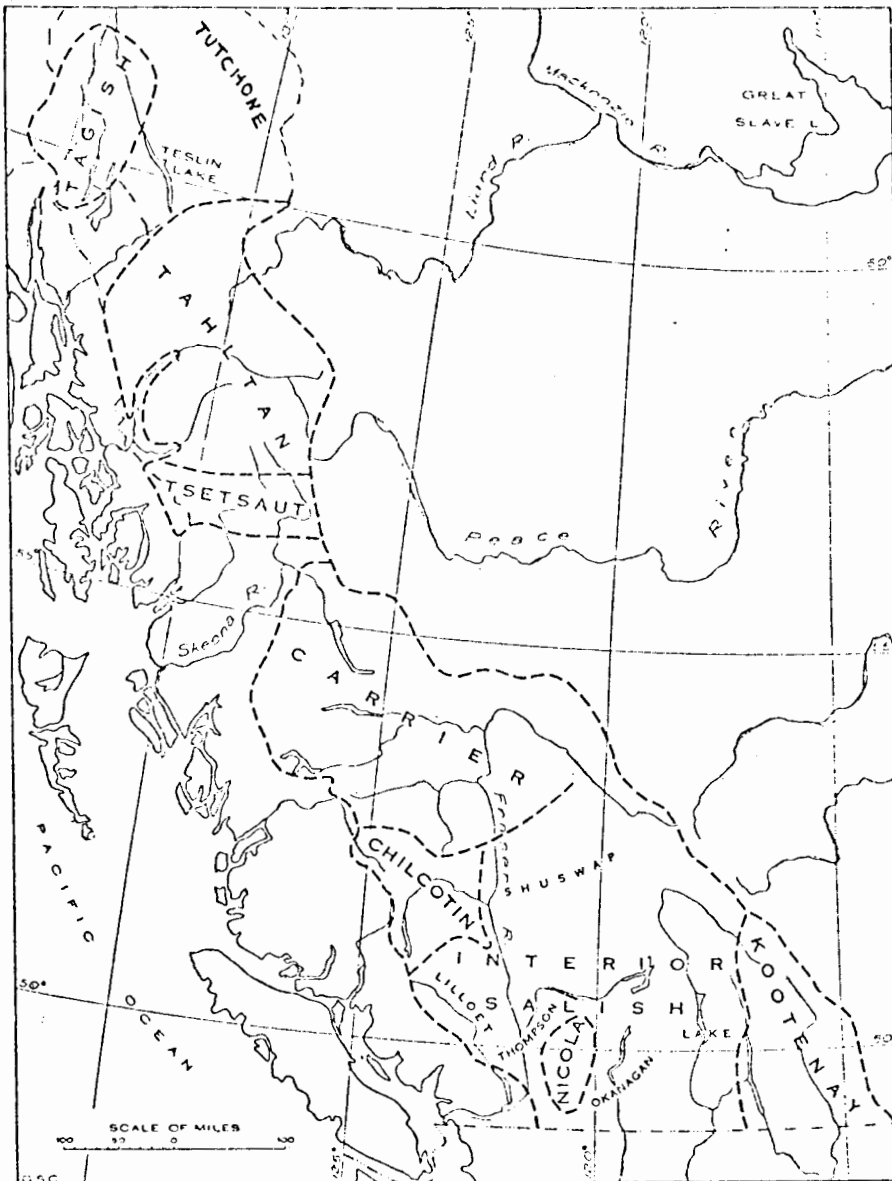
The Western geo-cultural groups inhabit the area west of the Rocky Mountains and adjacent to the Northwest Coast tribes. The Western group includes the Tutchone, Tahltan, Carrier, Chilcotin and Tsetsaut (See Fig. 10). In this chapter, I am specifically interested in the Southern Tutchone, Tahltan and Carrier. I discuss each of these groups in ethno-historical perspective to analyze change in social organization and subsistence pursuits. Together with ethnohistorical data and contemporary ethnographic studies, an attempt will be made to project back into the pristine period to determine the aboriginal pattern of the social organization and of the subsistence quest. Further, European contact and the fur trade period and its relationships with the native populations is discussed to facilitate the identification of significant aspects of change in Western Athabascan social organization and subsistence pursuits. Finally, this will give me greater understanding of the formulation of the Western cultural groupings as modern ethnographers have recorded them.

Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Sources of Data.

The first official venture westward of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast was the Alexander Mackenzie expedition of 1792-3. Mackenzie's descriptions of the natives along the upper Fraser river provide us with the earliest ethnographic information (Mackenzie, 1931) for the area. The second expedition (1806) in this area which followed that of Mackenzie and the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1805-6 was the third to cross the continent of

Figure 10

Western Geo-Cultural Groupings



Approximate distribution of Cordilleran tribes in 1725 A.D.

(After Jenness 1972)

North America. The letters and journals of the expeditions' leader, Simon Fraser, record ethnographic details (Lamb, 1960) on the Athabascan peoples that this expedition encountered. His second journal (1808) of a voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean provides us with ethnographic information on the Carrier and Tahltan.

After these early expeditions, the North West Company established its fur trading operations westward of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific seaboard. This brought the company into competition with the Russians who had already established trade with a number of the Athabascan groups through Northwest Coast Indian middlemen. Competition also threatened from John Jacob' Astor, who tried to set up an establishment at Astoria in 1811. But disaster overtook his trading ships, and when the War of 1812 threatened the post with capture the Astorian partners prudently forestalled such loss by selling out to the North West Company in 1814. During the few remaining years of existence of the company, there were a number of officials who worked under its auspices and who recorded ethnographic information on the Indian groups. One of the officials, Daniel Harmon, who became the superintendent (1810-19) of New Caledonia (British Columbia), described in his diary (1957) a number of observations on the natives in the vicinity of Stuart Lake and along the upper reaches of the Fraser river. He also recorded information on their intertribal relationships, relevant to the following research.

The North West Company's expanding system of trade and transportation across the breadth of the continent eventually foreshadowed the decline of the company. As the fur trade extended to the Athabascan region and beyond the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast, the burden of

maintaining the trade monopoly steadily mounted. The costs of transporting goods from Montreal to the trading areas rose. The cheaper route by way of Hudson's Bay gradually told in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company (Davidson, 1918:212). As competition increased and successive areas were overexploited and subsequently depleted of their fur bearing animals, the North West Company found itself facing financial difficulties as a result of its growing overhead (Ibid.:192-3). To add to these difficulties, the bitterness of rivalry between the two companies led to clashes that threatened serious complications (Fort Selkirk) (Ibid.:146-9). The contest threatened to be ruinous to both companies. Faced with this prospect, the two companies merged. In 1821 the union was arranged, and the Montreal group was absorbed into the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Hudson's Bay merger with the North West Company eliminated competition. The monopoly of the Bay Company was maintained by an able governor, Sir George Simpson, who made periodic personal visits to fur trading posts to ensure their efficiency. The adequate operations of the trade also required a system of communications. The daily journals and monthly reports on the actual operations of the trade ensured that the monopoly did not lead to slackness or complacency. This information is invaluable to the ethnohistorian who can use it to reconstruct the fur trade period and its relationship with the native populations.

One of the better examples of a fur trade journal is John McLean's notes (Wallace, 1932) on twenty-five year's service in Hudson Bay territory. His descriptions cover his appointment to the charge of Fort George in 1836. The details of his notes gives specific information on Carrier marriages, fishing techniques, dwellings and burial customs. There is also important

information on subsistence resources and patterns.

There are a number of other fur traders such as George Linton, Alexander Anderson, John Stuart, Peter Dease and James MacDougal whose journals and diaries have not been utilized and should yield valuable ethnographic knowledge on the Western geo-cultural groups. Archival research is required for this task.

Somewhat more specifically, information dealing with the Tutchone may be gleaned from the Yukon fur trader Alexander Murry (1848) who mentioned the Arlez-Kutchin or Tutchone as having occupied the area between the Lewes river and the Pacific coast. The journalist, E.J. Glave (1892a and 1892b) described the Tutchone as the Goonennas when he encountered these natives while on an expedition with the trader and Klondike gold prospector Jack Dalton up the Chilkat river in 1890. The first ethnographer in the area, Catherine McClellan (1950) has described the Southern Tutchone in her unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Of these ethnographic records the works of Glave and McClellan are the most informative for our purposes.

The anthropologist Franz Boas (1895) while working under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in the late nineteenth century contributed ethnographic material on the Tsetsaut. During this time he had organized the Jesup expedition. The expedition had several scientists and ethnologists who travelled through the glacial valleys of northwest Canada, taking physical measurements of the natives and recording ethnographic information. From this expedition, Livingston Farrand (1898) of Columbia University, documented material on the Chilcotin. James Teit recorded information on this tribe (1907) and the Tahltan (1906). The ethnologist G.T. Emmons (1911) later made a more complete study of the Tahltan.

There are several historical summaries of European activities in this area during the nineteenth century. Father Morice's work (1904) is the most complete. He has written an historical summary of European activities as well as numerous articles on the Athabascan tribes while he was a missionary among them. His publications (1906-10) have described the Carrier in the most detail.

In the first half of this century, Diamond Jenness (1924-25) and Julian Steward (1940) carried out field work among the Carrier. Jenness (1943) published his field notes on the Bulkley river Carrier. Steward's field work culminated in several articles (1941, 1955, 1960 and 1963) on the Stuart Lake Carrier. This work also contributed to his more general theoretical research on cultural change.

There are numerous other sources of material on the Western groups which have contributed to our ethnohistorical and ethnographic knowledge. There are also some very important primary sources such as the North West Company reports, the Hudson's Bay journals for their New Caledonian trading posts, missionary diaries and unpublished diaries of prospectors which have not been utilized and should yield invaluable ethnohistorical knowledge with future ethnographic research in the archives.

SOUTHERN TUTCHONE

The Southern Tutchone¹ occupy an area approximately south of the 62° north latitude and between 141° and 136° west latitude (McClellan 1950: 24). There have been several cognomens assigned to this group by early

Europeans travelling in their area. Alexander Murray (1848) mentioned the Arlez-Kutchin who lived between the Lewes river and the coast and the Tchu-Kutchin who lived along the sources of Deep river and to the west (McClellan 1950:24). W. H. Dall's (1877) Tutchone Indians were probably the Takhini to the north of the Tutchone. E. J. Glave described the Tutchone as the Goonennas. The first ethnographer (1950) in the area, Catherine McClellan, has suggested that a definite division of Athabascan Indians should be recognized in the area (Ibid.:31). The natives in the region have no inclusive name for themselves. They tend to refer to themselves by the names of their communal winter camps or "headquarters" (as described by Glave). McClellan has included the Champagne, Hulshi, Aishihik, Burwash, Kloo Lake and Whitehorse-Laberge bands under her Southern Tutchone in the southwestern Yukon.

The Champagne band, the larger Tutchone group, hunted to the west as far as the edge of the St. Elias mountains. To the north the Champagne habitat runs into that of the Kloo Lake, Aishihik and Hutshi bands while to the east the territory runs to the Wheaton river. This group did not exploit the area below Neskatahin since this was Tlingit territory (Ibid.:40).

The Hutshi people fished for salmon at Klukshi (Ibid.:42). Meat was sought by the Hutshi and Aishihik between the Aishihik and Kluane lakes. They used the fall hunting period to exploit the Duke Meadows up the Denjek river and around the vicinity of Tipi Lake (Ibid.:42).

The Burwash Landing people exploited the resources in the area surrounding Burwash Landing. They probably controlled the White River copper trade in the aboriginal period (Ibid.:45).

Little information can be found on the Kloo Lake and Whitehorse-Laberge groups. The Kloo Lake people would have exploited the area around Kloo Lake (Ibid.:45). The Whitehorse-Laberge band claimed rights to a fishing post just below Miles Canyon outside of Whitehorse and they also lived along the lower Takhini river and at Lake Laberge (Ibid.:46).

ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Social Organization. The Southern Tutchone had a functioning exogamous, matrilineal clan organization. The clans were integrated under moiety divisions, named tsurki and ? a Goi ? which can be translated as "Crow" and "Wolf" (McClellan 1950:49). McClellan's field notes suggests that there were two clans in each moiety (Ibid.:50). Informants explained to McClellan that exogamous marriages were based on an old law which restricted marriages to opposite moiety members. Marriages within the moiety were strongly condemned (Ibid.:50). Matrilocal residence is highly suggestive in Glave's article concerning the Tutchone when he describes a hunting party in which only one man was in the procession. The procession included ". . . two wives, three daughters, various mothers, mothers-in-law, grandmothers, aunts, and nine dusky youngsters of different shapes and sizes. . . ." (1892b:878).

Leadership prerogatives are unclear for the aboriginal period. There may have been a "high Wolf Chief" and a "high Crow Chief". McClellan's informants did not stress heredity as a means of securing the position. The son of a chief's daughter might become a chief (1950:57). Inheritance of clan positions and prerogatives was egalitarian since it was not a means of achieving status (Ibid.:58).

The rank and status positions would not appear to be an aboriginal trait (Ibid.:57). The "high people" were the ones ". . . who were the "good hunters," who got the most meat and furs, and who had the most money." (Ibid.:58). Wealth was the means of achieving positions of high status (Ibid.:58). This would suggest that ranking and status positions were post contact phenomena.

Puberty rites for the females were very long and strict (Ibid.:61). It has been reported that at the onset of puberty a girl had to remain ". . . in a brush shelter some distance from the main camp. . ." (Ibid.:61).

Subsistence. The Southern Tutchone collected and prepared a supply of caribou, moose, mountain sheep, rabbits, squirrels and fish (especially salmon) for the winter months (Glave 1892b:876). Intensive hunting and fishing activities started in the beginning of August. In the summer months the Tutchone gathered ". . . blackberries, raspberries, goose berries, pokeberries, juniper-berries, and other small fruits, and also a species of blackberry about the size of buckshot. . ." which they mixed up with fat (Ibid.:876). Grouse, ptarmigan, and duck were also hunted (1892b:880).

During the hunting and fishing season, the Tutchone made camps which were ". . . rude shelters of branches strewn round as a wall, with a layer of tamarack boughs thrown over a few cross-sticks and hoisted on props above their heads, which served also for drying fish and game. (Ibid.:876). Hunters disperse from the camps to ". . . scour the land in all directions." (Ibid.:876). Camps are moved when the resources have been depleted in the surrounding areas. Late in the fall, the Tutchone carry

their supplies back to more permanent winter camps where ". . . the accumulation of meat and fish is cached in rocky caverns, in the forks of trees, and in little log storehouses built on tall piles out of reach of wild animals." (Ibid.:876-7).

The Tutchone bartered native copper with the Tlingit for seal fat. (Ibid.:877).

FUR TRADE PERIOD: (mid-nineteenth century)

Social Organization. Traces of matrilineal, exogamous clan organization were still evident during the direct contact period. The Southern Tutchones, aboriginally prescribed matrilineal clan rules show a tendency of breaking down into ambilineal cognatic descent and residence patterns. Although Glave's article (1892b:878) suggests matrilocal residence, there appears to be some change in residence patterns as a result of intermarriage between the Tutchone and the Tlingit. McClellan's informants reported that intermarriages were common and preferred from about 1840 to 1870 during the most profitable period of the Chilkat fur trade. The cessation of the fur trade tended to force Tutchone and Tlingit clan alliances to dissipate. The lack of suitable partners for women who were expected to pass on the matrilineally inherited clan structure caused them to marry into the white community or within their moiety (1950:54). During the profitable fur trading period, the Tlingit may have found it advantageous to marry their women with the Tutchone to establish trading relationships to secure furs. Patrilocal and ambilocal residence became common. There is evidence that women moved from Tlingit coastal settlements to the interior Athabascan settlements and interior women moved to the coast (Ibid.:61). Matrilocal residence still prevailed

since a Tutchone male was expected to work in the household of his wife's family for a period of two years. Gifts were given to the brides' mother (1950:61). There was mother-in-law and son-in-law avoidance.

Leadership prerogatives and class distinctions or social ranking developed in the fur trade period. An informant explained to McClellan that (Ibid.:57):

We don't have anyedi [Tlingit for "noble person"] any more. We still remember this, but we don't do it. Dalton Post people used the same word as the Chilkat for it.

The adoption of the word "anyedi" from the Tlingit would suggest that "class distinctions" were a recent phenomenon introduced through Tlingit and Tutchone trade relationships and the Tlingit descriptive term was used to meet their new cultural needs. There is no evidence that the term was a distinct secondary formation of descriptive terms created from older Tutchone linguistic material to meet the new cultural needs.²

Slaves were owned by a Tutchone anyedi. A wealthy Tutchone might also have several wives (Ibid.:57). They were usually sisters. The sororate was a functioning feature (Ibid.:60). The anyedi or "high people" were the ". . . ones who were "good rustlers," who got the most meat and furs, and who had the most money. Thus while "wealth" was a prime requisite for high status, as it was on the coast, inheritance of clan position and prerogatives were never mentioned." (Ibid.:58). Elaborate funeral potlatches were given for wealthy people (Ibid.:58). The accumulation of wealth and property through the fur trade altered aboriginal egalitarian social relationships.

Preferred marriage rules suggest that a woman marry her maternal cross cousin or her mother's brother's son. A man's preferred marriage partner was his paternal cross cousin (Ibid.:60). Each marriage rule remains consistent with a unilineal correlation and an Iroquois system. The kinship

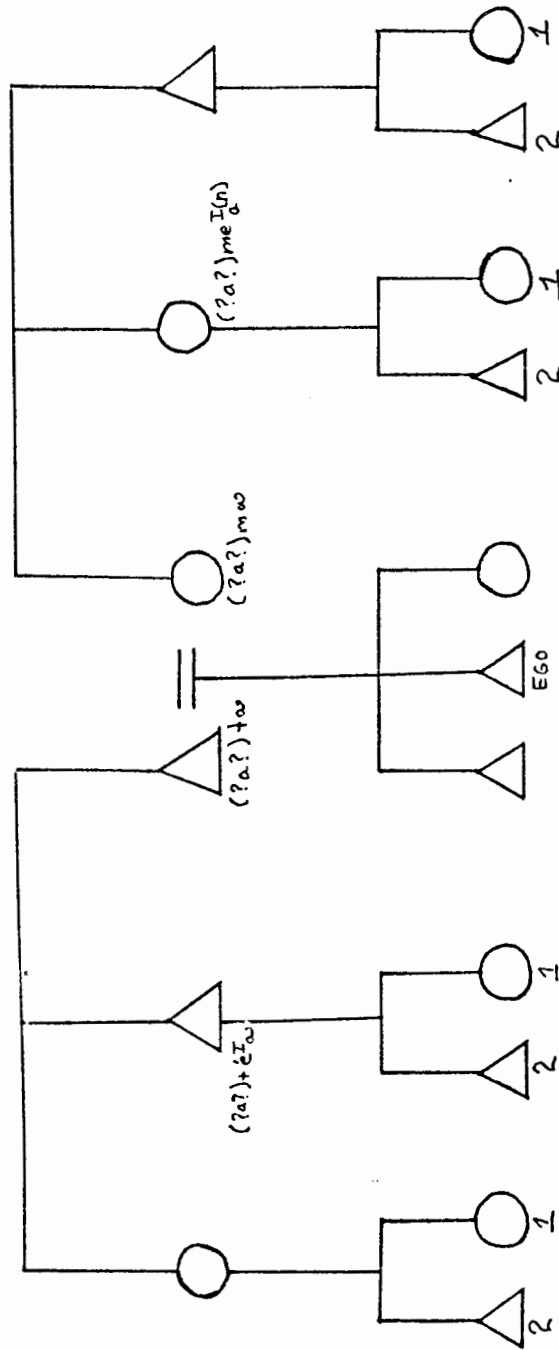
terminology (See Fig. 11) follows a general bifurcate merging pattern. The terms for FBD, FZD, MBD, and MZD are the same while FBS, FZS, MBS, and MZS are reciprocal. F does not equal FB ($F = (?a?) ta$; $FB = (?a?) + 'e^I_a$) nor does $m = mz$ ($m = (?a?)ma$; $mz = (?a?) me^I_a(n)$). Murdock does give the Tutchone both bifurcate collateral and bifurcate merging classifications as possibilities (Murdock cited in McClellan 1950:60). The bifurcate merging and unilineal correlation remains high.

Subsistence. Aboriginal subsistence pursuits persisted throughout the contact period. The bow and arrow still remained the primary implement for hunting into the late nineteenth century. Glave's expedition did observe a few muskets among the Indians they met in the interior (1892b:877). The winter food supplies that were accumulated during the intensive annual hunting period were left in the hunting territory ". . . for winter excursions, for the Indians will be roaming over the land again a few months hence, trapping the fur-bearing animals, and a supply of food at different points of the land relieves them of the necessity of transporting it." (Glave 1892b:877). The fur trade brought change in the precontact subsistence patterns and seasonal movements. In the spring the Tutchone moved ". . . south to Neska-ta-heen, and there meet the Chilkat Indians, with whom they trade their skins and furs. Some, however, take the northern trail, and barter their winter catch with the white traders on the Yukon River." (Ibid.:877).

