

ATHAPASKAN MATRILINY AND TRADE IN CANADA
AND ALASKA

ATHAPASKAN MATRILINY AND TRADE
IN
CANADA AND ALASKA

By
WAYNE WALLINGFORD ALLEN, B.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

(May) 1971

MASTER OF ARTS (1971)

TITLE: ATHAPASKAN MATRILINEY AND TRADE IN
CANADA AND ALASKA

AUTHOR: Wayne Wallingford Allen, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. David Damas

NUMBER OF PAGES: iii, 91

SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis puts forward an explanation for the presence of matrilineal descent groups among the Athapaskan speaking peoples of Alaska and the western sub-Arctic of Canada. The hypothesis put forward here is that matrilineal descent groups spread from the Tlingit to the Athapaskan peoples, as a result of the methods employed by the Tlingit to regularize (and make more profitable) their trade with the Athapaskans.

Membership in Tlingit descent groups spread to Athapaskans who became trading partners of the Tlingit and who married Tlingit women. This pattern of trading partnerships and intermarriage was copied by the Athapaskans and resulted in the spread of matrilineal descent groups into the interior.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
PREFACE	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
I. PAST VIEWS ON NORTHERN MATRILINY	1
II. SOME FEATURES OF NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN	
DESCENT GROUPS	11
Distribution of Sibs and Moieties	13
Athapaskan Descent Group Structure ...	17
Sib Agamy	26
Intertribal Nature of the Sibs	29
III. TRADE ROUTES	32
Tlingit Penetration of the Interior ..	32
Trade in Southern Alaska	33
IV. TRADE PRACTICES	44
Tlingit Trading Practices	44
Interior Trading Practices	49
Trade and Marriage	52
V. POTLATCH AND SOCIAL RANKING	62
VI. CONCLUSION	79
The Three Sib System	81
WORKS CITED	84

PREFACE

The present study is an attempt to account for the presence of matrilineal descent groups among the Athapaskan speaking Indians of Alaska and northern Canada. This paper examines the trading practices of these peoples with the object of explaining the presence of matrilineal descent groups which are found among these peoples.

This relationship between trade and matrilineal descent groups was first suggested quite recently (1964) by Dr. Catherine McClellan. As this idea has not been the subject of any subsequent publication, a scholarly paper on this topic is warranted. This investigation has become especially timely in view of the fact that no satisfactory answer to the question of the antiquity of matrilineal descent groups among the northwestern Athapaskans has yet been published. Dr. Robert McKennan (1969) has recently called attention to this point.

The question of matrilineality among the Carrier and the Sekani will not be dealt with in this paper because the adoption of matrilineal sibs by these peoples appears to be a fairly recent development.

The Sekani informants of Jenness, remembered both the adoption and subsequent abandonment of matrilineal sibs by their bands (1937).

Goldman (1940) observed that the adoption of family crests by the southern Carrier from the Bella Coala was a very recent practice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. David Damas and to Dr. Richard Slobodin of McMaster University for their help and guidance in the preparation of this thesis.

A special expression of gratitude is due to Dr. Damas, my thesis advisor, for his patience and effort in the editing of the early drafts of this paper.

CHAPTER I

PAST VIEWS ON NORTHERN MATRILINY

The Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan peoples have not always been separated in discussions about matriliney among the native peoples of Alaska and northern Canada. The non-Athapaskan peoples who are mentioned here and who have matrilineal descent groups are the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Bella Bella and Bella Coola.

The first theorist to make a contribution to the problem of matrilineal descent groups in northwestern North America was Swanton (1905). His explanation was based on the principle of diffusion. He postulated an origin of the maternal clan system, as he called it, at the mouths of the Nass and Skeena Rivers. From this centre, it diffused northward, southward and inland. This process was still going on at the time of the first European contact (Swanton 1905:670).

Beas (1916), a contemporary of Swanton, believed that the tripartate or three sib system found in this area was older than the other forms of social organization (moiety and four sib systems) which are also found in this area.

His position was based on information from his informants who stated that one of the four sibs of the Tsimshian, the Wolf sib, was a comparatively recent phenomenon. The Wolf sib was said to be composed of the descendants of a group of Tahltan who settled among the Tsimshian (Boas 1916:487). This was supported by the fact that among all of the Tsimshian except the Nass River people, the Wolf sib was not subdivided into clans (Boas 1916:483). Among the Nass River people, however, the Wolf sib was divided into clans (Boas 1916:484). Boas also had reason to believe that there was a third sib among the Tlingit, a people who were and still are considered to have two sibs. This third sib was found in the southern Tlingit village of Sanya. Its members could marry into either of the other two sibs (Boas 1916:478). Boas' informants also said that the Bella Bella of Milbank Sound were divided into three sibs (Boas 1916:476). Boas, however, was aware of the fact that this piece of information was contradicted by his colleague, Farrand, who had visited the Bella Bella. Farrand maintained that the Bella Bella were divided into four sibs (Boas 1916:487). Boas also drew support for his position from an early account of the Kutchin, written by William L. Hardisty (1867).

an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who described the three sib system of the Kutchin (Boas 1916:478).

These were the main considerations that Boas made when he arrived at the conclusion that the three sib system was the older form of social organization in this area.

A later scholar, Ronald L. Olson (1933), disagreed with Boas. In Olson's opinion, there was no reason to believe that the three sib system was the older form of social organization. Olson believed that the social organization of the northwest coast and the interior was based on a moiety system (Olson 1933:366). Olson based his conclusion on the names that were given to the sibs. In the moiety system that was found among the Tlingit and some of the other peoples, Olson pointed out that one moiety was named after an animal (Wolf), while the other was named after a bird (Raven). Olson maintained that the four sib system of the Taimshian was a simple elaboration of a basic moiety system. Two of the sibs were named after animals while the other two were named after birds. This contrast between animals and birds in the sib names led Olson to believe that the social organization of these people was based on a dual division (Olson 1933:366).

Olson also maintained that the three sib system of the Kutchin was based on a moiety system, because the expressions used by the Kutchin to describe their three sibs, in his opinion, implied a basic duality (Olson 1933:367).

Kaj Birket-Smith and Frederica de Laguna (1938) ascribed matriliney in this area to an Old World origin. They believed that matriliney in northwestern North America was part of a ring of circum-Pacific elements (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:449). The similarities in American unilinear institutions which were pointed out by Olson, led them to hypothesize a common origin for American unilinear institutions. This common origin was held to be Asiatic. (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:449). They agreed with Olson that there was no support for Boas' belief that the three sib grouping was older than the moiety division in this area. They regarded the moiety as the normal type of social organization and regarded the three sib system of the Kutchin as probably being an aberrant form of the normal moiety type of social organization (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:448).

Birket-Smith and De Laguna (1938:449) also suggested that the moiety type of organization was spreading towards the northwest, east and south, from a centre on the northwest coast. They felt that the moiety organization of the Tlingit was not aboriginal. They were also of the opinion that the moiety division of the Eyak was borrowed from the Tlingit at a rather late date (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:450).

Murdock (1955) followed Birket-Smith and De Laguna in believing that matriliney in northwestern North America was of Asiatic origin. Murdock (1955:86) favoured the idea that the ancestors of the western Athapaskans entered the New World with, what he termed, "the remnants of an old matrilineal organization". He held this viewpoint because he believed that the conditions of neither the coast nor the interior were ordinarily conducive to the emergence of the matrilineate (Murdock 1955:86).

The conditions that Murdock considered to be conducive to the emergence of the matrilineate are the elevation of the economic contribution of the women above that of the men, according a relatively high status to women, the absence of moveable property such as herds, slaves etc., and relative peacefulness (Murdock 1949:205).

These factors, in Murdock's opinion (1949:210), gave rise to matrilocal residence rules which in turn, gave rise to matrilineal descent.

In more recent times, ethnographers working in the area have attributed the matrilineal sibs found in the interior to the influence of neighbouring peoples.

Honigmann (1954:85) found that one of his informants among the Kaska Indians maintained that the Kaska did not have a moiety division before the time when the Tahltan Indians made trips into Kaska territory. According to Honigmann's informant, the Tahltan said, "You're a Wolf" or "You're a Crow" whenever they met a Kaska. At first the Kaska did not understand such talk, but later, they adopted the moiety system of the Tahltan (Honigmann 1954:85).

Steward (1955:176), writing in a theoretical work but with special reference to the Carrier, maintained that matrilineal moieties and sibs had spread from the coastal region to the interior. Steward also pointed out that at the time of the first European penetration into the interior, matrilineal sibs and moieties were still spreading.

In this situation, Steward asserted that the presence of excellent fishing streams allowed enough latitude in the basic social structure to make diffusion a major determinant of social organization.

Slobodin (1962:45) came to the conclusion that the three matrilineal sibs found among the Peel River Kutchin were derived from the people to the west of them and were a fairly recent addition to the Peel River culture. Three main considerations led him to this conclusion: 1/ The distribution of the sibs did not extend any farther east; 2/ Sib memberships were used mainly in dealings with the more westerly peoples; 3/ The sibs were becoming obsolescent during the nineteenth century but were revived temporarily during the gold rush (Slobodin 1962:45).

Balikoi (1963:33) described matriliney among the Vunta Kutchin as a superficial, non-integrated, and imported element in the patrilineally oriented Kutchin culture.

Since then, McClellan (1964:12), in discussing culture contacts in northwestern North America, has raised the question of whether or not matrilineal sib organization among the northwestern Athapaskans was the result of proto-historic or early historic trade.

She has also suggested that matrilineal reckoning may have been present in the interior before the adoption of matrilineal sibs by the interior peoples (McClellan 1964:7).

Recently, McKennan (1969:108) has criticized students of social organization who have accounted for the matriliney of the northwestern Athapaskans by postulating a riverine existence caused by a heavy dependence upon salmon. He considers this conception of northwestern Athapaskan subsistence to be in disagreement with the actual ecological situation. McKennan (1969:98) has emphasized that the basic subsistence activity in the interior is caribou, and to a lesser extent, moose hunting. He has also criticized the position that northwestern American matriliney is a result of diffusion from the coast, as being too simplistic (McKennan 1969:108).

McKennan (1969:108) also shares McClellan's suspicion that matriliney in this area is a very old practice. In McKennan's opinion, the idea of the exogamous group is old enough to have become integral to the social organization of the region. He considers the wide distribution of exogamous matrilineal groupings in the interior of Alaska to be an indication of their antiquity.

McKenna (1959:127) believes the association of the two Upper Tanana phratries with the wolf and the raven to be superficial and borrowed from the Athapaskan tribes to the south. He maintains that clans with animal associations existed in the Upper Tanana area before the present association of the two Upper Tanana phratries with the wolf and the raven. Previously, the Upper Tanana apparently had Caribou, Otter, Bear, Martin, Swan and Sea Gull clans, as well as Wolf and Raven clans.

Inglis (1970) is the latest scholar to make a contribution to this body of literature. He disagrees with Murdock. In discussing the possibility of the rise of matriliney on the northwest coast, Inglis argues that although the gathering activities of the women were not necessarily more important than the subsistence activities of the men, they could give rise to matriliney, because they entailed an investment of labour by the women in clearly bounded sites and the passing on of specific, detailed, knowledge about these sites by a succession of co-operating women workers. The men, being sea mammal hunters, would not be inconvenienced. Their expeditions would be trips into common hunting waters. These could be started from one home base as well as another (Inglis 1970:154).

