

CARRIER SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE HISTORICAL DETERMINANTS  
OF  
CARRIER SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:  
A STUDY OF NORTHWEST ATHABASCAN MATRILINY

By  
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### Abstract

The social organization of Carrier bands is found to have been functionally dependent on a network of relations with coastal groups and other interior bands, including Carrier. This network involved kinship ties, economic exchanges between affines, coastal and interior trade, and participation in common ceremonial activities. The social organization of each Carrier band depended on the total set of participant communities within a ceremonial and social network specific to each band. By means of published sources and unpublished manuscripts the approximate extent and chronology of introduction of coastal features is traced and the arrangement of social units described. Ecological and historical factors in the formation of Carrier social organization are described. Due to differential contact with coastal groups, there is a west to east decrease among the northern Carrier bands in the incorporation and importance of matriliney as a structuring mechanism. Among the southern bands, a bilateral form of social organization was prevalent. Historical documents and journals provided a base line for tracing the development and incorporation of coastal features in the interior, the whole process a function of the increased importance of the fur trade, commencing in the late eighteenth century, and shifts in population centres and density.

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## Table of Contents

1. i. Historical Factors	1
ii. Diffusion	4
2. The Carrier Indians	13
3. Athabascan Matriliney	19
4. Sources	23
5. Suggested Areas of Research	25
6. Influences on Carrier Culture	26
7. Relations of the Carriers and their Neighbours	28
i. Carrier - Shuswap	28
ii. Carrier - Chilcotin	29
iii. Carrier - Bella Coola	31
iv. Carrier - Haisla	41
v. Carrier - Coast Tsimshian	49
vi. Carrier - Niska	51
vii. Carrier - Gitksan	52
viii. Relations with other Athabascan Groups	57
8. Trade Routes	60
i. Trade Material and Groups Involved	62
9. Methods of Trade	70
10. Mythology	72
11. Ceremonies	81
i. Potlatching: Native Testimony	85
ii. Stuart Lake (Necosliwoten) Ceremonies	87
iii. Alkatcho Carrier	91
iv. Tauten Carrier	93
v. Other Carrier Groups	93
vi. Summary	93
vii. Bella Coola Ceremonies	95
viii. Haisla Ceremonies	95
ix. Gitksan	96
12. The Community	99
13. Social Organization	107
i. Names of Social Units	108
ii. Sib Names	110
14. Social Classes	118
i. Distribution of Divisions among other Athabascan Groups	124
ii. Distribution of Divisions among Coastal Groups	126
15. Kinship	129
i. Marriage Patterns	131
ii. Residence	136
iii. Kinship Terms: Second Ascending Generation	138
iv. Kinship Terms: First Ascending Generation	140
v. Kinship Terms: Cousin Terms and Summary	142

16. Summary and Conclusions	149
i. Migrations	149
ii. Trade	149
iii. Means of Access	150
iv. Intermarriage	150
v. Motives for Inter-tribal Trade	152
vi. Linguistic Evidence for Diffusion	154
vii. Archaeological Evidence Suggesting Coastal Trade	155
viii. Sources of Influence	156
ix. Social Organization	157
x. Conclusions	166
Maps	169
Appendix	175
Bibliography	176

### List of Tables

- Table 1. Carrier subdivisions (p. 13).  
2. Climatic regions (p. 14).  
3. Biotic regions (p. 15).  
4. Carrier names (p. 57).  
5. Potlatch elements (p. 97).  
6. Kwanpahotenne sib equivalences (p. 111).  
7. Tsuvazotenne equivalences by crest (p. 113).  
8. Equivalences of the sib Tsayu (p. 114).  
9. Grandparent terms (p. 137).  
10. Kinship terms: first ascending generation  
(p. 140).  
11. Cousin terminology (p. 142).  
12. Kinship terms: first descending generation  
(p. 143).  
13. Distribution of social features (p. 158).

### List of Maps

- Map 1. Indians of British Columbia (p. 169).  
2. Carrier bands (p. 170).  
3. Interior villages (p. 171).  
4. Trading routes (p. 172).  
5. The number of sibs (p. 173).  
6. Bella Coola villages and Interior Plateau  
place names (p. 174).

## Orthography

Transcriptions in original sources have been altered (except in quotations) to contemporary usage, such as in Duff (1964: 108-110). To facilitate typescript, some characters have been replaced: E is used for schwa (ə); I for i or ɪ; ɫ for surd l (ɫ, L); other characters are as per Duff (1964).

### Vowels

i as in seek

E as in but

I as in pit

o as in mole

e as in late

u as in boot

a as in father

### Consonants

p, t, b, d, k, g as in English

x as in German ich

w labialized (k<sup>w</sup>, g<sup>w</sup>)

x̣ as in Scotch loch

ʔ glottalized (pʔ, tʔ)

c t plus θ

? glottal stop

c t plus s

θ as in thing

č̣ as in church

ṣ̌ as in show

ŋ as in singer

### 1. i. HISTORICAL FACTORS

In a discussion of historical factors, Damas (1969b: 58) lists common heritage, migration, diffusion, innovation, and drift; Rogers (1969b: 164-5) suggests diffusion, divergent drift, historical accident, and cultural lag as factors influencing culture. Cultural lag, which is associated with the migration of groups from one environment to another, operates to "maintain certain traits, that is, a social institution appears in a particular situation where there has not yet been time to adapt to the environment or to a new exploitative pattern" (Rogers 1969b: 164).

Oliver (1968) utilized the concept of cultural continuity in a study of ecological adaptations to the Plains by groups with both hunting and gathering and horticultural backgrounds. The ecological factors of the horse and cyclical patterns of concentration and dispersal of buffalo in the summer and winter, respectively, resulted in the convergence of the social structures from these two diverse backgrounds.

Oliver's (1968) total ecological system was the "complex interrelationships between the technological systems and the environment of other men and other societies" (Oliver 1968: 262). The inclusion of other societies in the ecology appears more inclusive than the approach indicated by Damas (1969c: 166) or Helm (1962: 630). In the latter studies,



the techniques and patterns of exploitation relating a culture to its environment (culturally defined) are the areas of cultural-ecological inquiry. Other factors, particularly interaction with other social systems, are analysed in terms of traditional concepts of social anthropology. While Oliver's (1968) study has revealed the importance of cultural heritage, it has also raised the problem of the definition of environment. Barth (1968) has included interacting ethnic groups as part of the environment, therefore capable of analysis with the cultural-ecological approach. Carstens (1969: 95) has treated Khoikhoë (South Africa) culture in terms of adaptation to both the organic and superorganic environment. For example, the church, as a social institution "had the direct effect of facilitating adaptation to the natural habitat at the level to which it has been locally exploited" (Carstens 1969: 99).

Drift as a factor in explaining differences in social organization from an assumed cultural heritage was postulated by Damas (1969b) for the Central Eskimo, where regional variations were found in group composition, leadership, kinship, marriage practices, uncle-aunt terms, and cross-sex cousin terms (Damas 1969: 47). These differences were inexplicable solely in terms of adaptation to the exploitative pattern. Summarizing his study, Damas (1969c: 168) wrote:

...there is a peculiar situation in the Eskimo area where one people sharing a common heritage

has spread, relatively recently, over a large, very sparsely populated area. This condition is unfavourable for intergroup contact, which in turn encourages marriage isolates...Conditions of isolation develop very quickly. If there is any situation that encourages cultural drift, it would be this one.

Rogers (1969a,b) discusses the importance of a cultural factor - witchcraft - among the Cree and Ojibwa in determining group size and settlement patterns, overriding strictly ecological factors such as the distribution of game (cf. Rogers 1969a: 35).

Diffusion as a factor in explaining the presence of seemingly anomalous social features has been overemphasized, according to Damas (1969b: 58) and Rogers (1969b: 165), the former writing (Damas 1969b: 58):

In order to assess more fully the role of history in social anthropology, the focus should shift from an exclusive concern with diffusion.

As a summary of historical factors, Rogers (1969b: 165) wrote:

...we are confronted with the problem of trying to isolate social features which do not seem to be explicable in ecological terms. For example, if a similar social feature is found in several habitats, it could indicate a common heritage. Moreover, if the feature is assumed to be non-adaptive in one or more of the habitats, we could assume that cultural lag is operating. Furthermore, if diverse social features occur in a uniform environment, they would not appear to be ecologically determined. If, for instance, there is a social feature that appears in different forms and if on the margins of the area there is a contact with a similar social feature, then diffusion could be indicated; and if there is no evidence for such contact, divergent drift could be the postulated reason.

## 1. ii. Diffusion

Although diffusion may have been overemphasized in earlier approaches to the study of cultural distributions, it is still a useful device for tracing the origins of cultural features. The Carrier Indians of British Columbia, geographically intermediate between coastal and interior cultures (Plateau and Athabaskan), represent an example where diffusion was paramount in the formation of certain aspects of social organization. An analysis of these will follow, after a presentation of some earlier views on the relationship between environment and culture, in which diffusion played an important theoretical part.

Wissler's (1926a: 55-56) "culture area" concept was an early attempt to establish a relationship between environment and culture:

Our definition of the culture type should be understood as a method of classification by which cultures themselves can be grouped, but ... the culture type has its geography, since it appears that a trait complex is not to be found scattered at random up and down a continent, but localized, or in clusters ... it follows that the segregation of cultures of the same type will form a geographical area, characterized by that type.

and further that:

... the true culture area is a succession of distribution zones encircling a nucleus and that this center is the point of dispersal from which trait complexes are diffused. (Wissler 1926a: 28)

Specific trait complexes were often based upon natural resources and climatic conditions (Wissler 1926a: 314), but:

In general it seems that the part played by the environment in the development of culture consists in deciding as to what may or may not become a part of human experience, but that among the experiences it makes possible is a wide range...

In another work, Wissler (1926b) posited the environment as a dynamic factor in the formation and distribution of culture traits. Wissler (1926b: 218) felt that his study had revealed "a coincidence of aboriginal life habits, faunal intensity, floral status, and climatic conditions." In work that predates Steward's (1936) initial formulations on the relationship between culture and exploitative pattern, Wissler (1926b: 217, 221) wrote that the basic resources chosen as the chief sustenance determined the extent of the culture type, or the distribution of the constituent traits. From an initial conclusion that social features were distributed in the same manner as material phenomena (Wissler 1926b: 115-116), Wissler (1926b: 213) wrote that each distinctive geographical area supported a different type of Indian culture. Also, for a well-defined ecological area, culture area and centers of distributions for the constituent traits will fall in the heart of the ecological area (Wissler 1926b: 216).

However, the extent of this determinism is that abundant resources result in a "rich culture" (Wissler 1926b: 218), but there seems to be no attempt to posit, as Steward (1936) did, that a certain type of exploitative pattern will determine a certain type of social organization (for example, the patri-

lineal band). Wissler's main tenet seems to be that "it is in the nucleus of the ecological center that a type of aboriginal culture is at its best" (Wissler 1926b: 219). The exact form taken by a culture in a particular ecological area is unclear from Wissler's work, but once established, the mechanism of diffusion will spread social and cultural phenomena to the extend of a geographical area (Wissler 1926b: 221-222).

Dixon (1928: 8) criticized this latter overemphasis of the significance of environmental factors and Wissler's attempt to show that every culture is the direct result of the total environmental influence of the region (Dixon 1928: 22). The environment was only one factor in what Dixon (1928: 271) called the fabric of a culture - the warp ("local traits arising out of their cultural heritage by adaptation or discovered and invented by their own genius and correlated in some degree often with the environment.") and the weft ("exotic traits brought by diffusion"). Environment was generally permissive, not mandatory (Dixon 1928: 13), with culture content a factor of geographical position, population density, and receptiveness to diffused phenomena (Dixon 1928: 275). Diffusion was primary - within the limits of its own culture area - and secondary - beyond the limits of its own culture area (Dixon 1928: 59, 106), and:

It is the requisite for the adoption of a new trait that it shall be commensurate with the culture of

the group, and shall not entail for its successful use the many concomitant changes and readjustment of other elements in the people's life. (Dixon 1928: 61)

This latter view is a recurrent theme (Sapir 1916: passim; Steward 1949: 674); i.e., the acceptance or rejection of diffused elements was contingent upon local potentialities, which were a function of the local ecology, defined by Steward (1949: 674) as "the interaction of environment, exploitative devices, and socio-economic habits."

Kroeber's (1939) study of the relation between cultural and natural areas was inconclusive in the main, for each culture is conditioned by environmental and cultural factors (Kroeber 1939: 3, 205; 1948: 785). Culture change due to environmental changes has been overemphasized, according to Kroeber (1948: 388), and the "total part played by diffusion in human culture is almost incredibly great" (Kroeber 1948: 412). However, Kroeber (1948: 416-418) emphasizes the importance of the existing social structure and value system as a filter for the incorporation of diffused elements.

The concept of diffusion was an integral heuristic device to account for the distribution of cultural traits over a geographical area; however, little differentiation was made in early studies as to whether there was a differential diffusion of cultural versus social features. For example, can one utilize the concepts of culture area and diffusion to explain the distributions of house types and kinship systems?

Murdock (1949: 196) expressed the view that "forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion;" a view expressed again (Murdock 1955) to suggest that migration, not diffusion, accounted for matriliney among interior Athabascan groups. However, Driver and Massey (1957) feel that their survey has shown that both social and cultural phenomena are open to diffusion. Eggan (1955) also endorses the ecological approach as opposed to historical: eg., social structure is no more subject to ready borrowing than linguistic structures (Eggan 1955: 494); Plains seasonal alteration between band and tribal camp-circle is related to ecological factors, especially the movement of buffalo (Eggan 1955: 513, 518); the northeast Algonkian social gradient is related to the ecological gradient (Eggan 1955: 524). Murdock (1969) felt that relative immunity from the influences of diffusion was assured by choosing no two societies whose geographical centres were not more than 200 miles apart. But, as Vayda (1969: 210) has suggested, pheric distance is as important as geographical distance.

Steward (1955: 30) wrote that cultural ecology must supplant the historical approach to understand the dynamics of a culture, with a culture type:

...conceived as constellations of core features which arise out of environmental adaptations and which represent similar levels of integration.  
(Steward 1955: 37)

Utilizing Steward's (1955: 37) culture core ("...the constella-

tion of features which are most clearly related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements.") and secondary features ("...determined to a greater extent by purely cultural historical factors.") dichotomy, secondary features would seem to be most easily analysed by an historical approach. However, if the culture core is relevant for a particular culture in a particular environment, no single class of primary and secondary features is applicable to all cultures, so that what is primary for one group may be secondary for an adjacent group, either because of environmental or historical differences. Therefore, as Damas (1969a: 4) suggests:

The intrusion of historical factors must thus be acknowledged as providing the possibility of overriding the ecological considerations and influencing our comparative work in cultural ecology.

McFeat (1969: 244) suggested that a culture is all core:

...in which the community pattern and the settlement patterns and all their aspects are specifically adapted to service a function relative to the environmental pattern.

It seems that Bicchieri (1969) approached most closely this orientation, in which everything is ecologically adaptive. For example, Bicchieri (1969: 166) wrote that in East Africa, the Dorobo have acquired the formalized class system (koret) of the neighbouring Nandi, according to one anthropologist, but:

Close cultural-ecological analysis suggests that



even though the Dorobo have adopted the overall koret terminology and structure, they have, nevertheless, adapted it to their 'cultural core'.

Steward's (1936: 331) "patrilineal band" is, according to McFeat (1969: 244) a cultural type, a mode of adaptation, and a level of integration, and "it most definitely cannot be an evolving culture" (McFeat 1969: 244), for it represents:

...the perfect unit for survival because it is locked in a stable environment to which it must adjust directly. (McFeat 1969: 244).

McFeat (1969: 246) made the interesting observation that the relationship between primary and secondary features is one of tension, with changes first occurring in the secondary features.

If we accept both Steward's model of core and secondary features as part of a unity, i.e., a 'culture,' and McFeat's model of core-secondary tension resulting in change, then it is obvious that a strict cultural-ecological approach that sees only adaptation renders sterile the apparently dynamic aspect of secondary features, and thus the importance of historical factors. In summary, if a feature is adaptive to the exploitative pattern, it is ecological; if non-adaptive in that sense, then the explanation is in the realm of historical or ideological factors, and thus a search for origins is justified (cf. Damas 1969c: 172).

The above pages have presented some studies that have dealt with features of society that were explicable with reference to non-ecological factors, together with some views on the relationship between environment and culture, where diffusion was an important factor. As a heuristic device, diffusion may have been over-emphasized in earlier works, but the concept is useful for understanding similarities of culture between adjacent groups. An example of this is the Carrier Indians of British Columbia, who are in a marginal area, i.e., characterized by a culture complex which combines traits of two or more adjoining cultures (Goldenweiser 1937: 447).

The Western or Cordillera Athabascans represented an example, according to Steward (1936: 342), where "ecological conditions favor patrilineal or composite bands," but diffusion from the coast:

...has been so great that not only much material culture, but caste systems, potlatching, and marginal clans and moieties have been introduced to many groups. (Steward 1936: 340)

This transformation was effected among the Carriers, Babines, Chilcotins, and others, through matrilineal residence and matrilineal property rights (Steward 1936: 340), which fits into Murdock's (1949: 221) model of change, except that for Murdock (1949: 221), an initial change in the division of labour was a prime mover. But Steward (1955: 174) felt that neither the habitat nor the technology had changed during the

transformation from composite bands to a matrilineal moiety system. This transformation was possible because of the possession of salmon streams (Steward 1955: 174), although a quantitative difference in different streams affected the "quantitative basis of potlatching" (Steward 1960: 737).

For the Carriers, Steward (1955: 175) wrote:

Adoption of the moiety-potlatch pattern meant a major revolution in Carrier society, but it did not, as far as I can ascertain, require any changes in exploitative technology.

To Steward (1955: 174), this transformation made clear that the "cultural ecology allowed a certain latitude in the range of possible types;" and was an example where historical factors, in this case diffusion, superseded ecological factors in the selection of features of social organization.

Sapir (1958: 416) stressed that acceptance of a borrowed feature was contingent upon a "pigeonhole of culture ready to receive it." For the Athabascans, Murdock (1955: 86), de Laguna (1971: 22), and McClellan (1964) felt that there already was some sort of matrilineal sib system (or tendency) prior to coastal influences.

The following study will analyse the historical determinants of the social organization of the Carrier Indians, relating the mechanisms of diffusion and the distribution of coastal elements into existing social structures.

## 2. THE CARRIER INDIANS

The Carrier Indians are an Athabascan-speaking people united only by a common language and culture, consisting of twelve subdivisions grouped into three main divisions on dialect similarities, but each of which existed as a separate entity (Morice 1905: 190). Each subdivision was comprised of a number of villages,<sup>1</sup> ranging from two to five in number (Morice 1893: 27). Each division named itself after a geographical feature - eg., "people down against the island" (Morice 1893: 25). Ray (1939: 15) termed these subdivisions independent bands of villages. The village sites and structures were permanent, but actual occupation was only for part of the year, usually during the fall salmon runs, and into the early winter as long as the supplies of dried salmon and firewood held out.

The following table lists the Carrier subdivisions as per Duff for 1850 (B.C. Atlas of Resources 1956: Map 12):

Table 1 Carrier Subdivisions

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. Babines:        | 1. Nataoten (Babine Lake)      |
|                    | 2. Hwitsiwoten (Bulkley River) |
| B. Upper Carriers: | 1. Tachiwoten (Takla Lake)     |
|                    | 2. Necosliwoten (Stuart Lake)  |
|                    | 3. Tanoten (Prince George)     |
|                    | 4. Tachiwoten                  |
|                    | 5. Nulkiwoten                  |
|                    | 6. Natlioten (Fraser Lake)     |
|                    | 7. Cheslatta                   |

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<sup>1</sup> cf. Appendix, Note 1, for population figures.

- C. Lower Carrier: 1. Alkatcho  
2. Kluskoten  
3. Nazkoten  
4. Tauten

Detailed ethnographies are lacking for most of the groups, except the Hwitsiwoten (Jenness 1943), Necosliwoten (Morice), Alkatcho (Goldman 1940, 1941, 1953), and some distribution lists for the Tauten (Ray 1942). Scattered references to the other groups appear in the literature.

#### Habitat and Resources

##### 1. Climatic Region

The Carrier Indians occupy a fairly uniform climatic region, the Central Interior of British Columbia roughly between  $53^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$  latitude, with some territory extending into the Northern Interior. The southern extent of the Carriers coincides closely with the northern boundary of the Southwest Interior Plateau region. The western and eastern boundaries are marked by the Coast and Rocky Mountain ranges, respectively. Listed below are the main features of the Central Interior and adjacent regions (B.C. Atlas 1956: 21):

Table 2 Climatic Regions

<u>Northern Interior</u>	<u>Central Interior</u>	<u>Southwest Interior</u>
Long, cool winter; short, cool summer; low annual precipitation of west side of region in lee of coast mountains.	General humid conditions; cool, short summers, 4-5 months below $32^{\circ}\text{F}$ ; summer frostless period is often short and unreliable.	Driest and hottest part of province; precipitation generally less than 20" annually; semi-arid; several months below $32^{\circ}\text{F}$ .

## 2. Biotic Region

The correspondence between biotic region and extent of Carrier territory is less rigorous than the climatic region. The Lower Carriers are mainly in the Sub-alpine Forest; the Babines and Upper Carriers in Cariboo Parkland. However, as settlement was confined primarily to rivers and lakes, the Cariboo Parkland biotic region is common to a large extent to all groups.

Table 3 Biotic Regions (from B.C. Atlas 1956: 23)

	Annual Precip.	Temperature		Flora <sup>1</sup>
		Min.	Max.	
Cariboo Parkland	15-20"	5-10	70-75	<u>Aspen</u> , <u>lodgepole pine</u> , <u>Douglas fir</u> , cotton- wood, Sitka alder.
				<u>Fauna</u> Marsh wren, yellow- headed blackbird, ruddy duck, bald pate, moose, coyote.
Sub-alpine Forest	40-50"	-10-5	68-70	<u>Flora</u> Englemann spruce, <u>alpine fir</u> , white- barked pine, lodge- pole pine, aspen, blueberry, mountain azalea.
				<u>Fauna</u> Rusty blackbird, Canada jay, Franklin grouse, mountain caribou, mountain goat.

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<sup>1</sup> Climax vegetation underlined.

	<u>Annual</u> <u>Precip.</u>	<u>Temperature</u> <u>Min.    Max.</u>		<u>Flora</u>
Alpine Arctic	- -	-	-	-
				<u>Fauna</u>
				Ptarmigan, eagle, marmot, ground- squirrel, pika.

Variations in resources are due in large to the drainage systems and mountains (if utilized). The Babines are in the Skeena River drainage; the Upper Carriers and most of the Lower Carriers are in the Fraser River drainage (See Map 3). Some of the Lower Carriers utilize the drainage systems of the Bella Coola and Dean River systems (Goldman 1941: 401; McIlwraith 1948 I: 18). The Skeena River salmon runs, because of the proximity to the sea as compared to the upper Fraser River area, are more abundant than the latter (Steward 1960: 737). The time of aggregation into villages is a factor of the time of the salmon runs.

This quantitative difference of the different salmon streams is borne out by a Hudson's Bay Company report of 1827 (quoted in Jackson 1953: 24):

...this quantity (of sockeye obtained from Stuart and Fraser Lakes, both on the Fraser River drainage system) is so very trifling that we (i.e., H.B.C.) may now consider the whole district is dependent upon the Babines (Babine Lake, Skeena River drainage) for support throughout the winter.

Large game were relatively unabundant, and small animals provided the bulk of meats until moose and caribou increased in the mid-1800's (Wildlife Review 1970:28). Linguistically, Morice (1932: 99) mentioned the paucity of terms for

caribou, and that the Carrier terms for moose and caribou were derived from the Sekani. In 1833, McLean, at Stuart Lake, stressed the importance of rabbits as a food source, and described the available game as beavers, bear, "a chance moose or reindeer sometimes found, not much mountain sheep, but abundant marmot" (McLean 1932: 174). In 1806, Fraser, at Fraser Lake, wrote (Fraser 1960: 236):

... we have nothing to expect but dry salmon which is bad stuff; there are no large animals except carruban (sic) which is too sly for us. Though there are plenty of fish in the lake at certain seasons of the year there are none caught at present on account of the water being too high, so it is with great difficulty that we procure dry carp and Roes, which the Indians catch in small lakes.

While the Bulkley Carriers (Hwitsiwoten) and Alkatcho had access to mountain sheep, as well as some caribou (Jenness 1934: 153; Goldman 1940: 351), the overall pattern was of fishing, hunting and snaring of small game, and utilization of roots for food. The spectre of starvation was a constant theme throughout the area (Jenness 1943: 532; Goldman 1940: 351), which was alleviated to a certain extent by visiting other Carrier villages (Fraser 1960: 253) or coastal groups, such as the Niska (Jenness 1943: 479) or Bella Coola (Goldman 1940: 339) - an important factor in the adoption of coastal features.

Although there were some regional variations,<sup>1</sup> the

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the Lower Carriers used deer surrounds or dogs to run down deer (Goldman 1940: 351; Fraser 1960: 127).



overall subsistence pattern was similar. Technology also was fairly uniform (cf Morice 1893: 43-48; 84-91), with, for example, different types of fishing equipment related to the depth, width, and speed of the water flow in rivers, streams, etc.

The greatest regional differences were expressed through features of social organization, which were more contingent upon differential interaction with other groups than exploitative patterns per se, i.e., the most important extracultural factor was not the environment, but other social systems. This becomes evident from an examination of records of migrations, intermarriage, etc.

### 3. ATHABASCAN MATRILINY

The question of the origin and spread of matriliney in the northwestern area of North America has produced divergent views. Swanton (1905: 670-671) suggested that matriliney originated at the mouths of the Skeena and Nass rivers and was spreading inland, north, and south at the time of first contact. An old world origin for matriliney was posited by Birket-Smith and deLaguna (1938), a view elaborated by Murdock (1955: 86), who felt that conditions in neither the northwest coast nor the adjacent interior were conducive to the "emergence of the matrilineate," and postulated that the ancestors of the Nadenes (Athabascans) entered the new world with remnants of an old matrilineal organization, which was lost by those tribes that migrated eastward. Those that remained in the west retained the old system, and the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida elaborated it, with diffusion to the Tsimshian and Haisla (Northern Kwakiutl). Drucker (1963: 198) suggests that although northwest Athabaskan matrilineal organization represents coastal influence, "the opposite may be true." "... lacking the basic economy to evolve them independently" Driver and Massey (1957: 435) felt that there was little evidence that the northern Athabascans would have evolved matrilineal descent without coastal contact.

The ecological perspective appears in Steward's (1936, 1955) evaluation of the problem. Steward (1955: 176) concluded

19.

that the ecological factors among the western Cordillera Athabascans<sup>1</sup> "permitted sufficient latitude in the basic social structure to make diffusion a major determinant." A 'band' organization was thus replaced with a system of "matrilineal moieties" (Steward 1955: 174), which diffused from the coastal Tsimshian and Tlingit due to the surplus wealth from salmon (Steward 1955: 176).

In considering the question of whether the Kaska, Tahltan, and Carrier have coastal-influenced or coastal-derived matrilineal sib systems, McClellan (1964: 8) suggests that the former may be valid. The antiquity of matrilineal exogamous kin groups among the western Athabascans is stressed in a recent (unpublished) paper by de Laguna (1971), with matriliney "antedating the earlier migration of the Nadene Tlingit and Haida to their coastal homes" (de Laguna 1971: 65). de Laguna further suggests that although the crest system is a coastal feature:

The elaboration of sib ceremonialism on the Northwest coast has blinded both interior peoples and ethnologists into accepting the crest system as the most important feature which indicates the origin and direction of diffusion of the entire complex situation.