The Tutchones' habitat had not been penetrated without some difficulty. The Dalton expedition opened the area for the miners and prospectors whom Glave described as having ". . . been seeking a practicable way into the land through which we traveled, but the mountainpasses and want of transportation have kept them back. The trail is now broken and the

Figure 11

Tutchoe Kinship Terminology



(McClellan, 1950)

way open to miners and Government agents". (Ibid.:881).

MODERN PERIOD: (After 1900)

Social Organization. McClellan, writing in the ethnographic present (1950), described the Southern Tutchone as having only a vague knowledge of their clan system (1950:54). The aboriginal kinship terminology has no general use and its knowledge is vestigial.

Subsistence. Fishing and hunting activities still provide a substantial source of the food. Store-bought foods are new additions. The Tutchone bands have aligned themselves with the settlements at Champagne, Takhini, Hutshi and Whitehorse.

SUMMARY

In the precontact period, the Southern Tutchone had a functioning exogamous, matrilineal clan organization. The clans were integrated through a moiety system. Evidence suggests that matrilocal residence was common. Leadership positions and prerogatives were egalitarian. Rank and status positions would not appear to be a precontact phenomenon. Inheritance rules dictated that clan positions and prerogatives should remain within the moiety. Girl's puberty rites were long and strict.

The fur trade period created a number of changes in Tutchone social organization. Although the unilineal, exogamous clan structure was still evident, the prescribed rules show a tendency towards bilaterality. Ambilineal cognatic descent and residence developed through intermarriage between the Tutchone and the Tlingit. The opportunity to establish trading relationships brought about an exchange of women between the two tribes.

Residence patterns were often patrilocal to facilitate the profitable economic alliances that were arranged. Kinship terminology began to alter to meet the new sociocultural changes induced through the fur trade.

Polygyny was a more frequent occurrence and it can be associated with the emphasis towards the accumulation of wealth. Leadership positions lost their more egalitarian features due to the acquisition of wealth and property. Wealthy Tutchone bought slaves. Funeral potlatches were given for the wealthy.

At the time of McClellan's field work (1950), the Southern Tutchone had only a vestigial memory of their aboriginal social organization.

TAHLTAN

The Tahltan inhabit a large area of territory between latitude 57° and 59° 30' north, and longitude 131° west (Teit 1906:337). The habitat includes the upper sections of the Stikine river which were shared with the Tlingit who cured their salmon in the dry atmosphere of this interior area (Emmons 1911:7). The Tahltan also occupied the tributaries of the Stikine as far ". . . down as the mouth of the Iskoot, the interlocking sources of the Nass, the lower half of Dease lake, and some of the southern branches of the Taku." (Ibid.:6). A number of authors have classified the Tahltan as the most southwestern division of the Nahane ('People of the West') who were divided into four separate and distinct groups, the Taku of the Tlingit (Isbister 1847:121), the two eastern and northern divisions which are classified as Kaska, and the Tahltan (Teit 1906:340; Emmons 1911:5-6; and Hodge 1912:670).

Tahltan villages were located in close proximity to productive fishing stations. Early villages were situated around the upper part of the Stikine and its tributaries, the Tahltan and Tuya. The lower reaches of the Stikine were hunted although the Tahltan never inhabited this area (Emmons 1911:32-33).

ABORIGINAL PERIOD

Social Organization. The social organization can be recognized as an exogamous, matrilineal clan system. There seems to have been three exogamous divisions. Although the names may have been altered through Tlingit postcontact trading relationships, the divisions are represented as Wolf, Raven, and Grizzly Bear. Each phratry division inhabited its own hunting and fishing grounds apart from the others (Teit 1960:348). The phratries were organized into clans. Teit and Emmons described the following clans among the phratries as:

1. The Nanyiee (Emmons) or Naneáí (Teit) belonged to the Wolf phratry. It consisted of the Brown Bear, Dogfish or Shark, and the Killer Whale clans. They occupied the area below the mouth of the Stikine river (Teit 1906:349). Through intermarriage with the Tlingit, the Nanyiee reached a leading position in the Stikine Tribe (Emmons 1911:20).
2. The Katcadē's (Teit) or Kartchottee (Emmons) belonged to the Raven clan. It consisted of two clans, the Raven and Frog or Toad. This phratry was located on the headwaters of the Taku (Teit 1906:349; Emmons 1911:18-19; Hodge 1912:671).
3. The Tokxlawédes (Teit) or Tuckelarwaytee (Emmons) belonged to the Wolf phratry. Its makeup differed from the Nanyiee. The clans were represented by the Brown Bear, Killer Whale, and the Eagle. It was said to have originated in the interior around the headwaters of the Nass river (Hodge 1912:671).

The general matrilineal rules of their clan system were reinforced by the

Tlingit who had a similar system. Although trade relations existed between the Tlingit and Tahltan in the precontact period, the trade relationships were intensified only after European fur trading ships appeared on the Pacific coast (Emmons 1911:20). Intermarriage facilitated the profitable trade relations and this may have caused an alteration of Tahltan and Tlingit social organization towards a more complementary system.

The rules for succession and inheritance were dictated through the matrilineally emphasized social organization. Positions and property remained within the phratry division. J. C. Callbreath's account of the Tahltan for the Committee of the British Association on the Northwestern tribes of Canada gives an excellent description of the kinship rules (1889: 197):

. . . Kinship, so far as marriage or inheritance of property goes, is with the mother exclusively, and the father is not considered a relative by blood. At his death his children inherit none of his property, which all goes to the relatives on his mother's side. Even though a man's father or his children might be starving, they would get none of his property at his death. I have known an instance where a rich Indian would not go out or even contribute to send others out to search for his aged and blind father who was lost and starving in the mountains. Not counting his father as a relative he said, - "Let his people go and search for him." . . .

Tahltan leadership positions were ". . . more a position of honor than of power." (Emmons 1911:28). The leader acted as a mediator for his clan if a dispute occurred between different clan members. The clan members had mutual responsibilities for the acts of an individual member (Ibid.:28-29).

Tattooing was a common practice. This form of personal ornamentation and clan identification was shown through geometric figures on the

backs of the hands and by ". . . lines and dots on the forearm, the ankles, the chin, and the face." (Ibid.:47). The face was also darkened with red ochre or charcoal (Ibid.:46).

Residence patterns were matrilocal. The husband added materially to the support of his wife's parents. Since the Tahltan habitat was divided among the phratry divisions, boys had the privilege of hunting in their father's hunting ground before puberty. Following puberty, a boy was given to his mother's brother to be brought up by him. During this time period, he exercised the rights of his mother's family for exploiting their subsistence area. After marriage a man could hunt in his wife's territory as well as in his mother's territory (Ibid.:28).

The appearance of catamenia was marked by a period of seclusion which covered a period of from six months to a year. The regulations covering a girl's diet, nightly exercise, and dress were numerous and very rigid (Ibid.:104-5).

Mortuary services were performed by the opposite phratry division of the deceased. A mortuary feast was generally held a year after the death of a family member. The deceased member's family honoured the dead with a feast to the attending phratry (Ibid.:106-7).

Subsistence. The territory of the Tahltan is composed ". . . of high semi-open plateaus, intersected by narrow valleys following the streams, and containing some broken ranges of hills". (Teit 1906:337). Teit describes the area as being bordered on the west by the high Cascade Mountains. The vegetation and rainfall approximates the "Dry Belt" of the southern interior although the area has more rainfall, less heat in the summer, and colder winters (Ibid.:337).

The caribou and moose constituted the most important sources of big game animal meat (Teit 1906:343; Emmons 1911:62). The caribou was the most important animal in the economic life of the Tahltan (Emmons 1911:69). The Tahltan had to make special organizational arrangements for the hunting of this animal. Emmons reported that ". . . the bow and arrow were not very effectual in the open country, hence driving and snaring were resorted to in the late fall and winter when the caribou travelled in herds." (Ibid: 69).

The building of game barriers and the herding and snaring of caribou would have been a highly communal activity. The clan and phratry system would have provided a widened integration for the recruitment of the labour necessary in these subsistence tasks. Emmons describes at length the aboriginal communal activities associated with the hunting of caribou (Ibid.:70):

Frozen lakes, and particularly Dease lake, which is long and narrow, were obstructed at favorite points of crossing with brush barriers connected with wide mouthed corrals on each shore. These obstructions were built of stakes driven in the ground, interlaced with branches, and terminating in long narrow passages into which the frightened animals crowded, with no room to turn, thus falling easy prey to the thrusts of the spear and the knife in the hands of the hunters concealed on each side. Caribou are fond of the open, and the wall of brush on the ice was sufficient to turn them when pursued by shouting men and barking dogs.

A similar form of game barrier consisted of fences of stakes and boughs built across low divides or well travelled trails, with frequent narrow openings in which simple noose snares of twisted rawhide were set and which caught the branching antlers as the animals attempted to pass. When a herd was located nearby, it was partly surrounded and driven toward the ambush, behind which the hunters with bows and spears were concealed. Many caribou were killed by this means.

When snow covered the ground to a depth of two feet or more caribou were hunted systematically. The natives, having found a herd of the animals, made arrangements to drive them to some point at a distance, generally a valley or a

pocket, where the snow was of sufficient depth to impede their movements, and where the swiftest runners secreted themselves. Others were stationed on each side. The old men and the boys with the dogs served as drivers, and with their cries and the beating of drums started the herd and kept it moving. When travelling in the snow the caribou follow in line, the leader breaking the trail and when the leader tires he steps aside, gives place to the next in succession, and falls in at the rear. When the animals reached the deeper snow the concealed hunters rose on all sides, and the frightened animals broke into confusion and were easily run down and speared by the swiftfooted runners on snowshoes.

The communal method of hunting was ". . . abandoned on the acquisition of the rifle." (Ibid.:71). The hunting techniques became more individualistic.

The mountain sheep, mountain goat, black bear and grizzly bear were also hunted for their meat and hides (Teit 1906:343; Emmons 1911:71-2). Small game including rabbits, ptarmigans, blue and ruffed grouse, ground squirrels, marmots, beaver, porcupine and migratory water fowl served as food.

Fish, both dried and frozen, was an important source of food. Five varieties of salmon ascended the Stikine river. Of these the sockeye was the main species while the humpback, dog salmon, king salmon and coho supplemented their fish diet. Lake fish, whitefish and trout were also consumed. The main species of trout were Dolly Varden, Cutthroat and rainbow (Emmons 1911:85-88). The fishing and processing activities would have required intensive communal labour arrangements. The Tahltan were much more sedentary during the precontact period due to the abundance of salmon. They became much less sedentary ". . . after the great demand for furs made itself felt, when the incentive to hunt was stimulated by the desire for European products." (Ibid.:65).

Roots and berries do not make up an important part of the Tahltan

diet. They exist in small quantity and variety in the area (Teit 1906:342).

The Tahltan dwelt in two types of habitations. The larger type of house was used in the fishing villages. It was considered the earliest type of house by Emmons' informants (1911:37). The main structure was made out of hewn tree trunks; the walls were made of saplings; and the roof was constructed of withes of willow bark (Ibid.:37). The dwellings had central fireplaces. The houses served as both a shelter and a smokehouse (Ibid.:38).

The smaller dwellings were ". . .lean-to shelters and oblong tent-like structures, framed of poles and covered with slabs of spruce bark and willow branches weighted down with a few heavier poles." (Ibid.:37). The lean-to shelter was used in the field during hunting expeditions.

FUR TRADE PERIOD: (early nineteenth century - following the depletion of the sea otter.)

Social Organization. The matrilineal, exogamous clan organization remained throughout the indirect and direct fur trading period. There would have been some alteration in their social organization through intermarriage and association with the coast Tlingit. The naming of clans and phratry divisions may have changed along with the Tlingit system in order to facilitate their trading activities.³

The succession and inheritance of positions and property became more important. Through kinship, the inheritance of property and positions was ". . . with the mother exclusively, and the father is not considered a relative by blood." (Callbreath 1889:197). The brother, maternal nephew and cousin were eligible. Wealth was the principal factor for obtaining positions of status (Emmons 1911:27). Avunculocal residence was a practicing institution since a ". . . nephew is given to the uncle in boyhood to be

brought up by him." (1911:28). The children inherit nothing from their fathers (Callbreath 1889:197; Emmons 1911:28).

After marriage a man had hunting and trapping rights to his wife's phratry's territory as well as to his own. Polygyny became popular since profitable advantages could be made out of this situation. Hunting rights were extended to hunters travelling in another phratry's area during times of need. An individual could kill animals for food, but the pelts had to be given to the local phratry (Emmons 1911:28). Trapping privileges to more than one area would have been a profitable asset.

This period brought about the development of a two class social system - the aristocracy and the common people. The acquisition of wealth through the fur trade, the system of elaborate potlatches, and the distribution of property elevated individuals to positions of high status (Ibid.: 29). Slaves were purchased from the Tlingit who procured them from the Haida. The slaves were generally Salish, Kwakiutl, or Vancouver Island natives (Ibid.:29). Very few Tahltans owned slaves.

Intermarriage between the Tahltan and Tlingit may have brought a change in residence patterns. Ambilocality was a typical feature although patrilocality would have been preferred. Women were exchanged to establish trading partnerships. Evidence for this feature is also found in Teit's account when he notes that most ". . . of the facial types are similar to those prevailing among the Chilcotin, Carrier and Tse'ke'hne (Sekani); a few, especially women, approach nearer to the Tlingit." (1906:340).

Subsistence. The aboriginal subsistence activities remained throughout the contact period. There would seem to be less emphasis upon salmon fishing since this required a more sedentary pattern. The demand

for furs increased the mobility of the Tahltans. The desire for European goods provided sufficient incentive to hunt and trap. When the hunting or trapping season started, traps and snares were gathered together, winter clothing was stored in pack bags, and the men, women, and children moved to the favourable trapping areas to hunt and trap until the game became scarce. Their camps were then moved. This practice persisted throughout the winter until Christmas when it was the custom to move to their permanent villages. They returned to trapping and hunting shortly after Christmas until spring when they came in again with their furs to trade (Emmons 1911: 40).

The animals which had economic value were the wolf, fox, wolverine, otter, fisher, marten, mink, muskrat, and ermine (Ibid.:69).

The introduction of Hudson's Bay flintlocks during the early nineteenth century and the breech-loading rifle in a later period eventually brought about the abandonment of the communal methods of hunting (Ibid.:71). The former aboriginal trade with the Tlingit for oil and blankets changed to shot, ball, powder, tobacco and cloth. The Tlingit acted as the middlemen. The European commodities were exchanged for the interior furs, dressed skins, and snow-shoes (Teit 1906:341). The Tahltan, in turn, acted as middlemen to the Kaska and Bear Lake Indians (Ibid.:340-41).

The contact situation brought about another shift in settlement patterns through a drastic reduction in population. Smallpox was introduced several times to the Tahltan from the coast in 1864 and again in 1868 (Emmons 1911:12).

The Cassiar gold mining rush which swept over their area in 1874 reduced the population ". . . to such an extent that to preserve their

identity they found it necessary to unite in a single community." (Ibid.: 34). The village was built on a slightly elevated plateau, a mile and a half to the north and west of the mouth of the Tahltan river (Ibid.:31).

MODERN PERIOD: (after 1874).

Social Organization. Disease, depopulation and the amalgamation of the Tahltan into one community has changed the social organization. Emmons (1911) accounting for more than thirty years of history, stated ". . . that the present generation is not only ignorant of the life of the past but seems rather to scorn the old customs in its desire to be considered as the white man." (Ibid.:27).

Subsistence. The Tahltan depend upon European trade goods. They live in permanent villages of log houses. Some of the younger men were employed by the trading companies at Telegraph Creek (Emmons 1911:30-1).

SUMMARY

The Tahltan had an exogamous, matrilineal clan organization in the aboriginal period. The clans were integrated by three phratry divisions. Matrilocal residence was the common residence pattern. The clans appeared to be "local" in regards to hunting rights. The matrilineally emphasized social organization dictated the rules of succession and inheritance in its favour. Leadership positions were egalitarian. Rank and status positions were not a precontact trait. Catamenia rites were long and rigid for girls. Although the clan was a group possessing the greatest solidarity, the phratry was an active nucleus for communal labour, ceremonies and mortuary potlatches.

The fur trade period stimulated a number of changes in social

organization. Although the unilineal, exogamous clan structure still remained, there were alterations due to the Tahltans' association with the coast Tlingit. The naming of clans and phratry divisions shows an alignment with the Tlingit social organization. The opportunity to establish profitable trade relationships was facilitated by an exchange of women between the two tribes. Residence patterns were often patrilocal or ambilocal.

Polygyny was more frequent since it had profitable advantages. The trade period created a two class system. The acquisition of wealth elevated individuals to positions of high status. Mortuary potlatches and give-away feasts were more frequent.

There was a basic change in subsistence patterns. The Tahltans became more mobile for trapping purposes. The sedentary fishing villages were not occupied during the winter season as was the case in aboriginal times.

At the time of Emmons study (1911), the Tahltan were ignorant of their past way of life. Traditions and customs were not popular among the younger people.

CARRIER

The Carrier or Takulli ('people who go upon the water') inhabited the area in the upper tributaries of the Fraser river and as far south as Fort Alexander near the mouth of the Quesnel river (Hodge 1912:675). They also occupied the headwaters of the Skeena and its tributary, the Bulkley river. The Carrier were semi-sedentary and built large villages along the rivers where the salmon ascended in large shoals. The area surrounding the

fishing stations was used as a communal hunting territory and it was divided among the various phratries. The different settlements accounted for the subtribes or subdivisions of the Carrier. Jenness' (1943) informants have outlined on a map their conception of the names and boundaries of the subtribes during the late nineteenth century (See Fig.12). My discussion of the Carrier will concentrate on the Bulkley river subtribe (Hwitsowitenne).

ABORIGINAL PERIOD:

Social Organization. The phratries were the most important divisions among the Bulkley Carrier subtribes. The Bulkley Carrier had five matrilineal phratries associated with the names - Wolf, Frog, Raven, Fireweed and Beaver. Each phratry was divided into two or more clans. The phratries prescribed exogamous marriages. They were concerned with the relations of its members with the members of other phratries. A phratry supported a member's grievances and upheld the responsibility of a members actions. Each phratry division controlled its members' rights to hunting and fishing grounds. The importance of the phratries extended beyond the boundaries of their hunting and fishing territories. Carrier phratric affiliations brought mutual aid and support during times of need. The diary of Daniel Williams Harmon (1810-1819) describes a period of salmon scarcity. The phratry system would have united the Carrier when they moved to villages which were more fortunate. As Harmon states (1957: 173):

. . . Messrs. Stuart and McDougall &c. arrived from Stuarts Lake, and are come to go with me to Stillâ, in order to purchase Salmon, as the Indians of this Village do not appear to have a sufficiency For themselves and us, owing to the scarcity of Salmon at several of our neighbouring Villages, whose inhabitants flock to this place in hopes that their Countrymen will find (feed) them during the Winter.

The rules for succession and inheritance were regulated by the matrilineal phratry system. The usual successor or inheritor was a man's sister's son or daughter (Jenness 1943:489). Positions and property remained within the phratry division. Mortuary duties were performed by the phratry members for the deceased of another phratry division.

The Bulkley Indians had no ruling chief or established council which integrated the various phratries. Each phratry was intimately related with the others, yet they remained politically independent (Ibid.: 481). Leadership positions were restricted to the clans although there were recognized heads for each of the different phratries (Ibid.:485). Harmon's general account of the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains suggests that the main functions of Carrier chiefs were as redistributive agents and mediators of disputes. For instance, Harmon asserts that there are (1957:249-50):

. . . some persons among them, who are called Mi-u-ties or Chiefs, and for whom they appear to have a little more respect than for the others; but these chiefs have not much authority or influence over the rest of the community. Any one is dubbed a Mi-u-ty, who is able and willing, occasionally, to provide a feast, for the people of his village. An Indian, however, who has killed another, or been guilty of some other bad action, finds the house or tent of the chief a safe retreat, . . .

When two or more persons disagree at play, as is frequently the case, or contend on any other account, the chief, or some respectable and elderly man, will step in between the two wranglers, and settle the dispute, generally without their coming to blows.

Clan crests were tattooed on the chests of their clansmen, ". . . on the wrists of the clanswomen, by close kinsmen of their fathers, who, of course, belonged to other phratries." (Jenness 1943:495). The Carrier represented through elaborate designs the symbols of mountains, birds and

grizzly bears (Morice 1906-10;78). Tattooing the chest did not occur among the other geocultural groupings. This feature was a borrowed design from the coastal tribes who held it as a symbol of totemic significance (Ibid.: 78).

The adolescent stage brought an intensification of restrictions on the Carrier girls' liberty. Throughout adolescence, the girls were subjected to a period of two years of seclusion. The regulations were rigid during this time (Jenness 1943:522-23). For instance, Harmon expressly describes that the Carrier girls of this ". . . age are not allowed to eat any thing, excepting the driest food; and especially they may not eat the head of any animal. If they should, their relations, as they imagine, would soon languish and die." (1957:246). The boys' adolescence brought an intense period of training although the restrictions and regulations were not as rigid (Jenness 1943:522-23).

Matrilocal residence was evident. The suitor was invited by the bride's family to join them to help in hunting and other enterprises (Jenness 1943:527).