The community would thus become matrilocal and then matrilineal (Inglis 1970:154). Inglis (1970:158) believes that the matrilineal structures on the northwest coast developed in a manner that is fully consistent with the generalizations about the emergence of matrilineal structures elsewhere in the world.

Inglis (1970:158) further postulates that once it had arisen, the matrilineal sib organization spread inland because the interior peoples gained an economic advantage by contracting marriages with the wealthier coastal peoples.

CHAPTER II

SOME FEATURES OF NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN DESCENT GROUPS

The first step in the examination of the hypothesis that the occurrence of matrilineal descent groups among the northern Athapaskans was the result of intertribal trade, will be to examine the nature of these descent groups. The northern Athapaskan descent groups can be said to consist of four types of groupings, sibs, clans, moieties and phratries. In using these terms, I will follow the usage established by Murdock (1949) and first advocated by Lowie (1920). The term, sib, refers to a consanguineal kin group whose members can not always trace the actual genealogical connections between individuals, but who acknowledge a common bond of descent in either the maternal or paternal line. The term, moiety, when used here, will refer to a situation in which only two sibs are present (Murdock 1949:47). All sibs and moieties mentioned in this paper are matrilineal. Patrilineal kin groups are not found among the peoples under discussion in this paper. The term, clan, refers to a localized unilinear descent group.

Membership in a clan is based upon both residence and descent. In a clan, a unilinear rule of descent is combined with a consistent unilocal rule of residence, with the result that clan membership excludes adult consanguineal kinsmen of one sex and includes spouses of the opposite sex (Murdock 1949:66). When the term, clan, appears in this paper, it refers to a matrilocal and matrilineal descent group only. Later in this chapter, it will be shown that the term, clan, is unapplicable to the descent groups that are found in this region, in the strictest usage of the term by Murdock. The term, phratry, refers to a group of two or more sibs which recognize a conventional unilinear bond of kinship (Murdock 1949:47).

There are five significant aspects of the northern Athapaskan descent groups. Each of them will be discussed separately. They are: (1) the distribution of the sibs and moieties; (2) the clans underlying some of the sibs and moieties; (3) the exogamous norm; (4) the ranking of the sibs and moieties; (5) and the intertribal nature of the sibs and moieties.

I. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SIBS AND MOIETIES

The distribution of the sibs and moieties is fairly straightforward. Starting from south to north, we find that the Tlingit style of moiety system, in which the moieties are named Wolf and Raven or Eagle and Raven, is found among the Tahltan (Teit 1913:484, Jenness 1932:373), Inland Tlingit (also called the Teslin and Atlin) (McClellan 1961:110), eastern bands of the Kaska (Honigmann 1954:84), Tagish (McClellan 1950:77), Southern Tutchone (McClellan 1950:49), Eyak (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:123) and the Tutchone (McClellan 1969:115).

The peoples immediately to the north and east of this group have a somewhat different form of social organization. At the time they were studied (1929 to 1930), the Upper Tanana had a simple moiety system. However, it appears that a third sib once existed, at some time in the past, on a coordinate basis with the other two sibs (McKenna 1959:123). On the coast, the Tanaina have a moiety system which departs from the Tlingit pattern, in that the moieties are not named and have no distinguishing crests (Osgood 1937:128).

For the Atna, Han, Tanana and Koyukon there are no complete ethnographies. However, some information is available. Slobodin (personal communication) reports that the Han have three sibs. Evidence seems to indicate that the upper Koyukon also have three sibs (Jette 1906:402, Clark: personal communication), as do the Tanana (McKenna 1969:107-8). In southern Alaska, the Atna have ten matrilineal sibs. In the middle Copper River area, the sibs are grouped into two larger units which are called moieties by McClellan. On the upper Copper River, however, the sibs are grouped into three unnamed larger units which McClellan refers to as phratries. Elsewhere, among the Atna of Mentasta Lake, the sibs are not grouped into larger units (McClellan 1961:105).

For the most northerly of the Athapaskans, the Kutchin, much good information is available. A three sib system is the usual Kutchin form of social organization. The Chandalar Kutchin (McKenna 1965:60), the Vunta (Vanta) Kutchin (Leechman 1954:27, Balikci 1963:23), the Crow River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:107) and the Peel River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:107, Slobodin 1962:44) have all been observed by modern ethnographers to have three sibs.

It should be mentioned that there are two Athapaskan peoples in this area who do not have sibs or clans. They are the Ingalik and the lower Koyukon Indians of the lower Yukon and Koyukuk Rivers who have bilateral systems (McClellan 1964:8).

This distribution lends some weight to the hypothesis that matriliney among the northern Athapaskans is a result of diffusion from the coast. The peoples who have Tlingit style moieties are, for the most part, those whose territory is contiguous to that of the Tlingit, a non-Athapaskan people. These peoples are the Eyak, Inland Tlingit (Teslin and Atlin), Tagish and the Southern Tutchone. The Tutchone and the eastern bands of the Kaska are adjacent to those Athapaskans who do have Tlingit style moieties.

The three sib system is found to the north of those Athapaskans who have the Tlingit style moieties. The Athapaskans who have the three sib system are the Han, Tanana, the upper Koyukon and all of the Kutchin peoples.

The Upper Tanana live between these two blocks. They also have characteristics of both of these blocks in their social organization. It appears that they once had three sibs (McKenna 1959:123). On the other hand, since then, they have associated the remaining two sibs with the wolf and the raven (McKenna 1959:127). This appears to be an attempt to equate the two sibs with the Southern Tutchone moieties (McKenna 1969:107).

The Atna and the Tanaina, in southern Alaska, appear to stand apart from both those Athapaskans who have Tlingit style moieties and those who have three sibs. This point will be dealt with later in this paper.

It should be noted that the bilateral Athapaskans of Alaska, the Ingalik and the upper Koyukon, are those who are the farthest away from the Tlingit. Their access to the south coast of Alaska is blocked by the Tanaina and the Eskimo, and they live the farthest down the Yukon waterway of all the Athapaskans.

II. ATHAPASKAN DESCENT GROUP STRUCTURE

Smaller matrilineal descent groups than moieties have been detected among some of the peoples in the area and these have usually been described as clans. Such groups have been reported among the Southern Tutchone, Tagish and Inland Tlingit by McClellan (1950). McKennan (1959) has also reported the existence of such smaller matrilineal descent groups among the Upper Tanana and Osgood (1937) has reported such groups among the Tanaina.

The Southern Tutchone are involved in the Tlingit system of smaller matrilineal descent groups. Some of the Champagne band of the Southern Tutchone, who belong to the Crow moiety, are members of the Ganaxte'di descent group which has two ceremonial houses, tewa'hit or Mountain Sheep House and gluk'wahit or Snake House, in the town of Champagne. In the Wolf moiety at Champagne, there are some people who belong to the Cankukedi and Dak-uwedi descent groups. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that the names of these two descent groups seem to be used interchangeably (McClellan 1950:50). The names of these smaller matrilineal descent groups are Tlingit and there are no Southern Tutchone equivalents for them (McClellan 1950:51).

In McClellan's (1950:52) opinion, the evidence indicates that such affiliations to these descent groups that exist were brought in through intermarriage with either coastal or inland Tlingit women during the nineteenth century.

McClellan (1950:54) believes that only a few Southern Tutchone acquired an affiliation to these smaller matrilineal descent groups even when interaction with the coastal people was greatest. This period was from about 1840 to 1870. Since that time, the affiliations of the Southern Tutchone to these smaller descent groups have become progressively weaker. Both the Ganaxte'di and the Dak-uwedi descent group is found in Klukwan, a nearby Tlingit village (McClellan 1950:101).

The Tagish have the smaller matrilineal descent groups as well as the Tlingit moiety system (McClellan 1950:101). McClellan's informants specifically stated that the Tlingit smaller matrilineal descent groups found among the Tagish were the result of frequent meeting of the Tlingit with the Tagish and attendant intermarriage (McClellan 1950:77). The two most important smaller descent groups among the Tagish are the Dak-uwedi and the TukRedi (McClellan 1950:101).

In addition, McClellan (1950:110) reports the following smaller Tlingit matrilineal descent groups among the Teslin; the Yendi, the Cankukedi, and the Dak-uwedi. It should be noted, however, that McClellan's informants, among both the Teslin and the Tagish, gave an appalling number of contradictory statements about the naming of smaller matrilineal descent groups and about the membership of individuals in these smaller descent groups (McClellan 1950:91-92).

The Upper Tanana have smaller matrilineal descent groups also. The neltcin moiety is divided into four of these smaller matrilineal descent groups, the neltcin, the thikagiyu, the atsan'ine and the niau. It appears that the niau descent group once functioned as a third sib, but now its members consider it to be part of the neltcin moiety (McKenna 1959:124). The tcion moiety is divided into two smaller matrilineal descent groups, the tcizu and the nitcelyu (McKenna 1959:125).

The Tanaina moieties, which are unnamed, also contain a number of smaller matrilineal descent groups. The first moiety, called moiety A by Osgood, contained ten or eleven of these smaller descent groups. The second moiety, called Moiety B by Osgood, contained four or five of these smaller descent groups at the time of his study (1931) (Osgood 1937:128-129).

Moiety A contains the ciayi, noxi, niciayi, q'aaxdana, q'axali, qali, q'aa'yi, qinalaxodana, degengaxodana and the yodeyeyalcina descent groups. Moiety B consists of the nelcina, telcina, caldana, degagiyi and the yogekneyolcina descent groups (Osgood 1937:128).

There are a number of interesting features about these smaller northern Athapaskan matrilineal descent groups. The most remarkable feature about them is their vagueness.

Osgood, in a discussion of the names of these Tanaina descent groups, noted that while there was a general agreement among his informants on the number of these descent groups in Moiety A, no one informant could remember more than half of their names (Osgood 1937:128).

McKenna (1959:124), commenting on these smaller matrilineal descent groups among the Upper Tanana, noted that the groupings of these descent groups were so vague that many of the younger men did not know which one they belonged to and simply considered themselves to be members of a moiety.

Among the Champagne band of the Southern Tutchone, McClellan found that not all of the band members belonged to one of these smaller matrilineal descent groups.

McClellan, referring to these smaller descent groups as clans, makes the following observation:

"In fact, the idea of a clan system as it operates on the coast was apparently quite foreign to several Southern Tutchone whom we questioned, and did not seem of particular interest to those who did know of it. We learned more about the existence of the Southern Tutchone clans from the people of Carcross (a Tagish village) and Teslin than we did from the Southern Tutchone themselves (McClellan 1950:51)."

This does not hold true for the Tagish. The smaller Tlingit descent groups and their accompanying traditions are still quite strong among the Tagish (McClellan 1950:77). However, even here there was some disagreement. Some informants contradicted others in their statements about these smaller matrilineal descent groups (McClellan 1950:93).

McClellan noted that the whole social culture of the Teslin is more strongly Tlingit than elsewhere in the southern Yukon. As a result, the Teslin are more conscious of membership in these smaller matrilineal descent groups than the Tagish (McClellan 1950:110).

Except for the Teslin and the Tagish, the northern Athapaskans are only vaguely aware of these smaller matrilineal descent groups.

Another feature of these smaller matrilineal descent groups is their lack of what Murdock (1949:68) calls "residential unity".