Lane (1953: 16) has also suggested that the emphasis on northwest coast features in the interior of British Columbia obscures other aspects of the interior cultures. Reminiscent

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<sup>1</sup> Carrier, Babine, Chilcotin, Tsetsaut, Tahltan, Kaska, and Kutchin (Steward 1955: 177; with data from Jenness 1932).

of Service (1962), de Laguna (1971: 65) suggests that the origin of moieties, originally a "dual arrangement of opposites", is the result of the linking of small, scattered bands (in the interior) by cross-cousin marriage (cf. Eggan 1955: 538-542) and perpetuated by reciprocal obligations.

McClellan (1965: 10) suggests that protohistoric trade between coastal and interior groups reinforced Athabascan matriliney by enhancing both sib consciousness and sib ranking at potlatches, although Driver (1969: 292) notes that in the Yukon sub-arctic, band leaders tended to inherit their positions patrilineally, "in spite of the presence of matrilineal moieties in most localities." (McClellan's (1964: 10) implicit suggestion of latent Athabascan matriliney is reiterated by Spencer and Jennings (1965: 163), who write:

It is true that the interior Athabascans were receptive to maternal organization by virtue of the special residence and marital patterns they possessed, unilineal organization being implicit in their particularized system.

This "implicit" unilineal organization was structured only after influences from the coast (Spencer and Jennings 1965: 163). However, Spencer and Jennings (1965: 162) base their generalisations on an assumption of a uxori-local-matrilocal residence pattern for the Athabascans, with a child belonging to his mother's band.

A recent study by Allen (1971) concluded that the high degree of correlation between trade routes and sibs in the northwest indicated a coastal origin for northern Athabascan

matrilineal sibs. Other recent views tend to favour a coastal origin, with diffusion inland (cf. Honigmann 1954; Slobodin 1962; Balikci 1963; Inglis 1970).

#### 4. SOURCES

The main source of material on the Carriers is the work of Father Morice, O.M.I., spanning a period of fifty years from about 1880 to 1930 (see bibliography). However, voluminous as his works are, there is little analysis of cultural differences between Carrier groups, and a tendency to generalize from Stuart Lake Carrier data. Jenness (1943) provides substantial material on the western Carriers, based on fieldwork in 1924-25; Hackler (1958) presents some data on Babine Lake Carrier social organization (fieldwork 1956), and the Alkatcho Carrier are well documented by Goldman (1940, 1941, 1953). Julian Steward worked among the Stuart Lake Carrier in 1940, but no detailed account has yet been published. Other Carrier groups have not been covered in any great detail; for example, Ray's (1942) Lower Carrier Culture Element Distribution is based on a sole informant from Fort Alexandria.

Historical documentation exists for the Stuart Lake Carrier, from the journals of Fraser, 1806 (1960); Harmon, 1810-25 (1903, 1957); and McLean, 1832 (1932). Ogden (1853) has information on Stuart and Babine lakes; McGillivray, 1827 (1947) describes the Carriers trading into Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River.

Material from neighbouring groups is primarily from McIlwraith (1948) for the Bella Coola; Olson (1940), Haisla; Barbeau (1929), Gitksan; Sapir (1915), Niska; Jenness (1937),

Sekani; and Lane (1953), for the Chilcotin. Material culture is not treated in Olson (1940), Barbeau (1929), or Sapir (1915); Lane's (1953) study is by far the most comprehensive of any of the above, with an emphasis on the culture area affiliation of the Chilcotin.

No complete comparative analysis of Carrier culture has been done, except for Goldman's (1941) paper on Alkatcho crest groups. The question of whether the Carriers belong to the Interior Plateau culture area also remains a moot point (cf Lane 1953; Ray 1939).

## 5. SUGGESTED AREAS OF RESEARCH

Boas (1940: 331) felt in 1910 that ethnological work in northern British Columbia (and elsewhere in the sub-arctic) might reveal a 'pristine' type of social organization, with the Athabascans occupying a "peculiar place" among North American tribes because of their migrations and adaptations to different social conditions. An historical analysis would reveal basic patterns, eg., that totemism and matriliney had been adopted by tribes of British Columbia previously on a "paternal" level (Boas 1940: 336, 339).

The former importance of interaction between the Kwakiutl speaking Haisla (Kitimat, Kemano-Kitlope) and western Carrier groups, especially the Cheslatta and Bulkley Carriers, has been brought up by Jenness (1943: 480-81), Duff (1951: 29), Hackler (1958: 7), and Lopatin (n.d.: 156-57). Jenness (1943: 481) felt that a comparison of the social organizations of the Kitimat and Carrier might indicate similarities due to historical connections.

Although there is common agreement concerning the influence of coastal groups on Carrier culture, little detail is put forth on the actual mechanisms involved. The actual relations and mechanisms of interaction will be dealt with in this paper, utilizing the method enunciated by Sapir (1916, in Mandelbaum (ed.) 1958: 389-462).



## 6. INFLUENCES ON CARRIER CULTURE

It has been suggested that Athabascans in general have a high receptivity to the adoption of features from neighbouring cultures (Morice 1905: 197; Goldman 1941: 396), with the Carriers as an example (Morice 1892: 114-115).

Several areas of influence on the Carriers have been outlined. According to Jenness (1929: 22), the Gitksan, Kitimat, and Bella Coola changed almost every aspect of Carrier culture, except for the language and the relative importance attached to hunting rather than fishing. This tenacity of language retention has also been noted by Morice (1905: 198). Jenness (1929: 23-24) has outlined the sequence of Carrier change as follows:

1. Reorganization of the social system.
2. Migratory hunting life partly superseded by fixed habitations at favourable fishing locations.
3. Change from a "loose structure" to a "rigid clan system" of nobles, commoners, and slaves.
4. Multifamily clan dwellings.
5. Matrilineal descent replaced patrilineal.
6. Status of women remained unchanged.

The Babines, Carriers (Stuart Lake), and western "Nahanis" adopted "matriarchy" from the coast Indians (Morice 1905: 201); Babines and Carriers copied cremation and funeral poles from the Gitksan (Morice 1905: 199); the Stuart Lake Carrier derived their northwest coast pattern ultimately from the Gitksan (Steward 1960: 733); and the social organization of the Alkatcho was influenced indirectly by the Gitksan (from

the upper Carrier) and directly by the Bella Coola (Goldman 1941: 396). Gitksan influences also extended to some of the Sekani (Jenness 1937: 47; Goldman 1941: 396).

Steward (1960: 735) emphasizes that the introduction of coastal patterns among the Carriers took place "without any change whatever in exploitative technology or local resources," representing a case where ecological factors allowed a range of social organization.

## 7. RELATIONS OF THE CARRIERS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

Different Carrier groups interacted with other interior groups, Athabascan and non-Athabascan, and coastal and river groups such as the Bella Coola, Haisla, and Tsimshian, in varying degrees of intensity. An analysis of the main patterns of interaction is presented below.

### 7.1. Carrier - Shuswap

The Shuswap name for the Carriers was yu'nana; for the Chilcotin, pesqa'qEnEm, "dentalia people" (Boas 1890: 632; Dawson 1891: 5). In turn, the Shuswaps were labelled ana by the Chilcotins (Lane 1953: 74) and atna by the Carriers (Fraser 1960: 64), both variants of the Athabascan term for strangers.

Contacts between the Carriers and the Shuswaps seem largely motivated by trade (Boas 1890: 637), and mainly involved the south-eastern Carriers, Tautens or Talkotin, who gathered along the Fraser River for the fall salmon runs (Harmon 1957: 174), and the north-western groups of the Shuswaps proper, su-quapaq (Boas 1890) or shoo-wha-pa-mooh (Dawson 1891). This latter group occupied an area that extended north to the Quesnel Lakes - "...although so few Indians inhabit or hunt in that region that it is difficult to fix the limit exactly" (Dawson 1891: 5), to Soda Creek on the Fraser River, and west of the Fraser with hunting grounds extending to Hanceville and villages at Riske Creek and ten miles up the

Chilcotin River (Lane 1953: 75) (cf. Map 6).

Boas (1890: 643, fn. 1) felt that the mourning ceremonies of the Shuswaps reflected Carrier influence. In 1808, Fraser (1960: 64) met a group of "Toohowtins and Atnaughs" in the vicinity of Soda Creek; i.e., Tautens and Shuswaps. Smith (1912: 482) indicates that Carriers acted as middlemen for material reaching the Shuswaps from posts at Fraser Lake and Stuart Lake from 1806 until 1821, when Fort Alexandria was established at the Talkotin fishing site of stella on the Fraser River. McGillivray's Fort Alexandria Report of 1827 (1947: 190) lists the groups trading into the post of Fort Alexandria as the Klouskers (Carriers of Kluskus Lakes; Kluskotin), Bear Lake Indians or Naskotins, Chilcotins, and Talkotins, the latter residing year-round at the post. The Atnahs or Chin Indians (Shuswap) however, were trading in the Thompson River area, "where they buy goods at moderate prices" (McGillivray 1947: 202).

In general, relations between the Carriers and Shuswaps seem slight and post-Hudson's Bay Company; one Fraser River Carrier summing up his view of the Shuswaps to Mackenzie (1902: 149) as "a very malignant race, who lived in large subterranean recesses."

#### 7.ii. Carrier - Chilcotin

Traditional relations between the Carriers and Chilcotins are summed up by Lane (1953: 63) as slight, not especially friendly, and with little motivation for contact. Al-

though there is considerable intermarriage at present (Goldman 1953: 6), informants told Lane (1953: 63) that in pre-white times, contact was much less. The Chilcotin believe that in earlier days they had little contact with the Alkatcho Carrier to the west (Lane 1953: 66), but in post-contact times some Chilcotin from Anahim Lake used to fish with the Alkatcho at Salmon House on the Dean River. Lane (1953: 66) suggests that with the commencement of the fur trade on the coast, the Alkatcho may have moved from the Ootsa Lake region (to the north) to the Dean River in order to participate in the fur trade; Chilcotins then may have moved west to the Anahim Lake area to avoid Alkatcho middlemen. It is interesting to note that the Chilcotin regard the Alkatcho and Ootsa Lake Indians as one group (Lane 1953: 66).

Contact was overall light, and confined to the Alkatcho, Kluskotin, Naskotin, Talkotin, and the sudin, around Prince George (Lane 1953: 63-73). Relations with the last two groups were antagonistic after a Talkotin - Chilcotin conflict at Fort Alexandria in 1826 (Lane 1953: 72; McGillivray 1947: 216). Raids on the sudin may have been the cause of the destruction of Chinlac, which Morice (1904: 15) indicates was destroyed by Chilcotins about 1745. In sum, Lane (1953: 74) felt that similarities in culture were due as much to common heritage as contact.

Chilcotin and Shuswap influence on the Carriers, especially the Lower Carriers, seems generally slight, with most interaction following the fur trade and the establishment of trading posts in the interior of British Columbia.

### 7.iii Carrier - Bella Coola

The Bella Coola term for Carriers is Atlashimih, according to Dawson and Tolmie (1884: 122B),<sup>1</sup> and t'a·'nsne (Lane 1953: 110); while all interior Indians are labelled "Stick Indians" (Lane 1953: 114), which Lane (1953: 113-114) suggests has led to McIlwraith's (1948: passim) lumping of Chilcotin and Carrier as 'Carrier.' Contact between the Bella Coola and a group they call the Xixais Indians of Ootsa Lake appears to be frequent. Concerning the visit of a party of these Xixais to Kimsquit in the winter of 1840, McIlwraith (1948 I: 357, fn. 81) wrote that it was impossible to identify this tribe, but:

... according to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, kusiut dances and the sisaok ceremonial through intermarriage with coastal people of the Skeena River. Their home is said to be far to the north of Ootsa Lake, but, as no Bella Coola has visited them, little reliability can be placed on this statement.

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<sup>1</sup> Salmon House, on the Dean River, was termed Askhta by the Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I: 15). The similarity of Dawson and Tolmie's term suggests that Atlashimih means people of Askhta or Salmon House (mih is a transcription of the Salish suffix for people, mix), indicating limited Bella Coola - Carrier contact.

According to Olson (1955: 344, fn. 57), xaixais is a Bella Bella word for people of the 'down,' i.e., north, and although there is a coastal group along Royal Channel with this name, the group referred to by the Bella Coola is likely the Hwitsiwoten Carrier of the Bulkley River, and may include the Cheslatta Carrier, who hunted in the Cheslatta - Ootsa Lake area (Duff 1951: 29).

Both the Alkatcho Carrier (Goldman 1953: 51) and the Chilcotin (Lane 1953: 111) wintered in Bella Coola villages of the upper Bella Coola valley and the Kimsquits. McIlwraith (1948 I: 17) wrote that the Bella Coola of the upper valley intermarried with the Carriers, but in conflicts with the Carriers, the people of the lower valley were scarcely affected (McIlwraith 1948 I: 373).<sup>1</sup>

It seems clear that the Alkatcho Carrier and Carriers from the Ootsa Lake area were in contact with the Bella Coola and Kimsquit by at least 1840. For other Carrier groups, especially those directly east of the Bella Coola, the period may be earlier. On July 15, 1793, Mackenzie (1902: 231-233), two days before arriving at a Bella Coola village, met a party of five men and their families who called themselves Neguia Dinais (Ntshaautin, according to Smith n.d.), a Carrier band, who were on

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<sup>1</sup> While McIlwraith (1948 I: 373) uses the term Carriers in this case, reference is made to "the Carriers living east" of the Bella Coola, which would seem to include the Chilcotin.

their way to the Anah-yoe Tesse or river to trade.

Mackenzie's (1902: 232-233) description of this party shows the extent of, and Carrier involvement in, the fur trade by 1793:

Every man, woman, and child carried a proportionate burden consisting of beaver coating, and parchment, as well as skins of the otter, the marten, the bear, the lynx, and dressed moose skins.<sup>1</sup> The latter they procure from the Rocky Mountain Indians.<sup>2</sup> According to their own account, the people of the sea coast prefer them to any other article.

Nine days earlier, near Kluskus Lake, Mackenzie (1902: 209) had encountered a party of one man, two women, and six children. One of the man's wives " was a native of the sea coast " (Mackenzie 1902: 209); decorated with large blue beads in her ears, neck, and hair; bracelets of brass, copper, iron, a robe of matted bark, and a sea otter fringe; and had learned the language of her husband's tribe. This party appears to be Chilcotin, and not Carrier, as the previous day Mackenzie (1902: 204) had encountered a group of three families who were antagonistic to Mackenzie's Carrier hunters, and noted that:

The former, it appeared, were considered as belonging to a tribe who inhabit the mountains, and are the natural enemies of the latter.

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<sup>1</sup> Moose did not appear in Carrier territory until the nineteenth century, indicating trade with more northern groups with moose.

<sup>2</sup> Sekanis; one of whom was with this trading party (Mackenzie 1902: 235).



This supports the view of Lane (1953: 278-291) of a southward movement of the Chilcotin, and an expansion into the Anahim Lake area, as the present inhabitants of this area are Carriers. This whole movement may have been tied in with the expansion of the fur trade in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century in the interior of British Columbia.

Trade seems the primary motive for Bella Coola - Carrier interaction. From the Bella Coola point of view, a monopoly on furs from a Carrier son-in-law provided enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives (Goldman 1941: 416). On the other hand, Bella Coola marriages gave an Alkatcho Carrier wealthy relatives with whom to winter, access to titles or important names, and participation in Bella Coola property distributions (Goldman 1941: 414). However, Goldman (1940: 244) indicates that Alkatcho - Bella Coola marriages were not very common, due to Bella Coola endogamic practices (McIlwraith 1948 I: 61) and the economic strain "of participating in a series of affinal potlatch exchanges with the Bella Coola" (Goldman 1940: 344).

Most marriages were between Bella Coola women and Alkatcho men, with virilocal residence operating to bring Bella Coola women inland (Goldman 1940: 345). Lane (1953: 113) indicates that there were occasional marriages between Bella Coolas and Chilcotins, with Chilcotin women sometimes marrying Bella Coola men, but few cases of the reverse, and

then with the Chilcotin husbands usually settling down in the valley villages with their wives.

In recent years, there has been a tendency for Bella Coola men to marry foreign women to gain prerogatives (McIlwraith 1948 I: 121), a practice apparently initiated " by a certain PotlEs, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923 " (McIlwraith 1948 I: 121). This dates the conscious effort to gain foreign prerogatives by marriage to about the middle of the nineteenth century, which is approximately the date that Goldman (1941: 417) sets for Alkatcho adoption of the 'potlatch' complex. An example of such a practice involving Carriers is recounted in the legend of SmaoEn of Kimsquit (McIlwraith 1948 I: 332-335), who in succession married women from Dean Inlet, Bella Bella:

... and next went to the land of the Xixais Indians, a branch of the Carriers living north-east of Kimsquit, where he married WatEs, the daughter of a chief. From her he received the right to use a form of sisaok whistle that imitated the voice of a deer. Soon after his return with his bride, SmaoEn called guests from far and near to another potlatch.

McIlwraith (1948 I: 17) states that the upper Bella Coola River valley villages intermarried with the Carrier; Lane (1953: 114) suggests that these 'Carriers' may be Chilcotins. At the village of Nutleax,<sup>1</sup> thirty-one miles up the Bella Coola River, where Mackenzie first reached the river

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<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie's Friendly Village (Mackenzie 1902: 312).

(McIlwraith 1948 I: 10) on July 17, 1793, Mackenzie had to give his venison to one of a group of strangers present who belonged to a meat-eating tribe, as it was salmon season and the venison would pollute the river (Mackenzie 1902: 247). These strangers could be either Carrier or Chilcotin, as it seems that the upper river villages had relations with both the Carriers and the Chilcotins "sometimes" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 22).

On the other hand, the villages along the Dean River and Kimsquit River interacted mainly with Carrier groups, especially the Xixais of Ootsa Lake, as attested to in Bella Coola legends. However, McIlwraith (1948 I: 313) notes that inclusion in Bella Coola legends does not necessarily attest to the antiquity of relations.<sup>1</sup>

The Bella Coola considered the Carriers (and likely the Chilcotins) as "utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is a deadly insult" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 18) and were regarded with scorn and contempt. However, McIlwraith (1948 I: 22) notes:

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<sup>1</sup> An ancestor, travelling to the Skeena River, obtained the name Xwelbon from the people of one town, according to an origin myth (McIlwraith 1948 I: 312-313). But McIlwraith (1948 I: 313, fn. 28) cautions that:

It appears that Xwelbon is an attempt to pronounce the English, whale-bone, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and have been clothed with the glamour of antiquity.

The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

The residence patterns of the Bella Coola and Alkatcho would favour the introduction of Bella Coola elements into the interior by intermarriage. Both groups practiced initial uxori-locality in the form of bride-service (McIlwraith 1948 I: 383; Goldman 1953: 64) and final viri-locality (McIlwraith 1948 I: 118; Goldman 1953: 64). A Bella Coola woman takes rights and prerogatives to her husband at marriage (McIlwraith 1948 I: 425); a father-in-law gives his son-in-law such prerogatives as a totem pole design, carving of a spoon, wall painting, and myth elements (McIlwraith 1948 I: 407). In return, the father-in-law gains rights to his son-in-law's hunting and fishing areas (McIlwraith 1948 I: 408). However, the Bella Coola emphasis on limiting the distribution of prerogatives to the "ancestral family" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 120) would work against giving the Carriers any more prerogatives than necessary. Concerning the actual frequency of Bella Coola - Alkatcho marriages, Goldman (1953: 92-93) wrote:

Bella Coola marriages do not appear as commonly in the genealogies as might be expected from the degree of Bella Coola influence upon Alkatcho Carrier life. In Alkatcho only two families claim direct kinship with Bella Coola. But if one takes into account the extension of bi-lateral kinship ties with these families, then the influences of Bella Coola names and potlatch practices can be readily understood as being considerably more extensive.

In general, it appears that the direct transmission of Bella Coola practices, rights, etc., along marriage lines is small. The Bella Coola seem to have utilized affinal obligations for their own benefit (see below p. 70) but very little, or as little as possible, was transmitted directly to the Carriers. Trade by barter was probably of greater importance than trade along kinship lines. McIlwraith (1948 I: 374) states that the Bella Coola knew, and were amused by, the regulation of marriage according to crests among the northern tribes, "but practice nothing of the same nature themselves" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 374), indicating that crest group exogamy did not prevail among the Bella Coola. However, the Bella Coola ninmints, or bilateral ancestral family, has a number of ancestral names which are embodied in the origin myth of the ninmints (McIlwraith 1948 I: 122-123) and which are inherited bilaterally (McIlwraith 1948 I: 122). These ancestral names can pass outside the ancestral family, however, as McIlwraith (1948 I: 124) indicates that if a woman marries into a foreign tribe, her relatives may give her husband an ancestral name outright, which permanently alienates the name from the family to which it formerly belonged. But, more often:

... a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his

widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. (McIlwraith 1948 I: 123).

The Alkatcho Carrier acknowledge the Bella Coola origin of some of their 'big names'; Goldman (1941: 414) lists six. In a further list of nine meotih names (Goldman 1953: 167), i.e. names of a person who has elevated his status through four potlatches, as a Bella Coola numitl chief (McIlwraith 1948 I: 173), none are identified as Bella Coola in origin.

The potlatch period for the Bella Coola was October (McIlwraith 1948 I: 188), and Goldman (1940: 352) indicates that the Alkatcho Carrier spent the period from December to February in Bella Coola villages. The necessity of foreigners at ceremonies of the Bella Coola is stressed by McIlwraith (1948 I: 184):

Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done.

These foreign guests included Carriers (McIlwraith 1948 I: 447). Goldman (1953: 7) also indicates that some of the Alkatcho participated in Bella Coola ceremonies, stating that:

When one of their people danced with the Bella Coola the Alkatcho Carrier usually sat outside in fear. They were virtually terrorized by Bella Coola threats that they would be killed if they talked about the Kusiut dances.

The actual number of Alkatcho involved in the Bella Coola pattern seems small, with Goldman (1953: 12) commenting that "... some people took the potlatch and rank seriously, others more or less ignored it."<sup>1</sup>

From the assertion of Alkatcho informants that four generations ago (from fieldwork in 1935) they did not potlatch (Goldman 1941: 417), the Bella Coola date of mid-1800 for marriages to other tribes, and the paucity of marriages between the Bella Coola and Alkatcho, interaction between these two peoples seems a result of the expanding fur trade around 1800. Goldman (1941: 417) dates the Alkatcho adoption of the rank and potlatch complex to about 1840, although the journal of Mackenzie (cf. Mackenzie 1902: 189) makes it clear that trade was occurring fifty years prior, along with inter-marriage and affinal obligations between a Fraser River Carrier and his Bella Coola father-in-law. Also, following Lane's (1953: 66) suggestion that the Alkatcho moved into the Dean River area in response to the fur trade, they may have brought with them some other form of social organization.

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<sup>1</sup> Goldman's main informant, Charlie West, was one of those who took it seriously, obviously skewing the information.

#### 7.iv. Carrier - Haisla

The Haisla are a Kwakiutl speaking people inhabiting Gardner and Kemano Canals and Douglas Channel, with two main groups, the Kitimats and the Kemano-Kitlopes. The possible former importance of Carrier interaction with Haisla groups, especially the Kitimats, has been suggested by Jenness (1943: 481), Hackler (1958: 7), and Duff (1951: 29), but there is very little direct evidence to elaborate on this. An Alkatcho account of a war against the Kitimat and Kitlope was obtained by Goldman (1953: 122), which may reflect a pre-white distribution of Alkatchos in an area north of their present area. Duff (1951: 29) indicates that the Cheslatta Carrier fished for salmon in the headwaters of the Kimsquit River, which is adjacent to the head of Gardner Canal.

Morice (1902a: 17) was informed by "one of his Carriers" (no specific group mentioned, but possibly refers to Stuart Lake) that he was a constant visitor to the head of Gardner Canal; further, (Morice 1902b: 31), that a "sept" (sub-tribe; band) annually traded on Gardner Canal. This corresponds to Duff's (1951: 29) information that the Cheslatta Carrier traded with the Kemano-Kitlope. Charlie West, Goldman's main informant at Alkatcho, was born about 1880 in the coast mountains during winter as his parents were enroute to Kimsquit, at the head of Dean Channel, to trade skins for oolachen and salmon (Goldman 1953: 314), so



the mountains appeared to pose no serious obstacle. Hackler (1958: 7) suggests that a prior connection between Kitimats and Babines is indicated by ceremony similarities. Lopatin (n.d.: 156) claims to have learned that there has been constant interaction between the Carriers and Kitimats; mostly friendly, but sometimes hostile; further (Lopatin n.d.: 157), that Carrier - Haisla intermarriage was common, with some Carriers claiming a Kitimat derivation for some of their sib crests. However, these crests were not derived from any kinship affiliations, but rather the result of a Bulkley Carrier raid on a Kitimat village (cf. Jenness 1934: 232-233).

Olson's (1940) ethnography of the Kitimat Haisla, with an appendix on the Kemano-Kitlope, contains no references to relations with Carrier groups, although it does indicate marriages with Tsimshians (Olson 1940: 170). Reference is made, though, to the distribution at ceremonies of "dressed skins imported from the interior" (Olson 1940: 179), and the Haisla and Alkatcho have some similar cultural features, suggesting a derivation from one of the parties. One of the most interesting indications of contact involves an epidemic of smallpox which struck Kildala Arm in Douglas Channel about 1835 (Olson 1940: 172). This date coincides with a statement by Jenness (1943: 475) that the Eutsuk Lake inhabitants, who seem to have formed a distinct Carrier sub-tribe, were destroyed by a smallpox

epidemic about 1838. By speculation, this Eutsuk Lake sub-tribe may have included the present Alkatcho.

Archaeological work further supports the idea that there was once occupancy of the area around Ootsa and Eutsuk Lakes. Known villages were concentrated around Cheslatta Lake, with annual trips to Tahtsa, Whitesail, Eutsuk, and other lakes to hunt mountain goats, bear, caribou, and collect berries (Borden 1953: 34). Some Cheslatta Carrier fished in the headwaters of the Kimsquit River; others went to Fraser Lake for the fall salmon runs. Trade routes led from the west end of Tahtsa Lake to the Haisla village on the Kemano River; and from Eutsuk Lake to the Bella Coola village of Kimsquit (Borden 1953: 34). Borden (1953: 37) indicates that manifestations of a culture earlier than Carrier were found at the head of Natulkuz Lake, with secondary concentrations on the north shore of Euchu Reach. A pit house at Natulkuz Lake yielded a basal date of 465 B.C. by radiocarbon dating (Donahue 1971: 5).

Goldman (1941: 398) indicates that Indian traditions and archaeological sources revealed that the vicinity of Alkatcho once had a larger population in several villages, with, for example, the western end of Qualcho Lake, northwest of Alkatcho, having over 100 semi-subterranean house sites (Smith MS).

It seems plausible to suggest that prior to 1838 the Ootsa - Eutsuk Lake area was occupied, or at least utilized, by one or more Carrier bands; the Cheslatta Carrier, with villages around Cheslatta Lake; and the Eutsuk Lake Carrier, with villages between Eutsuk and Alkatcho lakes, although not extending as far south as the latter lake until post-fur trade times. Both of these groups were in some sort of contact with Haisla villages on Douglas Channel and Gardner Canal, as well as with the Bella Coola Kimsquit. The fur trade orientated the southern populace of this area, the Alkatcho Carrier, toward the Bella Coolas, with a consequent southern movement to the Dean River, and later to Anahim Lake, after the Chilcotins went east. The smallpox epidemic of the mid 1830's decimated the remainder of the population around Eutsuk Lake, allowing the Bulkley Carriers to expand their hunting territory southward to include this area (Jenness 1943: 475).

