

NATIONAL MUSEUM
OF MAN
MERCURY SERIES

MUSÉE NATIONAL
DE L'HOMME
COLLECTION MERCURE

CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SERVICE
PAPER No.27

LE SERVICE CANADIEN D'ETHNOLOGIE
DOSSIER No.27

PROCEEDINGS:
NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN CONFERENCE, 1971
VOLUME ONE

EDITED BY
A.McFADYEN CLARK



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Cover Illustration: Contact traditional Kutchin camp based on a drawing from: "Journal du Yukon 1847-48" by Alexander Hunter Murray, Ottawa 1910, p. 86.

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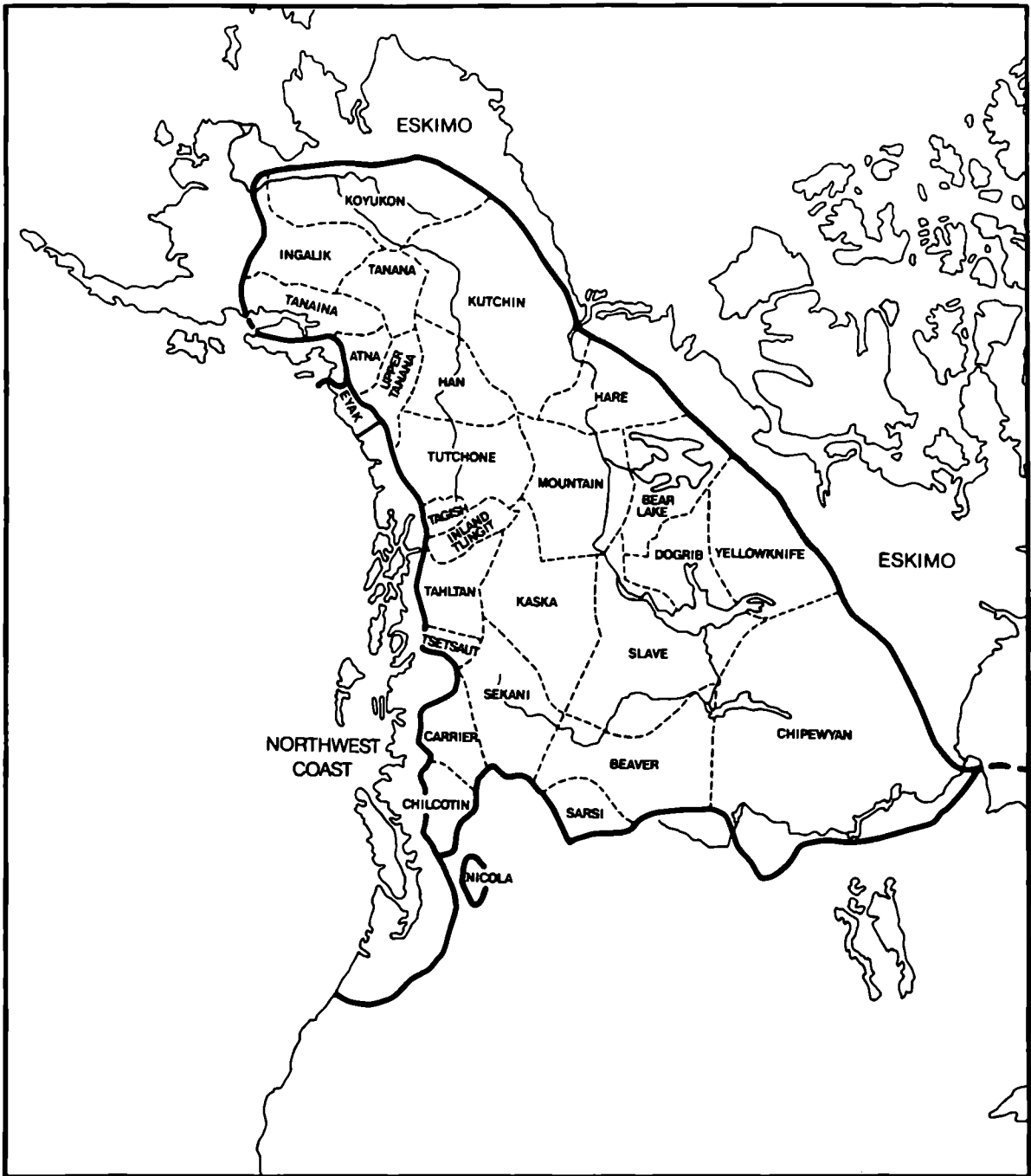
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ABSTRACT

The seventeen papers on Northern Athapaskan research in ethnology, linguistics, and archaeology published in these two volumes were presented at the National Museum of Man Northern Athapaskan Conference in March 1971. The papers are prefaced by a short introduction which outlines the rationale and accomplishments of the Conference.

RESUME

Les dix-sept communications réunies dans ces deux volumes furent présentées à la conférence sur les Athapascans du Nord organisée par le Musée National de l'Homme en mars 1971. Ces textes portent sur l'ethnologie, la linguistique et l'archéologie des Athapascans du Nord. Une brève introduction précède les articles et souligne les buts et les réalisations de la conférence.



Frontispiece. Distribution of Northern Athapaskans.

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PROCEEDINGS: NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN CONFERENCE, 1971
National Museum of Man

INTRODUCTION

The first Northern Athapaskan Conference, sponsored by the National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, in Ottawa, March 18-20, 1971, was the fifth major Ethnology Division Conference. The first was concerned with ethnology in museums, the second with Algonkian linguistics, the third with band societies, and the fourth with cultural ecology.

This, the fifth in the series, provided an opportunity for seventeen scholars to meet, discuss current research and make future plans for investigation among the Northern Athapaskan tribes of Alaska and Canada. Specialists from four of the major anthropological disciplines -- i.e., ethnology, archaeology, ethnohistory and linguistics participated. Unfortunately there were no human biologists or ethnomusicologists present, thus these two areas of research represented our major lacunae.

Those in attendance were:

- A. McFadyen Clark, National Museum of Man
- Dr. Donald W. Clark, National Museum of Man
- Mr. Clark A. Davis, formerly National Museum of Man
- Ms. Beryl C. Gillespie, University of Iowa
- Dr. Frederica de Laguna, Bryn Mawr College
- Dr. June Helm, University of Iowa
- Dr. John Honigmann, University of North Carolina
- Dr. Robert Howren, University of Iowa

Dr. Michael Krauss, University of Alaska
Dr. Catharine McClellan, University of Wisconsin
Dr. Robert McKennan, Dartmouth College
Dr. Richard Morlan, National Museum of Man
Dr. William Noble, McMaster University
Dr. Cornelius Osgood, Yale University
Dr. Joel Savishinsky, Adelphi University
Dr. Richard Slobodin, McMaster University
Mr. J.G.E. Smith, University of Waterloo

Each provided a paper and all are presented in this two-volume Mercury, with the exception of those of Dr. Krauss and Dr. McKennan.

The conference represented the culmination of several years of discussion and planning between National Museum Staff Ethnologists and other Anthropologists who had become increasingly aware of the need to reassess the present status of Northern Athapaskan studies and to establish guide lines for future research. A preliminary planning session was held during the joint American Ethnological-Northeastern Anthropological Association meeting at Carleton University, Ottawa, in May 1970. At that meeting general plans for the Athapaskan Conference were established, participants were tentatively selected and special topics for discussion were outlined.

Prior to the conference copies of the papers of each participant were distributed for perusal by the others, thus with the exception of Cornelius Osgood's initial paper, "Athapaskan?", no papers were formally read at the meeting. Instead, short summaries were given, then each paper was opened to general discussion. While discussions were of great value, it was decided that the results should be embodied in the revised editions of the papers, rather than being published separately as comments.

The presence of Cornelius Osgood, internationally known scholar from the Peabody Museum, Yale University, who is the recognized "Father of Northern Athapaskan Ethnographic Studies," offered a unique opportunity for other scholars to discuss individual areal problems with him. Having him in attendance also provided a rare opportunity for all to evaluate changes in method and approach, as well as changes in Athapaskan culture, which have taken place during the past forty-seven years since he began his initial work among the Northern Athapaskans. Our initial intent was to dedicate both the Conference and these proceedings to Cornelius Osgood, but inasmuch as he declined the dedication we instead dedicate the conference, the proceedings and our future research to the Athapaskans, themselves, who have made these studies possible.

In addition to presentation of summaries of the papers and the concomitant discussion, one session, chaired by Dr. June Helm, was an *ad hoc* meeting to plan the future goals for research and the roles to be played by various individuals and institutions. During this session the following proposals were made:

1. to establish a permanent committee to take responsibility for organizing meetings and coordinating future research.
2. to investigate means for financing an Athapaskan research organization.
3. to establish a clearing house for Northern Athapaskan research, including a coordination centre for field and archival research.
4. to establish a repository for field information, and especially a data bank for genealogical data.
5. to develop a master guide showing lacunae extant by area, including social, ethnological, linguistic, archaeological, ethnomiscolo-

gical, and human biological information.

6. to develop a guide for new recruits to the field which includes listing of archival holdings of various public and private institutions.

Additionally, a number of projects for future emphasis also were discussed.

In conclusion, I should point out the orthography and linguistic notation used in the conference papers are those specified by each author and no attempt has been made to use a single system. Figure 1 of Dr. Helm's paper is large and has been placed in the pocket at the back of Volume 1, instead of being presented in the text. A map showing the general location of the Northern Athapaskan linguistic groups is presented as the frontispiece for ease in locating tribes discussed in the papers.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to each of the contributing scholars without whom this conference would have been impossible, as well as to Dr. William E. Taylor, Jr., Director, National Museum of Man, who gave the opening address, arranged for use of the Government Conference Centre, and also gave us a sumptuous dinner, to Dr. Barrie Reynolds, Chief Ethnologist for his able guidance in bringing the conference to fruition, and to Messrs. Clark Davis and J.G.E. Smith for their many hours of work during the pre-conference confusion period. Equally, I wish to thank Ms. Edna Papple, Ms. Anna Knight, and Ms. Margery Toner for their untiring work during the conference, and especially to Ms. M.J. Patterson and Professor Anne D. Shinkwin (University of Alaska) and Dr. Donald W. Clark for editorial assistance.

I wish also to thank the editors of *The Pennsylvania Archaeologist* for granting us permission to publish a lengthy quotation that appears in the

Savishinsky paper, and the editors of *North* for permission to use several quotations that appear in Dr. Slobodin's paper, "Without Fire."

A. McFadyen Clark
Athapaskan Ethnologist
Canadian Ethnological Service

ACTES DE LA CONFERENCE SUR LES ATHAPASCANS DU NORD - 1971
Musée National de l'Homme

INTRODUCTION

La première Conférence sur les Athapascans du Nord, tenue à Ottawa du 18 au 20 mars 1971 sous les auspices du Musée National de l'Homme, Musées Nationaux du Canada, a été la cinquième grande conférence de la Division d'Ethnologie. La première portait sur l'ethnologie dans les musées, la deuxième sur la linguistique algonquine, la troisième sur les sociétés de bandes et la quatrième sur l'écologie culturelle.

Cette cinquième conférence a permis à dix-sept spécialistes de se rencontrer pour parler de la recherche actuelle et établir des plans d'enquête scientifique chez les tribus athapascanes du Nord, en Alaska et au Canada. Parmi les participants, on trouvait des spécialistes de quatre grandes disciplines anthropologiques: l'ethnologie, l'archéologie, l'ethnohistoire et la linguistique. Il n'y avait malheureusement pas de spécialistes de la biologie humaine ni de l'ethnomusicologie; c'est donc dans ces deux domaines que se situaient nos principales lacunes.

Voici la liste des participants:

- A. McFadyen Clark, Musée National de l'Homme
- M. Donald W. Clark, Musée National de l'Homme
- M. Clark A. Davis, autrefois du Musée National de l'Homme
- M^d Beryl C. Gillespie, Université de l'Iowa
- M^d Frederica de Laguna, Collège Bryn Mawr
- M^d June Helm, Université de l'Iowa

- M. John Honigmann, Université de la Caroline du Nord
 M. Robert Howren, Université de l'Iowa
 M. Michael Krauss, Université de l'Alaska
 M^d Catharine Mc Clellan, Université du Wisconsin
 M. Robert McKennan, Collège Dartmouth
 M. Richard Morlan, Musée National de l'Homme
 M. William Noble, Université McMaster
 M. Cornelius Osgood, Université Yale
 M. Joel Savishinsky, Université Adelphi
 M. Richard Slobodin, Université McMaster
 M. J.G.E. Smith, Université de Waterloo

Chacune de ces personnes a présenté un exposé; ils sont tous reproduits dans ce Mercure en trois volumes, sauf ceux de M.M. Krauss et McKennan.

La conférence a été l'aboutissement de plusieurs années de discussion et de planification de la part des ethnologues du Musée National et d'autres anthropologues qui se rendaient de plus en plus compte de la nécessité de faire le point des études sur les Athapascans du Nord et de tracer des lignes directrices pour la recherche future. Une session préliminaire de planification avait eu lieu au mois de mai 1970 à l'Université Carleton, à Ottawa, à l'occasion de la réunion conjointe de l'American Ethnological-Northeastern Anthropological Association. On avait alors arrêté le plan général de la Conférence sur les Athapascans, fait un premier choix de participants et esquissé des sujets particuliers de discussion.

Chaque participant ayant eu le loisir de lire, avant la conférence, le texte des exposés de ses collègues, il n'a pas été donné lecture de ces communications à la réunion, à l'exception de l'exposé inaugural de M. Cornelius Osgood, "Spelling the Word Athapaskan". On a présenté plutôt un bref résumé de chaque exposé, puis les participants ont été invités à en discuter. Bien que les

discussions aient été très intéressantes, on a décidé d'en incorporer les conclusions dans les éditions révisées des exposés plutôt que de les publier à part sous forme de remarques.

La présence de M. Cornelius Osgood, savant de renommée internationale attaché au musée Peabody de l'Université Yale et reconnu comme le "père de l'ethnographie des Athapascans du Nord", a fourni aux autres scientifiques la rare occasion de s'entretenir avec lui de problèmes particuliers et de se rendre compte de l'évolution qui s'est produite tant au niveau de la méthode et de l'approche qu'au sein de la culture athapascane elle-même depuis quarante-sept ans qu'il étudie les Athapascans du Nord. Nous nous proposons de lui dédier la Conférence et son compte rendu, mais comme il s'y est opposé, nous les dédions plutôt, en même temps que notre recherche future, aux Athapascans eux-mêmes, qui ont permis la réalisation de ces études.

En plus de la présentation des résumés des communications et des discussions qui ont suivi, il s'est tenu une réunion spéciale, dirigée par M^d June Helm, où l'on s'est attaché à définir les objectifs de la recherche future et les divers rôles que seront appelés à jouer certaines personnes ou certains organismes. Les propositions suivantes y ont alors été faites:

1. établir un comité permanent chargé de l'organisation des réunions et de la coordination des recherches futures,
2. chercher des moyens de financer un organisme de recherche sur les Athapascans,
3. créer un centre d'échange d'informations sur les Athapascans du Nord, qui comprendrait un organe de coordination des recherches sur le terrain et dans les archives,
4. établir un répertoire de renseignements recueillis sur le terrain, et en particulier une banque de données généalogiques,

5. mettre au point un guide général faisant état des lacunes qui subsistent dans les divers secteurs et renfermant des renseignements de nature sociale, ethnologique, linguistique, archéologique, ethnomusicologique, ou concernant la biologie humaine.
6. établir un guide destiné aux nouveaux venus dans le domaine, qui comprendrait une nomenclature des fonds d'archives de divers établissements publics ou privés.

On a en outre étudié un certain nombre de projets auxquels il faudra accorder une attention spéciale dans l'avenir.

En terminant, je voudrais signaler que l'orthographe et la notation linguistique employées dans les textes de la conférence sont celles des auteurs; nous n'avons pas tenté d'adopter un système uniforme. Comme la figure 1 faisant partie de la communication de M^d Helm est assez grande, nous l'avons placée dans la pochette se trouvant à la fin du volume 1. On trouvera en frontispice une carte montrant la situation géographique des divers groupes linguistiques athapascans du Nord; il sera ainsi plus facile de situer les tribus mentionnées dans les documents.

Je tiens à remercier sincèrement chacun des spécialistes participants, qui ont rendu possible la tenue de cette conférence, de même que M. William E. Taylor fils, directeur du Musée National de l'Homme, qui a prononcé l'allocution d'ouverture, a obtenu l'autorisation d'utiliser le Centre des Conférences et nous a offert un repas somptueux, M. Barrie Reynolds, ethnologue en chef, dont la précieuse participation a permis de mener à bien la conférence, et M.M. Clark Davis et J.G.E. Smith pour leurs nombreuses heures de travail accomplies dans la période de confusion qui a précédé la conférence. Je veux aussi remercier M^d Edna Papple, M^d Anna Knight et M^d Margery Toner pour la somme de travail qu'elles ont abattue pendant la conférence, et d'une façon spéciale, M^d M.J. Patterson, le professeur Anne D. Shinkwin (Université de l'Alaska) et M. D.W.

Clark pour leur aide dans la préparation des textes.

J'aimerais également remercier les éditeurs du *Pennsylvania Archeologist* pour nous avoir permis d'inclure une longue citation à l'intérieur du texte de M. Savishinsky et les éditeurs de *North* pour la permission d'inclure quelques citations dans la communication de M. Slobodin, "Without Fire".

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ATHAPASKAN?

Cornelius Osgood

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ATHAPASKAN?

Cornelius Osgood
Yale University

Résumé

Le mot "athapaskan", employé pour identifier les membres d'un des groupes linguistiques indiens les plus importants de l'Amérique du Nord, peut s'écrire de multiples façons. Cornelius Osgood, doyen des études sur les Athapaskan du Nord, passe ici en revue les graphies données au mot par des auteurs de diverses époques.

Abstract

The word, Athapaskan, a term that has been used to denote members of one of the largest linguistic groups of North American Indians, has enjoyed a variety of spellings. In this paper, Cornelius Osgood, Dean of Northern Athapaskan studies, reviews the different ways various authors have spelled the word through time.

The spelling of the word Athapaskan as used by anthropologists has attracted my attention off and on over a period of forty-five years. There are, of course, four possibilities insofar as variations of the p and k are concerned. One may also write the word with a p and c, or a b and k, or a b and c. Occasionally I have found two spellings in the same article, rarely three, but I have hoped in vain for the perfect combination of all four. Certainly the spelling with the p and k occurs in over ninety per cent of the publications on the Northern Athapaskans since 1930, although p and c was standard before that time. An explanation of how and why the change occurred may have a modicum of historical interest as well as possibly lead to some consistency of use in the future.

Soon after I began my Athapaskan studies in 1925, I noted the inconsistency between the p and c spelling used in the *Handbook of American Indians* (1910) and the b and k of my mentor, Edward Sapir. It was clear that the *Handbook* usage was based on *Pilling's Bibliography of the Athapaskan Languages* (1892). The authority of the Bureau of American Ethnology was compelling but it could not match my respect for Sapir. When I pointed out the precedent of the p and c, he simply smiled his luxurious smile and replied that as a linguist he reacted against writing the symbol c for the sound more commonly indicated by k. It is not certain that his own spelling had resulted as a conscious variation. My own early tendency was to substitute the word Déné, but with two letters to lose their acute accents in print, a problem of pronunciation was obvious. Also, as others apparently had done, I saw a disadvantage in localizing the name if one were to follow the accepted b and c spelling of Lake Athabasca and consequently one band of the Chipewyan. Therefore we settled on p and k, the parallel to b and c, a compromise between tradition and teacher. This spelling became the standard usage in publications of the National Museum of Canada, and, later, in those at Yale.

Since 1932, the following authors are some who have used the p and k spelling with often surprising consistency: Birket-Smith and de Laguna (1938), Hall (1967), Helm (1961), Hoijer (1938), Honigmann (1946), Howren (1970), Jenness (1934), Krauss (1964), Li (1965), McKennan (1959), Mason (1946), Osgood (1932), Slobodin (1962), Troufanoff (1970). These are but examples with one date given for each. It is notable that the linguists Sapir and Li, about the only users of b and k, both shifted to p and k. Before 1930, Goddard (1917) and Lowie (1925) followed the BAE usage of p and c, with the rare case of Sullivan (1942) appearing later. It only remains for the ancient geographical

spelling of b and c to mushroom archaeologically into print in order that all four spellings may finally appear in one paper.

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MATRILINEAL KIN GROUPS IN NORTHWESTERN NORTH AMERICA

Frederica de Laguna

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MATRILINEAL KIN GROUPS IN NORTHWESTERN NORTH AMERICA

Frederica de Laguna
Bryn Mawr College

Résumé

Voici un bref aperçu des diverses théories sur l'origine du système matrilineaire chez les peuples amérindiens de l'Alaska intérieur, du territoire du Yukon et de la côte pacifique. Ces groupes de parenté exogames et matrilineaires sont comparés aux clans bilatéraux ou "familles ancestrales" du sud de la Colombie-Britannique, surtout en regard de fonctions telles que la réglementation des mariages, les potlachs, le contrôle et la disposition des biens -- y compris les blasons et insignes de rang, les prérogatives cérémonielles et l'usage des territoires -- la transmission des titres de chef, et l'acquisition des pouvoirs chamaniques. Les institutions matrilineaires des divers peuples amérindiens sont analysées d'après les noms des sibs, leurs insignes et blasons, et leurs traditions, tous ces éléments découlant de processus historiques complexes. Les peuples eux-mêmes se divisent en six groupes:

- (1) Les peuples de langue Tsimshian, utilisant un système de quatre phratries;
- (2) les peuples influencés par les Tsimshian ou leur étant apparentés (les Porteur septentrionaux, les Tsetsaut, etc.);
- (3) les tribus côtières utilisant un système de 2 moitiés (les Haida: Corbeau-Aigle, les Tlingit: Corbeau-Loup, les Eyak);
- (4) les tribus intérieures qu'elles ont influencées (les Tahltan, les Tlingit de l'intérieur, les Tagish, les Tutchoni, les Kaska, etc.). Dans tous les groupes mentionnés ci-dessous, les sibs s'identifient par leurs blasons, ou correspondent aux sibs et moitiés des Tlingit.
- (5) Les Athapaskan utilisant un système de moitiés et de sibs sans blasons véritables et ne témoignant pas d'influence côtière précise (les Atna, les Tanaina, les Tanana de la Tanana moyenne et supérieure);
- (6) les Athapaskan utilisant un système où, aux deux sibs opposés (moitiés) s'ajoute un troisième groupe de parenté "intermédiaire" (les Tanana de la Tanana inférieure, les Koyukon, les Kuskokwim de la Kuskokwim supérieure, les Kutchin et les Han). Ce "groupe intermédiaire," dont les membres peuvent épouser un membre de l'un ou l'autre des deux autres groupes, comme dans certains sibs Tlingit et Haida dans des conditions d'anomie, représentent des immigrants non encore pleinement assimilés. Enfin, un contraste est établi entre les conditions socio-écologiques des Athapaskan occidentaux, et celles de leurs parents orientaux non divisés en sibs: un grand nombre des oiseaux, des animaux et des poissons identifient les sibs et les blasons fréquentent les régions intérieures plutôt que les côtes, et témoignent, en outre, d'une influence de chamanisme sibérien et amérindien. Bien qu'un tel système matrilineaire à sib-moitié ait eu son origine dans l'Alaska intérieur, les systèmes matrilineaires, et les blasons en particulier, se sont surtout développés le long du cours inférieur

des rivières Nass, Skeena et Stikine, probablement en raison du stimulus résultant des échanges de population entre les Tsimshian, les Tlingit, les Athapaskan et les peuples de langue Kwakiutl. Ensuite, les blasons, insignes de rang et privilèges cérémoniels auraient été importés vers l'intérieur.

Abstract

Various theories about the origin of matriliney in the interior of Alaska and Yukon Territory and on the northern Northwest Coast are reviewed. The nature of these matrilineal exogamous kin groups is compared to that of the bilateral septs or "ancestral families" of southern British Columbia, especially with respect to such functions as regulation of marriage, potlatching, control of property -- including crests, ceremonial prerogatives, and territories, succession to chieftainship, and acquisition of shamanistic power. The matrilineal institutions of the various Indian tribes are discussed, with special emphasis on sib names, crests, and traditions, since these are evidence of complex historical processes. The tribes themselves fall into six groups:

- (1) The Tsimshian-speakers with a four-phratry system, and
- (2) those influenced by or related to them (northern Carrier, etc.);
- (3) coastal tribes with Raven-Wolf/Eagle moieties (Haida, Tlingit, Eyak), and
- (4) the interior tribes influenced by them (Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Tagish, Tutchone, Kaska, etc.). In all the above groups the sibs possess crests or are equated with Tlingit sibs or moieties.

- (5) Athapaskans with moieties and sibs, lacking true crests, and showing no clear evidence of coastal influence (Atna, Tanaina, Upper and Middle Tanana).

- (6) Athapaskans with two opposed sibs (moieties) and a third "middle" kin group (Lower Tanana, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Kutchin, Han). This "middle group" that can marry with both of the others like similar anomalous sibs among the Haida and Tlingit, represents immigrants, not yet fully assimilated. Lastly, socio-ecological conditions of the western Athapaskans are contrasted with those of their sibless eastern relatives to suggest how matriliney might have developed. Many of the birds, animals, and fish used for sib names and crests are inland, rather than coastal, and also suggest influences from Siberian, as well as North American shamanism. Although an interior Alaskan origin is suggested for the matrilineal sib-moiety system, the most complex development of matrilineal groups and especially of their crests has taken place on the lower Nass, Skeena, and Stikine rivers, probably under the stimulation of population exchanges between the Tsimshian, Tlingit, Athapaskans, and Kwakiutl-speakers. Crests and ceremonial privileges have then been imported into the interior.

Introduction

The existence of matrilineal sibs and/or moieties or phratries among the western Athapaskans of British Columbia, Yukon Territory, and Alaska, presents a striking contrast to the absence of any unilinear descent groups among the eastern Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage. The western Athapaskans with matrilineal sibs include the Koyukon or Ten'a but not the Ingalik -- the Upper

Kuskokwim Indians, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Tanana Indians, the Kutchin, Han, Pelly River, western Kaska, Northern Tutchone, Atna, and Tanaina. The sibs of these "tribes" or "nations" lack crests and names clearly suggestive of the Northwest Coast. Athapaskans with sibs that show Tlingit influences to varying degrees in sib names or in the possession of crests are some of the Southern Tutchone -- probably not the western groups -- and Tahltan. With these we could group the Inland Tlingit and the Tagish, and also the Eyak of the Alaskan Gulf Coast. Athapaskans with sibs and crests that apparently show Tsimshian influences are the Tsetsaut, northern Carrier -- the southern Carrier have crests but no sibs -- and Sekani. Information available to me about the Chilcotin, the southernmost Athapaskan group on the Plateau, is contradictory. The interior Salish-speaking Kootenay, Lillouet, and Shuswap apparently borrowed some institutions involving crests from the Carrier, but need not be considered further.

Typical of Athapaskan groups without sib organization are the eastern Kaska, Hare, Mountain, Bear Lake, Dogrib, Slave, Beaver, Yellowknife, and Chipewyan. These peoples have loosely organized semi-leaderless kin-linked local bands, and also larger territorial groupings, named for the localities they exploit. In the extreme south, the Sarsi appear as a Plains tribe, while on the extreme west, the Ingalik of the Lower Yukon and Kuskokwim lack sibs and live in communities like those of the adjacent Eskimo, organized about the kashim.

The Eskimo to the north, west, and southwest of the Alaskan Athapaskans have either simple bilateral families or, like the Nunivak Islanders, have what would appear to be incipient patrilineages with features suggestive of "totemism." These are all the more remarkable because residence on Nunivak is matrilocal. The Pacific Eskimo adjacent to the Tanaina, Atna, and Eyak had many features of Northwest Coast culture, such as chiefs with high rank and wealth, slavery,

potlatches, and crest-like art forms, but lacked both sibs and crests.

On the northern Northwest Coast, of course, matrilineal sibs are most highly developed. They are organized into moieties among the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida, and into four phratries among the Tsimshian, although not every Tsimshian "tribe" among the Niska and Gitksan necessarily possesses the full number. The Kwakiutl-speaking Kitimat or Haisla also have a matrilineal system patterned after that of the Tsimshian, but the tribes farther south on the central Northwest Coast: Heiltsuk or Xaihas, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka, had corporate kin groups or septs, aptly termed "ancestral families" by McIlwraith (1948), that functioned as crest-holding units, but which were based upon extended bilateral descent. Still farther south, the Coast Salish possessed somewhat simpler bilateral family institutions. One has to travel far -- to the Crow of Montana or to the Athapaskans and Western Pueblos of the Southwest -- before again encountering matrilineal social organization.

Swanton (1904, 1905a), Sapir (1915b), MacLeod (1924), Olson (1933), Birket-Smith (in Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938), Garfield (1951, 1953), Murdock (1955), McClellan (1964), Inglis (1970), and others have attempted to explain this curious situation. There seems to be no doubt that some of the distribution of matrilineal sibs and/or of the ceremonial privileges they claim is due to borrowing. Thus, Garfield (1951:18) states: "Tribes adjacent to the Tsimshian and Tlingit show clear evidence of having borrowed their distinctive features of kinship structure and functioning, principally as the result of intermarriage." This appears to be true of the northernmost Kwakiutl-speakers and of some of the nearby Athapaskans. But the question still remains: What is the origin of matrilineality in the northwest? How did it develop? Is it a local independent phenomenon, or is it linked to unilineal

descent in other regions?

Swanton (1905a:670-671) argued that matriliney was not archaic, as Morgan had claimed, but rather: "Instead of being primitive, a study of the north Pacific area convinces me that the maternal clan system is itself evolved, for there is every indication that it grew up in the small area at the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers and was spreading northward, southward, and inland at the time these first came to the notice of Europeans." Lowie (1920:176) accepted the thesis that:

By far the majority of the Northern Athapaskan tribes are sibless...However, those Athapaskans in immediate contiguity to the coastal tribes have modeled their organization on their neighbors', borrowing the rule of matrilineal descent.

MacLeod (1924:254-257) argued for a Northwest Coast center for the "mother-sib," from which Carrier, Babine, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, and interior Alaskan Athapaskans derived their matrilineal institutions. This system was "so vital in fact that it was in process of steady diffusion to the sibless people surrounding" (MacLeod 1924:254). MacLeod also points out that the interior Athapaskans have a tripartite sib system and lack crests: "...the Northwest Coast sibs may at one time have been without crest insignia, these latter being a late artistic development perhaps, and conceivably developed even in a sibless group like the Kwakiutl" (MacLeod 1924:257).

In reviewing "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," Sapir (1915b[1966]), takes the position that both the septs or bilateral family groups of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka, and the matrilineal sibs of the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit were originally local groups, each of which made its exclusive claims to certain prerogatives or crests. These small local groups were later brought together to form the present village communities, consisting of several kin groups. Clans differ from septs "primarily by the

restriction of inheritance (Sapir 1915b [1966]:39), but why this should have come about is not suggested, although he notes that exogamy is now at least an attribute of the moiety or phratry, not of the constituent clans.

If we assume, as I believe to be the case, that the clans were originally nothing but village communities, it follows that the present distribution of clans is secondary and due to migrations or movements of part of the clansmen away from the main body of their kinsmen (Sapir 1915b [1966]:41).

Traditions of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian clearly indicate that such movements of clans or subdivisions of these have often taken place. Those who separated would have retained their old crests and privileges held also by the parent group, argued Sapir, but each offshoot would, in time, acquire new ones, not shared with the other branches.

Even more fundamental than clans are, among the northern tribes, the phratries which include them. Their origin also is far from clear. Whether they resulted from the amalgamation of a number of clans into larger units, or whether, on the contrary, the clans within the phratry are to be considered as local off-shoots from it, is often difficult to decide. On the whole, however, the latter alternative seems the more typical one (Sapir 1915b [1966]:46).

This, he argues, is because the phratric crest is shared by all, or most, of the member clans, and because each community, of necessity, contains representatives of at least two exogamic moieties or phratries. "It is conceivable that the phratries are sociologically reinterpreted forms of originally distinct tribal units," that is, represent a group or groups of aliens incorporated into the main tribe (Sapir 1915b [1966]:47). This explanation is certainly valid for many individual sibs, but probably not for whole moieties or phratries.

The problem still remains, however, whether crests are an integral aspect of the system of sibs and phratries and grew up with them, or whether the exercise of crest privileges represents a secondary function of the descent group, whose earliest and most important function may have been to regulate the

reciprocal relations between kinsmen or the exploitation of territorial resources. A third possibility is that the crests, which are now the most precious possessions of these groups, marking the status and identity of their members, were originally primary, and that the different forms of descent groups developed in order to control their inheritance. In any case, we should still have to explain why crest-holding groups are matrilineal and exogamous in the north, but bilateral and endogamous by preference in the south.

When Olson studied forms of American aboriginal social organization in 1933, he attempted to prove a common origin for all New World sib systems, citing such common features as animal names and various aspects of duality or opposition, and came to the conclusion that the principle of unilateral descent had been introduced from the Old World in quite ancient times. Garfield (1953: 59-60) quite properly criticizes his arguments by pointing out that animal names, duality or moiety organization, specific rules of residence or of inheritance, and principles of descent do not necessarily diffuse together, but may come together through secondary association. I might add that while animal names are common among American Indians, they are infrequently used as sib designations on the Northwest Coast. Garfield (1953:61) concludes: "A thorough understanding of matrilineal sibs and moieties of northwest America is not to be gained by a comparative study of similarities between unilateral institutions of this area and others, either in the Americas or in Asia." Rather, a study of dynamic factors is needed.

On the whole, Garfield feels that sibs are probably older than moieties and phratries on the Northwest Coast, and she is inclined to favor the theory advanced by Birket-Smith (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:526-527) that:

Elements of a matrilineal complex have undoubtedly been introduced into the Northwest Coast from Asia. These probably included matrilineal descent with exogamy, totemistic beliefs and property control by the lineage.

It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to date the diffusion, nor to say with certainty which elements came together or singly. Whatever the facts revealed by further study, it is apparent that the greatest elaboration of the basic ideas was accomplished in the restricted area of southeastern Alaska and the coast of British Columbia south to Rivers Inlet, though matrilineal descent extended only to Gardner Channel (Garfield 1951:19).

As a drawback to this theory of Asiatic origin, she (Garfield 1953:59) has further pointed out that the nearest matrilineal area is far away in Southeast Asia, and if the Northwest Coast was perhaps occupied only in comparatively recent times -- now disputed by recent archaeological evidence -- or, more likely, that the highly specialized sib-moiety/phratry systems of this region are of relatively recent elaboration, then these last cannot be simply the result of diffusion, but must represent the syntheses of elements already present.

Even if diffusion did not introduce the idea of matrilineal sibs from Asia, it could have introduced other elements which were grafted onto these. See traits of what I have called the Circum-Pacific Culture Drift (de Laguna 1947:278-279), particularly the memorial column at the grave, carved with the inherited spirits of the family line, in bird or animal form, which may have been the germ of, or one element of, the idea of crests. In this connection I (1947:91-92) have also cited the resemblance to totem poles of the posts carved with guardian spirits in anthropomorphic or animal and bird form that protect the home of the Goldi shaman. If such Siberian influences were involved, the earliest matrilineal sibs on the coast may have been, as MacLeod suggested, crestless like those of the northwestern Athapaskans. We should, at least, consider this possibility and, above all, not assume that everything about the sib systems of these Athapaskans was derived, lock, stock, and barrel, from the coast. As Drucker (1963:198) has pointed out:

Although it is often assumed that the matrilineal organization of the Athapascans of the interior (Ten'a, Tanaina, Atna, Loucheux [Kutchin], Tsetsaut, Tahltan, Western Nahane [Kaska], Babine, Chilcotin, Carrier), and of the Eyak, represented coastal influence, the opposite may be true.

This problem cannot be solved until a careful analysis is made of the kinship structures involved and of the functions and prerogatives associated with them.

Two of the recent speculators on the subject, Murdock (1955) and Inglis (1970), agree in recognizing the northern Northwest Coast as the center of elaboration and diffusion of matrilineal institutions to more southerly coastal tribes, but disagree as to the place of origin of matrilineality itself. Murdock has taken the position that the original basic kin systems in North America were bilateral, with Hawaiian type kin terms, limited polygyny, and optional matrilineal or patrilineal residence, and completely lacked unilinear descent groups. All deviations from this fundamental pattern were developed under the influences of local conditions, except for the bilateral nuclear family organization of the Eskimo and the matrilineal structures of the American northwest. Both of these latter forms were, however, Asiatic in origin and were presumably introduced by the ancestors of the present Eskimo and Nadéné peoples, respectively, who furthermore represent the last two waves of immigration across Bering Strait.

As Murdock explains (1955:86-87):

The northern Northwest Coast and its hinterland of Athapaskan tribes constitute an area of matrilineal descent. The unusual assumption that this structural system originated on the coast and diffused to the interior Athapascans appears to me in the highest degree unlikely. The conditions in neither area are of a type ordinarily conducive to the emergence of the matrilineate. It seems preferable to postulate that the ancestors of the Nadéné peoples entered the New World with remnants of an old matrilineal organization, and that these were lost by the tribes which migrated eastward but retained by those remaining in the west, that those of the latter who moved from the interior to the coast and became the Eyak, Tlingit, and

Haida elaborated their simple original system into the complex forms found there, and that these were borrowed by their Tsimshian and Haisla neighbors.

Among the Athapaskans the matrilineal organization is usually characterized by exogamous moieties rather than sibs or lineages [a position to be discussed], by bride-service rather than a bride-price, by variable residence as often patrilocal as matrilineal, by a complete absence of localized clans and local exogamy, by limited polygyny and independent nuclear families, by Iroquois cousin terminology, and by preferential cross-cousin marriage. On the coast, under the stimulus of more abundant resources, a sedentary mode of life, and an enhancement in the economic importance of the male sex, residence became universally avunculocal, bride-service was replaced by a bride-price, polygyny became more general, local aggregations of males of the same moiety gave rise to extended families and clans, and kinship terms often shifted from the Iroquois to the Crow form, as among the Haida and Tlingit.

East of the continental divide the northern Athapaskans have lost the matrilineate except for traces such as matrilineality among the Beaver and Slave, and exhibit a bilateral organization of Hawaiian type approximating that of the Algonkian Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi, who inhabit a similar environment. With them, on the basis of fragmentary evidence, belong the Beothuk of Newfoundland and the New England Algonkians.

An almost diametrically opposed position is taken by Inglis (1970), who argues that conditions on the Northwest Coast were peculiarly suited to the development of matrilineality and subsequent matrilineity, because the food-gathering activities of women demanded intimate knowledge of local "harvesting" sites for beach foods, berries, roots, etc., and climatic uncertainties favored accumulations of food supplies at established village sites, from which male sea hunters could readily voyage, needing only general seamanship, not local knowledge. The argument is on the whole persuasive, and we are puzzled to understand why all the Northwest Coast peoples did not become matrilineal. Following in part Drucker's reconstruction of Northwest Coast prehistory, Inglis envisages an original "Eskimoid," fully maritime, sea-mammal hunting people living along the North Pacific coast from Prince William Sound to Vancouver Island. Then came the Nadéné ancestors of the Eyak, Haida, and Tlingit, pushing

down the rivers to the sea, where they copied the maritime skills of the original shore dwellers. It is these newcomers who became matrilineal-matrilocal; we do not know what origination was possessed by the earlier inhabitants. Later, the Tsimshian also came from the interior, displacing the Tlingit near the mouth of the Skeena. This they were able to do perhaps because they had acquired and perfected salmon and olachen fishing, and so could seize the best fishing sites. Inglis hazards that these fishing skills developed either on the lower Skeena, or diffused northward from the lower Frazer. River fishing is suggested as a new male activity, thereby explaining the development of avunculocality on the Northwest Coast. Even though Murdock (1955:86) may be vague about the specific conditions leading to this type of residence, I cannot accept Inglis' (1970:157) suggestion that riverine fishing increases male importance. Rather, reliance on fishing harvests, which need far more work and skill to prepare for storage than to catch, would seem to enhance the importance of the skilled female cooperating team who not only process the catch but control the cache. Avunculocality must be ascribed to other causes: warfare, slavery, other substantial forms of wealth, economic control over sons-in-law, political power and ceremonial prerogatives exercised by men. Nor is the distribution of matrilineal institutions among interior or southern peoples to be explained solely on the basis of economically or prestige motivated marriages.

McClellan (1964:7-11) has recently discussed the problem of matriliney among the Pacific drainage Athapaskans, arguing against the generally held notion that it was introduced from the coast, presumably associated with intertribal trade in protohistoric and early historic times. Rather, matriliney in the interior, as well as on the northern Northwest Coast, is ancient. Thus, she rejects Steward's thesis that the northern hunters of big game, of economic

necessity, had "composite" bands composed of unrelated families before matriline spread from the coast. Actually, Athapaskan regional bands are not composed of unrelated biological families; rather, they are loose social groupings held together by a network of consanguineal and affinal ties, while similar ties connect the bands in a "tribal" territory. McClellan also rejects Service's theory that the supposedly aboriginal patrilocal-patrilineal bands of the eastern Athapaskans became "composite" as a result of white contact, while the western Athapaskans, by virtue of their access to salmon, were able to adopt many features of Northwest Coast "chiefdoms."

These authors, McClellan argues, have over-emphasized and over-simplified the supposed ecological and resultant socio-economic differences between fishing and big game hunting groups, especially since most, or all, Pacific drainage Athapaskans hunt caribou as well as fish. I would add that most authors underestimate the role played by women in hunting, especially in game drives or even in parties of their own (cf. Guédon 1971). Of greater importance, is the widespread custom of bride-service, which results in initial and sometimes prolonged matrilineal residence, although McClellan is careful to point out that this alone is not sufficient to create matrilineal sibs, since they are lacking among the eastern Athapaskans, such as the Slave, Chipewyan, etc., and among the Ingalik who perhaps lost them under Eskimo influence. Lastly, in considering problems of contact and diffusion between communities, McClellan asks us to examine the nature of the social groups involved. The "simple classification of 'bands'" is too simple. These territorial units come together only seasonally; the most important social units are the smaller kin-based parties at fish or meat camps.

Whatever our final conclusions about the causes of or the antiquity of matriline in the interior, it does seem likely that protohistoric trade between coast and interior reinforced it by enhancing both sib consciousness and sib ranking

at potlatches. Potlatching itself certainly expanded as the new supply of wealth trickled into the interior, first through native middlemen and later directly from the white traders (McClellan 1964:10).

The following pages do not pretend to offer a solution to these various problems, nor is it a distribution study in the ordinary sense. Rather, it is an attempt to draw together what is known about the nature and functioning of northwestern American matrilineal kin groups and about the various prerogatives associated with them and their leaders. Such data are needed for a fresh attack.

Matrilineal Tribes of the Northwest Coast

The tribal groups with matrilineal descent groups are: Haisla (Xaisla), Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, and Eyak. Among the last three peoples the constituent units, sibs, are grouped into exogamous moieties, except that among both Haida and Tlingit there seem to have been local units that did not fit perfectly into either moiety. The Tsimshian have four exogamous phratries, and the Haisla four phratries or major sibs plus two minor lines of which one is now extinct. While exogamy is the rule for these larger units, an improper marriage between their constituent sibs is less heinous than a union involving two sibmates. On the other hand, marriage between cross-cousins is preferred, with the father's line stressed as the "opposite" to one's own. I suspect that the sibs should be regarded as the primary exogamous units, even though groups of sibs have become classed together by common marriage restrictions.

The sibs, or their local branches, own hunting, fishing, and berrying places, and are identified in sentiment with particular localities, either those which they now exploit or places from which their ancestors came. Sibs are commonly named for such localities. Sibs also own crests, that is, the right to display these or to dramatize them at potlatches, in carvings and

paintings on houses, totem poles, canoes, and other objects. These houses, poles, canoes, and smaller objects such as feast dishes, spoons, articles of clothing (especially headgear), ceremonial paraphernalia (drums, dance paddles, masks), are apt to have personal names belonging to the kin group, just as do the names and titles of its members. Such names often refer to the crests. Crests are commonly animals, birds, fish, or celestial phenomena, the rights to use which were obtained by the ancestors of the present owners through encounters with Supernaturals. These Beings and the heroic ancestors are sometimes themselves used as crests. The mythical adventures of these ancestors are like the supernatural encounters of shamans with their guardian spirits, so that, as Swanton wrote (1905b:112): "we can hardly doubt that the system [of heraldic crests] was rooted in religion. Indications point to its having developed from the idea of the personal manitou." Garfield (1951:42) also makes the point that the ancestors encountered the supernatural in much the same way that the novice shaman may meet the spirit that gives him power:

The principal elaboration on this basic guardian spirit quest pattern, developed by all the tribes on the northern part of the Northwest Coast area, was in dramatization of the experience, its identification with the lineage, and the use as crests of things the ancestors had heard and seen. The complex of ideas and things became the property of descendants who did not have to go through a supernatural experience again in order to benefit, but needed only to re-enact it by impersonation of the original participants.

Even the so-called secret societies, most highly developed among the Kwakiutl, but present to a lesser extent among the Tsimshian, are based on the same principle: that the right to perform certain dances, granted by a supernatural being to the ancestors of the bilateral septs, is inherited by their descendants, to whom the original spirits continue to appear. Rights to secret society or shamanistic privileges, like the right to display the secular crest in a potlatch, are inherited with or closely associated with "shamanistic"

titles, the highest of which, like the highest secular titles, are monopolized by those of noblest birth.

In addition to the heraldic crests, there are others which may be prominent rocks, hills, or streams, usually given anthropomorphic or animal form according to the canons of Northwest Coast art. The display of these crests may serve to assert or reaffirm the territorial claims of the owners. There are also some crests which should more properly be called "crest-objects," such as particular feast dishes, headdresses, dance poles, etc. The tendency to think of crests in the concrete forms in which they are displayed means that any given crest animal, for example, may be rendered in several particular ways, some of which may be claimed by different kin groups, as well as by a single line. This "...tendency to artistic and dramatic representation in turn reacted upon the development of the crest system, a development that was strengthened by the ever-present desire for new privileges and for novel ways of exhibiting the old ones" (Sapir 1915b [1966]:45-46). Other prerogatives of the kin group may be the right to sing certain songs, perform certain dances, or behave in special ways at the potlatch.

While some crests may be common to all branches of the moiety or phratry, in general particular crests are usually restricted to certain subdivisions, such as groups of sibs, individual sibs, or individual lineages or houses. Furthermore, each unit is apt to have its own special way of exhibiting a crest if this is shared with another kin group. From this tendency are derived such specialized crests as Eagle-Covered-With-Abalone or Winter Raven.

Although there may be some general sib, or moiety/phratry crest which any member of the group can utilize, like Raven face painting, this is not true of most. The rights to display the crests tend to be associated with those holding titles, and those with the highest rank, such as the chiefs

of sibs or heads of localized branches, will exercise this right by displaying the crests in their own person, or on their own houses, or through their close relatives. Those of lesser rank, the more distant relatives of the chief, descendants in junior lines, have lesser rights, and there may be some who have none and no chance of obtaining any, since rank and its privileges depend not only upon inheritance, but also upon wealth for validation. Thus, only the head of a kin group who has the support of many relatives can command the wealth sufficient to assume important titles and crests for himself, or to bestow them on his junior relatives. Outside the social system were the slaves, chattels of the nobles, to be given away or destroyed like other property at potlatches when crests were displayed.

Crests, crest-objects, other ceremonial prerogatives, and territories are all alienable -- by sale, as idemnities to settle disputes, through seizure as booty in war or as collateral for an unpaid debt, and as gifts which may be part of the marriage portion given to a noble son-in-law, or given by the latter as part of the bride-price. In such fashion, crests originally associated with one kin group may be transferred to or preempted by another sib, either in the same or in the opposite moiety or in another phratry.

Although crests may be considered by the members of a lineage or sib as their most important property and distinguishing emblem, symbol of their greatness and that of their chief, "The fact that the name of the clan does not as a rule refer to a totem also seems to indicate that the clan may not, to begin with, be organically connected with a particular crest" (Sapir 1915b [1966]:44). Thus, crests are equally associated with the bilateral septes of the central Northwest Coast, while we also have some Athapaskan peoples with matrilineal sibs but without crests. Nor are stories of animal origin or

association of ancestors with animals, such as we find among Athapaskans, to be interpreted as necessarily referring to crests. Among the Tlingit, however, who do not claim descent from their crest animals, the living creatures of the species are treated as members of the sibs and moieties that claim them as crests. For example, the Tlingit addresses a bear by the same kin term that he would use to a member of the Teqwedi sib or any other sib that "has the Bear." Members of such Bear sibs are believed to have advantages in bear hunting and, if a member of another sib is injured by a bear when hunting with them, he can claim damages from the Bear's "sibmates." These attitudes are paralleled among some Athapaskans.

On the coast, each kin group, sib, or localized segment of a wider division, has its chief or head, distinguished primarily by his wealth which is obtained through trade monopolies and the contributions of kinsmen and retainers, and which he in turn distributes to his own people or gives away to potlatch guests from other moieties or phratries. In the chief are vested the primary property rights of the group, even though he may not alienate such possessions without their consent. As "owner" of hunting and fishing territories, he may have the authority to open or close the hunting season, to send out hunting parties and receive a share of their catch, or to allocate sites for fishing.

The chief is, however, more than an economic and ceremonial leader, for in every case he seems to have some judicial or political authority, at least with respect to members of his own group. He settles disputes among them, defends a kinsman in a quarrel with a member of another group, or, if his man is at fault, punishes him to prevent trouble. Chiefs usually took the initiative in matters of war and peace and in securing allies. However, even though one chief in a town may be outstanding in rank and position, he

usually has no authority over other resident chiefs and their people. While sibs among the Haida and Tlingit (and Eyak?) have usually acted as independent political units in feuds, the most savage wars took place between sibs that lived in distant localities; common residence was to some extent a common social bond. Only the Tsimshian, like the Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Southern Kwakiutl, and Northern Nootka, formed true tribal units, in which all the people of a town or tribe were united under the leading chief. These tribes formed confederacies only among the Coastal Tsimshian, Northern Nootka, and Southern Kwakiutl, where a chief of the confederacy was at the same time chief of his lineage or house group, of his sib or sept, and of his tribe. When chiefs are ranked, their kin groups as a whole are ranked accordingly, even though within each group there are also graded positions.

Succession to chieftainship on the northern Northwest Coast is from older to younger brother, from uncle to sister's son, or even from grandfather to son's son. Failing an heir in the correct line, chieftainship may pass to a relative in a related lineage or house. The most able among the group of potential successors can often be assured, for the title cannot be assumed without validation through a potlatch, or series of potlatches, and the relatives can give or withhold the necessary economic support. Sometimes, however, a less favored candidate, if rich enough, has been known to seize the title against their wishes. Junior members of a chief's line, if they commanded a sufficient following, have moved away to found their own house, or eventually their own sib, in another district.

Lastly, shamanism is inherited in the matrilineal line among the Tlingit and Haida, since one of the nephews of a deceased shaman is likely to receive his powers. Thus, the Haida shaman usually reveals his secrets to a nephew before his death, and a nephew always plays the role of shaman at the funeral

of his uncle, whether or not he eventually obtains the former's familiars. To do so, he would also have to fast and cleanse himself. When possessed by one of his spirits, the shaman speaks in its language (some are Tlingit or Tsimshian), and is known by its name (Swanton 1905b:38, 53). Swanton does not, however, indicate what spirits belong to specific lines. The same is true of the Tlingit, among whom the chosen or receptive nephew inherits the spirits of the deceased uncle. Although he may manifest his future calling at the funeral, he has to obtain the spirits through repeated quests in the woods. They usually appear to the Tlingit novice in animal form, but are known by personal names, usually non-animal, expressive of their powers. The shaman himself inherits the name of his most powerful spirit. I believe that these spirits, for the Tlingit at least, are the ghosts of the dead that appear in the form of animal, bird, fish, even invertebrate, or anthropomorphic shape, but these do not correspond to the crests of the shaman's sib. Thus the land otter, the form assumed by one who dies of drowning or of exhaustion in the woods, is the most common and powerful shamanistic animal, but is a crest of only two Raven sibs among the Chilkat (Olson 1967:9, 10), and of a minor Raven sib at Kake among the southern Tlingit (Swanton 1908). The assistants of the Tlingit shaman are his own sibmates, but he can treat the sick and bewitched only in another sib, not his own.

Among the Tsimshian, the novice may receive a spirit that has appeared to an ancestor, but while he might go on his own quest, it was more usual for the aspirant to seek instruction from an established shaman. "Usually, the young man's maternal uncle, less often his father, paid the pedagogue. Older shamans also took their own sons, nephews or nieces as assistants and supervised their training" (Garfield 1951:47). In these respects, the Tsimshian followed more closely the practices of the bilaterally organized tribes to

the south than those of the matrilineal Tlingit and Haida.

Relationships between the Athapaskans and Northwest Coast peoples should be considered in the light of all these usages, not simply in terms of matriliney *per se*, or even in similarity of sib names and crests.

The Tsimshian and Their Neighbors

The Tsimshian

There are three dialect groups: Tsimshian proper on the lower Skeena and coast, Niska on the Nass River, and Gitksan on the upper Skeena. These also represent the three major socio-cultural groups of the Tsimshian (Barbeau 1929; Boas 1916; Duff 1959; Garfield 1939, 1951; Sapir 1915a). In addition, there were certain coastal subgroups, now all but extinct. Among the Tsimshian there were from 25 to 30 winter settlements or "tribes", occupied by representatives of four exogamous matrilineal phratries, designated according to their major crests as: Wolf, Eagle, Raven (or Frog-Raven), and Blackfish (or Killerwhale)-Bear-Fireweed. Not all phratries, however, had representatives in every tribe of the Niska or Gitksan.

The Niska had four and the Gitksan seven poorly organized tribes that were independent of each other, although they traded, potlatched, and intermarried with each other. The nine tribes of the lower Skeena that moved to the coast and formed a confederacy still maintained their individual identities and claims to territories up the river. In addition, there were five independent coastal tribes, three of which were mixed with Bella Bella.

Within each phratry, or *ptex*, are branches, united by common myths and common crests. Smaller subgroups are houses, or *walps*, named for their chiefs. Whereas the members may once have lived in a single dwelling, these houses may now be scattered in different villages and even in different tribes. Each house in turn is made up of a number of lineages; these are the significant

units, since members often live together in one dwelling or in one village. Lineages within the house are ranked, and lineage names commonly refer to localities, or to the manner of living of the members. Lineages and houses have each their own exclusive crests, privileges, etc.

The tribes are geographical units, named for the location of their main village. The tribal chief is the head of the leading house in his locality, and would be supported by all his tribesmen when giving large potlatches.

While Boas, Garfield, Barbeau, and Drucker (1963) give different names to the subunits, all agree that the phratries are loose aggregations of sibs (i.e., of houses and lineages), some of foreign origin, some local, as is reflected in their legendary histories and in the distribution of their crests. Phratries had no function other than that of exogamy; there was no concept of descent from a common phratric ancestor. The history of the Tsimshian can be understood in terms of the histories of their sibs and crests. Certainly it was the sib-crest system which influenced the adjacent Athapaskans. In the following, the orthography of native names has been simplified.

The phratries are:

1. Lax-gibu´, "On the Wolf"
2. Lax-ski´k, "On the Eagle"
3. Ganha´da, usually called Raven. The name has no meaning in Tsimshian, but resembles the Tlingit name of a Raven sib, GanaxAdi or Ganaxtedi, "People of Ganax," apparently a Haida place name.

4. GIspawadE´wa, untranslatable, but apparently referring to inhabitants of some place. Usually called Blackfish, Killerwhale, or Bear among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska. Identified with Gisrast (Gisxast), "Fireweed," among the Gitksan.

When intermarrying with foreign tribes, these phratries are equated on the basis of their major crests, not their names (Swanton 1905b:112-113; Boas 1916:519-522):

<u>Haida</u>	<u>Tlingit</u>	<u>Tsimshian</u>	<u>Bella Bella</u>
Raven	Wolf (or Eagle)	Wolf and Bear	Eagle and Killerwhale
Eagle (or <u>Git́̕ns</u>)	Raven	Raven and Eagle	Raven

1. On the Wolf

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas lists only one sib, called by the phratric name, possessing as crests Wolf, Grizzly Bear, and Crane.

Niska:

(I) At Kincolith, the lowest town, in 1894, Boas listed three clans:

- (a) Lax-tia'q́̕, "On....?"
- (b) Git-gige'nix, this seems to be a place name.
- (c) Git-wul-nake'1, "All in One."

Sapir, however, listed only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing White Grizzly, White Bear, and Wolf.

(II) At Ḱ̕t́̕giǵ̕ń̕ (Gitgige'nix), "People Up Stream," Sapir reported only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing Prince Black Bear, (inflated) Water Monster, etc.

(III) At Underleaf, still farther upstream, there is one sib: Lax-tiyo'q́̕, named for a "Flathead" village to the south. This had Son-of-Black-Bear and Wolf.

(IV) At Gitlakiamix and Aiyansh, representing the tribe farthest up the Nass, there are three clans:

- (a) Ḱ̕sqansń̕'t, "People of Home of Berry Bushes," with Wolf, Black Bear, etc.

(b) KItwIl 'nä^hkI˘1, "All in One [though in different houses]," with Prince Black Bear, Controllers (a skull mask), Underground People (a wooden figure), Doorkeepers (posts), Platform of Stone.

(c) KItwIllya˘x^u, "People of Hiding Place," with Many Wolves, Foolish Grease Dish, and Roasting a Man.

Gitksan:

Barbeau lists five clans.

(a) Larhwiyip (Laxwiyip), "Prairie clan," the largest, whose ancestors are said to have been Tahltans who joined Tlingit fugitives (see Ravens, below) and came south with them, one branch going from the upper Nass to the Skeena, while other branches went to the Coast Tsimshian and the Niska. One group in this clan, called "Fugitives," has some Eagle crests.

(b) Gitrhandakhl clan with three branches.

(c) Git' anrasrh, "Wild Rice clan" from the Skeena headwaters.

(d) A second Wild Rice clan. Clans similar to the above are found in the Frog-Raven (3) and Fireweed (4) phratries.

(e) Kaien (Hrain) Island clan of the coast, originally from the interior.

These Gitksan clans have Wolf in several forms, Grizzly Bear and Black Bear both in several forms, Beaver and Split Beaver, Mountain Lion, Weasel Headdress, Eagle in several forms, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle, Woodpecker, Cormorant, Shadow (of trees), Dragonfly, Caterpillar or Split Person, Person with Large, Sharp Nose, etc.

Boas lists as the main crests of this phratry in general: Wolf (various forms), Crane, Winter Grizzly, Bear (various), Crystal Nose.

Most of the sibs within the Wolf phratry seem to have been originally Tahltan from the headwaters of the Skeena. They trace their origin to several brothers who fled after the murder of their uncle to take refuge with the Tlingit at the mouth of the Stikine. Later, some joined the Tongass Tlingit,

and eventually some descendants of the latter settled on the Nass and Skeena among the Tsimshian.

2. On the Eagle

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recognized three sibs:

(a) Gun-hu^ot, "Runaways" from Alaska, who came about 1740. According to their own traditions they had emigrated from the Copper River country -- i.e., Eyak land -- after a defeat by a Raven group. On their journey south they destroyed a beaver dam and lodge, and killed the sorrowing beaver, thereby obtaining the Beaver Hat as their major crest. This story reminds us of that told by the Gat̓ly̓Ix̓-Kagwantan, a Wolf sib among the Tlingitized Eyak, to explain the origin of their Beaver crest. McClellan (1954:91) has pointed out that the stories about the Beaver crest, and the fact that it is also claimed by a Raven sib among the Angoon Tlingit, suggest that it had indeed been taken by one sib from another in war.

(b) Git-lax-wi-yi^ˈa, from the upper Skeena.

(c) Gitso^ˈx, with Halibut crest, from the Bella Bella.

These sibs have the Eagle, Beaver, and Halibut as their main crests.

Niska:

(I) Kincolith, Boas recorded the following sibs:

(a) Gisga^ˈp̓Ena^ˈx, "People Living Among Thorns."

(b) Lax-lo^okst, "Bundle of Things."

(c) Gitsa^ˈo^oq, "In the Bow."

(d) Lax-ts̓̓me^ˈlix, "On the Beaver."

Sapir recorded four sibs also, two or three of which are the same as those of Boas. These are:

(a) K̓̓sqap̓̓Anā^ˈx̓t, "People Dwelling Among Thorns," with Shark with Dorsal

Fin, Eagle, Beaver, Underwater Being, as crests.

(b) $\text{Laxlo}^{\text{u}}\text{kct}$, "Bundle of Things," with Eagle-Covered-With Abalone, Supernatural Halibut, Standing Beaver, Prince Cormorant, and Face-Covered-With-Abalone.

(c) $\text{KI}^{\text{t}}\text{laxwus}\tilde{\text{a}}^{\text{x}}$, "People Living on a Sand Bar," with the Eagle.

(d) $\text{KI}^{\text{c}}\text{qa}^{\text{a}}\tilde{\text{k}}\text{c}$, "People Living on Water," with Eagle Garment, and Beaver-Eating-Wood.

(II) At the second tribe upstream, no representatives of the phratry.

(III) At the third tribe upstream there are two sibs:

(a) "Bundle of Things," but with Man-of-the-Woods, Shark, Nest House, Wooden Eagle, and Half-Halibut as crests (cf. Kincolith, sib *b*).

(b) $\text{KI}^{\text{t}}\text{tsE}^{\text{e}}\text{q}$ (cf. Boas sib *e* at Kincolith and *e* on the coast), "In the Bow," with Beaver and Eagle.

(IV) Farthest upstream, there are three sibs:

(a) $\text{SA}^{\text{m}}\text{laxsgi}^{\text{k}}$, "Real or Foremost Eagle," with Stone Eagle, Underwater Being, etc.

(b) $\text{Lax-ts}^{\text{a}}\text{me}^{\text{l}}\text{ix}$, "On the Beaver," with Humpback Whale and Beaver.

(c) $\text{KI}^{\text{t}}\text{qanE}^{\text{q}}\text{s}$, "People of Ladders," with White Marten and Gray Squirrel.

Sapir (1915a:20-21) points out that two of these Niska Eagle sibs do not have Eagle as a crest, and so were probably late increments to the phratry. Also the sib, "On the Beaver," suggests by the form of its name that it may once have been a phratry.