The preferred marriage was between cross cousins. If a man's wife died, he generally married her younger sister (Ibid.:526).

Subsistence. The habitat of the Bulkley river Carrier, the Hwitsowitenne or "Clever People", was located in the basin of the Bulkley river as well as in the area southward to almost the Nechako river (Jenness 1943:475). The domestic life varied throughout the seasons of the year. The organizational arrangements for securing sufficient supplies of the principal foods, meat and fish alternated between intense communal activities to a general dispersal and isolation of clan and family groups (Ibid.:530).

Men and women cooperated to supply the food, but the division of labour as is typical of egalitarian societies was a strictly observed sexual difference. The women and their daughters ". . . carried home the meat, set snares for small game such as rabbits and marmots, collected berries and roots, cooked the food, dressed the skins, made the clothing, the bags and the baskets, and . . ." (Ibid.:530) made the home and its accoutrements while the men and their sons occupied their time hunting. However, during the fishing season, the women and men's subsistence activities were shared equally.

The status position of the women was subsequently higher due to their contributions in this labour activity. Their status position and subsistence tasks are described in McLean's journal when he wrote (Wallace 1932:180):

. . . Among this tribe, however, the women are held in much higher consideration than among other Indians: they assist at the councils, and some ladies of distinction are even admitted to the feasts. This consideration they doubtless owe to the efficient aid they afford in procuring the means of subsistence. The one sex is as actively employed during the fishing season as the other. The men construct the weirs, repair them when necessary, and capture the fish; the women split them up - a most laborious operation when salmon is plentiful - suspend them on the scaffolds, attend to the drying, &c. They also collect berries, and dig up the edible roots that are found in the country, and which are of great service in years of scarcity. Thus the labour of the women contributes as much to the support of the community as that of the men.

The period of the most intensive social activity was during June and July when the migratory salmon were intercepted. They were dried and cached for the autumn and winter months. The midsummer months were periods of relative abundance, when berries, wild rice, parsnip and what Jenness described as ". . . an unidentified plant whose root attains the size of a pumpkin [*Heracleum lanatum*]" (Jenness 1943:531) were gathered. In the

autumn and spring, they snared marmots for their skins and meat. Caribou hunting was the primary hunting activity during the winter. In the late winter season, the Carrier gathered on the lakes and rivers to ice fish. The inner bark of the hemlock was eaten when their other food supplies were exhausted (Ibid.:531-2).

The principal food source was the salmon. Harmon's journal indicates the dependence upon this resource when he describes the periodic failure of the salmon run in New Caledonia. In his diary of September, 1814 at Stuart Lake, he noted that (1957:169):

. . . We have but few Salmon here this year indeed it is only every other Season that they do come plentifully up this River, but what the cause is that they are more plentiful one year than another I am not able to determine.
 . . .

And, (Ibid.:170):

. . . But few Salmon this Season have come up this River. However we hope and trust that kind Providence has sent them more plentiful to some of our Neighbouring Villages, where we shall be enabled to purchase what may be necessary (with the White Fish we hope to take) for our consumption during the ensuing Winter. . . .

Similar occurrences were noted by Harmon at Fraser's Lake during the same year. It can be seen from his account that the scarcity of salmon caused groups of Carrier to move to villages which were more fortunate. As he states (Ibid.:173):

. . . Messrs. Stuart and McDougall &c. arrived from Stuarts Lake, and are come to go with me to Stillá, in order to purchase Salmon, as the Indians of this Village do not appear to have a sufficiency for themselves and us, owing to the scarcity of Salmon at several of our neighbouring Villages, whose inhabitants flock to this place in hopes that their Countrymen will find (feed)them during the Winter.

In February of 1815 Harmon set off to go down the Fraser River to visit Carrier tribes who never had any intercourse with white people. He

reached their (Nazkoten) first village on the 19th of February where he spent one night with these people since they were starving (Ibid.:174) and he continued to descend the Fraser as far as the mouth of Blackwater River or the Quesnel River. During his descent, he observed a small village or two every day as well as several small lakes where ". . . the Natives remain the greater part of the Summer, and live upon White Fish & Carp, but towards the latter end of August they go to the River side to take & Dry Salmon for the ensuing Winter." (Ibid.:174). We are also able to ferret out additional facts on their subsistence patterns from his observations on Sunday, February 12, 1815 that as ". . . Salmon are getting to be scarce among the Indians of this Village, they are preparing to go and try to subsist on the small Fish they hope to take out of the neighbouring Lakes." (Ibid.:174).

John McLean also describes the periodic salmon failure in the vicinity of Stuart's Lake. His observations in the summer of 1836 shows (Wallace 1932:153):

. . . that the salmon fail periodically, and the natives would consequently be reduced to the utmost distress, did not the goodness of Providence furnish them with a substitute. Rabbits are sent to supply the place of the salmon; and, singular as it may appear, these animals increase in number as the salmon decrease, until they swarm all over the country. . . .

Sturgeon also made up an important part of Carrier diet. McLean described the flesh as most tender and delicious and it would have been ". . . considered a delicacy by Apicius himself . . ." (Ibid.:152). The lakes abounded in fish. The principal varieties are trout, carp, white fish and pike (Ibid.:176).

McLean records the Carrier fishing techniques in this region. He

noted that the Fraser river and its tributaries were barred with stakes and large baskets of cylindrical form were placed to entrap the fish. The activity was achieved through much labour and when ". . . the fishing is over, all the materials are removed, and replaced the ensuing year with equal labour." (Ibid.:152). The preserving and processing activities would have required a large communal labour force.

The Carrier were reported to be a ". . . sedentary people, remaining shut up in their huts during the severer part of the winter. You may then approach a camp without perceiving any sign of its vicinity, until you come upon their well, or one of their salmon caches. They are very social, congregating at each other's huts, and passing their time talking and sleeping." (Ibid.:182).

The dwellings of the Carrier were a simple permanent construction, ". . . being merely formed of stakes driven into the ground; a square piece of timber runs horizontally along the top of this wall, to which the stakes are fastened by strips of willow bark." (Ibid.:146). The structure was a square form with a gable roof. The whole building was covered with pine branches (Ibid.:146). Each dwelling was occupied by several families (Ibid.: 146).

In regards to their settlement patterns, Harmon gives us some details on the Carrier. His description shows that every ". . . village has its particular name, and its inhabitants are called after the name of the village, in the same manner as people in the civilized world receive a name, from the city or country which they inhabit." (1957:243). It would appear that each village of the Carrier had a certain extent of country which was considered its own for exploitation. Mountains and rivers served as

natural boundaries (Ibid.:250).

Harmon's report suggests localized social units or clans. Jenness also observed that the Bulkley Carrier subtribe had a hunting territory which was partitioned among the five phratries. The territory was further divided into smaller units for each clan (1943:487).

FUR TRADE PERIOD: (after Alexander Mackenzie's expedition of 1792-3)

Social Organization. The exogamous, matrilineal phratry and clan system remained throughout the trading period. The naming of phratry divisions may have altered through Carrier trade associations and inter-marriage with the Tsimshian. For instance, the prefix 'gi' in the Carrier Gitantanyu and Gil serhyu phratries means 'people' in Tsimshian, the Lakselyu phratry is close to the Gitksan Tsimshian's phratry Laxse'l, and the Laksamshu phratry is probably interchangeable with the Gitkan's Laxsamillix phratry. Only the Tsayu phratry of the Carrier is their original term. The Tsayu (Beaver) phratry was so decimated by smallpox about 1865, it had to amalgamate with the Laksamshu phratry.

Polygamous marriages were common and were based on wealth and property. Men who married more than one woman tended to choose sisters (Jenness 1943:526). In order to secure more than one wife, the individual usually had slaves who assisted him in the chase. An ordinary Carrier could seldom support more than one wife (Ibid.:518). Women were recruited to handle the meat and hides which a Carrier man secured.

It is clear that two classes emerged in the Carrier social system - nobles and commoners. The position of the chieftainship was most highly coveted. The succession and inheritance of this position became more important. Under the matrilineal rules, a son could not succeed his

father. The most usual successor of a chief was the son of a sister (Ibid.: 513). Occasionally crests were passed on to the son although permission was required from the father's clan members (Ibid.:495). The accession of new chiefs was long and expensive. It has been reported that six potlatches were required at long intervals before an individual had a definite appointment. The position was based on kinship and rank. Reciprocity existed both through kinship and through the context of chiefly redistribution. Harmon's description of a chief suggests this (1957:143-4):

. . . A big-man, slighted by a fur trader, boasts that he is just as good a chief as the trader: "When it is the proper season to hunt the beaver, I kill them; and of their flesh I make feasts for my relations. I, often, feast all the Indians of my village; and sometimes, invite people from afar off, to come and partake of the feasts of my hunts. . ."

A chief who failed to redistribute soon lost his influence. The chief had to expend much labour on the accumulation of wealth through trapping beaver. He was expected to share the hardships of the chase as long as he was able (Jenness 1943:518).

Residence patterns were shifting from matrilocality to ambilocality or patrilocality. For most marriages, the suitor remained with his wife in her parent's household for a year or longer. After this period, they could build their own lodge and hunt for themselves. The girl's parents could still claim their services (Ibid.:527). However, chiefs and nobles were exempt from the period of servitude. The potential bride of a chief was escorted by her kinsmen to his household. The Carrier vehemently discountenanced marriage outside of the classes (Ibid.:527-8).

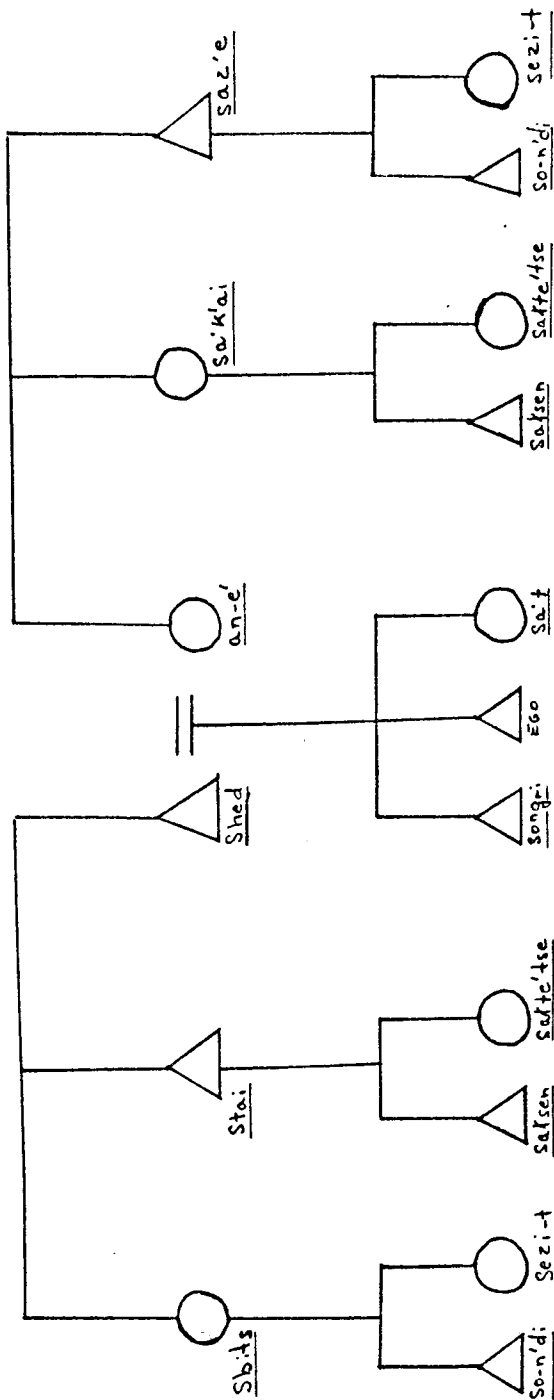
The preferred marriage rules suggest that a woman marry her cross cousins. A man who married more than one wife usually married his wife's

sisters. The kinship terminology (See Fig. 13) makes a bifurcate distinction between parallel and cross cousins. Terms for FBD and MZD are the same (sa'te'tse) and FZD and MBD are equal (sezi-t). FBS and MZS are reciprocal (sa't sen) while FZS and MBS are the same (so-n'di). However, we do not have bifurcate merging classifications in the first ascending generation. F does not equal FB (F = shed and FB = Stai), nor does M = MZ (M = an-e' and MZ = sa'k'ai). Surprisingly, B does not equal FBS and MZS (B = songri and FBS = MZS = satsen); nor does Z = MZD and FBD (Z = sa't while FBD and MZD = sa'te'tse). The lumping of collaterals is generally typical in corporate unilineal descent groups (Murdock 1949:103-4). Also, the Carrier practiced sororal polygyny and MZ could have been ego's FW and her children would have been ego's half Z and half B. There should have been a tendency to equate the parallel cousins with the siblings. Nevertheless the bifurcate merging and unilineal correlation still remain high. The logical relationship between Iroquois kinship and Jenness' terminology is dated by his fieldwork (1924-25). Missionary influence would have brought a marked decline in cross cousin marriage and there would have been a prohibition of polygamous marriages.

Subsistence. Aboriginal subsistence pursuits remained throughout the contact period although the fur trade ushered in a shift in late autumn subsistence patterns. The villages broke up and the families dispersed in their hunting and trapping territories in search of beaver and other fur-bearing animals. They also hunted caribou, bear, goats, and marmots during this period (Jenness 1943:551). This late fall dispersal of populations may account for M'Lean's observations ". . . that the Indians are rapidly decreasing in numbers since their [Europeans'] arrival-a fact

Figure 13

Carrier Kinship Terminology



(After Jenness, 1943)

which does not admit of a doubt: I myself have seen many villages and encampments without an inhabitant. But what can be the cause of it?" (Wallace 1932:179). Besides their dispersal for trapping activities, Father Morice also suggests that the shifting of encampments may be due to the scarcity of wood in the vicinity of their winter villages (Morice 1892-93:184 and 1928:68).

The contact situation brought about some shift in settlement patterns through a reduction in population. Periodic influenza epidemics, endemic venereal diseases, and the smallpox epidemic of 1865 (Wallace 1932:179 and Jenness 1943:489) would have brought about depopulation, displacements, and amalgamations of populations. These factors would have altered the pre-contact social organization.

MODERN PERIOD: (after 1900)

Social Organization. Jenness, writing in the ethnographic present (1943), stated that the Bulkley Carrier no longer concern themselves with their old clan and phratric divisions. The practice of phratric exogamy, the respect for clan chiefs and nobles, and the distinction between nobles and commoners are no longer observed. Changing economic situations may account for the lack of distinctions between the two social classes. For instance, the depletion of the fur-bearing animals was noted by McLean in 1836 (Wallace 1932:174):

. . . This is the great beaver nursery [New Caledonia], which continues to replace the numbers destroyed in the more exposed situations; there is, nevertheless, a sensible decrease in the return of fur since the introduction of steel traps among the natives: . . .

The successful Carrier were the ones who made a career under the new economic conditions imposed through the European market economy.

The acquisition and dramatization of personal crests became ". . . a mere entertainment divorced from its old social significance, and ready to adopt new ideas, and new methods, that are more abreast of modern life." (Jenness 1943:513). Missionary influence by 1913 had prompted the burning of all material associated with the crest system.

Subsistence. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Bulkley river Carrier were confined to reserves. Each family has its own frame house (Jenness 1943:535). They have become dependent upon manufactured goods. Even the potlatches were based upon the distribution of sacks of flour (Ibid.:516-7).

COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

Julian Steward's work (1940) on the Carrier Indians in the general area of the Stuart and Babine Lakes is particularly appropriate for analyzing the study of culture change. Steward assumed that the Carrier's social organization had been altered twice in the past. For instance, during the precontact period the simple organization of the Carrier was substituted for a more complex system duplicating the coastal tribes. Then, as the result of European contact their social structure was again modified.

Through his informant, Chief Louis Billy, Steward produced what he considered a reconstruction of ". . . a coherent picture of the main social and economic changes during Carrier history." (Steward 1940:86). He described the aboriginal Carrier as having ". . . exploited their lands in some communal manner. Probably the members of a simple, democratic band hunted their territory together." (Ibid.:86). The influence of the coast tribes in the late prehistoric times was suggested to have ". . . swept away this early system and introduced in its place an organization of titled

nobility, each with its lands like the baronial estates of Europe." (Ibid.: 86). The system of matrilineal clans, the positions of status and wealth, the system of social classes, the control of land and resources by noblemen, and the elaborate potlatches were implemented without any modification of the Carrier economic basis of life (Ibid.:88).

The first effect of European contact was the improved economic technology. The steel traps, guns, tools, and other manufactured goods, introduced through the fur trade, increased the wealth of the nobles and elaborated the potlatches. Yet, according to Steward, the social organization was not influenced (Ibid.:88).

Through time and the increased intensity of European contact, the basis of Carrier society was undermined. The increased technological efficiency which at first produced a surplus of wealth and property eventually led to the overexploitation of fur-bearing animals. This created a diminution of wealth and a decline in potlatching and status positions. A number of other factors such as the influence of Catholic missionaries contributed to the decline of the clan and totemic system, potlatching, and the matrilineally based inheritance and succession system (Ibid.:88).

Hunting and trapping territory was no longer passed on to nephews. Land was divided equally among a man's sons. Near the beginning of this century, every Carrier man had his own land and by 1926 his trap line was registered in his name with the British Columbia Provincial Government.

From Steward's demonstration of Carrier culture change, there thus arises several fundamental questions. The one which is most clearly apparent is whether the precontact social organization was substituted for a version of the North west coast system. Surely, it is wrong to suppose

that this assumption can be justified on the strength of the diffusionist principle. One aspect of the diffusion theory that has shortcomings is its acceptance as a causal principle for explaining sociocultural differences and similarities. The assertion that Carrier social organization diffused from the coastal tribes to the Carrier leaves unanswered the question of how and why it appeared on the coast. It also neglects the problem of how and why the social organization was accepted by the Carrier. The conclusions reached by Steward on Carrier social organization is not an explanation of its occurrence at all.

It is more probable that the aboriginal Carrier had a functioning exogamous, matrilineal clan organization. The clans were integrated under phratry divisions. Each phratry division controlled its members' rights to its hunting and fishing grounds. The influence of the coast tribes in the late prehistoric or indirect European contact period did alter the more egalitarian aspects of Carrier social organization. The fur trade economy and the improved economic technology were introduced to the Carrier before actual European contact.

Although Alexander Mackenzie (Lamb 1970) did not describe trade goods among the natives along the upper Fraser river during 1793, his native informants do describe their neighbours along the southern stretches of the river as being a malignant race who possessed ". . . iron, arms, and utensils, which they procured from their neighbours to the Westward, and were obtained by a commercial process from people like ourselves, who brought them in great canoes." (McDonald 1931:172-3; Lamb 1970:287). By 1814, Harmon (1957) noted that the Indians in the vicinity of Babine Lake had never seen white people before; however they had already secured trade goods through barter

from their neighbours the Atenâs (Tsimshian) who purchased them directly from the white people (1957:150). The importance of trapping and the subsequent emphasis on the stewardship of trapping and hunting territory increased. Periodic misunderstandings and conflict occurred over the encroachment of hunting and trapping territories by neighbouring phratries (1957:259).

The organization of titled nobility, the positions of status and wealth, the system of social classes, the control of land and resources by noblemen, and the elaboration of the potlatch developed through the fur trade period. The fur trade situation also brought about an alignment of Carrier social organization with that of the Tsimshian in order that both groups might articulate their trading relationships.

Steward's suggestion that these factors were introduced without any modification of the Carrier economic basis of life fails to take into account his own description of Carrier subsistence patterns. He wrote (1941:495):

The Carrier subsistence pattern that was known at the beginning of the historic period probably extends back several centuries. It rested on a balance of complementary activities carried on during the summer and winter, respectively. In summer, people remained in permanent villages near their fisheries and caught great quantities of salmon. Communal enterprises, such as the construction of fish weirs, contributed to group solidarity. In late fall, when furs were prime, families, alone or in small groups, took to the streams and forests to trap beaver, muskrat, mink, fox and other fur-bearing animals and to hunt deer, bear and caribou. . . .

The dispersal of the Carrier into small groups for trapping the fur-bearing animals would have been a recent fur trade phenomenon. It cannot be considered a subsistence pattern extending back several centuries. The

European fur trade increased the importance of trapping as an economic activity.

The social organization was altered or intensified during the indirect and direct European contact period. For instance, the development of a class system is highly suggestive of change in the basic structure of social organization. Harmon's early reports indicate the egalitarian features of the position of Carrier chiefs (1957:249-50). Steward's informant suggests that chiefs and nobles had the right to levie the commoners in order to secure more furs. This indicates their increased authority and influence during the more intensive period of the fur trade.

It is suggested that these changes in the social organization and the economic system served to undermine the aboriginally based matrilineal clan organization. The alterations rested on the acquisition of wealth and property through the fur trade. Eventually, this led to overexploitation of resources and created a diminution of wealth and the loss of the status system. The Carrier are now absorbed into the white economy. The bilateral family has become the primary economic and kinship unit.

