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MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE: THE
TLINGIT CASE.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

DU KAK SI.
THE STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE: THE TLINGIT CASE

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
TIMOTHY GENE BAUGH
Norman, Oklahoma
1978

DU KAK SI.
THE STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE: THE TLINGIT CASE

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DU KAK SI.
THE IMPLICATIONS OF MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE: THE TLINGIT CASE.

BY: TIMOTHY G. BAUGH

MAJOR PROFESSOR: JOSEPH W. WHITECOTTON, Ph.D.

This study is a structural examination of marriage tendencies and their effects on the political system of the Tlingit. Being concerned with the specification of the social processes necessary for supporting a rank society, the Tlingit present an ideal case. Their relative isolation from intensive Euro-American intrusions allowed these southeastern Alaskan societies to maintain viable indigenous structures well into the nineteenth century.

The use of a mechanical and statistical model established that both patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousin marriage tendencies are present in Tlingit society. The patrilateral form or restricted exchange occurs among the high ranking nobility and commoners. Their marriages reflect concerns for equality and alliance continuation. The matrilateral form or generalized exchange is practiced only by lineage leaders, yitsati, who are also concerned with equality and alliance maintenance. Yet, the latter tends to be correlated with inequality since one group consistently gives their highest ranking women to another without receiving equal retribution. This social process generates a relative tendency of inequality.

Comparison with the Kachin of Burma indicates a quite different process occurring within this southeast Asian society. Kachin social structure oscillates between these two forms of exchange in a cyclical fashion. Restricted exchange reverts to generalized exchange when wealth begins to cumulate in one sector. Once conversion is made, however, wealth becomes even more concentrated. Eventually, when this process becomes nearly absolute Kachin society, polity, and economy crumbles. Reformation occurs on the basis of restricted exchange, initiating the entire cycle once more.

By integrating both principles for egalitarianism and elitism into a unified structure a more stable social system results among the Tlingit.

PREFACE

Robin Fox has noted that kinship is to anthropology what nudes are to art -- the basis of the discipline. Like many undergraduates my first exposure to kinship studies consisted of viewing a seemingly incomprehensible maze of circles, triangles, equality signs, and lines both horizontal and vertical chalked on a blackboard. I had little insight into their significance until I began fieldwork in southwestern Oklahoma. Among once viable bison hunting societies, kinship became a social reality.

Not only did kinship relationships emerge in tribal politics, when powerful families vied for leadership positions on the tribal council, but also during less formal occasions such as a "forty-nine." On one such venture I was caught in the midst of hostility as two women suddenly began slugging it out on a gravel road known as Moonlight Mile. A small crowd of Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa visitors became sullen as one of the women was slung across the sharply biting pebbles. Instantaneously everyone there seemed to understand where their loyalities belonged -- everyone, that is, except me. Not until several days later was I able to sort out the events and alignments as one highly competent informant patiently explained them to me. Alliances are conditioned by marriage and kin ties. Other observations reinforced this concept time after time. Even though these experiences under the purple hues of the Wichita Mountains were far removed from the shadows of the coniferous forests of the Pacific Northwest the principles remain the same.

In the pages that follow we will examine the social structure of the Tlingit and Haida. This study is initiated by a statement of purpose. In the early 1970's Abraham Rosman and Paula Rubel (1971 and 1972) offered an analysis of these societies based on the principles of structuralism. They focused on the most statistically frequent marriage tendency -- that of patrilateral cross cousin marriage or restricted exchange. Although they noted the presence of another tendency -- that of matrilateral cross cousin marriage or generalized exchange -- it was ignored as a meaningless practice. Rosman and Rubel followed along these lines of inquiry even though we know from the writings of Levi-Strauss (1969) and others that only rarely does a marriage tendency tend to exist in "pure" form. In numerous cases these tendencies are "mixed." Yet according to Rosman and Rubel's analysis the structure generated by the "pureness" of restricted exchange negated the possibility of the Tlingit being externally ranked. On the other hand, every field researcher who has worked among the Tlingit recorded the presence of a ranking system. The aim of this research then is to examine the complete structure of Tlingit society. By so doing the meaning and underlying assumptions of generalized exchange are investigated as a supporting framework for external ranking.

Although our examination of generalized and restricted exchange are performed as if these processes operate as pure tendencies, we should not lose sight of the fact that they are indeed just the opposite.

For this reason, even though generalized exchange is credited with almost always leading to anisogamy or marriage between spouses of different ranks, in the Tlingit case we find that the emphasis is on isogamy or spouses of equal rank. This underscores the point that these models are ideal representations which promote our understanding of social processes even though they may not be found in "reality."

At this point we should mention that this work exhibits a definite bias toward the Tlingit. This is not the result of any particular preference for this group over the Haida, but rather because of the wealth and richness of the anthropological data dealing with the Tlingit. The recent ethnography of Frederica de Laguna (1972) is one of the most valuable collections of knowledge I have ever encountered in a single source. Also Ronald Olson has collected extensive field notes and genealogies, some of which have not been published. These two sources have contributed immensely to my understanding of how the marriage, social, and political systems of these people work. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate comparable material for the Haida.

Before beginning our actual investigation one more note of caution should be made. Even though on the surface these two groups of people tend to appear to be quite similar (both exhibiting Crow principles of social organization and practicing restricted exchange overlain by generalized exchange), there are subtle differences. From this diversity we may be able to gain even greater insights into the nature of cultural and social systems. For this reason some of our knowledge concerning the Haida has been presented in the second chapter of this work. Chapter three deals primarily with jural rules as collected by various ethnographers. Such rules provide valuable information by demonstrating the understanding these people have of their own society. Chapter four compares the genealogies of Theresa Durlach (1928) with those collected by Ronald Olson (1933-34). Although not as complete in certain areas as we might hope, both genealogies allow us to test the validity of our concepts. The final chapter summarizes our findings as well as presenting some views concerning the dual organizational system of the Tlingit.

Many individuals and institutions have aided me during the course of my research and preparation of this dissertation. I am most grateful to Professor Joseph W. Whitecotton, my major professor. Without his encouragement, guidance and understanding this work may have never been completed. I also wish to thank the other members of my committee. Dr. William E. Bittle directed my first field experiences during which he provided many insights into social conditions and processes. On numerous occasions Dr. Stephen I. Thompson provided direction and strong support for my work. Formerly at Oregon State University, Dr. John A. Dunn has literally spent hours with me discussing concepts, sharing his comparative knowledge of the Tsimshian, and giving valid criticisms. Dr. Fred B. Silberstein served as my outside committee member. His constant probings concerning methodology have been most useful. Dr. Morris E. Opler, now professor emeritus at the University of Oklahoma, also gave freely of his time and knowledge concerning the development of kinship studies in North America.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Philip Drucker of the University of Kentucky. By allowing me to teach his Cultures of the Pacific Northwest course I was able to immerse myself in the literature which has proven invaluable. Furthermore, he spent innumerable hours discussing the area in general and this topic in particular with me. Even though he may not always agree with my findings, Dr. Drucker never failed to supply encouragement and to lead me to new sources of information. For these and many other reasons I wish to dedicate this work to him.

Dr. Drucker also introduced me to Dr. Ronald Olson, formerly at the University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Olson graciously allowed me to use his field notes and genealogies which are now on deposit in the Bancroft Library on the Berkeley campus. These in conjunction with Dr. Olson's monograph and articles on the Tlingit provided many of the missing links needed to tie this work together. Dr. Olson also took the time to correspond with me over a number of months. During this time he patiently and freely gave of his immeasurable understanding and knowledge of Tlingit society.

I also wish to take the time to thank other members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky. Dr. Richard Levy was more than willing to discuss this topic and provide comments that have been more than useful. Also Drs. William Y. Adams and Lathel Duffield provided support of various kinds.

Dr. Kenneth Beals, Oregon State University, was in many ways a friend who provided unending encouragement and strength. Also at

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The illustrations were prepared initially by Jason Fenwick and later by Anne Adams. An initial manuscript was typed by Virginia Slattery. Her time and effort is gratefully acknowledged. Barbara Winton has gone through the agony of preparing the final copy of this work. Without her efforts and dedication the deadlines would have never been met.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to the members of my family for their unfailing encouragement and support as well as just being themselves.

Of course, any errors contained herein belong solely to the author.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Many of the Tlingit ethnographers have used different systems for the transcription of the native language. For this reason the following table has been provided. The modern orthography has been used in this text except where directly citing other sources. The Haida orthography of Murdock has been retained for our discussion of Haida kinship terminology.

Oberg	Swanton	Olson	Durlach	de Laguna
s	c	c	c	c
x̣	X	x	x̣	x̣
	l	tl	l	tl
j	dj	dj	dj	dj
dz	dz	dz	dz	dz
		!	'	
	.	.		
c	ts		ts	ts
c	tc		tc	tc

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DU KAK SI.

THE STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE: THE TLINGIT CASE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Problem Orientation and Concepts

Social Anthropologists consider the Tlingit and Haida of the Pacific Northwest to be prime examples of rank society. The structural-functionalists (i.e. Drucker 1939; de Laguna 1972; Barnett 1968) arrived at this conclusion by observing status and role differences between members of these societies, which they interpret as reflecting intralineage ranking.

On the other hand, while the cultural ecologists (i.e. Suttles 1960 and 1962; Vayda 1961 and 1968) accept the view that the Tlingit and Haida are rank societies, they give primary attention to interlineage ranking. Such ranking is explained by positing differential access to resources on the part of the various ranks. They further posit that this leads to unequal distribution of goods and services within these societies.

Abraham Rosman and Paula Rubel (1971 and 1972) have constructed a structural model based on the insights of Levi-Strauss (1969). In their view this structural model supports the functionalists but runs counter to the views of the cultural ecologists. In the following pages we will reexamine the structural premises utilized by Rosman and Rubel. The goal is to ascertain whether or not the structural model and the cultural ecological model are compatible with the empirical data on Tlingit and Haida society.

In order to more clearly define our problem we should clarify several concepts. Two of these are elementary and complex structures. Elementary structures define both eligible and ineligible marriage partners while complex structures tend to define only prohibited spouses. In other words, both structures delineate who the "circle of relatives" are while only elementary structures attempt to define affines (see Levi-Strauss 1969:xxxix). On this basis then Rosman and Rubel (1971:7) maintain that the Tlingit and Haida "constitute elementary structures." This assumption by Rosman and Rubel is based solely on the presence of "preferential cousin marriage" which in our view tends to be an oversimplification.

Both of these societies display the basic principles of Crow terminological systems. Levi-Strauss considers these to be especially significant since:

> . . .Crow-Omaha systems provide the connecting link between elementary and complex structures. They relate to elementary structures in so far as they formulate preventions to marriage in sociological terms, and to complex structures in so far as the nature of the network of alliances is aleatory, an indirect result of the fact that the only conditions laid down are negative (Levi-Strauss 1969:xxxix).

Because Rosman and Rubel do not take the transitional nature of Crow systems into account they tend to blur our understanding of Tlingit and Haida society. Therefore our examination shall tend to concentrate on the alliance system of these societies.

The method of inquiry concerning these structures revolves around the construction of models. This leads us to the examination of two other concepts. First, we have mechanical models which "are on the same scale as the phenomena themselves" (Levi-Strauss 1963:283). In other words, mechanical models consist of jural rules which permit the construction of a normative paradigm. Statistical models contrast with mechanical models. Unlike the former, these models deal with elements which are on a different scale from the phenomena. Such models "would therefore have to determine average values-thresholds" (Levi-Strauss 1963:284) based on social relations or behavior. From behavioral observations statistical norms may be established.

Although mechanical or statistical models contrast, we should use them in a complementary manner. As Levi-Strauss (1963:284) points out:

> It should also be kept in mind that the same phenomena may admit of different models, some mechanical and some statistical, according to the way in which they are grouped together and with other phenomena. A society which recommends cross-cousin marriage but where this ideal marriage type occurs only with limited frequency needs, in order that the system may be properly explained, both a mechanical and a statistical model. . .

This complementary or dialectic nature of these models is relevant for our discussion. In their mechanical model, Rosman and Rubel are aware of the Tlingit rule for inheriting nephews to marry matrilaterally. However, since this situation occurs infrequently on the behavioral level they tend to ignore its effects when constructing their statistical model.

Rosman and Rubel claim that we can overlook jural rules concerning matrilateral cross cousin marriage and concentrate on statistical models. They thus ignore Levi-Strauss' basic suggestions on the use of mechanical and statistical models.

Our approach, following Levi-Strauss, will begin with the premise that both a mechanical and statistical model are useful for understanding Tlingit society. We will attempt to show this by constructing a statistical model different from that of Rosman and Rubel. As a data base from which to argue our case, genealogies not utilized by the above authors will be examined. We will concentrate primarily on the Tlingit although J. Daniel Vaughan (1976a and 1976b) has argued that a similar case could be made for the Haida.*

---

*My preliminary understanding of this problem was presented at the 29th Annual Northwest Anthropological Conference in April of 1976 (see Baugh 1976a).

In order to proceed with the above analysis further clarifications need to be made concerning the nature of model construction in anthropology. For example, Buchler and Selby (1968:116-118), while they generally agree with Levi-Strauss, suggest more precise conceptual distinctions concerning the nature of models. They argue that rather than using model concepts, most anthropologists are actually dealing with a different level of abstraction which they call "ideal types" or "idealized representations." Primarily this results from the lack of any development of "true theory" in any anthropological domain.

The anthropological use of the model concept has led to two fundamental errors. The first of these is what Buchler and Selby (1968:120-124) call an "interpretative error." Such errors result when the idealized representation is considered to absolutely reflect reality. This is important for our study because when we discuss the nature of matrilateral cross cousin marriages among the Tlingit we are not necessarily saying that Ego may only marry his actual mother's brother's daughter. Rather we find that Ego usually enters into an oblique marriage with his deceased uncle's (mother's brother's) wife who represents the same lineage as mother's brother's daughter. In other words, it is the representation of alliance maintenance which comes to the forefront.

The second error which Buchler and Selby (1968:124-127) describe is the "positivistic error." Such an error "arises from the attempt to take the idealization of asymmetric exchange systems and correlate it in detail with ethnographic cases" (Buchler and Selby 1968:124). At this point Buchler and Selby focus specifically on the work of Rodney Needham whom they believe forces the ethnographic data into his own conceptual scheme. It is our contention that Rosman and Rubel have committed a similar type of error. By ignoring statistically infrequent examples of matrilateral cross cousin marriages, they completely negate the rank system created by the asymmetric exchange system among the Tlingit.

Before closing this discussion we should turn to the writings of one other anthropologist who has made an impact on structural thought, this being the work of Victor Turner (1969 and 1974). Turner's primary focus is not with marriage per se, but rather with the symbolic processes and meanings of "rites de passage." These rites have a certain bearing on our present undertaking since the validation of inheritance and succession may be profitably viewed in this format.

According to Turner (1974:272-274) every society possesses two components which he labels "structure" and "anti-structure." Following Turner (1974:272) we find that structure basically refers to "a more or less distinctive arrangement of mutually dependent institutions and the institutional organization of social positions and/or actors which they imply." In other words, he accepts the term as it is defined by most American anthropologists. Anti-structure, on the other hand, represents a period in which the normal rules are suspended temporarily for particular individuals. The best example of this situation is the rite of passage, such as a puberty ceremony, since it consists of three stages which displace the usual forms of behavior. Rites of passage consist of three phases: 1) separation - during this phase the "ritual subject" is symbolically removed from the social structure; 2) liminality - the exact position of the "passenger" becomes ambiguous during this period since he is not associated with either the past or future; and 3) reincorporation - this is the phase in which the ritual subject's journey is completed with total reintegration into the social structure (see Turner 1969:94-95).

For our purposes these concepts become useful since we might view the succession of lineage leaders in this light. This situation is most visible in the Tlingit myth of Black-skin who must necessarily enter this anti-structural component in order to be affirmed as the next headman. Black-skin, for most of the story, is an individual who exists outside of his society's structure, but he is capable of achieving reintegration which confirms his new position. The importance for our analysis lies in the fact that succession to such leadership positions is highly flexible and does not necessarily follow an absolutely fixed rule of succession. Thereby Tlingit society is capable of maximizing leadership potential which is critical for cultural survival. This point should become more apparent in the pages that follow.

In conclusion we should repeat that the following analysis must be viewed in the light of a structural approach more closely akin to the writings of Edmund Leach and David Maybury-Lewis than of Levi-Strauss. This should not be construed as an apology for the two approaches are complementary and provide certain insights into different aspects of the same phenomenon. To more clearly appreciate our perspective we should now examine the historical development of kinship studies on the Northwest Coast.

2. The Study of Kinship and Marriage in the Pacific Northwest

Our story of kinship studies on the Northwest Coast must necessarily begin with the writings of Franz Boas. Much of Boas' work is concerned with evaluating the methodology and findings of the nineteenth century developmentalists. These scholars filled numerous pages debating the priority of descent systems. According to Boas, however, this debate was a spurious one at best.

The importance of collecting reliable data on which to base theoretical assumptions was magnified by Boas and the American Historicists. By this means the speculative formulations of the nineteenth century evolutionists would pale in the light of research. Furthermore, the methodology of the evolutionists came under attack. The historicists believed that cultural similarities, which were the keystone of evolutionary schemes and the comparative method, "might be the product of dissimilar historical, environmental and psychological factors" (Kaplan and Manners 1972:71).

With the publication of "The Limitations of the Comparative Method. . .," Boas (1966a) became a primary adversary of the developmental approach. Having examined the status of anthropological thinking, Boas noted that the discipline had begun to focus on the formulation of ethnological laws accomplished by emphasizing cultural similarities rather than examining variation. By so doing, Boas maintained the developmentalist had overlooked two basic questions, those dealing with origin and function. Furthermore, he questioned the reliability of developmental methodology.

How could they possibly argue that "the same ethnological phenomena are always due to the same causes"? (Boas 1966a:273). Obviously they could not. "Here lies the flaw in the argument of the new method, for no such proof can be given. Even the most cursory review shows that the same phenomena may develop in a multitude of ways" (Boas 1966a: 273). From work conducted by Matthews, Bourke and Fewkes in the Southwest and by himself in the Pacific Northwest, Boas was able to designate two separate processes accounting for the development of clans.

> Association of small tribes (i.e., Navajo, Apache and Pueblo) on the one hand, and disintegration of increasing tribes (i.e. Kwakuitl and Tsimshian), on the other, has led to results which appear identical to all intents and purposes (Boas 1966a: 274).

> Thus we recognize that the fundamental assumption which is so often made by modern anthropologists cannot be accepted as true in all cases. We cannot say that the occurance of the same phenomenon is always due to the same causes, and that thus it is proved that the human mind obeys the same laws everywhere. We must demand that the causes from which it developed be investigated and that comparisons be restricted to those phenomena which have been proved to be effects of the same causes. . . In short, before extended comparisons are made, the comparability of the material must be proved (Boas 1966a:275).

Boas' position was reinforced by the reasoning of John R. Swanton. Swanton (1904:483) suggested that the Tlingit and Haida moiety system resulted from intermarriage between the two during the time that the Tlingit occupied the coastal region of British Columbia between the Nass and Skeena rivers. In more recent times, he postulated, the Tsimshian moved from the interior to the coast. By so doing they gradually displaced the Tlingit northward. The implication of this historical reconstruction is that exogamy appears to be a major factor in the rise of matrilineal descent systems in this area.

In the following year Swanton believed he had further evidence concerning the development of matrilineal descent systems. "Instead of being primitive, a study of the north Pacific area convinces one that the maternal clan system is itself evolved. . ." (Swanton 1905:670; see also Swanton 1906: 173). But not only had this system developed in one area, it also ". . . was spreading northward, southward, and inland at the time these tribes first came to the notice of Europeans" (Swanton 1905:671). Hence both historical circumstance and diffusion played a significant role in cultural development.

Swanton's research considerably weakened the case for the priority of matrilineal descent systems. After evaluating North American systems of social organization Swanton (1906: 171-172) concluded:

> On the one side, we have the Iroquois, who developed the highest type of nationality in this entire region; and the agricultural tribes of the south, such as the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez; in the southwest the Pueblo and Navaho; and in the northwest the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, who were the best carvers, canoe-builders, and fighters on the Pacific coast. On the other side, we have the Eskimo, northern Athapascan and Algonquian, tribes of the northwestern plains, and the "Diggers" of the Grand Plateau and of California. As to the relative moral or intellectual superiority of these races, man for man, I attempt to pass no judgement; but if any collective superiority of one over the other is to be admitted; it undoubtedly belongs to those with maternal clans.

Swanton's views were echoed by a number of American historicists, such as Goldenweiser (1915:357-358; 1922:24-25), Boas (1966b:292-293) and Lowie (1917:163).

A few Americans also concentrated on organizational principles of kinship systems. One of these was Alfred Kroeber (1909). He believed Morgan's distinction between classificatory and descriptive systems was a feeble one at best. For example, American terminology denotes four separate relationships by the single term of brother. This situation is derived from the inability of this term to distinguish the differences of age within a single generation and to recognize the speaker's sex (see Kroeber 1909:77). Kroeber then outlined eight principles which governed all kinship systems. On this basis then the Yankee system could not be labeled as purely descriptive.

Kroeber's approach analyzed kinship terminologies from the perspectives of language and psychology. In his own words, "Terms of relationship reflect psychology, not sociology. They are determined primarily by language and can be utilized for sociological inferences only with extreme caution" (Kroeber 1909:84).

Robert Lowie was also concerned with organizational principles, but he disagreed with Kroeber. As Lowie (1917: 98-99; see also Lowie 1916) maintained ". . .the essential point is that the terms used are often very definitely correlated with specific social usages. Generally speaking, the use of distinct words for two types of relatives is connected with a real difference in their social relations to the speaker." Yet Lowie is carrying another standard as well.

With the question of descent priority settled in their own minds, many American anthropologists began to turn their attention to the collection of kinship terminologies. They hoped to classify these systems according to types. Lowie, however, cautioned against such an approach. "We shall, accordingly, do well to amend our phraseology and to speak rather of kinship categories, features, or principles of classification than of types of kinship systems" (Lowie 1917: 105). By this means the analysis of kinship systems would be much more profitable. "The field of culture, then, is not a region of complete lawlessness" wrote Lowie in Culture and Ethnology (1917:88). He also pointed out that "Like causes produce like effects here as elsewhere," but he continued, ". . .the complex conditions with which we are grappling require unusual caution in definitely correlating phenomena" (Lowie 1917:88). Lowie then not only stressed the need to understand the historical factors as a major source of causation but cultural context as well.

Lowie's views concerning kinship were in a minority however. Most anthropologists still believed the construction of a typological scheme must come first. Thus in 1925 Leslie Spier published "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America." In his opening paragraph he noted, "This paper presents a classification of kinship systems in North America and their distribution. Historical, sociological, or psychological interpretations can hardly be undertaken without such a basis" (Spier 1925:71). Spier then proceeds with the discussion of the seven basic types of systems, their distinguishing characteristics and representative societies for each type.

Meanwhile in Britain there was a general agreement with the American position concerning the question of descent priority. As Radcliffe-Brown has stated ". . .there is no reason why a society should not build its kinship system on the basis of both patrilineal and matrilineal lineage, and we know that there are many societies that do exactly this" (Radcliffe-Brown 1965a:82). Yet, concerning the typological approach the consensus crumbled. More recently Needham has severly criticized the classificatory approach of the Americans:

> . . .the conventional typology of terminologies has no comparative or analytical value. . .In each instance it is possible to demonstrate that the class has been invalidly constituted; and in each instance, so far as I can judge, no propositions of scientific value have been arrived at by means of the typology (Needham 1974:53).

Radcliffe-Brown would have probably agreed with Needham's comments on the use of classificatory systems. For Radcliffe-Brown, the importance of terminological systems is not how they should or even could be classified, but rather how they support existing social structures. From this point of view the importance of terminology is how it reflects social behavior which in turn provides social maintenance and stability. Following from this position, the understanding of role and status became a major concern. By employing this means of analysis the use of "conjectural history" has little to offer. As Radcliffe-Brown (1965a:85) notes: "For the tribes with which we are here concerned the materials for such a history are entirely lacking." Thus the functionalists stress a comparative approach.

Functionalist analysis has been adopted by many American scholars for examining Northwest Coast society. Drucker (1939) focuses on the conceptualization of rank and status in this region. He points out that the concept of "class" is an invalid one as applied to this area. Furthermore, he notes that:

> Wealth and birth everywhere were absolutely inseparable factors in the determination of status.

> Whatever schismatic tendencies such a system of social inequality theoretically might have had were negated by the unbroken graduation of statuses from high to low, and the bonds of blood kinship which linked the head of each social unit with his humblest subordinate (Drucker 1939:64).

The most spectacular of Northwest Coast institutions, the potlatch, has also been scrutinized from a functionalist perspective. The primary effect of this institution is seen as validating social status. Only lineage or clan leaders hold these tremendous give-aways, but not without support from their kinsmen. By this means these individuals, including the lower ranking kinsmen, lay claim to their status positions. Members of the opposite moiety are invited to participate not as mere observers, but rather to bestow their approval and thereby confirm or validate the claimants' positions. Therefore the potlatch as an institution provides integration and helps to maintain a social equilibrium (see Barnett 1938 and 1968).

The functionalists are by no means the first to study the potlatch. However, Boas' work is basically descriptive (see for example Boas 1966c:77-104) and despite his historical rhetoric is synchronic in nature. Benedict (1934) uses Boas' post contact data to delineate the currents of Kwakiutl culture. Although Drucker (1939:63 note 22; see also Drucker 1955:128-130) points out the invalidity of Benedict's writings, it was not until 1950 that a major re-examination occurred (see Codere 1950). In her work, Codere demonstrates that the influx of trade goods coupled with the opening of numerous rank positions created by Euro-American diseases must be taken into account. Yet she maintains that the overall function of this institution is the same as in the pre-contact period.