Gitksan:

The Eagles are represented by only one sib at the southernmost Gitksan village, Kitwanga. This sib, Gitanraet (Gitanxaet), "People of Fiddlers Creek," is supposed to be a branch of the group that came from Tlingit country. Because of a feud with the Wolves at Na[']a (Port Chester, Alaska), the Eagles had to flee, but took with them not only their own crests, Fin of Shark, Mother

Eagle, Eagle's Egg, etc., but a Bear Headdress and Weasel Headdress of the Wolves. Later they acquired the Supernatural Halibut. On the Skeena River they also obtained the White Marten, Bear, and Beaver. They claim in addition the Squirrel, Dog Salmon, and Split Person, as well as Eagle in many forms.

According to Garfield (1951:21), it would appear that the Eagle phratry is composed of three main divisions: one of Tlingit origin with the Eagle and Beaver; another from the Bella Bella with the Halibut, while some lineages also have the Blackfish; and the third from the Athapaskans of the upper Skeena, presumably with the Marten and Squirrel, and possibly another form of Beaver.

Boas lists as crests of the phratry in general: Eagle, Beaver, Halibut, Devilfish, Hawk, Dogfish, Weasel, Cormorant, Crawfish, Whale, Sea Grizzly, Supernatural Salmon, Whirlpool, Woodpecker, Squirrel, and various monsters and supernaturals. It must be emphasized, however, that these crests are not common property of the various divisions.

3. Raven, or Frog-Raven, Ganha'da

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recorded three sibs:

(a) Ganha'da, phratric name, with Raven, Scalp with Fins, and Abalone Bow. They probably came from the north.

(b) Tsunadate, untranslated, but suggests the Tlingit name, Tcu'nax, for a river entering Behm Canal, Alaska. They have Starfish, Raven, and Abalone Bow as crests.

(c) Lax-se^ola, "On the Ocean," from the Tlingit at Cape Fox, with Bull-head; also have Raven, Starfish, and Frog. The form of the name suggests that of a separate phratry.

Niska:

(I) At Kincolith, Boas noted:

(a) Gid-xqado^ʹq.

(b) "On the Ocean" (cf. sib c of the Coast Tsimshian).

Sapir, however, recorded only one sib with the phratric name, claiming Starfish, Two-Ravens, Frog, Birdskin Hat, etc., as crests.

(II) Farther upstream at Kitgig^ʹnix, there was also just the undivided Qana^ʹda, with Raven-Covered-With-Abalone, Sea Lion, Frog, and Mountain Goat Hat.

(III) No representatives of the phratry.

(IV) Farthest upstream there is only one undivided sib, with Raven, Frog, and Robin.

Gitksan:

Barbeau (1929:153-154) calls this the Frog-Raven or Larhsail (Lax-se^{ʹ0}1) phratry, and lists the following subdivisions:

(a) Neegyamks, descendants of Frog-Woman, apparently from the lower Nass, with some Haida ancestry.

(b) Naeqt or "Tongue-Licked," a subdivision of the above. Garfield (1951:22) indicates that these are the descendants of a Coast Tsimshian woman who was captured by the Haida, but escaped to the Nass, bringing the crests of her murdered husband.

(c) Nawle's sib, with myths and crests similar to those of the previous sibs, but claiming their origin in Prairie Town, a mythical town in the interior.

(d) Hlengwah's sib, a group with widely distributed branches, apparently of Tlingit ancestry.

(e) Git^ʹanrasrh, Wild Rice sib, of Tsetsaut origin.

(f) Skasewasan, Waterlily sib, from the Carrier of Bulkley River.

(g) Plus other elements already resident on the upper Skeena who allied themselves with the immigrants from the north and west.

Since a number of Gitksan sibs regard the Frog in various forms as their principal crest, Barbeau calls this phratry Frog-Raven, although their own name is apparently a place name or one that may refer to the ocean. "The Raven was a crest and identifying symbol of all lineages of the phratry both for the Tsimshian and for the equivalent phratry in tribes outside Tsimshian territory. No other phratry possessed a single crest with such wide distribution" (Garfield 1951:19-20).

The Gitksan not only have the Frog and Raven, both in a variety of forms, but various forms of the Eagle, Thunderbird, Kingfisher, Otter, White Groundhog, Wolverine, Trout, Starfish, Waterlily, Shadows, Monsters with Salmon-like Nose, Split Person and Whole Person, Bullhead or Sculpin, Frog-Woman, Person-of-Lake, -of-Smokehole, -of-Ladder, and various ancestors.

For the phratry as a whole, but without specifying branches, Boas lists Raven, Bullhead, Frog, Starfish, Sea Lion, Scalp with Fins, Abalone Bow, Dog, Weasel, Giant Grizzly, White Bear, Spring-of-Heaven, and other crests.

4. Blackfish or Bear, G_ispawad_E'wa; or Fireweed, Gisrast

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recorded three sibs of the Blackfish or Killerwhale phratry:

(a) Git_Em-lax-a'm, from Prairie Town, with Grizzly Bear.

(b) Git-na-gun-a'ks, from China Hat, reportedly half Bella Bella, with Killerwhale or Blackfish.

(c) Git-ks_E-sdza, descendants of Gau'o, who married a Sky Being, claiming Fireweed as a crest.

Boas concludes that there seem to be two divisions of this phratry: one with Grizzly Bear and Killerwhale crests; the other with Grizzly Bear, Fireweed, and Mountain Sheep.

Niska:

(I) At Kincolith, Boas learned of only one branch, Gisqaha'st, "Grass People [Fireweed]." Sapir recorded this as KIsqä'st, "People Living Among Certain Green Bushes." They claimed Moon, Stars, Owl, Two-Men-with-the-Same-Intestines, White Deer, Rainbow and Thunder.

(II) Not represented.

(III) A single sib with the same name as that at Kincolith, but possessing Prince Killerwhale, Owl, Water Grizzly, Rainbow, and Prince Mountain Goat.

(IV) Farthest upstream, a sib of the same name, but again with different crests: Moon, Grouse, and Wild Goose. They are forbidden to use the Killerwhale.

Gitksan:

The same phratry is here called Gisrast (gisxast), "Fireweed," according to Barbeau, who noted the following clans:

(a) Sky clan. The most important division here and on the Nass. It is also important among the Haida, Babine, and Carrier of Bulkley River. They trace their origin to Prairie Town, where Skawah (Gau'o) married Rays-of-the-Sun. They are divided into three or four groups that consider themselves distinct.

(b) Gitkeemelae, also descendants of Skawah; from the upper Nass.

(c) Third branch of the Sky clan, with Finback Whale, Blackfish as a crest.

(d) Wild Rice clan, Gitanrasrh.

The phratric status of this clan is very peculiar; it is indeed, quite unique. It belongs as much to the Wolf as to the Fireweed phratry. Some of its crests, the Grizzly, the Cormorant, and Sharp-nose (*Dzarauh-rhlaw*), normally belong to members of the Wolf phratry. They consider themselves related to the Wolves, and are called to assist their Wolf relatives in potlatches. And it seems that they

do not intermarry with them (Barbeau 1929:155).

(e) Family of Weegyut, that is too small to be a clan, but can be traced to a clan of the Eagle phratry, and so retains Eagle crests. According to their traditions, the Eagle chief's nephew married his clan-sister and so had to flee. He was adopted as a son-in-law by a Fireweed chief, and gave his Eagle crests to his Fireweed children (Barbeau 1929:104).

The crests of this phratry are: Grizzly Bear in several forms, White Otter, Mountain Goat, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle -- sometimes carrying groundhogs, as among the Yakutat Tlingit -- Eagle, Owl, Grouse, Cormorant, Blackfish, Fireweed (haest), Mountain Fern, Snake, Crabapple, Moon, Stars, Rainbow, Earthquake, Moth or Decayed Corpse or Skulls, Snag-of-Bar (a monster), Winged Person, Sharp-Nose (or long-billed bird), Split Person or Half-Man, Many Skulls, Skawah (the ancestress), etc.

In conclusion, we find that although one version of mythical history would trace all the Tsimshian people from an original home in Prairie Town in the interior, from which the people separated after the Flood, the detailed myths belonging to each sib or localized subdivision are evidence that the Tsimshian as a nation are made up of groups from different places. The complexities of even one settlement are well illustrated by the traditions of the three Wolf and four Frog houses at Kitwancool, a Gitksan village on the upper Skeena with close Niska ties (Duff 1959). Thus, Boas (1916:525) has remarked that Tsimshian legends would indicate that the main body were an inland people, but that the Eagles came from the Haida and Tlingit, the Wolves from the Tahltan, the Ravens from the Tlingit, and part of the GispawadE'wa -- presumably those with the Blackfish or Killerwhale -- from the islands north of the Bella Bella.

The elaboration of the sib/phratry and crest system has, I believe, accompanied or resulted from the processes of migrations, amalgamations, and subdivisions by which the modern Tsimshian nation has been formed.

Peoples Influenced by the Tsimshian

Among the interior groups who have been influenced directly by the Tsimshian are the northern Carrier, especially those bands nearest the Gitksan. From them, elements of the matrilineal crest-holding system spread to the western Sekani, and from the latter to the Chilcotin. The Salish Shuswap in turn were influenced by the Chilcotin. To the north, the Tsetsaut, a now extinct group on Potland Canal, seem to have been originally an Athapaskan group like the Tahltan under Tlingit influence, who later came under the domination of the Tsimshian.

On the coast, the Kwakiutl-speaking Haisla (Xaisla of Douglas and Gardner Channels, comprising the Kitimat and Kitlope tribes) had sibs of Tsimshian origin. These were Eagle, Beaver, Raven Crow (now extinct), Blackfish, and Salmon -- the last only a Kitimat lineage. Still farther south, the Heilstuk (Xaihas) and Bella Bella had divisions named for the Eagle, Raven, Blackfish, and Wolf, which they themselves equated with the Tsimshian phratries, but these lacked strict matrilineal descent and exogamy, so were more like the septs of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka (Drucker 1963:119-121). In the same way, the southern Carrier had crest-holding groups, but these were extended bilateral families, showing strong Bella Coola influence.

In all these cases, the diffusion of coastal ideas seems to have been inspired primarily by the importance of crests, both among the more northern groups who already possessed or adopted matrilineal sib and phratry, and among those with bilateral kin groups. Crests seem to have been largely the prerogatives of the wealthy, and indeed many were personal property of the chiefs, to be passed on or disposed of as they chose.

Northern Carrier. The northwestern Carrier of Bulkley River were in contact with the Kitimat, Gitksan, and Coast Tsimshian who came up the Skeena to trade, and even with the Niska. The phratric organization of this group and of the Babine of Lake Carrier is clearly patterned after that of their coastal neighbors, although many details seem to be their own (Duff 1951; Goldman 1941; Jenness 1943).

"Until very recent times the Carrier Indians have been rapidly borrowing features of social culture from their coastal neighbours" (Duff 1951:28). These, he indicates, included phratries (more properly sibs), four of which have Gitksan names, and two others with Carrier Athapaskan names. These have crests, titles for nobility and other privileges, inherited in the matrilineal line. The phratries are exogamous and they, or groups of phratries, act as units at potlatches and funerals. The phratric chiefs controlled hunting and trapping grounds, another reason for considering these groups as sibs, not phratries. The chiefs also had personal crests, some of which were the same as the phratric crest. Among the western Carrier of Bulkley River and Babine Lake, the phratries were subdivided into "houses." The Carrier groups farther away at Frazer Lake, Endako River, Cheslatta Lake, Stuart Lake, and Stony Creek had only phratries (sibs), and these were exogamous only within the particular band. "So unstable even were the phratries that today they are almost forgotten, and only resuscitated when members of these [eastern] sub-tribes visit the Bulkley River or Babine Lake" (Jenness 1943:584). It is obvious that among most Carrier groups the so-called phratries functioned primarily to provide chiefs with hereditary titles and crests, and that the full matrilineal exogamous sib-phratry system was not present.

The Carrier of Bulkley River offer an example of the most completely developed system. The following list indicates the equations made between the

Carrier phratries and those of the Gitksan, for purposes of intermarriage, visiting and potlatching.

<u>Bulkley Carrier</u>	<u>Gitksan</u>
1. Gitamtanyu (or Tamtanyu)	Laxgibu (Wolf phratry)
2. Gilserhyu (or Jilserhyu)	Laxse'1 (Frog-Raven phratry)

Note the resemblance between this Carrier name and that of the Kutchin JIitsa, or Nabesna Tc'Ḳ' t'c'Ḳ'lyu.

3. Laksilyu	Laxse'1
Laksilyu "...is evidently laxse'1, the name given by the Gitksan Indians of Hazelton to the Frog-Raven phratry..." (Jenness 1943:482, note 1).	
4. Laksamshu (or Lsamasyu)	Gisra'ast (Fireweed phratry)
Laksamshu "...is probably the same as laxsamillix, the Hazelton name of the Beaver clan in the Eagle phratry..." (Jenness 1943:584).	
5. Tsayu ("Beaver People" in Carrier)	Laxsamillix (a clan of the Laxski'k or Eagle phratry)

It should be noted that the ending *-yu* or *-shu* means "people" in Carrier, just as *Gi-* means "people" in Tsimshian. In 1865, the Beaver people or Tsayu were so decimated by smallpox that they joined the Laksamshu (4), as a clan.

The houses and crests of the Bulkley Carrier show close correspondence to those of the Gitksan.

1. Gitamtanyu phratry (Wolf)

A. Grizzly House, with Grizzly and Wolf as crests.

B1 and B2. House in the Middle of Many, and Anskaski House, with Raven, Fungus, and Weasel.

2. Gilserhyu phratry (Frog-Raven)

A. Dark House, with Logs-Carved-Like-Men.

B. Thin House, with Three Stars, Frog, Small Owl, Fire, Sidewalk, Totem-pole-in-the-Land-of-the-Dead, Property-Woman's Baby, and Crane.

C. Birchbark House, with Woodpecker.

3. Laksilyu phratry (Frog-Raven)

A. House of Many Eyes, with Long-nosed Monster, Mountain Man, Otter.

B. House on Top of Flat Rock, with Many Small Frogs, Big Man, and Swan.

C. House Beside the Fire, recently adopted Hudson's Bay Company flag as their crest.

4. Laksamshu phratry (Fireweed)

A1 and A2. Sun or Moon House, and Twisted House, with Sun or Moon, Whale, Grouse, Weasel Skin with mallard neck skin.

B. Owl House, with Owl, Moose, and Sapsucker.

5. Beaver phratry (Beaver sib in Eagle phratry)

Only Beaver House, with Beaver and Eagle.

In some of the other Carrier groups the following names appear, which may or may not be equivalents of those of Bulkley River.

6. Tso'yezhotenne, or Tsu'yazt tenne, or Tsuyaztotin, "Small Spruce Tree People" in Carrier. This group has the Woodpecker as a crest, and is found at Cheslatta Lake and Endako River, apparently taking the place of No. 3, or combining with the latter (Laksilyu), at potlatches. At West Frazer Lake, the Gilserhyu (2) are called by this name, according to Jenness, although this is disputed by Duff.

Some Carrier groups have a phratry, Yiselyu or Yeselyu, which Jenness equates with No. 3.

Among the Babine Lake Carrier, the groups are:

1. Gitamtanyu

2. Gilserhyu

3. Kwakpe['] hwotenne, "People of the Fireside" in Carrier, the same as the Laksilyu

4. Laksamshu

5. Tsayu.

At Frazer Lake there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly, Black Bear, Entire Weasel, and Leaf as crests.

2. Gilserhyu, with Big Frog, Crane and Small Owl

3. Laksilyu, with Raven and Big Frog

4. Ysamashu, with Owl, Grouse, Whale, Sun or Moon, and Half Weasel

5. Tsayu, with Beaver and Owl.

Duff reports that at Frazer Lake the remnants of phratry 6 are merged with phratry 3, and that phratries 4 and 5 combine for potlatches.

At Fort Frazer, according to Duff, there are phratries 1, 2, 3 and 6, 4 and 5.

Among the Endako River Carrier, there are:

1. Tam[']tanyu. Crests unknown; destroyed by epidemic in early 19th century.

2. Yiselyu, with Frog. One chief adopted it as his personal crest.

3. Ysamashu, with Grouse

5. Tsayu, with Beaver. The chief has Wolverine as his personal crest.

6. Tso[']yezhotenne, with Woodpecker.

Among the Cheslatta Lake Carrier, according to Jenness, there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly. The chief has Old Grizzly and Wolf as personal crests.

2. Yesilyu, with ?

4. Ysamashu, with Grouse. Butterfly ? as chief's personal crest.

5. Tsayu, with Beaver. Wolverine as chief's personal crest.

6. Tsu' yaztotenne, with Woodpecker. The chief has Marten and a secret society prerogative as his personal crests, copied from the Gitksan, but the society as a whole was not adopted.

Duff recorded phratries 1, 2, 5, 6 (or 3) here.

The Stuart Lake Carrier, according to Jenness (citing Morice 1892), had:

1. Tam' tenyu (or Eske)
3. Yasilyu
4. ʼsamacyu
5. Tsayu.

A Sekani informant of Jenness' who was related by marriage to the Stuart Lake Carrier, gave the name Eske to phratry 1, and added the name Kwanpahotenne. Jenness believes that there had originally been five phratries here, but that they had been amalgamated, as among the Bulkley Carrier.

Lastly, the Stony Creek Carrier, who are made up of Indians from Nulki Lake and Tatchik Lake, have only two phratries:

2. Gilserhyu, with Small Owl. Chiefs' crests are Wolverine and Sturgeon.
3. Yesilyu, with Frog and Crane. Chief's crests are the same.

This latter phratry is the same as Laksilyu, according to Jenness, who reports that the group from Nulki Lake claimed to have been all of phratry 2, while those of Tatchik Lake were originally all of phratry 3. Jenness thinks this would have been impossible, because exogamic marriages would have necessitated representatives of at least two groups. But the males could have been of only one, and the natives' statements seem to fit the concept of localized phratric (sib) hunting grounds.

Furthermore, Duff reports a similar situation for the Burns Lake people, who were formerly all Laksilyu, while Frazer Lake people say they were once all Jilserhyu. This suggests to him how phratries were adopted from the Tsimshian:

The steps by which these subtribes adopted their present phratry system seems fairly clear. A first step was for a local band to take the Tsimshian-derived name of a phratry to the west and equate itself with that phratry....No two adjacent groups took the same phratry name....[The Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin, who had Carrier names] were equated for most purposes with Lsamasyu and Laksilyu respectively, so that, for example, when Tsayu and Lsamasyu members found themselves in the same village, they amalgamated to form a single group. Yet they were never regarded as being completely identical (Duff 1951:32).

Since the Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin are found without the equated Tsimshian-derived phratries only in the Cheslatta area, Duff suggests that this was where they originated, although the wide distribution of the Tsayu (Beaver), south to the Alгатcho Carrier, would indicate that it is as old as any of the others. The adjacent Kemano-Kitimat also had a Beaver clan, and Jenness had suggested that the Carrier adopted it from them. On the basis of the Tsimshian name for their Beaver clan, suggesting phratric status for that group, I would suggest that the Tsimshian not only took over the Beaver group from the Carrier, but that it was a very ancient sib, or sib name, among the Athapaskans. The Tsuyaztotin are restricted in distribution, and probably recent in origin. The name suggests that of a locality.

Duff also suggests that with the concept of phratries there also came from the west the ideas of rank, crests, matrilineal descent and exogamy. While the last two principles would result in the spreading of phratries and crests through inter-marriage between bands with different affiliations, it would seem, he argues, that phratric exogamy never made a deep impression, although matrilineal descent is well established. However, he notes that all six Carrier phratries were never functioning at any single place.

We can be fairly sure that some form of one-phratry local groups existed among the Carrier as a transitional form, although we can only speculate on their nature. Being derived from the Tsimshian phratries, they probably had crests and other privileges which were transmitted among the nobility in the female line....Probably, however, exogamy was not a strict rule while the groups remained one-phratry groups, and it never did sink very deep (Duff 1951:34).

The major motive for adoption of Tsimshian customs was to obtain crests, I believe, as Jenness makes clear that every Carrier chief could exhibit or dramatize the sib crest, and some even preempted it as a personal crest. Every noble, that is, every wealthy man had a personal crest, or the exclusive right to wear certain paraphernalia and to act in a certain way at potlatches. Personal crests could be inherited in the maternal line, but they could also be bought and sold, and even invented, provided that they were validated in a potlatch.

Duff goes on to cite the southern Alгатcho Carrier as a group who adopted crests, but rejected matriliney and exogamy, so that the crest group was simply "...a local group, whose members lived together as one family in the same village, shared common fishing sites and hunting territory, participated jointly in potlatches, and used as a crest the totemic animal designating the group" (Goldman 1941:399). Descent was bilateral, and so was inheritance of crests, although these required potlatch validation. Some crests were purchased from the chief; or from the upper Carrier, or the Bella Coola. The three crest groups were Beavers (tsayu), Grizzly Bears (cas), and Ravens (datsan, i.e., Crows), while one man called himself a Wolf (yAs). Goldman also mentions Black Bear and Owl as crests.

The upper Carrier phratries and the lower Carrier crest groups were alike in all functions pertaining to territorial rights, funeral reciprocities, crest displays, potlatching, and possession of a chief with some authority or influence in settling disputes and regulating territorial rights; they differed only in that the crest groups of the lower Carrier lacked exogamy and unilateral descent. These people were under Bella Coola influence, which may have begun in the latter part of the 18th century, but later became stronger when land furs had to take the place of sea otter. The lordly Bella Coola undoubtedly had to

make marriage arrangements with the lowly Carrier in order to secure their furs, and in this way the latter obtained noble names and crests, but they did not begin potlatching until about 1840, according to Goldman.

The authors cited believe, therefore, that the southern plateau Athapaskans originally lacked sibs, and acquired them only as a result, or by-product, of accepting the crest-privilege system with which they were linked. When influenced primarily by such people as the Bella Coola, who lacked sibs, they could naturally take over crests, rank, and potlatching without the exogamous matrilineal kin group.

Western Sekani, Shuswap, and Chilcotin. Only those western Sekani who traded and intermarried with the Gitksan adopted something like weak phratries, but apparently these were neither properly exogamous nor matrilineal in descent (Goldman 1941; Jenness 1932). These groups were called nAtsi, like the crest groups of the southern Carrier, nAtsi being the Carrier word for "crest." The crests themselves are inherited matrilineally and are displayed only by the wealthy and noble. The latter also own personal crests, to be disposed of as the owner wishes.

According to Jenness, the Lower Parsnip River band of the Sekani tried to adopt the phratric system of the Stuart Lake Carrier, but gave it up when they found it to be of no advantage in the fur trade. Now they remember only the Beaver as the strongest phratry. The McLeod Lake Sekani are still classed as Beaver when they go to feasts with the Stuart Lake Carrier. The other two bands, trading at Fort Graham, tried to copy the system of the Babine Lake Carrier and of the Gitksan, but this functions only intermittently at petty feasts. All serious matters, such as control of hunting territories, are in the hands of the bands.

The Chilcotin also seem to have tried to take over a crest system from the Carrier, and in turn the Shuswap (Salish) copied it from them. The so-called

"clans" were crest-holding exogamous groups, but with inheritance of rights from both father and mother. The wealthy who exercised these rights formed an endogamous nobility, so that the commoners were virtually excluded from participation in crest displays. Each crest group had an hereditary chief, put its crest on his house, on their main fishing place, and on their graves. Crests were Grizzly Bear, Raven, Wolf, Eagle, and Beaver. The system was modern, having spread to the Shuswap about 1850. We can see here the idea of exogamous kin groups, without matriliney, adapted to the principle of bilateral crest-holding septs, but without endogamy.

The whole history of these plateau Athapaskans seems to me more complex than has generally been recognized. It is clear that the recent trend has been to adopt Northwest Coast (Tsimshian or Bella Coola) crests, and when possible to equate local Athapaskan groups with those of their prestigious neighbors. But with these strong motivations at work, why was it not possible for the Carrier of Bulkley River, who lived only a few miles from the nearest Gitksan town, to have copied the system completely? The very existence of five to six sibs or 'phratries' among the upper Carrier is surely proof that these were not derived from the four-phratry system of the Gitksan -- remembering, too, that the upper Gitksan had only three. I have the impression that these matrilineal exogamous kin groups may well have been very ancient among the Carrier, and that indeed they may have made important contributions to the Tsimshian system. I would view the lack of sibs farther south on the Plateau as due to loss, perhaps under Bella Coola or Salish influence, with a late attempt perhaps to reintroduce them along with crests.

Tsetsaut. The name of these people, Ts'Étsaut, is the Niska designation, "peoples of the interior," applied to all Athapaskans (Boas 1895). The tribelet is now extinct, but seems to have been linguistically close to the Tahltan. It is reported that they left their winter home on the upper Stikine during a

winter of famine, intending to visit their Tlingit friends, the Stikine on Behm Canal. Losing their way, they came instead to the west shore of Portland Canal, where they fell under Tsimshian domination. About 1830 they were nearly exterminated by the Sanya Tlingit, and by the Athapaskan Laquyí'p ("On the Prairie") from the headwaters of the Stikine. The survivors became "slaves" of the Niska "Chief Mountain."

The Tsetsaut had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, Eagle and Wolf, called by Niska Tsimshian names. The Wolf group was considered the equivalent of the Tlingit Teqwedi Wolves among the Sanya. In all respects recorded, their social organization seems to have been very similar to that of the Tlingit.

Emmons (1911:21-23) visited the survivors of the Tsetsaut in 1907 and gives a somewhat different account, which Boas rejects again in 1916. This is to the effect that the Tsetsaut claim to have had three sibs: Raven, extinct in 1907; Eagle, also extinct; and Wolf, the last represented by 7 individuals in 1907. The survivors of the massacre by the Tlingit had settled at the mission at Kincolith in 1885.

Northwest Coast Peoples with Moieties

The Tlingit and Haida are alike in having exogamous matrilineal moieties, subdivided into sibs, and these again into lineages or houses. Note that Drucker (1963:112), and Duff and Kew (1957:42) apply the term "lineage" to the larger group which I call "sib." The Eyak have a similar organization, some features of which were undoubtedly derived from the Tlingit. The Haida seem to have been the most highly organized and perhaps suggest a condition toward which the Tlingit were trending. There were certainly mutual influences between these two, but it is impossible to prove that the Haida have directly influenced any inland group. The Tlingit, on the contrary, have exchanged increments of population with the interior Athapaskans, and even

have inland representatives. The Eyak, a non-Athapaskan but Nadéné group, apparently have been long resident on the Gulf Coast of Alaska. Dr. Michael E. Krauss estimates that Eyak diverged from a Proto-Athapaskan stock 3500 years ago (personal communication).

Haida

The Haida are divided into two "sides," called "clans" by Swanton (1905b). These are Raven and Eagle, or GItI'ns as the latter is known in the north. These are in turn subdivided into "families" (sibs) or local groups, known by the names of their towns or camp sites. Sibs are essentially local groups, occupying one town or area, although sib stories tell how original groups split up and established branches in different localities. Each local sib has its own chief, and its own set of personal names, house and canoe names, and rights to certain crests. The latter are largely representatives of animals, obtained originally from a Supernatural Being, or purchased from another sib. Within each local sib, there are also lineages or "houses," each under its head. Swanton believes that originally each town was inhabited by men of only one sib, plus their married-in wives and children. Adult sons would go to the towns of their maternal uncles, the daughters to the homes of their husbands. Duff and Kew (1957:42) point out that Swanton did not distinguish between permanent winter villages and seasonal camps, or between present settlements and abandoned sites, in his lists of "towns." At present, however, each town or winter village is occupied by several lineages, representing both moieties. The head of the leading lineage is the town chief, called "town master" or "town mother." There is a strong tendency for two lineages, one in each moiety, to intermarry, so that the men of one are called the "fathers" of the other; the father's sister's daughter is the preferred bride, in order to keep inherited privileges within the same set of people. The fundamental

unit is the sib, for it controls territorial rights for fishing, berry picking, and taking flotsam on stretches of beach.

The Haida believe that all Raven sibs are descended from the daughters of Foam-Woman. This is the only case in which all the members of a moiety or phratry are considered the descendants of a single progenitor, and in which the subdivisions can be considered as maximal or minimal lineages. On the other hand, the bilateral septs of the central Northwest Coast are said to be the descendants of ancestral progenitors. There are three major branches of Ravens, which are in turn subdivided into groups called "People of Such-and-Such a Town," or "Those Born at Such-and-Such a place." This scheme forms a well-organized genealogy. The Eagles likewise claim that they were descended from Djila'qons ("Greatest Mountain"), a woman who was brought either from Bentnik Arm in Bella Coola country, or from the Nass River, to become Creek-Woman of a stream on the west arm of Cumshewa Inlet. However, there are also northern Eagles or Gitl'ns (untranslatable), who were not descendants of Djila'qons, or at least who tell conflicting stories about their origin, as well as a third group called StA'stas. Swanton believes that the Eagles form three divisions: (1) the Eagles proper, who trace their origin to the same region as do the Ravens, and who were subdivided into a northern and a southern branch; (2) the Gitl'ns, with a northern origin; and (3) the StA'stas, of foreign extraction, part-Tlingit and part-Tsimshian. Swanton wonders if all of the Eagles were originally foreign, and if the Ravens were the original Haida. Certainly, there is less unity among the Eagles, and the majority of supernatural beings are classed as Ravens.

It should be noted that there was also an anomalous group, the "Pitch-Town People," who lived in a wild section of the west coast of Morseby Island. While classed as Ravens, "I am not convinced that they were entirely exogamic"

(Swanton 1905b:90). They are said to have been very foolish or barbarous, and so large that they needed two bearskins for a blanket. One wonders whether they may not have been a backward remnant of the original Haida, or a foreign increment, who failed to be entirely assimilated into the sib system. They are now extinct.

The Raven and Eagle are "grandfathers" of their respective moieties, but at Masset the Eagle is replaced by the Butterfly. In theory, the crests of the two moieties are distinct, and each sib has a right to several, but actually a few Raven sibs at Masset have acquired some crests which are on the Eagle side at Skidegate, such as Dogfish and Skate. A man can lend a crest to his son, but the latter is supposed to return it when he marries. According to the story, an Eagle man carved the Moon and gave it to his Raven son as a crest. Note that crest objects, houses, and totem poles, etc., are always carved or made by one's "opposites," for which the latter are paid at a potlatch. Curiously, Raven is a crest of the Eagle moiety, a fact which puzzles the Haida as much as the ethnographer. "Along with other indications, it points to a comparatively recent origin for the crest system" (Swanton 1905b: 112). On the basis of crests the Haida Ravens are equated with the Tlingit Wolves, the Haida Eagles with the Tlingit Ravens.

The crests of the various sibs of the Raven moiety are: Killerwhale (oldest), Moon (from the Tsimshian, used by the highest families), Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, Sea Lion Hat, Thunderbird or Blue Hawk, Clouds (as attire of The-One-in-the-Sea), Dogfish, Wolf, Flicker (on a hat), Raven, Hawk, Tree, Raven-Fin, Sea-Grizzly, Black Bear, Weasel, Owl, Skate, Mountain Goat (from the Tsimshian), Driftwood or Tide-Walker (TcA_umaos, often represented as Sea Lion or Blackfish, from the Tsimshian), Child of Property-Woman (GitgA_ulgia).

The crests of the various sibs in the Eagle moiety are: Eagle (the oldest), Beaver (from the Tsimshian), Raven Hat and Sculpin (given by the

Tsimshian to atone for a guest who died from poisoned clams in Tsimshian country), Frog, Whale, Raven, Halibut, Hummingbird (as hair ornament), Cormorant, Dogfish (given to his child by a Raven man), Heron, Small Club, Dragonfly, Starfish, Copper, Weasel (hair tie), Marten Hat, Skate (also claimed by a Raven sib), Raven-Killerwhale with five fins, and Monster Killerwhale-Wolf.

The most common Raven moiety crests are: Killerwhale, Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, and Tide-Walker; the most common on the Eagle side are: Eagle, Beaver, and Sculpin. The rest of the crests may belong to a single sib only, and, for this reason, Swanton considers them as recent. The Ravens seem to fall into two groups, with either the Grizzly Bear or the Rainbow. Similarly, there are two groups of Eagles, both of which possess the Eagle, Beaver, and Frog, but one has the Sculpin, while the other the Halibut and Cormorant. But the remaining Eagles cannot be clearly grouped.

We might also note that there is a tendency to assign all Beings and animals to one or the other moiety, even if they do not all figure as crests. Thus in one myth, Raven is welcomed as his son by "a man with the aspect of a sea-gull," who lives under the sea (Swanton 1905b:73). This suggests the opposition between Crow and Seagull among the Atna and Nabesna.

Tlingit

The Tlingit, like the Haida, are divided into two moieties, the members of which refer to themselves as Ravens (yeɬ) or Wolves (gutc), and sometimes as Eagles (tʰak) among the northern Tlingit (de Laguna 1960, 1972; Garfield 1947; McClellan 1954; Olson 1967; Swanton 1908). The names for the moieties, when they are remembered, seem to be Tɬayinedi ("Sitting Down People"?; or "Underneath People" in the shelter of a log [Olson 1967:13]) for the Ravens, and CAnkuqedi for the Wolves, although this last is more properly the name of a Wolf sib. Olson (1967:14) reports that recently many prefer the designation

Kagwantan for the moiety, since it is the name of a powerful Wolf sib.

Excluding the Inland Tlingit in Yukon Territory, the Alaskan coastal Tlingit may be divided into some 14 to 16 "tribes" (qwan), that form three geographical divisions. The southern group comprises the Tlingit of Sanya (Cape Fox), Tongass Stikine (Wrangell), Henya (and Klawak), Kuiu, and Kake. The northern include the Sumdum, Taku, Auk, Chilkat-Chilkoot, Angoon (Xuts-nuwu), Sitka, and Hoonaa. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska there were once the communities of Dry Bay, Yakutat, Katliakh-Yakatega, and Controller Bay; their descendants are now concentrated at Yakutat. These "tribes" were not political units, but rather local groups, each with one or more towns (usually several winter villages), in which were established sibs (na) of the two moieties. According to Swanton (1908:399), Sumdum had only one established Wolf sib, which may mean that this was not a separate tribe, but only a Taku settlement. Swanton counted about 24 Raven sibs, of which 11 are found only among the southern Tlingit, 10 among the northern, with two important additional sibs in both divisions. Of 21 Wolf sibs, there are 13 among the southern tribes, 5 among the northern, and 3 additional Wolf sibs among both. In addition, one sib, the NexAdi of Sanya, stands apart from both moieties, in that its members can intermarry with both, although they claim Eagle crests like those of the Wolf sibs. According to Olson (1967: 33-34) the NexAdi are, in origin, Tsimshian, deny being either Wolf or Raven, and call themselves Eagle. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska, not counting now extinct autochthonous groups considered as sibs, there are 3 Raven sibs, only one of which is restricted to the region, the other two being shared with the northern Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. Of the four Wolf sibs, only one is peculiar to the area.

With some exceptions, sibs are named for localities, either places claimed as their original homes or associated with the migrations of their

ancestors. Most sibs are restricted to one tribe, but some larger ones have several branches in several areas. Some of the smaller, localized sibs consider themselves to be branches of the more famous ones. Sibs are, in turn, subdivided into lineages or "houses" (hIt). Sometimes a house has become so powerful and numerous that it has established "daughter houses" in the town, or even has become an independent sib. Some former houses are even represented in several tribes (cf., Kagwantan, "People of the Burned Down House").

Sibs, especially the branches established in particular tribes, are the effective social groups. They function as independent political units, in matters of feuds or lawsuits, or in war and peace-making. They also have territorial rights to hunting, fishing, and berrying grounds, which they defend against trespassers. They are, moreover, the units involved in potlatching, although all persons who happen to be present are involved to some extent according to their moiety affiliations. Each major potlatch is given by a single sib in the town, assisted by fellow sibmates from other towns if they can come; local sibs of the same moiety as the principal hosts may also entertain the guests at subsidiary parties. The invited guests always consist of two groups at a big potlatch: a local sib of the opposite moiety, and a sib of the opposite moiety from another tribe. Spouses of guests affiliate themselves with the hosts and hostesses.

The members of the two moieties all make use to some extent of the Raven and Wolf as crests. Individual sibs have their own crests, as do lineages or houses. Claims to the same crest by two groups may be considered as proof of close relationship, i.e., descent from common ancestors; or it may be a cause for bitter feuds. Crests can be alienated through gift, or seizure in war, and perhaps for these reasons a few are found in both moieties. A powerful sib, like the Raven Ganaxtedi of Chilkat, have apparently appropriated crests

even from Wolf sibs. Crests are expressed in the form of personal names, house names, house screens or houseposts, canoes, hats (headdresses and helmets), blankets, song leader's poles, drums, feast dishes, pipes, potlatch cries, grave monuments, and petroglyphs. The most precious mourning songs of the sib often refer to the crest. Most crests are animals, birds, fish (including their dens, nests, spawning places, fins, bones, and so forth), celestial bodies, and features of the landscape (particular rocks, mountains, streams, etc.). It should be noted that most house names refer to crests; others are descriptive only of its construction or location: Sidewise House, Big House, House in the Middle of the Town, Fort House, etc. I am uncertain whether these names should also be classed with crests.

According to Swanton (1908:407),

The Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast 'below Port Simpson'; that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Skeena river. It is said by some that nearly all of the present clans immigrated in this manner, and that most of the 'old Alaskans,' those whom they found in possession, have died out....[Swanton's chief informant at Wrangell mentioned some of these groups by name.] The only point that may have significance is the fact that nearly all so enumerated were of the Raven clan."

Olson (1967:24) denies such a uniformly Tsimshian origin. Swanton goes on to point out that of the 25 clans he listed, many are nothing more than subdivisions of the larger, older ones, and that only 14 are at all prominent. The sibs in the southernmost towns, Tongass and Sanya, are included in this list: the Wolf Teqwedi and Daq⁷awedi, and the Raven Ganax_{Adi} and KIks_{Adi}. The Teqwedi and Ganax_{Adi} were apparently forced northward by the movement of Haida Kaigani into Prince of Wales Island, and their northernmost branches are found today at Chilkat and Yakutat. As for the peculiar Nex_{Adi} Eagles of Sanya, who marry with both moieties, they also claim to have come from "below Port Simpson." While Olson (1967:24) accepts them and the Wolf Nastedi sib

as "almost certainly Tsimshian in origin," Swanton hazards about the NexAdi:

...on the other hand it is possible that their origin is connected with an Athapascan tribe, which formerly occupied the shores of Behm canal and just northward and intermarried with the Tlingit to a considerable extent in ancient times. The remnants of these Athapascans are now living in Kincolith among the Nass Indians (Swanton 1908:409).

Does he refer to the Tsetsaut, or to a group like them?

The Raven KIksAdi also moved northward from Sanya and the Stikine to Sitka. The CAnkuqedi, of whom the DAqestina or Taqestina are said to be a branch, also came from the south where they are still represented. One group went to Chilkat, and thence to the interior and down the Alsek River to the Gulf Coast at Dry Bay, intermarrying with the Raven Łuk^waxAdi (TŁuk^waxAdi, "Quick People") who were Athapascans. Both of these last sibs are, or were until recently, represented in the Yakutat-Dry Bay area.

Other important sibs apparently came down the Nass, Stikine, and Taku from the interior to the coast. These were the Wolf YEnyedi ("Mainland" or "Hemlock People") of Taku, who are considered to be the ancestors of the Daq^ʷawedi and Wuckitan. The Daq^ʷawedi, especially associated with the Killerwhale crest, have branches in both northern and southern divisions; the Wuckitan ("People of the House Over All") are found only in the north, their original home being at Grouse Fort (a site in Hoonah territory), where the important Wolf sib, Kagwantan, also lived. Although these last two sibs are restricted to the north, they are there established in several tribes, and one branch of the Kagwantan was even represented at Dry Bay. The NanyA'ayi, a very strong Wolf sib at Taku, may also at one time have formed one group with the YEnyedi.

In addition to these movements from the south and from the interior into Tlingit territory, we also have evidence of Tlingit movements northwestward into the Athapaskan area at Dry Bay, and still farther along the Gulf Coast to

Yakutat. Here, the older Eyak-speaking sibs, the Raven $\text{Stax}^{\underline{\text{A}}}\text{di}$ and the Wolf $\text{L}^{\prime}\text{ux}^{\prime}\text{edi}$ or $\text{T}^{\prime}\text{axayik}\text{-Teqwedi}$, were displaced or absorbed by the Tlingit invaders. In the Yakutat area there were also the Wolf $\text{Ga}^{\prime}\text{ly}^{\underline{\text{I}}}\text{x}$ -Kagwantan ("Kagwantan of Katliakh") who were originally Eyak-speakers. The fact that this sib, like the now extinct Eyak-speaking $\text{T}^{\prime}\text{axayik}\text{-Teqwedi}$ ("Teqwedi of Yakutat Bay"), have local designations affixed to the names of distinguished Tlingit sibs suggests that they were fitted into the Tlingit system, or named by the Tlingit, only after the latter came to Yakutat -- perhaps in the early 18th century (?). The Yakutat people also received a group of Atna who emigrated from the lower Copper River country near Chitina, via the Tana River and an overland route across Bering Glacier to the coast. They are now the Raven $\text{K}^{\text{W}}\text{ack}^{\prime}\text{qwan}$, named for the Humpback Salmon ($\text{k}^{\text{W}}\text{ack}^{\prime}$ in Eyak) Stream in Yakutat Bay which they purchased. Although the ending of their name, *-qwan* suggests that of a tribe, they are the most important Raven sib in the region. It should, however, be noted that there is some suggestion of endogamy attached to the story of their migration, either contemplated as necessary for their survival, or actually practiced.

The general impression one receives of coastal Tlingit history, as far as one can reconstruct it from their legends, is of constant movement, presumably of small groups, who split off from older houses or sibs to found new homes, or who amalgamated with other small local groups. Here, even more than among the Tsimshian and Haida, one sees that it is impossible to treat the sib-moiety system as a static structure, for the groups are in constant flux. Some branches like the Raven $\text{An}^{\prime}\text{xakh}^{\prime}\text{Ittan}$ ("People of the House in the Middle of the Village") of Angoon, for example, claim to be descended from an Angoon Decitan woman who married a Haida, and therefore have some Haida ancestry. The Decitan themselves claim to be a branch of the mighty $\text{Ganax}^{\underline{\text{A}}}\text{di}$. There is no question but that there have been many Athapaskan increments to the Tlingit, as well as return

movements up the rivers into the interior. Some Tlingit groups may also have had Tsimshian origins, although the great admiration of the Tlingit for all things Tsimshian, especially shamanism and art, might make them claim Tsimshian connections when it was not justified.

In order to understand the history and nature of Tlingit social groups, it would be desirable to list all crests according to tribe and sib, which is obviously impossible, both for lack of space and because our knowledge is incomplete, even though much specific data of this kind have already been published by Swanton (1908) and Olson (1967) for the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. This can only be summarized below. Since the information for Yakutat crests is still unpublished, though fairly full, it is given as an example:

Raven moiety

1. Tl'ukmaxAdi ("Coho Salmon People") have: Raven (yeI), Crane (duI), Whale (yay), Sea Lion (tan), Coho Salmon (t'uk), Frog (xixtc'), Devilfish (naq^W), Sleep (ta, a bird), Mount Fairweather (TsaI^hxan), Ocean and Breakers; Boulder ('ic) and Sidewise (tIaden) are house names, possibly crests.

2. K^Wackq^Wan: Raven, Owl (tisk^W), Crow (ts'Ax^WeI), Seagull (ketI^hAdi), Crane (disputed with the first sib), Humpback Salmon (k^Wack') including the stream of the same name, Mount Saint Elias (Wase-ta-ca), Copper River (iq hini, their original home), Fort (nu, as house name).

3. luk^Wax^hAdi of Dry Bay: Raven, Canoe-Prow House (named for a container of animals dragged ashore by Raven), Gateway Knob (kitca) on the Alsek River.

Wolf moiety

1a. Teqwedi (Bear House Line): Grizzly Bear (xuts), Killerwhale (kit), Mud Shark (tus'), Eagle (t'ak'), Petrel (ganuk), Murrelet (t'cit), and probably Green Paint Stone (nexin tE).

1b. Teqwedi (Drum House Line): Golden Eagle (gIdjuk, a bird identified by Swanton as "fish hawk," and by Olson as the mythical mother of the Thunder-

bird, but here clearly the eagle of the interior that eats groundhogs), Wolf (gutc), Thunderbird (xetl), Ahrnklin River ('antʔen, "Big Town of Animals").

- 1c. Extinct Tʔaxayik-Teqwedi had Eagle and Bear.
2. Kagwantan (Box House Lineage): Eagle, Wolf, Killerwhale, Halibut (tcatʔ), and Box House (kuk hʔt).
3. GaʔyIx-Kagwantan (from Controller Bay and Yakatega): Eagle, Wolf, Beaver (ʔegedi).
4. CʔAnkuqedi of Dry Bay: Wolf, Killerwhale, Thunderbird.

The individual Tlingit sibs probably had fewer crests than did their Haida counterparts. When several sibs have the same crest (Raven, Wolf, Killerwhale, etc.) there is a tendency for each to display it in a distinctive way or in a distinctive form. This may lead to subdivisions of a crest (Raven's Nest, Raven's Bones), or to special oratorical allusions to it (rock associated with Petrel). For example the Raven Decitan at Angoon refer in potlatch oratory to the Halibut Rock of Raven (McClellan 1954:89) and Wolves at Sitka to Killer-whale's Fin Stream near Sitka. Raven guests at a potlatch may refer to such a stream in derision, to be "punished" with too much food by their potlatch hosts, who finally pay them extra for their enforced gluttony (Olson 1967:38, 56).

In the list of crests given below, queries refer to house names which may not be true crests. The tribes where each is represented are given, but not the sibs or houses. An asterisk (*) indicates crests claimed in both moieties.

Raven moiety

Raven (almost universal), Raven-at-head-of-Nass (Stikine), Trap for Raven (kataʔ, Auk), Crow (Yakutat, Chilkat), Eagle* Cane (Stikine, from Haida), Eagle* Hat and Eagle* Post (Cow House People of Tongass, from Nexʔadi), Golden Eagle* ("Fish Hawk" Angoon?, "Mother of Thunderbird" Tongass), Swan (Sitka, Hoonah), Goose (Chilkat, Sitka, Hoonah), Crane (Yakutat), Owl (Yakutat, Chilkat,

Sitka), Seagull (Yakutat), Petrel* Hat (Sitka), Puffin (Kuiu), Flicker* (Angoon?), Black Bear and Brown Bear* (KIksAdi of Wrangell), Raven on a Bear* (Ganaxtedi of Chilkat and Tongass), Cow or Buffalo (xas, Hoonah, Sitka, Tongass, as house name), Mouse Hat (Sitka), Marten (Henyā), Weasel Hat (Hoonah), Land Otter (Chilkat, Chilkoot, Kake), Beaver* (Angoon), Whale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Hoonah, Henyā, Tongass), Raven on a Killerwhale* (Ganaxtedi of Chilkat), Sea Lion (Yakutat, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass), Humpback Salmon (Yakutat), Coho Salmon (Yakutat, Hoonah, Sitka), Dog Salmon (Angoon, Auk, Tongass), Old Salmon (Kake), Salmon Hole ('icka, Taku, Klawak), Salmon Nest (yEnxun, Angoon), Large Halibut (naIx "riches," Stikine), Herring (Sitka), Sculpin (Sanya), Devilfish (Yakutat, Hoonah), Starfish (Tongass), Giant Clam* (used by Ganaxtedi of Chilkat), Slug or Snail (tax', Hoonah), Frog (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Stikine Tongass), Woodworm (Chilkat, Henyā), Sleep Bird (Yakutat, Sitka), Sun* (Sitka, Stikine -- note that Children-of-the-Sun are spirits of Wolf shamans at Yakutat; although the CAnguqedi of Chilkat-Chilkoot claim the Sun and the House Lowered by the Sun), Moon (Yakutat), Big Dipper (Auk), Falling Star?" (Kuiu), Boulder?* (Yakutat), Copper? (Sitka), Clay? (Sitka), Steel? (Sitka, Angoon), Fort?* (Yakutat, Tongass), Green Paint Hat (Stikine), Young Tree, Shelter of Tree? (Angoon), Bark House (Henyā), Rush House (Stikine), Box and/or Pit House* (Angoon), House Pulled Ashore by Raven (Dry Bay, Tongass), Ready to Lift House (Hoonah), Eye or Looking Out House (Chilkat), Mother-Basket (Chilkat), Ocean and Breakers (Yakutat; as man, Hoonah), Humpback Salmon Stream (Yakutat), Small streams (K!ak and Tsak, Chilkat), Waterfall south of Dry Bay (Hoonah), Indian River (Sitka), Basket Bay (Angoon), Clear Spring?* (Angoon), Mt. St. Elias (Yakutat), Mt. Fairweather (Yakutat, Hoonah), Gateway Knob (Dry Bay), Ge'xtluk Mt. (Chilkat), mountains (Chilkoot, Hoonah), Mt. back of TaIq^o (Stikine), Valley?* (Chilkat), Monster slain by Yqayak^w* (rocks in TaIq^o Bay, Stikine),

Whale's Blowhole (rocks near Cape Fox, Sanya), Blackskin Hero (Chilkat). And, no doubt, other landmarks and mythical heroes.

Wolf moiety

Eagle (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Chilkoot, Angoon, and NexAdi of Sanya), Golden Eagle* (Yakutat), Murrelet (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Angoon, Kuiu), Petrel (Yakutat; rock associated with Petrel at Kuiu), Flicker* (Tongass, Kuiu), Wolf (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Taku, Stikine, Tongass), Brown or Grizzly Bear (Yakutat, Hoonah, Chilkat, Sitka, Auk, Angoon, Henya, Tongass, Sanya), White Grizzly Bear (Stikine), Moose (tsisk', Henya), Mountain Goat Hat (Stikine), Marmot Hat (Stikine), Beaver* (Yakutat, and NexAdi of Sanya), Killerwhale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Auk, Angoon, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass, Sanya), Whale-like killer-whale (Sumdum), Porpoise (Hoonah, Sitka), Mud Shark (tus', Yakutat, Chilkat, Hoonah, Sitka, Auk, Angoon), Shark (qAtgu, Stikine), Dogfish (Tongass, Stikine), Halibut (tcatl, Sitka, Taku, and NexAdi of Sanya), Shell of Monster Clam* (yet) and Crab (yic) (NexAdi of Sanya), Butterfly (Chilkat), Thunderbird (Yakutat, Chilkat; Auk, Tongass), Sun* and House Lowered by the Sun (Chilkat-Chilkoot), Falling Star?* (Sitka), Boulder?* (Sitka), Steel? (Angoon, Stikine), Drift Iron? (Sitka), Iron? (Hoonah), Cannon? (Stikine), Fort?* (Angoon), Red Paint? (Stikine), Yellow Cedar? (Kake), Green Spruce? (Chilkat), Box House* (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, Stikine), Drum? (Yakutat, Chilkat), Burned Down House (Hoonah, Chilkat), Foam (xetl, Stikine), Ahrnklin River (Yakutat), Killerwhale's Fin Stream (Sitka), Clear Spring?* (Sitka), Downstream? (Chilkat), Trail Upriver? (Chilkat), Ice, Glacier, Iceberg (Chilkat, Sumdum, Sitka), Cliff? (Stikine), Cliff-Edge? (Sitka), Sand Bluff? (Chilkat), Mt. near Taku (Taku), Mt. Sekutle'h (Stikine), "Gasko" Island (Tongass), Valley* (as bear's home, Tongass), Hero Eqayak'w* (Yakutat), Hero Kats' (Sitka, Tongass, NexAdi of Sanya), Gonaqadet (wealth-bringing water monster, Auk, Henya), and other landmarks and heroes.

These lists show the tendency to assign almost all classes of living creatures as well as cosmic phenomena to one moiety or the other. There seems to be some confusion in the case of Land Otters who are divided into Ravens and Wolves, just like the human beings they rescue or capture, according to Olson (1967:121), but aside from this, the system is remarkably consistent and inclusive. Even when certain crests, associated with one moiety in the north, may be claimed by sibs in the opposite moiety in the south, this seems to cause little confusion, for the groups are too distant to meet. It is only when a local sib appropriates the crest of another, for example, as blood payment, that the original owners make every effort to buy it back.

Eyak

The Eyak lived once in small settlements all along the Gulf Coast of Alaska from the edge of Prince William Sound in the west to the boundary of the Athapaskan country at Dry Bay (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938; de Laguna 1972). Tlingit from southeastern Alaska, chiefly from Chilkat, Hoonah, and Sitka, were pushing northwestward during the 18th and early 19th centuries, some coming by boat along the coast, others crossing by an interior route up the Chilkat Pass and down the Alsek River to Dry Bay. In this way, Tlingit sibs were introduced into Dry Bay and Yakutat Bay, absorbing the older populations into their own kin groups, or in some cases destroying and enslaving them. Tlingit influence was dominant as far west as Controller Bay all during the 19th century, where the population may be considered as Tlingitized Eyak, except for the Chugach Eskimo who frequented the islands in Controller Bay. Eyak remained as the native language only in the westernmost settlements at the mouth of the Copper River.

According to information obtained in 1930 and 1933, the Eyak had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, known as Raven or Crow People (tcilayu) and Eagle People (gutcgalaqyu). It was denied that these were subdivided into sibs.

However, informants also spoke about Wolf People (gotciyu) and Bark House People. These were said to be two groups of Tlingit who had emigrated from the east after a quarrel over the inheritance of a chief's house, or because there were too many people at Katalla in Controller Bay. The Wolf People were adopted by the Ravens -- probably as children or spouses, not as members of their own moiety, as first supposed -- and similarly, the Bark House People were "adopted" by the Eagles, evidently as their "opposites." The adopted groups preserved their identities and crests, such as house or grave posts, potlatch cries, etc. "The Bark House People (qat'iyad-dA'tax-dAlagAyu) acquired their name because they were in such a hurry that they built their house of bark -- the familiar explanation for the name of a Raven sib of the southern Tlingit. These two groups evidently came from Kaliakh River, the home of a 'tribal' group near Cape Yakataga, east of Controller Bay."

According to the Yakutat Tlingit (1949-1954), many of whom are related to the Eyak of Kaliakh, Controller Bay, and the Copper River delta, the latter had true sibs. Thus, when the Atna Ravens -- then called Ginexqwan or Łta-hin-qwan, "People of Tana River," a tributary of the Copper River -- emigrated from the Copper River country, one group went on to Yakutat to become the K^wackqwan; another group was lost in the fog and went instead to the mouth of the Copper River and settled there. Later, a great Tlingit trader from the Yakutat area married one of their women -- a typical Tlingit ploy to secure gift-giving brothers-in-law among the Athapaskans -- and named her brothers "Ganaxtedi," after the famous Chilkat sib. Another sib in the Raven moiety among the Eyak was called Quskedi or Koskedi, with the same name as a former sib in Dry Bay which was also presumably Athapaskan in origin. There were also said to be "Łuk^waxAdi" among the Eyak, like the Athapaskan Raven sib at Dry Bay.

The Yakutat people, however, mentioned only one Eagle sib among the Eyak. This was the Tcicqedi, especially associated with Katalla at the edge of

Controller Bay. These people are said to have been a branch of the GȧlẏIẋ-Kagwantan, who followed the latter to Katliakh "after the Flood." Finding the best lands already occupied, they were forced to camp on swampy ground, until given territory by their "fathers," the Raven "Ganaxtedi." Another story also associated the Tcicqedi closely with the GȧlẏIẋ-Kagwantan and with the original Beaver House and Beaver crest, obtained on Bering River, above Controller Bay. There seem to have been disputes between them over the right to use the Beaver crest. The Tcicqedi had an Eagle House at Katalla.

It should be noted that the name for this sib, Tcic-qedi, is analogous to that of the "Red Paint People" (tcic-yu), a widely distributed sib among the western Athapaskans, and one which is definitely in a moiety opposite to that of the Crows among the Atna.

Peoples Influenced by the Tlingit

The interior groups among whom Tlingit influence can either be seen clearly or suspected are the Tahltan, Kaska, and Tutchone. With these should be grouped the Inland Tlingit, who live like Athapaskans, and the adjacent Tagish, who seem recently to have abandoned their ancient Athapaskan tongue for Tlingit. I am indebted to McClellan for pages from her work in press, dealing with the Inland Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone.

Tahltan

The Tahltan are Athapaskans living on the headwaters of the Stikine, and disputing the headwaters of the Nass with the Tsimshian Niska (Emmons 1911). They also hunt on the southern branches of the Taku, and have taken the lower half of Dease Lake from the Kaska. On the other hand, they seem to be dominated by their trade partners, the Stikine Tlingit.

Emmons thinks that the Tahltan were originally "patriarchal," but with a loose organization, and that their matrilineal moieties were borrowed from the coast. These are, however, called by Athapaskan names: Cheska da, "One

Family Raven," and Cheona da, "One Family Wolf." I believe that the English forms given by Emmons are not translations of the Athapaskan names, but rather represent the equivalences made with Tlingit moieties. The term equated with "wolf," for example, resembles the name for a species of seagull (tcia³) which is applied to that moiety among the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians which they equate with the Tutchone Wolf moiety. Most Tahltan sibs are designated by Tlingit sib names. In addition to the moiety crests, the sibs had crests of their own, to which they might give precedence.

Emmons gives the names of the sibs as:

Raven moiety

Only one sib, "Karth-ottee family," i.e., Qa'tcAdi.

Wolf moiety

(1) "Tuck-clar-way-tee family," i.e., Daq³awedi.

(2) "Tal-ar-ko-tin family," TalA-kotin?, Athapaskan.

(3) "Nan-yi-ee family," i.e., NanyA'ayi.

The Raven sib and the two Wolf sibs are all represented among the Stikine Tlingit.

According to Tahltan traditions, the Daq³awedi were the progenitors of the Tahltan, who came from the headwaters of the Nass "after the Flood," one group going to the lakes at the head of the Yukon. Later, two women, one from Tagish Lake, the other from the Nass, met near the mouth of the Tahltan River and decided to call each other sisters. They were the ancestresses of the Daq³awedi, "Black Sand People." The Tlingit members of the sib, according to Emmons, translate the name as "People from the Interior as Numerous as Grains of Sand." The Tagish woman had a copper staff with which she marked their village. This story has a definitely Athapaskan flavor. Later their descendants multiplied, and quarreled, one group going down the Stikine, under the ice, to settle at

Tongass, Angoon, and Chilkat. At the last locality, they do not have a very high position because of their interior origin and their frequent marriages with adjacent Athapaskans. The sib uses Wolf, Brown (or Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killerwhale as crests.

The Raven QatcAdi were the second sib to reach Tahltan country; some came from the interior, others from the coast. According to one version, their name refers to a stream on Admiralty Island in northern Tlingit territory; according to others, it means "bark" of which their houses were once built. Originally their home was on the headwaters of the Taku, where presumably they met the Daq^lawedi. A snow slide frightened some of them away. These went down the Stikine and over to Admiralty Island where they acquired their sib name. Later they joined the Tlingit at Kake. After a quarrel, some of them went back up the Stikine and returned to the interior. The Tlingit QatcAdi claim that the interior members of the sib are descended from a run-away slave woman. Another story tells of the abduction of the QatcAdi wife of a NanyA' ayi chief by a Daq^lawedi Tahltan chief. The QatcAdi use the Raven and Frog as crests.

The Wolf TalAkotin are of interior origin, descended from a girl of the Liard or Peace River who was married by a QatcAdi man. The name is supposed to refer to "tahlar" (taA?), a rocky point between two rivers. The people are also called "Karkarkwan," (which certainly has the Tlingit ending, -qwan, designating a local tribe), variously translated as "Point, Canyon, or Rabbit People" (gax-kA-qwan?). They use the Wolf as their crest.

The last addition is the NanyA' ayi sib, composed of individuals who drifted in from the Stikine and the Taku. They had apparently originated in the interior, and went down the Taku to the coast, where they separated into two groups, one designated as "People of NanyA," a camping place. These people intermarried with the Tlingit on the lower Stikine and became the most powerful sib in that area. When they ascended the river for salmon, they met the

Tahltan, whom they married to secure advantages in trading. Other members of the sib are found on the Taku. They use the Wolf as crest, and apparently took over the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Shark, and Killerwhale from their relatives on the coast, according to Emmons.

Tahltan traditions, as a whole, suggest an original home in the interior, with some small groups going to the coast to intermarry with the Tlingit. Then individuals straggled back up the rivers, bringing the social organization, i.e., specific sib names and crests, and ceremonials of the coast. However, the Athapaskan names assigned to the moieties strongly suggest to me that these antedated Tlingit influence. It is also a typically Athapaskan pattern, as we shall see, to designate strangers from the east as "Wolves," which accounts for the position of the TalAkotin.

Olson (1967:4) reports from a Tlingit informant at Wrangell that the Tahltan had the following clans: "Nanyaayih (Wolf), Daklawedih (Wolf), K!akakwa'n (Wolf), Katca'dih (Raven), Tlkahittan (Raven)." The last was a subdivision of the Katca'dih (QatcAdi), who lived in the same house with the latter, but had to move out because they were such inveterate gamblers. They built a house of their own and became known as "Gambling House People." The K!akakwa'n (XakA-qwan?) or "On the Point People," Olson reports as the same as the DaqAlawedi, but are evidently the same as Emmons' TalAkotin or "Karkarkwan." Olson also explains the presence in the interior of the QatcAdi as due to the abduction, not of the wife of a NanyaA'ayi chief, but of his daughter.

Information gathered by Teit (1912, quoted by Honigmann [1954:87, note 19]) suggests that the Tahltan had a more elaborate organization than that described by Emmons. Thus, Teit reports that they were divided into exogamous moieties, Raven and Wolf, the former being the more important and said to represent the original Tahltan people. Each of these was made up of three sibs, each with their own sib chief and hunting territories. These six chiefs were supposed to

form the "governing body of the tribe." The sibs lacked crests and had no traditions of descent from mythological ancestors, whereas it was the moieties that had crests or totems. About 150 (now 200) years ago, a seventh sib, belonging to the Wolf moiety, was introduced through intermarriage with the Tlingit. It is called by its Tlingit name, but lacks recognized territory and a chief. There is an aristocracy of rank and wealth, and a system of potlatching like that of the Tlingit. These observations, if correct, must apply to only one group of Tahltan.