SUMMARY

The Carrier had a functioning exogamous, matrilineal clan organization in the precontact period. The clans were integrated through a phratry system. Matrilocal residence was evident. The preferred marriage was between cross cousins. Girls' puberty regulations and restrictions were rigid. The tattooing of clan crests was common. The rules of succession and inheritance were regulated by the matrilineal phratry system. Leadership positions and privileges were egalitarian. The clans had local rights to a hunting and fishing territory.

The fur trade period altered the Carrier social organization. Although the unilineal, exogamous clan structure was still evident, there were alterations due to the Carriers' trading relationship, intermarriage with the coast Tsimshian and disease. The Carrier and Tsimshian practice of naming their clans and phratry divisions shows an alignment with one another. The fur trade initiated the development of titled nobility, the status and wealth positions, social classes, the stewardship of land and resources and the elaborate potlatches.

Polygamous marriages were a common practice. They were based on wealth and property. An ordinary Carrier man could not support more than one wife. Women were recruited to handle the meat and hides.

The residence patterns began to shift from matrilineal to ambilineal or patrilineal. The Carrier chiefs and nobles discountenanced marriages outside their class.

The fur trade ushered in a change in basic subsistence pursuits. During the late autumn, the Carrier subtribes dispersed into their hunting territory to trap the fur-bearing animals. This contributed to the breakdown of group solidarity.

At the time of Jenness' and Steward's works, the Carrier no longer concerned themselves with their old clan and phratric organization. The practice of phratric exogamy, the respect for clan chiefs and nobles, and the distinction between nobles and commoners are no longer observed. The family has become the kinship and economic unit. The Carrier have assimilated the customs and ideas of the white community.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

The Tsetsaut have several similarities with the groups stressed in this chapter. The Tsetsaut had a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization (Boas 1895:565). The clans were unified in a moiety system. The two divisions were named Eagle and Wolf. Inheritance and succession were matrilineally regulated. At death, the clan of which the deceased is not a member officiated the funeral.

Puberty rites for the Tsetsaut female are elaborate. For two years a girl lived in a seclusion hut.

The Chilcotin (Tsilkotin) were decimated by smallpox about 1862. The remnants of the Chilcotin population displayed a clan structure. One of the clans was named the Raven (Jenness 1972:362).

In 1898 there were no traces of a clan system. The family unit was the important unit. The rules of inheritance suggest that, in former times, ". . . the widow received nothing while his relatives as far as cousins divided the estate equally. It did not descend to the children alone." (Farrand 1898:648). This would indicate a matrilineally based inheritance system. Today (1898) the widow inherits all.

Tattooing appeared to be a common custom. The face, chest, arms, and legs were the most favoured places (1898:647).

Boys and girls went into seclusion at adolescence.

Although the material on the Tsetsaut and Chilcotin is sparse, there are still a number of similar features which suggest that all of the groups were homogeneous in an earlier period.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The sociocultural material on the Western Athabascan groupings shows a high degree of homogeneity. All of the groups had an exogamous, matrilineal clan organization in the aboriginal period. The clans were integrated through a moiety or phratry system. Matrilocal residence was practiced among the Carrier, Tutchone, and Tahltan. No equivalent information is available on the Tsetsaut and Chilcotin. Inheritance rules prescribed that property and wealth remain within the moiety or phratry division. Kinship terminology for the Carrier and Tutchone indicates the Iroquois type. Although there was no available information on Tsetsaut, Chilcotin and Tahltan terminology, it is highly probable that the Iroquois type would have been present since it is consistent with unilineal descent systems. Girls' puberty rites are rigorous and long among all these groups. Tattooing and face painting were a common trait for the Carrier, Chilcotin and Tahltan. No information was available on the Tutchone and Tsetsaut. This custom identified the various individual clans and moiety or phratry divisions. The mortuary potlatch was present among the Carrier, Chilcotin, Tahltan, Tutchone and Tsetsaut. Leadership prerogatives were of an egalitarian nature. The chief had authority but lacked power.

During the contact period, the social organization of all of these groups shows a tendency for an integration toward an ambilineal cognatic clan system. All of the groups were beginning to lose their prescribed exogamous and matrilineal features, though retaining the ceremonial and economic features in an intensified form. The development of social classes became a contact trait through intertribal trade, direct exchange

with fur traders and the accumulation of wealth. The acquisition of property enhanced the positions of the chiefs and noblemen by giving them more authority and prestige. The accumulation of wealth from the fur trade served to elaborate the potlatch and mortuary ceremonies. This eventually tended to undercut the aboriginal matrilineally based inheritance system.

The increased dependence upon fur trading pursuits brought new social arrangements. The aboriginal communal activities gave way to more individualistic subsistence and trading activities. The increased emphasis upon the acquisition of wealth and property led, through time, to the over-exploitation of resources. This created a diminution of the elaborate ceremonial and economic features and the social class system.

The pressures upon all of these groups from the traders, Catholic missionaries, miners, government officials, and teachers has reinforced the Athabascan bilaterally emphasized kinship structure while complicating the matrilineal clan system. Knowledge of their aboriginal social organization is vestigial.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 The term "Tutchone" was a collective reference by Osgood for "little known Indians" (1936:19).
- 2 Edward Sapin's "Time Perspective in Aboriginal Culture" discusses this principle (1916:56-7).
- 3 The Tlingit established 'trading partners' with the Interior Athabascans. The partners were always of the same clan or phrâtry (Olson 1936:212).

CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to reconstruct the cultural history of the Alaskan and Western Athabascan geo-cultural groupings. It has recognized that it is impossible to view Athabascan socioeconomic organization as a synchronic or unchanging phenomena. The interaction of three reciprocally related variables - the environment, the cultures of the precontact Northern Athabascans and the presence of Europeans must be viewed historically in order to understand the dynamics of cultural change. Man's culture and his environment form a continuum and one set of factors cannot be understood without some knowledge of the other. Contemporary ethnographic field methods while useful, are insufficient. Although many aboriginal customs and traditions may have persisted from earlier times, it is suggested that these cultural traits are not firmly tied to subsistence and economic activities (Steward 1955:37). The utilization of the ethnohistorical method, involving the interpretation of primary documents covering the historical (postcontact) period, is the more successful one for elucidating an extended continuum of the Athabascan cultures and their environment.

This reconstruction has had two basic aims, which are interrelated. First, it has sought to examine the literature on the Alaskan and Western geo-cultural groupings to indicate whether population decline, the development of ranked clans and social classes, the fur trade economy and white acculturation may be seen as determinants for producing an integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure from a matrilineal, exogamous clan organization projected for precontact times. The data was tested to deter-

mine if residence patterns became ambilocal to retain the aboriginal ceremonial and economic functions but in an intensified form.

The initial indirect and direct contact period was studied as an attempt to provide information on the extent that scarce labour and abundant seasonal fur-bearing resources conditioned an integration towards a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure. This would have raised the population density to meet the ecological conditions imposed through the fur trade. As a result, family groups would have tended to align themselves around such centers as trading settlements, hunting and trapping camps, fishing camps and trading parties.

Let us now turn to the specified problems which I have tried to test.

The Question of Matrilineal, Exogamous Clan Organization.

It has been demonstrated that all of the cultures within the Alaskan and Western geo-cultural groupings had a flourishing matrilineal, exogamous clan organization in the aboriginal period. The clans were integrated through a moiety or phratry system.

The sociocultural material on all of the groupings shows a high degree of homogeneity. Matrilocal residence was evident among all of the groups with the exception of the Tsetsaut and Chilcotin. There was no equivalent information on these two groups. Inheritance rules prescribed that property and wealth remain within the moiety or phratry division. Kinship terminology for the Han, Koyukon, Tanaina, Ahtena, Upper Tanana, Carrier and Tutchone indicates the Iroquois type. There was no equivalent information available on the Tsetsaut, Chilcotin and Tahltan although it is highly probable that the Iroquois type would have been present since it is

consistent with unilineal systems (Murdock 1949:243-5). The recently recorded (Osgood, 1956) kinship terminology on the Ingalik is Eskimo. The Kutchin terminology suggests the Hawaiian type. The latter would not be consistent with the pristine matrilineally emphasized social organization of the Kutchin (Murdock 1949:228-31). Girls' puberty rites are rigorous among the Han, Kutchin, Ingalik, Tanaina, Ahtena, Upper Tanana, Tsetsaut, Chilcotin, Tahltan, Carrier, and Tutchone. Information on puberty rites for the Koyukon was not available, Tattooing and face paintings were a common trait for the Carrier, Chilcotin, Tahltan, Ingalik, Han, Tanaina, Kutchin, Ahtena, Upper Tanna and Koyukon. No information was available on the Tutchone and Tsetsaut. This custom distinguished individual aboriginal clans and moiety or phratry divisions. The mortuary potlatch was a functioning system for all. Leadership prerogatives were of an egalitarian nature. The chiefs had authority but lacked power. The position was not inherited and was a transitory position.

The precontact subsistence patterns suggest that the Tutchone, Tahltan, Tanaina, Ahtena and Kutchin economies were based on caribou and salmon. The Barren Ground caribou was the most important big game animal for the Tanana. Salmon did not ascend the upper Tanana river although whitefish were harvested when they moved from the lakes into the Tanana during spawning season. Salmon was the basic article of subsistence for the Tanaina and Carrier. The surround method of hunting caribou and the harvesting, preserving and processing techniques of fishing were intensive communal activities. These activities would have required a large cooperative labour force.

In the early contact period, all of the groups lived in semi-

permanent dwellings during the winter. Smaller dwellings were used during hunting expeditions and the more mild seasons.

The Fur Trade Era

During the contact period, the social organization of all of these groups shows a tendency for an integration toward an ambilineal cognatic clan system. All of the groups were beginning to lose their prescribed exogamic and matrilineal features, though retaining the ceremonial and economic features in an altered form.

The acquisition of wealth due to the fur trade increased the importance of the potlatch, the attainment of status positions, and gift-giving feasts. The ranking of clans became a firm cultural feature among the Tanaina and Kutchin through the well established intertribal trade, direct exchange with fur traders, and subsequent accumulation of wealth. For the Tutchone, Carrier, Ahtena and Tahltan, there are some signs of the emergence of an incipient class structure during the fur trade era. The class system consisted of an aristocracy and common people. The aristocratic class emerged through the acquisition of wealth and the system of elaborate potlatches. Slaves were owned by the aristocratic class. However, they were not too common. Leadership positions became more important. McKennan's report on Tanana leadership positions applies to the other Athabascan groups. He described a position as being ". . . based on wealth, which in turn is based on hunting or trapping ability plus enough native shrewdness and ambition to utilize such wealth for social advancement." (1959:132).

Polygyny was practiced by all of the groups. This form of marriage was based on wealth and property. Only the wealthy men were able to support several wives. The fur trade economy was supported through the labour of

the wives who were used for transportation and packing purposes. Profitable advantages could be made out of this marriage system. For instance, the Tahltan preferred polygamous marriages since a man had hunting and trapping rights to both his wives' phratry's territory as well as his own.

Residence patterns changed from matriloca1 to ambiloca1 or patriloca1. Although matriloca1 residence was preferred among the Tanana, Ahtena, Tanaina and Kutchin, this residence lasted only a year as a bride service during this period of social change. After the bride service a husband could return to his local group. Arrangements were generally fluid since a man could remain with his wife's family. Polygamous marriages could have made patriloca1 residence more favourable although matriloca1 residence is more practical for sorora1 polygyny.¹ The Tutchone and Tahltan intermarried with the Tlingit. The residence patterns were patriloca1. Women were exchanged to establish trading partnerships. The Carrier chiefs and nobles practiced patriloca1 residence. Matriloca1 residence through bride service was frequent among the Carrier commoners. The husband had the choice of establishing his residence with either his wife's family or his own local group (matri-patriloca1 residence) after the completion of the service. Carrier intermarriage with the Tsimshian resulted in patriloca1 residence.

Caribou and/or salmon remained the primary resources throughout this period. The means of exploiting the caribou changed. For instance, the introduction of guns led to the abandonment of the traditional surround method of hunting caribou. The recruitment of a large labour force was no longer necessary for this task. The fur trade period ushered in a shift in late autumn subsistence patterns. Villages split up into family groups

which dispersed for the hunting and trapping of fur-bearing animals.

Both intertribal trade and direct exchange with the trading posts modified the aboriginal socio-economic arrangements. The new arrangements would have been based partly on the prescribed matrilineal, exogamous clan system with a preference towards bilaterality and increased individualism in subsistence and trading pursuits. The growing emphasis upon the acquisition of wealth and property led, through time, to the breakdown of the matrilineally based inheritance system. Also, the overexploitation of resources and the changing world demand for furs created a diminution of the elaborate ceremonial and economic features and the social class and ranked clan system.

The Alaskan and Western geo-cultural social organization of the fur trade era was the product of multiple historical and ecological factors. A more flexible and fluid social organization had to develop in congruence with the altered environment and economic involvement in the fur trade. There seems to be little doubt that the breakdown of the matrilineal clan organization occurred rapidly and under a number of conditions: population decline, the development of ranked clans and social classes, the fur trade economy, mining, fish canneries and white acculturation.

Modern Period

At the more recent end of the historic continuum, the social organization of the Alaskan and Western geo-cultural groupings is based on a bilaterally emphasized kinship structure. Their involvement in the fur trade, mining, logging and fish canneries has brought pressures from traders, missionaries, miners, government officials, and teachers. This not only reinforced their bilaterally emphasized kinship structure but has complicated the unilineal clan system. It became obsolete. Indian communities resemble

ones similar to that of the lower socio-economic "Whites".

In sum, it is argued that the proposed general model for cultural change is able to account for changes within the historic period. Those who wish to debate the model must do so in terms of essentially the same source materials.

All that remains is a discussion of the second basic aim of this reconstruction dealing with the regional variation in social structure of the east to west gradient from relative cultural simplicity of social organization towards relative complexity. It has been demonstrated that the intensity of contact in the Alaskan subarctic and in the Canadian western subarctic and Pacific drainage was not catastrophic. The period of first contact in these regions was generally later and the evidence points to a lesser degree of migrations, displacements, amalgamations and depopulation than among the peoples in the Mackenzie-Arctic drainage area.² Although empirical data on features of the Northeastern aboriginal social organization is lacking, comparative linguistic and historical analysis of the Athabaskan languages and the kinship terminology suggests that there was a well marked consistency or homogeneity of all the aboriginal Athabaskan groups.³ Their geographical distribution would seem to have been a fairly orderly process. It is reasonable to propose that the Northeastern cultures may have retained a high degree of relative conservatism or stability before European contact.

It should be clear now that it was the fur trade which acted as the catalyst for successive modifications in Northern Athabaskan economy and social organization. The proposed hypothesis dealing with the Northeastern Athabascans will, through both archival and contemporary field data, help unravel the specific acculturative stages of culture change in this region.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Murdock (1949) has shown that polygyny is "particularly congenial to patrilocal residence, where women are isolated from their kinsmen and tend to be economically and socially inferior to men" (Ibid.:206). Ember and Ember (1971) have also shown that polygyny and male localization are statistically associated (Ibid.:576). For sororal polygyny, Murdock (1949) has described it as "peculiarly well adapted to matrilocal residence" (Ibid.:31-32).
- 2 See Appendix I on historical determinants of cultural change for the Athabascans in this area.
- 3 See Appendix II for linguistic and other comparative materials which suggest cultural homogeneity.

APPENDIX I

In the preceding chapters, we discussed several cultural groupings within two of the major geo-cultural areas. Here our focus was upon both ethnohistorical data and contemporary studies of specific groups. In this section, I deal in general with the ethnohistorical data which has been accumulated on the Arctic drainage or Central geo-cultural area. The data will be analyzed to determine the intensity of the impact of European contact in the area. The major trends and patterns of the contact relationships including European disease, the introduction of firearms and other European trade goods, fur company competition and new subsistence patterns, will be analyzed in an attempt to understand the implications for the Northeastern Athabascan social organization.

This study will, I believe, provide tentative answers for some of the problems concerned with the east-west gradient from relative cultural simplicity of social organization towards relative complexity. This is the central problem with which Athabascan specialists have grappled. Future research through the analysis of both archival and field data will give additional meaning to the data presented in this section.

Disease:

Perhaps the most catastrophic influence of contact is found in the consequences of the introduction of European diseases in the Northeastern Athabascan area. Depopulation, migration, displacements and amalgamations created by the onslaught of disease resulted in a realignment

of social relationships and in profound changes in aboriginal ways of life. Lack of good empirical data has clouded our understanding of the social organization in this area. Disease occurred in the initial stages of contact. Samuel Hearne who explored the region in 1771 was the earliest explorer and trader to visit Athabasca. He noted the fulminating consequences of European disease in his account of Northern Canada and of the life of the Indian populations who inhabited the Arctic drainage area during the late eighteenth century (Tyrrell 1911:200):

Since this Journal was written, the Northern Indians, by annually visiting their Southern friends, the Athapuscow Indians, have contracted the small-pox, which has carried off nine-tenths of them, and particularly those people who composed the trade at Churchill Factory. The few survivors follow the example of their Southern neighbours, and all trade with the Canadians, who are settled in the heart of the Athapuscow country. . .

The explorer-trader, Alexander Mackenzie, of the North-West Company, presented an impressive account of the destructive nature of smallpox in the Athabasca country, during the spring of 1789 (1927:Vol.3, 21-22):

. . . this was the small-pox, which spread its destructive and desolating power, as the fire consumes the dry grass of the field. The fatal infection spread around with a baneful rapidity which no flight could escape, and with a fatal effect that nothing could resist. It destroyed with its pestilential breath whole families and tribes; and the horrid scene presented to those who had the melancholy and afflicting opportunity of beholding it, a combination of the dead, and the dying, such as, to avoid the horrid fate of their friends around them, prepared them to disappoint the plague of its prey, by terminating their own existence.

The Rev. Emile Petitot, a scholar who published grammars and dictionaries on three Athabascan dialects, recorded similar observations (1883:651):

These relations continued to the time when Joseph Frobisher established Fort Chipewyan, on the shores of Lake Athabasca, in 1778, for the North-west Company, at which

date there was as many as 1200 Redskins settled on the lake. But the white man brought with him the horrible disease of small-pox, till then unknown to the Americans, which made great ravages among the Tinney, and more than decimated the Crees, driven to the southern part of the lake by the war-like attitude of the Chipewyans. Influenza, and epidemic catarrhal affection attacking the tribes at regular intervals of about seven years, completed the work of the small-pox.

The diary of Daniel Williams Harmon for the years 1810-1819 provides us with a general account of the Indians on the east side of the Rocky Mountains. This North-West Company trader includes a reference on the subject of diseases among the tribes that he was acquainted with. It is his observation that the Indians in general (1957:200):

. . . are subject to few diseases. The venereal complaint is common to all the tribes of the north; many persons among them, die of a consumption; fevers, also, frequently attack them; and they are likewise troubled with pains in their heads, breasts and joints. Many of them, and especially the women, are subject to fits. For a relief, in nearly all of their diseases, they resort to their grand remedy, sweating.

In 1833, Captain George Back was given the leadership of an expedition to render assistance to Captain John Ross and his party who had sailed in 1829 to the Polar regions under the auspices of the British government. The purpose of the expedition was to extend the existing knowledge of the Northern Coast of North America, much of which at that time was unexplored. Richard King, the surgeon and naturalist of the expedition, noted the conditions of the aboriginal people that his party encountered. He told of a contagious disease among the Copper Indians (Yellowknife) which reinforces Harmon's observations. King tells us that next (1836: Vol. 2, 54):

. . . to the introduction of ardent spirits, a contagious disease, produced by the demoralizing intercourse of

Europeans, has, more than any other cause, been the means of depopulating the country. It has of late so extensively spread itself among them, that there was scarcely an Indian family which I met with during my progress through that vast territory that was not more or less affected with it; and to such a deplorable condition are the Copper Indians reduced by that scourge, that in a few years, if some aid be not afforded them, they will cease to exist. . .

Sir George Simpson, the Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company territories in North America, pointed out in his reports of 1820-21 how disease among the 'Farr' (Dogrib, Yellowknife, Hare) Indians made it difficult to sustain a favourable return of furs unless the traders made attempts to recruit replacements for hunters who had succumbed to disease. Simpson's Athabaskan records indicates his concern over the situation when he stated in a letter of September, 1820 (Rich 1938:61), to the trader, Duncan Finlayson, of Peace River District that:

It is with much concern I learn, that there has been a great mortality amongst the Beaver Indians this year, and that we have lost many valuable hunters; you will of course use every exertion to replace them, and increase the number of our adherents if possible, the liberal and well assorted outfit which is made up for the District, will enable you to equip one half the Tribe at least.

Diseases would also seem to have been a factor for causing some displacement of people in the Athabaskan region as well as general depopulation. Simpson's journal for October 13, 1820 (1938:80-81), notes that:

. . . I received a Letter from Mr. Andries dated 4th Inst., intimating that in consequence of the Reports circulated by the N. W. of our total annihilation many of our Indians had deserted us. A most destructive malady such as that of last year [smallpox] had broke out in the Chipewyan lands, and carried away whole bands, and they are now dispersing in all directions, hoping that a change of residence may arrest the progress of the contagion,. . .

Simpson's journal mentions famine at Beren House on the east side of Lake Winnipeg 1820-1821 winter. Pierre au Calument, the Bay trader,

experienced some difficulties in obtaining sufficient meat for his use. This situation was caused by measles among the natives (Ibid.:413).