Although the theoretical goal of the functionalists (to achieve laws, pertaining to kinship systems, on the same order as those of the natural sciences) has not been successful, their insistence on the study of these systems as part of social structure has indeed been useful. Yet the search for more meaningful generalizations has continued. In the United States this quest has fallen under the banner of cultural ecology.

The founder of this approach, Julian Steward, outlines the basic methodology to be utilized as follows:

> First, the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed...Second, the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed. . . The third procedure is to ascertain the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture (Steward 1955:40-41).

As it has developed, then, cultural ecology has added a materialistic component to the study of functionalism. This has been performed in the hope of achieving Radcliffe-Brown's goal of formulating tightly knit sociological laws. This point is further underscored by Vayda and Rappaport's (1968) attempt to formulate a synthetic theory of cultural evolution quite similar to that used in the biological sciences.

Suttles (1960; see also Suttles 1962; Vayda 1968; and Piddocke 1969) among others utilized this methodology to examine the relationship between social structure and subsistence activities. In Suttles'(1960:296) own words we find that:

> . . .it is more reasonable to assume that, for a population to have survived in a given environment for any length of time, its subsistence activities and prestige-gaining activities are likely to form a single integrated system by which that population has adapted to its environment.

From this approach Suttles (1960:302; 1962:527-529 and 534-536) considers the following variables to be most significant: 1) variety of food types; 2) local variation; 3) seasonal variation; and 4) annual fluctuation. By examining these for the central or Wakashan region we find a great deal of diversity in the types of resources available and variations in productivity. On the other hand, the key variable in the northern region is less diversity in food types with a greater concentration of resources being permitted. According to Suttles, this situation has resulted in accountable differences in social structure. In the central region we find bilateral descent and alternating marriage lines while the northern peoples practice unilineal descent with preferred marriage rules being instituted. Bilateral descent and flexible marriage rules allow for greater population dispersal to maximize resource utilization under fluctuating conditions. Conversely unilineal descent and preferred marriage rules allow for greater control over resources and a more efficient means of exploitation. In either case, however, it appears that:

> The potlatch is a part of a larger socio-economic system that enables the whole social network, consisting of a number of communities, to maintain a high level of food production and to equalize its food consumption both within and among communities (Suttles 1960:304).

While the cultural ecologists are attempting to place functionalism within a materialistic framework, another approach is being advanced by the structuralists. According to the structuralists, the functional approach is tautological. This is the result of the functionalists attempting to derive explanatory principles from the same behavioral patterns which they are trying to interpret. Thus the structuralists divorce themselves from the concepts of role and status.

The structuralists are also disenchanted with the functionalists' view of marriage. To the latter marriage serves as a form of recruitment to the kinship group. An emphasis is thereby placed on the study of descent systems. The structural movement, led by Levi-Strauss, advocates viewing marriage as an alliance system. Following from this the primary differences between kinship groups is to be found in the ways women move between groups. By concentrating on forms of cross cousin marriages, Levi-Strauss found that patrilateral cross cousin marriages are symmetrical while matrilateral cross cousin marriages are asymmetrical. In the former case the relationships between kin groups are equalized as the movement of women alternates with each generation. In contrast to this the latter form never balances itself since women move consistently in only one direction. The implications to be derived from this are that societies which practice patrilateral cross cousin marriages generate egalitarian structures while matrilateral cross cousin marriages provide structures equivalent to rank societies.

One of the more recent applications of structuralism to the Northwest Coast has been carried out by Abraham Rosman and Paula Rubel (1971 and 1972). According to these researchers the predominant form of marriage among the Tlingit and Haida is patrilateral cross cousin marriage. Hence they argue that the greater frequency of such marriages indicates an egalitarian based society. They support their assumption by examining the potlatch in light of their structural model. In this instance, they believe the potlatch acts as a critical juncture around which the rearrangement of social structure may occur. They consider this to be extremely important for the Tlingit and Haida since there are no fixed rules of inheritance and succession within these societies.

Having reviewed the literature we should now turn to the ecological and cultural setting of the Tlingit and Haida.

3. The Setting

Before turning to our analysis of Tlingit kinship, marriage and political systems we should attempt to place these people in time and space. Temporally we are dealing with the Tlingit during the mid-nineteenth century. Although these people have been exposed to some contacts with Eurasian cultures the amount of change is minimal when compared to other communities located further south. The Tlingit are capable of maintaining their indigeneous culture to a greater extent than other groups such as the Haida because of their more northerly position.

The Tlingit are located in what Kroeber (1939:28-31; see also Drucker 1955:196-198) refers to as the Northern Maritime area. Geographically this region consists of a narrow ribbon of land running from Swindle Island in the south to Yakutat Bay in the north. Along the shoreline abruptly rising mountains stand three to four thousand feet above the incoming waves. The eastern boundary of this culture area is demarcated by the crest of the Coast Range with peaks towering up to nineteen thousand feet. Submerged mountains and valleys form a series of islands and fiords on the western periphery. The largest off-shore land masses are the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Alexander Archipelago. These physiographic features produce a rugged topography and provide few open beaches and level areas for human occupation. But in spite of this, the aboriginal population density for the Northern Maritime sub-region is relatively high.

Lying between fifty and sixty degrees north latitude, we would expect this region to have a relatively cold climate, but such is not the case. This condition is primarily the

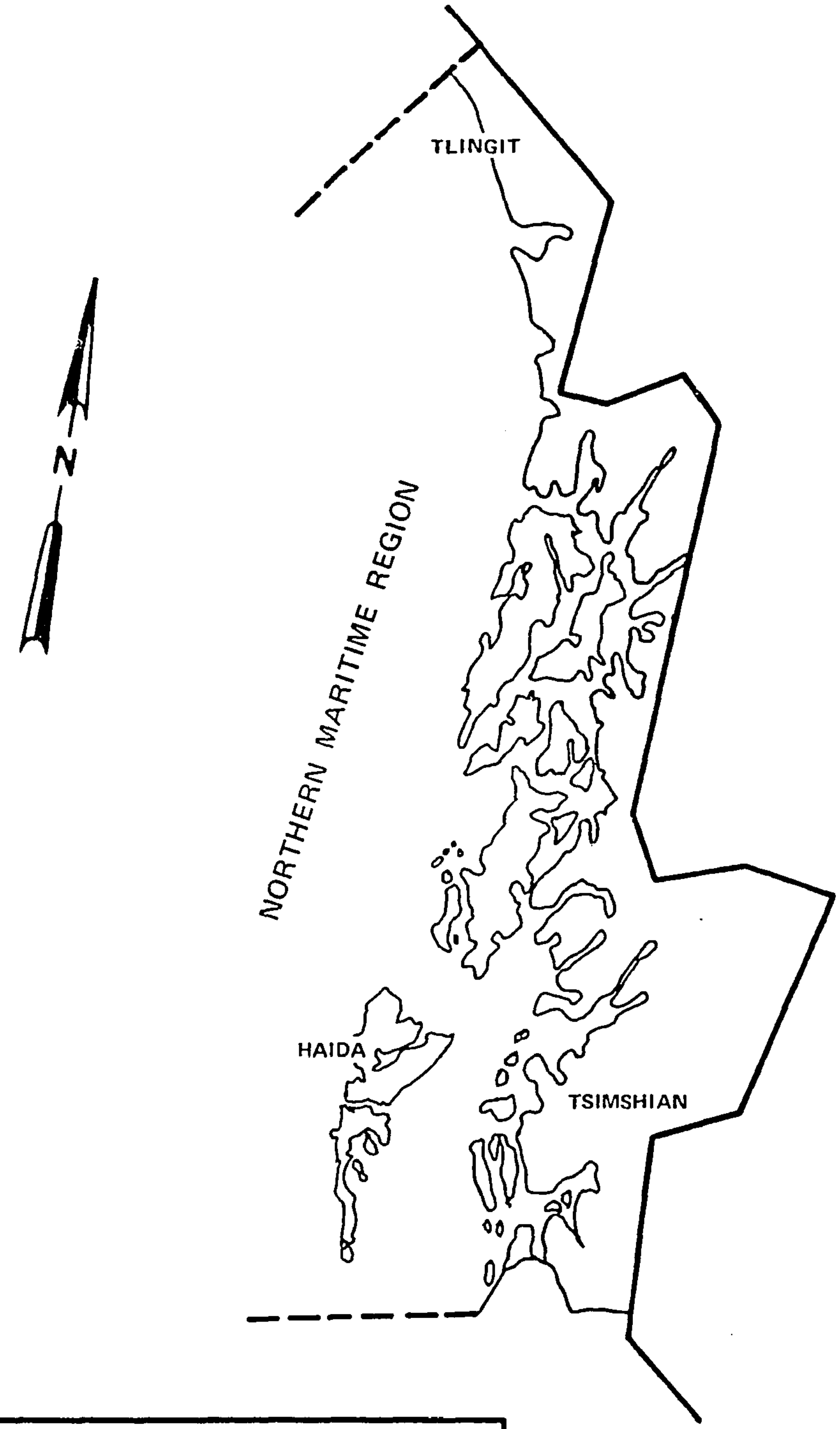

TLINGIT
NORTHERN MARITIME REGION
N
HAIDA
TSIMSHIAN

FIGURE 1
NORTHERN MARITIME REGION
OF PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICA

result of the Kuroshio or Japanese Current. Originating in the western Pacific and moving northward until diverted by the Asian continent, this hydraulic stream flows just off the Alaskan and British Columbian coast. As it passes the shoreline, a warm vapor is released creating a heavy mist enveloping the nearby land. A dense specialized vegetation is the primary result. Lofty, cloud-topped conifers form a canopy which effectively blocks out the sunlight. Meanwhile on the forest floor only small, shade-loving hygrographitic plants (such as various types of ferns and mosses) are able to survive. In the more open areas, a tremendous variety of berries ripen during the summer. This Sitka biotic zone also supports a wide array of animal life.

Northwest Coast society and economy are based on the available flora and fauna. Economic activities--including fishing, hunting, collecting and trading--occur throughout the year. Fishing is of prime importance to these people who are able to obtain a wide variety of species. The most important of these are salmon. Each salmon species is designated by a number of common names and for this reason the following table is provided.

TABLE 1

Pacific Salmon (Oncorhynchus species)
Binomial and Common Designations
(After Netboy 1974:231)

O. tshawytscha	O. kisutch	O. nerka	O. gorbuscha	O. keta
Chinook King Spring Tyee	Coho Silver Blueback	Sockeye Red	Pink Humpback	Chum Dog

As Drucker (1974:253; see also Curtis 1916:131) has pointed out, two varieties of salmon (pink and chum) are stored for winter use more often than any others. The storage capability of these two species is directly related to their feeding habits; just before entering an estuary these two species stop eating. This requires their fat reserves to supply the necessary energy for their upstream spawning trip. This in turn, produces a leaner flesh when captured fish are dried and smoked. Storage also becomes less of a problem. When properly cured, pink and chum will thus keep over a longer period of time. The other salmon species (chinook, coho and sockeye) are usually consumed immediately--during post-run feasts and normal daily meals--or converted to oil. Because of this specific difference, primary fishing stations tend to be located along stream and river routes of the pink and chum schools. There are areal differences however. Chum, for example, are not as abundant in the regions of the northern Tlingit (Yakutat) or Coast Tsimshian. Thus these groups have to rely more on pink and coho runs (Garfield 1966:13; de Laguna 1972:51, 381-382 and 399).

Other species of fish are also of economic importance. During the late summer through the early winter months halibut are caught by means of distinctive V-shaped hooks. These hooks are comprised of a bone spike inserted into a yellow cedar arm which is lashed by means of spruce root bindings to a second alderwood arm. Yellow cedar is lighter or more buoyant than alderwood and helps to balance the weight of the spike. The economic significance of these flatfish should not be overlooked. Some village sites are specifically selected for their accessibility to high-yielding halibut banks. The Haida often use this species of fish along with seaweed as a primary trade item when dealing with the Tsimshian (Curtis 1916:134; see also Newcombe 1907:135). Other important sources of food include cod, flounder, herring, steelhead, trout and eulachon (a variety of candlefish). Again regional variations can be ascertained. Eulachon runs are absent on the Queen Charlotte Islands and hence the Haida must obtain this important resource by trade (Garfield 1939:329; Drucker 1965:117). The most highly prized eulachon runs occur in the mouth of the Nass River, giving the Coast Tsimshian and Niska an advantageous position in the trading cycle (Garfield 1966:16).

Hunting is important for obtaining furs, tallow, and oil as well as meat. Basically hunting activities are of two types: one for sea mammals and another for land mammals. Men in canoes commonly hunt penapeds and marine mustelids by the surround method. In search for sea otters "Five, ten, fifteen, or even 'sometimes a hundred boats would go out, two men in each canoe. Sometimes they would go so far out to sea that they could just see the tip of the mountain'" (de Laguna 1972:379). Especially during the historic period, men are constantly on the alert for sea otters, since the pelts of these animals are eagerly sought by White traders who pay up to seventy-five dollars for one skin. Because of this and their peculiar buoyancy after being slain, these musteline mammals have nearly been driven to extinction. Seal hunting, on the other hand, is oftentimes more difficult since the carcasses of most species do not float to the top of the sea after being killed. "The Indians kill the seals not for flesh, although this is eaten, nor for hides, though these are used, but for the oil, which is a necessity to them. They drink it, preserve berries in it, and use it for cooking, so that it really forms a considerable and important part of their food" (from Grinnell 1901:161 cited in de Laguna 1972:375). Other sea mammals, such as sea lions and porpoises, are also hunted. The people of the Northern Maritime region do not go out onto the open sea in search of whales. However, these large ocean dwellers are sometimes stranded on the shoreline or beached. When this happens they are eagerly stripped of their flesh and blubber by the Coast Tsimshian, Haida and Yakutat Tlingit.

Hunting dogs are used to track, drive and/or hold at bay certain land mammals. In particular bears are hunted in this manner during the spring. Having just been roused from their winter slumber, these animals have few fatty deposits; but their coats are quite full. In addition a drowsy bear may be a little weaker and hence easier to subdue. Nevertheless, no man would hunt bears alone. The bravest of men would implant their spears in the ground as the raging bear charged forward. Only at the last moment would they step aside allowing the bruin to impale himself. At the same time, however, other members of the expedition begin to release their arrows from spruce, hemlock or red cedar bows.

The hazardous terrain of the Coast Range encourages hunting parties to also employ dogs when searching for mountain goats. Highly valued for their meat, fat, tallow, wool, horns and hides, these shaggy bovids are tracked in both the spring and fall. Smaller game is trapped or snared rather than shot. Such animals include wolf, fox, ermine, weasel, beaver, martin, mink, lynx, muskrat and wolverine. Black-tail deer, however, are usually hunted with the bow and arrow.

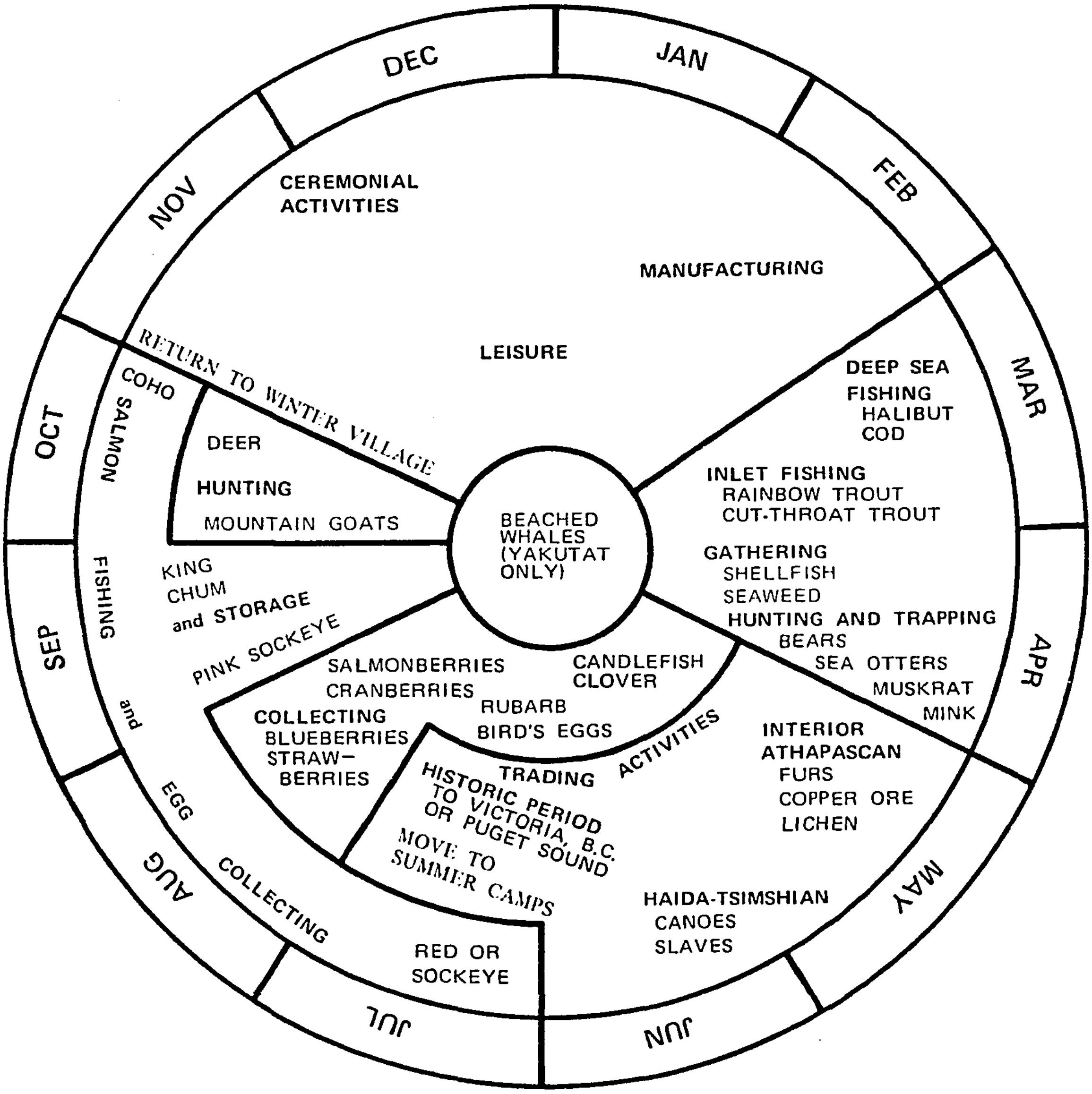

DEC
JAN
FEB
MAR
APR
MAY
JUN
JUL
AUG
SEP
OCT
NOV
CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES
MANUFACTURING
LEISURE
DEEP SEA FISHING
HALIBUT
COD
INLET FISHING
RAINBOW TROUT
CUT-THROAT TROUT
GATHERING
SHELLFISH
SEAWEED
HUNTING AND TRAPPING
BEARS
SEA OTTERS
MUSKRAT
MINK
INTERIOR ATHAPASCAN
FURS
COPPER ORE
LICHEN
HAIDA-TSIMSHIAN
CANOES
SLAVES
TRADING ACTIVITIES
HISTORIC PERIOD TO VICTORIA, B.C. OR PUGET SOUND
MOVE TO SUMMER CAMPS
CANDLEFISH
CLOVER
SALMONBERRIES
CRANBERRIES
RUBARB
BIRD'S EGGS
COLLECTING
BLUEBERRIES
STRAW-BERRIES
BEACHED WHALES (YAKUTAT ONLY)
RETURN TO WINTER VILLAGE
DEER
HUNTING
MOUNTAIN GOATS
COHO
SALMON
FISHING
and
EGG
COLLECTING
KING
CHUM
and STORAGE
PINK SOCKEYE
RED OR SOCKEYE

FIGURE 2: ANNUAL ECONOMIC CYCLE FOR THE TLINGIT

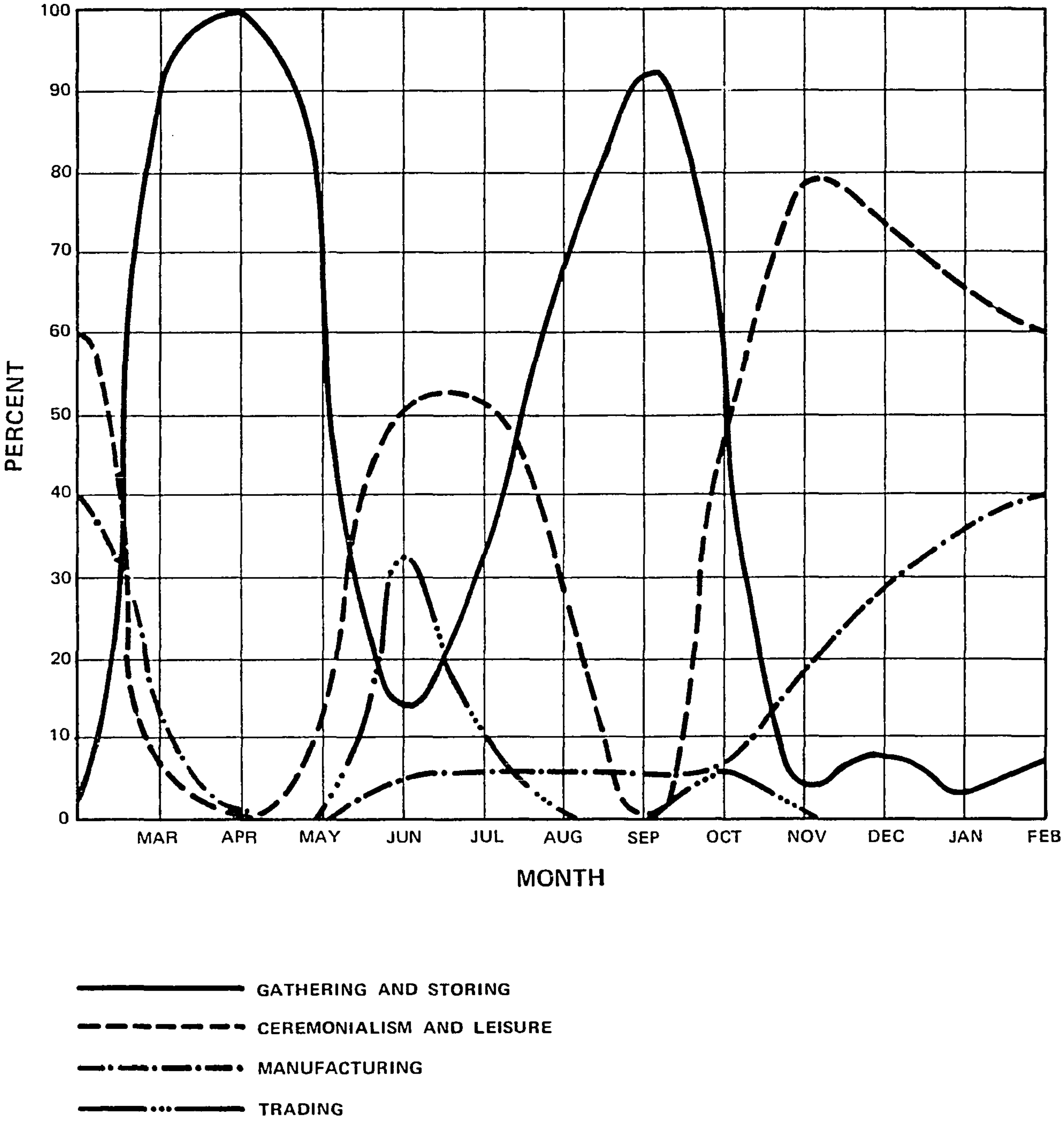


FIGURE 3: MONTHLY FREQUENCY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES (AFTER OBERG 1973:77)

In these hunting and gathering societies there is a sexual division of labor. Women are responsible for preserving and storing meat from both fishing and hunting successes. Menstruating women, however, are excluded from handling fresh salmon. Economic activities allotted to women also include collecting marine invertebrates. "The implement most used to gather beach food is still the pointed stick which serves as a digging stick for prying up clams and cockles and for overturning crabs, and as a cane when scrambling over rocks where the seaweed and chitons are to be found" (de Laguna 1972:404). In addition, various types of mussels and sea urchins are gathered at low tide. Squid too are captured, primarily for halibut bait.

Although fish and game are found in quantity throughout the region, starchy vegetable foods are somewhat less abundant. Some writers have suggested this scarcity of plant food accounts for the cultural stress placed on the accumulation of fats and oils (see Drucker 1965:20). Available plants are collected by women not only for food but also medicinal and magical purposes as well as for making various implements. Different plant species provide edible parts in the form of fruit, bark, roots, stems or leaves. The most important food of this type is collected from the ripening berry bushes. The varieties available are indeed astounding and include such types as salmonberries, strawberries, blueberries, elderberries, currants and highbush cranberries. These berries can be eaten while they are fresh or preserved by making them into cakes or placing them in oil.

Although horticulture is not a primary subsistence activity (with one major exception noted below), true tobacco (Nicotianna sp.) is cultivated. Once harvested the leaves are dried and then pulverized. During the curing process, hemlock or alder bark ashes are mixed into the substance to bring out the flavor. Before the arrival of Euro-American traders who introduced pipe smoking, the resultant mixture is rolled into balls of snuff and either chewed or sucked (de Laguna 1972:410-411; see also Newcombe 1907:137; Curtis 1916:131-132; Murdock 1934a:223). Contact also permitted the Haida to procure the means of cultivating potatoes. Being quick to realize their potential as an exchange item, the Haida traded these starchy plants to the Tsimshian (Garfield 1939:330; Newcombe 1907:141).