Inland Tlingit

The Inland Tlingit of Lakes Atlin and Teslin and the headwaters of the Taku, as well as the closely related Tagish farther west, intrude like a wedge between the Tahltan and Kaska on the east and the Southern Tutchone on the west and northwest (McClellan 1953 and in press). Both Inland Tlingit and Tagish display a sib-moiety-crest system patterned after that of the coastal Tlingit. Their moieties are Wolf (gotc) and Crow (yeI), called by the Tlingit names for wolf and raven. The Wolf moiety may also be called by the Athapaskan name, TcAyonE (cf. Tahltan and Upper Tanana). These moieties function as "opposites" in marriage, and in ceremonies centering around life crises, such as birth, puberty, death, in potlatching, feasting, peace-making, etc. The moieties are further subdivided into sibs.

The histories of these groups are complex, involving interior peoples who remained in the interior, interior peoples who moved down the Taku and Stikine, and return movements from the coast, usually after intermarriage with the Tlingit. McClellan notes that claims to personal names and house names by the interior groups may result from the effort of an interior sib to equate itself with one on the coast, and that this may not necessarily mean a relationship. The moieties and sibs are:

Wolf moiety

YEnyedi, "White Cedar People," divided into:

- (A) Old YEnyedi of Taku and Teslin (Nesutlin River)
- (B) New YEnyedi of Atlin River, and later of Teslin
- (C) Atlin YEnyedi

Although some YEnyedi of Atlin and Teslin call themselves "CAnkuqedi" they do not form a separate group.

Crow moiety

1. Decitan, "People of the House at the end of the [Beaver] Trail," of Teslin
2. Koq^whItan, "Pit House People," of Teslin
3. 'Ickitan, "Salmon Hole House People," of Atlin and Teslin
4. 'AnduguhItan, "Skin House People," of Atlin and Teslin
5. TIayinedi or GanaxAdi married into Teslin and Atlin, from Ketchikan via Angoon; also a few TIuk^waxAdi, "Quick People," TithItan, "Dog Salmon House People," and TIUknaxAdi, "Coho Salmon People" from the coast.

The YEnyedi derive their name from a house built on the upper Taku. They were originally known as Gravel Fort People (xAqnuwu). Later they built Hemlock House (yEn hIt), but those who stayed behind kept their old name. The Old YEnyedi once owned all of Taku River, and claimed a rock (qAtanAq house) at the mouth as a crest. They may have been pushed back up the river by the expanding Tlingit. They crossed the divide to settle on Nisutlin River in Teslin country. Calling themselves the "real Wolves," they claim the Wolf (a stuffed wolf pelt) as a crest, as well as the Killerwhale, for which they are sometimes called "Daqlawedi," although the Tagish dispute their right to the latter.

The branch termed New YEnyedi claim that their ancestors were Tlingit who had married into the upper Taku with the Tahltan Qatcadi. The latter are equated with the Decitan of the Inland Tlingit and the Tuqedi of the Tagish. The New

YEnyedi built Big House (hIt tYen) on the Taku; after a quarrel, some went down the Stikine where they called themselves TYentan, "Big [House] People," and adopted the Groundhog Shirt as a crest. While still living on the Stikine, they built Hemlock House, also claimed by the Old YEnyedi. Some of the Big House YEnyedi went down the Stikine and over to Chilkat. Later, some of those who remained on the upper Taku moved down to Taku Harbor and built Shark House, Steel House, Big House, and In-Between House (yEyuwa hIt). About the end of the last century, the New YEnyedi moved to Teslin and Atlin, where they claim the Golden Eagle (or "Fish Hawk," gIdjuk) and Eagle (tcak') as crests. The right to the Wolf is disputed by the Old YEnyedi. Note that the Groundhog crest which was used by the Big House YEnyedi on the Taku is associated by the Tlingit as the prey of the Golden Eagle.

The Atlin YEnyedi seem to represent a group who came from the Taku beginning at the end of the last century.

Some Inland Tlingit YEnyedi call themselves "CAnkuqedi," and sometimes claim to be related to members of that sib among the Southern Tutchone. At least they share with the latter several names, including that of StAnqwEt', the hero who found the Tahltan in 1825-1850(?).

The Raven Decitan claim relationship to the Tlingit sib of that name at Angoon, from which they derive their Beaver crest (Beaver House). They are equated with the Tuqwedi among the Tagish. In addition, they have a shirt with a special eight-limbed Beaver, an animal seen by their ancestors near Dawson Peaks.

The closely related Pit House People (Koq^whItan or Kuq^whItan) tell two stories about their origin. According to one, they originated in the interior but descended the Taku River to the vicinity of Sumdum Glacier, but returned after a fight to Nakina. Here they set up a grave post with Two Heads, a crest now used by this sib at Teslin, as well as the Salmon. According to the other

story, they were originally a branch of the GanaxAdi of Angoon, who built the original Pit House for defense. At Angoon, the ancient house of this name is ascribed to the Decitan, a branch of the GanaxAdi, or even more properly to the 'AnxakhIttan, a subdivision of the Decitan. Apparently a Pit House was built 70 years ago near the head of Taku River. In addition to Two Heads and Salmon, this sib also uses the Big Dipper as a crest.

The Skin House People ('andugu hItan) of Atlin are closely related to the Teslin Pit House People, because their ancestors also built a Pit House on the Taku, but finished it off with a skin roof. They may actually be an interior lineage who became amalgamated with the Raven sib from the coast. McClellan notes the tradition recorded by Emmons that the Koskedi (or Xaskedi?) were people from "Buffalo River," a tributary of the Pelly, who moved to Alaska and roofed their house with a cowhide obtained from the Russians. It is quite possible that the origin of the name is older and refers to a woodland bison cow; in any case, it suggests an interior origin for the group. On the other hand, Olson (1967:44) states that "xas" is the Chinook Jargon word for "cow." At Atlin, this sib has a "Crow" House, yeɬ hIt, using the Tlingit word for raven.

The Salmon Hole People ('Ickitan) of Atlin are sometimes lumped with the Teslin Pit House People, for both use the shirt with Two Heads. The 'Ickitan also claim the Frog and Crow. They would appear to have been derived from the 'IckahIt of the Tlingit GanaxAdi of Taku, yet the few 'Ickitan members at Teslin claim that they came from the Pit House People of Angoon, who were formerly called 'Ickitan. The interior members of the sib have no named houses of their own, but claim the following houses on the coast: Drift Log House (cf. Salmon Nest or Log Jam House of the Angoon 'AnxakhIttan), Raven House, Raven's Bones House (cf. Angoon Decitan), and Eight Log House.

Tagish

The Tagish are originally an Athapaskan-speaking group who have adopted Tlingit as their language (McClellan in press). Their sib traditions link them with the Chilkat-Chilkoot and, via the Inland Tlingit, with the Tlingit of Taku, Auk, and Sumdum, and also with the Tahltan. They are divided into two moieties, Wolf and Crow, called by the Tlingit names. Each is represented by only one sib, except for those of persons who have married in but are not yet established.

The Wolf sib is the Daq¹awedi, who came from Telegraph Creek on the upper Taku, after the original ancestral group had split. One division went to the coast, acquiring the name "Back of Sand Beach" (dAx "behind," ¹lew "sand") from camping by a sandy beach near Wrangell. Another group went overland to the Pelly and Big Salmon rivers, while the Tagish went to the headwaters of the Yukon. The Tagish claim that their original crest was the Wolf (of Tahltan origin?). Later, according to Emmons, they obtained the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killerwhale. Everywhere they went, in the interior and on the coast, they built the Killerwhale House, although the inland Tagish have never seen this sea mammal. The Killerwhale House at Tagish is also known as Wolf House. Tlingit houses also often have two names. The Daq¹awedi and the Y¹enyedi seem to be branches of the same interior people who descended the Stikine and the Taku to the coast, although the Tagish Daq¹awedi now feel themselves quite distinct from the Y¹enyedi of the Inland Tlingit.

The Tagish Crow sib is the Tuq¹wedi, supposedly a branch of the Angoon Decitan and related to the Teslin Decitan, as well as to Raven Tahltan of Telegraph Creek. They say there were once four noble daughters of an Angoon Decitan woman who went up the Taku River, where they separated. One married a Tahltan man, another a Tagish man, the third an Inland Tlingit man of Teslin -- or else

her daughter married into Teslin -- and the last married a Pelly Banks man. The Tagish Tuqedi claim the Beaver as a crest, and have a Warm House (xaiⁿ hIt, probably "Bath House," like the Wolf Bath House at Yakutat, associated with the Beaver), and also an End of the Trail House (decu hIt). The sib name seems to refer to the designation of a house, Tuq^wa or Tuqk^w hIt (High or Box House?), of the Angoon Decitan.

Tutchone

While both the Northern Tutchone of the Fort Selkirk area and the Southern Tutchone near the headwaters of the Alsek River almost to the Alaskan border have exogamous matrilineal moieties, called Wolf and Crow, only the Southern Tutchone band at Champagne and the sources of the Alsek recognize sibs as important (McClellan, in press). They say that their sib organization came from the coast and was superimposed on their own original moiety system. I would suggest that it was rather the sib names, crests, and titles that they adopted. They recognize themselves as few in numbers, while the coastal Tlingit are so numerous that they can have subdivisions. Farther to the north and west, McClellan found that the Southern Tutchone of Burwash Landing and Aishihik had only hazy ideas about sibs, and would assign the Tlingit sibs of which they had heard to the wrong moiety. This last may not indicate ignorance as much as the fluidity of a system in which the principles of exogamy and duality depend, not primarily on structural stability, but upon the opposition of small units whose alignment may shift from district to district. At Snag there are said to be confusions in marriages, easily accounted for by the movements of different peoples into that area.

The terms for the moieties are:

	<u>Southern Tutchone</u>	<u>Northern Tutchone</u>
Wolf	'agoi (wolf & moiety)	'agunda (moiety only)

	['agi (wolf), 'agina' (moiety)]	
Crow	tsu'ki (crow & moiety)	kadjit (moiety only)
	[tsu'ki' (crow), tsu'ki'na' (moiety)]	

The forms in brackets were recorded at Klukshu, on the headwaters of the Alsek, where "Raven People" (yeɬ-'Adi) was also given as the "Chilkat way" (fieldnotes, McClellan and de Laguna 1954).

At Champagne, the Crow moiety was represented by the Ganaxtedi, supposed to have come from the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit. They had a Drum House (gau hIt) or Copper House, with a chief named "Master of Copper" (tIna s'Ati), who had formerly lived at Nuq^Wa'ik on the Alsek. His relatives had titles referring to copper. This sib also claimed the Woodworm crest, like their Chilkat relatives. At Champagne there was also said to have been a Mountain Sheep House, according to Tagish and Inland Tlingit informants, but not mentioned at Champagne itself, possibly because the crest had been seized in settlement of a debt. Were these really an Athapaskan group who had allied themselves with the Tlingit Ganaxtedi?

In addition, there are a few Decitan married in from the Tagish.

At Champagne, the Wolf moiety is represented by:

1. The CAnkukedi, who were either derived from the Chilkat or Alsek River CAnkukedi, or had married in from Teslin. Possibly they were really a branch of the YEnyedi, but like the Tlingit CAнкуqedi, they claim the Thunder(bird) House.

2. The DaqIawedi, or QEtIEmbIt (meaning?), feel themselves to be distinct from the first sib. They formerly lived on the Alsek at Nuq^Wa'ik, and have Butterfly House, like the DaqIawedi of Chilkat.

Kaska

Honnigmann (1954) recognizes five divisions of the Kaska:

1. Upper Liard (Natitu' a'gotena)
2. Dease River (Ki'stagotena)
3. Nelson (Tse'lona)
4. "Goat" or more properly "Mountain Sheep" (Espa'totena)
5. Frances Lake (Tu'tcgotena).

These are Athapaskans living contiguous to the Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Upper Pelly Indians, and Mackenzie Athapaskans. Most of Honigmann's information was derived from the first two divisions.

In general, one can say that all the Kaska had migratory, extended family bands, the headmanship of which depended upon hunting ability, wisdom, and general character. The position might pass to the leader's son, but the group itself was not permanent, since men and their immediate families were free to shift allegiance from an incompetent chief to a better one.

The three western groups of the Upper Liard, Dease River, and Frances Lake were divided into matrilineal moieties, or sides (tsinii), calling themselves Wolves and Crows, respectively, the latter having slightly higher prestige. There was reciprocity between these divisions in marriage, getting wood, and competing in sports. When they gave a potlatch, the Wolves painted their faces red, and the Crows blue (cf. crest colors among the Stikine Tlingit). The two eastern groups lacked moieties, except that the eastern Kaska spouse of a western Kaska would be assigned to the appropriate opposite division. One man who had come to the Upper Liard from the Espatotena in the east reported that the moieties had been introduced fairly recently by the Tahltan, who simply assigned the Kaska they met to one moiety or the other. This may or may not be correct, for the moiety system of the western Kaska seems similar to that of the Tutchone

to the west and of the Pelly River people to the north, so that it may be ancient, even though the Tahltan may have arranged Kaska groups to fit their own.

Pelly River Indians

The Indians on the upper Pelly River (Denniston 1966) now comprise (a) descendants of the original Upper Pelly Indians (Knife Indians) who escaped a massacre by natives from the Mackenzie, and (b) their friends, the western Kaska, or Ti-tsho-ti-na, plus other groups. They speak dialects recognized as (1) Liard way, (2) Pelly way, (3) Fort Norman way (Mountain?), and (4) Ross River way, which may be the language of the original Upper Pelly Indians. Liard way and Pelly way are mere variants of Kaska.

Denniston notes that dialects are transmitted matrilineally, just as are moiety membership and rights to hunting territories. All the people of the Pelly River and vicinity are divided into moieties: Crows and Wolves. However, since Mackenzie Indians who cross to the Yukon area to marry are without moieties, they are always classed as Wolves, and may therefore marry only Crows.

The people of the lower Pelly River appear to speak Tutchone, and are the group known as Wood Indians, or Gens de Bois, sometimes classed as Han.

Summary

It can be seen that as we come to areas where Tlingit influence, if present, is at a minimum, we find only the fundamental division into Crow and Wolf, with sibless strangers who marry in classed as Wolves.

	<u>Moieties</u>	<u>Sibs</u>	<u>Crests</u>
Tahltan	A	T & A	X
Inland Tlingit	T	T	X
Tagish	T	T	X
S. Tutchone of Champagne	A	T	X
Other S. Tutchone	A	?	

N. Tutchone	A	
Kaska	A	colors only
Pelly River	A	

Key: T = Tlingit names

A = Athapaskan names

Is it not possible that the principle of dual division into Wolf and Crow, shared by the Tlingit and these western Canadian Athapaskans, antedated the separation of the coastal and inland Nadéné? In this case, the presence of Wolf groups among the Tsimshian may be ascribed to the absorption of Athapaskans, who were fitted into the local scheme, with the full panoply of names and crests. A similar explanation may apply to the Beaver group, or to the use of Marten, Mountain Sheep, Squirrel, Fireweed, Wild Rice, Waterlily, and other mainland animals and plants as crests, even if these had never previously served as more than designations of crestless local Athapaskan groups.

When we go still farther west among the Atna, Upper Tanana, and Tanaina, we shall find dual organizations and sibs called by Athapaskan names, suggestive of entities which might be, but are not, crests. Still farther away among the Lower Tanana, Kutchin, and Koyukon, some of the same sibs persist, but the dual division is either missing or confused. Among neither the Atna nor the Yukon groups do I detect any important Tlingit influence, and believe that the systems reflect ancient Athapaskan organization. The Atna will be described first, since information on their social organization seems most complete, or is at least most familiar to me.

*The Atna Group*Atna

The Atna of the Copper River valley are divided into ten dialectical communities forming three major sociocultural groups (fieldnotes, de Laguna and Mc Clellan 1954, 1958, 1960; de Laguna and Guédon 1968; personal communications from Michael E. Krauss). The three groups of Atna are: the Lower Atna (Mednovski of the Russians), Middle and Western Atna, and Upper Atna (Tatlatáns of Allen 1887). These groups intermarry with each other and with the Tanaina of Cook Inlet and of the Susitna-Talkeetna area, with the Middle Tanana Indians (Salcha to Goodpaster) and with the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians (Healy Lake, Tanacross-Ketchumstuk, Tetlin, Northway, Chisana, and Scottie Creek). Some grandfathers of Atna individuals are reported to have come from Nenana on the lower Tanana and from the Yukon Kutchin. Despite the fact that the total Atna population was probably never over 600, it is, or was, composed of some eight to ten matrilineal sibs (RAlsiIIn), originally about five in each moiety (nII ta[˘]nEtyá[˘]ni). These are usually identified as those who call the Crow (saRani) and Seagull (nAlbei) their respective "grandfathers." While Crow is identified with the Creator-Trisckster-Transformer, Seagull is only a minor character in one myth. There are no traditions of descent from these birds, and no explanations as to why they are "opposites." One Lower Atna informant, evidently familiar with Eyak and Tlingit moieties, substituted Eagle for Seagull.

Moieties function primarily in dividing individuals into "opposites" who intermarry, help each other at life crises, particularly at death, and who entertain each other at potlatches. It should be noted, however, that the primary giver of a potlatch would belong to the same side as his guests if the potlatch is for his father, his wife, or his child, since guests are always

the "opposites" of the person honored. Cross-cousin marriage, phrased by boy or girl as marriage to a spouse among the father's maternal line, means that in ideal cases close paternal and affinal kin belong to the same matrilineal line. Joking relatives, sweethearts, and partners belong to the father's sib. While the principle of duality or opposition between kin groups is stressed, the sibs are actually more significant as units of social organization than are the moieties.

Population loss in modern times has broken down moiety exogamy, so that there are several cases of marriages between sibs "on the same side." These "new style" unions are deplored, but not condemned as are intra-sib marriages, but they do produce confusions in kin terminology and associated behavior, since affinal relatives and paternal ones are not on the same side, and spouses cannot be "opposites" at potlatches. In other cases, population movements have evidently split what was once a single sib into groups that are now felt to be far enough apart to marry. If enough marriages of this kind take place, then the two groups will ultimately be classed as "opposites," meaning that one branch will have shifted its moiety affiliation. Small scale migrations and marriages to "foreign" women who are brought home by their Atna husbands have evidently been going on for a long time, and modern transportation has simply facilitated the process whereby new sibs may be introduced into the community. Since the villages or bands were small, never numbering over 40 or 50 persons, it is easy to see how old sibs could become extinct, or be so reduced in numbers that the survivors would readily merge with newcomers. Alignments would be made on the basis of local marriages that had already taken place. In any community or band we would therefore expect changes in sib composition over time.

Atna sibs tend to be localized, even though the primary social unit has been traditionally the small winter settlement of one or more multi-family

dwellings under a "chief." The food supply was under the control of this chief, "resident" or "rich man" in Atna, since he directed the activities of his fellow villagers, most or many of whom were his fellow clansmen. He also commanded the services of slaves and retainers, and directed trading expeditions or monopolized the exchange of native furs for European manufactures. He played the major role at potlatches, entertaining guests from other bands, and even from foreign tribes. In turn, the chief was responsible for the well-being of his people, seeing that they were fed, and defending them in cases of disputes with members of other groups. While some men in his village belonged to sibs other than his own, the chief acted for them also. His power seems to have been based both upon his wealth and upon the fact that he contracted marriages with as many sibs as possible, including even his own, and was consequently able to call upon all his "brothers-in-law" and his "sons." Succession was not always in the same sib or moiety, since chieftainship depended primarily upon ability and wealth, and we know that sons sometimes succeeded their fathers, yet there seems to have been some sentiment that certain villages, or their chiefs, were or should be associated with certain sibs. It was impossible, however, to find any evidence that hunting territories were controlled by sibs, for they seem to have been open to all residents of the community and any visiting relatives.

It should also be noted that each of the older traditional settlements had its named hill, some nearby landmark that is honored in potlatch songs and oratory as the "grandfather's face" of the village people. This reminds us of the Tlingit landmark crests, though Atna hills belonged to the whole community, not to a sib. Individuals also have a sense of attachment to the places which had been the homes of their maternal "grandmothers." There is also the tendency to think of all the men of a locality as if they belonged to one sib; for strangers, whose affiliations were unknown, this was perhaps natural. One has the impression that in essence Atna sibs were semi-local groups, the ultimate

origins of which were theoretically traceable to particular areas. For those that are spread up and down the Copper River valley, or represented also among the Upper Tanana and Cook Inlet peoples, this distribution is explained as due to the movements of individual sib members, women who had married into the different tribes.

While Atna sibs did not possess crests, some stories explain the origins of their names as due to "finding" certain objects that became their distinguishing mark. The association seems usually casual, and there is little or no attempt to dramatize this at potlatches. Moiety might once have been distinguished by the use of crow or seagull feathers in their headdresses, and within the past few years leaders of Atna and Upper Tanana villages have attempted to standardize the colors of their cotton dance costumes according to moiety: black for the Crows, red for the Seagulls. A particular song, rendered by potlatch guests in appreciation of the feast, refers to the gorging by seagulls or crows, as the case may be, but beyond this there is nothing to suggest the exclusively held prerogatives of the Northwest Coast. Heirloom objects, or modern replicas of famous objects, for example a drum, may be exhibited by the hosts at a potlatch and the guests required to respond correctly to riddling oratory about the displayed objects. These, like the "grandfather" hills, belong to the whole village, not to a sib, and like the distinguishing marks in sib origin legends should be regarded as potential crests, not as true crests.

Shamanism tends to be inherited, for the calling may come to any close relative of the deceased shaman who dreams of him performing. Thus, sons or daughters are even more likely than a nephew to receive the dead man's powers, and there is no indication that certain supernaturals are affiliated with certain sibs, as we find among the Tlingit. Again, as with chieftainship, the position of shaman is attained only through individual achievement, in this case by dreaming of a succession of powerful spirits.

This sketch of Atna social life has been given because it seems to be also characteristic of their neighbors, the Tanaina and the Nabesna or Upper Tanana.

Atna sibs are, or were:

A. Seagull moiety

1. WUdjIcyu, "Caribou People," in all three Atna divisions.
2. Tcicyu, "Red Paint People," in all Atna divisions.
3. NI'tcIcyu, "They paint their faces in stripes," or referring to strips (bI'tci's) of cooked caribou meat. This name may be a dialectical variant of the first two, probably of the second, or belong to a separate sib. It is represented now by only three individuals among the Middle and Upper Atna.

4. KI'la'yu, or TcI'la'yu, or KI'kE'lyu, "Salmon Tail People," formerly among the Upper Atna.

5. DengI'gI'koxtänA', "Canyonberry People." Probably the same as NI'gE'kulän tänA', "Canyonberry Place People," or "Cliff Place People." Probably the same as TcUNRaxtänA', "Canyonberry People." These different names may have belonged to local groups that became equated or amalgamated. Formerly among the Middle and Western Atna.

6. Qwäxyu or Qwakiyu, "Snowbird People." This may be another name for group 5. Extinct among the Atna, it is commonly mentioned by informants who hazard that representatives live among northern or northwestern tribes.

B. Crow moiety:

1. DItsi' Iltsina, or GItsi' Iltsina, "They came out of Wood Canyon" on the lower Copper River. Now among the Lower Atna only; formerly also among the Middle Atna.

2. NAltsina, short for naRaltsina, "They came down [from the Sky]." Represented throughout Atna territory. Their name is sometimes used as a moiety designation.

3. Dik'agiy, or Dix'agiy, or Dix'agi, "Fireweed Cotton People." Among the Lower Atna.

4. 'AltsEtnei, or 'Alts'Etney, "Single-minded People," "People who are never beaten in war," "People who marry their own relatives." Among the Middle and Upper Atna.

5. TAltsina, short for tuRAltsina, "They came out of the water." Among Middle and Western Atna, and to a lesser extent among the Upper Atna.

Sib origin stories link all the tribes on the Seagull side, some informants claiming that they were originally a single group that came up the Copper River from the coast and later split, each division taking their present names from things they found: Sib A2 from red paint for the face, Sib A4 from a fish tail for a hat, Sib A6 from a snowbird feather for the nose, Sib A5 from canyonberries for beads. Stories of universal coastal origin may be questioned, in the light of the great admiration felt by the modern Atna for the Tlingit, dating from contacts during the present century. According to one version, the finders were sisters, although informants differ as to whether they were originally called WldjIcyu (A1), because they used caribou skins for betting, or NI'tcIcyu (A3), or Tcicyu (A2).

The most common version is that the Caribou people (A1) were descended from a good-looking individual (man, or woman, or baby of either sex), who was found by a hunter among a herd of caribou somewhere to the northwest in the hunting grounds near Tangle Lakes. This individual was not the offspring of caribou, but was simply left behind when the herd ran away. Some say it was a Tcicyu (A2) man who was living with and caring for the herd. Like the caribou, this sib claims to be good-looking, clean, gentle, and also high class.

The Canyonberry People (A5) are so called because they walked into the berries, or ate them, or are descended from a man found among the bushes. One informant associated the "Cliff Place People" with enemies from lower Cook Inlet,

and denied that they formed a sib. Others, who recognize the people of this name as a sib, ascribed their origin either to the west, or said that they had come up the Copper River, and that the names (ts[']UNRax, both for a place and for canyonberry; and nI[']gE' kulän, "cliff place"), referred to localities in Lower Atna country where they formerly lived. NI[']gE' is also said to be the Cook Inlet word for "canyonberry."

"The Tcicyu (A2) have the Bear. They were really mean long time ago [like the bear]....They come from the Bear." The same is said of the NI[']tcIcyu (A3). Both "got the bear head. They are kind of fat people like bears -- bad people." One informant said that only the NI[']tcIcyu had the Bear, relating this to the story of the woman who married a bear, a subject about which people are loath to speak, perhaps because we were asking in the summertime, which is not the correct season for telling myths. It is said that the NI[']tcIcyu have whiter skins than the Tcicyu.

It would also appear that the Tcicyu (and/or NI[']tcIcyu) were a poor ragged people, putting up fish at Taral in Lower Atna country, when the DI[']tsi' I[']ltsina (B1) came up the Copper River. The latter destroyed their fish racks, apparently from spite. In revenge, the Tcicyu enslaved the newcomers, but the latter summoned their relatives, the NA[']ltsina (B2), who came down from the sky, and defeated the Tcicyu. The latter are now considered rather low class by both W[']UdjIcyu (A1) and NA[']ltsina (B2). One informant said that the Tcicyu also "have the Pigeon Hawk" (gI[']sa' or k'Itsas'), without explaining further.

Two or three Tcicyu sisters left Copper River, going toward Knik Arm of Cook Inlet. On this journey, one found red paint, another and her baby turned to stone forming a prominent landmark near the source of the Matanuska River, while the third married at Knik, thus accounting for the Tcicyu on Cook Inlet. Another story tells how one Tcicyu woman, angered or shamed because her father,

or husband, had given a fine spoon to her sister, or co-wife, left Lower Atna country and went either over the glaciers to the coast (cf. the Eyak Tcicqedi), or over Skolai Pass to the Upper Tanana. The same story is told at Tetlin (McKenna 1959:125), and it also reminds us of the motivation for the K^wackqwan migration from the Lower Atna area to Yakutat.

To explain the origin of the Crow sibs, it is said that there were three sisters on the coast, the oldest of whom was the ancestress of the DItsi' Iltsina (B1) who came up the Copper River. The second married a Star-Husband and was ancestress of the NAltsina (B2); the third was ancestress of the Tlingit, or of a Tlingit sib. The mother of these girls was said by one informant to have been the Seal (qaseiRiʔai or ka^sARiʔai^ʔ), or connected with the Seal in some way.

After their release from the Tcicyu, the DItsi' Iltsina continued north to Middle Atna country, where they met the 'AItsEtnei (B4) who were coming down from the north. These groups adopted each other as brothers and sisters, a common occurrence in Athapaskan sib origin tales. The 'AItsEtnei gave the DItsi' Iltsina a bear skull cap and a bear claw necklace, receiving in return a marten cap and wooden cap with visor (ca^ta), ornamented with porcupine quills and paint. Could the last have been the Tlingit headdress with wooden mask front, sea lion whiskers and flicker feathers, called caKi' At?

According to some, the NAltsina (B2) landed from the sky, not down river at Taral, but at Tazlina Lake in Middle Atna country. Nearly all were shamans; indeed, it has been suggested that they introduced shamanism. They claim to be the head sib in their moiety, and to be very wealthy, aristocratic, and also to be feared because they like to fight.

The Dixagiyu (B3) originated on the coast, but opinions vary as to whether they came up the river with the DItsi' Iltsina, or descended from the sky with the NAltsina. They owe their name to the fact that when the two other sibs put

feathers on their heads, the Dixagi^u used fireweed cotton, and so are called "Fireweed Cotton People." The association with fireweed and with a sky origin reminds us of the Gitksan phratry, Gistrast, even though the story of marriage with the Rays-of-the-Sun is not the Star-Husband tale, but one told by the Cankuqedi and other Tlingit Wolf sibs about a widow who married her daughter to the Sun. At any event, some informants claim that the Dixagi^u have "no grandpa, no roots (wuqE'dzA')," and that they try to kill everyone. This sib split, one group remaining on the Copper River, the other going (over Skolai Pass?) to the Upper Tanana (cf. McKennan 1959:123 for the same story told at Tetlin).

The [']AItsEnei (B4) came originally from Midway Lake, in Upper Tanana country. They "always win the war," and boast that they are so feared that their enemies never seek revenge. Nor do they have to pay blood money. They themselves feel that they are the warrior protectors of the Atna, especially against Chugach Eskimo raids. When they danced, they are said to have worn a grizzly bear skull, minus the mandible, and when they met the Ditsi [']Iltsina (B1) they gave this to their new friends. Some say that they traded the bear cap for the netted cap of the Naltsina (B2).

According to one elaborate account heard among the Upper Atna, there were really three groups of [']AItsEnei:

(a) The real [']AItsEnei from Midway Lake, who made friends with the Atna Crow sibs, and who are now represented at Tetlin and Tanacross on the Upper Tanana, and among the Upper and Middle Atna. They are associated with a plant called "water eyes."

(b) The Middle (tani'dzE') [']AItsEnei who came from Fairbanks, and assisted the first group when the latter were lost. These two groups, a and b, now intermarry. The Fairbanks people "use" the marten tail. "We come from the

Marten. He is our chief." It would appear that the middle group, b, can also marry the third group, c (cf. McKennan 1959:125).

(c) The Northway 'AłtsEnei, or Nă'za' (or Nă'dza), whose grandma came from Canada. They "use" the fox tail. At one time they fought the Midway Lake group (a), and, in this fight, nearly exterminated their friends, the Fairbanks group (b). These people would appear to be the Canadians, miscalled "Wolves," whom McKennan reports were recently established at Northway (1959:124, "Nisu"; Guédon 1971: 'Ne' su').

Descendants of a marriage between groups (a) and (b) are now living among the Upper Atna. This is the first reference to the "Middle People," so important a designation among the Kutchin and Koyukon.

The TAłtsina (B5) who came from Cook Inlet are said to be derived from the Sea Otter (qa'ya'ci), and therefore claim to have the most beautiful black hair. When the Red Paint People (Tcicyu, Sib A2) first came to Cook Inlet, their youths saw some lovely TAłtsina girls swimming. When they stole their beautiful dresses, decorated with dentalia, the girls surrendered themselves. Some informants, however, say that the TAłtsina "have" the Killerwhale (tE'tsA' or tE'dzai), or the Land Otter (toxt^uei, or wU'ziyE'), while still others say that they "have no grandpa." The place of origin of the sib is specified as Kenai or Kalgin Island in Cook Inlet.

There are now two branches of this sib: (a) the main body who moved eastward to the middle Copper River, and (b) those who went north up the Susitna into the mountains, where they became known as "Mountain People" (dRilAi kox-tān^u'), or as "Mountain Squirrel People" (tcIlIs RantEnA'), or "They came out of the Squirrel" (tcIlIs 'Iłtsina), either because they are descended from squirrels (?), or, as is usually said, because they had caps of mountain squirrel fur. This last group is found in the extreme northwesternmost Atna community,

with a few representatives among the Middle Atna on the Copper River. Those of group (b) among the Middle Atna are also called TEnRox'tänA' or TEnRa'itänA' (referring to ice), to distinguish them from the ordinary TAltsina (group a).

Tanaina

The Tanaina of Cook Inlet are closely related to the Atna, as their sibs indicate. Both von Wrangell (1839) and Osgood (1937) have given us lists of these which clearly show the shifts in sibs between 1839 and 1931-1932.

According to von Wrangell (1839), Raven created two women, from whom the sibs in each moiety are descended. He gives no names for the moieties, nor does Osgood. The latter (1937:128) further specifies that they possessed no distinguishing crests, and von Wrangell reports that even without visible insignia to indicate sib or moiety membership, a Kenai "Raven" is accepted as belonging to the equivalent group among the Atna, Eyak, Tlingit, and more distant Athapaskans (Galzane). Osgood was unable to compile a definitive list of sibs, for while he recorded ten sib names for one moiety and five for the other, no single informant could remember more than six or seven of the total. Furthermore, neither author specifies in what divisions of the Tanaina the particular sibs are represented, although we would assume that von Wrangell's list refers particularly to the groups at Kenai, site of the main Russian post. Osgood's informants came from all parts of Tanaina country, and their parents had often belonged to still other settlements, so that his information represents a composite picture. Apparently his informant at Kachemak Bay, on the lower east shore of Cook Inlet, gave most data.

Osgood designates the two moieties as A and B, and compares his list of sibs with those recorded by von Wrangell. I have simplified and transliterated the phonetics of both, referring to the Russian original. These moieties correspond in the main to the Atna Seagull (A) and Crow (B) divisions, although

there is no exact matching of sibs.

Moiety A

Von Wrangell (1839)

1. Tcixyei, from a color
2. Nuxci, fallen from the sky
6. Kali, from a fish tail
7. Kaxgiya, from the cry of a the raven

Osgood (1937)

1. Tcicyi (čišyi), refers to red ochre
2. Noxci (noxši), meaning unknown
3. Nitcicyi (ničišyi), meaning unknown
4. Qatʼaxtana (qaxaxdana), refers to right rear corner of house, or to people who must tell the truth
5. Qagali, refers to a salmon tail
6. Qali, refers to a salmon tail
7. Qaqyi, refers to a raven
8. Tcinclaxotana (cinslaxodana), refers to a raven
9. Degeŋgatʼoxtana (degezgaʼoxdana), meaning unknown
10. YosdeRe RAʼltsina (yosdeʼeʼalɬcina), meaning unknown

11. Tlaxtana, from a braided grass mat
12. Montoxtana, from the rear corner of the house

It can be seen that four sibs are the same on both lists, that Osgood recorded six names that do not correspond to von Wrangell's list, while the former had two that do not appear on Osgood's. However, one of Osgood's informants was convinced that A3 and A4 were the same. While A5 and A6 are certainly duplicates, I am less convinced that A7 and A8 should be lumped or that they refer to Raven.

According to an Upper Inlet informant, sibs A1, A3, and A6 were the original groups, descended from three sisters who came from the direction of Copper River. The first found red ochre, from which the name Tcicyi (Atna A2, Tcicyu) was derived. Another (A6) found a salmon tail, hence the name Qagali (Atna A4, KI'la'yu or KI'kE'lyu). The Tanaina seem to have the same difficulty in explaining the origin of the name Nitcicyi (A3), as the Atna in deciphering the meaning of NI'tcIcyu (A3).

It is further clear that Tanaina A7 (Kaxgiya) is the same as Atna A6 (Qwaxyu or Qwakiyu), referring to the Snowbird (snow bunting), not the raven. One of Osgood's informants thought that this sib was descended from a granddaughter of a woman in sib A3.

Moiety B

Von Wrangell (1839)	Osgood (1937)
	1. Noltcina (nolčina), refers to a sky origin
2. Tultsina, from willingness to bathe in cold water in autumn	2. Toltcina (tolčina), refers to a sea origin
3. Tsaltana, refers to a mountain on Kenai Peninsula	3. CaItana (caIdana), refers to a mountain origin
	4. Degagiyi, refers to a cotton-like plant
	5. Yogotck <u>nARA</u> ltcina (yogočknoyolčina)
6. Katluxtana, fond of stringing beads	
7. Cculaxtana, referring to a trickster like Raven, who created the land and people, but always cheated them	
8. Nutcixgi, referring to the same mountain as B3	

It is clear that Osgood's Noltcina (B1) are the same as the Atna NAltsina (B2), and the origins of both are associated with the Star-Husband myth. According

to the Tanaina version, after the Noltcina chief (North Star) and the Tcicyi (A2) chief had married each other's sisters, the Noltcina settled around Copper River. If they came from the sky, I suppose they might be thought to have descended at some mountain, perhaps the one near Skilak Lake on Kenai Peninsula (cf. sibs B3 and B8). It should be noted that some Atna say that the Naltsina landed near Tazlina Lake, west of the Copper River, and Osgood's informant at Tyonek, "who seems to know most about moiety organization," linked Caĭtana (B3) and the Noltcina (B1). One man said B3 was the same as A1.

Osgood's yogočnoyolčina (B5, Yogotck nARAltcina) looks like the designation of a special branch of the Noltcina, as I have suggested in my transliteration.

Osgood suggests that von Wrangell's Nutcixgi (B8) may be the same as Osgood's Nitcicyi (A3), but the first may just as well be an expanded form of Nuxci or Noxci (A2), and this in turn be the same as Noltcina (B1), since both sibs A2 and B1 had a sky origin. However, Nutcixgi (B8) may be the equivalent of the Atna Wĭdjĭcyu (A1), though associated with the "wrong" moiety on Cook Inlet.

If B1, B3, B8, and A2 are all branches or local variants of one Sky sib (Tanaina B1, Atna B2), we would have to explain why Noxci (Tanaina A2) is in the other moiety. One of Osgood's informants said that the Noxci (A2) were the descendants of a union between Tcicyi (A1) and Noltcina (B1), but we are not told which was the mother's sib.

To explain the seemingly anomalous position of Tanaina sibs A2 and B8 from the Atna point of view, if they are the equivalents of Atna sibs B2 and A1, respectively, I would suggest that subdivisions of a sib, on going into a new country where they have no close relatives, may easily marry into the "wrong" moiety, as well as acquire variant designations.

However, the Noxci A2, according to a Kenai informant, were the first sib, and all others in Moiety A were derived from them. They were originally a brother and sister who had escaped from the Chugach Eskimo in the east, and had settled at Skilak Lake. One of their children was born in the right rear corner of the house (sib A4). If this account, which says nothing about a sky origin, is accepted, then the Noxci might well be the equivalent of the Atna A1, WUdjIcyu, for the latter are sometimes mentioned as the original Seagull sib, even though there is no Tanaina story mentioning association with the caribou. Is von Wrangell's sib A11, Tlaxtana, associated with a braided mat, related to Osgood's sib A4, QatIaxtana? Note that the endings are the same. And are Montoxtana (sib A12) also children of sib A2 who were born in another rear corner of the house? The fact that back corners are specified for both sibs A4 and A12 supports the story of an incestuous or irregular union. The "brother and sister" of the Noxci story need not be considered as true siblings, or even as sibmates, but might be members of two sibs which were classed in different moieties in their original (Atna?) home, but which the Tanaina felt belonged to the same moiety.

The Noltcina (sib B1) are said to have brought in the Degagiya (sib B4). Although the latter are associated with the cottony *Dryas octopetala*, or White Mountain Avens, they are clearly the same as the Atna sib B3 or "Fireweed Cotton People."

Von Wrangell's sib B6, Katluxtana, who are fond of stringing beads, seem to correspond to sibs A4, QatIaxtana, and A9, DegeNgatIoxtana, in the opposite moiety. If Osgood is correct in equating sibs B6 and A9, and if I in turn may equate these with sib A4, then it would seem that we are dealing with variants of the Atna sib A5, DengI'gI'koxtänA' or TcUNRaxtänA', who strung canyonberries as beads and seem to have been a western sib.

Lastly, Tanaina sib B2, the bathers in cold water, are certainly the same as the Atna sib B11, TAltsina, who came from Cook Inlet. Tanaina informants say that the first of this sib were found below Tyonek by a Fishtail (sib A5) man, or that they came from the sea in boats. Sometimes they are said to be three-foot high men in skin boats, which suggests an Atna version that would derive them from the Eskimo of Kodiak Island.

Von Wrangell's sib B7, Cculaxtana (C'culaxtana, Ctcu~~l~~axtana?, variously transliterated as Schischlachtana by Baer 1839, šdolaxdana by Osgood, and Shshulakhtana by VanStone), Osgood believes corresponds to his Tcinclaxotana (sib A8) because both would appear to refer to a raven or raven-like trickster. If so, we would expect to find them both in Moiety B, corresponding to the Atna Crow side. Is it possible that the name refers to the small slate gray Dipper or Water Ouzel, *Cinclus mexicanus unicolor*, termed "Crow's nephew," and named Sku^hItsä^hx or Qo^hItsax by the Atna and Tc^hA^h qo^hItsit at Tetlin?

Upper Tanana or Nabesna

The Indians of the upper Tanana River valley include, going downstream, the five bands originally designated as the Upper Tanana Indians by McKennan (1959): Scottie Creek near the Canadian border, upper Chisana and upper Nabesna rivers (extinct), Northway on the lower Nabesna, Last Tetling (extinct), and Tetlin. To them should also be added the residents of Dot Lake and Tanacross, formerly from Lake Mansfield and Kechumstuk and from George Creek and Healy Lake (McKennan 1969a, b). These groups form the people called Nabesnatánas by Allen (1887), from the name they gave to the upper Tanana River, and for brevity can be called Nabesna here, since they are all very similar in customs and are united through intermarriages (McKennan 1959, 1969a, 1969b, and fieldnotes 1962; Heinrich 1957; de Laguna and McClellan, fieldnotes 1960; de Laguna and Guédon, fieldnotes 1968; Guédon 1971). There are, however, some differences in

minor usages and in the particular sibs represented in each community, just as was characteristic of the various Atna communities. Like the Atna, the Nabesna have two moieties, Seagull and Crow. In addition, there is one Crow sib from the Copper River who have married with both sides and who, according to Guédon, seem to be affiliating themselves more and more with the Seagulls. There are also some individuals from the Middle Tanana and increments from Canada.

Information from Tetlin dates from 1929-30, 1937, 1956, and 1968-70, recording change through time. In 1929-30, McKennan noted that there were two exogamous matrilineal "phratries," divided into clans. He used the term phratry because tradition mentioned a third group, already then extinct, which had married into both sides. Despite recurrent anomalies of this kind, the organization is essentially dual. The "Wolf" or Seagull moiety (A) and the Crow moiety (B) are equated with the Seagull of the Atna and Wolf of the Southern Tutchone, and with the Crow of the Atna and Tutchone.

Moiety A

McKenna	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Wolf or Tcion	Wolf (Tikaanyu) & Seagull (Baxqaie)	Seagull (Biqai or Tcia) or Wolf (Thikaakiyu) ' , ,
1. Tcizu, red ochre	1. Ciisyu	1. Tcizyu or Tcisyu, red paint
	2. Caan	2. Tcia, Bonaparte's Gull
3. Nitchelyu, fish back	3. Tcelyu, fish tail	3. Tciticelyu, fish tail
		4. Biqai, Herring Gull
	5. Utsixyu, caribou	5. Udjiciyu, Caribou People, extinct
		6. Kii'kyu, snow bird, extinct
		7. Gi'yAnI' or Ti'ciaan, Golden Eagle, Bald Eagle

McKenna notes association of this moiety with Seagull, Caribou (A5), and Bear (A1 among Atna). The Atna word for Seagull (nAlbei) and the Tetlin words for the two species of Seagull (t'cia and bi'qai) are used to designate the whole moiety, or may be employed by individuals to indicate their affiliation, but it is doubtful if these are the names of actual sibs at Tetlin (A2, A4). Furthermore, while informants mentioned Fish Tail (A3), Caribou (A5), Snow Bird (A6), and Eagle (A7), these do not really seem to be represented at Tetlin. Rather, we can recognize two main groups, Tcizyu (from red paint, tcic, A1), who came from Copper River, and the Tciticelyu (A3, fish tail) from Canada, where Eagle or Fort Yukon are sometimes specified. They are probably the same as the Nitchelyu of McKenna, and by some are associated with blue paint. The "Red Paint People" and the "Salmon Tail People" were the only sibs of this moiety reported by Rainey at Tetlin in 1937 (letter to McKenna, 26/3/37).

Heinrich (1957) distinguishes between a Wolf Tikaanyu group from the northern Yukon drainage, and a T'celyu or 'Caan group from the south, the Red Paint People (A1) coming from Anchorage, and the Caribou People (A5) from Lake Louise in the Western Atna area. De Laguna was told that T'cia (or T'ciyaⁿ) was simply the local name for the Tcisyu (A1) from the Copper River, the latter term being preferred by recent Atna immigrants to Tetlin.

McKenna recorded the Nitchelyu (A3) as being at Tanacross, and while our informants placed the Eagles (A7) at Northway, they did not know where the Snow Bird sib (A6) was, although this was listed.

Moiety B

McKenna	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Raven (Neltcin)	Amalgamated Naltsiin (Naltsiin Ditaandye)	Crow (taatsa' or da'ts <u>ā</u> ⁿ)
1. Neltcin	1. Real Naltsiin	1. Naltsina, <u>N</u> altsin 2. Ditsi' iltsina

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 3. Thakagiyu | 3. Tagaxyu (down) | 3. Dikagiyu (Tc'ikayu, Dikaayu, or Dikagi, fireweed seed) |
| 4. Atzan'ne | 4. A'atdindei (fearless) | 4. A'itsetdendei, or 'A'its'etd'endei |
| 5. Nisu (at Northway) | 5. Niisáa (cliffs or gorges) | 5. Ne'su, or Ni'saal |
| | 6. Taltsin (divide-crossers) | 6. Taltsina (extinct) |
| | | 7. Tzoga (marten) |

McKenna notes an association of this moiety with the Otter (cf. A6), and with the Swan. According to the version he recorded, the Neltcin (B1) came up the Copper River to the Tanana, where some remained, while others went on down the river. Those who came first were oppressed by the dominant Tcion (Moiety A). Then the Thikagiyu (B3) came from the sky like or with downy feathers -- like the downy seeds of the fireweed or cottonwood, according to Guédon's informants -- and allied themselves with the Neltcin. There seems to be no question but that this event took place in the lower Copper River country, even though the Atna give credit to the Naltsina as being the rescuers from the sky, while they see the Dikagiyu as only associated with them in a sky origin. Our modern Tetlin informants also report that the Naltsina came from the sky, calling them "Star People," say they journeyed up the Copper River, and then spread all over Alaska. The Dikagiyu at Tetlin say also: "We came from the Star," landing on the Copper River and thence coming to Tetlin.

Rainey in 1937 (letter to McKenna 26/3/37) identifies the Naltsi'n (B1) as "Wolverine People of Copper River," and also as "Raven People." The igalyu^h (B3) were described as "straight people," and identified with the cottonwood (with cottonwood down?).

As recent immigrants to the Upper Tanana, the Dikagiyu (B3) are considered "far enough away" to be able to marry into their own moiety, while still claiming

the Crow. They and the Naltsina are the two most numerous sibs at Tetlin, so perforce many marriages take place between them, as well as between the Dikagi[']yu and other Crow sibs. While there were some marriages in the past with Seagull sibs, at present the Dikagi[']yu do not marry them and in fact have become practically assimilated with the Seagulls as part of their exogamous moiety. According to Guédon's careful analysis, there are no approved marriages between any other sibs in the Crow moiety (i.e., among B1, 2, 4, or 5), and no recorded marriages within the Seagull moiety.

A similar situation exists at Northway, where the Dikagi[']yu and Ne[']su (B5) are the most numerous sibs, and also at Tanacross where the Dikagi[']yu and A[']Its[']E[']td[']E[']ndei (B4) are the most numerous. Here at Tanacross an informant said: "Old time Crow marry NAl[']bei [seagull], and Crow could marry Crow," presumably referring to marriages of Dikagi[']yu with A[']Its[']E[']td[']E[']ndei. While NAl[']tsin (B1) also married A[']Its[']E[']td[']E[']ndei at Tanacross this was evidently irregular, for they had to potlatch to the opposite moiety, not to each other.

The A[']Its[']E[']td[']E[']ndei (B4), according to Tetlin informants, were originally sticks or stumps, or pointed spruce trees (A[']I), growing out of the island in Midway Lake, from which the NAl[']tsin rescued them, because they had no water craft. McKennan (1959:124-125) was told a similar story of their origin, and that they were trouble-makers. Those now among the Upper Tanana are supposed to have descended from one woman who survived a massacre. Rainey (letter to McKennan 26/3/37) identified their name as "one people," and reported similar traditions.

There is only one Ditsi[']iltsina (B2) family at Tetlin, but it is clear that they immigrated from the Copper River. At Tetlin it is said that their name refers to intra-sib marriages, which indeed have occurred among them.

The original Ne[']su (B5) was a baby that floated down a river in a rabbit-skin raft or cradle and was hooked ashore by the NAl[']tsina. The river was

apparently one that ran north into the Tanana or Yukon (White River?) in Canada. This sib is primarily established at Scottie Creek and Northway but there are now a few individuals married into Tetlin. In 1929-30, McKennan encountered them as "a third phratry," who had recently come but were being identified with the "Neltsin phratry," implying that they were still intermarrying with both moieties. At the present time, they seem to be thoroughly integrated with the Crow moiety; however, since they came from Canada, where all people are supposed to be Wolves, this sib is sometimes erroneously called "Wolf." Their name, rendered as Ni'sAl by a Northway informant, means "All tear up," referring to their pants which were torn because they had come from so far away. 'He's NAltsin all right, but little bit different. Pretty near the same, but come from Canada side....Pretty near he got the Crow." This group is associated with the Fox Tail.

The TAltsin or Taltsina (B6), "divide-crossers" according to Heinrich, are said to have come from the Yukon to the Tanana, then went to the Copper River and back to the Tanana, although there are now none among the Nabesna. Informants mention this group, sometimes uncertainly, as Copper River allies of the NAltsin. Guédon was told that there were formerly members of this sib among the Middle Tanana at Salcha and Big Delta.

McKennan (1959:125) also mentions the Marten clan as a third group, "almost a cousin to them all," which was absorbed by the Neltsin (B7, Tzoga). This means that they originally intermarried with both moieties. At Tanacross I was told that the Marten (t'su'gE' or tzo'ga) People were "a kind of 'AIts'EtdEndei," who had come from Tu't'la on the lower Tanana, i.e., Tutlut, at the confluence of the Toklat-Kantishna River with the Tanana. They were called Marten People because of their wealth in marten furs. Therefore, the 'AIts'EtdEndei at Tanacross claim that they "have" both the Crow and the Marten.

The Marten People are probably the same as those whom the Upper Atna called 'Middle 'Aɪtsɛtnei'' (Atna sib B4 b), just as they called the Ná'za' (or Ne'su) the "Northway 'Aɪtsɛtnei'' (sib B4 c).

At Northway, the sibs represented are:

Moiety A
Wolf (Tɪqani), Tciya,

Moiety B, ,
Crow (Da tsA)

2. Tciya,

1. NAltsin

4. Biqai (if indeed distinct)

3. Dikayu, or Dixagi, or Tcikayu

5. GI'yanI' (reported here by Tanacross informants, but not verified)

4. 'Aɪtsɛtɛndɛi

5. Nē.su or Ni'sA1

At Tanacross and Dot Lake many of the same sibs are represented, although the Seagull moiety (NAlbei, Biqai, Tciya) is usually called Tca'z, Tca'zɛn, or Tciaaz, which seems to be also the name of its principal sib. I am indebted to McKennan for notes taken from three Tanacross informants in 1962, as well as for information recorded by Rainey in 1937. It should be noted that their informants did not assign sibs to moieties, although this was done by those consulted by myself and McClellan in 1960 and by Guédon in 1969-70.

Moiety A: Seagull

1. Tcicyu, "red paint," mentioned only to us. Tcizu (McKennan), "red paint"; according to one informant, came across the ocean at Anchorage, with skin painted red. Tsésyuh (Rainey), "too strong people," from the lower Tanana. We were also given the name, Nɪntcicyu, "red paint all over," as another name.

2. Tca'z, Tca'zɛn, or Tciaaz. Tciadz (McKennan), or even Tcion, "Wolf," or "Middle," who come in the "middle of the river."

3. Tcɪ' tɛlyu, "salmon tail," "the real Tca'zɛn," according to our informants. Tcɛtcélyuh (Rainey); and Tcɪtɛlyu (McKennan), "fish tail," light

complexion, associated with Goodpaster.

4. (Not mentioned.)

5. Wuts'Isyu or WAdjicyu, "Caribou People," represented by one old man in 1960. "Caribou People" (McKenna), descended from a baby girl found in the middle of a big caribou drive.

Moiety B: NAltsin, or Crow (Dats'A')

1. NAltsin, Naltsin (Rainey), or NEltcin (McKenna). Rainey was told that this was a "new name for the Altsadene," (B4), and one of McKenna's informants referred to the Neltcin as "Caribou Tail."

2. DItsi'Iltsina, mentioned only to us in 1960.

3. Dikagi, Dikagiyu; or Tsigágiyu^h (Rainey; from Kechumstuk); of DIkagiiyU or DIgakIyu (McKenna). McKenna's informants variously identified the name with "cotton" or "down"; or even with "fire," or "carrying fire." One man said they came from the Copper River and were "almost the same as Tcizyu, red paint." Another reported that they had floated down from the sky in the Cordova area, near the mouth of the Copper River.

4. 'AItsEtdendei. McKenna's informants variously rendered this as Atsidade or AθsitdInde, "one-way people," from Midway Lake, light in complexion, or as AtzUnttIne, "Bear Head," with dark complexion; and as AtsitdIndE.

5. Two of McKenna's informants mentioned the Niso or Nisau, but apparently not as residents of Tanacross. The first said that the sib was represented by a small boy in a rabbit skin robe, rescued by the Caribou Tail People (B1), from the river in the Scottie Creek-Northway area. The other specified that the Nisau had been saved from a raft on the Yukon by Sib B4.

6. Both our informants and those of Rainey mentioned the TAltsina, or Taltsin, but with the statement that there were none in the area.

According to a Tanacross informant, "Blackbird" (Water Ouzel), Crow's nephew, found a house in which he heard the sounds of people dancing, but all he could see around the fire were a caribou tail, red paint (t'sa), blue paint (t'sI' t'ĪE'gi'), a fish tail, and fireweed. When Old Crow kicked them, Wuts'Isyu (A5) came out of the caribou tail, Tc'Ī' tc'Elyu (A3) came from the salmon tail, Tcicyu (A1) from the red paint, and NĀltsin (B1), 'AĪtsEtdEdei (B4), and Dikagi (B3) came out of the blue paint. The last is an obvious slip by the narrator, for he forgot to mention what came from the fireweed -- B3.

The Tca'z or Tca'zEn (A2) are closely related to the Atna Tcicyu (A1). They are said to be called DĪ' tcĪl (fish tail) by the Yukon people, and Djos by the Canadians at Snag, Kluane Lake and Whitehorse. According to one account they came from the Yukon above Dawson, or from the east. Another version says that they came from the ocean, and met the NĪntcicyu or Tcicyu (A1) on the upper Nabesna. The Tcicyu traded their bow and arrow for the fish tail of the Tca'zEn; thereby the peoples became one.

The Tca'zEn are said to have been a great nation, formerly rich and in consequence died fast, for only the poor live long. This disaster may be connected with the fact that one woman of that sib tortured her father's dog with fire; he returned as a handsome man and married her as a punishment. The Tca'zEn came from the east, met the 'AĪtsEtdEdei (B4), and went on to the Copper River. Here the Tca'zEn found the poor Tcicyu (A1), whom they helped, only to be enslaved by the latter, along with the 'AĪtsEtdEdei. They called for help, and the NĀltsin (B1) came down from the sky to their rescue, and married them. The Tca'zEn had a woven hat, or an Eskimo hat with a picture, while the NĀltsin are said to have had a bear hat with teeth, and they exchanged these.

The usual story of the origin of the Caribou People (A5) was mentioned with the warning that it was taboo to tell it in the summer.

Some informants mention the 'A'ItsEtdE_{ndei} (B4), NAltsin (B1), and D'Itsi 'I_{ltsina} (B2) as coming from Midway Lake, although the usual myth limits this origin to sib B4. The 'A'ItsEtdE_{ndei} met the TAltsina (B6) down on the Copper River, and exchanged hats as a sign of friendship. The TAltsina also exchanged hats with the NAltsina, receiving the latter's bear head. One informant mentioned the upper Nabesna as the place where all the sibs met and intermarried.

Some interesting associations with animals were mentioned at Tanacross: "NAltsin got the Bear," and therefore "is best to hunt the bear. He's got the power [meanness] of the bear." "Tca'zE or TcI' tcElyu are low people. They have the Seagull, nAlbei. When we were kids, if NAltsin killed nAlbei [a seagull], TcI' tcElyu had to fight NAltsin -- scratch his face all over." " 'A'ItsEtdE_{ndei}, NAltsin, and D'Itsi 'I_{ltsina} got the Crow, da' tsa. They don't want to kill crow; that's his own people. ...If TcI' tcElyu kill crow, NAltsin got to fight." "Wutsisyu got caribou. That's all."

Some of these attitudes are similar to those of the Tlingit toward the sib crest animals: ravens, eagles, frogs, wolves, and bears.

Middle Tanana Indians

McKenna (1969a:338) terms Middle or Transitional Tanana Indians those groups that formerly occupied the Goodpaster and Salcha rivers, an area now abandoned. However, informants he interviewed at Tanacross and Dot Lake in 1962 gave him some information about sibs in this area. Again there is no indication of moieties, although I have assigned designations to these sibs corresponding to their equivalents on the upper river.

At Goodpaster, according to one informant, the Tcazum (A2) are the same as the Tcitcelyu (A3), and are also the same as the Canadian "Wolves." They are dark colored. They came up the Yukon and then up the Tanana River, and traded their grass hats for the grizzly bear hats of the A' tzitdinde (B4). The Tcizu (A1) came from the Valdez area, i.e., up from the Copper River. They were always low class, and never acted or spoke correctly. They were very poor, so the Atzitdinde helped them until they became strong enough to turn on the latter. There were also the θ iqakiyu, "Eagles," on the Tanana (B3), who had come from the sky. The Atzitdinde (B4) were light in complexion.

A second informant listed six sibs in three pairs, but it is not clear whether he intended to mean that those paired were equivalents. These are:

NEitcin (B1), light colored, and Tcizu (A1).

Atzandine (B4), dark colored, and Dikogiyu (B3), light colored, cotton from the sky.

Tcetcelyu (A3) light colored, and Tca\thetaa (A2), also light colored. The latter, not A3, is called "fish tail."

At Salcha, a similar grouping of sibs was reported:

Nelchin or Nelc\thetain (B1) and Tcisu (A1) -- "almost the same. Caribou Head."

Tcicelyu (A3) and Teatzun (A2) -- "almost the same. Fish Tail."

Atzitdinné (B4), "Bear."

Still another informant reported that Old Chief Henry of Tanacross, whose mother's family came originally from Salcha, belonged to a sib that was quite different from any of these, called Denjegit tak hoten. This reminds us of the various "middle" groups already encountered, and which are ubiquitous on the Yukon.

The Yukon Group

McKenna (1969b:98-99) has pointed out that as we move from band to band we are really passing along a "cultural continuum," and that, in particular, one cannot make any sharp divisions among the Tanana River Indians, except to distinguish those at the mouth from their neighbors on the lower Tanana. Nevertheless, in considering sib organization, I find it perhaps more helpful to class the Lower Tanana Indians with those on the Yukon, rather than with their Middle Tanana relatives.

The "tribes" of the Yukon (Kutchin, Han, Koyukon), Lower Tanana, and Upper Kuskokwim, are noted for an organization apparently based upon three exogamous matrilineal sibs. As will be seen in the following analyses, the division is essentially a moiety one, with a "middle group" derived primarily from strangers who have married into the community but have not yet become assimilated to one moiety or the other, just as is the case with the Dikagiyu among the Nabesna, and the former "Middle 'A¹tsEtnei" or Marten People. The specific identity of the "Middle group" seems to vary from tribe to tribe, when we have sufficient information to identify it. Sometimes informants give additional names, apparently those of sibs among their neighbors, but which are "almost the same" as their own.

Lower Tanana Indians

The Lower Tanana Indians, according to McKenna (1969a:338-339), comprise those bands living along the river and its tributaries from the Chena (Fairbanks) almost to the mouth, including Wood, Nenana, Minto, and Tolovana. But the natives farthest downstream, including those of the Kantishna River-Lake Minchumina, Baker Creek, Cosna River drainages, like the people of Tanana on the Yukon at the confluence of the Tanana, are Koyukon. McKenna would place the Koyukon-Kutchin boundary at the Ramparts on the Yukon some forty miles above

the mouth of the Tanana. I am indebted to McKennan for fieldnotes (1962) concerning sibs on the lower Tanana.

When I was at Nenana in 1935, I was told that there were three "families," and that the Indians still "marry out of the family." These sibs were:

1. BI'sItUxtana, "caribou"
2. Tc'Itcälyu, "fish tail"
3. Tsixyu, "middle," but obviously the Red Paint People.

One can see that from the point of view of the Atna and Nabesna, all three sibs would belong to the same Seagull moiety.

In 1960, a Tanacross informant said that at Nenana and Minto there were "three or four different tribes," and named:

1. BA'dzI^X tE' xotana, "Caribou People," from caribou, bAdzix
2. Tc'I'tcälyu
3. Xotani'I RAltci'tnA', "Middle People. There are lots at Anchorage."

One of McKennan's informants at Minto specified that there were three sibs derived from a three-part division of a fish, but did not name them. In the old days, wars were fought only between different sibs, living in different villages. Other informants emphasized that there were three major matrilineal sibs, distinguished by slightly different customs and distinctive face paint. Residence was matrilocal. The sibs named were:

1. BUtzik totana, Utzi hotana, BetzIktitana, or Batsik tana, "Caribou Horn," or "Caribou People," who had come over the hills from the Yukon, perhaps from the Kuskokwim. They were the "top clan," and wore a red stripe on each cheek and a feather in the hair.

2. TcitElyu, TcitcElyu, "Fish Tail." They had come up the river. One informant equated them with the Jitsa sib of the Chandalar Kutchin.

3. NUltcina, Nultsina, or NElsina, "Rabbit Tail." They came from the Cordova area.

Instead of No. 1, an informant mentioned the Tsahokotana, "Beaver clan, almost same as Caribou," who had come from downriver. He also substituted Tciŋyŋ, "Red Paint," for No. 2. Another man listed Nos. 1 and 2, but then mentioned the TAnnejIkhotana, "Middle People," who are related to "both sides," and are similar to the Nultsina.

Thus, it would seem that at Minto the Nultsina or "Rabbit Tail" have taken the "middle position" which was occupied by the Red Paint People at Nenana.