In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company commissioned Thomas Simpson and Peter Dease to undertake the completion of the survey of the northern coast of their territories which were left undetermined after the Franklin expeditions of 1819-22. Simpson was careful to note in his journal all signs of contagious diseases among the Northern Indians. He reported evidence of influenza and cholera among the Hare and Chipewyan Indians during the spring and summer of 1837. His journal states that (1843:67, 203):

. . . Messages were continually arriving with favourable accounts from the Indian camps; a pleasing contrast to the preceeding winter, which is rendered memorable to the poor natives by the ravages of an influenza - scarcely less dreadful than the cholera - that carried off nearly two hundred of the distant Chipewyans. . . .

and,

. . . The fishery was likewise of the greatest benefit to the natives, many of whom we found still suffering from the influenza.

In 1849, Eden Colvile was appointed Governor of Rupert's Land, replacing Sir George Simpson who had undertaken the duties of overseeing and reporting on the progress of the Hudson's Bay Company's attempt to establish fur posts on the Pacific Coast to serve as a buffer against the influx of American settlers and traders. Colvile's journal and letters to various senior personnel of the Company provide us with information on an influenza epidemic during December of 1851. In a letter to Archibald Barclay, dated the 16th of March, 1852, Colvile states (1956:119-120):

. . . From Athabasca my letters are dated Vermilion 10th Decr. and Fort Chipewyan 31th Decr. at the former place I regret to learn that disease has been rife among the Indians, as many as 50 souls including 24 of the best hunters having

been carried off by the influenza. Notwithstanding this Mr. Chief Trader Deschambeault reports the prospects of trade as being tolerably favorable. . . .

The historian, E. Rich provides a more general coverage of the effects of disease among the Indians. His discussion of the reports of William Tomison at Cumberland House during 1782-83 gives a fair account of how a ". . . devastating small-pox epidemic among the Indians marked that year with a solemn emphasis." (1959:82). The 'Plaguey Disorder', smallpox, whatever its origins, revealed the (1959:82):

. . . inability of the Indians to resist European disease. While whole tribes were virtually wiped out, families were left in their tents to be mauled and devoured by wild beasts, and the few survivors were too scared and sickened to hunt either furs or provisions, or even to get firewood, the English were immune. . . .

The inference that these epidemics would have had an intense if not disastrous effect on the social organization of the Northeastern Athabascans would appear to be supported by the historical data. The depopulation of these peoples brought about migrations, displacements and amalgamations of groups. The increased heterogeneity of Northeastern Athabaskan communities and local groups would have totally destroyed the aboriginal social structure resulting in a "DP" camp type of situation. Such conditions would provide the basis for the development of the "composite band", as defined by Service.

Infectious common childhood diseases, endemic among the Europeans, appeared as virulent epidemics among the aboriginal populations. Contemporary studies on the effects of these types of disease upon a Tlingit village at Nisutlin Bay on Teslon Lake in the Yukon include examples of their intensity. This village had had little exposure to outside contact from 1896, at the end of the gold rush days until 1942 when work on the

Alaska Highway was begun. In 1942 and 1943 the village was ". . . attacked successfully by measles, dysentery, catarrhal jaundice, whooping cough, German measles, mumps, tonsillitis and meningococcic meningitis. There were three fatalities from measles and four from meningitis." (Marchand 1943:1020). John Marchand, a medical officer for the U.S. Public Roads Administration, cites other epidemics such as diphtheria among the Tutchone Indians on the Ross River during 1943. Perhaps, the hardest hit by serious infectious disease were the inhabitants of Telegraph Creek on the Stikine river in British Columbia. A pneumonia epidemic resulted in the death of 50 of the 200 Tahltan Indians in that area between October 1942 and September 1943 (1943:1019).

I have already mentioned the outbreaks of influenza reported among the Hare and Chipewyan Indians in the summer of 1837 (Simpson 1843: 200-204), as well as among other groups throughout the nineteenth century (Petitot 1883:651). The outbreaks of influenza would seem to have been a frequent occurrence. The results would have been catastrophic, since during the 1949 influenza epidemic among the Copper Eskimo of Cambridge Bay, there was a 20 per cent mortality, even with medical attention and hospitalization (Brown, Gajdusek and Morris 1966:180). The Copper Eskimo are a neighbouring population of the Northeastern Athabaskan.

The Introduction of Firearms, European Trade Goods, Fur Company Competition and the New Subsistence Patterns Played an Important Role:

An early influence from European contact, which played an important role in the reshaping of Athabaskan social organization, was their importation of firearms. Thus, it can be seen that the

natives who secured firearms had an immediate advantage over people who were still employing weapons of aboriginal manufacture.

The earliest Indians to obtain firearms were the Algonkian-speaking peoples to the south and east of the Athabascans. The Algonkians, especially Cree in the north, were expanding westward during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Newcomb 1950:320; Yerbury 1974). This movement engendered conflict and war with the Athabascans. The testimony of the fur traders indicates the early migration of tribes from the east. The explorer, geographer and trader, David Thompson speculated on the original habitat of the Chipewyan. He indicated that their territory in the late eighteenth century was established when (Tyrrell 1916:131-132):

. . . the martial Tribes [Blackfoot, Bloods, and Piegan] by right of conquest over the Snake Indians, took possession of the Great Plains the Nahathaways [Cree] occupied the lands thus left; and from the rigorous clime of sixty one degrees north, went southward to fifty six degrees north; the Dinnae, or Chepawyans, in like manner occupied the country down to the last named Latitude, and westward by the Peace River to the Rocky Mountains; and have thus quietly extended themselves from the arctic regions to their present boundary, and will continue to press to the southward as far as the Nahathaways will permit.

In the journal of the fur trader, Alexander Henry (The Younger), the editor, Elliott Coues, gives us some information on the origin of the name, Peace River, citing Mackenzies' observations in a footnote. The citation gives us relevant information on intertribal relations (1897:Vol. 11, 510):

On the 13th (Oct., 1792), at noon, we came to the Peace Point: from which, according to the report of my interpreter, the river derives its name; it was the spot where the Knisteneaux [Cree] and Beaver Indians settled their dispute; the real name of the river and point being that of the land which was the object of contention. When this country was formerly invaded by the Knisteneaux, they found the Beaver Indians inhabiting the land about Portage la Loche

(Methy portage), and the adjoining tribe were those whom they called Slaves. They drove both these tribes before them; when the latter proceeded up the river from the Lake of the Hills (Athabasca), in consequence of which that part of it obtained the name of the Slave River. The former proceeded up the river; and when the Knisteneaux made peace with them, this place was settled to be the boundary.

Fr. Petitot in his article on the Athabasca District of the Canadian North-West territory has also indicated the movements of people resulting from conflicts with Algonkian peoples (1883:649-650):

The Indians using the Algonquin tongue, such as the Crees, Savanois, Grand-pagnes, and Ojibbeways, carried on a pitiless war against the Athabaskan Tinney or Slaves, who from natural timidity gave up their territory to their enemies, and fell back on the Great Slave Lake, pursued by the Crees, who made a great slaughter among them. Various islands and archipelagos retain the name and the memory of these dreaded Ennas (strangers, enemies), including Dead Men's Isle, which keeps alive to this day the recollection of the defeat of the Katcho-Ottine, subsequently called Slaves. From that time, this portion of the Tinney family never ventured south, but remained in the cold lands and swampy forests of the north, where they became split up and settled under the names of Dog-ribs, Hareskins, Highlanders, Slaves, &c. Their different tribal dialects vary but slightly inter se, differing much more widely from the Chipewyan.

Mackenzie, while in charge of the North West Fur Company's most distant outpost at Lake Athabasca in 1788, contemplated the practical advantages of the discovery of a route to the Pacific Ocean. In the fall of 1792 he undertook a journey to discover and explore a possible overland passage. His expedition, which was the first to cross the continent of North America, passed through territories whose inhabitants were unknown to Europeans.

The journal of his "voyage" begins with his embarkation from Fort Chipewyan on October 10, 1793. The narrative of his explorations give us some history of the fur trade and some details of the trends and currents

which were beginning to sweep over the inhabitants of the area of exploration.

We have already noted the early passages in Mackenzie's journal (Lamb 1970:238) which indicate that the acquisition of firearms by the Cree, and their westward movement into the area inhabited by the Beaver Indians tended to engender conflict and war.

Their subsequent migration or displacement caused the Beaver Indians to encroach upon the Rocky Mountain Indians who in turn were forced to retire to the foot of the Rocky Mountains (Ibid.:250). The two groups, Beaver and Rocky Mountain, differed little, except the Beaver had ". . . imbibed the customs and manners of the Knisteneaux." (Ibid.:253). It was noted that they were already ". . . passionately fond of liquor, and in the moments of their festivity will barter any thing they have in their possession for it." (Ibid.:253). The number of Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians who traded with the North West Company at Beaver River ". . . did not exceed an hundred and fifty men, capable of bearing arms; two thirds of whom call themselves Beaver Indians." (Ibid.:253).

Prior to 1780, the Beaver Indians obtained European articles of trade from the Cree and the Chipewyans, ". . . who brought them from Fort Churchill, and for which they were made to pay an extravagant price." (Ibid.: 253-4). The Beaver Indians were reported to have procured firearms in 1782 (Ibid.:253) although as late as the year 1786 (Ibid.:254):

. . . when the first traders from Canada arrived on the banks of this river, the natives employed bows and snares, but at present [1793] very little use is made of the former, and the latter are no longer known. . . .

The letters and journals, of the trader-explorer, Simon Fraser,

give us some details on the Athabaskan peoples he encountered on his expedition across the continent in 1806.

In his first journal, April 12th to July 18th, 1806, we are given information on conflict between members of the Sekani (Meadow Indians) and the Beaver Indians over fur-bearing grounds, or due to the plundering of Meadow Indians by the Beaver, which may be of significance in accounting for a reduction in population. Fraser noted (Lamb 1960:178):

. . . In the evening called all the Indians to the door, to know how many there are of them, which we found to be forty men, thirty women and seventy nine boys, girls and children, and their is another band near at hand not yet arrived, and there are several gone to work the Beaver which form in all of these seen here about 60 men, 40 women and upward of 100 boys, girls and children. Formerly they say they were much more numerous, but the Beaver Indians war excursions continually deminished them, and the greatest loss generally fall to the share of the women, which added to the number the Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians continually took from them, may account for the unequal proportion there is between the men and women.

The acquisition of firearms also created a situation in which the natives became dependent upon Europeans for their supplies of ammunition and gunpowder. This was one of many factors, albeit an important one, resulting in loss of self-sufficiency and in periodic famines among them.

Sir John Franklin, the explorer and navigator of the Arctic, was the first to report the difficulties experienced by his own party who had scanty supplies of both these essentials. During the winter of 1821, Copper Indian groups were constantly requesting goods and ammunition which Franklin could only with reluctance supply in small amounts.

A leader of the Copper Indians, Akaitcho, once attempted to induce Franklin to comply with his tribe's desire for supplies by accusing Franklin of having false intentions. Two Canadians were sent to Franklin's

camp on the 5th of February by Akaitcho for supplies of ammunition. Franklin learned from them that Akaitcho (1970:262):

. . . had received some further unpleasant reports concerning us from Fort Providence, and that his faith in our good intentions was somewhat shaken. He expressed himself dissatisfied with the quantity of ammunition we had sent him, accused us of our intentions of endeavoring to degrade him in the eyes of his tribe. . .

Franklin replied to these assertions by supplying some powder and shot, and a keg of diluted spirits. Later, Akaitcho attempted to persuade Franklin to give him goods and ammunition for meat that would be supplied in the beginning of summer (Ibid.:294). Franklin, however, could not supply the Indians with anything from his own rather meager stock.

The party received few supplies of meat from Indian hunters during the winter of 1821. The Indian families, consisting mostly of women and children, suffered from famine to an extent where they cleared ". . . away the snow on the site of the autumn encampments to look for bones, deers' feet, bits of hide, and other offal." (Ibid.:298). Franklin regretted his inability to relieve them from their predicament of ". . . gnawing the pieces of hide, and pounding the bones, for the purpose of extracting some nourishment", and reflected that his party might be driven to "the necessity of eagerly collecting these same bones a second time from the dunghill." (Ibid.: 298).

Akaitcho was able to assert his leadership in the spring of 1821, when he negotiated with the Franklin expedition on the necessary arrangements for providing meat for the voyagers, showing ability as an orator in enumerating his peoples' dissatisfactions. The conference lasted for several days and the complaint that permeated the conference was the dependence upon traders for supplies. Franklin was able to satisfy Akaitcho by indicating that they

were also dependent upon the traders and that with ". . . respect to the ammunition and tobacco, we had been as much disappointed as themselves in not receiving them, but this was to be attributed to the neglect of those to whom they had been intrusted." (Ibid.:308).

It would appear that the dependence upon the firearm occurred very early in the contact period. Franklin was surprised when he encountered a party of three old Copper Indians, ". . . with their families, who had supported themselves with the bow and arrow since last autumn, . . . and so successful had they been, that they were enabled to supply us with upwards of seventy pounds of dried meat, and six moose skins fit for making shoes, . . ." (Ibid.:338).

The dependence on firearms can be traced back to Samuel Hearne's journal and his account of ". . . our Northern Indians [Chipewyan] who trade at the Factory, as well as all the Copper tribe. . ." (1971:320). He reports that their ". . . bows and arrows, though their original weapons, are, since the introduction of fire-arms among them, become of little use, except in killing deer as they walk or run through a narrow pass prepared for their reception, where several Indians lie concealed for that purpose . . ." (Ibid.:320); and, though ". . . the Northern Indians may be said to kill a great number of deer in this manner during the Summer, yet they have so far lost the art of shooting with bows and arrows, that I never knew any of them who could take these weapons only, and kill either deer, moose, or buffalo, in the common, wondering, and promiscuous method of hunting." (Ibid.:322).

It was Hearne's task to create a situation in which the Indians became totally reliant upon firearms and other European trade goods (Ibid.:

82-3):

It is undoubtedly the duty of every one of the Company's servants to encourage a spirit of industry among the natives, and to use every means in their power to induce them to procure furs and other commodities for trade, by assuring them of a ready purchase and good payment for every thing they bring to the Factory: and I can truly say, that this has ever been the grand object of my attention.

This objective could only have brought about a complete loss of self-sufficiency, as well as a change in the basic subsistence pattern of the "Northern Indians." The employment of the caribou surround or pound was an aboriginal technique of hunting which was too ". . . successful, that many families subsist by it without having occasion to move their tents above once or twice during the course of a whole winter; and when the Spring advances, both the deer and Indians draw out to the Eastward, on the ground which is entirely barren. . . ." (Ibid.:80). This type of subsistence pursuit was not profitable to the fur trade companies, as indicated by a statement of Hearne in March, 1771 (Ibid.:80-81):

. . . Such an easy way of procuring a comfortable maintenance in the Winter months, (which is by far the worst time of the year,) is wonderfully well adapted to the support of the aged and infirm, but is too apt to occasion a habitual indolence in the young and active, who frequently spend a whole Winter in this indolent manner: and as those parts of the country are almost destitute of every animal of the furr kind, it cannot be supported that those who indulge themselves in this indolent method of procuring food can be masters of any thing for trade; whereas those who do not get their livelihood at so easy a rate, generally procure furs enough during the Winter to purchase as sufficient supply of ammunition, and other European goods, to last them another year. . . . But in my opinion, there cannot exist a stronger proof that mankind was not created to enjoy happiness in this world, than the conduct of the miserable beings who inhabit this wretched part of it; as none but the aged and infirm, the women and children, a few of the more indolent and unambitious part of them, will submit to remain in the parts where food and clothing are procured in this easy manner, because no animals are produced there whose furs are valuable. . . .

The attempt to bring down the natives and to make them productive members of the fur trade was accomplished within a very brief time period. E. E. Rich has noted that the commander of the Engageante, the Marquis de la Jaille, who took Humphrey Martin and Samuel Hearne prisoners at York Post during 1782, was informed from his ". . . conversations with Hearne and Martin, that the Indians were utterly dependent on their annual trade with the Europeans. It had become an absolute necessity to them, they had lost the art of hunting with the bow and arrow. . . ." (Rich 1959:Vol, 11, 87). This growing dependence was enhanced by a general change in subsistence patterns from hunting pursuits to trapping in an area scarce in caribou, and by a large decrease in the population of the area due to a major small-pox epidemic in 1778.

Hearne's journal of a journey inland from York Post towards Basquiau (meaning Cumberland House) during 1774-1775, indicates his party's dependence upon the Indians for provisions in areas that did not readily provide sufficient subsistence for anyone. In his diary he reports on Wednesday, February 8, 1775 when at Cumberland House that (Tyrrell 1934: 136-137):

. . . This scanty way of living, at times, being so different from the certain good allowance at the Factory is so alarming to my men in general, that it is with the greatest difficulty I can persuade them from thinking that entire famine must ensue. Partridges, Rabbits, Fishes & have entirely failed since the scarce times which makes them much worse, however I'm not without hopes of some relief before long as I daily expect some Indians in. . .

At Cumberland House during September of 1775, Hearne also notes famine among the traders under Joseph and Thomas Frobisher at Beaver Lake forty miles from Cumberland. Hearne refers to Frobisher's report of

vacating his house (Ibid.:190):

. . . the reason of his moveing ware accationed by the great Distress he ware in for Provisions, which ware realy shocking, one or two of his men dyed for real want and one of them Shott by the Indians for Eating human flesh the Corps of one of their deceased friends. Mr. Forbersher himself ware so destresst that he eat all the Parchment Moose &c and many of his Furs and even a few garden seeds which he proposed to have sown the following Spring he also eat to Satisfy hunger.

Philip Turner, the Hudson's Bay Company inland surveyor in Athabasca, records in his journals of 1790-1792 problems relating to the dependence of the trading post on the Indians for supplies. His stay at the fur trader house on the west side of Isle à la Cross Lake during November of 1790 reveals these problems when he notes (Tyrrell 1934:359):

Saturday two Chepawyans or Northern Indians arrived they came chiefly to see us they promised to bring us some provisions as soon as they can kill any, we now exist much better than we should have done had we been any where else near this spot for Mr Small [the occupant of the house] seeing our situation unasked supplied us with net thread for two nets. . .

Malchom Ross, who was in charge of Turner's party, kept an independent journal of the daily happenings. His journal detailed the struggle to secure provisions during the winter of 1790-1791. On November 14, 1790, his diary outlines the daily routine of life as (Ibid.:359):

. . . No sucess with the nets this day. Had them brought home till the Lake sets fast, and what we are to live upon till then I do not know, for there is nothing but fish & a very small allowance of that, and smaller would have been had we not been supplid with net thread from Mr. Small.

On January 19, 1791 he writes (Ibid.:360):

. . . At noon arrived 5 U-che-py-wy-an Indians-they pleaded very hard for some of our men to go along with them which I readily granted, as the fish is falling off, and no provisions coming in.

Turner's journal records similar observations on January 20, 1791. His record tells us that the five Chipewyans brought some fresh meat with them which they carried part to Mr. Small and part to his party (Ibid.:361). Turner's notes include the arrival of Peter Fidler, Turner's assistant, in April of 1792. Fidler had been on a journey with the Chipewyans to Slave Lake and to the east and west of the Slave River during 1791-2. Turner describes Fidler's lack of provisions and his observations of Chipewyan Indians in a starving condition (Ibid.:448).

Fidler's personal journal lists several accounts of starvation among the Chipewyan who were in his vicinity. It is interesting to note that very often there were large game animals such as moose and buffalo nearby. He observes on January 15, 1792 that (Ibid.:537):

. . . . moved up the river 3 Miles & put up on the SW side on the main shore. The Island [Long Island] 1½ mile from where we put up In the evening a young Jepewyan arrived at our Tents in search of some of his Countrymen to get a supply of Provisions from Their Tent is about 10 miles NE of us & we nearly starving thro hungar & they have not even any Ammunition to kill any animals with. . .

The introduction of smaller trade items among the Northern Indians was important. They no doubt had a growing need for these objects. This may have played an important role in facilitating the incentives of their participation in the fur trade. Such dependence is made clear in Hearne's journal (Ibid.:331):

When Northern Indians are at the Factory, they are very liable to steal any thing they think will be serviceable; particularly iron hoops, small bolts, spikes, carpenters tools, and, in short, all small pieces of iron-work which they can turn to advantage, either for their own use, or for the purpose of trading with such of their countrymen as seldom visit the Company's Settlement: among themselves, however, the crime of theft is seldom heard of.

The problem of pilfering was overcome to some extent by the Company's efforts to establish Indian middlemen. This reduced the number of Indians at the trading posts. Since as Hearne writes (Ibid.:83-4), it is in:

. . . the interest of the Company that people of this easy turn, and who require only as much iron-work at a time as can be purchased with three or four beaver skins, and that only once in two or three years, should be invited to the Factories; because what they beg and steal while there, is worth, in the way of trade, three times the quantity of furs which they bring. For this reason, it is much more for the interest of the Company that the annual traders should buy up all those small quantities of furs, and bring them in their own name, than that a parcel of beggars should be encouraged to come to the Factory with scarcely as many furs as will pay for the victuals they eat while they are on the plantation.