Not all of the Upper Tanana reside matrilocally. McKennan noted that there is no marked tendency for a man to settle down in his wife's band. In fact, according to McKennan's figures, only 34.6% of the married men were residing in their wife's band at the time of his study. Even if the marriages contracted between men and women of the same band (19.2% of the total number of marriages) are considered to be matrilocal, this by no means indicates uniform matrilocal residence (McKennan 1959:119). In fact, McKennan states that the place of residence of none of the Upper Tanana married couples is permanent. The Upper Tanana bands have quite fluid membership (McKennan 1959:120). In view of Murdock's (1949:68) view that residential unity cannot exist if the residence rule is inconsistent with that of descent, which it is in this instance, it can be seen that the smaller Upper Tanana matrilineal descent groups do not have residential unity.

The Tanaina do not appear to have permanent matrilocal residence. Osgood's description of Tanaina residence is slightly ambiguous, but it does not indicate permanent matrilocal residence.

In the case of a rich man who makes large gifts, the girl goes to his residence immediately, but ordinarily the suitor joins the girl's family for one to five years, exercising the privileges of a husband but at the same time giving his support to the aid of his wife's people. After that period he can move as he chooses (Osgood 1937:164).

Consequently, the Tanaina also lack residential unity.

The Southern Tutchone residence rule is quite inconsistent with the presence of matrilineal descent groups. Here, after performing two years of bride service and after giving some marriage gifts to the bride's mother, patrilocal residence is the rule (McClellan 1950:61). The Southern Tutchone also lack residential unity.

However, not all of the interior peoples lack residential unity. McClellan gives a brief description of Teslin residence.

As with the Atna, after a period of bride service which might last for two years, the young husband continued to look out for his wife's parents, giving them meat and furs and usually travelling with them until their deaths. He then usually took his bride to live with his own close kin (McClellan 1961:113).

The Teslin come close to having residential unity, but because the matrilocality residence is continued only until the death of the wife's parents, it cannot be called permanent matrilocality residence. Since the young couple can usually be expected to outlive the bride's parents, residence is patrilocal in the end. In addition, there is no indication given here that all of the daughters and their husbands have to remain with the old couple until their deaths, although this may have been the case.

McClellan gives a more detailed description of residence among the Atna.

A young couple was obliged to care for the wife's parents until their deaths, especially if the wife were their youngest daughter. This meant that residence patterns after marriage were prevaillingly matrilocality for the first two years - until a younger sister of the wife married and her husband then took over the care of her parents, or until a married brother returned to his father's band and relieved his brother-in-law of the task. Often the youngest daughter and her husband cared for the old couple until they died. After his release from living with his wife's parents, the husband usually took his family to live with his own band, but arrangements were always fluid. An eldest nephew who had married his mother's brother's daughter might remain with her group as his uncle's heir. Whatever the ultimate place of residence, the son-in-law had a long period of bride service and living with his parents-in-law (McClellan 1961:108-9).

The Atna do not have residential unity, although they do have much more matrilocal residence than the Upper Tanana, Southern Tutchone or the Tanaina.

Although matrilineal descent groups smaller than moieties are reported for both the Tahltan (Jenness 1932:370-6) and the Tagish (McClellan 1950:101), no reliable information on residence practices is available for either of them.

Since residential unity must be present if a group is to be called a clan (Murdock 1949:68), the term clan can not be applied to the Southern Tutchone, Upper Tanana, Tanaina or Atna groupings, if we follow Murdock's usage of the term. Consequently, the term sib will be used instead of the term clan when referring to these smaller matrilineal descent groups.

III. SIB AGAMY

Another feature of the northern Athapaskan sibs is that they are only nominally exogamous. Many scholars have mentioned this point.

This phenomenon is well documented among the Kutchin. Slobodin (1962:45) states that the Peel River Kutchin sibs are not strictly exogamous. Osgood (1936:107), also writing on the Peel River people, stated that marriage within the sib was frequent.

Among the Vunta Kutchin, Balikci noticed that sib exogamy was not rigidly enforced. He also regards the tendieratsia sib as a convenient way of classifying the descendants of sib endogamous marriages (Balikci 1963:23). Leechman's Vunta Kutchin informants told him that many marriages took place in recent years between members of the same sib, even though it was considered, in the abstract at least, to be incest (Leechman 1954:27).

Osgood noted that the Crew River Kutchin sibs are only theoretically exogamous. Some people had married within their sibs and there was no strong feeling against this (Osgood 1936:122).

McKenna, writing on the Chandalar Kutchin, observed that at the time of his study (1933), the bulk of the population belonged to the jitsa sib and as a result, most of the marriages took place within the jitsa sib. The children that resulted from these marriages were considered to be jitsa and not tenjeratsai (McKenna 1956:61).

This sib agamy does not appear to be a recent development. Hardisty, one of the first to write on the Kutchin in the mid-nineteenth century observed:

A Chit-sangh cannot by their rules, marry a Chit-sangh, although the rule is set at naught occasionally; but when it does take place the persons are ridiculed and laughed at. The man is said to have married his sister, even though she may be from another tribe and there be not the slightest connection by blood between them (Hardisty 1867:315).

Mr. Strachan Jones, who, like Hardisty, was a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, and who wrote on the Kutchin at the same time observed as follows:

"All the Kutchin are divided into three castes, called, respectively, Tchit-che-ah, Tenge-ratesey, and Nat-sah-i. It used to be customary for a man belonging to one of these castes to take a wife from one of the others, but this has fallen into disuse. (Jones 1867:326)."

Sib endogamous marriages also occur among the Upper Tanana. McKenna noticed that at two villages, Tetling and Lower Nabesna, one of the Upper Tanana moieties, the icion was almost extinct. As a result, most of the

Indians belonged to the neltcin moiety.

Here, instead of marrying into another moiety, the people married into another sib. These marriages were, according to McKennan, exceptional and required public approval before they could be contracted (McKennan 1959:119).

Towards the southern part of the area, the idea of sib exogamy appears to be more firmly entrenched.

Among the Southern Tutchone, even in modern times, marriages between people of the same moiety are strongly condemned (McClellan 1950:50).

On the coast, among the Eyak, a couple who married within their own moiety would be completely ostracized. In fact, Birket-Smith and De Laguna could not find any marriages in which the rule of moiety exogamy had been broken (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:131).

Sapir (1915:41) reports that among the Tlingit, a non-Athapaskan people, moiety exogamy was strictly enforced.

The strictness of moiety exogamy could not be determined for any of the other northern Athapaskans. However, it appears that as one moves northward and farther from the coast, sib exogamy becomes weaker.

McClellan (1964:8) also believes that sib exogamy is less absolute in the interior than on the coast.

On the basis of the data available, it appears that moiety exogamy is taken much more seriously by those Athapaskans who have the Tlingit style moiety system than by those who have the three sib system.

IV. INTERTRIBAL NATURE OF THE SIBS

One important feature of the northern Athapaskan sibs is the fact that the same sib or moiety is often found among different peoples. In addition, some peoples equate the sibs and moieties found among themselves with the descent groups of the surrounding peoples.

Of the ten sibs found among the Atna, six are found among the neighbouring Tanaina, and of these, two were known to informants among the Tanana and the Tena (Koyukon) (McClellan 1961:105 footnote #8).

McKenna's informants among the Chandalar Kutchin equated the natsai sib of the Chandalar Kutchin with the Crow or neltsin sib of the Han, Healy River (Tanana) and the Upper Tanana, and with the Crow or andit moiety of the Tutchone.

They also equated the jitsa sib of the Chandalar Kutchin with the Sea Gull or jitsil sib of the Han, the jiteilyu sib of the Healy River (Tanana) and the Wolf or agudene moiety of the Tutchone (McKenna 1965:61).

It is interesting to note that the Chandalar Kutchin informants did not see a discontinuity between the three sib system of the Kutchin peoples and the Tlingit style moiety system of the Tutchone. Two of the sibs among the peoples who had three sibs were associated with animals and equated with the appropriate moiety among the Tutchone. It should be noted that the third sib among the Chandalar Kutchin, the tengeratsai, could not be equated with a Tutchone moiety (McKenna 1965:61).

Sibs and moieties often came into play in dealings among different Athapaskan peoples.

Among the Kaska, a captive woman would not be married by her captor, unless she was a member of the opposite moiety (Honigmann 1954:131).

When the Chandalar Kutchin men visited other bands, they could get a hospitable reception from a member of the same sib or another relative (McKenna 1965:54).

Among the Upper Tanana, warfare was waged along sib lines. Usually, it was confined to sibs or families, but occasionally concerted action was taken against a neighbouring group (McKenna 1959:95).

When fighting neighbouring peoples who shared their sib system, the Upper Tanana warriors would kill only those enemies who belonged to the same sib as themselves. If an Upper Tanana warrior killed an enemy from a different sib, he would have to pay a compensation to the Upper Tanana who belonged to the same sib as the slain enemy (McKenna 1959:96). However, further north among the eastern Kutchin (Peel River and Arctic Red River Kutchin), there is no indication that matrilineal sibs were a significant consideration in warfare (Slobodin 1960:80).

Matrilineal sibs were part of the structure of trading parties among the Peel River Kutchin (Slobodin 1962:73).

CHAPTER III

TRADE ROUTES

I. TLINGIT PENETRATION OF THE INTERIOR

It will be seen that a system of trade routes connected nearly all of Alaska and the Yukon. Much of the interior was accessible to the Tlingit themselves. The Tlingit made incursions into the interior in at least five places along the coast. From south to north they were: the Stikine River, the Taku River, the Chilkoot Pass, the Chilkat Pass and Dry Bay.

The Stikine River was the route by which the Tlingit traded with the Tahltan and the Kaska Indians. In this trade, the Tahltan served as middlemen between the Tlingit and the Kaska (Dawson 1889: 193-4, Jenness 1932:372). The Tlingit who lived at the mouth of the Stikine River, made three or four trips a year to a trading place sixty miles from Dease Lake, in Tahltan territory, and fifty miles from the coast (Krause 1956:136).

The Tlingit who traded up the Taku River, appear to have obtained their furs from the interior Indians at the following locations: Teslin Lake,

the Cassiar district of British Columbia and the area between the headwaters of the Taku River and Dease Lake (McClellan 1950:207). These areas are in the territory of the Teslin, Kaska and Tahltan Indians (McClellan 1950: map 1).

The Chilkoot Tlingit controlled the trade going through the Chilkoot Pass. The Chilkoot Pass lead to Lake Bennet and Tagish Lake (Olson 1936:211), which were in the territory of the Tagish Indians (McClellan 1950: map 1). The Tagish, in turn, traded with the Indians to the north along the Ross and Pelly Rivers (McClellan 1950:143). Since these two rivers are in the territory of the Tutchone (McClellan 1950: map 1), it is reasonable to assume that the Tagish were trading with the Tutchone Indians.

The Chilkat Tlingit travelled up the Chilkat River and traded with the interior peoples (Krause 1956:137). The Chilkat Tlingit actively traded as far inland as the Yukon valley (Krause 1956:134). A trader named Campbell employed the Chilkat inland traders to carry a letter from Selkirk, on the upper Yukon River, to the captain of a Hudson's Bay Company ship anchored in the Lynn Canal, on the coast (McClellan 1950:180).

However, not all of the Chilkat traders went so far afield and the Southern Tutchone became middlemen in their own right in trade with the interior peoples (McClellan 1950:137). The Chilkat traded at Kasawa Lake with the interior people (Olsen 1936:211). Since Kasawa Lake is in Southern Tutchone territory (McClellan 1950: map 1), it is probable that the Chilkat traded with the Southern Tutchone at this place.