Motives for Carrier - Haisla interaction were ecological; the Ootsa and Eutsuk Lake area lacked salmon (Borden 1952: 9), and occupants of this area could either go west to the headwaters of salmon-bearing streams, or gather with other Carrier groups at Fraser Lake (Borden 1952: 10). Borden (1952: 9-10) sums up the pattern as:

Ecological considerations and the earlier absence of the snowshoe suggest that in pre-contact times the Indians used the western portion of this area only during the warm season and that

they spent the winter in fairly permanent quarters somewhere in the eastern half.

The lack of snowshoes until around 1800 for the Carriers and the placing of Haisla and Bella Coola trade in historic times by Duff's Cheslatta informants (in Borden 1952: 10) indicates a post-fur trade situation.

The Haisla pattern of initial uxori-local residence in the form of bride service for one year, then final virilocality (Olson 1940: 186); coupled with clan exogamy prevailing even when marrying outside the tribe (Lopatin n.d.: 17) would place Haisla women among interior groups, provided that there actually was intermarriage. The introduction of other cultural elements would result from the Haisla practice of the wife's kin presenting rights to names and dances to the groom (Olson 1940: 186). As the clans were exogamous, the groom would have to affiliate with a different clan, or failing that, the children would belong to the same matriclan as their Haisla mother.

There is no record of interior Indians present at Haisla ceremonies or other activities, but interaction is suggested by inferential evidence.

Carrier - Haisla contact: inferential evidence.

Contact between the Haisla and Carrier groups is indicated, in the absence of documented cases of intermarriage, by three features: (1) similarity in ceremonial activities; (2) similarity of house types; (3) similarity

of sibs and crests. The distribution of certain cultural elements among the Haisla, Alkatcho Carrier, Bulkley River Carrier, and the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests that, prior to intensive Gitksan contact (dating from 1820), all or some of the above groups were involved in cultural exchange.

(1) Similarity of ceremonies.

The Haisla have five or six matrilineal, exogamous sibs: Eagle, Beaver, Raven, Blackfish or Killer Whale, Salmon/Wolf, and Crow (perhaps extinct) (Olson 1940: 170). Among the Alkatcho, there are three "crest groups", Grizzly Bear, Raven, and Beaver (Goldman 1941: 401), which are bilateral and non-exogamous; due, according to Goldman (1941: 401), to Bella Coola influence. Practices of the Alkatcho crest groups are very similar to those of the Haisla Raven and Eagle.

Olson (1940: 185) writes that "each clan has its own distinctive cry or call which is used by the members on occasion." The call of the Haisla Raven and Crow clans is a "croaking gax gax." (Ibid.). A Haisla Raven is entitled to food after uttering the cry, but:

... he is careful usually that it is directed at a man whose father was a Raven. In such circumstances the latter is obliged to feast the whole Raven clan and perhaps make gifts to each one as well. (Olson 1940: 185).

Among the Alkatcho Raven crest group, a member of that group climbed up on the roof of the potlatch house and shouted 'kaw kaw', imitating a raven, to signify that

the raven wanted to smoke. As a result, all the Ravens assembled at the house of their chief, who cut up tobacco and distributed it among them, also filling a large pipe that had a number of stems radiating from the bowl (resembling a Bella Coola pipe), which was smoked in turn by Ravens by rank (Goldman 1941: 401-403).

Although the Alkatcho ceremony has been altered by the addition of smoking, there seems to be a common pattern of calling for, and receiving, a distribution of consumable items, either food or tobacco.

The Alkatcho Beaver crest group had a dance which imitated the movement of a beaver through water (Goldman 1941:400); members of the Haisla Beaver clan cry t'am t'am, imitating the sound made by the beaver slapping his tail on the water (Olson 1940: 185), suggestive of a common interpretation of beaver actions, which I interpret as suggestive of sharing in this case, rather than independent invention. This is also indicated by the actions of Haisla Eagles and Alkatcho Beavers, noting that Beaver is a crest of the Tsimshian Eagle phratry, although not of the Haisla Eagle clan. If an Alkatcho Beaver had his hat blown off by a gust of wind another member of the Beavers, by retrieving it and shouting yal'dEs (meaning unknown), had the right to purchase it at an exorbitant price (Goldman 1941: 402). With the elements somewhat different, an analogous pattern is found among the Haisla Eagles

(Olson 1940: 185):

A person of the Eagle who drops something he is carrying will not pick it up again but calls a member of some other clan and gives it to him. This he does whether the object is some trifle or something of value, as a gun.

(2) Houses.

One of the crests of the Haisla Beaver clan was a Beaver's house, k'yEk'an, which, according to Olson (1940: 179), was similar to the formal designation of the potlatch and dance house of the Haisla Beavers, kyakan, "beaver's house" (Olson 1940: 179). The kyakan was circular in house plan, resembling a beaver's lodge (Olson 1940: 179). The Beaver crest group among the Alkatcho constructed their house "like a beaver house" (Goldman 1941: 400), which Goldman (1940: 400) describes as of the semi-subterranean type which were adopted from the Shuswaps and in use in the Eliguk Lake area until about 1850. In Jenness' (1943: 484) list of 'clans' and 'phratries'<sup>1</sup> of the Bulkley River Carrier, the Beaver phratry, tsayu, have one clan listed, Beaver House, djakan-ya'. A word list by Morice (1893: 153-164) lists the Carrier term for beaver as tsa, and beaver lodge as Ekxen. The Carrier term for beaver house, following construction of the other clan names (Jenness 1943: 484) should be tsaya' (ya', house) or Ekxen, instead of djakan-ya', which therefore seems a derivative of the

<sup>1</sup> See below, p.107, for a discussion of the various terms used by different observers.

Haisla kyakan, beaver's house. This suggests some sort of interaction between the Haisla and western Carriers, probably the Alkatcho and Bulkley River groups, with the Carrier sib tsayu a consequence of this contact.

### (3) Sibs.

The Haisla alone of the coastal groups had a five-sib system, which was also found among the Hwitsiwoten and possibly the Cheslatta Carrier (Olson 1940: 169); Duff 1951: 29; Jenness 1943: 481), while the Gitksan, Niska, and Coast Tsimshian had four. Present also only among the Haisla and Carrier was a Beaver sib as a distinct social unit, whereas among the Tsimshians, Beaver was a clan in the Eagle phratry (cf. Sapir 1915:20). However, Sapir (1915: 21) suggests that Beaver was once a distinct social unit among the Niska, prior to incorporation with the Eagle phratry, commenting (Sapir 1915: 21):

One thing seems very clear at present - that the present fourfold (not to speak of a simpler tripartite) arrangement into phratries cannot be forthwith assumed as the historical nucleus from which the present complex clan system, with its irregularities of crest distribution, has arisen.

### 7.v. Carrier - Coast Tsimshian.

Contacts to any great extent with the Coast Tsimshian, whom the Hwitsiwoten, or Bulkley River Carrier,



called kłsam'sani<sup>1</sup> (Jenness 1943: 476, fig. 61) do not appear to date much earlier than 1850, when the Tsimshian bypassed the intermediary position of the Gitksan and commenced an annual trade fair at the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley rivers (Jenness 1943: 478). Contact with the Tsimshian at these trade fairs was likely initially limited to the Hwitsiwoten, expanding later to Babines and others. At these fairs, the Carriers observed, and probably participated in, Tsimshian ceremonies (Jenness 1943: 478), deriving, for example, some of their tales here (cf. Morice 1892: 120).

The only mention of actual intermarriage is a lone reference in a tale, when two Hwitsiwoten males joined a party of 'salt water Indians' returning to the coast; one subsequently marrying one of the coastal women (Jenness 1934: 237). Jenness (1943: 478) indicates that some Hwitsiwoten returned with the Tsimshian trading parties to spend the winter on the coast.

A Carrier trade route up the Telkwa River and down the Zymoetz River to the Skeena (Jenness 1943: 479), which Jenness suggested led to the Kitimat, enters the area of the up-river Tsimshian tribes of Terrace and Gilodza, the

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<sup>1</sup>kłsam is likely the Carrier version of the Tsimshian ksan, Skeena River; sani a variant of tene, people (Carrier); kłsam'sani then meaning "people of the river Skeena."

latter a small tribe near Lake Lakelse (cf. Barbeau 1925: 402-408). However, there is no indication of interaction in either Barbeau (1925) or Boas (1916).

One conflict is mentioned in a Carrier tale (Jenness 1934: 237-238), concerning a raid by a 'salt water' war party and subsequent retaliatory raid by the Carriers.

In summary, it appears that contact between the Coast Tsimshian and the Carriers was post-1850, confined mainly to the Hwitsiwoten, and not extensive. The selling of the Tsimshian trading right to the Hudson's Bay Company about 1868 ended the annual trade fair.

#### 7. vi. Carrier - Niska

Hostility permeates relations with the Niska of Nass River; the Hwitsiwoten remembering "with bitterness" an event in 1864 in which several Carriers were killed at the Niska village of Gitlaxdamks while there to purchase oolachon (Jenness 1943: 479). Furs and oolachon were bartered between the two groups, but overall trade seems slight. The Hwitsiwoten name for the Niska, witseni, appears derived from the Tsimshian term for oolachon grease, q<sup>?</sup>a 'wutse (Boas 1912), and seni, people; i.e., 'oolachon people,' indicating the main commodity around which relations centred. Winter trips were made by the Hwitsiwoten to buy food from the Niska in times of famine (Jenness 1943: 532).

Contact with the Niska seems confined primarily to

the Hwitsiwoten and post-1800, the commencement likely subsequent to the movement of a segment of the Hwitsiwoten to Hagwelgate about 1820.

#### 7. vii. Carrier - Gitksan

From ethnographic accounts, the Gitksan, or Tsimshian of the upper Skeena River, have had the most contact with, and influence upon, the Carriers in general and the Hwitsiwoten in particular, with intermarriage, participation in common ceremonies, the exchange of many culture traits (Jenness 1943: 478), and a common homeland - according to the Hwitsiwoten version (Morice 1904:7).

The Hwitsiwoten, or "clever people" as they call themselves (Jenness 1943: 475), occupied the basin of the Bulkley River, from Moricetown the main fishing place and village, 30 miles up the Bulkley River from the Skeena (Jenness 1943: 477). About 1820, a rock slide at the Hagwelgate Canyon, near the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley rivers, almost blocked the river, decreasing the salmon runs, and resulting in the movement of most of the Moricetown Carrier to Hagwelgate Canyon and the establishment of a new village (Jenness 1943: 477). Morice (1906: 487, fn. 1) indicates that this fishery, belonging to the Gitenmaks (Hazelton Gitksan), was forcibly possessed by the Hwitsiwoten. Disputes continued for the next one hundred years regarding the right of the Carriers to fish there (Barbeau 1930: 144), with Carrier fishtraps on the

east side and Gitenmaks fishtraps on the west side of the canyon. The Indian Affairs Report for 1899 (p. 215) gives ownership of the area to the Gitenmaks band, in which the Carrier village of "Hoquelget" (in Carrier) or "Tsitsks" (in Gitksan) is located. The report (Indian Affairs 1899: 215) further comments that, due to the blocking of the Bulkley River:

This circumstance brought the Hoquel-gets down to Get-an-max ground to hook salmon, for which privileges they to this day pay tribute, in a 'lay' of salmon, to the Get-an-max chief. The latter and his people permitted the Hoquel-get to build a village - Hoquel-get - on said grounds at the left bank of the canyon at about the aforementioned time.

This payment of tribute to a particular chief may have been an important factor in the inclusion of Hagwelgate Carriers in Gitenmaks ceremonies and the adoption of phratric affiliation; the movement of 1820 down the Bulkley River gives a base date of about 1820 for intensive interaction. This movement brought the Bulkley Carriers to within four miles of the Gitenmaks village. The term Hagwelgate itself seems a derivative of the Tsimshian term for strangers, hagul-g'a'd (in Boas 1912, word list). The Hwitsiwoten term for the Gitksan is git'ne (Jenness 1943: 476, fig. 61).

The analysis of Gitksan totem poles and social organization by Barbeau (1929) indicates that several Carrier families, especially of Hagwelgate, are related to Gitksans in several villages, either through intermarriage or a

similarity of crests. The latter need not indicate a genealogical connection, as Barbeau (1929: 11) indicates that crests can be acquired several ways: inheritance, conquest, payment for atonement for a crime, compensation for services, trade, or expropriation at the extinction of a family of neighbours or allies. Some of the relations described by Barbeau (1929) are presented below:

Bene, of Hagwelgate, possesses the single-fireweed crest; otherwise limited in distribution to haxpeg<sup>w</sup>awtu,<sup>1</sup> of Gitsegyukla,<sup>2</sup> who acquired it from a Kitsalas (Tsimshian) villager. This indicated to Barbeau (1929: 144) that the family of benee must be in some way related to haxpeg<sup>w</sup>awtu. The beaver crest was also owned by benee, which, among the Tsimshian, was the property of the Eagle clan represented at the villages of GitsexElem and Kitsalas, although Barbeau (1929: 144) cautions that:

...its semi-independent diffusion outside extends farther south than the Eagle, and may have reached the Hagwilget from other tribes south of the Tsimshian.

Jenness (1943: 475) suggests that the beaver crest, and the concept of a Beaver sib, was derived from the Kitimats (Haisla).

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<sup>1</sup> Barbeau's orthography has been altered to conform to contemporary useage; the above term is transcribed by Barbeau (1929: 144) as harhpegwawtu; Barbeau's r is replaced by x; rh by x.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of the villages mentioned, see Map 3.

Barbeau (1929: 129) indicates a close relationship between axteeh, of Kitwanga, and 'waws (chief of Gitemtanyu sib) and kuxwawq, both of Hagwelgate; axteeh's family believed to be a branch of 'waws. Of the seven families of the Gitxandakhl clan of the Wolf phratry, two are at GitsemxElem (Tsimshian), two at Hagwelgate/Moricetown (Hwitsiwoten), and three at Kitwanga (Barbeau 1929: 129).

The Fireweed household<sup>1</sup> of wawsemIaxE, at Kispiox, claims as relatives nuxE, among the Babine Lake Carrier; hxumxEt, Stuart Lake Carrier; tseebasE, Gitwinksilk (Niska); hail, Kitxahla (Coast Tsimshian); and neeyuks, Gitlen (Coast Tsimshian) (Barbeau 1929: 86). The Fireweed household of kweeyaihl, Kispiox, claimed as relatives tsak (or tawisemtsak), Babine Lake; weelaxE and tseebasE, both of Gitwinksilk (Nass River); and hail and neeyuks, of Kitxahla and Gitlen, respectively (Barbeau 1929: 88, fn. 1).

Two Hagwelgate Carriers, ksxaxom-laxhE and semawiget-gyamk, were claimed as relatives by the ksxaxom-laxhE family of Gitsegyukla, who also claim leelebeks, of Kispiox, and axet (or yEl) of Hazelton (Barbeau 1929: 92). Another Gitsegyukla family, guṣsan, of the Sky clan, Fireweed phratry, claims as

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<sup>1</sup>Barbeau's definitions of: (1) household (Barbeau 1929: 9): smallest social unit within a village or tribe; formerly comprised inmates of a single house - a few closely related couples with children and grandchildren; (2) families (Ibid.): maternal kin; dispersed in several households; (3) clan (Ibid.): a number of families in various tribes of one or more nations.

kinsmen teweese mdzep, Babine Lake; semawiget-gyamk, Hagwelgate; plus families in the villages of Gitsegyukla, Kispiox, Gitwinkul, Gitwinksilk, and Kitsalas (Barbeau 1929: 79).

By the extension of sib affiliation beyond adjacent Gitksan villages, Carriers, deriving crests, etc., from the Gitksan, could claim sib affinity, and thus claim aid, etc., in villages of Tsimshian and the Niska, as the above village affiliations indicate.

Barbeau (1929: 81-83) recounts the transfer of a crest from a Carrier to a Gitksan; the hanging-across-with head-down crest (tsihs yaxyak) or half-man (xapagyet), of the hanamak family, Sky clan, Fireweed phratry, at Gitsegyukla. This crest was recorded by Jenness (in Barbeau 1929: 83, fn. 3) under the name of tsim'yaqyaq (meaning unknown, but likely a Carrier rendition of the Tsimshian term). Barbeau (1929: 83) writes that this crest was ceded to hanamak by guxlEt of Hagwelgate as compensation for the murder of a member of hanamak's family. The crest was possibly originally obtained by guxlEt from wemenawzek, laxsail phratry, of Kuldo and Kisgagas (Barbeau 1929: 83), the northernmost Gitksan villages.

"Recent intermarriage," writes Barbeau (1929: 41) has allied the wutaxayEts family of Hagwelgate with lElt, the chief of the Frog-Woman clan, laxsail phratry, at Kitwanga. The wutskanees household, Hagwelgate, is affiliated, through similar crests, to the Frog-Woman clan, laxsail phratry, at

Kitwinlkul (Barbeau 1929: 32).

An analysis of the names used by the Hagwelgate Carriers as titles and chiefs' names reveals a preponderance of Gitksan-derived names; eg., 'wawa, whale; wutaxayEts, big man. Several terms are suffixed with the Tsimshian term for people, -gyet, or prefaced with the Tsimshian term for 'real', sem-, etc. Of sixteen Carrier names mentioned by Barbeau (1929: passim) (Hagwelgate, 11; Moricetown, 1; Babine Lake, 3; Stuart Lake, 1), 3 have cognates in Gitwinlkul (Nass River), 4 in Kitwanga, 5 in Gitsegyukla, and 4 in Kispiox, with a total of 13 in Gitksan villages. Two of the three Babine Lake names are aligned with the Gitksan village of Kispiox, as is the lone Stuart Lake name. The following table presents the figures:

<u>Carrier group</u>	<u>Table 4</u> Names from:				Total	
	Gitwinlkul	Kitwanga	Gitsegyukla	Kispiox	Gitksan	Total
Hagwelgate	3	4	4	-	8	11
Moricetown	-	-	-	1	1	1
Babine Lake	-	-	1	2	3	3
Stuart Lake	-	-	-	1	1	1

#### 7. viii. Relations with other Athabascan groups

##### Tsetsaut

The Bulkley River Carrier vaguely remember a tribe called the T'set'sa'ut, and "some assert that inhabitants of Gitwanlkool itself once spoke the T'set'sa'ut tongue" (Jenness 1943: 578). It is interesting to speculate that Athabascan-speaking groups once occupied the Skeena headwaters; Jenness (1967: 424-425),



using material from Teit, indicates that the Tsetsaut stretched from upper Portland Canal to Meziadin Lake, across the head of the Skeena River above Kuldo to Bear and Sustat lakes. Duff (1959) records conflicts between the Kitwankool and Tsetsaut, culminating in the expulsion of the latter from the Meziadin Lake area.

#### Tahltan

Tahltan were met in the mid-nineteenth century at Bear Lake and old Fort Babine (Jenness 1943: 478). The establishment of Fort Connolly at the northern end of Bear Lake in 1826 increased, and may have initiated, contact between the Tahltan and western Carrier groups, especially those of Babine and Takla lakes, and the Bulkley River. Prior to this period, contact with the Tahltan seems minimal.

#### Sekani

Contact between Sekani and Carrier bands (see Map 2 for distribution) may be dated to the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, when Sekani bands migrated westward from an original locale along the Peace River in response to expansions by the Beaver Indians (Jenness 1967: 383). The establishment of trading posts in the early nineteenth century facilitated contact between Sekanis and Carriers and Gitksans (Jenness 1937: 11-12). Jenness (1937: 9) notes that after trading posts were built at McLeod Lake (1805) and Bear Lake (Fort Connolly, 1826), the Sekani of the Finlay River basin stopped trading at posts along the Peace River where they were

vulnerable to attack by Beaver and Cree. Fort Connolly (Bear Lake) became the rendezvous of the Sasuchan Sekani, Babine Lake Carrier, and upper Skeena Gitksan. Prior to the establishment of Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake, in 1806, Carriers from that region were encouraged to trade at McLeod Lake, in Sekani territory (Fraser 1960: 200); after posts were constructed at Stuart Lake (1806), Fraser Lake (1806), and the confluence of the Nechako and Fraser rivers (Fort George, 1807), Sekanis began to frequent these, all of which were in Carrier territory (cf Fraser 1960: 246-247). The outcome of Sekani interaction with both Gitksan and Carrier was an attempt at adoption of the sib system, which, however, functioned only during summer aggregations at the trading posts or when travelling outside Sekani territory (cf Jenness 1937: 47-50).

## 8. TRADE ROUTES

The major trade routes in the central interior were riverine, on an east to west orientation rather than north - south along the Fraser River. This orientation may have been a direct result of the trading vessels in the late eighteenth century concentrating more on the central and northern areas of the north-west coast, and the larger number of alien, and potentially hostile, groups along the Fraser River route.

Mackenzie, in June, 1793 (1902: 158-160), met a group of Indians at Alexandria on the Fraser River who procured iron, brass, trinkets, and copper from the west, but "formerly these articles were obtained from the lower parts of the river, though in limited quantities" (Mackenzie 1902: 160).

In his journey westward along the Blackwater River in 1793 from the Fraser River, Mackenzie followed one of the "grease trails" which connected Bella Coola with the Fraser River, via the Dean and Blackwater rivers; grease trails routes over which oolachon, or candle fish, was traded. Boas (in McFeat 1966: 2) felt that the passes along the Dean and Bella Coola rivers, plus the Columbia River, were the most important routes over which people of the interior came into contact with coastal groups; the Nass, Skeena, and Fraser rivers of secondary importance. It was along these routes that

tales diffused (Boas 1898: 672), with interior tales, especially Carrier, reaching the Coast Tsimshian along the Fraser River (Boas 1916: 872-873). From the Dean River, a trail northeast led eventually to Fort Fraser (Dawson 1878: 39); one of the Kimsquit villages along the upper Dean River even bearing the name "winter trail" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 15).

Jenness (1943: 480) indicates that the Bulkley Carrier may have had relations with the Kitimats by way of the Zymoetz River through the Bulkley Mountains, but the most important route for trade in this area was the Skeena River and its tributaries, along which were villages of Tsimshian, Gitksan, and Carrier (along the Bulkley River, a tributary). The Skeena River itself was navigable to the Gitksan village of Kuldo, 250 miles inland (Garfield 1950: 6). From the Skeena, coastal Indians entered the interior via Atna Pass, in the Atna Mountains north of the Babine River<sup>1</sup> (Dawson 1881: 25B).

Sekanis traded westward along the Finlay River system to Bear Lake; the Nation River system to Trembleur and Takla lakes; and overland from the Parsnip River to Stuart Lake and the Fraser River (Jenness 1937: 2-3).

Duff (in Harrington 1954: 43) has described five "grease trails" which cover most of the routes enumerated above:

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<sup>1</sup> Atna is an Athabascan term for strangers.

1. up the Nass River to Gitlakdamiks (Aiyansh); along the Cranberry River to Kitwankool and Kitwanga, with branches to Kuldo and Kispiox.
2. from Kitimat, over to the Skeena River, up to the Bulkley Carriers; alternatively, over the Zymoetz River to the Bulkley River.
3. east from Kemano, over the Coast Mountains to Tahtsa Lake and Ootsa Lake.
4. from Kimsquit to Eutsuk Lake; bifurcation to Whitesail Lake and Ootsa Lake; along Eutsuk Lake to the Nechako River (a branch of which also led to the head of Gardner Canal).
5. from Bella Coola, along the Bella Coola River and Blackwater River to the Fraser River.

Several routes were also listed by Dawson (1877, 1878, 1881) and Swannell (1914) in early explorations of the Interior Plateau.

#### 8.i. Trade Material and Groups Involved

The types of material traded indicates a general westward flow of furs and dressed skins, brought by Athabaskan-speaking groups, and a return trade of goods of European manufacture and native materials of prestige from the coast.

The Shuswaps traded deer skins, and later horses, to the Chilcotin for dentalia obtained from the Bella Coola; horses were received from the Okanagan for this dentalia. Some trade was carried on with the Carriers (Boas 1890: 637). From 1806 to 1821, the Shuswaps obtained goods from the Northwest Company through the Carriers. This role of Carrier middlemen was eliminated in 1821 with the establishment of

Fort Alexandria (Smith 1912: 482).

Many Chilcotins made annual expeditions to the coast (Farrand 1898: 645).

Bella Coola Indians, lacking large game in their territory, traded moose and caribou hides from the Carriers (McIlwraith 1948 I: 2). McIlwraith (1948 I: 255) notes that coppers, abalone shells, and moosehides were valued by the Bella Coola because of their mention in origin myths; moosehides appearing in at least two (McIlwraith 1948 I: 255, fn.6). Some Alkatcho Carriers spent the period from December to February in Bella Coola villages, trading, in addition to the furs and skins, bark utensils, and nettle twine for fish nets (Goldman 1953: 51).

There is no mention of actual trade goods between the Carriers and Haisla, but Duff (1951: 29) wrote that the Cheslatta Carriers frequently travelled to the coast to trade with the Kemano Kitimats and Kimsquit. Prior to the drastic depopulation of the Cheslatta Carrier, this trade may have been greater.

Boas' Tsimshian Mythology (1916) lacks detailed references to coastal trading relations with interior groups, except for a general statement (Boas 1916: 437) about a trading expedition inland, with red ochre traded for weasel skins, and the note (Boas 1916: 407) that inland tribes were visited on trading trips made by canoe.

According to Jenness (1943: 478), the Gitksan controlled the Skeena River trade, trading dentalia shells and copper for Carrier moose hides and furs. However, the Coast Tsimshian established a trade fair about 1850 at Mission Flats, at the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley rivers (Jenness 1943: 478), near the main (after 1820) Hwitsiwoten village of Tsechah or Hagwelgate (Morice 1892: 120). This trade was carried on for several years, with a few of the Carriers even accompanying the Tsimshian to the coast to spend the winter there (Jenness 1943: 478). However, the trade was interrupted from 1866 to 1869 by a fight during one of the sessions, in which some Carriers were killed. Trade resumed when, according to Jenness (1943: 478):

...the two peoples concluded peace at a great potlatch in which the Tsimshian, as aggressors in the fight, paid compensation for every Carrier who was slain.

This compensation was likely the source of a good deal of ceremonial paraphernalia, carvings, and maybe phratic affiliations for the Carriers.

Certain Tsimshian clans claimed exclusive trading privileges with Carriers, Babines, and Sekanis, and ascending inland as far as Bear Lake, according to Morice (1910: 647). Boas (1889: 35) has elaborated on this prerogative of a certain LEgieq of the Gyispaqlaots Tsimshian tribe:

The name LEgieq is a Gyitimat (Haisla) name. It is a privilege of the Gyispaqlaots to trade with the Gyitksan; and they kept up this privilege

successfully even against the Hudson Bay Company until the latter purchased it from them in 1866. The Gyt'Enda chiefs are relatives of those of the Gyispaqlaots. They share their privileges, and bear the same names, the one LEgieq excepted.

This trade monopoly attempt by LEgieq, who was a tribal chief at Fort Simpson, is dated as early as 1836 by Garfield (1950: 7).

The importance of coastal traders is indicated by the report of the Fort St. James factor for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833, John McLean. McLean (1932: 183) felt that although it would be desirable to end the credit system, its abolition would mean that the Carriers would only trade elsewhere; further (McLean 1932: 183):

Some of the natives of the coast, having become regular traders of late years, penetrate a considerable distance into the interior; in this manner the goods obtained from the Company's posts along the coast, or on foreign trading ships, pass from hand to hand in barter, until they eventually reach the borders of New Caledonia, where the trade still affords a handsome profit to the native speculator.