Koyukon or Ten'a

Writing in 1906, Father Jetté (1906:402) observed that the Ten'a above Nulato, i.e., the Koyukon, "sometimes say that they are divided into sub-tribes or clans called medzihterotana [Caribou], tonitserotana [Middle], and noletsina [Nultsina]; but today these distinctions mean nothing. I have found no one who could explain them and only a few who even knew about them." He further suggested that when Petroff alluded to the presence of clans in 1880 that they were then still in existence, but had subsequently disappeared. Father Jetté's failure to learn more about these sibs, for which I have inserted the equivalents in brackets, is extraordinary, since I heard about them as late as 1935, and McKennan learned about them when he was stationed on the middle Yukon during World War II. That I did not learn more is because I was then engaged in an archaeological survey (de Laguna 1947). McKennan has again generously shared his information with me.

At Tanana Mission, on the Yukon opposite the mouth of the Tanana, I was told in 1935 that there were three exogamous "families." There were:

1. BĪtsictAxotana, "Caribou People"
2. NoltsEna, translated as "Maggot People," probably incorrectly.
3. TonĪ' dz RAltsĪtĪna, obviously meaning "middle sib," although referred to as "Fish Tail People."

In 1962 McKennan's informants at Tanana told him that the same sibs were found here as on the middle and lower Tanana River. They were:

1. "Caribou Horn"

2. Neltcina, who probably came here from Cook Inlet, via McGrath as hazarded by one informant who equated them with "Middle People." Another thinks the "Middle People" came from Tanana.

3. Tciticelyu.

In 1935, a woman at Ruby and informants at Lowden, both places on the middle Yukon below the Nowitna and above the Koyukuk, gave the following names of sibs:

1. BItsIctuxtana, "Caribou People," from the north, high class

2. NOltsina or NUltsina, Black Bear People, people from the other side, the poor man's side.

3. TOnItsOlsitIna, "Middle of the River People," or "Middle People." Also identified as Brown Bear People or Fish People.

The Ruby informant referred to these sibs as "families," One Lowden informant implied that they were exogamous, mentioning a Fish man married to a Caribou woman, but said that down the river the groups were not exogamous.

At nearby Galena, during the war, McKennan recorded three sibs:

1. MEtsIgtohotana, "Caribou People," lighter colored

2. NUltsinatohotana, "Other people, Brown Bear People"

3. TOnitsanultcila, "Middle of the River People." The informants believe they came from a fish.

At Koyukuk itself, in 1935, the sibs were:

1. BAtsIxtoxtana, "Caribou People"

2. NAltsina, "Black Bear or Copper People"

3. TOnidza RAltsitIna, "From-out-of-the-Water People, or Marten People."

Andrew Pilot, a shaman at Koyukuk Station, told the following story through an interpreter:

There were warring tribes. They all came together one time and the three headmen from the three groups of people met. They wanted to decide what to call each other, and to make peace.

They asked the first man, a Black Bear man, "What do you want to be called?"

He said: "I did not come from on top of the ground. I came from underground, and in coming through the ground I passed copper and all different minerals, so I want to be called 'Copper,' Naltsina."

"Well, you have to prove that you came from underground. What do you have to prove it?"

So he brought a sack with a piece of copper in it to prove it.

They asked the second, the one that came sunwise, what he wanted to be called. He was Marten man.

He said: "Well, I have come over a long stretch of water. I swam part of the way, and I came by boat part of the way, so I want to be called 'From-out-of-the-Water People.'"

"Well, give us proof that you have covered a great body of water."

So he brought out a string of dentalium shells. So his people were called Tonidza Raltsitna.

The third man said that he came from the caribou country, far away, so they called his tribe "From-among-the-Caribou People," BAtsIxtoxtana. He was a Caribou man.

When I wrote about these sibs in 1947, I indicated that teams consisting of members of the three sibs from different villages on the lower Koyukuk and middle Yukon used to meet for

...something like a debating contest...The challengers made a speech full of obscure allusions to clan [village?] insignnia -- a painted paddle was mentioned in describing a particular occasion -- and the opposing team had to guess the meaning of the particular allusion and counter it with a speech of their own. It is probable that such large gatherings took

place in a kashim, but of course we have no evidence that a kashim or meeting house was built on the Yukon above the Koyukuk until modern times (de Laguna 1947:102).

It is now clear that the "debating contests" refer to the riddling speeches which are characteristic of potlatches, at least among the Atna and Nabesna, who use such occasions to exhibit to their guests some treasured object associated with their history, or to display objects symbolic of a misunderstanding or quarrel with their guests which they want the latter to resolve. It is the village chiefs who make such speeches, and only an "educated man," one who has relatives in the hosts' town to teach him its history, can hope to win such contests.

McKenna reports that at Nulato, on the Yukon below the Koyukuk, there were also three sibs:

1. Caribou People, good people, lighter colored
2. Neltcina, Bear People, bad people
3. Middle People (otherwise not identified).

We also note (cf. A. Clark, this volume) that members of the four bands of Koyukuk River Indians were also divided into three exogamous matrilineal sibs that assisted each other's members at funerals, for which they were entertained by the deceased's sibmates at a potlatch, and that provided hospitality and protection for their own sibmates when the latter came from other localities. These sibs are:

1. Bijé-ta hotana, "people who live among the caribou."
2. Nulchina, or "iron" people. A. Clark suggests that the association is more likely to have been with bear or copper. They are now the most important sib.

3. Tonitza alchilla, "in the middle of the water," reported to have the most friends, and formerly the most important because they were associated with

dentalia. They are also known as the Gitliná, "dentalium people."

Clark also indicates that in recent times the two uppermost bands on the Koyukuk have friendly ties with the uppermost Yukon River Koyukon, particularly with those from Steven's Village, which at present has a mixed Koyukon-Kutchin population. Before contact, however, a good deal of internecine raiding occurred between the Koyukuk River people and the Kutchin. Here, the same sibs are found. For example, Catharine McClellan interviewed a man from Steven's Village who said that his people had come from the Chandalar River and called themselves Yuqonx^wotäna (McClellan: personal communication). While he himself had been born at Steven's Village, his father had come from Bettles on the Koyukuk and his wife was a Tanana River woman, daughter of a man from Old Crow (Chandalar Kutchin). The group at Steven's Village is obviously mixed, and may be considered as much Koyukon as Kutchin. McClellan's informant explained that his people had matrilineal sibs, although he thought of them as geographical groups, and named them:

1. BA' djIc' tA x^wotäna, Caribou People
2. NA' tci'na' x^wotäna, "Multipliers"
3. Toni'dz' A RA^ltsi'bI' x^wotäna, "Middle Race."

McGrath or Upper Kuskokwim Indians

The Indians of the upper Kuskokwim River, formerly supposed to be Ingalik, are now shown by Hosley to be more closely related to the Koyukon of the lower Tanana and to the Tanaina of Cook Inlet. They have a matrilineal, matrilineal sib organization, and a "Normal Iroquois" kinship system, as defined by Murdock (Hosley 1968, letters 26/1/63 to McKennan and 23/7/71 to myself; McKennan 1969b). Hosley has unfortunately given these people the name "Kolchan," which is simply the Athapaskan word for "alien" or "stranger," applied to many groups and therefore not a specific "tribal" or regional designation. They call themselves "Tenaynah," however, an equally confusing variant of "Tanaina" (Cook Inlet).

The Upper Kuskokwim Indians apparently recognize four sib names, although only three of these groups are found among them. These are:

1. Stchelayu, "Fish [Tail?] People," somehow associated with the lower Kuskokwim and Innoko Rivers.

2. Medzishthutanah, "Caribou People," or "people who live in caribou country."

3. Tonay' tliil' tsitna, "middle kind," or "People in the Middle."

Hosley believes that the Upper Kuskokwim Indians originally had a moiety system, based upon the first two sibs. The third group represents "a category of convenience for the offspring of 'wrong' marriages and marriages to clans/ moieties not part of the Kolchan's original system" (Hosley, letter of 31/7/71). The latter seems to me to be the more correct explanation, and suggests that the "wrong" marriages were those with one or more foreign groups, with different moiety affiliations in their homeland. The process of shifting moiety affiliation when married into McGrath would explain how, according to Hosley's informants, there was a system whereby the offspring of the "Middle People" [or the "Middle People" themselves?] would eventually be assigned to the proper moieties.

4. Nalchina were mentioned by some of the McGrath Indians, but were felt to belong to the people of Lake Minchumina and Birch Creek, in the drainage of the lower Tanana.

Kutchin

The Kutchin are grouped into some eight divisions (Osgood 1934, 1936b):

1. Mackenzie Flats or Arctic Red River, Nakotcho-kutchin
2. Peel River, Tatlit-kutchin
3. Upper Porcupine, Tukkuth-kutchin (extinct)
4. Crow River, Middle Porcupine or "Rat" River, Vunta-kutchin
5. Black River, Tranjik-kutchin
6. Yukon Flats, Kutcha-kutchin

7. Chandalar River, Gens du large, Natsit-kutchin
8. Birch Creek, Tennuth-kutchin (extinct).

With the possible exception of the first group who live on the Mackenzie Flats, all information on groups 2 through 7 would indicate that they possessed three exogamous sibs. Presumably the Birch Creek (8) Kutchin did also, since they lived between the Chandalar and Yukon Flats Kutchin and the Koyukuk Indians who had matrilineal sibs.

Kirby (1864:418) is the first to mention the sibs:

1. Chit-sa, who are aristocratic and wealthy
2. Nate-sa, in the middle class
3. Tanges-at-sa, who are the poorest and lowest.

These groups are matrilineal and exogamous, and the marriage rule "has had a most beneficial effect in allaying the deadly feuds formerly so frequent among them." The example he gives, however, is of two chiefs debating politely, each deploring his own inferiority, especially the chief of the group that admitted to a murder. In this way, amity was restored. One also gathers that the sibs were involved in funeral potlatching, for the "nearest relatives" of the deceased give a feast to his "friends," presumably to his paternal and affinal relatives. While we need not believe that peace was actually established through intermarriage of warring tribes, the institution of sib exogamy is commonly supposed by Athapaskans to achieve this effect, and potlatches were occasions on which sibs could settle disputes.

Jones (1866:326) only speaks of three "castes," formerly exogamous, as:

1. Tcit-che-ah
2. Nat-sah-i
3. Tenge-rat-sey.

Hardisty (1866:315) also lists the three sibs, but adds that the natives give conflicting accounts of the origin of the three "castes." "Some say that it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people -- the fish were Chitsah, the birds Tain-gees-ah-tsa, and the animals Nat-singh; some say that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and, I think, most correct opinion, is that it refers to color, for the words are applicable." Thus, we have the following:

1. Chitsah, bright (ah-tsa), from tsa, the sun, bright, shining. Live a good deal on fish; originated from fish.

2. Nat-singh, dark, black (ah-zingh). Live on reindeer; originated from animals. They are also associated with the Chandalar area of the Na-tsik-koochin, or Nah-tsingh.

3. Tain-gees-ah-tsa, neither dark nor fair, from middle (tain-gees). Live on fish and moose.

Now, according to Hardisty, amalgamation is changing the color differences, as well as preventing feuds between the groups, since a man wants to be at peace with his sons -- who would, of course, belong to his wife's kin group. Even though there cannot be differences in complexion, we have seen that the notion that there are physical, or even psychological, differences between sibs is typically Athapaskan.

For the Chandalar Kutchin, McKennan (1965:60-61) also records three sibs, linked together by reciprocities in marriage and funerals.

1. JItsA, who had a servile role, were supposed to be smallest in stature, and lightest in skin color, though some informants denied the last.

2. NAtsAi, who were wealthy and important.

3. TEnJErAtsAi, "between two sides." Intermediate in stature and color.

This third sib seems to have been added later to a moiety system, although some informants said that the children of endogamous marriages in either of the other sibs were assigned to the third, while others, correctly, I think, denied this.

One myth ascribes the origin of the sibs from a fish: NAtsAi (2) from the head; TEnJErAtsAi (3) from the middle; and JItsA (1) from the tail. Another explains the origin through migrations: JItsAi (1) came from a region called KuhEli, reported as between Cook Inlet and the Kuskokwim, and crossed the lower Tanana to reach the Chandalar area. The name of this region is clearly that of the "Fish Tail" sib, KI'kElyu. NAtsAi (2) came to the Chandalar from the Kobuk hills of the Brooks Range, crossing the territory of the "Dihai Kutchin." TEnJErAtsAi (3) may have come up the Yukon from the territory of the Koyukon.

The JItsAi were formerly the most numerous, but now the NAtsAi are. There never were many TEnJErAtsAi, it is said, although most marriages were endogamous. This would discredit the explanation that this third sib was made up of children of endogamous marriages in the other two; at any rate, it was also matrilineal.

Working among the same people (Netsi Kutchin of Chandalar River), Hadleigh-West (1963:26) recorded four names for sibs:

1. JIt sya
2. Nat saiⁿ
3. Ten jIr at sya
4. Tse nilt saiⁿ.

He believed, however, that only the first two were true kinship units, while the third and fourth were said to be "names applied to children of intra-sib marriages." They were not sibs, "but rather terms applied to offspring of 'wrong' marriages. Of the two terms, tse nilt saiⁿ was the more derogatory" (Hadleigh-West 1963:26-27). He felt that the system was really a moiety one.

For the Vunta Kutchin of Crow River, Osgood (1936b:122-123) reports three exogamous matrilineal sibs:

1. TcIt tcI a, "those under the other fellow," who supposedly have darker skins.
2. Non tsaI I, first among the clans, with a light skin.
3. TEn djE Ra tsi a, "those in the middle," whose skin is supposed to be intermediate in color. No chiefs are drawn from this group, only from the first two. They are supposed to have "relatives on both sides."

As part of the system of reciprocity between sibs, we note that a hunter of sib 1 gives his game to a man of sib 2, and the reverse, for distribution at a feast. If game is given to a man of sib 3, there is no feast, or only a small one.

For the Vunta Kutchin, Leechman (1954:27, 32) lists the "phratries" as:

1. Jitsa (servants)
2. Nasich, who are the highest.
3. Tangeratsa, lowest of all.

According to Leechman, the first two sibs, in the old days, formed two exogamous moieties, while the third sib is said to have been made up of descendants of irregular marriages between members of the same sib; yet, or except for this, descent is matrilineal. The two main sibs are now almost without functions, since "the old rule of exogamy is often disregarded now, and the children of parents of the same phratries, either Nasich or Jitsa, are technically Tangeratsa." The same is said to be the case of a child adopted by a mother in the wrong sib. "A Tangeratsa could marry either a Nasich or a Jitsa, and here again the children would belong to the mother's phratry." We should note that at public gatherings, the "...phratries talk against each other." This is apparently "cross phratry joking," but the Tangeratsa were not permitted to

take part in such oratory or joking. At present, at least, the sibs have nothing to do with funerals.

Balikci (1963:62-63) writes about the Vunta or Crow River Kutchin as follows:

Osgood described the functioning in traditional times of a three clan system. These were non-localized matrilineal sibs. Reconstructing sib organization, I found only two named and ideally exogamous moieties, the third segment grouping descendants of endogamous marriages. These moieties had leaders within the band district. Besides regulating marriages, moieties were important in the organization of potlatches (similar to the Tlingit festivities) and war parties.

Referring to leaders, he adds:

The Vunta Kutchin had a succession of polygynous tribal chiefs, economic leaders (owners of the caribou surrounds), moiety chiefs, war captains and religious leaders or shamans who acted on behalf of the whole community in crisis periods.

The data Balikci collected on marriage and extramarital relations prove clearly the demoralized condition of the Vunta Kutchin. My impression is, that unless genealogical evidence can be cited establishing the actual assignment of children of intra-sib unions to the "middle" group (3), the statements of Vunta Kutchin informants about the sib system cannot be trusted to explain how it really worked in the past. The statements about moiety endogamy probably refer to the addition of the third sib which was really allied to one of the resident moieties in theory, but which was allowed to marry with both because it was composed of strangers, without actual relatives in either. The explanation given by modern informants sounds like a "folk" explanation for something they do not understand. Among the Atna, for example, where the principles of sib and moiety exogamy are thoroughly understood, though not always practiced, the children of an irregular union always belong to the sib of the mother. The same is true among the Nabesna of the upper Tanana.

McKenna's informants at Circle (1965:61), who were presumably Yukon Flats Kutchin, made the following equations of Kutchin sibs with those of other groups:

1. Jitsa = Seagull or JItsil of the Han; JItcilyu of Healy River (Upper Tanana); Wolf or Agundené of the Northern Tutchone.
2. Natsai = Crow or NEltsin of the Han, Healy River and other upper Tanana groups; Andit or Crow of the Tutchone.
3. TEnjeratsai = no equivalent.

Osgood (1936b) and Slobodin (1962) give us further information about the Peel River Kutchin, who were also neighbors of the Han and Tutchone. Osgood lists the sibs as:

1. Tcitic ya nut, Wolf, associated with servant
2. Na'ts saI^ε, Crow, associated with rich man
3. TRE njI Ra tsIa, associated with the idea of "a friend on each side," that is, being "in the middle." But it is considered as being inferior to the other two.

While the name of the first sib suggests that of the "red paint" (tcic) sibs among the Atna, Tanaina, and Nabesna, the Kutchin word for red paint is saI^ε (the ending of the name for the second sib), and red paint is associated with wealth. Nevertheless sib 1 is clearly the etymological equivalent of Tcicyu in the Seagull Moiety A, just as sib 2 is equivalent to NAltsina in Crow Moiety B. Osgood believes that the associations of these Peel River Kutchin sibs with "crow" and "wolf" are recent, due to contacts with Athapaskans who reflect Tlingit influence. While the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is permitted between any two, there is definitely the idea of duality.

I have at times, during my conversation with members of the Peel River Kutchin tribe, felt that there is a bilateral division of clans among them -- that is, two clans more closely related in contrast to the third. The idea does not seem altogether strange to informants but under examination no proofs are forthcoming to support this view (Osgood 1936b:107).

Slobodin (1962:44-45) also noted among the Peel River Kutchin the presence of three sibs, ranked as "upper," "lower," and "middle." According to the natives, the upper is the chiefly one and the middle one is so insignificant that it is almost a moiety system. Chiefs have, however, come from all three sibs, and the middle one is now second in size. The physical and psychological characteristics traditionally associated with the sibs are only subjects for joking. Slobodin furthermore felt that the sibs were recent institutions, functioning primarily in relation to the more western tribes from whom they were copied, that they were becoming obsolete, but were reinforced by the revival of potlatching during the boom days of the Gold Rush. Even here, alignment was often on a band basis, rather than on sib lines, and poor young people from eastern bands would be treated as guests, no matter who gave the potlatch. The last practice was not uncommon a generation ago on the upper Tanana when strange young men visited them from the Copper River. In contrast to the eastern Kutchin, the western Kutchin, Han, and Tutchone seem to have been recognizing an increasing importance of sibs, as other forms of social organization disintegrated. Slobodin (1962:45, note 1) comments on the disgusted reaction of a Peel River informant when visiting the Southern Tutchone, for "As soon as these people meet you, they ask, 'Are you a Wolf or a Crow?'"

Han

Cornelius Osgood has very kindly supplied me with some proofs for his forthcoming work on the Han.*

When he was at Moosehide in 1932, a Peel River Kutchin man was able to give him information about the Han, who had three exogamous matrilineal sibs, which he named as:

*The Han Indians has been published since the writing of this manuscript -- see Osgood 1971 in references.

1. Its yA, people who act funny
2. NAt I, proud people
3. TA nžI RA tsA, middle people.

He denied that the "Whitehorse" terms for Wolf and Crow applied to these sibs. Nevertheless, it would appear to me that his sib 1 corresponds to an Atna or Nabesna Seagull sib, either the Red Paint or the Caribou People, while sib 2 is the Crow NAltsina.

Osgood's two informants at Eagle gave the names:

1. ČI čel
2. NA tsIn, sometimes called "Crow."
3. TAn zI RA tsIl, or TA ndu A tsIl, "middle"; or E gUn yA.

These two men, while giving somewhat different terms for the third sib, specified that the sibs were divided into moieties, although they could not agree as to whether sib 1 or sib 2 stood alone. How could either, if sib 3 is really a "middle" one, marrying both? At any rate, sibs 1 and 2 had married. I believe that this sib 1 corresponds to the Atna or Nabesna Fish Tail sib of the Seagull moiety; sib 2 is clearly the Crow NAltsina. The last name for sib 3 (E gUn yA) suggests the Tutchone name for the Wolf moiety; as strangers, these "Wolves" would be treated as "middle people."

The Han moieties potlatched to each other after a death, and were distinguished by the way they wore feathers in their hair: sib 2 wearing theirs on the right side of the head; sib 1 in the middle of the front or back of the head. Sibmates offered each other protection and hospitality when travelling.

Osgood adds that 30 years later a Dawson informant told Slobodin that the Han had three exogamous moieties:

1. KE kut' In, meaning "low."
2. NA tsAI, a higher people; tsAI means "red paint."
3. A gon d^yA (untranslated) were "on the other side."

This last term is obviously the same as the Northern Tutchone name for the 'Wolf' moiety. The same informant also contrasted NA tsAI (2) and Ezan. Are these last the same as McKennan's Atzan'ne, sib B4 of the Upper Tanana?

Sib 2, evidently the equivalent of Naltsina, would be "Crow," and therefore opposite to sib 3 A gon d^yA as "Wolf," but not to Atzan'ne or 'AItsEtdEndei (B4) who would be also "Crow" on the Upper Tanana. Possibly there were several foreign sibs among the Han, from both the Northern Tutchone and the Upper Tanana, aligned with one local sib or the other, or serving as "middle people." I do not know what would be the equivalent of sib 1, KEkut ' In, unless possibly they are the mysterious Snow Bird sib, Kii'kyu, mentioned at Tetlin as an extinct Seagull group.

Summary

To summarize the sibs represented among the Lower Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim, Koyukuk, and Yukon tribes, we have:

Lower Tanana, Nenana:

Caribou
Fish Tail
Red Paint as middle

Minto:

Caribou, and/or Beaver
Fish Tail, and/or Red Paint
Naltsina as middle

Koyukon: Tanana Mission

Caribou
Naltsina (Maggot?)
Fish Tail as middle

Ruby-Lowden-Galena

Caribou, high class, light colored
Naltsina (Black or Brown?) Bear, poor
Fish, as middle (of river)

Koyukuk Station

Caribou
 Naltsina, Black Bear, or Copper
 Marten, Out-of-the-water (cf. Atna B6), dentalia, as middle

Nulato

Caribou, light colored, good
 Naltsina, Bear, bad
 Middle people

Upper Koyukuk (Koyukuk River)

Caribou
 Naltsina, iron, bear or copper
 Dentalium people, as middle (of water)

Steven's Village

Caribou
 Naltsina, or "Multipliers"
 Middle People

Upper Kuskokwim, McGrath

Caribou
 Fish Tail
 Middle People
 And? Naltsina

Among the Kutchin it is difficult from an etymological point of view to tell whether their sib 1 is Fish Tail or Red Paint. Nevertheless, when equations are made, this sib is correlated with the Seagulls of the Nabesna and the Wolves of the Tutchone; just as sib 2 is classed as Crow.

Kutchin, 1864

(Red Paint-Fish Tail) highest class
 Naltsina, middle class
 Middle people, lowest and poorest

Kutchin, 1866

(Fish) bright color, from fish
 Naltsina, dark, from animals
 From birds, as middle

Chandalar Kutchin

Fish Tail, servile, shortest and lightest in color
 Naltsina, wealthy, darkest and tallest, from fish head

Middle, from middle of fish

Vunta Kutchin

(Fish Tail-Red Paint), dark, servants
 Naltsina, light, aristocratic
 Middle, intermediate in color, lowest class

Peel River Kutchin

(Red Paint-Fish Tail), low class, (Wolf)
 Naltsina, rich, (Crow)
 Middle People

Han

(Red Paint or Caribou?), or Fish Tail, or kE kut 'In, "low"
 Naltsina, or Crow, high
 Middle, or "Wolf" in N. Tutchone, (and/or ezan)

Thus, we see how the social positions of the sibs shift, as well as the identities of the groups represented in the different settlements.

Despite the oft-cited and apparent tripartite appearance of this form of social organization, I believe that a fundamental principle of duality underlies it, just as it does the sib systems of the Atna-Tanaina-Nabesna group and that of the Tutchone-Tagish-Tahltan, but among the Yukon River peoples the intermarriages between small local groups have not only produced extensive equations of sibs across socio-linguistic boundaries, but have also introduced anomalous "middle" groups, the identity of which shifts from place to place, and presumably also through time as they become absorbed by one side or the other and new strangers marry into the band.

McKenna informs me that the late Valery Chernetsov of Moscow wrote to him (2/8/66) reporting the existence of a two-clan or patrilineal moiety system in the eastern Urals, with equation of the clans among the various tribes of Ob-Ugrians (Vogul and Ostyak), and Samoyed (Nenetz, Selkup, Enetz, and Woodland Samoyed). The system has apparently spread across the language barrier to the Ket (so-called Yenisei-Ostyak). The Woodland Samoyed, as well as

the eastern Nenets-Samoyed, also have a third intermediate clan, not equated with those of other tribes. Such third clans are called "out-of-clan-marriage-groups." Evidently dynamic factors, similar to those that produced the "middle groups" among the Alaskan Athapaskans, have been at work among the distant patrilineal Samoyed.

Conclusion

The dynamics of the northwestern American sib-moiety/phratric systems can better be understood when seen against the background of a sibless society. As an example of Athapaskan social organization without sibs, we may turn to the Hare of the Mackenzie drainage (Sue 1964). Here relatives are reckoned bilaterally, kindred are "ego-centered," and people live in small extended family camps. Nevertheless, the stress on cross-cousin marriage effectively divides relatives into two opposed groups as far as the individual is concerned. Even though the Hare seldom practice what they preach and more often than not fail to marry a cross-cousin (June Helm, personal communication), the system operates as if they did. Thus, to a Hare man, his mother's brother and father's sister's husband are potential fathers-in-law and called by a single term, while his father's sister and mother's brother's wife are potential mothers-in-law, again grouped under one term. Their daughters, other than his actual wife, are his joking relatives, as are his sisters-in-law, while their sons, like his brothers-in-law, are treated with reserve. Parallel cousins are classed with siblings, and behavior between those of opposite sex is characterized by reserve and aloofness. The Hare also distinguish between primary kin (parents, full siblings, children, and spouse) and "relatives," who include grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, and cousins. It is members of this more distant group who bury one's primary kin.

Sue has shown that for a man, those with whom he is most intimate, most apt to share a camp, to rely upon or to help, are his male relatives related

through males. Similarly, sisters are closer to each other than are brother and sister, and a woman's closest relatives are women related to her through the female line, even when these include such distant cousins as descendants of her mother's mother's mother's sisters.

A consistent grouping together of such male patrilineal relatives, through inheritance of common property, perhaps the exclusive right to exploit the same terrain or to utilize the same inherited magico-religious powers, might have produced conditions propitious for the transformation of these male kinsmen into patrilineages. But this obviously has not taken place. Similarly, common residence of sisters, mothers and daughters, as would be and is required by extended bride-service, or again by inherited property in the hands of women, perhaps caches of preserved foods, could form the basis for the development of matrilineage.

These lines are, in any case, so closely related as to be exogamous. The social groups are small and scattered, and since strangers are viewed with suspicion, it is the cross-cousin in another camp who is both far enough away to be marriageable and yet close enough to be trusted. Reciprocal relations that are established between those who are kin linked through marriage, such as mutual services at life crises, e.g. care of the newborn, naming, puberty, childbirth or couvade, sickness, and death, if consistently carried out by cross relatives, would create that fundamental duality, essential to a moiety system. For in any situation of this kind there would inevitably be two sides in collaboration and opposition. Then, as members of other families are included, as they would be in such social events, these would tend to be drawn into two parties at the feasts, as hosts or givers, and as guests or receivers. This reciprocity is essential, also, to any sib system.

I do not know whether the eastern Athapaskans are to be considered as those who never developed sibs or moieties, or whether they are peoples who have lost such exogamous units. But I believe that matrilineal exogamous kin groups are ancient in the west. It would seem to take very little to transform the social organization of a people like the Hare from one based on bilateral kindreds to one of interlocking and reciprocating unilineages.

Such factors as cross-cousin marriage, extended bride-service to a father-in-law who is terminologically a "mother's brother," resulting in more or less lengthy matrilocal and avunculocal residence, the choice of same sex cross-cousins or siblings-in-law as hunting or trading partners, the control by women of important caches of food, the deep affection and respect felt by men for their mothers noted by Guédon at Tetlin, could all be effective in creating or preserving matrilineal kin groups.

Obviously something is present in the west which is not found east of the continental divide. Perhaps it is the variety of ecological resources within the territories of related bands among the western Athapaskans as contrasted with the relative uniformity to the east. Western Athapaskan economy is based upon the ability to exploit all the available micro-environments in the short distances that separate lake, river, marsh, and mountain, and the social organization is adjusted to facilitate the movement of individual families, not only within the territory of their own band, but to caribou fences, sheep licks, or fishing places in any area where they can join a relative. McClellan (1964:9) has pointed out that the institution of matrilocal bride-service has the advantage of acquainting the hunter with at least one other area than the one in which he grew up. A sib system which permits the equation of lineages across band or even dialectical "tribal" boundaries is, however, an ideal way of insuring the presence of kinsmen and partners wherever

one travels and thereby widens the possible areas a hunter can exploit.

Among the western Athapaskans, it is not the band, but the small local segment that has become the sib (or the localized section of the sib) because exogamous marriages with neighbors are necessary and profitable. Such groups are known for their places of residence or for the residence of their leader; they may be named for the kinds of animals or other resources most characteristic of their homes, or for some characteristic feature of clothing or other possessions. These groups, in any given region, become aligned into moieties because of the consistency with which their members contract unions. But the sibs themselves, as bodies of kinsmen, remain fundamental to the social system. At any given time, in any given place, for any given married couple and their kin, the dual arrangement of opposites is established. But the moiety system remains fluid, because it is in essence a way of arranging individuals, and is not, as we too conveniently say or are inclined to think, a fundamental super-group that is subdivided into sibs. Therefore, because sibs die out or are formed through fission, because they can shift their alignments as members move to new areas, we have "middle" groups, or sibs retaining names which suggest that they once belonged to the "other side," but are here "wrongly" affiliated. Here a purely "structural analysis" would be deceptive.

From the names and characteristics ascribed traditionally to these sibs have arisen the crests and other features made possible by the wealth of the coast. But the elaboration of sib ceremonialism on the Northwest Coast has blinded both interior peoples and ethnologists into accepting the crest system as the most important feature which indicates the place of origin and direction of diffusion of the entire complex system. Crests and other prerogatives to be validated by lavish giving could only have developed on the well-to-do coast, and the interior Indians, conscious of their poverty and lack of sophistication,

have adopted these crest-prerogatives as far as they could, anxious to claim relationship with their superior neighbors. In turn, the emigration of interior groups to the Eyak, Tlingit, and Tsimshian has stimulated the elaboration of crests and sibs among these peoples as they absorbed the newcomers. So it is at the mouths of the great rivers coming from the interior that we find the most complete results of this process.

But this does not mean that the matrilineal kin groups originated on the Taku, Skeena, and Nass. Indeed, the pattern of exogamous matrilineages seems so widespread and takes such characteristically inland forms in the interior, that it would appear to be ancient, antedating the earlier migration of the Nadéné Tlingit and Haida to their coastal homes, or the appearance of the alien Tsimshian in the northwest. Whereas the Tlingit and Haida have preserved what must have been the old dual arrangement, the very confusions produced by migrations and minglings on the Nass and Skeena have been responsible for creating the Tsimshian four-phratry system. This probably once involved more than four exogamous units, if such groups as On-the-Beaver, On-the-Ocean, and Fireweed, for example, were originally distinct from On-the-Wolf, On-the-Eagle, Raven, Bear, Killerwhale, etc. Indeed, the Carrier multiple sib system suggests this pattern.

The names of crests symbolic of many of the groups also argue their interior origin. Thus, the Golden Eagle of the mountains became the Fish Hawk or mysterious Mother of the Thunderbird among the southern Tlingit unfamiliar with this eagle. The white-headed Bald Eagle of the coast naturally replaced the white Seagull so conspicuous along inland rivers. And Raven himself is only the Little Old Crow of the Athapaskans, made great. It can hardly be a coincidence that this "grandfather" of so many kin groups, this famous Trickster-Transformer of mythology, is no longer to be considered an immigrant from

northeastern Asia to the Northwest Coast, from which news of his exploits have filtered to the interior and to the Eskimo. Rather, as Chowning (1962) has demonstrated, he is an invention of the Athapaskans. Thus the Wolf and the Raven (or Crow), like Bear, Beaver, Marten, Seagull, Fireweed, and the matrilineal groups for which they serve as designations, were not born on the Northwest Coast, but in the heartland of the western Athapaskans.

The origins of these symbols or crests are ascribed to the supernatural adventures of the ancestors, similar to those which endow a shaman with his powers. Even though the ancestors who found the baby among the caribou or encountered the bear or put the fireweed in their hair are not specified as shamans, it must be remembered that for the Athapaskans almost every old person is considered to be something of a shaman. The importance of birds as crests suggests Siberian analogies. Not only are birds the familiars of the Siberian shaman, but his costume transforms the man into a bird. Important also as guardian spirits are the bear, the reindeer, and the fish (Michael 1963). It may be no coincidence that these creatures are almost universally associated with the most important matrilineal kin groups among the Athapaskans of Alaska and the Yukon.

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1937.]

UPPER KOYUKUK RIVER KOYUKON ATHAPASKAN SOCIAL CULTUREAN OVERVIEW

A. McFadyen Clark

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UPPER KOYUKUK RIVER KOYUKON ATHAPASKAN SOCIAL CULTURE: AN OVERVIEW*

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 National Museums of Canada

Résumé

La culture sociale des Koyukon de la rivière Koyukuk, basée sur un système de clans matrilineaires exogames, est étudiée en fonction de son évolution chronologique et de son cadre écologique. La structure sociale des Koyukuk diffère à bien des égards de celle des Koyukon du Yukon inférieur, caractérisée par l'absence de clans et une organisation bilatérale endogame.

Abstract

Koyukuk River Koyukon social culture, with an exogamous matrilineal sib system as its nucleus, is discussed both against an ecological backdrop as well as through time. The social organization of the Koyukuk people differs in many respects from the lower Yukon Koyukon who lack sibs and have an endogamous bilateral system of organization.

Introduction

The development of a better understanding of early Northern Athapaskan life-ways presents a substantial goal for northern investigators. For many areas we lack precise information on linguistics; variety, size, and duration of kin groups, and type and organization of political units. The Koyukuk River Koyukon of western interior Alaska were even less well understood than many other Northern Athapaskan groups when the present field work was initiated in 1961. They had received little attention from anthropologists, although de Laguna (1947) made

*Field work was undertaken on the Koyukuk in 1961 while the writer was a graduate student at the George Washington University, Washington, D.C., and later in 1968-71 under the auspices of the National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada.

an archaeological survey and had collected some ethnographic information about the mouth of the Koyukuk northward to Kateel, and Loyens (1964), Sullivan (1942), and Jetté (1907-1913) worked among the Yukon River Koyukon, especially in the Nulato-Kaltag region.

In 1961 one of the primary objectives was to investigate the earlier social culture of the Upper Koyukuk River Koyukon by using both ethnographic and ethno-archaeologic techniques. The initial study became more complex than originally had been anticipated because upon arrival in the area we found a mixed Indian-Eskimo population. The first year of field work was thus spent in attempting to sort out some of the differences between the local Indian and Eskimo population. The results from this research have been presented in McFadyen (1966), A. Clark (1970a, 1970b, 1971, n.d.) and A. Clark and D. Clark (n.d.a., n.d.b.), D. Clark and A. Clark (1973) while other aspects of the local universe are still under investigation.

The present paper deals only with certain aspects of Koyukuk Athapaskan social culture and it is limited specifically to that of the South Fork and Kanuti-Todadonten Band people. It contains no comparative analysis with neighboring groups, and it also does not include the variations observed between the Indians and the Eskimos presently living on the Koyukuk (McFadyen 1966). It is thus intended solely as a preliminary note on Upper Koyukuk Athapaskan social culture to fill one of our existing laucunae in the Northern Athapaskan continuum.

Inhabitants

In the upper Koyukuk River villages of Evansville, Allakaket, Alatna, and Hughes, the contemporary population is primarily Koyukon Athapaskan Indian, although there are some Eskimo families, some mixed Indian-Eskimo families, and several Indian-Caucasoid and Eskimo-Caucasoid individuals. At Huslia and Koyukuk, the two middle and lower river villages, the people are primarily

mixed Indian-Caucasoid with little recent Eskimo representation. Alatna, located across the river from Allakaket, is predominantly Eskimo. The Indians represent members from three earlier bands of middle and upper Koyukuk River Athapaskans who speak two different Koyukon dialects. The Inupik speaking Eskimos have ancestral ties with those from the Kobuk and Noatak rivers and from Anaktuvuk Pass.

In 1970 the total native population on the river (excluding Koyukuk at the mouth) was about 500 individuals which shows a sizable increase over the possible 250 persons I have estimated lived there at the time of contact in 1885.

The contemporary non-native Caucasoid population is represented by two school teachers at each village, Alatna being part of Allakaket in this respect, missionary families at both Allakaket and Huslia, a trader at Hughes (until 1969), military and Federal Aviation personnel at Bettles Field located near Evansville and at Utopia (Indian Mountain) adjacent to Hughes, and by a few other individuals.

Language

On the Koyukuk today English is the primary language used by both Indians and Eskimos in daily intercourse, although all Indians and most of the Eskimos over 20 years of age (at least in the middle and upper river villages) speak either Koyukon Athapaskan or Inupik Eskimo. Some of the middle-aged people are trilingual, and use Athapaskan, Eskimo, and English with nearly equal facility. Inasmuch as one of my primary interests in the Koyukuk region is ethnographic reconstruction of the earlier Athapaskan Indian culture, it becomes important to correctly classify their language with respect to other Northern Athapaskan speakers.

Osgood (1936) placed the Koyukuk River Indians in the Koyukon division of Northern Athapaskan. According to him there were three branches of Koyukon: (1) the upper Yukon branch, which included those Indians living along the Yukon River between the mouth of the Tanana west to just above Nulato, (2) the Koyukuk River branch, and (3) the lower Yukon-Innoko branch which included people on the Innoko and Yukon between Nulato and Kaltag. Later de Laguna (1947) discussed the distribution of Koyukon speakers and is primarily in agreement with Osgood, although she extended their eastern range to include the Rampart region of the Yukon, and she further suggested a dual division of the Koyukuk River branch: one dialect being spoken from the mouth of the river to the Alatna, and a second from that point northward. More recently Krauss (personal communications) has re-evaluated Koyukon Athapaskan and he has divided it into Inner and Outer Koyukon speakers, instead of retaining the earlier tripartite division suggested by Osgood, *et al.* His Inner Koyukon represents those who have retained traditional Koyukon linguistic traits and the Outer are speakers who have taken on certain traits suggestive of the neighboring Eskimo language.

In light of Krauss' recent work and a re-evaluation of my own with the Koyukuk River people, I believe that at the time of initial contact by the Russians (Zagoskin 1967) with the Koyukuk Indians in 1838 there were three sub-dialects of Koyukon spoken by Indians living on the Koyukuk and its major tributaries. I have tentatively set parameters for these as follows: (1) The lower Koyukuk group that lived between the mouth of the Koyukuk north to the Kateel River. Some boundaries for this sub-dialect remain to be defined. It may have included some speakers on the Yukon and belong in Osgood's upper Yukon branch, or it may be part of a network of dialects for which Osgood's scheme is poorly suited as a classificatory device. (2) The middle Koyukuk who lived between Dalbi and the mouth of the Kanuti. (3) The upper Koyukuk or South Fork

people who exploited the region north of the Kanuti River, including an area near its headwaters, the lower Alatna, and the region along the Koyukuk from the Alatna northward to the South Fork and John rivers. The Krauss classification at first posed several problems because when we compared notes we found several isolated pockets of Inner Koyukon speakers, such as my South Fork group and a second one which includes the present-day Stevens Village region on the Yukon and an area to its south. Through our discussions we were able to draw together these isolated pockets of Inner Koyukon speakers and we now tentatively have established them as a formerly continuous group. The rest of the Koyukon speakers, including my middle and lower Koyukuk groups, have tentatively been placed in the Outer Koyukon division which includes several other sub-dialectic groups on the Yukon southward from Stevens village to near Kaltag. More intensive work, however, needs to be done on the Koyukuk, as well as the Yukon, before a more definitive assessment of Koyukon Athapaskan linguistic affiliations can be made. An understanding of earlier linguistic alignments, especially on the Koyukuk River, becomes more difficult to achieve with the passage of time because dialectic variation is being lost through amalgamation of groups, as well as through loss of Athapaskan as a first language.

Bands

Today all Koyukuk inhabitants lead a relatively settled village life and there is little remaining of their earlier band organization. In Allakaket, however, there is presently an "uptown" faction represented primarily by families who have strong ties with the earlier Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza band and a "downtown" faction composed of families with South Fork band ties.

Band, as it is used here, refers to a group of perhaps 50 or more persons who exploited a specific territory centered around a matrilineal core of extended families, plus a few other attached distantly or non-related families.

At the time of direct contact in 1885 these small groups could not be considered as clans in the Murdockian sense because they only infrequently interacted as a local group and spent most of the year in dispersed one or two family units. Following the Nulato incident in 1851 and raids between the Kutchin and South Fork bands about this same time, along with reported decline in game, composition of groupings of families within certain areas underwent rapid change with an amalgamation of those from the several areas into the upper regions of the Koyukuk between the Kanuti and the South Fork rivers. These movements appear to have triggered development of composite groups which may not have theretofore existed.

Within each band territory were smaller local groups whose families worked together as cooperative units. In some instances these smaller units constituted extended families while in others the liaison was among families whose relationships were based primarily upon friendship or distant sib connections.

At the time of initial contact by the Russians at the mouth of the Koyukuk River in 1838 I think there were five bands of Indians living in the Koyukuk drainage. Four of these were Koyukon speakers who lived between the mouth of the river north to the South Fork-Bettles-John River region (Fig. 1). The fifth band was that of the Dihai Kutchin speakers (McKenna 1965) who lived to the northeast of the Koyukon, partly on the North Fork of the Koyukuk, who will not be discussed in this paper.

Each Koyukuk band exploited a rather well defined territory. In this paper they are designated by their territorial parameters only. Those who lived along the river from its mouth at the Yukon northward to the Kateel River have been called the Yukon-Kateel Band -- the southernmost band on the Koyukuk.

A second band exploited the region from the Dalbi River northward to Huggins Island and westward along the drainage of the Huslia and lower Hogatza rivers. This I have called the Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza band.

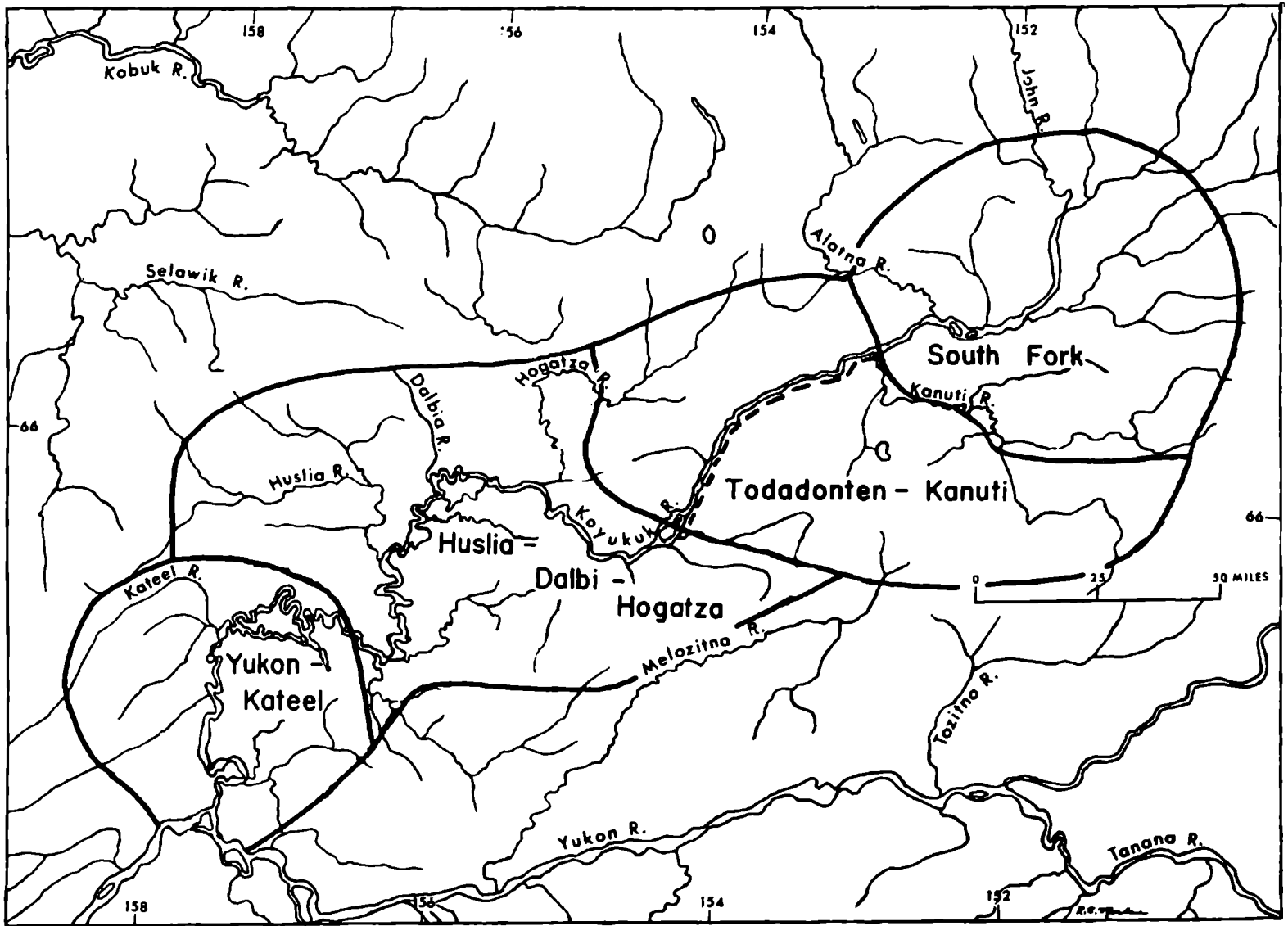


Figure 1. Map of Koyukuk band distribution.

Farther to the north lived a third group in the region along the lower Kanuti River, on Mentanontli or Lake Creek, and around Lake Todadonten. This group has been designated the Todadonten-Kanuti Band. Earlier this group may have been represented by two distinct bands -- one east of the Koyukuk around Lake Todadonten and the lower Kanuti, and the other a short distance to the west near the present village of Hughes. At the time of contact these people were closely associated with the South Fork band described below.

The fourth or South Fork band exploited the region near the headwaters of the Kanuti, northward to the lower John River, including intervening areas to the west along the lower Alatna and Henshaw, and nearly all the South Fork of the Koyukuk. Nuclear parts of the respective band areas are shown in Figure 1.

Members from the first two bands are Outer Koyukon speakers, with the Kateel-Yukon band being assigned to a sub-dialect perhaps coincident with others on the Yukon as mentioned earlier. Today people from the Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza and Todadonten-Kanuti bands who live in Hughes and Allakaket speak a sub-dialect which is lexically close to that of the Inner Koyukon speakers from South Fork but with some aspects of Outer Koyukon. At the time of contact, however, Todadonten-Kanuti band members were Inner Koyukon speakers similar to the South Fork group. The South Fork band presents a definite problem in the Koyukuk River continuum, and earlier, prior to 1838, these people may have represented a quite different group from the three other Koyukuk bands.

Contact and Movement of Band Members

The history of contact, or at least of Euro-American influence, in northwest and northcentral Alaska in actuality begins with the contact between the Russians, the Chukchi, and the Siberian Eskimos in northeastern Siberia between 1646 and 1649. From this time forth some white man's goods were traded to the Alaskan

natives across Bering Strait in exchange for Alaskan furs and other raw materials. Influence from aboriginal trade lines and slow diffusion of traits and ideas changed to that of indirect contact, at first transitory, in 1778 when Captain Cook sailed along the western coast of Alaska and explored Cape Stevens at Norton Sound. For the upper Koyukuk historic conjunction began with Stoney and Allen's explorations in 1884 and 1885 (Stoney 1899; Allen 1887). On the Yukon, however, it occurred in 1838 with the founding of the Russian trading post at Nulato.

Concomitant with explorations on the Yukon and the Koyukuk rivers, the Koyukuk Indians began to change their territory of exploitation. And, soon after the Nulato massacre in 1851, several of the Kateel families moved northward to the Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza band region. The reasons for this movement were twofold: (1) fear of reprisals from the Nulato people and (2) increase in trade between Koyukuk Indians and Kobuk Eskimos with whalers at Kotzebue Sound.

A second movement occurred about 1860-75 when several Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza families moved north and joined the Kanuti-Todadonten band near the mouth of the Kanuti River. This group moved up river because of a lack of food in the Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza region when the caribou herds ceased to go that far south, and continuing fear of reprisals from the lower Yukon bands. Along with this later movement, some members from the upper Kanuti component of the South Fork band moved to the same region. Thus at the beginning of the gold rush of 1898-99 a large number of Koyukuk Indians were living at Chief Moses' Village on the Koyukuk about two miles northeast of the mouth of the Kanuti River. This is the same village, later named Arctic City, where many miners spent their first winter on the Koyukuk (Schrader 1900; Mendenhall 1902).

The final amalgamation of families from the middle and upper Koyukuk bands began in 1906-1907 when the mission, St. John's in-the-Wilderness, was established at Allakaket (Stuck 1915). With the establishment of the mission most of the

people from Chief Moses' Village and some families from the South Fork band moved to Allakaket. However, during the gold rush others from all three middle and upper river bands moved north to the village of Bettles, just south of the John River on the Koyukuk, or even farther north to Wiseman and other gold mining camps to seek employment. Along with the Indian movements, Eskimos from the Kobuk, who at an as yet unestablished date already had moved into the upper regions of the Koyukuk drainage, especially on the Alatna River, began to move into the Indian villages to live. Since the turn of the twentieth century much of the old pattern of life has changed, and today the inhabitants live at Allakaket near the Arctic Circle and farther down river at Hughes and Huslia.

Annual Cycle and Settlement Pattern

Throughout all seasons the Koyukuk Athapaskan family spent most of its time together participating in the food quest. There was however a strong sexual division of labor, and sometimes the men made hunting and trading trips of several weeks duration accompanied only by other men.

The annual cycle was distinctively structured in terms of the times, places, type of activity, and types of interacting units involved. These units at various appropriate times consisted of families or households, fishing encampments and hunting-foraging groups which comprised major portions of a band, entire bands, joint hunting groups from two bands, and, for trading and festivals, various aggregates of individuals from diverse Koyukon Athapaskan, other Athapaskan, and Eskimo groups. Family and group alternatives existed for all stages of the annual cycle, but it is believed the generalized cycle outlined below is the most applicable. It is based upon three detailed descriptions of the annual cycle as it was practiced about 1910-1920 and has been adjusted on the basis of further information to fit the period at the end of the nineteenth century.

Summer

Between the 7th and 10th of June families left their spring camps and relatively large groups, primarily from one band, and congregated at the mouths of major tributaries, such as the South Fork and the Kanuti. There they had a communal party 'potlatch' which they presently compare to the Fourth of July. Some families also may have done a little trading at this time. Moulting fowl was consumed among other foods. The main rivers were swollen in June and poor for fishing at this time.

By July several groups of families moved a short distance from their rendezvous places to gather around "bosses" who directed the installation of salmon traps and barricades. On the Koyukuk these traps extended only part-way across the main river, but on the South Fork, at Nohulchinta where apparently the whole South Fork band of recent times gathered, a weir with several basket traps was built which extended from bank to bank. The first salmon usually arrived by the end of the first week in July, a little earlier or later farther down and up the river. Shee fish come to part of the Koyukuk area at the end of summer but are not found throughout the area. If the salmon run was very slight some families quit the main river and traps were installed in the smaller tributaries to take descending whitefish and suckers. Women also set willow bast nets in the quieter eddies and with the advent of commercial yarns, nets nearly completely supplanted traps for salmon fishing. This net fishery has resulted in a proliferation of smaller fish camps. Aside from the availability of better material for nets, a factor in the shift from traps, which were built by the men, to nets may have been the gold rush which created other forms of employment for the men.

During the summer they lived in skin tents or moss and turf houses. Fish, cut primarily by the women, were hung for drying, especially when showers threatened, in a frame structure or *sankano*, a term used also to designate a

fish camp.

Late in August men from the band reassembled to go on an extended hunting trip to the hinterlands. One to several parties of men might be formed from a single band. Often several men from a downriver band went northward and joined a group of South Fork men to hunt in the upper reaches of the latter's territory. Operations of this kind were prearranged. During the day parties of two or three men went off in different directions to hunt, but at night the whole group attempted to camp together. They kept moving and made several caches. On the way back the men picked up their cached meat and hides and re-joined their wives and dependents at fish camp about September 20th. While the men were gone the women and children gathered berries which they stored in birchbark baskets to be taken with the family to their next camp along with a supply of dried fish.

Fall and Early Winter

After late summer hunting and fishing the families immediately went to a fall camp, usually situated away from the main river at a lake outlet or on the outlet stream. Basket traps were set in the streams for whitefish and grayling, and while the women and children tended the traps the men went out on short trips to hunt bear and other game such as moose. The women and children also hunted and snared small game near their houses. About this time they moved into their semisubterranean winter houses or *naklukno* which were built only a short distance away from the fall fishing sites. Two or three houses, each usually occupied by two families, might be built at one of these fall-winter settlements.

Late in October the caribou arrived from the north and several men went together to the hills to look for them. Many family groups or band segments under a "boss" had long caribou fences, not of the surround and pound type,

set with snares. Some of the meat taken at this time was cached to be picked up during the winter.

In November the men trapped for furs. Those who were co-resident in a winter settlement set trap lines which usually extended in different directions from the home base. A trapper, and sometimes his partner, frequently had a tent camp several miles out, from which he returned periodically to see his family. I am not certain as to what the precontact situation was for trapping, especially as a distinct, separate part of the annual cycle. Following freeze-up in the fall, keyhole traps for loche were constructed through the ice, and nets were set under the ice for whitefish and pike. This practice apparently was followed when winter camps were built on the river or after contact when the Indians were congregated in larger villages on the Koyukuk.

When the shortest winter days arrived there was little hunting and trapping and no fishing. During this period the Indians visited nearby relatives and friends for their high season festivals. It was also during the winter months, usually after the darkest days, that they went either to the south flank of the Brooks Range or to the Kobuk for feasts and to trade, or their Eskimo trading partners came to the Koyukuk.

Late Winter and Early Spring

Late in January, when the days were getting longer, the families went out on extended hunting-foraging-trapping trips, but the oldest people remained in the winter houses to get along as best as they could. This was an especially lean time of the year. Sometimes several families from a band travelled and camped together. In the daytime the men went their separate ways hunting rabbit, porcupine, spruce hens, caribou, and moose if they could find one. The families kept moving, and frequently camped at a new place each night; but when they got a moose they stayed in the same place several days. While the men hunted, women looked

for black-fish breathing holes at the lakes, and if one of these places could be found, a trap was made and set. In later times the men also trapped marten on these treks, and some groups stopped to trap at their turnaround points. Sometimes while on these trips two groups, probably representing most of the members of two bands, would meet and spend a few days together. When they got enough meat, or about the first of April, they went back to their winter houses pulling their sleds by hand. While on these trips they lived in conical skin tents.

Late Spring

Late in April the people went to their spring or muskrat camps. These camps were located in an area of ponds and lakes immediately adjacent to a river and usually were not far from the fall-winter settlements. When they went to spring camp there was still ice on the lakes and snow on the ground, but soon the lakes thawed sufficiently around the edges for canoeing. The men hunted muskrats, beaver, and ducks from their canoes every day. Muskrats, locally called "rats," and beaver are quite edible and the people say they got fat on them. The women set fish nets of two sizes, large and small mesh, in which they caught pike, small whitefish (sometimes called "herring"), and suckers. Women also trapped a substantial number of muskrats.

There was one significant variation to the spring pattern in which there were two separate spring camps -- one for men and one for women -- sometimes located many miles apart. The activities then were essentially as described above with the main emphasis in the men's camp being upon trapping.

Usually two families went to spring camp together, but sometimes there were larger aggregates of four or even more families from one band at a single camp.

The Koyukuk and its tributaries break up late in May and everyone left spring rat camp by June 10, either to congregate on the main river or to camp for a few

weeks on one of the tributaries near their spring camp in order to take advantage of a run of fish that comes from the lakes and to hunt waterfowl.

Members from each of the Koyukuk bands shown in Figure 1 exploited a well-defined territory about fifty to seventy miles in diameter. Throughout the year the families within each band lived, fished, and hunted within their own territory, except when they took a few longer trips to nearby mountains to hunt sheep and caribou. Visits to other bands and tribal regions also were made for festivals and trade.

There were two periods of the year, during summer and winter, when at least a certain segment of the population was nearly sedentary. At both times they lived in semipermanent villages or camps where they stored their supplies and to which they returned from time to time. These settlements were small and each usually contained no more than three houses or summer tents. Winter settlements that we have surveyed to date were of the one- and two-house types. It is estimated that the population of these small villages was from 10 to 35 people.

Sociopolitical Organization

At the time of contact in 1885, Koyukuk Indian society was organized into bands containing both related and unrelated families. These people used a modified matri-Iroquois system of nomenclature for determining kinship, although sometime after 1900 their system changed to a cognatic one of the Yuman type with retention of Iroquois cousin terms. A third change occurred in very recent years with a shift to a nearly completely bilateral system with Eskimo cousin terms. At contact descent was reckoned lineally through one of three exogamous matrilineal bands -- *Tonitza alchila*, *Bi jé-ta hotana*, or *Nulchina*. Sib as well as nominal band exogamy was followed in the choice of marriage partners and early matrilineal postnuptial residence was practiced. Soon after contact Koyukuk society began to change and within less than 85 years, it has developed a type

of organization which nearly approaches that practiced by Euro-Americans.

Major Interaction Spheres

Within Koyukuk social culture there were four basic units of organization which were at the same time residential and interaction units of ascending complexity. These were the nuclear family, the household, the semipermanent village, and the band. There was no recognition of tribal unity, and persons from the several bands along the river recognized affiliation with one another on two counts: those with whom they married and those who spoke closely similar dialects. Even though they did not have political centralization, they did, however, consider themselves all to be Koyukuk people as opposed to all others whom they considered outsiders or strangers. They further made a distinction between other close linguistically related Athapaskans, as well as the more distantly related Kutchin and Eskimo.

The nuclear family. The primary unit of Koyukuk social organization and the focal point for interpersonal interaction was the elementary or nuclear family which was composed of a man, his wife, and their natural-born or adopted offspring. Since both mortality and birth rates were high, many children were adopted -- most frequently by consanguinial relatives of the child's father or mother. Adopted children were considered to be the same as natural-born offspring and were expected to fulfill identical roles.

Within this marginal subsistence region a great deal of time was spent in food-getting activity. Thus each individual had his own specific duties to perform in the food quest, in addition to his other obligations to the members of his nuclear family and the larger social group.

The household. Although the primary unit of social organization was the nuclear family, the basic unit of extra-familial interaction, as well as the residential unit, was the household. This normally consisted of two families

and possibly one or more old people who were no longer able to care for themselves.

At the time of direct contact (1885) there appears to have been no single rule regarding the composition of a household other than it usually did not consist of adult male and female siblings (brother-sister) and their respective families. Several types of households existed: (1) preferably a man and his wife or wives, their unmarried offspring, and married daughters and their families; (2) a man and wife, their unmarried offspring, and a married son and his family, although this type was far less common than the preceding type; (3) two unrelated partners and their families; (4) two or more brothers and their families; and (5) two or more sisters and their families. Types 1-3 frequently had one or more aged adults, usually a parent or grandparent of one of the older adult residents, and types 4 and 5 frequently developed following deaths of aged parents. Polygynous unions were sanctioned by Koyukuk society, and if a man had more than one wife they shared the house along with the wife or wives of the second adult male resident.

Family alignments within the household were not necessarily permanent liaisons between the two families. Frequently two families might share a common residence for a few years and then seek other household partners. Some partnerships, however, were more durable and the two families might continue in common residence for many years.

Several types of dwellings were used by the Koyukuk for various purposes at different seasons of the year. Household units of the two-family type normally used only three of these types -- the semisubterranean winter house, the moss and bark covered summer house, and sometimes the skin tepee. The semisubterranean winter house and the moss and turf summer dwellings were considered to be the property of the head of the household, even though the junior partner and his

family may have helped to build it (McFadyen n.d.).

Figure 2 shows a stylized spatial arrangement of families in the semi-subterranean winter house. A similar plan was followed when two families shared summer dwellings.

Those who sat opposite one another in the house interacted as a unit in subsistence and other household responsibilities. The adult males hunted big game and fished together and shared in many of their workaday activities, but trapping was sometimes separate and each man owned his own traps. If one hunter was successful and the other not, both families shared that which had been obtained by the successful man. Women's work also was shared between the two families; children's activities likewise.

Among the household residents, all adult male-female relationships represented those of respect and differing degrees of avoidance. Each wife showed respect and partial avoidance toward her own spouse as well as to the other adult males. When the man's son-in-law was in residence, there was marked avoidance between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law (or between a girl and her father-in-law), and he never spoke to her or looked at her if affairs could be transacted through an intermediary.

The older married women directed the activities of the younger partners' wives although they worked as a team and took turns cooking for all household residents. Other woman's activities such as fishing, snaring small game, tanning and sewing, also were shared by the adult married women within the household. When there were polygynous unions, the first and almost without exception older wife took charge of the younger and directed her work.

