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**THROUGH THE EYES OF STRANGERS:**

**A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF LAND USE HISTORY IN THE  
YUKON DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

**Julie Cruikshank**

**February 1974**



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REPORT TO THE YUKON TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT  
AND THE YUKON ARCHIVES.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

This report was written under contract to the Territorial Government through the Yukon Archives. The terms of reference included spending three months compiling a summary of what has been written about Yukon Indian history and land use up until the early decades of this century. Sources used include over a hundred books, papers, documents, theses and reports which are now available in the Yukon Archives. It was agreed that this report would be made freely available in the Archives to any groups or individuals interested in reading it.

Any value of this report will be for people interested in general outlines of Yukon Indian history as it has been recorded in scattered documents. The information in written accounts is often fragmentary and ambiguous, and while such accounts suggest important questions for research, they seldom provide conclusive answers. Hopefully the report may provide a starting point for development of oral histories in the villages. Such local histories may go far beyond information recorded by travellers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by anthropologists more recently.



This paper starts with the assumption that Indian people used the land extensively in the Yukon. It attempts to document this by looking at where early camps and trails were recorded, and by looking at seasonal cycles of movement, native trade networks, economic activities and so on. The report concentrates on land use rather than on concepts of land ownership for several reasons. In the first place there is very little documentation of aboriginal concepts of land ownership in the Yukon and much of what has been written is not very reliable. Secondly, any attempt to describe concepts of ownership would have to revolve around detailed descriptions of kinship - moieties, clans, descent, and areas to which specific descent groups expressed 'rights of use'. It is an extremely complicated system which goes far beyond land use.\* Thirdly, it is unlikely that anyone living today really understands aboriginal concepts of land ownership, so greatly did the fur trade modify patterns of land use after the 1850's. The earliest written accounts take us back only as far as the 1850's and indications are that considerable readjustments of population were occurring at that time.

The sources used here have a number of obvious limitations but they are useful once these limitations are recognized. First, they were all written by 'strangers' - Europeans who at best recorded information as exactly as they could from Indian people, and at worst made their own judgements on the basis of very limited information. Early Europeans visited for a number of reasons and wrote for a number of purposes. Seldom were the Native people their main concern. Most of them followed waterways instead of overland routes, visited only in summer, and often speculated when they lacked facts. Consequently the reliability and completeness of some accounts is questionable.

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\* Dr. Catharine McClellan's forthcoming book, My Old People Say, discusses this for the southwest Yukon. (Bulletin, National Museum of Canada, in press).



Certain judgements about the accuracy of these accounts have been made in this report. Reports by early fur traders are often second hand but in some cases they provide the best information available. Traders generally stayed in the area for some years. They had a valid interest in knowing exactly where Indian people were, where they were trading, and where the best trapping grounds were. Since their reports were seldom intended for publication, there is less tendency to exaggerate than in some other accounts.

Reports from military expeditions made by the United States government took special care to locate settlements as accurately as possible, since their main objective was to pinpoint potentially 'hostile' Native groups (see Schwatka, Allen). Other reports came from employees of the Western Telegraph Company, Dall and Whympier, during an abortive attempt to build a cable via Siberia; only information about people trading to Fort Yukon is used from their reports because they never travelled upriver from there. The surveyor William Ogilvie, on a trip to locate the international boundary, and the geologist George Dawson, who went down river as far as Fort Selkirk, both gave brief but careful early accounts. Northwest Mounted Police patrol reports and Anglican church mission reports provide useful information about who was where, though for a later period than the other reports cited.

Anthropologists such as McClellan, Osgood, Slobodin, Balikci, Tanner and Honigmann were primarily concerned with reconstruction of the period before 1900. Sometimes they focused on native trade, a particularly important aspect of the way land was used in the period from 1850-1890's. However, in many cases their work was done so long after white contact that certain questions





about aboriginal land use are still unanswered.

The annotated bibliography (Appendix II) gives a brief description of sources used. These sources, then, give only a partial picture and should be read as such.

In a three month period, a limited amount can be accomplished. There are undoubtedly reports which have been overlooked because they are not yet available in the Archives. At least two doctoral dissertations and a major book in anthropology, all based on the Yukon, are scheduled to appear in the next few years. These may contain answers to some of the questions raised in this report.

The following chapters attempt to summarize some of the evidence which geography, biology, archeology, history and ethnography could contribute to a comprehensive study of historical land use :

Section II summarizes geography and resources; Section III, Yukon prehistory; and Section IV, history of the fur trade. All these provide part of a context in which 'land use' must be discussed. Materials dealing with recorded history and ethnography as they relate to land use comprise the largest chapter, Section V. Section VI summarizes some of the changes since 1900. Section VII gives a summary and suggestions for further research. Appendix I summarizes briefly the origins of present day villages, and Appendix II is an annotated bibliography.



## II. THE LAND AND THE RESOURCES

### Geography and Geographical Divisions :

The dominant geographical feature of the Yukon Territory is the river which gives it its name. According to Hudson's Bay Company records, when the trader Bell explored the Porcupine to its mouth in 1846, he was told by Native people that the great river into which it flowed was known as the Yukonna or Youcan (Murray, 1910, p. 2). Most of the Territory is drained by this river. In summer, when salmon were an important part of the diet, the Yukon and its tributaries outlined the map of human habitation in the central interior.

There are a number of other major rivers in the Yukon Territory. The Alsek, rising in the southwest Yukon, cuts through the steep St. Elias chain of mountains to the Pacific. Up this river and its tributaries come the only sockeye salmon which reach the Territory.

The southeast corner of the Territory is drained by the Liard which flows north to the Mackenzie and ultimately to the Arctic Ocean. In the northeast, the Blackstone, Hart, Wind, Bonnet Plume and Snake merge in the Peel and also flow north to the Mackenzie.

Four general 'areas' in the Territory can be distinguished for purposes of this paper, defined partly by geography and resources and partly by cultural considerations. These rather arbitrary divisions will be used throughout the paper to give some geographical unity to topics discussed (see Map #1).

II-1(a)

MAP # 1

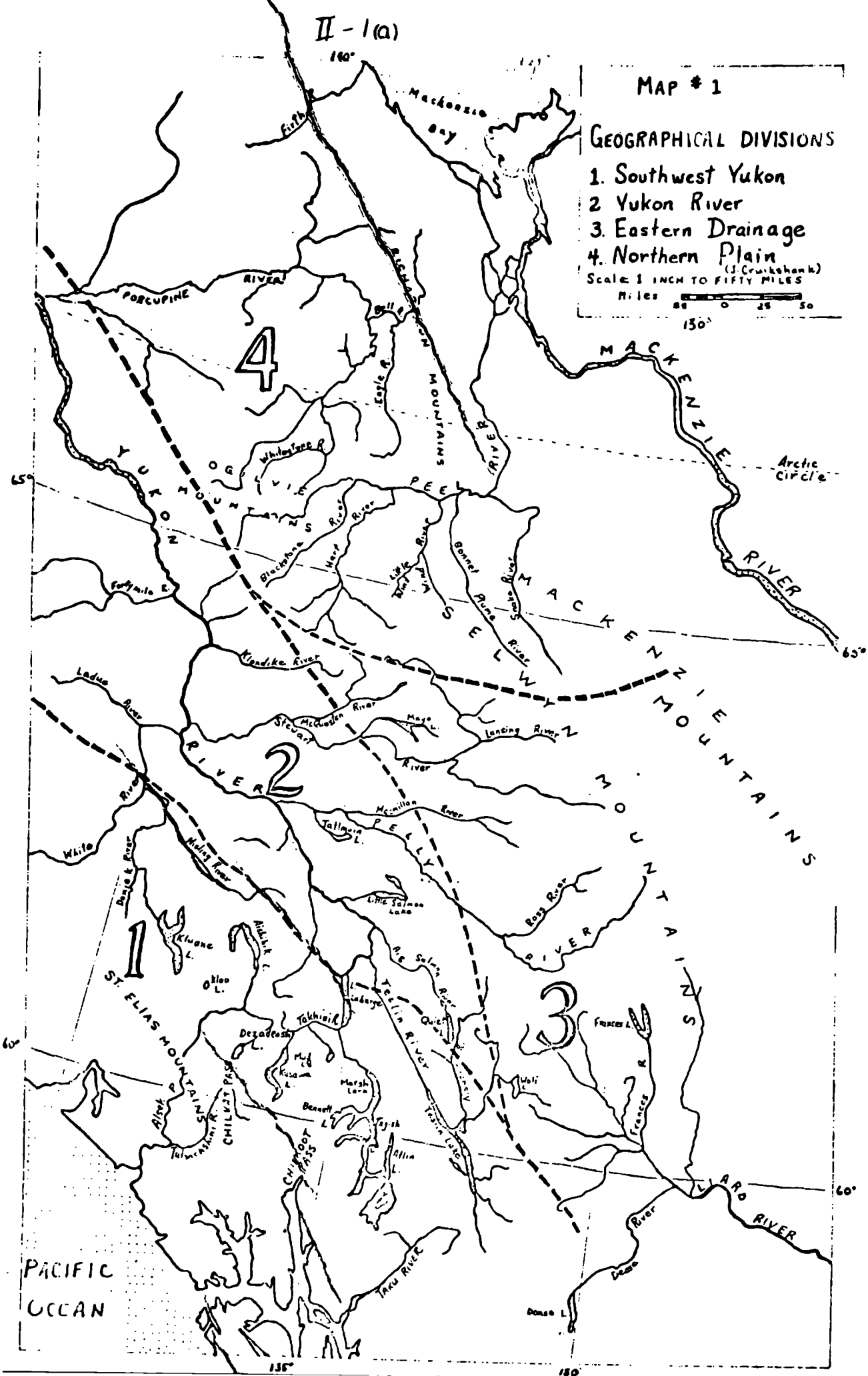
GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

- 1. Southwest Yukon
- 2. Yukon River
- 3. Eastern Drainage
- 4. Northern Plain

(J. Cruikshank)

Scale: 1 INCH TO FIFTY MILES

Miles 0 25 50



A. At the foot of the St. Elias Range lies a lake district stretching from northwest to southeast : Kluane, Dezadeash, Aishihik, Kloo, Kusawa, Laberge, Bennett, Tagish, Atlin and Teslin. All these lakes flow to the Yukon River except the Dezadeash and Aishihik which are drained by the Alsek system to the Pacific.

B. The Yukon River, including the lower reaches of rivers flowing into it comprises another 'region' - the Big Salmon, the lower Pelly, the White, the lower Stewart, the Klondike and the Fortymile.

C. The Eastern lakes and rivers - separated here for cultural rather than geographical reasons - include the Liard drainage, Frances Lake, the Pelly lakes and the upper reaches of the Pelly, the Ross, the Macmillan and the Stewart.

D. The Porcupine and Peel River system is separated from the Yukon River by the Ogilvie mountains and from the Arctic littoral by the Richardson mountains. The Porcupine River flows southwest into the Yukon; the Peel and its tributaries drain northeast to the Mackenzie.

In addition to geographical distinctions within the Yukon, any discussion of land use must contrast the Yukon interior as a whole with the environment of the Pacific coast.

Separating coast from interior is the St. Elias range, including the highest mountain in Canada. The Pacific coast rain forest with its lush growth, its salmon-rich rivers and its varieties of marine life presents a marked contrast

with the dry subarctic interior, its boreal forest, its fur animals and its extreme winters. The contrasting environment and resources gave rise to different technologies, different settlement patterns and especially to important trade between coast and interior. This trade was an essential component of pre-historic and historic land use in the southern Yukon.

Resources :

In the interior, the environment was not considered land to be exploited, but rather a community which inter-related people, animals, animate and inanimate objects mutually shared.

The environment imposed certain basic limitations on the material culture of the people. Survival in an unpredictable and sometimes hostile climate required great ingenuity and adaptability : all the available resources had to be used. Stone, wood, bone and skins were converted into tools and clothing. Animals, fish, birds and edible wild plants provided the food.

In a society where people meet their subsistence needs by hunting, fishing and gathering, the ways in which land is used depends largely on the animals and fish available in a given area. Consequently this section deals at some length with these resources.

A brief inventory of the main animals, fish and birds in the Yukon would include the following. Moose and caribou were hunted for food and for their hides as were less important land animals such as rabbit, mountain sheep

bear and porcupine. Beaver was a source of food before the fur trade made it a 'fur' animal. Mink, marten, muskrat, lynx, fox, wolf and wolverine provided furs. Varieties of salmon, trout, grayling, pike, herring, whitefish and some arctic char and inconnu inhabited the various lakes and rivers draining the Territory. Ptarmigan and northerly migrating ducks and geese provided additional food.

These food resources were localized in specific areas, and they were subject to cyclical fluctuations. Because there is evidence that there were major shifts in animal populations, a look at habits, habitat, and changes in habitat of the most important of these animals suggests that hunting methods and use of land may have changed considerably at different times over the years.

#### Moose and Caribou :

There is considerable evidence that moose and caribou habitats have shifted within the last one hundred and fifty years. Biologists are still not sure of the reasons for their disappearance and reappearance and very little has been written about historical movements of these animals. Such shifts must have had a major impact on human ecological adjustment of people living in this area.

Two major kinds of caribou have been in the Yukon in historic times - 'Stone' caribou and 'Osborn' caribou. Stone caribou are the only ones to form large herds.

Tanner elaborated in 1965 :

- The two main herds in the Yukon are the 'Peel River herd' which is found in the area of the headwaters of the Peel and Porcupine Rivers, and the 'Dawson herd', which is located between the Yukon and Tanana Rivers. The former herd have complex and irregular migration routes while the latter tend to move south in the late autumn. Prior to the goldrush the Dawson herd was seen regularly around Whitehorse and further south. As this herd was reduced in size by hunters its migrations became less widespread. This herd was most recently seen in the Whitehorse area in 1924 and again in 1932. In 1936 it crossed the frozen Yukon River at Carmacks and reached Kluane Lake. In 1944 a large winter herd was seen at the confluence of the White and Yukon Rivers. According to one observer it formed a block 1 1/2 miles long by 1 1/4 miles wide. " (Tanner, 1966, p. 50) \*

On the other hand, Murie noted that the caribou sometimes reported in the Liard River, Pelly River, Ross River and Macmillan River areas were Osborn caribou from the Cassiar region of British Columbia (Murie, 1935, p. 82-83). These caribou do not travel in such large herds as stone caribou.

Caribou and moose have very different habits and these habits must be taken into account by hunters :

- Caribou are herd animals, whereas moose are solitary. Caribou behavior is much more predictable than moose, Caribou can be driven, whereas moose cannot; caribou group up, even when

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\* The Dawson or Sixtymile herd described by Tanner has disappeared in the last few years and has possibly merged with the Peel River herd, which is the only large herd still migrating in the Yukon Territory (personal communication, Dr. Manfred Hoefs, Yukon Game Branch).



" attacked by man. Local hunters claim that if a lead animal can be brought down, the rest of the herd will often mill about for a minute or two until a new leader is established, and that even after a number of animals have been shot the remainder may run but a short distance and group up again. Moose, on the other hand, usually travel alone for most of the year (although females will often be accompanied by their calf or yearling). Three or four moose yarding together under winter conditions will be a maximum concentration. Furthermore, moose are extremely erratic. They are easily excited and when disturbed will rapidly leave the vicinity frequently moving beyond the radius that the hunter can effectively cover. In addition the manner in which moose escape and the routes they take are comparatively unpredictable - and therefore successful. Driving moose is virtually impossible. " (Knight, 1965, p.38).

The pattern of game replacement, then, becomes extremely important for the economic organization of Indian people depending on these animals.

A. In the southwest Yukon, archeological evidence at Aishihik shows a majority of caribou rather than moose bones remain from the last century. (Roback and Gates, 1973, p.32). Murie confirms that caribou are known to have wintered in this region and at the mouth of the White River (Murie, 1935, p.71). McClellan suggests that moose may have replaced caribou since 1900. Her informants in 1948 could remember herds of caribou at Klukshu and Aishihik when they were young (McClellan, 1950, p.13). In 1909, Snyder suggested that moose and caribou seemed to exchange ranges every few years; moose had replaced caribou about 1900, but caribou were returning to the southwest a decade later. (Snyder, 1909, p.226). Carcross is remembered as a major caribou crossing. In 1885, Schwatka identified this spot at the north end of Bennett Lake as "the place where the caribou cross". (1885, p. 742).

A Yukon Game Branch biologist suggests that the herds in the southwest probably numbered only a few thousand compared with the much larger northern herds. These southern herds were more localized and did not migrate very long distances. (Personal communication, Manfred Hoefs).

B. The Yukon River was on the route of major Stone caribou migrations for years. Arcand learned from Indian people at Carmacks that large caribou herds crossed the Yukon River every autumn south of Selkirk and crossed back every spring until 1938 (Arcand, 1966, p. 8, 63). A photo of a very large herd of caribou swimming across the Yukon River near Selkirk sometime before 1929 supports this (Kitto, 1929, p. 21). Murie recorded that there were regular crossings by large herds at the mouth of the White River, at the mouth of the Stewart River, at Rosebud Creek, at ABC Creek (below Fort Selkirk), at Coffee Creek, and at Selwyn Creek (1935, p. 71). Old caribou fences and corrals are said to still be visible between Dawson and Eagle.

C. In the southeast, a number of independent sources note the replacement of moose by caribou around 1800 and the return of moose in the 1870's on the Liard and upper Pelly drainage. According to Murie, these would be the Osborn caribou from the Cassiar which do not migrate in large herds.

" The history of the occurrence of moose in this section can not well be accounted for. It is believed to have been a habitant of all this region in early days, but for some unexplained reason the animal entirely disappeared early in 1800, to make its appearance again in 1877, when several were killed in the Dease country. " (Emmons, 1911, p.77).

By the time the geologist Dawson arrived in 1887, he noted :

" We found the moose particularly plentiful along the Upper Liard River and it is stated that the country drained by the White River is noted among the Indians as a moose and beaver region " (Dawson, 1898, p.22).

In 1896, Pike recorded :

" Twenty-five years ago there were very few moose along the Liard and the animal was unknown to Indians hunting westward of Dease Lake . . . . Today the little known region drained by the Dease, the Upper Liard, the Frances and the Pelly is probably the best moose country in the continent of North America " (Pike, 1896, pp. 89-90).

By 1904 and 1905, the big game hunter Sheldon visited the upper Pelly, but found no traces of caribou. He was told by the Indian people there that caribou did not range in the Pellys (Sheldon, 1911, p. 245).

Poole Field was a trader on the upper Pelly from 1903 to at least 1913. He was told by the oldest men that when they were young there were no moose in the region, only caribou. These men had hunted them with bows and arrows, spears, snares, deadfalls and large fenced caribou surrounds which they built collectively. (Field, 1957, p. 52).

As late as 1943, old men on the Liard River told Honigmann that during the period when moose disappeared, many men forgot how to hunt them and the young men were not taught how. When moose returned, they had to learn again (Honigmann, 1954, p.15).

D. Only on the Peel and Porcupine Rivers is there evidence for fairly continuous occupancy of caribou. The Firth River archeological sites contain caribou bones many centuries old. (see section III).

Balikci's informants stated that at the turn of the century caribou were abundant on the Firth River where collective drives were organized. A major hunting spot was just south of the Firth River. Herds still move west or south in September and October, crossing the Porcupine River. Later in the year they move north again. The routes vary somewhat, as do size of herds, but general patterns are predictable and hunters can intercept them (Balikci, 1963, pp. 5,6,15,16).

Moose, on the other hand, are rare this far north, though there are reportedly some on the upper Porcupine (Balikci, p.7). Moose require shoots of deciduous undergrowth for food and this is not available in many areas north of the Ogilvie Mountains.

The reason for elaborating this is because very different hunting techniques are required to hunt caribou and moose. The ability of Indian people to shift their economic base from moose to caribou and back to moose shows great adaptability on their part. They had to develop technology and social

organization which would allow them to survive when there were changes in animals. They also had to be prepared to shift hunting territories when game became scarce.

Herds of caribou were hunted by men in groups rather than by individuals. For example, Mitchell estimated that the band he wintered with in 1898 on the Porcupine River included two hundred individuals and that they required, and got, fifty caribou per day to feed the men, women, children, dogs, and to cache meat for the future (Graham, 1935, p. 196).

By contrast, in areas where people relied on the more solitary moose or on occasional appearances of caribou, hunting bands were much smaller. A group had to have enough men to ensure success at hunting (perhaps two or four) but not so many that families would starve if they were only able to find one moose at a time. The optimum number in any such group might be about fifteen, and certainly no more than thirty.

#### Fish :

While caribou and moose were the important staple in winter, fish were the mainstay in summer. The exception to this might be in the Kluane Lake and White River region where people say they were hunters and never fished except for dog food (Johnson and Raup, 1964, p. 197).

A. The southwest Yukon seems to have supported the largest concentration of people in the interior. Five kinds of fish, including Pacific sockeye

came up the Alsek and were caught at fishcamps on its drainage (McClellan, 1950, p. 12). Glave, a journalist who accompanied Jack Dalton to the interior, recorded permanent settlements on the Tatshenshini and Alsek in 1892. Their locations were definitely linked with their access to fish resources. (See Section V A).

The lakes in the southwest Yukon also contain many species of fish - lake trout, whitefish, inconnu, ling, pike, etc.

B. On the Yukon River there are two salmon runs yearly : King salmon in July and August, and Chum salmon (known locally as 'Dog') later in September. The main economic value of Chum is as dog food. Tollemache, writing in 1905 described the King salmon run at Fort Selkirk, noting that fish sometimes weighed fifty pounds each (Tollemache, 1912, p. 291). Fishcamps are still established on tributaries of the Yukon between July and September.

C. In the southeast the lakes, rather than the Liard River, seem to be the main provider of fish. The Liard drains to the Arctic Ocean and does not have salmon, though the neighbouring Ross and Pelly Rivers share in the Yukon runs. Instead, jackfish, lake pickerel, lake and brook trout, whitefish, greyling, loche and sucker provide the fish diet. These do not come in a sufficient quantity to permit the larger concentrations of population which salmon runs allowed on the Alsek or the Yukon.

D. On the northern plain, the two major rivers drain in opposite directions. Because the Porcupine drains to the Yukon, it too has King salmon runs, the second week in July, and a Chum (dog) run until late fall. The Peel River drains to the Arctic Ocean and lacks salmon. The Firth River, draining to the Arctic Ocean has Arctic char, caught in early winter; whitefish, sucker, loche, grayling, jackfish, inconnu, herring and trout provide the rest of the fish diet (Balikci, 1963, p. 12, 13; Osgood, 1936, p.23).

Fish are an important determinant of group size and social organization. The Alsek salmon runs provide a base for the relatively large population described by de Laguna for the early nineteenth century (1972, Vol. I, pp 85-90).

Likewise, Schwatka estimated that there were two hundred people at the village near Fort Selkirk in 1883 (1885, p. 308). Areas without salmon could not support such concentrations of people. Salmon runs varied from year to year, and in a lean year large summer camps might not be possible.

#### Fur Animals :

Fur bearing animals provided food and clothing for Indian families long before people became tied into a world market in which furs became an item of export. Beaver, for example, was an important source of nutrition before it was made the standard of exchange by Hudson's Bay Company traders and became a cash crop (see Balikci, 1963, p. 11; Tanner, 1965, p.10). It is not clear to what extent beaver contributed to the traditional diet in the Yukon, but it

is known that beaver were once numerous in all parts of the territory. Honigmann even maintains that the people on the Liard River aboriginally maintained "family owned beaver creeks", the only area of land in which exclusive ownership was expressed; however, so early did the Hudson's Bay Company reach the Liard that this may have resulted from the fur trade. (see Honigmann, 1954, pp. 32, 88 - 89).

The fur trade rapidly attracted large numbers of white trappers, and led to overtrapping. In certain areas beaver were practically exterminated early in this century (Tollemache, 1912, p. 241; Balikci, 1963, p. 11).

Lynx, marten, mink, fox, muskrat, otter, squirrel and rabbit became important fur animals in this trade. Scattered references indicate a changing picture over the years.

In 1903, there was an influx of lynx to the Pelly River, but they moved north a year later (Keele, 1957, p. 298). Tollemache expressed concern that both fur animals and moose were scarce on the lower Pelly by 1905 and stated that trappers had to go to the MacMillan to get pelts. (1912, p. 175). The same year, Sheldon commented on the abundance of marten and lynx on the Macmillan River. Three years later he met trappers in Dawson City who told him that the Macmillan had been "trapped out" (Sheldon, 1911, p. 92-3). Assistant Commissioner Wood of the North-West Mounted Police noted " . . . there are signs to show that the country was well stocked before travel set in, but the people passing through and the bush fires have driven the game away (Wood, 1909, p. 42).



It is possible that changes in the furbearing animals could be documented for the entire Yukon in a comprehensive study of changing land use. Shifts in the range of animals, competition from white trappers and changes resulting from the requirements of the fur trade undoubtedly altered traditional land use patterns late in the last century.

A final brief note should be included on birds and edible plants.

**Birds :**

Birds sometimes provided food in lean periods and owls, geese, ducks, ptarmigan, eagles, cranes, swans, loons, spruce hens and willow grouse were some of the fowl available in the interior. It is worth adding that Irving recorded 99 distinct Kutchin names for birds in Old Crow indicating the very precise knowledge people have about life sharing their environment (Irving, 1958, 117-122).