The increased hostilities among the Athabascans through the indirect contact of the fur trade, including the wide-spread use of Indians as middlemen, the migration of Athabaskan groups toward the new trade centers, and the loss of a subsistence based on caribou hunting had an intense effect on the social organization of the Northeastern Athabascans. Other early influences which are closely intertwined with the factors listed above are the introductions of disease, firearms, and European trade goods. Along with these factors, increased competition (1776-1821) between the two major fur companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company, in Athabasca and the subsequent depletion of the fur-bearing animals resulted in frequent famines among the Indians. This added to the intensity of European contact.

It becomes more and more apparent, then, that there are a number of interrelated causal factors for change in the Arctic Drainage area social organization. An understanding of them relegates the current

explanation (the aboriginal bilateral systems) of social organization to its proper sphere, that is, as descriptions of the contemporary situation rather than that of the aboriginal. In order to facilitate the remodeling of the presently held explanations, let us now look further at some of the historical materials.

Indirect contact through the fur trade and the economic system of using Indian middlemen enhanced hostilities among the Athabascans in the initial stages of this type of exchange. The Chipewyans were given the role as middlemen to establish contact with the 'Far Indians' (Dogrib, Yellowknife Indians). The handsome profits which the Chipewyans made, compelled them to keep the monopoly in their power by restraining direct contact of the 'Far Indians' with Hudson's Bay Company traders. This commercial interest of the Chipewyans induced them to plunder the 'Far Indians' if and when they made attempts to enter into direct contact with the European trading centers. (Rich 1959:Vol. 2, 57).

Of course, it was necessary for the Chipewyans to make a lavish profit since they had migrated from the caribou-rich barren grounds to an area where they had become entirely dependent upon the fur trade for subsistence. According to Hearne, in the time prior to this situation, (March 1771), only a few ". . . run great risks of being starved to death in their way thither [Prince of Wale's Fort] and back; and all that they can possibly get there for the furs they procure after a year's toil, seldom amounts to more than is sufficient to yield a bare subsistence, and a few furs for the ensuing year's market. . ." (Hearne 1971:82). At this time, a number of Chipewyan still ". . . live generally in a state of plenty, without trouble of risk; and consequently must be the most happy,

and, in truth, the most independent also;" (Ibid.:82) and are ". . . seldom exposed to the griping hand of famine, so frequently felt by those who are called the annual traders." (Ibid.:83). It would appear that the profits became greater and the risks less during the initial period of middleman activity.

Eventually it was the Bay Company policy to break down this system and ". . . to make peace and to draw down the 'Far Indians' to the posts". Especially if ". . . direct contact could be established with the 'Far Indians' there was a chance that new incentives would be released and that greater desire for English goods would result in more assiduous hunting and greater fur-returns." (1959:Vol.2, 47). However, the answer to the problem was only realized through the establishment of subsidiary posts west of Lake Athabasca and Great Slave Lake since the Bay Company could not meet its proposed objectives. Samuel Hearne articulated the Company's problems in 1772 (Tyrrell 1911:201):

Several attempts have been made to induce the Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians to visit the Company's Fort at Churchill River, and for that purpose many presents have been sent, but they never were attended with any success. And though several of the Copper Indians have visited Churchill, in the capacity of servants to the Northern Indians, and were generally sent back loaded with presents for their countrymen, yet the Northern Indians always plundered them of the whole soon after they left the Fort.
 . . .

This venture of the Hudson's Bay Company had the tendency to cause some migrations of Athabaskan groups toward the new trade centers and subsequently to cause them to be restricted to the area. The historian, Frank Russell (1898:162) has made similar observations in his discussion of migration among the Northern Athabascans:

The various bands seem to be more restricted in their movements than before the advent of the traders, if we may judge by the accounts of Hearne. This is due to their intercourse with the traders, to whom they are always bound by "debt," and especially to the influence of the missionaries.

Harmon's diary for the years 1810-1819, during which time he had assumed the superintendency of New Caledonia (British Columbia) under the auspices of the North West Company, also gives accounts that the trapping of beaver may have caused shifts in the population of the native tribes (Sekani and Beaver) between Rocky Mountain Portage and Stuart Lake. He recorded in his diary of October 22, 1810 that his party soon were to (1957:131):

. . . Over take a Band of Indians, who a few Days since left the Fort to go and hunt the Beaver on the other side of the Mountain. They call themselves Sicannies [Sekani] but it is supposed that formerly they belonged and were a part of the Beaver Indian Tribe - who on some quarrel separated themselves from their Countrymen by leaving their lands to come higher up the River & who are now as I am informed a pretty numerous Clan or Tribe. . . .

The development of competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company culminated in petty, sometimes serious, hostilities and struggles to gain a real and effective monopoly of the fur trade. This situation which lasted until the merging of the two companies in 1821, had a deep effect on the natives who were engaged in the fur trade.

Gordon C. Davidson's account of the North West Company has outlined the consequences of this ruinous competition when he says (Davidson: 1918:168):

. . . In the first place, there can be no question that two companies meant more expense in wages, goods, equipment, posts, and other ways than one company would have meant. This was particularly the case since it was the recognized policy of both companies to locate their posts near together. This gave high prices- and liquor- to the Indians, who brought their furs for sale. It also, no doubt, caused a

careless destruction of the fur-bearing animals, for furs would be purchased which had been summer-hunted. . . .

Mr. W. F. Wentzel, a trader who lived amongst the Northern tribes for twenty years, indicated similar observations in his letter of May 23, 1820, to the Hon. Roderic McKenzie. It is his observations that (Masson 1960:126-127):

This consideration requires that I should be more than usually reserved on the present situation of both companies' affairs and probable issue of returns this year. In fact the Natives are so much disorganized in Athabasca, that if they are in the same train of living in other parts of the North-West, it will not be too much to say that the fur trade is ruined for some years to come. . . .

Sir George Simpson, the Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, implicitly outlines his Company's motivations for trading activities in the Athabaskan reports of 1820-21. The reports add details on events in this area during the period of competition.

The prime motive of the Bay Company is pointed out by Simpson in a letter of the 26th of September, 1820, to Robert McVicar at Great Slave Lake. Simpson (Rich 1938:58-59) tries to impress upon McVicar that:

. . . Beaver is the sole object of our mission to these Northern regions, we must not fail in it, and it is by the number of Packs alone that the Honble, Hudsons Bay Coy. can appreciate the September Talents of their traders.

The results of disease among the 'Farr' Indians made it difficult to maintain a favourable return of furs unless traders were able to recruit replacements for hunters who succumbed to the diseases. Simpson's Athabaskan records indicates his concerns over the situation when he stated in a letter of September, 1820 (1938:61), to Duncan Finlayson of Peace River District that:

It is with much concern I learn, that there has been a great mortality amongst the Beaver Indians this year, and that we have lost many valuable hunters; you will of course use every exertion to replace them, and increase the number of our adherents if possible, the liberal and well assorted outfit which is made up for the District, will enable you to equip one half the Tribe at least.

Diseases would also seem to have been a factor for causing some displacement of people in the Athabaskan region. Simpson's journal of October 13, 1820, (1938:80-81) notes that:

. . . I received a Letter from Mr. Andries dated 4th Inst., intimating that in consequence of the Reports circulated by the N. W. of our total annihilation many of our Indians have deserted us. A most destructive malady such as that of last year [smallpox] has broke out in the Chipewyan lands, and carried away whole bands, and they are now dispersing in all directions. hoping that a change of residence may arrest the progress of the contagion,. . .

The Bay Company, in its attempt to break the monopoly of the North West Company in Athabasca, obtained their adherents through influencing them with generous presents. This system was changed after a trading post had been established in a particular area. In a letter from Simpson, on September 29, 1820, to the trader, Louis Deny D'Laronde, he illustrates this competitive technique (Ibid.:66):

Your supply of goods will exceed that of last year, but I must beg leave to impress on you, that Oeconomy must be studied with unremitting attention; it was necessary to sacrifice property in the early stage of the business in order to attach the Indians to our cause and establish us firmly in the country; that being effected we must change the system and make up for past losses; 'tis Furs we now want, and it is by the number of packs alone that the Govr, & Committee can judge of the talents and merit of the Traders; let me therefore entreat that you will strain every nerve to stand high in their opinion.

With the generous presents, the Bay Company also extended lavish amounts of credit to their adherents so that they became bound by 'debt'.

This practice was established early in the contact period. We have mentioned that control of the Bay Company over the Indians caused them to be restricted in their movements and to subsequently lose their self-sufficiency. Simpson's journal entry of October, 1829, indicates the Company policy on this subject. The entry states (Ibid.:73):

Tuesday: Messrs, Miles & Chastellain have commenced equipping the Indians. On looking over the books, I find that they are loaded with debts, which they can never repay, I have therefore remitted one half, which I think will stimulate their exertions: hitherto it has been the practise to supply all their wants, no attempt made to curtail their demands, and afterwards to give them handsome presents. They are now contented with a reduction of one fourth their usual credits, no presents unless their conduct merit it in Spring, they seem much pleased with the arrangement which I think will be productive of good.

. . . .

The competition between the North West Company and the Bay Company created situations in which trading posts would unwittingly (perhaps at times knowingly) compete with members of their own company. This competition had the tendency to cause some displacement of the Indian population and to upset the credit system. Simpson was highly critical of a trader, John Clarke, who became injurious to the Bay Company because of his generosity to the Indians. In Simpson's complaints to John Clarke at Isle à la Crosse on the 9th of February, 1821, he notes that (Ibid.:265):

6th. I find that nearly all the Indians belonging to this District are migrating to Isle à la Crosse, they have heard of your unbounded generosity and unless you take effectual measures to prevent it we shall not have half a dozen Chipewyans in Athabasca next season; the withdrawing those Indians who are already attached to our cause from one District to another must evidently be injurious to the Trade and it is scarcely necessary to remind you that we are not sent here to oppose each other but our avowed Enemies. Permit me therefore to recommend that you do not give any encouragement to the Athabasca Indians to desert their usual hunting grounds as by so doing they

must unavoidably defraud us of those advances given them at this place; several of our Credits were last year Traded at Lac La Loche, which is paying twofold for their commodity and must consequently be a losing Trade; . . .

Periodic famines were created by unpredictable changes in the weather which prevented hunters from pursuing game and by failure of the fisheries. An example of this occurred during the spring of 1821, in the Peace River trading area. Duncan Finlayson's letters of May, 1821, to Simpson, described a situation in which (Ibid.:338):

. . . our people in Peace River are reduced to very great extremities by Famine, indeed the emaciated countenances of those who have arrived bear conclusive evidence of the hardships they have undergone. This misfortune is common all over that District and our Opponents are nearly in the same wretched state, not arising from mismanagement but a casualty which no human foresight could obviate. Throughout Peace River the early part of the Spring was mild, and thereafter the frost became very intense forming a Crust on the Snow, the crackling of which alarmed the animals and prevented the Hunters approaching within gun shot of them altho' they were daily within sight of large herds; many of the Beaver Indians have been starved to death, . . .

The introduction of firearms caused a change in the social alignments of these people. In proto-contact times large corporate social units were required for maintaining caribou surrounds. The acquisition of firearms encouraged the existence of smaller social groups separate from larger aggregations. This technological change may have given rise to situations where famine occurred when smaller hunting units were handicapped due to their lack of numbers when other means failed.

There are several other factors which contributed to continual famine situations. The movement of people to the fur-bearing grounds that lacked the larger megafauna resulted in an increased emphasis on dependence on the traders. Through increased competition between the fur companies

and through the depletion of the fur-bearing animals we are able to witness, as expressed in the journals of the fur traders, a record of numerous accounts of famine among the native peoples.

The testimony of Captain Back's surgeon, Richard King, records the consequences of starvation during the winter of 1833 when at that time (1836:Vol. 1, 170-171):

. . . between forty and fifty human beings lay dead around us, and so scattered that it was impossible to walk in any direction within twenty miles of the house without stumbling against a frozen body. This was not, however, a solitary instance of extreme misfortune to the natives of the north; for the two previous years had been pregnant with the same appalling visitations to the inhabitants of the country about Slave Lake and the M'Kenzie River. In the neighbourhood of the Rivière au Liard, a tributary to the M'Kenzie from the westward, many of the Chipewyans had been destroyed by famine; the actual number of deaths could not be ascertained, with the exception of forty of the choicest hunters, whose fate was known. Considering, therefore, that their wives and families were equally unfortunate, -and, generally speaking, they are the first that fall a sacrifice,- there could not have been a less number than from one hundred and fifty of our fellow-creatures deprived of life at that place alone. . . .

Captain Back's narrative also details the unusually severe winter which marred his expedition with deaths and dissensions. Along with the harsh winter, there was an unpredictable change in the seasonal distributions of caribou in the boreal forest region. Both these conditions would have constituted a sudden threat to the entire population of the area.

With regard to the caribou, it was learned from the Indians ". . . that the deer were rather numerous than otherwise, but that they continued to linger on the verge of the barren lands, to the surprise of the Indians, who declared this to be the first time they had deviated from their habit of seeking the shelter of the woods at this inclement period of

of the year." (1970:216)

The consequences of the change in migration patterns of the caribou were reported on January 13, 1834, by Mr. M'Leod, the first person named in Governor Simpson's circular to accompany Back. M'Leod had ". . . accounts of several deaths from famine, with a repetition of the former tales of suffering, which there were but faint expectations of bettering until the weather should be milder." (Ibid.:221).

On February the 9th, there was little variation in the situation. It has been recorded that suffering, the (Ibid.:225):

. . . Indian's inheritance, attended the natives wherever they went. The forest was no longer a shelter, nor the land a support; "famine, with her gaunt and bony arm," pursued them at every turn, withered their energies, and strewed them lifeless on the cold bosom of the snow. Nine had fallen victims already; and others were only snatched from a like fate by the opportune intervention of Mr. M'Leod. . . .

There is evidence that this sudden threat to the Indian population may have resulted in a change in the basic patterns of social organization. The deteriorating subsistence level would explain Back's report of the ". . . neglect or abandonment by the more active hunters of the sick and feeble of their tribe. . ." (Ibid.:226). Back correctly suspects this ecological condition when he says that (Ibid.:226):

. . . some allowance may be made, on account of the peculiarity of their circumstances. To follow and keep up with the migratory animals which constitute their food, is essential to the preservation, not only of the hunters themselves, but of the whole encampment. An infirm or diseased savage is not merely useless; he is a positive clog and encumbrance on the motions of the rest. No wonder, then, if occasionally; in the impatience or necessity of the chase, he is left behind to the mercy of chance.
 . . .

Akaitcho, the leader of the Copper Indians, proved his leadership when he encountered the heavy pressure of distress from his people. They were sustained by his oratory and fortitude. It has been reported that he said (Ibid.:232) to one of his followers that:

. . . both the Yellow Knives and Chipewyans, whom I look upon as one nation, have felt the fatal severities of this unusual winter. Alas! how many sleep with our fathers! But the Great Chief trusts to us; and it is better that ten Indians should perish, than that one white man should suffer through our negligence and breach of faith.

As late as March the 13th, Captain Back was still receiving news of difficulties, privations, and deaths. M'Leod had announced that six ". . . more natives of either sex had sunk under the horrors of starvation. . . " when ". . . the nets had failed . . ." and Akaitcho's young hunters were too far away with a supply of meat to be helpful. (Ibid.:240).

The testimony of Thomas Simpson and Peter Dease presents us with an indication that periodic famines created havoc for the people in the region lying immediately north of the Canadas. During the winter of 1837, we are told that there (1845:420-1):

. . . are, however, some extensive tracts of country in which the means of subsistence are scanty in the extreme. In the region lying between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, the natives during winter can with difficulty collect enough of food to support life. In the country lying immediately north of the Canadas, though fur-bearing animals are still comparatively numerous, and the trade consequently valuable, the poor Indians have, at all times, a hard fight against famine. In this tract of country fish is at all seasons scarce, and in winter the sole dependence of the natives for subsistence is placed upon rabbits (the most wretched food upon which to exist for any time that can possibly be conceived); and when these fail, the most frightful tragedies at times take place. Parents have been known to lengthen out a miserable existence by killing and devouring their own children.

Eden Covile's letters to senior personnel of the Hudson's Bay Company provide us with some indication of the dependence upon rabbits by the Northeastern Athabascans. There is some evidence of starvation and population movements during periods when the rabbits are scarce. In a letter written to Archibald Barclay, secretary to the Governor and Committee, on February 7, 1851 we are told that (1956:46):

On 11 January I received advices from York Factory up to 1st December, and from Norway House up to 26 Decr. at which dates nothing definite was known as to the trade; but I fear that, from the entire disappearance of the rabbits, the prospects are not very encouraging, and in all probability there will be much misery and starvation among the Indians in these districts.

And in a second letter of January 28, 1852 he notes (1956:98):

From Isle à la Crosse I have nothing very interesting. Mr. Chief Factor Nicol Finlayson does not appear very sanguine as to the prospects of the trade, owing to many of the Chipewyans having taken to the plains from the difficulty they find in living in the thick woods during the present scarcity of rabbits.

There are also accounts of starvation at Fort Vermilion which is located in the habitat of the Beaver Indians. We are told in a letter to Sir George Simpson on August 19, 1849 that (1956:179):

. . . Forty Indians are said to have died of starvation during the winter, & Butcher & his people lived for some time on dried suckers, which appear to be about as nourishing as a pine shingle. . . .

Fr. Petitot also observed between 1879 and 1881 that the Cree, Chipewyan, and Beaver Indians are (1883:652):

. . . very much diminished in numbers, the failure of animal life, and the extraordinary decrease for many years in the waters of the rivers and lakes, which has destroyed fish-life to an immense extent and driven away wild-fowl, having caused such a famine that many died of hunger and misery between 1879 and 1881. There were 900 Chipewyans and 300 Crees at Fort Chipewyan in 1862, but in 1879 I

could only find 537 Chipewyans and 86 Crees, even including those living on the river Athabasca.

In sum, it is evident from these descriptions that European diseases, the importation of firearms, the dependence upon Europeans for supplies of ammunition, gunpowder, and other trade goods, the fur company competition, and the change in subsistence patterns acted as determinants for change in Athabascan social organization. These factors, in combination with the results of depopulation, migrations, displacements and amalgamations took a heavy toll on the pre-existing aboriginal social organization. The historical data suggests that the catastrophic intensity of European contact rapidly broke down the unilineal kinship structure, most likely matrilineal in the pre-contact period, into a transitional stage, the composite hunting band, as defined by Service for the initial indirect and direct European contact period. With some degree of stabilization of the Northeastern Athabascan way of life after these catastrophic conditions following upon the introduction of contact, communities developed which were bilateral, flexible, and highly mobile. The more flexible social organization formed in congruence with the altered environment and economic involvement in the fur trade. However, much more research needs to be undertaken to provide more detailed information for unravelling the specific acculturative stages.

APPENDIX II

A comparison of the geo-cultural groupings and their classification within the Athabascan linguistic stock should be grappled with to determine the degree of geographical homogeneity or diversification of these related populations. With little hesitation we can turn to the work of Harry Hoijer (1956), the American anthropological linguist, who has applied the Swadesh glottochronological or lexicostatistical method to six Northern Athabascan groupings - the Beaver, Carrier, Chipewyan, Hare, Kutchin and Sarsi. Although the sample is small to make inferences on, we are able to compare their conformability with nine Southern Athabascan languages which will provide us with a more general insight into the history of the Athabascan linguistic stock. Hoijer utilized lexical data on five Southern or Apachean languages - the Navaho, Chiricahua, San Carlos, Jicarilla, Lipan and on four Western or Pacific languages - the Hupa, Mattole, Kato and Gallice to indicate the time involved in the breakup of the Athabascan languages. Hoijer's results are quite startling; however, let us look at the procedure of glottochronology followed in Hoijer's detailed study of Athabascan chronology.

Lexicostatistics or glottochronology is the technique through which linguistics has probed into history. It is the task of this technique to study the types and rates of change in language over time. The American linguists, Morris Swadesh (1952) and Robert E. Lees (1953) devised this study by using rates of change in the basic vocabulary of a language to estimate the time separating two stages of a single language or the time

since two or more related languages have diverged from a common form. The approach is based on the principle stated by Edward Sapir, an earlier anthropological linguist, (1916:76) when he says:

The greater the degree of linguistic differentiation within a stock the greater is the period of time that must be assumed for the development of such differentiation.

The glottochronologic problem is to measure the degree of differentiation for related languages. This would index the relative length of time that languages had been diverging from a common linguistic ancestor. If the index could be calibrated with chronological time, the common ancestor of divergent languages can be dated in absolute terms. It is the lexemic inventory of a language which lends itself best for the requirements of a statistical time index. Morris Swadesh (1952:455) has found that:

. . . Though words are readily borrowed, it has long been known that the borrowings take place primarily in the "cultural" part of the vocabulary and that the "intimate" vocabulary resists change.

The semantic criterion is to use lists of words or morphemes that are relatively neutral consisting of body parts, numerals, objects of nature and simple universal activities. These common everyday equivalents for the list are selected from two or more languages.