Morice (1892: 120) wrote that Haida and occasionally Tlingit also traded at the annual Tsechah trading event, with Carriers imitating the ceremonies they observed at this annual trade fair, and obtaining stories and tales.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> An example of this is the Carrier tale of a journey to the land of the dead (Morice 1892: 123-124), containing references to board houses of split cedar, which resembles a coastal tale elicited by Boas (1889: 47-48). It has a distribution among only a few of the Carrier groups, and these profess to have obtained it at Tsechah (Morice 1892: 124).



Material exchanged at this trade fair were, from the coast, stone axes, dentalia, abalone shells, copper, wood boxes, carved ceremonial paraphernalia, oolachon oil, etc. Interior goods included dressed skins, pelts, and fur blankets (Morice 1892: 120).

Nass River Indians visited the Bulkley River to barter oolachon oil for marten and other furs; Carriers from the Bulkley River occasionally travelled to the Nass during famines to purchase oolachon oil and other food (Jenness 1943: 478).

Harmon (1957: 150) wrote in the early 1800's that the Babines bartered with the "Atenas" (ie., Gitksan) for guns, cloth, blankets, axes, cast iron pots, pine root vessels, and sheep wool blankets (Chilkat?). The adjacent (to the east) Carriers of Stuart Lake obtained, in this same period, all their root vessels, and most of their bows and arrows from their neighbours, the "At-e-nas and Nate-ote-tains" (Harmon 1903: 249). The latter group is the Babines, while the former may be Gitksan or even Shuswap or Chilcotin. The Stuart Lake Carrier have borrowed most of their terms for large game (moose, caribou) and firearms from the Sekani (Morice 1932: 499), indicating the direction of trade for firearms and large game.

Early Sekani trade with groups to the west, especially Carriers, is indicated by the presence of iron work among a group of Sekani on the Parsnip River in 1793 (Mackenzie 1902: 90-100). This group informed Mackenzie (1902: 91) that they

trade beaver skins for iron and dentalia from groups to the west. Jenness (1937: 4) states that these articles were obtained from the Carriers of the Fraser River and Stuart Lake, and Gitksan at Bear Lake.

Black, in 1824 (1955: 111) wrote that the "Nahannies" (Tahltan) traded muskets, powder, and bad axes to the "Thloadenes" (Tlotóna Sekani) for beaver skins. Some of these Thloadenes informed Black (1955: 111) that:

...they had no Salmon or ever heard of any except on the Babine River where there was plenty, that they were thinking of going there in the fall to trade Salmon, that it lies to the SW of this (Lake Thutade) over mountains.

Sekani trade with the Carriers and trading posts in Carrier territory was as much the result of pressures from eastern tribes as the accessibility of trade goods. In a journal of Simpson's travels of 1828, McDonald (1971: 20) notes encountering on September 6, 1828, two Sekanis on the Peace River two days travel from the junction of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers who had beaver to trade at McLeod Lake (established in 1805 by Fraser), and who avoided the Peace River posts because of the hostility of the Beaver Indians who frequented them. McDonald (1971: 20) believed that some of these Sekanis traded as far west as Fort Connolly, Bear Lake; an assumption reiterated by Black (1955: 111) and Jenness (1937: 4). Two days later, McDonald (1971: 20) mentions a party of 12 to 15 Sekanis at the junction of the Finlay and

Parsnip rivers "who seemed to have beaver" for trade at McLeod Lake, which itself had a population then of 26 Sekanis (McDonald 1971: 21).

Black's journal of 1824 (in Patterson 1966: 69-74; 1968: 194-218) lists a Sekani band of fifteen men with a winter camp and hunting and fishing territories on the upper Finlay River (Patterson 1968: 194), who were cognizant of several other tribes - Thloadenes (headwaters of the Stikine River), Trading Nahannis (Tahltan or Kaska), Carriers, and Beavers (on the east slope of the Rocky Mountains) (Patterson 1968: 200). The Thloadenes and Finlay River Sekanis were excluded from salmon rivers by the Trading Nahannis and Carriers, although Black (1955: 111) notes that the Thloadenes traded salmon at Babine Lake and beaver skins with the Nahannis for weapons.

Trade between Sekani bands and the Stuart Lake Carrier was likely a direct result of the establishment of trading posts at McLeod Lake (1805) in Sekani territory, and Stuart Lake (1806), and Fraser Lake (1806), with a supply route linking the three posts. However, Fraser's journal of 1806 indicates that Sekani on the Peace River were well acquainted with Carrier groups (Fraser 1960: 191); which Carrier group is unclear, but it appears to be those around Babine Lake. Due to the efforts of James McDougall, who visited Stuart Lake several months prior to the establishment of a post there,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fraser arrived at Stuart Lake July 26, 1806 (Fraser 1960: 231); McDougall in mid-May, 1806 (Fraser 1960: 181).

Stuart Lake Carriers were being directed to trade furs at McLeod Lake (cf. Fraser 1960: 199), a march of three and one-half days (Fraser 1960: 181).

Two Sekani bands were trading into Rocky Mountain Portage in 1806; the Meadow Indians of the vicinity, and another group who obtained their iron goods and guns from a Bear Lake west of the Finlay River headwaters (Babine Lake, according to Lamb, in Fraser 1960: 170, fn. 9) (Fraser 1960: 170). Fraser (1960: 170) notes that the Stuart Lake Carrier also talked of Bear Lake; their description substantiating that of the Sekani.

The Sekani accounts of the source of their European goods indicates a general east - west trade route that extended from the Finlay and Peace rivers to the Skeena and Stikine rivers, but largely bypassed the Carriers of Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake until the establishment of trading posts.

## 9. METHODS OF TRADE

From the ethnographic material, three main modes of trading are to be found: barter at trade fairs, trading partners, and the formation of companies for trading. Evidence is lacking for sib-structured trading patterns among the Carriers, as Olson (1936) has described for the Tlingit and Tagish, but association with the Tsimshian at the trade fairs may have resulted in the adoption of sib affiliation.

Describing the trading patterns between the Bella Coola and Chilcotin Indians, Lane (1953: 111) writes:

Before trading posts were established in the valley, exchange took place between Chilcotin and Bella Coola friends. A Chilcotin would visit his friend, bringing buckskin, dried berries, and furs. These would be exchanged for dried salmon, oolachon oil, paints, and trade goods. The Chilcotin did not consider this trade, but an exchange of gifts between 'good friends.'

This type of trading pattern was probably extended to Carriers as well, as Lane (1953: 114) notes that all interior Indians were labelled 'Stick Indians' by the Bella Coola.

There is an indication of affinal obligations utilized by the Bella Coola to obtain furs. While on the Fraser River, Mackenzie's guide informed him that two men whom Mackenzie had seen the day before (June, 1793):

...were just returned from their rendezvous, with the natives of the sea coast, and had just brought back a message from his brother-in-law, that he held a new axe for him, and not to forget to bring

a moose skin dressed in exchange. (Mackenzie 1902: 189)

Mackenzie's guide, a Negailas (Carrier), mentioned that some Indians of the Blackwater "were not of their tribe, but are allied to the people of the sea coast who trade with the white man" (Mackenzie 1902: 190). These other Indians called themselves Nascud-Denees and belong to a different tribe than the Nagailas, according to Mackenzie (1902: 198).

Goldman (1953: 34) wrote that the Alkatcho themselves formed, several times, 'companies' to trade furs; "each company had expected that the Indians out of blood loyalty would trade with them;" but these have always failed.

It is interesting to note that the Babine sibs were called "companies" (Hackler 1958: 32), as were those of Stuart Lake (Hawthorn et al 1958: 66), although Duff's (1951: 30) Fort Fraser informant used the term "parties" (trading parties?).

These companies may have been an interpretation of the phratric system of the coastal groups with which the Carriers came into contact. Assuming that the Alkatcho Carrier were once centred northward around Ootsa Lake prior to the expansion of the fur trade, and thus in contact with the Haisla, then the distribution of these companies corresponds to the area of the matri-sibs.

## 10. MYTHOLOGY

Origin myths of the Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948 I: 292-360) contain references to encounters with Carrier Indians, some indicating marriage and common ancestry. These origin myths are described, in general, by McIlwraith (1948 I: 292-293) as the following:

...origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants.

Bella Coola oral traditions are of two types: one, a smaiutsa, "any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogatives;" and second, a sImisma, which is a mere story which can be told by anyone (McIlwraith 1948 I: 293). The restricted use of a smaiutsa, and resentment of any unauthorized use outside of the ancestral family, indicates that sImisma stories would be the type accessible to foreigners, eg., Carriers.

Contained in the origin myths are records of encounters with other tribes and events of historical derivation, intermingled with mythology for support. McIlwraith (1948 I: 313, passim) indicates this merging of the mythological and historical perspective allows the substantiation of even material of European nomenclature; i.e., the use of, and

rights to, anything is substantiated by its mythological reference. Many of the Bella Coola myths take place initially in the interior of British Columbia and include interaction with interior groups in the narrative, even though McIlwraith (1948 I: 331, fn. 48) notes that the Bella Coola were supposed to be the only inhabitants on earth initially.

The origin myth of StuIx (McIlwraith 1948 I: 307-309) is an interesting example of the integration of foreign people into Bella Coola 'history.' This narrative recounts the travels of a certain wiaqaii, who travelled in the interior to find a wife; met a group of wolf-men, who guided him to the home of alixImotusaix, "who had landed from above with his wife on Mount TcInisi in the Carrier country. They had brought from above a beaver as food, and some moose skins." Wiaqaii married the man's daughter, who, in the return trip to stuIx:

...went ahead to break a track in the forest.  
From this she took the name NuxmeInIman'a,  
"Stick-Breaker"...

Had she not cleared this path, there would have been no communication today between the Carriers and Bella Coola. The house wiaqaii built for his wife was decorated with the raven motif - the door was the beak of the raven, raven totem pole, and raven carved on the end of every beam. AlixImotusaix built a house a little above stuIx; and called the house skImnan1, which is like the present (1920) Bella Coola houses, but made entirely of skins.



This narrative is interesting in several aspects.

First, it indicates the first interaction between Bella Coolas and Carriers, with a marriage of a woman of the latter and a man of the former resulting in not only the Carrier woman residing in the village of her husband, but her father moving close by also. The beaver and moose skins suggest a prime motive for the contact, and as moose was absent in this area until at least 1800, we have an approximate date for this contact, which accords with the notion that interaction of these two groups was largely a consequence of the fur trade.

The fourth origin myth of stuIx<sup>1</sup> (McIlwraith 1948 I: 312) suggests a common origin for the upriver Bella Coolas and adjacent interior tribes, commencing:

Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, Nutsat+mais, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest.

The lower Bella Coola River villages do not include Carriers in their origins-of-tribes myths, indicating that the Carriers were in contact with only the upriver villages along the Bella Coola River.

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<sup>1</sup> Most populous of the upper river towns; on the point between the la'xIlx (Atnarko River) and sla.kl (White-water River) rivers, which form the Bella Coola River.

The settlement of snutle'tl,<sup>1</sup> according to a fragment of an origin myth (McIlwraith 1948 I: 302-313), once had a large salmon weir to which neighbouring people came, until it was swept away by a flood, and the people moved to stuIx.

These passages from origin myths of villages on the upper Bella Coola River indicate that there was interaction, and marriage, between the Bella Coolas and interior Athabascans, and further that this contact was, according to the elements of the narratives, largely an outcome of the fur trade. Certain elements found among other groups of Carriers than those immediate to Bella Coola territory suggest that a trade route ran northeast from the Bella Coola area, as well as along the Blackwater River, to Fraser Lake, Stuart Lake, and from Stuart Lake to include the Sekanis. One indication of this is the particular house built by wiaqaii at stuIx, with the emphasis on raven elements. This may have been the prototype for a Carrier lodge described by Morice (1932: 502), tatsan itaxeelavex,<sup>2</sup> "ravens crossing their bills," a kind of former ceremonial lodge.

Origin myths of the Kimsquit Bella Coola also reveal accounts of interaction with Carrier groups (cf. McIlwraith 1948 I: 330-348), and more specifically with Ootsa Lake Carriers.

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<sup>1</sup> Ten miles up the Atnarko from stuIx.

<sup>2</sup> tatsan, raven; vex, house. One of the Alkatcho crest groups is also named raven, datsan (Goldman 1941: 400).

The origin myth of siwalos, 35 miles up the Dean River (McIlwraith 1948 I: 330) mentions a weir there that once spanned the river, and in which so many salmon were caught that the Carriers used to come great distances to purchase this surplus. From Askłta, Salmon House, a certain man by the name of Tsaqos moved inland to the country of the Carriers, where he remained, taking the adopted name q̄aqos (McIlwraith 1948 I: 331). This Tsaqos had originally brought with him to Salmon House a caribou, which he released on earth. This, together with his resettlement inland, suggests that Tsaqos may have originally been a Carrier who traded caribou hides to the inhabitants of Salmon House, or a Kimsquit who traded caribou from the Carrier.<sup>1</sup> This entire area of the upper Dean River presented a problem to McIlwraith (1948 I: 15-16), who wrote:

The history of the villages on the upper Dean is puzzling. Mythological accounts of their founding were obtained, and some of the older people stated that they had been occupied until recent years. On the other hand, there are apparently reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

Dawson (1878) passed through Salmon House, near the junction of the Tahia and Dean rivers, in 1876 on an explora-

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<sup>1</sup> t̄sa, is beaver in Carrier, but Tsaqos may be wholly Bella Coola.

tion of the area between the coast and Fraser River. At one time, Salmon House consisted of two Indian houses, one on each side of the Dean River, opposite a small waterfall "at which natives make their annual fishery" (Dawson 1878: 30). The fishing latticework was described by Dawson (1878: 31) as:

...a precarious bridge of poles and sticks is constructed across the torrent, and a series of baskets arranged along the front of the fall, into which, in trying to leap up, the salmon drop.

Goldman (1941: 401) indicates that there were six hanging baskets, placed side by side, at the Salmon House fall, all named and restricted in use as follows:

<u>Trap Name</u>	<u>Belonged to:</u>	<u>Could be used by:</u>
1. <u>tsenu'ye</u>	a Beaver (Tsayu) chief	Beaver group members
2. <u>diye'nko</u>	Qualcho Lake individuals	
3. <u>nide'ntan</u>	Qualcho Lake individuals	
4. <u>nul'tem</u>	Alkatcho people	Alkatcho village
5. <u>tseyenū'ntan</u>	Alkatcho people	Alkatcho village
no name	open property	

The Beaver crest group of the Alkatcho Carrier also owned the entire side of the river where their baskets were hung (Goldman 1941: 401), i.e., the south side for 60 to 90 feet below the falls, according to Smith (n.d.). Smith (n.d.) also indicates that the Ootsa Lake Carrier may have had a place on the north side of the river. The reason for the variety of fish traps at Salmon House, according to Goldman (1941: 401) was due to its location on the main route of the Lower Carriers to the Bella Coola villages.

At the Indian crossing of the Dean River on July 7, 1876, Dawson (1878: 28) reported that he:

...found all the Indians of this part of the country collected there, on their way down to their annual fishery at the Salmon House. They may have been fifty to sixty in number, thus representing the population of a tract extending beyond Lake Tschich northward, and nearly to Cluscus Lakes eastward, or about 2,500 square miles of surface.

The next day, travelling southwest to Tanyubunket Lake (Tanyu Lake?), Dawson (1878: 29) reported that he:

...passed all the Indians on the march, every man, woman, and child, and even the dogs, with packs of appropriate sizes. All...on the way to their great annual holiday-making, the salmon-fishery.

Although the commencement of Carrier activity at Salmon House is unclear, it is evident that this was an important salmon fishery as well as on a major trade route. An earlier pattern of Carriers visiting for trade in salmon and European goods for furs with the Kimsquit Bella Coola was likely followed by exclusive Carrier utilization, aided by the decimation of the Kimsquit by disease. McIlwraith (1948 I: 16) notes that a smallpox epidemic about 1860 so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit River that the survivors moved to the Dean River. In this epidemic, the up-river villages on the Dean River were probably decimated also, resulting in the amalgamation into one village on the inlet, and allowing the Alkat-cho to expand into the upper Dean River area.

Another Kimsquit village, siwal'os, "where canoes are

left," was about 35 miles from the sea; across the river was su'kel'ta, "winter trail," which McIlwraith (1948 I: 15) notes was where the winter trail to the interior left the river. McIlwraith (1948 I: 15) felt that although it may have been just a camping spot for the winter trail, it is possible that the two sites once formed a town.

The origin myth of sa'tsk, at the mouth of the Kimsquit River (McIlwraith 1948 I: 335) involves the Ootsa Lake Carrier. A certain man of this village, smaoan, married WatEs, daughter of a chief of the Xixais Indians, a branch of the Carrier Indians to the northeast of the Kimsquit; obtaining from her the right to use a form of a whistle that imitated a deer.

Another origin myth<sup>1</sup> mentions a place in the interior, where a certain Xedilkos, sent down "in the beginning" by Al-quntam, settled at Ootinelos, "near a lake now occupied by the Carrier Indians" (McIlwraith 1948 I: 348).

Two patterns are evident from an analysis of Bella Coola and Kimsquit origin myths: one, that foreigners are included in the narratives, along with an account of encounters with them, but the chronology is elusive; and two, different villages had different contacts - the lower Bella Coola River

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<sup>1</sup> This particular myth is included in McIlwraith's (1948 I: 342-351) section of origin myths of other tribes, which the Bella Coola have obtained, possibly through marriage, and have been altered to the Bella Coola pattern. With this proviso, this myth may have come from the Carriers, although McIlwraith does not indicate that this is the case.

villages having little or no contact with interior groups, the upper Bella Coola river villages interacted with the 'Carriers,' a rubic that may include Chilcotins as well as Carriers, and finally, the Kimsquit villages had relations with not only 'Carriers,' but a specific group, the Xixais, who were likely Eutsuk Lake Carriers and/or Cheslatta Carriers.

## 11. CEREMONIES

Potlatching appears limited in distribution in the central interior of British Columbia (and associated with validation of titles, etc.) to the area west of the Fraser River, and north of the Bella Coola River and Blackwater River, although feasts were prevalent in other areas.

Occasions for Chilcotin feasts were marriages, shamen's initiations, funerals, and availability of extra food (Lane 1953: 206). With respect to the Chilcotin, Lane (1953: 223) asks whether the lack of references to ceremonial life in the calendar of the Chilcotins (and Carriers) is negative evidence regarding the degree of coastal ceremonialism in their culture. In the Indian Affairs Report for 1885 (page 115), the agent for Williams Lake reported that the coastal form of potlatch was not present in the upper Chilcotin-Williams Lake area, although there was a 'mild' form of potlatch when a fence was erected around a grave, with neighbouring groups invited to help, and a week of feasting, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Shuswap potlatches were not prominent, according to Dawson (1891: 14), but traces were to be found in connection with feasts for the dead, marriage feasts, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> However 'mild,' this potlatching was viewed as a nefarious practice, and the agent suffixed his report with a recommendation of elimination.



A succession feast was celebrated among the T'lotona Sekani (Jenness 1937: 62); after cremation, the deceased's sib hosted the other sibs, at which time the dead man's successor, usually the sister's son, assumed the crest ornaments and rank. The McLeod Lake Sekani (Jenness 1937: 60) had a post-funeral feast six months to two years later (depending upon hunting success) in which the eldest son or nearest male relative gave a feast to all the band. This feast, however, was purely commemorative, denoting no change in the rank of the giver. These memorial feasts, usually held about one year after the funeral, are found among other Athabascan groups; the Dogrib (Jenness 1967: 393); Hare (Jenness 1967: 393); and Kutchin (Jenness 1967: 402), indicating a general Athabascan pattern, the elaboration of which formed the basis for succession ceremonies and sib emphasis, under coastal influence, as, for example, among the Bulkley River Carriers and T'lotona Sekani.

In a section titled "Sekani and Potlatch," Morice (1932: 459, section 2644) gives the term yuyu tsulle, literally "let us be ashamed," but notes that it corresponds to "let us adopt the potlatching system," writing:

...many of the public distributions consequent on the same being deemed the result of a wish to wash in a personal public gratification the shame resulting from a wounded pride. That phrase is put to the credit of the Sekanais tribe when its western part made an ineffectual attempt at adopting the practice of their neighbours the Carriers.

In other words, it appears that the McLeod Lake Sekani attempted initially to adopt the concept of potlatching, i.e., a distribution of goods, to an existing feature, the yuyu tsulle ceremony, in which, among the Carriers, a man made an impromptu distribution of clothes to the assembled community when his daughter reached puberty - "to wash out his shame" (Morice 1910: 975). It is interesting to note that the first memorial ceremony among the Stuart Lake Carrier, hiz thEn hanatsEvE hthih, "taking from the ashes," is accompanied by a distribution intended to wipe away the shame of the death (Morice 1890: 147). Succession ceremonies and potlatches, then, may be based partially on an Athabascan pattern of removing the shame of death and making the body at rest, the extension of which is concerned with validating succession to the titles of the deceased.

Jenness (1943: 513-515) indicates that the six Hwitsiwoten post-death ceremonies are divided into two main categories; the first three concerned with the dispensation of the corpse; the latter three with succession. The third ceremony itself (cf. Jenness 1943: 514) has two distinct aspects - the erection of the grave house, and the definite appointment of a successor. However, Jenness (1943: 515) notes that the new chief "was expected to give three more potlatches before he could claim the same dignity as his predecessor."

The same pattern is repeated among the Stuart Lake

Carriers (cf. Morice 1890: 147-153); the third ceremony, tsEztEdillah, "the imposition of the feather down," having two parts - the erection of a fence around the cremated remains, and the elevation of the successor to the rank of 'noble;' and "Henceforth, he is a real and accepted toeneza; but to enjoy all the prerogatives of his rank, he will have to make three more distributions" (Morice 1890: 150).

Inextricably bound up with the concept of titles and rank is the formal means of acquisition or validation of inherited titles, etc., which in the northwest was the potlatch - the formal announcement and public validation of title to certain rights and prerogatives (Drucker 1963: 131-132). According to Morice (1905: 211), potlatches among the Carriers, called hox<sup>w</sup>anata, "the going near," (Morice 1893: 125) were:

...public distributions of dressed skins, eatables, and other property by the people of one gens to the assembled members of other gentes.

Acquisition of a title to the possession of the hunting grounds of the sib was through potlatching (Morice 1933: 640), but Steward (1960: 737) felt:

...it was the title to nobility rather than the land use for subsistence purposes that was theoretically inherited by a man's sister's sons.

Steward (1960: 733) felt that the Carriers lacked any nobility or potlatching two centuries ago, with the change taking place two or three decades prior to the advent of the whites. Among the Lower Carriers, the Alkatcho claim that

they had no potlatching five generations ago (Goldman 1953: 162). It is interesting to note that Morice (1892: 115) felt that the potlatch was perpetuated by the trading companies, "who, the better to keep the natives under subjugation, gave themselves every year a kind of tobacco potlatch," observing the traditional differences of rank among the Carriers.

The conclusion, then, is that although potlatching was lacking among the Carriers prior to coastal contact, there were certain structural features to which 'potlatching' was added; succession to titles an extension of ceremonies intended to wipe out the shame of the death of a relative.

#### 11.i. Potlatching: Native Testimony

Statements by Carrier Indians themselves, over a period of a century, indicate that the distribution of food supplies was an integral part of at least one kind of ceremony, with increased prestige as a result. In the period 1810 to 1820, Harmon (1903: 173) quotes a statement by a Nicosliwoten (Stuart Lake) Carrier, Quas, who stated:

When it was the proper season to hunt the beaver, I (Quas) kill them; and of their flesh I make feasts for my relatives. I, often, feast all the Indians of my village; and sometimes invite people from afar off, to come and partake of the fruits of my hunt.

The above statement indicates a sharing of food primarily with relatives, secondarily with others of the same village, and a tertiary sharing with other villages. Nega-

tive evidence suggests that the concept of a distribution by the members of one sib to the others, as Morice (1893: 125) indicates was the pattern by the middle of the nineteenth century, was either absent or not formally integrated into the Necosliwoten social structure. This pattern of distributions of foodstuffs without being structured along sib lines is also indicated in an account given to Sewell (1951: 8-9) about 1950 by a Donald George, in his 70's, of the Natle Reserve (Fraser Lake):

In old times everybody was very honest and very clean. All the people had holes to keep food in. Nobody would take food from holes that were not their own. Some of the rich families had many holes full of food. When poor families had no food the rich families would give them enough. This made rich families very strong. When rich families had food for two, three years they give big potlatch to all the villages. This made them strong with all the people in the villages.

Steward (1971: pers. comm.) indicates that the Stuart Lake Carrier had localized groups, rather than moieties within a single community, that maintained themselves partly by potlatching against other localized groups. These groups had taken the names of Tsimshian phratries, indirectly, it would seem, from the Hwitsiwoten and Babine Lake Carriers.

The Hwitsiwoten appear to have had multi-sib villages, Hagwelgate and Moricetown, with ceremonies along sib lines. For the Tauten, along the Fraser River, the community was host (Ray 1942: 231), with no named groups. The Stuart Lake Carrier appear intermediate, with localized groups bearing

Tsimshian names, and the movement of persons to Fort St. James or intermarriage creating a multi-sib village.

# 11. ii. Stuart Lake (Necosliewoten) Ceremonies

Early observations (1810) by Harmon at Fort St. James indicates that there were two types of ceremonies; one, the funeral feast, and the other, a general entertainment feast (Harmon 1903: 260). Harmon (1957: 135) states that it was the custom of the Carriers to burn their dead and place the ashes in a shed erected in the centre of the village. At the funeral feasts, dressed moose and "red deer" skins were cut into strips and distributed among friends and relatives (Harmon 1903: 255).

The second type of feast described by Harmon (1903: 260-262), the entertaining feast, was made by a chief, who cooked several whole beavers, related how and where he killed them "that all present may know that it came from his own land" (Harmon 1903: 260), then presented the tail end to the most respectable person in the house, <sup>1</sup> who eats what he chooses, and so forth until all present in the circle around the central fire have eaten. All the cooked beavers were presented

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<sup>1</sup> Rosman and Rubel (1971: 178) note that the presentation of the "lowest" portion of the food is often a reverse compliment to the "highest" guests.

in this way; the remaining fragments cut into smaller pieces for the women and children, or put into dishes. After this, berries were served by the women, the men and women sang songs, and, after the singing, each guest took his dish (with contents) home. Harmon (1903: 260) notes that the guests entertained at this latter feast "are frequently all the people of a village, as well as a few who belong to a neighbouring village."

The second type of ceremony appears to be a distribution to indicate, or validate, possession of beaver-hunting territory, which accords with Morice's (1910: 130) description of the division of game into sedentary and nomadic. The beaver is the only member of the former group, and although:

...a wayfarer in distress may help himself to the flesh of any animal caught outside of his own grounds; but he must dress its fur and hand it over to the owner of the grounds on which it has been taken. (Morice 1910: 130)

Harmon (1903: 253) indicates that bears and beavers were hunted more for meat than skins, "for it is with the meat of these animals that they make their feasts, in remembrance of their deceased relatives," the feasts a necessity for deceased relatives to be at rest. Harmon's statements indicate that beaver-hunting territories were circumscribed by about 1810; the meat used for feasts, and the furs likely traded. By about 1890 (the time of Morice), the actual furs were paramount; bear and beaver meat likely supplanted by moose meat and trade goods.

In the winter of 1833, McLean (1932: 156-158) attended a feast in Fort St. James in honour of a prominent person deceased some years earlier. The relatives of the deceased acted as stewards, but there is no mention of sibs. Food consisted of meat (bear, beaver, marmot), berries with salmon oil, and roe; similar to Harmon's description, with the exception of the roe. After eating, there were songs and dances, and dramatizations of the characters of a bear, deer, wolf, a "strange Tsekany" (i.e., Sekani Indian), and a parody of a jealous husband and wife played by two men in masks. Morice (1890: 152) notes that the masks are worn by jesters, with a new mask added every subsequent banquet by a 'notable;' "so that the number of jesters present at these festivities indicates the number of banquets given by him since he succeeded his late uncle."