**Edible Plants :**

Edible plants - roots and berries - were also important in the diet but are seldom mentioned in reports or documents, possibly because they were collected by women and girls and most early reports were written men. For the southeast Yukon alone, Honigmann lists soapberries, high and low bush cranberries, salmon berries, rosehips, raspberries, strawberries,

blueberries, fern roots, lily bulbs, mushrooms, muskeg apples, wild onions, and wild rhubarb (Honigmann, 1954, pp.32-33). In lean years, wild vegetables and berries might help tide people over until they got meat or fish.

In summary then, this section looks at one context in which land use should be discussed. It is clear that a good deal more information about demographic fluctuations in animal populations is necessary if we are to understand the interrelationships of man, land, and animals in the early historic period. The Yukon Game Branch has no published information on the subject of changing animal cycles in the Yukon over the last century, but their biologists can provide whatever data it is possible to obtain at this late date.

### III. AN OUTLINE OF PREHISTORY

The Yukon Territory was part of the corridor through which earliest men migrated from Asia to the New World. Consequently prehistory deserves some comment in any discussion of land use before the arrival of whites. While much of this work is still speculative, the general outlines of prehistoric periods are gradually emerging.

Scientists are beginning to combine archeological data, linguistic data, geological, botanical, ethnographic and historical materials to try to understand early population movements in North America. They have shown, for instance, that the basin of the Yukon River was never glaciated, that the Yukon River was navigable during the last glaciation and that this River flows through an area of fish and game similar to eastern Siberia. The Yukon River and its tributaries gave access to an interior plateau stretching south into what is now British Columbia and also east to the Mackenzie valley. An ice-free corridor ran to the central plains soon after the last glaciation began 10,000 years ago (see Leechman, 1946, pp 383-89).

The Yukon River provides three possible access routes to North America :

- (a) up the Yukon, north on the Porcupine and east to the Mackenzie valley
- (b) along the Yukon to the Pelly and south via Frances Lake
- (c) up the Yukon to the Tanana, and southwest through the Kluane basin.

Recent archeology has confirmed some of these routes. Archeological work

has been carried out in the Kluane basin in the southwest, near the Firth River and Old Crow Flats in the northwest, and at one site on the Pelly River near its junction with the Yukon.

#### A. Southwest Yukon :

In the southwest Yukon, detailed reports on sites excavated in the Kluane - Dezadeash area show a series of cultures dating back 10,000 years. (see Johnson and Raup, 1964; and MacNeish, 1964). It is estimated that the Kluane basin could have been inhabited by plants, animals and man as soon as the last glacial ice left. Early inhabitants were primarily nomadic hunters who spread out to hunt caribou, bison, musk ox, elk and antelope. There is no evidence that they relied on fish to any great extent. There were no continuous forests in this region ( and therefore no moose) until a warming period began about 5,000 years ago (see Johnson and Raup, pp. 107-110).

Only very general population movements will be outlined here. Apparently people began moving through the Kluane basin about 10,000 years ago after deglaciation began. Some stayed and adapted to the region; others moved south and adapted to the boreal forest. Between about 5,000 B.C. and 2,000 B.C. a so-called 'Hypsithermal' or warming period occurred.

At this time, hunters from the southern plains region began moving north again, following the northward movement of boreal forests and grasslands. During this period a large lake known as Glacial Lake Champagne drained, allowing people to move into that part of the southwest Yukon. At the end of this Hypsithermal period other lakes appeared, the temperature dropped, and some people moved south again (Dumond, 1969, p. 861-2; Johnson and Raup, p. 107).

MacNeish's archeological data shows that for the most part, cultures developing in the Kluane basin were unique adaptations to a new environment. However, he recognizes links between the earliest 'Kluane' culture and Siberia; links between the later 'Champagne' culture (which developed during the Hypsithermal) and the Great Plains; and links between still later cultures (named 'Little Arm', 'Gladstone' and 'Taye Lake') and Alaska, Mongolia and Japan (MacNeish, 1959 (a), 1964).

B. Yukon River :

Only one major site has been described near the Yukon River, a site on the Pelly three miles before it joins the Yukon. The area was first occupied by hunters of bison and elk, possibly after 6,500 B.C. A series of later occupations of this site is also shown. Because the Yukon basin was never glaciated, there are probably many more sites along its banks.

C. Southeast Yukon :

Although a migration route along the Pelly via Frances Lake has been suggested as a likely possibility, no archeological reports have yet been published for this area.

D. Northwest Yukon :

Surprisingly, by far the oldest complexes come from the extreme north, near Old Crow. Two areas of major work have been the Firth River and Old Crow Flats.

On the Firth River, nine successive archeological complexes have been uncovered, dating back over 20,000 years. This is a logical habitation site because it

## D. (cont)

provides a good lookout for caribou, has long been a caribou crossing, has firewood available, and is near an excellent fishing spot. It is at the western edge of the major glaciations and was barely covered during the last glaciation (see MacNeish, 1959 (b)). Successive complexes reveal fluctuations in the climate from warmer than present periods (with buffalo, grassy plains and trees such as tamarack, fur, spruce and willow) to much colder than present periods (with musk ox, grizzly, caribou, moose, and seal).

Even earlier are Irving's finds in Old Crow flats. Here he recently found man-made tools dating back 30,000 years (Irving, 1973).

Linguistic and ethnographic evidence suggests that the ancestors of people living in the northern Porcupine and Peel River drainages once occupied a large area from Old Crow Flats west to the Noatak River in northwestern Alaska. They were pushed east by Eskimos who migrated to North America more recently. Pressure from Eskimos was probably greatest in the few hundred years before this century (see Hall, 1969).

Archeological work suggests some general hypotheses about early migrations through the Yukon. In the first place, migration from the Old World to the New World was not a one-way process. Rather there was a continuous flow of people back and forth across the Bering Strait. Nor was it a conscious process. Leechman suggests that :

" In all probability, the first people to cross the Bering Strait, and to make America their permanent home camped not very far from their landing place. Gradually the surrounding district became known to them and, as a result of hunting expeditions in the neighbourhood attractive camp sites and fishing stations would be discovered. As their children grew up, and had families of their own, they would settle a few miles upstream or inland, thus diffusing gradually throughout the whole district. The movement of an amoeba by means of pseudopodia gives an excellent illustration of the type of migration involved.

It may be objected that this is altogether too slow a process, but an average of as little as two miles a year would carry people from the Yukon to the bottom of South America in approximately 5,000 years. " (Leechman, 1946, pp 385-86).

The first migrants had to change their way of life very little. Once they settled in an area they developed local adaptations to the environment. When the land changed they adapted to new conditions, or moved on. Because a series of traditions developed in North America and then spread, changing as people moved, there are no clear-cut, stratified archeological complexes in the Yukon as there are in Asia. Instead there are a variety of local specializations which reflect a few Asiatic traits.

IV. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CHANGE BEFORE THE GOLDRUSH : THE FUR TRADE

The fur trade dominates the recent history of all northern Indians. As the marketable resource which first drew whites to this part of the North, it rapidly made trapping for trade the central activity of people living in the Yukon.

This section gives a chronological outline of the changing historical context in which Native people found themselves during the nineteenth century. It is inserted before any discussion of 'traditional' land use, partly to demonstrate the difficulty of separating the 'traditional' from the 'early contact' periods, and partly to consolidate references to the European fur trade in one section. (See Map #2).

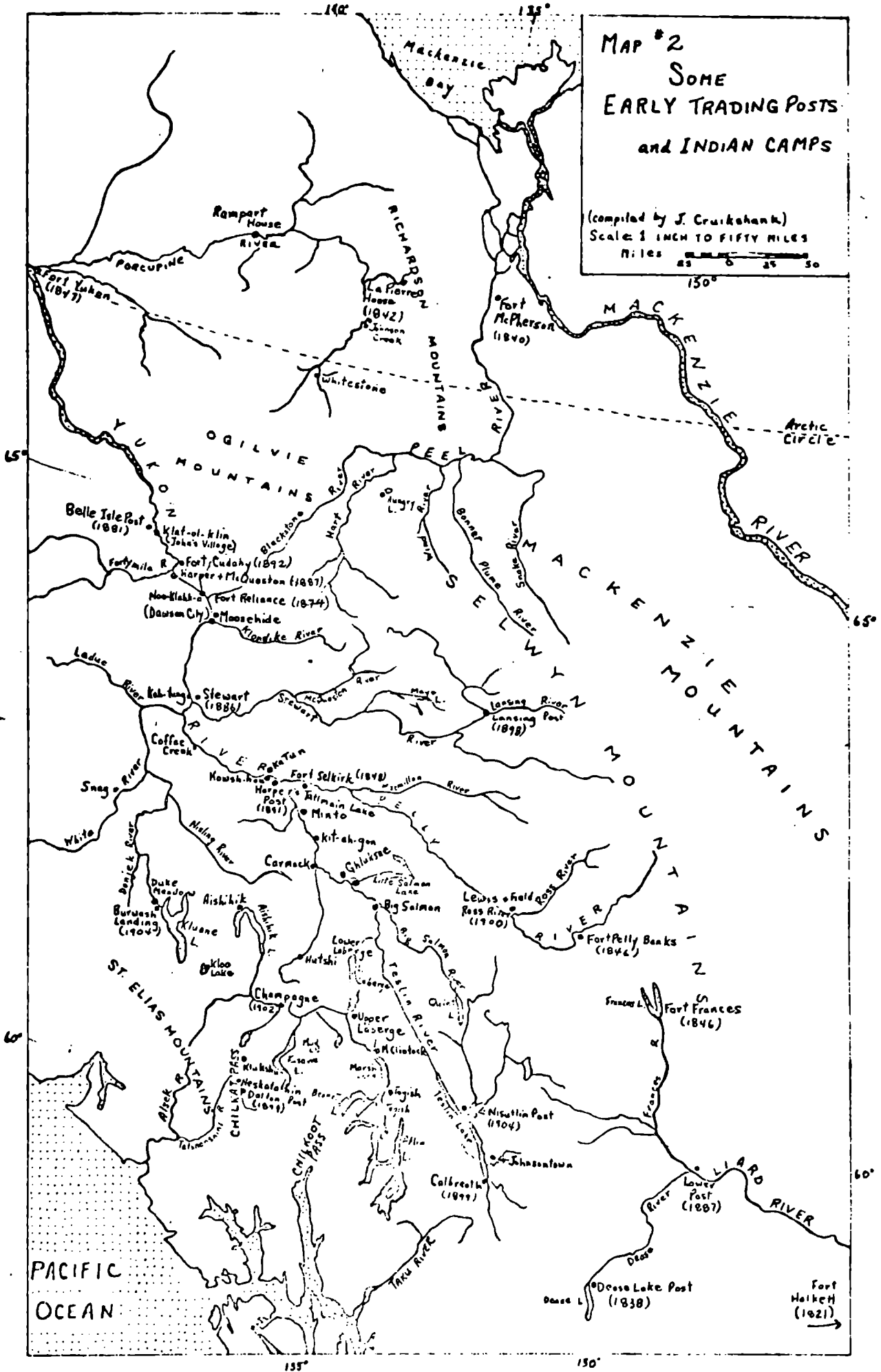
Prior to 1840, the central part of what is now the Yukon Territory was used only by Natives. Russians trading on the Pacific coast never penetrated the Yukon: after the fur seals were gone the coastal Tlingit supplied the Russians by crossing the Chilkat and Chilkoot Passes and bringing back furs from the interior Athapaskans (See McClellan, 1950). Similarly, the Vunta Kutchin in the north acted as middlemen between Russians and northern tribes before the establishment of Fort McPherson and Fort Yukon (Tanner, 1965, p. 21).

- " The history of frontier trade throughout the world shows that everywhere the non-urban peoples nearest the trading centre sought to bar other "natives" from direct access to the metropolitan trade and that they used their possession of superior arms, obtained in the trade, to maintain their middleman position, if not to drive away or enslave the tribes of the hinterlands. Such motives and means played an important part in the



# MAP # 2 SOME EARLY TRADING POSTS and INDIAN CAMPS

(compiled by J. Cruikshank)  
Scale: 1 INCH TO FIFTY MILES  
Miles 0 25 50



post - Columbian history of the American Indians ... "  
(Slobodin, 1962, p. 23 ).

Until 1840, the Hudson's Bay Company viewed the Yukon as a buffer zone between themselves and the Russians. After 1840 the British leased the Alaska littoral and took over the trade monopoly the Russians had established on the coast and on the Yukon River.

Traders were in the southeastern region of what is now the Yukon on the Liard River soon after 1800. By 1821, Fort Halkett had been established on the upper Liard. In 1838, the Hudson's Bay Company established a post on Dease Lake. In 1840, Robert Campbell, a clerk at Fort Halkett, was given instructions to explore the north branch of the Liard. He crossed to Frances Lake where he established Fort Frances (Honigmann, 1949, pp. 42 - 43 ). He went on to establish Fort Pelly Banks in 1846 on the upper Pelly, and then Fort Selkirk in 1848 at the junction of the Pelly with the Yukon (Campbell, 1958 ).

It was costly to maintain these posts and none of them has a very long history : Fort Halkett was closed in 1865, Dease Lake post was abandoned by 1839. Fort Frances was closed when it was looted by Chilkats in 1851, though opened again briefly in 1880 (ibid. , p. 43 ). Pelly Banks was abandoned in 1850 after it accidentally burned (Dawson, 1898, p. 137 ). The coastal Chilkats, angered that the white traders were infringing on their monopoly in the interior, burned Fort Selkirk in 1852. Both Pelly Banks and Fort Selkirk had probably been important trading centres before the posts had been built and they remained so after the posts were gone.

Meanwhile, the Hudson's Bay Company was also exploring the watershed of the Mackenzie. In 1840, Fort McPherson was established on the lower Peel by John Bell. In 1842, Bell crossed the Peel to the Bell River where he established La Pierre House, then followed the Bell to the Porcupine and ultimately to the Yukon. Fort Yukon was established at this junction by Alexander Murray in 1847 ( See Murray, 1910).

The Porcupine River route to the Mackenzie became the supply route not only for Fort Yukon but also for the upper Yukon River for a while (Raymond, 1900, p. 38)

In 1867, Alaska was sold to the United States and the Hudson's Bay Company was compelled to move Fort Yukon out of United States' Territory. They replaced it with Rampart House, built on the Porcupine River. This post had to be moved twice before it was finally clearly across the International Boundary (McConnell, 1887, p. 224). The new post barely met expenses and was closed in 1894. In 1906, a trader named Dan Cadzow opened a store at Rampart Hous and the post flourished for a few more years (Balikci, 1963, p. 35).

Ogilvie summarized the transfers of some of these posts during the last quarter of the nineteenth century :

In 1868, following the transfer of Russian Territory to America, a San Francisco firm bought out the Russian Commercial Company and changed the name to the Alaska Commercial Company. This Alaska Commercial Company built a number of posts on the Yukon River. In about 1871, McQuesten established Fort Reliance, six miles below Dawson (managed by Harper and Mayo by 1875). In 1886, McQuesten, Harper and Mayo built a post at the mouth of the Stewart.

The Alaska Commercial Company posts across the border in Alaska had as much influence on the Native people in the Yukon, to whom such boundaries were irrelevant : Belle Isle Post (near Eagle) attracted a good deal of trade from people as far up the Yukon as the Klondike River. In 1891, Harper opened a business at old Fort Selkirk. He also built a post on the Sixtymile River. And in 1892, the North American Transportation and Trading Company built Fort Cudahy just below the mouth of the Fortymile (See Ogilvie, 1913, p. 64-68).

Early posts took vast numbers of furs from the Yukon. In 1887, Dawson reported on numbers and prices of furs leaving the Territory :

" An approximate estimate of the furs derived from the Yukon Territory and taken down the Yukon, obtained from Mr. Francois Mercier, who spent many years trading on the river, places the annual value at about \$27,000. The annual catch is made up, according to the same authority, about as follows :

Beaver	1200-1500 skins
Cross Fox	100 skins
Black Fox	100skins
Red Fox	300 skins
Bear	300 skins
Marten	4000 skins
Otter	200 skins
Mink	2000 skins
Lynx	600 skins
Wolverine	150 skins
Wolf	100 skins
	<hr/>
	9,350 skins

He adds :

" Information obtained on the spot indicates that the value of furs reaching the Lynn canal from the interior is from \$12,000. to \$15,000. annually. " (Dawson, 1898, pp. 25,26).

In addition, posts on the Porcupine and on the Liard River were getting large numbers of furs; probably by 1887 at least \$50,000 worth of furs were exported annually from the territory.

Raymond describes the scale of prices in 1869 : The beaver skin was the standard unit of measurement. A gun was sold to an Indian for eighteen beaver skins. Marten were traded at the rate of two marten to a beaver and other skins were set at lower values. All trading was done by barter and in addition to guns, the Hudson's Bay Company traded pocketknives, pants, shirts, cloth, bullets, knives, pots, buttons, thread, handkerchiefs, "Paris neckties" and "English belts". (Raymond, 1900, p.39).

The southwest Yukon was blockaded from direct contact with white traders until the 1890's by determined Tlingit traders. Although this blockade was declining by the 1890's Jack Dalton was the first trader to actually build a post in the southwest in approximately 1894. Only the goldrush broke the blockade for good, and posts rapidly appeared in this area - at Nisutlin, Burwash Landing, Champagne, and then along the upper Yukon.

The goldrush brought the first large numbers of strangers to the Yukon. In the southwest, 30,000 men crossed the Chilkoot Pass in a few years. Their impact was felt all the way along the Yukon River. Ten thousand came by other routes, some of them through the southeastern Yukon which had already experienced an earlier Cassiar rush in the 1870's. Still others

tried to ascend the Peel River, and their passing had a profound impact on the Native people there (See Graham, 1935; and Slobodin 1963).

With this background we can now look at the history and land use of people living in the Yukon while these changes were occurring.

V. THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

From the time recalled in the earliest legends, Indian people living in the north have had to come to terms with a harsh and often unpredictable environment. They depended on the land for everything required to sustain life - food, clothing, tools, and even articles for trade. Life was a continuous process of learning to understand and work with the land, dealing with its inconsistencies, its changes, its extremes.

People recognized that man could not control or manipulate this land, but rather had to adapt to and work with constraints imposed by the natural world. Their willingness and their ability to adapt to their physical world has been critical to their survival for centuries.

In the western sub-arctic, there were never large tribes such as those in warmer southern climates or on the Pacific coast. The environment simply could not support large concentrations of people. Northern Athapaskan families harvested their land by hunting, fishing and gathering edible plants. The size of a hunting group was governed by the amount and kind of game available in the family's area. A group relying on moose might ideally include only two adult men and their families. Areas with caribou herds required a number of co-operating men and their families.

People came together in larger numbers for trading or for potlatches. A number of families might come together in summer at central fish camps where there was a reliable supply of fish, or for regular caribou migrations when herds had to be hunted collectively. In different seasons of the year,

leadership patterns and land use varied. Most of the year, people had to spread out and cover large areas of land.

It is probable that early epidemics carried from the coast in trade may have greatly reduced the population before the twentieth century (see Bancroft, 1886, pp. 560-3; Dall, 1870, p. 100). Periodic famines, replacement of caribou by moose, and intermittent battles may have reduced the population even further.

McClellan estimates that,

" at the time of white contact the population on the coast was far greater than in the interior ~ 5 to 12 persons per hundred square kilometers as compared to 0 to 2. Epidemics of smallpox and other diseases severely cut the native populations throughout the north just before and subsequent to white contact, but the ratio between coast and interior populations must have remained much the same. "

(McClellan, 1964, p. 7).

### Linguistic and Territorial Divisions

Because there are no distinct tribal divisions in this part of the North, anthropologists have generally used language to designate territorial divisions among Indian people living in the Yukon. It is important to recognize that this is a category used by ethnographers : Yukon Natives



did not identify themselves with reference to their language group. \* All people except Tlingit speak Athapaskan languages which extend over most of northwestern Canada and Alaska, excluding coastal regions. (Navaho and Apache are also Athapaskan languages. Their speakers migrated from this area approximately 1000 A.D. ). Although there are many linguistic problems to be solved in the North, the accompanying linguistic map gives rough divisions of languages spoken in the Yukon at the time of white contact : Kutchin north of the Yukon River; Han on the Yukon drainage from Dawson to Eagle; Tutchone on the Yukon drainage from approximately Carmacks to Stewart, including the drainage of the Pelly, Ross, Stewart and MacMillan Rivers; Southern Tutchone in the southwest lake district - Kluane Lake, Aishihik, Carmacks, upper Alsek River, Hutshi Lakes, Kusawa, Lake Laberge; Tagish at Marsh Lake and Tagish Lake ; Tlingit at Teslin, and at Atlin in northern B.C. and finally, Kaska in the southeast corner of what is now the Yukon (see Map #3, after McClellan, 1964 ).

These divisions do not represent social, economic or political units and they are not rigid even linguistically. Over the years there have been major fluctuations in population. McClellan stresses that no map made during the present century can be completely accurate for earlier periods.

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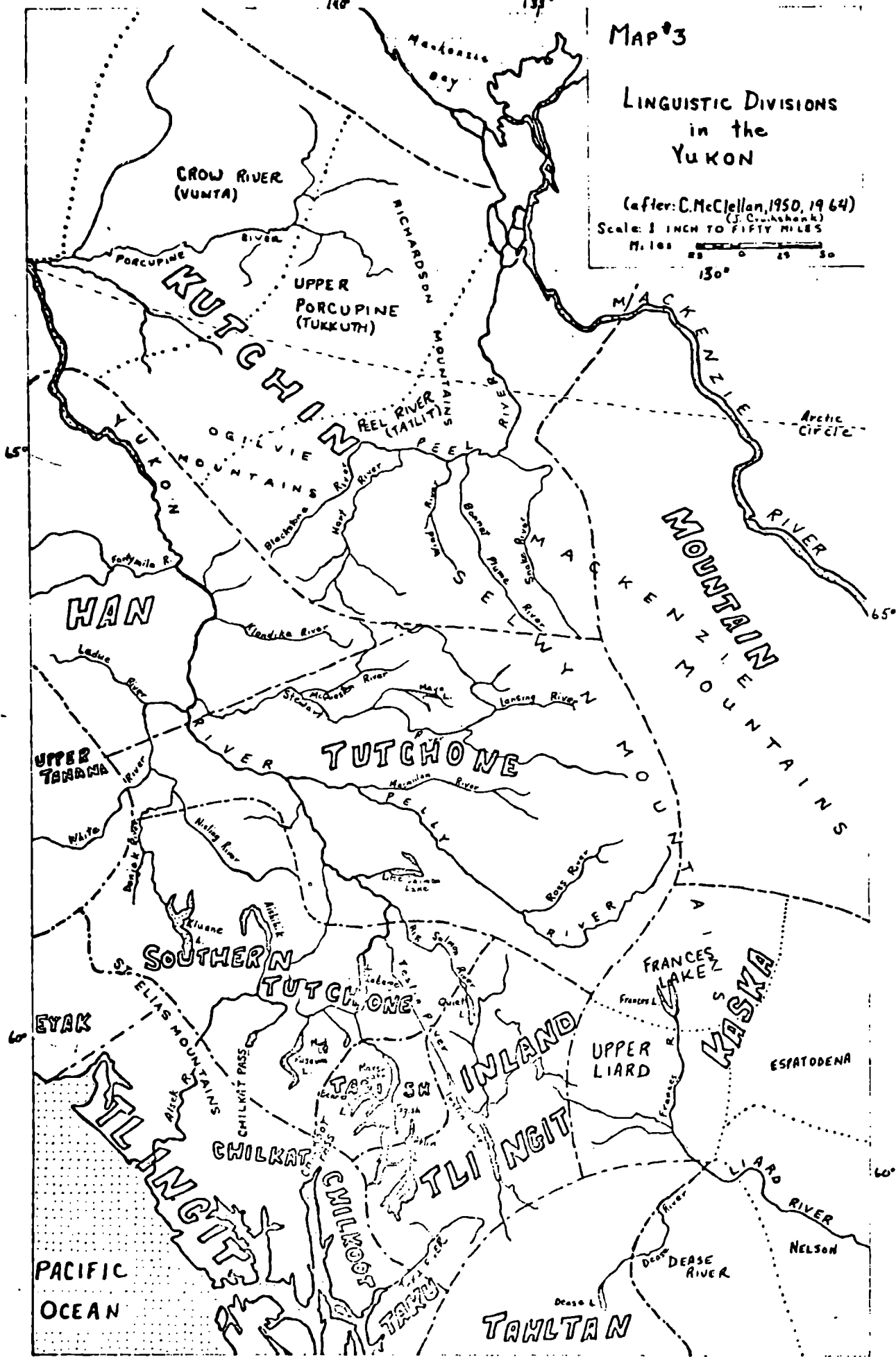
\* Catharine McClellan's forthcoming book, My Old People Say, discusses some of the ways in which people traditionally 'classified' themselves in the southern Yukon.

V-3 (a)

MAP #3

# LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS in the YUKON

(after: C. McClellan, 1950, 1964)  
(J. C. Ashenok)  
Scale: 1 INCH TO FIFTY MILES  
Miles 0 25 50



The real social units are the inter-marrying matrilineal lineage groups (or moieties) Crow and Wolf in whose terms ownership of property is expressed, but these groups are not geographical. Because it is compulsory for Crow and Wolf to intermarry, any geographical group contains people from both moieties.