There are two types of cases which the glottochronologic method deals with. The first case is concerned with languages that are different stages whose time is known, or can be estimated, in a simple line of development; this is the control case. The second case deals with languages that are the outcome of different lines of development from a single ancestor; it is a case of application (Hymes 1960:3).

The method involves three main principle variables: a rate of retention, a period of time and the percentage of the test-list elements that are cognate. Since Hoijer's work was concerned with the application case for the Athabascans, we will be discussing the relationship of the principles with this case only. Dell H. Hymes (1960:4) in his Lexico-statistics So Far has suggested that in cases of application:

. . . either the languages are without written history, or there is interest in time depths and sub-groupings that are not documented; in either event, time depth is unknown, but if a rate of retention can be assumed, time depth can be inferred. All that is required is to compute the number of pairs of corresponding items on the test list for which two related languages show cognate equivalents, and then to put this into an appropriate formula together with the retention rate, or to consult a nomograph curve or prepared table based on such a formula, . . .

The rate of retention used by Hoijer was found by Swadesh and Lees through the examination of cases where the vocabularies of two periods of the same language (Old English and present day English) were known and the elapsed time also known. The amount of variation in rate of retention was found to be from 76 to 85 per cent per 1,000 years. From this Lees established the "mean rate constant" as approximately 81 per cent \pm 2 per cent per 1,000 years. What this means is that after 1,000 years (Swadesh 1952:460):

. . . there will be two distinct languages, each of which will have retained a certain portion of the fundamental vocabulary of the earlier common form. This percentage, measured by means of our test list, would be approximately 81 per cent. Since the changes in the two languages are independent of each other, by the law of chance, they may be expected to coincide with each other in 82 per cent of the cases, in short 66 per cent. In 2,000 years, when each language has only 66 per cent of the earlier common vocabulary, the two will agree in only 43 per cent. . .

The mathematical formula for the time depth of divergence is expressed as $d = \log c + 2 \log r$. Basically what this means is d (time of divergence) = $\log c$ (logarithm of common percentage of vocabulary) divided by $2 \log r$ (twice the logarithm of the retention rate).

It is worth while to now consider Hoijer's lexicostatistical dating of his Athabascan languages which applies this linguistic technique. His glottochronologic results show how surprisingly short a time span is involved in the split among the Athabascan languages. The earliest time depth of divergence is about 1,300 years ago. It is Hoijer's belief (1956:232) that the:

. . . movement of the Pacific Coast languages to the south apparently begins almost at once and is essentially complete at a date roughly 1,000 years ago. The movement of the Apachean languages southward appears to have begun somewhat later, about 1,000 years ago and, if our dating is accurate, was not entirely complete until about 600 years ago. This seems to indicate that the residence of the Apachean speaking peoples in the Southwest is not of any great duration, although it is difficult to estimate the time it may have taken for these peoples to move the distance involved.

The internal relationships of the languages when Hoijer's tabulations are analyzed would indicate that the divergence among Northern languages is no greater than that between the Northern group and those to the south. Alfred Kroeber's paper, Reflections and Tests on Athabascan Glottochronology, has made an arbitrarily corrected tabulation (1958:249) of Hoijer's work for the retention ratios of 15 languages (See Table I). His results do not affect the relative time depths of the languages (See Table II) in Hoijer's Athabascan linguistic studies. They have been deemed fairly dependable by Kroeber (1958:256). Also, D. H. Hymes in his article, A Note on Athabascan Glottochronology, has noted that Hoijer's glotto-

TABLE I

Athabascan Retentions Consolidated and Rearranged

	Ku	Ha	Chip	Bea	Sar	Carr	S.C.	Nav	Chir	Jie	Lip	Gal	Hu	Matt	Kato
Kuch	-	81	77	73	65	70	66	70	71	67	66	65	60	53	65
Hare	81	-	76	77	68	70	68	69	72	68	68	67	61	62	65
Chip	77	76	-	82	76	77	72	77	76	74	74	74	67	62	71
Beav	73	77	82	-	78	73	71	76	76	72	71	77	68	63	74
Sars	65	68	76	78	-	71	65	68	68	68	66	70	62	61	64
Carr	70	70	77	73	71	-	68	73	71	69	70	71	65	62	65
S.C.	66	68	72	71	65	68	-	89	91	87	84	72	61	63	66
Nav	70	69	77	76	68	72	89	-	94	89	87	72	64	65	68
Chir	71	72	76	76	68	71	91	94	-	92	91	73	64	65	67
Jie	67	68	74	72	68	69	87	89	92	-	91	70	63	65	65
Lip	66	68	74	71	66	70	84	87	91	91	-	69	60	62	64
Gal	65	67	74	77	70	71	72	72	73	70	69	-	70	66	74
Hupa	60	61	67	68	62	65	61	64	64	63	60	70	-	67	67
Matt	58	62	62	63	61	62.6	63	65	65	65	62	66	67	-	70
Kato	65	65	71	74	64	65	66	68	67	65	64	74	67	70	-
Mean	68.1	69.4	73.9	73.6	67.8	69.6	73.1	75.7	76.5	74.3	73.1	70.7	64.2	70.8	67.5

Adapted from Kroeber (1958:249).

TABLE II

Prepared Divergence Time Chart

95	1	70	8	45	19	20	38	10	54
90	2.5	65	10	40	21.5	18	40	9	57
85	4	60	12	35	25	16	43	8	59.5
80	5	55	14.5	30	28.5	14	46.5	7	63
75	6.5	50	17	25	33.5	12	50	6	66.5
								5	70.5

Adapted from Swadesh (1952:460).

chronologic results corroborates inferences made much earlier by Edward Sapir on the internal relationships of the Athabascans when Sapir wrote (Sapir 1949:389-462; cited in Hymes, IJAL 1957:296-7):

I do not see that the divergence between, say, Carrier and Loucheux is less profound than [n] that which obtains between, say, Chipewyan and Navaho. This being so, it would seem that the historical centre of gravity lies rather in the north than in either of the other two regions and that the occupation of these latter was due to a southward movement of Athabascan - speaking tribes.

The general orderliness of the interrelationships in the three groups studied by Hoiijer would suggest that their geographical distribution was a fairly orderly process. The rather homogeneous dispersal of the Athabascan linguistic groups may be offhand compared with their internal social organization to see if there is a degree of homogeneity for our interest purposes.

The general homogeneity would seem to be true for those Southern Athabascan groups who have had facets of their social organization recorded. The Navaho and San Carlos show definite evidence of matrilineal clans (Aberle 1966:43-4; Eggan 1965:507-8; Driver 1961:290, 304 and 306) while the Chiricahua, Jicarillo and Lipan (Opler 1936:620, 633; also, Driver 1961:290) practiced matrilocal residence which indicates remnants of matrilineal descent (Schneider and Gough 1961:551-554, 659-660). The Hupa have been recorded as practicing patrilocal residence but retaining a form of matrilineal alliance and bride service which tends to indicate the past form of social organization. They also practice cross-cousin marriage (Goddard 1903:Vol. 1, 57-58). Unfortunately, this adherence to a patterned social homogeneity cannot be established with the Mattole, Galice and Kato due to a lack of information. For instance, the U.S. Government census of 1910

listed the Mattole's population as 10 (Kroeber 1925:Vol. 78: 142-3). There is little hope that information might be found on these peoples' social organization.

For the Northern Athabascan samples, only the Kutchin and Carrier show a preference towards matrilineality and clan systems although all of the Alaskan group, the Western group and a few of the Central group of Northern Athabascans share this characteristic. Of the six linguistic samples in Hoijer's work, only the Hare¹ and Beaver do not display this form of social homogeneity. The Sarsi and Chipewyan have a reported tendency towards matrilocality (Curtis 1928:Vol. 18 :41, 102).

Incidentally, Edward Sapir (1916) has suggested a relationship between Athabascan and Sinitic (Tibeto-Chinese-Siamese) languages. A linguist, Robert Shafer, has attempted to present some parallels between the Athabascan linguistic stocks and Sino-Tibetan. His data came primarily from Edward Sapir and Harry Hoijer. Although there are a number of comparisons which have been made between the two linguistic stocks, Shafer has pointed out that ". . . circumstances were unfavorable for ever having many parallels between the two families." (1969:116).

Other sources which reveal general conformity of the Athabascan languages in their internal retention ratios are to be found in the primary documents. The apparent distinctiveness or conformity of languages was always indicated by early explorers, fur traders, travellers and missionaries who were usually very observant and objective on the evident diversity of the numerous Indian peoples whom they encountered. Since one of the most explicit facets of cultural phenomena is language, these early observers carefully documented what they thought were the distinctive features of the

of the Athabascan languages.

One of the earliest people to record information on the Athabascan language was the explorer, fur trade entrepreneur, Alexander Mackenzie whose description of his explorations has substantial ethnological significance. The account of his voyages from Montreal to the frozen and Pacific Oceans in the years 1789 and 1793 includes lists of words from the various Indian groups that his expeditions encountered. His general descriptions of the Chipewyan Indians provides us with the earliest most detailed material on their language. Since his description has not been superseded by the journals of the other early people, we will quote him in some length. His "Some Account of the Chepewyan Indians" which includes all of the Northern Athabascans says (Garvin 1927:Vol. 3:119-120):

They are a numerous people, who consider the country between the parallels of latitude 60. and 65. North, and longitude 100. to 110 West, as their lands or home. They speak a copious language, which is very difficult to be attained, and furnishes dialects to the various emigrant tribes which inhabit the following immense tract of country, whose boundary I shall describe. It begins at Churchill, and runs along the line of separation between them and the Knisteneaux [Cree], up the Missinipi to the Isle á la Crosse, passing on through the Buffalo Lake, River Lake, and Portage la Loche: from thence it proceeds by the Elk River to the Lake of the Hills, and goes directly west to the Peace River; and up that river to its source and tributary waters; from whence it proceeds to the waters of the river Columbia; and follows that river to latitude 50. 24 North, and longitude 122. 54. West, where the Chepewyans have the Atnah or Chin Nation for their neighbours. It then takes a line due west to the seacoast, within which, the country is possessed by a people who speak their language and are consequently descended from them: there can be no doubt, therefore, of their progress being to the eastward. A tribe of them is even known at the upper establishments on the Saskatchiwine: and I do not pretend to ascertain how far they may follow the Rocky Mountains to the east.

Mackenzie's account of the Athabascan languages resuscitates the notion of their well-marked consistency. This again indicates that the history of their split-up is a recent phenomenon, or it is also tempting to suggest that their culture may have retained a greater degree of relative conservatism or stability.

Next, to reveal whether or not more conformity exists for the Athabascans, we can turn to a form of historical reconstruction based on a comparative historical linguistic analysis of kinship terminology. Alfred Kroeber was the first anthropologist to make an attempt at what he called ". . . tentative reconstruction of primitive Athabascan kinship" (Kroeber 1937:602). Under Kroeber's suggestion Harry Hoijer (1956) has tried to make a less tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Athabascan kinship system by a comparative historical analysis of the kinship terminology in a number of their daughter languages. Hoijer's historical reconstruction employed two procedures. The first procedure involved the collecting of cognate kins from each of the dialect groups so that the original form and meaning of the Proto-Athabascan words could be determined. The second step of the reconstruction included a comparison of the kinship categories illustrated by the dialect groups (1956:309).

Although his conclusions are highly tentative and the evidence upon which they are based is meager and incomplete, he was able to support his linguistic work on the migration patterns of the Athabascans. His reconstruction of kinship data helped to shore up his hypothesis that "the Pacific Coast and Southwest groups migrated to their present location from the north" and that "both the Pacific Coast and Southwest Athabascans came in two waves" (Ibid.:324). His reconstruction of social organization

would seem to indicate that the Proto-Athabaskan system was bilateral. The analysis of cousin terminology suggested that the Proto-Athabascans had "no cousin terms but classified all cousins under the sibling terms according to sex and seniority." (Ibid.:317). These assumptions would seem to be based on what was a lack of cognate data for cousin terms (Ibid.: 322). His inference for Proto-Athabaskan kinship systems would be identified as Hawaiian.

Since Hoijer's work we have had no new published efforts toward making a reconstruction of Proto-Athabaskan kinship systems. However, two anthropologists, Dyen and Aberle, have been making a rigorous study of this particular problem and although their work has not been published yet, they do indicate that their reconstruction points towards a Proto-Athabaskan Iroquois cousin system. This results in an emphasis towards a social organization which is matrilineal and matrilocal with perhaps some bilaterality (Hickerson, personal communication).

A coherent picture of the prehistoric North Athabascans will have to be established by the archaeologists. Unfortunately, there seems to be a time lag in accruing archaeological data above the sixtieth parallel. Richard S. MacNeish is the only archaeologist who has attempted to synthesize the material that is presently available for a speculative framework of Northern North American prehistory.

His treatment of a cultural tradition which can be classified as Athabaskan is both brief and incomplete. The tradition is called Denetasiro which in one of the Athabaskan dialects means, ". . . parent of the living Dené people." (MacNeish 1959:19). The tool types found in the tradition would suggest "an economy which was based on fishing with some adaptations

toward trapping and hunting within the boreal forest." (Ibid.:20). There are a number of sites within the Southeastern Mackenzie District and the Southwestern Mackenzie District that indicate this tradition (MacNeish 1951 and 1964; Rainey, 1934). All of the sites are historic or late prehistoric between 1,000 A.D. and contact. One site in the southern Yukon seemed to be earlier. Its Aishihik phase resembled the Northwest Micro-blade tradition in Alaska (Ibid.:20). Its economy was based on caribou hunting (Ibid.:14). MacNeish's findings would indicate that the origins of the Denetasiro tradition is undetermined although some of its elements are derived from the Northwest Micro-blade tradition.

We can conclude that an understandable picture of Athabascan prehistory is too incomplete. A coherent picture will only come after more archaeological work is done.

As a background against which to view the data presented in this thesis, it is perhaps worth discussing cultural groups in other areas of the world which occupy a similar biotic region. The closest group to meet this general description are the Yukagirs, a northeastern Siberian population. According to the Soviet academics, M.Y. Stepanova, I.S. Gurvich and V.V. Khranova, in the 1630's ". . . the Yukagirs occupied wide expanses, from the lower reaches of the Lena in the west to the Anadyr' Basin in the east, inclusive, and from the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the north to the upper reaches of the Yana, Indigirka and Kolyma Rivers in the south." (Levin and Potapov 1956:788).

The subsistence patterns of everyday life shows, in general, a close parallel to the Northern Athabascan patterns. The most important resource exploited by the Yukagirs was the reindeer. Their technique of

hunting this animal was similar to that of the Athabascans. They organized collective hunts and built surrounds or corrals (Ibid.:791). The Yukagirs were also lake and river fishermen. Fish were the second most important part of their diet (Ibid.:792). The principle fish caught were white salmon, omul, muksun and others.

The social order of the Yukagirs shows remnants of clans and many survivals of primitive-communal relations. The literature of the nineteenth century stresses the lack of clan exogamy. The authors do point out that during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the Yukagirs were subjected to a sharp decline in population. The smallness of clan size and the dispersal of members would have broken down the exogamic rules. Archival data on Yukagir marriages during the eighteenth century show as a rule that marriage was exogamous. Matrilocal residence was practised until the end of the nineteenth century (Ibid.:796). This parallel remains to be explored in more detail however on another occasion.

Next, in conspectus, a discussion of the clan system of the Alaskan, the Western, and the Central groupings should be undertaken. The clan system was connected with sets of animals, birds, or other beings which in pristine times served as the binding force for individuals of no known blood relationship. These totems became the symbol or crest which integrated larger groups of individuals. This feature of Athabaskan clan organization has been reported in historical times to be common to almost all groups except for the Chipewyan, Dogrib, Beaver, Hare, Yellowknife, Slave, Bear Lake Indians and Mountain Indians.

However, evidence that there was a form of totemism among the Beaver, Chipewyan, Yellowknife, and Slave can be found in a manuscript

written by Bernard R. Ross (1867), a Hudson's Bay trader. He reported that although these peoples superstitions had, ". . . in a good measure, either faded away or been imbued with a considerable quantity of the ideas derived from the sacred writ. . . ." (Ibid.:306) an inferior species of "totemism" still existed among them since (Ibid.:307):

. . . Each hunter selects as a species of familiar spirit, some animal, and invariably a carnivorous one. According to their custom, the man can then neither eat nor skin, and if avoidable, not even kill the object of his choice. The taking of the "totem" is not so far as I am aware, the occasion of any religious ceremony, as is the case among some of the plain tribes. Pictures of various animals used in the olden day to be distributed among the natives by the traders, each individual receiving that of his totem. When a hunter had been unsuccessful he pulled this picture out of his medicine bag, laid it before him, and taking some tobacco from the same receptacle, paid adoration to the spirit by smoking and making it a speech. After this proceeding he returned with renewed ardor to the chase and generally with success.

There is an additional source of information from Rev. Petitot (1893) on what may have been clan totems among the Hare. He recorded that (Ibid.:66):

. . . Les gens du Poil ou Ehta-tchô-Gottinè, qui avaient pour fétiche ou ellonhè pètè, le loup blanc. Ils vivaient sur la grande presque ainsi qu'au nord et à l'est de la baie Smith;

Les gens des Canots ou Ttsè-Ottinè, qui révéraient Klin ou le chien. Leur territoire de chasse est au sud et à l'est du Grand Lac des Ours;

Les gens du Bout des Saules, Kk'a-lon-Gottinè, dont le manito de predilection était la loutre, ettson. Ils affectionnent les rives de la Télini-dié et la contrée située à l'est de Mackenzie;

Enfin les gens des Montagnes-Rocheuses, Éta-Ottinè, qui respectaient tché, les lynx, et chassaient dans les vallées de la grande Cordillère occidentale.

Future examination of the historic record should reveal more information on Northeastern Athabascan clan and totem systems.

Common to all groupings, however, was the execution of a type of tattooing. This has a relationship with the clan or totemic system (Osgood 1937:53). The tattooing has been noticed on the face and the wrists and it usually consisted of a number of lines or bars with an occasional symbolic emblem (Morice 1905:192).

This characteristic has also been a reported feature of those groups which have a noticed absence of clans or a formal social organization. Samuel Hearne was the earliest reporter of this feature among every ". . . tribe of Northern Indians, as well as the Copper and Dog-ribbed Indians . . ." (Hearne 1971:306). He included the account of the tendency for these groups to avoid hunting or eating "foxes, wolves, ravens, etc, unless it be through mere necessity." (Ibid.:341). The Northeastern Indians were seen to ". . . paint the faces of the young wolves with vermillion, or red ochre" (Ibid.:362). This could indicate totemic objects to be treated with veneration.

Alexander Mackenzie has recorded similar observations on the homogeneous habit of tattooing among the Northeastern Athabascans. He also infers that the tattoos distinguish individuals as members of different tribes. This could suggest the presence of clans. He writes (Garvin 1927: Vol. 3, 123):

. . . Both sexes have blue or black bars, or from one to four straight lines on their cheeks or forehead, to distinguish the tribe to which they belong. These marks are either tattooed, or made by drawing a thread, dipped in the necessary colours, beneath the skin.

In his notes, Mackenzie also records what might be possible totemic practices (Ibid.:126):

. . . There are particular skins which the women never touch, as of the bear or wolf; and these animals the men are seldom known to kill.

It is possible to add to these accounts other reports which would show the Mackenzie-Delta Athabascans had recourse to tattooing and of totemic practises (Richardson 1851:Vol. 1, 379-80 and Vol. 2, 8). But the above information is perhaps in itself sufficient to give an idea of what might have been one more example of the pristine cultural homogeneity of Northern Athabaskan social organization. Combined archival and field data will provide some of the answers to these problems.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Through the analysis of Sue's (1964) data on Hare kinship terminology, I have reconstructed the Iroquois type. This would be consistent with the western Athabascans.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABERLE, David 1961 "Matrilineal Descent in Cross-cultural Perspective." D. Schneider and K. Gough, eds., Matrilineal Kinship. Berkeley: University of California Press, 655-727.
- 1966 The Peyote Religion among the Navaho. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 42.
- ALLEN, H.T. 1889 "Atnatanas." Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
- ANDREYEV, A.I. 1952 Russian Discoveries in the Pacific and North America in the Eighteenth Centuries. English translation by Carl Ginsburg. Published for the American Council of Learned Societies. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- ARONSON, J.D. 1947 "The History of Disease among the Natives of Alaska." Alaska's Health and Welfare. Juneau. 5(3):1-2; (4):3-4; (5):5-6; (6):4-5; (7):3-4.
- BACK, G. 1836 Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River and Along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835. Charles E. Tuttle Company, Publishers, Rutland, Vermont.
- BALIKCI, A. 1963 Vunta Kutchin Social Change. Northern Coordination Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.
- BISHOP, Charles A. 1970 "The Emergence of Hunting Territories Among the Northern Ojibwa." Ethnology 9:1-15.
- BOAS, Franz 1895 "The Tinneh Tribe of Portland Inlet." British Association for the Advancement of Science. 65: 55-69, 587-92.
- BROWN, Judith, K. 1963 "A Cross-Cultural Study of Female Initiation Rites." American Anthropologist 65: 837-853.
- BROWN, P., C. GAJDUSEK and J.A. MORRIS, 1966 "Epidemic Az Influenza in Isolated Pacific Island Populations." Epidemiology 83: 176-88. American Journal of Epidemiology.
- CADZOW, D.A. 1925 "Habitat of Loucheux Bands." Indian Notes. Vol 2: 292-5.
- CALLBREATH, J.C. 1888 Notes on the Tahl-tan Indians. Annual Reports of the Canada Geological (and Natural History) Survey. Montreal. n.s., 3: 195-199.