The Chilkat Pass also gave the Tlingit access to the Tagish Indians. It appears that both the Chilkat and the Chilkoot traded with the Tagish, but the Tagish rarely bothered to discriminate between the two groups (McClellan 1950:140).

Even though it is customary to refer to the "Chilkat" and the "Chilkoot" passes, McClellan has pointed out that there were a number of trails which lead from the territory of the Chilkat and the Chilkoot over the mountains and into the interior. She also believes that many of these trails were used in aboriginal times (McClellan 1950:262).

The Chilkat Tlingit also made use of the Alsek River which emptied into Dry Bay as another trade route into the interior.

The Chilkat used this route in order to trade at the Southern Tutchone town of Klukshu (McClellan 1950:203).

In addition to this, the Tlingit traded with their immediate neighbours to the north, the Eyak, who lived on the coast at the mouth of the Copper River (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:149).

The Tlingit, or their middlemen, traded with every people who had the Tlingit style moiety system. These people were the Southern Tutchone, the Tutchone, the Tagish, the Tahltan, the western Kaska and the Eyak.

II. TRADE DOWN THE YUKON

A glance at McClellan's map (1950: map 1), will reveal that many tributaries of the Yukon River flow through the territory of the Tutchone, Southern Tutchone and Kaska Indians. Leechman has pointed out an "old Indian trail" which went along the Liard and Francis Rivers and over into the Pelly River which flows into the Yukon (Leechman 1946:386). This route begins in the territory of the Frances Lake Kaska and the Tutchone before it reaches the Yukon River (McClellan 1950: map 1).

It is probable that this trail was used as a trade route. The peoples to the south could reach these Yukon tributaries. There was a well blazed trail which lead from Tagish territory to a place on the Pelly River where the trading post called Pelly Banks was located (McClellan 1950:146). It appears that both the Tagish and the Teslin Indians traded with the Indians who lived on the Ross River and in the vicinity of the trading post of Pelly Banks (Tutchone) (McClellan 1950:153).

Farther down the Yukon and immediately to the north of the Tutchone, the Han Indians regularly traded at Fort Yukon (Dall 1877:32). Alexander Murray (1910:59-61) describes the Han Indians trading at Fort Yukon. The Han appear to have traded along the Yukon from Selkirk, in Tutchone territory, to Fort Yukon. They also carried mail between these two posts (McClellan 1950:214). One of the Han Indians (*gens du fou*) who traded at Fort Yukon had been to the upper part of the Pelly River and gave Alexander Murray a very good description of the region (Murray 1910:61). Fort Yukon is downstream from the Han and in the territory of the Kutcha-Kutchin (McClellan 1950: map 1).

Before Fort Yukon was built, the Han traded at a Hudson's Bay Company post on the Peel River (Murray 1910:52).

The Kutcha-Kutchin were very active traders (Jones 1869:324). In fact, trade was so active that one early observer thought that the Kutcha-Kutchin were a people who lived essentially by trade rather than by hunting (Hardisty 1869:311).

Some of the Chandalar Kutchin (gens du large) also travelled up the Yukon River to trade at Fort Yukon (Murray 1910:62).

A tributary of the Yukon River, the Porcupine River was also used as a trade route. It was this route that the western Kutchin used in order to trade with the Eskimo of the ^oMcKenzie River Delta (Leechman 1954:26). There was also some trade down the Porcupine River towards the Yukon.

The Vunta Kutchin carried caribou skins and dried fish downstream and traded them for spears and birchbark canoes with trading parties that came up the Porcupine River (Leechman 1954:26).

A trade route is reported to have passed through the territory of the Koyukon Indians. This route started on the Tanana River, went down the Yukon River to Nulato and then up the Koyukuk River to the territory of the Chandalar Kutchin.

Dentalium shells, copper, iron and beads were said to have reached the Chandalar Kutchin first by this route (McKenna 1965:23-4).

There was some trading done by the Ingalik who lived on the Kuskokwim River and the lower reaches of the Yukon River. Mr. W. H. Dall, an early writer on the Athapaskan peoples gives an interesting description of trading on the lower Yukon:

On the Yukon, the southernmost settlements live principally their abundant fisheries, and trade dry fish, wooden ware, in making which they are very expert, and strong birch canoes, with the Upper Yukon and Shageluk people (Dall 1877:26).

The "Upper Yukon" people referred to by Mr. Dall are probably the Ingalik who lived farther up the Yukon, rather than the Koyukon Indians.

Osgood, who conducted research among the Ingalik during the summer of 1937, noted that there was much more trade between the Ingalik Indians and the Eskimo, than between the Ingalik and the Koyukon Indians.

Osgood stated that trade between the Koyukon and the Ingalik was very casual because the Koyukon did not use the wooden bowls which were the main trade goods of the Ingalik. In addition, the Koyukon conducted their own trade with the Eskimo, with the result that the Ingalik could not act as middlemen in

trade between the Eskimo and the Koyukon. In fact, the Ingalik and the Koyukon were competitors in the trade with the Eskimo (Osgood 1958:63).

It is significant that the upper Koyukon are the last people on the Yukon River to have matrilineal kin groups. Starting at the source of the Yukon, matrilineal kin groups are found only as far downstream as trade is carried on.

II. TRADE IN SOUTHERN ALASKA

There was considerable trading activity in southern Alaska and the adjoining section of the Yukon.

The Southern Tutchone traded at the Donjek River with either the Tutchone or the Upper Tanana Indians (McClellan 1950:134). The Southern Tutchone also appear to have traded with the Atna to the west (McClellan 1950:215). Dall (1887:32) identifies the Tutchone as the Indians with whom the Atna traded at the headwaters of the Atna and the Chechitno Rivers.

McKenna (1959:21) mentions that the Upper Tanana obtained goods from the coast by trading with the Kluane to the east. The Kluane Indians mentioned by McKenna are undoubtedly the Southern Tutchone. Kluane Lake is in the territory that McClellan (1950: map 1) has shown to be occupied by the Southern Tutchone.

The Upper Tanana very probably had trading relations with the Atna also. McKennan noted that there was much interaction between the Atna and the Upper Tanana Indians (McKennan 1959:21).

The Atna were involved in much trading. McClellan makes a statement which implies a rather close trading relationship between the Tlingit and the Atna.

In general the Chilkat seem to have gotten more copper from the Copper River of Alaska than from the Yukon, even though the Upper Tanana and White Rivers were well recognized sources of the metal (McClellan 1950:178).

Aurel Krause (1956:127), also states that the Copper River was a source of native copper for the Tlingit.

Besides the overland route, the Tlingit also had access to the Copper River area where the Atna lived, by coastal trade. The Tlingit traded with the Eyak Indians who were their immediate neighbours to the north and who lived on the Copper River delta (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:149). The Eyak, in turn, traded with the Atna who lived upstream (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:150). The Atna occasionally traded with the Tlingit themselves at the mouth of the Copper River (McClellan 1961:105).

The Tanaina, who lived immediately to the west of the Atna, were also active traders. The Tanaina who lived at the upper reaches of Cook Inlet, often went to the Copper River area to trade for native copper with the Atna (Osgood 1932:75). There was also much trade between the Tanaina and the Tanana Indians to the north (Osgood 1932:75, Dall 1877:35). The Tanaina also traded with the neighbouring Eskimo along the coast (Osgood 1932:74). In addition to the foreign trade, there was much trading among the different Tanaina villages (Osgood 1932:74).

The Tanana Indians were the middlemen in trading between southern Alaska and the Yukon River. They travelled down the Tanana River to the Yukon River. W. H. Dall gives the following account of Tanana trading:

Once a year without their women, they descended the Tanana in birch canoes in full accoutrement of pointed coats, feathers and ochered hair, to trade at the neutral ground of Nuklukayet; or, failing to be pleased there, ascend the Yukon to Fort Yukon and awaited the arrival of the annual bateau (Dall 1877:29).

McKenna (1965:25) has already noted that the Chandalar Kutchin obtained trade goods from the coastal Indians, presumably the Tanaina, and that the Indians along the lower Tanana River (Tanana) acted as middlemen in this trade.

The Tanana also carried on some trade with the Han Indians to the east (Dall 1877:30). The Han, in turn, traded with the Russians on the coast and with the intervening Indians (Murray 1910:82).

The Tanana did not appear to have carried on very much trade with the Upper Tanana Indians because rapids in the upper Tanana River made navigation difficult (McKenna 1959:23).

It should be noted that southern Alaska was the region in which trading was the most active and where the largest number of sibs is found. At least ten matrilineal sibs are found among the Atna (McClellan 1961:105) and about fifteen were found among the Tanaina (Osgood 1932:128) at the time of Osgood's research among them (1931-2). A list of sib names made by Wrangel, an early Russian explorer, some time before 1839 reveals only ten sibs (Osgood 1932:129). The Upper Tanana had about four sibs at the time of McKenna's study (1929-30) and appear to have had six more sibs which had animal associations at a previous time (McKenna 1959:127). It is possible that there were more sibs among the Upper Tanana and the Tanaina during the latter half of the nineteenth century than either before or after that period. This is only tentative, however, because of the scarcity of information on the area.

An interesting feature of the Atna sibs is that on the middle of the Copper River, where the Atna are most likely to have traded with the Tlingit and the Syak, the sibs are grouped into two moieties. On the upper Copper River, where the Atna are most likely to have traded with the Upper Tanana, the Atna sibs are grouped into three phratries (McClellan 1961:105).

In general, it can be said that the interior area which is connected to the Tlingit territory by trade routes, roughly corresponds to that in which matrilineal descent groups are found. However, the Eskimo who trade with the Indians having matrilineal descent groups have not become matrilineal.

CHAPTER IV

TRADE PRACTICES

I will now examine the part that matrilineal descent groups played in trade. I will do this by first describing the part that matrilineal descent groups played in the Tlingit method of trading and then examining the trading practices of the more northerly peoples, and the intermarriage which resulted from these practices.

I. TLINGIT TRADING PRACTICES

The Tlingit trading parties that went into the interior were organized along sib lines. The Tlingit traders were house chiefs and they ordinarily used younger men from their own households as packers for their goods. These were his sister's sons or other fellow sib members (Olson 1936:211-12). Each trader had from four to ten younger men to pack his goods (Olson 1936:211-12, McClellan 1950:126). The leader of the trading party was a chief of one of the sibs that was said to own the trail into the interior that the trading party was to follow. The Chilkat Pass was said to have been owned by one sib from each moiety.

The Chilkeet Pass, on the other hand, was said to have been owned by one sib of the Raven moiety (Olson 1936:211).

The trading party usually totalled one hundred or more men (Olson 1936:212, McClellan 1950:126). Each Tlingit trader had a trading partner among the Athapaskans who was always a member of the same sib as the trader (Olson 1936:212).

If each Tlingit trader had from four to ten packers, there would be from nine to twenty traders in a Tlingit trading party of one hundred men. Each of these traders would have a trading partner among the Athapaskans at the trading place who was a fellow sib mate. Since the Athapaskans who were trading partners of the Tlingit traders have been described as "elders" (Olson 1936:212), it is probable that they were the older and more influential men among the Athapaskans.

Tlingit trading parties, in all probability, were made up of traders who belonged to both moieties. Members of both moieties had the right to trade over the Chilkat Pass because that pass was said to be owned by two sibs which belonged to different moieties.