Although linguistic categories appear throughout the paper, the general geographical divisions outlined in Section II will be used: (A) Southwest Yukon (including Southern Tutchone, Tagish and Tlingit speakers), (B) the Yukon River (including Tutchone and Han speakers), (C) the Southeast and the Eastern Drainages (including Kaska and Tutchone) and (D) the Northern plain (Kutchin speakers).

#### A. Southwest Yukon

Although the earliest records dealing with the Southwest Yukon begin only in 1890, it has been possible to reconstruct something of earlier periods perhaps as early as 1850. Indications are that the history and

culture of the southwest Yukon was very much affected by contact and trade with coastal Tlingit during the 19th century. (For a comprehensive study dealing with Native trade in this area, see McClellan, 1950 ).

The earliest trade between coastal Tlingit and interior Athapaskans was partly because of the different resources available in the two different environments. Chilkat traders imported such items as spruce root blankets, cedar boxes, medicinal roots, dried clams, seaweed, "tobacco" made from crushed clamshell, abalone, dentalia and obsidian. In return, they received mountain goat wool, yellow lichen for dye, tanned caribou and moose hides, sinew, furs, spruce gum, and small amounts of raw copper. (McClellan, 1964, pp. 7, 8 ).

By the time Europeans began trading on the Pacific coast, this network was probably well established. The virtual extinction of the fur seal meant that land furs were becoming important. Tlingits began to concentrate on exporting furs while at the same time working European goods into their imports : calico, blankets, kettles, knives, muzzle loaders, leaf tobacco, flour and small amounts of coffee (McClellan, 1964, p. 8 ).

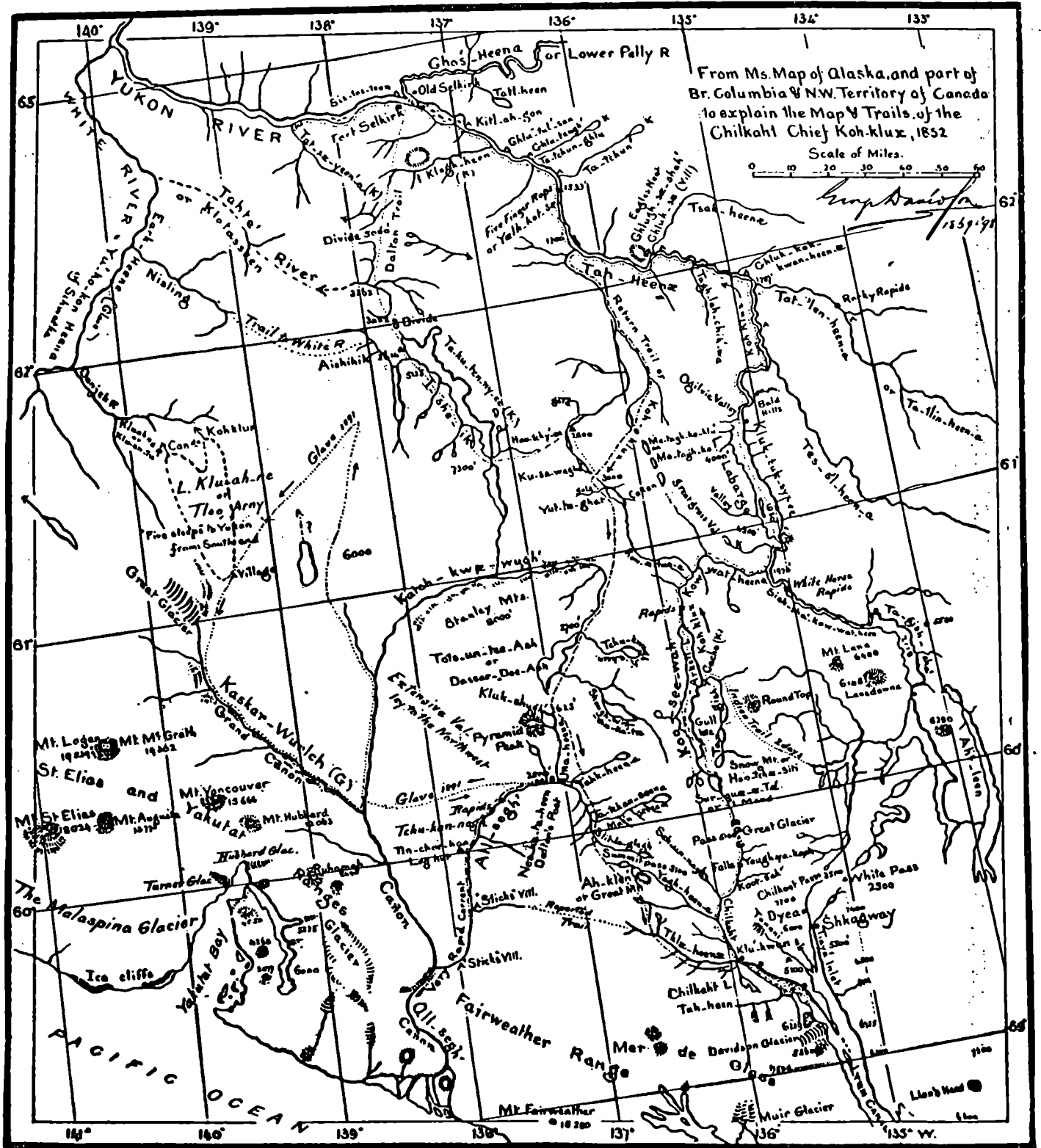
By the 1880's the Tlingits controlled a lucrative trade and were determined

that white fur traders not cross into the interior to trade directly with Athapaskans. Aurel Krause, the German geographer who lived at Klukwan for some time, crossed the Chilkat Pass in the early 1880's and recorded :

" A visit on the part of a white man to the Athapaskans to trade with them directly was regarded by the Chilkat as an infringement of their rights and likely to be prevented by force. Just as every tribe had its hunting and fishing territory, so they had their trading trails, the Chilkat went up the Chilkat River, the Chilkoot over the Chilkoot Pass and it took lengthy negotiations to reverse the procedure " (Krause, 1956, p. 137 ).

Difficulties in crossing the passes were reported in 1883 by Schwatka who was told by Tlingits that the upper Yukon was unnavigable (Schwatka, 1885, p. 739 ), and by Dawson in 1887 (Dawson, 1898, p. 178 ). The burning of Fort Selkirk in 1852 was an indication of the thoroughness with which the coastal Chilkats guarded "their" trading territory.

In 1869, a Tlingit chief Kohklux, who claimed to have engineered the burning of Fort Selkirk showed his detailed knowledge of the Yukon interior as far as Fort Selkirk on a map he drew. This map is an invaluable document, one of the few made by a Native person rather than an outsider (Davidson, 1901 ). (See Map # 4 ). Because of his familiarity with the



MAP # 4 Map by Tlingit Chief Khoklux, 1869 (Davidson, 1901)

interior, Kohklux was able to pinpoint population centres which later travellers did not see.

There were three main Tlingit tribes trading to the interior in the 19th century : Chilkats who came a 12 - 15 day journey via Chilkat River, Chilkoots who crossed over the shorter, more arduous Chilkoot Pass, and Taku who ascended the Taku River.

A fourth less well known route was up the Alsek River basin. The original inhabitants of the Alsek River right down to Dry Bay were Athapaskans. But sometime prior to the arrival of Russians on the coast, Tlingits, migrating inland up the Chilkat River and then down the Alsek mixed with them. (de Laguna, 1972, p. 18 ). At one time these Dry Bay (Yakutat ) Tlingit regularly came inland to hunt and trade and Athapaskans went freely down to the coast.

Historical and archeological accounts suggest that the height of this trade occurred between 1840 and 1870 (McClellan, 1950, p. 54; Roback and Gates, 1973, p. 32 ). During this time the southern interior was virtually an economic colony of the Chilkat Tlingits. By 1890, the major parties were no longer coming in over the passes. Indians in the interior had the

alternative of going to Alaska Commercial Company posts on the Yukon River to trade by then (see Section IV). Chilkats were beginning to work in canneries or were making handicrafts to sell on the coast and were less interested in making the long trip to the interior (Brooks, 1900, p. 389).

While it lasted, Tlingit trade was one of the main forces shaping land use and subsistence patterns in the interior. Athapaskans used extensive areas of land to get products for trade and also hunted and dried and cached food along regularly used trade routes. In every area of the Yukon, trade must be discussed in conjunction with land use.

1. Southern Tutchone (see Map #3)

(a) Alsek - Tatshenshini

The best documentation for a major trade and population centre in the southwest Yukon occurs for a settlement traditionally known by the Tlingit name Neskatahin (appears on modern maps as Weskatahin) on the upper Tatshenshini River.



Archeologists note that :

- " Neskatahin, strategically located at the head of the two major Chilkat access routes via the Klehini and Tatshenshini Rivers, served as the main trading centre between the coastal Tlingit and the southern Tutchone of the southwest interior of the Yukon from an indeterminate period in pre-history. It served as a point of departure for inland trading excursions which honeycombed the interior. " (Roback and Gates, 1973, p. 35).

The earliest eyewitness account of this settlement comes from the journalist Glave who accompanied the Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper Expedition and Jack Dalton on two trips to the interior in the 1890's :

- " The village of Naska Ta Heen is the headquarters of the Gunana \* or Stick Indians. It is composed of a dozen houses, large and small, which in this country means accommodation for a great quantity of people, as several whole families reside in one house. At the time of our visit, all the inhabitants were downriver some sixty miles at their fishing camp on the Alseck ... (The houses ) are built of heavy planks, hewed into shape with the native adze, the roofs either covered with rough heavy shingles or thatched with hemlock bark. They are all fitted with a large opening in the centre of the roof as an escape for smoke. " (Glave, November 29, 1900, p. 310).

In another account, he wrote :

- " Neskataheen is an important rendezvous. During the winter the natives of the interior roam over the land in small parties, hunting and trapping, but return here with their spoils of black and brown bear, black, cross, grey, white and red fox, wolverine, land otter lynx, beaver, etc. ,

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\* Gunana is a Tlingit word meaning 'strange people'.

and exchange them for blankets, guns, powder, and tobacco which the Chilkat Indians bring to them from the coast. " (Glave, 1892, p. 682 ).

Neskatahin was able to support a substantial population because of the supply of sockeye salmon which ascended the nearby Alsek. Northern bands from Hutshi and Aishihik did not have direct access to salmon, so by the 1890's, at least, they were joining the Neskatahin people each spring to fish at camps on the Alsek and to trade at Neskatahin. (McClellan, 1950, p. 27 ). In 1948, McClellan's informants at Champagne remembered Neskatahin as a "big city" with "hundreds of people " and indicated that it was "a thousand years old".

Closely associated with Neskatahin was the fishing camp at Klukshu, the head of the Alsek. Glave noted that Pacific coast salmon reached here by the end of July and that people had fished here for generations :

- " There is a settlement of Gunana on the western shore (of Lake Klukshu) : the houses are only inhabited during a few months of the year, when the Indians are fishing but there are undoubted evidences of former occupance by great numbers of people : whole forests of trees have been felled, the oldest marks being the most numerous ... several old stumps rotten to the core show the former sites of houses. " (Glave, Nov. 22, 1890, p. 286 ).

By 1898, there are regular references to Neskatahin and to Klukshu in reports : Superintendent Wood (N. W. M. P. ) estimated that there were about 100 Indians near Neskatahin when he went through (Wood, 1899, p. 41 ); Inspector Jarvis met people from Aishihik and Hutshi fishing at Klukshu when he was there (Jarvis, 1899, p. 105 ). Tyrell, of the Geological Survey of Canada recorded in his report that on June 24, 1898 "the Indians of the surrounding country were collected in the village of Weskatahin (sic) to await the arrival of salmon up the stream " (Tyrell, 1898, p. 38 ).

According to a tradition recorded independently by Jarvis (1899, p. 105 ). McClellan (1950, p.37 ) and McKennan (1959, p.170-1 ) sometime in the mid-nineteenth century a party of Snag Indians from the Upper White River came down and fought a battle with the majority of the people at Neskatahin after a dispute over trade. Only two parties of Neskatahin people survived, the ancestors of the present day Champagne people. Consequently the 200 or more people Glave met in 1892 were only a remnant of the former population.

Khoklux map, (Map #4 ) showed at least two major villages on the lower Alsek, remembered from 1852. De Laguna documents the presence of

Athapaskans and later Tlingit villages on the lower drainage (1972, pp. 85 - 90 ). All indications suggest that the Alsek drainage had a remarkably dense population prior to 1850 and that rivers and tributaries were extensively exploited. Sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, an epidemic which spread from European traders on the coast virtually exterminated the Tlingit living on the lower Alsek (McClellan, 1950, p. 40 ).

Glave and Dalton identified two abandoned villages on the lower Alsek which had probably been inhabited by these people (Glave, Dec. 20, p. 376; Dec. 27, p. 396, 1890 ).

Trade at Neskatahin :

Chilkats came to Neskatahin via the Chilkat pass twice a year - in February and again in early summer - in large trading parties. After spending several days trading, they moved inland to Selkirk, Hutshi, Aishihik and the Donjek River. Later in the summer, they returned to the coast (McClellan, 1950, pp. 126 - 131 ).

Because of their location at a 'first stop' over the pass, Neskatahin people positioned themselves as middlemen between the Chilkats and interior

groups. In March, Neskatahín people snowshoed to the Donjek to get furs and copper which they could then trade to the Chilkats (ibid. , pp. 134 - 135 ). They traded even as far as the upper Chittystone River in Alaska where they got blue dyes and tobacco from the Ahtena (ibid. , p. 215 ). The "war" which resulted in deaths of many Neskatahín people followed a trading party to the Donjek in which the latter people felt cheated (ibid. , p. 135 ).

Well used trails led from Neskatahín north and west to Kluane Lake and the White River, north to Hutshí and Aishihík and to Fort Selkirk on the Yukon River, and east to Tagish and Teslin. Glave notes that by the 1890's some people from Neskatahín were using these trails to go north to trade on the Yukon River rather than trading furs solely through the Tlingits. (Glave, 1892, p. 877 ).

#### Land Use Near Neskatahín :

People who traded at Neskatahín relied on both fishing and hunting. Apparently the kinds of fishing techniques used at Klukshu and on the lower Alsek were

originally introduced by coastal Tlingit who had perfected pacific salmon fishing techniques in order to support their larger population .

On the Alsek :

" ... its guaranteed bulk yield brought about a shift in the subsistence base from land game to fish resources and an associated shift from a highly dispersed mobile hunting population to a more sedentary prosperous and unified fishing population with occasional hunting practice " (Roback and Gates, 1973, p. 45).

Glave described the annual cycle of people at Neskatahin in 1890. In April, they moved to various fishcamps on the Alsek to prepare for the salmon run in May. From May until the end of July they fished, and then they went to Neskatahin where they dried and cached fish and berries to tide them over the winter. Then there was a general exodus north to Klukshu where people fished until freeze - up. Only in winter did people disperse to hunting grounds - some to Dezadeash, some back to Neskatahin, some north toward Aishihik and Hutshi. In winter they trapped, hunted and traded and in spring they brought furs back to Neskatahin to trade with the Chilkats in exchange for blankets, guns, tobacco and gunpowder (Glave, Dec. 13, 1890).

People living around Neskatahin also made extensive use of the Alsek basin. The tension so evident in trade relations with Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingit

was apparently absent in relations with Dry Bay (Yakatat) Tlingit, and they made mutual use of the river basin.

" ... the Yakatat people (at the mouth of the Alsek River) in contrast to the more southern Tlingit, did not look down on the Athapaskans as an inferior people to be exploited in trade whenever possible. Rather, they admired their fine looks, their open grassy country, their rich furs, and their beautiful skin clothing and beadwork. They learned their songs and imitated their style of dancing; and they envied them the tribal regalia which the more conservative interior people (Tlingitized Athapaskans and Inland Tlingit) had preserved. There was active intermarriage and trading up and down the Alsek until about 40 or 50 years ago" (de Laguna, 1972, p. 214; written during the 1950's).

According to archeologists Roback and Gates, Southern Tutchone at Neskatahin owned a number of fishing establishments : on the west side of Klukshu Lake near the source of the Klukshu river; at the south end of Dezadeash Lake; and at the north end of Dezadeash Lake west of its outlet. They owned other camps on three creeks running into the Tatshenshini : the Debrl, the O'Conner and the number 4 Miltwater Creeks where they joined the Tatshenshini. They also suggest that there may have been a very early settlement (probably a camp) at the present site of Champagne, and give an approximate date of 1850 for the use of all these sites (Roback and Gates, 1973, pp. 36 - 7 ). Undoubtedly there were many other creeks and camps

which were owned by specific kin groups at Neskatahin. Jarvis (1899, p. 105) commented on the "peculiarity" of "the hereditary descent of hunting and fishing grounds from generation to generation " at Neskatahin.

McClellan described the territories in which their descendents, the Champagne band, hunted in this century :

" The Champagne band until recently hunted to the west as far as the flanks of the St. Elias mountains, but part of this area has now been made a game preserve. The Indians complain bitterly that this has been their land from time immemorial and that they need the animals for their livelihood. To the north, Champagne territory runs into that of the Kloo Lake, Aishihik and Hutshi bands, eastward it runs as far as the Wheaton River " (McClellan, 1950, p. 40).

The trails leading to the interior have always had important implications for land use. While the major passes from the coast seem to have been considered the exclusive property of the Tlingit tribes, indications are that anyone could use the various trails leading to the interior. It is clear that these trails were extensively and repeatedly used. While travelling, people hunted and snared animals for food and clothing, dried and cached food for later use and gathered articles for trade with the Chilkats.



Specific historical changes in this area after the building of Dalton Post are discussed in Appendix I in a section dealing with the origins of the village of Champagne.

Other groups in the southwest Yukon can be considered by following the various trails linking the coast with the interior.

(b) White River - Kluane Lake Region :

Very few Europeans visited this region before 1900, and most reports used in this section come from recent archeological and ethnographic research. A geologist named Brooks visited the White River in 1899, following the route said to be used by the Chilkats in trade. He commented that although he saw no permanent habitations on the White River he was visited by a group of White River Indians and learned from other sources that there were small 'settlements' on the Nisling and Kluane Rivers. On the upper White River, he met a band of twenty people visiting from the Copper River (Brooks, 1900, pp. 389 - 390 ).

Trade : White River - Kluane Region

Kohklux' map (#4) shows a trail running west from Neskatahin to Kluane Lake and the White River and Nisling River region. Upper White River people enjoyed a special status in trade because of their access to native copper found in the gravels of that river. It was widely sought as far away as the Pacific coast and became an important item in the native trade network. The trading dispute between these people and Neskatahin people in the middle of the nineteenth century has already been mentioned.

White River people sometimes acted as intermediaries in trade between those Tlingits who came inland as far as the White River, and the Copper River and Upper Tanana River people west of them (McKenna, 1959, p.22 ). Trails from White River to Copper River and Upper Tanana Basins were well travelled in the nineteenth century.

White River people also traded east toward the Yukon River where they exchanged native copper for arrow shafts made from the straight - grained wood in the Yukon valley; such wood was scarce in the Kluane region (Johnson and Raup, 1964, p. 196 ). In 1885 Schwatka met a party of

upper Tanana River people who had come down the White River to trade on the Yukon near the present site of Stewart (1883, p. 341). This group may also have included White River people.

Land Use : White River - Kluane Region

An archeologist and geologist working in the Kluane region between 1944 and 1948 recorded something of the traditional territories of White River people, by then living at Burwash Landing :

- " Indians ... at Burwash had been extensive travellers and they knew intimately the country between the upper reaches of the White River and Carmacks, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles east and west. They had roamed and hunted with their families at different times over the country from the White River south for some sixty or eighty miles, or all told an area of some ten to twelve thousand square miles ... There is some evidence that families habitually hunted in certain general areas, but camps might be moved, and even the cabins built since 1900 could be used by anyone if they were empty " (Johnson and Raup, 1964, pp.195 - 6; my underlining).

They went on to describe how people moved over this vast area :

- " In moving about the country, the people followed trails which were well known and which apparently had been used for long periods of time perhaps even measureable in centuries. One interesting trail led from the vicinity of Carmacks on the Yukon over the divide into the Nisling drainage where it passed through the Ptarmigan Heart Valley. It went over a pass into Henry Creek and from there to Red Tail Lake. Crossing the Kluane and Donjek Rivers it led into the mountains to the

upper reaches of the White River . . . there are branches of the trail leading to Kluane Lake, Aishihik, and so on. In travelling over portions of this trail we saw that it had been used enough to wear a deep path " (ibid. , p. 196).

Archeological remains indicate that houses were standing on Duke Meadow (five miles from present Burwash Landing ) at least as early as 1850 and possibly much earlier than that. At least ten houses were once occupied there, indicating a relatively large community (ibid. , pp. 169 - 188 ).

In addition :

- " The ruins of temporary camps are everywhere. There are localities which have been used as campsites for an untold number of years. Brush camps or 'open top camps' can be found literally by the hundreds in favourable areas such as along Talbot Creek. The right bank for about a mile from the mouth has been a camping area and ruins of all ages are found on the valley floor and on the bordering hillside. Another such area with a similar concentration of brush camp ruins was located in the Ptarmigan Heart Valley. While such concentrations have developed in favourable localities, isolated camps are widely distributed " (ibid. , p. 184 ).

Contrasting this kind of archeological data with the reports of travellers like North-West Mounted Police, geologists, surveyers, etc. , it is obvious that in many areas where no Indian camps were recorded by early travellers, a great deal of activity took place and extensive use was made of the land. For example, I found no early references to Kloo Lake people although Chief Jim Boss mentions a band there in 1902 (see p. V.28) and McClellan notes that a number of people lived near Kloo Lake until after the Alaska Highway was built (1950, p. 45 ).

Some further historical material for the post 1900 period is included in a discussion of the origin of Burwash, Appendix I.

(C). Aishihik and Hutshi

Historical accounts of the southwest Yukon present a contradiction when references to Hutshi and Aishihik appear. In conversations with older Indian people about early settlements, Hutshi and Aishihik are always identified as major trading centres. \* Yet historical records do not seem to bear this out. The following materials suggest some of the problems of relying on written records for accurate information about the pre-goldrush period.

Recent archeological work suggests that while recorded history begins only in 1890 in southwest Yukon a number of demographic changes had already taken place by this time. Roback and Gates relate this to changes which occurred in Native trade patterns late in the nineteenth century.

Trade : Aishihik and Hutshi

At one time, Chilkats trading in the interior came directly up the Chilkat River and travelled all the way to Aishihik to trade. Aishihik, like Neskatahin, was a jumping off point for three major trails - west to the Nisling and White rivers, north to the Yukon River and Fort Selkirk and southwest to Kluane Lake. Consequently, Aishihik people, like people at Neskatahin, were middlemen in trade for a long time between Chilkats and groups further in the interior (Roback and Gates, 1973, pp. 28, 29 ). By the 1890's, Chilkats were no longer coming to Aishihik in large parties, but only as far as Neskatahin.

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\* The land claims application made by Chief Jim Boss in 1902 (see pages V - 27 - V - 28, Laberge ) identifies Hutshi and Aishihik as the largest bands in the southern Yukon.

Given the choice of travelling south to Neskatahin or north to the Yukon River where they had the option of trading with Alaska Commercial Company traders by 1890, Aishihik people began to go separate ways, and Aishihik itself declined in importance as an annual rendezvous.

Although considerable archeological work remains to be done, the same general outline of history probably applies to Hutshi as well. Hutshi is remembered as being an older and larger headquarters than Aishihik.

#### Land Use : Aishihik and Hutshi

Even though written records may come from too late a period to tell us anything about 'traditional' land use at Hutshi and Aishihik, they can still give us a picture of land use in 1890.

The earliest record of population centres at Hutshi and Aishihik appears on Kohklux' map indicating that they were recognized as separate groups in 1852. Later records usually refer to people from Aishihik and Hutshi together, although they were known as different groups with different 'head-quarters'. It seems that by 1890 they were spending much of the year jointly using much of the same land.

Glave states that in contrast to people living on the Alsek, people living around northern lakes "I-she-ik" and "Hoot-chy-Eye" lacked the reliable supply of fish and so went south every spring to Neskatahin to "recuperate on the fatted fish" and trade with the Chilkats (1892, p. 869).

After Glave and Dalton left Neskatahin and headed north they encountered Indians from Hutshi and Aishihik in the valley between these two lakes. These people had spent the spring trading at Neskatahin but were now one of the many small northern groups which had spread out to comb the land and to dry and cache food for the winter. The area was very rich in game. Already they had a substantial supply which they shared with Glave and Dalton :

" They were all busy collecting and preparing a supply for the long winter months ahead; already their roofed platform sagged and creaked and threatened to fall over with its weight of caribou, moose, mountain sheep, rabbits, squirrels and fish . . . All the game had been killed by one young hunter . . . the trapping and snaring department was managed entirely by the women and children . . . The natives kept us well supplied with game and delicious moose steaks, mutton cutlets, and sun- dried rabbits and reinforced our usual insipid fare " (1892, p. 876).