Harmon's description of the funeral feasts do not include the succession concept, although McLean's, with Morice's note, do suggest title succession. If this interpretation is correct, then formal succession ceremonies to the position of a maternal uncle were formally elaborated at Stuart Lake between 1810 and 1833. Morice's papers indicate a series of six ceremonies for validation of title of the sib's hunting grounds by the eldest son of the sister of the deceased titleholder<sup>1</sup> (Morice 1933: 640). The six are listed below (from

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<sup>1</sup> Morice (1890: 147) writes that for ceremonies given



(Morice 1890: 147-153; 1905: 211-213):

1. thiz thEn hanatsEvE, "the taking away from the ashes;" consumption of bear grease; distribution of dressed leather to wipe away the shame of death; given by aspirant to other sibs.
2. no name given; celebration in honour of the deposition of the remains of the deceased in the appointed place of respect in the house.
3. tsEz tEzdillih, "the imposition of feather down;" successor's elevation to title of deceased; erection of a rectangular fencing around spot of cremation; feast attended by population of the surrounding, and sometimes distant, villages; down put on heads of those to receive dressed skins the following day; distribution of strips of dressed skins.
4. nathl'adita, "he sits down;" assumption of seat of predecessor at potlatch of another sib; fee for this privilege is a distribution of clothes or skins; greeted by shouts of sEmotget, Tsimshian for noble.
5. no name given; winter dance in anticipation of commemorative banquets the following summer; feast given to villagers.
6. no name given; most important ceremony; people of the surrounding villages invited to build a new lodge for the successor; carving of a toad or grouse, according to the sib of the new teneza; widow relieved of carrying the charred bones, which are suspended from the rafters, then deposited in a box suspended on a carved wooden pole.

By the time of Morice's work at Fort St. James, the funeral feast had been extended into a formal validation of the titles and prerogatives of the deceased by either a brother

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in honour of the dead, one suffices for an untitled person; but there are six well-defined ceremonies when a title is to be validated.

or a sister's son. The initial motive seems to be an atonement for the shame of death, a theme repeated, for example, when a man's daughter reached puberty, when the father "believed himself under the obligation of atoning for her supposedly sinful condition by a small impromptu distribution of clothes" (Morice 1890: 62).

# 11. iii. Alkatcho Carrier

Goldman (1953: 176, 183-185) has outlined five kinds of distributions for the Alkatcho Carrier:

1. haldzat, general potlatch distribution.
2. tEgetdttet, potlatches to elevate one's rank.
3. tsEsdeli, "throwing it into the fire;" distribution intended to wipe out shame or shame recipient.
4. hatsettcet, "tearing a blanket into many parts;" conventional rivalrous property exchange.
5. ondzutattet, "to throw something away;" general distribution of small objects to wipe out a shame.

Potlatches were the collective endeavours of extended families (Goldman 1940: 348), with four potlatches required to elevate one to the status of meotih; persons were identified as meotih by virtue of their potlatch reputation rather than a clear pattern of descent (Goldman 1953: 172).

In a summary statement, Goldman (1953: 12) notes that "some people took the potlatch seriously, others more or less ignored it;" affecting only a small proportion of the popula-

tion (Goldman 1953: 99).

The concept of potlatching formalized somewhat the bride service; a man taking up virilocal residence after a distribution of goods (Goldman 1953: 99), with goods distributed from a man to his father-in-law, on the return visit of a daughter (goods brought by daughter and husband), and marriage announcements (Goldman 1953: 100).

The Alkatcho ceremony time was in the late summer, when scattered hunting and trapping groups gathered for one or two weeks (Goldman 1940: 351), but occurred no more frequently than once in two years (Goldman 1940: 359).

The formal occasions for potlatches were birth, marriage, elevation of a child or kin, assumption of full shamanistic power, and death (Goldman 1940: 360). The funeral ceremony was given one or two years after death by the sadeku, or bilateral kin group, led by the heir, in a cooperative ceremony to mark the end of mourning and the assumption of titles by the heir. Goldman (1940: 360) further notes that funeral potlatches were most common, and very often accompanied by the other ceremonies - naming and elevating of a child, payment of affinal exchanges, assumption of name and crest prerogatives, property distribution, construction of a potlatch house, etc.

#### 11. iv. Tauten Carrier (Fraser River)

Three types of ceremonies are listed by Ray (1942: 190, 219) for the Tauten Carrier:

1. feast part of marriage exchange; food provided by both families.
2. post-funeral; relatives of deceased provide food.
3. cremation; chief (not relatives) of village in charge; friends serve as pall-bearers; only relatives attend.

#### 11. v. Other Carrier Groups

According to Goldman (1953: 16), the potlatch had not reached Quesnel, on the Fraser River.

#### 11. vi. Summary

Among the Bulkley River and Stuart Lake Carriers (likely the Babine Lake Carriers also, although specific information is lacking), potlatching is done along sib lines, with six required for the formal succession of a title inherited matrilineally; the Stony Creek Carrier number of required potlatches is indeterminant; potlatching among the Alkatcho Carrier is done by an extended family or the sadeku; the village chief appears paramount in Tauten ceremonies, with an absence of potlatching for the acquisition or the elevation of titles or status. The patterns, especially among the western groups, reflect influences from adjacent

groups, with the 'ceremonial community' of some Carrier groups including coastal villages.

# 11. vii. Bella Coola Ceremonies

The Bella Coola had two types of potlatches; the memorial potlatch, skanEt, with the respective potlatch house, nuskwanEtsa; and the ordinary potlatch, im, with the potlatch house, nusimsta (McIlwraith 1948 I: 458-459). The memorial potlatch usually was held in autumn;<sup>1</sup> foreigners were invited; a memorial post (EskaiEtl, "outside post") was carved, and painted boards were set up (McIlwraith 1948 I: 462). After a fourth potlatch, a man was accorded a position of eminence, and termed a numit chief (McIlwraith 1948 I: 173).

# 11. viii. Haisla Ceremonies

The Haisla had several ceremonies, summarized below (from Olson 1940: 178-179):

- naming:
1. hamtislal (hamsa, to eat); child given name from mother's clan at age ten.
  2. kwita (tearing); mother's brother confers name on sister's son; distribution of blankets and dressed skins imported from the interior.
  3. feast before potlatch house finished.
  4. sikatlitla (drying the floor); completion of potlatch house.
- mortuary:
1. lukwilavu, "to burn:" after chief dies, then

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<sup>1</sup> This might be held sooner if sufficient supplies were ready (McIlwraith 1948 I: 460).

nephew-heir distributes deceased's property to chiefs of other clans.

2. t'amakya, "it is locked up;" body buried; formerly cremated.
3. adziksila, "fixing the dead;" distribution of property and oolachon; succession of nephew validated.

The funeral is carried out by the members of the deceased's father's clan (Olson 1940: 182).

#### 11. ix. Gitksan

Potlatching, according to Garfield (1939: 217):

...was of fundamental social importance to every individual, since all significant changes were validated through distribution of goods.

Personal names carried the rights to the use and control of lineage property, thus succession of such names was of great importance (Garfield 1939: 179); the order of succession to first a younger brother of the deceased, then to the eldest son of the eldest sister (Garfield 1939: 180). The number required for validation is unclear, although the six ceremonies required by the Carriers of Stuart Lake and Bulkley River, accompanied by a great overlay of coastal features, suggests that six was also the number among the Gitksan.

The following table presents the distribution of potlatch elements:

Bulkley	Stuart	Alkatcho	Gitksan	Haisla	Bella
<u>River</u>	<u>Lake</u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>	<u>Coola</u>

terms for					skwanEt (mem)
potlatch	dzetil	hox <sup>w</sup> anata	haldzat	yaok	diakhae tim (ordinary)

No. req'd for					
elevation to	6	6	4	6?	3?
highest status					4

## Table 5 Potlatch Elements

Morice (1932: 504) glosses hox<sup>w</sup>anata as both potlatch and banquet; for example, "to give a banquet," is given as hox<sup>w</sup>ene-sya (Morice 1932: 486), reducible to hox<sup>w</sup>ene, feast (?), s-?, -ya, house; presumably literally "feast in a house."<sup>1</sup> Harmon (1903: word list) lists the term nate-tah, "dance;" so hox<sup>w</sup>anata is literally "feast-dance." The Hwitsiwoten (Bulkley River) and Alkatcho terms contain the root dzet, possibly derived from the Tsimshian term for crest, dzab, although the association is unclear.

The number of feasts cum ceremonies cum potlatches required for either validation of succession or elevation to the rank of a 'potlatch man' aligns the Alkatcho with the Bella Coola, and the Stuart Lake Carrier and the Hwitsiwoten with the Gitksan.

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<sup>1</sup> Morice (1932: 617) lists lezesvex as "to go to a potlatch or feast," which reduces to -vex, house, lezes, feast (?). If lezes means feast or potlatch, then possibly (and highly speculatively) hox<sup>w</sup>anata was derived from the Bella Coola skwaEt, which would indicate that the Stuart Lake Carrier were once in closer contact with Bella Coola, a pattern interrupted by the establishment of Fort St. James in 1806. Mackenzie (1902: 232) did meet, in 1793, a Carrier trading party near the Dean River from the northeast on their way to trade with the Kimsquits, and Jenness (1967: 366) suggests that the Fort Fraser Carrier were influenced by the



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Bella Coola. This would leave the interior Carrier groups relatively free from Gitksan influences until the first decade of the nineteenth century. As a further note, Morice (1932: 86) gives the term for one Stuart Lake house type as hox<sup>w</sup>e-ltaz-vex, "cut-off hut," with an oval doorway, the same as the Grizzly House of the Alkatcho Carrier (Goldman 1941: 401). The term is reducible to 'feast-house.'

## 12. THE COMMUNITY

Reviewing the concept of "community," Suttles (1963: 514) states that by using co-residence as the only criterion, then a village is the community, but suggests that "we adopt as criteria those social ties that define and maintain status" (Suttles 1963: 514). For the Coast Salish, from which Suttles was drawing his ethnographic data, the minimal unit for the definition and maintenance of status was not the village, but the area of intervillage marriage and potlatch relations (Suttles 1963: 514). These intervillage relations formed an exchange system that was adaptive; in other words, Suttles (1963: 515) suggests that marriage ties and consequent affinal exchanges were perhaps most valuable when they crossed ecological boundaries.

This concept seems applicable to the Carriers, with a pattern of intervillage relations based on the necessity of access to seasonally abundant food supplies, and relations with the coastal villages partially based on the lack of fur-bearing animals and large game in the coastal area.

Goldman (1953: 59) indicates that, for the Alkatcho, there was an unnamed community of neighbouring villages that traditionally intermarried and invited one another to their potlatches, with common marriages among Carriers from Ootsa Lake, Cheslatta Lake, Stony Creek, Qualcho Lake, Kluskus, and

Entiako (Goldman 1953: 92). The lack of salmon in the Eutsuk Lake area, seemingly the traditional homeland of the Alkatcho, could then be compensated for by marriages, with affinal obligations, with salmon areas of Stony Creek, the Nechako River, and the Kluskus Lakes. Later, i.e., post fur trade, access to the salmon streams of the Bella Coola and Dean rivers was likely a direct result of the fur trade, or at least the fur trade may have had an ecological base. For the Alkatcho, then, we have a shift of community, following Suttles' (1963: 515) note that boundaries of a community are relative to each village and generation, from one orientated toward central Carrier groups, to inclusion of Bella Coola and Kimsquit villages, but still based partially on the lack of salmon in the Alkatcho area, and with an apparent southward shift of Alkatcho villages. Wintering with the Bella Coola (Goldman 1953: 51), then, was probably not a pattern prior to the late eighteenth century. This latter community would serve to spread Bella Coola influence farther than the Alkatcho, as Jenness (1967: 366) states that the Carrier around Fraser Lake and Stony Creek had frequent interaction with the Bella Coola, evidenced, according to Jenness (1967: 366) by the paternal emphasis on rank.

Quantitative differences in the salmon runs up the Nechako River and Stuart River were noted by early traders in the area; e.g., Harmon (1957: 169) noted on September 20, 1814, at Fort St. James;

We have but few Salmon here this year indeed it is only every other Season they do come up this River (Stuart River).

As a result, the Stuart Lake Carrier, Necosliwoten, would travel to Fraser Lake, much to the consternation of the traders, as indicated by a letter dated February, 1807, from Simon Fraser, at Fort Fraser (Natile) to James Stuart, at Fort St. James (Necoslie) (in Fraser 1960: 253):

I have succeeded in sending back Qwa, le Gourmand, & several others of the Indians of Nakazleh (the Indian village at Fort St. James) & many of the Stragglers as were here dispersed as they have ate up all the salmon these of this place had. They now go to trade at Stella (at the west end of Fraser Lake), so I apprehend not being able to procure any for the summer.

In December, 1814, Harmon (1957: 173) noted the same aggregation at Stella, writing that the Indians of Natile (Fort Fraser):

...do not appear to have a sufficiency (of salmon) for themselves and us, owing to the scarcity of Salmon at several of our neighbouring Villages, whose inhabitants flock to this place in hopes that their Country-men will feed them during the Winter.

Common participation in ceremonies between the villages of Natile and Stella is indicated by Fraser (1960: 255), who noted that almost all of the villagers of Natile had gone in February, 1807, to Stella "to a Grand feast to Burn and enume a couple of Chiefs that died of late." Ogden (1853: 150) observed a ceremony at Stella about 1837 at which there were Indians from Natile, Babine Lake, "and not a few from the bor-

ders of Simpson's River;" the latter likely Hwitsiwoten from the Bulkley River, as the Skeena River was once termed Simpson's River. The inclusion of these other groups by 1837 is interesting, as Harmon (1903: 167) documents the first visit of Nate-ote-tains (Babine Lake Carrier) to Fort St. James on June 11, 1811, only a quarter century earlier.

Sekanis from McLeod Lake were visitors at Fraser Lake by at least January, 1807, as Fraser (1960: 246-247) complained then that due to adverse weather conditions, a group of Sekani were in no hurry to return to McLeod Lake.

This intervillage pattern of salmon-sharing is summed up by Connolly (in Jackson 1953: 24), who wrote in 1825, with reference to the Stuart Lake Carrier:

...the time they consumed these three years wasted in running about to secure subsistence from their Neighbours, can be devoted, if the weather is favourable, exclusively to the Hunting of Furs.

However, in Connolly's 1827 report (in Jackson 1953: 24), poor salmon runs at both Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake resulted in the whole district dependent upon the Babine Lake runs, necessitating a postponement of Connolly's plans to expand trade; or, as Connolly (in Jackson 1953: 24) writes:

These bright prospects must for the present be abandoned and all our exertions be used in endeavours to provide the means of preserving our lives.

The practice of supplying the trading posts of the district of New Caledonia with salmon from Stuart Lake, Fraser

Lake, and Babine Lake, and expansion policies by the trading companies from 1806 on, realigned Carrier villages to the west, and therefore increased contact with both the western Carrier groups that were already adopting the matrilineal sib system, but also the Gitksan themselves. Only sixteen years after the first visit of Babines to Stuart Lake, the whole district of New Caledonia (Forts St. James, Fraser, McLeod, Alexandria, Kilmaurs on Babine Lake, and possibly Connolly on Bear Lake; see Map 3) was dependent on the salmon resources of the Babine Lake Carrier. Hackler (1958: 4) suggests that Fort St. James may have disrupted native trade; Fort Kilmaurs (Babine) itself was moved to deter the Babines from trading with the Bulkley River Carriers and Tsimshian at Hagwelgate (Morice 1904: 204). The supply route from Fort St. James to Bear Lake was via Tache River and Takla Lake (Dawson 1881: 28B), all of which indicate an opening up of most Carrier villages around Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake to Gitksan influences, either directly or indirectly through the Babines and Hwitsiwoten.

The fall salmon runs at the outlet of Babine Lake attracted Indians from Babine Lake, Takla Lake (Hackler 1958: 51), and, at least by 1824, Thloadeness (Sekanis) (Black 1955: 111). Stanwell-Fletcher (1946: 16) describes a 1936 situation likely similar to a century earlier; meeting on the trail from Babine Lake to Takla Lake a small band of Indians from

Takla and Bear lakes, on their way to Babine Lake for games and ceremonies; a combination funeral and ceremony held every summer at either Babine Lake or Takla Lake. The first trading post on Babine Lake, Fort Kilmaurs, established in 1822 half-way up the lake, was moved in 1836 thirty-five miles to the outlet of the lake, by the salmon fishery (Voorhis 1930:36), in order to divert the Babines from trading their pelts to the Gitksan and Tsimshian.

Daily interaction between the Hwitsiwoten in Hagwelgate and the Gitenmaks (Gitksan) only four miles away (Jenness 1943: 475), and common participation in ceremonies and marriage (Jenness 1943: 483) gives us a community that included representatives of Carriers and Gitksans. Jenness (1943: 495) also notes that one-third of the Hwitsiwoten were bilingual (in Carrier and Gitksan), an important factor in the diffusion of cultural elements.

The distribution of the villages involved in ceremonial activities is an indication of the sources of influences on Carrier culture, with the western groups including coastal groups in the ceremonial community. Alkatcho potlatch guests were usually from Kluskus, Bella Coola, Ootsa Lake, and adjacent Chilcotins (Goldman 1953: 204). This community is also emphasized in the distribution of the dzEgwanli prerogatives, apparently an imitation of the Bella Coola Breaker Society (Goldman 1953: 201-203), among the Alkatcho, Bella

Coola, Kluskus, Qualcho Lake, Ootsa Lake, and Fraser Lake.

Guests of the Bulkley River Carrier potlatches were from Babine Lake and the Gitksan villages of Gitenmaks (Hazelton) and Gitsegyukla, on the Skeena River (Jenness 1943:517), with a similar distribution of crests, titles, and phratry/sib names. As an example, Barbeau (1929: 137) describes an 1892 potlatch at Kitwanga to commemorate the erection of an Eagle phratry pole, with guests from Gitenmaks, Gitsegyukla, Hagwelgate, and Kispiox. The adoption of a crest belonging to the Kispiox family of Wawsemlaxa, held at a village above Kispiox on the Skeena River, was attended by the villages of Kuldo, Kisgagas, Gitenmaks, and Hagwelgate, according to a narrative (Barbeau 1929: 87). The erection of a Fireweed pole at Gitsegyukla in 1875 was attended by the villages of Kitwankool, Kitwanga, Hazelton, Hagwelgate, and Kispiox (Barbeau 1929: 107).

To the east, another community includes the villages of lower Stuart Lake - Pinche, Necoslie (Fort St. James), Natle, Stella, and the Sekani from McLeod Lake.

Fort Connolly, on Bear Lake, became the focus of a community of Gitksan, especially from the village of Kispiox, Finlay River Sekani, Carriers from Babine Lake and Takla Lake, and Tahltans (cf. Jenness 1937: 47).

Within these communities there is a similarity of cultural practices, with ultimate derivation from the coastal group included. This homogeneity becomes less rigorous in an



easterly directions; i.e., the farther from the coastal influence, the weaker the association.

In summary, there was a traditional (i.e., pre-fur trade) pattern of villages linked by marriage, with resource sharing, which can be called a community. Realignment of these communities took place as a result of increased trade with furs and skins, with a reorientation of the Alkatcho and other Lower Carrier groups to the Bella Coolas (including the Kimsquits), and a winter residence for some Carriers in Bella Coola villages. The Hwitsiwoten and Babine Lake Carrier were part of a ceremonial community which included Gitksan villages, with increasing involvement in this community by the Carriers of Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake in part due to the location of trading posts, their trade and supply routes, and overt company efforts to realign native trade.

### 13. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The first step in any analysis of social organization is to find out just what the terms used meant to the writers (Bohannon 1963: 142), and the literature on the Carrier affords an apt example of a proliferation of different terms which may be designating the same structures. Some of the terms so used are as follows:

#### Sept

Morice (1899: 79) defines septs as collections of clans or gens; which follows Boas (1890: 632) and Dawson (1891: 4) in using sept for a village community; the Carriers being composed, according to Morice (1893: 24), of nine septs, each sept having one or more villages. For example, the Nataotin (Babine Lake) sept had five villages in 1811. Jenness' (1943: 482) use of sub-tribe corresponds to Morice's sept, but conveys an image of greater unity than sept, although Jenness (1943: 482) makes it clear that his use of sub-tribe was for a definite, though headless unit. Ray (1939: 14-15) refers to a Plateau pattern of bands of villages, a term that will be retained in this paper.

#### Tribe

Tribe, as used by Morice (1899: 79) and Jenness (1943: passim) refers to a linguistic grouping; the speakers of Carrier forming a distinct language group in comparison to the

Chilcotins and Sekanis. For Morice (1899: 79), a tribe was also an aggregate of septs.

### Clans, gens

Morice (1905: 202) uses gentes, gens, and clans interchangeably, referring to a matrilineal, exogamous descent group. Goldman (1941: 407, fn. 18) suggests that Jenness' phratry corresponds to clan. Jenness' use of clan seems more applicable to lineages; phratries, following Murdock (1949: 47), to sibs.

With the above in mind, Morice's clan/gente, sept, tribe; and Jenness' clan, phratry, sub-tribe, and tribe are altered to sib, band, and tribe. A fourth unit, community, from Suttles (1963), may be defined as those villages interacting ceremonially, which may or may not coincide with the band or village group, as ecological factors necessitated maximixing a village's resource options.

### 13. i. Names of Social Units

Apparently lacking an indigenous term for sib (Duff 1951: 30), these were called companies (Hackler 1958: 32) or parties (Duff 1951: 29).<sup>1</sup> In a word list, Morice (1932: 97) lists the Carrier equivalent of 'clan' (sib) as i~~h~~oh titex ne, "those who are of one kind" (literally: one-kind-those),

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<sup>1</sup> Only the English term is presented by Hackler and Duff.

a purely descriptive term (ne, plural; iloh, 'together'), and applicable to other categories, such as nation (cf. Morice 1932: 97).<sup>1</sup> Among the Tsimshian, for example, the term for phratry is ptex, a morphologically irreducible term (Sapir 1958: 435), suggesting that the sib concept among the Carriers, with its descriptive form, is of recent origin. The Upper Carrier term for crest, netsti, is used by the Alkatcho Carrier to the south to signify an ambiguous grouping of kin who shared the same crests and other honourific prerogatives (Goldman 1953: 59). Jenness (1943: 495) indicates that Hwitsiwoten sib divisions are represented by the display of crests, which were carved and/or painted on houses and ceremonial paraphernalia. However, no native term is given for a grouping that claims a common crest(s), except for the "houses," ya, in a sib (cf. Jenness 1943: 484). Some of these houses are named after crests; for example, Sun House, sa ya' (sa, sun; ya', house), and the members of each house are the teneza, chief, skeza, nobles, and auxtaten'e, commoners (Jenness 1943: 485); the last term similar, with dialect differences, to Morice's iloh titexne (probably the Stuart Lake dialect). In the end, there appears to be no term equivalent in antiquity to the Tsimshian ptex.

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<sup>1</sup>According to Sapir (1958: 435), descriptive terms, i.e., terms that can be reduced into simpler components, indicate recent acquisition.

Among the Alkatcho, however, there is a term designating a corpus of kin, sadeku, a consanguineal group of closely related paternal and maternal kin (Goldman 1953: 58). This term probably reduces to sadek, ?; yu, house (cf. Morice 1893: 158, word 167). Goldman (1940: 335) comments that the etymology of the term is uncertain, but it appears to mean "group of my house." The Alkatcho crest group and sadeku were not necessarily co-extensive in membership, though.

In summary, it is evident that although the phratry, clan, etc., structure has been posited on the Carrier data, there appears to be no indigenous term to cover adequately and exclusively an exogamous, matrilineal kinship unit. This is not to deny their existence, though, as an analysis of kinship terminologies indicates a process of differentiation of maternal and paternal kin, but that the application of a specific structural framework may have forced data into non-existent categories, or at least categories of recent acquisition. Steward (1960: 737) has suggested as much by his findings that Morice's and Jenness' phratries and clans were not exogamous or unilineal.

### 13. i. Sib Names

Several sib names of Carrier nomenclature, and bearing the suffix tenne, people, or the affix hwo, kwo, or ku,

which refers to a locality<sup>1</sup> (Morice 1932: 233) suggests that the concept of named groups other than a village, and with matrilineal descent, was applied to local groups by the Carriers themselves. Carrier data indicate that some of these named groups, which I have termed sibs, are felt to belong to one area or to certain Carrier bands. Some of these are presented below:

Kwanpahotenne, people of the fire-side (kwan, fire; hotenne, people of..)

The distribution of the sib Kwanpahotenne is limited to Babine Lake, according to the lists of Hackler (1958: 54), Jenness (1943: 482), and Steward (1960: 739). Jenness (1943: 484) also lists a House beside the fire, kwanperya, 'clan' for the Hwitsiwoten Laksilyu 'phratry' (sib).

Morice (1893: 204) wrote that the Babine kwanpahotenne is equivalent to the Stuart Lake tamtanyu; information from Hackler (1958: 54) indicates that the Carrier of Burns Lake, Stella, and Natle equate it with Laksilyu. The following table presents the sibs and crests, upon which sibs are equated:

Table 6 Kwanpahotenne Sib Equivalences

Band	Sib Name	Crests
Babine Lake	kwanpahotenne	mountain, caribou, goose
Bulkley R.	laksilyu	<u>kaigyat</u> , mountain man, otter, big man, swan
Stuart Lake	tamtanyu	goose

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<sup>1</sup> Eg. "people of..." is hwo'tenne, hwot'qenne, hwo'tin, depending on the dialect (cf. Morice 1932: 233).

Although the Laksilyu sib does not have shared crests as clan (sib) crests, one person in the sib, Dzi, has as personal crests caribou (witsi) and goose (xa) (Jenness 1943: 510); further, the Lakesilyu 'phratry' at Bulkley River has the kwanperya 'clan.' With respect to the kwanperya 'clan,' Jenness (1943: 499) wrote:

It was said that this clan had no crest until recently, when it adopted as its emblem a flag obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company; but since there seems to be no evidence that the clan is less ancient than others, it probably possessed a crest, like all the rest, and for some reason dropped it.

It is difficult to place the origin of this sib; on geological evidence, I am tempted to place its origin on Babine Lake and Takla Lake, as Dawson (1881: 25B) indicates that:

Bordering Tacla Lake on the southwest is a massive range which as it crossed the Fire-pan Pass may be designated the Fire-pan Range.

Along the Neelkitkwa River, which flows from the outlet of Babine Lake near the village of Wu-at, Dawson (1881) reported reddish sandy argillite rocks (this river is also adjacent to the Fire-pan Range). Following the custom of naming villages after local geographical features (Goldman 1953: 2), it is suggested that kwanpahotenne initially referred to persons from a Babine Lake locale; marriage with members of Hwitsiwoten sibs raised the status of the local group to that of a sib as its members adopted matrilineal descent and

were dispersed.

Tsuzayotenne, small spruce (tree) people

The tsuzayotenne sib is restricted in distribution to the Cheslatta Carrier, Fort Fraser people (Duff 1951: 29-30), and Endako River Carrier (Jenness 1943: 585). Duff (1951: 32) suggest that it is of Cheslatta origin and recent introduction among the other groups, which seems reasonable, as Jenness (1943: 584) does not include it among the Fort Fraser Carrier in 1924 (Duff carried out his fieldwork in 1951).