Trade is indeed an important source of wealth. During the winter months some Tlingit trading parties venture over wind-packed snow passes into the interior (Olson 1968:211). But more commonly this activity takes place during the spring and summer (Oberg 1973:106; Olson, personal communication). Trade with the Athapascans allows the Tlingit to obtain valuable yet otherwise unattainable items such as lichen, furs and copper. In exchange the Tlingit offer dried fish and eulachon oil (and in later times Euro-American goods such as firearms). Straight bartering is not common prior to contact. Instead trade is conducted by an exchange of gifts between trading partners (Oberg 1973:110; for the Haida and Tsimshian see Murdock 1934a:240). The Tlingit refer to such partners as yaqawu meaning "matched together." This same term is also applied to halibut hooks (de Laguna 1972: 356). Since powerful men are commonly polygynous, a Tlingit headman frequently marries an Athapascan woman who remains in her father's village. Rarely does a Tlingit woman object to this arrangement as it usually implies a favored position for her husband (Olson 1933-34).

The copper ore obtained from the Athapascans is used to make shields which are considered to be of great value. Such coppers are utilized during the rites of validation (the smoking feast and mortuary potlatch, for example) as well as being traded to individuals further south. Trade routes or grease trails into the interior are few, consisting of courses along the Stikine and Taku Rivers or over the White, Chilkat and Chilkoot passes. These routes are monopolized by certain clans and villages located along the rivers or at the head of Lynn Canal (de Laguna 1972:15; Oberg 1973:106). Incursions into these areas are actively discouraged by the Tlingit who often turn to conflict in order to disuade intruders. After contact the fur trade became such an important facet of Tlingit economy that the Chilkat were persuaded by their headmen in 1852 to destroy the Hudson's Bay Company's factory at Fort Selkirk in the Yukon Valley (Emmons 1916:10).

Coastal trade brings the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian peoples into continual contact. During the historic period these groups travel as far south as Puget Sound to engage in trading activities or to conduct raids. In the former case, the Tlingit offer hides, Chilkat blankets and coppers in exchange for abalone shell (the Hawaiian variety being preferred after the arrival of the Boston traders), the highly prized eulachon oil made by the Niska, large red cedar canoes (the finest of these coming from the Haida) and potatoes from the Haida. Slaves are another important trade item.

Slaves constitute one-third or less of the total Tlingit population and are considered to be a distinct social unit. Among the Northern Maritime groups slaves have no moiety or phratry affiliation within the kin unit of their masters unless freed. Thus slaves contribute little to the ranking system directly (Niblack 1890:252; Olson 1933-34; Drucker 1939:55-56 and 1955:130-131; de Laguna 1952:2 and 1972:462; Krause 1956:111). Individuals who are captured by warring or raiding parties are held for ransom. If their families are unwilling to pay the required amount within six months to a year, they then become slaves. Slaves can also be obtained by trade, purchase or as gifts bestowed during a potlatch (Olson 1967:53). Each of the three groups under consideration possess slaves of Tlingit, Haida or Tsimshian origin. Even members of their own linguistic group or tribe might be placed in bondage as long as they do not belong to the same moiety or phratry, in the Tsimshian case, as their owners. But the majority of captives come from the Coast Salish (or Flathead) since they are less likely to escape and find their way back home. The importance of slaves in terms of transmitting cultural traits is also significant. Murdock (1934a:234; see also Curtis 1916:139), for example, maintains the Haida acquired dancing societies from the Bella Bella via captives of that tribe.

Overall then trading activities are the result of certain regional specializations throughout this area. Yet, at the same time, a certain mutual interdependence is created by trading partners, giving the groups of this region a fair degree of economic integration. Thus this extensive trade network into which most of the coastal groups are tied seems to be an important factor in setting off the distinctiveness of Pacific Northwest culture and society from surrounding areas (see Niblack 1890:337-338; Drucker 1965:110; Garfield 1966:16; Oberg 1973:113).

With this overview of the ecological and cultural setting established we will now turn to an examination of social structure.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TLINGIT AND HAIDA

"It is not Raven's town for which I weep, but the town of my grandfathers."
Tlingit Slave Song

1. Tlingit Social Structure

The Tlingit are the most northerly group in this area. They are commonly divided into two major divisions comprised of sixteen kwɔn or geographical groups. Mooney (1928:32) estimated the population of the Tlingit to be 10,000 in 1740. The northern division includes the Yakutat, Chilkat-Chilkoot, Auk, Taku and Sumdum along the northern mainland; the Atlin and Teslin are located in the interior, while the Hoonah, Sitka and Angoon are situated on the outer islands and the coast. The southern division includes the Kake, Kuiu and Henya-Klawak on the islands; while the Stikine, Tongass and Sanya are found along the mainland and on the more sheltered bays (see de Laguna 1972:16; Adam 1913a:90-91; Henshaw and Swanton 1910:765; Swanton 1952:541-542).

Tlingit kwɔn are divided into two major units or moieties, Raven (Tlaienedi) and Wolf (Šinkukedi). Members of

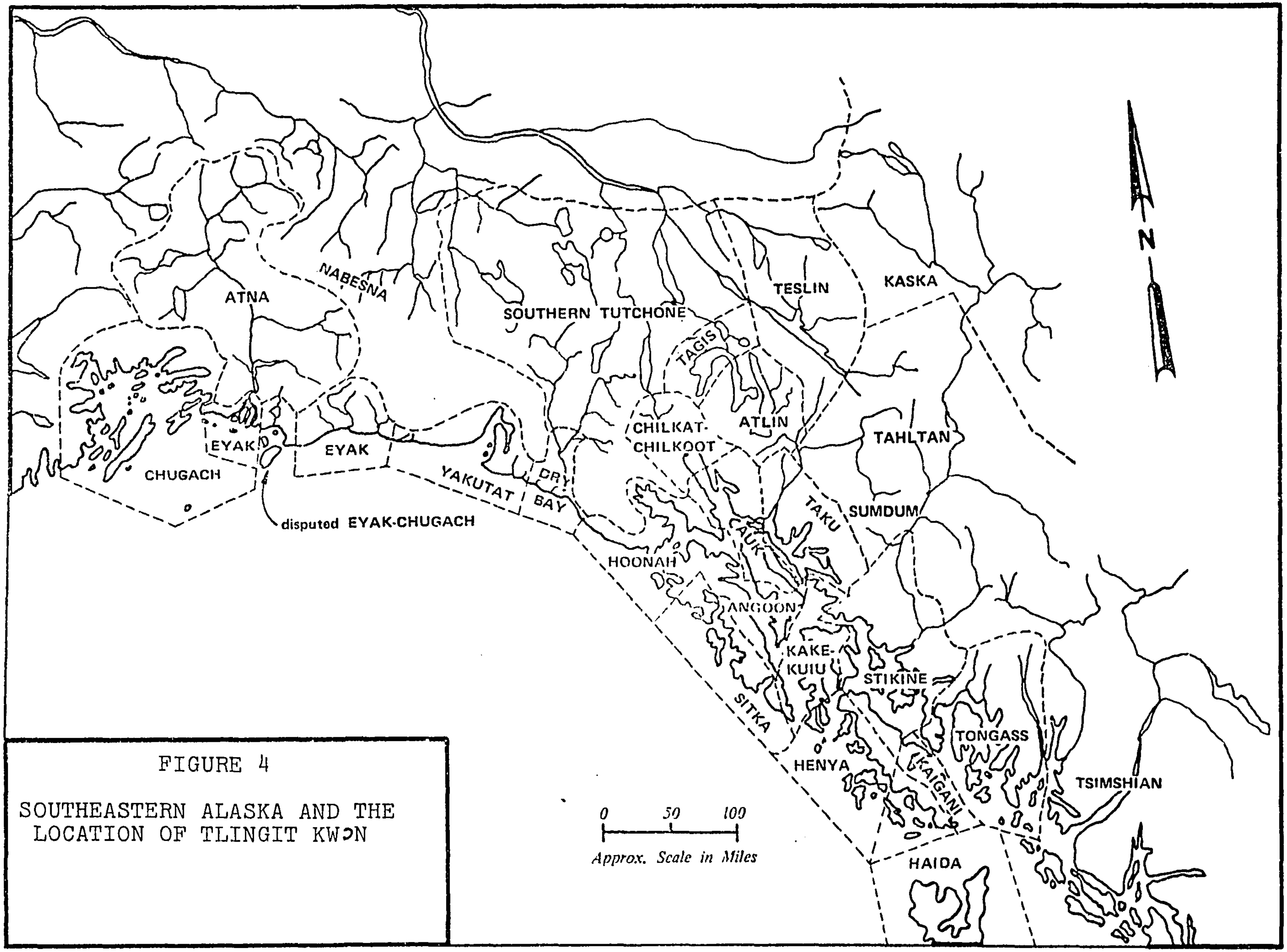

N
ATNA
NABESNA
SOUTHERN TUTCHONE
TESLIN
KASKA
TAGISH
CHILKAT-CHILKOOT
ATLIN
TAHLTAN
EYAK
EYAK
CHUGACH
DRY BAY
YAKUTAT BAY
disputed EYAK-CHUGACH
TAKU
SUMDUM
AUK
HOONAH
ANGOON
KAKE-KUIU
STIKINE
SITKA
HENYA
KAIGANI
TONGASS
TSIMSHIAN
HAIDA
0 50 100
Approx. Scale in Miles

FIGURE 4

SOUTHEASTERN ALASKA AND THE LOCATION OF TLINGIT KWɔN a moiety perceive themselves as being related through the female line and practice exogamy by prohibiting marriage to another member of the same grouping. Among the Sanya kwɔn of the southern division a separate social unit known as Eagle (Nexadi) is able to intermarry with both Ravens and Wolves. However, there are few people in this unit and they will not be considered in this discussion (Philip Drucker and Ronald Olson, personal communications; see Oberg 1934: 145; and 1973:23). Moieties own no territory in the form of fishing stations, hunting territories or berry grounds. Also, among moiety members there is neither any commonly held property nor political unity. This point is further underscored by the absence of headmen or identifiable leaders at this level. Thus the major functions of the moiety appear to be the regulating of marriage, ceremonial labor and ritual procedure. In other words, we find the moiety system to be an integrating vehicle which allows the Tlingit to establish and maintain a system of exchange and reciprocity among themselves (see Levi-Strauss 1969:69-72).

Also, according to Oberg (1973:47-48), moiety members tend to exhibit certain stereotypic personality characteristics. Thus the members of the Wolf-Eagle moiety are said to be quick-tempered and warlike with an unending urge to wander (see Olson 1967:69-70). Members of the Kagwantan clan, Wolf-Eagle moiety, are described by de Laguna's informants (1972:461, see also 485) as being "mean and they want war all the time...

'angry all the time Kagwantan' is how they call them." On the other hand, the members of the Raven moiety are said to exhibit wisdom and caution and are claimed to be "the real founders of Tlingit society." These distinctions can be seen in the various types of crests associated with the clans which make up the moieties. For example, in his appendix Oberg (1973:136-138; see also Swanton 1908:415-418; de Laguna 1972:452-453) presents the following:

TABLE 2

Crests of the Raven Moiety Clans

Ganax̣tedi (people of Ganax).

Crests: woodworm, frog, black-skinned heron
and the Mother Basket.

Kiksadi (people of the island Kiks).

Crests: frog, goose, owl and sea lion cry.

Kasqˀaqwedi (camp called Kasqˀe).

Crests: eagle crane, raven beak and green paint.

Kosk'edi (people of Kosex).

Crest: mouse.

Tluk'nax̣adi (king salmon people).

Crests: king salmon, swan and sleep spirit.

Tluqax̣adi (quick people).

Crest: real ravens.

Tanedi (people of Tan Creek).

Crest: land otter.

TABLE 3

Crests of the Wolf-Eagle Moiety Clans

Teqwedi (people of the island Teqo).

Crest: grizzly bear.

Naniyaya (meaning unknown).

Crests: grizzly bear, mountain goat head and shark.

Tšukanedi (bush people--considered to be of low rank).

Crest: porpoise.

Kagwantan (burnt house people).

Crests: wolf, tc'it (murrelet), eagle, grizzly bear and killer-whale.

Daklawedi (meaning unknown)

Crests: murrelet, eagle and killer-whale.

Tsaquedi (seal people)

Crest: killer-whale.

Taqestina (meaning unknown)

Crest: thunder.

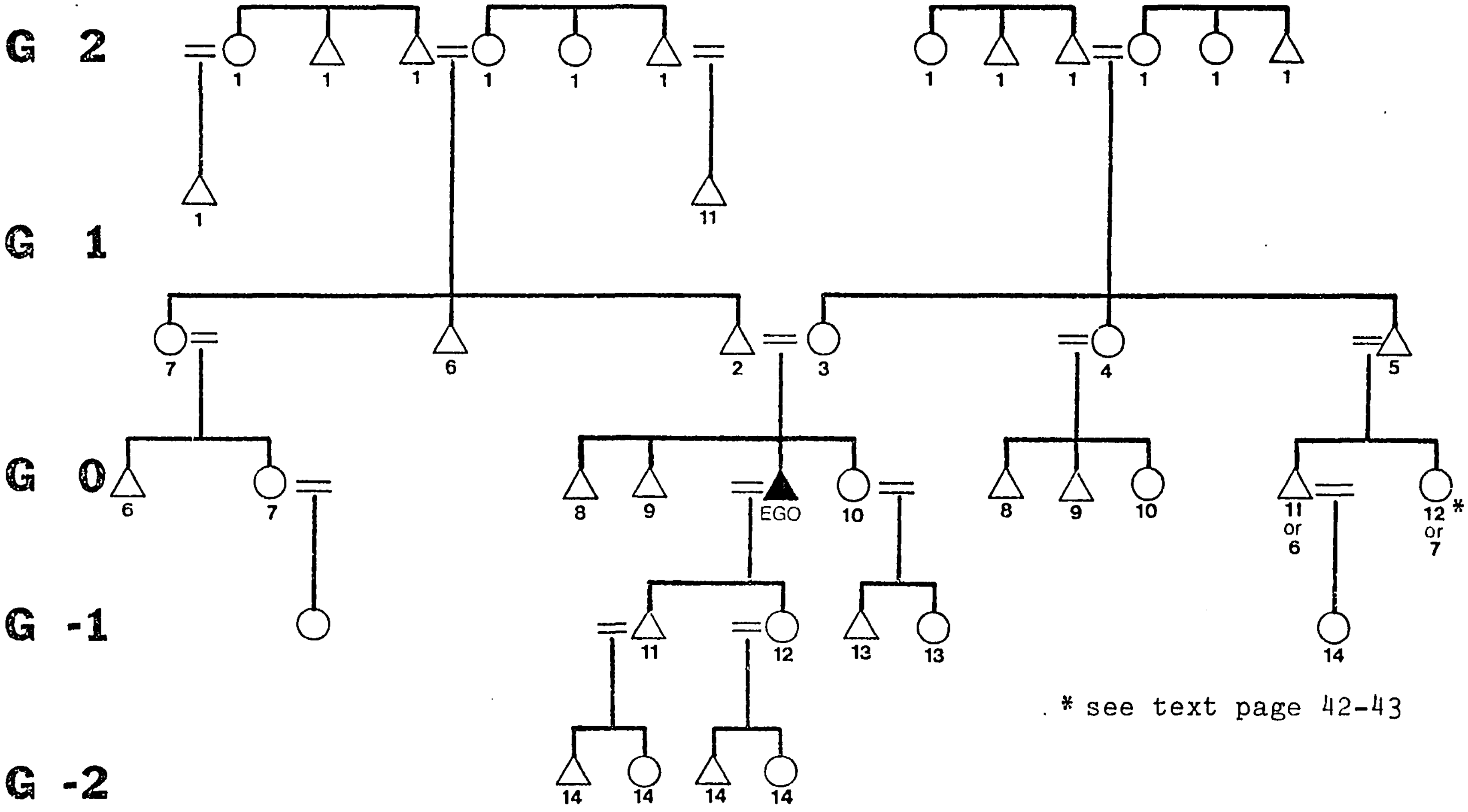
Notice that in this listing Raven clans have no major predatory animals, aside from the owl and land otter, associated with their crests. While the Wolf-Eagle clans have several carnivorous animals (including the grizzly bear, killer-whale, murrelet, eagle, wolf and shark) appearing in connection with their crests. Personal names also seem to follow this general pattern. Members of the Raven moiety commonly use names related to raven, frog, hawk, black whale and eagle (the latter among the southern Tlingit). On the other hand, members of the Wolf-Eagle moiety generally use names which refer to wolf, grizzly bear, tc'it, killer-whale, petrel, eagle (among the northern Tlingit), shark, dogfish and halibut (see Swanton 1908:422; de Laguna 1972: 788-790). A similar opposition exists among the aboriginal people of the southeastern United States. (Concerning these groups, Newcomb [1974:45] maintains, "The White People, or the People of Peace, did not take the initiative in warfare, and their towns served as sanctuaries for murderers and even enemies. The People of Alien Speech, also known as the Red or War People, were considered to be aggressors, and did not provide sanctuary.") Thus we may speculate that these Tlingit stereotypic personality traits may reflect a dichotomy which can be coordinated with their dual organizational system.

Like moieties, clans have no overall leader. At this point we should note that most clans are divided into localized clan segments which are composed of more than one lineage or house group within a community. Localized clan segments possess common fishing, hunting and collecting territories (see Goldschmidt and Haas 1946; de Laguna 1972:361, 374, 379-380, 384 and 407). Also localized clan segment members hold in common certain crests, a name indicating their place of origin, legends concerning their genesis and subsequent migrations, songs, dances, facial designs and paintings, and individual names. Localized clan segments are very protective of these items and if one were lost great shame would hover over all the members. Oberg (1934:151) cites an example of the importance of these items. If an outside localized clan segment member borrows an individually owned article (such as a canoe) from a member of another clan and fails or refuses to return or pay for this item by replacing it, stories of ridicule might be circulated about the debtor's integrity. If this method of social control does not produce desirable results, then the form of social pressure can be elevated by having a crest of the opposing localized clan segment made and publically displayed in front of the creditor's house. The story about the debt then becomes widespread and brings great shame and dishonor to members of the debtor's localized clan segment. Considerable effort is made to pay the existing debt and commonly the debtor enters the status of slave until he repays his own localized clan segment. By this means the shame of the localized clan segment is removed and their honor restored.

We should note that the localized clan segment rarely acts as a unit. But when such occasions do arise they tend to be crisis situations--such as a feud with wide-ranging consequences.

For our purposes of analysis, the most important social unit among the Tlingit is the localized matrilineage or house group. This is the unit which (1) actively controls fishing, hunting and gathering territories as well as community houses; (2) governs trading activities; and (3) sponsors the rites of validation. At this level we also find a headman or ceremonial and economic leader referred to by the Tlingit as yitsati, or "keeper-of-the-house." Usually, at least two lineages, one from each moiety, occupy a village. But, as will be seen, at least four lineages (two from each moiety) are necessary to complete the requirements placed on Tlingit society by kinship, marriage, ceremonial and political systems.

At this point, a review of the Tlingit kinship system might be advisable. The types of relationships which exist in Tlingit society are of importance for this study since it is on this structure that the formation of social groups is based. Charts (figure five; table four) are provided to allow us to better conceptualize these relationships. (For a more complete description one should consult Swanton 1908: 424-425; Durlach 1928:17-67; de Laguna 1972:475-496; Oberg 1973:24-28.)


G 2
G 1
G 0
G -1
G -2
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
11 or 6
12 or 7 *
12
13
14
EGO

* see text page 42-43

FIGURE 5: TLINGIT KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY CHART

TABLE 4

Tlingit Kinship Terminology
(male ego)

1. łiłk'^{w} (grandparent)
2. iš (father)
3. tła (mother)
4. tłak'^{w} (mother's sister)
5. kak (mother's brother)
6. sani (father's brother)
7. ˀat (father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's sister's daughter's daughter)
8. hunx̣ (elder brother)
9. kik' (younger brother)
10. tłak (sister)
11. yit (son)
12. si (daughter)
13. kelk' (sister's child)
14. tšx̣ank' (grandchild)

In the second ascending or grandparental generation (G+2) there is only one term, ɬiɬk'^{W}, applied by ego to his mother's and father's parents and all of their brothers and sisters at the moiety level. Ego always displays deep respect to these relatives by allowing them to speak first and by always using the proper term. In the first ascending or parental generation (G+1) there are six separate terms of address used by ego. The relationship between ego and his mother (tɬa) and father (iš) are quite close. Sometimes a male ego will even remain with his parents into adulthood if his maternal uncle (kak) is not a lineage leader. But if kak is a yitsati ego definitly moves to the house of his mother's brother who is of the same lineage as his nephew. By this time ego's elder brothers (hunx̱) and the elder sons of mother's sisters have already joined kak. Mother's sister is known as tɬak'^{W} and ego refers to her children (his parallel cousins) with the same terms used for his own siblings. Mother's brother is responsible for imparting the necessary knowledge and training concerning the appropriate rules of behavior to his sister's sons (kelk'). As de Laguna (1972:479) has noted, kak, as part of his nephew's training, will send "the little boys into the water every day, early in the morning when it was cold, and beat them with alder branches, or else they would beat each other to the limit of their endurance." One of de Laguna's informants also provided the following information: "'The nephews, when they were small, the uncle always trained them to be brave, and all that. . .to be strong man, not to be lazy'" (de Laguna 1972:479). The father in this case is considered to be too lenient with his sons, but we should also remember that he belongs to a different localized clan segment and matrilineage and is therefore somewhat unfamiliar with the rites and myths of his son's house group. When de Laguna (1972:479) asked one of her informants "if the uncle's wife might ever try to stop her husband if the training were too severe?" she received the following reply, "'Wife never interfere in man's business long ago.'" The relationship between *kak* and *kelk'* is oftentimes strained since the former represents the social symbol of authority. This is especially true of the relationship between the inheriting nephew and the position holding uncle (*yitsati*). Also of importance in this first ascending generation is father's brother (*sani*) and father's sister (*ʔat*--a term which also applies to father's sister's daughter and father's sister's daughter's daughter). *ʔat* is the preferred marriage partner for all males except the inheriting nephew. The term *ʔat* can then be construed as being equivalent to "sweetheart" or "lover" while *sani* (father's sister's son as well as father's brother) refers to a potential brother-in-law. This marriage preference is of great importance in terms of our structural analysis and will be reviewed in more detail later. Since both *sani* and *ʔat* belong to father's lineage, ego's close relationship with them reflects respect for this group. Furthermore, since the most troublesome disputes arise within one's own house group (see de Laguna 1972: 482), *sani* and *ʔat* are individuals with whom ego is able to confide and receive sound advise.

In ego's own generation (0) we have already discussed the term for elder brother--*hunx̣*. In addition to this we find a second term, *kik'*, applied to ego's younger brother (and also to the younger sons of mother's sister). The distinction between older and younger brother is of political importance since the elder brother would normally take precedence in matters of inheritance, authority and ceremonial activities. Ego's sisters and parallel cousins of the same sex are referred to as *tłak*. Father's sister's sons are addressed by the same term used for father's brother (*sani*). The form of address for mother's brother's children consist of four terms of which only two are used depending on the future relationship of the nephew to these individuals. Ego sometimes refers to the males as *yit*, the same term used by ego for his own son. While the female offspring of *kak* are known as *si*, the same form of address used by ego when referring to his daughter. Because of this some writers have inferred that marriage between male ego and his mother's brother's daughter is strictly forbidden. This position is supported by Durlach (1928:25) when her primary Tlingit informant told her "'A woman's (sani) would never apply this term to her, unless he were very old and she many years his junior,'--in short where there is no possibility of marriage." And according to Oberg (1973:26) "Mother's brother's children..., likewise, fall into the sani (male offspring of kak) and ʔat (female offspring of kak) group, being members of the opposite phratry" (read as moiety). The paradox of placing mother's brother's children into the same category as father's sister's children--the daughter of whom is considered an eligible marriage partner for male ego while mother's brother's daughter is not--is somewhat clarified by Oberg (1973:36) in his basic marriage pattern chart which is reproduced in figure six.

From this figure, we may note the preferred marriage for ego is with his bilateral cross cousin. Such a marriage is equivalent to restricted exchange since complete reciprocity, in terms of women, occurs between the two intermarrying groups within a single generation. Another form of restricted exchange is patrilateral cross cousin marriage. In this situation we again find reciprocity resulting between two groups, but occurring in a two generation cycle rather than one. Restricted exchange contrasts with generalized exchange which will be discussed in more detail later (see Figure seven). The structure generated by the marriage preference for a male ego with father's sister's daughter in this matrilineal society is presented in figure eight (see also Rosman and Rubel 1971:41 and 1972:661).