Glave also described their seasonal cycle by 1890. It clearly involved more movement and less predictability than the yearly round of Neskatahin people. In August they broke up into small camps like this. By late fall they carried their supplies - furs and food - back to their headquarters; however they left a good deal of food stored in various caches where they would return later in the winter. During the winter they trapped furbearing animals and visited caches when it was necessary. In spring they went south to Neskatahin or north to the Yukon to fish and to trade. (ibid, p. 877 ).

Trails from Hutshi to Selkirk, from Aishihik to Selkirk and from Aishihik to Carmacks have already been mentioned. They are further identified in

accounts written at the turn of the century.

In 1898, Tyrell followed the trail from Hutshi to Fort Selkirk and then to Aishihik and noted that the Dalton Trail was really an improved version of an Indian trail from the coast to the interior. (1898, p. 42). The same year, Inspector Jarvis met Hutshi people at Klukshu Lake, and also noted that they sometimes went as far as Kluane Lake (1899, p. 105). A year later a party of Hutshi people visited Brooks' camp on the 'Kaskawulsh' River which he defines as (the west fork of the Alsek with its source in Dezadeash Lake) \* (Brooks, 1899, pp. 349,389).

McClellan notes that by the 1890's, Aishihik people went regularly to Carmacks in the fall to trade for tobacco, but that this trade was in addition to, not instead of, trade with the Chilkats (1950, p. 136). Accounts of visits between Aishihik and Carmacks continue well into this century ( see, for example, Northern Lights, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1915; and Vol. 4, No. 1, 1918 ).

Both Aishihik and Hutshi are deserted now except perhaps in summer when a few of the oldest people return to Aishihik for a few months. Their descendents live in a number of communities, though Hutshi people generally moved to Champagne and a number of Aishihik people moved to Haines Junction after the highway was built in 1942.

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\* Until approximately 1914, the Alsek was known as the "Kaskawulsh" from Dezadeash Lake to its junction with the Tatshenshini, a distance of 250 miles. The present day Kaskawulsh River is a different river. (Tero, 1973, p. 180).



(d). Kusawa Lake and Takhini River

One much travelled route from the coast to the interior should be mentioned briefly. A trail led from the Tlingit village of Klukwan to Kusawa Lake (often referred to as Lake Arkell in old accounts). Kohklux' map shows that this trail led north from Kusawa Lake along the Takhini River to Lake Laberge and ultimately to the Yukon (see Map #4).

Although no early accounts record encounters with people living at the lake, Glave noted in 1890 of the Kusawa region :

" For many years this part of the country had been a favorite camping ground of the Indian hunter. The timber in the forest everywhere shows the sign of the axe and the adze. In the fall of the year, the natives arrive with their canoes and go out on snowshoes and sledges (for) their skins and furs. " (Glave, November 22, 1890).

Trade : Kusawa and Takhini

Records of trade there indicate that the Kusawa Lake area must have been frequently used by interior Athapaskans during the last century. Krause, writing in 1885, described the north end of Kusawa as a trade rendezvous used by Chilkats and interior Athapaskans (Krause, 1956, p. 136).

Schwatka learned in 1883 from Indian reports that it took twelve days to cross the Chilkat Pass to the head of the 'Tahkheena' River carrying their

effects on their backs. From there, no falls or rapids hindered them before they reached the Yukon (Schwatka, 1883, p. 291 ). Dawson, writing in 1887, noted that use of this route by Chilkat traders was declining by then because it was such a difficult journey from the ocean to the head of the Takhini. The Chilkat River route took longer, but it was less dangerous (Dawson, 1898, p. 160 ).

#### Land Use : Kusawa and Takhini River

While there are no accounts other than Glave's describing use of the Kusawa Lake region before the goldrush, the references we do have to trade here suggest that it was used frequently, well back into the early years of the nineteenth century. It is probably one of the regions, like Aishihik and Hutshi in which land use was changing before Europeans actually reached the area.

#### (e) Whitehorse - Lake Laberge

Although there are a number of references to the people living east of Neskatahin in the Lake Laberge area, records contain no detailed descriptions of their lives or settlements.

The Tlingit Chief Kohklux indicated on his map that there was a village at the southeast edge of Lake Laberge at least as early as 1852 (see Map #4 ).

A prospector with the unlikely name of A. E. Ironmonger Sola, who travelled the Yukon River in 1897, came upon an Indian camp on the west side of Lake Laberge and was visited by three canoes of residents from that camp (1897, p. 62). Superintendent Steele of the North - West Mounted Police identified "La Barge" as the site of an Indian "village" in 1898 (p. 20).

McClellan learned from people in 1948 that :

- " Before (1900) the Southern Tutchone Indians claimed a fishing spot just below Miles Canyon outside Whitehorse, and lived along the lower Takhini and at Lake Laberge as well" (McClellan, 1950, p. 45).

Superintendent Wood (N.W.M.P. ) wrote in his 1898 report that there was a village at the head of Lake La Barge where Chief "Joe Boss"(should be Jim Boss ) lived with about twenty followers. His description indicates some of the changes which must have been occurring by then:

- " All these Indians live by hunting and occasionally do a little fishing. Once in a while they make a little money as packers, and guides or by selling furs, mocassins or buckskin shirts, etc. . . . They do not travel in bands as each family has its own favorite hunting grounds and goes off by itself . . . " (Wood, 1899, p. 41).

One very important document remains from this region. Chief Jim Boss from Lake Laberge attempted to file the first claim to ancestral lands in 1902, on behalf of Yukon Indians. At his request a letter was sent to Ottawa by a local lawyer, T.W. Jackson. The document outlines the chief's concern that invaders were taking possession of Indian lands and hunting grounds.

Because of white trappers and hunters, Indians were no longer able to subsist as they had for generations and their numbers were declining drastically. He listed the bands in this area in order to show how their numbers had shrunk in the last few years : \*

		(Probable Locations )
Lake Marsh	15	McClintock River
Tagish	30	Tagish
Hoochi	200	Hutshi
Kluchoo	25	Kloo Lake
Iseaq	250	Aishihik
Klukshoo	80	Klukshu
Gaysutchu	50	Big Salmon
Tatsuchu	15	Carmacks (?)
Kloosulchuk	35	Minto
Haseena	90	Ross River

(personal communication,  
Catharine McClellan )

The fact that this document was filed indicates how drastic were the changes by this time and how seriously encroachments were viewed by the Indian people. They were aware that they had rights to the land which were not being recognized. No action was taken on this claim and the letter was recently found in the Public Archives of Canada by anthropologist, Dominique Legros.

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\* On file, Yukon Archives.

2. Tagish (see Map #3)

The Tagish people were linguistically and culturally distinct from the southern Tutchone discussed so far. They were Athapaskan speakers who became so involved in the trade with coastal Tlingit trading parties that they adopted Tlingit language and customs, probably sometime in the nineteenth century. But though some of their customs differed from those of their southern Tutchone neighbours, they had the same environmental conditions to cope with and their material and economic culture was decidedly Athapaskan.

There are a number of early references to these "Tahk-heesh" speakers whose headquarters was the river connecting Tagish Lake with Marsh Lake : they are on Kohklux' map of the 1850's settlements ( see Map #4).

Schwatka indicated in 1883 that although Chilkats had for many years prevented Tagish people from going down to the coast, a few were beginning to do so by then (1883, p.292 ). In 1887, Dawson noticed that the Tagish 'tribe' was small, numbering about 70 or 80 individuals ( 1888, p. 203 B ). Ogilvie's account written the same year suggests that by then a number of Tagish people may have actually moved down to the coast, and that was why the population was so small (Ogilvie, 1897, p. 20 )

By 1898, Wood wrote of the Tagish :

- The village used to be a large and flourishing one, but only half a dozen houses are now left standing. " (1898, p. 41 ).

He identified a "band of twenty" living at the mouth of McClintock River under "Chief John".

One of the single most striking features en route to the Yukon River were the two Tagish ceremonial houses, modelled on coastal Tlingit houses. These were probably built early in the last century and were old and decaying by the late 1880's. Time and time again, travellers over the pass en route to the Yukon River mentioned them (see Dawson, 1898, p. 164; Funston, 1896, 7th page; Schwatka, 1883, p. 301; Ogilvie, 1897, p. 20).

Trade : Tagish

Like Neskatahin, Tagish headquarters were situated at the interior end of a major pass, the Chilkoot. Tagish became a major trading centre where coastal Tlingit met interior Athapaskans. Tlingit traders stopped either at the lower end of Marsh Lake (near McClintock River) where the salmon ran, or at Tagish. They came in June, and sometimes in the fall (McClellan, 1950, pp. 139 - 42).

Funston noted that people from as far away as Pelly River came to trade here, though more often Tagish went to Pelly Banks themselves on a trail via Marsh Lake and Teslin (Funston, 1896, 7th page; McClellan, 1950, p. 139). Trading at Pelly Banks was done on the west bank of the Ross at its junction with the Pelly. Tagish went in winter on snowshoes to get furs back by spring when the Chilkats arrived. The Tagish, dominated economically by the Chilkats in turn dominated Pelly River people and made a considerable profit in their transactions (McClellan, 1950, pp. 144 - 48).

In addition to the trail from Tagish to Pelly Banks, regularly used routes

led from Tagish to Atlin (Dawson, 1898, p. 168 ), to the Liard (ibid. , pp. 154 - 55 ), along the river to Fort Selkirk, and of course, to the coast.

#### Land Use : Tagish

The Tagish use of land was similar to their Southern Tutchone neighbours. Schwatka described their territory as extending all the way to Fort Selkirk because his Tagish interpreter was useful that far. Dawson and Ogilvie both described their territory as extending to just above where the Teslin River meets the Yukon (Dawson, 1888, p. 203 B: Ogilvie, 1897, p. 47 ).

In 1948, McClellan learned that Tagish hunting grounds extended :

" ... north to the end of Marsh Lake, northeast towards the Teslin River and east as far as Squanga Lake. To the west their territory runs to the headwaters of the Wheaton and Watson Rivers. The southern boundary seems to be roughly at the head of Lake Bennett and half way up the Taku arm. " ( 1950, p. 72 ).

Carcross, Marsh Lake and McClintock River were regular camping spots but the main headquarters was at Tagish until this century (ibid. , 70-71 ).

By the 1890's, the great Chilkat - Chilkoot trading parties were no longer coming into the interior and Tlingit influence was declining. When the goldrush brought thousands over the Chilkoot Pass and through their

territory, Tagish people used their strategic position to become packers over the pass.

### 3. Inland Tlingit (see Map #3)

Inland Tlingit people living in the Teslin Lake and Atlin Lake regions originally inhabited the Taku River basin. Some years they went to the head of that river, made a three or four day portage to the inland lakes and traded with the people in the interior.

" All of the main clans of Teslin and Atlin also name places on the upper Taku River where they used to stay and from which they often parried raids (on) their Tahltan neighbours. While still on the Taku, they sometimes crossed to the Yukon drainage to trap. Finally in the middle of the last century, they say, they began to stay permanently in Teslin and Atlin, only returning to the Taku in summer to trade their catch with Tlingit on the coast. " (McClellan, 1953, p. 48 ).

In order to adapt to their new environment - freshwater fishing, hunting of caribou, moose, small game animals, birds - they had to radically alter their material culture. At the same time they retained their coastal Tlingit language, their social culture and their economic ties with the coast.

These people were not on any major access route to the gold fields and there are few early records describing their settlements. Very extensive historical and cultural reconstruction has been done for this area by the



anthropologist Catharine McClellan since the 1940's.

**Trade :**

After these Tlingit people moved inland, they were actively involved in the aboriginal trade network and were effective middlemen between coast and interior, until around 1880. On the coast, they traded with Chilkat and Juneau Tlingit. Trade parties travelled in both directions : Chilkat and Juneau people came to trade at Teslin, and Teslin people also went down to the coast. As middlemen, the inland Tlingit carried on a profitable trade at Pelly Banks. They generally went to Pelly Banks themselves or sometimes met at a camp halfway between Teslin Lake and Pelly Banks in spring after trapping. Sometimes people from Ross River came to Wolf Lake to trade, and sometimes they even came to Teslin. There is evidence that this trade goes well back into the nineteenth century (McClellan, 1950, pp. 150 - 56).

Dawson's account mentions trade between people living on the Nisutlin River and the Liard River, and though he called Nisutlin River people 'Tagish' they are undoubtedly inland Tlingit people (1898, pp. 154 - 155).

**Land Use :**

McClellan states that there is a great deal of speculation in early writings

about the origins and territories of Teslin people and this need not be repeated here. She learned in the 1940's that their traditional hunting and trapping territories extended up the Nisutlin River, around Wolf Lake, east to the headwaters of the Liard, north to the Pelly River drainage, northwest to Squanga Lake and half way down the Teslin River, southwest to the territory of the Atlin people in B.C. and southeast to the territory of the Tahltan ( in British Columbia ). She stresses that this boundary was very fluid in the nineteenth century (ibid., pp. 102 - 06 ). No definite boundaries can be fixed, but certainly all this area was regularly used.

As on the coast, land is formally owned not by individuals or by territorial groups but by intermarrying moieties, Crow and Wolf, and their various matrilineal clans. Clan ownership did not mean that only members of that clan could use the land: others could use it by drawing on their kinship ties and by asking permission or otherwise acknowledging that they were on someone else's territory. \*

Teslin was largely isolated from the streams of human traffic along the Yukon River. Until the building of the Alaska Highway in 1942, they spent most of the year away from their village, hunting, fishing and trapping. More specific events leading up to the establishment of Teslin are added in Appendix I.

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\* Catharine McClellan's forthcoming book contains a chapter on this subject for the Teslin area.

In summarizing land use in the southwest Yukon, then, it seems that virtually all the land, with the exception of the St. Elias glaciers was used and had to be used to provide a living for the people who lived on its lakes, rivers and hills. This land had to be carefully harvested from the riverbeds to the upper ranges of mountains. Well worn trails linked these lakes and rivers and trading centres. A detailed knowledge of the land and its changes was essential to survival.

Written accounts tell us something about land use only from the 1890's, but recent archeological and ethnographic work indicates that there had been major demographic shifts in the population by then. It is also clear that in the nineteenth century, land use in the southwest was greatly influenced by trade with the coastal Tlingit, which in turn was built upon regular trade with Europeans on the Pacific coast.

Two factors might ensure a fairly predictable, regular pattern of land use over the years : (a) access to rich resources or (b) an advantageous position in the Native trade network. People living near the Alsek with its predictable salmon runs, and people living at trading centres like Neskatahin, Tagish and Teslin Lake probably had the most regular seasonal cycles. Those living further in the interior might have to make greater yearly variations in the land they used, depending on the food resources in their areas.

## B. Yukon River

People from two distinct language groups lived along the upper Yukon River within the present boundaries of the Yukon Territory - Tutchone speakers from the foot of Lake Laberge to the mouth of the Stewart River, including the drainage of the Big Salmon, Pelly Macmillan and Stewart Rivers, and Han speakers from the Klondike River to beyond what is now the international boundary (see Map #3).

A confusing array of terms has been used to refer to people living on the upper Yukon : Campbell called them 'Wood Indians' (1958, p. 68 ); Dawson used the term 'Klo-a-tsul-tshik' (1888, p. 202B ); Dall used 'Gens do Foux,' 'Crow People' and 'Tutchone Kutchin' interchangeably (1870, p. 109 ); Whympers used 'Gens do Bois' (1867, p. 255 ); Hardisty used 'Mountain Indians' (1967, p. 311 ); and Schwatka spoke of 'Ayan' at Fort Selkirk and of 'Netch-on-dees' at the mouth of the Stewart (1898, p. 227, 228 ).

The reports used here will be limited to first hand accounts written by people who actually went down the river. Only people seen trading or fishing directly along the Yukon are discussed in this section : those on the upper drainages of the Pelly, Ross, MacMillan and Stewart are included in the Eastern Drainage (Section V - C).

### Reports of Settlements Along the Upper Yukon :

A striking feature of most early accounts is their consistent reference to the absence of Indians on the Yukon above Fort Selkirk (see for example,

Schwatka, 1883, p. 301 ). Few European travellers saw any signs of human life on this part of the river. But the assumption that Indian people spent a lot of time along the Yukon can be questioned. Dawson remarks of the Indians upriver from Fort Selkirk and east along the Pelly that "most of their travelled routes appear, indeed, to run nearly at right angles to the drainage" and that rafts were used to cross rivers and were then abandoned. He added that these people were poor boatmen and did most of their travelling on foot (1898, p. 17 ). The Yukon River provided a base of operations only for a limited period each year during the summer salmon runs - and even then many people fished on its tributaries. The rest of the year might be spent at higher elevations or at fishing lakes. It is also probable that though the travellers did not see Indians, they were seen by Indians. In his journal Campbell described how, unknown to him he was followed at some distance by inhabitants of the Pelly River in 1848. Only later did they tell him about the episode.

As in the southwest, it is interesting to compare accounts of strangers with the map of the Tlingit chief, Kohklux (Map #4 ). He puts one village "Ghluksae" just below the junction of the Little Salmon and the Yukon, and two villages on the east bank of the river between Tatchun Creek and Fort Selkirk. (Davidson, 1901, pp. 79-80 ).

Following the travels of traders, surveyers, geologists and others, a number of other camps and settlements are identified, most of them below Fort Selkirk. Where locations are identified, these are marked on Map #2.

Campbell, the Hudson's Bay Company trader who reached the Yukon via Frances Lake and the Pelly River identified a large band of "Wood" Indians at Fort Selkirk. Travelling further down the river he records that his party met many people (at unidentified locations) "whom we came across generally in large bands in camps" (1958, p. 68, 96).

Schwatka, on his military reconnoissance in 1883 gives more precise locations for villages and camps. He identified the first village he saw as 'Kit-ah-gon' meaning 'place between high hills'. It had one log house eighteen by thirty feet, and numerous brush houses. He deduced that this was a summer camp and located it in the Von Wilczek Valley (1898, p. 199; 1885, p. 751; 1883, p. 307).

The next major settlement he called 'Ka Tun' where two hundred people were staying. This settlement was twelve miles below the mouth of the Pelly, and was the largest temporary settlement he saw on the whole length of the river (1883, pp. 338 - 39). This is undoubtedly the same village Campbell wrote about thirty-five years earlier).

Opposite this village he mentions a smaller one, 'Kowsh-hou' but he refers to it in only one of his three accounts (1885, p. 822).

Further downstream near the mouths of the White River and Stewart River he encountered a group of people who called themselves 'Netch-on-dees' at their semi-permanent headquarters which they called 'Kah-tung' (1898, p. 228).

Six miles beyond the 'Deer River' (the Klondike) he came to the Alaska Commercial Company post of Fort Reliance and the nearby village of Noo-klahk-o, numbering

about one hundred and fifty people. The trader there, McQuesten, told him that normally there were about seventy-five or eighty people there and Schwatka records that the rest were visitors trading from the upper Tanana River (1898, pp. 245 - 6).

The next village was just across the boundary in Alaska and was called 'Klat-ol-kin" or 'Johnny's Village'. It had six log houses and had the appearance of being a permanent village. It was about a mile above Belle Isle Post, near the site of present day Eagle (1898, pp. 251 - 5 : 1885, p. 825).

Ogilvie, on his 1887 expedition, confirms some of these sites and mentions others. He met a group of people at Tatchun Creek, and two families at the mouth of the Stewart River who told him that there were about twenty or thirty more families further up the Stewart River. He met three families between Stewart and Fortymile, and a band of twelve families at Fort Reliance. At 'Johnny's Village' (Belle Isle) there were approximately seventy people (Ogilvie, 1897, p. 47).

Dawson, also in 1887, went only as far as Fort Selkirk, but from Indian people there he got names for bands downriver: the Klo-a-tsul-tshik, who ranged from Rink Rapids to the mouth of the White River, 'To-tshik-o-tin' at the mouth of the Stewart and along its length, the 'Tsit-o-kin-o-tin' near Fort Cudahy at the mouth of the Fortymile, and, again, 'Johnny's Village' further on (1888, 202 B).

Reports become more frequent after 1897, but by then the impact of whites must have been altering subsistence patterns as a number of additional people

competed for food. Ogilvie had noted that by 1887, Indian people were becoming understandably hostile to whites coming through asking questions (1897, p. 20).

Funston, in 1896, reported a camp of people fishing at the mouth of the Little Salmon River (1896, 13th page). Sola, a prospector on the river in 1897 came upon camps at the mouth of the Big Salmon, at Fort Selkirk and at the mouth of the Klondike, "a noted stream for salmon" (1897, p. 63, 64, 73). Steele listed river settlements at Fort Selkirk, Dawson and Fortymile in 1898 (p. 20).

#### 1. Tutchone (see Map #3)

All these reported villages or camps from the head of the Yukon River to the mouth of the Stewart River would refer to Tutchone speakers. These reports at least give a general indication of where some regularly used summer fish camps were. But because the upper Yukon was seldom visited by whites until after 1880, and then only by people passing down the river, there are few records about traditional use of land prior to the turn of the century.

Less is known about trade on the Yukon River than about trade in the southwest Yukon. To the extent that it affects land use, it is summarized briefly here.



**Trade on the Yukon River :**

Tutchone people from the head of the Yukon River as far as Fort Selkirk were oriented almost entirely toward the southwest in their trade before trading posts were actually built along the Yukon River late in the nineteenth century. Trade between Chilkats, Southern Tutchone and Fort Selkirk has already been discussed in the previous section. Trails led from Fort Selkirk directly to Aishihik to Hutshi and ultimately to the Pacific coast. Trade between Aishihik people and those around Tatchun Creek (Carmacks area ) has also been noted.

Because this trade has already been discussed at length in the section on the southwest Yukon, it will not be repeated here.

**Land Use on the Upper Yukon (to Stewart River )**

**(a) Carmacks - Little Salmon Area.**

A recent ethnographic study of the Little Salmon and Carmacks area indicates what a few local people remember of general patterns of land use before the turn of the century (Arcand, 1966 ). Arcand describes a large hunting territory extending almost to the Yukon and Pelly Rivers on the north,

west to the upper drainage of the Nisling, south almost to Hutshi and Lake Laberge, and east to include the lower Big Salmon River and all of Little Salmon Lake (Arcand, p. 6). He stresses that the boundaries he gives are not at all rigid and there was much movement both out of this territory by Tutchone, and into the territory by Southern Tutchone and Chilkats.

The main food staples were the caribou, which crossed the Yukon in a herd south of Selkirk each year, and the king salmon which came each summer (pp. 8,9.). People travelled mostly on foot, building rafts when necessary but abandoning them on river banks. Tools were abandoned too, when their weight slowed movement.

He describes the annual cycle of land use as follows. From mid-July to mid - August, Indians assembled for salmon fishing at three main sites : the mouth of the Little Salmon, the mouth of the Nordenskiold, and the mouth of Tatchun Creek. Fish traps were built collectively. From the end of the salmon run in mid -August until the middle of October, these fish camps were used as base camps for hunting. Families spread out : some stayed near the camp while others went to hunt sheep in the mountains. By mid - November, the large caribou herd was moving east from Alaska and the men prepared for a collective hunt. By surrounding large numbers of caribou, they could obtain most of the winter supply of meat. In winter, families moved to individual fishing lakes, from which they trapped. Movement was difficult in winter and they relied a great deal on their caches of salmon and caribou meat. In spring, caribou were said to cross the river again, though this time not in compact herds and there was no collective hunt. In May and

June, a lot of effort went into hunting beaver for their meat. By mid-June they would be back at fishcamps, and at the end of June, people from Aishihik, Hutshi or even from the coast would come to trade (Arcand, pp. 18 - 30 ).

Arcand stresses that there was considerable regularity in this migratory cycle, with the same paths, and the same caches used most years. But at the same time, they always had to be prepared for a major shift in game and when this occurred families were always prepared to make adjustments in their cycle. Generally, fish was the most predictable resource; moose and caribou\* were less predictable. The whole pattern of movement was oriented toward subsistence. Consequently they must always be prepared to adapt to changes (Arcand, pp. 18 - 30 ).

One such adaptation around 1900 included moving closer to the Pelly and Yukon Rivers to trap, once fur trading posts were established. (Arcand, p. 59 ). Big game hunters Sheldon and Selous reported by 1906 that Little Salmon Indians were trapping as far north as the Macmillan River (Selous, 1907, p. 312; Sheldon, 1911, p. 92 ).

(b) Fort Selkirk

The Fort Selkirk area was a major congregating place for Indians on the upper Yukon and lower Pelly well before a post was built here. Here they fished and traded with Indians from Neskatahin, Hutshi, Aishihik and the Donjek. Campbell and Schwatka each met about two hundred people here when they arrived, their visits separated by thirty - five years.

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\* Murie's work (1935 ) suggests that there was considerable variation in the migration routes of the Tanana caribou herd. Arcand was told that major caribou migrations near Carmacks stopped in 1938 (p. 63 ).

Schwatka was aware that this was just a temporary fishing camp and noted that its members went separate ways in winter (1883, pp.338 - 9). He states that their territory extended up the Pelly to the lakes, up the Yukon River to Rink Rapids and down the river to Stewart and White Rivers. Their seasonal movements probably paralleled those described for people upriver.

The caribou herd which is said to have crossed the river every year until 1938 is photographed near Selkirk in 1929 (Kitto, p. 21).