Even if the pass into the interior was owned by one sib, as in the case of the Chilkoot Pass, relatives by marriage who were necessarily members of the opposite moiety, could not well be refused permission to participate in the trading (Olson 1936:211).

The sib affiliations of the Athapaskan trading partners of the Tlingit were undoubtedly well known to the other Athapaskans. When a Tlingit trading party reached the trading place in the interior, they arranged themselves in a straight line. Then the Athapaskans lined up opposite the Tlingit in such a way that the Tlingit trader and his Athapaskan trading partner were facing each other (Olson 1936:212). The trader and his packers then went to this trading partner's house and lived there during the trade meeting (Olson 1936:212, McClellan 1950:127-8). The Tlingit trader expected to and did trade with the same Athapaskan trading partner every year (McClellan 1950:129).

There was much opportunity for social interaction during the trading. The Tlingit language was spoken by the Athapaskans with whom the Tlingit traded. The Southern Tutchone became fairly familiar with the Tlingit language during the nineteenth century (McClellan 1950:129).

Even today, Tlingit is the common language of the Tagish (McClellan 1950:100) and the Teslin (McClellan 1950:121). Shortly after the arrival of the Tlingit traders, the Tlingit and the Athapaskans ate a meal together (Olson 1936:212, McClellan 1950:127). They also feasted together after the trading was completed (Olson 1936:213). Before the serious trading began, the Tlingit and their Athapaskan hosts played games together for two or three days. During and after these games, the Tlingit men paired off with the Athapaskan women and "took them into the bush" (Olson 1936:213). There was also feasting, speechmaking and an exchange of songs and stories after the trading was completed (Olson 1936:213-4).

The Tlingit idea that social status depended on wealth was reflected in their trading practices. Among the Tlingit, the young men carried the packs of trade goods which belonged to the older and richer men (Olson 1936:211, McClellan 1950:139). The Tlingit traders themselves, did not carry any packs (McClellan 1950:126). Among both the Tlingit and the Athapaskans, the young men who had no formal trading partners were not permitted to take part in the formal trade exchanges.

At best, they could only exchange a few items semi-secretly (Olson 1936:213). It appears that the Tlingit believed that people should trade only with their social equals. At the end of the trade meeting, the time and the place of the next trade meeting was arranged (Olson 1936:214).

In spite of the social activities that took place during the trade meetings, the Tlingit viewed trade with the interior peoples as a quick source of wealth and they had a reputation for being greedy (Olson 1936:214). The Tlingit had an intense interest in bargaining (Krause 1956:130). In addition, they were inclined to be belligerent and to cheat any foreigners with whom they traded. Robert Campbell, an early trader in the north, makes an illuminating observation on the Tlingit method of doing business:

I may add that such a thing as fair dealing was unknown among the Chilkats, and whose motto was "might is right" and who were civil only when they were the weaker party (McClellan 1950:181).

The Tlingit had a habit of repudiating a deal after it had been made and taking the goods back (McClellan 1950:191-92, Krause 1956:130).

II. INTERIOR TRADING PRACTICES

The Athapaskans of the interior appear to have had the same methods of trading as the Tlingit.

Trading partnerships are found among the Athapaskans of the interior. The Teslin had trading partners among the Pelly Banks Indians (Tutchone) (McClellan 1950:154). McClellan (1950:149) states trading partnerships very probably existed between the Tagish and the Pelly Banks Indians (Tutchone). The various Kutchin peoples and the Han traded through a system of trading partners who were always members of the same sib (Slobodin 1962:59).

McClellan gives a summary of trading practices in the interior which shows some similarity to the Tlingit trading customs:

When the northern Indians went trading, they usually dressed in their best clothing before entering the post. A chief would often send an emissary ahead to announce his arrival and to collect the present of tobacco which the post manager was expected to provide. A long initial harangue by the leader of the trading party, dancing, singing and gambling were other accompanying features of trading expeditions in the interior (McClellan 1950:213-4)

Like the Tlingit, the Kutchin had an intense interest in bargaining which was combined with some greed.

William Hardisty gives an account of the Kutchin way of doing business:

They would not part with half a dozen common beads for nought, and are keenly alive to the ridicule attached to a bad bargainer. They will harangue and protest for days against what they consider (all honesty and honour apart, of course) an inadequate payment for what they give. They will have recourse to every subterfuge, even intimidation, to have the best of a bargain, and will do all in their power to fleece their opponent and boast of it afterwards (Hardisty 1867:314).

The Koyukon were also given to repudiating their bargains and taking their goods back (Jette 1906:407).

The rich men among the Atna were disgusted when they saw the leader of an American expedition carrying a pack and pulling on its rope (Allen 1887:266).

The behaviour of the two bands of Yukon River Indians (probably Kutcha-Kutchin) when they arrived at Alexander Murray's camp on the Porcupine River bears some resemblance to the Tlingit trading practices. When the first party arrived its leader started out by making a long speech. Murray then gave each of them a gift of some tobacco and the Indians formed a circle and began to sing and dance very rapidly. After exchanging some powder, ball and tobacco for some fresh meat and dried fish, Murray and his companions waited for the arrival of the second party of Indians with the principal chief.

The next day the second party arrived and after pulling up their canoes, lined up on the bank in "Indian file", the chief in front and the women and children in the rear. They danced forward until they were in front of Murray's tent. Then, the first party of Indians joined them and they formed a large circle with the two chiefs in the centre. They sang and danced for over half an hour (Murray 1910:46-7). After some discussions about trading the Indian chiefs made some more long speeches. Then the singing and dancing started up again and continued throughout the night until the next morning (Murray 1910:49).

III. TRADE AND MARRIAGE

Intermarriage between the Tlingit and the various Athapaskan peoples was, to a very great extent, the result of trading contacts. The Southern Tutchone acquired their sib affiliations through intermarriage with the Tlingit. This usually took the form of a Tlingit woman marrying a Southern Tutchone man (McClellan 1950:52). Most of this intermarriage with the Tlingit took place when Tlingit trading activity in the interior was at its peak, in the middle of the nineteenth century (McClellan 1950:63-4).

McClellan finds that intermarriage between the Tagish and the Tlingit dates largely from this same time period.

As with the Champagne Southern Tutchone the genealogies show that Tlingit-Athapaskan marriages occurred mostly in the second and third ascending generation when the coastal Tlingit seem to be involved but our data are poor (McClellan 1950:98).

The Teslin Indians appear to have come in from the coast and settled around Lake Teslin sometime during the middle of the nineteenth century (McClellan 1950:123). The origin of the Teslin people is not clear, but these immigrants may have intermarried with a group of Athapaskans already in the Teslin area (McClellan 1950:122).

The most active period of trading, in which the Teslin acted as middlemen between the coastal Tlingit and the interior peoples, seems to have occurred sometime before the year 1880 (McClellan 1950:156). The motivation of the Teslin to move into the interior was based at least partly on the greater availability of furs in the interior. In explaining why their ancestors left the coastal region, one of McClellan's informants said:

It was very dangerous down on the coast and they just got tired of being there. The Indians hate like anything to say the reason why. They hear that there's quite a few game up here and over here is lots of moose and caribou. It was never touched because it was so far inland. So the people came in. The Taku froze up while they were up and they could not get back to Juneau, so they started making trail over the mountains.....
(McClellan 1950:113).

The Tlingit believed that it was advantageous to marry with the Athapaskans. Tlingit men often married Athapaskan women in order to secure greater advantages in trade. These women usually remained with their kinsmen and only saw their husbands once or twice a year (Olson 1936:214). There must have been some advantage in a Tlingit marrying his sister or niece to an Athapaskan. McClellan's genealogies for the Southern Tutchone show more marriages of Tlingit women with Southern Tutchone men than vice versa (McClellan 1950:61).

Among the Tlingit, the arrangements for a daughter's marriage were made by her parents (Krause 1956:153). In this way, it would be possible for a man to marry his daughter to his trading partner. This would not break the rule of moiety exogamy because the Tlingit are a matrilineal society and a man's daughter would be in a different moiety than himself. Since her father's trading partner would be in the same moiety as her father, she could marry her father's trading partner without violating the rule of moiety exogamy. In this way, the father-in-law son-in-law relationship would reinforce the trading partner relationship between the Tlingit and the Athapaskan. Permanent patrilocal residence after marriage was the rule among the Southern Tutchone (McClellan 1950:61). In this way, the girl would stay with the Athapaskan in the interior and pass on her moiety and clan affiliation to her children. This would not conflict with Tlingit custom because the Tlingit were not matrilocal. Among the Tlingit, a man could take his bride to live at his house (Krause 1956:154) and/or his mother's brother's house because the Tlingit are described as being avunculocal (Inglis 1970:157).

It is possible that the bride might feel inclined to look after her husband's trading partnership with her father by discouraging her husband from trading with outsiders, because her husband's trading partnership with her father benefited her mother who was her fellow clanswoman. Olson's informant stated that a Tlingit trader's wife also benefited from her husband's trading activities (Olson 1936:214).

Aurel Krause makes a statement that implies that it was an advantage in trading for the Athapaskans to adopt a Tlingit sib affiliation. Those Athapaskans who had adopted a Tlingit sib affiliation may have been permitted to trade directly with the Europeans on the coast while other Athapaskans were not permitted to do so.

Several times during the winter of 1881 to 1882 these Athapaskans came through the pass laden with the results of their hunting, skins of all kinds, among them beautiful furs of black and silver fox which bring the highest prices. But only one among them, a blood relative of one of the Chilkat chiefs, was allowed to deal directly with the whites, the rest all had to leave their wares with the Chilkat for comparatively low prices (Krause 1956:134).

However, this did not always happen. McClellan cites another work of Aurel Krause and makes a variant observation.

Aurel Krause tells of a few mild and friendly people who had come over the passes laden with skins and furs of all kinds, especially the high priced black and silver foxes. They were connected by blood with one of the head men of the Chilkat, but not one of them was permitted to trade directly with the whites (McClellan 1950:198-199).

These "blood relations" probably refer to Athapaskans who had Tlingit sib affiliations. However, it could refer to Tlingit who had migrated into the interior from the coast.

The Athapaskans were regarded by the Tlingit as a source of wealth (Olson 1936:214, McClellan 1950:199).

There was another good reason why the Tlingit would want to regularize their trading relations with the interior peoples. The interior peoples were nomadic hunters who had to move about a great deal in order to secure enough food for themselves and their families. Sometimes the Tlingit had to roam all over the interior in order to collect enough furs from the nomadic Athapaskans. This was inconvenient for the Tlingit traders and it meant that they had to pack a good supply of dried salmon for food as well as trade goods (McClellan 1950:188).

The Tlingit, however, were able to bind the Athapaskans to them in what was described by Krause as a "sort of contract or patronage relationship" (Krause 1956:137). This relationship consisted of a number of links between individual Tlingit and Athapaskans which included a common moiety membership, a common sib affiliation, trading partnership and at times, a father-in-law son-in-law relationship. Since the Athapaskans were considered by the Tlingit to be a source of wealth, it was advantageous to the Tlingit traders to make individual Athapaskans indebted to them. By arranging trade meetings in advance they could avoid having to travel all over the interior in order to obtain furs. By obligating individual Athapaskans to them, they were assured of having someone in the interior with whom to trade and could prevent him from trading with anyone else.