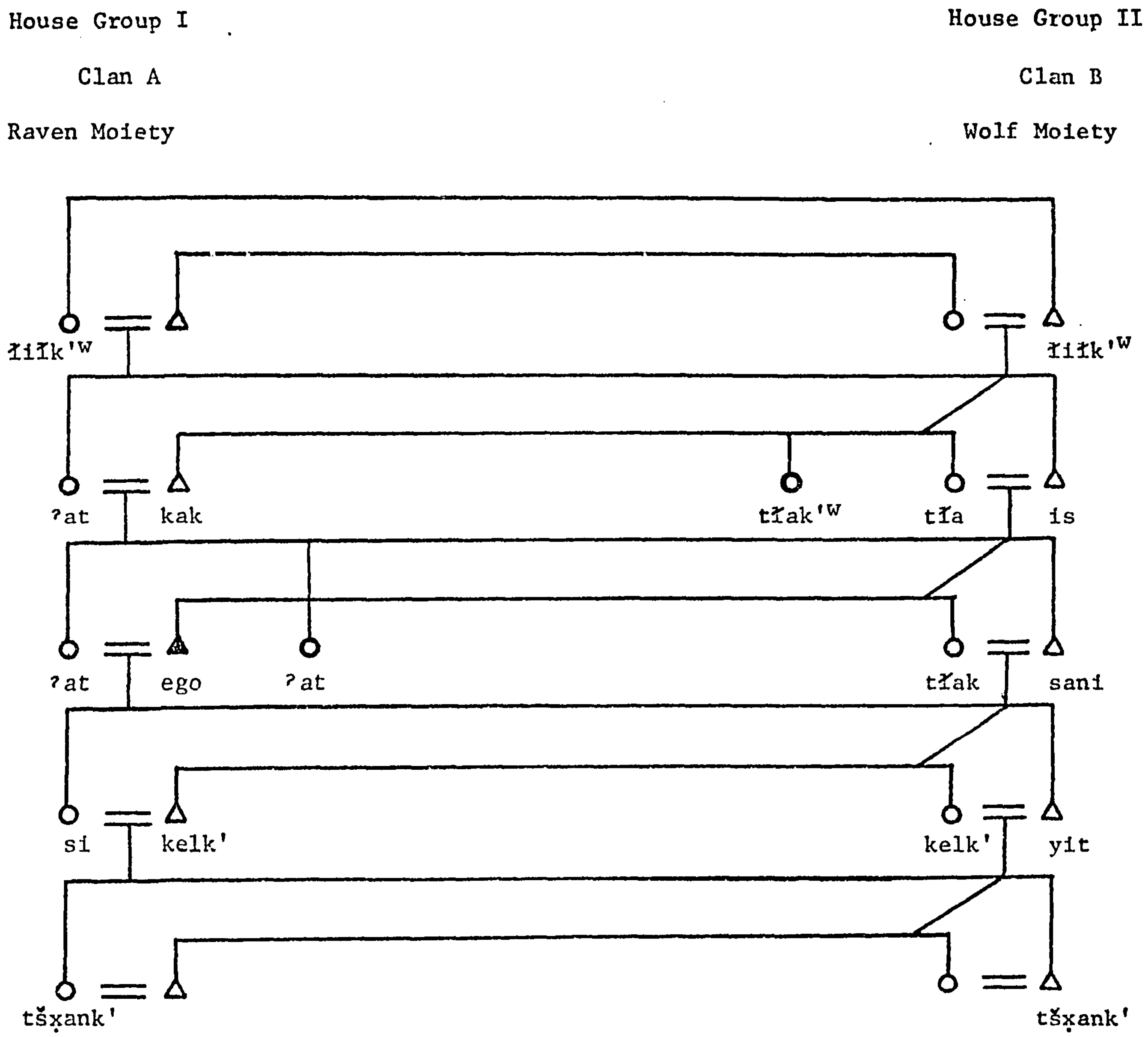

House Group I
Clan A
Raven Moiety
House Group II
Clan B
Wolf Moiety
łiłk'ʷ
łiłk'ʷ
ʔat
kak
tłak'ʷ
tła
is
ʔat
ego
ʔat
tłak
sani
si
kelk'
kelk'
yit
tšx̣ank'
tšx̣ank'

FIGURE 6: BASIC TLINGIT MARRIAGE PATTERN

(After Oberg 1973:36)

Elementary Structures (Societies which posit jural rules for determining both eligible and ineligible marriage partners)	
1. Restricted Exchange. (Reciprocal relationships established between two or more lineages. Statistically correlated with egalitarian societies.)	2. Generalized Exchange. (Non-reciprocal relationships established between four or more lineages. Statistically correlated with rank societies.)
a. Bilateral Cross Cousin Marriage. (Reciprocity is completed in a single generation cycle - Group A both gives and receives women from Group B in one generation.) b. Patrilateral Cross Cousin Marriage. (Reciprocity is delayed by a two generation cycle - Group A gives women to Group B in one generation and receives women from Group B in the following generation.)	Matrilateral Cross Cousin Marriage. (Reciprocity is non-existent since Group B always gives women to Group A, but receives women from Group C.)

FIGURE 7: MARRIAGE TENDENCIES AS CONDITIONED BY ELEMENTARY STRUCTURES

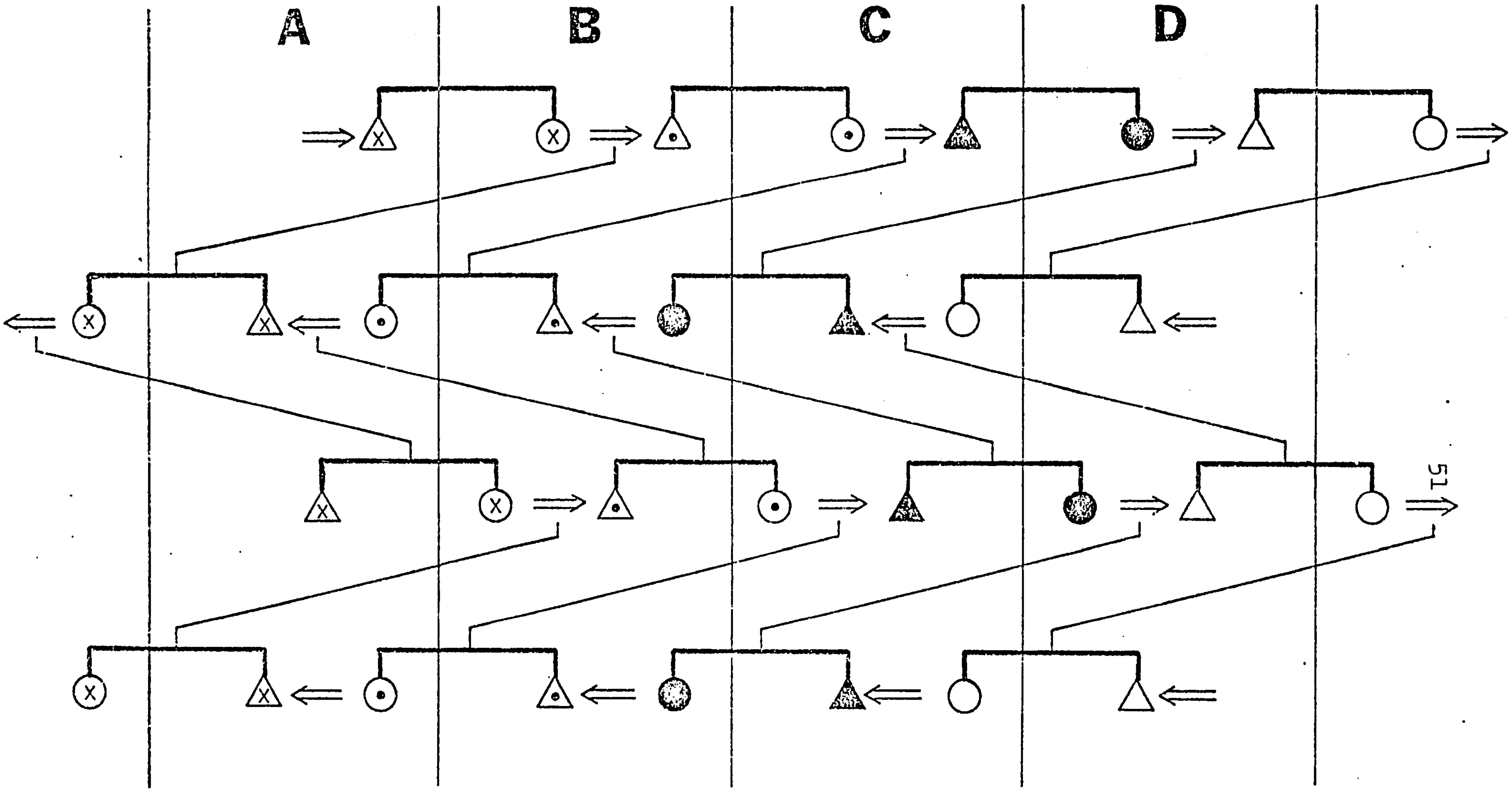


FIGURE 8: STRUCTURE GENERATED BY PATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE (RESTRICTED EXCHANGE)

The significant features which emerge from this figure, according to Rosman and Rubel (1971:40 and 1972:661), are: 1) the linkage of each lineage with two others of the opposite moiety; 2) the lineage of male ego's father, wife and children is the same; 3) each household contains a nucleus of adult males who are related matrilineally and women from two separate lineages; and 4) the males of any one household are divided into two groups based on their fathers belonging to different lineages. The features as presented here are consistent with the structural model generated by patrilateral cross cousin marriage, but they are not the only features found in Tlingit society. These points will be clarified in the following chapters. For now, however, we should turn to the comparable material of the Haida.

2. Haida Social Structure

Below the Tlingit are the Haida who inhabit a portion of southern Alaska, or the southeastern corner of Prince of Wales Island, as well as the Queen Charlotte Islands (see Figure nine). Between 1836 and 1841, the population of the Haida has been estimated at 8,328; 1,735 of these people living on Prince of Wales Island while the remaining 6,593 are inhabitants of the Queen Charlotte Islands (Swanton 1907:522: see also Dawson 1882; Mooney 1928:27). Although several writers list a number of Haida villages and camps they seem unable to define the exact number of geographical groups (see Boas 1890:804 and 1899:649-652; Curtis 1916: 115; Dawson 1880; Swanton 1952:570-572). Newcombe (1907: 146) maintains "that during the most flourishing period of the fur trade between 1787 and 1807, there must have been at least seventeen groups of villages in the Queen Charlotte Islands." Two years later, Swanton (1909a:282-294) listed houses in seventeen principal towns, but divides the Haida into eight geographical groups. These groups were the Ninstints, T'anu', Q'o'na, LGaiu' (Skidegate), West Coast (consisting of two groups), Naiku'n (Rose Spit), North End of Graham Island, and K'aigani. Murdock (1934b:355) simplifies this scheme by using such designations as the 1) southern group (now extinct); 2) central branch (Skidegate); 3) northern group (Massett); and 4) Alaskan or Kaigani (Hydaburg) Haida.

Haida geographical groups are divided into moieties similar to the Tlingit. In this case, they are known as Raven (Koala) and Eagle (Gitina). These moieties are exogamous, matrilineal kin units possessing no relevant political functions. Neither do they own fishing, hunting, or collecting territories nor do they hold any property in common. The primary functions of this dual organizational system seem to be the defining of inappropriate marriage partners and organizing ceremonial labor. There are certain crests associated with these moieties however. Among the Haida, crests of the Raven moiety correspond with those of

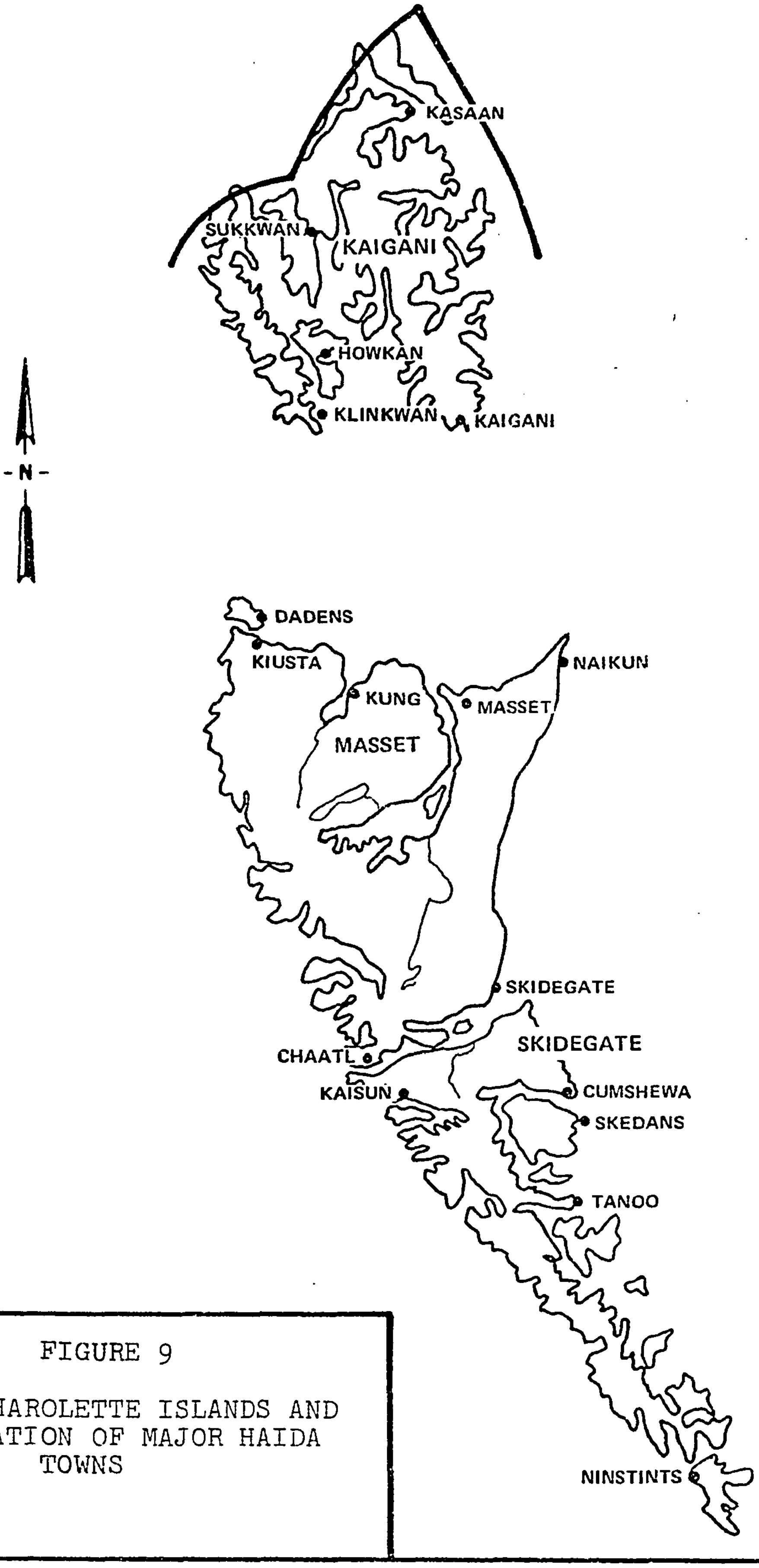

KASAAN
SUKKWAN
KAIGANI
HOWKAN
KLINKWAN
KAIGANI
N
DADENS
KIUSTA
KUNG
MASSET
MASSET
NAIKUN
SKIDEGATE
SKIDEGATE
CHAATL
KAISUN
CUMSHEWA
SKEDANS
TANOO
NINSTINTS

FIGURE 9

QUEEN CHAROLETTE ISLANDS AND THE LOCATION OF MAJOR HAIDA TOWNS the Tlingit Wolf-Eagle, while those of the Eagle moiety are most commonly associated with the Tlingit Raven. "The important point is, however, that a Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain (moiety or phratry) among them, the members of which for one reason or another, he considers his 'friends'" (Swanton 1909a:66; see also Adam 1913b:175-180). Whether or not there are any stereotypic personality differences between members of these two moieties remains uncertain at the present time. Swanton (1909a:104) does present us with a tantalizing statement though: "While studying the development of these two (moieties), the suggestion keeps presenting itself that the Raven (moiety) may represent the real Haida, and the Eagles may be late comers." The association of Raven with the "real Haida" and with "the real founders of Tlingit society" seems to suggest an incorporation of outside or foreign groups into the tribal structure. This was probably accomplished by means of genetic ties based on exchange and reciprocity. This interchange led to social integration with the resultant formation of a dual organizational system (see Levi-Strauss 1969:74). But why does Raven represent the focal group? As of yet this question has not been adequately explained.

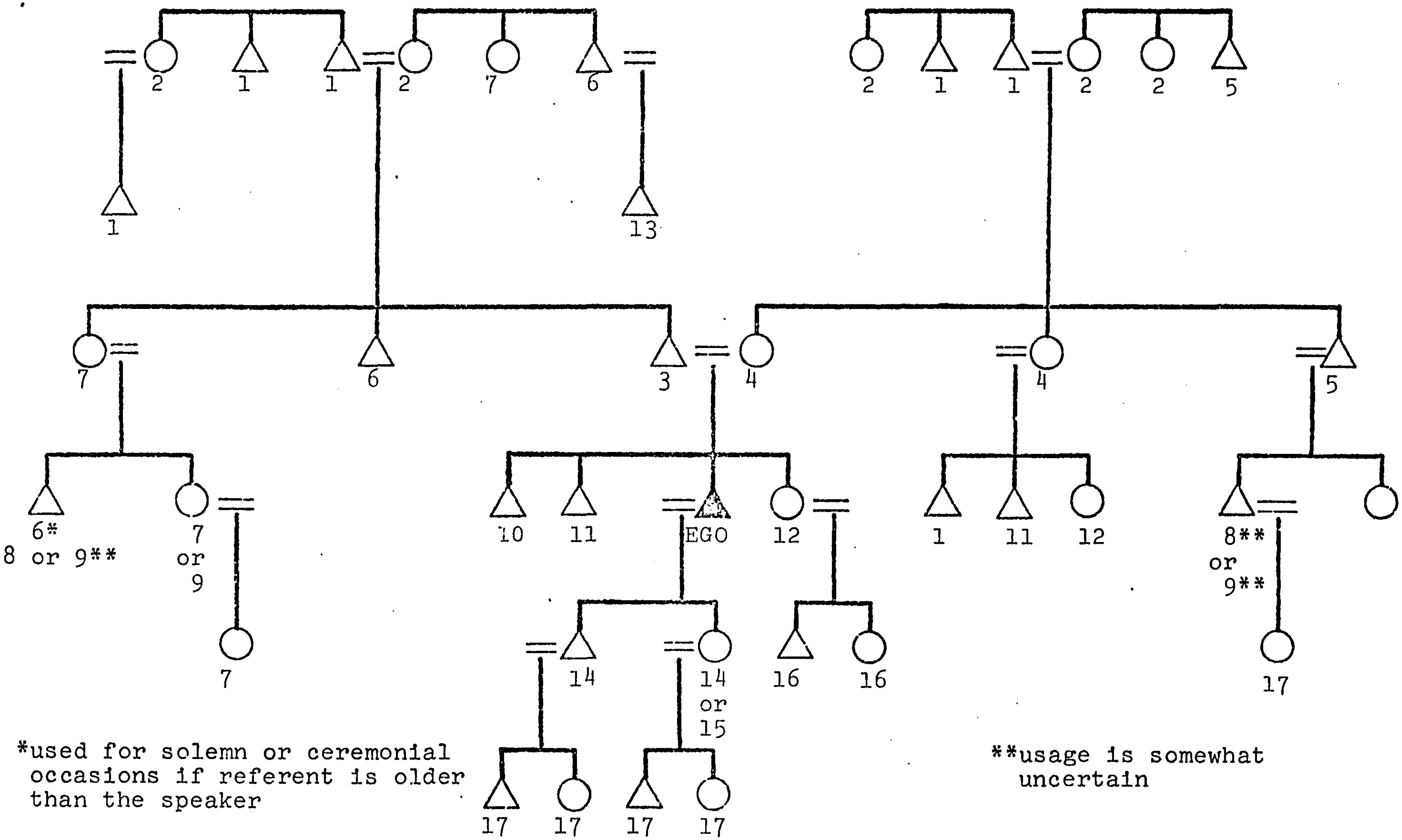
Each Haida moiety is divided into approximately twenty clans. According to tradition, each clan is associated with a specific homeland. Thus most clan appelations are derived from their original location rather than from plants, animals or other natural entities (see Boas 1899:652-653). The economically important territories such as fishing stations, hunting grounds, berry patches, tobacco fields, village and camp sites, beaches (from which beached whales are claimed), and rocky islands (from which birds' eggs are gathered) are considered to belong to the localized clan segment (Swanton 1909a:71; Murdock 1934a:235-236). Although crests are associated with each of the moieties, the actual owners of these hereditary symbols are the localized clan segment members. Some crests, however, may be owned by more than just a single localized clan segment or house group. For example, the eagle crest is displayed by at least thirty-six lineages of the Eagle moiety. As implied earlier, most crests representing predatory animals are associated with Raven clans rather than Eagle. (For a complete listing of these crests, one should consult Boas 1899:649-652; Swanton 1909a:268-276). Like the Tlingit, Haida localized clan segment members are also quite easily incensed by irresponsible use or display of crests and other affliated items.

Unified clan activity among the Haida is rare. Periods of stress, such as warfare or extensive feuds, provide occasions for individualized localized clan segments or collective clan actions. The latter situation usually involves clans of the same moiety and town. Be that as it may, the localized house group maintains autonomy by following only the advise and leadership of its respective headman. As among the Tlingit, the most important social, economic and political unit is the localized matrilineage. Village composition, then, is usually in the form of two or more such lineages.

For comparative purposes, we shall now turn to Haida kinship terminology and concurrent behavior (see Figure ten and Table five). (For a more detailed treatment of this subject the reader may wish to consult Swanton 1902:327-334; 1909a:62-65; Durlach 1928:68-115; Murdock 1934b:355-385; Allen 1954:195-201 and 1955:5-11).

In the grandparental or second ascending generation (G+2) the term *tcʻæn* is used by ego when referring to mother's father and father's father as well as to their brothers. An extension of this term is applied to father's father's sister's son who is actually in the first ascending generation (G+1) but who belongs to father's father's matrilineage. Father's mother's brother and mother's mother's brother are referred to by a different set of terms as will be discussed later. The women (including mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, father's mother and father's father's sister) are known as *na·n*. Like the previous term, this form is extended to include father's father's sister's daughter. The exception to this rule is father's mother's sister who will also be mentioned below.

A male ego's relationship with his *tcʻæn* is warm and amicable. The grandfather often makes toys, sings songs and


2
1
1
2
7
6
2
1
1
2
2
5
1
13
7
6
3
4
4
5
6*
8 or 9**
7
or
9
7
10
11
EGO
12
1
11
12
8**
or
9**
17
14
14
or
15
16
16
17
17
17
17

*used for solemn or ceremonial occasions if referent is older than the speaker

**usage is somewhat uncertain

FIGURE 10: HAIDA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY CHART

TABLE 5

Haida Kinship Terminology
(male ego)

1. tcʿɑn (grandfather)
2. na·n (grandmother)
3. ʾɣɔŋ (father)
4. ʾau (mother)
5. qʿa (mother's brother)
6. ye· (father's brother)
7. sqʿa·n (father's mother's sister, father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's sister's daughter's daughter)
8. ʾlan (male cross cousin)
9. ʾwvʼcʾvn (cross cousin)
10. kʾwai (elder brother)
11. do·n (younger brother)
12. djɑs (sister)
13. ʾaɬnɑŋqʿa·ʼs (child of my father's clansman)
14. ĝɩt (child)
15. gudjaʼŋ (daughter)
16. nat (sister's child)
17. tʾaʼkʾɑn (grandchild)

tells stories to his grandson. In return, the boy may collect firewood, fetch water and perform other services for his grandfather. A female ego usually has a similar relationship with her *na·n*. "When a girl reaches puberty her paternal grandmother instructs her in the taboos which she must observe, e.g., abstention from fresh water and fresh fish and from looking at the sun or at the sea" (Murdock 1934b: 358). The oldest grandson is eligible to receive his father's father's name--the only time in which this localized clan segment property may leave a kin group. This relationship is further underscored by the Masset whose son's sons may display their grandfather's crests. These interactions demonstrate the importance of the father's side, but we should also remember that it is quite possible for the father's father's lineage to be the same as ego's.

In the first ascending or parental generation (G+1), there are five separate kin terms. The same term, *ʾau*, is used for both mother and mother's sister. The Haida use the form *ʾɣɔŋ* for the biological father only. Ego is close to both parents and status can only be acquired through the parents. When a house-building potlatch (*ʾwa′ łal*) is given, the rank of noble (*ʾyaʾɛ′ t*) is conferred upon the children. Once accomplished, the parents try to maintain this status whenever necessary. "Thus if a child has been humiliated in any way, e.g., by falling from a canoe into the water and being helped out by a member of the opposite moiety, the mother gives a small potlatch of the *ciŋa´dα* or 'face-saving' type, after which no one may recall the incident" (Murdock 1934b:360). As among the Tlingit, a male ego moves to the house of his mother's brother (*qʿa*) where he receives the necessary training and decorum to be a member of his own matrilineage. Although Murdock (1934b:358-359) maintains the line of inheritance moves from a headman to a younger brother with no house, frequently the eldest son of the eldest sister acquires this position and title. We should also note at this point that the term for mother's brother is also extended to the mother's mother's brother.

Other members of this generation include father's brother (*ye·*), a term which is also extended to father's mother's brother in the second ascending generation and to father's sister's son in ego's own generation. Another important member of the parents' generation is father's sister (sqʿa·n). This term is applied cross-generationally too and includes father's mother's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter and father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Ego is generally quite close with both *ye·* and *sqʿa·n*. The paternal aunt normally performs the ceremonial aspects of ego's birth--such as the cutting of the umbilical cord and disposing of the afterbirth--as well as for other life crises.