- CHANG, K. 1962 "Settlement and Community Patterns in Some Circumpolar Societies." Arctic Anthropology 1: 28-71.
- CLARK, A.M. 1970 "Koyukon Athabascan Ceremonialism." Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology Vol. 2: 80-88.
- COLVILE, E. 1956 Eden Colvile's Letters, 1849-52. The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, London. E.E. Rich (ed.).
- COOK, Captain 1966 Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Ann Arbor. University Microfilms Inc. John Rickman (ed.)
- COOK, Frederick A. 1908 To the Top of the Continent. Doubleday, Page and Company, New York.
- COUES, Elliott 1965 Henry and Thompson Journals. Ross and Haines, Inc., Minneapolis, 1965, Vol. 2.
- CURTIS, E.S. 1928 "The Chipewyan." In: The North American Indian. 18: 3-52. Also reprinted in Johnson Reprints 1970.
- DALL, W.H. 1870 Alaska and Its Resources. Lee and Shepard, Boston.
- 1877 On the Distribution and Nomenclature of the Native Tribes of Alaska. Contributions to North American Anthropology, Department of the Interior, U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Washington.
- DAVIDOV, Gavril I. 1812 Two Voyages to America. Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, Naval Printing Office. English Translation of portions of the book. Microfilm.
- DAVIDSON, G.C. 1918 The Northwest Company. University of California. Publications in History.
- DAWSON, G.M. 1888-89 Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T., and Adjacent Portion of British Columbia. Annual Reports of the Canada Geological (and Natural History) Survey. Montreal.
- DE LAGUNA, F. 1969-1970 "The Atna of the Copper River, Alaska: The World of Men and Animals." Folk, 11-12: 17-26.
- DIXON, George 1789 A Voyage Round the World Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1788 in the King George and Queen Charlotte. London. Microfilm.

- DRIVER, Harold E. 1961 Indians of North America. Chicago: University Press.
- EGGAN, Fred. 1955 "Social Anthropology: Methods and Results." In: Fred Egan, ed., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- EMBER, M. and Carol R. EMBER. 1971 "The Conditions Favouring Matrilineal Versus Patrilineal Residence." American Anthropologist 73: 571-594.
- EMMONS, G.T. 1911 The Tahltan Indians. University of Pennsylvania Museum Anthropology Publications. 4: 1-120.
- FARRAND, L. 1898 "The Chilcotin." British Association for the Advancement of Science, 68: 645-8.
- FATHAUER, G.H. 1942 "Social Organization and Kinship of the Northern Athabaskan Indians." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago.
- FRANKLIN, Sir John. 1970 Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1819, 20, 21, and 22. C.E. Tuttle, Publishers, Rutland, Vermont.
- FRIED, Morton 1967 The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology. New York: Random House.
- GARVIN, John W., (eds.) 1927 Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the years 1789 and 1793. by Alexander MacKenzie, Esq., Chicago: Lakeside.
- GLAVE, E.J. 1892 a "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska. 1. The Advance." Century Illustrated Magazine. n.s. vol. 22, Sept. New York.
- 1892 b "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska. 11. The Return to the Coast." Century Illustrated Magazine. n.s. Vol. 22, Oct. New York.
- GODDARD, P.E. 1903-4 "The Life and Culture of the Hupa." University of California Publications in Anthropology. Vol. 1, pp. 57-8.
- GOLDER, Frank A. 1922 Bering's Voyages. Vol. 1, 1922 Vol. 2, 1925 American Geographical Society Research Series 1 and 2.

- GOLDMAN, I. 1941 "The Alkatcho Carrier: Historical Background of Crest Prerogatives." American Anthropologist, 43. 396-418.
- GOUGH, Kathleen. 1961 "Variation in Residence." In: Matrilineal Kinship. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, Eds. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 545-576.
- GUEDON, M. 1971 "People of Tetlin, Why are you Singing? A Study of the Social Life of the Upper Tanana Indians." Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- HALL, Edwin, S. 1969 "Speculations on the Late Prehistory of the Kutchin Atnapaskans." Ethnohistory, Vol. 16.
- HARDISTY, W.L. 1867 "The Loucheux Indians." Annual Reports of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
- HARMON, Daniel W. 1957 Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800-1816. Lamb, W.K. ed. Toronto: MacMillan.
- HEARNE, S. 1911 A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudsons' Bay to the Northern Ocean. J.B. Tyrrell, ed. Publications of the Champlain Society, Toronto.
- HEARNE, S. and P. TURNER. 1934 Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turner. J.B. Tyrrel, ed. Publication of the Champlain Society, Toronto.
- HELM, June 1961 The Lynx Point People: The Dynamics of a Northern Athapaskan Band. Bulletin of the National Museum of Canada. No. 176.
- 1965 "Bilaterality in the Socio-Territorial Organization of the Arctic Drainage Dene." Ethnology 4: 361-85.
- 1968 "The Nature of Dogrib Socio-Territorial Groups." In: Man the Hunter, I. Devore and R. Lees, eds. Chicago: Aldine Press. pp. 118-125.
- HICKERSON, Harold 1956 "The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa." Ethnohistory, Vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 289-345.
- 1960 "The Feast of the Dead among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes." American Anthropologist Vol. 62, pp. 81-107.

- 1962 a The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study. American Anthropological Association, Memoirs 92, 109 pp.
- 1962 b "Notes on the Post-Contact Origin of the Midewiwin." Ethnohistory Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 404-423.
- 1963 "The Sociohistorical Significance of Two Chippewa Ceremonials." American Anthropologist, Vol. 65, pp. 67-86.
- 1966 "The Genesis of Bilaterality Among Two Divisions of Chippewa." American Anthropologist 68: 1-26.
- 1967 a "Some Implications of the Theory of the Particularity, or "Atomism of Northern Algonkians." Current Anthropology, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 313-343.
- 1967 b "Land Tenure of the Rainy Lake Chippewa at the Beginning of the 19th Century." Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 12, No. 4.
- 1970 The Chippewa and their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- 1971 d "The Chippewa of the Upper Great Lakes: A Study in Sociopolitical Change." In: American Indian Ethnology and Ethnohistory, eds. E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie.
- 1973 "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indians." Journal of Ethnic Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, University of Washington Press, Seattle.
- HODGE, F.W. ed. 1912 Handbook of the American Indians. 2 parts. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Washington.
- HOIJER, H. 1956 "Athabascan Kinship Systems. A Comparison of Northern and Southern Kinship Terminology." American Anthropologist 58: 309-333.
- 1956 "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages." International Journal of American Linguistics, 22: 219-32.
- HONIGMANN, J.J. 1946 Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 33.
- 1949 Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 40.

- HUNT, George T. 1960 The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Relations. Madison: the University of Wisconsin Press.
- HYMES, D.H. 1957 "A Note on Athabaskan Glottochronology." International Journal of American Linguistics. vol. 23, pp. 291-7.
- 1960 "Lexicostatistics So Far." Current Anthropology 1: 3-44.
- ISBISTER, A.K. 1847 "On the Nehanni Tribe of a Koloochian Class of American Indians." British Association for the Advancement of Science.
- JENNESS, Diamond 1943 "The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River: Their Social and Religious Life." Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Vol. 133: 469-586.
- 1972 The Indians of Canada. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65.
- JONES, S. 1866 "The Kutchin Tribes." Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
- KEITH, George 1889-90 Letters to Mr. Roderic Mackenzie 1807-1817, in Masson, L.F.R., Les Bourgeois de la Campagne du Nord-Ouest, Serie II, Quebec.
- KING, R. 1836 Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean. Samuel Bentley, Printer, London, vol. 1 and 2.
- KIRKBY, W.W. 1864 "A Journey to the Youcan." Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, 416-20.
- KROEBER, A.L. 1925 "Handbook of the Indians of California." Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78. Washington.
- 1937 "Athabaskan Kin Term Systems." American Anthropologist, 38: 602-9.
- 1939 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, University of California Press, 38(1).
- 1958 "Ethnographic Interpretations: Reflections and Tests on Athabaskan Glottochronology." University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

- LAMB, W.K., ed. 1957 Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon, 1800-1816. Toronto: MacMillan.
- 1960 Fraser, Simon, 1776-1862. Letters and Journals, 1806-1808. Toronto: MacMillan.
- LANGSDORFF, G.H. Von. 1814 Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, during the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807. Part II, Henry Colburn, Dublin.
- LATHAM, R.G. 1848 "On the Ethnography of Russian America." Journal of the Ethnological Society. London.
- LEACOCK, Eleanor 1954 The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade. American Anthropological Association Memoir 78.
- LEARNARD, H.G. 1900 "A Trip from Portage Bay to Turnagain Arm and up the Sushitna." In: Compilation of Narratives of Explorations in Alaska. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Washington.
- LEES, R.B. 1953 "The Basis of Glottochronology." Language 29: 113-127.
- LEVIN, M.G. and POTAPOX, L.P. eds. 1965 The Peoples of Siberia. Translated with an introduction by Stephen P. Dunn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LISIANSKY, I.F. 1968 A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806. Ridgewood, N.J., Gregg Press. Originally Published 1812.
- MACKENZIE, Alexander. 1927 Voyage from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793. John W. Garvin (ed.), Chicago: Lakeside.
- MACKENZIE, A. 1970 The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. W. Kaye Lamb, ed., Hakluyt. Society Extra Series, 41. Cambridge, England.
- MACNEISH, J.H. 1956 "Leadership among the Northeastern Athabascans." Anthropologica, 2:131-63.
- 1960 "Kin Terms of Arctic Drainage Dene." American Anthropologist 62: 279-95.
- MACNEISH, R.S. 1959 "A Speculative Framework of Northern North American Prehistory as of April 1959." Anthropologica 1: 7-23.

- 1964 "Investigations in Southwest Yukon: Archaeological Excavations, Comparison, and Speculations." Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology. Andover 6: 201-488.
- MAIR, Lucy 1968 An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- MARCHAND, J.F. 1943 "Tribal Epidemics in the Yukon." Journal of the American Medical Association, Chicago 123(16): 1019-1020.
- MASSON, L.F.R. 1960 Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie due nord-ouest. Quebec. 2 Vols. 18, New York: Antiquarian Press.
- McCLELLAN, C. 1950 "Culture Contact and Native Trade in the Southern Yukon Territory." Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- 1961 "Avoidance Between Siblings of the Same Sex in Northwestern North America." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Vol. 17: 103-23.
- McDONALD, T.H., ed. 1966 Exploring the Northwest Territory. Sir Alexander Mackenzie's Journal of a Voyage by Bark Canoe from Lake Athabasca to the Pacific Ocean in the Summer of 1789. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- MCKENNAN, Robert A. 1959 The Upper Tanana Indians. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 55. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- 1965 "The Chandalar Kutchin." Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper No. 17, Arctic Institute of North America, Montreal.
- 1969 "Athapaskan Groupings and Social Organizations in Central Alaska." In: Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies. National Museums of Canada Bulletin 228, Paper No. 4 National Museum of Canada, Ottawa. pp. 93-115.
- MCLEAN, J. 1932 Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory. W.S. Wallace, ed. Publications of the Champlain Society. Vol. 19.
- MEARES, John 1967 Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America. Amsterdam, N. Israel.
- MORGAN, L.H. 1871 Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity. Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, Washington.

- MORICE, Adrian G. 1892 "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology Indigenous or Exotic?" Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series I, Vol. 10, part 2, pp. 109-126.
- 1904 The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto: William Briggs.
- 1906-07 "The Great Dene Race." Anthropos, Vol. 1, pp. 229-277, 483-508, 695-730; Vol. 2, pp. 1-34, 181-196; Vol. 4, pp. 582-606; Vol. 5, pp. 113-142, 419-443, 643-654, 969-990.
- 1928 "The Fur Trade in Anthropology and a Few Related Questions." American Anthropologist, Vol. 30, New Series, No. 1. pp. 6084.
- MURDOCK, George Peter. 1949 Social Structure. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- MURPHY, R.F., and STEWARD, L.H. 1956 "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Process in Acculturation." Economic Development and Cultural Change 4: 335-355. Chicago.
- MURRAY, A.H. 1910 Journal of the Yukon, 1847-48. Publication of the Canadian Archives, 4: 1-125.
- NELSON, Richard K. 1973 Hunters of the Northern Forest. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- NEWCOMB, W.W. 1950 "A re-examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare." American Anthropologist 52: 317-330.
- OBBERG, Kalervo 1960 "Group Solidarity among the Tlingit." In: Exploring the Ways of Mankind, Water Goldschmidt, ed. pp. 290-295, University of California, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- OLIVER, Symmes, C. 1962 "Ecology and Cultural Continuity as Contribution Factors in the Social Organization of the Plains Indians." University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. 48: 1-90.
- OLSON, R.L. 1936 "Some Trading Customs of the Chilkat Tlingit." Essays in Anthropology presented to A.L. Kroeber, pp. 211-14. Berkeley.
- OPLER, M.E. 1936 "The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan - Speaking Tribes." American Anthropologist Vol. 38: 620-633.

- OSGOOD, Cornelius 1933 "Tanaina Culture." American Anthropologist, Vol. 35: 695-717.
- 1934 "Kutchin Tribal Distribution and Synonymy." American Anthropologist, 36: 168-79.
- 1936 a Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin. Yale University Publications in Anthropology. No. 16, New Haven.
- 1936 b The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians. Yale University Publications in Anthropology. No. 7: 1-23. New Haven.
- 1937 The Ethnography of the Tanaina. Yale University Publication in Anthropology. No. 16. New Haven.
- 1940 Ingalik Material Culture. Yale University Publications in Anthropology. No. 22. New Haven.
- 1958 Ingalik Social Culture. Yale University Publications in Anthropology. No. 53. New Haven.
- 1959 Ingalik Mental Culture. Yale University Publications in Anthropology. No. 56. New Haven.
- 1971 The Han Indians: A Compilation of Ethnographic and Historical data on the Alaska-Yukon Boundary Area. Yale Publications in Anthropology. No. 74. New Haven.
- PETITOT, E.F.S. 1883 "On the Athabasca District of the Canadian Northwest Territory." Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. London.
- 1884 "On the Athabasca District." Canadian Record of Science, 1: 27-53.
- 1893 Explorations de la region du Grand Lac des Ours. Parris Tegui.
- PETROFF, I. 1880 Report of the Population Industries, and Resources of Alaska. U.S. Department of the Interior, Tenth Census.
- PORTLOCK, Nathaniel. 1968 A Voyage Round the World: But More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America. Amsterdam, N. Israel.
- RAINEY, F.G. 1939 "Archaeology in Central Alaska." Anthropological Paper of the Americas. 36: 351-404. Museum of Natural History.

- RICH, E.E., ed. 1938 Simpson, Sir George, 1792-1860. Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department, 1820 and 1821, and Report. Champlain Society, Toronto.
- 1951-52 Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journal, 1775-82. Hudson's Bay Record Society, London.
- 1956 London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville 1849-52. The Hudson's Bay Record Society, London.
- 1959 Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870. 3 Vols. Toronto: McClelland and Steward.
- RICHARDSON, John 1851 Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat Voyage Through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea. Longman, Brown, and Longmans, London. Vol. 1 and 2.
- RICKMAN, John 1966 Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Ann Arbor. University Microfilms, Inc.
- ROHNER, Ronald P. and Evelyn C. 1970 The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- ROSS, B.R. n.d. "Notes on the Tinne." Bureau of American Ethnology. Mc. 126.
- 1859 "On the Indian Tribes of MacKenzie River District and the Arctic Coast." Canadian Naturalist. Vol. 4: 190-7.
- 1866 "The Eastern Tinneh." Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
- RUSSELL, Frank 1898 Explorations in the Far North. University of Iowa, Iowa City.
- SAHLANS, M.D. 1960 "Political Power and the Economy in Primitive Society." In: Essays in the Science of Culture. Dole, G.E. and R.L. Carneire (eds.) pp. 390-415.
- 1972 Stone Age Economics. Chicago, Aldine-Atherton.
- SAPIR, E. 1916 Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture. Memoirs of the Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey 90: 11-87.
- 1949 "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture." In: Selected Writings of Edward Sapir. D.G. Mandelbaum, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press.

- SCHNEIDER, D.M. and E. Kathleen GOUGH, eds. 1961 Matrilineal Kinship. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SCHNEIDER, David M. 1961 "Introduction: The Distinctive Features of Matrilineal Descent Groups." In: Matrilineal Kinship. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 1-29.
- SERVICE, Elman R. 1968 Primitive Social Organization, An Evolutionary Perspective. New York: Random House.
- SHAFER, R. 1957 "Notes on Athabascan and Sino-Tibetan." International Journal of American Linguistics, 23(2): 116-7.
- 1969 "A Few More Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan Comparisons." International Journal of American Linguistics. 35:67.
- SIMPSON, George 1938 Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department, 1820 and 1821. Publications of the Champlain Society, Toronto, Vol. 1: 557.
- SIMPSON, Thomas 1843 Narrative of the Discoveries on the Northern Coast of America; Effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Years 1836-39. R. Bentley, London.
- SLOBODIN, Richard 1962 Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin. National Museum of Canada Bulletin 179. Ottawa.
- 1963 a "Notes on the Han." pp. 1-23, Unpublished Manuscript.
- SPECK, Frank 1915 a "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization." American Anthropologist. 17: 289-305.
- 1915 b Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa River Valley. Canada Geol. Soc., Mem. 70.
- 1922 "Beothuk and Micmac." Indian Notes and Monographs. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, No. 22.
- 1923 "Mistassini Hunting Territories in the Labrador Peninsula." American Anthropologist 25: 452-71.

- SPIER, Leslie 1925 "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America." University of Washington Publications in Anthropology. 1:75-6.
- STEWARD, Julian 1936 "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands." In: Essays in Anthropology, presented to Alfred L. Kroeber. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- 1940 "Recording Culture Changes Among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia." Smithsonian Institution, Explorations and Field-Work. United States Government Printing Office, Washington. pp. 83-90.
- 1941 "Determinism in Primitive Society?" Scientific Monthly. Vol. 53: 491-501.
- 1941 "Investigations Among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia." Science Monthly, Vol. 52: 280-3.
- 1941 "Recording Culture Changes Among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia." Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington.
- 1955 Theory of Culture Change. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- 1960 "Carrier Acculturation, The Direct Historical Approach." In: Culture in History, Essays in Honour of Paul Radin, S. Diamond, ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- SUE, H. 1964 "The Hare Indians and Their World." Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- SWADISH, Morris 1952 "Lexicostatic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 96: 452-63.
- SWANTON, J.R. 1952 "The Indian Tribes of North America." Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington. Vol. 145.
- TEIT, J.A. 1906 "Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia." In: Boas Anniversary Volume, Anthropological Papers. G.E. Stechert Co., New York.
- TOWNSEND, J.D. 1970 "Tanaina Ethnohistory: An Example of a Method for the Study of Cultural Change." In: Ethnohistory in Southwestern Alaska and the Southern Yukon, M. Lantis, ed. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

- TYRRELL, B. (ed.) 1911 A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean. Publications of the Champlain Society, Toronto.
- 1916 David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812. The Champlain Society, Toronto.
- 1934 Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turner. Publications of the Champlain Society, Toronto.
- VANCOUVER, George 1798 A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World. Vol. 1, Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, and J. Edwards, Pall-Mall, 1967.
- VAN STONE, James W. 1965 The Changing Culture of the Snowdrift Chipewyan. National Museum of Canada Bulletin 209. Ottawa.
- 1970 "An Introduction to Baron F.P. Von Wrangell's Observations on the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska." Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 6.
- 1974 Athapaskan Adaptations. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- VOORHIS, Ernest 1930 Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies. Department of the Interior, National Resources Intelligence Branch, Ottawa.
- WALLACE, W.S. 1968 John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory. New York: Greenwood Press.
- WEHRMAN, Lieutenant 1857 "The Distribution of Native Tribes in Russian America." In: Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska. Ivan Petroff, 1880.
- WERTZEL, W.F. 1889 Letters to the Hon. Roderic McKenzie. Les Bourgeois de la Campagne du Nord-Ouest, L.F.R. Masson, ed., 1: 85-105.
- WHYMPER, Frederick 1868 "A Journey from Norton Sound, Bering Sea, to Fort Yukon, at the Junction of the Porcupine and Yukon Rivers." Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, Vol. 38: 219-37.
- WRANGELL, F.P. 1970 "An Introduction to Baron F.P. Von Wrangell's Observations on the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska." Arctic Anthropology. J.W. Von Stone (ed.), Vol. 6 (2):1-3.

- YERBURY, J.C. 1975 "19th Century Kootenay Settlement Patterns." Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 4 (in press).
- ZAGOSKIN, L.A. 1967 Lieutenant Zagoskin's Travels in Russian America, 1842-1844. The first ethnographic and geographic investigations in the Yukon and Kuskatwin valleys of Alaska, ed. Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institution of North America, Anthropology of the North, Translation from Russian Sources, No. 7. Toronto.