A major difference from their upriver neighbours, significant in any discussion of land use and frequently noted in early accounts, is the difference in boat technology above and below Fort Selkirk. Upriver from Selkirk, people relied on rafts and did not make extensive use of the river as a transportation route (Schwatka, 1885, p. 751). Below the fort "fragile, light, birchbark canoes" are recorded (ibid., p. 820; also Pike, 1896, pp. 214 - 15) and people probably made greater use of the river. (Birch stands grow downriver from Fort Selkirk).

Any good fishing lakes in this area were used by the Tutchone during winter. As one example, various reports indicate that Tatlain Lake, north of Carmacks, east of Fort Selkirk and south of the Pelly River was an important centre in the 19th century. Campbell remarked on the abundance of fish there and established a fishery on the lake while he managed Fort Selkirk (1958, pp.85, 87). Although he never visited it, Dawson heard that Tatlain was rich in fish (1898, p. 130). In 1904 - 5, Sheldon identified an Indian village on the Pelly River near this lake and added that "the lower part of the (Pelly) river is included in the hunting territory of the tribe at Lake Tatlamán (sic) ... whereas the river above here belonged to the Little Salmon Indians. " (1911, p. 92) (Map #2).

Tollemache, trapping here in 1905, noted that Tatlmaln Lake was well stocked with whitefish, and that a much used trail led from the lake to the Yukon River (1912, p. 167). Similar documentation should probably be available for all such lakes in the Yukon.

(c) Lower Stewart River :

Reports from Schwatka, Dawson and Ogilvie, cited earlier in this section all say that people at the mouth of the Stewart River told them their territory extended along the drainage of that river. Further references to this River will be included in the section dealing with the east - west drainages of the Ross, Pelly, Macmillan and Stewart. (Section V - C)

2. Han (seeMap #3)

These are the people who early travellers saw at the mouth of the Klondike, at Fort Reliance, at Fortymile and at Eagle.

(a) Klondike River Band

Trade :

A change in trade orientation seems to coincide with a change in language.

Below Fort Selkirk there was a distinct break in the trade network. Early Han trade seems to have been oriented in three general directions :

- (i) along the Yukon River between what is now Dawson and what is now Eagle
- (ii) south and west toward the upper Tanana River
- (iii) north and east to the Peel River

(i) Han speakers have generally been divided into two bands: the 'Klondike group' centering at the confluence of the Klondike and the Yukon, and the 'Eagle group', near the present village of Eagle (Osgood, 1936, p. 11 ). There are numerous references to early trips back and forth between these two areas, and it is possible that there were originally other 'Han' bands between these two.

When Hudson's Bay Company posts were built at Fort Yukon and (briefly ) at Fort Selkirk, the Han probably traded to both and movement increased along the river. Murray (1910 ) amply records their visits to Fort Yukon and his unpublished records state that Han speakers carried letters from Fort Yukon to Fort Selkirk (see McClellan, 1950, p. 214 ).

(ii) There are numerous references to trade between Han speakers and the upper Tanana. Schwatka commented on the upper Tanana people trading at Fort Reliance when he arrived there(1885, p. 823 ). Allen, in his military expedition in Alaska remarked on the frequent trips made by upper Tanana to Fort Reliance and to the mouth of the Fortymile ( which he calls 'Fetutlin') (1885, p. 477 ) The trip took six days and included a portage.

McKenna adds that several trails reached the Yukon River via the White River, but more generally, people went north from the Tanana, then down the Fortymile or Ladue Creeks (1959, p. 30). McClellan notes that these trails were used a lot in the nineteenth century by Han speakers because this was an area rich in natural resources. She also says that an unpublished Hudson's Bay Company manuscript suggests that the Han may have gone beyond the upper Tanana as far as the Copper River on these trails (1950, p. 215).

(iii) Trade north to the Peel River was mentioned by Murray (1910, p. 53). This trade intensified greatly during the gold rush when people from the Peel River began making regular summer trips to Moosehide and Dawson (Slobodin, 1963).

After the goldrush, Han speakers settled more permanently around Dawson, Moosehide, Fortymile and Eagle.

#### Land Use : Klondike River

The best description of land use for people living at the mouth of the Klondike comes from Tappan Adney, a journalist who hunted with this band in the winter of 1901. They hunted from the mouth of the Klondike to the head of the river, one hundred and fifty miles away :

" In summer they live by the sides of rivers and in winter move inland, hunting, following the wooded valleys of the watercourses. All who are able to move accompany the

hunt, and with household goods loaded upon the light birch-wood tobaggans, drawn by dogs (the pups and the babies riding on top), they move by short easy stages, seldom more than six or seven miles at a time. " (Adney, 1902, pp. 624 - 25 ).

Adney indicated that trails were so regularly used that animal pelts were hung up where they were caught, to be picked up on a return trip to headquarters. Describing how land was used by hunters, he added :

" When the country for a radius of six to ten miles has been scoured, the village moves on another stage; then the same hunting and feasting take place. We took five weeks to travel forty-five miles from Dawson, and in that time we got forty-eight moose. No tracks of caribou were seen. The village continued in thirty miles further toward the foothills of the Rockies, and there found the caribou and killed sixty-five, the meat of which was dried and, with the skins of the moose and deer, packed to Dawson. " (ibid. , p. 631 ).

The area between the Klondike River and what is now Eagle, Alaska was used extensively before the goldrush. Major caribou herds migrated through this area and remains of caribou surrounds are said to be visible still on the road from Eagle to Dawson.

People went to Fort Reliance and Fortymile to trade when posts were opened there. Fortymile became a headquarters for some after Fort Cudahy was built, around 1892 (Ogilvie's date ): Anglican missionaries had been active at Fortymile prior to this post.



Appendix I describes something about origins of villages along the river - Carmacks (including Little Salmon), Pelly Crossing (including Fort Selkirk), and Moosehide, near Dawson City.

In summary, then, the Yukon River may have provided a central axis for these groups, but their use of land went well inland from the river and travel routes did not necessarily follow the river drainage. Above Fort Selkirk, regularly used hunting and trading routes ran at right angles to the river. People came together in summer at fish camps, and to hunt caribou in the fall; in winter they spread out to hunt and to trap in smaller groups. Trade did not seem to exercise as much control over land use as in the southwest Yukon, though that may be more apparent than real, since we have so little information about trade on the upper Yukon. Hunting territories in this area, as elsewhere, overlapped and were not rigidly defined.

C. The Eastern Yukon : Liard, Pelly, Ross, Macmillan, and Stewart Rivers

There is no particular geographical reason for separating the eastern drainage of the Yukon from the rest of the Territory. However, culturally, it seems that people of these rivers had more to do with one another than with people to the west of them during the nineteenth century. Early accounts suggest that as on the upper Yukon, routes travelled by Indian people did not necessarily follow the rivers but rather ran north and south at right angles to the rivers. The Europeans who kept journals, however, did stick to river drainages and their report of absence of Indians in this area may reflect curious distortions of the actual situation (see Campbell, 1958, p. 60; Dawson, 1888, p. 201 B; and 1898, p. 4; Pike, 1896, p. 139 ).

Linguistically, people in this area are Kaska speakers in the southeast, and Tutchone speakers on the northern rivers.

1. Kaska (See Map # 3).

(a) Upper Liard Drainage and Frances Lake

In the southeast, Kaska speakers lived along the upper Liard and extended south well into British Columbia. A major difference between this area and the Yukon River drainage is that the Liard drains to the Mackenzie and no salmon reach this part of the country.

Honigmann's books are the most comprehensive source for the history of this area. He describes five major divisions of the Kaska, only two of them in

the Yukon Territory :<sup>\*</sup> the Frances Lake Kaska and the Upper Liard Kaska. Upper Liard People were in contact with Europeans earlier than people anywhere else in the Yukon. Undoubtedly major shifts in population occurred in the 1880's when trading posts were established in their territory (see Section IV).

Trade :

The most regular Kaska trade in the nineteenth century was with the Tahltan to the southwest on the Stikine River. Tahltan exercised a middleman position between Tlingit and Kaska and subjugated the Kaska much as they were subjugated by the Tlingit. They charged the Kaska double the number of skins which the Tlingit charged them for trade items from the coast. (Teit, 1956, p. 99). There was also some trade east to Teslin people on the Nisutlin River via the trail described by Dawson (1898, pp. 154 - 55).

In addition, regular exchange began with the Pelly River people in the nineteenth century. Kaska sometimes went to that river to get salmon (Honigmann, 1954, p. 22). And after Pelly River Indians were massacred in 1886 by hostile people from the east, some Kaska moved north to fill the gap (Field, 1957, p. 48). Prior to the establishment of a trading post on the Ross River, people from this area sometimes came south to trade at posts on the Liard. When Lewis and Field built a post at Pelly Banks in 1903, Liard people began going north to get better prices (Denniston, 1966, p. 9; Honigmann, 1954, p. 23). With the Klondike goldrush, some Kaska people guided prospectors, police, and other travellers north to the Pelly, and then stayed there (see Moodie, 1898, p. 6; Pike, 1896, p. 139).

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\* The other three divisions, "Dease River" people, "Nelson" people, and "Espatodena" lived in what are now British Columbia and Northwest Territories.

## Land Use :

Honigmann describes the territories of the two Kaska bands in the Yukon. The Frances Lake Kaska lived around Frances Lake, Simpson Lake and the upper Frances River. Their territory extended from the Pelly River watershed on the northwest to the Mackenzie mountains on the east, and they sometimes hunted south and east to the headwaters of the Hyland River and Smith River, in present day British Columbia (1949, p. 32; 1954, p. 20). The Upper Liard Kaska occupied the headwaters of the Liard and went to the Watson lake every winter to fish, or sometimes to the Pelly River. They have since trapped from the Cassiar mountains on the west to the Simpson mountains on the east (1949, p. 35; 1954, p. 19). Their territory may once have extended east to the Nisutlin River. \*

He described the seasonal cycle of the Upper Liard people, adding that it was similar for Frances Lake people and to a lesser extent for Pelly River people :

In late summer when game was fat, families went into the mountains to hunt sheep, goats, caribou, gopher, and groundhog. Meat was cached and dried in preparation for winter. In early spring, beaver were an important source of food, and people spread out to what he described as 'family owned beaver creeks'. In summer, there was a general move to fish lakes and women dried the fish and the berries (1954, pp. 31 - 33). (Fluctuations of moose and caribou in this region would mean alterations in this cycle : see Section II ).

Honigmann stresses that the real estate concept of land ownership did not exist, ie. as exclusive rights of one individual or family to certain areas

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\* From Catharine McClellan's unpublished manuscript.

of land. But as elsewhere in the Yukon, definite rights to use of certain areas of land were acknowledged by everyone. Anyone felt free to hunt anywhere within their 'own country' but generally one family would avoid going to an area where they knew another family was hunting.

## 2. Tutchone

### (a) Pelly and Ross Rivers

The earliest reference to the people living on the Pelly River was Campbell's reference to 'Knife" Indians in 1848's (Campbell, 1958, p. 67 ). Forty years later, Dawson learned from the Dease Lake people that the territory of the Pelly's included the basin of the Stewart and Macmillan Rivers and that they sometimes came as far south as Dease Lake to trade (Dawson, 1887, pp. 200 B - 201 B ).

Poole Field, a trader on the Pelly River from 1903 - 1913, gives us the most complete description we have of the early history of this area. He stated that the original Pelly people were massacred about 1886 at the head of the Ross River near the south fork of the Macmillan by Mackenzie Indians from the east. The few survivors were joined by 'centre Indians' (Kaska )from further south. (Field, 1956, p. 48 ). Consequently any reference to 'Pelly Indians ' refers to a very mixed population.

The tradition of hostilities between people on the upper drainages of these rivers and Mountain Indians from the east extends sometime into the past. The geologist Keele recorded in 1908 that "mutual fear and distrust has

established a dead line over which representatives of neither side pass." (1957, p. 287 ).

When Sheldon visited the Upper Pelly in 1904 he commented on the excellent health and vigorous appearance of the people he met (1911, p. 188 ).

At Ross River he met eighty-nine Indian people waiting for the trader to return with ammunition. He visited with them and compared word lists George Dawson had collected in 1887 and came to the conclusion that these people spoke a language very similar to the language spoken at Frances Lake. Undoubtedly, some of these people were from Frances lake originally.

#### Trade

Information about trade with Pelly Indians has already been outlined in conjunction with Tagish, Tlingit and Kaska and will not be repeated here. These people travelled great distances when trading and sometimes wintered over in other areas; for example, Pike met two families from the Pelly wintering in the Frances Lake area one year. Like Sheldon, he commented on their excellent health (1896, p. 138 ).

#### Land Use

Referring to the population which had gradually replaced the original inhabitants of the Pelly, Field said that they constituted three different groups : the Pelly Indians ranging south and east of the Lapie and Ross Rivers; the Little Salmon Indians, west of the Lapie and Ross; and the feared Mountain Indians, from the head of the Ross and Macmillan toward

the Mackenzie River (pp. 49, 50).

Honigmann has suggested that the yearly cycle of the Pelly people would be similar to the Kaska (1954, p. 48) which is particularly likely if many Pelly people originally came from Frances Lake and the Liard drainage.

References to the shifting moose and caribou population in this area have already been noted (Section II) and Field states that older men remembered using caribou surrounds to hunt caribou (1956, p. 52).

Indications are that there was not much contact between people on the upper and lower Pelly, partly because people on the upper Pelly seldom used boats. All early traders and writers differentiated between them, beginning with Campbell in 1841. As late as 1905, Tollemache referred to a band of Indians on the upper Pelly who "scarcely ever appear at Selkirk" (1912, pp. 58-9). But he noted that the upper Pelly was gaining fame among big game hunters and that each year parties were arriving from England and the United States (p. 208). Undoubtedly this was putting a great deal of pressure on traditional land use patterns in that area. Later he was to record that white trappers were virtually high grading furs in this region. By 1908, Keele learned that game was disappearing from this region and that \$136,000 worth of furs had been taken from the Pelly and Macmillan over a five year period. He contrasted the short term intensive trapping of whites, who came with provisions, built one cabin as a central headquarters and trapped intensively in one area until all the furs were gone, with the methods of the Indians which reflected their attitudes toward land use :

- " The Indians seldom trap a locality out, as they are forced to move their camps often in search of game, and consequently trap lightly over a large area. " (Keele, 1957, p. 298 ).

Similarly, Field described the use of the land by local Indians :

- " They are continually on the move, only stopping a few days in one place and cover a large tract of country in a year. Their food supply is taken from such a large country that it leaves plenty to breed from so although an Indian kills a lot of game in the year he does the country very little harm. " (Field, 1957, p. 55 ).

Like Honigmann for the Kaska, Field states that Pelly people had family - owned beaver creeks; however, it is difficult to know whether this was an old pattern or whether it resulted from the fur trade in which beaver became such a major supply of cash.

(h) Upper Macmillan River

The upper Macmillan and Stewart rivers and their intervening areas are even less well known than the Ross and Pelly. Earliest reports come from trappers and geologists and even these reports are often second hand.

Dawson encountered two Macmillan River people in 1887 near the mouth of the Macmillan but had no interpreter and could not communicate with them (1898, p. 127 ).



Trappers' remarks about the furs on the Macmillan were discussed in Section II but are reviewed here briefly. In 1905, Tollemache said that trappers were going from Fort Selkirk to the Macmillan to trap and that there were many moose and fur animals on the upper Macmillan. By 1904, Sheldon stated that most of the trapping being done on the upper Macmillan was being done by white trappers rather than by Indians. Four years later he met trappers in Dawson who told him that virtually all the furs had been taken from the Macmillan. Thus, in a four year period, overtrapping had apparently drastically reduced the game. What records do not tell us is how many Indian people were trapping there before 1900 and what this overtrapping did to their land use patterns. Not having the luxury of being able to leave like the white trappers when furs were gone, it is probably that they had to greatly expand the land area they used in order to survive.

(c) Stewart River

Most references to the Stewart are second hand too. Schwatka, Dawson and Ogilvie all identified camps at the mouth of the Stewart River (see Yukon River, Section B ) and they learned from these people that there were more of their members upriver. But they did not meet them.

There seems to have been considerable contact between Stewart River people and the northern Peel River people. In the summer of 1898, George Mitchell hired a Peel River man 'Bonnetplume' to guide him to the Stewart, implying that there was some contact between the two groups (Graham, 1935, p. 114).

A Peel River informant told Slobodin that at one time there had been hostilities between Peel River and Stewart River people but that by the 1900's they were hunting and trading together (1963, p. 32 ).

Slobodin described a camp near Bonnet Plume Lake in 1908 "comprised of several families of Stewart and Mayo i. e. Tutchone Indians " (1962, p. 32 ). He suggests that the reason so few Stewart River people were on the Bonnet Plume Flats at this time was because of their relatively great participation in the gold rush activities. This may also be the reason for so few references to people on the Stewart when whites first arrived there in the twentieth century.

There are some references to the trading post established at the head of the Stewart River where it is joined by the Lansing. In 1898, a Mr. Frank Braine brought a number of Indian people from Fort Good Hope across the Mackenzie mountains and established them on the Stewart River at the mouth of the Lansing River. He built a trading post at this point and supplied it from Dawson City (Keele, 1957, p. 287 ). A report from Corporal Thompson, (N.W.M.P. ) describing a patrol he made from Mayo to Lansing, indicates that there were a number of Indian families along the upper Stewart at that time :

" On my patrol I visited all the Indian camps along the Creek, besides what are living at Lansing. They are all in good health except one ... " (Thompson, 1911, p. 228; my underlining ).

He also indicated that there was considerable competition between traders for furs and that Poole Field, the trader at Ross River was enticing people away from Lansing Creek post by offering higher prices at his post.

In summary, the Kaska were hunters, gatherers, and fishermen who added trapping to their yearly cycle soon after trading posts were built in their country in the early 1800's. In summer they fished and dried berries; in late summer they moved to hills to hunt; winter was a period of little movement, usually spent near a fish lake. Early spring was spent hunting beaver and other small animals. The pattern was probably similar for Tutchone on the Pelly River.

There are no direct references to land use on the Stewart and Macmillan Rivers, but it can be inferred that patterns are similar to those described for other Athapaskans on the Yukon River and in the southeastern drainage. By the turn of the century though, these people had the additional problem of direct competition for their resources from short - term white trappers, and this may have altered their traditional land use patterns.

#### D. The Porcupine Peel River Drainage

North of the Yukon River and Ogilvie Mountains live a group of people who speak a distinctly different Athapaskan language - Kutchin - and who form a distinct geographical entity. The entire Kutchin territory stretches west six hundred miles from the Mackenzie River, north to the Brooks Range in Alaska and south to the sixty-fifth parallel. Three Kutchin bands traditionally lived in what is now the Yukon Territory.

Early traders used various names to refer to these people : Loucheux, Tududh, and 'Quarrelers.' Ultimately a word from their own language

'Kutchin' (pronounced Gw'ich'in) meaning 'one who dwells' was adopted in accounts. It was coupled with a geographical term so that the three Kutchin bands in the Yukon Territory were the Tetlit Kutchin (on the upper Peel River) the Tukkuth Kutchin ( on the upper Porcupine River ) and the Vunta Kutchin ('those who dwell among the lakes') at the junction of the Crow and Porcupine Rivers.

(a) Peel River (Tetlit ) Kutchin (see Map #3 )

Peel River Kutchin now live near the Mackenzie Delta in the vicinity of Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories. However, their traditional home was the upper drainage of the Peel, in what is now the Yukon. Prior to 1840 they seldom went down to the mouth of the Peel because of longstanding hostilities with Eskimos (Slobodin, 1963, p. 25 ). When Fort McPherson was built on the lower Peel in 1840, it had little initial impact on them. As well as being in dangerous Eskimo territory it was a long way from their hunting grounds on the upper River. Subsistence was oriented toward caribou and this meant being above the timberline shortly after freeze - up; hunting was much more important than trapping in those days. They were traditionally mountain people and had no time for unproductive trips down to the post. (Slobodin, 1962, p. 21 ). Only later in the century did people begin visiting the trading post in early summer, learning about the fur trade and the things which furs could buy.

Trade :

During the 19th century, Peel River Kutchin sometimes traded with and other

times fought with people on the Stewart and Yukon Rivers (Slobodin, 1960, pp. 86, 88 ). The Peel River had no salmon, and they traded red paint to the Han in exchange for salmon.

The gold rush reinforced this north-south orientation and between 1898 and 1912, Peel River people regularly came to Dawson for part of the year, guiding miners, trading meat and working for wages (Slobodin, 1963 ). By 1905 - 06 there was a section of Moosehide, the Han village near Dawson, which was regularly occupied by Peel River people during the summer (1962, p. 31 ).

Peel River people were oriented toward the Yukon River for trading, employment, social life and to Moosehide as a summer headquarters until about 1910 or 1911 when they began going instead to Fort McPherson for the summer. In the second and third decades of the century they sometimes visited Eagle instead of Dawson for the summer. The spectacular rise in fur prices in 1914 cemented their ties with Fort McPherson and from then on, they made only periodic trips to Dawson. (Slobodin, 1962, p. 34 - 36; Northern Lights, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1923 ).

#### Land Use :

All accounts indicate that Peel River made extensive use of the upper reaches of the Peel River.

A description of the winter caribou hunt comes from a prospector, George Mitchell who broke his leg and was cared for by Chief Frances' band in

the winter of 1898 - 99. The band took him to their various camps during the winter.

- " The main body of hunters used to keep together on a single trail, with scouts out in front and flankers to the right and left. When the scouts or flankers spotted a herd of caribou they came back quietly and warned the main body, and then the whole gang would work around to leeward of the caribou so as to be able to approach them within a short range. Generally, they got up to within fifty yards or less and would be able to kill several with arrows before the others knew what was happening . . . " (Graham, 1935, p. 211 )

He then described how every bit of the caribou was used to provide the basic necessities of life - food and clothing for the entire camp.

In June, families went to fish camps. Lacking salmon, Peel River people relied on whitefish, or went to the Yukon River for salmon.

Early accounts written by people who passed through this area indicated that numerous camps dotted the upper Peel. Mitchell described the camp he stayed with as a semi-permanent camp where people might stay for a few weeks while caribou were in the area.

Slobodin was told about such a camp which had been in this area in 1903 - 04 :

- " Most of the band spent the best part of each winter camped in one or two large groups. In the earlier year when the caribou remained between the upper Hart and Wind Rivers there was a large encampment on the east side of Hungry Lake, at latitude 66 38' N, longitude 136 W. This camp is estimated to have comprised over forty families, most of them from the Peel with a dozen from the Porcupine River and Crow

bands. In addition there was a varying number, up to half a dozen of Han families and at least one unattached Tutchone man. " (1962, p. 31).

He described another, larger camp remembered from 1908 :

" In 1908 - 09, there was a heavy concentration of caribou in the area from the head of the Stewart River, down the Bonnet Plume River, along what is locally known as the Bonnet Plume Flats, a high plateau extending north from latitude 65 N., longitude 134 W. This was a larger area of concentration than that of the 1903 - 04 gathering. There were two camps of hunters, both mainly Peel River people. (ibid., p. 32 ).

Dempster, on his 1909 patrol from Dawson to McPherson and back encountered camps on the Hart River, the Little Wind River and the Blackstone River. He noted that it had been a poor year for caribou and the Peel River people were suffering greatly (Dempster, 1909, p. 245 ). A year later on the same patrol he encountered three camps again.

Other North-West Mounted Police patrols also recorded camps in this area and trips of Peel River people to Dawson (Horrigan, 1911; Ward, 1916 ). Two reports describe the country from the perspective of Indian people who lived there. A lengthy account by Johnny Semple appeared in the Dawson News, December 29, 1931, describing a journey of 34 people and 62 dogs from the Blackstone River to Dawson (in Archives : Pam, 1931 ).

" The first Peel River people found their way to Dawson just after New Year in 1900. My brother and three other people went down the Peel River to Fort McPherson to say they found Dawson. They just go along the other side; head

of the Blackstone; head of the Peel ; head of the Hart River; head of the Big Wind. Just that far the people go, that's all. They don't know this Yukon, never came over these mountains ... "Summer 1900, I start with some people up the Peel. We left our boats and walked across the mountains to the head of the Hart; and then to the head of the Klondike ... " "When we came we didn't stay right there. We come, go back, and stay at the head of the Blackstone, other side from here a hundred miles. We come to Dawson in winter to sell meat. We were trapping, got some little fur, too. We camped sometimes eastward toward Bonnet Plume Flats. Summertime though, everyone came down here. Even the old people. We would stay in June and July, sometimes only one month, sometimes half a month. Then we go back again using dogteams all the time. " (Slobodin, 1963, pp.33 - 34 ).

While he was talking, he drew an accurate map with his cane of all the rivers he had not seen for thirty-five years.

(b). Porcupine River (Tukkuth ) Kutchin

Most of the very early references to "Kutchin" actually refer to the Tukkuth people who lived on the upper Porcupine River and traded to the early La Pierre House. Although the upper Porcupine was considered to be their territory, there are no clear descriptions of the land they used prior to the twentieth century. An epidemic depopulated the Tukkuth early in this century and the few remaining descendents now live at Old Crow. (Welsh, 1970, pp. 24 - 25 ).