A Stellawotin (Fraser Lake) informant told Duff (1951: 29) that laksilvu would be called tsuvaztotin by the Cheslattas as the Cheslattas lacked laksilvu. The following table presents some comparative data:

Table 7 Tsuvazotenne equivalences by crests

Band	Sib	Crests
Cheslatta	tsuyazotenne	woodpecker
Endako River	tsuyazotenne	small woodpecker

Although Jenness (1943) does not include the Stellawotin, Morice (1893: 204) lists the red-headed woodpecker as one of the crests of the vEsilyu sib.

Tsayu, beaver, beaver medicine (tsa, beaver; yu, house)

Tsayu has a wide distribution: Hwitsiwoten, Babine Lake, Necosliwoten, Fraser Lake, Cheslatta Lake, and Alkatcho;



the extent indicating its antiquity, according to Duff (1951: 32). On crests, tsayu is equated with a Gitksan clan at Gitenmaks (Hazelton), the only Carrier - named sib to do so. The following table presents some equivalences:

Table 8 Equivalences of the Sib Tsayu

Band	Sib	Sib Crests	Personal Crests
Hwitsiwoten	tsayu	beaver ( <u>tsa</u> ), eagle ( <u>ske</u> )	beaver, drunk man, mountain goat ( <u>mat</u> ), tree floating down river ( <u>gwisuks</u> ).
Nattle	tsayu	beaver, owl	
Stella	tsayu	beaver	
Cheslatta	tsayu	beaver	
Stuart Lake	tsayu	mountain goat	Eats Man, wolverine
<sup>1</sup> Alkatcho	tsayu	beaver	
Gitksan: (phratry)	Eagle	eagle, beaver	
(clan)	laxmillix,	"on the beaver"	

Tsayu is the only one of the five Hwitsiwoten sibs that is a true Carrier word (Jenness 1943: 482), and is equated with the laxsamillix clan of the eagle phratry of the Gitksan (Jenness 1943: 483). The origin of the term tsayu is unclear, and has given rise to the speculation that it is derived from the Haisla Beaver sib, the only other group in which Beaver appears as a separate sib (cf. Jenness 1943: 483). Hackler (1958: 54) obtained the information that tsayu at Babine Lake was once called tsomilli, which seems like a Babine rendering of the Gitksan laksimillix. Barbeau (1929: 156) states that only one clan of the Eagle phratry exists among

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<sup>1</sup> The Alkatcho have a bilateral 'crest group.'

the Gitksan, at Kitwanga. The equation of tsayu and the Eagle phratry is due to beaver as one of the main crests of the Eagle phratry.

The distribution of some sibs is more widespread than others; the sibs laksamshu, tsayu, laksilyu, gitamtanyu, and gilserhyu occur from the Bulkley River to the Fraser Lake area, with tsayu extending to the Alkatcho Carrier. Laxibu is restricted to the Babine Lake and Takla Lake area, while kwanpahotenne appears only among the Babine Lake Carrier. Shas and datsan occur as crest groups and only among the Alkatcho Carrier, although datsan, raven, may have once been more widespread. Tsuyaztotenne is restricted to the Cheslatta Lake and Fraser Lake area. An analysis of some of the sibs with Gitksan names is presented below:

Laksamshu, people of laksam

Jenness (1943: 482, fn. 1) indicates that laksamshu is probably derived from laxsamillix, the Gitenamks (Hazelton) name of the Beaver clan in the Eagle phratry. However, in marriages and participation in common ceremonies, the Hagweligate laksamshu is equated with the Gitksan gisxa'ast, or Fireweed phratry (Jenness 1943: 483), likely on the basis of common ownership of sun/moon and owl crests (these are the names of the 'clans' or houses of the Hagweligate laksamshu sib (Jenness 1943: 484)). The name laksamshu points to a Gitksan origin, but the crests it possesses equates it with another phratry from the one to which Jenness ascribes its origin.

Lakselyu, people of laksel

This Hwitsiwoten sib is apparently derived from laxse'1, the Gitenmaks name of the Gitksan Frog-Raven phratry (Jenness 1943: 482, fn.1), and is equated with laxse'1 for marriage and ceremonial purposes (Jenness 1943: 483), indicating a direct adoption of laxse'1 affiliation and crests by the Hwitsiwoten. Barbeau (1929: 154) indicates that representatives of two Frog-Raven clans are found among the Hagwelgates, with one, the water-lily clan; skasewasan, supposedly originating among the Hagwelgates.

Gitamtanyu, people of tamtanyu

This Hagwelgate sib is equated with the laxgibu, Wolf, phratry of the Gitksan, although apparently not derived from it. Barbeau (1929: 156) indicates that the git-xandaxl clan of the Wolf phratry has two families at Gitsem-xElem, three at Kitwanga, and one at Hagwelgate under waws, "whale" (cf. Jenness 1943: 484). Waws of Hagwelgate is spoken of as the relative of the heads of the families at Kitwanga (Barbeau 1929: 156), suggesting intermarriage as the mechanism of diffusion.

Gilserhyu, people of gilserh

Gilserhyu is equated, along with laksilyu, with the Gitksan laxse'1, Frog-Raven phratry (Jenness 1943: 483).

#### 14. SOCIAL CLASSES

The Carrier and Chilcotin had a threefold division of noble, common people, and slaves, according to Morice (1892: 111) and Jenness (1943: 485; 1967: 362). Morice (1905: 202) wrote that the hereditary class of chiefs had hunting grounds parcelled out to them; on ceremonial occasions wore special costumes; occupied places of honour (i.e., as far away from the door as possible); and sang hereditary songs (in "badly pronounced Tsimshian"). Several such dignitaries were in the same sib, each with a distinctive name, and, Morice (1905: 202) notes:

To them alone belonged the right of hunting on the lands of the clan, or special portions thereof, with the assistance of related families, which received only such a share in the spoils of the chase or trapping expedition as they were pleased to bestow.

The headman of a Hwitsiwoten sib was called a teneza, chief, and his wife, zegaiza. A teneza was supported by a group of so-called nobles, skeza - "most of whom were close kinsmen" (Morice 1943: 485). Below the skeza were the common people of each sib, auxtatene, and below them the slaves, ełne (Jenness 1943: 485). However, there was a fluid line between commoners and nobles (Jenness 1943: 489), and commoners could potlatch their way to a title. Slaves were not numerous (Jenness 1967: 365), and owned by few people except chiefs (Jenness 1943: 485).

Morice (1892: 111) describes the Carriers, likely with reference to only those of Stuart Lake, as divided into two very distinct social classes - hereditary nobles and commoners. Some of the terms given by Morice (1905: 202) are:

teneza, "men par excellence;" almost equivalent to "the only men (Morice 1933: 639)

ezkheza, "true children;" offspring of a teneza

t'sekhuza, "female chief"

meotih, "chief through wealth"

mutih-yaz, "little chief"

The rank of noble was obtained and sustained through potlatches (Morice 1892: 112), suggesting that the 'social classes' were not very distinct.

Dawson and Tolmie (1884: 74B) list three terms for the Blackwater Carrier (likely the Tauten):

nitshili, "great chief"

nutiyaz, "minor chief"

mow-dish (meotih), "chief"

The above data present a two-fold division, apparently lacking or having disappeared among the Bulkley Carrier, of prestige through birth or kinship (teneza), and through acquired wealth (meotih). The first record of meotih is from Harmon (1903: 266) in 1810, who recorded the term me-u-tee, chief, and described it, with respect to the Stuart Lake

Carrier (Harmon 1903: 254):

There are some persons among them, who are called Mi-u-ties or Chiefs, but for whom they appear to have a little more respect than for the others; but these chiefs have not much authority or influence over the rest of the community. Anyone is dubbed a Mi-u-ty, who is willing and able, occasionally, to provide a feast, for the people of his village.

Harmon (1903: 251) also wrote that this term is applied to the first salmon in the fall salmon runs.

The Alkatcho also have nobles, commoners, and slaves, according to Goldman (1941: 398); nobles being:

...those who had acquired by inheritance or by purchase titles, crests, and other honorific prerogatives and who had been elevated to nobility through a series of four potlatches sponsored by some relative from either the maternal or paternal lines. (Goldman 1941: 398)

Terms given by Goldman (1941: 407) are as follows:

teneza, first born of a line of first born siblings

squeza, immediate kin of a teneza

detsa, eldest brother

meotih, potlatch chief

meotihuntsha, great potlatch chief

ta'nas meotih, small chief

tayi, head of a village, war leader, person with leadership

tshuinden, rich man

telen, poor man

atna, slaves

The term teneza, for the Alkatcho, was applied to

the eldest son of the eldest line of the bilateral descent group, the sadeku, a group tracing descent from a common grandfather. Two conflicting views are presented on the term meotih. Goldman (1953: 166) wrote that this term was rarely used and was probably an alien term. In an earlier article, though, Goldman (1941: 398) wrote that meotih, village chief, was the most important noble, responsible for organizing potlatches and for the adjustment of hunting and fishing territory; and was generally an inherited position through the direct line of primogeniture. This suggests that at one time the positions of teneza and meotih were probably the same. With the emphasis on primogeniture among the Alkatcho (Goldman 1940: 335), only the first born son of a sadeku received 'legal' title to a trap line, with younger siblings economically dependent. As the most important noble was recognized as potlatch chief for the entire village (Goldman 1940: 348), the economic advantage enjoyed by a teneza as the first born son of a sadeku enabled accumulation for the necessary distribution of wealth to become a meotih. Further, Goldman (1941: 398) states that the oldest of any line of siblings was a subsidiary chief, detsa, "the first one." In the initial stages of the fur trade, eldest siblings, with a paternal emphasis, likely became the potlatch chiefs. The result was the perpetuation of an existing structure, and the formalization of the rights of a first-born in



a new sphere of interaction - the fur trade. In conclusion, Goldman (1941: 404) states:

A moderately wealthy noble supported by his family could elevate one of his own children or some favorite nephew or grandchild through the four required potlatches to noble status, beginning with the first born of a line of siblings, then if possible adding the next in line and so on.

The position of teneza among the Bulkley River and Stuart Lake Carriers suggests that the Alkatcho pattern was repeated among the Upper Carriers, with the unilineal descent (matrilineal) principle replacing the bilateral sadeku with matrilineal 'companies' or sibs.

The position of village chiefs brings in a third category of leadership. Morice (1892: 114) wrote that the Carriers themselves modelled their village chief after the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, stating (Morice 1905: 195):

The appointments (of head chief) were made by the Hudson's Bay Company; for the primitive Carriers did not know of chiefs in the present sense of the word. The individuals thus honoured were intended to be the spokesmen of the traders to the village, and help the Company in securing the departure of the hunters for their usual expeditions, and smooth over any difficulty that might arise between whites and reds. In return, they received certain annual gratuities.

Steward (1960: 735) elicited the term koyohodashum, "village big tree," for the Stuart Lake Carrier as village chief. The duties of this person were exhorting people to provide for their own needs, arbitrating disputes over hunt-

ing boundaries, and settling disputes within the village (Steward 1960: 735). According to Steward (1960: 735), this position was strongly patrilineal, passing to the chief's brother or someone chosen by the retiring chief. Earlier, Morice (1892: 119) recorded the same term, writing that some Carrier 'notables' were often called k'eyax x<sup>w</sup>-otashan, "stick, or post of the village," indicating that the inland Carriers had noticed the Gitksan totem poles. Steward (1960: 734-735) felt that as the function of village chief remained distinct from that of nobles and was inherited patrilineally, coupled with "Goldman's data in indicating strong patrilineality among the hunting bands" (Steward 1960: 735). In fact, Goldman's data emphasizes bilaterality, the sadeku a bilateral descent group, with a paternal emphasis only. Steward himself has not accounted for the influences from the trading companies, which had been in the Stuart Lake area 134 years prior to Steward's fieldwork in 1940.

## 14. i. Distribution of divisions among other Athabascan groups

The Chilcotin have a threefold division based on industriousness and hunting ability (Lane 1953: 190):

qeEtagodIn, rich person; "got lots of something

EtIlIng, poor person; "nothing stops"

Elna, slave; "stolen"

Farrand (1898: 646) wrote that social ranks among the Chilcotin were not apparent at the time of his fieldwork (1897), but were formerly nobility, commoners, and slaves (captives). Higher rank was obtained by wealth and the giving of feasts. Lane (1953: 205-206) gives three areas of leadership among the Chilcotin:

1. informal activities leader
2. nidzIlIn, or hadIlIn, "potlatch big man"
3. dvIn, shaman

These correspond to terms obtained by Morice (1883: n.p.), nitsil'in, chief; and Dawson and Tolmie (1884: 74B), nitzilintsho, great chief, and nitzilinyus, minor chief.

The formal aspect of becoming a nidzIlIn was the giving of four potlatches (Lane 1953: 205), the same as the Alkatcho meotih; a pattern corresponding to, and ultimately derived from, the Bella Coola.

Lane's (1953: 190) informant cautioned that there were no sharp lines between the divisions as they were only relative

not absolute. Lane (1953: 190) notes that "The ability to produce wealth rather than the accumulation of wealth was decisive." In effect, an 'upper class' man was a good hunter who shared his goods; poor men were economically unproductive. There was complete mobility between the 'classes,' no inheritance of position, and few slaves.

The Upper Liard Kaska (Honigmann 1954: 86) have a threefold division of tenatiia, rich man (wealth derived from hunting and trapping), which appears to be a dialectal version of the Carrier teneza; tenaktekxe'ita, poor men; and xiina, slaves (a term derived from Tlingit).

McClellan (1961: 104) wrote that, in spite of environmental limitations, the Ten'a, Atna, Tanana, Inland Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone all "developed some idea of social ranking and also seemed to recognize 'rich man' and 'poor men'." The emphasis is on primogeniture among the Atna, with the oldest brother usually the rich one (McClellan 1961: 110):

Generally a person's relative age and his relationship to the head man directly affected his social and economic status within the local group, and the older brother or sister would outrank the younger siblings and have distinctively better chances of becoming rich.

Primogeniture also prevailed among the Inland Tlingit (Teslin band), with the eldest brother or son of the oldest sister usually taking control of the local lineage on the death of its leader and becoming the "big man" (McClellan 1961: 114).

A chief among the Tahltans was termed tintina (Goddard 1925).

14. ii. Distribution of divisions among coastal groups

The Coast Tsimshian have a system of nobles, commoners, and slaves (Boas 1916: 496; Barbeau 1925: 482-498; Garfield 1939: 177), with the terms:

sEm'agid, chief; "very real person"

lguwalks, nobility; "little nobility;" those belonging to the chief's lineage who do not hold ranking names.

wa-a'ien, common people

liu'ngit, slaves

Poor people were described as "those without origin" or as people without relatives (Garfield 1950: 29). Lineage heads, their heirs, and other relatives were ranked in relation to the chiefs of the tribes to which they belonged (Garfield 1950: 27).

The Niska terms are similar to the Tsimshian (cf. Sapir 1915: 28):

shumgigat, nobles, chiefs

wa'a'in, commoners

liingit, slaves; from the Tlingit name for people, lingit, indicating the origin of Tsimshian and Niska slaves.

Haisla classes are (Olson 1940: 171-172, 182; Lopatin n.d.: 24):

haimas, nobles

angwah, commoners

k'akin, slaves

Lopatin (n.d.: 24) lists heemas kesu as "big chief" and haimas as "sub-chief;" Olson (1940: 182) has the term amatswah as "highest chiefs." Olson (1940: 178) notes that usually only the eldest one or two of a group of siblings could hope to acquire important titles, as titles depended on potlatching.

Among the Bella Coola, the pattern seems to be that anyone can be a chief, i.e., give potlatches. According to McIlwraith (1948 I: 123), an ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as a atsqtut± name, and the recipient as atsqtut±, "commoner." Through potlatching, the atsqtut± name is elevated to that of a staltimx, or chief's name. The eldest child is important as the potential transmitter of the names of the ancestral family, which McIlwraith (1948 I: 157) felt was probably more important in former times. The title of staltimx, or chief via potlatching, can also be raised, as McIlwraith (1948 I: 173) indicates:

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a numitl chief. Numitl is an untranslatable word, with the significance of passage, an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands.

Rosman and Rubel (1971), using McIlwraith's field notes, list the term tyi (Rosman and Rubel 1971: 113; field notes,

p. 682), a chief, which appears in the field notes, but not in the published version (McIlwraith 1948). This position was "purely hereditary," and none but tyi can be hlym, "potlatch donor." Actually, this term is probably derived from the Chinook jargon, tyee, chief (cf. Hodge 1912), originating in the Bella Coola area from interaction with trading ships. Its hereditary feature is more likely the result of pressures from the white community (traders, administration, church) rather than any lineage structure. This term, in various forms, is found among the Alkatcho Carrier (Goldman 1941: 407), Sekani (Jenness 1937: 47), and Stuart Lake Carrier - taye, "village chief," which Morice (1932: 501) indicates is a Chinook loan word.

Actual borrowing of terms by the Carriers from the coastal groups seems largely limited to the Upper Carriers, with the term semotqet, a derivative of the Tsimshian sEm'agid, man of wealth, chief (Morice 1932: 501). This term was borrowed even though the Carriers had a term, meotih, identical in meaning (Morice 1892: 118), suggesting that coastal terms were more prestigious than indigenous ones. The use of the borrowed term with potlatches (cf. Morice 1890: 147-153) emphasizing the succession of a maternal nephew indicates that the whole complex was adopted at the same time, probably from observation at the Tsekya trade fairs at the confluence of the Skeena River and Bulkley River.

## 15. KINSHIP

In an interesting statement, Hackler (1958: 32) was told by an informant at Babine Lake that it was desirable that a child did not belong to the same "company" (sib) as his father, because then the father could aid in the burial of the child. This emphasis on the importance of the paternal kin seems widespread among the Carriers, emphasizing the point made by Sapir (1958: 421, fn. 9) regarding west coast matrilineal phratries that although reciprocal functions have been reported for the phratries, more complete analysis reveals:

...that what is really involved in such cases is not the (or an) opposite phratry as such but a group of paternal kinsmen which, in a society with matrilineal inheritance, must needs belong to the (or an) opposite phratry.

For a moiety system, the above statement needs no elaboration, but for a multi-sib system, the theoretical range of other sibs includes more than that of one's father. Yet, the 'paternal sib' pattern is evident from the literature.

Among the Hwitsiwoten, a girl's lip was pierced for a labret by her father's sister (Jenness 1943: 524), and certain funeral duties were incumbent upon the members of the deceased's father's sib. These duties included dressing the corpse and laying it on the funeral pyre; gathering the calcined bones after cremation and handing them to the sib of



the deceased (who repaid with a potlatch); and, one year after the cremation, the deceased's father's sib built a wooden grave house over the cremation site and deposited the bones on top of a post carved with the deceased's sib crest (Jenness 1943: 534). After a boy killed his first game, his father entertained his (i.e., his father's) sib-mates (Jenness 1943: 521).

Morice (1905: 210-211) writes (for likely the Stuart Lake Carrier) that at the death of a teneza, chief, another sib chanted his hereditary song, went to other villages to announce and invite people to the ensuing ceremony, danced daily, fired up the pyre, and threw skins and blankets on the fire. It is not noted if this was the father's sib, but some of the activities were probably carried out by this group.

The sadeku was the functioning unit at Alkatcho funeral services, keeping, for example, the widow at the burning corpse (Goldman 1940: 354). With a tendency toward virilocal residence (Goldman 1953: 64), the localized segment of the bilateral sadeku would tend to be composed of mainly patrilocally related males.

#### Comparative notes

Garfield (1939: 239, 324-326) notes the importance of paternal kin for the Tsimshian in funerals, naming ceremonies, house-post carving, and recitation of lineage history; a girl's ears were pierced by a paternal aunt, and a boy's by a father

or mother's brother (Garfield 1939: 195; 1950: 25). Funeral arrangements were carried out by a chief's father's lineage relatives (Garfield 1950: 37).

A Haisla girl's ears were pierced also by a paternal aunt; a boy's by a paternal uncle (Olson 1940: 199).

#### 15.i. Marriage patterns

Cross-cousin marriage is reported for several Carrier bands; Morice (1905: 201) stating that among the western Athabascans, first cousins married each other "without any scruple" if related only through the father's side. Further statements obscure the marriage pattern - Morice (1892: 112) indicates preferential marriage between first cousins on the mother's side; further (Morice 1890: 119), one of a man's daughters would be married to her "inheriting maternal first cousin" to permit a man's children to share in the inheritance.

Jenness (1943: 527) indicates that cross-cousin marriage was preferred among the Hwitsiwoten "because it retained the family titles and privileges within a close circle and was more conducive to harmony."

According to Hill-Tout (1907: 146), the Carrier (probably with reference to the Stuart Lake Carrier) marriage pattern was that of marrying a girl to her first cousin on her father's side, but, as with Morice, there is no differentiation made as to which 'first cousin.' Steward (1960: 736)

suggested that the 'patrilineal' hunting and fishing Carriers' change to matriliney was facilitated initially by the marriage of man's daughter to his sister's son, even though cross-cousin marriage was not reflected in his genealogies (Steward 1960: 736). In a later statement (1971: personal communication), Steward sums up the situation, indicating that he:

...had initially suspected that the frequency reported in the literature east of the coastal people was a mechanism by which a system of nobility inherited through the female line was able to spread. Extensive genealogies (through five generations from 1940 back), however, disclosed no cases whatever of cross-cousin marriage.

In summary, it is evident that although cross-cousin marriage is reported, we do not know the extent of the pattern in fact, just the ideal. The Alkatcho informed Goldman (1953: 73) that they were aware of cross-cousin marriage among the Upper Carrier, but did not practice it themselves.

Sib exogamy, also, finds little support in Steward's (1960: 740) data; of ten marriages of ±tsamashvu men of Fort St. James, four were with local ±tsamashvu women, four with local lasilyu women, and two with women of another village with no apparent sib affiliation.

Among the Alkatcho Carrier, cross-cousin marriage was not permitted; the range of exogamy extending to the descendants of great-grandparents, the sadekuku, a bilateral non-localized kin group (Goldman 1953: 83). The marriage pattern was one of preferential village exogamy, but in the precontact

period "...a village was invariably a local kin group," so exogamy "was apparently defined fairly clearly as village exogamy" (Goldman 1953: 90). This pattern is repeated among the Tauten Carrier (Fraser River), with marriage to distant kin approved and village exogamy preferred (Ray 1942: 214).

Farrand (1898: 645) indicates that the Chilcotin range of exogamy extended to first cousins.

Among the coastal Tsimshian, cross-cousin marriage was the ideal form, according to Garfield (1950: 23), as this form of marriage bound the two lineages in ties of affection, consolidated hereditary property, and extended the privileges of the use of resources (Garfield 1950: 23).

The Haisla had preferential cross-cousin marriage (Olson 1940: 178); known as "marrying for power" (Olson 1940: 185).

Cross-cousin marriages as ecologically adaptive is suggested by Garfield's (1950: 23) statement above; marriages between Carrier villages can be interpreted in the same light, but the specific form of cross-cousin marriage is unclear.

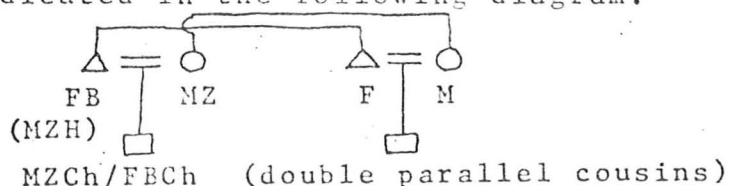
Cross-cousin marriage as an integrative mechanism has been stressed by Eggan (1955: 519-551); creating multiple bonds between a limited number of relatives and maintained each generation; intensifying local integration, but

tending to isolate each local group from its neighbours - in sum, everyone with whom one has social relations is a relative, and others are potential enemies (Eggan 1955: 532). In the northwest coast area, cross-cousin marriage ties together local clan and lineage segments in a highly integrated unit, with the phratry system providing a wider (tribal) integrating mechanism (Eggan 1955: 540).

Ethnographic accounts, unsubstantiated by genealogical evidence, indicate the occurrence, often preferential, of cross-cousin marriage for the Upper Carriers, as follows: Hwitsiwoten, preferential matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Jenness 1943: 527); Babine Lake, not noted (Hackler 1958); Stuart Lake, both patrilateral<sup>1</sup> (Morice 1905: 201) and preferential matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Morice 1890: 119).

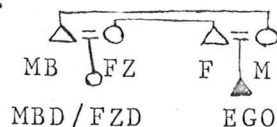
Following the suggestions that terminological equivalences of in-laws and affinals reflect the practice of cross-cousin marriage (Driver 1969: 229; Eggan 1955: 529), Carrier kinship schedules were analysed, as follows:

- a. Bulkley River Carrier (Hwitsiwoten): one term for FB, MZH, FZH, suggesting brother-sister exchange, as indicated in the following diagram:



<sup>1</sup> Reported in only one account by Morice (1905: 201); possibly a typographical error.

The equivalence of FZ, MBW, M-in-law, suggests MBD/FZD marriage, as indicated in the following diagram:



- b. Babine Lake Carrier: one term for FZ, M-in-law; separate terms each for MB and F-in-law; patrilineal cross cousin marriage is suggested by the terms.
- c. Stuart Lake Carrier: equivalence of M-in-law and MZ for a female speaker; patrilineal cross cousin marriage is suggested by the similarity of terms for FZ (pizyan) and M-in-law (piz).

The terminological equivalence among the Bulkley River Carrier of FB, MZH, FZH suggest brother-sister exchange and patrilineal parallel cousin marriage, although MB is not equivalent to MZH; Stuart Lake terms reflect matrilineal parallel cousin marriage.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion of this pattern, coupled with ethnographic accounts of cross cousin marriage, may denote a generalized agamous situation in transition from a less to a more structured pattern. This fits the position of this paper that the incorporation of matrilineal structural features is rejected in Carrier kinship terminology.

Overall, there is no clear cut pattern of kinship terminology verifying cross cousin marriage, except possibly for the Bulkley Carriers (in closest proximity to the matri-

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for Dr. Damas' suggestions about this interpretation.

lineal Gitksan). With the pattern of virilocal residence and a tendency to village exogamy, patrilateral cross cousin marriage can be interpreted as the formation and perpetuation of alliances; the ambiguity of the system as revealed through the terminology may indicate a transition from agamy toward matrilateral cross cousin marriage as the consequence of the increased importance of the matrilineal succession of coastal titles, crests, and songs.

#### 15. ii. Residence

McClellan (1964: 9) indicates that initial matrilocality is common among northwestern Athabascans, but initial or continuing matrilocality rules do not necessarily cause matrilineal sib organization "even though they correlate quite well throughout the area" (McClellan 1964: 9). Among the Carriers, the residence pattern is similar, juxtaposed with alternative patterns of descent.

Among the Hwitsiwoten with matrilineal descent, there was an initial matrilocality residence in the form of bride service for one year, then the residence was optional, but the wife's parents "largely relied on their son-in-law's help at potlatches" (Jenness 1943: 427). The bilateral Alkatcho had an initial period of matrilocality for one or two years while the man worked for his father-in-law, then a tendency to virilocality (Goldman 1953: 64). Morice (1905: 219)

is vague on what is termed 'Carrier' residence, probably with reference mainly to Stuart Lake, stating that a young man settled with his bride "in a corner of the large lodge of his father-in-law." Ray's (1942: 211) culture element distribution for the Tauten indicates a final matrilocal residence, which seems incongruous with the interior pattern and thus somewhat suspect.

The Fort McLeod Sekani had bride service for one or more years, or until the first child was born, then optional residence (Jenness 1937: 54), while bride service among the T'lotona Sekani, who were influenced by the Gitksan and Tahl-tan, lasted until the groom gave enough furs to his father-in-law, after which was a marriage feast in which the father-in-law distributed the furs to members of other sibs (Jenness 1937: 60).