> When a girl reaches puberty (*tʿa´gwʋna*) she is secluded, usually for a month, behind a screen or sail in her parents' house. Here she is visited daily by her *sqʿa·´nαʾlαŋ*, who talk to

> her, cook, and care for her, and at the end of the period bathe her, dress her in new garments, and burn the soiled bedding and clothing. (Murdock 1934b:364).

In return ego is expected to protect sqˡa·n from insult or injury. The closeness of this relationship is emphasized by the Haida who approve of sexual relations between a male ego and sqˡa·n.

> If the girl becomes pregnant, her mother and sisters take the matter up with the mother and maternal uncles of the boy, who is then compelled to marry her. In any case, the preferred marriage is with a sqˡa·n of the same generation, though not necessarily a first cousin. (Murdock 1934b:364).

As for the Tlingit, the patrilateral union is preferred for all but the inheriting nephew who usually enters into an oblique marriage with his maternal uncle's widow. Later the succeeding nephew may also marry "his qˡa′ĝit, i.e., the daughter of the maternal uncle whose place he is to take" (Murdock 1934b:364).

For ego's own generation (0) there are also five terms of address. Siblings of the same sex are distinguished by relative age: kʼwai (elder brother, m. sp.; elder sister, w. sp.) and do·n (younger brother, m. sp.; younger sister, w. sp.). Siblings of the opposite sex are not set apart in this manner; there is only one term (djαs). These same forms are applied to both matrilateral and patrilateral parallel cousins. Cross cousins are separated from siblings and parallel cousins but not from each other except by the usage of such skewing terms as sqˡa·n and ye· for the patrilateral members. In other words, all cross cousins can be referred by the term *ʾwʋʹcʾʋn* while male cross cousins can also be called *ʾlan*. The applicability of the former term to mother's brother's daughter, who may be addressed with the descriptive form *q˪aʹgit*, is somewhat uncertain. However, it is commonly employed to designate *sq˪a·n* of one's own generation (see Murdock 1934b:366).

The relationship between two brothers or two sisters may be described as close and mutually helpful. The material goods of one essentially belong to the other. Interactions between a brother and sister are also friendly and cooperative, even though they overtly demonstrate respect for one another by maintaining an avoidance relationship from the time of puberty. A sister or brother cannot be refused the presentation of an item if she or he asks for it. But if this privilege is abused a loss of prestige will most probably be the result. A younger brother commonly aides his older brother with the accumulation of property for a house building potlatch. At a later date, the elder brother is expected to reciprocate in kind and service. The rules for succession to the position of "keeper-of-the-house" and for the inheritance of property seem to be somewhat more rigid than for other cases. Headmen are preferably succeeded by their younger brothers. Only when all of the brothers head their own houses will a nephew be selected instead. The incoming house leader receives all the privileges, titles and property of rank. In other words, this inheritance, unlike other situations, is never divided. "Where a younger brother is the heir, he gives the funeral potlatch, erects the mortuary column, takes the potlatch name, and weds the widow of his predecessor precisely as does a nephew" (Murdock 1934b:367). In other words, only headmen practice the levirate among the Haida.

Ego's relationship with his male cross cousins (*ʲla′nαʲlαŋ*) is quite similar to the one with father's sisters (*sqˡa·′nαʲlαŋ*). Male cross cousins assist father's sisters with a girl's tatooes. *Sqˡa·n* pierces the earlobes and nasal septum of all her brothers' children and also the lower lip of the girls. The responsibility for making the labret goes to *ʲlan*. "An unmarried girl may have sexual relations with her *ʲla′nαʲlαŋ*, and she eventually marries one of them" (Murdock 1934b:365). Men who fall into this category are vigilant comrades who protect one another in all situations. Another part of this relationship deals with sharing and cooperation. Upon returning from a successful hunting or fishing trip, a man never denies a *ʲlan* part of his bounty. When a person dies, the male cross cousins will aid father's sisters with the wake and funeral arrangements (e.g., coffin construction and removal of the corpse through a temporary side opening).

In the first descending generation a male ego distinguishes between own children or children of his wife's clan (*ĝɩt*), brother's children (*ʲwʋ′cʲʋn*), and sister's children or children of my own clan (*nat*). For the second descending generation there is only one term (*tʼaˊkʼɑn*). This form is extended from one's own grandchildren to other members of this generation who belong to the speaker's moiety; one exception being the term *nat* used by a man for referring to members of the second descending generation who belong to his own clan.

3. *Social Structure and Models*

The organizational features of Tlingit and Haida social structure are classified as Crow systems by various ethnographers. On reviewing Murdock's (1949:245) definition of the Crow type we find that "it is characterized by matrilineal or double descent and asymmetrical cross-cousin terminology." Indeed both the Tlingit and Haida systems possess matrilineal descent and have different terminological forms for matrilateral and patrilateral cross cousins. Be that as it may, a closer examination of Crow social organization reveals a wide range of variation. The typological scheme of Crow systems includes societies at all levels of sociocultural variation--from band societies to rank societies. Kinship is one means by which these societies adapt to their ecological situations. Yet the organizational needs of band level societies differ from those of a rank level. Thus the terminological principles displayed by these various societies will also differ. As more complex forms of organization are required the terminological system will more tightly define a circle of kinsmen who have specific responsibilities and duties. On this basis then we should be able to distinguish between different types of Crow systems according to their level of sociocultural integration. At this point we should note that the construction of new kinship terminological types is of little importance in relation to the kinship terminological processes or principles involved in the formation of more complex systems. (For a more complete discussion of this principle and a more thorough analysis of Crow social systems consult Baugh 1976b; Lounsbury 1964; Buchler 1964). In fact, the presentation of kinship terminologies for the Tlingit and Haida demonstrates a few more differences between these societies than we might expect or is first apparent. For example, the terminological equations for a generalized Crow system may be calculated as follows in Table six.

TABLE 6

Terminological Equations for Crow Type Systems

1. FZD = FZ
2. FZDD = FZ
3. FZS = F or FB
4. MBS = S or BS
5. FFZS = FF
6. MBSD = DD
7. FMBS = B

where: F = father; M = mother; Z = sister; B = brother;
S = son; and D = daughter.

Tlingit terminology exhibits all seven of these discriminating features while Haida does not have the last equivalence feature. Hence the former becomes a type 7 Crow system while the latter may be considered a type 6. This difference is further underscored by linguistic variation. Tlingit and Haida have both been classified as belonging to the NaDene stock which also includes Athapascan and Eyak. Apparently Haida split-off from this stock by possibly as much as 9,000 years ago while Tlingit emerges as a distinct language some 4,000 years later (see Krauss 1973:950-953; Hymes 1960; Swadesh 1959). The question then becomes not so much as to why this cultural variation exists between these two groups but rather why is there as much similarity? In the following pages we will view the answer to this question by an examination of the structure of Tlingit and Haida marriage systems.

So far our analysis of Tlingit and Haida society has dealt with kinship terminology and associated behavior. From this review we have observed the importance of mother's brother. To continue the discussion, we should now turn to Radcliffe-Brown (1965b:29) who has pointed out "...the conduct of individuals to one another is very largely regulated on the basis of kinship..." Furthermore, Radcliffe-Brown maintains one of the principal functions of kinship systems is to lump individuals into categories by using certain principles of classification. The first of these principles is referred to as "the equivalence of brothers." From this perspective ego is able to extend the same relationship with a man to the man's brother and conversly with a woman and her sister. "By means of this principle primitive societies are able to arrive at definite patterns of behavior towards uncles and aunts and cousins of certain kinds" (Radcliffe-Brown 1965b:18). Hence, Radcliffe-Brown was able to explain why an individual treated his father and father's brother and his mother and mother's sister as well as the offspring of each in the same manner. But what about mother's brother and father's sister? These individuals are accounted for when Radcliffe-Brown continues his essay by postulating an extension of sentiment principle in which mother's brother may be considered a male mother while father's sister is equated with a female father.

> The pattern of behavior towards the mother, which is developed in the family by reason of the nature of the family group and its social life, is extended with suitable modifications to the mother's sister and to the mother's brother, then to the group of maternal kindred as a whole, and finally to the maternal gods, the ancestors of the mother's group. (Radcliffe-Brown 1965b:27).

This same process is extended to explain ego's relationship with his father's group. Furthermore, by applying the reverse situation we are able to explain the relational content of matrilineal societies. By this means, then, Radcliffe-Brown was able to clarify social interaction within societies possessing elementary structures.

Radcliffe-Brown's work advanced our understanding of society tremendously and we can by no means overlook his contributions. But these principles advanced by him cannot be viewed as the final word. In most cases, Radcliffe-Brown's extensions prove satisfactory for unilineal societies. However, there are exceptions to the rule--such as the members of the Lake Kubutu society in New Guinea who are patrilineal in descent but vest jural rights within the mother's brother. Thus the correlation of descent with behavior or relational content does not withstand the construction of data.

Be that as it may, Radcliffe-Brown's work does point us in the right direction. But rather than postulating the biological family as the basic kin unit, as is often done by descent theorists, we can assume a different posture which may broaden our understanding. One of the more common features found in human societies is exogamy among members of the nuclear family. This negative familial sanction forces one group to acquire marriage partners from a second. By so doing a man is required to obtain a wife from another man who exchanges either a sister or daughter for another woman or other items. "Thus we do not need to explain how the maternal uncle emerged in the kinship structure: He does not emerge--he is present initially" (Levi-Strauss 1963b;46). The dyadic relations between father/son and mother's brother/sister's son as postulated by Radcliffe-Brown, then, only provide us with a partial understanding, for we must also include the dyads of brother/sister and husband/wife to obtain the complete structure. By examining this range of variation, we are able to establish a systematic ordering, for unilineal societies "...the relation between maternal uncle and nephew is to the relation between brother and sister as the relation between father and son is to that between husband and wife" /MB/ZS:B/Z::F/S:H/W/ (Levi-Strauss 1963b:40). (For a more complete discussion of these points the reader should consult Homans and Schneider, 1955 and Needham, 1962). Hence, descent is only one aspect of kinship which must be taken into account. We must also deal with a relation of consanguinity and of affinity in order to obtain the underlying structure of kinship systems.

> ...to understand the avunculate we must treat it as one relationship within a system, while the system itself must be considered as a whole in order to grasp its structure. This structure rests upon four terms (brother, sister, father, and son), which are linked by two pairs of correlative oppositions in such a way that in each of the two generations there is always a positive relationship and a negative one. Now, what is the nature of this structure, and what is its function? The answer is as follows: This structure is the most elementary form of kinship that can exist. It is, properly speaking, _the unit of kinship_. (Levi-Strauss 1963b:46).

This structure enables us to examine the characteristic relational content within any given system. For each generation (the first ascending and ego's own) we find one positive or close relationship and one negative or distant relationship. If ego then has a close relationship with his mother's brother, he will have a distant relationship with his father. Ego can then either be close to his sister or wife but not to both. Levi-Strauss (1963b:42-46; see also Needham 1962:32-35; and Buchler and Selby 1968:31-32) provides us with a discussion and diagram which illustrates this point for six societies and is summarized in Table seven along with the Tlingit and Haida.

From Table seven we see the relational content of the dyadic roles among the Tlingit and Haida falling within the same parameters as that of the Trobriand Islanders. Because kinship systems are symbolic of the distinction between man and nature, they then allow us to examine socio-cultural character. And furthermore, we begin to see among the

TABLE 7

Dyadic Roles and Relational Content

Dyadic Roles	Societies							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Uncle/Nephew	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
Brother/Sister	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
Father/Son	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Husband/Wife	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-

Matrilineal Societies		Patrilineal Societies
1. Tlingit	4. Siuai	6. Cherkess
2. Haida	5. Dobu	7. Tonga
3. Trobriand		8. Lake Kubutu

Tlingit and Haida, at least, the formation of a system of a more complex order which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Before concluding this section, one last point should be brought out. By using the same methods presented in Table seven we also find not only a positive and negative relationship for each generation but also for residence. For the Tlingit and Haida we find the negative relationship between mother's brother/sister's son is positive in terms of residence. In other words, the nephew lives in his maternal uncle's house. At the same time, once the nephew marries (and remembering a positive relationship for husband/wife) his wife moves to the house of his maternal uncle also (in some cases she may already live there: If father's sister marries a man of the same matrilineage as ego). Ego's sister (with whom he has a negative relationship) and father (positive) reside separately from ego but within the same house. Thus we can correlate behavior in terms of residence as well as generation. And ego therefore is never isolated socially thus forming the "true atom of kinship".

CHAPTER III

MARRIAGE AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS I: ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

"They also placed the daughter of a chief there so that they could get him by having him marry her."

Tlingit Myth-Story
of the Kagwantan

The complexity of sociocultural integration among societies of the Pacific Northwest has led many anthropologists to place these cultures at the level of a rank society (cf. Service 1971:143). By using an index of stratification similar to that proposed by Sahlins (1958:6-12) we are able to validate this placement. Ethnographers who have worked among the Tlingit and Haida have reported two basic grade levels (nobles and commoners) which are defined by means of hereditary principles. These levels should not be considered true classes, however, for each person is able to define his or her individual position or rank within the social hierarchy (see Drucker 1939; Codere 1957).

These grade differentials are reinforced by requiring marriages between persons of equal rank. For this purpose, elaborate precautions are taken to insure equality by closely examining the genealogical background of a potential spouse.

Such unions, then, are the concern of the entire family. Therefore, each kin unit is capable of reproducing this necessary information for a number of generations.

Other means of maintaining this distinction between nobles and commoners become quite apparent during formal occasions. During this time, public sanctions concerning sumptuary rules and proper forms of respect are rigidly enforced. Such items as Chilkat blankets or robes and sea lion whiskered headdresses containing down feathers are worn only by the nobility on special occasions. Special terms of address are also required when a commoner speaks to a noble and in many cases, according to Oberg (1973:87), a noble "will scarcely speak to anyone but his equal." Thus even during normal daily activities these differences can be discerned. This situation is clearly underscored by Oberg's (1973:86-87) statement that, "While the yitsati initiates all important activities, he tends to abstain from the more strenuous forms of common labor."

Another distinguishing feature of Tlingit and Haida society is in the realm of the decision making process. A lineage leader's "chief economic function is to decide when it is best to go hunting, or to begin the salmon harvest, or to go to prepare oil" (Oberg 1973:87; see also Murdock 1936:16). Since trading activities are an integral part of the economy, these leaders are concerned with the accumulation of certain goods and in estimating their value in hopes of obtaining articles which are not manufactured by the house group. Once the expedition is organized the headman invariably assumes the responsibility of leading the trading party. If traveling by canoe, it is not uncommon for the inheriting nephew to be in charge of the actual navigation while the _yitsati_ sits in the middle of the boat which is considered the honored position (Oberg 1973:87).

Finally, we should mention the great importance attached to certain life crises by the nobility. These include, among others, the "feast for children" and the memorial potlatch. (For a more complete discussion of potlatch types one should consult Murdock 1936 and de Laguna 1972:606-651). In the former case a slave is freed for each child honored and is always held in a newly constructed house. "This was also very expensive to give, although the ideal was to hold one eight times, so that eight holes, four in each ear, could be made" (de Laguna 1972:607). In the latter situation, we find a series of feasts (initiated by the smoking feast) being held prior to the actual mortuary potlatch. "In earlier times it was only the sib chief or lineage head who could afford to act as host at a potlatch, for only he could muster the active cooperation of a large household" (de Laguna 1972:610). Such events create a severe economic drain on the _yitsati_'s and his followers' resources and hence are not held at regular or frequent intervals.

All of these factors, then, tend to lend substantial support to the idea that the Tlingit and Haida have reached the level of a rank society. However, a recent work by Rosman and Rubel (1971 and 1972) has questioned this positioning of the Tlingit and Haida. By analyzing the marriage system of these groups Rosman and Rubel (1972:662-663) maintain the ranking system among these groups is flexible and the "Ranking of groups is not present." They attempt to validate their position by making reference to Swanton's *Social Conditions...of the Tlingit Indians* (1908). We shall examine Swanton's own words shortly. Furthermore, Rosman and Rubel (1972:663) continue by citing Homans and Schneider (1955:14) to support the following statement:

> This lack of external ranking is consistent with the structure generated by the preference for father's sister's daughter's marriage. The alternating movement of women is not in accord with the presence of consistent rank differences between the lineage of wife giver and the lineage of wife taker.

Rather than being concerned about the compatibility of patrilateral cross cousin marriage with a matrilineal society based on the extension of sentiments theory as proposed by Radcliffe-Brown; this chapter will attempt to reconcile the differences between the statements made by Rosman and Rubel and the various Tlingit ethnographers concerning the presence or absence of social stratification.

One of the earliest ethnographies concerning the Tlingit was written by Aurel Krause in 1885. In his report, Krause (1956:77) noted, "The several clans do not enjoy the same esteem. On account of their large numbers and the wealth of their members, the Wolf and Eagle clan is the most important." Somewhat later Swanton visited this region. His work is of particular interest for Rosman and Rubel, as noted above, cite him as a major source for the absence of ranking. But by turning to the very pages cited as evidence, we find the following remarks:

> Although the list just given contains names of about twenty-five clans belonging to each phratry (moiety) besides one which falls outside of both, many are nothing more than subdivisions, and only fourteen are found to stand out at all prominently... The TcūkAne'dî (Tšukanedi) were considered low caste, but appear from the stories to have formed a rather ancient group (Swanton 1908:408).
>
> From this fragmentary account it would appear the ĢānAXA'dî or ĢānAXte'dî (Ganax̣tedi) and KîksA'dî (Kiksadi), and perhaps the Qā'tcAdî (Qatšadi), L!uk!naXA'dî (Tluk'nax̣adi), and Łuqā'XAdî (Tluqax̣adi) were clans of something like national significance on the Raven side and the Te'qoedî (Teqoedi), DAqL!awedî (Daklawedi), Nanyaā'yî (Naniyaya), Kā'gWAntān (Kagwantan), and perhaps Nāste'dî (Nastedi) on the Wolf side (Swanton 1908:414).
>
> The clan divisions already treated ranked differently in the social scale. Among the very highest were the Kā'gWAntān (Kagwantan), KîksA'dî (Kiksadi), ĢānAXA'dî (Ganax̣tedi), Łuqā'XAdî (Tluqax̣adi), and Nanyaā'yî (Naniyaya)... On the other hand, several of the smaller groups, such as the TcūkAne'dî (Tšukanedi), were looked down upon as low caste, and the same was true of certain persons within the large groups (Swanton 1908:427).

Both Swanton (1908:427) and Olson (1967:47) support Krause's observations about clan ranking and attribute these differences in status to community size, prestige, success in war, and actions performed by certain headmen during potlatching, and less commonly to the control of trade routes.

Oberg's (1934) discussion of the Tlingit legal system presents a more complete account of the ramifications of external ranking. Crimes do not exist at the individual level but rather are considered to be an offense against the localized clan segment for which an equivalent exchange is demanded. For example, if a man of low rank who is affiliated with localized clan segment A murders a high ranking individual of localized clan segment B, he might go untouched. Localized clan segment B, however, would demand the life of an equivalently high ranking member of localized clan segment A. "Slight differences in status could be overcome by payments of property, but the general demand in case of murder was the life of a man of equal rank" (Oberg 1934:146). More importantly for our purposes, Oberg (1934:146) clearly states that some clans are of such low status that none of its members could possibly fulfill the requirement of equivalency. In such cases, "It was therefore necessary to select a clan of the offender's phratry (moiety) that could show some relationship to the offending clan; but in this case war usually followed, as this procedure was not legally established" (Oberg 1934:146).

Not only are the localized clan segments ranked within Tlingit society, but the componenet lineages or house groups also have differential status (see Swanton 1908:405-407; Olson 1967:47). Although data concerning an optimal size for the matrilineage or house group is unavailable, fissioning of such units seems to have been fairly common. The process of fissioning usually occurs along the lines of intermarriage. Those men whose fathers belong to the same lineage would leave to establish a new house. In his work at Klukwan, Oberg (1973:39-40) has pointed out:

> ...the Whale house had within its walls Ganax̣tedi-Kagwantan men and Ganax̣tedi-Šinkukedi men, as well as Ganax̣tedi-Daklawedi men. Matters of rank gave rise to serious disturbances within the Whale house, finally bringing about a situation in which the Ganax̣tedi-Šinkukedi men set up a house for themselves, calling it the Raven house. The Ganax̣tedi-Daklawedi men also left and called their new house the Frog house. The houses then ranked from the Whale house down to the Frog house.

Such closely related houses sharing the same crests, legends, and other items consider themselves to be more nearly equal in rank and prestige than other more distantly related houses. Therefore these houses tend to cooperate with one another to a great extent. "However, one lineage of the sib was usually outstanding, and its chief (yitsati) outranked all other house chiefs" (de Laguna 1972:462). To return to Oberg's (1973:40) observations, we find, "The three important houses of the Ganax̣tedi marry with houses of equal rank in the Kagwantan of the opposite (moiety). The Ganax̣tedi houses of lower rank marry with the lower houses of the Kagwantan and with those of the Šinkukedi and Daklawedi."

The problem then becomes, how can we have a ranking system existing within the framework of patrilateral cross cousin marriage? There are two possibilities: 1) the ethnographers have been led astray during the course of their fieldwork; or 2) there is another mechanism in operation which could condition and support the presence of external ranking among the Tlingit. At the same time, this second mechanism should be more compatible with alliance theory as well as generating a stratified or ranking system. The first alternative seems quite unlikely; most of the ethnographers worked independently of one another in different communities and with different informants. Yet their conclusions are the same. Exploring the second alternative, Rosman and Rubel (1971:39-40) provide us with a major clue when they write "Many of the sources state that it is possible to marry one's mother's brother's daughter... This possibility appears to be restricted only to the chiefs."

In support of their own position, Rosman and Rubel (1972:660) cite de Laguna (1952:6) as stating a "royal marriage" to consist of a union with father's sister or father's sister's daughter. The primary consideration in this type of marriage is to insure social equality among the marriage partners. For this purpose, the descent lines on both sides are closely scrutinized through several generations. This statement in itself seems to be rather paradoxical as presented by Rosman and Rubel, for if ranking did not exist there should be no concern on the part of the Tlingit with forms of social equality. Later de Laguna (1972:490) continues her discussion by stating, "Furthermore, it was considered especially appropriate for the spouse to be a member of the father's lineage or sib. That is, a paternal aunt or her daughter (ʔat) was preferred as a wife, and a paternal uncle or a paternal aunt's son (sani) as a husband." However, de Laguna (1972:490) also tells us:

> Equally or perhaps even more desirable when chiefly lines were involved was the marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (du kak si), especially since previous unions in the parental generation are likely to have made the girl the daughter of a paternal aunt. (It will be remembered that parallel cousins are classed as siblings.)

This type of asymmetrical system of matrilateral cross cousin marriage differs extensively from the patrilateral or bilateral cross cousin system (see figure eleven). The latter has been designated a symmetrical or restricted exchange system in which the movement of women is balanced after two generations (see Figure 7 and Levi-Strauss 1969:146; as well as Fox 1967:208-209). The structure generated by the matrilateral cross cousin exchange system is referred to as generalized exchange since women move consistently and only in one direction (Levi-Strauss 1969:178-179). In other words, lineage B gives women to lineage A and receives women from lineage C. This service is never reciprocated in kind. Instead we find marriage payments moving in the opposite direction.

In contrast to the direct or restricted exchange system as presented by Rosman and Rubel, the indirect or generalized exchange system does not allow the debt to be balanced or repaid. If the lineage which gives women is superior to the receiving lineage, then B will always be superior to A. This allows the lineages to support ranking and also explains why the Tlingit ethnographers were able to report on the differential status of lineages. Usually, such an asymmetrical system does not permit inferiority or superiority to be maintained absolutely; for one lineage will always receive women from other lineages while giving women to still others. As we have seen at least four lineages are necessary to complete this connubium. Thus the ranking system is not linear but rather cyclical. "Between any two lineages however, there can only be a dominant-subordinate relationship, and this is very different from direct exchange" (Fox 1967:212).

As evidence for the existence of this situation among the Tlingit, we find de Laguna (1972:458-459) commenting thusly: "Crest objects might also be used in payment of the bride price. These formed an especially appropriate type of marriage payment since the bride's father belonged to the same moiety as his son-in-law, and so might already possess the right to the crest." This statement becomes even more meaningful if we again examine figure eight, for not only do the father-in-law and son-in-law belong to the same moiety, but also to the same clan and probably lineage.

Tlingit society, then, possesses both the asymmetrical and symmetrical systems. The highest ranking individuals or members of the *yitsati* line marry matrilaterally; since "The higher one's rank, the more important it was to reaffirm such bonds between two related matrilineal lines, and the more careful one had to be of misalliances" (de Laguna 1972:463).

Members of the nobility or anyeti and commoners, on the other hand, should marry patrilaterally; "This has probably led to or served to emphasize the desirability of seeking a spouse in a family with which one's own was already connected, so that a man would try to marry such close relatives as a father's sister, a brother's daughter, or a cross-cousin" (de Laguna 1972:463).

> Marriage was not considered to be exclusively or even primarily the concern of the two spouses, but was rather an alliance between their two lineages. If high ranking lines were involved, a marriage between them linked their respective sibs in much the same fashion as a union between royal families might ally two sovereign states. For this reason, a young person often had little to say in the matter, for the marriage was arranged by the parents, older brothers, and maternal uncles, sometimes gathered in a family council, and they considered how family fortunes and prestige might be affected by the projected alliance rather than the preferences of the young man or young woman involved. Family considerations were especially important if those to be betrothed were of high rank and if a substantial exchange of property were involved (de Laguna 1972:490).