Trade :

By the turn of the century, Tukkuth people had modified their annual cycle to include trade at Eagle, at Fort McPherson and at Moosehide. Excursions



to Eagle were linked partly to social and economic ties with Han' people, and partly to growing commerce with white people there (see Balikci, 1963, pp. 55 - 56). Trade to McPherson probably began sometime in the mid-nineteenth century (ibid), and trips to Moosehide would have begun after these people learned from Peel River people about the gold rush activity.

#### Land Use :

Balikci gives a detailed description of the annual cycle at the turn of the century based on reports from an elderly man who was a boy at that time.

In spring, people downriver from the upper Porcupine to Whitestone village where they constructed moose skin boats (see Map #2). People gradually arrived there and after breakup the whole band moved further downriver to Whitefish Lake near Bell and Eagle Rivers. They fished for a while, then crossed the Richardson mountains to trade at Fort McPherson. When trading was over they returned to Whitefish Lake and in August headed back to the Porcupine River to the mountains to hunt caribou. Then, they dried and cached meat for winter. In late September, men returned to Whitestone village to get supplies which had been cached and after freeze-up, the whole band moved over to the very head of the Peel River. They trapped for a while, and hunted mountain sheep. In November a few men began the long journey to Eagle to trade meat, skin, etc. They sold these items to the white people at Eagle and brought back supplies they purchased. In late November or December, they split into three separate bands for the rest of the winter and hunted caribou. In spring, they began the journey again to the Whitestone. (Balikci, pp. 55 - 56).

The cycle described here had already been greatly affected by a European economy. Trading was part of the yearly cycle and supplies were purchased at stores. Leadership patterns were changing as trade became increasingly important. But the band still covered hundreds of miles in the course of the year, following well known trails.

(c) Crow River (Vunta ) Kutchin

The Vunta Kutchin "dwellers among lakes" are the people who now live in Old Crow. Their main river orientation is to the Crow River which flows into the Porcupine and ultimately into the Yukon.

Trade :

Prior to the building of posts on the Yukon and Mackenzie Rivers, Vunta Kutchin acted as trading intermediaries between Russians on the lower Yukon River, and Eskimos on Hershel Island, as early as 1823 (Slobodin, 1962, p. 19). With the building of Fort Yukon and the opening of the Porcupine River as a major trade route, Crow River people lost their position as intermediaries (ibid., p. 23). Throughout this period there was considerable hostility between Eskimos and Kutchin. While the Peel River and upper Porcupine River people ultimately traded to the Fort McPherson post, the Crow River people began trading down the river to Fort Yukon soon after the post was built (Dall, 1870, p. 109). When Rampart House was built, it became a headquarters for Crow River people for some years. (See Appendix I under Old Crow).

**Land Use :**

Balikci describes the traditional habitat of the Vunta Kutchin as extending over approximately 10,000 square miles - roughly from the middle of the Bell and Eagle Rivers (137 degrees W) near the foothills of the Richardson Mountains, south to the headwaters of Eagle and Porcupine Rivers (66 degrees N), north to the end of Old Crow Flats (68 degrees N), and west to the Alaska Border (141 degrees W) (1963, p. 3). They also made regular trips further north to the Firth River, both for fish and for caribou (p. 15).

Because salmon ascended the Porcupine from the Yukon River in July, their seasonal cycle included spending most of the summer in a large band fishing. Then :

- " In late summer and autumn the people hunted caribou in the corrals on the mountain slopes north of Crow Flats. After freeze-up, the southbound migration began with people travelling together. They crossed the Porcupine and continued caribou hunting with bows and arrows in smaller bands in the wooded areas south of that river. In spring, before break - up, the people left the forests and moved back north to Crow Flats. There they looked for muskrat runways in the snow, and caught the muskrat with hoop nets. After breakup, fishing, using several methods, started, together with duck hunting from birch bark canoes. It was possible for people to congregate in larger groups during a good season . " (Balikci, 1963, p. 29).

The seasonal cycle, then, includes two essentially communal activities - hunting caribou in the mountains and at crossings, and fishing in well stocked rivers and lakes. Both the wooden caribou surrounds and the fish-traps had to be built and used co-operatively.

The three largest gatherings took place (a) at fall caribou grounds north of Old Crow Flats, (b) at spring caribou crossings on the Porcupine and (c) at summer fishcamps along the Porcupine River (Welsh, 1970, p. 21).

" Membership ... (was) ... very flexible, with families and groups of families shifting from onelocal group to another depending on both social considerations and on availability of resources in a given area. There was a tendency, however, for the same people to return to the same caribou surrounds or fish trap sites year after year, and it is probable that the group fishing at a particular site would be the same group later gathered at a given surround. The operation of caribou surrounds and fish traps was quite similar in a social sense; that is, each was said to be "owned" by a particular individual, generally the man who had supervised its initial construction. Such a leader was said to be the "boss" for the structure, directing the taking and distribution of the caribou or fish to the assembled families. The same man might supervise both a surround and a fish trap, though this was not inevitable ... " (Welsh, p. 22).

#### Summary :

Within Kutchin territory, there were regional variations in the available resources, and bands made corresponding adjustments, in their use of the land. Upper Peel and Porcupine Kutchin had a greater variety of game animals than the Crow River Kutchin, but they lacked the salmon which the Crow River people had.

In 1936, Osgood described the kind of flexibility Kutchin bands needed in order to maximize their use of the resources.

" At certain periods, at least, the tribe\*cannot live together because a limited range of territory will not furnish sufficient food and therefore the tribe breaks up into hunting bands to utilize a greater surface area in their economic pursuits. We lack enough data on aboriginal bands to know how permanently the family units hold together, either during the course of a single year or concurrent ones. The available evidence suggests that the band is plastic, making it possible for certain families to shift their band association even during a given season. " (Osgood, 1936, p. 111 ).

But he noted that there was a very definite and repeated pattern of land use and that a thorough knowledge of all the trails interconnecting the country was acquired by band members :

" I have been puzzled in some cases how after an Indian had killed game, returned to a camp and given it to another, the receiver could set out and actually find it. The method is this. A network of trails covers the whole country and each hunter knows them all within a restricted area. The killer of game simply describes the trail which passes closest to the meat and indicates at what point and direction the trail is to be left and roughly to what distance. A brief description of the locality concludes the instructions. Very often the man going for the meat knows the country so well he can visualize the location before he starts. In any case, a big piece of moss is left to hang conspicuously in a tree near the meat. " (Osgood, 1936, pp. 58-9).

The pattern , overall, seems to be typical of other northern regions: people came together when and where food was plentiful and a number of co-operating families worked together. When food was scarce, people spread out in small family groups and hunted in an area in which no other group was already hunting. Thus, a very large area was carefully harvested by a relatively small number of people.

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\* Osgood uses the word tribe here to refer to what others call "regional bands" the Vunta Kutchin, the Tukkuh Kutchin and the Peel River or Tetlit Kutchin.



VI. IMPACT OF CHANGES ON SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES AND LAND USE ; A SUMMARY

Documenting the impact of Europeans on subsistence activities would be another project and will only be summarized here.

The fur trade was the first European institution to have a major effect on subsistence cycles. With furs, Indian people could purchase entirely new items of technology which gradually individualized the yearly cycle. Guns meant that hunters could hunt alone rather than with other men. An individual could now shoot as many caribou as a group of men had formerly surrounded, and the surrounds gradually fell into disuse. Fish nets had a similar effect : no longer was it necessary for a number of families to build a fish trap co-operatively. Trapping, once secondary to hunting and fishing, came to dominate the yearly activities. Effective trapping required further dispersal of people. The seasonal cycle was altered to include one or more trips to a trading post.

Steel tools aided in building log cabins, more permanent than bush shelters. Canvas tents replaced the northern skin houses. Wood boats replaced moose skin boats and these boats encouraged people to hunt and camp along major waterways, not always the case before.

Families had never had more than one or two dogs. With furs, they could afford more dogs and could buy tobaggans. This meant that heavier loads could be carried; winter caches were visited less frequently and most of the hunting might be done in early winter when tobaggans could be used.

The early Hudson's Bay Company traders were a conservative force. They

preferred to deal with groups of people through a trading chief, rather than individually. This meant that patterns of leadership might change, but co-operative activities were little disturbed. The later traders dealt with individuals and as dependence on trade goods increased, individuals became tied into a credit-debt system in which virtually all aspects of their economic life were controlled by a white trader. All this added to the individualizing process. People began to shift trapping areas to be reasonably near a post and there was a partial redistribution of population.\*

In this century, fur prices fluctuated drastically and income from furs has never been predictable from one year to the next. Added to this was the fluctuation in game animals once white trappers became involved. Overtrapping by newcomers easily disturbed the fine balance between man, animals and the land. Sheldon, Tanner and Keele all documented the tendency of many whites to take the same 'clean up and clear out' approach to trapping as they later did to mining. As people adapted to the requirements of the fur trade, then, they gradually lost some measure of control over their own lives.

The impact of the goldrush was significant on people near the goldfields. Graham documents the openness with which Indian people received and assisted whites, often helpless in the north and the crude racism which they often met in return (pp. 118 - 123; 175 - 77). While results were devastating for people who lived and fished on the Klondike, others who visited Dawson, learned about frontier society and then left it, fared better (see Slobodin, 1963). The general absence of game during this period has often been attributed to the influx of people.

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Arcand, Cockfield, and missionaries all commented on a northward shift of Little Salmon people toward the Pelly River in the 1900 - 1925 period (Arcand, p. 61; Cockfield, p. 593; Northern Lights Vol 4, No. 3, 1916).



Woodcamps which served riverboats going down the Yukon began to provide supplementary income for Indian people after 1900. Men were hired seasonally as woodcutters and were paid \$2.00 - \$3.00 per cord (Arcand, p. 62). Time spent cutting wood modified the seasonal cycle.

The newcomers also brought sickness to people who had no immunity to their diseases and epidemics swept through the Indian camps in the first decades of the century.

Numerous cases of ecological upset could be cited - like the coal oil spill on the Yukon River in 1905 (Tollemache, p. 293-4) . All these changes eroded the subsistence base of the Indians.

Residential schools which removed children from their families for ten months of the year inevitably created problems for people who never had the opportunity to learn winter activities such as hunting and trapping.

The building of the Alaska Highway brought epidemics in the short run and in the long run rooted people to new villages chosen for them by government administrators sent north to oversee the changes. Often villages lumped together people from very different traditional hunting groups and tied them to locations where they did not want to be. Compulsory schooling ensured that they stayed, and village schools meant that women could no longer accompany men hunting and trapping.

The individual registration of traplines by the government and the establishment of a game sanctuary in the early 1950's further eroded traditions associated with land use in some areas.

McClellan writes of the "characteristic willingness to entertain and even search for new ideas" (1956, p. 130) among the Athapaskan peoples in the Yukon. Their ability to adapt their technology to changing situations - shifts in game, seasonal unpredictability, etc. - had always been their key to survival. Consistently, they adapted to the changing economic and cultural situation after 1898; however, by then they were adapting to a limited situation controlled by an economy which they had no part in designing and over which they have had no control to this day.

VII. CONCLUSION : SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

Three general kinds of conclusions can be summarized in this section, outlining :

- A. Limitations of written sources as a means of understanding traditional land use;
- B. Summary of what has been said in the body of the report about land use;
- C. Recommendations for future work.

A. Limitations of Written Records :

1. The available records :

Historical reconstruction from written records is a very limited method of trying to understand traditional land use patterns. Much of the evidence is fragmentary and ambiguous and there are major gaps in the available records. Chronological and descriptive material of this kind provides a useful starting point, but it is only the first step in understanding the past. The basic questions which are raised in this report require answers from archeologists, ethnographers, biologists, linguists, and most of all from older Indian people who remember the past and the traditions from the past.

2. The time frame of written records :

It is impossible to talk about 'traditional' land use as recorded in the journals of Europeans, only about certain aspects of land use at the time of contact by whites. The time frame of such contact varied greatly in different parts

of the Yukon - from the 1820's in the southeastern Yukon to the 1840's in the northern part of the Yukon to the 1890's in the southwest. Even before Europeans actually arrived, their trade items - guns, steel axes, pots, pans - were reaching the interior via the Native trade network.

The earliest written records go only to the 1850's. Attempts at careful reconstruction of the past began in the middle of this century. In most records the 'old days' indicates the period just prior to the gold rush, after trading posts were already well established in most parts of the Yukon. From what we can learn about the changing situation in the nineteenth century, it seems that the population distribution may have been very different before 1850.

### 3. Changes in the Nineteenth Century :

Non-Indians have often made the assumption that Indian culture was somehow static, timeless and unchanging before their arrival. In fact, a number of changes were occurring in the Yukon throughout the nineteenth century and in this context the term 'traditional' loses any exact meaning when it is applied by outsiders as a fixed category. For many reasons there were fluctuations and shifts in population during the last century. Feuds displaced people on the Pelly River and the upper Tatshenshini. Epidemics, brought by trading parties from Europeans on the coast decimated people on the Alsek basin, and perhaps in other areas. Tlingit influence was spreading into the interior and one large group from the Taku River settled in what is now the Yukon sometime in the last century. Kutchin people may have been pushed east by Eskimos. Trading centres like Hutshi and Aishihik had grown and declined in stature by 1890. We are left with a picture of a dynamic and changing society during the decades prior to white contact,

and this might be reflected in changing patterns of land use. The one constant in all this, however, was the use of that land. Where one group left an area (for example after the Pelly feud ) another would move in to make use of the land, so that land was not left 'unused'.

4. Routes Europeans followed :

Although Europeans tended to write as though areas close to the rivers were the logical regions for Indian people to spend most of the year, there is considerable evidence to suggest that trade trails and hunting trails often ran at right angles to the major river drainages, at least on the Pelly, Ross, Macmillan and Stewart Rivers and on the Yukon above Fort Selkirk. Indications are that many Indian people in these areas spent a good part of the year hunting at higher elevations. This means that much of the land used was never seen by Europeans who usually travelled the rivers and recorded their observations from the water. In many cases they were in the wrong areas to see people, and the reported 'absence' of people was simply inaccurate.

B. Summary of Land Use Characteristics :

1. Land used :

Evidence suggests that virtually all the land in the Yukon was used and had to be used in order to support life in an area where the geographical distribution of resources was uneven, where resources were subject to cyclical or non-cyclical variations from year to year, and where families covered large

tracts of land in their yearly cycles. (See Section V for elaboration of this ).

## 2. Patterns of Land Use :

Land was not used randomly, but as part of the regular seasonal pattern of ingathering at times of maximum resources and dispersal at times of scarcity. Group size, group composition and group membership would vary with the season as would the kind of subsistence activity. People came together when and where food was plentiful and a number of co-operating families worked together. In seasons when food was scarce people spread out in small family groups and hunted in an area where no other group was already hunting.

A general pattern of spring trade, summer fishing, fall and winter hunting and late winter trapping guided the yearly activities in most areas in the late nineteenth century. Such cyclical movements prevented overharvesting and depletion of game. Thus, a very large area was carefully harvested by a relatively small number of people.

## 3. Fluctuations in Game :

The fluctuations of game which are recorded in the Yukon in the late nineteenth century suggest that the Indian people living in the Yukon had to be extremely adaptable and ready to modify their organization of economic activities when resources fluctuated. This is particularly true of shifts in moose and caribou, though we don't yet know enough about where and when these shifts occurred, to say precisely how they affected the people who relied on them. (See Section II ). People had to develop social organization and technology which could be applied to individual moose, or to numbers of migrating caribou, or to other animals as the occasion demanded. Their ability to make these adaptations

was their key to survival for generations.

#### 4. Mobility :

Hunting bands in the Yukon were extremely mobile in the late nineteenth century. A family might easily cover several hundred miles in a year, following well known trails. The resource base was not stable enough to support people who remained in a small area except perhaps on the Alsek, with its sockeye salmon runs. As in northeastern Canada and in the interior of Alaska "any hunting - trapping group that was forced to remain on a particular 'hunting territory' would probably starve to death, at one time or another, within a generation " (Knight, 1965, p. 33; see also Nelson, 1973, pp. 274-5 ).

#### 5. Territorial Boundaries :

Although linguistic map (#3 ) implies that there were linguistic and territorial boundaries between groups, these boundaries were in no way rigid and should not be considered as such. People hunted within generally recognized areas, but fluctuations in resources might mean a good deal of readjustment and overlapping between territories of different regional groups. Trade relationships between groups ensured regular contact between them and a good deal of movement back and forth between 'headquarters'.

#### 6. Trails :

The trails linking various parts of the Yukon had important implications for land use. In the nineteenth century, the three major routes from the coast were controlled by Tlingits who built their trade monopoly on their ownership of these trails. It seems that anyone might use the many trails in the interior. They were extensively and repeatedly used, possibly for centuries. Trails often ran through the richest game areas and people hunted and cached

food while using these routes. They also acquired items for trade - furs, copper, dyes - which they later exchanged with other groups.

7. Knowledge of the land :

Indications are that for northern Indian hunters a detailed knowledge of the land - its varieties, its changes - was absolutely essential for survival. They had to know where to find trails, animals, edible plants, fish, rivers, lakes, hills and forests. Learning about the land was something which began as a child and continued through a whole lifetime. The land was much more than an area to be exploited for personal gain - it was part of a community which all living beings shared.

8. Fur Trade :

There may have been major shifts in land use patterns after the fur trade became an institution. Families were encouraged to sell to one trader and might begin using areas somewhat closer to his post. Technology acquired as a result of the fur trade made hunting and trapping a more individual matter. Competition from short-term white trappers at the turn of the century badly upset the balance between animals and man, and meant that some areas were rapidly 'trapped out'. Indian trappers may have had to greatly increase the land they used in order to sustain the same yield.

9. Ownership :

Any detailed discussion of traditional concepts of land ownership requires much more intensive work than is possible through written records, and may not even be possible now, so greatly did the European fur trade



affect land use. In general terms, though, the land was owned not by individuals but by collective groups related by ties of kinship. These were not territorial groups, but lineage - based moieties (Crow, Wolf and their various clans ) at least in the southern Yukon. Ownership was an expression of widely recognized rights to use certain areas of land but such rights were primarily ceremonial and did not exclude others. \*

Someone not a member of that lineage might acknowledge that he was a guest by making a present to the appropriate lineage head. Ownership of the land did not necessarily include ownership of the products of that land. No man denied another the right to hunt in his territory because it was generally recognized that a person should be able to kill what food he required.

It seems that the concept of exclusive land ownership was unnecessary as long as people were free to hunt where they pleased. It became necessary only later when outsiders began to encroach and impose their concepts of ownership on the land they used. For example, the system of individually registered traplines initiated by the government in the 1950's, with its implications of exclusive ownership, contradicted local systems and was bitterly resented by people in many parts of the Yukon.

#### 10. Archeology :

The prehistoric records of land use probably go as far back in the Yukon as anywhere in North America. The present Yukon was part of the corridor which gave access to the New World and to the south. Already archeology has

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\* Catharine McClellan's forthcoming book describes this for the Teslin area.

indicated that man has occupied the southwest Yukon for 10,000 years and the northwest Yukon for approximately 30,000 years. Further work may tell us a good deal more about man's arrival on this continent.

For more recent periods, archeology is beginning to clarify aspects of the recent pre-historic period, filling in some of the gaps in the early nineteenth century.

11. The present century :

As newcomers have gradually built towns, mines and roads in the Yukon the traditional economic base of Indian people has been undercut, yet replaced by nothing viable. (See Section 6). Despite their attempts to adapt to the changes, Indian people have until recently been excluded from any involvement in planning the future of the Yukon. Without a land base or a technological base they have had no way of developing the areas around their villages in any way which could make them genuine participants in "northern development" plans.

C. Recommendations for Future Work

I. Oral History

The information in this report comes almost entirely from the journals of 'strangers' who learned from the people they met and wrote what they could understand of their history. In many cases they wrote about things which they did not understand and their accounts reflect this. Probably the most important work which could now be done would be to start with questions

from these accounts and talk with people still living today to determine their interpretations of changes in the early years of this century. Evidence that people's memories about Hutshi and Aishihik are more reliable than early written accounts by outsiders has been cited in the text. This is undoubtedly true for other areas as well.

## 2. Hudson's Bay Company Records :

Journals and reports of Hudson's Bay Company traders are the earliest source of written history about the Yukon. Section IV gives an outline of where and when posts were built in the Yukon. These reports were not written for publication and most of them have never been made public. Until very recently they were kept in London, England, where they were virtually closed to researchers. In the last few years, they have been transferred to the Winnipeg Archives and they undoubtedly contain a good deal of information about early Yukon history. Analysis of these reports could provide more questions and suggestions about land use in the mid - nineteenth century.

## 3. Other Records :

There are undoubtedly many other records available which could provide information about Indian history and land use in the Yukon. Many of these are unpublished, unorganized and scattered and an inventory should be made of just what is available for further research : for example ; records of the Russian American Company, the Alaska Commercial Company, Taylor and Drury trading posts, other posts, Western Telegraph Company, Canada Alaska Boundary Commission, Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church,

Department of Indian Affairs, Residential schools, Riverboats, North-West Mounted Police, and more recently Royal Canadian Mounted Police records, health records, school records and so on. The Public Archives of Canada recently sent over 220 cubic feet of materials to the Yukon Archives and when these records are fully catalogued, other sources will be available. With careful analysis, it is possible that changes could be documented in detail for different areas of the Yukon. This would make it possible to make more comprehensive statements about the impact of changes in this century.

#### 4. Fluctuations in Game :

Much more detailed demographic work is needed to learn about the shifts in animal population over the last century and ways in which this has affected the lives of men and women who lived on the land. Biologists are still working on this and admit that there are gaps in what they know about early fluctuations of game. Although the Yukon Game Branch has no written information about these changes, their biologists and biologists in Alaska have a good deal of knowledge which could help to answer some of the questions raised in Section II and could contribute to any serious study of the relationship of man to land in the north. Given the environmental questions now being asked in the north, a pooling of what biologists know about early fluctuations of game could be very important. Undoubtedly there are older Indian people with detailed knowledge of the land who could work with biologists to fill these gaps.

#### 5. Archeological Sites :

The work of archeologists may be extremely important in clarifying past

history in the Yukon. According to Dr. Richard Morlan, with the Archeological Survey of Canada, there are 326 known archeological sites in the Yukon. \* This report has summarized findings from a few of them. With growing industrial activity in the Yukon threatening these sites, it is essential that Territorial and Federal governments encourage work by competent archeologists before 'development' destroys what is left of the unwritten records of the past.

6. Traditional names for the land :

Indian people in the Yukon have names in their own language for all the geographical features in the land they used - the lakes, rivers, hills and streams. Early travellers like Schwatka, Dawson and Glave recognized the value of recording these names :

" Throughout my letter I have retained the native names of geographical points wherever I could learn them. In my opinion this should always be studied. The Indian names of mountains, lakes and rivers are natural landmarks for the traveler whoever he may be; to destroy these by substituting words of a foreign tongue is to destroy the natural guides. You ask for some point and mention its native name; your guide will take you there. Ask for the same place in your substituted English word and you will not be understood. Travelling in Alaska has already sufficient difficulties, and they ought not to be increased by changing all the picturesque Indian names. Another very good reason why these native names should be preserved is that some tradition of tribal importance is always connected with them. These people have no written language, but the retention of their native names is an excellent medium through which to learn their history." (Glave, Nov. 22, 1890, p. 286).

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\* Richard Morlan, unpublished paper.

Later travelers often substituted their own names, which now appear on maps. Only recently have attempts been made to record traditional names, and the history associated with these names in the Yukon in a systematic way. Catharine McClellan has recorded place names in the southern Yukon in both Athapaskan and Tlingit languages. Linguist John Ritter, working with people in Fort McPherson has already recorded at least 300 place names on the upper Peel River drainage in the Kutchin language and the reasons why these names are used. This should be done for every area in the Yukon. Through their names for the land and their understanding of why names were chosen, Indian people could explain much more about their relationship to the land than we can ever learn from written records.

#### 7. Women's Knowledge of the Land :

One area of land use is almost completely overlooked in all reports - stable concentrations of edible plants which were gathered by women. Very few written accounts make any reference to this source of food, probably because most records were written by men who were not particularly aware of what constituted women's work. In a society where people trace their descent through their maternal line, where a man ideally lived with his wife's family for at least two years, and where game fluctuates, the knowledge which women had about berry and vegetable areas might have been critical to survival in lean years. This is an area which requires research in any study of the relationship of human beings to the land.

#### 8. Changes Since the Goldrush :

The report includes only a brief summary of some of the impact of Europeans on land use - why and how land use changes from the beginning of the

fur trade to the present (Section VI). It is not possible to talk about 'traditional' land use and 'contemporary' land use, as though these are two distinct categories of time, without examining the various pressures which caused these changes and ways in which the traditional economy was eroded. It would be possible to document many of the changes caused by the fur trade, the goldrush, residential schools, woodcamps, epidemics, building of the Alaska Highway, growth of villages and so on, and their impact on land use. This could be done using reports and studies in the Yukon Archives, the records mentioned in earlier recommendations, and in conversations with older people who experienced these changes.

## APPENDIX I

### EMERGENCE OF VILLAGES IN THE PRESENT CENTURY

Only in the present century did 'villages' appear. They replaced the traditional gatherings which had occurred for fishing, trading or caribou hunting during periods when resources were relatively plentiful. The composition of these villages is often quite different from the seasonal gatherings of the 'old days'.