Haisla bride service lasted about one year until the wife was 'repurchased' by her kin in a ceremony called tenakwah, "bringing her home," with virilocality following (Olson 1940: 186). For the Bella Coola, the engagement period required that a perspective son-in-law work for his future father-in-law, while the parents-in-law exchanged gifts and hosted each other (McIlwraith 1948 I: 383), but final residence was virilocal. (McIlwraith 1948 I: 118).

These residence patterns all serve to indicate the importance of residence patterns as a potential source of diffusion; women from the coastal tribes bringing elements,



especially sib affiliations, into the British Columbia interior.

15. iii. Kinship terms: second ascending generation

The kinship terms for the grandparent generation are presented in the following table:

Table 9 Grandparent Terms

Two grandparent terms:	GF (FF, MF)	GM (MM, FM)
Bear Lake Sekani	istsiaa	etsuun
Fort Grahame Sekani	ase	asu
Tsetsaut	etse	etso
Great Bear Lake	etse	etsu
Lower Tanana	tse	ton
Kaska	stsie	stsu
Tahltan	estsua	estshun
Carrier (Harmon) <sup>1</sup>	utcheyan <sup>2</sup>	utsoo
Carrier (Morice) <sup>1</sup>	tsiyan	tsu
Alkatcho Carrier	tsiyan	tsu
Chilcotin	tsi	tsuh
Tsimshian	nya	dzes
Niska	niye	nt'set's
Haisla	babah	mamahawah
Bella Coola	kukpi	kika
Three grandparent terms:	GF (FF, MF)	FM            MM
Hwitsiwoten	tsets	tsani    tso
Babine Lake Carrier	tzets	ani <sup>3</sup> tsa <sup>3</sup>

The above table of grandparent terms reveals an overwhelming pattern among Athabascan-speaking groups, as well as coastal groups, of a two-term grandparent classifica-

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the Stuart Lake Carrier.

<sup>2</sup> In Harmon's orthography, ch may be pronounced as s or sh.

<sup>3</sup> Hackler (1958), from whom these terms are derived,

tion, even among the bilateral Alkatcho and matrilineal Niska. The two Carrier bands closest to the Tsimshians as a whole, the Hwitsiwoten of Bulkley River, and the Babine Lake Carrier, also show the greatest divergence from the two-term pattern, with three terms and a differentiation of the maternal and paternal grandmothers (MM, FM). Kroeber (1937: 602-603) suggests that the proto-Athabascan grandparent terminology was a four-term system, with separate terms for FF, FM, MF, and MM; the northern Athabascan GF and GM once probably applied only to MF and FM. However, the large distribution of a two-term system, and the presence of a three-term system found among bands which would be in close contact with coastal groups, suggests a basic two-term system. Following Kroeber (1939), Spencer and Jennings (1965: 162) suggest that the Slave, Dogrib, and Yellowknives come as close as possible to the earliest or original form of the Athabascan kinship system, with a merging of grandparent terms and bifurcate collateral terms for parents' siblings. This suggests to Spencer and Jennings (1965: 162) an incipient unilineal organization:

...one which could readily come into fruition as a result of contact with the influence of the Northwest Coast.

The terms from Harmon (1903) and Morice (1932), which

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indicates that ah may be used for FM, MM, suggesting that the Babine Lake system was in a process of change when white pressures disrupted communications with coastal groups.

reflect the Stuart Lake system, provide an eighty year range in which the actual terms remained unchanged, although it is suggested elsewhere that there was a shift in the terms of the first ascending generation, reflecting the increased importance of differentiating paternal and maternal kin (see uncle, aunt terms).

It is interesting to note that the adoption of principles of matrilineal descent by the two westernmost Carrier bands resulted in the extension of the differentiation of paternal and maternal kin even farther than the coastal groups from which this principle was derived.

15. iv. Kinship terms: first ascending generation

The kinship terms for the first ascending generation are presented in the following table:

Table 10 Kinship terms: first ascending generation  
(uncle, aunt)

Bifurcate Collateral	FZ	FB	F	M	MZ	MB
Hwitsiwoten	bits	tai	beb	ane	akai	aze
Babine Lake	spets	tai	pe	ni	ake	aze
Fraser Lake	(FZ)	(FB)	(F)	(M)	aki	aze
Stuart Lake	pizyan	thai	pa	llu	akei	ze
Tsetsaut	ebE <sup>1</sup>	atha	tE	na	sxa	aga
Lower Tanana	ton <sup>1</sup>	tai	taa	naa	age	a'e

<sup>1</sup> Also applied to grandmother (MM, FM), suggesting a shift to Crow type of terminology.

Lineal	FZ	FB	F	M	MZ	MB
Alkatcho	aki	aze	apa	akwEl	aki	aze
Chilcotin	?	Eze	Eta	epam	?	Eze
Great Bear Lake	senoi	se'e	eta	ewe	senoi	se'e
Bella Coola	sisksom	sisi	tatao	stanu-sisk- dimut som		sisi
Bifurcate Merging						
Kaska	stsu <sup>1</sup>	sta	eta	ena	ena	seze
Haisla	anis	op	op	abuh	abuh	x <sup>w</sup> atlap
Niska	nixda	nEgwad	nEgwad	na	na	nEpep
Unclassified						
Tahltan	eda	ista	ete	eła	eda	edeze
Bear Lake Sekani	?	isda <sup>2</sup>	aba	ana	ana <sup>3</sup>	saze
Fort Grahame Sek.	abedze	esta	abba	ane	songwe	sase

Harmon (1903) includes some kin terms in his Takulli (Carrier) word list, likely obtained at Stuart Lake, where he spent the period 1810 to 1819, such as aki, aunt, pa, father, and un-nung-cool, mother. The lack of differentiation between FZ and MZ in Harmon's term, and the distinct separation indicated in Morice's (see table) suggests that the Stuart Lake Carrier changed their terminology between 1810 and 1890, i.e., post-fur trade, as a result of the increasing emphasis on the importance of maternal kin. Duff (1951: 33) states that, in summary, Fort Fraser Carrier and

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<sup>1</sup> Also applied to grandmother (MM, FM), suggesting a shift to Crow type of terminology.

<sup>2</sup> Also "mother's husband."

<sup>3</sup> Also called etsuun, sowe' (also applied to father's wife).

Bulkley River Carrier (Hwitsiwoten) "have made changes in their kinship terminology to accord with the phratry system, the latter more than the former." Those within the phratry were considered as the true uncles, aunts, and so on, with new terms found for those without (Duff 1951: 33).

# 15. v. Kinship terms: cousin terminology

The following table presents cousin terminology according to the types from Murdock (1949: 223-224):

Table 11 Cousin Terminology

Group	FZD	FBD	Z	MZD	MBD	Type
Coastal						
Bella Coola						H
Haisla						I
Niska						I
Athabascans						
Sekani (McLeod L)	setise	setise	setise	setise	setise	H
Bear L. Sekani	sedade	sedade	sedade	sedade	sedade	H
Ft. Grahame Sek.	sade	sade	sade	sade	sade	H
Tahltan	ispa	adaade	adaade	adaade	estsi'a	?
Kaska	stsu	ta'te	ta'te	ta'te	elka, espa	C
Lower Tanana	u'de	ade	ade	ade	u'de	I
Chilcotin	etiz	etiz	etiz	etiz	etiz	H
Carriers						
Bulkley River	zit	a'te'tse	a'te'tse	a'te'tse	zit	I
Babine Lake	zit	zit	a'te'tse	a'te'tse	zit	?
Stuart Lake	lthes	lthes	lthes	zit	zit	?
Alkatcho	sayat	sayat	sayat	sayat	sayat	H

H - Hawaiian  
 I - Iroquois  
 C - Crow  
 ? - unsure

The term zit appears limited to the Carrier groups that adopted matrilineal sibs, with varying kin included, with the constant inclusion of MBD. An analysis of the in-law terms reveals that for the Bulkley Carriers, the same term is applied to FZ, MZHu; FZ is terminologically equivalent to MBWi and M-in-law, supporting the presence of cross-cousin marriage. Hackler (1958: kin terms) indicates that FZ and WiM are terminologically equivalent, suggesting patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. It seems that cross-cousin marriage practices and the inheritance of titles and prerogatives in the maternal line were changing the kinship terminology, without a corresponding (prior, in Murdock's (1949: 211) scheme) change in residence.

A further differentiation along matrilineal sib lines is evident from an analysis of terms in the first descending generation, presented in the following table (all terms are referenced to a male ego):

Table 12 Kinship Terms: first descending generation

Band	Brother's Children	Son	Daughter	Sister's Children
Alkatcho	gwaz	ye	tse	gwaz
Bulkley River	yng'r sibling	ye	tse	tso <sup>1</sup>
Babine Lake	bahde·xsh	ye	tse	tsi
Stuart Lake	yng'r sibling	ye	tse	cu
Sekani	S, D	setchwa	setchwa	šazi

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<sup>1</sup> Sister's children are collectively called tso; sister's daughter alone is termed ak'ai, which is also the term applied to MZ. Morice (1910: 988) notes for the Stuart Lake Carrier that ZD was a potential mate, as she belonged to a different sib than a male ego.

Some specializations of meaning become evident when a female ego is used, underlining the differentiation of sib affiliation. For example, among the Stuart Lake Carrier, a female calls her brother's children kwaz, equivalent (with dialect differences) to the Alkatcho gwaz, indicating a specialization of the term from siblings' children to non-sib siblings' children. For a Babine Lake female ego, brother's children are szet, which is the term for MBD and FBD.

The following presents a summary of Carrier kinship terminology:

Parents: The basic Carrier term for father, pa, is found among all the Carrier groups; differentiation occurs with the term for mother, ne (Bulkley River, Babine Lake), llu (Stuart Lake), and akwEl (Alkatcho).

Children: There is a differentiation among the Carriers of Fraser Lake, Stuart Lake, Babine Lake, and Bulkley River, between sister's children (tsu; except Fraser Lake, gwaz)(same sib), and brother's children (younger sibling and cousin)(other sib). Fraser Lake appears transitional between the Alkatcho system and the others. The term gwaz among the Stuart Lake Carrier is applied by a woman to her brother's children.

Siblings: All the Carrier bands have the typical Northern Athabascan four term system of differentiation by sex and relative age. The cousin-sibling equivalence of the

Chilcotin (Lane n.d.: 2), Alkatcho Carrier (Goldman 1941: 405), and Sekani (Jenness 1937: 51) is not evident among the other Carrier bands (Stuart Lake, Fraser Lake, Babine Lake, Bulkley River). Among the Fraser Lake Carrier, cousins are differentiated from siblings, but not from each other; Bulkley River cross-cousins are called by Fraser Lake 'cousin' terms, with new terms for parallel cousins, according to Duff (1951: 33).

If ano (Alkatcho, eB and male cousin) and yat (Alkatcho, eZ and female cousin) are cognate with ondi and zit (cousin terms of other Carrier groups), then it is possible to make some assumptions about what has happened under the influence of matriliney. The Fraser Lake and Babine Lake Carriers have applied older sibling terms to cross-cousins and generic sibling terms to parallel cousins, with attendant phonetic shifts. The above is highly speculative, but some other equivalences suggest that cousins are called variations of sibling terms. For example, Babine Lake ahlte'tse, eZ, is equivalent to Bulkley River parallel female cousin (FBD, MZD). Babine Lake tchal, male cousin in a different sib, is equivalent to Bulkley River and Stuart Lake yB. Possibly Bulkley River a'sen (parallel male cousin) is equivalent to Stuart Lake letsin (male paternal cousin), the generic term for brother (Stuart Lake); likewise, Bulkley River alte'tse (parallel female cousin) is equivalent to Stuart Lake lthes



(female paternal cousin), the generic term for sister (Stuart Lake).

Uncle-aunt: All the Carrier bands differentiate between lineals and collaterals in the first ascending generation, but the Bulkley River, Babine Lake, Fraser Lake, and Stuart Lake Carrier have a four term uncle-aunt system, (FB, MB, FZ, MZ) while the Alkatcho has a two term system (FB=MB, FZ=MZ). The terms for MB, aze, and MZ, aki, are constant in all the groups; FB is tai among all the bands except Alkatcho (where FB is equated with MB, aze); FZ is bits among Bulkley River, Babine Lake, and possibly Fraser Lake, pizyan at Stuart Lake, and equated with MZ, aki at Alkatcho.

Duff (1951: 33) has suggested that those relatives within the same matri-sib were considered the true relatives, while new uncle, aunt terms had to be found for those without. All the bands with the four term system were in direct or indirect contact with coastal groups with matri-sibs, whereas the Alkatcho was in contact with the bilateral Bella Coola. Using the Alkatcho terminology as a base Carrier type from which the others developed, as suggested by Goldman (1941: 405) and Duff (1951: 33), we can arrive at some notion of the origin of these new terms. For example, tai, FB, is step-father among the Alkatcho, suggesting that aze, the Alkatcho term for MB and FB, became specialized under the concept of matriliney to mean only MB, and an existing term, tai, step-

father, was utilized for FB. The FZ term is less evident, although the presence of Alkatcho pez, mother-in-law, or Chilcotin bits, step-mother, suggests an analagous process. As Kroeber (1937: 606) emphasizes, Athabascan kin term systems differ for many reasons, one of which is that nomenclature logic, not necessarily kin terms, has diffused from adjacent non-Athabascan groups.

Grandparent: The Stuart Lake and Alkatcho Carrier have a two term system, GF tsiyan, GM tsu, whereas the Bulkley River and Babine Lake Carrier have a three term system of GF, tsets, FM, tsani, and MM, tso, suggesting a greater emphasis on maternal kin.

Grandchildren: The single term for grandchildren, tcai, is found among all the Carrier groups for which there is information (Alkatcho, Bulkley River, Stuart Lake).

Parent-in-law: The father-in-law term, zaz, is cognate among Stuart Lake, Babine Lake, Bulkley River, and Alkatcho, but the range of application of mother-in-law differs. The cognate term piz appears in all the groups, but at Stuart Lake is used only by a male speaker (a female speaker uses ake, the same term as MZ); the Babine Lake term covers FZ; Bulkley River includes FZ and MBW; the Alkatcho term also includes all terminological sisters of the mother-in-law. Patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is suggested by the Babine Lake equivalences; bilateral cross-cousin marriage by the Bulkley River equivalences.

Sibling-in-law: All the Carrier groups have a single term, xe, for all sibling-in-laws.

## 16. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### 16. i. Migrations

Disease and the resultant depopulation in the early and mid-1800's blotted out many Carrier families, whose places were taken by immigrant families from other districts (Jenness 1943: 475). About 1820, a rock slide at Hagwelgate Canyon almost blocked the Bulkley River, allowing few salmon to pass upriver, resulting in a movement of most of the inhabitants of the upper Bulkley River to Hagwelgate (Jenness 1943: 477). The result was that the Hwitsiwoten were then only four miles from a Gitksan village, and at the canyon itself (where the Hwitsiwoten established their village), Gitksan fishing works were on the west side, and Carrier on the east side (Barbeau 1930: 144). Hwitsiwoten Carriers also went to the Nass River in times of famine to purchase oolachon oil from the Niska (Jenness 1943: 479). Cheslatta Carriers visited the Kemano Kitimat and Kimsquit (Duff 1951: 29); Alkatcho Carriers came in the summer to the upper Bella Coola valley and Dean River to fish or trade for salmon, and often wintered in villages of the Bella Coola Indians (Goldman 1940: 339, 351; McIlwraith 1948 I: 18, 330).

### 16. ii. Trade

In addition to the trading mentioned above, important

trade was carried on along the Skeena River. About 1850, the Coast Tsimshian established a yearly market at the confluence of the Bulkley and Skeena Rivers (Jenness 1943: 478). In connection with this, Morice (1892: 120) wrote that:

Certain clans of maritime Tsimpsians went even as far as to claim and enforce the exclusive right of trading annually with the Babines and Sekanais, ascending the Skeena and one of its tributaries as far as Bear or Connolly Lake.

The Niska visited the Hwitsiwoten to trade oolachon for furs (Jenness 1943: 478); the upper Skeena became the center for trading between Carriers, Tsimshians, Haida, and occasionally Tlingit - with the Carriers imitating the feasting, story telling, etc. (Morice 1892: 120).

#### 16. iii. Means of Access

The most obvious communication routes were the river systems that dissected the coastal mountains, such as the Skeena, Dean, and Bella Coola Rivers, with lesser ones in between. The extent of aboriginal trade prior to the establishment of the first trading posts in Carrier territory in 1806 (Fort St. James and Fort Fraser) is unclear. However, in 1793, Mackenzie encountered a group of Sekanis on the upper Parsnip River with iron goods apparently obtained from the coast through Carrier middlemen (Mackenzie 1902: 91).

#### 16. iv. Intermarriage

The Hwitsiwoten and Babines of Babine Lake

intermarried with themselves and the Gitksan (Jenness 1943: 475; Morice 1904: 6); participating in each others' ceremonies (Jenness 1943: 483). Jenness (1943: 478) wrote that until recently the Hwitsiwoten had little knowledge of the eastern Carrier groups, but maintained "close and friendly relations" with the Babines and Carriers of the Fraser Lake area. Some contact, possibly more intensive in previous times, obtained between the Cheslatta Carrier and the Kitimats, and possibly the Hwitsiwoten as well, which may have been the origin of the Carrier five 'phratry' system (Duff 1951: 29; Jenness 1943: 481). The Cheslatta Carrier, in the Cheslatta Lake area, lacking salmon, often visited coastal streams, such as the Kimsquit, and traded and possibly intermarried with the Kemano Kitimat and Kimsquits (Duff 1951: 29). McIlwraith (1948 I: 332-335) recorded a story of a Kimsquit male marrying a Xixais Carrier woman from the Ootsa Lake area, and bringing her back to his village. The Lower Carriers, notably the Alkatcho, intermarried with the Bella Coola of the Upper Bella Coola River valley (Goldman 1940: 342; McIlwraith 1948 I: 18; Morice 1893: 202).

Genealogies were unavailable to me, but the above indicates that intermarriages between coastal groups and western Carrier groups occurred, although how much prior to the impetus of the fur trade is unclear. Steward (pers. comm.) places diffusion as pre-Columbian for the Upper Carriers, while Gold-

man (1940: 342) felt that for the Alkatcho "...diffusion and adoption of Bella Coola cultural elements followed not upon aboriginal trade, but upon rapidly expanding White fur trade," i.e., mid-1800.

Intermarriage between Carrier groups lacks specific documentation, but villages along the same river or lake probably formed a marriage unit. For example, Morice (1928: 80) wrote that the people of the adjacent villages of Thatce and Koeztce were intimately connected "from an ethnographical standpoint," and uniformly called Tlaz-tenne, "people of the Fond-du-Lac."

For the Necosliwoten of Stuart Lake, Steward (pers. comm.) wrote that his genealogies covering the period from 1850 to 1940 revealed no instances of cross-cousin marriage, so that cross-cousin marriage as a mechanism for the spread of titles (inherited in the female line) may have been over-rated (cf Eggan 1955: 538-542). Local Carrier groups (i.e., villages) took the names of Tsimshian phratries, and maintained themselves partly by potlatching against other groups (Steward pers. comm.). Further, Steward (pers. comm.) wrote that the fact that these main groups were localized made possible a certain proliferation of names, resulting in one group recently taking the name Northern Pacific (a railroad).

#### 16. v. Motives for Inter tribal Trade

Food shortage has been given as one reason for trade

between tribes; furs being exchanged for dried salmon, as among the Alkatcho and Bella Coola; (as well as for European trade goods (Goldman 1940: 339; 1941: 412-13; McIlwraith 1948 I: 18) - the original source of which was the coast. The prestige of obtaining coastal titles and ceremonial paraphernalia was probably an important factor, as trade involving all-native traders were pervasive enough to force the trading companies in the interior to retain a "credit system" for fear that trade would be lost to native traders from the coast (see, for example McLean 1932: 183). An affinal network was created in which women were exchanged to ensure the maintenance of in-law obligations. With respect to the son-in-law relationship, Goldman (1941: 343) wrote:

In the competition that characterized Northwest economy a Carrier son-in-law gave a Bella Coola a virtual trade monopoly, particularly in view of the Carrier concepts of bride-service.

and further that:

Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough to purchase new prerogatives. (Goldman 1941: 416).

McIlwraith (1948 I: 121) wrote that in recent times, there was a tendency for Bella Coola men to marry foreign women to obtain new prerogatives, but most of the coastal-interior marriages seem to have involved coastal women and interior men (Goldman 1941: 345). The same mechanism was used by Carrier groups to gain access to Sekani hunting and



trapping lands (Morice 1928: 81).

The extent of this affinal network of obligations prior to the impetus of the fur trade is unclear, but the fact remains that the mechanism was an amplification of previously existing principles common among interior groups - i.e., bride-service, and son-in-law obligations (Goldman 1940: 359; Jenness 1943: 527; McClellan 1964: 9; Morice 1910: 982).

#### 16. vi. Linguistic Evidence for Diffusion

According to Morice (1893: 125, fn. 2), Carrier potlatches or ceremonial banquets were called horwunuta, "the going near" - "a verbal noun, which confirms that such feasts...are of recent origin among the Western Denes." The Hwitsiwoten called their potlatches dzetil (Jenness 1943: 513), which bears a resemblance to the Tsimshian word for crest, dzabk (Sapir 1916 (1958: 435)). Sapir (1916 (1958: 435, fn. 23)) further mentioned that "according to some, a dzabk is 'what is made up, devised' and shown at a potlatch, referring rather to the invention of new ways of showing old crests or even the invention of new crests." Although the Tsimshian had a term for phratry, ptex, there seems to have been no equivalent among the Carriers (Duff 1951: 30).

Prior to the distribution of skins at a potlatch at Stuart Lake, young men would cry out sEmaget (Morice 1893: 118), which came from the Tsimshian word for nobleman, sEm-gad,

or chief, sEm'agid (Boas 1916: 972). Sapir (1916 (1958: 442)) gave the gloss as "very real man." However, a sEmaqet among the Carriers seems to have held no power greater than prestige through potlatches.

Inherited names, validated by potlatching, included many of extraneous origin (cf Jenness 1943: 491ff; Morice 1933: 642). For the Hwitsiwoten, Jenness (1943: 495) wrote:

A cursory perusal of these peerage tables will indicate that many of the titles are in the Tsimshian tongue; in some, perhaps most, they coincide with titles actually in use among the Tsimshian. Yet only about a third of the Bulkley Carrier understood and spoke the Tsimshian language, so that the bearer of a title often knew little or nothing about its origin or real significance.

#### 16. vii. Archeological Evidence suggesting Coastal Trade

Very little archaeological work to date has been done in the Central Interior, but trade with the coast is indicated by the presence in a few sites of goods of coastal derivation. In the western area, at Euchu Lake, the hunting and fishing area of the Cheslatta Carriers, Borden (1952) found Mytilus californica in many of the sites, a mollusc which was important on the coast, indicating prehistoric coast-Cheslatta trade. Dentalia and a Chinese coin (minted ca A.D. 1125) were found at Chinlac, a Carrier village on the Stuart River (Fraser River drainage), but there was no evidence that this trade was prehistoric, as the dentalia appeared at the same time as beads, copper, iron, etc. (Borden 1952: 33).

Interior trade at Chinlac was also indicated by the presence of obsidian - the nearest source of which was in the Anahim region, 120 miles to the southwest.

16. viii. Sources of influence.

From the foregoing ethnographic accounts of interaction with foreign groups, the most obvious sources of influences were the Gitksan, Haisla, and Bella Coola. The Gitksan were divided into four exogamous matrilineal phratries (Eagles, Wolves, Frog-Raven, and Fireweed), with further subdivisions into clans and lineages (Barbeau 1929: 10; Drucker 1963: 116; Garfield 1950: 19). It is interesting to note that the Bulkley Carrier (Hwitsiwoten) did not have the exact equivalents of these Gitksan phratries, but rather adjusted a five division system to the four fold Gitksan system (Jenness 1943: 483). Duff (1951: 29) and Jenness (1943: 481) have suggested that the Kitimat or Haisla system served as the model, as this group had five matrilineal divisions (Olson 1933: 398; 1940: 169). Olson (1940: 185) also stated that:

The Haisla equate the clans of neighboring tribes with their own and observe the same restrictions as in intratribal marriages.

Morice (1893: 203, fn 1) wrote:

...it would seem that the Crow or Raven is regarded as the totem of some clan among the Lower Carriers (but is) unknown among the Upper Carriers.

According to Olson (1940: 169, 200), the Crow and Raven

clans were found among the Haisla (as well as the Beaver, Blackfish, and Salmon clans). The Cheslatta Carriers, on the upper Nechako River-Cheslatta Lake area, often visited the Haisla areas (as well as the Kimsquit, who were Bella Coola speakers) (Duff 1951: 29).

The influence of the bilateral Bella Coola helped to maintain bilaterality among the Alkatcho Carrier crest groups, according to Goldman (1941: 412).

#### 16. ix. Social Organization (see table 13)

According to Morice (1905: 201), the entire social system of the Carriers, i.e., the potlatch-rank complex, was borrowed from the coast Indians. Duff (1951: 28) wrote that, until recently, "the Carrier Indians have been rapidly borrowing features of social organization from their coastal neighbours" and further, that the Upper Carriers were traveling "the path to true phratry organization" prior to white contact (Duff 1951: 34). The same view has been expressed elsewhere (Steward 1955: 175). Thus, the result of interaction with coastal groups was the spread of named matrilineal kinship groups into the interior. Among the Hwitsiwoten, there were five sibs represented in both of the main villages (Jenness 1943: 485). Jenness' description of phratries and clans indicates that we are dealing with sibs and house groups of extended families. Although descent was matrilineal, residence

Table 13 Distribution of Social Features

Village composition:	Alkatcho- related families of sibling groups.
	Hwitsiwoten- 'clan' houses.
	Necosliwoten- 'clan' houses.
	Tauten- extended families.
Basic kinship group:	Alkatcho- localized bilateral <u>sadeku</u> .
	Hwitsiwoten- local sib segment.
	Necosliwoten- local sib segment.
	Tauten- extended family (?).
Basic economic unit:	Alkatcho- <u>sadeku</u> .
	Hwitsiwoten- two or three related families.
	Necosliwoten- extended family (?).
	Tauten- extended family (?).
Exogamous unit:	Alkatcho- <u>sadeku</u> .
	Hwitsiwoten- sib.
	Necosliwoten- sib.
	Tauten- ?
Crest group:	Alkatcho- three bilateral, non-exogamous, non-localized groups.
	Hwitsiwoten- five matrilineal sibs.
	Necosliwoten- four matrilineal sibs.
	Tauten- absent.
Marriages with:	Alkatcho- Bella Coola.
	Hwitsiwoten- Gitksan.
	Necosliwoten- ?
	Tauten- Shuswap (?).
Succession to leadership:	Alkatcho- eldest son.
	Hwitsiwoten- sister's son, brother.
	Necosliwoten- sister's son, brother.
	Tauten- ?
Potlatch unit:	Alkatcho- crest group.
	Hwitsiwoten- house group.
	Necosliwoten- individual.
	Tauten- village.
Potlatch time and associated economic activity:	Alkatcho- late summer; fishing.
	Hwitsiwoten- fall; salmon run.
	Necosliwoten- fall; salmon run.
	Tauten- summer; salmon run.
Number of potlatches for succession:	Alkatcho- four.
	Hwitsiwoten- six.
	Necosliwoten- six.
	Tauten- any number.

was virilocal (Jenness 1934: 154), which accords with Murdock's (1949: 47) definition of sib. Sib members of one 'sub-tribe' (eg., the Hwitsiwoten) assembled and lived together at fishing places; participated in common feasts and ceremonies; owned separate hunting territory; regulated marriage; through the chief (actually the head of the most prestigious house group) the division of hunting territory was controlled (Jenness 1943: 481-83). Only one of the five sibs had a Carrier name, the others being derived from Tsimshian (Jenness 1943: 482). The practice of extending sib exogamy to other Carrier 'subtribes' or even different nations, coupled with virilocality (after initial matrilocality) undoubtedly aided the spread of matrilineal concepts. The "phratries" were divided into a number of clans, according to Jenness (1943: 484), which were all called Houses (eg., Thin House). These units were unranked, and had their own chiefs and crests (Jenness 1943: 484) - however, the crest origin legends were not regarded as clan property (Jenness 1943: 495) as they were among the Tsimshian (Barbeau 1917: 560). These House groups, or "clans," had individual fishing stands and recognized hunting grounds within 'phratry' territory. Inheritance to the position of 'clan' chief passed from a man to his sister's son or brother, and involved (traditionally) no less than six potlatches to validate succession (Jenness 1943: 513). According to Morice (1933: 464), the family was not known as a social unit.