The asymmetrical system generates different features than the symmetrical system. By referring to figure eleven, we see that the significant features then become: 1) the linkage of each lineage with one subordinate and one superordinate lineage both of which are of the opposite moiety: 2) the lineage of male ego's father differs from that of his wife and children; 3) each household contains a nucleus of adult males from one matrilineage and adult females from a second matrilineage; 4) the males belong to a single group since their fathers all belong to the same lineage. The combination

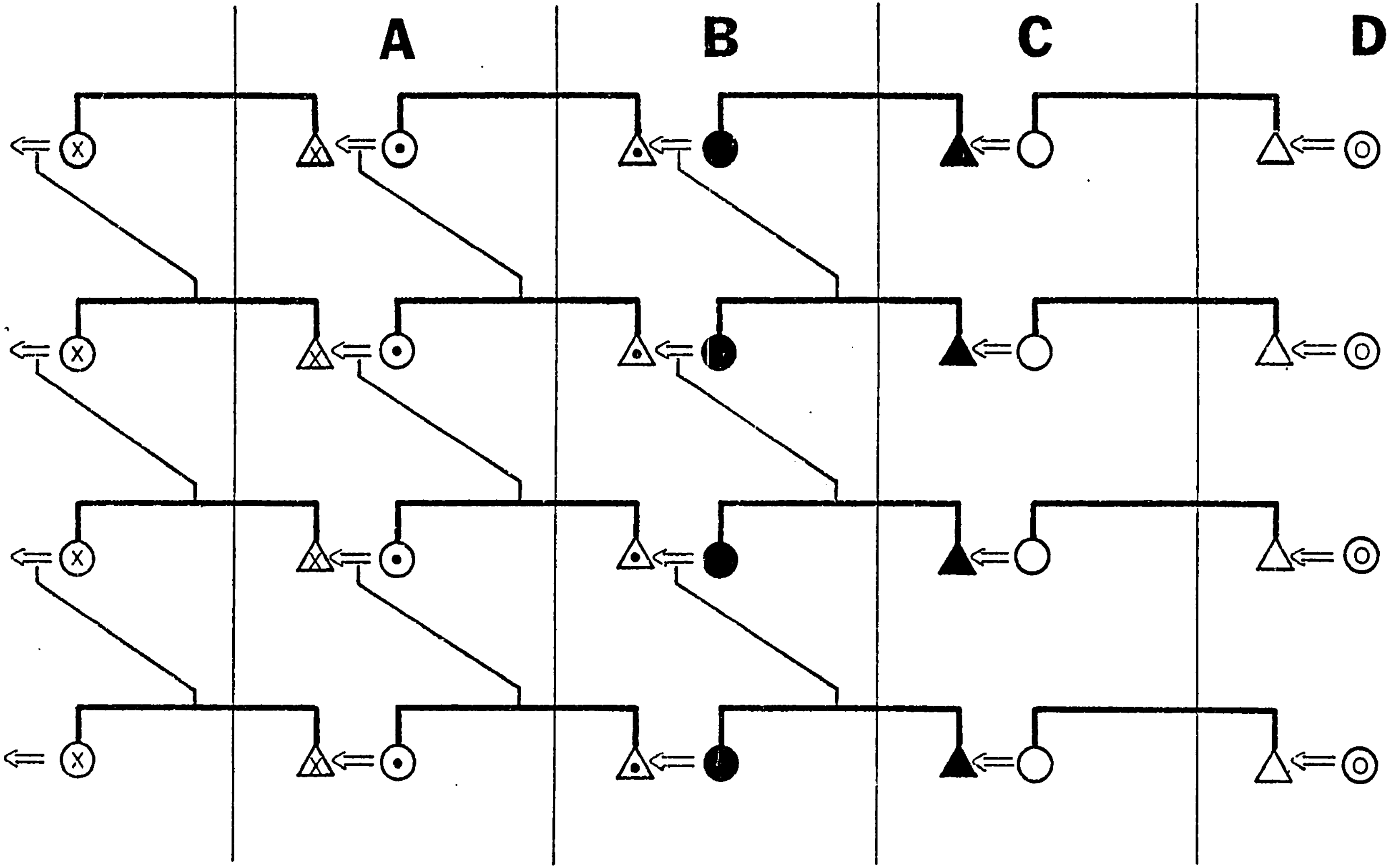


FIGURE 11: STRUCTURED GENERATED BY MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE (GENERALIZED EXCHANGE)

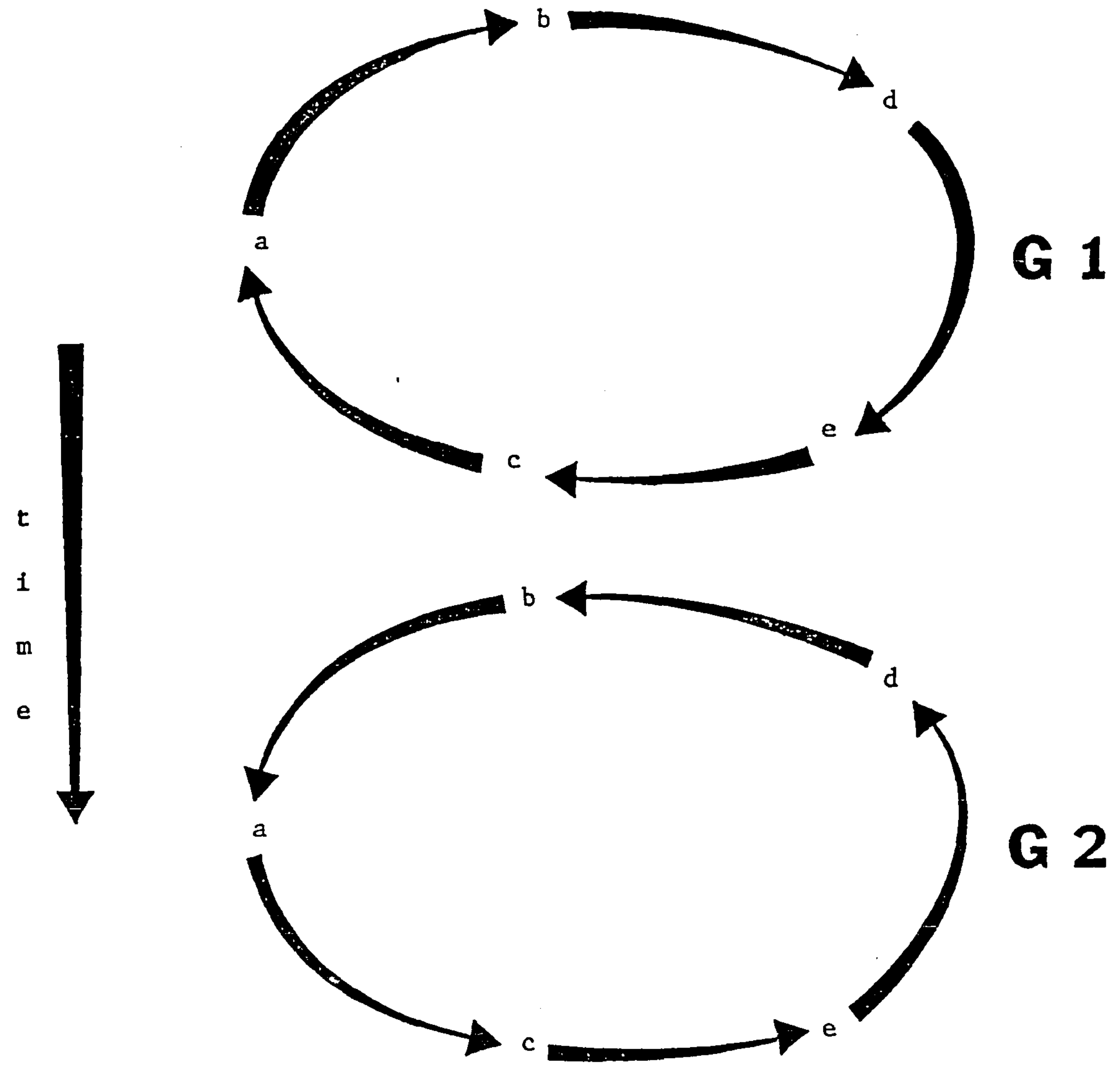
of the asymmetrical and symmetrical systems by the Tlingit allows for an ordered ranking system between lineages of different clans. Yet, at the same time, intralineage and interlineage disputes within the same localized clan segment are more common, since exact differences are more difficult to establish.

In discussing Oberg's (1973) work at Klukwan we have already noted that each house group is composed of three distinct groups of men. Fissioning occurs along these lines as a result of intralineage tension. This tension may have centered on political rivalry, for as de Laguna (1972:462) notes: "'Relatives' of a chief in an inferior line of his lineage could not aspire to rise as long as there were potential heirs among his close relatives." Once this split takes place, the rivalry between these groups by no means dissipates.

> Indeed, while Ravens and Wolves-Eagles might openly compete, the bitterest rivalry was between groups or individuals in the same moiety, sib or lineage. Such conflicts had to be carried on indirectly (by trying to outdo one another as guest dancers at a potlatch, for example) or covertly (through the use of "medicines" to make one favorably noticed, or through witchcraft to dispose of a personal rival). Such competition could become dangerously disruptive to groups who were supposed to be composed of "brothers" cooperating for common goals (de Laguna 1972: 463).

This type of situation is considered to be dangerously disruptive since, unlike interclan hostilities, there is no established legal means by which to settle intraclan (or interlineages of the same localized clan segment) disputes. "It is probably significant that it was within the moiety that licensed joking was institutionalized, since this could drain off some of the irritation and bad feeling which could not be expressed openly" (de Laguna 1972:464).

To return to our discussion of alliance theory, the men of the same matrilineage in the *yitsati* line are giving their mothers, sisters and daughters to one matrilineage while receiving wives from a second matrilineage. However, the lineages (with which the *yitsati* have contracted) are different from those of the *anyeti* and commoner, or *tletax̣ua*, ranks; for "A chief usually married the sister or daughter of a chief, even though to secure a proper spouse it was sometimes necessary, or advantageous, to turn to another Tlingit tribe: Chilkat, Hoonah, Sitka, etc." (de Laguna 1972:463). At the level of the *anyeti* and *tletax̣ua* ranks, the men commonly give their mothers and daughters to one lineage, while their sisters are moving in the opposite direction to a second lineage (see figures eight and twelve). Wives, on the other hand, come from both of these lineages during a two generation cycle. These intermarrying lineages are all found within the same community. However, the lineages with which the *yitsati* lines are dealing may come from separate communities (see figures eleven and thirteen). Thus, for the *yitsati* line, or in the asymmetrical system, alliances are extended to lineages in other communities while wealth is maintained within their

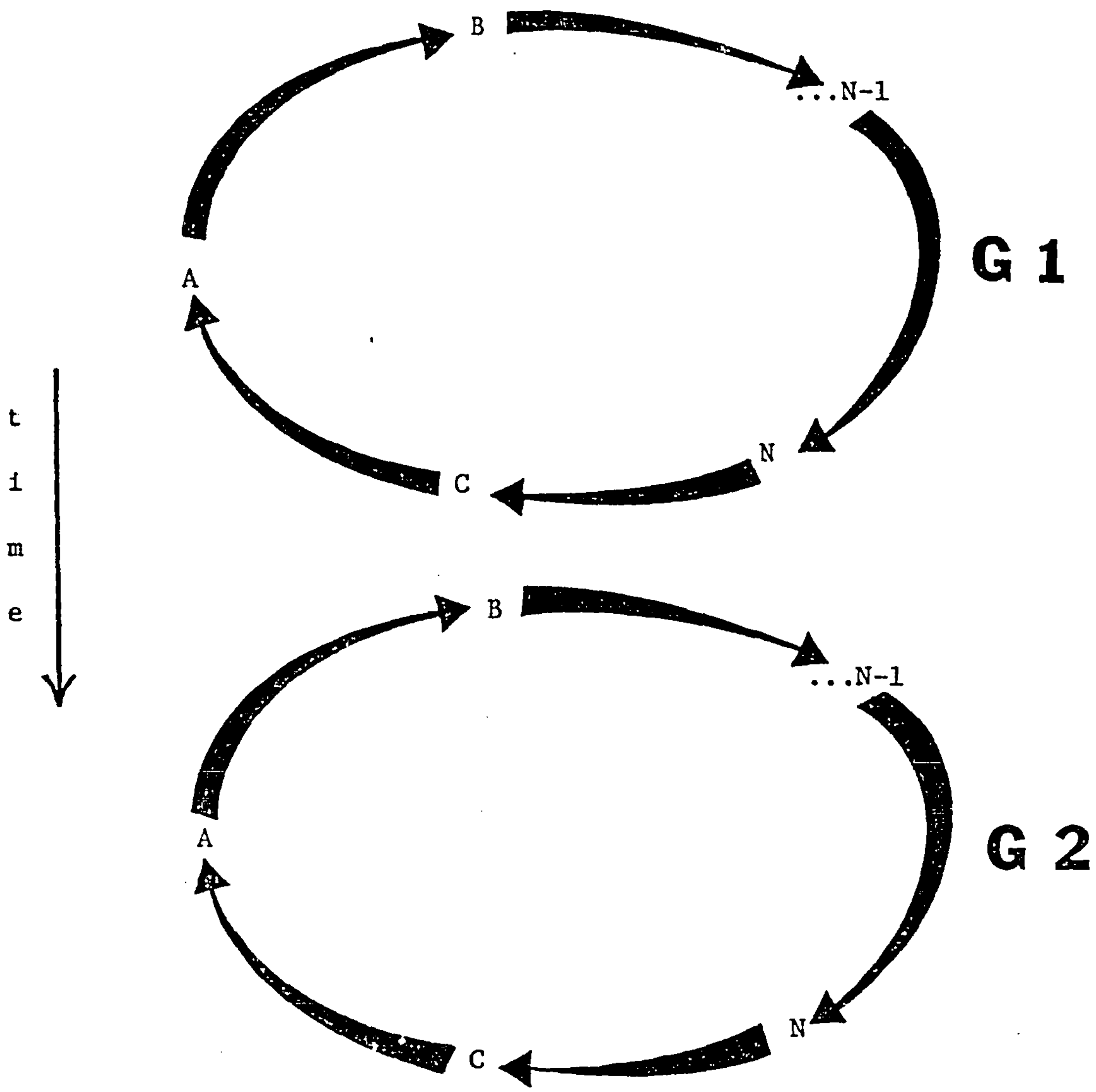


Anyeti and Tletax̣ua Classes

a,b,c,d,e = lineages within the same community

1. Ranking system more nebulous
2. Number of individuals claiming right of inheritance to *yitsati* position diffused
3. Alliances maintained within the community

FIGURE 12: SYMMETRICAL SYSTEM (PATRILATERAL CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE)



Yitsati Line

A,B,C,...N-1 = Lineages in different communities

1. Ranking system present
2. Wealth maintained within the lineage and community
3. Alliances extended to intervillage and intertribal levels

FIGURE 13: ASYMMETRICAL SYSTEM (MATRILATERAL CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE)

own matrilineage and community. For the anyeti and tletaxua ranks, meanwhile, alliances are formed, maintained and strengthened within the community by the symmetrical exchange system. In effect, then, a potentially greater number of alliances, and the ranking system, can then be established at both the intravillage and intervillage levels.

Intervillage alliances seem to be of greatest importance during periods of warfare. Major hostilities occur for the purposes of obtaining slaves, captives for ransom, rivalry over clan items (such as crests or women), revenge for previous killings, and the maintenance of disputed hunting territories. In such cases, it is not uncommon for villages within the same region to unite against a common enemy:

> ...it is not the local community as a whole, or the tribe (qwan) as such, that makes war or peace, but the sib (na), or a group of sibs. At the same time, one of these allied sibs will probably provide the leader and the bulk of the combatants, while those associated with them will do so on the basis of kinship and community friendship, enhanced by gifts of coppers, by hatred of a common enemy, or by a desire to share in the fruits of victory (de Laguna 1972:581).

Another feature of this system, which should be taken into consideration, is the ability of the asymmetrical or generalized exchange system to expand and incorporate more groups indefinitely. Hence, this system is capable of accommodating large populations. The symmetrical or restricted exchange system operates most efficiently when small populations are involved (Levi-Strauss 1963c:122 and 1969:479; Fox 1967:219). If the population becomes too large under the symmetrical system, there are two possible solutions: 1) the restricted exchange system can be transformed into a generalized exchange system; or 2) the village can split into more house groups. At the intracommunity level, the process of fissioning is the most frequently observed phenomenon among the Tlingit.

Turning now to an examination of descent, affiliation, and inheritance, other features of Tlingit society may be ascertained. As noted previously, the corporate unilineal descent group for the Tlingit is the localized matrilineage and this is the unit which shall serve as our focal point for this discussion. To delimit our investigation even more narrowly, we shall primarily concern ourselves with the relationship between a male ego and his mother's brother (kak). While ego is still very young kak takes him on hunting trips and supervises him in other ways. The father also works with his son, for it is important that he be made aware of his complete family history. Concerning this point, Olson (1956:678-679) was told by one of his informants, "He (father) told me how important it was that every person should know about his ancestry. It is a disgrace if they do not know. Each child must be told what kind or class of people his ancestors were. If there is a case of slavery, or other blot on the family escutcheon, the child must be told of it." If a boy knew his family lines on both sides were "clean" he could act with greater confidence knowing that other people could not shame him. For example, Olson (1967:11) notes that "The descendents of a sluggard must be careful of their speech and behavior lest someone refer to their unworthy ancestor." Once ego enters the house of his kak his training becomes more carefully supervised and intensive.

Nephews usually wait until they have reached puberty before moving to the house of their matrilineage. Among the yitsati heirs, however, a boy usually leaves his father's house much earlier since he is in the line of succession. Once residence has been taken up in kak's house the nephew is expected to work hard for his uncle without any material compensation. Part of the nephew's duties include the bringing of firewood and water whenever needed, washing dishes, and even cooking occasionally. He will also give his uncle sea otter pelts whenever he has had a successful hunt. In return, kak takes his nephews out every morning to bathe in a river or the ocean. Kak teaches his nephews the clan songs and traditions and the location of the best hunting and fishing grounds as well as when to expect certain runs. On the other hand, the nephew (kelk) has the right to borrow anything which belongs to kak, for "'You see, if he's my nephew, everything he works for will be mine. If I pass away, that's his stuff there. I'm only managing'" (quoted in de Laguna 1972:480).

Before his death, kak attempts to designate his legal heir. Usually, this is the oldest surviving brother or the eldest son of the yitsati's eldest sister. The "keeper-of-the-house" apparently is not bound by this rule, however. This point seems to be supported by Emmons (1916:26-28) with the following account surrounding one of the carved interior posts of the Whale House at Klukwan. The story concerns a young man, "Duck-toolh" or "Black-skin", whose contemporaries considered to be lazy and slothful because he did not go out with his brothers every morning to bathe. But unbeknownst to them, "Duck-toolh" secretly left his uncle's house very early in the morning to plunge into the chilling cold of the ocean, where he remained for hours. Upon leaving the water, he appropriately beat himself with alder branches to maintain his body temperature. Yet the coldness continued to cling to him like a dense fog. So when he returned to Whale House he doused the glowing embers with a small amount of water and wrapped in his cedar bark mat fell asleep in the remains of the steaming ashes (hence his name "Black-skin").

> One night while he ("Duck-toolh") was sitting in the water he heard a whistle, and saw a heavily built man rise out of the sea. He came to him and told him to get up, when he whipped him on the back four times and with each stroke he fell down. Then he gave Duck-toolh the sticks and told him to whip him, which had no effect upon him and said, "You have not gained strength yet." This operation was again repeated which gave Duck-toolh great strength, and then they wrestled with each other, but neither could throw the other. The strange man said, "Now you are very powerful I have given you my strength," when a heavy fog suddenly drove in from the sea and enveloped him and he disappeared (Emmons 1916:27).

Wishing to test his strength, "Black-skin" ripped a hugh tree limb from its trunk. Replacing this branch, it quickly froze in place. Returning to his village he did not reveal his newly acquired power. Yet, "He felt very happy, and was very willing to do anything for any one or to accept the ridicule and abuse heaped upon him." With the appearance of daylight, his brothers went down to the sea as usual. After leaving the water, "Black-skin's" rival, "Kash-ka-di", pulled on the frozen branch which immediately fell to the ground. Thus upon entering the village "Kash-ka-di" began boasting of his own strength and claimed he alone had the power to go out and kill sea lions. "Duck-toohl" quietly asked if he could go along. The people then teased him, calling him by his nickname "At-kaharsee" (or "Nasty-man"). "Even the girls made fun of him and asked what he could do, for he was like them, and he said that he could bail the canoe, which was a woman's or child's work." As a sign of anger, "Duck-toohl" tied his hair in a knot at the front of his head and painted his mouth red, "... but still the people laughed at him, although he looked like a chief." On the way to the sea lion grounds, "Kash-ka-di" continued to unshamefully boast of his great strength while "Duck-toolh" remained silent.

> When they reached the rocks Kash-ka-di jumped out and grabbing a great sealion by its hind flippers tried to tear it in two, but he was thrown high in the air and killed on the rocks. Then Duck-toolh laughed and said, "Who broke the tree," "I break it," and he jumped on the rock and grabbed the sealion and tore it apart, beat the brains out of the smaller ones, and for some unknown reason he wound the intestines of the animals around his head. Then they loaded the canoe with the carcasses and returned home and everyone knew that Duck-toolh was strength and he became a very powerful and wealthy man (Emmons 1916:28).

In order to illuminate the underlying meaning of this myth we should now turn to the concepts of structure and anti-structure as developed by Victor Turner (1974:272-274). "Duck-toolh" voluntarily entered the first phase of anti-structure by separating himself from the normal activities or structure of society. This first phase of separation is represented by his lack of participation in the morning bathing rituals with his brothers. By so doing, however, "Duck-toolh" has incurred the wrath of his brothers and other members of the community who refer to him as being indolent and fit only for woman's work. This ambiguity of "Duck-toolh's" social position represents another anti-structural phase which Turner refers to as liminality. The third phase of reincorporation is represented by "Duck-toolh's" acquisition of power, but the actual process does not occur until he sets out on the expedition to kill sea lions. Once his strength is demonstrated and verified by the death of his rival, complete reintegration is achieved. The attributes listed for "Duck-toolh" (such as patience, strength, humility, generosity, and wisdom) in this myth are the same as those expected of any yitsati. We might also infer from this story that the supernatural being who bestowed strength upon "Duck-toolh" is representative of kak or mother's brother (for other accounts of this myth consult Swanton 1909:289-291 and Olson 1967:38-39). Although this myth does not directly relate the selection of "Black-skin" as the succeeding house leader, we have other evidence that commoners could inherit the position. For example, Olson (1967: 48) points out the following:

> ...a fairly typical house group might consist of the following persons: the house chief, his wife, unmarried daughters, sons below eight or ten years of age, and one or more sisters' sons above that age; several brothers of the house chief, their wives, unmarried daughters, small sons, and nephews; the wives and small children of nephews; aged persons belonging to that house; slaves. Only the house chief among these would be or might be ranked as "noble," though any of the brothers or nephews might succeed to his position. But until they did so they were commoners.

This passage, then, tends to indicate that the most qualified individual would be selected as the next yitsati.

More direct evidence of this process for the selection of the heir is provided by de Laguna (1972:490-491) when she states:

> Very frequently the husband of a woman designated the young man, traditionally one of his 'nephews', who was to marry his wife in the event of his death...Such a young man is called a 'reserved husband', 'husband intended for' (ɣ̣ox̣ sukʷ)... The young man was presumably his uncle's heir.

More often than not, this arrangement requires the nephew to marry a woman much older than himself and in some cases even older than his parents. Usually, he is promised and later allowed to marry a younger woman who will more closely approximate his own age. This second woman might be his deceased uncle's wife's younger classificatory sister or even her daughter.

A wealthy man may have several wives but his first spouse always ranks higher than the other co-wife (or wives).

Thus, if the designated heir has already married another woman (his father's sister's daughter, for example) he then has to divorce this woman in order to assume the position of *yitsati* (Krause 1956:154; Olson 1967:21). But, in order not to offend the lineage of his first wife, the designated heir's younger classificatory brother will step in and replace his brother as the woman's husband. de Laguna (1972:492) maintains this situation may be a post-contact phenomenon, for according to her genealogies the widow may in some cases accept a co-wife. Whether this statement might apply to the inheriting nephew of a *yitsati* remains unclear, however.

Once a nephew is designated his uncle's heir, he usually becomes quite close to *?ax kak sat* (my uncle's wife) and in some cases he might even obtain sexual access to this woman. In many cases, this situation leads to conflict between the *yitsati* and his nephew. The presence of such conflict becomes quite evident as one reviews the raven cycle myths (see Swanton 1909b:80-81 and 119; Krause 1956:175-177; de Laguna 1972:844-845, 848-849, and 856-858). And at least one Tlingit woman refused to become the wife of an older man because she believed trouble would arise between her husband-to-be and his nephew (or her future husband). "'I'll be running around with this young fellow and first thing you know he'll (the uncle) kill him through jealousy'" (cited by de Laguna 1972:481).

When the uncle (*kak*) dies his spirit (as does everyone's) enters a transitional state until he returns in the form of a newly born child. The entire community mourns the death of such an honorable man. For four nights prior to his cremation (or more rarely his burial) a smoking feast is held to aid his spirit on its journey. After cremation, another period of four day feasting is held, for his successor may have already been designated. Several months later when the grave house has been completed, a third feast is held. During this time the deceased person's property is distributed to the heirs and the inheriting nephew marries his uncle's widow. Not until several years later, when enough property has been accumulated and a new house has been built or the old one remodeled, is the major funerary potlatch held (de Laguna 1972: 531).