This pattern of intermarriage being associated with trade was extended by the interior peoples to their neighbours farther north. There was some intermarriage between the Tagish and the Pelly River Indians (Tutchone) when there was much active trading between them (McClellan 1950:148).

For elsewhere in the interior, some intermarriage has been recorded, but it is not stated whether or not it was a result of trade. At about 1750, or perhaps a little later, a Tlingit woman from Wrangell married a Tahltan man and thus introduced a new clan among the Tahltan (Jenness 1932:373, Teit 1912:485). The Tahltan also intermarried to some extent with the Kaska (Callbreath 1889:199). The sister of a Kutcha-Kutchin chief at Fort Yukon was married to a Vanta Kutchin (Murray 1910:57).

However, it cannot be confirmed if the pattern of intermarriage which was the result of trading practices was carried on among the other Athapaskan peoples in the interior. This is largely due to a lack of information on this area.

However, conditions in the interior appear to have been favourable to the spread of matrilineal descent groups.

In the interior, matrilocal residence or a long period of bride service is almost invariably the rule, but very often, this is not a permanent arrangement.

McClellan (1964:9) cites an earlier source which describes the Tahltan residence practices to be a very short period of patrilocal residence followed by an undetermined period of matrilocal residence.

The Kaska, the people with whom the Tahitan intermarried and traded, practiced matrilocal residence after marriage until two or three children were born (Honigmann 1954:332).

Among the Teslin (Inland Tlingit), after a period of bride service which might last for two years, the young husband and his wife usually stayed with the wife's parents until their deaths. Then the husband usually took his wife to live with his own relatives (McClellan 1961:113).

The Southern Tutchone, as already mentioned, had a period of bride service of two years followed by permanent patrilocal residence (McClellan 1950:61).

In the far north, the Kutchin also had matrilocal tendencies. Among the Peel River Kutchin (Slobodin 1963:43), marriages were matrilocal as far as the early years of marriage were concerned, while among the Chandalar Kutchin (McKenna 1965:56), there was a period of initial bride service or matrilocal residence which could last for months or even years. Chandalar Kutchin marriages were predominantly matrilocal (McKenna 1965:52).

To the east of the Southern Tutchone, slightly over one half of the Upper Tanana married couples were residing matrilocally at the time of McKenna's

study (1929-30). However, it was also noted that there were some fluctuation in places of residence and that none of the residence arrangements of the Upper Tanana married couples were permanent (McKenna 1959:120).

The Atnas were matrilocal to the extent that at least one of the children of an old couple, most often a daughter, would remain with their parents after marriage and with their spouse, look after the old couple until their deaths (McClellan 1961:108). This may have varied on certain occasions because Atna family arrangements were always kept very flexible in order to meet changing situations (McClellan 1961:109).

Among the Tanaina, bride service lasted from one to five years. After that the husband could decide where he and his wife would reside (Osgood 1937:164).

From this it can be seen that while a long period of bride service or initial matrilocal residence is common, residence arrangements are fluid and the married couple can often establish themselves in a new locality or with the husband's parents. The initial period of matrilocal residence or bride service could well serve to acquaint the new husband with the importance of his wife's matrilineal descent group.

This combination of initial matrilocal residence or bride service, matrilineal descent groups and the general fluidity of the eventual residence arrangements among the interior peoples could well have facilitated spread of matrilineal descent groups into the interior. A man could take his wife to live in a new area and membership in her matrilineal descent group would be passed on to her children.

CHAPTER V

POTLATCH AND SOCIAL RANKING

The ideas about social ranking and the potlatch feasts which are found among the northwestern Athapaskans should be examined in the light of the trading activities of the interior peoples. Among some peoples, individuals or families were ranked according to their wealth.

The Tlingit, a non-Athapaskan people, ranked the individual families within the sib. These people formed a sort of aristocracy which was based on wealth rather than on birth. The rank of chief was connected with the possession of wealth and, according to custom, was inherited from uncle to nephew. However, this did not always happen and often a new chief was appointed to office when a chief died. The power of a Tlingit chief appears to have been limited and his influence depended upon his personality (Krause 1956:77). Except for the high esteem in which they were held by their fellow tribesmen, the wealthy did not possess many privileges. At feasts, however, they were given the places of honour (Krause 1956:84).

The Tlingit concept of social status was found among both the Champagne and Surwash bands of the Southern Tutchone. The Southern Tutchone do not believe that this has always been a part of their culture. McClellan's informants believed that social distinctions were introduced in their grandparents time and that they have become less important since then (McClellan 1954:57). It can be seen that the Southern Tutchone adopted the social ranking of the Tlingit at the time when trade was most active between the coast and the interior.

Along the coast to the north, the concept of social distinction being based on wealth is also common.

Among the Eyak, the northern neighbours of the Tlingit, there were no special classes of hereditary nobility. The Eyak did, however, have more respect for a wealthy man than for a commoner. In each village there was a moiety chief. He was supposed to be the wealthiest man in his moiety in the village and he held his position for life. Even if a man became richer than the chief he could not take over the chief's position during the latter's lifetime.

The concept of a chief does not appear to be very well developed among the Eyak because they have no name for a chief as distinct from a rich man (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:127). Wealthy men and chiefs were said to have always been distributing property to the poor. It was customary for the families of chiefs to marry into the families of other chiefs but always according to the rule of moiety exogamy (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:128).

Upstream from the Eyak, the Atna appear to have had some system of social ranking based on wealth. An early explorer gives the following account of Atna society:

The social organization seems to be divided into the following classes: tyones, skillies (near relatives of a tyone), shamans, or medicine men, and vassals of varying degrees of servitude. In all assemblies seats are rigidly assigned according to rank, which is well established among them. The tyones would rarely condescend to consider any of us their disgust at seeing the head of our party carrying a pack or pulling at its rope (Allen 1886:266).

This situation is unusual in that shamans are considered a separate class. It is not known to what degree that wealth or heredity played in this ranking, but the Atna can be said to have had some system of ranking or social stratification.

On the coast to the north of the Tlingit, the Tanaina were divided into two social strata which were termed the nobles and the commoners by Osgood. This distinction was based upon wealth (Osgood 1937:131). Osgood believed that in this case, the potlatch functioned to prevent the complete concentration of wealth through the process of redistribution (Osgood 1937:135). In every village, a number of wealthy family groups and their immediate relatives formed a type of aristocracy (Osgood 1937:131). In some villages, one man, often the richest man in the village, was the chief. The chief was spoken of as being in the oldest age group and acted as a paternal guardian who looked after the welfare of the village. One of the chief's duties was to look after the welfare of the poor and to supply them with food and clothing. In return, the poor gave gifts and rendered services to the chief (Osgood 1937:132). The office of chief passed from father to son and then to his son-in-law if the chief did not have a son (Osgood 1937:131).

The Ingalik, who have no trading relations with the Tanaina or any of the other matrilineal societies in the area, do not appear to have any system of ranking which is based on wealth.

Leadership was provided by a council of old men who were concerned with the welfare of the village (Osgood 1958:33). Some men became rich and powerful and could have two wives (Osgood 1958:200). Osgood does not record any form of chieftainship or nobility among the Ingalik. However, his monograph on the Ingalik is an ethnographic reconstruction.

It is significant that while the Ingalik do carry on trade and do have men who are richer than others, they do not associate wealth with leadership or high status. Those Athapaskans in southern Alaska who have trading connections with the Tlingit, either directly or indirectly, do associate wealth with leadership and high status. They are the Tanaina, Atna and Eyak who also have matrilineal descent groups.

Farther north in the interior, wealth is again associated with differences in rank.

In the Cassiar district, the Kaska recognized three social levels: the rich, the poor and the slaves. These distinctions were based on wealth (Honigmann 1954:86). The rich were able hunters who managed to obtain large supplies of meat and skins. The poor were those who depended on them and who were their followers (Honigmann 1954:87).

Slaves were generally women because the Kaska usually killed male war captives (Henigmann 1954:86). Membership in these classes did not appear to be hereditary. Sometimes a man became temporarily poor as a result of bad luck in hunting (Henigmann 1954:86).

The Upper Tanana lacked any social stratification. The only basis of social differentiation was the potlatch (McKenna 1959:133). Even here, McKenna (1959:133) believes that although the mechanism of social advancement emphasized wealth, the Upper Tanana leader actually obtained his position through initiative and personality.

Farther north, among the Kutchin high status is associated with wealth.

Among the Peel River Kutchin, Slobodin (1962:45) noted that the Indians expressed the attainment of high status in terms of wealth. However, he noted that wealth alone would not give a person a higher status. The person must also have had the right combination of "hard" and "soft" qualities as well (Slobodin 1962:45).

Osgood, an earlier writer on the Peel River Kutchin, recorded two social strata, which he termed classes, the rich and the poor. He did not distinguish chiefs and slaves as forming separate social strata because the position of chief was not strongly developed and slaves were rare (Osgood 1936:108). Osgood found that a similar situation existed among the Crow River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:123).

McKenna (1965:65), writing on the Chandalar Kutchin, did not indicate the presence of social strata. However, he did notice that there were marked differences in rank among individuals and described two types of chiefs. Nevertheless, he found it hard to imagine how a social class might function in the subsistence economy of the Chandalar Kutchin (McKenna 1965:65). Leadership among the Chandalar Kutchin appeared to be based on ability and perhaps age (McKenna 1965:65).

For the Kutchin, it appears to be more correct to speak of individual differences in rank rather than social classes because the rank of the parents is not always passed on to their children. Slobodin (1962:45) noted that rank could only be inherited to a limited degree because wealth seldom remained within a kindred for more than two generations.

Although the term "social class" is used by Osgood (1936, 1937) to describe the social stratification that occurs among some of the peoples in this area, "social class", in the common sense in which it is used in anthropology, does not exist among the Athapaskan peoples in the interior. Bock (1969:155) gives a fairly common definition, which states that social classes are "horizontal divisions of the total society whose members differ in their prestige due to differential access to valued resources and positions of power". Emphasis on the control over the means of production and of access to resources as a determinant of social class is found in the works of both Marx and Engels (Laski 1948: 121-8) and Weber (Gerth and Mills 1958:161).

Since every man in these interior Athapaskan communities is a hunter and hunting is the main subsistence activity in the interior, every man can be said to have an equal opportunity for access to the natural resources of the region. However, some men were better hunters or more fortunate than their companions and obtained much more meat and furs than the others. Since it was customary for the more fortunate hunters to give food and clothing to their less fortunate neighbours, it can be said that

access to the natural resources of the country tended to be equal for all members of the band even though the acquisition of these resources was not always equal. This custom of the more fortunate and more able distributing goods to the less fortunate is recorded among the Eyak (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:128), the Tanaina (Osgood 1937:132), and the Kaska (Honigsmann 1954:87). This is one reason why we may not properly speak of social classes among the northern Athapaskans.

Another feature of a social class that was pointed out by Weber is a common set of life chances, especially if these life chances are brought about by the possession of goods or of opportunities for income (Gerth and Mills 1958:181). Among the interior Athapaskans, there is little inheritance of wealth. The usual practice is to distribute the property of a wealthy deceased person to the guests at his funeral potlatch. Other potlatch feasts serve to redistribute the goods of the wealthy. Thus the property of a wealthy man is used to increase his prestige during his lifetime rather than to increase the life chances of his children. This is another reason why we may not speak of "social class" among the interior Athapaskans.