Old men and women were shown equal respect by members of both families in the household. An old person, in turn, treated the others according to their respective age and relationship categories. Elder residents also helped with the

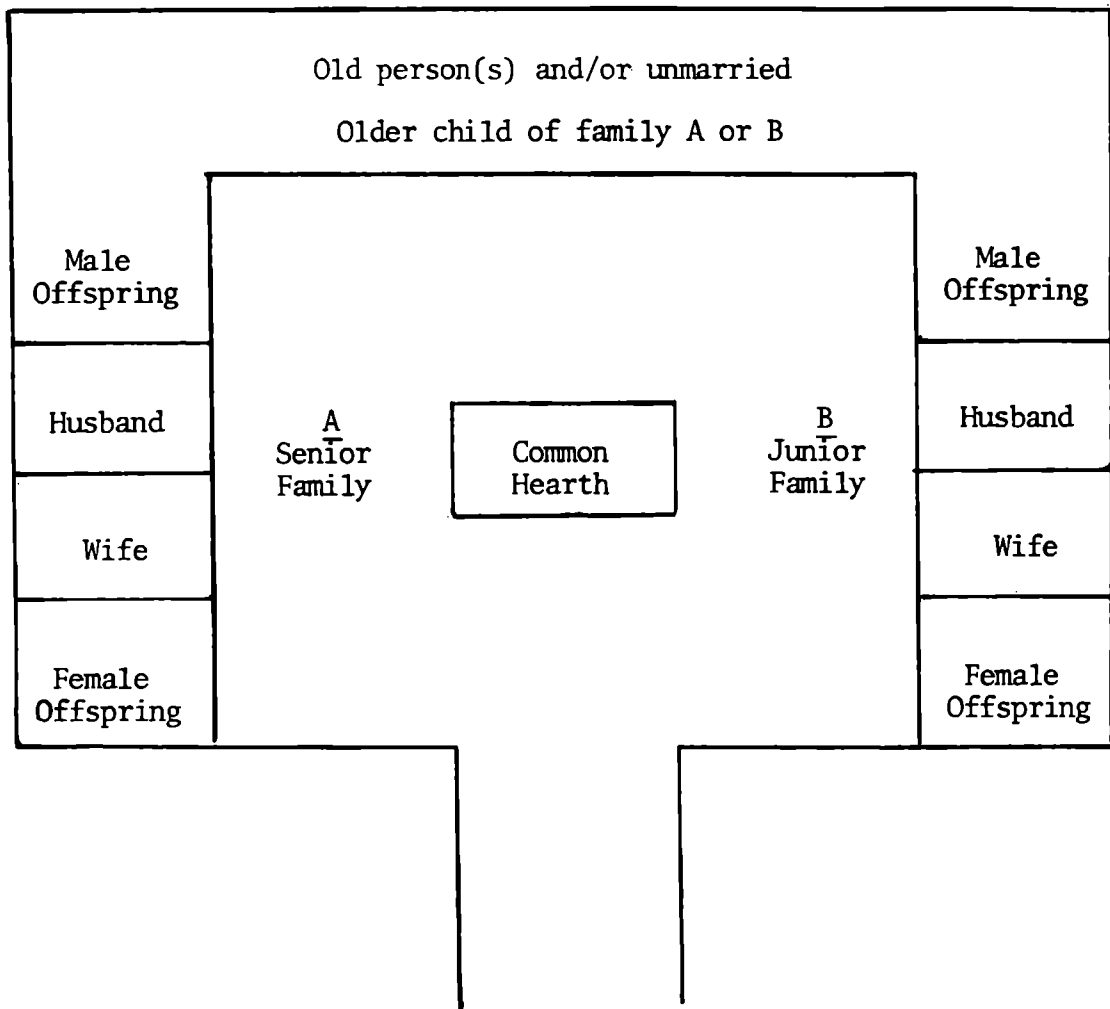


Figure 2. Special arrangement of non-polygynous unions within a single household unit

household and subsistence activities within the limits of their physical capabilities. When they were no longer able to cope they frequently were left to die.

The semipermanent village. The next unit of increasing complexity in Koyukuk society was the semipermanent winter village.

Prior to 1885 there were several winter villages, or local groups within each band territory. These were not large villages but rather small clusters usually of matrilineal families living in two or three households at different points within the territory.

About 1885 these smaller local village groups began to consolidate into larger ones like that of Chief Moses on the Koyukuk near the Arctic Circle just above the Kanuti River. Consolidation of families appears to have occurred because of (1) movement of members from the middle Koyukuk northward, (2) decimation of the population due to an increasing number of deaths from disease -- especially smallpox, influenza, and measles, and (3) a decline in caribou with a concomitant shift in emphasis to greater exploitation of fish supplemented by small game.

A realignment of families brought about by the northward movement of people from the Huslia-Dalbi-Hogatza band caused a change in interaction patterns among the families of the two northern bands. In some cases the shift in residence brought into direct contact relatives from both one's father's family and one's mother's family, and endogamous band marriages became much more prevalent. These movements also were undoubtedly important causative agents in bringing about changes in kin terminology and descent which were to follow.

The band. The fourth and largest unit of frequent interaction on the Koyukuk prior to 1885 was the band composed of a number of both related and distantly or unrelated families who exploited a common territory. Persons distantly or unrelated could also join the band at the invitation of a resident member and they could leave at will.

Within the band territory some areas were shared communally by all members and other areas were considered to be private, family-held property. Muskrat, beaver, and marten trapping areas and fishing locations were privately held and exploited, as also were certain big game territories which usually were coincident with trapping areas, berrying grounds adjacent to fish camps, bird hunting areas, and more recently wood lots. Some large game hunting, fowling, and berrying grounds however appear to have been considered as open land and were jointly exploited by many band families during their annual trek throughout the region. Privately-held land usually could be used by others for hunting if its holder were first asked for his permission. Co-resident families usually pooled hunting territories. With the present state of limited knowledge of Koyukuk culture, it is not clear how long private family "ownership" of land has been in effect. Competition in the fur trade may have been a causative factor in the land ownership concept. All informants asked, however, believe the concept and present pattern of land tenure is very old and one which they have "always followed." If a man were to give up an area and not use it for a long time -- in excess of approximately five years -- and not give it to a son or son-in-law, he forfeited his claim to it and another would be free to use it and take it as his own. I have, however, seen land reclaimed by a previous owner after an absence of 20 years. Rights to property were never sold. This applies to hunting and trapping territories as well as to fish camps which presently are considered to be owned by the women. In Koyukuk culture ownership of land implied possession and use, and as long as an individual used a particular tract his rights to it were supposed to be respected by all others.

Although throughout most of the year residence within the band territory was of the dispersed form outlined above, considerable intercourse and mutual support was still exhibited among the band members. During fall, spring, and summer

fishing large aggregates of people camped together and fished at weirs and traps under the directions of a band "boss" or a local group boss, an individual who was in some respects akin to a chief. At other times, when one was in need a family could seek help from people in nearby encampments. In addition to these band activities, members gathered for festive potlatches at the beginning of the summer, frequently again in the fall, and in mid-winter to celebrate the coming of longer days and to have the memorial potlatches for those who had died the previous year. At other times, members from one area might visit those from another part of the same band.

Many band activities were communal, but the separate family units represented the ultimate lines of authority, and the Koyukuk claim that prior to about 1885 there were no "real" band chiefs. Each band did, however, have one person who acted as the band "boss" or *dogon*. (*Dogon* = "rich man," "trader," "big-shot," "boss"; also *Konotla-holi* = "leader," "head guy." The first term is suggestive of Russian "toyon.") In several instances there was more than one boss within a band region each with varying degrees of influence, particularly when band members formed two or more fish camps or caribou fence hunting groups. The boss reportedly was the most intelligent person, not necessarily a medicine man, and nearly always the best hunter. He usually, but not always, owned the large fishing weirs and big game snare fences. Leadership frequently shifted as the demands changed and a shaman or the wisest and most able hunter were turned to for advice. When decisions needed to be made that might involve several families or the entire band -- e.g., during planning for the communal hunt or warfare -- the older more experienced men gathered to discuss what should be done. Most often though it was the hunting-fishing boss who had the final say. These decisions were usually followed by the other families, although no one was under obligation to abide by another's decisions.

Discipline among band members was not a particularly serious problem. There were no courts or councils to try offenders. The prime movers in disciplinary action were gossip, ostracism, direct retribution by the offended or his family, and the taboos and moral stories that governed an individual's actions -- particularly those regarding theft and sexual license.

Thus although many activities were shared in common, there was no true centralized activity other than (1) the communal hunts, (2) periodic festivals, and (3) assistance in time of need and these frequently if not usually did not involve the entire band. Much freedom of action was permitted within Koyukuk society so long as one did not endanger other band members or their property.

There was no formal recognition of tribal unity among the several Koyukuk Indian bands, but they did claim to be "one people" as opposed to other nearby Koyukon and less closely related Athapaskan speaking groups. Marriage was nearly completely restricted to liaisons among the Koyukuk bands. Although prior to contact in 1885, there had been a number of marriages between the Indians from the Koyukuk and the Eskimos on the Kobuk and Upper Alatna. How long marriage between these two groups has occurred is not known. Interaction between Kobuk Eskimos and Koyukuk Indians appears to have not been recently established. It is especially interesting to note that the Koyukuk myth of the first potlatch, during the time men and animals could change form from one to the other, that Kobuk animals were among the invited guests. Just as there was no band chief in a strict sense, there also was no Koyukuk Indian tribal chief until about 1885 when Chief Moses united most of the Koyukuk. Only on a few occasions did members from the several bands gather for extra-band activities. These included travel to one another's territory for summer and winter potlatches, memorial potlatches, sometimes weddings, trading festivals, and for cooperative men's hunts. It was particularly during these larger gatherings that old ties with

friends and relatives from other bands were renewed and new liaisons arranged.

Kinship

To date Koyukuk kinship terminology can be traced from a modified matri-Iroquois system with bifurcate collateral terms, through Yuman, to the contemporary Eskimo type of terminology. All the nuances of the system and its changes through time have not as yet been completely assessed. The terms (listed phonetically only, without use of standard orthography) shown below are those that were used by the middle river speakers around 1900. The variations in terminology between the middle river and South Fork people are not presented herein, but will be discussed in a forthcoming paper.

Consanguineal terms. Speaker's sex male and female unless stated otherwise.

<u>Term</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
1. <i>sitsiya</i>	fa fa, mo fa, old male sib mate
2. <i>sitsu</i>	fa mo, mo mo, old female sib mate
3. <i>ita</i>	fa
4. <i>ina</i>	mo
5. <i>s-towa</i>	fa br, fa si
6. <i>sibaedza</i>	fa si (alternate term)
7. <i>sil-a</i>	mo br, older male sib member, also fa si hu
8. <i>sakoya</i>	mo si, older female sib mate, also fa br wi
9. <i>suwa</i>	O br, fa br sn, step br, male sib mate about your age but a little older
10. <i>sikitla</i>	Y br, step br, Y male sib mate
11. <i>soda</i>	O si, fa br da, mo si da, step si, O female sib mate of own generation
12. <i>statza</i>	Y si, mo br da, mo si da, step si, Y sib mate of your own generation

- | | |
|---|--|
| 13. <i>gana</i> | fa si sn, mo br sn, fa si da, mo
br da, hu si, si hu si, si hu bro,
also partner and good friend |
| 14. <i>si-na</i> | sn, da, adopted sn or da |
| 15. <i>si-a</i> | br sn |
| 16. <i>sitkla-a</i> | br da |
| 17. <i>soza</i>
(Speaker's sex male) | si sn, si da, young female sib
mate |
| 18. <i>siyoza</i>
(Speaker's sex female) | si sn, young male sib mate |
| 19. <i>siyoza-a</i>
(Speaker's sex female) | si da, young female sib mate |
| 20. <i>skowa</i> | sn sn, sn da, da sn, da da, br
sn sn, br sn da, br da sn, br da
da, si sn sn, si sn da, si da sn,
si da da, sn sn sn, sn sn da, sn da
sn, sn da da, da da sn, da da da,
da sn sn, da sn da, very young sib mate |

Affinal terms.

<u>Term</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
1. <i>sakun</i>	hu
2. <i>sa-ot</i>	wi
3. <i>sowa</i>	hu br, br wi, wi si
4. <i>selin</i>	si hu, wi br
5. <i>gana</i>	wi si hu, hu si, (and also cross- cousins, partners, and friends)
6. <i>siyotza-ot</i>	sn wi
7. <i>seldon</i>	dau hu
8. <i>stowa</i>	mo si hu (also fa br and fa si)
9. <i>sibaedza</i>	mo br wi (later also fa si)
10. <i>sel-a</i>	fa si hu (and mo br)
11. <i>sakoya</i>	fa br wi

12. *ina nilani* mo-i-1
 13. *ita nilani* fa-i-1

Although the terminology is limited and does not extend laterally beyond first cousins, the system is classificatory and the terms are extended to sib mates.

Sibs

The Koyukuk River Koyukon were divided into three exogamous matrilineal sibs: (1) The *Tonitza alchilla*, "in the middle of the water," who were reported to be the ones with the most friends. According to some informants, at an early time the *Tonitza* sib, also known as *gitlina* or dentalium people, was the most important. Later when iron was introduced the *Tonitza* sib decreased in import and was superceded by *Nulchina*, the sib which was associated with iron. (2) *Bije-ta-hotana*, people who live among the caribou. (3) *Nulchina*, iron people. It is questionable, however, if the name for this group actually means iron and perhaps earlier may have referred to copper.

I have elected to call these named matrilineages of the Koyukuk sibs instead of clans because they in no way appear to have functioned as Murdock's (1947) compromise kin group, and they by no means constituted residential units.

The sibs regulated only a few aspects of Koyukuk organization. The most important functions were to regulate marriage and descent, and prior to contact sib exogamy appears to have been carefully practiced. By 1900 some people were beginning to marry within their own sib, although not with those considered close kin. Today sib affiliation has no regulatory control and most people under thirty years of age have no knowledge of the earlier sib organization.

Another function of the sib was that of preparing and giving the memorial potlatch for deceased members of one's sib. Persons of another sib were responsible for preparation of the body after death and for disposal of the

remains. If they so desired, they also could help with the potlatch. Today the surviving spouse or adult children of the deceased usually give the potlatch.

When a person visited another area to attend a gathering, one's sib affiliation was immediately asked, in a surreptitious manner, by the host to determine "which side he was on" -- there is no generic term for sib -- and sib mates then would be pointed out to him. Sib affiliation also was used to grant one's safe passage through another area. In the recent past sib structure has had little significance and the Koyukuk successfully have found ready alternatives to the earlier sib functions.

Marriage and Post-Nuptial Residence

As a rule marriage with anyone with whom either real or fictive kin relationship was recognized was forbidden. This did not however, include cross-cousins who were denoted by the term *gana* or "good friend" and also certain affinal relations. The preferred marriage was that of cross-cousins and especially with mother's brother's offspring. Father's sister's children were the second most preferred partners. Parallel cousin marriage was strictly forbidden and the genealogies which date back to about 1840 do not show a single case of it. Within very recent years, because of the general shift to bilaterality and with the use of Eskimo cousin terms among all but the oldest residents, cross-cousin marriages have also been precluded. The church also has been influential in bringing about this change.

It is interesting to note that several informants explained that marriage between relatives would cause the birth of defective children. They cited a story which described such a union between parallel cousins "downriver a long time ago" -- but after the time when animals and men were the same -- that resulted in the birth of a child that was half animal and half human. Since

that time they claim no marriages between close relatives have been permitted.

Both the sororate and levirate were practiced as well as sororal polygyny. Polygynous unions, however, were not restricted to marriage of sisters but could be nonsororal as well. Some informants told me sororal polygynous unions were usually much more satisfactory than nonsororal unions because sisters normally got along better with one another as co-wives than did unrelated women.

When polygyny was practiced a man usually had no more than two wives, but there are instances where some men had as many as six or seven. Polyandry is also reported for the Koyukuk, although I have only one actual instance of it in my records. It is of the non-fraternal type. Apparently polyandry was quite rare and appears to be of little statistical significance.

In early times a man also was permitted to marry his mother's brother's wife upon the death of mother's brother, especially if she were very young. More recently since contact the term *sibaedza*, mother's brother's wife, has been used also to denote father's sister, and has thus removed all persons in the *sibaedza* category as possible mates.

Marriages were preferentially both sib and band exogamous. Since the time of contact there has been a marked increase in sib and band endogamy, and at present with the demise of sibs and bands neither of the older practices is followed.

Marriages were arranged by the respective parents of the correspondents, the mothers having the most say. The prospective bride and groom could voice their preference of mates, but the final decision in most all instances was made by their parents. Frequently a young girl was betrothed long before puberty. Most Koyukuk brides were between fourteen and fifteen years of age, although their spouses had usually reached the age of nineteen or twenty at the time of first marriage.

When it was known that a prospective bride had reached puberty, and sometimes before then, the man whom she was to marry frequently moved from his parents' residence to that of the girl's. There he performed bride service by hunting and fishing with her father and brothers until her parents were satisfied that he would be able to support their daughter. Usually early post-nuptial residence continued to be matrilocal until after the birth of a child and frequently continued for four or five years after marriage. We were told that this was necessary because the young couple at first did not know enough to make a living.

After contact the period of initial matrilocal post-nuptial residence was shortened in many cases and it lost some of its significance because of the consolidation of families into larger settlements and the partial amalgamation of bands. The advent of increased trading and opportunity for wage labor after contact, particularly during and following the gold rush, probably caused a change in the older matrilocal pattern. Information from Koyukuk Indians suggests, however, that residence has always been governed by expediency.

Divorce appears to have been infrequently practiced, but when it did occur the marriage was dissolved by common although sometimes dissonant consent of the two individuals, and the wife and youngest children either remained with her parents if they were still living in their residence, and if not she would return to her own family and band region with her children.

Conclusions

This very uneven pedestrian overview of several aspects of middle and upper Koyukuk River Koyukon life highlights some of the main features of their social organization and land utilization concepts that were in effect from 1838 on, when the Koyukuk were already in a state of transition. It may also be worthwhile to briefly outline some of the other factors which may be pertinent

to changes in their organization.

The Koyukuk were characterized by a narrow system of kinship terminology which they extended by age-grading to include all other persons who belonged to the same sib, both within and outside the Koyukuk boundary. They were further characterized by a tendency toward matrilocality, with small cooperative units which were organized into territorial exploitation groups that at present I have chosen to designate as bands.

By 1838 the Koyukuk were in a state of transition because they were a strong link, through the Kobuk Eskimos, in the chain of the Alaskan-Siberian fur trade prior to development of Russian trade in Alaska. And back through time for at least the past 8000 years residents of the Koyukuk drainage, whomever they may have been, had apparently been active traders of obsidian with groups that lived both to the north and south. It is unknown when the Koyukon first inhabited the Koyukuk drainage. They may have lived there for several millenia or perhaps only a few hundred years. It is interesting, however, to note they, unlike many other Northern Athapaskans, have no migration legends and they believe they have "always" lived there.

Prior to 1838 the Koyukuk also were engaged in internecine raiding with Kutchin speakers to their east -- a situation which continued until well after 1851 and precluded Koyukuk traders from obtaining goods directly from the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Yukon. They did, however, obtain some Fort Yukon goods through the intermediate trading point at the mouth of the Tanana. Raiding also was a way of life between the Koyukuk people and the Yukon Koyukon from Nulato southward along the river.

Change continued after 1838 almost certainly, on the one hand, because of decrease in the size of groups from decimation of population through disease introduced through contact, and continued raids with the Kutchin and Yukon

River Koyukon; and on the other hand because of intensification of solidarity with Kobuk and Nunamiut Eskimos on their northern and western borders in an attempt to by-pass Russian trade at Nulato.

Thus in an area where population has apparently always been rather small because of its marginal subsistence problems, plus the aspects of disease and raid, it is difficult to postulate their earlier form of organization. Considering these external influences on the Koyukuk prior to direct contact with Euro-Americans we cannot be certain that at an earlier period Koyukuk social organization was as has been reconstructed. Nevertheless, the pattern as reconstructed from its more recent vestiges appears in my estimation to represent a reasonable adaptation for marginal hunter-fishermen in interior Alaska. Perhaps flexibility and expediency have always been the keynotes of their organization.

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FEUDING AND WARFARE AMONG NORTHWESTERN ATHAPASKANS

Catharine McClellan

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FEUDING AND WARFARE AMONG NORTHWESTERN ATHAPASKANS¹

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Résumé

Pour bien comprendre les réseaux d'interrelations sociales des Athapaskan septentrionaux, il est nécessaire d'examiner à la fois les facteurs d'union et de division entre les divers groupes et individus. Le présent document traite principalement de deux sources de division, la dissension et la belligérance, et plus particulièrement des formes qu'elles revêtaient au début chez les Tlingit des terres intérieures, les Tagish, les Tutchoni du Nord et du Sud, les Han, les Nabesna (Haut Tanana) et les Atna vivant dans la région qui va du Nord de la Colombie-Britannique à la Rivière Copper, au centre-sud de l'Alaska, et comprenant le Sud du Territoire du Yukon. Bien que les manifestations de dissension et de belligérance de tous les groupes étudiés offrent certaines ressemblances, les motifs des hostilités varient et sont beaucoup plus difficiles à déterminer, spécialement au sein des groupes très soucieux d'entretenir des relations interpersonnelles amicales et pacifiques. La disette, l'expansion territoriale, l'accès aux minéraux convoités, tel le cuivre, la pénurie de femmes et, ultérieurement, la mainmise sur le commerce avec l'homme blanc sont tour à tour examinés à titre de sources possibles de conflits.

Abstract

In order to understand social networks of northwestern Athapaskans, factors which have linked individuals and groups together as well as those which have divided them from one another must be considered. This paper focuses on the divisive institutions of feuding and warfare, particularly as they existed in earlier times among the Inland Tlingit, Tagish, Southern and Northern Tutchone, Han, Upper Tanana and Atna who inhabit the region from northern British Columbia through southern Yukon Territory to the Copper River in south central Alaska.

¹This is a slightly altered version of the paper as originally presented at the Athapaskan conference March 19, 1971. The field work on which much of the contents are based was carried out between 1948 and 1970 and was generously supported by The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Association of University Women, American Philosophical Society, Arctic Institute of North America, National Museums of Canada, National Science Foundation, University of Washington, and University of Wisconsin. Dr. Frederica de Laguna of Bryn Mawr College has been the chief investigator in our work with the Atna, and I am grateful to her for allowing me to use our field notes and the data in Appendix A. I also wish to thank the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for allowing me to quote from and refer to unpublished material in their archives.

Similarities are detected in the conduct of feuding and warfare among all groups considered, but the reasons for hostilities of the past are various and are much less easily assessed, especially among groups who placed a high premium on friendly, non-violent interpersonal relations. Food shortages, territorial expansion, access to desired minerals such as copper, shortage of women, and later control of trade with the white man are each in turn considered as possible causative factors for hostility.

Introduction

If we are ever to understand the social networks of the northwestern Athapaskans, we will have to consider not only what has linked individuals and groups together in the past, but also what has divided them from each other. For example, among the things which drew together varying groups in aboriginal times were kinship, marriage, matrilineal sib or moiety organization, potlatches, trading, certain kinds of fishing and hunting expeditions, and special trips to seek effective shamanistic aid. Some of these institutions or activities created fairly permanent ties between distinct groups. In other cases the linkages were only temporary. Furthermore, these same phenomena could also divide people on occasion rather than unite them.

Following contact with the whites came an intensification of trading and potlatching, and the clustering of diverse populations around trading posts, missions, schools and hospitals. New modes of transportation such as dog traction with sleds and toboggans, power skiffs, steam boats, airplanes, cars, trucks and snowmobiles began to shorten the vast distances in the North. Young natives from widely scattered settlements were sent out to large boarding schools at distant places, and people of all ages and from many bands were sent to hospitals in distant southern cities, and sometimes to jails. At such places Indians who ordinarily would never have seen each other, became good friends or even married.

Among the more characteristically divisive institutions of aboriginal times were feuding and warfare, capture by "Bushmen," and occasional cannibalism. Sometimes starvation wiped out entire local populations or badly decimated them,

but if the survivors were able to reach other groups such a disaster might, of course, conjoin rather than divide people.

While the increasing fur trade of post-contact times often drew together larger groups of natives than ever existed before, at the same time it intensified group and individual rivalries and introduced new diseases which swept along the trade routes with devastating results. At the end of the nineteenth century mineral strikes brought in overwhelming numbers of non-natives. The subsequent development of the white-dominated towns meant new job possibilities for some natives, but the ideas introduced by missionaries, teachers and others often alienated individuals from each other even within the same family, and dramatically shattered sib, moiety or band organization.

However, all of these are only some of the linking or divisive factors which have been operating in the last two hundred years. Dr. Helm and her associates have ably shown us in their paper and synoptic chart (this volume) just how complex and far-flung the historical aspects of change in the North have been. My own paper is of a more limited nature. It focuses primarily on the institutions of feuding and warfare, particularly as they existed in earlier times among Indian groups comprising a broad contiguous arc from northern British Columbia through southern Yukon Territory to the Copper River in south central Alaska. The groups to be treated usually appear in the literature as the Inland Tlingit, the Tagish, the Southern and Northern Tutchone, the Han, the Upper Tanana, and the Atna (McClellan 1964 and frontispiece this volume).

Like those who have already described hostilities among other Northern Athapaskans, I do not think it is worthwhile to quibble over semantic distinctions between "feuding" and "warfare" (cf. Honigmann 1954:92; Osgood 1936:88; Slobodin 1960:79; McKennan 1959:95). In this paper when I use the term "feuding," I shall mean a prolonged and serious dispute between two recognized social groups. Usually at least one killing or the capture of a person is involved so

that unless a prompt settlement is reached through payment, a retaliatory killing or capture is required. The feud might be between sib segments at the same or at different localities, or between entire local groups involving several sibs. Small feuds might develop into carefully planned large-scale raids and counter-raids carried on for several seasons, and drawing in a number of different local groups and distinctive social and linguistic units. At this rather indeterminant point, "feuding" becomes "warfare."

In the following pages I briefly describe the traditional patterns of feuding and warfare for each of the Indian groups listed. I first list the usual friends or traditional enemies of the people. Then I discuss the causes as stated by the Indians themselves for feuding and warfare both within the group and with others. I also suggest some probable causes of hostilities which were not mentioned by the natives. For each group I describe too the conduct of the raiding and the usual modes of settling feuds and wars. Whenever possible, I indicate which patterns or events appear to have been aboriginal, and which seem to be post-contact. I summarize only a few specific incidents, although many native accounts of feuds or wars are extremely colorful. The full text of many of them will be published elsewhere.²

I first chose the subject of feuding and warfare, hoping that it might help me in my thinking about the vexing problem of northern band territoriality. Gradually, however, I found myself rephrasing a question posed by John Honigmann in his admirable account of Kaska warfare (1954:96). He asks, in connection with the taboo on hunting game which followed a Kaska warrior's successful killing of the enemy and which lasted a year, or perhaps even two, whether "a group

²Some of the Inland Tlingit, Tagish and Southern Tutchone accounts are summarized in McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen. Complete English texts of all of the stories for these three groups are in my manuscript, My Old Peoples' Stories, Ms. 1971.

living close to the level of subsistence could support even one nonproductive male per band for one or two years." I would extend the question to ask what it was that mattered enough to any of these admittedly small populations of marginal hunters to make them willing to risk overt social violence and the possible deaths of the able-bodied males on whom their existences depended? Feuding is certainly socially more disruptive and death is surely more decisive than a temporary hunting taboo. What were the points of pressure in Northern Athapaskan society which forced such drastic action as killing, especially of publicly planned killing, when so much of traditional Athapaskan behavior was geared to moderation, to the avoidance whenever possible of social crises and of physical violence? Or -- put another way -- in what situations did the characteristic Athapaskan "social flexibility" give way to purposeful aggression? Can we recognize significant patterns of either environmental or of social "circumscription" which may be linked to Northern Athapaskan feuding and warfare (Honigmann 1954:88-89; McClellan 1970b; Savishinsky 1970; Carneiro 1970; Chagnon 1968a, 1968b)?

In my conclusions I emphasize one, but by no means the only triggering factor, which seems to have been a constant in hostilities of all groups. This was the capture of women by men from outside the local group. Such acts were often the result of a chronic shortage of eligible wives for the less powerful males of a group, a situation which I believe was exacerbated by the development of the fur trade. I suggest that this shortage of available marriage partners may correlate not only with feuding and warfare but also with some other aspects of aboriginal and post-contact culture such as the practice of female infanticide, periods of starvation and epidemics of disease to which women were especially vulnerable, an increase in polyandry, and the persistent belief in Bushmen who steal women. I touch even more briefly on some other suggestive findings of the survey, such as the occasional fighting which followed

an invasion of another group's hunting territory during periods of starvation and the probable cultural relationships between the hunting of men and the hunting of bears. Important topics such as the role of the shaman in fomenting hostilities, I barely mention.

Inland Tlingit Feuding and Warfare

Introduction

The people whom I designate as Inland Tlingit now speak a Tlingit dialect, but I believe that they represent a blending of Tlingit speakers from the upper Taku River and of former Athapaskan speakers who may have used a Tahltan, Pelly River (Tutchone?) or Tagish dialect. The group now lives entirely in the uppermost reaches of the Yukon River drainage in northern British Columbia and southeastern Yukon Territory. One band is centered around Atlin, British Columbia, while the second lives at Teslin in Yukon Territory. The entire Inland Tlingit population has probably never exceeded 300 people (McClellan, In press: Chapter One).³

In spite of a heritage which is surely partly Tlingit, this group's mode of subsistence in the last two centuries has been similar to that of neighboring Athapaskan speakers in the interior. However, to the extent that they could, the Inland Tlingit have maintained or borrowed many social customs characteristic of the coastal Tlingit. They are organized into Tlingit-named matrilineal sibs and moieties. The Tahltan immediately to the south of them also have Tlingit-named sibs; but they use Tahltan terms for their moieties, and also have Athapaskan-named sibs (Emmons 1911:31; McClellan, In press:Chapter Fifteen). Most

³The terms which I used in my earlier papers and maps relating to these people have evidently caused some confusion. I regard the Indians of Atlin and of Teslin simply as two bands of Inland Tlingit. The Tagish I treat as a separate group, not as Inland Tlingit, even though they now speak a Tlingit dialect (See McClellan 1961, 1964 and In press, all of which give my current terminology. The latter two references have maps.)

of the ingroup feuding and warfare of the Inland Tlingit in the past was structured along sib and moiety lines, and this also characterized much of their outgroup fighting with the Tahltan.

Friends and Enemies of the Inland Tlingit

During the first half of the nineteenth century most of the Inland Tlingit lived in the upper Taku River basin. At that time some of the upper river sibs evidently fought with some of the lower river sibs, and they may even have been displaced by them. Considerable sib rivalry in the modern villages of Atlin and Teslin still stems from these events (McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen).

Inland Tlingit sibs also feuded with various Tahltan sibs, but in a more general way all Tahltan speakers were evidently considered to be potential enemies of all Inland Tlingit. On this point the data which Teit and Emmons recorded from the Tahltan in the first decades of this century jibe very well with much that I heard from the Inland Tlingit in the early fifties. Indeed several of my stories about the raids and counter-raids between the two groups represent Inland Tlingit versions of the same events reported by the Tahltan (cf. Teit 1909:314-318; Emmons 1911:115-116; McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen).

During the nineteenth century, the two groups fought both on the upper Taku River drainage and in the upper Yukon River drainage, especially along the Nisutlin and Jennings rivers, and hostile feelings have long persisted. In 1918 an Inland Tlingit taunted a visiting Tahltan (McClellan, field notes) by declaring, "You people talk that way all the time! That's why you people's fingers are found in fishes' stomachs all the time!" He referred to a mid-nineteenth century episode, also reported by Teit, in which most of a party of Tahltan raiders were drowned. Fish caught in the area later sometimes had fingerbones in their stomachs. Following the insulting reference to this event, the Tahltan

asked officials in Ottawa for permission to fight the Inland Tlingit. A wise government spokesman is said to have granted the request, but at the same time he told the Tahltan that the Canadian army would have to fight on the side of the Inland Tlingit because so few of the latter were still alive. The plans for a government recognized war seem to have ended there, but even today some Tahltan and Inland Tlingit are ill at ease when they meet (McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen).

I heard no native references to overt hostilities between the Inland Tlingit and the Kaska to the east but the Hudson's Bay Company reports from Frances Lake suggest that the Kaska and Inland Tlingit may have been "murdering" or "massacring" each other during the first part of the nineteenth century.⁴ Honigmann (1954:22, 92) reports too that members of the Inland Tlingit and Kaska groups sometimes used to meet in the mountains while they were hunting ground-hogs, and that they used to fight each other.

The Inland Tlingit suspect the "Liard people" (i.e. Kaska) of being Bushmen who stole their women, although they vary somewhat in their specific beliefs about the nature of Bushmen or *nakani*. Some conceive of them as superhuman beings who are very tall and who lurk about the camps of humans annoying the occupants while waiting for a chance to overpower and steal young girls or women. Others believe them simply to be strange men from other Indian bands who wanted to capture women or children. In recent times the people of Teslin and the Kaska of Lower Post have intermarried.

The Inland Tlingit likewise marry with the present-day Indians of the Ross River, but it is possible that they annihilated or absorbed most of the original inhabitants of the Pelly basin when they first expanded in the Yukon drainage in the nineteenth century. They definitely considered themselves to

⁴Hudson's Bay Company B73 a 1843/44 report from Frances Lake. I believe it to have been written by Robert Campbell.

be middlemen in the trade between the Pelly River people and the coastal Tlingit at times when the coastal Tlingit were not themselves actively trading in the area (McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen; Honigmann 1954:22-23).

The Inland Tlingit are also linked by marriage with the small group of Tagish just to the west of them. Although there have been occasional sib quarrels between the two groups, for the most part their relationships have been friendly.

Causes of Inland Tlingit Feuding and Warfare

The Inland Tlingit lacked formal mechanisms for dealing with overt hostility or murder within a sib itself, for theoretically such events did not happen. When violence did in fact occur between sib members, it often resulted in a fission of the sib if the chief or a council of its high ranking elders could not resolve the problem. The traditional cause for most sib splits was over the ill feeling and frequent homicide which followed cases of adultery in which a man formed a secret liason with a sib-mate's wife to whom he had no social right (McClellan, In press:Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen).

Quarreling between sibs was far more structured than was intra-sib hostility. I cannot possibly cover in this paper the intricacies of past feuding between Inland Tlingit sibs of the same or opposite moieties, but there were squabbles over failure to meet marriage obligations, rival claims to sib crests, territorial holdings, accusations of witchcraft or the malevolent activities of shamans, and personal insults of various kinds. Sib antagonisms ran especially high whenever murder resulted from these or still other causes. Prolonged feuding almost always followed the death of a person if it had been caused by someone from another sib, whether or not the killing was intentional. The settlement required either the life of a person from the sib of the aggressor who was of equal rank to the one slain, or else payments equivalent

to his worth.

While inter-sib feuds sometimes extended beyond the Inland Tlingit to incorporate coastal Tlingit or Tahltan sibs as well, the two stated causes for "warfare" between the Taltan and the Inland Tlingit were first, the need for food in starvation times (which led to the raiding of enemy fish camps and caches in the early spring), and second, the desire to avenge unprovoked killings by members of the alien group. However, I suspect that the prime cause of hostilities between the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan of the nineteenth century was the desire of each group to control the rich fur country of the upper Taku and Nisutlin rivers, even though the Indians did not specifically cite this as a reason. I believe that in their search for furs the Tahltan drove the Inland Tlingit out of much of the upper Taku drainage which they had occupied earlier in the century, just as the Tahltan leader explained at the peace ceremony which closed the last major skirmish between the two peoples. The encroachment of Tlingit sibs from the lower reaches of the Taku River represented another phase of the expanding trade in land furs which followed the near annihilation of the sea otter (McClellan, In press: Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen).

The Inland Tlingit themselves explained their territorial shift from the Taku to the Yukon drainage as due to their desire to get the numerous marten and beaver in the Nisutlin River valley and to the fact that the interior country provided a safe refuge for those who had made incestuous sib marriages in Taku country. Thus, while some sib traditions from both the coastal and the Inland Tlingit suggest that movement downstream to the coast may have been going on for centuries, we can say with confidence that in the nineteenth century most of the movement was towards the interior, and that it was a time of great unrest along the Taku River and in the Yukon headwaters. Modern Inland Tlingit stress how alert their ancestors had to be for fear of Tahltan raids. In 1950 an old man from Teslin explained how his grandmother had told him:

You watch out for yourself. You are not going to be small all of the time. You are going to see wars too. There will be wars just the way there have been since I was born. There will be more yet... So watch yourself.

The old lady herself had once subverted a Tahltan raid at the head of Teslin Lake by bribing the Tahltan leader who was of her father's sib. She had also been involved in several attacks which the Tlingit of the lower Taku River had made on the Inland Tlingit of the upper river (McClellan, In press: Chapter Sixteen).

Conduct of Inland Tlingit Feuding and Warfare

Most of the hostilities between the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan were certainly small-scale affairs. Chiefly they were raids on extended family groups who were fishing or hunting. More rarely they were carefully planned attacks on larger winter settlements.

Raids were conducted in all seasons of the year. One series of attacks and counter-attacks took place in early spring on the Nisutlin River when both the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan were said to have been starving. Had both of them spent the winter trapping for fur, to the detriment of their usual subsistence activities? Or had the Tahltan come for the spring beaver hunt into an area where normally they would not be at this season? The stories do not tell us.⁵

The Tahltan also carried out summer raids on Inland Tlingit fish camps. At least one of them was quite late in the year, for the only woman in camp was

⁵It is quite possible that because of hostilities the Indians were actually afraid to hunt for food, if we may judge from reports of the Hudson's Bay Company from Frances Lake and Fort Halkett on the upper Liard River drainage. Fear of a war party stopped the beaver hunt in May 1836 (Fort Halkett B85 a 1836/37 report) and the Indians were not hunting in July of 1843 near Frances Lake because they were afraid of the Nahanies. They complained of starvation throughout most of 1842 and 1843 (Frances Lake B73 a 1842/43 by Robert Campbell). Another reason the Indians sometimes failed to hunt was because they were grieving for their relatives (Fort Halkett B85 a 1830/31).

out hunting "gophers" (ground squirrels) in the mountains.

Yet another Tahltan raid in the Nisutlin drainage took place in winter. On that occasion the Inland Tlingit put their snowshoes on backwards and walked away from the camp, successfully misleading the Tahltan as to the direction in which they were travelling. The Tahltan leader who had been spying on their camp had secretly advised them to do this, because of the Inland Tlingit woman's appeal to him as one of her "father's people" mentioned earlier. What is also interesting is that he persuaded his fellow raiders to leave the area by warning them of the coming weather:

You all have come up here for nothing. These people have all gone away; that's why you never see any sign of anybody. I wish you would wait until another time. The weather is going to change. There is a lot of snow here, and it is going to get soft. Now all you people, let's start thinking about what the weather is going to do!

The deep soft snows of spring evidently meant some respite from the danger of sudden attacks because of the difficulty in travel.

By contrast, an all-out assault on the Tahltan in which Tlingit sibs from both the lower and upper Taku River joined, was deliberately planned for mid-winter. The village attacked was probably Tagoon on the Nahlin River. Accounts of this engagement were recorded by Teit from the Tahltan and by myself from the Inland Tlingit (Teit 1909; McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen). The stories incorporate most of what I learned about the Inland Tlingit conduct of raids.⁶

The Indians clearly view this "war" as of epic proportions. To prepare for it, members of sibs from both moieties and from up and down the Taku gathered in the fall at the mouth of the King Salmon River so that the prospective warriors could spend several months "toughening" themselves by bathing in cold water early in the mornings and by practicing jumping and running. Each sib

⁶McClellan, My Old Peoples' Stories, Ms. 1971; Teit, Ms. on the Tahltan, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

had contributed to the hiring of a powerful shaman named *yitqwan* of the *koq^whitan* sib of the Crow (Raven) moiety. He held nightly seances, gathering together his special powers.

Finally in December he told the warriors to start up the Nahlin. They were to be sure to attack the Tahltan by the fourth day or else the Tahltan would kill as many of them as they would kill of the Tahltan. The spirit of *yitqwan* travelled with the war party, although his physical body remained in camp where it was watched over by the women. Through his powers *yitqwan* was able to make a Tahltan woman forget the suspicious barking of a dog just before the Tlingit attack, and he also produced a fog to hide the Tlingit warriors. This kind of predictive and supportive role of the shaman in the conduct of planned raids is attested to by stories of other raids as well.

Accounts of well-organized attacks usually include also an incident in which the wounding or the death of one or two persons in the attacking party is prognosticated when the victims or their wives break some kind of tabu. Thus, just before the attack on Tagoon, one Inland Tlingit took a drink of water in the pause before the fighting began. Such an act was tabu, and he was the only Inland Tlingit killed.

During the time that warriors were out on a raid, their wives were supposed to stay quietly in camp, in the same manner required when their husbands were hunting dangerous animals such as bears. It was believed, for example, that if a woman moved about much or hurt herself while her husband hunted bear, that the bear would be difficult to kill, and would wound the husband in the exact part of his body that his wife had hurt herself. Apparently, the same kind of belief applied to humans. All of the wives of warriors also wore special belts which symbolized their husbands' lives, and which they could not remove until the safe return of the men.

During the attack on Tagoon, the women who had been left behind at King Salmon evidently became restive, because the shaman *yitqwan* would not tell them how things were going. Finally the women symbolically attacked him, giving loud war cries as they did so. The narrator of the event implied that such behavior was quite aberrant; however, among both the coastal Tlingit and the Kaska the wives of warriors used to ceremonially attack human dummies while their husbands were on the warpath (Honigmann 1954:94).

One or two leaders directed all the activities of the raiding parties. I do not know whether they were specially selected war leaders or simply the highest ranking men of the sibs involved. In the Inland Tlingit party which attacked Tagoon, both leaders were of the *yEnyedi* sib of the Wolf moiety, even though men of three Crow (Raven) sibs were also fighting.

The raiders usually hid in the brush above any camp they planned to attack so that they could first observe its physical layout and the activities of the people in it. Strategically placed spies might hoot to each other like owls, which is one reason the Inland Tlingit often used to be uneasy when they heard the persistent hooting of an owl. The attacks were almost always made in the early morning when the enemy was asleep, and the usual plan was to encircle the camp in a pincers movement so that nobody could escape.

One story mentions a brush "fort" constructed by the Inland Tlingit on the Nisutlin River. This is the only reference I have to specially constructed fortifications, although Teit mentions them for the Tahltan, and a number of the Inland Tlingit place names from both the Yukon and Taku drainages incorporate the Tlingit term for fort (*nu*) (McClellan, In press:Tables 3 and 4).

According to one Inland Tlingit, warriors tried to capture first the highest-ranking young "princess" who was always domiciled in the center of a camp. The same informant said that a man was supposed to fight only with one of a rank equal to his own. This would imply that the men were fairly well

acquainted with the rank and kin affiliations of all whom they attacked, whether they were Tlingit or Tahltan.

Once in a camp, the war leader or leaders shouted out taunts appropriate to the sib affiliations and histories of all involved. Thus, in the attack on Tagoon, *It'adutin*, who was one of the Inland Tlingit leaders, cried out, "*Hux! Hux!*" which was supposed to sound like the breakup of the ice on the Nisutlin River which his sib claimed. The other leader, *djIt tʔEn* called "We are not your fathers' slaves for you to kill! Why do you sleep so soundly?" -- referring to an earlier incident involving an Inland Tlingit captured by the Tahltan.

In spite of the statement about the desire to capture the "princess" first, it appears that the attackers usually killed all of the adult men as soon as possible after they entered a camp. I do not believe that the Inland Tlingit intentionally left a surviving male to report what happened, as was the custom of the Kutchin and some other Northern Athapaskans (Slobodin 1960:83), even though most stories of specific raids tell of one enemy who does escape.

The heads of the slain were cut off, and those of the highest ranking enemy served as temporary "footballs" for the victors. No Inland Tlingit mentioned scalping, although they may have done so, since this was characteristic of the neighboring Kaska, and Coastal Tlingit as well as of the Tahltan. I have no reports either of the ceremonial eating of any body parts of the enemy, either raw or cooked, such as Honigmann (1954:95-96) reports for the Kaska, except that one man said the Inland Tlingit sometimes "cooked" the heads of the Tahltan.

Whether or not the Inland Tlingit killed women and children evidently depended very much on the weather, the location of the enemy camp, and on the character of the victorious leader. Ideally all of the women, not just "princesses," were taken as slaves.

Both the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan made special hideaways for their children in the brush walls of their camps or, if it were winter, in the snow-

banks around their dwellings. The Inland Tlingit leaders who attacked Tagoon made a careful search of such places and found a number of children. Some others escaped because they had hidden in holes which they had dug themselves some distance away. On this occasion the Inland Tlingit wanted to take back to the Taku several of the highest ranking children to be sold as slaves, but they could not do so because it was winter, and the party had to travel fast. They therefore killed all the women and children that they found.

Unless a captive was wearing moccasins, his escape was very unlikely, especially in winter; nor could sleeping people easily escape an early morning attack, since they were usually barefooted. An episode which is frequently developed in accounts of a Tahltan raid on the Inland Tlingit on the Nisutlin River tells how an old female shaman who feared the attack had warned her companions to dry and put on their moccasins before they went to sleep. Since they ignored her advice, only she and her grandchild got away during the ensuing raid. The rest of the women were captured as "wives" of the Tahltan. This attack occurred during the spring when both the Tahltan and Inland Tlingit were "starving," and it is interesting that the Inland Tlingit, who knew that the Tahltan were in the area, had sent only women and children up to a fish camp to get dried fish. The men remained at the foot of the lake. They did this on the advice of the old woman shaman, but one wonders whether it was not also in order to preserve the strength of the males. After the escaped shaman had brought back a load of fish to them, the men followed her to the fish camp where they succeeded in wiping out the Tahltan, including one young man who tried to run across the lake, although he was barefoot.

In the winter attack on Tagoon, a Tahltan warrior was more successful in eluding the Inland Tlingit. He managed to reach his uncle's camp because he urinated on his bare feet to keep them from freezing -- a method sometimes

used to thaw out dogs' feet that have become frozen.

An Inland Tlingit once escaped a Tahltan raid on a summer fish camp by swimming under water so far that the Tahltan thought he had drowned and gave up looking for him, but such an escape was rare.

Weapons and Armor of the Inland Tlingit

Before the advent of guns, the most important weapon of the Inland Tlingit warrior was his spear. This was a long copper or iron "knife" tied to a stout wooden shaft. The spearhead was about ten inches long and lanceolate in shape; the handle was about six feet long. The story of the attack on Tagoon contains a long description of the various ways in which the men tried to carry their spears so that they would not knock noisily against each other as the long file of warriors moved down a mountain to the Tahltan settlement. The leaders finally solved the problem by telling each man to grasp with one hand the head of the spear carried by the man behind him, while with the other hand he held the butt of his own spear shaft. However, the chief reason for the narrator's elaboration of the arrangement was to underscore the great number of men who were involved in this particular fight.

The same kind of spear was used to kill both bears and humans, and its use was evidently restricted to these two functions.

In addition to their spears, some Inland Tlingit also carried fighting knives of typical coastal Tlingit style. These were of metal and had carved wooden handles representing the sib crests of their owners. An Inland Tlingit who found such a knife at the head of Teslin Lake compared it in style to the coastal knives shown in Davis (1949:nos. 28 and 32).

Men wore armor of heavy "buffalo" or moose hide. Informants did not mention the goatskin reported for the Tahltan (Emmons 1911:116).

Another kind of armor was constructed of vertically joined sticks of saskatoon berry bushes. Nobody could remember its exact form, although it was described as being "solid like a corset" and reaching to the knees. It evidently provided some kind of arm protection, since "in the elbows they just fixed it so it could move." Inner padding was of "blanket and feathers."

A common theme in several war stories is the way in which captive Inland Tlingit women succeed in hiding the weapons and armor of their Tahltan captors, either by trampling their gear into the snow or by leaving it on the wrong side of the river.

Warriors painted their faces black or red, but I learned nothing of the designs. When they were about to fight, they knotted their hair on the tops of their heads, and the scouts stuck green brush through their topknots as an aid in camouflage. None of my informants knew of wooden war helmets with sib insignias such as were worn on the coast.

A common incident in Inland Tlingit war stories tells how some forgetful person leaves an object such as a tobacco pouch at the previous camp. When a young person is sent to retrieve it, he notices strangers in war paint behind the trees. Or else a woman gathering fuel sees an unknown man with brush tied into his hair. The discoverers do not betray their awareness of the enemy, but return to give the alarm to their people who have time to prepare themselves and to successfully repel the enemy.

Settlement of Inland Tlingit Feuds and Warfare

The Inland Tlingit patterned their peacemaking after the coastal Tlingit ceremonial expected when two sibs made peace, whether they were within the same or opposite moieties. At least one hostage was required from each side. Sometimes there were more. These hostages were called "deer" (*gowakan*), even though the animal was not ubiquitous on the coast and was very rare indeed in the

interior. The "deer," who had special names, ceremonial garb, and actions, were supposed to symbolize peace, and they were closely attended throughout the ceremony which might last for several days. It included appropriate speech making, feasting, singing and dancing, and incorporated a good deal of mock warfare as well. Sometimes the participants treacherously used the occasion to continue the feud, but the chief aim was to provide a suitable means for negotiation which would equalize the fatalities and injuries incurred by each party. Sometimes another death was required, but most often the settlement was made through payment.

My best account of peacemaking between the Inland Tlingit and the Tahltan tells how the latter were so impressed by a young Tlingit boy who had escaped their spies, that after their defeat they asked for him as the "deer." At the time that they made the request they gave the "war cry" eight times rather than the usual four. The Inland Tlingit immediately suspected foul play, however the Tahltan only meant to indicate their great respect for the boy, and they at once put all their armor and their extra clothing on the ground before him.

The two groups then began to live side by side with each other, and indeed travelled about the country together for several months after leaving the peacemaking site which was probably at Thirty Mile Lake on the Nisutlin River. They spent the summer at Kingfisher Fort on Teslin Lake, and then moved as a body across the height of land to winter on the Taku River. Whenever tensions rose too high between the two peoples, the "deer" from each side would be dressed in ceremonial garb and peace dances would begin.

In the following spring the Tahltan left for their own country, taking the young Tlingit hostage with them. Each hostage was to stay with his hosts for four winters, and then both sides were to meet in a final ceremony on the Taku River. For some reason the plan fell through, but the hostages were each

returned. It is said that as the Tahltan hostage went down the Taku River, he made farewell speeches at a number of places, expressing his sorrow that he would never again see his Inland Tlingit wives and children. He also composed a special song referring to the beneficent sun which is also often symbolized in coastal Tlingit peace ceremonies, and he painted red pictographs on a rock in the Taku River where they may still be seen today. Evidently each hostage had been well incorporated into his hosts' group (McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen; cf. Swanton 1908:451).

Tagish Feuding and Warfare

Introduction

The Tagish are a small group of less than a hundred Indians, most of whom now live at Carcross, in Yukon Territory. Traditionally they occupied the Yukon headwaters around Bennett, Tagish and Marsh lakes. Originally Athapaskan-speaking, they adopted the Tlingit language sometime during the nineteenth century owing to their intensive trading relations and intermarriage with the Chilkoot Tlingit of the coast. They have also adopted Tlingit social organization and now have one sib of the Wolf moiety and one of the Crow (Raven). (McClellan, In press:Chapter One).

Friends and Enemies of the Tagish

The Tagish picture themselves as essentially peaceable. Indeed the only stories of disputes and violence which they related had to do with events of the ancestral *daqʷ'awedi* sib of the Wolf moiety at a time when its members lived on the Stikine River in Southeast Alaska or at *kEtʷembIt* on the Alsek River. As I have already explained, there is no effective way to handle violence within the localized sib except by withdrawal of a segment of it, so that the result of each *daqʷ'awedi* quarrel was the dispersal of the sib in several directions. When I first gave this paper, I suggested that since every

Tlingit sib of coast or interior tells broadly similar stories of sib splits, it would be well worth considering them in relationship to the types of traditions told by sibs of the neighboring Athapaskans hoping that in this way we might get hints about the comparative structures and dynamics of sibs in the two groups. This of course is what de Laguna has done so effectively in her paper in this same volume which demonstrates the fluidity of sib and moiety organization in meeting special problems of environmental or cultural pressures.

The *tu^qwedi* sib members of the Crow (Raven) moiety explain their presence among the Tagish as due to the marriage of a coastal ancestress into the band. Indeed the Tagish intermarried and traded with all of their surrounding neighbors: the Inland Tlingit to the southeast; the Southern Tutchone to the west and north; and the Northern Tutchone to the northeast, especially those of the Little Salmon and Pelly River Indians. The Tagish acted as middlemen between the latter and the coastal Tlingit, except when the latter were actively travelling through the area on their annual trading trips. The Tagish were in turn badly exploited by these coastal Tlingit traders who did not allow them to come to the coast to trade directly with the whites. Several white men who have lived in Yukon Territory since the turn of the century reported also that the coastal Tlingit used to raid the Tagish for women. The Tagish did not themselves confirm this, but there were certainly Tagish marriages with Chilkoot men from the coast (McClellan 1964; In press: Chapters One and Sixteen).

Conduct of Tagish Feuding and Warfare

In spite of their peaceable stance, the Tagish offered enough scraps of information about the conduct of war to suggest that they did sometimes fight. One Tagish said, too, that the Indians appreciated the coming of the missionaries, because then people could rest easily at night and did not need to stay alert for fear of a surprise attack on their camp.

The Tagish shared with the Inland Tlingit the idea that when their husbands were on a raiding party, the women should stay very quietly at home and that if a woman accidentally injured herself, her husband was bound to be wounded in the same part of his body. The women also wore belts which represented their husband's lives.

Tagish war spears had wooden shafts about four feet long, and the points were of moose or caribou antler and about a foot in length. One man reported that the points were barbed; others did not know the shapes. It was a rule that the men should keep their weapons outside the camp, and any visitors were expected to do likewise.

Inter-sib hostilities between Tagish sibs or one of the Tagish sibs and a sib or sibs of any of the neighboring groups were settled with the same kind of peace ceremony described for the Inland Tlingit.

Southern Tutchone Feuding and Warfare

Introduction

Several hundred Southern Tutchone speakers live today in southern Yukon Territory. Their aboriginal range ran from Whitehorse west to the flanks of the St. Elias mountains, north to the Donjek meadows and northeast to the vicinity of present-day Carmacks on the Yukon River. The most southerly band had settlements on the upper Alsek River drainage in British Columbia. Modern bands are centered around Whitehorse, Champagne, Haines Junction (Mile 1016 of the Alaska Highway), Kloo Lake and Burwash Landing. These groups speak similar dialects which contrast slightly with those of the Northern Tutchone who are now clustered at Carmacks and Pelly Crossing.

The Southern Tutchone nearest to the coast have to some extent incorporated Tlingit-named sibs into their social organization, but they generally use Athapaskan terms for their matrilineal moieties. The more interior bands appear

to recognize only the two moieties called Crow (*kadjIt*) and Wolf (*'agUnda*) which may be in fact simply two Tutchone-named sibs (cf. de Laguna, in this volume, and McClellan, In press: Chapters One and Fifteen).

Friends and Enemies of the Southern Tutchone

Some modern Southern Tutchone refer to earlier times when their ancestors were "wild" and lacked effective means of enforcing law and order either within their own groups or between themselves and their neighbors. They volunteer that they are grateful for the present-day peace.

Certainly in the past a number of disputes arose between the Tlingit-named sibs, but it is my impression that these quarrels usually tended to draw in everybody in both moieties in a given local group and in contiguous bands.

The Southern Tutchone considered the Chilkat Tlingit, their nearest coastal neighbors, to be a powerful people and were completely dominated by them. Like the Inland Tlingit and the Tagish, the Southern Tutchone supplied furs to Tlingit trading partners who then sold them to the whites. In 1852 the Chilkat destroyed the Hudson's Bay Post which Robert Campbell had established in Northern Tutchone country in 1848, and, until almost the end of the century, they prevented the Southern Tutchone from trading directly with the whites. Sometimes the Chilkat married Southern Tutchone (thus introducing the Tlingit-named sibs), but on the whole they regarded the interior people with contempt. They did not, however, often fight with them, since it was more profitable to have the skilled interior hunters collect and trade or give them furs which they could then sell on the coast at vast profits (McClellan 1964; In press: Chapter Sixteen).

The Southern Tutchone considered their most serious enemies to be the Indians from the headwaters of the White River who evidently spoke an Upper Tanana dialect. During the nineteenth century and perhaps earlier they also intermarried and traded with them, annually taking to the White River goods

which they themselves had gotten from the Chilkat. So valuable to the Southern Tutchone of Dalton Post was this source of furs that once when the Dalton Post chief, *Ian* could have rather easily massacred an entire Upper Tanana group with whom he had been feuding, he did not do so. He had openly killed one Upper Tanana man in order to settle a score, but he would not attack the rest, although another Dalton Post leader, *taxoi*, wished to "Kill 'em all! Kill 'em all!" He pointed out that the feuding in which the two groups were engaged was bound to continue if the Southern Tutchone did not totally wipe out their enemies: "If you kill just half, another time they come again!"

However *Ian* replied, "No, you can't do! Where you get your fur? If you kill all that bunch, where you get your furs?" His co-leader, *taxoi*, laughed and said, "Next winter *you* hunt furs there!" implying that the Southern Tutchone would be able to hunt and trap freely in the area once they had killed the people who usually exploited it.

The good advice of *taxoi* did not prevail, and the result was a series of attacks and counter-attacks often referred to by the Indians as the "war between Alaska and Canada." This ended, as *taxoi* had feared, in the almost complete annihilation of the Dalton Post Tutchone. There are several published accounts of this Upper Tanana fighting with the Southern Tutchone (who are often designated as the "Kluane" because some lived on Kluane Lake), and Frederica de Laguna and I heard other stories about the same hostilities from the Upper Tanana at Tanacross and the Atna of Mentasta Lake on the upper Copper River (McKenna 1959:171-172; Johnson and Raup 1964:196-197; de Laguna and McClellan field notes 1958, 1960).

Southern Tutchone relationships with the Han and the Northern Tutchone were evidently more peaceable, and after the establishment of white trading posts at Fort Reliance, Forty Mile and Carmacks on the Yukon River in the late nineteenth century, people of these three dialect groups increasingly inter-

married. The Tagish too were usually thought of as friends, although several Tagish seem to have joined in the Upper Tanana attack on the Dalton Post Indians.

Causes of Southern Tutchone Feuding and Warfare

The Southern Tutchone gave several specific reasons for feuding which formerly took place between their sibs -- revenge for bodily assault, witchcraft or malevolent actions of shamans from other sibs, quarreling over the ownership of a copper "door" brought into the country by the Chilkat traders, or over insults delivered at potlatches which had begun to proliferate as material wealth grew because of the expanding trade with the Chilkat. One informant volunteered that the potlatches were "just like a fight," and some evidently went far beyond the symbolized warfare which I have described elsewhere as an aspect of the coastal Tlingit potlatches which the Southern Tutchone were trying to emulate; they degenerated into real fights (McClellan 1954; field notes 1950-1968).

Another cause of feuding which the Tutchone twice cited was a man hunting or trapping in his brother-in-law's territory without first getting permission to do so. Indeed one such incident led to a formal transfer of sib claims in the area around present-day Klukshu on the Alsek drainage. In this case the initial murder and subsequent feud stemmed from attempts to monopolize the beaver fur harvest. However, a somewhat similar episode which took place in the Kluane Lake area related more directly to subsistence and had to do with encroachment into an area where a man was building up a caribou herd.

There is no question but that localized sib or moiety segments did claim certain desirable hunting and trapping areas, although large parts of the country were considered to be "free" -- open to anyone within the group who wished to exploit them. Also, any individual could rather readily manipulate

consanguineal or affinal ties so that he could hunt or trap in lands claimed by sibs other than his own (McClellan, In press:Chapter Sixteen).

In any case, rather than stressing the tensions and feuds involving territorial claims, the Southern Tutchone more frequently emphasized the fact that "strangers" or "new people" were always suspect in the old days no matter what the circumstances of their appearance. Then feuding would follow. There were exceptions to the rule. One interesting story tells how two adventurous youths from a band of Indians in the upper Alsek River, who thought that they were the only people left in the world after the flood, discovered signs of other humans near Klukshu. After careful scouting and elaborate planning on the part of the Alsek Indians the two groups made contact and became good friends. This story forcibly suggests that in an area where population was so scant, small groups of people might well have become temporarily isolated in earlier times.

Ordinarily "strangers" or "new people" were taken to be enemies, Bushmen, or cannibals. Like the Inland Tlingit and Tagish, some of the Southern Tutchone feel that Bushmen are superhuman giants with special powers who are liable to steal young girls in particular. Others feel that most of the Bushmen are strange Indians from the east -- perhaps Inland Tlingit or Mackenzie drainage Indians. Indeed the Klukshu Indians tell how several Southern Tutchone girls who had been stolen by Bushmen were later seen living as married women at Upper Liard Post in Kaska country. During each of my three stays at Klukshu fish camp, I was told of Bushmen who had been on the mountain above the camp bothering people. The Indians had always found traces of them, but had never caught the Bushmen themselves.

Mountain Men, who are other non-Indians with pointed ears and rope-like hair, usually steal objects that people put down beside them in the woods,

but they also steal women if they can. The fear that "strangers," whether Bushmen or some other kind of beings, would take their women was evidently enough to make the Southern Tutchone feel hostile to all of these beings, and trouble over women certainly caused much of the feuding among themselves.

Jealousy over women also caused much feuding and high-ranking men prided themselves on having several wives. They watched over them carefully, and the wives were supposed to be very submissive to their husbands. One of the most marked character transformations I have seen in a Southern Tutchone, was that of an independent and capable widow whom I first knew in 1948. She was always ready to volunteer information and advice. When I saw her again a decade later, she had remarried and she would scarcely utter a word in the presence of her husband "because the man has to talk."

It is worth noting that the great Dalton Post chief and trader *Ian* is described as having been a very tiny man or midget who nevertheless had eight or thirty wives.

Although tensions over the fur trade obviously lay behind it all, the initial incident in the "war between Alaska and Canada" mentioned earlier, was that an Upper Tanana man called *'anikoco* (Big Nose) by the Tutchone, stole a Southern Tutchone woman and then killed some of the men who pursued him.

Other Southern Tutchone caught up with *'anikoco* at Pick Axe Lake near the White River, where they tortured and killed him without interference from the Upper Tanana who were camped there. Indeed the Upper Tanana also paid for an excess number of Southern Tutchone whom they had killed during some earlier raids. This was likewise the time that *Ian* could have massacred all of the Tanana if he had followed the advice of *taxoi*. Instead the two groups conducted their trading as usual, but at the end *Ian* grossly insulted the Upper Tanana chief by putting his foot on his back and demanding that

moccasins be cut from his fine skin shirt.

The Upper Tanana chief did not resist; he merely said that he would "visit" Ian and his people the following spring and asked where they would be; Ian told him.