Morice (1905: 197) wrote that the Babines and northern Carriers built lodges, based on coastal designs, accommodating several families, which probably correspond to Jenness' Houses or clans.

Among the Stuart Lake Carriers (Necosliwoten), there were four unranked exogamous sibs, extending beyond the village level, with several hereditary chiefs in each localized sib segment that controlled hunting lands (Morice 1905: 202). With respect to phratries, Morice (1892: 119) wrote:

So far as I am aware, the phratries were still unknown among them (Stuart Lake Carriers); the traditional origin of the gentes received no definite explanation, and the secret societies common to most maritime tribes had hardly passed beyond their first or embryonic stage of existence when the Carriers commenced looking to others than the Coast Indians for models to copy from.

Further to the east, the Stony Creek band (Tachickwoten) had two sibs with membership by matrilineal descent, according to Jenness (1943: 586). Some of these people asserted that in former times all the members of one sib lived in one village, and the second village contained all the members of the second sib, which Jenness (1943: 586) found "impossible, since the phratries were exogamous units and every man must have belonged to a different phratry from his wife." However, Duff (1951: 34) suggested that, as among the Alkatcho (Goldman 1941: 399), exogamy was not necessarily a feature, and the phratry (sib) was coextensive with the

village, i.e., designated a local unit (Steward 1971: personal communication), with local groups outside of the Bulkley River - Babine Lake area taking the names of Tsimshian phratries, but without the criterion of exogamy. Jenness (1943: 586), in applying a strict anthropological definition to these named groups based on their derivation in name from Tsimshian phratries, denied the concept of a non-exogamous village with a Tsimshian phratry name. On the other hand, Duff (1951) and Steward (1960) realized that the actual nomenclature did not necessarily preclude a unilineal, exogamous descent group. Steward (1960: 732) describes the so-called phratries at Stuart Lake as:

... localized groups which carried titles of nobility that theoretically were inherited matrilineally but in practice were acquired in various ways.

While using the terms " phratry " and " company " to describe these groups, Steward (1960: 737) does not imply genuinely matrilineal, exogamous kin groups; membership in a phratry/company may in fact have been bilateral for many of the members, although titles were kept within this unit. In summary, Steward (1960: 738) writes:

... it seems clear that as a status system spread eastward through intermarriage, control of surplus, and perhaps other factors, it became so simplified that Stuart Lake and Stoney Creek (sic, but actually Fraser Lake) had only two main divisions and no subdivisions, and that nominal equivalents from one locality to another became confused. In fact they became so confused that such names as Grand Trunk and Japan were adopted in certain localities.



Duff's (1951: 30) Fraser Lake informant supplied the information that once all Fort Fraser people were Isamasyu (a Tsimshian phratry name); Burns Lake people were aksilyu; Fraser Lake (Stella), jilserhyu; Tachick Lake, aksilyu; and Nulki Lake, jilserhyu, from which Duff (1951: 32) postulated a sequence of sib adoption by the Carriers. First, a local band takes the Tsimshian-derived name of a phratry from the west, with some form then of one-sib local groups. With the concept of sib would come the associated ideas of class structure, crests, matrilineal descent, and exogamy, of which the latter was initially local group exogamy. Duff (1951: 33) further felt that while matrilineal descent became deeply established, the concept of sib exogamy did not.

For the southeastern Carriers, information is meagre. However, there seems to have been no sibs, as village autonomy was stressed and there existed no named units larger than the village or band. (Ray 1942: 229). The house types indicate more Interior Salish influence than from the coast, as the semisubterranean house was utilized as a winter residence (Ray 1942: 178). As among the Alkatcho Carrier, the Tauten village held a common hunting territory in which extended families and individuals, by usufruct, exploited streams, etc.

The kinship terminologies reflect an emphasis on maternal versus paternal kin (i.e., members of own matrilineal descent group as opposed to others) in the groups in most frequent contact with the Gitksan and Haisla; the bilaterality

of the Alkatcho reflecting the influence of the Bella Coola. Duff (1951: 33) wrote that the Fort Fraser (Natlioten) and Bulkley River Carrier have made changes to accord with the sib system; further, that:

... as distinctions were made between relatives within and without the phratry, those within were considered to be the true "uncles," "aunts," etc., and new terms had to be found for those without.

Residence remained uniform throughout the Carrier area (with the Tauten matrilocality a puzzling exception), although if a man's parents-in-law resided in the same village, then perhaps we need a finer definition of residence patterns. The general pattern, though, was of sib or village exogamy.

A differentiation also obtained with respect to the exogamous units. Among the western Carrier (Babines), the sib was the unit which regulated marriage, and this extended beyond the village for the Bulkley River Carrier (Jenness 1943: 483) and Stuart Lake Carrier (Morice 1890: 118). To the east, sib exogamy extended no further than the band. Among the Fraser Lake Carriers (Natlioten), although the sibs corresponded in name to the western Carrier sibs, Jenness (1943: 584) wrote that:

A man could not marry a woman of his own phratry unless she belonged to another subtribe; a Laksilyu man, for example, could marry a Laksilyu woman of Hagwilgate, but not of Fraser Lake.

Sib exogamy seems to be absent among the Stony Creek Carrier (Jenness 1943: 586), approximating the pattern among the Tauten, where village exogamy was preferred (Ray 1942: 214).

Matrilineal inheritance of titles and thus nobility among the Bulkley River Carriers and Babines was altered among the Fraser Lake Carriers, in that although children in the latter band belonged to the sib of their mother, they "were not considered nobles unless their fathers were nobles" (Jenness 1943: 513). Among the Stony Creek Carriers, "Any-one could become a chief by giving a certain number of potlatches; a lesser number bestowed on him the status of a noble" (Jenness 1943: 586). Inheritance to the position of clan chief among the Bulkley Carriers went from a man to his sister's son, or failing that, to a brother, and involved a set number of potlatches - six - for validation (Jenness 1943: 513).

The sadeku, a bilateral descent group (with patrilineal tendencies), was the exogamous unit among the Alkatcho Carrier, and as it may have been localized, village exogamy was approximated (Goldman 1940: 336-337). The sadeku was also the unit which held hunting and fishing areas (weirs and traps) in a common village territory (Goldman 1940: 336). The crest group among the Alkatcho was the result of a combination of the Upper Carrier and Babine matrilineal sib plus influence from the bilateral Bella Coola, which resulted in a bilateral, non-exogamous social unit (Goldman 1941: 414).

Thus, we can see that certain features of social organization were copied from the coastal groups, and that the selection was mainly contingent upon social factors, rather

than ecological factors alone. It appears that the the sib system took on many functions with respect to land division that were previously handled by the village or a bilateral descent group similar to the Alkatcho sadeku.

Ecological factors did operate on the sib system, though. The seasonal alteration between village and smaller groups of families meant that the sib system operated as a structuring device for the allocation of personnel mainly during contact with other groups, which in the case of the Carriers was during the fall aggregations for salmon fishing, or visiting. The lack of firewood during the winter necessitated a constant shifting of winter habitation sites, so a rigid division of territory was probably not a fact (Moricie 1893: 184). Steward (1960: 737) felt that it was the title to nobility rather than land use for subsistence purposes that was theoretically inherited by a man's sister's son.

The adoption of the potlatch-rank complex of the coast by Carrier bands was contingent mainly upon the salmon supply, according to Steward (1960: 737), and the lack of salmon fisheries has been postulated as a prime reason for the Sekanis, to the east and north of the Carriers, not maintaining a "nobility-potlatch" pattern (Steward 1960: 737). However, this ecological explanation is only part of the answer, as the adoption of such a pattern among the Athabascans seems contingent also upon the frequency of interaction with coastal groups, which increased due to the fur trade.

Jenness (1937: 47) wrote that the Sekani interacted with the Gitksan at the Hudson's Bay Company post at Bear Lake, and the Gitksan:

... asked the Sasuchan Sekani to join them in holding a potlatch. At that time the Sekani recognized no phratries, but each man assigned himself for the occasion to the phratry of a Gitksan relative or friend. They then retained these affiliations for a period, but lost them as soon as the Hudson's Bay Company removed its post from Bear Lake to Fort Grahame.

and further:

The last twenty-five years have seen their (i.e., sib) revival, for now many of the Finlay River Sekani are wandering westward again and visiting both the Carrier and Gitksan around Babine lake and river. (Jenness 1937: 48)

The same pattern was more than likely one of the main reasons for Carrier adoption of coastal features in the first place.

#### 16. x. Conclusions

The information available on the Carrier Indians has indicated that within a gross uniform environment and exploitative pattern, with quantitative, rather than qualitative, differences in fauna, diverse social features occur. The existence of a similar social organization on the western margins of Carrier territory has suggested the likelihood of diffusion as an explanation. This was borne out by a comparison of features of social organization and records of intermarriage, trade, and migrations, with the routes of

diffusion following the river drainage systems that dissected the intervening Coastal Mountains.

The extent of diffusion was in part a factor of the frequency of interaction, the intensification of which was likely correlated with the fur trade era.

The existence of these mechanisms of interaction, coupled with the fact that the Carrier bands closest to the assumed sources of diffusion exhibited the most rigid approximation, suggests that divergent drift is inadequate as an explanation. Common heritage may have been a factor in the spread of the matrilineal sib system in that bride service and initial matrilocal residence seem not uncommon among Athabascans (McClellan 1964: 9). However, the point is that the selection of the particular features was a reflection of historical factors not directly ecological in nature. Independent invention is ruled out by the facts of social intercourse.

✓ Historical accident, in the form of the establishment of trading posts, may bear further research. Pressure was exerted upon the Carriers to orientate their subsistence cycle around the winter exploitation of fur-bearing animals, previously difficult because of the apparent lack of snowshoes (Jenness 1967: 364). The salmon resources of Stuart Lake and Babine Lake, particularly the latter, were utilized by the Hudson's Bay Company to supply many of their posts in the interior. This may have resulted in increased periods of

famine and prolonged absences from the main villages, plus a nucleation around - and an increasing dependence upon - the trading posts.

While the example of the Carriers may represent an extreme case of the importance of historical factors in the determination of social organization, it does raise the question as to the extent of ecological factors alone in the formation of social organization, for aboriginal trade routes must have ensured that few groups could exist in total isolation. The main point is that historical factors have an important part to play in the analysis of a society, particularly if the concern is with origins and intergroup relations as much as with synchronic adaptation.

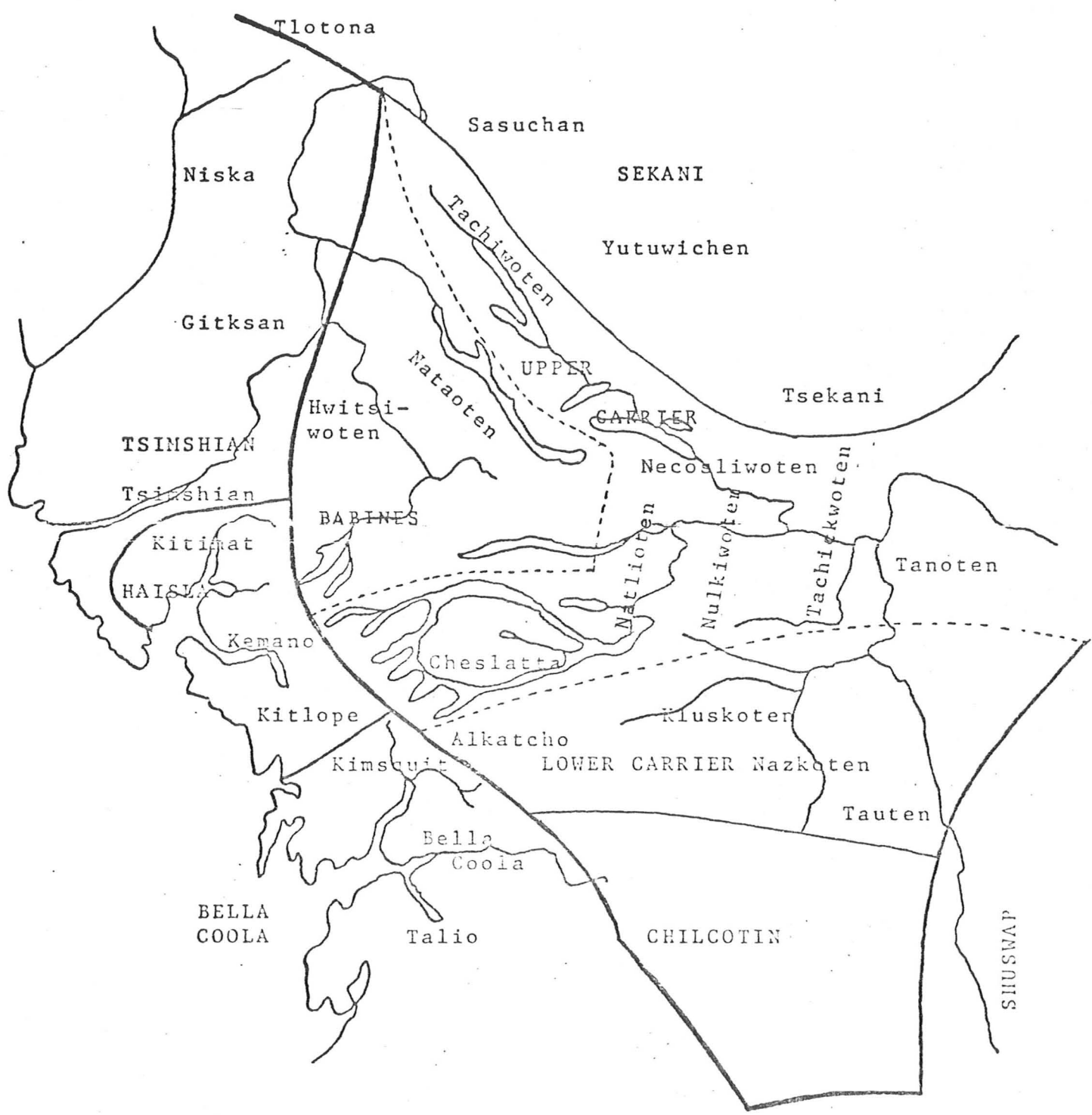
Due to historical factors, the distribution of social features is not uniform over the same ecological area (cf. Wissler 1926b: 115 ff), which accords with Dixon's (1928: 257) view regarding the importance of geographical proximity to outside sources of influence. This geographical proximity has made possible a proliferation of social features beyond those related to the exploitative pattern.

Map 1 Indians of British Columbia

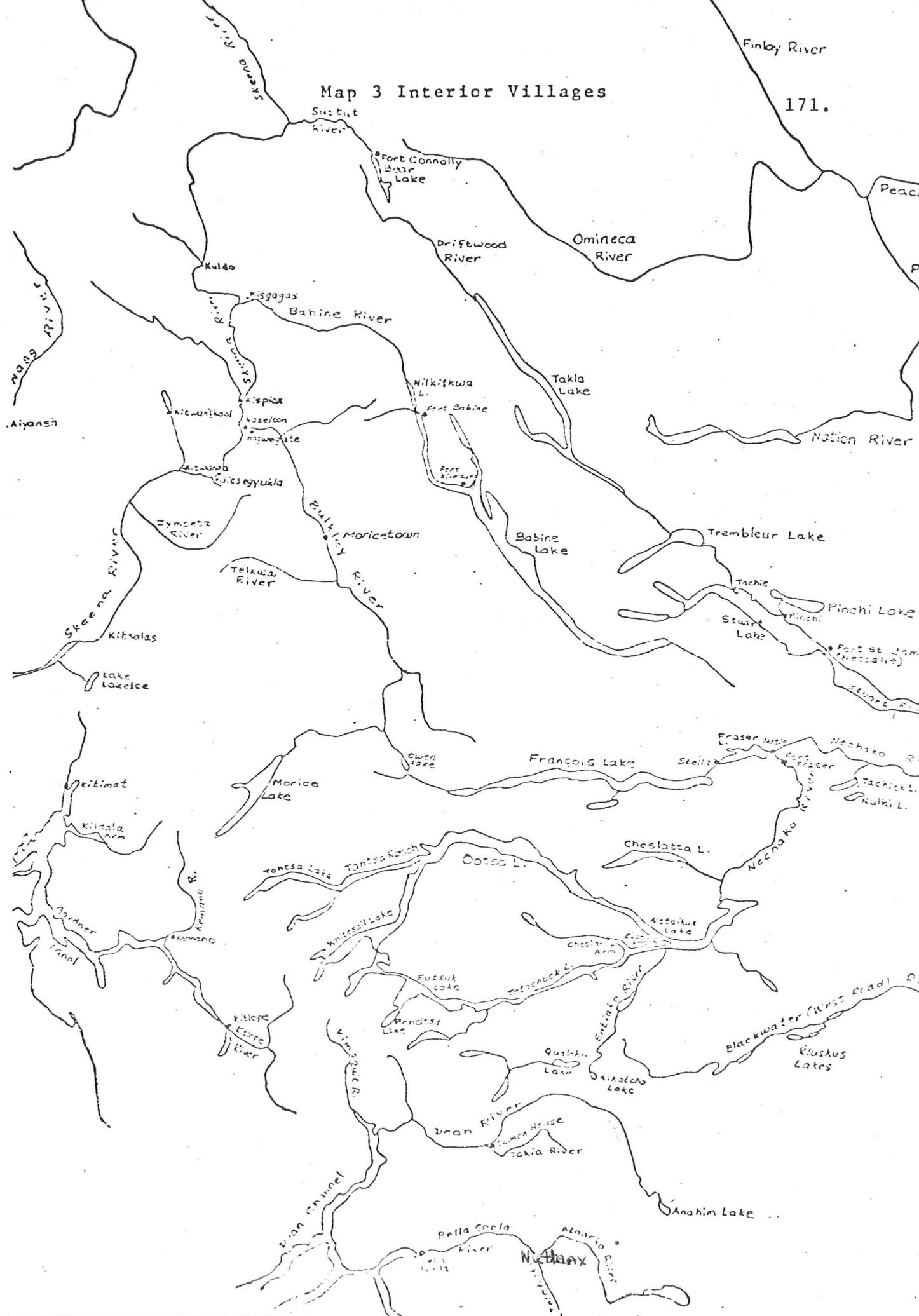




Map 2 Carrier Bands

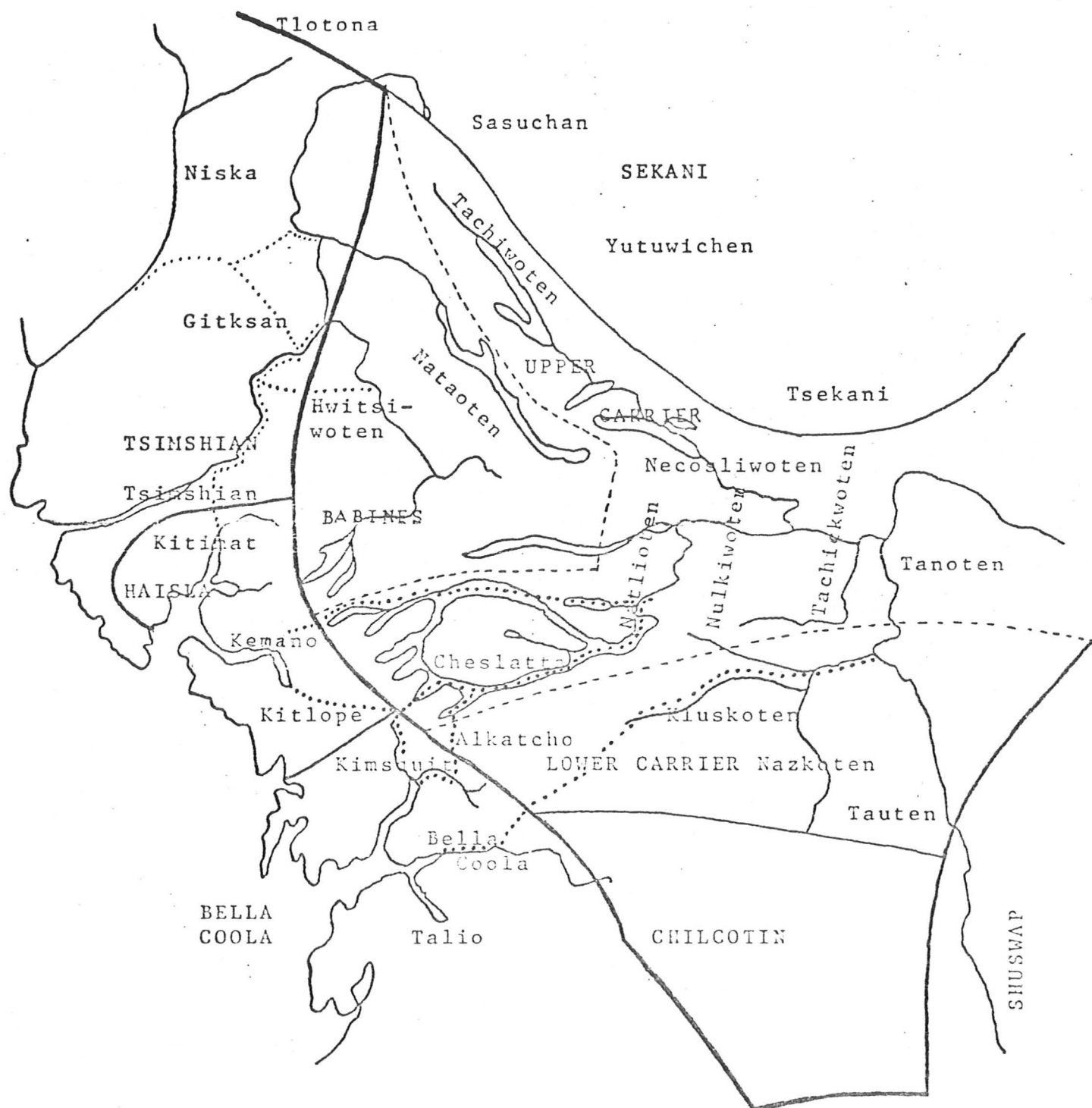


171.

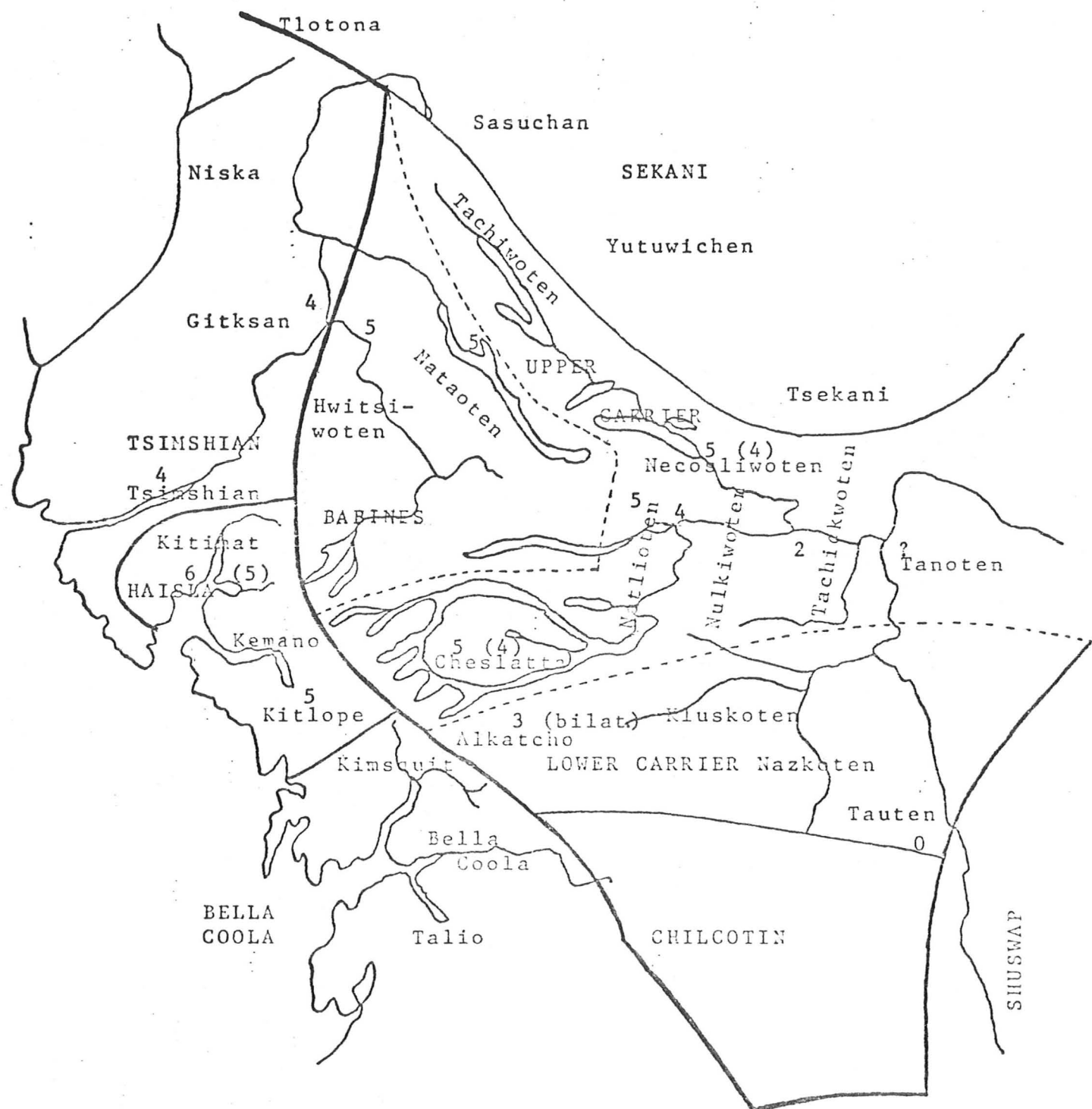


## Map 4 Trading Routes

Grease Trails ....



Map 5 The Number of Sibs





AppendixNote 1 Population Figures

<u>Band</u>	<u>Population and Year of Census</u>
Nataoten (Babine Lake)	2000 (1812); 300 (1881).
Necosliewoten (Stuart Lake)	1000 (1806); 346 (1902).
Nazkoten	68 (1911).
Natlioten (Fort Fraser)	285 (1839); 135 (1892); 122 (1906).
Tanoten (Fort George)	187 (1839); 274 (1845); 100 (1909).
Tauten (Fraser River)	747 (1839).
Alkatcho	135 (1880); 100 (1940).

Carriers (including Babines, Upper Carriers, Lower Carriers):  
 2625 (1839); 1551 (1902); 1614 (1909); 1666 (1940).

Note 2 Distribution of Sib Names

<u>Sib</u>	Bulkley River	Babine Lake	Stuart Lake	Stony Creek	Fraser Lake	Fort Fraser	Ches- latta	En- dako
Laksilyu	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Laksamshu	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tsayu	+	+	+	-	+	(+)	+	+
Gitamtanyu	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Gilsehyu	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Grand Trunk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tsuyaztotin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

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