Guests from the opposite moiety of the host and his lineage are invited to this rite. Even though only one lineage from the opposite moiety within the community is formally invited, all the members of this moiety appear for the occasion. And if this is to be a major potlatch, guests from another town are also invited by the yitsati who sends one of his brothers to make the formal request.

> Foreign guests were, however, always invited to a major potlatch, even when those to be honored had died at home. In such a case the particular guest sib would probably be selected on the basis of some special relationship to the deceased or to the sponsoring host (de Laguna 1972:613; see also de Laguna 1952:5).

This special relationship according to the analysis presented in this paper would represent the lineage with which the yitsati line of the host lineage has frequently intermarried. These guests provide the service of legitimizing the position of the inheriting nephew on a wider basis since his confirmation within the lineage has already been achieved by the oblique marriage with his uncle's widow.

Returning to Rosman and Rubel's argument, we again find ourselves at variance. According to these two scholars "The competition occurs when competing claimants for position vie to accumulate goods in order to carry out the potlatch and succeed to the position, so that, as de Laguna has noted, the potlatch becomes the arena for competition to succession" (Rosman and Rubel 1972:664). Although this was the position taken by de Laguna (1952:6) in her earlier article, she does not continue this line of reasoning in her later work. Rosman and Rubel base this statement on data collected by Swanton about a feast held at Klukwan during the early twenteith century (see Swanton 1908:438-443). But as other writers have demonstrated numerous changes occurred in this institution during the historic period (cf. Codere 1950 and 1957; Drucker 1965:61-65; Drucker and Heizer 1967:13-52). The Tlingit were by no means an exception, for as de Laguna (1972:462) notes, "Acquisition of wealth in the late 19th and 20th centuries, from the fur trade and from commercial fishing, enabled a number of men in junior positions to build named houses and thus to establish themselves as petty chiefs." This situation coupled with a fairly high death rate leaving many titles vacant may account for the compeition which is described by Swanton. Yet this was not the case prior to this time.

de Laguna also maintains that rivalry among the host group does indeed exist but this is primarily in the form of wealth contributed to the yitsati for later display and distribution.

> It was thus easy to see what each had offered and in private to make invidious reflections on the economic standing and generosity of the others. In such matters there was always stressed the necessity of acting according to one's social position and of emulating the illustrious precedents set by one's uncles and grandfathers (de Laguna 1972:613).

However, the greatest amount of rivalry at a potlatch occurs between the guest lineages as noted earlier. In summary, then,

> The primary aim of the potlatch cycle is to reunite the community after the tragedy of death, by reaffirming the kinship bonds between the members, by symbolizing the participation of the ancestral dead, by replacing the deceased (if a chief) by his successor, by bringing forward the children in whom other honored names live again, by dedicating anew the totemic crests and symbolically offering them as emblems of comfort to the bereaved, and finally by physically rebuilding the village through renovation of the deceased chief's house or erection of a new house for his successor (de Laguna 1952:5).

Following from a structural point of view the alliance system is maintained while contributing a necessary political stability to Tlingit society.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS II: GENEALOGICAL AND COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

"They are such respectable people in Chilkat that they feed even the people who had come to fight them."

So far our argument has centered on the use of ethnographic data. But what other types of empirical evidence do we have to support our position? In 1928, Theresa Durlach published _The Relationship Systems of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian_. In this work she relies on collected texts from each of these groups. The Tlingit material, however, has been augmented as a result of Durlach's work with a native informant. This man, Louis Shotridge, was able to cross check the terminological system and provided a genealogy consisting of nine generations with over one-hundred entries.

Durlach worked only with this single informant and therefore was unable to verify her genealogical data (Drucker, personal communication). Even a cursory background search of Shotridge's life may have led her to suspect the reliability of his information. Louis Shotridge was an ambitious young man who took little interest in traditional Tlingit culture or society. At the age of nineteen he met a director from an American museum who was interested in purchasing material items. Shotridge sold him a dagger and was soon asked to acquire other articles for the museum (Carpenter 1976:64). Through this means, he apparently saw an opportunity to improve his own community standing; for after all his grandfather was the Tlingit nobleman Shartrich. When he began offering large sums of money (in one case as much as $3500) for still viable crest items, other Tlingit individuals quickly began to suspect his motives and refused to sell. Be that as it may, another opportunity soon presented itself to Shotridge. A young anthropologist, Theresa Durlach, was attempting to collect genealogical information for her dissertation. Once again it appears that Shotridge may have been attempting to elevate his own social position; this time by selectively providing information which might validate his claim to a rank demanding more respect. Yet, his kinsmen "... still revile his name.... because Shotridge was Tlingit, but had 'gone out'" (Carpenter 1976:65). Thus, we should exercise some caution in utilizing this information.

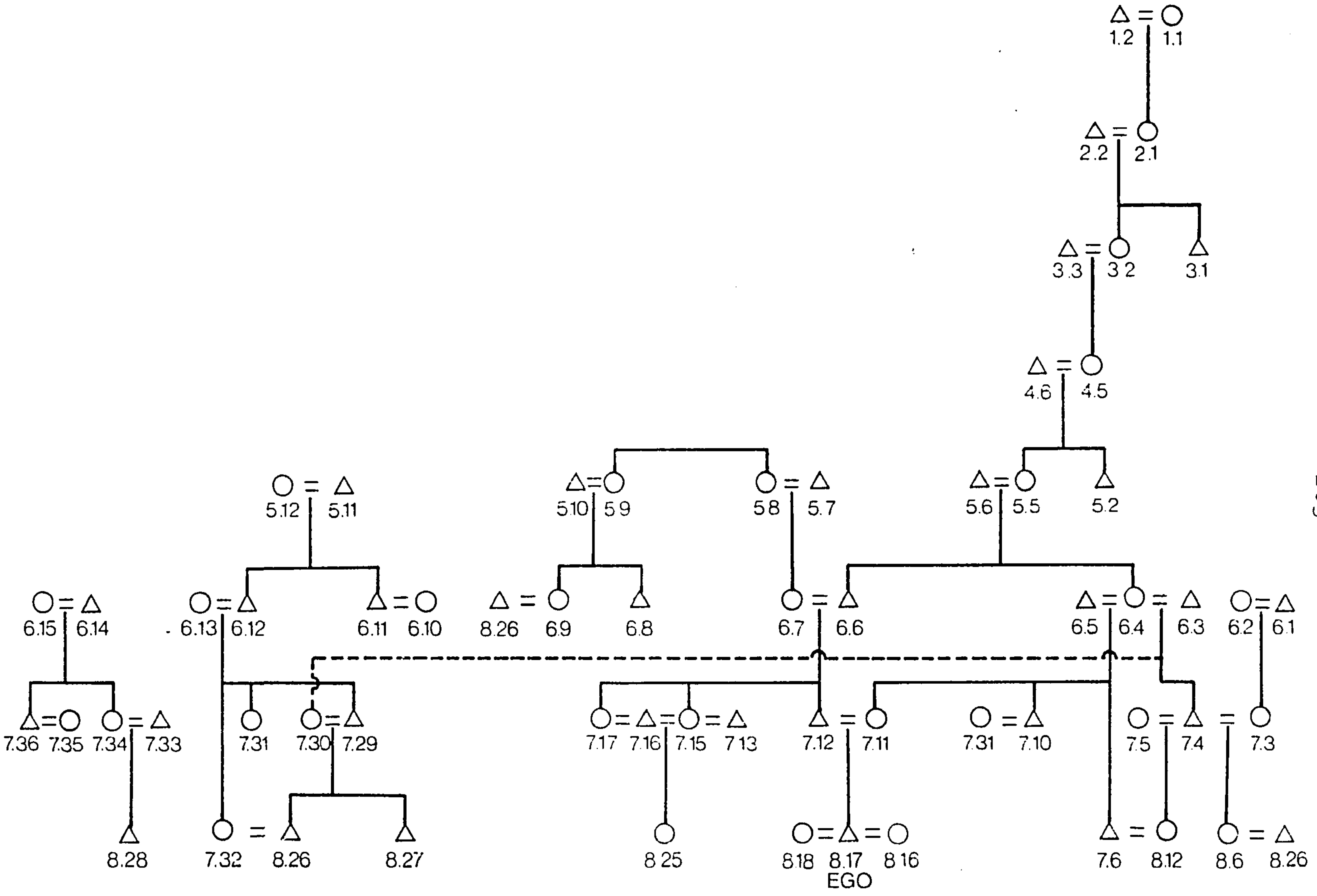
Before turning to the actual examination and analysis of the genealogies provided by Durlach (1928) and Olson (1933-34), we should note that not every individual case will demonstrate our position. This point has been concisely stated by Olson (1967:19-20):

> Among the very highest nobles marriage was usually arranged with a family of comparable rank in another tribe...

> Marriage arrangements and ceremonies for commoners were less formal and less elaborate than those of the nobility. It must be remembered that there were many social ranks, from low to high, rather than fixed classes or castes. Most marriages were between partners of approximately equal status. It should also be kept in mind that there were several types of preferential mating... But such preferred mates were not always available. Many marriages were run-of-the-mill affairs; with only rank and moiety considered. But there was a decided tendency for certain clans to intermarry.

From these statements, then, we should not expect every marriage to conform to our conceptual models. The importance of our models remain their ability to provide a clear understanding of the processes conducive to the maintenace of Tlingit social structure.

Rosman and Rubel (1972:662; see also 1971:42), after examining Durlach's (1928) genealogy, unequivocally state there are "two actual father's sister's daughter marriages, and one with father's sister, but no marriages to mother's brother's daughter." An edited version of Durlach's work is presented in figure 14 and table 8. From this diagram, we are indeed able to locate three patrilateral cross cousin marriages: one between a man and the equivalent to his brother's daughter (7.6 with 8.12); one father's sister's daughter union (7.12 with 7.11); and one marriage with father's sister (8.26 with 7.32). It appears, then, that Rosman and Rubel are correct to some degree. However, by inspecting this diagram and comparing Durlach's footnotes with information provided by Ronald Olson's (1967) Social Structure... of the Tlingit in Alaska other relationships readily become apparent.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EGO
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8.26

FIGURE 14: DURLACH'S CHILKAT TLINGIT GENEALOGY

TABLE 8

Durlach's Chilkat Tlingit Genealogy
for the town of Klukwan
(after Durlach 1928:173-177)

In the following list the first digit represents the generation while the second series of digits represents a specific individual. This is followed by the sex, name, clan and house affliation for each person. Durlach's (1928) orthography is retained for personal names only.

1.1 F. Name Unknown: Kagwantan, Grizzly Bear House.

1.2 M. Yèł-Łèn (Big Raven): Tluk'nax̣adi.

2.1 F. Xùdèd-sá·k^u I (abbreviated from Yak^{u}xudedusa·k^u; Named among all Canoes): Kagwantan, Grizzly Bear House.

2.2 M. Ckùw^u-yé·ł: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.

3.1 M. Yìsyɑ́t I: Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.

3.2 F. Qùtcùw^{u}s-xìx (Lost End (of String)): Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.

3.3 M. Łyùkùc-x̣i'nk^c (Never Bent): Tluk'nax̣adi.

4.5 F. Łìgì-yɑ́'x̣ I: Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.

4.6 M. Gú·s' (Cloud): Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.

5.2 M. Qà'ʌcli (Mighty Man) II: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.

5.5 F. Cɑ̀xi·'xi I: Kagwantan.

TABLE 8 (cont'd)

5.6	M.	Ckì-Ḷὰ-qa I: Ganax̣tedi.
5.7	M.	X^{u}àkè·L: Naniyaya.
5.8	F.	Càwὰtgùk'ʋ (Woman Stump): Ganax̣tedi.
5.9	F.	Name Unknown: Ganax̣tedi.
5.10	M.	Name Unknown: Clan Unknown.
5.11	M.	Name Unknown: Tluk'nax̣adi.
5.12	F.	Xè·sgéy^{i}: Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.

6.1	M.	Name Unknown: Nesadi.
6.2	F.	Dὰx̣'dùskà' I: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Frog House.
6.3	M.	Sàyɩ̀-dù-wú'·s' (abbreviated from Sayiduwu·'s', Person for Whose Name (Everyone) Asks): Ganax̣tedi. Chilkat Whale House.
6.4	F.	Cὰxíxì II: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
6.5	M.	Łdàx̣-hí·n: Tluk'nax̣adi, Sitka Whale House.
6.6	M.	Łàtx̣ítcx̣ (abhreviated from Lcadux̣itcx^{i}, Not Clubbing) I: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
6.7	F.	Qà-tc-xíx-tc I: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
6.8	M.	Yè·łxá·k (Scent of Raven): Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
6.9	F.	Dèyànqùł-'άt: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
6.10	F.	Name Unknown: Tluk'nax̣adi, Sitka.

TABLE 8 (cont'd)

6.11	M.	Qùdènɑ̀há (Disappearing (Bear)): Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.
6.12	M.	Name Unknown. Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.
6.13	F.	Name Unknown: Tluk'nax̣adi.
6.14	M.	Name Unknown: Tluk'nax̣adi.
6.15	F.	Càg̣á·łk': Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.

7.3	F.	Wùc-dùyɑ́: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Frog House.
7.4	M.	Qa'ʋ́ctɩ́ III: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
7.5	F.	Name Unknown: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
7.6	M.	Kètxʋ́t'tc (abbreviated from Kèdù-x̣ʋ́t'-tc) II: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
7.10	M.	Kɩ́tc-k'^{i}: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
7.11	F.	Xùdèt-sá·k^{u} II: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
7.12	M.	Yèł-gùx̣ú (Raven Slave): Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
7.13	M.	Name Unknown: Kagwantan, Drum House.
7.15	F.	Càwɑ̀t-gùk'ú : Ganax̣tedi, Whale House.
7.16	M.	Yìkɑ̀-cà·': Kagwantan, Drum House.
7.17	F.	Qàgùnèti·'n: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
7.29	M.	Q'è-xìx: Tluk'nax̣adi, Sea Lion House.
7.30	F.	Name Unknown: Kagwantan, Killer Whale House.
7.31	F.	Qàx̣'àx̣wè·'t': Tluk'nax̣adi, Sitka Wolf House.

TABLE 8 (cont'd)

7.32	F.	Wùckìkȧ' (Opposite Each Other): Tluk'nax̣adi, Sea Lion House.
7.33	M.	Name Unknown: Clan Unknown.
7.34	F.	Qàtc-'u̇': Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
7.35	F.	Name Unknown: Clan Unknown.
7.36	M.	Kùłkí'·t'à: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
8.6	F.	Xàł-tsùw^{u}: Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Frog House.
8.12	F.	Nùw^{u}-tèyí' (Rock Fort): Ganax̣tedi, Chilkat Whale House.
8.16	F.	Dàsdìyá: Q'at'ka·yi, Coho Salmon House.
8.17	M.	Stùwùqá (Louis Shotridge--EGO): Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
8.18	F.	Name Unknown : Tluk'nax̣adi.
8.25	F.	Cuw^{u}dùsgéy^{i} (Half Payment): Ganax̣tedi, Whale House.
8.26	M.	Yìsyɑ́t II: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
8.27	M.	Yànɑ̀x̣nàhú: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.
8.28	M.	Dèx̣èntí·n III: Kagwantan, Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House.

Olson began his fieldwork a few years after Durlach's work appeared in print. Fortunately, he worked in Louis Shotridge's hometown, Klukwan, but with a different informant, Mrs. Benson or Denktlȧt (6.9). He is, therefore, able to fill in some of the missing pieces of our puzzle. According to Olson (1967:8), the line of succession for "Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House" (Kagwantan clan, Wolf-Eagle moiety) is from Tlathǐ'tcx̣ȧ (6.6) to Kauctĕ' (7.4) and finally to Yisyȧ't (8.26). Durlach (1928) has Yisyάt (8.26) married to his father's sister (7.32) plus two other women, Xàł-tsùw^{u} (8.6) and Dèyànqùł-'άt (6.9). Olson's (1967:8) data supports the latter two marriages but not the first. He also tells us that Yisyȧ't (8.26) did not marry (6.9) until after the death of (8.6). But how do we account for Yisyȧ't's first marriage with his father's sister (7.32)? Apparently, Yisyȧ't (8.26) had to divorce this woman (7.32) in order to assume the position of yitsati (for accounts of such events consult Krause 1956:154; Olson 1967:21).

By having his brother marry his first wife, the alliance with his father's lineage is continued with honor. At the same time, this allows Yisyȧ't to succeed to his inheritance right by marrying his second wife Xàł-txùw^{u} (8.6) of the Ganax̣tedi Frog House. This woman is the daughter of the former yitsati, Kauctĕ' (7.4). Olson (1967:8) gives us one more piece of revealing information when he notes that Yisyȧ't (8.26) is Kauctĕ's sister's son. This then means that Yisyȧ't marries his mother's brother's daughter. Thus we are able to demonstrate at least one matrilateral cross cousin marriage from Durlach's genealogy.

Somewhat later Xàl-tsùw^{u} (8.6) dies and her husband (8.26) remarries. The serial monogamy of Yisyȧ't (8.26) leads us to yet another woman, Dèyànqùł-'át (6.9) of Whale House. This house represents the original Ganax̣tedi group in Klukwan and is of a higher rank than Frog House (Olson 1967:7; Oberg 1973:39). What is the relationship between these two marriage partners? Is this a matrilateral or patrilateral union? Or is it neither? Although we are unable to trace their exact relationship from the information provided by either Durlach (1928) or Olson (1967). We shall have to develop a more circuitous method. Durlach (1928:174 and 176; see Table 8) provides one clue when she informs us that Dèyànqùł-'át (6.9) and Xàł-tsùw^{u} (8.6) belong to the same clan, Ganax̣tedi. But what does this mean when one woman (6.9) is two generations above the other (8.6)? Does Yisyȧ't (8.26) marry a classificatory grandmother to his second wife (8.6)? Let's pursue this line of questioning further. If we trace the relationship between these two women we find the following ties: (8.6) is to (6.9) as father's mother's brother's wife's mother's sister's daughter (FMBWMZD). Although the affinal tie in this relationship may appear to be unusual, it is a necessary step since in this matrilineal system we started with the father's side. This step then allows us to place these two women within the same moiety and localized clan segment. In isolation such information still does not tell us as much as we would like to know about the relationship between these two women. But if we could generate a similar example from this same genealogy, we should be able to compare the two relationships and possibly come up with a more meaningful statement.

For this purpose, let us select the relationship between Yisyȧ't (8.26) and Cαxixi (6.4). This is a comparable relationship since both of these individuals belong to the same localized clan segment, in this case Kagwantan, and are also separated by two generations. We are able to trace this relationship by again turning to Durlach's genealogical notes. In this case, we discover that Wùckìkα' (7.32) and Qàx̣'àx̣wè·'t (7.31) are nieces of Łdàx̣-hí·n (6.5) and Q'e-xíx (7.29) is his nephew. All of these individuals belong to the same localized clan segment, Tluk'nax̣adi. This must mean that the unknown woman (6.13) and Łdàx̣-hí·n (6.5) are at least clan brother and sister. Thus for the relationship between Yisyȧ't (8.26) Cαxixi (6.4), we find the following ties: (8.26) is to (6.4) as father's mother's brother's wife (FMBW).

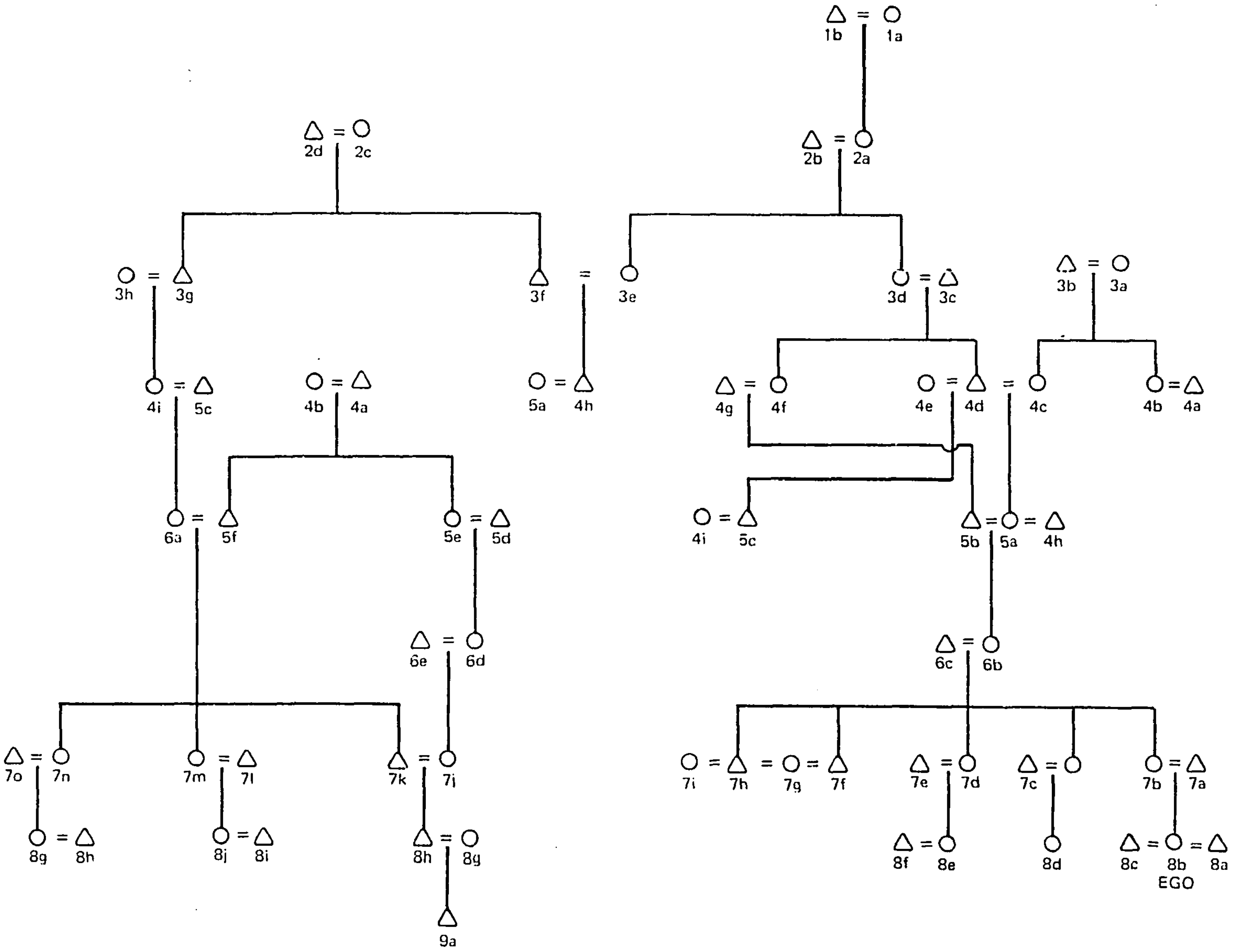
Now if we place these two relationships according to the following proportion, we should be able to determine the exact relationship between Xàł-tsúw^{u} (8.6) and Dèyànqùł-'ǽt (6.9).

$$\frac{(8.6)\ ::\ (6.9)}{(8.26)\ ::\ (6.4)} = \frac{\text{FMBWMZD}}{\text{FMBW}} = \text{MZD} = \text{Z}$$

In other words, by cancelling out father's mother's brother's wife, we are left with the relationship of mother's sister's daughter. At this point we should readily remember that in Tlingit society parallel cousins are merged with siblings. Since, in this case, we are attempting to determine the relationship between two women, the remainder of mother's sister's daughter simply reduces to sister. This, then, provides us with a second matrilateral cross cousin marriage from Durlach's (1928) genealogy.

Ronald Olson (1933-34) also collected extensive genealogical schedules from the community of Klukwan. Dr. Olson has kindly permitted me to examine this data which has up until now remained unpublished. An edited version of this material is presented in figure 15 and table 9. From this diagram we are able to discern further evidence concerning preferred marriage patterns. In actuality, we have two cases each of patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousin unions.

In the former case, one such relationship occurs between ƚlālḥī'lcx (7k) and his father's sister's daughter's daughter, kātchī'ktc (7j). From chapter two, we know that each of these women are merged into one kin category (ˀat). The son of this union, yeLgōxō' (8h), continues this family tradition by marrying his father's sister's daughter, yēḳōdetsā'x̣ku (8g).


1b
1a
2d
2c
2b
2a
3h
3g
3f
3e
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3b
3a
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5c
4b
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7a
8g
8h
8j
8i
8h
8g
8f
8e
8d
8c
8b
8a
EGO
9a

FIGURE 15: OLSON'S CHILKAT TLINGIT GENEALOGY

TABLE 9

Olson's Chilkat Tlingit Genealogy
for the town of Klukwan
(after Olson 1933-34)

In the following list the number represents the generation while the letter represents a specific individual. This is followed by the sex, name and clan affliation for each person. Olson's (1933-34) orthography is retained for personal names only.

1a	F.	KāxāLȧ'łc: Kagwantan.
1b	M.	Kīł!āyē'L: Tluk'nax̣adi, Sitka.

2a	F.	WūckīkāłuLg̣ē's: Kagwantan.
2b	M.	Ldāx̣ē'n: Tluk'nax̣adi, Sitka.
2c	F.	Yētkāłī's: Ganax̣tedi.
2d	M.	Daukłȧ'n^{k}: Kagwantan, Klukwan.