In early March the Upper Tanana and their allies traveled to the Tutchone fishing camp at the outlet of Dezadeash Lake. They were almost turned back by the deep snows near Kluane Lake, but in an early dawn attack they proceeded to wipe out almost the entire population of the upper Alsek area. In order to ensure success the Upper Tanana had gathered together professional warriors from all along the Tanana River.

In the raid one Tutchone managed to buy the life of her baby boy by offering the enemy all of the dentalia from her uncle Ian's cache. She herself was killed. A small girl, who was saved because her mother hid her under a pile of dry moose skins, is reputed to have been the ancestress of most of the present Champagne band of Southern Tutchone. A few families who were camped some distance downstream heard the cries during the fight. Later they frightened off the Upper Tanana and also cremated the bodies of the dead while the enemy howled like wolves in the hills above.

These events took place at a time when the Southern Tutchone evidently had some muzzle loaders, but the Tanana Indians had only bows and arrows. Probably it was during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The entire series of stories relating to this "war," in all their varying versions, contains a patterning of incidents which recurs in many Southern and Northern Tutchone, Han, Upper Tanana and Tanana stories about fighting: somebody who is out fishing or berrying sees lurking enemy warriors and makes a count by means of tally sticks but does not betray that he has noticed their presence; this person tells his headman who scoffs at the idea that "new people" or enemy warriors are really in the vicinity; the

enemy attacks successfully; captured women leave a trail by secretly dropping damp birds' down as markers; later they manage to relay the strength of the enemy camp to their compatriots who visit the camp in disguise; and so on.

It is chiefly from these stories that I draw my following summary of the conduct of Southern Tutchone feuding and warfare.

Conduct of Southern Tutchone Feuding and Warfare

Southern Tutchone men who were preparing to avenge a murder either within their own group or by an enemy tried to "toughen" themselves before the event by bathing in cold water early in the morning. Sometimes an uncle would select a nephew to train in this way, preparing him for several years to carry out his mission. One old man told me of his great relief when a payment in money finally settled the feud in which his uncle was embroiled, for it meant a surcease from a training program which was so rigorous that only he and one other of his four brothers survived it.

If a group of men were on their way to attack the enemy they practiced for the assault by systematic running, jumping and dodging of arrows. Like animals, they were supposed to eat only raw food. Those who vomited it up were marked for death, and were asked to return home. A favorite theme in war stories is how someone refuses to go back even though he cannot retain the raw meat, and later he dies in battle. However, one tale which tells how the Southern Tutchone forced an old Upper Tanana man to provision them suggests that a strictly raw diet was not adhered to in the course of a long journey. Although the Tutchone were about to attack the main Upper Tanana camp, they first ate a large meal of dried meat and tallow.

Unlike the Upper Tanana, the Southern Tutchone apparently did not have professional strong men whom any chief might hire as fighters, but some men had the reputation of being better warriors than others, and such "cowboys"

-- as they are designated by the modern Southern Tutchone -- evidently led the attacks in hand-to-hand combat.

After scouting the enemy camp, the raiders tried to surprise it early in the morning as soon as there was enough light to see.

Most of my informants denied that the Southern Tutchone ever took scalps, and they expressed horror at the Upper Tanana and Kutchin custom of eating parts of the slain enemies' bodies or of mutilating them. This is in line with their firm attribution of all cannibalism to non-Tutchone. However when some of the Southern Tutchone who had been trading on the coast heard of the massacre at Dezadeash Lake, they chopped off the heads of two Upper Tanana girls from Snag whom they had as "slaves." Then they hired a Chilkat shaman to carry out a dreadful revenge on the Upper Tanana. He promised, "I am going to eat all those Snag people down there -- just by the spirit." A few years later the Southern Tutchone heard that all of the Snag Indians had died.

Southern Tutchone Weapons and Armor

The Southern Tutchone described spears which they specifically volunteered were used for killing both people and bears. They were made of long copper "knives" tied onto wooden shafts. The Copper Chief -- an Upper Tanana (?) man who seems to have married a Southern Tutchone woman and whose sons became "chiefs" throughout Southern and Northern Tutchone country -- sold these finished "knives." Evidently the control of the copper for making these weapons was the main source of his wealth and power. The Southern Tutchone who live closest to the White River copper deposits still stress their good fortune in having had copper weapons and tools which were superior to the bone and stone implements of the more distant Tutchone bands.

All Southern Tutchone also used war clubs made of caribou antlers which were trimmed so that one tine formed a kind of pick. They soaked them in

grease to make them heavy.

Informants knew of no kind of special armor. One man mentioned special "forts" (*t'Ik'u*) into which people would move if they feared a raid, but he could not describe them.

Settlement of Southern Tutchone Feuds and Warfare

Like the Inland Tlingit and Tagish, the Southern Tutchone who were most influenced by the coastal Tlingit followed the *gowakan*, or "deer," ritual to make peace, especially when settling feuds between two sibs. One story tells how they also once conducted the same kind of ceremony with the Grizzly Bear people when a Southern Tutchone man had killed more bears than the bears had killed men.

As with the other groups too, every effort was made to balance the number of persons slain on each side, through demanding either payments or additional deaths from the group responsible for the excess number of killings. The relative ranks or wealth of the individuals concerned had to be considered in the settlements. There are hints that women might sometimes be demanded as the most suitable compensation in these transactions.

Northern Tutchone Feuding and Warfare

My data on the Northern Tutchone are too limited to be worth more than a very brief summary. I include in this grouping the Indians of Pelly Crossing who formerly lived at Fort Selkirk and Little or Big Salmon, those at Carmacks and some of the Indians up the Pelly River at Ross River or Pelly Banks where there are also Indians from the Mackenzie drainage. This history of the area is complex, but the total populace in the area probably never exceeded more than a few hundred.⁷

⁷These people were sometimes designated as Gens de Fou and sometimes as Gens de Bois by the early traders in the area. See Osgood (1971:20-28), Glenda Denniston, *The Place of the Upper Pelly River Indians in the Network of Northern*

The Northern Tutchone were organized into matrilineal moieties known as Wolf and Crow, and a few of them at Little Salmon may also have claimed membership in the Tlingit-named sibs of the Tagish. In spite of their small numbers, the Northern Tutchone were the one group of the upper Yukon drainage who dared to turn momentarily on the arrogant coastal Chilkat traders. A Chilkat Tlingit had insulted the wife of his Northern Tutchone trading partner, *tʔingit tʔEn*, blaming her illness for the fact that her husband had no furs to trade. The enraged *tʔingit tʔEn* killed the Chilkat and four of his slaves on the spot. He then persuaded the rest of his band to cut off all trade with the Tlingit simply by never appearing at any of the rendezvous sites. After four or five years, the desperate Tlingit, having no more furs to trade to the whites on the coast, finally made peaceable overtures. The trade was resumed when the Northern Tutchone agreed to pay the worth of the slain Tlingit in furs. All of this happened shortly before Robert Campbell set up his trading post at Fort Selkirk in 1848.

The Northern Tutchone allege that they did not themselves help the Chilkat destroy Campbell's post four years later, since Campbell was their friend. On the other hand they would not help him follow the Tlingit either, for fear that they would again have to rely upon them for trade goods. The chief native entrepreneur in the area was *tʔingit tʔEn* himself, and some say that jealous Han or Northern Tutchone later destroyed the many caches of fur and trade goods which he had collected near Minto, although they did not attack him personally (McClellan 1970a:110). He was reputed to have had fifty wives. On the other side of the coin, the Northern Tutchone were also noted for their polyandry, which is said to have developed in the nineteenth

Athapaskan Groups, Ms. 1966, on file in the National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, (hereafter referred to as "Upper Pelly River Indians"). They are the Indians whom Robert Campbell knew best (Campbell 1958).

century.

The Northern Tutchone evidently feared both the Han and the Kutchin further down the river, and they warned Campbell of their savage natures (Campbell 1958:68). They also disliked the upper Pelly River people who spoke a somewhat different dialect and with whom the Mackenzie Indians alternately fought and intermarried. To what degree these peoples actually engaged in hostilities with the Northern Tutchone, I do not know. On their first trip into the country in 1843, Campbell and his men thought the Indians of the Upper Pelly River to be on the verge of attacking him and his men. They had lighted signal fires on the hill tops, and Campbell was probably correct in his conjecture that "as in Scotland in the olden times, these were signals to gather the tribes so that they might surround and intercept us" (Campbell 1958:69; McClellan, In press:Chapter One, Slobodin 1960:85).⁸

Han Feuding and Warfare

By Han I mean another small population of Athapaskans who share a common dialect and whose remnants now live at Dawson in Yukon Territory or in Eagle, Alaska. At the most their numbers probably never exceeded five hundred, and since some of them lived at the junction of the Yukon and Klondike rivers, at the exact point where the thousands of gold stam-peders converged in 1898, we know very little about their aboriginal culture. My comments on them will also be highly selective and rather brief.⁹

⁸Denniston, *The Upper Pelly River Indians*, Ms., 1966.

⁹I visited the Han in Dawson very briefly in 1966 and in Eagle and Dawson in 1970. Two of my former students, Robert Jarvenpa (now of the University of Minnesota) and Susanne Williams spent the summer of 1970 working with Han in Dawson and Eagle. Their field notes are filed with the National Museums of Canada. The major source on the Han is Osgood 1971.

Some of the Han evidently had affiliations with sibs found among the Upper Tanana or Kutchin; others recognized only moiety alignments. The Kutchin from the Blackstone and the Mackenzie rivers, who have also lived in Eagle and Dawson since the gold rush of 1898, did not even recognize the moieties unless they married Han and were placed in the Wolf moiety (Osgood 1971; McClellan, Jarvenpa and Williams, field notes, 1966, 1970).

Osgood writes that the Han usually fought with the people to the southwest of them who would be Upper Tanana, and that shamanistic dueling often caused the hostilities. He also reports conflicts with people near Whitehorse called *má hú nai* whom he tentatively equates with "Nahanni." One of his informants put the *ma ho ni* on the upper Stewart River instead, while another said that these enemies were from the Mackenzie drainage. If the term *má hú nai* conveys the idea of "enemies," which seems probable, it would serve equally well to designate any of these groups (Honigmann 1956:35-37).

My guess is that interlopers from the Liard and the upper Pelly rivers were the most likely aggressors, especially since Osgood gives a specific account of a Han fight with Ross River Indians which evidently took place after contact. The Ross River people first shot a Klondike Han and then cut him up. When the Han found the body they could see by the snowshoe tracks that the murderers were "different" from themselves. A revenge party led by the Han chief *cEig'E* followed the Ross River Indians and killed eight, twelve or fourteen of them. The same informant told this story to Slobodin in 1963 and to Susanne Williams in 1970. He said that *cEig'E* was forced to lead the war party because his own people were fighting among themselves. Unfortunately he did not elaborate the point so we do not know whether or not this was some kind of inter-sib quarrel (*Ibid.*).

Another incident which Osgood cites from Alexander Murray, the Chief factor at Fort Yukon, tells of the kidnapping of a Han woman by a Peel River Indian and of the subsequent revenge taken by a Han shaman (Osgood 1971:64).¹⁰

The Han of the nineteenth century did not always present themselves as a peaceable people. Murray himself was somewhat apprehensive about them, since they boasted that they had once killed some Russians and had destroyed one of their forts on the coast. Perhaps the report was actually a distortion of the Tanana or Atna activities against the Russians, but the Han do seem to have resented the Northern Tutchone alliance with Campbell at Fort Selkirk which, as noted earlier, they probably helped the Chilkat destroy. They may have helped to destroy the caches of *tʔingit tʔEn* as well.¹¹

By 1963 the Han "chief" at Dawson was reporting that in the past his people had been "pretty friendly" with surrounding tribes, and his comments on the Russians stressed only that the Russians had once seized some Upper Tanana Indian women at Tanacross, which is said to explain why the Tanacross Indians are today "brighter" in skin color than most of the surrounding Athapaskans (Jarvenpa and Williams, field notes 1970; Osgood 1971:42).

The chief fighting weapon of the Han was the greased antler club. Osgood's informant specifically said that the same weapon was used to kill bears. Osgood believes that it would have been used only in a "situation of some desperation," but I think that the constant insistence throughout the area that the same weapons were required for killing humans and for bears is part of a

¹⁰See also Murray, Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Yukon Journal B 240 a 1 June 30 through July 7, in which the Yukon Indians register several complaints about the Kutchin either killing or stealing their women.

¹¹McClellan, Culture Change and Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1950, hereafter referred to as "Culture Change." See also McClellan 1970a; Osgood 1971:62-65.

conscious idea that bears and humans are beings of the same order, requiring very similar ritual observances and technology to deal with them (cf. Clark 1970:81-84; Osgood 1971:65).

It is perhaps worth noting too the persistent interest in Bushmen manifested by the few surviving Han in Dawson. They still tell of personal experiences with Bushmen and have a repertoire of stories about what Bushmen have done to others. As in the other groups, Bushmen sometimes seem to be conceived of as creatures with distinctly superhuman powers; at other times they seem to be regarded as no more than malevolent strangers. It is certain, however, that Bushmen bother people in their camps. If a Bushman captures a person, he may cut off the victim's head or else dismember the entire body as once happened to the daughter of the Han chief at Eagle. The chief prey of the Bushmen are women and children. So far as I know all Bushmen are males.

The Han believe that the Bushmen usually come from the Mackenzie or Ross rivers; however when the white traders McQuesten and Harper first appeared in Han country in 1874, they too were thought to be Bushmen. This was evidently because at about the same time some fish were stolen from an Indian camp and some of the children were lured into the bush by strangers who offered them some kind of white food, which the Indians now believe was bread or fat.

Once a Han Indian found a young Bushman near Fort Selkirk. He was crying because his chief "made" his people steal women and children, even though they did not want to. This Bushman wanted to return to camp with the Han, but they refused to let him join them. However some Bushmen did marry Indians, for a woman at Forty Mile who had blue eyes was said to be a Bushman's child.

Bushmen can sometimes be persuaded to leave the vicinity if one talks kindly to them or offers them food, but more often the Han have had to fight them through physical or shamanistic powers, using the same aggressive actions

required by feuding or warfare.

Like the Southern Tutchone, the Han also tell of Mountain Men towards whom they have ambivalent feelings. Sometimes they are beneficial to humans; but, at other times, they steal women.¹²

Since a Han informant gave one of the few recorded expressions of an Athapaskan personal attitude towards physical violence, it is perhaps worth including the comment, although it may not directly help us understand Han feuding of the nineteenth century. He is a younger man who is quite a good boxer; nevertheless he refused to enter the Discovery Day matches at Dawson in 1970 "because there's no sense in advertizing your fists." He alleged, however, that he could fight an adversary "if he has to" (Jarvenpa and Williams, field notes, 1970). It seems to me that this attitude is in line with the general Athapaskan proscription on physical violence and overt personal aggressiveness to other humans except in a few well defined social contexts such as in the former feuding and planned attacks on an enemy.

Upper Tanana Feuding and Warfare

The Upper Tanana, whom I believe to be a group somewhat distinctive from the Indians of the middle and lower Tanana River, center today around the villages of Tanacross, Tetlin, Nabesna, and Northway. A few families who have intermarried with the Southern or Northern Tutchone live on the White River drainage in the area of the Alaska-Yukon border. None of these Indians has access to salmon.

McKenna, who has written most about these Indians, estimated their population to have been one hundred and fifty-two in 1929-30. The Indians say that formerly this number was much greater, but it was probably never more than a

¹²All information on the Bushmen or Mountain men is from McClellan, Jarvenpa and Williams field notes 1966, 1970 and from S. Williams, *Some Han Folklore*, Ms. 1970.

few hundred (McKenna 1959:17-19).

The Upper Tanana have a number of Athapaskan-named matrilineal sibs, which McKenna describes as being organized in recent times into two "phratries"; he feels that earlier there was also a third group (McKenna 1959:123-127). De Laguna and Guédon (personal communication) believe the organization to be basically dual. The two moieties are Wolf (or Seagull) and Crow (de Laguna and McClellan, field notes 1960; de Laguna and Guédon, field notes 1968).

All of the Upper Tanana sibs are also represented in other Athapaskan groups such as the Atna or Kutchin. McKenna has stressed the shifting and impermanent nature of the sibs -- a point which de Laguna has also made in her paper for this conference (de Laguna, this volume). McKenna explains that when phratric exogamy became almost impossible, the Upper Tanana of Tetlin and Lower Nabesna Indians no longer enforced it, but approved sib exogamy instead.

The ideal Upper Tanana marriage was polygynous, with most men having two wives, and the headman even more. McKenna heard too of a "Kluane" chief with thirty wives. Probably this was *Ian*, the Southern Tutchone midget chief whom I have already described, but possibly it was *tʔingit tʔEn*, the famous Northern Tutchone trading chief (McKenna 1959:123-127). The Upper Tanana believed also in "Brush Indians," who were "half-men, half-animal," who stole children, and who also married Indian women (McKenna 1959:160-161).

McKenna has already described Upper Tanana feuding and warfare. Data collected by de Laguna and myself include some additional accounts of specific feuds or wars, but add nothing significant to McKenna's description of the causes and the conduct of fighting.

In many of their customs the Upper Tanana paralleled behavior of the neighboring Southern and Northern Tutchone, the Han and the Atna. However, unlike all of their neighbors, except possibly the Han, the Upper Tanana seem

to have made a real point of characterizing themselves as fierce and warlike. In this they appear much like the western Kutchin, although it is difficult to assess to what degree information from differing time periods may have affected either how the people present themselves or how they have been presented by others (cf. Slobodin 1960).

That the Upper Tanana regarded the "Kluane" (Southern Tutchone) as their chief enemies is certainly borne out by my Southern Tutchone information. Furthermore the death or injury of a member of one's sib, shamanistic machinations, and the abduction of women were the chief causes for feuding cited by McKennan. As has been true of the other groups so far surveyed, much of the fighting seems to have been structured along sib lines rather than involving entire local groups.

However, what becomes striking as this survey continues is how often the abduction of women seems to have led to feuding. This, in turn, suggests that there was a limited number of women available to the young man faced with finding a spouse of the proper sib. It becomes increasingly apparent too that we must ask how the women seized by enemy Indians or by "Bushmen" were fitted into the sib system.

Another cause of an Upper Tanana "war" was a raid by the Atna of Chitina on the Chisana Basin, while the Chisana and Nabesna Indians were down the Tanana. The Atna robbed the Upper Tanana caches of food and took away even the snares. The Upper Tanana chief hoped to settle the matter by making the Atna pay, but when they refused to do so, the Upper Tanana annihilated all of the Atna who had not earlier fled (McKennan 1959:171).

McKennan (1959:95-97) does not think that the Upper Tanana had war chiefs although he describes the recruitment of large parties of warriors by wealthy men. He evidently did not hear of the professional "strong men" mentioned by

Atna who told de Laguna and myself about the Upper Tanana participation in the "war between Alaska and Canada."

The chief fighting weapon was a specialized pointed "adze," although knives, bows and arrows were also used. McKennan (1959:97) says the spear was restricted to the killing of bears, but de Laguna and I were told several times by Upper Tanana that the same kind of spear was used specifically and exclusively for killing both brown bears and men. "That's the one, use for bear. Kill *teani* bear; and fight. Natives used to fight each other. That's what they use too, old timey. But they can't use for caribou and moose" (de Laguna and McClellan, field notes, 1970).

Armor was of heavy hide (McKennan 1959:97).

Atna Feuding and Warfare

Introduction¹³

The Atna live in the basin of the great salmon stream, the Copper River, of Alaska. They are separated from the Upper and Middle Tanana speakers by a low divide in the Mentasta Mountains; from the Eyak and Chugach Eskimo at the mouth of the river by the Chugach Range, and from the Northern and Southern Tutchone by the high volcanic Wrangell Mountains. To the west, a lake-studded plateau provided a fairly easy route to the Tanaina.

Even before the epidemics brought by the whites, the Atna probably never numbered as many as a thousand. The highest figures for the nineteenth century population total 567. What is perhaps most significant is that all of the census data from the nineteenth century show a marked preponderance of males over females (see Appendix A of this paper).

¹³Unless otherwise stated, all information on the Atna is in de Laguna and McClellan, *Atna Ethnography*, Ms. in progress, or in field notes collected by de Laguna, McClellan and Guédon in 1954, 1958, 1960, 1968.

As mentioned earlier, the Atna also have matrilineal sibs which on the lower river are grouped into moieties. Many of these same sibs are found among neighboring groups including the Tanaina, the Han, and the Upper Tanana (McClellan 1961:104-105; de Laguna, this volume).

The present-day Atna like to present themselves as having been basically peaceable -- slow to anger, but highly successful whenever they did fight: "Never lost a battle. Just fight when they have to, just try to look peaceful." However, a number of informants also stressed the prevalence of feuding and warfare in earlier times.

Friends and Enemies of the Atna

Quarreling seems to have been fairly endemic both within the sibs and between them. As elsewhere, inter-sib feuding might be confined to only two sibs, or else all of the sibs in each moiety might become involved either on a localized or on a more widespread basis. One Atna even explained that the bird "grandfathers" of the two moieties -- Crow and Seagull -- symbolize the chronic antagonism between the two groups. "*Sarani* (crow) right now and seagull too don't want each other. And *nAlbei* (seagull) goes after *sarani*."

The immediate context for this remark was how members of the *naltsina* sib, who have Crow for "grandpa,"..."fight all the time." The closely allied '*aʔsAtney*' are even more often characterized as warlike. One informant accused them of incestuously marrying within their own sib so they would have lots of sib members united to fight their wars, although she was not clear as to just how she thought this would work out. The '*aʔsAtney*' were also said to "kill a lot of men and never square up," and to have derived their name from this behavior. As de Laguna mentions, one translation of it is "people who are never beaten in war" (de Laguna, this volume).

I cannot fully review here the complexities of Atna sib fighting. De Laguna has summarized the material in her paper for this conference and has indicated how the various sibs seem to be rooted in distinct geographical areas, and how sib names and sib alignments both seem to be extremely fluid phenomena.

It is clear that some Atna sib hostilities spread well beyond the bounds of Atna dialects. For example, the upper Copper River Atna tell of a long-running fight between the *'aʔsAtney* and the *dixagi*, which began at Mentasta in Atna country, then spread to the Upper Tanana at Nabesna, and finally ended at Shushana (Chisana) -- also in Upper Tanana country. The narrator of these events concluded: "Old times people never think of nothing but war!" Only occasionally did Atna sibs in local groups unite to fight a common enemy, as they seem to have done when they attacked the Chugach Eskimo in their home territory at the mouth of the Copper River.

The Chugach (whom the Atna almost always call "Aleuts") were the chief enemies of the Atna. By contrast, Atna relationships with the Eyak around Cordova and the Tlingit traders from Chilkat and Yakutat were generally friendly, although we have stories of at least one hostile encounter with each group.

To the north and west much of Atna contact with the Indians of the Tanana River valley was also friendly. One Atna explained that the Upper Tanana of Shushana (Chisana) sometimes crossed the Nizina glacier to hunt sheep in the early spring, "They just come through, look around more likely." Sometimes, however, the Atna fought when the Tanana encroached on their hunting territory. The Indians from the vicinity of Tanacross also once vowed to "clean up" all the Copper River people, and we heard a long story about how they were foiled only because the Atna chief at Batzulnetas warned the people at *toEdikulan*,

near present-day Copper Center, of the impending attack.

The Tanana from the lower river, in the vicinity of Fairbanks, were regarded as friends.

The Southern Tutchone evidently feared the Atna, although they sometimes brought furs to the Chittystone River to exchange in silent trade for blue beads, caps and powder (Allen 1887:132).¹⁴ By the first part of the twentieth century when mineral rushes brought Indians from many areas into the White River area, several marriages took place between Atna and Southern and Northern Tutchone.

It is a moot point whether the Atna ever actually fought the Southern Tutchone. Some informants from the upper river thought that Atna were involved in the famous "war between Alaska and Canada" to which I have already referred several times. Others said, "...not this Copper River -- some other country. They still blame Copper River." However, no matter who was actually involved, the memory of the "war" was still such in 1918 that the Southern Tutchone from Burwash Landing on Kluane Lake planned a revenge raid on both the Upper Tanana at Northway and the Atna at Copper Center. The alarmed Atna collected stores of ammunition to repel the expected attack, but nothing came of it because the Canadian and Alaskan authorities confiscated all the shells from both sides.

Indian relationships with the Russians were always troubled, and the Atna several times killed Russians who were exploring the Copper River in the early part of the nineteenth century. By contrast, they liked and respected Lieutenant Allen who took a small group of American soldiers up the river in 1885 (Allen 1887).

¹⁴McClellan, Culture Change, Ms. 1950:215-216.

Causes of Atna Feuding and Warfare

The most often repeated Atna story of a serious quarrel within a sib is probably that about a dispute over the inheritance of a fine horn spoon (or dish). There are several versions of the event, which happened within the *teicyu* or *niteicyu* sib. The chief point for us is that the result was the fission of the sib, one branch of which crossed the glaciers to become the *kwack'qwan* sib of the Yakutat Tlingit (de Laguna, this volume). McKennan's (1959:125) version of the same story tells of sib dispersals to Fairbanks and Shushana (Chisana) as well. Again then we have a case in which there is no social institution powerful enough to deal effectively with intra-sib hostility, so that the only real solution is withdrawal by part of the group.

The stated causes for feuding between different sibs are also those familiar to us from the other peoples surveyed. Primarily they were revenge for murder and for the kidnapping and enslavement of women. The mock fighting of potlatch dances might also develop into genuine hostilities.

A man always had to avenge the killing or kidnapping of his sister or mother by a member of another sib or by a stranger, and all of his sib mates were obligated to help him. Pressures were also strong for all sibs within a moiety to help each other carry out raids for revenge. One informant who had just grouped together the *dItsi 'iłtcina*, *nAłtcina*, and *'ałsAtney* into one moiety went on to explain, "They are all the same together. Somebody hit this one -- all get mad and they help each other."

Or, in recounting the history of their former alliances, the *nAłtcina* explain how they came down from the sky to aid the *dItsi 'iłtcina* who had been enslaved by the *teicyu* of the opposite moiety. (The *dItsi 'iłtcina* had themselves earlier made slaves of the *teicyu*.)

Individual rivalries within a local group might also lead to overt aggression and feuds. A Gulkana Atna suggested that even a petty quarrel might set off a serious fight. "Sometimes in camp, lots of trouble (because someone) leave snowshoes outdoors; dogs don't feed, and chew up snowshoes. Make mad. Spank. Each one want to be big shot!" This example and others suggest that because chieftainship was rather loosely institutionalized, the power struggle between the ranking men in local groups sometimes became intense. Perhaps this was especially true when, rather than being dominated by men of a single sib, the local group included men from a number of different sibs. The situation was evidently intensified when a man could gain power through manipulating the fur trade rather than depending just on his relative seniority, hunting skill and general force of character. In this connection, it is noteworthy that like the Southern Tutchone who tell of *Ian*, the Atna too tell of a midget chief. This one was named *kui*. Because he was a failure as a hunter and trapper, people felt sorry for him and gave him a few skins. These he took over to the Tanana valley adding to his supplies as he went, and in the end he too became a renowned trader with thirty or fifty wives, "lots of army" and many slaves who were very fond of him.¹⁵

The most frequently mentioned cause of killings of non-Atna was the appearance of "strangers" in Atna territory -- especially if they were actively hunting. "Strangers" were characterized as those whose language was "different."

(If) they hunt your country -- men -- get fight. Other men you see (in) you country, got to beat 'em up good, so not come back your country.

Old days is bad. Got law. (If) they see each other, different people, just kill'em. Never stop. That's why no Indian much in this world, I think. Out in the woods find ten or fifteen (strange) men, and kill. If

¹⁵One wonders if the pygmy chief in Slobodin's Kutchin story (this volume) could have been either *Ian* or *kui*.

don't talk our language, (we) kill 'em. Really danger them days. Lots of people say that. That's why people don't go 'round and meet each other. That's why (we) stay (with) own nation all the time. Thirty or forty go together (i.e. travel in large groups). And have night watchman. Everytime they go somebody country, just kill. Bad people that country. Still they kill 'em off.

When new people come, got to watch out. Don't give them a chance. Got to know why they are coming. Got deputy to ask why they are coming. Then everything good, o.k.

Unfortunately we know very little about how a deputy was chosen or just how he carried out his duties.

As stated earlier, the "Aleuts" (Chugach Eskimo) were the bitterest enemies of the Atna. We repeatedly heard how the "Aleuts" came up the river, burned the food caches of the Atna so that they would starve in winter, and took away their women. They also came up the river to get antler hairpins, skin coats and copper. One Atna explained that because the "Aleuts" lacked metal needles, knives and other tools, they were forced to make their weapons of the "arm bones" of black bears, so that the desire for copper may have been a really important reason for Chugach raiding in earlier times. Colonel Abercombie believed that the Eskimos even founded a village near Valdez just in order to capitalize on the copper trade which was greatly stimulated during the early nineteenth century by Russian demands for copper ship bolts (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:150-151).

Another item that the Chugach sought from Copper River country were mountain squirrel skins to make parkas, "Oh, they always come around up here -- more for squirrels." They also hunted in Atna country for sheep and goats.

One wonders why the Chugach and the Atna apparently could never work out reasonably satisfactory trade relationships as had been done by the Coastal Tlingit and their interior neighbors. Was it in part because the Chugach lacked the unilineal sib and moiety organization which seems to have been so

helpful in structuring trade partnerships elsewhere (McClellan 1964:11-12)? Or were the Chugach simply powerful enough that it was less trouble just to take what they wanted than to trade, especially before the demise of the sea otter made it so profitable to let interior Indians do the necessary trapping of land mammal furs which the whites then began to covet? Or was it because the Eyak, with whom the Atna traditionally traded and who lived between the two groups, tried to protect their middleman position with respect to the Tlingit and Russians by causing trouble between the Atna and Chugach? The Eyak also hated the Chugach (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:148-152); as did the Tanaina (Osgood 1937:109-113).

Birket-Smith's Chugach informants of the thirties described more extensive trading between Atna and Chugach than did any of our Atna informants. They told of Chugach trips to the interior for copper and canoes, and of Atna journeys to the coast to buy sealskin baidars (umiak) in exchange for furs (Birket-Smith 1953:101).

The Eyak denied that the Atna themselves ever went to the Russian post at Nuchek. Instead, the Eyak said, the Atna paid a commission to them for delivering copper and furs to the Russians. However, our recent Atna data makes it clear that several Atna of the lower Copper River stayed at Nuchek long enough to learn about the Russian Orthodox religion (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:148-159).

Whatever may have been the complexities of Atna-Eyak-Chugach trade relations in earlier centuries, modern Atna say that they always resented Chugach incursions into their country. They say further that it was the burning of their food caches and the capture of their women which finally caused them to band together and fight the Chugach in their own territory on the coast.

We have several vivid accounts of the Atna attack on the Chugach on an island in Prince William Sound. The Indians seem to have won a decisive victory.

They usually set Chugach losses at "a thousand," their own at one man.

Tradition has it that Chugach blood was "up to their knees." The Chugach did not expect the attack since they had burned so many Atna food caches during the summer that they presumed the Copper River people had starved to death.

The two groups of natives still thoroughly dislike each other. As late as 1960 some of the Atna were convinced that the United States government had built a fence across the dock at Valdez in order to prevent the "Aleuts" from attempting to redress their defeat. Others refuse to speak much about the war:

Don't tell them (what I say). They never forget it. If a Copper River boy comes down, they just gang up on him.

That's why they (Chugach) talk about us. Any time we go out there they always want to fight us!

The major fighting between the Atna and the Chugach evidently took place before white contact, since firearms are not mentioned in any of the stories. One man specifically said that the troubles went for ten or more years, and that they occurred before the arrival of the Russians.

Although the Eyak are characterized as "good people" with whom the Atna traded and from whom they learned new songs and dances, there was, as noted, at least one battle between the two groups. The cause of this fight was described merely as "gossip:"

Some gossip starts--chew the rag, you know. That's all I heard--the way it starts. Eyak were talking, and they claim that they would clean up Copper River people. It was winter. Quite a few people from here were spending the winter at Cordova and Eyak.

Finally, the story goes, the Atna tired of the Eyak threats and retaliated, "If they gonna keep on talking, we'll kill them off too! We gonna clean up on them."

Nevertheless, in spite of their bravado, the Atna made some temporary snowshoes and headed back up the river. Unaware that the Atna had made the snowshoes,

and in spite of having none themselves, the Eyak then decided to follow and to ambush the Atna in the deep snow. The Atna backtracked, surrounded the Eyak in a pincers movement, and killed them all.

Informants thought that this all had happened before the Russians came up the river in the first part of the nineteenth century, but the incident strongly suggests that the Atna had paid a lengthy visit to the Eyak primarily in order to trade. It would be interesting to learn the real reason that the Eyak were so eager to be rid of their guests. Were they in the position of middlemen expecting Tlingit or Russian traders whom they did not want the interior Atna to meet first hand (cf. Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:148-152)?

Tlingit traders from Chilkat and Yakutat traditionally came to the Copper River to get raw copper, and the Atna took them moosehides, using the skins as boat coverings on the downstream trips. Since most of the copper sources were in country around Nizina claimed by the *wudjicyu* sib, it is possible that only the Atna of the lower river actually traded the metal. As the demand for land furs increased, however, other Atna too had something valuable for the enterprising Tlingit whom they met on the coast.

A tale which the raconteur entitled "Big Chief Come Over" tells how the Tlingit and the Atna almost fought each other one time at the Chugach settlement of Elemar. This was because the Atna had already traded with one group of Tlingit before the arrival of a second Tlingit trading party under a "big chief." The Atna had no more furs left with which to trade, but they and the Tlingit proceeded to dance together for one month and a half. During most of this time the Atna were "kind of afraid" because the Tlingit were dancing with their spears. Finally the chiefs of the two groups talked matters over, and in the end the two groups traded their dances and departed peaceably. Nothing was said of the role of the Chugach on this occasion.

No reasons were given either for why the Tanana of Tanacross once wanted to "clean up" the Atna at *teEdikulan* near Copper Center, but the Atna farthest to the northwest and the Tanana Indians from the middle Tanana River near Nenana once fought specifically over the Tanana Indians' encroachment into hunting territory which the Atna regarded as their own.

The chief of the *talteina* sib, named *st'anesta*, who had his headquarters between Tyone Lake and Lake Louise met a party of fifteen Nenana Indians near his camp. Since the Nenana people were classed as *RAltsina* or "strangers", the Atna killed them all. Our modern informant did not think that the killing was justified. "Nenana people just go out for hunting. They had no big place. I don't know why they fighting."

Other evidence also suggests that, in earlier times, if the Tanana Indians asked permission to hunt in Atna country because they were short of food or *vice-versa*, the request was usually granted. Perhaps the real cause of friction here was that the Nenana Indians were taking furs as well, or else that the Atna were actually pushing westward into Nenana country, for the same reason.

According to the account of this incident, one of the Nenana men who had been left for dead recovered sufficiently to escape and take the news of the attack back to his people, as the Atna realized when they took a body count. The episode also led to bad feelings between the two groups, but for some reason, there was no revenge raiding. It happened at a time when the Russians had a trading post at Eklutna and when people had guns.

Like many natives of northwestern North America, the Atna disliked the Russians. They charged them with a whole series of heinous crimes, which finally provoked them to retaliations. "Don't want to talk about the Russians. They bad. They whip you. Grab you and whip you!" Another man explained, "Russians spank you the first time!" The Atna further accuse the Russians of

having stolen the Indian "ground" and selling it to the Americans. But, worst of all, was the Russian habit of making "bad faces" at the Atna men, even the chiefs, and of raping the Atna women, whether or not they were married, and whether or not their husbands or brothers were in camp.

The *nałteina* sib chief, Bacilie of Taral, on the lower river was leading a party of Russians up to the Yukon. They had gone as far as Tazlina or Batzulnetas, when the Russians began to molest the Atna women. Since Bacilie could not prevent his angry countrymen from killing some or all of the Russians, he then deliberately offered himself as a hostage to the Russians on the coast in order to clear the good names of the Atna. Although he was evidently successful in that mission, he later returned to his people full of dismal prophecies about their future. His descendants point out that most of the predictions about their future at the hands of the whites have come true.

Atna attitudes towards the early Americans in the area were favorable, largely because Lieutenant Henry Allen got along so well with the Indians. He relayed to them the message that President McKinley would not bother them or take away their land, and that the United States would always take care of the natives. The Atna were evidently convinced by his sincerity and dignity. They regarded Allen as a "slim boy. Fine fellow. Nice looking boy. Not like white men now!" Using a system of deputies, each headman along the river from Taral to Batzulnetas sent one or two of his own "soldiers" to conduct Allen's party from his own headquarters to that of the next chief upstream (Allen 1887).

Conduct of Atna Feuding and Warfare

The decision to make a raid was evidently that of the headman or chief. "Chief says 'Going to war!' and the people had to go." Chiefs, in turn, were powerful men who had acquired their positions in local groups through kinship, seniority, skills in hunting and trading and, often, in shamanistic activities.

They were rich men and were the heads of the large winter houses. Usually the chief of only one sib dominated a given local group.

So far as we know the Atna did not have special war chiefs. As one Atna put it, because it was so hard to get food in the old days, "the chief had to take care of his people." In order to do this, every chief had a body of young men who helped him. "Every village, young people supposed to be like army. Old chief says, 'Go! Go! Go!'"

These references to young men who helped their chief as his "army" or "soldiers" probably derive from Atna observations of the Russian and American expeditions through their country. The young men were expected to hunt, bring in wood and water, and to provide escorts for travelers such as Allen. Probably no chief had more than ten or twelve such "soldiers" (*keli*, the "Skilly" of Allen 1887:37). Ideally they were all of his own sib.

We do not know whether all of the able-bodied men of the local group accompanied the chief if he decided to make a raid. As stated earlier there was certainly pressure for closely allied sibs to help each other out in their feuds, but, according to one informant, the headman of a sib would have to pay to get additional help from men of other sibs. "Must buy army. Always get pay. War chief pay. See good looking boy, buy him for soldier." This seems in line with the information from the neighboring Tanana and the Kutchin Indians beyond (McKenna 1959:46; Osgood 1936:88). An Atna chief who wanted superior soldiers expected to pay slightly more than they asked.

One Atna volunteered that a shaman would accompany a war party, but since many of the local chiefs were themselves shamans, it is difficult to say how often a shaman would be specially hired.

Sometimes if a war party were going for a long distance, half a dozen women accompanied the men in order to carry out camp chores, sew footwear and to act as "night watchmen." Watchmen were necessary because it is alleged

that, in the old days, dogs did not bark, hence giving no warning of prowlers. Even when they had women with them, the war party went "thirty, forty or fifty miles" a day without stopping to eat.

Unlike the Southern Tutchone, the Atna men roasted their meat lightly on spits and did not eat it raw. In fact, if the meat a man had cooked remained "bloody," he would be sent back home, for this was sign that he would be killed in battle.

On the way to the enemy, the men practised running and jumping, but if one of them fell, this too prognosticated death, and he would be asked to withdraw.

As with the other groups, raids evidently took place at all seasons of the year, and the attack was made in the night or early morning. Ideally, scouts would observe the enemy first, trying to get an idea of the number of adult men in camp. Before the Atna destroyed the Chugach fort in Prince William Sound, ten or twelve scouts put on black bear skins and pretended to browse like bears on the hillside near the fort so that they could look it over thoroughly. Some of the Chugach became suspicious of the large number of bears, but others said, "Well, close to the fall of the year -- mating season. It's bound to be like that...!"

One time an Atna woman who was all alone in a house on the Copper River at night knew that a party of "Aleuts" was about to attack because she heard a "different" language. She therefore tied a string onto all of the moveable objects in the house. When the "Aleuts" invaded, she managed to kill one with the sharpened end of a pole for drying fish. At the same time, she cried "Hey! Get up!" and pulled the string so that everything moved. The Chugach thought that there were men "all over" and fled.

Another time the Atna heard the "Aleuts" singing inside a semi-subterranean house, also in their own country. They successfully attacked the enemy who were watching their shaman circle the fire with all of their bows and arrows bundled together in order to prepare them for fighting. The Atna killed everybody.

Even though the Atna knew about Chugach "forts" they evidently did not fortify their own houses or camps.

Like the Indians of the Tanana basin, the Atna warriors slit the chests and bellies of the dead enemy and ate bits of their raw fat. They did this in order to break the taboo on them as killers. It was thought that a man who omitted the observance would remain "wild" like an animal, avoiding all humans and being unable to come close to the fire or to eat cooked food.

The victors then composed a new song and dance to celebrate their feat. However, after singing the song for "ten minutes" they "threw it away" because it too became taboo. Any later accounts of the battle could include only snatches of the song.

Weapons and Armor of the Atna

The chief war weapon was a moose antler club (*k'I dax 'atʃ*). One man said that it was hollowed out so that it could be filled with grease to weight it. Brave men killed bears with the same kind of club.

Warriors also used bows and arrows which had detachable moose leg bone points about eight inches long. Some may have been barbed. One of the Atna heroes in the attack on the Chugach fort had only one hand. Special bone attachments on the ends of his arrows enabled him to draw them with his teeth. Curiously enough, no informant mentioned the use of copper knives or arrow points in specific connection with war, although they did describe them as hunting weapons.

Armor was of wood and included some kind of protective collar which reached high up at the back of the head, somewhat like Superman's cloak: "...something funny people (paper?) -- Superman." It also covered the shoulders and chest. Evidently it was tied in the back and then thrown over the head so that the front piece overlapped the back. The head shield then folded out from the back.

A second type of body protection was of netted rabbit skin strips which were covered with pitch and sand. "Bullets can't go through. Bullets hit -- see only sparks!" In fact, the informant suggested that if President Kennedy had only worn this kind of garment, he would not have been assassinated.

Settlement of Atna Feuds and Warfare

The settlement of feuds between sibs evidently depended on the mediation powers of the older and most powerful men in each group. Compensation for accidental killings might be made through payments in blankets, guns or money. Apparently it was possible to defer such payments until a potlatch was held for some additional reason.

Premeditated murder required the death of the murderer, whose sib chief would do nothing to defend him unless he thought the reason for the killing had been valid. We have no descriptions of the ways in which the Atna reached peace settlements with peoples speaking different dialects or languages from their own.

Conclusions

Of the Indians whom we have been considering, only the Upper Tanana (and perhaps the Han of earlier times) deliberately described themselves as warlike. In this the Upper Tanana and Han resemble some of their immediate neighbors such as the Western Kutchin and Tanaina who also liked to present themselves as fighting men (cf. Slobodin 1960:76-78; Osgood 1937:109-113). The other groups emphasized their peaceable natures, unless, of course, some outrage required them to show their valor. However, petty fighting actually seems to have

been endemic among all of the groups, at least in post-contact times, so much so that some present-day Indians express appreciation that it has ceased and that they no longer need keep constant vigil against enemy attacks or fear for their lives.

Although the data summarized are highly uneven, we can also easily detect similarities in the conduct of feuding and warfare by all of these groups; especially with respect to planned raids and counter-raids. All war parties had special leaders, even though there may not have been permanently institutionalized war chiefs. There were preliminary periods of physical training and special diets or food taboos for all those taking part in premeditated raids. All attacking groups were likely to employ shamanistic aid as well. All tried to scout out the position and number of the enemy, and to make surprise attacks at early dawn. Fights occurred at any season of the year, although late spring, with its deep wet snows, was the most difficult time for successful travel. The Atna, in particular, stressed the use of bows and arrows, but the preference throughout the area was for close body assault with spears or clubs of the same type used to kill bears. The majority of the groups had body armor but they built no special fortifications. Warriors tried to kill all adult males, except in the case of the Upper Tanana and possibly some of the Atna who tried to leave one survivor to tell the tale if he could succeed in reaching another band of his people. Women and children were usually taken as captives. Settlement of feuds either within a group or between two different groups was made through calculations of the worth of those killed, followed by payment in wealth or the death of a person or persons whose statuses would equalize the score.

Less easy to summarize but far more revealing of the dynamics of these northern Indian societies were the reasons for the hostilities of the past,

both those that were given by the Indians and others that we must deduce for ourselves. To repeat the question asked at the beginning of this paper why, in societies which appear to place a high value on friendly or at least non-violent interpersonal relations, were feuding and warfare so prevalent?

It will be remembered that a number of the Indians (Inland Tlingit, Southern Tutchone, Han, Upper Tanana and Atna) cited the appearance of "strangers" in their hunting territories as among the chief causes for fights. They characterized "strangers" as having a "different" appearance, "different" language, or "different" snowshoe tracks. But differences such as these did not necessarily make one an enemy. The Tlingit-speaking Inland Tlingit and Tagish had Athapaskan-speaking friends; the Atna had Tlingit and Eyak as well as Tanana friends, and so on. What was critical was why "strangers" came to one's country in the first place and how they behaved when they got there.

In making this survey I was impressed by Indian statements that some of the fighting between the Tahltan and Inland Tlingit and between the Atna and the Tanana Indians had been caused by food shortages, for while starvation has been repeatedly reported for the Indians of this area, armed conflict over food resources has not been previously noted. It is particularly interesting that all of the groups concerned had access to salmon, three of them (Tahltan, Inland Tlingit and Atna) to immediate runs from the Pacific Ocean. Are we to assume that their exploitation of the salmon runs was never sufficient to keep the people from starving if other game failed? Or did starvation come only when the salmon runs failed or the Indians were unable to catch them because of unduly high water? I suspect that the first alternative is probably the correct one, but the matter needs considerable further exploration. We will learn a lot more about the ecological adaptations of these Indians when we finally get together a tabulation of all known starvation periods reported for all the Northern Athapaskans, particularly if we can get some idea of the actual

numbers of peoples affected. Helm's useful chart in this publication (Helm, this volume) is a good start in this direction.

I do not doubt that whole bands of northern Indians sometimes starved to death. However, with respect to the supposed connection between fighting and the food quest, we must be aware that the reports may often, if not always, reflect the post-contact phenomenon of Indians going hungry because they had spent their energies on trapping furs rather than in hunting game or catching fish as they normally would have done before the advent of the fur traders. Robert Campbell reports starvation of the Pelly River Indians (some of whom were probably Northern Tutchone) because they spent all of the summer of 1841 at Frances Lake waiting in vain for him with his trade goods, rather than scattering to put up fish and meat. For several years previously the Indians had been fruitlessly traveling about trying to find the white traders.¹⁶ This must have happened on other occasions as well. It is probable too that the claims that they needed food were sometimes a pretext on the part of "strangers" who actually only wanted access to a new territory where they might get fur. Clearly a simple circumscription of good hunting land is not all that lies behind northern feuding and warfare.

Outsiders more often went into alien territory -- with or without invitation -- not because they were starving, but because they wanted commodities such as copper to make weapons, or, after the arrival of whites, fine furs for the fur trade, or else the white men's goods. They also wanted women. These limited resources could usually be obtained from other groups by trading, pot-

¹⁶Hudson's Bay Company, New Fort Halkett B 85 a 1837/38; B 85 a 1841/42, probably written by Campbell. On March 24, 1838 the Indians reported that they "even shedded tears" at their disappointment in not finding the white traders although they had been searching the country since 1836, evidently throughout the Upper Liard drainage. They had starved most of the time.

latching or marriage (particularly if one were the wealthy leader of a group), and throughout most of the area all such transactions were arranged according to sib or moiety lines. It was those who ignored the formalized distribution systems who precipitated the feuds and wars. Within the groups too, arrogant attempts to control resources, including women, might lead to hostilities.

I have written elsewhere about my belief that the varied ecological niches of northwestern North America probably encouraged an early and extensive network of aboriginal trade. Although I think, with Slobodin and others, that the desire to maintain a middleman position with respect to the white traders led to increased hostilities between many native groups in the post-contact period. Gillespie has shown us in this conference how among the Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage the initial fighting was likely to drop off rather rapidly in favor of a common gathering at the trading post (McClellan 1964; Slobodin 1960; Gillespie, this volume). I think too that the putative kin organization which structured the trading in the area of matrilineal organization among the more western Athapaskans helped to keep down hostilities (McClellan 1964:11-12). Indeed, as Emmons (1911:114) put it with respect to the Tahltan, in many cases "trade relations proved a bond of peace." However it is worth stressing the unenviable position of the Upper Tanana who during most of the nineteenth century were boxed in by the Kutchin nearest to Fort Yukon; the Han and Tutchone who could get white men's goods directly from Chilkat trading parties or the Yukon River posts at Fort Selkirk, Fort Reliance and other later establishments; the Atna who had easy access to Eyak and Tlingit middlemen or who reached Russian posts at Nuchek and elsewhere on the coast; the Tanaina who also traded directly with the Russians and other whites; and finally, by the

Tanana who lived lower on the Tanana River who could more easily trade either with the Tanaina or with the Russians at Nuklukayat at the junction of the Tanana and the Yukon Rivers (McKenna 1959:21-31, 1969; (McClellan 1964:11-12). There were no white men's trading posts actually within Upper Tanana country until the beginning of this century. Was this one reason that they presented themselves aggressively both to the whites and to the various Indian middlemen with whom they traded? Further ethnohistoric research will undoubtedly clarify the details of inter-group trading in the area.

A topic in equal need of investigation and discussion with respect to all northwestern Athapaskans has to do with the interrelationships between feuding and the capture of women. In this connection we must first consider the degree to which there actually was a shortage of women in the area.

The only extensive nineteenth century census data which I have from the specific groups so far treated in this paper are from the Atna. During the nineteenth century men definitely outnumbered women in this group if the available figures are in any way correct (see Appendix, p.250). The hundred-year-period covered by the data would seem to be long enough to represent more than just chance fluctuations even in a small population (cf. Kelly 1968 for a sophisticated analysis of sex ratio fluctuations in New Guinea).

If we look at available census data for the Athapaskans nearest to the groups under consideration, we also find an imbalance between males and females. Osgood (1936:15) cites a Hudson's Bay Company census of 1858 for the Yukon Kutchin. According this source, there were 135 married males and 156 married females (which suggests polygamy), 121 adult males to 75 females (presumably young adults), and 218 male children to 137 female children.

The overall ratio of males to females totals 474 to 398. This is quite a striking imbalance in the sexes. Greenfield in the Eleventh Census (1893:119) wrote with respect to the Yukon River population, "Some time ago the lack of females was most noticeable among the Indians of the Upper river." He also reported that many of the wives in the upstream villages (presumably Kutchin) came from the Koyukuk or lower Yukon River. Similarly McKennan's figures for the Chandalar Kutchin in 1933 show a slight preponderance of males, a total of 33 adult males to 27 adult females in three of the bands, and of 21 to 15 in those on the Yukon River, at Fort Yukon and at Circle (McKenna 1965:20). McKenna's figures for the Upper Tanana in 1929-30 show 42 males to 44 females, but Allen's 1887 estimate was 40 men to 32 women (McKenna 1959:18-19). Honigmann's total figures for the Kaska with whom he worked in 1944 show a slight preponderance of males if the children are included, but an imbalance among adults: 51 males to 37 females (Honigmann 1949:376). Surprisingly, the ratio of adult males to females also seems to have been greater among the northern coastal Tlingit during the nineteenth century, while the reverse was true of the Eyak and Chugach (See Petroff 1900:91-101).

Poor as the data^g may be, I think they are sufficient to suggest that in the nineteenth century anyway, there were probably fewer females than males among all of the inland groups discussed in this paper. Why should this be the case in hunting societies which are also matrilineal?

I believe that one factor which contributed to the surplus of males was the practice of female infanticide. Unfortunately I lack actual reports of infanticide from any of the specific groups in our survey, but we know that the neighboring Kutchin and middle river Tanana practiced it, as did the Indians of the upper Koyukuk River, and the Hare and Dogrib in the Mackenzie

drainage.¹⁷ Hardisty (1867:312) who reported the imbalance for the Kutchin gave the hard lot of women as one reason for it. A Middle Tanana woman reported, "Once Mama said, one woman threw her baby away as soon as it came. Her husband had too many girls! Just threw it out in the woods!" (Anderson and Loftus 1956:18). The upper Koyukuk Indians killed infants of either sex at birth if they thought that they could not feed them.

I think it is likely that the natives of the upper Yukon drainage also practiced infanticide, but did not report it either because of the horror with which the act was viewed by whites, or because the custom had disappeared with the lessening chances of absolute starvation and the improving lot of women.

If we next ask why these matrilineally organized peoples would kill their female infants, a probable answer may be that like some Eskimo groups they were living a sufficiently marginal existence so that they could not always afford to keep the females. A husband and wife, or wives, was certainly the ideal economic team, but, in the last analysis, the men were the essential providers for the group (Lee and DeVore 1968:241-245).

It is worth noting that in times of starvation among the Northern and Southern Tutchone and the Inland Tlingit, the men always got the bulk of the available food, even if it amounted only to the leg of a tiny snow bird. Of course in all of the groups, so far as I know, women always ate after the men had finished, and I suspect that when starvation came, the women usually died first. I know that the Inland Tlingit specifically abandoned one old woman so that the others could go ahead to try to find food, and

¹⁷Personal communications from Annette Clark for the Upper Koyukuk and Beryl Gillespie for the Fort Norman Hare. See also H. Sue, Hare Indians and Their World, Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College 1964:443-444

the introduction of the funeral potlatch among the Northern Tutchone is said to have followed the death by starvation of the mother of the entrepreneur *tʔingit tʔEn*.

Women would probably also be among the first victims of starvation, because they would undoubtedly make every effort to keep all of their children but the newborn alive. Certainly all of these Northern Athapaskans showed concern and love for their children. Parents expected them to be a help in their old age,¹⁸ and they also represented the future strength of the mother's sib. I think it is no accident that the chief victims of Bushmen were women and children, for both were in demand. In this connection it would be interesting to know why the editor of a small booklet on the Middle Tanana Indians added to her informant's story a note that "Some tribes had many barren women and may have stolen babies to perpetuate the tribes" (Anderson and Loftus 1956:27). Was the comment suggested by her informant, who was discussing Bushmen at the time?

Hardisty attributed the decline in the Kutchin population partly to the great number of miscarriages caused by the hard lives of the women. Greenfield (1893:119) presents much the same idea, whether independently or because he had read Hardisty, I do not know. In spite of Osgood's scepticism about the Kutchin women's difficult lot (1936:112-113; 131-132) I believe there was something to it, and that constant hard work and childbearing really did weaken women's resistance to both starvation and disease. Recent evidence from other hunting societies suggests that life expectancy in hunting societies is almost always lower among females than males because of the stress of multiple pregnancies (Dunn 1968:223-225).

¹⁸See McClellan 1961:108-109; 1964:8-10 for a discussion of the obligations of a daughter and her husband to the wife's parents.

I might note too that informants from both the Inland Tlingit and the Southern Tutchone several times volunteered to me that in the old days "It's the worst thing to be a woman!"

I doubt if we will ever get the kinds of data we need to reach firm conclusions about the complex ways in which environmental, biological and cultural factors have intertwined in order to affect the demography of Northern Athapaskans in earlier years. However, I do think that we should grasp at all straws. Thus, further ethnohistoric research into records such as those of the Hudson's Bay Company will probably help us get a clearer idea of the sex ratios throughout the area. Such information may, in turn, help us to understand why so much of the feuding of the past involved women. Ethnohistoric data can help us also to better analyse certain social circumstances resulting from the fact that the strongest and wealthiest headmen tried to get as many wives as they could. Here we may again mention Hardisty (1867:312) writing that among the Kutchin all of the shamans and chiefs had two or three wives

...so that only a few of the young men have wives unless they can content themselves with some old cast-off widow who from ill health, and the effects of bad treatment, is no longer able to perform heavy work. The consequence is that those who have wives are incurably jealous and treat their women most brutally. It is one of the principal causes of the great falling off of the Loucheux nation. They are not half the number that they used to be.

Although Hardisty perhaps exaggerated the hard lot of women, there was undoubtedly a differentiation in the numbers of wives of the Kutchin leaders and of their followers. It seems likely that there was also a differentiation in the fertility of the wives of the leaders as compared to those of younger or poorer men. This was probably true of all of the groups under consideration, not just the Kutchin. If so, it undoubtedly led from time to time

to marked imbalances in the numbers of local sib members. In a given band the bulk of the children would probably be of the same or closely related sibs.¹⁹ Who would they marry? The ideal in every group was for adults to be married, and men probably found it impossible to get a wife only very rarely; however, it must sometimes have been rather difficult, especially to get one of the proper sib or moiety. One solution would be to lurk about a strange camp as a "Bushman" in order to capture a young woman; another would be to join a raiding party in the hopes of acquiring a wife. Infant betrothal (which was practiced by some Inland Tlingit, Tagish, Southern Tutchone), or polyandry, which evidently developed among the Inland Tlingit and Northern Tutchone during the nineteenth century, would be other ways of meeting the situation; so would manipulation of rules for sib exogamy.

I have already expressed my belief that I think the fur trade increased the difficulties some men had in getting wives. Successful trading chiefs such as *tlingit tlen*, *Ian* or *kui* did not need to be great hunters, nevertheless they had new wealth with which to acquire numerous spouses. Along with their wives they acquired numerous fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law whose obligations to give gifts added further support to their positions. At the same time the developing fur trade meant that white men began to siphon off native women as wives, a process which continues today. The ineffective hunter, the man with little supernatural power, or with limited numbers of close kin would be in a poor competitive position for gaining wives.

¹⁹See Petroff 1900 (1883:97) who cites Douglas' figures for various Tlingit sibs at the mouth of the Stikine in 1839.

What I am still quite uncertain about, however, is whether the matrilineal sib or moiety organization, with its rules of exogamy, increased the pressures on the young man looking for a wife because he sometimes had no suitable partners even if he travelled quite far; or whether it decreased anxieties because moiety or sib obligations for the formal exchange of women assured him help. Ideally the man should have the full strength of his sib or moiety in his quest for a wife, and the scope of that group would usually go well beyond that of the extended family of the bilaterally organized Athapaskans in the Mackenzie drainage.

A convincing answer to this question also requires quantitative data which as yet we do not have, and which perhaps we never will have. Probably the system sometimes helped and at other times hindered, depending on the demographic situations within the sibs, as well as other factors. I might point out, however, that "middle" groups into which members of either phratry or sib could marry seem to have existed precisely where aggressiveness was most persistent in the nineteenth century--among the Upper Tanana and the neighboring Kutchin (See de Laguna, this volume, for a discussion of "middle" groups).

As I have earlier suggested, still another point we need to know about is how women who were captured by Bushmen or warriors were actually fitted into the sib and moiety systems. Honigmann (1954:131) reports that the Kaska gave moiety affiliations to women captives, but he does not say whether this ever meant a shift of the woman's previous sib or moiety membership. I have no data at all for any of the specific groups on which my paper has focused. Is it too late to discover something about this? The findings might help us to assess the strength of unilineal exogamy among northwestern Athapaskans. The northeastern Athapaskans had feuding and

Bushman beliefs (MacNeish 1954, 1955), but bilateral reckoning.

Equally desirable would be some knowledge of the actual numbers of women who were captured or spirited away by any means, as well as the lengths of time they spent with their captors. Slobodin in his paper in this volume tells us of institutionalized "prize women" among the Kutchin, who changed hands numerous times and they may have existed in neighboring groups as well.

We must remember that, in spite of the imbalance of the sexes, most marriages among the Indians in question probably came about by means other than violence. Attaining a wife was essentially a matter of economic well-being and social prestige. Young bachelors could solve their problems of subsistence economy by temporarily attaching themselves to a chief's household, or by operating in incipient age sets.²⁰ There must always have been females available for sexual gratification. Only unwise liaisons precipitated violence.

Topics which surely need more probing are the relationship between feuding and warfare and the hunting patterns of the groups, as well as the degree to which shamans shaped hostilities among them. In this paper I have virtually ignored both of these important subjects except to point out that almost all of the groups consciously associated the hunting of bears and the hunting of men, at least in their feeling that similar weapons were specially suitable for the purpose and that appropriate settlements were required for those slain. There are also hints that warriors who had killed humans felt they had become like beasts of prey and required special ritual to return to

²⁰The young men in an Inland Tlingit or Tagish camp used to live in a separate camp away from their families; their sisters brought them food (McClellan 1961:11 and field notes). Slobodin (1960 reports an age group of young men for the Peel River Kutchin. Possibly the Atna "soldiers" were something of this sort, just as our own peace time army can be so construed.

the human state (cf. Clark 1970; de Laguna 1970; Honigmann 1954:96; McClellan 1970c). Further inquiry on this fascinating topic as well as the question of shamanistic machinations must await another paper.

Comparative data from other societies will suggest additional ways of exploring our meagre data. For example, the Yanomamö of Venezuela also have a shortage of females, which is presumably due to female infanticide. They likewise have unilineal exogamy (partriliny), extensive trading, and much feuding over circumscription of raw resources (gardening land in this case) and over women. However, in their very conscious cultural conditioning of the males to be aggressive in almost any situation, they contrast greatly with the Indians whom we have been considering (cf. Chagnon 1968a and b; Carneiro 1970). In the end, relevant clues to understanding northwestern Athapaskan warfare will perhaps emerge most directly from an examination of the demography and behavior of the Eskimos and northern Algonkians -- and above all -- of the northeastern Athapaskans.

APPENDIX

ATNA POPULATION FIGURES

(Compiled by F. de Laguna 1970)

- 1818: Native Population of the Russian Colonies in America, Census by Imperial Inspector Kotslitzof (Petroff 1883:33)
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Mednovtze (Atna) | 567 (294 males, 273 females) |
| Kenai (Tanaina). | .1471 |
| Chugach and Ugaletse (Eyak) | 477 |
- 1819: The same figures are reported as applying to the Number of Natives Under Russian Control (Tikhmenev 1861:1253).
- 1839: Estimates from Wrangell (in Baer 1839)
- | | |
|--|---|
| Atna of the lower Copper River | about 60 families, although over 100 individuals had starved to death in 1823 (pp. 97, 98). |
| Koltschane of the upper Copper River | no estimate |
| Kenai or Tnaina. | 460 families (p. 103) |
| Ugalentz | 38 families (p. 96) |
- 1839: Estimate by Veniaminov (Petroff 1884:36)
- | | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Mednovtze | 300 |
| Kenaitze | .1628 |
| Chugach. | 471 |
- 1848: Indians encountered by Serebrennikov in May, on the Copper River (Sokolov 1852)
- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| Taral | No report |
| Between Chitina and Tazlina Rivers | Total 41 seen |
| Village above Chitina and Kotzina Rivers | 12 |
| Village on lower side of "Portage"(?). | 6 women, 6 children |
| 5 men gone to Nuchek to trade | |

House on opposite side of river	7
Village abandoned by reindeer hunters (no estimate)	
Abandoned village, but 1 man, 1 woman, 3 children in woods.	
On Tazlina River.	2 families from Copper River
On Tazlina Lake	1 camp with 2 families; a second camp

1860: Christians in Russian America (Tikhmenev 1861)

Mednovtze	18 (17 male, 1 female)
Kolchanes	190 (97 male, 93 female)
Kenaitze.4391 (2185 male, 2206 female)
Ougalentz	148 (73 male, 75 female)
Chugach	456 (226 male, 230 female)

However, in 1862 the total numbers given are: (Petroff 1884:39)

Kenaitze.	927
Chugach and Atnah	719

1863: Estimate by Kostlivzof (Petroff 1884:40)

Atnah2500 (Petroff would reduce this to 500)
known Kenaitze.	937

1880: Tenth U.S. Census (Petroff 1884:12, 29)

Atnah villages	250
Kenaitze (Kenai Peninsula, Cook Inlet). . . .	614 [our totals]
Chugach (including 117 possible Eyak)	384 [our totals]
Tlingitized Eyak (Gulf Coast)	326 [our totals]
Tanana villages	700

1882-
1884: Estimate by Abercrombie, based on information from Holt who was at

Taral in 1882 (Abercrombie 1900a:403-407)

Copper River Indians (including "Mednooski, Hot-not-tani, and Noo-thelze")

or "No-thelze") 350 or 400 (total)

Taral, "population varies according to the season, but probably never exceeds 60 souls."