Although rank among these interior peoples is expressed in terms of wealth, it is not based upon wealth. Among the Kaska, it is based upon hunting ability (Honigmann 1954:87), among the Upper Tanana it is based on personality and initiative (McKenna 1959:133) and among the Kutchin status is based on a combination of personality and ability (Slobodin 1962:45).

Information on social ranking could not be obtained for the Tahltan, Han, Koyukon or Tutchone Indians. Since all of these peoples had trading connections with the Tlingit, either directly or indirectly, it is probable that the expression of status in terms of wealth is a result of trade with the Tlingit and other peoples to the south.

Another feature of matrilineal descent groups in the interior is the ranking of the descent groups. In some areas, some sibs or moieties had more prestige than others.

Among the Tahltan, the clans of the Raven moiety claimed a common origin for themselves on the basis of a myth. As a result, the Raven moiety ranked a little higher than the Wolf moiety whose clans could not claim a common origin (Jenness 1932:373).

Among the neighbouring Kaska, the Wolf moiety has a slightly greater prestige (Honigsmann 1954:85).

Farther north, among the Kutchin, the sibs are ranked.

Among the Peel River Kutchin, Slobodin (1962:44) noted that the three sibs were ranked "upper", "middle" and "lower". However, this ranking did not appear to have carried much weight (Slobodin 1962:44).

Osgood (1936:107) noted that among the Peel River people the na'tsai sib had the idea of "rich man" associated with it, while the teite ya nut sib was associated with "servant". The tye n.ik ya tsia sib was considered to be definitely inferior to the other two (Osgood 1936:107).

Among the Crow River Kutchin, the non tsai sib was considered to be "first" and to have a traditional priority over the tcit tci sib. The tan die ya tai sib was regarded by the Crow River Kutchin as being somewhat inferior to the other two (Osgood 1936:122).

Among the Chandalar Kutchin, the jitsa sib appeared to occupy a subservient position to the natsai sib early in the nineteenth century (McKenna 1965:65).

This ranking of the sibs is not a recent phenomenon.

Kirby, an early missionary among the Kutchin made the following observation during the middle of the nineteenth century:

Irrespective of tribe, they are divided into three classes, termed, respectively, Chit-sa, Nate-sa and Tanges-at-sa - faintly resembling the aristocracy, the middle classes, and the poorer orders of civilized nations, the former being the most wealthy and the latter the poorest (Kirby 1865:418).

It is interesting to note that the earliest description of sib ranking has the importance of the two most important sibs reversed.

Since all of these peoples had trading relations, either directly or indirectly with the Tlingit, it is very probable that this ranking of the sibs is a result of trade.

It also appears that the potlatch feast played a part in trading among the various Athapaskan peoples in the interior. References to the potlatch in connection with trade are not common. Nevertheless, since trade was a means for acquiring wealth and the potlatch feast was a means of converting wealth into status, the two are undoubtedly related in some way.

McClellan's informant makes a reference to potlatching between trading partners.

He is a Tagish informant who is describing the conclusion of trading with his trading partner at Pelly Banks (Tutchone).

Then you give your axyakau the presents. Just like you potlach him. Then later he will look at it, and he himself will take his packsack out with the furs and will put up furs to potlach back at you (McClellan 1950:155)

It may be that the special gifts that were exchanged at the conclusion of trading had the same weight as gifts received in a potlatch feast and that they had to be returned at a potlatch. However, it could be that the informant was comparing the final exchange between himself and his trading partner to the giving of gifts at a potlatch.

The Tlingit traded potlatch paraphernalia to the Tahltan (Jenness 1932:372).

One feature that was recorded for the Kutchin potlatch is the obligation to return one half of the potlatch gift, either in furs or in beads (Hardisty 1867:318, Jones 1867:326, Osgood 1936:127).

It is possible that the potlatch feast among the Kutchin was an occasion for trade. The potlatch feast among the Kutchin, is associated with the Yukon River which was a major trade route and with the peoples who lived along it.

The Peel River Kutchin associate the potlatch with the peoples of the Yukon River to the west of them and with themselves when they lived along the Yukon. Their traditions tell of potlatches that were given by the big trading chiefs in former times (Slobodin 1962:33). The western Kutchin who lived along the Yukon were middlemen in trade from the Yukon River to the eastern Kutchin (Slobodin 1960:93). The Chandalar Kutchin associate the potlatch with the Crow River Kutchin, the Yukon Flats Kutchin and the Han (McKenna 1965:64). The last two of these peoples lived along the Yukon River.

If one half of the potlatch gift had to be returned, it would be interesting to know who assigned the value to the potlatch gift, the giver or the receiver. Profits were very high, to say the least, for those Indians who acted as middlemen between the white traders and more isolated Indian peoples. A Chilkat trader, describing a trade meeting with the Southern Tutchone commented, "It used to make us glad when we saw that half the pile of furs was worth ten times the value of what we had brought (Olson 1936:213)".

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the eastern Athapaskans were said to have made a profit of 1,000% on the iron goods that they sold to the Dogribs and the Yellowknives to the West (McClellan 1950:209). For the goods that they traded, the Tagish charged the Ross River Indians four times what they paid for them (McClellan 1950:145).

In the light of the high mark up on all trade goods in this area, a fifty percent reduction in price would not make potlatch gift giving unprofitable as a trading transaction, if it was indeed the giver who assigned the value to the gift. This is by no means certain, but it is a possibility.

The potlatch feast was one northern Athapaskan institution in which matrilineal descent groups were important considerations. Among the Peel River Kutchin, sib membership was considered to be the correct basis for alignment at the potlatch feast although at certain points in the feast band affiliation was likely to take precedence over sib membership (Slebedin 1962:34). While sib affiliations do figure in the potlatch among the Crow River Kutchin, they tend to be overshadowed by other considerations (Osgood 1936:125).

McClellan (1964:10) believes that potlatch feasts enhanced both sib consciousness and sib ranking. Potlatching became more common and potlatches became more elaborate as trade in the interior increased (McClellan 1964:10).

Sometimes guests from other tribes were invited to potlatches. The Eyak and the Tlingit invited each other to potlatches (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:150). It is recorded that the Healy River people (Tanana) invited the Atna and the Upper Tanana to a potlatch (McKenna 1959:137). The Upper Tanana Indians are known to have attended a Kluane (Southern Tutchone) potlatch (McKenna 1959:22). The Champagne band of the Southern Tutchone have been invited to potlatches at Teslin and Carcross (a Tagish village) (McClellan 1950:54). Even in recent years a few Southern Tutchone have been invited to potlatch dances at Klukwan (a Chilkat Tlingit village) (McClellan 1950:55).

It has already been shown that these peoples who potlatched together also traded together.

The potlatch feasts among the other Athapaskan peoples in the interior emphasized moiety and sib distinctions and gift giving.

This is recorded for the Tanaina (Osgood 1966:150=1), the Eyak (Birket-Smith and De Laguna 1938:169) and the Upper Tanana (McKenna 1959:135). The potlatch feast emphasized the importance of wealth and of moiety or sib distinctions in the interior. It should be noted however, that not all of the Athapaskans who were matrilineal gave potlatches. The Chandalar Kutchin did not hold potlatches themselves although they were guests at potlatches that were given by the peoples along the Yukon (McKenna 1965:64).

It appears that the wealth that was accumulated in trade was spent on potlatch feasts which strengthened matrilineal kinship ties.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The idea that matrilineal kin groupings in the interior are a result of past trading activities is supported by the fact that every Athapaskan people who had matrilineal kin groups were connected by a network of trade routes to the Tlingit who were a non-Athapaskan coastal people. The Ingalik and the lower Koyukon Indians were bilateral. They were involved in trading, but they had no trading connections with the Tlingit. It has also been shown that Tlingit sibs were introduced to the Southern Tutchone at the time (mid-nineteenth century) when Tlingit trading activity in the interior was at its height. The other Athapaskans who lived next to the Tlingit adopted Tlingit sibs. These are the Tagish, Tahltan, Teslin and Eyak. All of these peoples acted as middlemen in the Tlingit trade with the interior peoples.

It has been shown that Tlingit trading was along matrilineal sib and/or moiety lines and that it was advantageous for the Tlingit to extend sib affiliations to the Athapaskans with whom they traded.

The marriage of Tlingit women to the Athapaskans with whom they traded was the way in which Tlingit sib affiliations were extended to the Champagne band of the Southern Tutchone.

There is also evidence that at least some of the Teslin people were coastal Tlingit who migrated from the coast to the interior and intermarried with some of the interior peoples.

Most of the interior peoples practiced either initial matrilineal residence or had a long period of bride service. However, matrilocality was not absolute and there was much variation in the place or places of residence of a married couple after marriage.

Women who had membership in matrilineal descent groups would from time to time settle down in a new area after their husbands had spent an initial period of bride service or matrilineal residence. They would then pass on their membership in their matrilineal descent group to their children. In this way, a matrilineal descent group would spread to a new area.

While this process would have inevitably led to the extension of some matrilineal descent groups into the interior, it is doubtful if matrilineal descent

groups would have spread very far into the interior without the stimulus to intermarriage with more distant peoples that resulted from trading activity. Among both the Chandalar Kutchin and the Upper Tanana, it was noted that while at the local band level spouses came from outside the band more often than from within it, at the regional band level, marriage was predominantly endogamous (McKenna 1969:105). A regional band is a group of local bands interlocked through marriage and common interest (Helm 1968:118). If this condition was common in the interior, there would not have been enough intermarriage between the different Athapaskan peoples for matrilineal descent groupings to have spread very far.

I. THE THREE SIB SYSTEM

What evidence there is suggests that the three sib system of the Kutchin, the Han and the upper Koyukon peoples originated in southern Alaska among the Tanaina, Atna and Upper Tanana peoples.

McClellan (1961:105 footnote 8) states that two of the sibs of the Tena (Koyukon) and the Tanana are found among both the Atna and the Tanaina.

Among the upper Koyukon living in the Koyukuk River area, two of the three sibs are named after the bear and the caribou. They are the Si ie ta hotana (caribou people) and the Nultchina (bear people) (Clark 1970: personal communication). Previously, the tcion (wolf) phratry of the Upper Tanana people also contained caribou and bear sibs (McKenna 1959:125).

McKenna's Chandalar Kutchin informants associated the Sea Gull with the itsil sib of the Han (McKenna 1965:61). Formerly the tcion sib of the Upper Tanana also contained a Sea Gull sib (McKenna 1959:125).

It has already been shown that the upper Koyukon and the Tanana were linked by trade routes to the peoples in southern Alaska and that the Upper Tanana people traded with the Han.

The Han and the Kutchin, however, also had dealings with the Tutchone who had a Tlingit style moiety system. It is probable that this moiety system influenced the Kutchin conception of their three sibs. Osgood (1936:107) noted that among the Peel River Kutchin, the tcite va nut sib was also called "wolf", and that the na ta sai sib had the idea of "crow" associated with it. He believed that these

"wolf" and "crow" associations were the result of modern usage which attempted to make the two main sibs of the three sib system parallel the Wolf and Raven moieties in the Tlingit area.

The third sib is always referred to as being in between the two principal sibs or in the middle position. The third sib is referred to as the "middle people" among the Han (Slobodin: personal communication), as "a friend on each side" among the Peel River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:107), as "those in the middle" among the Crew River Kutchin (Osgood 1936:122), as "between two sides" among the Chandalar Kutchin and as "people in the middle" among the Koyuken who live along the Koyukuk River (Clark 1970: personal communication).