3a	F.	Name Unknown: Ganax̣tedi.
3b	M.	K!oxcū^{h}: Clan Unknown.
3c	M.	CkūyēL: Ganax̣tedi.
3d	F.	Yīkx̣ōdētsā'xw: Kagwantan.
3e	F.	Kaxłīnauwȧłlāt: Kagwantan.
3f	M.	Łs!āgwācā'^{h}: Ganax̣tedi.
3g	M.	Gūs!: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.
3h	F.	Łlīgēya'x̣: Clan Unknown.

4a	M.	Kōkłcūk'k!: Naniyaya, Stikine.
4b	F.	Kākgōnełī'n: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.
4c	F.	Nūtēyī'h: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.

TABLE 9 (cont'd)

4d	M.	Yīsyȧ't: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
4e	F.	Name Unknown: Ganax̣tedi.
4f	F.	Klȧnū': Kagwantan, Klukwan.
4g	M.	Kū^{h}dēyaxdūłī: Tluqax̣adi, Yandestake.
4h	M.	Dȧx̣ēntīn (an uncle to 5a who is 5c's second husband): Kagwantan, Klukwan.
4i	F.	Cȧxīxe: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
5a	F.	Yētkāłī's: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.
5b	M.	KȧnāLks'ēka: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
5c	M.	Anłahā'c: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.
5d	M.	Cēkc (Chief Shakes):Naniyaya, Wrangell.
5e	F.	Kātchī'ktc: Ganax̣tedi.
5f	M.	Ckītlākā': Ganax̣tedi.
6a	F.	Kāłcū'^{h}: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
6b	F.	Nex̣: Ganax̣tedi.
6c	M.	Stūukā: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
6d	F.	Yētkāłī's: Ganax̣tedi.
6e	M.	Xwākē'łL: Naniyaya, Wrangell.
7a	M.	Yȧłȧ'dūLtcī'c: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
7b	F.	Ānkīnge^{h}: Ganax̣tedi.
7c	F.	Yūtūhā'n: Ganax̣tedi.
7d	F.	Nūtēyih: Ganax̣tedi.
7e	M.	Kēł!hutc: Kagwantan, Klukwan.

TABLE 9 (cont'd)

7f	M.	Yelx̣ā'k: Ganax̣tedi.
7g	F.	Kūltcī'c: Naniyaya, Wrangell.
7h	M.	Lkadinake': Ganax̣tedi.
7i	F.	Cȧxīhī: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
7j	F.	Kātchī'ktc: Ganax̣tedi.
7k	M.	Łlāłḥī'łcx̣ (alias Shat Ritch): Kagwantan.
7l	M.	Lāscā'k: Ganax̣tedi, Klukwan.
7m	F.	Xlīkēyd'^{h}: Kagwantan.
7n	F.	Cȧxī'xē: Kagwantan.
7o	M.	Ldāxhīn: Tluk'naxadi, Sitka.
8a	M.	Yīsyȧ't (birth name Ḳ!anī'c): Kagwantan, Klukwan.
8b	F.	Denktlȧt (Mrs. Benson--EGO): Ganax̣tedi.
8c	M.	ḲaLā'x (birth name K!ahūkī'c): Kagwantan, Sitka.
8d	F.	Nex̣: Ganax̣tedi.
8e	F.	Yetkałī's: Ganax̣tedi.
8f	M.	Gūnēł: Kagwantan, Klukwan.
8g	F.	Yēḳōdētsā'x̣ku: Kagwantan.
8h	M.	YeLgōxō: Ganax̣tedi.
8i	M.	Gūs!: Ganax̣tedi.
8j	F.	Cȧwātgāthī't: Kagwantan.

Matrilateral cross cousin marriages, on the other hand, are found in the fourth and fifth generations of this genealogy. The first of these unions is cemented when dȧx̣ēntīn (4h) marries his mother's sister's son's daughter, yētkātī's (5a). Upon his death the alliance between these two localized clan segments is continued in perpetuation by having dȧx̣ēntīn('s) (4h) mother's sister's daughter's son, kȧnāLks'ekȧ (5b), marry the widow. When we trace the exact relationship between kȧnāLks'ekȧ (5b) and his deceased uncle's wife, yētkātī's (5a), we find that she is his mother's brother's daughter. Table ten and eleven summarize the information presented from these two genealogies.

From these tables we are able to quickly verify the presence of both patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousin marriages within the community of Klukwan. Of all the Tlingit communities, Klukwan was probably the most traditional and least disrupted town during the period of participant observation (cf. Olson 1967:6-7). Furthermore, the data which we have been examining have been arranged to more narrowly focus on a specific alliance; the one existing between the Klukwan Wolf localized clan segment of Kagwantan and the Klukwan Raven localized clan segment of Ganax̣tedi. Although we should remember that actual alliances are formed at the matrilineage level, the best reflection of the system seems to be at the localized clan segment level. From the presented data it appears that a lineage leader could not always marry a high ranking woman from the same house group in every generation. For example, Yisyȧ't (8.26), who was the yitsati of Killer Whale's Long Dorsal Fin House, Kagwantan, was apparently

TABLE 10

Patrilateral Cross Cousin Marriages Among the Chilkat Tlingit, Klukwan

Durlach's (1928) Genealogy

Men			Women	
Clan	Number	Relationship	Clan	Number
Kagwantan	7.6	MSD or BD	Ganax̣tedi	8.12
Ganax̣tedi	7.12	FZD	Kagwantan	7.11
Kagwantan	8.26	FZ	Tluk'nax̣adi	7.32

Olson's (1933-34) Genealogy

Men			Women	
Clan	Number	Relationship	Clan	Number
Kagwantan	7k	FZDD	Ganax̣tedi	7j
Ganax̣tedi	8h	FZD	Kagwantan	8g

M = Mother

F = Father

Z = Sister

B = Brother

D = Daughter

S = Son

TABLE 11

Matrilateral Cross Cousin Marriages Among the Chilkat Tlingit, Klukwan

Durlach's (1928) Genealogy

Men			Women	
Clan	Number	Relationship	Clan	Number
Kagwantan	8.26	MBD	Ganax̣tedi	8.6
Kagwantan	8.26	MMBWMZD or MBD*	Ganax̣tedi	6.9

Olson's (1933-34) Genealogy

Men			Women	
Clan	Number	Relationship	Clan	Number
Kagwantan	4h	MZSD	Ganax̣tedi	5a
Kagwantan	5b	MBD	Ganax̣tedi	5a

*see text

M = Mother

Z = Sister

D = Daughter

F = Father

B = Brother

S = Son

W = Wife

unable to find a suitable woman from the same house group as his deceased wife, Xał-tsuw^{u} (8.6) of Frog House, Ganax̣tedi. Thus his second matrilateral union was with a woman, Dèyànqùl-'ά t (6.9) of Whale House, Ganax̣tedi. These two houses were closely allied in that Frog House had recently split from Whale House. However, we should also note that this second marriage may reflect an increasing importance for Yisyȧ't (8.26) in the social structure of Klukwan since Whale House ranks higher than Frog House.

At the same time, we have tried to demonstrate that these two marriage systems are inextricably linked with the Tlingit political system. The process of generalized exchange conditioned by matrilateral cross cousin marriage does indeed support the Tlingit ranking system. This remains a valid statement even if only one such marriage is performed for each generation (cf. Leach 1965:77). Such "marriages of state" represent the ritual symbol of inequality between the various matrilineages and, hence, clans. Be that as it may we have also noted how such unions are utilized to reenforce or validate the selection and coronation process of a new yitsati. Even though the inheriting nephew may not be the eldest son of the eldest sister of the former yitsati, once the proper "marriage of state" takes place, the members of his house group accept his authority without question. The process of selection, then, is not a rigid one based on inheritance alone. Other characteristics, such as wisdom of judgement, leadership capabilities, generosity, forethought and humility, are also taken into account. In other words, there is a certain degree of flexibility within the Tlingit political structure. Such flexibility allows a dynamic system to be put into operation and allows Tlingit society to readily adapt to changing situations and social conditions.

On the other hand, the process of restricted exchange conditioned by patrilateral cross cousin marriage tends to diffuse any counter claim that might be made by the non-inheriting nephews. Yet we again find that there is once again a certain amount of flexibility in this system. Even if a man enters into such a marriage contract, it is still possible for him to be selected as the rightful heir. In this case, the designated heir is expected to divorce his wife. This is primarily the result of the fact that the first wife always has a higher status than later wives. Since this situation would create tension within the alliance system, it is generally avoided by the process of divorce. The first wife is not merely cast out, however, for this would dishonor his house. Rather the heir's brother or a classificatory brother will marry this woman in order not to offend their father's lineage.

From another perspective, a certain degree of stability is given to Tlingit society by the restricted exchange system. Each lineage within a community considers itself to be a relatively separate entity which rarely concedes its authority to another house group even if the latter may have a higher rank than the former. An example of independent lineage action has been pointed out in the previous chapter when we discussed certain features of Tlingit warfare. During such times, each house group attempts to maintain its autonomy by simply following those decisions made by its own leader. Of course kin ties between different house groups exist; as when a man and his son hold leadership positions at the same time, but for different matrilineages. Thus they might commonly join forces to counteract any threats of hostility from outside the community. Such united actions tend to cross cut the clan and moiety systems, often resulting in at least some village solidarity. This unity is frequently reinforced by ritual procedure. For example, when an individual dies ceremonial mourning is carried out by members of the opposite moiety. These same people tend the body and make the necessary preparations for its cremation or burial. They also carve mortuary poles and boxes in which the ashes may be placed.

The existence of these two marriage systems within Tlingit society leads us to a second social dialectic. In this case the opposition lies between principles of egalitarianism and a contrasting ideology of elitism or inegalitarianism. Leach (1965:50-61) describes a similar dichotomy for the Kachin. Among these Burmese people, we find two contrasting forms of political organization which Leach has labeled _gumlao_ and _gumsa_. _Gumlao_ ideaology "... is, in its extreme form, one of anarchic republicanism. Each man is as good as his neighbor, there are no class differences, no chiefs; ...factionalism is rife, each little local unit is a political entity in its own" (Leach 1965:51). Contrasting with this, "_Gumsa_ ideology, very roughly, represents society as a large scale feudal state. It is a system which implies a ranked hierarchy of the social world; it also implies large-scale political integration" (Leach 1965:50). In other words, Leach is referring to a number of Kachin communities within a circumscribed district which have either _gumlao_ or _gumsa_ political structure and ideology, but not both. This tends to create a politically unstable situation as Kachin communities constantly oscillate back and forth between these two structures (Levi-Strauss 1969:237-238).

One means by which to view the Kachin cycle is from the perspective of rank and kinship. Rank implies inequality or an asymmetrical relationship. A powerful individual is capable of extracting goods and services from others without any form of reciprocity. Kinship, on the other hand, implies equality or a symmetrical relationship. Individuals in power may still be able to extract certain goods and services, but they are also expected to reciprocate in one form or another.

> The weakness of the _gumsa_ system is that the successful chief is tempted to repudiate links of kinship with his followers and to treat them as if they were bond slaves (_mayam_). It is this situation which, from a _gumlao_ point of view, is held to justify revolt (Leach 1965:203).

Coups d'etat of this type are frequently successful. The resulting gumlao structure attempts to maintain egalitarian principles, but generally with little success since it continues to prohibit restricted exchange systems. At first the generalized exchange system supports an egalitarian structure. However, once the circulating asymmetrical connubium is put into effect, the entire system quickly reverts back to a gumsa structure.

The Tlingit political institution differs from the Burmese situation since both principles of egalitarianism and inequality are structurally integrated into the system. Egalitarian ideology is supported by the direct exchange system (patrilateral cross cousin marriage) while elitist principles are strengthened by the system of generalized exchange (matrilateral cross cousin marriage). With the achievement of this structural integration, there tends to be less conflict between the duality of kinship and rank. This situation is perhaps best reflected in the Tlingit legal system. In the case of murder, for example, the rule stipulates that the life of a man of equal rank be given. This creates an equivalent exchange between clans while, at the same time, holding the nobility responsible for the actions of commoners. In other words, rank does not override the kinship system.

The integration of these dual ideologies creates another discernable difference between Kachin and Tlingit society. In a pure generalized exchange system, as among the Kachin, marriage payments tend to be made in the form of perishable goods. The Kachin, for example, use cattle. These animals are converted into socially recognized prestige by the chiefs who sponsor religious feasts in which the commoners are allowed to participate. If, on the other hand, imperishable items were exchanged initially by the Kachin, the inevitable accumulation of wealth at the top would eventually destroy the entire system (cf. Leach 1966: 88-89). In Kachin society, then, perishable economic prestations are necessary to maintain at least some form of political stability within the oscillating system. In Tlingit society, however, marriage payments are made in imperishable items without a concurrent loss of political stability. This situation as achieved by Tlingit society is based on a system of restricted exchange overlain by generalized exchange. In other words, the items used as marriage payments simply move back and forth between either the aristocrats or commoners of the two allied localized clan segments; while at the yitsati level, valuables tend to move along the lines of the asymmetrical circulating connubium. At the same time, the trade network and the giving away of property by the widow tends to offset any accumulation which may result from this latter system.

> After the four "sorrow" feasts for the deceased have been given, the surviving spouse tells the clan chief of the deceased to call his clan together; that there are a few gifts to give...

> They gather in the chief's house, or if the deceased was a house chief, in that house. If the deceased was a husband, his widow now gives away most of the household goods. The men get her husband's personal effects, the women get dishes, baskets, and so on, even some of the widow's own clothes... Clan-owned property such as ceremonial regalia, the house, and so on are not given away (Olson 1967:20-21).

It is in the potlatch system where we find the use of perishable as well as imperishable items. During these elaborate give-away ceremonies, food is consumed by all members of the community, while imperishable items are given to high ranking members of the guest clans. Both types of goods tend to enhance the prestige of the host lineage, but the major function of the potlatch is as a rite of validation for the inheriting nephew.

In contrast to the Kachin, Tlingit society does not fluctuate between two opposing ideological systems. Although precise information is lacking, we might postulate that the process of fissioning is more frequent among the Tlingit matrilineages than the Kachin patrilineages. This assumption is made on the basis of internal conflict being more rampant among the Tlingit than Kachin. Such conflict is accounted for by the presence of these two opposing ideological systems within the same structural framework. As noted previously, each house group contains sons of fathers from three different house groups. Eventually, the selection process for new lineage leaders tends to favor one group over the remaining two. This situation tends to violate the principle of equality and a resultant split seems more likely to occur. Be that as it may, the process of fissioning tends to be orderly, with closely aligned houses usually working in tandem. Overall, then, Tlingit political structure seems to be more stable than that of the Kachin.

In summary, we are viewing Tlingit society at the incipient chiefdom level or rank society. This position is supported by the contrasting political ideologies which stress egalitarian as well as elitist principles. In order to acquire full chiefdomship status certain structural adjustments in the kinship, marriage, political and economic systems would have to be made. The existing flexibility of Tlingit society, however, allows for a wide array of adaptations to be made in the dynamic process of efficient resource exploitation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

During the course of our examination of Tlingit society their marriage and political systems have been viewed from the perspective of alliance formation and maintenance. In other words, we have not been as concerned with the psychological relationships between individuals as we have with the social strands binding corporate groups. In this sense, then, "...a marriage does not exist in isolation but as a part of a series of marriages past and future..." as "...one incident in a series of reciprocal transactions: (Leach 1966:78).

Further, marriage as a transaction involves the exchange of both women and goods. Such a conceptualization permits us to posit three ideal types of alliance based on such exchange (see Leach 1966:79). These are:

1) A purely economic transaction involving the simultaneous or nearly simultaneous transfer of goods creating balanced reciprocity.

2) A purely sociological phenomenon by which the simultaneous or nearly simultaneous exchange of women also results in balanced reciprocity. This type is represented by symmetrical cross cousin marriage.

3) A reciprocal set of transactions which involve the exchange of both women and

> goods such that an unequal form of exchange occurs. Asymmetrical cross cousin marriage is representative of this tendency.

When Leach proposed these ideal types he believed they were isomorphic with specific societies. While these ideal tendencies might allow us to construct a typology of alliance systems for various societies, our investigation of Tlingit society indicates that all three may be present in a single society. As a result, they are best treated as ideal types which aid in the analysis of societies rather than as types displaying isomorphism with specific societies.

We have seen that when the Tlingit traded with the interior Athapascans they obtained certain valuable items (i.e. copper and lichen) which were otherwise unavailable to them. These transactions were conducted by an exchange of gifts similar to the Trobriand Kula Ring, a situation conforming to the first ideal type concerning economic transactions. Interestingly enough, however, we also found a superior-inferior relationship as reflected in the marriage of a Tlingit headman, acting as the expedition leader, with an Athapascan woman who never left the village of her father. By such a union the Athapascans symbolically recognized an unreciprocated gift and thus placed themselves in a socially inferior position.

In examining Tlingit social structure for the ideal type concerning symmetrical cross cousin marriage we found that all the ethnographers were able to record jural rules concerning patrilateral cross cousin unions. For example, de Laguna (1972:490) tells us that for a male ego "...it was considered especially appropriate for the spouse to be a member of the father's lineage or sib. That is a paternal aunt or her daughter (*ʔat*) was preferred as a wife..." By such statements we were able to construct a mechanical model.

At the same time we desired to complement our mechanical paradigm with a statistical model. For this we turned to behavorial patterns associated with kin terminology and the genealogies collected by Durlach (1928) and Olson (1933-34). In the former case, we found that the Haida permitted free sexual access between a male ego and his father's sister's daughter. If she should become pregnant he is then obligated to marry her. The Tlingit appear to be somewhat more reserved in such relationships, but a definite feeling of familiarity can be detected between these same individuals. The genealogies clearly reveal a number of patrilateral cross cousin marriages. Therefore in both cases we find that actual behavior supports the jural rules elicited by the ethnographers. Furthermore, by exchanging women in a symmetric fashion each lineage is allied with two others. This system alone, however, cannot support a ranking system since an exchange equilibrium is established after every two generations.

The third ideal type, that of an asymmetrical structure is, according to Tlingit informants, restricted to the elite. Again from the writings of de Laguna (1972:490) we find that

"Equally or perhaps even more desirable (than patrilateral cross cousin marriage) when chiefly lines were involved was the marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (du kak si)..." Furthermore, we find that specific kin terms are applied to marriage partners. These terms tend to distinguish preferred from restricted categories. From this perspective, the inheriting nephew among the Tlingit calls his mother's brother's daughter by the same term as that used by a non-inheriting nephew for his father's sister's daughter. This implies that the same type of relationship exists for all of the couples involved. For the Haida, we find that a descriptive term is applied to mother's brother's daughter which we interpreted as also reflecting a special relationship. On the basis of this ethnographic information concerning jural rules we were able to construct a second mechanical model.

Once more we wished to compliment our mechanical model with a statistical paradigm. For this purpose we again turned to the genealogies of Durlach and Olson. Rosman and Rubel (1972:662) maintained that Durlach's genealogy provided no evidence concerning marriages with mother's brother's daughter. Hence, they stated that the Tlingit and Haida cannot possibly be rank societies. However, by integrating Durlach's data with information provided by Olson's (1967:8) census, we did indeed have evidence for marriage with mother's brother's daughter among members of the inheriting line.

Further evidence was provided by Olson's genealogy from the same community of Klukwan. From this data we found evidence for four matrilateral cross cousin marriages. By the construction of this statistical model we indeed confirmed the propositions presented by our mechanical paradigm. Furthermore, since asymmetrical marriages move women unidirectionally we found that the structure of Tlingit social organization was capable of supporting a system of external ranking.

To strengthen our argument, we compared the Tlingit and Haida to the Kachin of Burma. In the latter ethnographic case, we found support for the position that even though the Kachin may have had only one matrilateral cross cousin union per generation, they were without question capable of forming a rank society. We found a similar relationship within the structural composition of Tlingit and Haida society. However, during the course of this comparison we found the Tlingit capable of constructing a more stable political structure since they incorporated both symmetric and asymmetric marriage processes into their social fabric. By so doing Tlingit society became able to override the destructive mechanisms found within Kachin society. This information in conjunction with the mechanical and statistical models for symmetric and asymmetric cross cousin marriages allowed us to generate a system of generalized exchange which was consistent with external and internal ranking for the Tlingit and Haida.

Furthermore, we found other sources of information which supported our position concerning internal and external ranking. Our analysis showed that even though the eldest son of the eldest sister among the Tlingit is preferred for the line of succession the actual selection process tended to be more flexible. The maternal uncle could and often did select an individual considered to be the most qualified. Personality characteristics known to be of greatest importance included generosity, strength, wisdom, humility and patience. Even though selecting his successor during his lifetime led to immediate and direct conflict between the two, a smoother transition of power was the general result. This selection process was internally formalized by the marriage of the inheriting nephew with his deceased uncle's widow (or in some cases with one of her classificatory daughters) at a commemoration feast which was held several months later when the grave house had been completed. At a later time, the headman or yitsati may marry a younger woman if the oblique marriage had been performed. This younger woman normally falls within the category of mother's brother's wife's sister or mother's brother's daughter.

Since time was needed to accumulate the appropriate amount of wealth, the external confirmation of this succession did not occur for several years. This process was accomplished by inviting members of the opposite moiety to attend the funerary potlatch. The guests performed the invaluable service of validating the confirmation of succession. Once more, our analysis seemed to be verified by the presence of a guest lineage from outside the host lineage's community at all major potlatches. This guest lineage was usually related through an affinal tie to the host lineage. In order to remain consistent with the external ranking system the highest ranking yitsati was normally required to marry outside of his own town. This allowed him to find a spouse of the appropriate rank. The viability of this process was based on the allowance of alliance formation not only at the intracommunity level but at the intercommunity or intertribal level as well.

Our examination of these social systems then warrants the placement of these groups at the level of an incipient chiefdom. In such societies, the cultural ecologists have pointed out that the control and redistribution of resources is a prime factor in the formation of chiefdoms. However, unlike Suttles' (1960) analysis of the Coast Salish, we find regional variation and varying storage capabilities rather than seasonal fluctuation to be the determining factors. The populations of this area have adjusted to this situation by 1) the institution of unilineal descent principles which allow for the organization of large populations, 2) the utilization of a generalized exchange system which allows large populations over a dispersed area to become more tightly integrated, and 3) a highly sophisticated trade network which tends to override any discrepancies of local variation. All of these features require some sort of overall management to insure coherence and stability. This is provided by the headmen of a community. Our analysis of Tlingit social structure supports this view and presents us with a compatable alternative to the social model constructed by Rosman and Rubel.

We will now turn to some broader generalizations drawn from our analysis of these Pacific Northwest societies. According to Levi-Strauss (1969:3-11) the basis of human society may be seen to revolve around an ability to synthesize two opposing forces: nature and society or, if you will, confusion and order. In the raw, the concept of nature might refer to impulsive reactions based on spontaneity such as the emotional aspects of passion and excitability (see Levi-Strauss 1969:8). Just as demons can be considered to be a part of nature which can destroy an individual, passion and excitability are forces which may readily lead to choas and destruction of the social fabric. In other words, they are akin to anarchy. Human beings attempt to control demons by supernatural means and impulsive reactions by reason and logic. Thus the contrasting concept of society becomes a reflection of prudence which is grounded in forethought concerning the consequences of any action. Rules are then formalized and become an established ideal of society. Once this fusion between nature and society is achieved on the basis of established rules we enter a new domain, that of culture, which has an omnipresent foundation at the organic level.

We have seen this concept emerge in Tlingit social thought. This was most apparent when we examined the differing moiety stereotypic personality traits. As may be recalled, Wolves are considered to be quick-tempered and warlike while exhibiting an unending urge to wander. These traits ran counter to the establishment of social tranquility and order. On the other hand, the opposing Ravens were considered to be wise and cautious as well as the "real founders of Tlingit society." Like the moiety system these idealized personality traits tended to strictly define a class and its members. Yet the relationship between these individuals was vague. At the same time, when we considered marriages between members of these two classes or moieties we found a synthesis being achieved which bound Tlingit society in its totality (see Levi-Strauss 1969:102).

The synthesis of these two modes creates the basic underlying assumptions of Tlingit society. For example, the structure of social order may temporarily crumble during feuds, but tranquility and order were quickly restored by means of rituals such as the peace ceremony. Wars, on the other hand, did not play the same role as feuds since, during periods of warfare, Tlingit social solidarity at the local level was at one of its highest points. Also during these periods, matrilineages from various clans may unite to combat a common foe. Yet, warfare had its own counterpoint for we have seen atransformation in the order value system occurring during the actual period of fighting. This resulted in the emergence of ferocity such as the Wolves might display. At the same time, war frequently means territorial expansion. This situation was mirrored in the concept of wanderlust as in looking for new lands to inhabit. Once this territory had been acquired, however, some semblance of order must necessarily begin to take place.

With the establishment of peaceful relations after a period of warfare, the next question becomes how to organize the social system. This brings us to a second dialectic within Tlingit society. For this purpose, we examined the marriage and political systems of these people. Here we found two contrasting principles: egalitarianism and elitism. These principles not only contrasted, but in many instances they were in direct conflict. In such situations, social order can only be achieved with some form of resolution. In the former case, we have seen how the presence of a restricted exchange system tended to level social differences between the intermarrying lineages. This was somewhat offset, however, by concern over a potential spouse's social prestige as viewed through the temporal lens of heritage. Also, we have observed how the political rite of inheritance can be manipulated to select the most qualified individual. Once selected, however, the inheriting nephew's claim was solidified and guaranteed by a system of generalized exchange which supported a system of inequality. By this means, the social system quite readily perpetuated itself through space and time in a continuous spiral. Each aspect of their society presented symbols to the natives who in turn integrated these into a coherent system. From this system their conception of the universe was formulated and represented their social construction of reality.

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