This Appendix pulls together some of the pieces of information about the post 1898 period on a village by village basis. It could be considerably expanded with more research. References to background material included in Section V are given for each village.

#### Burwash (See also Section V, pages 17 - 21)

Archeological evidence indicates that human occupation of the Kluane Lake region extends back at least 8,000 years (see MacNeish, 1964). Archeologists also say that a sizeable community spent part of the year at "Duke Meadow" five miles from present day Burwash at least as early as 1850 (Johnson and Raup, pp. 169 - 188). Ten house remains were identified at this site in a survey completed in 1948.

Most of the parents and grandparents of people living at Burwash were born on the upper Donjek, upper White or Nisling Rivers. They travelled west to the upper Tanana River, east and south to the Tatshenshini River and sometimes north to the Yukon River.

According to one tradition, Copper Joe was the person most responsible for the move to Burwash Landing after the Jacquot brothers, Louis and Gene, built their trading post there in 1904. The post was oriented toward the Donjek



and White River country. Initially it was just used as one of their summer stops by Indian families living in the northern valleys. While there, they camped by the lake first in brush shelters and later in tents. But the Jacquot brothers built log cabins for the families who came most regularly and soon Indian people began building their own cabins at strategic locations (Johnson and Raup, p. 164). According to Jimmy Joe who lived in this area most of his life, it was still a trading centre visited only two or three times a year - in spring, fall and at Christmas - until well into this century.

Until the building of the Alaska Highway in 1942, it remained relatively isolated. Trails linked Burwash both with Carmacks and with Whitehorse, but compared with many other posts, it was a long way from the Yukon River route used so extensively by the newcomers.

Champagne (See also Section V, pages 9 - 17)

Long before Europeans first reached the interior, ancestors of the contemporary Champagne people occupied a strategic location for trade at the head of the Chilkat Pass. Their headquarters on the Tatshenshini River, remembered by the Tlingit name "Neskatahin", was close to a major Pacific salmon run.

By the 1890's families from Hutshi and from Aishihik came here to trade each spring and sometimes people from Neskatahin went inland and acted as middlemen between Chilkats and people further in the interior.

Sometime in the mid nineteenth century, a party of people from the White River came to Neskatahin and attacked people there after a trade dispute. The survivors are the ancestors of the contemporary Champagne people. Klukshu, further north, was a very old fishing camp and is still occupied in the summer (McClellan, 1950, p. 37).

Jack Dalton built a post near Neskatahin in approximately 1894, the first post in the southwest Yukon. In 1902, a trader named Shorty Chambers built a trading post at the present site of Champagne. A number of people began to trade there and it gradually became a headquarters for people from Neskatahin, Klukshu, and from Hutshi. People still spent most of the year hunting and trapping away from the post.

By 1917, a second trader was operating at Champagne, and the Anglican Church built a mission there. In 1918, Northern Lights noted that "The Indians here as elsewhere move about continually and are hard to reach with any regularity." (Vo. 4, No. 6, 1918). Klukshu and Neskatahin continued to be important places to spend part of the year.

Gold was discovered in the Champagne area about 1928 and the Indian Affairs agent began arrangements to reserve a small area of land there for Indian people (Hawkesley, September 8, 1928, File 1490 - J, Volume 9, Yukon Archives). When the Alaska Highway was built in 1942, it bisected Champagne.

Carcross (See also Section V, pp. 29 - 32).

Early records make no mention of Tagish Indians before the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1888, the geologist George Dawson estimated that the population who called themselves Tagish could be no larger than eighty persons (1888 : p. 203 B).

The Tagish people were actively involved in trade with the coastal Tlingit and began to adopt Tlingit language and customs sometime in the middle of the 19th century. Their two Tlingit style ceremonial houses on the waterway connecting Tagish Lake and Marsh Lake attracted the attention of all early travellers who passed through this area before 1898.

During the gold rush, these people became packers for the miners crossing the Chilkat Pass. Early in the gold rush, a North - West Mounted Police headquarters was established in their territory.

Caribou Crossing, up the lake, was said to have been a major crossing place for caribou herds in the nineteenth century. It was an old camping spot but was never a headquarters for people until this century.

When the White Pass railway was built in 1900, a little community sprang up at Caribou Crossing. It seemed destined to be the railhead and the name was shortened to 'Carcross'. But the railway was built on to Whitehorse which became the major settlement instead.

In 1901, Bishop Bompas established the residential school at Carcross. This school was to have a profound effect on the way of life of Indian children who came from all over the Territory to attend it.

Carmacks: (See also Section V, pp. 41 - 43 )

Carmacks may have always been a central camp for a few Indian families but it began its permanent life as a coal mine at the beginning of this century. It was named after George Carmack, one of the discoverers of Klondike gold, who had a cabin there (Adney, 1968, pp. 152, 282 ). Later it became a resting place for boats travelling the Yukon River and for horse-drawn stage coaches making the two week trip between Whitehorse and Dawson.

The Indian families who live at Carmacks come from a number of places - primarily Big Salmon, Little Salmon, and the surrounding lakes and rivers.

The history of Carmacks is closely tied with the now abandoned settlement of Little Salmon. Little Salmon was always the more important of the two until the 1950's.

In 1900 and 1910, Taylor and Drury traders built two stores, one at Little Salmon and one at Carmacks. In 1904, North - West Mounted Police established a post at Little Salmon to patrol the river. In 1915, the Anglicans built a church at Little Salmon and a resident minister moved there (Arcand, 1966, p. 60).

The Anglican diocese newsletter of the period consistently reports in 1913, 1914, and 1916 that Little Salmon people spent very little time at the post and came there only at regular times to trade the furs they trapped (see Northern Lights for those years). In 1916, an issue of Northern Lights reported that a government surveyor had been appointed to make a reserve at Little Salmon which "will be a permanent camping ground for the Indians for all time irrespective of settlement or other incursions by the whiteman " (Vol. 4, No. 3, 1916).

By 1924, the Indian population of Little Salmon was said to be 100, while only 18 people made Carmacks their headquarters (Arcand, p. 60). Three woodcamps on this part of the Yukon drew people to chop wood for riverboats in summer - one at Lakeview, one at Carmacks and one just north of Carmacks ( pp. 61-2 ).

Carmacks was still a centre where people from Aishihik traded and Northern Lights records that in 1915 a party of Aishihik people came for Christmas and that in 1918 they traded furs there.

In 1929, a gold mine was opened at Mount Freegold and Nansen creating some

employment. Workers established homes in Carmacks, closer to the mine and in 1930, the population numbered 90 people at Carmacks and 60 at Little Salmon (p. 63).

By 1938, the once regular caribou migrations across the Yukon River near Carmacks had stopped. In 1939, mining operations ceased and the population shifted again - Carmacks 55 and Little Salmon 83.

The building of the Alaska Highway in 1942 did not directly touch people in this area. But the road north to Mayo and Dawson in 1951 sounded the death knoll for the riverboats, and consequently the death of Little Salmon as a community. The Little Salmon store closed and the people moved to Carmacks, so that between 1945 and 1952 Carmacks population increased from 65 to 136 (p. 63).

In 1958 - 9, the Indian Affairs Department moved the village to its present site on the north side of the river.

Dawson City and Moosehide (See also Section V, pp. 45 - 49)

Early travellers frequently commented on the particularly good salmon fishing which was possible at the mouth of the Klondike River (sometimes called Deer River in early accounts). Ogilvie commented that :

" It is a small river about fifty yards wide at the mouth, and shallow; the water is clear and transparent, and of beautiful blue colour. The Indians catch a great number of salmon here. They had been fishing before my arrival and the river, for some distance up, was full of salmon traps. "  
(Ogilvie, 1897, p. 30)

Between 1898 and 1900, rumours of gold brought over 40,000 men to this one small

salmon river. The gold rush has been dramatized more than any other event in the history of the territory, yet always from the perspective of the whites who came as transients and had their roots elsewhere.

Adney, writing in 1900 described the impact the rush had on these people :

" The Tro-chu-tin are better known as 'Klondyke Indians'. Their village, numbering sixty or seventy souls was located at the mouth of the Klondike River until white men discovered gold on Bonanza Creek and crowded them away to its present site, two miles below Dawson. " ( 1900, p. 495 ).

That site was the newly created village of Moosehide. Its history is closely connected with the Anglican Church which had been represented in this part of the world (at Fortymile ) since the 1880's . Old Anglican Church records note :

" The Moosehide Indians were formerly known as Klondyke Indians. Before locating at Moosehide, they had their village on the south side of the Klondyke River at its confluence with the Yukon. In the year 1897, the Indians were removed from the Klondyke village and had their option of choosing another home either up the Yukon or three miles down the river below Dawson. They chose the plot of ground at the mouth of Moosehide Creek which has been properly surveyed and set aside for their use (undated, unpublished church records ). "

In 1900, 158.49 areas were officially set aside by an Order in Council at the request of Bishop Bompas.

Northern Lights contains numerous references to Moosehide in almost each issue discussing village activities, visits to and from Eagle for potlatches and trade and so on. (See, also Schmitter, 1910, p. 14 ). Northern Lights notes the population at Forty mile declined between 1906 and 1911 as people returned to Eagle or to Moosehide (Vol. 3, No. 4, 1915 ).

Mayo (See also Section V, pages 57 - 59 )

Records of Indian history at Mayo are very scattered and it is difficult to get

any clear picture of early history. Several references to the Stewart River are included in Section V, and the history of the Lansing post is also mentioned there.

Even prior to 1898, numerous small prospectors' settlements were appearing. Most of them were short lived, but Mayo was an exception; it had been a trading post and was prospected by the overflow from the gold rush (Duerden, 1971, p. 22 ). The original site was Gordon's Landing, several miles away, where silver had been discovered. Mayo became important as a shipping centre because of its location on the transportation route. Silver ores were brought to Mayo, stockpiled, and shipped south when rivers were clear of ice.

Indian residents of Mayo originally came from nearby river camps as well as from Fort Selkirk, Lansing, Fort Norman and even Fort McPherson. A 1901 North-West Mounted Police patrol pinpointed the headquarters of the Stewart Indians at McQuesten but added that they spread out to fish (Simons, 1910, p. 242 ).

Early issues of Northern Lights suggest that the Indians' headquarters were separate from the main settlement of Mayo. In a 1915 report from Mayo, the minister mentions holding two services - one in Mayo and "one at the Indian camp" (Vol. 3, No. 2, 1915 ). Another issue mentions that there were four main camps at Mayo "besides the Indian camp " (Vol. 3, No. 3, 1915 ). A 1914 North-West Mounted Police census recorded that Mayo's population included 154 non-Indians and 80 Indians that summer (In Cairnes, 1957, p. 383 ).

A 1916 issue of Northern Lights refers to a service "held at the Indian camp at Ethel Lake, twenty-four miles North (sic ) of Mayo across the Stewart River "

and attended by 25 Indians (Vol. 4, No. 1, 1916) (Ethel Lake is actually south of Mayo).

A later issue suggests a move parallel to the church - inspired move from Dawson to Moosehide : "The Indian settlement has, for a time, been transferred to thirty miles above Frazer Falls. This is a little better hunting and trapping ground and is removed from the insidious temptation of the saloon " (Vol. 4, No. 2, 1916). Frazer Falls is upriver from Mayo on the Stewart.

Sometime between 1915 and 1933, a reserve was set aside two miles below Mayo on the opposite side of the Stewart River from the town (Hawksley, Indian Agent, February 3, 1932; November 16, 1933, file 1490 - J, Vol. 9, Yukon Archives).

As recently as 1953, there were still two separate communities. Native people had their own village about eight miles down the Stewart from Mayo. In 1950 there were 70 Indian people in the immediate vicinity of Mayo and in 1971, 142 (Duerden, 1971, p. 118).

Old Crow (See also Section V, pp. 66 - 68 )

Archeological evidence suggests that people have been living in the Old Crow Flats area for 30,000 years, making it one of the oldest human habitation sites in North America (Irving and Harrington, 1973 ).

The recent history of Old Crow is linked with the history of trading posts on the Porcupine River. Fort Yukon was built at the mouth of the Porcupine in 1840, but when the international boundary was set in 1867, placing it in American territory, the Hudson's Bay Company moved it upriver and named it Rampart House . The



Vunta Kutchin, who had traded at Fort Yukon for a number of years began to trade at the closer post. The geologist McConnell reported that Rampart House was having trouble meeting expenses in 1887 (p. 224) and in 1894, it closed.

Twelve years later the trader D. Cadzow opened a store at Rampart House and attracted all the Vunta Kutchin trade \* (Balicki, p. 35).

Further north, the site of present day Old Crow had long been a focal point for gatherings. It was a good fishing area, was near the major spring caribou crossings, and had become a major gathering spot for families going down the Porcupine to trade at Fort Yukon or Rampart House. The first permanent building is said to have been built there by John Tizya, whose fishing camp was nearby, around the turn of the century (Welsh, 1970, p. 24).

By 1909, interest was shifting away from Rampart House toward Old Crow. A North-West Mounted Police census for that year indicated that 85 people considered Old Crow their headquarters and 45 considered Rampart House their headquarters (Wood, 1909, p. 217).

In 1911 a smallpox epidemic at Rampart House spread up the Porcupine seriously reducing the population. Both Crow River Kutchin and the upper Porcupine Kutchin were depopulated and the survivors moved to Old Crow and used it as their headquarters. Buildings were burned at Rampart House to prevent further spread of the epidemic (Welsh, pp. 24 - 25). When two independent traders built a post at Old Crow the following year, this became the major trading centre.

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\* The Archives has a number of photos taken at Rampart House after the turn of the century.

Until the 1950's people wintered in small camps of two to five families along the Porcupine River. Only when a federal day school was built in the 1950's were most winter trapping camps abandoned (Balikci, 1968, p. 192 ).

Ross River (See also Section V, pp. 53 - 56 )

As noted in Section V, there are no written sources for the Ross River region before about 1900.

Traders Lewis and Field ran a post at Pelly Banks in 1903 for the Hudson's Bay Company and this was soon taken over by Taylor and Drury (Denniston, 1966, pp. 8-9 ).

On his trip to Ross River in 1904, Sheldon met eighty - nine people waiting at the trading post for the trader to return with ammunition. He described how in (about ) 1903, Tom Smith built a post at the mouth of the Ross River which was purchased by Lewis (and Field) and named ' Nahanni House '. Prior to that, these people had occasionally gone to posts at Big Salmon or on the Liard (1911, p. 190 ). Their only other contact with whites had been at Pelly Banks in 1848, but that post had been abandoned before many of these people were born.

A 1910 North - West Mounted Police report noted only that people at Ross River were healthy and that five men from the Liard and four from the Mackenzie were visiting them (Thompson, 1910, p. 240 ).

A 1915 Anglican Church Report noted that some 250 Indian people were trading at two Ross River posts. This probably included people from the Liard and the Stewart as well as the Pelly and Ross. \*

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\* Report of Synod of Diocese of Yukon July 1915 ( no number ) Anglican Church Archives, University of British Columbia.

Occasional references to Ross River in Northern Lights indicate that people came to Ross River only once a year to trade and that Ross River post was serviced once a year by the boat Yukon Rose. In 1932, 175 people were said to be trading there (Vol. 20, No. 2, 1932 ).

The building of the Canol Road north from the Alaska Highway in the 1940's gave Ross River its first road contact with other communities. Taylor and Drury closed their post at Pelly Banks in 1949 and opened one at Pelly Lakes a year later. When this post was closed in 1952, Indians trading there split into two groups, some going to Ross River and others to Upper Liard (Denniston, 1966, p. 9 ).

Fort Selkirk - Pelly Crossing (See also Section V, pp. 43 - 45 )

The large fishing and trading camp seen near the juncture of the Yukon and Pelly Rivers by early writers has already been described. Robert Campbell's attempt to establish a trading post at Selkirk was also thwarted when Chilkats burned it in 1852.

Alaska traders had moved to the area by 1891 and a post was re - established on the site. With the gold rush, Selkirk sprang to life again. It became a checkpoint where North-West Mounted Police made sure that travellers going to the gold fields carried sufficient provisions. A few years later, other traders moved into the area and Fort Selkirk became a centre for fur trade.

In 1899, the Commissioner of the Yukon (Ogilvie ) ordered Selkirk surveyed as a townsite. Very shortly, pressure was exerted by the Timber and Land Agent

to remove the Indian homes from front street and establish a separate reserve two and a half miles away. Archdeacon Canham protested that the proposed reserve was on land which flooded each year, hardly suitable for a permanent village and suggested that good waterfront land with adjoining stands of timber (for firewood) be set aside instead. A letter from Bishop Bompas added that the Indians should be paid for their cabins. (see correspondence, File # 956, Vol. 7, Yukon Archives ).

Selkirk never became a large town. In 1904, the big game hunter Selous reported that the settlement consisted of an Indian village, a church a few trading stores, a telegraph office and a North-West Mounted Police station (Selous, 1907, p. 153 ).

Tollemache, trapping on the lower Pelly in 1905 commented that traders came to Selkirk from as far away as Vancouver to compete for locally trapped furs. He described the population at the post as consisting of 60 Indians and a dozen whites (pp. 258 - 261 ).

Reports from Northern Lights suggest that there were at least 164 Indian people trading at Fort Selkirk in 1916, but that they were very much involved in fur trapping and didn't remain at the post for long (Vol. 4, No. 3 ). When the Bishop arrived at Fort Selkirk in 1923, he found everyone away at Coffee Creek, sixty - seven miles downriver (Vol. 11, No. 3 ). Indications are that most people never used Fort Selkirk as a year round residence, but rather as a centre for trade and social life at certain times of the year.

The riverboats were beached in 1952 when a road north to Dawson was completed. Trading posts on the river were subsequently abandoned. Indians were encouraged

to leave the river and move to the roadside settlement of Pelly Crossing which had no reason for existence except the convenience of government administrators who wanted to centralize services.

Teslin (See also Section V, pp. 32 - 34 )

People now living in Teslin claim descent from the coastal Tlingit. Their origins and traditions have been discussed earlier.

Before the present village site at Teslin, some of these people had two different headquarters at the southern end of Teslin Lake. One was the short - lived Hudson's Bay Company post at the head of the lake, Callbreath's post. It was abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company when it became clear that it was not on a major route to the goldfields. Another was Johnstontown , on the southeast shore of Teslin Lake, a headquarters still remembered by older Teslin residents (McClellan, 1950, p. 107 ).

The present village graveyard site is said to be an old campground, but a permanent headquarters was not there until this century. In 1903, a man named Tom Smith opened a post at the present site, and it was soon bought by Taylor and Drury (Bullen, 1968, p. 95 ).

Until 1942, Teslin people came to the post only at specific times to trade furs or for social events, like the annual 1st of July Field Day. The rest of the year they hunted and fished in clan-owned territories.

In 1942, for the first time, they stayed at the post instead of going trapping,

hoping to get work on Alaska Highway construction. The 10,000 military personnel coming through their territory had the impact of a second gold rush. The medical doctor, Marchand, (1943 ) documents the epidemics which swept through Teslin that year.

The Alaska Highway firmly fixed Teslin as a permanent settlement.

Whitehorse, Laberge (See Section V, pp. 26 - 28 )

The people who hunted in this area before the gold rush and the railway made Whitehorse a centre, had their headquarters at Lake Laberge or on the lower Takhini River.

McClellan learned that before 1900, the southern Tutchone claimed a fishing spot just below Miles Canyon outside of Whitehorse. (1950, p. 45 ).

In early 1900, there was considerable correspondence between the Crown Land Agent at Tagish, and Commissioner Ogilvie. The Agent requested on behalf of Chief Jim Boss that land be reserved at the head of Lake Laberge on the western shore where houses were already occupied by Indian families. Ogilvie supported the request and urged Ottawa to set aside 320 acres. This was done in July, 1900. (See correspondence, File #1331, Vol. 7, Yukon Archives ).

Some Indian people began to move to Whitehorse after 1900 in order to get wage work which seemed likely to develop. A 1916 report states that there was a 'reserve' some three miles from Whitehorse, but did not specify its location (Northern Lights, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1916 ).

According to a report prepared by the Whitehorse Indian Village Relocation Steering Committee, the first Whitehorse Indian village was established on the east riverbank by 1907. In 1911, all the Indian homes were moved across the river to Mocassin Flats by a White Pass barge. In 1921, the site of the present village was set aside by an Order in Council for the use of Yukon Indians (p. 2).

After the Alaska Highway was built in 1943, Whitehorse became a major centre for population growth in the Yukon. Indian families began moving there, initially from nearby lakes and rivers and later from more distant communities.

Watson Lake - Upper Liard (See Section V, pp. 50-53 )

Long before the establishment of a community near this lake, Upper Liard people regularly came to fish at Watson Lake during the winter (Honigmann, 1954, p. 15 ). Honigmann also identified an early Kaska - Tahltan trade centre at Albert (now Cormier ) Creek twenty - five miles west of Lower Post (1949, p. 42 ).

The number of trading posts in this area dating back to early in the nineteenth century created a series of shifting headquarters for Kaska people. Fort Halkett at the confluence of the Smith and Liard Rivers in the 1820's, a post at Dease Lake in 1838, Fort Frances in 1840. None of these posts lasted long and after they were closed there was a long period when no white traders came to this area.

In the 1870's, the Cassiar gold rush brought a number of changes to this region -

including epidemics which seriously depopulated the Kaska.

In 1887, a store was erected at the present site of Lower Post; it was soon taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company (1949, p. 45). Trading posts in the same area changed hands a number of times through the first decades of this century.

In 1925, an air route was extended north from Edmonton and the first flight landed at Lower Post (p. 49). In 1939, an airport site was surveyed at Watson Lake and the lake was connected to Lower Post by "a well worn Indian trail" (p. 50), probably the route used to and from the fishing lake for many years.

Canadian and American Governments decided to enlarge the Watson Lake airport in connection with the Second World War. Supplies for this were shipped in via the Stikine River and reached Lower Post in 1941. When it became clear that this area was emerging as the regional centre of growth, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Church shifted their base of operations from Dease Lake to Watson Lake and Lower Post (p. 50).

The building of the Alaska Highway in 1942 guaranteed permanence to these two villages and as government services became centralized, Indian families were moved to Upper Liard.



APPENDIX II - ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY \*

ADNEY, TAPPAN

1900

The Klondike Stampede. Harper and Brothers,  
New York and London.

(Book is mainly about the gold rush but includes some description of the Indian village on the Klondike River at the turn of the century).

1900

Moosehunting with the Tro-chu-tin. Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Vol. 100, No. 597 :  
495 - 507.

(Adney, a journalist, describes a moose hunt on which he accompanied people from the Klondike River. Describes the area where they hunted and the technology they used.)

1902

The Indian Hunter of the Far Northwest. Outing  
Vol. 39: No. 6 : 623 - 633.

(Describes hunting techniques used near the Klondike River at the turn of the century. Includes detailed sketches).

ALLARD, Rev. E.

1938

Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians.  
Primitive Man. Vol. 11 : 24-26.

(Lower Post, Upper Liard area. Information written from perspective of early missionary. Very general information ; not too useful).

ALLEN, HENRY T.

1900

Military Reconnaissance in Alaska, 1885. In :  
Compilation of Narratives of Exploration in Alaska.  
Washington, Government Printing Office. pp. 411-488.

(Includes discussion of Upper Tanana River and Copper River areas and their trade to the Yukon River).

\* North-West Mounted Police Reports are not annotated. Those cited contain some reference to people in the geographical area named in the report.

ALLEN, WAYNE  
1971

Athapaskan Matriliney and Trade in Canada and Alaska. Master's thesis, McMaster University.

(Thesis by anthropology student; reviews a good deal of the existing material on kinship and trade in the Yukon Territory.)

ARCAND, BERNARD  
1966

Ethnographie Des Tutchone : Organization Socio-Economic et Processus Assulturatif. Master's thesis, University of Montreal.

( Thesis by anthropology student; deals with history remembered by some older people in Carmacks. Arcand attempts to reconstruct the past to approximately mid-nineteenth century for Little Salmon and Carmacks. Written in French.)

BALIKCI, ASEN  
1963

Vunta Kutchin Social Change. Canada. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. N.C.R.C. - 63-3.

(Study of social change in Old Crow area. Includes outline of traditional culture, discussion of changes introduced by missionaries, traders, police, etc. and discussion of contemporary culture.)

1968

Perspectives on the Atomistic Type of Society : Bad Friends. Human Organization. Vol. 27, No. 3: 191-99.

( Deals with Old Crow Area. Some references to land use,)

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE  
1886

History of Alaska, 1730 - 1885. A.L. Bancroft, San Francisco.

(Mostly about Alaska, but pp. 560-63 has references to scarlet fever epidemic which spread from traders on the coast to the upper Yukon River.)

BROOKS, ALFRED HULSE  
1900

A Reconnaissance From Pyramid Harbour to Eagle City, Alaska, Including a Description of the Copper Deposits of the Upper White and Tanana Rivers. In : United States Geological Survey to the Secretary to the Interior, 1899-1900. Part II. Washington. pp 334-91.

(In course of article he mentions where and when he encountered groups of Indian people in the Yukon.)