It is possible that the awareness of a moiety system to the south has created a situation in which the third sib was considered to be in between the other two. It is a reaction to a situation in which a moiety system was thought to be proper, but in which three sibs are present.

WORKS CITED

- Allen, Henry T. (1887). Atnatanas; Natives of Copper River, Alaska. Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report 1886, part 1, pages 258-266. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Balikci, Asen (1963). Vunta Kutchin Social Change. Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, Ottawa.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj and De Laguna, Frederica (1938). The Eyak Indians of the Copper River Delta, Alaska. Levin & Munksgaard, Kobenhaven.
- Boas, Franz (1916). Tsimshian Mythology. Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Beck, Philip K. (1969). Modern Cultural Anthropology. Random House of Canada Ltd., Toronto.
- Clark, A. McFadyen (1970). Personal communication of November 13, 1970 from National Museum of Man, museum file number 3279.1.
- Dall, W. H. (1877). Tribes of the Extreme Northwest. Contributions to North American Ethnology, Volume 1. U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Department of the Interior. Government Printing Office, Washington.

- Dawson, George M. (1889). Notes on Indian Tribes of the Yukon District and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia. Geological Survey of Canada, Annual Report 1887-88, Volume III, Part 1, pages 190-213.
- Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (1958). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Goldman, Irving (1940). The Alkatcho Carrier of British Columbia. In Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, Ralph Linton, editor. New York and London.
- Hardisty, William L. (1867). The Loucheux Indians. In Notes on the Tinneh or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America, communicated by George Gibbs. Smithsonian Report 1866. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Helm, June (1968). The Nature of Dogrib Socioterritorial Groups. In Man the Hunter, edited by Richard B. Lee and Irven DeVore. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Honigmann, John J. (1954). The Kaska Indians: An ethnographic Reconstruction. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Number Fifty-one. Yale University Press, New Haven.

- ✓ Inglis, Gordon B. (1970). Northwest American Matriliney: The Problem of Origins. *Ethnology*, Volume IX, Number 2, April 1970, pages 149-159. University of Pittsburgh. William Byrd Press, Richmond.
- Jenness, Diamond (1932). *The Indians of Canada*, seventh edition 1957. Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series 15, National Museum of Canada. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.
- (1937). *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia*. Bulletin 84, Anthropological Series 20, National Museum of Canada. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.
- Jette, Jules (1906). L'Organisation Sociale des Ten'as. *Congres Internationale des Americanistes* 1906, Tome I, page 395-409.
- Jones, Strachen (1867). *The Kutchin Tribes*. In *Notes on the Tinneh or Chepwyen Indians of British and Russian America*, communicated by George Gibbs. Smithsonian Report 1866. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Kirby, W.W. (1865). *A Journey to the Yukon, Russian America*. Smithsonian Report 1864, pages 416-20. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- ✓ Krause, Aurel (1956). *The Tlingit Indians*. American Ethnological Society. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Laski, Harold J. (1948). Communist Manifesto: Socialist
Landmark. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Leechman, Douglas (1946). Prehistoric Migration
Routes Through the Yukon. Canadian Historical
Review, Volume 27, pages 383-90.

----- (1954). The Vanta Kutchin.
Bulletin 130, Anthropological Series 33,
National Museum of Canada.
Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

Lowie, Robert (1920). Primitive Society.
Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

✓ McClellan, Catherine (1950). Culture Change and
Native Trade in Southern Yukon Territory.
Unpublished doctoral dissertation.
University of California, Berkeley.

----- (1961). Avoidance Between
Siblings of the Same Sex in Northwestern
North America. Southwestern Journal of
Anthropology, Volume 17, Number 2, pages 103-123.

----- (1964). Culture Contacts in the
Early Historic Period in Northwestern North
America. Arctic Anthropology, Volume 2,
Number 2, pages 3-15.

McClellan, Catherine (1969). Discussion. In Athapaskan Groupings and Social Organization in Central Alaska by Robert A. McKennan. In Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies, edited by David Damas. National Museums of Canada, Bulletin 228, Anthropological Series 84. The Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

McKennan, Robert (1959). The Upper Tanana Indians. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Number 55. Yale University Press, New Haven.

----- (1964). Athapaskan Groups of Central Alaska at the Time of White Contact. Paper read at the VIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Moscow, U.S.S.R., August 3-10, 1964.

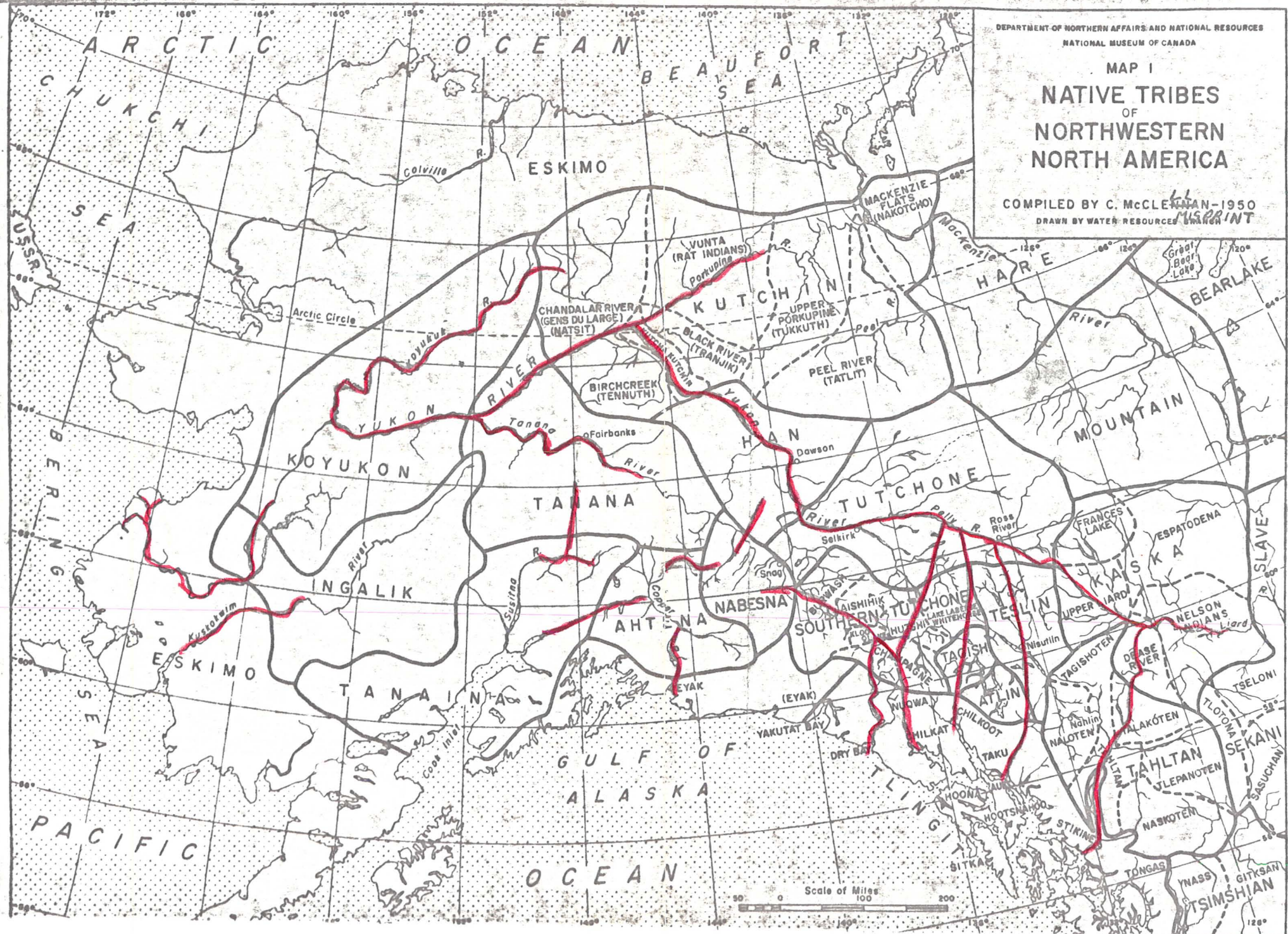
----- (1965). The Chandalar Kutchin. Arctic Institute of North America, Technical Paper Number 17, Montreal.

----- (1969). Athapaskan Groupings and Social Organization in Central Alaska. In Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies, edited by David Damas. National Museums of Canada, Bulletin 228, Anthropological Series 84. The Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

- ✓ Murdock, George Peter (1949). *Social Structure*.
 Third Printing, Free Press Paperback Edition.
 Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., Toronto.
- (1955). *North American Social
 Organization*. *The Davidson Journal of Anthropology*,
 Volume I, pages 85-97.
- Murray, Alexander Hunter (1910). *Journal of the Yukon*,
 edited with notes by L. J. Burpee F.R.G.S.
 Publication of the Canadian Archives, Number 4.
 Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa.
- Olson, Ronald L. (1933). *Clan and Meisty in Native
 North America*. In *University of California
 Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology*,
 Number 33, Berkeley.
- (1936). *Some Trading Customs of
 the Chilkat Tlingit*. In *Essays in Anthropology
 Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, edited by R. H. Lowie.
 Berkeley.
- ✓ Osgood, Cornelius (1936). *Contributions to the
 Ethnography of the Kutchin*. *Yale University
 Publications in Anthropology*, Number 14.
 Yale University Press, New Haven.
- (1958). *Ingalik Social Culture*.
 Yale University Publications in Anthropology,
 Number 53. Yale University Press, New Haven.

- Osgood, Cornelius (1966). The Ethnography of the Tanaina. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Number 16.
Burns and MacEachern, Ltd., Toronto.
- Sapir, Edward (1915). The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes, from Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section 2, Series 3, Vol. 9., Ottawa. Reprinted in Indians of the North Pacific Coast. Edited by Tom McFeat. University of Washington Press Seattle and London, 1967.
- Service, Elaman R. (1968). Primitive Social Organization Eighth printing. The Colonial Press Inc., Clinton, Massachusetts.
- Slobodin, Richard (1960). Eastern Kutchin Warfare. Anthropologica, Volume 2, Number 1, (new series) pages 76-93.
- (1962). Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 179, Anthropological Series 55, The Queen's Printer, Ottawa.
- (1969). Leadership and Participation in a Kutchin Trapping Party. In Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies, edited by David Damas. National Museums of Canada, Bulletin 228, Anthropological Series 84. The Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

- Steward, Julian (1955). Theory of Culture Change.
University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Swanson, John R. (1905). The Social Organization of
American Tribes. American Anthropologist
(New Series) Volume 7, pages 663-73
- Swanton, John R. (1908). Social Conditions, Beliefs
and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit
Indians. In The Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of
the Bureau of American Ethnology.
Government Printing Office, Washington.
- Teit, James A. (1912). On Tahltan (Athapaskan) Work,
1912. In Summary Report of the Geological Survey,
Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1912.
Printed in Sessional Paper Number 26 of the
House of Commons, pages 484-487.



DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES
 NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA

MAP I
 NATIVE TRIBES
 OF
 NORTHWESTERN
 NORTH AMERICA

Trade Routes

COMPILED BY C. McCLELLAN-1950
 DRAWN BY WATER RESOURCES BRANCH

Scale of Miles
 0 100 200

SIBS & MOIETIES

Tlingit Type

Moiety - 2

Three Sib

System - 3

More than three

Sibs - (N)

Bilateral

Descent - Bi