11 other villages in 100 miles between Taral and Colcharni.

Colarni (Koltchame, etc.) of upper river... unknown

Kenai Indians in 14 permanent villages, 4 on Knik, 2 on Sushita Rivers (p. 401). (no total)

Aleuts or Chugachimutes (5 villages on Prince William Sound) about 300 (p. 399)

Ugalentsi (Eyak), at Eyak and, Alaganik, 33 able-bodied men, and total never over 200 (p. 397)

1885: Estimate by Lt. Allen (1887:128)

Atna Total "about 366" (128 men, 98 women, 140 children)

This total is subdivided into:

Tatlatans, including settlement at Lake Suslota 117

On Copper River, including its tributaries between Taral and the Tazlina, "the total number of Midnooskies". 209

[The sum of these two figures is only 326, so that about 40 natives have probably been omitted.]

On Chitina River and its tributaries. . . . "about 30"

On headwaters of Tazlina River and Tazlina (Placeznie)

Lake. "probably 20"

[It is not clear whether the first (or both) of these last two figures are to be considered as part of the Midnoosky total. If they are, this would leave about 150 natives on the Copper River itself between the Chitina and Tazlina rivers. If *all* figures are to be added together, the total number of Atna would be 376, not 366.]

1890: Eleventh U.S. Census (Porter 1893:158)
 Total 142
 Atna 142 (89 males, 53 females)

1898-1899: Estimate by Abercrombie (in Glenn and Abercrombie 1899:327-328)
 Total Atna "probably 300"
 "Taxlena" 150
 Gakona. 75
 Klutina 35
 "Chettyna"..(no figure given, probably. . . 40)

1910: Thirteenth U.S. Census (pp. 111, 116, 122)
 Total 297 (161 male, 136 female)
 (This figure includes 4 mixed bloods, but not 2 male mixed bloods living in the United States.)

Subsequent Census figures lump together whites and Indians, but give figures for towns. (Fifteenth Census, 1930, p. 6; House Report 2503, p. 1547).

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1950</u>	(natives only)
Chitina village	-	171	116	92	
Copper Center	91	71	80	90	
Total in Valley	-	511	729	-	

In 1951-52 a census by Hugh J. Wade, BIA, indicated at Chitina, a total of 65 natives including 15 men, 16 women, 19 children 6-18 years old, 15 children under 6 years; average daily school attendance was 15 (House Report 2503, p. 1542).

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WITHOUT FIRE:
A KUTCHIN TALE OF WARFARE, SURVIVAL, AND VENGEANCE

Richard Slobodin

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WITHOUT FIRE: A KUTCHIN TALE OF WARFARE,
SURVIVAL, AND VENGEANCE

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Résumé

"Sans feu" est un conte kutchin de la rivière Peel, présenté comme le récit de faits historiques, qui relate comment Kwanetun, chef et guerrier dont les proches ont été tués par des maraudeurs ennemis, lutte tout un hiver contre la faim, sans feu, parvient à survivre et se venge. L'auteur analyse la forme, le style et le fond de ce récit, qui est dépourvu d'éléments surnaturels et chamanistes, et en compare certains thèmes, tel la femme-récompense, à ceux d'autres contes athapaskan.

Abstract

A Peel River Kutchin tale, "Without Fire," told in narrative form as an historical account, describes how Kwanetun, a chief and soldier whose people were killed by enemy raiders, survived a winter of near starvation without fire and his ultimate revenge on the enemy. This account, which lacks supernatural and shamanistic elements, is analyzed for form, style and content and certain motifs, such as Prize Woman, are compared with those of other Athapaskan tales.

Introduction

This story was told to me during the evening of February 17, 1947, at a hunting camp¹ of Peel River Kutchin in the Richardson Mountains, some 40 air miles northwest of Fort McPherson, N.W.T. The narrator was William Ittza [*ItzE* --'ear']. Mr. Ittza is by birth a Crow River or Vunta Kutchin. Born in 1911, he moved in the late 1930's to the Peel River region, where he resides at this writing.

¹A "meat camp" for hunting caribou, as described in Slobodin 1962:58 and *passim*.

In a tent full of men, women, and children, some of them sleeping, the conversation had turned to the Second World War, and then to warfare in general.

You want to talk about war [William said] I'll tell you a story of war. Some of you know this story, but hear me. This really happened. This happened maybe a thousand years ago, maybe ten thousand. It is perhaps the oldest story. Maybe *atoʔok'ái*² is older.

Later, at Fort McPherson, William went over the story with me, correcting and elucidating minor points, and helping me to translate it. The translation was reviewed with Mr. Fred Firth, a Metis, native to the region and fully bilingual in Kutchin and English. The story text and translation were also discussed with his equally bilingual brother, Mr. William Firth of Fort McPherson.

I had heard shorter versions of the Kwanetun story in 1938-39 and was to collect another at Fort Yukon, Alaska, in 1961. Petitot (1888:199-213; Savoie 1970:148-162) and Osgood (1936:166-167) have published versions of the story.

*WITHOUT FIRE*³

Kwanetun was a chief. Nobody knows anymore who were his people. And nobody knows his name at that time.⁴ But he was a very famous soldier.⁵

It was the coldest part of the winter, around this time of the year [February]. The people were killing rabbits. Kwanetun and his brother, with

²"Paddled a Different Route," the Kutchin culture-hero.

³Tetlit or Peel River Kutchin *kwan*, "fire"; *-ehtun*, "without." William Ittza was inclined to use the Vunta Kutchin form of the name, *koEtun*, but in deference to his audience he told the story in Tetlit Kutchin.

In this paper, the story is called "Without Fire," the hero is named Kwanetun.

Osgood titles the story and calls the protagonist "The Man Without Fire" (1936:166ff). Petitot similarly calls the hero "L'homme sans feu" (1888:199ff). However, if the narrators wished to call the hero "the man without fire," they would have termed him *dInji kwaneEhtun*. There are many precedents for translating an American Indian proper name in the form used here.

⁴William Ittza added the second sentence in going over the story with me.

⁵William Firth would have used "warrior" as a translation of *ʕiakán*.

whom he lived, killed the most, a great pile of them. The rest of the people gave Kwanetun their rabbits, and he and his brother were going to make a big feast. All day long they and their wives were cooking rabbits in their skin tent. The men got hot with it, and took off their shirts. They were naked down to the waist.

Kwanetun's wife suddenly heard a noise like a storm coming. She stood looking and listening for so long that Kwanetun thought something must be wrong. He pushed her aside and looked himself. As soon as he did, he could tell it was a great enemy army, just closing in on the camp of his people. There was just a small gap left. Only Kwanetun and his brother, the fastest and toughest men in the band, had any chance of escaping through the gap. Kwanetun threw down his snowshoes, jumped on them and was away in a moment, the way fighters in those days were trained to do. His brother did the same, but the binding on his right snowshoe broke as he was twisting his foot into it. Kwanetun's wife immediately threw one of her snowshoes under his foot, and he was away.

The two brothers escaped the attack and ran for the hills, naked down to the waist as they were. The rest of the band was cleaned up,⁶ except for Kwanetun's brother's wife, who crawled into a bank of snow, and Kwanetun's wife, who was captured and taken away. She was famous as a wise and clever woman, and word about her had reached even this strange band.

The enemy burned everything in the camp so that there would be nothing for Kwanetun and his brother in case they were able to make their way back.

After cleaning up the camp, the enemy were after the brothers. The brothers were very fast on snowshoes, but they came to a stream with open water, which can happen even in February. Kwanetun jumped from stone to stone and crossed

⁶"Massacred," William Firth elucidated.

keeping his snowshoes dry. His brother followed, but in jumping he did not quite get to the top of each stone, and the rear tips of his snowshoes touched the water. When he reached the opposite bank, his snowshoes began to pick up snow where they were wet. This weighed them down, and he began to fall behind. Kwanetun was climbing up into a high rocky place, and his brother was just beginning to climb, when the enemy came within spear-throwing range. They threw spears and one spear pinned a snowshoe to the ground. The brother was trying desperately to pull the spear out when the enemy came up and clubbed him to death.

Kwanetun was hidden in the rocks and the enemy couldn't find him. Hoping to make him so angry that he would come out, they kept clubbing his brother's body. Each of them as they passed along the trail where the body lay, hit it, until it was just a bloody pulp. Kwanetun did not move or speak until one man came along who Kwanetun knew was a poor hunter. When this man hit the mess that used to be his brother, Kwanetun called out, "You act now like you were a man, but you're no man. You can't kill your own. Only when others have killed, you come up behind and hit."

The last of the enemy to come along was Kwanetun's partner among these people. This man and Kwanetun might never kill each other. They traded together and gave shelter to each other.

This man waited until his people had gone over the hill. Then he called out to Kwanetun, "My partner, come down and I will give you some warm clothes."

Kwanetun would not move or speak. The partner called, "You'll freeze to death." Still no answer. Finally the man said, "Well, I'll leave these beaver mitts here for you. They'll help you." And he put down a pair of long beaver mitts that reached to the armpits.

Kwanetun's partner asked, "Do you have anything to say before I go?"

"Yes," Kwanetun answered. "When the caribou have white hair around their throats [next Fall], don't you sleep at home."

The partner went away, and Kwanetun came down and took the mitts.

He went back to his own camp and found it in ashes. The only ones alive were his sister-in-law, who crawled out of the snowbank, and two dogs which had run away at the attack. The sister-in-law could not walk. The enemy soldiers had all walked over the snowbank where she lay. The enemy had come over the Icy Mountain⁷ from their own place, and they had brass cleats on the snowshoes for climbing there. One of these cleats had cut the tendon of one heel, and she was crippled.

Kwanetun said he would rig up a sled for her and harness the dogs to it, but she did not want it. "I will die soon anyway," she said. "I might as well stay here where there is a fire. Let me keep the dogs, and you go ahead. When the dogs catch up with you, you will know I have died."

Kwanetun went off, searching for another band of his people. He took with him a stick burning at one end, in order to make fire. It was very cold weather, and he was still wearing nothing above the waist except the mitts. Every night when he camped he would set a snare or two, which was all he could do, and in the night and sometimes in the morning he got one or two rabbits. He roasted and ate them, and tore the skin into long narrow strips which he wound around his body.

When he went to look at his snares, or to try to hunt rabbits, he left the burning wood stuck in the snow with the smoking end upward. It was so cold that rabbits were hard to get. After several days of this, he came back for fire one

⁷By the Eastern Kutchin, this is usually identified as the Ogilvie Range.

time and found that the stick had fallen over, and the fire had gone out.

Later on, he said that when his brother was killed and pounded in front of him, and when he saw his camp and people destroyed, and his wife stolen, he never cried. But when he saw that stick fallen down and put out, he sat down and cried. For now he thought he really would die, and never have revenge.

That day, the dogs caught up with him. His sister-in-law was dead. That night he slept between the dogs. He went on catching rabbits, and tried to eat them. Starving as he was, he could not eat raw rabbit. "Don't ever think," he said later, "that if you're stuck you can eat uncooked rabbit. It can't be done."⁸

He fed the raw rabbits to the dogs and kept on winding strings of rabbit fur around himself. After a week or so, his upper body was fairly well covered. But he was starving. The dogs got poorer and poorer, and finally died.

All this time, he was looking for signs of a trail. He would probe and poke around in the snow to feel if there was any trail deep underneath. Then, he seemed to hit the buried remains of a trail. He could not be sure, but he kept feeling along with a stick, and every now and then he would hit it. He kept on this way for days. Finally, he could see the trail on the surface, and it kept getting clearer. Then one day, he came to a place where people had camped, and so recently that a fire was still smoking. He built up the fire, warmed himself, and looked around for food. He found some caribou feet, roasted one, and tried to eat it. The gristle was so tough that as soon as he had swallowed it, in his starving condition, it knocked him out.⁹ He lay

⁸As a matter of fact, it is reported to have been done; e.g., by Peary and Henson, who were starving at Independence Fiord in northeast Greenland, May, 1895 (Miller 1963).

⁹"Anyway," commented another informant, "after people have been starving, the first thing they eat is likely almost to kill them. You have to be very careful with them."

unconscious for a long time and when he came to, the fire was almost out again. This really scared him but he was able to build the fire up again. This time he just warmed himself and then continued to follow the trail.

The people who had been camping there were a day's journey away by this time. The reason the fire was still going when Kwanetun got there was that one girl had forgotten her needle, a marten's penis-bone, which she had gone back to find. On her way to catch up with her people, she looked back and saw smoke rising again from the fire she had left almost out. When she got home, she told her father.¹⁰ He told the news to the chief and other men. They knew that Kwanetun's band, which lived in that direction, had been wiped out, and they figured that Kwanetun was the only one who had a chance of surviving. So they supposed it was he.

The way the people travelled in those days, was to have the hunters first, followed by their families, then the old men and their wives, and lastly the old widows. As Kwanetun came up to the people's camp, he approached first the tent of a widow and her daughter.

Nearing the tent, he could hear the old woman inside telling her daughter to put aside a certain cut of meat for the next day. The girl argued, wanting a different cut of meat. From outside the tent, Kwanetun called in, "Oh, let the girl have what she wants."

He did this so as to prepare them for his coming in. The old woman was startled and cried, "Who was that?"

A moment later, Kwanetun walked in. The women were very much surprised and frightened, but he spoke quietly to them and said he was a friend. "Please don't tell anyone I'm here yet, until I've rested. Can you let me have some

¹⁰Comment by William Ittza: "Any such news would be important, because the people never knew when they might be attacked."

bone soup?"¹¹

The widow went outside and announced to the camp that a stranger was in her tent.¹² Immediately all the people rushed out of their tents and towards hers. But Kwanetun leaped out of the door and started to run back on the trail he had just travelled. But he was tired, and he didn't really want to get away from the people, so they soon surrounded him.

Then, right there, he told them the whole story. The people were crying and wailing all around. They had relatives and friends among Kwanetun's people. Also, they were crying for what he had to endure. It was then that he got the name Kwanetun, because he had lived so long without fire.

Kwanetun went to live with the chief of these people, and it was understood that the men of this band were going to make a vengeance raid with Kwanetun as the leader. First, they had to hunt to get provisions for the war party and for those who stayed behind. That night, the medicine men of the band worked all the medicine they knew, to get caribou.¹³ In the next two days, the men got enough meat for a year. The people then put up the meat,¹⁴ prepared pemmican, made clothes, fixed weapons and snowshoes, and got ready in every way.

¹¹Tetlit Kutchin *tθ#n da*, lit. "bone boiled."

The symbol # used in notes 11 and 27 represents the low back vowel approximately as in English *but*. I realize this is almost the same as the schwa vowel ə given in note 25; # is stressed and tense and ə is not. The second consonant, theta, in *tθ#n* is the voiceless dental fricative as in English *thin*. The first symbol of the next word *da* stands for the voiced dental fricative as in English *that*.

¹²It was never made clear to me whether Kwanetun had a chance to eat the bone soup.

¹³William Ittza and Fred Firth stated that Kwanetun was not a medicine man. I had been so informed in 1938-39 by two octogenarians, William Smith and William Ittza's father, *e'Idze*, himself a medicine man. *e'Idze* is the Vunta Kutchin form for "ear."

¹⁴To "put up" meat or fish is frontier English for the process of cleaning, splitting, and sun-drying or smoking it.

Then the men of the war party set off under Kwanetun as the leader. Several months had gone by since the enemy had returned to their country, and the trail was gone.

However, Kwanetun knew that his wife, who was clever, would have some way of marking the trail. He watched carefully and then, sure enough, he noticed every now and then, a willow with a nick from a fingernail in it. He was sure that this was his wife's sign. They followed these willow marks until they got high in the Icy Mountains.

When the enemy had climbed above the willows into snow-covered slopes, Kwanetun's wife had taken a piece of the mooseskin in which she kept her red pigment¹⁵ and had covered the soles of her boots with them. This way she left very faint red marks in the snow, which Kwanetun and his party followed.

After a long time they came to the other side of the mountain crest, where wind had blown the snow clear and there were only stones. No sign of the enemy's trail could be found. They searched and searched, but with no success. The men grew tired and discouraged and Kwanetun, angry and disgusted. He knew that soon the men would want to turn back. They were sitting glumly among the rocks. One poor young fellow¹⁶ was sitting and thinking dejectedly, like the others. He kept picking at the small stones in front of him. They were frozen solidly in place. He felt one, then another; they were stuck. Then his hand fell on a third one, and the stone moved easily. Surprised, he looked down and saw a small wood shaving under the stone. That was why it had not frozen.

¹⁵*tsai?*, the dry red mineral pigment which is used for medicinal, cosmetic, and many other purposes.

¹⁶That is, an undistinguished person.

"Kwanetun!" he called out. Everyone else in the war band turned and looked at him. If a poor boy like this should call to Kwanetun, who in the mood he was in might kill anyone who bothered him, then something important must have happened.

"Here is a shaving of your brother's," the young man cried.¹⁷

In the mind of Kwanetun and these people, the enemy they were going to raid belonged to Kwanetun's brother, because the raid was chiefly to avenge him. So they said the shaving belonged to Kwanetun's brother, for it showed them which way the enemy had gone.

At these words, every man in the band quickly pulled out his bow and began firing arrows at Kwanetun. That was what they did whenever something very exciting happened on the warpath. They knew they couldn't hit Kwanetun. He was too fast and too good at dodging.¹⁸

After this, they went down the side of the mountain that the shaving had been on, where they picked up Kwanetun's wife's marks again.

After long travel, they came to a lake. By now it was early Fall. On the other side of the lake was a big camp. It was the enemy. In the camp lived Kwanetun's wife. The enemy knew she was very clever, so they watched her closely. Every night she slept between two men, and when she went to fetch wood or water, two women went with her.

¹⁷During the movement of a war party, security was allegedly maintained. "Watches were set while the party slept, and evidences of encampment were concealed. Thus, while resting, men frequently passed the time in shaving down arrow shafts; the shavings were then concealed under rocks" (Slobodin 1960b:82).

¹⁸William Ittza commented on going over the text: "They would shoot at the man to whom the enemy belonged, that is, the one who had organized the raid in revenge for a loss. If they hit him, it was a bad sign, and the party would turn back." William Ittza's brother Edward added drily, "Well, if they killed the war leader, it really was a bad sign."

As she was drawing water, she saw some scouts of Kwanetun's party, peering through the willows on the other side of the lake. She had been on the lookout all the time, because she knew that if Kwanetun lived, he would follow her. When she saw her own people, she quickly threw the water from the bucket on one side. She meant that was the shortest and best way to come around the lake. The women with her asked why she did that. "A mosquito was bothering me," she answered, "so I sloshed water at it."

It took the war party a couple of days to get around the lake. On the evening when she figured they had gotten there, Kwanetun's wife went out in the direction from which they would be coming, to fetch wood. The women went with her. There was a small hill. She said to the other women, "I'll get some just over this mound, and you pick up wood here." She went over the hill, and there were Kwanetun's soldiers, lying on the ground and keeping still.

Two men crept up to her. "Can you get us some food?" The party had made such a long trip that it had just about run out of provisions. "I'll try," she answered. Then she told him how closely she was watched.

She got wood and rejoined the other women, and they went back to the camp. She put under her clothes as much dry meat as she could, and started back to get some more wood. By now it was almost dark, and the women did not notice how she looked.

Again she said she would fetch wood from over the hill. When she got there she gave the men the meat. They told her, "When you hear a ptarmigan call from the sunrise [East] and an owl hoot from the sunset [West], that will be the signal for us to attack. At that, have one of the men who sleeps with you get on top of you, and hold him there. And put a feather in the hair of each of the men with you."

She got wood, rejoined the other women, and they went back to camp.

The men in Kwanetun's camp set a wooden mark in the ground at a point where a man could just look over the hill and see the enemy camp. Each man of the war party went quietly up to the mark and took a good look at the camp, so as to know the layout. Each man in turn did this. By the time they were through, a hole was worn knee-deep in the ground, behind the mark. Kwanetun alone had not looked at the mark. He sat apart and said nothing. A ptarmigan called. A man went up to Kwanetun and said, "Everyone has gone up to the mark except you."

Kwanetun took hold of his war club and paced slowly up to the mark. The other men got out their clubs and stood ready to go. They knew that Kwanetun would not stop at the mark and look, but would keep going. When Kwanetun got to the mark, an owl hooted, and he started to run. Then the others ran.

I do not know if those were a real ptarmigan and an owl, or men imitating them. There were medicine men in the party who could talk to those birds and make them do that.

Kwanetun headed straight for the tent where his wife was kept. She had marked it according to the plan. As he ran in, the man on top of his wife saw him, but it was too late. In an instant his head was bashed in, and a moment later, the other man was dead. Then Kwanetun ran into the next tent and killed everyone there. By this time the rest of the war party had arrived and were clubbing everybody. Only one man got any distance. The younger brother of Kwanetun's partner ran out of the third tent and was getting away. He was faster than anyone in Kwanetun's party except Kwanetun. But Kwanetun took out after him and soon overtook and killed him.

All of the people in the camp, men, women, and children, were killed. Kwanetun's partner was not there, however. It was the season Kwanetun had spoken about, and the man had been away hunting. As he returned, he could see his camp a long way off, and they could see him. The men of the war party walked around

the camp and worked so as to make it look natural. They had not burned the camp. They hoped to trick Kwanetun's partner into coming in. But he was suspicious. He would walk a little way, then sit down, then walk a bit further again and sit down. Kwanetun saw that his partner would not come in, so he walked out until he could shout to the man.

"Well, my partner," he called, "I told you to stay away from camp when the caribou had white hair around their throats, and I see you have done this."

"Did you kill them all?" his partner called back.

"Yes."

"What about my brother?"

"He was killed, too."

"Who killed him?"

Kwanetun evaded the question. "The people killed him."

"I know you killed him," replied his partner. "No one but you could have caught him."

"Well, come here, my partner," called Kwanetun. "I want to give you one of my two best shirts." And he showed the shirt covered with beads.

"When I asked you to come down from the rocks last winter," his partner answered, "so that I could give you some clothes to keep you from freezing, you wouldn't come. And now do you think I'll come for you?"

"Anyway," Kwanetun said, "I'm leaving the shirt for you. And you -- do you have anything to say before I go?"

"Only this," replied the partner. "I know where there is an old man fishing. I'll go and camp with him. He and I are the last of our people. You need not expect anything in return for this. It is finished."

Kwanetun went back to the enemy camp. His wife was laughing and telling the other men how the man looked who had been on her when Kwanetun rushed in and clubbed him. Her talking about this made Kwanetun angry. Perhaps he didn't like his wife joking about lying with other men. He would have killed his wife right then, but the rest of the party held him back. After a while he was friendly with his wife again.

Then Kwanetun and the party went back over the mountains to their own country.

Many years later Kwanetun met his trading-partner again. This man was living with another band. The two bunches of people camped opposite each other and Kwanetun and his partner shared a tent together. The people traded together and seemed to be friendly. The other people had nothing in mind, but Kwanetun wanted to kill these people, too, for his brother.

These people could not understand Kwanetun's language but he could understand theirs. Kwanetun got his own men together secretly and told them, "Tonight, when I shout, each of you grab your club and kill the man living opposite you."

Kwanetun wanted an excuse to kill his own partner. That evening he asked him to tell stories. The man began to tell of the wars he had been in. After a while he rolled up his sleeves and showed the marks on his upper arms.

"These stand for many a man of your people that I've killed."

At this, Kwanetun grabbed his short-handled club that he kept by him, leaped across the fire and beat his partner's head in. As he did so, he shouted, "Kill them all!" His men clubbed the other men before they could move.

Kwanetun lived many years more and died of old age. No one could kill him.

Story Form

One of the most striking features of the story is that, although all informants who related it or referred to it allege its great antiquity, it contains almost no reference to the supernatural. It is clearly not told as a myth; it has a narrative style different from that of Kutchin myths and it lacks mythological characters and events. However, most Kutchin historical tales contain at least some reference to the supernatural power of the chief protagonists. There is none in "Without Fire." All events, with two minor exceptions, are explained without reference to unseen powers and supernatural personalities. The minor exceptions are the hunting medicine made during preparations for the revenge raid, which resulted in a successful hunt, and the possibility that medicine men in the war party had induced a ptarmigan and an owl to call out. These are such routine and workaday manifestations that they can hardly be said to provide a supernatural atmosphere. Both were part of normal procedure in hunting and warfare. The former was customarily carried out until recently, and still occurs on occasion. I might say that I have witnessed hunting magic, followed by a successful hunt; there is nothing mythological or particularly unusual about it.

"Without Fire," then, is told as an historical account. There is little reason to doubt that the conditions it describes actually did obtain; I am inclined to believe that it is based upon an actual, albeit extraordinary, incident which became widely known in the region. It seems to me that the dramatic impact of the central incident, the survival of the hero through a subarctic winter without fire or proper clothing, is enhanced by his lack of magical power and by the realistic nature of the narrative.

The version of the story collected by Petitot (1888) from a "Loucheux" man at Fort Good Hope in 1870 is much less realistic than the one presented here.

Petitot's version includes a number of supernatural motifs and characters, some clearly mythological. These have not been lost to the modern Peel River Kutchin, but are included in other stories. Extensive folkloristic comparison and analysis would be required to throw light on the question of whether the story as presented here is an old version to which motifs were added in the version received by Petitot, or whether the Peel River version has been stripped of the supernaturalistic. The latter is quite possible, and indeed may be due to the artistic tact of an unusually gifted storyteller, for such certainly are found among the boreal Indians.

The story's style cannot be validly discussed on the basis of a translation which pretends to no artistic merit in itself, but one feature of the structure is obvious: its balance. The story consists of three major and two minor episodes: (1) the extermination of Kwanetun's people; (2) Kwanetun's ordeal without fire; (3) his meeting with another band of his people; (4) the revenge raid and extermination of the enemy; (5) the killing of Kwanetun's partner and the people with whom he is dwelling. The major episodes are (1), (2), and (4). Episodes (3) and (5) are interesting for aspects of social organization and ethos, but for story structure, (3) is no more than a logically necessary interlude, while (5) is an epilogue. Indeed, episode (5) was related by William Ittza as an afterthought, although on the same evening as the rest. He had concluded with the revenge party returning over the mountains, and was resting and drinking tea when someone urged, "Tell what happened later." At this, though with some show of reluctance, he resumed with the epilogue.

The basic episodes together constitute (1) a statement: the destruction of the order of things; (2) a drawn-out ordeal in which the force of retribution or restoration -- that is, the hero -- having been all but obliterated, gradually gains strength; (4) retribution, or restoration of the balance of things.

Episode (4) balances and cancels out (1), especially in the exchanges between Kwanetun and his trading-partner.¹⁹

Episode (5) might be regarded as a footnote to (4), the final tittle of revenge. On the other hand, it could be considered as disturbing the balance that had been stated with the partner's last words, "It is finished." I believe William Ittza felt this way about it. He did not particularly wish to relate the final episode, and reviewing the story with me later, he remarked that it was not part of the original, "ancient" story.

William Ittza has a fine feeling for story form, but the unknown narrative artist or artists who had shaped the Peel River oral tradition may have included episode (5) from artistic motives. This is a realistic tale, and the literary artist would know that real life is not neatly balanced. Indeed, the wife in episode (4) does not balance the sister-in-law in episode (1), except insofar as each episode has one outstanding female character. In their behaviour, their interaction with the hero, and their fate, they form an interesting contrast.

It is tempting to treat the style and form of the story at length, but for the reason mentioned, it seems more profitable to turn to certain features of the content.

Identification

Who were Kwanetun's people and who were the enemy? This is a matter of interest to the Kutchin. Petitot's version states that Kwanetun was a non-

¹⁹The ternary structure of the story parallels "the formula represented in the rites of passage: separation -- initiation -- return" (Campbell 1949:30) which Campbell suggests as the basic framework of the heroic myth. However, unlike the initiate or the mythical hero, Without Fire is unchanged by his ordeal. His story is neither ritual nor myth. In the end, a balance is achieved, with a restoration of the original state of affairs.

Kutchin speaker, and that the enemy were led by his life-long adversary, "*Nakkantse*ll ou le Pygmée" (Petitot n.d.:43); *nagai*ⁿ *tsUL* -- lit. "beads small". The Pygmy, along with several other characters and motifs in Petitot's "L'Homme sans feu," are incorporated into other modern Peel River war tales.

Most Eastern, or Mackenzie River drainage Kutchin of my acquaintance appear to assume that Kwanetun and his people were members of either (a) a Yukon drainage Kutchin group or (b) a non-Kutchin Yukon drainage people, such as the Han or the Upper Tanana. William Ittza's listeners in February, 1947, took this view. William, himself a Yukon-drainage Kutchin by origin, was inclined, not surprisingly, to favor alternative (a). That most Mackenzie-drainage Kutchin did not claim Kwanetun and Company as their own is consonant with the consensus among these people that all "big", authoritative chiefs were westerners. "As Lucy Martin, the oldest of Peel River informants (in 1946-47) remarked, 'All the big chiefs were on the Yukon side'" (Slobodin 1962:16).

In this view, the enemy were a tribe living at or near the Pacific Coast, and the Icy Mountain (or Mountains) is identified with the Coast Range or the eastern end of the Alaska Range. Some have suggested the Ogilvies, but these mountains do not lie between the coast and any Yukon tribe, unless attackers were perverse or devious enough to climb these mountains instead of descending the Yukon.

However, a significant minority, including four of the oldest and best Peel River informants, held that Kwanetun and his people were Eastern Kutchin and that the enemy were Eskimo from east of the Mackenzie Delta. The enemy were held to have attacked, and Kwanetun to have counterattacked, across the Eskimo Lakes, east of the lower Mackenzie. The Icy Mountain is not accounted for in this hypothesis.

Mr. Edward Nazon of Arctic Red River has stated -- and in this he claims to be speaking for older Arctic Red River Kutchin -- that Kwanetun was an Eastern Kutchin, that the enemy may have been Eskimo, and that the scene of the revenge raid may have been Travaillant Lake east of the Mackenzie between Fort Good Hope and Arctic Red River. However, Mr. Nazon adds, this identification of the enemy seems unlikely: "The army [Kwanetun's war party] left in the Spring, travelled fast, and got to the lake just before freeze-up. I thought it might be Great Slave Lake, but that lake doesn't have a narrows like the lake in the story. Could it be Lake Athabasca? Anyway, the people who were Kwanetun's enemies were the *tatsile ?In*. That's what we still call the people who live at Fort Resolution." In historic times, these are Slave Indians.

Status Relationships

Kutchin can accept an allegedly ancient tradition whose locale is vague, but they could not have accepted a story other than as fantasy, in which attitudes and behaviour between persons occupying well-defined statuses do not approximate cultural norms. Those described in "Without Fire" are acceptable, and serve as illustrations of certain norms.

I. Kinship Behaviour. Interaction is described between brother and brother, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, and, in passing, between mother and daughter. There are also the hero and his wife, but this is a special situation.

The motif of Kwanetun and his younger brother is almost precisely paralleled by that of the trading-partner and his younger brother. Kutchin kinship terminology distinguishes between elder and younger siblings. In this system, which is of the Hawaiian type, siblings are classed with cousins. The term-

nological distinction is, in this case, congruent with behaviour,²⁰ for an older sibling is distinctly senior in authority and ranking to a younger, and at the same time is charged with responsibility for the younger. To see one's younger sibling killed before one's eyes is not only a tragedy but a terrible humiliation. To have been unable to protect and save the younger is a real defeat. If it were an older sibling whom one had lost in this way, the grief and shame would have a different quality.

In this light, it is understandable that when in episode (4), Kwanetun is trying to placate, or more likely, to lure his partner, he evades the question, "What about my brother?"

Siblings frequently camp together, often sharing a dwelling; after they are married they thus form what has been called a paired family (Slobodin 1962: 43, 1969:58). This arrangement, in which every Kutchin of historic times has spent a considerable if not a major part of his life, brings into co-residence, commensality, and working partnership siblings-in-law as well as siblings, of the same or opposite sex.²¹

In interaction and attitude between siblings-in-law there is a marked ambivalence, of a kind whose significance has been noted since Radcliffe-Brown's papers on joking relationships (1952: Chapters IV and V). Brothers-in-law are joking relatives and, in my experience at any rate, seldom have hard words for each other. Yet, in a kind of irony or indirection characteristic of Kutchin

²⁰This congruence of terminology and behaviour pattern does not hold for cousins. There is no terminological distinction between cross and parallel cousin, yet there are marked behavioural distinctions.

²¹The "dichotomy and contraposition between kinship and affinity" which Fortes notes (1969:236n) exists in Kutchin social structure, but I am advisedly (or ill-advisedly) here grouping an affinal relationship with a consanguineal one.

style, "our brother-in-law" (*naxwicaⁿ*) is the term used by trappers for the voracious wolverine, thief of the cache and the trapline, more often than is the proper Eastern Kutchin word, *nehtro*. Yet many men and women spend much of their working lives in close companionship with their brothers-in-law.

Sister-in-law is, formally, also a joking relationship, but of a milder sort than prevails between brothers-in-law. There is a good deal of idiosyncratic variation here, but men who joked hard with their brothers-in-law were less boisterous with their sisters-in-law, while between sisters-in-law joking is permitted but not enjoined.²² The ambivalence is explicitly stated in two Kutchin sayings addressed to males: "Your sister-in-law is your best friend" and "Your sister-in-law plugs your ears" (*sc.* to good counsel). Kutchin are quite aware of the discrepancy; when comment was invited, informants remarked, in effect, "Well, that's the way it is."

From a man's point of view, his sisters-in-law are actual or potential working partners (or working partners of his wife, which comes almost to the same thing), second mothers to his children, and constant companions. They are not, it should be noted, necessarily potential wives, for levirate and sororate are not marriage rules here. On the other hand, the sister-in-law is a woman of his and his wife's generation whose intimate presence can and on many occasions does result in strain and conflict within the commensal household and the nuclear families which compose it.²³

²²I have earlier, in a passing reference, stated that "a woman does not joke with her sisters-in-law" (1962:42). I would be inclined now to state, upon reconsideration and further evidence, that sisters-in-law may joke together in a low key, but are not enjoined to joke, as are brothers-in-law and cross-cousins.

²³This is to regard the situation from a largely masculine point of view, which may be justified in that "Without Fire" is told largely from a masculine viewpoint.

In episode (1) of "Without Fire," we see the women behaving as exemplary sisters-in-law. They have been working peaceably with their husbands and each other before disaster strikes. When it does strike, Kwanetun's wife attempts to save the life of her brother-in-law. Later, the hero's sister-in-law declines to be a burden to him, and this abnegation, it may be implied, contributes to his chances for survival. None of the "social disjunction" which Radcliffe-Brown has seen in affinal relationship (1952:91-2) and which actually exists in Kutchin society, is to be found here; only the "social conjunction" (*loc. cit.*).

I am inclined to attribute this wholly positive picture of affinal relationship in part, at least, to literary or narrative choice: to have shown conflict within the hero's band, and especially within his immediate family, would have detracted from his stature, divided the listener's sympathy, and diverted attention from the main story-line.

Yet it must be noted that "Without Fire" has been accepted and cherished for generations as a realistic story. As has been suggested earlier, a Kutchin audience could not have accepted and enjoyed a story, especially a realistic one, in which the enactment of social roles among humans was outside the expectably normal range. The implication, borne out by experience among this people, is that a Kutchin man or woman expects, or at least hopes, that "your sister-in-law is your best friend."

The other set of kin found in the story, the old woman and her daughter in episode (3) to whom Kwanetun reveals his presence, play minor roles. In some other versions of this tale, they are fairly important. One of the more interesting assertions about them, in this version, is that they are located on the edge of the encampment. In all Kutchin lore and in Kutchin life, many status relationships and categories -- e.g., ranking, family groupings, age-

grouping, sib membership, and leadership (Slobodin 1962:43-46) as well as the extra-familial groupings (*Ibid.*:58-70) are marked by, or it might be said, are enacted in physical relationship and location (*v.* also Slobodin 1960a:especially 129-132, for physical contact in friendship, and the dangers of physical isolation).

Since, as in so much of the world's folklore, "the last shall be first," poor old widows, who occupy one of the least enviable statuses in subarctic American society, frequently play crucial roles. Their daughters are boreal Cinderellas. If Kwanetun were not already endowed with a formidable wife, he might well, like many another Kutchin hero, have married the girl whose fire had saved his life.²⁴

II. Partnership. There is in modern Eastern Kutchin a distinction between *səluk* -- "my partner" and *səláǵ* -- "my friend." It is not certain that this distinction is very old. Both Kutchin and Slave state that *səláǵ* is a Slave word -- it exists in the obsolete trade jargon, "Broken Slavey."²⁵ However, the distinction is a useful one. A partner is both more and less than a friend. There are two types of partnership: (A) life partnership, within the band, or at least, the dialect group; (B) trading partnership, linking an Eastern Kutchin with a Western Kutchin or a non-Kutchin. Life partnership links two males or two females, not close kin, who as a rule choose each other in childhood or youth, exchange gifts, and bestow special names (currently, nicknames) upon each other. They are expected to remain devoted friends and frequent

²⁴For those inclined to psychoanalytic analysis of folklore, it may be noted that fire is an important Kutchin symbol of sexuality, especially of female sexuality.

²⁵*səláǵ* is widely used among Indians, Metis, whites, and Eskimos along the Mackenzie from Fort Simpson northward. As the terminal stop in the morpheme is unreleased, the word is usually pronounced *sła* by users who are not native speakers of an Athapaskan language.

working companions throughout life, although in some cases the relationship became perfunctory as the years passed. It was frequently, although optionally, a joking relationship, between two women as well as two men. It is clearly an extension of kinship.

Trading partners, who as far as I know were exclusively male, also exchanged gifts. Unlike life-partners, they frequently exchanged names. Trading partnership has become obsolete with the disappearance of intertribal trade, but there appear to be vestiges of it in certain friendships between individual Kutchin and Eskimo men. In trading expeditions, each visiting man had, or sought, an opposite number in the foreign community with whom he would conduct most of his trading and who would serve as guarantor of his safety; trading between alien groups was overlaid with mutual distrust and might shift into armed conflict at short notice. Not only was a man on his home ground honour-bound to protect his trading partner; the two partners, or better yet, several pairs of partners, if influential men, would attempt to cool rising passions and restore amity. As late as 1904, several pairs of partners are credited with a large part in averting murderous strife between Eskimo and Kutchin at Fort McPherson.

As might be expected, important men had important trading partners. However, there is no indication that these men sought secondary wives in the families of their foreign partners, as was the case for chiefs from the Pacific Coast trading into the interior.

Episodes (1) and (3) of "Without Fire" show the hero and his partner among the enemy behaving with outward correctness towards each other. Ambivalence, which is not depicted for the affinal tie, is well expressed for this relationship. One is not quite sure, in each episode, whether the partner in the advantaged position intends to save or to betray the other. To be sure, in the end, or in the epilogue, Kwanetun kills his partner. This is

within the bounds of possibility, especially for a great war leader, but it is not characteristic of the relationship. More likely, a Kutchin would feel, a man might under certain conditions cause his partner's death indirectly, rather than kill him outright. In any case, a Kutchin audience listening to episodes (1) and (3) understands that only the partner can approach and speak to the survivor of an exterminated band.

III. Survivors. Survival is a subject of particular interest to the Kutchin. Lone survivors of a tragedy or a catastrophe occupy special statuses which are regarded as dangerous in some degree, both to the survivor and to others.

One such status is the survivor of a natural catastrophe, including starvation and epidemic illness. Such persons until very recently were regarded with some awe and suspicion, as well as with sympathy, and might, if isolated for any appreciable length of time, easily turn into semi-supernatural Bush Men (*na?na?i*) (Slobodin 1960a).

Another is the survivor of a camp or a band which had been destroyed by enemy attack. It was said to be the practice of Kutchin and of the neighbouring people with whom they warred to leave alive by design one man of the camp that was attacked. He was to spread the news among his people. He was told by the attackers why they had made the raid -- usually, in the war stories, in revenge for a loss of their own (Slobodin 1960b:83-84). From the viewpoint of his own people, he became a survivor of the Bush Man type, who had to be approached with circumspection and reintegrated into society with care. If this were successful he assumed, as a matter of course, the formal status of chief mourner for his slaughtered kin and camp-mates, and would be expected to organize a revenge raid in due time.

Although neither Kwanetun nor his partner is deliberately chosen by the enemy, both are in effect raid-survivors of this type. The partner declines the role, but the hero plays it out to the bitter end.

IV. The Prize Woman. Petitot translates the name of Kwanetun's wife as "Celle que l'on se ravit mutuellement" (1888:199) and "celle que l'on se pille mutuellement de part et d'autre" (Petitot n.d.:43). These, it seems to me, are good renderings of *Le?tretrahndi?a*, "Woman who is stolen back and forth." It is the generic term for an important motif in Kutchin folklore. The term was not employed by William Ittza as the name of Kwanetun's wife, but in discussing the story later, he and Fred Firth remarked that she was "one of those women."

Such women are in all cases said to be extremely attractive and very clever. Their repute has spread far beyond their own band, and they become greatly coveted objects for plunder. They are prizes in both senses of the word: champion females and highly honorific prizes in war.

There is little doubt that women were captured on raids, and all informants agree that a very pretty girl who, as would have been true of such a girl, was beautifully clothed and decorated, was a prime target for enemy kidnapers. If she were a clever girl in addition, she might contrive to escape, or to assist her own people to avenge the raid and rescue her. The baffled enemy might then seek to recapture her, or another alien group might learn about her and regard her capture and retention as a challenge. She would be married to important men in her own community and in each of the others where she was held captive. So she became a *Le?tretrahndi?a*. The deserted woman in tale number 12 of Teit's Kaska collection (1917:455-457) has features of both Prize Woman and survivor, while in his Kaska tale number 11, "The War with the Swan People," the wife plays some Prize Woman tricks on her captors (*op. cit.*:453-455).

Two nineteenth century figures celebrated in Kutchin lore had some of the attributes of Prize Women. Their stories have been related elsewhere (Slobodin 1963; see Appendix A). Several Arctic Red River families claim descent from one of them, *atsunve* ("Grey Wings"). The other, *nehtoxva* ("Dreaming Bird")²⁶ is said to have left a number of descendants in the Vancouver area.

It is true that neither of these girls developed into full-fledged Prize Women, as each was kidnapped only once. However, their prestige, the manner of their kidnapping, and, in the case of Grey Wings, the manner of her escape, closely parallel many traditions of Prize Women. Since the story of Grey Wings is, I think, basically factual (although embellishments may have been added), and that of Dreaming Bird is almost certainly true, one cannot be sure whether in these cases Nature has imitated Art, or whether the art is more realistic than at first might be supposed.

Older traditions of Prize Women have them stolen back and forth during a long lifetime -- for such women are extremely durable. That in time the desirability of the women as such became lost in the rivalry of enemy war leaders is apparent to the Kutchin. In one story, after being stolen back and forth between two or more sets of great warriors for generations, the Prize Woman is sitting outside her tent in the enemy camp -- that is, they were originally the enemy but by now she has children and grandchildren in both or in several bands. Her poor feet have swollen and cracked into shapeless lumps from age and the annual trek between enemy camps. A local medicine woman reshapes her feet and works grease into the cracked flesh.

²⁶Tetlit Kutchin *neh-* denotes a specific kind of small bird which I have not been able to identify.

Hardly has this podiatry been accomplished when there appears on the scene a war party led by her original husband, or at any rate some great warrior. He challenges her present protector to mortal combat. At this, the Prize Woman digs in her newly-restored heels. She calls out to the warriors (in effect, but in spirit close to the original):

This is ridiculous. I am old. I have very little fire left. [See note 24.] My children are everywhere. My grand-children are all over this land...You crazy fellows²⁷ can go on fighting if you like, but I'm not moving again.

This announcement lowers the spirits of the rivals, and after an exchange of insult and boasting, they turn to trading.

It seems that the Kutchin have an appreciation not only of the grim and the inspiring aspects of the heroic, but also of its ludicrous side.²⁸

The Social Ecology of Wife-Stealing

Whether the Prize Woman, as an institutionalized status, actually existed in the societies of Northern Athapaskan-speaking peoples is a problem that can probably not be resolved by available ethnographic information. The folklore, however, reflects certain social conditions whose existence is well supported by ethnographic evidence; the tradition also suggests other conditions which are less well documented.

Necessary background to the Prize Woman tradition are: 1. the custom of inter-group raiding; 2. the existence of the fairly stable and well-defined

²⁷*anahci-k#t*: *anahci* -- "silly, crazy"; - *k#t* -- bound form, a collective. This might be translated as "(You) boys," since it is frequently applied or addressed to obstreperous boys. It places the referents in a category junior to the speaker.

²⁸A version of this incident is included in Petitot's "L'Homme sans feu." However, his version lacks the humorous and satirical tone which my informants have given it, as incorporated by them in the story of Dinijok, a war hero.

statuses of chieftainship and war-leadership; 3. polyandry.

The raiding or warfare pattern in the region under discussion included customary means of organizing war parties; definition and general acceptance of the authority and responsibility of the war leader and the duties of his followers; customary methods of military attack (and, to a lesser degree, of defense; see Turney-High 1949:117); disposal of captives and plunder. All of these existed among Kutchin and neighbouring peoples (McClellan, this volume; Osgood 1936:86-88; Slobodin 1960b).

In Kutchin tradition, a Prize Woman is associated with high-status men. She is the wife of a chief or established war leader who is captured by her husband's opposite number, or numbers, in another band -- or in a series of other bands. In several occurrences of the theme, the Prize Woman lives in a polyandrous relationship among her captors. In all stories known to me where such polyandry occurs, it is with a pair of brothers. It may also be said that a veteran Prize Woman, such as the lady with the cracked feet, is in a polyandrous relationship with a number of competing captors in various bands. In the stories and also in Kutchin tradition, kinship connections are recognized between the consanguines in the home band of a captured woman and her offspring among the captors. This is true even between Kutchin and Eskimo, despite the differing kinship systems. Thus Kutchin in the 1930's and '40s knew of and tendered recognition to descendants among North Alaskan Eskimos of a Kutchin woman captured two generations previously. The veteran Prize Woman mentioned above spoke of children and grandchildren "all over." These descendants, members of mutually hostile communities, would be aware of their relationship. Unfortunately we do not know whether this connection might serve, or might be periodically activated, as a link for trading or peace-making purposes.

Although the husbands of Prize Women are high-status men, in none of the stories are they polygynous. This is congruent with what is known of eastern Kutchin band organization. Few of the leaders are known to have been polygynous; indeed plural wives appear to have been uncommon among the eastern Kutchin. Informants were aware of polygynous chiefs and war leaders among western Kutchin and other Yukon-drainage peoples, but the only type of plural marriage reported among eastern Kutchin and also indicated in genealogies, was polyandry. This usually involved young adults and was as a rule resolved into monogamy -- not group marriage -- with the addition of other women to the household. In its usual form it might be termed "initial polyandry." The men involved were not only young but "poor," i.e., of fairly low rank. In this respect the Prize Woman story diverges from social reality, since her captor-husbands, where she had more than one, were reputedly wealthy.

The Prize Woman theme has not as yet been published in the folklore of subarctic tribes east of the Kutchin. In view of the generally ephemeral nature of high status among these peoples and the limitations on leadership and authority (Helm 1956), the theme may not occur, at any rate, in the form presented here. Tales of single kidnap occurrences would seem more expectable from societies east of the Mackenzie than would traditions of long-drawn-out rivalries among the great men of several communities.

Limitations of folk-tale collections and analysis from subarctic America preclude far-reaching conclusions on the distribution of the Prize Woman theme. However, the absence of polygyny and the presence of polyandry among the chief protagonists would argue against a Yukon drainage provenience, while the suggestion of long-standing rivalries among established and fairly powerful chiefs does not look like Northeastern Athapaskan tradition.

Certainly, many features of the Prize Woman type of tale are of much wider distribution than is the theme itself. Thus McClellan (this volume) lists "a patterning of incidents [in warfare] which are widespread among the Tutchone, Han, and Tanana;" these include "captured women who leave a trail by means of dropping bird down or who secretly relay the strength of the enemy camp to their visiting compatriots." However, the tale in the form given here may be indigenous and peculiar to the Kutchin and perhaps their closest neighbours.

As a tradition, the Prize Woman may be regarded as an idealization of kidnapped women and as a symbol of the social disruption consequent upon wife-capture. McClellan's cogent discussion of woman-stealing in her contribution to this volume is reinforced by the co-existence of frequent female infanticide and wife-stealing among Central Eskimos. Female infanticide is certainly reported for the Kutchin but (*pace* Hardisty 1867) it is not at all likely to have been a customary procedure.

Freeman has pointed out that from a demographic viewpoint, female infanticide and wife-stealing, if practised systematically, are strikingly inconsistent forms of behaviour (1971:1013). In point of fact, neither practice was customary among the Kutchin; both were occasional occurrences. It is suggested, however, that whether common or rare they are inconsistent in terms of the human ecology of a region, rather than that of a particular small community. To a given group such as a Kutchin band, the two practices taken together would, if raiding were successful, result in some alleviation of the burden of raising girls to the age of economic and biological productivity; in addition, the stolen women were selected by repute for above-average ability (and durability).

The combined practices of female infanticide and wife-stealing would not in fact be adaptive, nor could they become stabilized into an on-going societal

system as in raiding by pastoral nomads, because there could be no long-term profit. Kutchin bands were not in the position of pastoral nomads raiding a settled population to supplement the inventory of their "half-culture" (Kroeber 1948:276-278). Each Kutchin band is one among a number of communities alike in culture and roughly equal in all power factors except, in shifting balances, that of manpower. In any long run, a band is likely to lose as many women in raiding as it gains. It is true that much the same may be said for New Guinea highlanders, among whom mutual raiding -- for wife-capture among other purposes -- is endemic. However, the ecology and the economy of the New Guinea Highland farmers, with all its limitations, is very much richer than that of the sub-arctic hunters. Endemic raiding was a game that the northern hunters -- inveterate gamblers though they were and are -- simply could not afford.

However, in the short run, a Kutchin band might gain a signal advantage by raiding -- or might feel compelled to compensate for a humiliating disadvantage.

Although analogies must be employed with caution, it is tempting to make one between raiding and a kind of intra-community struggle: gambling.

Formerly in the stick-game, and recently in poker, Kutchin have played for very high stakes relative to the income and assets of the participants. A player, and hence his immediate family if he is a household head, may be economically wiped out. Under aboriginal conditions, and still to a considerable degree, such a result was socially disruptive and burdensome to a community whose economy could not in itself create marked inequalities in wealth and income, and which could not tolerate such inequalities if they were introduced. A man made destitute by gambling had to be reoutfitted and provided, sometimes by means of rather complicated loans, with the wherewithal to carry on. In time he would achieve again at least a modicum of economic independence by his

efforts in the hunt, and possibly by more fortunate results in games of chance.

In the long run, then, no one won or lost much in gambling. In the short run, however, a man could very well feel himself to be, and appear to be, a big winner or loser. The Kutchin certainly regarded gambling as an exciting and hazardous pastime.

The analogy between gambling as an intra-community contest and wife-stealing as an inter-community struggle fails at several points; one is that gambling was by far the more customary and regular practice.²⁹ There are many indications that raiding for women was a sporadic activity. The redistribution that made it possible for Kutchin economy to support customary gambling activity did not occur within the wider polity of the Kutchin linguistic community, which in fact did not constitute a socio-political entity. Still less likely was any such redistribution between Kutchin-speaking communities and others. The only kind of social mechanism for the redistribution of women which might be conceived as a possibility for Northern Athapaskans would have been customary and frequent, if not constant, raiding for wives. Although conceivable, it is not likely to have been supportable for long under aboriginal economic conditions. In any case, there is no evidence that it did occur among the Kutchin.

²⁹The analogy between Kutchin raiding and gambling does not imply that warfare is a game. Game theory can be useful in analysis of inter-group conflict. Patterns of conflict, like other kinds of social behaviour, are ritualized in some degree. However, these facts in themselves do not validate the equation of warfare with games, ceremonial, or athletic contests. Indeed, the Kutchin make no such equivalence or comparison.

This paper does not deal with the question of individual motivation as a cause of war. I am inclined to sympathize with Newcomb's distinction between individual motivation and socio-cultural function in this connection (1950). However, Vayda makes good point in warning against the notion of predetermination -- "that these causes were necessarily oriented towards the production of some particular eventual adaptive effects" (1969:219).

APPENDIX A.

THE STOLEN GIRLS

The stories of the nineteenth century heroines were summarized in an article for the non-specialist reader which appeared in the July-August 1963 issue of *north* (Slobodin 1963). This periodical, published by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (now the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development) has a limited circulation outside of the Canadian federal department which publishes it. Hence relevant excerpts from the article are given below.

"Loucheux" is the popular term, used by Euro-Canadians and by northern natives in speaking English, for the eastern Kutchin. A brief version of the first story, collected at Old Crow, Y.T., in 1946, has been published by Leechman (1950:160-161).

...Atsunve was a girl of the Arctic Red River Kutchin. She was good-looking and smart. One summer, her people were camped on the lower Anderson River, when an Eskimo raiding-party attacked. The Eskimo didn't have much trouble in capturing Atsunve because she was living by herself at a little distance from the main Kutchin camp, as girls were supposed to do just when and after they reached puberty.

At the Eskimo camp on the coast she was married to two brothers, and in the course of time had a baby. However, she couldn't settle down to life among the Eskimo, but was always thinking about her own people. The Eskimo were always watching her.

Summer was the season for raiding, and in the summer after Atsunve's capture, the Eskimo went off again to war. Late in the summer they returned, with a canoe-load of Indians' heads.

Atsunve was told to go down to the shore and look at this canoe. There she found the head of her older brother and the head of her younger brother. At sight of them she began to cry, and walked slowly back to her husbands' tent, tears rolling down her cheeks. On the way she passed many small fires along the beach where children were playing.

When she reached home, her husbands' parents asked her, "Did you see anything in particular down there?"

"No," she replied, "nothing much."

"Why do you have tears in your eyes, then?"

"Oh, I just walked through the smoke of the children's fires."

Atsunve said to her Eskimo in-laws, "My people, when they return from killing the enemy, have a big feast and games all day and all night. They have races, wrestling, dancing, singing. You should do that to make sure no bad luck comes."

Her husbands' family told the other people, and they agreed it was a good idea. They played games hard all day: kayak races, wrestling, tug-of-war, and so on. Atsunve managed the sports, told them what to do. She also went into the racing and jumping events and she was very good. Even today some women can outwork and outrun a man; she was like that. But she didn't go into the kayak race because she wanted to watch it. She wanted to see which boat was the fastest.

Then they feasted, and Atsunve stuffed her husbands with food until they just about keeled over. After all the games, dancing, and feasting, the people were very tired and went to sleep. As her husbands lay down, Atsunve told them to use driftwood logs for pillows; this, she said, should be done after cutting of the heads of so many of the enemy.

When everyone was asleep, she went to the place where she had been cutting fish, took the fish-knife and a couple of fish. Then she went back to her tent and cut her husbands' throats. It was easy, because they were resting on the logs, but as each throat was cut, air began to gurgle out, and her parents-in-law stirred in their sleep. Atsunve stuffed a fish into each throat and stopped the noise.

She had to leave her baby behind. She kissed it and placed a necklace of beads around its neck. Then she went quickly down to the shore and with the fish-knife ripped up all of the kayaks except the fastest. In this one she paddled away.

Heading toward the Mackenzie, to find her people, Atsunve turned up a channel away from the coast, but she knew that in spite of all she had done, she could not keep ahead of the Eskimo for very long. Therefore, when she came to a place where a big driftwood log slanted down into the water, she got out onto the log, putting the kayak up on it, and hid the boat and herself in the bush. This was to avoid leaving any sign of having made a landing.

After a while, sure enough, there came into view many Eskimo in kayaks, all paddling fast. They hadn't taken long to repair the boats. For each boat that went by, Atsunve put a stick down beside her, keeping count. They all went on upriver, and Atsunve waited, not making a move. After a long time they began to pass

her hiding-place on their way back. She took a stick away from the pile each time a kayak passed. Then she had only three sticks left. She waited and waited. Did she make a mistake? Maybe she had counted wrong. But she waited. Then another kayak went by. Two sticks left. Again she waited and waited -- so long this time that she was almost sure she had lost count. She was about to put her kayak back into the water; then she decided she had better wait a while longer. And finally, two more kayaks came downstream. This time she knew they had all gone back. As soon as the last boat went around a bend, she slipped her kayak into the water and off she went upstream.

After paddling a long way, she thought she had better head across country, so she pulled the kayak up on a log again, hid it, and struck off into the bush. She travelled far this way, and she had one very bad moment in her travelling. Suddenly she came upon a party of Eskimo warriors. They were all busy picking berries and didn't pay any attention to her, but it was a dangerous spot. Quickly she pulled up one side of her caribou-skin trousers to make a quiver of sorts, and put sticks into it to look like arrows. Thus disguised, and bending over as if picking berries, she edged around the war-party and got away.

At this time, Atsunve's parents were camped with other people at the mouth of Pierce Creek on the Mackenzie near Arctic Red River. A number of young men were still hanging about her parents' camp in hopes of some news about Atsunve, for she had been greatly admired.

One day as Atsunve's father paddled down the creek to look at his fish-nets, he heard a low voice in the bushes singing, "Atsunve, Atsunve, tch-tch-tch." He looked around but could see nothing. Next time he came down there the same thing happened. He told his wife about this: "It is a long time since I heard about our daughter. Why is that bird singing, Atsunve, Atsunve, tch-tch-tch?"

The old lady said, "Next time you go down, take a dry-fish and put it on a stick and leave it there." He did this.

The time after that, as he passed the bush, Atsunve came out and hugged and kissed him. She asked him to send for her mother. Atsunve looked so much like an Eskimo by this time that she was afraid to show herself to the people. She asked her mother to wrap her in the leaves of the rhubarb (probably *Polygonum alaskanum*) which grows along the shore there. The mother made a big bundle with the girl inside, and the parents carried it up to their camp and put it behind their sleeping-place, under caribou skins.

The parents said nothing, but people began to notice that, whereas before they had been crying all the time, now they had stopped. The young fellows in camp became suspicious. They sent a small boy to spy on the parents' camp. He watched and watched, and at last he saw the old lady cut a piece of fish and push it behind her as she sat on her bedding. From out of the bundle of drying rhubarb leaves a hand came up to take the fish. The boy could see that the fingers of this hand were bound together with bark twine.

The Kutchin used to bind their fingers together in this way when in mourning or after killing an enemy.

As soon as the boy saw this, he ran to the camp of the young men. This boy was a stutterer, and in his excitement it was worse than usual. All he could get out was "F-f-f-fingers...!"

Impatiently the young men pushed him aside and ran at top speed to the parents' skin tent. As they rushed in, Atsunve leaped up, sprang through the smoke hole at the top of the tent, and sped away.

The youths ran after her, but she outdistanced them, and one by one they dropped out of the chase. Finally there were only two left in the running. They called to her to let herself be taken. She saw that they were the best runners and the most determined of the lot.

"I will marry you two if you will fight for me." And they agreed.

That fall, Atsunve and her husbands led a large war-party down to the coast. Near the Eskimo camp they found the body of Atsunve's baby propped in the fork of a birch, still wearing the necklace. At this, Atsunve rushed ahead of the others, and as she neared the lodge where she had lived, call out that it was she who was returning. Her Eskimo father-in-law, inside the lodge, picked up his knife and began to sharpen it.

"Tell my daughter-in-law to come in," he said.

She burst in and laid about her with an antler war-club, killing the man and his wife before they had a chance to move. They say she finished off everybody in three lodges before the rest of Kutchin party reached the camp. None of the Eskimo was left alive....

At the time this article was published in *north* I did not have a name for the central figure of the following story. In 1967, Mrs. E.N. Blake of Fort McPherson, N.W.T., while corroborating details of the published story, gave the name *nehtoxa* (Dreaming Bird) for its heroine. Mrs. Cardinal, narrator of

the published story, agreed at this time that *nehtoxva* was the correct name, which she had forgotten.

...One evening last summer, stories about kidnapped girls were being discussed in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Cardinal at Arctic Red River.

"Kidnapped! Kidnapped!" murmured Mrs. Cardinal. She turned to her octogenarian husband, a famous Metis guide and northern traveller. 'You remember my great grandmother? Very old lady when you saw her...Blind...She told us about her sister. Cousin, the white people would say: her mother's sister's daughter.

"This girl was very goodlooking. Because she was so good-looking she always wore a coat with pretty things on it that they made for her: goose-feather quills, shell beads, things like that. They rattled when she walked.

"That time the people were living 'way down on the Anderson River, or even east of there. It was wintertime, dark. The men were mostly away, hunting, and the women were cutting up a moose that had been brought in. Well then, some boys come in to camp and say, Eskimo coming. The people in camp were scared, so they hide and keep quiet. The Huskies (Eskimo) go all around looking for the people. That girl must have been moving and her beads made a noise. The Huskies found her and took her away. Always like that, you know. When there was a goodlooking woman the Huskies tried to steal her, or if it's a Husky woman the Indians try to take her. So they took her.

"They put her in a kayak and went down to the coast. They came to where there was a ship of the white people in there for the winter. It came from the east. Well, they put that girl down in the front of the kayak, under the skin cover. The white men asked the Huskies to come on board. Some of them did, but all the time somebody watches the kayak, and they won't bring it near the ship. The white men noticed this. They wanted to see that kayak, but the Huskies wouldn't bring it over."

I asked Mrs. Cardinal how they were using kayaks if it was winter. She replied that it was early winter and not yet frozen over close to shore.