BULLEN, E. L.  
1968

An Historical Study of the Education of the Indians of Teslin, Yukon Territory. Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta.

(Study of education in Teslin area with considerable historical background for Teslin. Includes photos.)

CADZOW, DONALD A.  
1925

Habitat of the Loucheux Indians. Indian Notes Vol. 2, No. 3: 172-7.

(Cadzow was a trader on the Porcupine for some time in the early 1900's. Gives locations of various Kutchin people north of the Yukon River.)

CAIRNES, D. D.  
1957

Mayo Area, 1915. In : H.S. Bostock, ed. Yukon Territory, Selected Field Reports of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1898-1933. Memoir #284, Ottawa. pp. 381-407.

(Geologists report; few references to people, but one reference to Mayo population, p 383.)

CAMPBELL, ROBERT  
1958

The Two Journals of Robert Campbell 1808- 1853. Limited Edition, Seattle, Washington.

(Text of two journals Campbell kept : one from 1808 - 1851 and another from 1850-1853. Both make reference to Fort Selkirk and to conflict between Hudson's Bay Company and coastal Chilkats. Several references to people living on the Pelly River.)

COCKFIELD, W. E.  
1957

Little Salmon Area, 1928. In: H. S. Bostock ed.  
Yukon Territory, Selected Field Reports of the  
Geological Survey of Canada, 1898 - 1913.  
Memoir # 284, Ottawa. pp. 586 - 595.

(Geologist's report. Reference to well worn Indian  
trail, from Little Salmon to the Pelly River, p. 593 ).

DALL, WILLIAM  
1870

Alaska and Its Resources. Boston, Lee and Shepard.

(Mostly about Alaska, but reference to scarlet fever  
epidemic from coastal fur traders to Chilkats  
to Upper Yukon River, see p. 100 ).

1970

Tribes of the Extreme Northwest : the Aleutians and  
Adjacent Territories. Extracted from Contributions  
to North American Ethnology of 1877. Reprinted  
by Shorey Book Store.

( Written by employee of the Western Telegraph  
Company who went up Yukon River only as far as  
Fort Yukon. Useful parts of his report deal with  
native people who were trading to Fort Yukon from  
the upper Yukon River ).

DAVIDSON, GEORGE  
1901

Explanation of An Indian Map of the Rivers, Lakes  
Trails and Mountains from the Chilkat to the  
Yukon drawn by the Chilkat Chief, Kohlux in 1869.  
Mazama, April 1901 : 75 - 82.

( Map drawn by the Chilkat Chief Kohlux who had traded  
to Yukon River for some years. Map shows inland  
waterways, camps, etc. and gives the Tlingit place  
names for each. Accompanying article goes over the  
route giving the names used by the traders, prospectors  
and on the government maps for the same period.  
Extremely useful historical source ) .

DAWSON, GEORGE M.  
1888

Notes on the Indian Tribes of the Yukon District and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887. Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada. N.S. Vol. 3, No. 2: 191B - 213B.

(One of the earliest sources of descriptive material about locations and sizes of camps and villages on the upper Yukon.)

1898

Report of an Exploration in the Yukon District, Northwest Territories and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887. Ottawa. Geological Survey of Canada.

(Emphasis on eastern Yukon area between Frances Lake and the Pelly River. Although most information is geological he wrote extensively about people he encountered.)

DEMPSTER, W. J.  
1909

Report of Constable W. J. Dempster, Patrol, Dawson to McPherson, 1909. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1909 : 245-51.

(One of a series of N. W. M. P. patrol reports available in the archives: all these reports include information about people they encountered.)

1910

Report of Constable W. J. Dempster on Patrol From Dawson to Fort McPherson, 1910. Annual Report of North-West Mounted Police, 1910 : 232-39.

1916

Sargeant W. D. J. Dempster - Rampart House to Fort McPherson and Return. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1916 : 316-318.

DENNISTON, GLENDA  
1966

The Place of the Upper Pelly River Indians in the Network of Northern Athapaskan Groups. unpublished manuscript, National Museum of Canada.

(based on ethnographic and linguistic research at Ross River.)

DUERDEN, FRANK  
1971

The Evolution and Nature of Contemporary Settlement Patterns in a Selected Area of the Yukon Territory. Centre for Settlement Studies, Series L Research Reports #3, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba.

( Includes history and economic conditions in selected Yukon villages. Useful background for study of contemporary settlements.)

DUMOND, D. E.  
1969

Toward a Pre-history of the Na-Dene with a General Comment on Population Movements Among Nomadic Hunters. American Anthropologist Vol. 91, No. 5 : 857-63.

(General pre-history of Athapaskan speaking people in northwestern North America. Paper suggests useful framework for further research.)

EMMONS, G. T.  
1911

The Tahltan Indians. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 4, No. 1 : pp. 1-120.

( History and traditions of people living in the Telegraph Creek area. These people share much in common with people in southeastern Yukon in history, culture, trade, etc. Includes information about Kaska-Tahltan trade.)

FIELD, POOLE  
1957

The Poole Field Letters, 1913. June Helm MacNeish (ed.) Anthropologica Vol. 4 ; 47-60.

( Poole Field was a trader on the Pelly from approximately 1903 to 1913. These are notes he made on the history and traditions of people living on the Pelly River and Ross River. Notes were sent to National Museum of Canada in 1913.)

FUNSTON, FREDERICK  
1896

Over the Chilkoot Pass to the Yukon. Scribers.  
November issue. (xerox copy has no page numbers)

(Includes description of Indian packers on the Chilkoot  
Pass; also references to Indian villages en route to  
the goldfields, especially Tagish.)

GLAVE, E. J.  
1890-91

Our Alaska Expedition. in Frank Leslie's Illustrated  
Newspaper. June 28, 1890 ; July 12 ; July 19 ;  
August 9 ; August 16 ; September 6 ; November 15 ;  
November 22 ; November 29 ; December 6 ; December 13 ;  
December 20 ; December 27 ; January 3, 1891 ;  
January 10, 1891.

(Glave, a journalist on this expedition gives a lot  
of descriptive material about southwest Yukon,  
particularly for Alsek drainage as far as Klukshu.)

GLAVE E. J.  
1892

Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska : The Advance (in two parts)  
The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Vol. 44,  
No. 5 and 6 ; 671-82 ; 869-81.

(Glave accompanied Jack Dalton when he entered the  
Yukon in 1892. Includes descriptive material about  
villages where ancestors of people from Champagne  
lived.)

GRAHAM, ANGUS  
1935

The Golden Grindstone : The Adventures of George  
Mitchell Recorded by Angus Graham.  
Toronto, Oxford University Press.

(Mitchell, a prospector, was travelling to Dawson  
via the Peel River in 1898 when he broke his leg.  
He was cared for by one of the Peel River bands  
and recorded the activities of the camp over the  
winter. Excellent, readable account.)

HALL, EDWIN S.  
1969

Speculations on the Late Prehistory of the Kutchin Athapaskans. Ethnohistory. Vol. 6. No. 4 : 317 - 333.

(Combines linguistic, archeological, historical and ethnographic data to suggest that Kutchin speakers once occupied territory considerably west of their present country. )

HALLOWELL, A. IRVING  
1949

The Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories : a Function of Ecological Adjustment. American Anthropologist Vol. 51 : 35 - 45.

(Though written about Northeastern Canada, the paper is asking some of the kinds of questions which should be asked about the Yukon. He shows how demographic and environmental factors influence aboriginal land use patterns and how historical reconstruction alone is an inadequate way to learn about these patterns.)

HARDISTY, W. L.  
1866

The Loucheux Indians. Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report : 311 - 320.

(Article covers area northwest of upper Yukon River. Loucheux was the name given to Kutchin people by French fur traders who traded there early in the nineteenth century.)

HILL, C. H.  
1911

Patrol Report of Constable C. H. Hill, Kluane District, 1911. Annual Report of North-West Mounted Police, 1911 : 230 - 31.

HONIGMANN, JOHN J.  
1949

Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, #40. New Haven.

(History and traditions of people in the Lower Post, Watson Lake, Upper Liard region : environmental setting, territories, systems of beliefs, etc. Written by an anthropologist.)



HONIGMANN, JOHN J.  
1954

The Kaska Indians : An Ethnographic Reconstruction.  
Yale University Publications in Anthropology  
#51. New Haven.

(Reconstruction of aboriginal history and culture  
in Upper Liard, Frances Lake area as well as areas in  
northern British Columbia. Includes chapters on  
making a living, camp life, social organization,  
beliefs, life cycle.)

HORRIGAN, F. J.  
1911

Report of Inspector F. J. Horrigan, Commanding  
Dawson 1911. Annual Report of the North-West  
Mounted Police 1911 : 203-220.

IRVING, L.  
1958

Naming Birds as Part of the Intellectual Culture  
of Indians at Old Crow. Arctic : 117-122.

(Irving collected Kutchin words for 99 species  
of Birds in Old Crow. Implication is that these  
people have extremely detailed knowledge of the  
environment they live in.)

IRVING, W. N.  
1968

Upper Pleistocene Archeology in Old Crow Flats,  
Yukon Territory. Arctic Circular. Vol. 17. No. 2 :  
18-19.

(Location of artifacts which suggest man made  
tools near Old Crow 20,000 years ago.)

IRVING, W. N.  
and C. R. HARRINGTON  
1973

Upper Pleistocene Radio-carbon Dated Artifacts in  
the Northern Yukon. Science. Vol. 179 : 335-40.

(Finds in 1973 indicated that Old Crow Flats may  
have been occupied by people 30,000 years ago.)

ISBISTER, A. K.  
1845

Some Account of Peel River, North America. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Vol. 15 : 332-345.

(Account of Hudson's Bay Company expedition to establish Fort McPherson. Deals more with physical characteristics of the region than with people).

JACKSON, T. W.  
1902

Letter on Behalf of Chief Jim Boss, written by T. W. Jackson, Barrister and Solicitor, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, January 13, 1902.

(Letter requesting that a land claim settlement be made on behalf of Indians of the Yukon Territory, because of encroachment of whites on Indian hunting territories, depletion of game, introduction of diseases, etc.).

JARVIS, A. M.  
1899

Annual Report of Inspector A. M. Jarvis, 1898. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1899 : 95-110.

JOHNSON, FREDERICK  
1946

An Archeological Survey Along the Alaska Highway, 1944. American Antiquity. Vol. 11 : 183-6.

(Survey made at the time of building the Alaska highway).

JOHNSON, FREDERICK  
and H. M. RAUP  
1964

Investigations in the Southwest Yukon : Geobotanical and Archeological Reconnaissance. Papers of the Peabody Foundation for Archeology Vol. 6, No. 1 : 3-198.

(Description of sites at Champagne, at Mile 1013, Mile 1074, Mile 1085, Burwash, and others. Includes section on recent history of Burwash).

KFELE, JOSEPH  
1957

Reconnaissance Across the Mackenzie Mountains on the Pelly, Ross and Gravel Rivers, 1907-8. In: H. S. Bostock (ed) Yukon Territory. Selected Field Reports of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1898-1933. Memoir #284: 283-314.

(Geologist's Report. Includes some description of Indian people on Ross and Pelly Rivers and on upper Stewart. Includes description of trading post at Lansing Creek.)

KITTO, F. H.  
1929

Yukon, Land of the Klondike. Department of Interior, Ottawa, 1929.

(Includes photo of caribou herd crossing Yukon River in late 1920's. Photo was taken near Fort Selkirk).

KNIGHT, R. S.  
1916

Superintendent R. S. Knight, Commanding Dawson Y. T. 1916. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police. 1916: 316 - 318.

KNIGHT, ROLF  
1965

A Re-examination of Hunting, Trapping and Territoriality Among Northeastern Algonkian Indians. In: Man, Culture and Animals: the Role of Animals in Human Ecological Adjustment. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Publication #78. Washington.

(Useful information about group size, hunting territories land use, etc. in northeastern North America. Includes description of the different habits of caribou and moose).

KRAUSE, AUREL  
1956

The Tlingit Indians (1885). Second edition translated by Erna Gunther. Washington: University of Washington Press.

(Account by a geographer who lived at Klukwan for some time. Book is a standard early ethnography for coastal Tlingit but contains some early information about the Yukon based on a trip he made to the interior).

de LAGUNA, FEDERICA  
1972

Under Mount Saint Elias : The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology. Vol. 7 ( in 3 parts ) Washington.

( Three volume work deals with coastal Tlingit culture but contains a number of references to Southern Tutchone, particularly in the Alsek River drainage ).

LEECHMAN, J. D.  
1946

Prehistoric Migration Routes Through the Yukon. Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 27 : 383 - 390.

(Based on 1945 archeology. Discusses five sites near the highway between Champagne and the north end of Klwane Lake ).

McCLELLAN, CATHARINE  
1950

Culture Change and Native Trade in the Southern Yukon Territory. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

(The only comprehensive ethnographic work done in the southern Yukon. She considers the history of trade between coast and interior and the subsequent changes in the culture of the Athapaskans in the Yukon before the arrival of whites ).

1953

The Inland Tlingit. American Antiquity. Vol. 8, No. 3 Part 2; 47 - 51.

( Deals with Teslin, Atlin and to some extent Carcross people. Discusses moieties, clans, social structure in the southern Yukon, comparing this area with the Pacific coast Tlingit ).

1956

Shamanistic Syncretism in the Southern Yukon. New York Academy of Science. Transactions. Series 2. Vol. 19 ; 130-37.

(Discussion of belief systems and social culture in southern Yukon ).

McCLELLAN, CATHARINE  
1964

Culture Contacts in the Early Historic Period in  
Northwestern North America. Arctic Anthropology.  
Vol. 2 : 3-15.

(Reconstruction of aspects of the early historical  
period in the southern Yukon - especially questions  
of trade - and outline of areas needing further research).

McCONNELL, R. G.  
1898

Extracts from Report on an Exploration in the Yukon  
and Mackenzie Basins, 1887-1888. Geological Survey  
of Canada, Report on An Exploration in the Yukon  
District, N. W. T., 1898 : 186-244.

(Includes a description of Rampart House).

MacDONALD, J. A.  
1911

Report of Inspector J. A. MacDonald, Whitehorse, 1911.  
Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1911 :  
221-227.

McKENNAN, ROBERT A.  
1959

The Upper Tanana Indians. Yale University Publications  
in Anthropology #55.

( Study of upper Tanana in Alaska, but includes references  
to trade with Southern Tutchone).

MacNEISH, R. S.  
1956

The Engigstciak Site on the Yukon Arctic Coast.  
Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska :  
May, 1956 : 91-111.

( progress report on the Firth River archeological  
investigations).

1959(a)

Firth River Archeological Activities. Arctic Circular  
September : 26-29.

(progress report and summary of fieldwork and  
site surveys).

MacNEISH, R. S. (cont.)  
1959(b)

Men Out Of Asia : As Seen From the Northwest Yukon.  
Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska.  
Vol. 7, No. 2, May : 41-70.

(MacNeish's most detailed report of the Firth River site, northwest Yukon).

1961

Buried History : Recent Archeological Endeavours  
in the Yukon Territory. North, July-August : 1-2.

(General introduction to archeology using examples  
from the southwest Yukon).

1962

Recent Trends in the Yukon Territory of Canada.  
In : Arctic Institute of North America. Technical Paper  
No. 11 : 20-26.

(General overview of finds in both northwest and southwest  
Yukon and the few relationships between these two  
areas).

1964

Archeological Excavations, Comparisons and Speculations :  
Investigations in the Southwest Yukon. Papers of the  
Peabody Foundation for Archeology. Vol. 6, No. 2:  
201-488.

(The most detailed archeological study for southwest  
Yukon).

MARCHAND, JOHN (M. D.)  
1943

Tribal Epidemics in the Yukon. Journal of the American  
Medical Association, Vol. 123: 1019-1020.

(Discusses epidemics imported by Alaska Highway  
builders in 1942-3. Details given on kinds of diseases  
and numbers of deaths at Teslin, as well as estimates  
for Telegraph Creek and Ross River).

MOODIE, J. D.  
1898

Patrol Report from Edmonton to the Yukon, 1897.  
Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1898.  
Part II, 1-14.

MURIE, OLAUS J.  
1935

Alaska-Yukon Caribou. U.S. Department of Agriculture.  
(Study of distribution and habits of caribou herds. Specific sections discuss caribou in the Yukon and give some indication of where migrations occurred early in the century ).

MURRAY, A. H.  
1910

Journal of the Yukon, 1847-48. Ottawa.  
(Report by first H. B. C. trader at Fort Yukon. References to Fort Yukon and to Kutchin people. He documents who was trading at the Fort, including people from upper Yukon River. Includes sketches ).

NELSON, RICHARD K.  
1973

Hunters of the Northern Forest. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.  
(Study of Indian hunters in Alaska, in environmental conditions similar to the Yukon )

NORTHERN LIGHTS  
1913 - 1943

Newsletter of the Anglican Diocese of the Yukon.  
(available at Archives )  
(Newsletters contain considerable information about Yukon communities for those years ).

OGILVIE, WILLIAM  
1897

Information Respecting the Yukon Territory.  
Department of the Interior. Ottawa.  
(Account of expedition down the Yukon River made by Ogilvie, the first Canadian surveyor sent to locate the international boundary. Contains considerable historical information ).

1913

Early Days on the Yukon. London, 1913.  
(Gives historical background of posts on the river ).

OSGOOD, CORNELIUS  
1934

Kutchin Tribal Distribution and Synonymy.  
American Anthropologist. Vol. 36, No. 2 : 168 - 179.

OSGOOD, CORNELIUS (cont)

(discusses most of the groups designated 'Kutchin' in early ethnographies and shows that only the people living north of the Ogilvie Mountains really called themselves 'Kutchin'.)

1936(a)

Distribution of Northern Athapaskan Indians.  
Yale University Publications in Anthropology #7.

(includes brief discussion of Han, Kaska, Kutchin, Tutchone speakers).

1936(b)

Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin.  
Yale University Publications in Anthropology #14.

(earliest ethnography of Kutchin people living in northern Yukon Territory).

PIKE, WARBURTON  
1896

Through the Subarctic Forest. London, Edward Arnold.

(includes references to people in the Liard River, Frances Lake and Pelly River region).

RAYMOND, CHARLES P.  
1900

Reconnaissance of the Yukon River, 1869. In :  
Compilations of Narratives of Exploration in  
Alaska. Washington, Government Printing Office :  
19-41.

(includes discussion of rates paid for furs at early posts like Fort Yukon. Most of the paper deals with the area downriver from Fort Yukon, but these are some references to the upper river people).

ROBACK, FRANCES  
and MICHAEL GATES  
1973

Patterns of Trade in Two Southern Tutchone Settlements;  
Southwest Yukon : An Ethnohistoric Approach.  
Manuscript in Archives.

(based on archeological work at Aishihik and Neskatahin).



SCARTH, W. H.  
1899

Annual Report of Inspector W. H. Scarth, 1898.  
Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police.  
1899 : 74-79.

SCHMITTER, FERDINAND  
1910

Upper Yukon Native Folklore and Legends.  
Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection. Vol. 56,  
No. 4.

(Report written by a medical doctor about Eagle,  
Alaska. Includes references to visit from Moosehide  
people).

SCHWATKA, FREDERICK  
1885

The Great River of Alaska (in two parts)  
Century Magazine : 739-51; 819-29.

(Includes accounts of early trade between Chilkoot  
and Tagish. Description of a trip from Dyea over the  
Pass through Tagish and Marsh Lake, along the Yukon  
past Fort Selkirk, Fort Reliance, "Johnny's Village"  
Fort Yukon and downriver. Good deal of descriptive  
material).

1898

Along Alaska's Great River. Chicago, Henry Publishing  
Company.

(Chapters 8 and 9 contain information about the  
upper Yukon River, based on the same trip).

1900

Military Reconnoissance in Alaska, 1883. In :  
Compilation of Narratives of Exploration in Alaska.  
Washington; Government Printing Office.

(Probably the most detailed description of the same  
trip. As First Lieutenant of the Third Cavalry  
of the U. S. Army, Schwatka was particularly  
interested in identifying locations of camps and  
settlements along the Yukon River).

SELOUS, F. C.  
1907

Recent Hunting Trips in British North America.  
London, Whi therby and Company.

(Includes references to Selkirk, Little Salmon  
and the upper McMillan ).

SFMPLE, JOHNNY  
1931

Letter to the Dawson News, December 29, 1931.

(Letter describes trip from Blackstone River to  
Dawson City made by 34 people and 62 dogs.)

SHELDON, CHARLES  
1911

The Wilderness of the Upper Yukon.  
New York, Charles Scribners Sons.

(Includes references to people living on the upper  
Pelly River - Ross River area ).

SIMONS, A. L.  
1910

Report of Constable A. L. Simons on Patrol from  
Dawson to Mayo and Duncan Districts, 1910.  
Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police  
1910 : 242 - 44.

SLOBODIN, RICHARD  
1960

Eastern Kutchin Warfare. Anthropologica  
N. S. Vol. 11, No. 1 : 76 - 93.

(Includes reference to early hostilities between  
Kutchin speakers and people from Stewart River ).

1962

Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin.  
National Museum of Canada, Bulletin #179.  
Ottawa.

(History of people who originally lived on the  
upper Peel River in the Yukon Territory. Also  
discusses some of the changes which occurred  
with trading posts, the gold rush, and in the period  
between 1920 and 1940 ).

SLOBODIN, RICHARD (cont)  
1963

The Dawson Boys. Peel River Indians and the Klondike Gold Rush. Polar Notes. June : 24 - 35.

(Interviews with men from Fort McPherson who traded from Fort McPherson to Dawson during the gold rush and spent over a decade learning about 'frontier culture' before returning to Fort McPherson ).

SNYDER, A. E.  
1909

Annual Report of Superintendent A. E. Snyder, Whitehorse, 1909. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1909 : 220 - 226.

SOLA, A. E. IRONMONGER  
1897

Klondyke Truth and Facts of the New El Dorado. London.

(Prospector's account of trip down the Yukon River with references to Indian camps on the river ).

STEFLE, S. B.  
1899

Report of Superintendent S. B. Steele Commanding North-West Mounted Police in the Yukon Territory 1898. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1899 : 1 - 31.

TANNER, ADRIAN  
1965

The Structure of Fur Trade Relations  
Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology,  
University of British Columbia.

(Discusses structure and impact of fur trade in the Yukon

1966

Trappers, Hunters and Fishermen. Canada.  
Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources,  
N.C.R.C.

(Information about game and fish resources in the Yukon, their use and their effect on use of the land ).

- TEIT, JAMES  
1956 Notes on the Tahltan and Kaska Indians, 1915. Anthropologica, No. 3 : 39-171.  
(Contains a lot of material on the culture of people from Telegraph Creek to Frances Lake).
- TERO, RICHARD D.  
1973 E. J. Glave and the Alsek River. The Alaska Journal Vol. 3, No. 3 : 180-88.  
(Gives account of Glave's journey in 1890, correcting some of the place names he uses).
- THOMPSON, F. H.  
1910 Report of Corporal F. H. Thompson on Patrol from Selkirk to Ross River, 1910. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police : 240-41.  
1911 Patrol Report of Corporal F. H. Thompson, Mayo to Lansing Creek, 1911. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1911 : 228-29.
- TOLLEMACHE, STRATFORD  
1912 Reminiscences of the Yukon. London, Edward Arnold.  
(Written about the winter of 1905 which he spent trapping on the Pelly. Includes references to people and the impact of trapping on game in the area).
- TYRELL, J. B.  
1898 Dalton Trail from Haines Alaska to Carmacks on Lewes River and Explorations of the Nisling River. Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada : 36-46. (also in Bostock, ed. G.S.C. Memoir #284, 1957)  
(Describes some of the well worn Indian trails in the southwest Yukon).
- WARD, E.  
1916 Corporal E. Ward - Dawson to McPherson and Return. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police, 1916 : 326-332.

WELLS, E. HAZARD  
1900

Up and Down the Yukon, 1897. In Compilation of Narratives of Exploration in Alaska. Washington, Government Printing Office : 511-516.

(Surveys trails leading to the goldfields. Occasional references to Indian trails. He made a trip from the Yukon River to the Tanana River).

WELSH, ANN  
1970

Community Pattern and Settlement Pattern in the Development of Old Crow Village, Yukon Territory. Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. Vol. 1, No. 1 : 17-31.

(Examines the change in the settlement pattern of Old Crow people. Contains a good deal of historical information).

WHITEHORSE INDIAN VILLAGE RELOCATION STEERING COMMITTEE  
no date

Proposed Relocation of the Whitehorse Indian Village. Report prepared for the Honorable Jean Chretien, Minister, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

(includes brief history of Whitehorse Indian village).

WHYMPER, FREDERICK  
1868

A Journey from Norton Sound, Bering Sea to Fort Youkon. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Vol. 38 : 219-37.

(Whymper was an officer of the Western Telegraph Company who was at Fort Yukon. Most of the account deals with people on the lower and middle Yukon River but includes references to the upper River people who traded at the Fort).

WOOD, Z. T.  
1899

Annual Report of Superintendent Z. T. Wood, 1898. Annual Report of the North-West Mounted Police 1899 : 31-55.

WOOD, Z. T.  
1909

Report of Assistant Commissioner Z. T. Wood, 1909. Annual Report of North-West Mounted Police, 1909: 207-219.