"Well, the white men gave the Huskies brandy, to make them drunk. Pretty soon they were all drunk or sleeping. Then the captain of the ship went to that kayak and looked inside. 'Way underneath near the front was a girl, all doubled up. She was crying so much that her face was all swollen, but even at that, they could see she was a goodlooking girl. The white men took her away in the ship, and the Loucheux and Huskies never saw her again.

"But that wasn't all.

"You know Archdeacon MacDonald's wife was Peel River woman."

Archdeacon Robert MacDonald (1829-1913) was a pioneer Anglican missionary among the Kutchin from 1862 until 1904.

"A long time after my great grandmother's sister was taken away, in 1905 or 1906, Mrs. MacDonald was visiting in Vancouver. The word got around that she was there. One day she got an invitation to visit a lady. She didn't know that lady, but they sent for her in a carriage. She was driven up to a very large and fine-looking house on a hill. A man opened the door -- a servant, I guess -- and there was a party going on inside.

"The lady of the house came to the door, a fine lady, all dressed up and very fine-looking. Mrs. MacDonald could see she was an Indian woman, and right away the lady said, in Loucheux, "I am a woman from the Arctic Red River people..."

"The lady brought Mrs. MacDonald in, sat her down, and told her the story. She was that girl that was kidnapped.

"She said the Eskimos had to give her up because the white men had guns and they didn't. But the white men didn't know who she was or where she came from; she didn't speak any English and of course they didn't know Loucheux. So the next summer they took her away with them.

"The captain took good care of her. He saw to it that the sailors didn't bother her and he respected her himself. At the end of the voyage he found her a home and sent her to school.

"She liked school and got along well. Every time the captain came back from sailing, he would visit her. Now the captain was a young man, and as the girl grew older, he fell in love with her. She loved him, so they got married and settled in Vancouver. The captain was rich, or else he became rich. They had lots of children, and lived a good life.

"You can believe me, she and Mrs. MacDonald hugged each other and cried a lot when that story was finished.

"I wish I could remember that woman's name. Most likely her grandchildren or great grandchildren are still living in Vancouver -- or maybe some of them are here in the North, and we don't know it."

APPENDIX B

PRIZE WOMAN DESCRIBED BY HEARNE

In that classic of exploration, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, Samuel Hearne describes his party's coming upon a young Dogrib woman who had been living alone in the Barren Lands for seven months when discovered in January, 1772 (1958:168-172). The girl herself, in "the singularity of the circumstances, the comeliness of her person, and her approved accomplishments" (*op. cit.*:170) was a Prize Woman type; in some respects her story resembles that of the Kutchin Atsunve.

She had been taken prisoner by marauding enemy, who had killed her parents, her husband, and finally her infant child.

This last piece of barbarity gave her such a disgust to these Indians, that notwithstanding the man who took care of her treated her in every respect as his wife, and was, she said, remarkably kind to, and even fond of her; so far was she from being able to reconcile herself to any of the tribe, that she rather chose to expose herself to misery and want, than live in ease and affluence among persons who had so cruelly murdered her infant (*op. cit.*:171).

After escaping, she subsisted alone by snaring partridges, rabbits, and squirrels and had killed a few beaver and porcupines. She had made fire with pyrites, then kept it alight continuously. With two small pieces of iron, she had made willow-bark fish-netting and snowshoes. More fortunate or cleverer than Kwanetun, she was in good physical condition when found, indeed was "I think, one of the finest women, of a real Indian, that I have seen in North America" (*op. cit.*:169). Not only had she provided herself with adequate fur garments, but these "shewed great taste, and exhibited no little variety of ornament", giving her "a very pleasing, though rather romantic appearance" (*Ibid.*).

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THE CONTACT HISTORY OF THE SUBARCTIC ATHAPASKANS: AN OVERVIEW

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THE CONTACT HISTORY OF THE SUBARCTIC ATHAPASKANS: AN OVERVIEW¹

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Résumé

L'ethnohistoire des contacts de l'Indien avec l'homme blanc vise en premier lieu à nous en faire comprendre les conséquences sociales et culturelles pour les peuples autochtones. L'auteur de cette communication pose les premiers jalons d'une étude orientée vers la découverte, par le biais des facteurs spatiaux et temporels, des caractéristiques propres au milieu interculturel en évolution dans lequel vivent les Athapaskan des régions subarctiques, c'est-à-dire la découverte des coutumes et des principes acquis directement des Européens ou introduits chez les Athapaskan par l'intermédiaire d'autres groupes autochtones.

Abstract

To the ethnohistorian studying Indian-White contact, the ultimate goal is to understand what the resultant cultural and societal effects will be for the native people. In this paper the first steps are taken to identify the main features of the changing intercultural environment through both time and space in the Athapaskan Subarctic -- i.e., those experiences and conditions introduced directly by Europeans or which reached the Athapaskans through other intermediary native groups.

¹This effort has been stimulated by a double opportunity. A graduate seminar at the University of Iowa, as part of an Athapaskan research program under NSF Grant GS-3057, has expedited research and made joint contribution and authorship possible. Secondly, the Athapaskan Conference at the National Museum of Man permitted us to tap the knowledge of the assembled specialists in order to correct and improve our initial version. We are grateful for their aid. Also, personal communications from Harry Hawthorn have been of great help in comprehending the contemporary scene in British Columbia. In all cases, the responsibility for errors and omissions remains our own, of course.

Introduction

(by June Helm)

As Athapaskan speakers, the linguistic unity of the tribes of the interior of northwestern North America has long been recognized. Yet among ethnologists only Cornelius Osgood (1936a) has explicitly attended to the total Northern Athapaskan or Northern Dene domain. Over 30 years ago he surveyed the available evidence on the blending and overlapping Athapaskan-speaking populations of the north to provide identifications, on which we still rely, of maximal societal-dialectic "groups." (He explicitly eschewed the designation of "tribes.") In this and in his particular ethnographies, however, Osgood's attention has avowedly been focused on the reconstruction of aboriginal or precontact culture.

One's fieldwork and the earliest documents available as ethnological resources make each ethnographer working with Northern Athapaskan peoples aware that, apart from archaeological recovery, our only evidence of Athapaskan cultural forms comes from within the contact era. Yet no student of the Athapaskan North has attempted a general summary of the cultural trends and transformations in those years since 1700 to the present. Personal scholarly experience has made it evident why this is so. Both in terms of precontact culture and habitat and in terms of the events and conditions of the contact era, I find that, from the vantage point of the Mackenzie Basin, my broader ethnohistorical view turns "naturally" to the east -- to the cultures and contact experiences of the subarctic Algonkians of the northern Prairie Provinces, Ontario and Quebec (Helm and Leacock 1971) -- rather than west into and across the Cordillera to the rest of the subarctic Athapaskans. In spite of the linguistic break between Algonkian and Athapaskan in the Subarctic, the contact events of the last 250 years, as well

as the precontact conditions of the physical and intercultural environment, provide a more immediate comparability of Indian adaptations and experiences from the eastern slopes of the Rockies to the Labrador Peninsula than obtains across the Northern Athapaskan domain *per se*. Thus Athapaskanists have from the Arctic drainage looked to the east and south for impinging cultural influences, proto- and post-contact, while those working on the western side of the watershed have faced toward the Pacific littoral, whether the "outside" influences be those of coastal native cultures or of European goods and actions approaching from that direction.

To the ethnohistorian attending to Indian-white contact, the ultimate goal is to comprehend the cultural and societal consequences for the native peoples. Toward that end, in this paper we take only the first step -- to identify through time and across space in the Athapaskan Subarctic the main features of the changing intercultural environment -- that is, those experiences and conditions introduced directly by Europeans² or at one remove through intermediary native groups. These features are presented in the form of a synoptic chart (Fig. 1) in the pocket of this volume. To flesh out the specific entries in the chart we offer a provisional sketch of the major trends and transformations -- stages, if you will -- in the contact experience of the subarctic Athapaskans.

Synoptic Chart of Culture Contact Events

The entries in the synoptic chart offer the main "facts" about external factors introduced into the "experiential field" (Helm 1962:633) of subarctic Athapaskan peoples in the last 200 years. The temporal sequence is marked in decades. The positions of the "event" entries *vis-à-vis* the time scale are approximate within, usually, a five-year interval.

²We use the term "European" in its broader cultural sense, to refer to persons and cultural phenomena that derive from Europe and its cultural heritage. The meanings inherent in "English," "Russian," "Euro-Canadian," "Southern Canadian," "Euro-American," and "white" are subsumed.

Events occurring beyond the subarctic scene but having consequences for the native populations are recorded in the columns marking the decades. The salient items are major commercial or governmental changes. Russian and U.S. actions affecting Alaskan Indian populations are recorded in the left-hand column. Events in English and Canadian politico-economic history which affected the native peoples now within Canadian political boundaries are noted in the right-hand column.

The "tribal" or maximal-group designations on the chart are largely those presented on the map of *Indian Tribes of North America*, by Driver *et al.* (1953), who owe an obvious debt to Osgood's (1936a) identifications and map. Following McClellan (1953) we designate as "Inland Tlingit" the once Athapaskan-speaking bands associated with the settlements of Atlin and Teslin. "Nabesna" has been changed to "Upper Tanana," following McKennan (1959), and "Tanana" becomes "Lower Tanana." "Atna" has replaced "Ahtena" to accord with the spelling in the forthcoming study of this group by de Laguna and McClellan. The Athapaskan-speaking Sarsi and Nicola, not on any compiler's list of subarctic peoples, are not treated, but we have included the Eyak (Northwest Coast) and the Chilcotin (sometimes classified as Plateau) on the basis of their geographic contiguity and linguistic affinity.

In aligning the socio-cultural units in the linear fashion imposed by the design of the chart, we have had to reconcile several considerations. First of all, we wished to reflect geographical contiguity. The westernmost and easternmost Dene are on each side of the chart, except that we have added at each extreme the two major "alien" tribes, Tlingit and Cree, that historically were interposed between the Dene and the European advance. It will be noted, however, that in terms of the location of the various groups on the map the line necessarily winds up and down from north to south and back again as it proceeds from southern Alaska to the western shore of Hudson Bay.

We also wished to reflect in the ordering of groups the general progression pointed out by Osgood (1936a:21) from greater to less cultural complexity as one proceeds from southern and western Alaska across the Cordillera to the eastern-most units. At the same time we attempted to place next to each other on the chart those groups known to have close dialectic and/or proto-contact cultural connections. Finally, we attempted to position the various groups so that the flow of classes of contact events from earlier to later in time would describe a relatively smooth curve across the chart.

In certain sectors the compromises have been uneasy. For example, on the basis of their linguistic unity all Kutchin groups have been placed together. This produces a zig-zag effect in the demarcative entries on contact phenomena, for those Kutchin within the Mackenzie watershed ('East') have experienced a contact history much more comparable to the Hare and other tribes along the Mackenzie River than to their congeners in the Yukon drainage ('West Kutchin').

To reiterate, the chart presents events and activities coming from outside indigenous Dene society and culture rather than presenting the consequences of those imposed conditions for native life. The salient classes of external factors seem to be these:

1) First direct contact by an entering European with a native group in the latter's own territory.³ The first contact may be of no great immediate significance in native life but it serves as a convenient marker and reminder of dates and routes of penetration into Athapaskan country.

2) Trade activities resulting from the European presence. This may be either inter-native trade in which furs are exchanged for European goods or may be the Indian-white trade relationship itself. In the latter case we employ a

³The specification of direct contact in the natives' own territory sometimes results in different dates for first contact than those presented by Osgood (1936a), who records first contact anywhere, e.g., ca. 1700 for the Chipewyan (at York Fort in Cree country).

distinctive symbol to indicate the establishment of a trading post that has endured to the present or at least long enough, it is presumed, to affect significantly regional Indian activities. In placing a symbol within a "tribal" area, and, on occasion, indicating by arrows that it serves as point-of-trade for several areal groups, the criterion is that of easy access to the point-of-trade by the Indian group, whether the site of the post be in their own country or reached by routes through friendly areas so that no impediment to direct and regular contact exists.

3) Hostilities. These may be hostilities between Indian groups exacerbated if not created by the European presence (e.g., raiding for furs), or hostile action visited by Indians upon a white establishment. Hostile actions initiated by Europeans were limited to the area of Russian occupation. They are not recorded on the chart, as the interest is when Indian desire plus capacity for hostile action ceased.

4) Epidemic disease is noted when the nature of the disease or the documentary evidence indicates that a significant number of deaths occurred. We presume the loss of 10% or more of the afflicted population to be "significant." Since the death rate from introduced attritional diseases such as tuberculosis cannot be assessed we omit this condition, notable as it may be in its effects on Indian society and culture.

5) Missionization and ensuing Christianization. A distinctive symbol indicates the installation of a mission or missions within a tribal area. The emphasis is on initial exposure and conversions to Christianity. Short-term activity by transient missionaries is not noted, nor are the recent efforts of fundamentalist-evangelical proselytizers.

6) "Shock" intrusions of whites and their activities or the growth of relatively large-scale white-dominant settlements (*vide* Fried 1963) and neighborhoods. These include large-scale gold rushes through areas as well as gold strikes from

within them, influxes of homesteaders, and in recent decades the growth of administrative, commercial or industrial urban centers.

7) Where governmental enactments or activities have brought major consequences to Indian life these have been indicated across the various groups within the political division involved. We have not indicated specific sites of educational or medical facilities such as mission residential schools or hospitals. Only when the promotion of educational opportunities or medical treatment has been emphatic enough to affect significantly the Indian majority (rather than a few individuals) have they been indicated.

8) Modern land transportation facilities, in the form of railways and surfaced roads. In earlier times, the water-transport systems that were developed on the two great rivers of the northwest, the Mackenzie and the Yukon, provided opportunity for travel and interethnic contact for those Indian men who worked as trackers, deckhands, etc. But, since these water-transport systems were inaugurated along with the establishment of points-of-trade, they are not given special notation. Air service in recent decades has affected movement of goods, persons, and ideas. But overland transportation, especially highways, has provided much greater opportunity for new experiences and change, at least for those populations residing along or near the facility.

Treating as we do of only maximal cultural-territorial units, it must be remembered that for different regional subgroups there may be considerable variation in exposure to any type of contact condition. This is especially so when the maximal unit -- e.g., "Slave" or "Chipewyan" -- is made up of a number of widely-spaced regional groups. "Shock" intrusions, for example, may expose only a portion of a "tribe" to critical and transforming pressures.

Stages in Northern Athapaskan Contact History

Definitions

We use the term "contact" in adjectival form -- e.g., "contact history,"

"contact-traditional," "early contact phase" -- as ethnographic shorthand to encompass a condition in historical time when Indians, as populations and as culture-bearers, were reacting, adapting, borrowing, and innovating in the face of exposure to elements of European culture and/or its human agents. European and Indian in the physical presence of one another we refer to as "direct contact."

The synoptic chart presents the bare bones of externally-introduced features of change. The literature which yields the record of these events provides a fuller realization of transformation than can the truncated notations of the chart. As in all historical process, events and cultural alterations cumulate in the western Subarctic so that the reader of the records can say, "These people are in a different cultural condition than they were one hundred, or fifty, or twenty years ago." Yet, as in drawing lines on the map between culture areas, the analyst is pulled between the usefulness of bounded zones or intervals and the intransigence of ongoing variation, trend, change and process. Furthermore, from group to group the course of contact experience has not been unitary, and the record is very uneven. Yet, in an effort to produce a generalized picture of manageable proportions, we offer demarcation and description of three successive stages in Northern Athapaskan contact relations: (1) the incipient-early contact stage; (2) the contact-traditional stage; and (3) the modern or government-commercial stage.

Other ethnologists of the Subarctic have wrestled with the problem of delineating and labeling major eras. The term "government-commercial" is suggested by a phrase of E. S. Rogers (n.d.), reporting on contemporary life among the subarctic Algonkians. Other efforts to capture the dominant tenor of present trends are encapsulated in the phrases "government-industrial" (Helm and Leacock 1971), "micro-urban" (J. Smith n.d.), and "period of planned

change," suggested by John Honigmann. They indicate that within the last few decades the subarctic Indians have become continually more subject to pressures that issue from big government, large-scale commerce and industry, aggregation into white-dominant settlements, and the accelerated communication of aspects of whiteman life-style.

The term "contact-traditional," coined by Helm and Damas (1963), has found some acceptance by other ethnologists (J. Smith n.d.; D. Smith 1973). For the purposes at the time, Helm and Damas (1963:10-11) defined contact-traditional narrowly and in reference to a specific community type still extant to some degree today:

The prime criterion...for the advent of the contact-traditional horizon is the establishment of all-native communities made up of permanent dwellings -- log cabins for the Athapaskans and qangmat or sod, canvas and wood shelters for Igluligmiut. We consider this physical evidence of significant decline in the nomadism and cultural independence of the aboriginal and early contact period.

This definition, focusing on a community type and a dwelling type, is too narrow and specific to be useful in the context of the present study. So we here employ "contact-traditional" to comprehend a way of life that developed as a historical era in northern Native culture. As such, it corresponds to the "stabilized fur and mission stage" in Mackenzie Drainage Athapaskan and subarctic Algonkian contact history, presented by Helm and Leacock (1971:353):

Two prime conditions of the contact situation of this era must be recognized. First, contact with the western world was channeled pre-eminently through the few agents of the two major institutions: the church and the fur-trade. Secondly, contact with these figures was infrequent, and most of the Indians most of the time pursued their activities apart from the presence of Europeans.

More indirect factors of change include nineteenth-century technological developments, increasing biological and cultural interpenetration between European and Indian peoples, and alterations in the formal political and legal relations between Indians and Euro-Canadian government. Even in the latter instance, however, formal change only slowly had consequences for Indian life (*Ibid.*:353).

These generalities would seem to hold for subarctic Athapaskans as a whole, despite pronounced regional variations in time of inception, and in duration and stability of the "era." These points will be considered below.

The hyphenated phrase, "incipient-early contact," emphasizes the beginnings of knowledge, experience and response by Indian cultures to the European cultural presence rather than face-to-face contact of Indian and European. The Tagish (McClellan 1953:49), for example, had come to rely on items of European material culture, such as guns, in advance of seeing the first European.

"Incipient contact" denotes specifically the condition of access to European goods by an Indian population only through Indian or Eskimo intermediaries (as in the aforementioned case of the Tagish). "Early contact" refers to direct but initial or irregular contact by at least a portion of a "tribal" population with agents of European culture. In both cases, the emphasis is that the Indian group is not yet fully committed to the dual economy of the contact-traditional stage, when items of European manufacture -- guns, implements, utensils, clothing, tea and tobacco -- have become "necessities," and to obtain those necessities the Indian group is committed to regular procurement of fur (or post provisioning) which substantially re-orders the group's relationship with the natural and sociocultural environment.

The Incipient-Early Contact Stage

The beginnings of contact in the western Subarctic followed the pattern general to woodland North America. The European contact agent was pre-eminently the fur-trader, but commonly his goods, and diseases, preceded him. Native groups in direct contact with European traders became the geographic and economic middlemen for tribes farther in the interior, imposing substantial markups on the implements and utensils and items of adornment that they exchanged for furs.

European penetration into the Athapaskan Subarctic was shaped by three main features of physiography: the seas, the inland waterways, and the mountains. The first two provided routes of contact; the third constituted a barrier.

Points-of-trade on the west side of Hudson Bay and along the North Pacific rim were the sources of the earliest trade goods reaching Athapaskan populations. Of the specifics of percolation of early trade objects from one group to another farther afield from the point-of-trade there is, by and large, no record. Some Chipewyan adjacent to the Cree of the Hudson Bay region had probably received English trade items out of York Fort by 1700. By 1714, a few Chipewyan had themselves ventured to the fort on the coast (Hearne 1958: 113). "Copper Indians" (Yellowknives) and a few of the "Dog-ribbed Indians" were probably obtaining some items within the second quarter of the eighteenth century (*Ibid.*:115).

Russian coastal exploration and trade was underway among the islands and along the southern coast of Alaska after 1741. By 1800, enduring points-of-trade were established at Kodiak and Sitka, and Eyak had visited the post at Nuchek. The propensity of Russian traders, like those of the Hudson's Bay Company in the east, to hold to the coast placed those native peoples nearest the Alaska coast in the position of middlemen. In part, at least, the inter-native trade was an extension of already established Chukchi-Eskimo-Indian connections into the Yukon and Kuskokwim drainages, and of "grease trails" between Northwest Coast groups and interior Athapaskans. The continuing coastal ship trade further enhanced the trading positions of Tlingit and Bella Coola *vis-à-vis* the adjacent Dene dwelling in the western flanks and basins of the Cordillera (McClellan 1953; Goldman 1940).

Relations between Indian groups and between Indians and Europeans had a different cast at either end of the Athapaskan domain during this era. East

of the Rockies, the first contacted tribes -- Cree, Chipewyan, then Beaver and Yellowknives -- obtained firearms and turned to fur-raiding and general bullying of their defenseless Athapaskan neighbors, and, when possible, of each other. The "Slave Indians," as a notable example, emerge in the literature as a contemptuous designation by the armed Cree of defenseless groups in the lands abutting the southwest side of Great Slave Lake and along the Upper Mackenzie. (It is questionable that the "Slave Indians" were in aboriginal times a dialectal or cultural unit). Groups of Sekani and Dogribs were also harried and forced to flee customary territories by Beaver and Yellowknives, respectively (Jenness 1937; Franklin 1824).

Since inter-Indian hostilities interfered with the trade, the white traders worked to achieve peace among the Dene peoples of the east. There was no initial hostility of Indians toward whites, and later instances were, for each "tribe," usually one-time events (see synoptic chart). Indians apparently made no attempts to block traders from establishing trading forts in the lands of quondam "clients" or enemies.

Early inter-ethnic relations along the archipelago and southeast coast of Alaska were markedly distinct from those in the eastern zone. The coastal ship trade as such posed no threat of an overt foot-hold on Indian land. But where Russians established land-holds, they introduced a style of violent subjugation of native populations unknown to English-Dene relations in the east, where the purely commercial goals of the traders were achieved by catering to the nomadic natives as much as possible. (Whereas in the early Russian trade, for example, firearms were prohibited to Eskimos and Indians, English and Canadian traders traded them freely to better the Indians' livelihood that they might devote more time to fur-taking.) By and large, the Alaskan Indian populations contacted were resistant to Russian settlement. Sites of direct contact drew hostile actions from Tlingit, Tanaina, Koyukon

and Upper Atna.

There was inter-Indian aggression in the west (*e.g.*, Gitksan against Sekani and the Tlingit destruction of the Tsetsaut). The first-contacted tribes of the North Pacific coast, however, showed no propensity to move into the territories of the inland mountain peoples. The contrastive environments of the two zones is indubitably the key. Apart from the special trading advantage of access to the sea otter, the benign environment of the coast had allowed the development of a comfortable and elaborated way of life that the interior zone could not support. Where penetration and "take-over" occurred, it took the form of trading dominance by the coast-oriented group, sometimes in combination with quasi-social absorption through marriage with the "hill-billies" of the interior (McClellan 1953). Generally, a distinctive feature of the western edge of the Northern Athapaskan domain is the trading hegemony that middlemen groups near or on the coast were able to sustain for many decades.

Excepting the hostile stance of non-Cordilleran Alaskan groups (*e.g.*, Tanaina and Atna), Northern Athapaskans from the Cordillera to Hudson Bay usually welcomed the establishment of points-of-trade within their territory. Wentzel (1821:6) provides a vivid example from the Mackenzie River region:

Notwithstanding that no promise had been made of returning at a future period to trade with them I was sent ... [in 1816] with six Canadians in a large canoe and a small supply of goods to renew the intercourse. In the course of my passage down the river as far as Fort Good Hope, I fell in with several parties of all the different tribes, and was welcomed by them with extravagant demonstrations of joy. They danced and cried by turns, rushing up to their knees into the water to pull my canoe ashore, begging at the same time that the whites would return to their lands and promising their utmost endeavours to render our situation with them as comfortable as possible.

The Inception of the Contact-Traditional Stage:
Temporal Intervals and Regional Zones

With an enduring point-of-trade in its own country, an Indian group had direct, regular and unmolested access to white trade goods. Even if the "regularity" of direct contact was for some but once or twice a year, the

source was dependable if furs or other tradable commodities such as dryfish and drymeat were produced. Especially in times of trading monopoly, it led into credit relationships and in the lands of the English traders, at least, enhanced the authority of "chiefs." The Athapaskan was free on the land, and it was in the interests of the fur trade that he remain so, but he became increasingly dependent on the post as the source of a new level of living. Subsistence on wild game and fish remained, and some items of clothing, shelter, and transportation continued for many decades to be fashioned of materials from the land. But the tools and implements to process natural materials derived more and more from the trader.

We take, therefore, as the short-hand marker of transition from the incipient-early contact stage to the contact-traditional the establishment of an enduring trading fort within or close to a particular group's territory. In certain cases we include easy access, with no danger of hostile neighbors or interruption of contact, to a point-of-trade outside of the traditional zone of the group. It follows that the contact-traditional era sees the establishment of permanently peaceable relations between Indian and white.

Although crude, this simplified indicator of transition allows a grasp of successive intervals of contact experience across the Northern Athapaskan expanse. Four intervals emerge. When mapped (see Fig. 2) they demarcate rather well the major physiographic zones of the western Subarctic as they allowed or inhibited penetration by European agents and the transportation of goods to supply a point-of-trade.

Interval I: By 1800. East of the Cordillera, the year 1800 found the Chipewyan, the Beaver, and the Yellowknife with one or more points-of-trade established in their own territory by the "Montreal Pedlars" or the recently-formed Northwest Company. From Montreal, along the chain of inland waterways linked by Grand Portage and Methy Portage, these "free traders" had by then

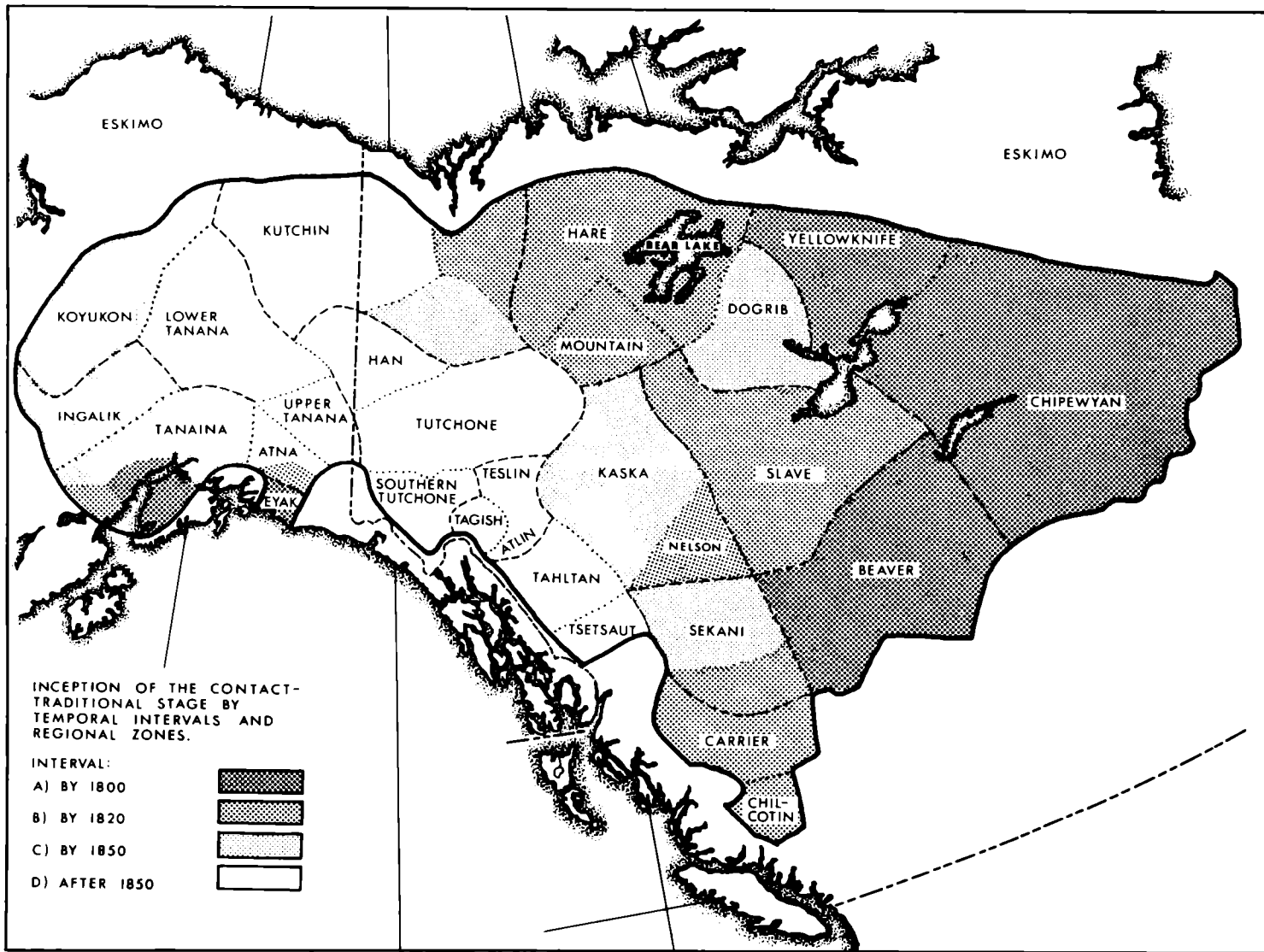


Figure 2. Map showing the inception of the contact-traditional stage by temporal intervals and regional zones.

established posts as far west as the Peace River country of the Beaver and north to the North Arm of Great Slave Lake where Old Fort Providence provided the locus of Yellowknife contact.

On the north Pacific coast,⁴ the Tlingit has been involved for a number of decades in the ship trade. The process of Tlingit expansion into Eyak country was largely completed by the end of the eighteenth century. Russian posts at Yakutat (formerly Eyak country) and Sitka were founded just before 1800, but both were destroyed within 10 years. Yakutat was not rebuilt.

Russian trading interests were able to establish permanent posts in the Tanaina area following forceful subjugation of the hostile Indians; "successful" operations, however, were only in the coastal region of Cook's Inlet. Chugach Eskimo and some Tanaina operated as middlemen between Russians and Atna and Eyak groups. The first direct contacts between the Russians and these latter peoples were hostile: Russians had taken Eyak hostages by 1800, and Russian efforts to ascend the Copper River met with attacks by natives.

Interval II: By 1820. The inception of contact-traditional relations between 1800 and 1820 occurred mainly in the area marked physiographically by the Mackenzie River and Upper Peace-Fraser River routes of European advance from the east. This is the era of full expansion of the Northwest Company. In terms of present-day identifications, the Mackenzie River groups involved are the Slave, the Mountain Indians, the Bearlake Indians, the Hare, and the Kutchin of the Mackenzie Flats (Mackenzie's "Quarrelers" or "Squint-Eyes"). In addition, those Kaska known as the Nelson People (or Tselona) who crossed the mountains to trade into Fort Nelson are to be included (Honigmann 1954:19). In the Fraser River drainage, the Carrier, the Chilcotin, and the southerly Sekani, recorded on Driver's (1953) map as the "Tsekani" band

⁴We are indebted, here and in the following sections, to Professor de Laguna for providing corrections and additional data regarding contact events and situations south of the Alaska Range.

are included (Jenness 1937:17-21).

South of the Alaska Range, Russian trading relations were extended into the Iliamna region of the Tanaina (Townsend 1970), and Copper Fort was established in the Taral area of the Atna (de Laguna, personal communication). Copper Fort did not remain continuously open, however. The Upper Atna and inland Tanaina were apparently still not in regular, peaceable trading relations with Russians in this period.

Interval III: By 1850. The year 1821 saw the incorporation of the Northwest Company into the Hudson Bay Company and the establishment of points-of-trade in all "tribal" areas east of the continental Height of Land, notably the Peel River Kutchin (Slobodin 1962) and the remaining Sekani and Kaska. In the latter's area, the sites of trading points shifted about in this period and later, bringing about a kind of scrambling of regional groups (Honigmann 1954:16).

Assignment of the Dogrib poses a problem. Apparently they were displaced by Yellowknife aggression from part of their traditional lands, those on the northeast side of Great Slave Lake, up to 1823 (Franklin 1824 (II):82-83; T. Simpson 1843:318). They did not have a point-of-trade central to their own territory until the establishment of old Fort Rae in 1852. They did have access to Ft. Simpson (est. 1804) in what is now Slave territory and were also trading at the posts on Great Bear River in the first decades of the 19th century (Keith 1889). Sometime after 1823, Ft. Resolution on the south side of Great Slave Lake became a point-of-trade for the southernmost Dogrib. But, on the whole, the Dogrib stand out as an isolate in the generally easy trade contact afforded the neighboring peoples of the Upper Mackenzie drainage by 1820.

In westernmost Alaska direct, regular contact was possible for the Ingalik with the establishment of St. Michael's redoubt in 1833, and for the Koyukon by 1839 with Russian traders' presence at Nulato. The scene is complicated, however, by evidence of extensive trading relationships prior to the presence

of Russian posts, particularly the Koyukon position as middlemen trading into Kotzebue Sound, initially with Chuckchi and later with independent European traders (Zagoskin 1967:150, 79, 82).

Trade agreements with the Russians first brought American traders to the shores of the Alaskan archipelago in the 1820's, followed in a decade by Hudson's Bay Company posts which remained until the Alaska Purchase. Hudson's Bay "forts" were also established on the British Columbia coast after 1821. Trade goods from coastal posts, however, reached the Athapaskans in the interior only through Indian middlemen.

Interval IV: After 1850. The peoples inhabiting the terrain between the Continental Divide and the Pacific coastal ranges finally come into view.

The northwesternmost post in the British-Canadian trading domain was Fort Yukon, established in 1847. Since this date is so near our 1850 date-line, we place in Interval IV those peoples who had regular or intermittent trade contact into Fort Yukon. These are the Kutchin within the Pacific drainage as well as Han and probably sectors of the Tanana. Probably the northeasternmost Koyukon also fall in this interval.

From the Pacific side, Tlingit and those Atna and Tanaina nearer the coast continued to block direct contact between European traders and adjacent interior Athapaskans, which included Upper Tanana, Tutchone, Inland Tlingit, and Tahltan. Generally, for the interior groups direct contact in own territory occurred only after successive gold crazes (and other mineral strikes) smashed the barriers of terrain and the opposition of coastal natives, in some cases not until the twentieth century (McClellan 1964).

The Trading Post and the Mission

Hiatt (1968:100) has characterized the Australian mission stations from the aborigines' point of view as "super-water-holes." For the subarctic Indians, the trading posts were equally prodigious new resources placed upon the land.

The existence of a permanent trading post tended to spatially reorient Indian populations who, though living out in and off of the land, accommodated ingathering at the fort into their yearly cycle. Orientation to the point-of-trade sometimes may have created "new" native groups, who came to be defined and to regard themselves as a distinctive people. The Bearlake Indians (Osgood 1932:73) of Forts Franklin and Norman may be such a creation.⁵

In Canadian lands, some Indian groups obtained an especially advantageous economic position by producing large amounts of native foods to provision the chain of trading establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company: *e.g.*, Dogrib procurement of caribou drymeat (Russell 1898; Helm field notes) and Carrier salmon production (Harmon 1911:170, 204, 223).

In the Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River region the period of commitment to the traditional fur trade was longest and with fewest extraneous complications. As such, it provides a simple, "classic" model for the contact-traditional stage: The only whites in the land are the personnel of the trading post and, in the course of time, the mission. Both are usually at the same site. Indians have no permanent dwellings at the "fort." They live out in the land. Through the decades, a few begin to build cabins at the fort, or at a major fishery or other site occupied for a number of weeks during the year. But they remain seasonally mobile, with ammunition, nets, and a few staples (flour, tea, tobacco) from the trader, often on "credit." They leave the fort before "freezeup" to prepare for winter in the "bush." Hunting, fishing, and snaring is combined with taking of furs during winter. Trading gangs come to the fort at New Year's and debts are paid with furs. With new supplies, they return to "bush" camps or hamlets. In March-April, furs are again traded and supplies obtained. After "breakup" (in June), they come to

⁵This statement is supported by recent linguistic evidence which indicates that the present-day "Bearlake dialect" has only very recently diverged from a common Hare-Bearlake predecessor (Howren n.d.).

the fort with furs taken in the "spring hunt." Ingatherings at the fort are occasions for festivities: feasts, dances, gambling games.

In these lands, this way of life endured for over 100 years, until after 1940 when events arising in the modern national purpose began to reshape the native scene. Until then, technological, social and ideational change was slow, incremental, and untraumatic, even after the missionary joined the trader as the other agent of contact and acculturation.

A full delineation of the contact-traditional way-of-life -- its general characteristics and its distinctive regional features -- awaits intensive documentary research, joined, for its later phases, with the memory culture of elderly informants. Especially, whether "contact-traditional culture" serves as a useful or adequate concept in reference to the Athapaskans on the Pacific side of the Cordillera remains to be tested. From the beginning, elaborated inter-native trading patterns and resistance to European penetration had set the white-contact relations of Tanaina, Ingalik and Koyukon groups apart from the rest of the Athapaskans. Also, for Athapaskan groups in the Cordillera and along the southern edge of the Subarctic the "simple" Indian-white relations of the fur trade were complicated or truncated by gold-booms and homesteading. To this point we shall soon return.

Throughout the Subarctic, disease and epidemic shook populational stability and, we may surmise, cultural continuity until well into the twentieth century. But simply to assemble the piecemeal record of the incidence and severity of disease in this era is difficult. This subject, therefore, is also withheld for separate consideration.

The missionization of Athapaskan populations was a signal and general feature of the contact-traditional era. Rather in the Spanish style in Meso-America, Russian Orthodox missionaries as an arm of the state were on the scene early in southern and coastal Alaska. In terms of the total Indian peoples

of Alaska, however, their proselytizing activities were limited. By the latter half of the nineteenth century they had converted the McGrath Ingalik (or Kolchan [Hosley 1968]), perhaps their farthest inland extension. After the Alaska Purchase, Catholic and various Protestant denominations completed the conversions of the natives of Alaska.

In British/Canadian territory, the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company had been to keep the Indian as free as possible from exposure to any aspect of Western culture that did not contribute to his efficiency as a fur-procurer. Only after 1850 did the Dene peoples in Canadian territory experience missionary activity. The French-speaking, Roman Catholic order of *Oblats de Marie Imaculée* were the more energetic, although Anglican missionaries had the initial advantage of being more acceptable to the Protestant traders of the Hudson's Bay Company (Duchaussois 1928).

Generally, the groups in the Mackenzie drainage (except for the Beaver [Faraud 1866]), the northern Cordillera, and interior Alaska did not resist proselytizing and were quickly converted after missionary contact. In the southern Cordillera conversion was more difficult. Although missionaries did not meet with overt hostility, they found the Carrier, for example, resistant to commands condemning potlatching (Morice 1905).

By 1900, all except the most isolated Athapaskan groups in the Subarctic were nominally Christian.⁶ By this time, south residence schools were operating in conjunction with the missions in Canadian lands. In Alaska, the U.S. government had by then taken over direct responsibility for native education from the missions. In most areas, the impact of the mission schools upon the native population at large was slight. Only a small number of children were exposed to mission education and a small number as adults altered their life-ways significantly in consequence.

⁶An exception is the Trout Lake band of Slavey, who were converted a couple of years later (Duchaussois 1922).

Boom Frontier and Settled Frontier

In our "classic" model of contact-traditional intercultural relations, the trading post and the mission are the only two significant white installations in native lands. Both are there because of the Indian. But, beginning about 1860, portions of Athapaskan territory in central Alberta and British Columbia, the Yukon, and montane Alaska witnessed intermittent intrusions of substantial numbers of whites. As gold seekers or homesteaders, these whites, unlike the trader and the missionary, entered the land for purposes which did not include the Indian. In both homesteading and mineral-strike situations, local Indian populations tended to become fringe groups around a frontier variety of white-dominant settlements that usually included stores, schools, saloons and churches to serve whites. Although Indians might provide goods (country game, items of clothing and footgear) and services (guiding, packing, casual labor, prostitution) to whites, they were not integral or necessary figures in the scene.

At the risk of proliferating terminology, these intrusions may be distinguished as "boom frontiers" in the case of the flood-and-ebb of whites in gold rushes or other mineral strikes, and as "settled frontiers" where, as in the valleys of the Peace, Braser, Tanana, and (in the 1930's) Matanuska rivers, a stable white population has taken over tracts of land for farming and ranching.

In most gold strikes, the initially large white population quickly diminished, in some cases in a matter of months, leaving only a handful of people. To those Indians who could respond selectively, the boom frontier offered economic opportunity and the glamour of travel and new-found sophistication, *e.g.*, "The Dawson boys" of the Peel River Kutchin (Slobodin 1963).

Once introduced from the east, Indian-white fur trade relations had stabilized quickly in the southern (British Columbia) sector of the Cordillera,

facilitated by the practice of building trading posts close to the fishing villages of the semisedentary Chilcotin, Carrier and Tahltan. The series of gold rushes between 1860 and 1900 opened sections of Carrier and Chilcotin country to railways, roads, and homesteaders whose numbers increased greatly after 1900. The Indians responded with a partial involvement in wage labor and farming and ranching activities. Homesteading in the Peace River area of Alberta since 1890 has promoted similar diversification among the Beaver Indians there. The continued commercial and population growth of Anchorage and Fairbanks, sites important in the Alaska gold rushes, has resulted in urban complexes within the traditional regions of the Tanaina and Tanana. Tanaina began working in commercial canneries on the coast by 1915 (Townsend 1970). In the Upper Yukon drainage of Alaska no large white-dominant settlements followed the "bust" after the gold-booms.

Where the settled frontier appeared in the lands of the Northern Athapaskans, it initiated the kind of contact relationship universal to Southern Canada and the United States. Indians found themselves in a self-conscious minority position *vis-à-vis* a dominant white population immediately present upon the land. In terms of the economic, social and cultural submersion of the Indian within the whiteman's greater society, "modern" conditions arrived for some of the Athapaskans of the North fifty or more years in advance of their more isolated brethren.

The Government-Commercial Era

Due to the limits on research and documentation in this survey, we must reduce to a generalized sketch the variations and complexities of contact experience that have brought the Northern Athapaskans into the present-day. The designation "government-commercial era" encapsulates two of the ever more dominating features in contemporary native life.

The trading post has given way to the commercial store. The Hudson's Bay Company or other erstwhile trading establishment may still buy fur, but the year's profits are from the sale of thousands of kinds of commercial goods, including the fads, fashions and gimmicks of whiteman living.⁷

As inculcator and enforcer of whiteman values, morals and standards, Government in its multiple aspects as lawmaker, educator, and welfare dispenser has come to usurp and enlarge the role once filled by the mission as the "caretaker" of the Indian. In legal terms, the details of Government's relationship with Indians have of course varied according to national and subnational political divisions and have altered through time. But from the Indian perspective, "Government" has been a monolithic, if inscrutable and uncontrollable, entity.

Generally, the federal level of government has been more prominent in affecting Indian life. Inception of formal relations between the U.S. or Canadian government and Northern Athapaskan groups began after 1867. In the ground rules laid out by treaties (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Northwest Territories) and/or simply introduced as "Indian policy" (Alaska, most of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory) the Indian was constrained to observe the laws as encoded and in return the government assumed certain responsibilities, at least on paper, toward the social, economic and physical welfare of the Indian. In Canada (in contrast to Alaska) almost all responsibility for direct action remained vested in the missions for many decades. The Yukon and the Northwest Territories present an extreme case of "governmental lag"; almost no direct governmental involvement in Indian

⁷Regarding the manager of a present Hudson's Bay post: "The purchase of furs is a minor part of his work. Most of his time is spent running what amounts to a small department store, stocked with everything from children's clothing and women's fashions to transistor radios and refrigerators" (MacKay 1966:312).

health or education was taken until after the Second World War (Phillips 1967:Chapter 12).⁸

The effort of the Athapaskan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada to enunciate and establish land claims based on aboriginal territories is one of the most politically significant developments of the last few years. It remains, however, a specific feature within more encompassing trends in Indian-Government relations. In both Canada and the United States recent decades have seen a shift in perspective regarding the responsibilities and relationship of the nation-state toward all its citizens which has brought accelerated changes in Indian life in the North that are still emerging today. Whether under bills relating specifically to Indians or to the public at large, both Canada and the United States have enunciated the goals of elimination of social, economic and legal inequities and of the attainment of an "acceptable" level of living for all persons. These are manifest in new or expanded welfare measures for children, the poor and the aged, in public housing, in school building and expansion and in the elimination of discriminatory legal provisions against Indians (*e.g.*, invidious alcohol consumption laws and denial of the vote at the subfederal level). Canada has gone further in general social welfare measures by providing to all Canadians the Family Allowance or "baby bonus" and the Old Age Pension.

It can be demonstrated that under these provisions Indian education, health, and level of living has improved by the criteria ordinarily applied (more children in school for more years, lowered death rate, new housing,

⁸Regarding education, as an example, in Alaska by 1918 approximately half of the native children of school age were in school (Gruening 1954). In the Northwest Territories prior to 1955, "less than 15% of the school age children had received any appreciable amount of formal instruction" (Ann. Rep. of the Commissioner of the N.W.T. 1967-68:42).

etc.). But attentive observers, Indian and White, recognize that these factors introduced into Indian life have had substantial consequences that are less easy to "statistify" and evaluate. We can only suggest some of the dimensions:

Item: The tangle of legal requirements and definitions and the bureaucratic chains of command in the dispensing of welfare subsidies and public housing baffles the applicant and places him in a supplicatory position under the discipline of omnipresent and omnipotent Government. Not granted effective powers to deal with Government, the "government chief" bears the brunt of disaffection and factionalism that the system engenders.

Item: School requirements, routines, and performance standards aim at providing the Indian child with "advantages" in coping with the white world. But School, as experienced, seems often to place the child early in life in the same baffled, defeated, and impotent posture in which Government places his parent (*vide* King 1967).

Item: Day schools, public housing, the post office that brings government-subsidy checks of one sort or another combine to hold the Indian family in the settlement or town, where commonly opportunities for wage employment do not begin to accommodate the resident Indian population. Perhaps an even greater lure to town-living are the attractions of a "micro-urban" life-style offered by the store, the bar and beer parlor, the movie house, the Saturday-night dance.

The accelerated growth of the Indian population (see following section) will, it would seem, increase the pressures building at present.

To reiterate, exposure to whiteman's standards of living through broader individual experience, through mass media, and through the educational system has brought new levels of aspiration in consumer standards. These aspirations go beyond what fur production can provide (and indeed deflect the Indian from

bush life) and beyond what is available to most natives in most parts of the North through wage employment. As government services and the diversions and attractions of mass culture have increased, Indians have increasingly retreated from the land as the source of subsistence and as the site of a relatively autonomous community life to take up an urban or "micro-urban" existence.

With the loss of native language and the attrition of knowledge and commitment to traditional culture, the "Indian" identity of the generations to come seems at present to be lodged in the growing Pan-Indian movements in Alaska and northwestern Canada. These have taken political form in the Alaska Federation of Natives, the Union of British Columbia Chiefs and the Indian Brotherhoods of the Prairie Provinces and Territories of Canada. These organizations aim at creating economic and, especially, political leverage (*e.g.*, "land claims") for Indians as a depressed minority within the greater society.

Epidemics and Population Patterns During the Contact-Traditional Stage

(by Terry Alliband)

A significant, too often catastrophic, feature in North American Indian-European contact history has been the introduction of new diseases and disease-producing conditions among the native peoples. In most cases, the effects on population levels and the social and cultural consequences have yet to be adequately assessed (*cf.* Cook [1955] on the 1830-33 epidemic in California and Oregon). In this section of our paper we again attempt only an initial inquiry. We present available data on disease (which takes almost exclusively the form of evidence on epidemics) and on population patterns during the contact-traditional stage of Indian-white relations in the Athapaskan North. Epidemics may have brought havoc and depopulation to Northern Athapaskan groups in earliest contact times or even prior to the physical

advent of the European (*e.g.*, did the Tlingit smallpox epidemic of 1775 spread inland?), but documentation is largely lacking. Recent population figures in those areas where the specifically Athapaskan component of the population can be identified will be considered at the end of this paper. In the two areas for which we found such data, it is apparent that the population "take-off" that began in Alaska about fifty years ago and in the Northwest Territories twenty-five years ago is directly the consequence of the introduction and expansion of medical services.

Data concerning both disease incidence and population fluctuation during contact-traditional times must be viewed with caution on a number of grounds. Deaths due to non-epidemic diseases, notably tuberculosis, are usually not on record, even as estimates. With respect to the data on disease epidemics, the problem of the hit-and-miss nature of the information is difficult to overcome. We encounter records of apparently discrete outbreaks of smallpox or scarlet fever, for example, occurring in separated geographical locations within a year or two of one another. Are we then dealing with scattered, unrelated outbreaks, or do they in fact represent an epidemic wave which affected larger numbers than the available literature records?

Documentation on epidemics largely takes the form of occasional comments by persons untutored in medical diagnostic techniques who happened to be in a given region during an outbreak of some sort. Often the information is fairly reliable and reasonably detailed, although many writers provide only gross mortality estimates or are content to note that the rate among a disease-stricken people was "severe."

In regard to population sizes in general, an often unresolvable question is the possibility of inaccurate enumeration or grossly skewed estimates. An allied question is whether successive population figures

based on Indians of a particular region or those frequenting a particular point-of-trade represent the same group or groups each time. (For the Mackenzie River forts, we believe we have been able to control this problem. See Table 1, *infra*.) In this respect, government censuses and other forms of data, usually based on administrative units, are often inaccurate, misleading, or ignore linguistic/tribal identities. Given these considerations, our notations of epidemic conditions and assessments of population patterns during the contact-traditional era are tentative and subject to revision.

Based on the available evidence on contagious epidemics, scarlet fever and smallpox produced the heaviest mortality among Northern Athapaskans prior to about 1900. After that date, outbreaks of influenza and measles are recorded as causing severe epidemics.

The first recorded widespread epidemic among the Athapaskans was a smallpox epidemic among the Western Cree and Chipewyans about 1781 (Hearne 1958:115f). It is not known whether or not this outbreak spread into the Mackenzie River region. Smallpox broke out among the Tlingit, Tanaina, Ingalik and possibly other Athapaskan groups about 1835-39 (Krause 1956: 43, 63; Townsend 1970:83; Zagoskin 1967:308; Bancroft 1886:561; McKennan 1969:106). Although the Russians attempted to administer smallpox vaccinations for the amelioration of this epidemic, the natives were reluctant to be vaccinated; an estimated 25-50% of the people in the affected group died during this seige (Stearn 1943:609; Elliott 1887:111-114). Outbreaks of smallpox occurred *ca.* 1862 and 1865 among the southern Carrier (Jenness 1943:485-6; Morice 1905:307-8) and among the Tahltan in 1864 and 1868 (Emmons 1911:12).

Petitot (1891:189) states that the "Mal du Fort Rae" in 1859 took over 400 lives from a population of about 1200 (but this high population estimate

is suspect). Petitot was unable to establish the epidemic's nature. One of the first reported instances of a scarlet fever epidemic occurred among the Southern Tutchone about 1851 (Dawson 1888:138f.). A number of scarlet fever epidemics were reported in the years between 1862-67. This period saw the extermination of the Birch Creek Kutchin and Lower Yukon Kutchin, heavy mortality among the Chilcotin, and the abandonment of Fort Anderson because of scarlet fever mortality among the Kutchin and Hare (Osgood 1934:177; Voorhis 1930:31; McKennan 1969:106). Influenza is recorded to have killed 1000 Indians from Ft. Simpson to Peel's River (Slave, Bearlake, Hare and Eastern Kutchin populations) in 1865 (Stewart 1955:213).

A widespread eruption of measles occurred about 1902 among the Hare, Bear Lake, Dogrib, Eastern Kutchin and possibly other Athapaskans in the Mackenzie River region (Thomas 1970:13; Constantine 1903:49-50). At approximately the same time, a measles epidemic struck the Ingalik, Koyukon, Lower Tanana and possibly other Alaskan Athapaskans as well (Stuck 1917:189). As is so often the case, the extent of mortality is not known although Constantine (*Ibid.*) tells us that 70 out of a band of 80 Kutchin died, and 60 Dogribs are recorded as dead from this cause at Fort Rae alone (Helm, 1969 field notes).

Influenza outbreaks ravaged the Alaskan Athapaskans around 1917-18 killing an estimated 10% of the native population in that region (Anderson and Eells 1935). The Tagish, Tutchone and Inland Tlingit of the Yukon were also "devastated" (McClellan:personal communication). Influenza struck the Mackenzie River region in 1928 taking a toll of at least 600 lives (Godsell 1934:304-5) from Fort Resolution to Fort Good Hope. No large-scale epidemics are reported from the subarctic Athapaskans after this date, although further searches may reveal statistics on epidemics of local severity (*e.g.*, the measles at Ross River in 1951 [McClellan:personal communication]).

Population changes caused by venereal disease and chronic diseases such as tuberculosis are difficult to assess because of lack of data for this period. These diseases lack the dramatic nature of epidemics and hence may not have been recorded because of their commonplace quality.

There can be little doubt but that tuberculosis in particular has been a factor in determining the population level among Canadian and Alaskan Athapaskans although documentation is scarce prior to recent times. When it exists -- *e.g.*, Garrioch's (1929:33-35) account of (apparently) tubercular "scrofula" destroying the Fort Vermilion Beaver in the 1870's -- it is unaccompanied by statistics. In the 1940's, tuberculosis was described as the major mortal disease among the Indians in both Canada and Alaska; in Alaska it accounted for 43% of the deaths among the Eskimo, Aleuts, and Indians (Haldeman 1951:912; Wherrett 1947:233). During the five-year period 1937-1941, tuberculosis took the lives of Northwest Territory Indians at a rate of 761.4 per 100,000 compared to a rate of 43.7 per 100,000 for Whites and 314.6 per 100,000 for Eskimos for the same period (Wherrett 1947:232). This rate of mortality due to tuberculosis among subarctic Athapaskans closely approximates that existing in urban U.S. cities during the early nineteenth century when up to 30% of all deaths were caused by tuberculosis and the death rate in Philadelphia due to pulmonary tuberculosis was 618 per 100,000 (Lowell *et al.* 1969:7). Hence, while the importance of this disease as a population factor in contact-traditional times can not be detailed, it can reasonably be inferred. With respect to syphilis, Haldeman notes that its incidence in Alaska among the Indians and Eskimos is low in recent times but once introduced into a region, can reach epidemic proportions (1951:913).

One might predict that the combination of the effects of widespread disease epidemics such as smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, and influenza with those of introduced attritional diseases such as tuberculosis would

result in severe and continuing population decline among the Northern Athapaskans during the contact-traditional period. However, generally reliable data from the Mackenzie River area falsify this prediction, for that region at least. In roughly the last two-thirds of the contact-traditional era (from 1858 to 1941), the population level of these subarctic Athapaskans evinces only a slightly declining, almost static quality, despite known short-term population losses due to epidemics. The "recuperation" factors that produced this relative homeostasis over time are puzzling and not adducible from present knowledge.

Table 1 presents the populations of Athapaskans at various forts in the Mackenzie River region over a span of 112 years. The overall Athapaskan population associated with these forts declined by 9% during the period 1858-1941 and increased by 56% from 1941-1970. The post-1941 increase coincides with government medical services begun in the 1940's. In other words, the Athapaskan population at these forts declined by about one-tenth during the span of eighty-odd years within the contact-traditional period for which information is available but has increased by one-half in the 29-year period since 1941.

Unfortunately, published data on the "tribal" or dialect groups attached to these Mackenzie River forts ends with Petitot (1885). The Canadian government enumerations since that time are in terms of the purely administrative needs of the Indian Affairs division. The anthropologist is left in a quandary with respect to the population size of specific dialect units or societal groups such as the Hare or Dogrib, since each fort's population is listed under the gross affiliation of what is or what was at one time the majority population of the various tribal groups trading into each fort with no allowance for "minority" groups. Even in the most recent Canadian census (1970:37) of the Indians of the Northwest Territories, reference is made to 504 Yellow-

TABLE 1

INDIAN POPULATIONS OF MACKENZIE RIVER REGION TRADING POSTS*

Year	Forts									Total	% change
	Liard	Rae	Simpson	Wrigley	Norman	Franklin	Good Hope	MacPherson	Aklavik/ Arctic Red River		
1858	397	657	745	-	363	-	467	337	-	2,966	
1881	425	615	234	164	254	-	583	351	-	2,726	
1921**	150	680	347	78	317		320	219	171	2,282	
1941	202	686	378	77	200	174	337	308	331	2,691	-9
1964	259	968	518	150	136	289	312	682	334	3,648	
1970	321	1,202	623	169	164	360	355	610	410	4,214	+56

Sources: for year 1858-Anderson (1858); for year 1881-Russell (1898); for 1921-Conroy (1957); for year 1941-Wherrett (1947); for year 1964-Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1964); for year 1970-Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1970).

*With reference to the trading posts listed, it should be noted that while some posts were closed at various times throughout the period listed, the Indian population along the Mackenzie River was probably generally included amongst the enumerated population. That is, once the forts at Arctic Red River/Aklavik, Franklin, and Wrigley were opened they probably drew off a portion of the Indian population previously listed for Forts MacPherson, Norman, and Simpson, respectively. According to Robinson (1946:37), Fort Franklin was closed between 1827 and 1864 and remained closed from 1872 until sometime in the 20th century when it "reappears" as "Great Bear Lake" fort in Wherrett (1947). Fort Wrigley was opened in 1877 and the opening dates for Arctic Red River and Aklavik (whose population figures are combined) were 1891 and 1912 respectively (Robinson 1946: 37). The Indian population thus "drawn off" probably accounts for the population declines recorded for Simpson and Norman in 1881 and at MacPherson in 1921.

knife Indians, for example, although the people in question do not identify themselves as other than a mixed Dogrib-Chipewyan population (Gillespie 1971).

With respect to Alaskan Athapaskan population levels, data by "tribal" or dialect groups at any time period are generally unobtainable. And since 1930, U.S. census figures do not make any linguistic differentiation between Alaskan Indians. Gross population figures for all the Alaskan Athapaskans from the period 1880-1930, however, show that during this 50-year span the total population increase for the conglomerate population was about 21% (See Table 2). A decrease in population occurred between 1880 and 1890 and an increase of 25% occurred between 1910-1930. Between 1910 and 1920, the increase from 3916 persons to 4657 (almost 16 per cent) would seem to reflect the effects of the government medical service introduced in that interval. Reliable data on the post-1930 population of Alaskan Athapaskans would probably show a continuing sharp increase if the Canadian cases can be taken as an analogy.

Notes to Table 1 - continued

**Some of the figures and the total for 1921 are estimates. Conroy, the Commissioner of Treaty No. 11, says of his figures: "Practically all the Indians were dealt with at Fort Providence, Simpson, Wrigley, Arctic Red River and MacPherson, and about 65 per cent at Fort Norman, Fort Good Hope, and Rae, the remainder of these Indians having been at these posts in the spring and left word that they were willing to take treaty . . ." (1957:4). Hence, the figures given for Forts Norman, Good Hope, and Rae have been expanded to take into account the alleged 35 per cent of the Indians not present at the time of the census.

TABLE 2

GROSS POPULATION CHANGE AMONG ALASKAN ATHAPASKANS

1880	1890	1910	1920	1930	% change 1880-1930
4057	3520	3916	4657	4935	+21

Sources: U. S. Census Bureau
Census of 1910
Census of 1930

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Sources for Entries in the Synoptic Chart

Several works have been extensively used as general "fact" references. They are not therefore cited under individual groups: Bancroft 1887; Begg 1894; Duchaussois 1928; Fed. Field Comm. 1968; Jenness 1934; MacDonald 1970; Osgood 1936a; Phillips 1967; Rea 1968; M.J. and J.L. Robinson 1946; Swanton 1952; Voorhis 1930.

<i>Atna:</i>	Birket-Smith and de Laguna (1938) Allen (1889) de Laguna (personal communication).
<i>Bearlake Indians:</i>	Osgood (1932) Voorhis (1930) for scarlet fever reference under "Fort Anderson"
<i>Beaver:</i>	Virginia Lawson, field notes Goddard (1916) Jenness (1931, 1937)
<i>Carrier:</i>	Goldman (1940) Hawthorn <i>et al.</i> (1958) Jenness (1943) Morice (1905) Harmon (1911) Mackenzie (1927) Steward (1940, 1941)
<i>Chilcotin:</i>	Hawthorn <i>et al.</i> (1958) Hobson (1951) Morice (1905)
<i>Chipewyan and Western Cree:</i>	Mackenzie (1927) Rich, ed. (1938) Hearne (1958) Rich, ed. (1949a, b)
<i>Dogrib:</i>	Franklin (1823, 1828) Petitot (1891) Helm, field notes
<i>Eyak:</i>	Birket-Smith and de Laguna (1938) de Laguna (personal communication)
<i>Han:</i>	Osgood (1971)
<i>Hare:</i>	Robinson (1946) Simpson (1843) Keith (1889)

<i>Ingalik:</i>	Osgood (1940, 1958, 1959) Zagoskin (1967) Dall (1870) Gruening (1968) Stuck (1917)
<i>Kaska:</i>	Honigmann (1947, 1949, 1954) Teit (1956)
<i>Koyukon:</i>	Zagoskin (1967) Dall (1870) Gruening (1968)
<i>Kutchin:</i>	McKenna (1965) Osgood (1936b) Slobodin (1962, 1969)
<i>Mountain Indians:</i>	No special reference
<i>Sekani:</i>	Jenness (1931, 1937) Morice (1905) Harmon (1911) Mackenzie (1927) Fraser (1960)
<i>Slave:</i>	No special reference
<i>Tagish-Teslin:</i>	McClellan (1953, 1964)
<i>Tahltan:</i>	Barbeau (1947) Emmons (1911) Teit (1956)
<i>Tanaina:</i>	Osgood (1937) Castner (1899) Townsend (1970) Gruening (1968) Abercrombie (1899)
<i>Tanana:</i>	Castner (1899) Dall (1870) Gruening (1968) Abercrombie (1899) Stuck (1917)
<i>Upper Tanana:</i>	McKenna (1959)
<i>Tlingit:</i>	Krause (1956) Drucker (1965) de Laguna (personal communication)
<i>Tsetsaut:</i>	Jenness (1934)
<i>Tutchone and Southern Tutchone:</i>	McClellan (1953, 1964)

Yellowknife:

Franklin (1824, 1828)
T. Simpson (1843)
Gillespie (1971)

