

TRADE AND CONTACT BETWEEN THE ATHAPASCAN REGIONAL

BANDS AND THE NORTHWEST COAST CULTURES

OF NORTH AMERICA

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TRADE AND CONTACT BETWEEN THE ATHAPASCAN REGIONAL BANDS AND THE NORTH-
WEST COAST CULTURES OF NORTH AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to explain trade and contact relationships found in late prehistoric and early white contact periods among the Pacific Drainage Athapascans and the Northwest Coast ^{CULTURES} of North America. The locations and subdivisions of these regional bands are shown on the following map, page 2 (after Osgood, 1958). The specific Athapaskan and Coastal regions ^{delt} with here are colored in yellow. The Athapaskan regions will be handled consecutively, and certain regions will be grouped because of their interconnection with particular trade regions. The routes of trade, trade goods, and processes of exchange will be most of the criteria examined here, yet the cultural relationships, during this time period, will be the important data considered here, for it is in the realm of their relationships that they established their contacts. In other words, each group had culturally shared ideas on how to approach and exchange with other cultural groups, and these cultural connections for this time period will be considered important here following the assumption that the cultural view of groups towards trade resources from other groups can be considered similar to their cultural views towards other environmental resources sought by the group; the main difference being they have to develop patterns towards other cultures rather than towards the environment. The important question here ^{than} is ^{how} were these cultural relationships characterized between the different regions and particularly between the coast and interior? It will be seen that the factors answering this question vary between each regional band and also ^{at} varies through time.

could have been more powerful statement by breaking up into several sentences

one sentence what! Lost your reader.

The Athapascan regions of concern here are colored in yellow.

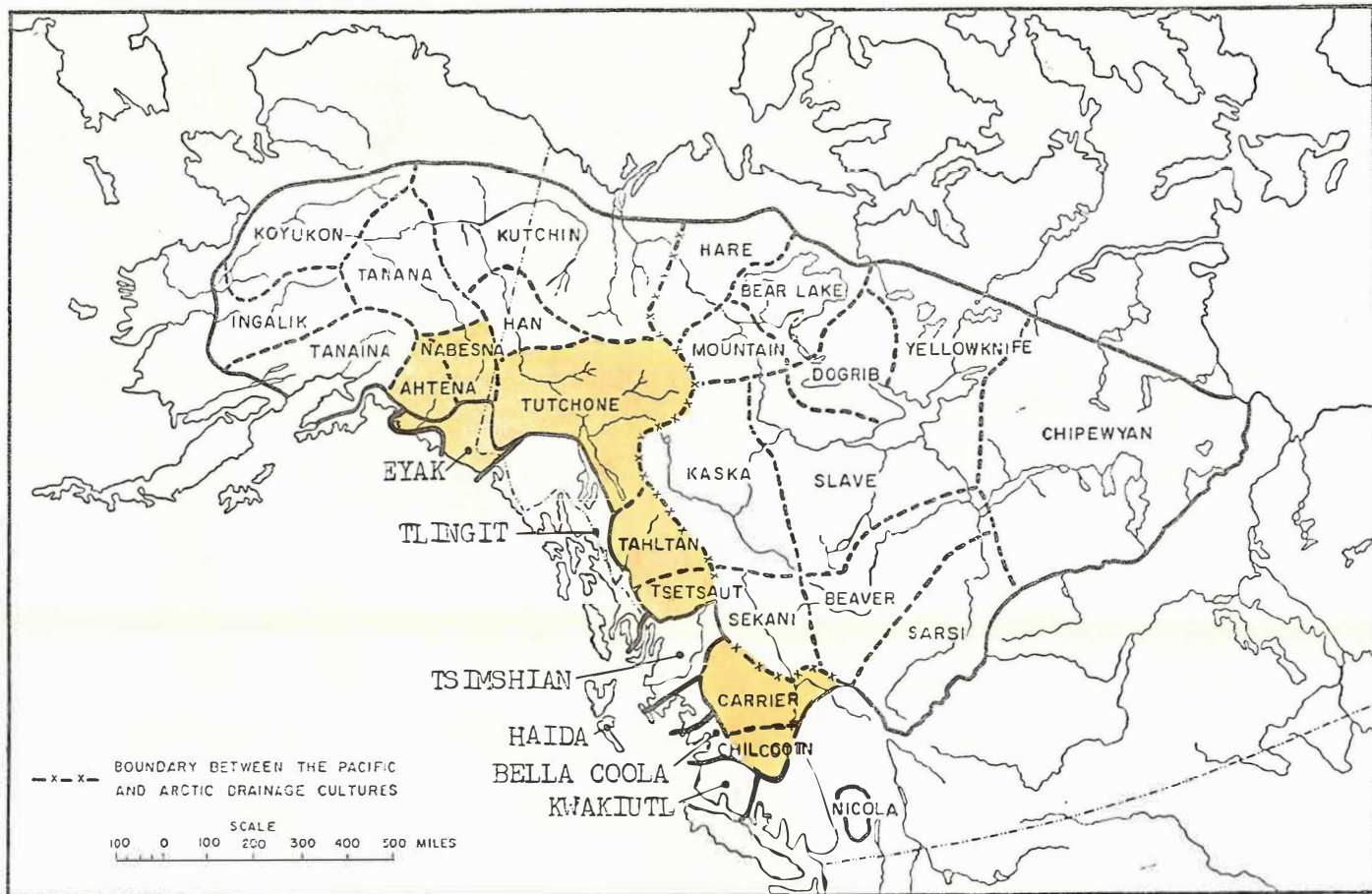


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Northern Athapascan Indians.

The sources used here are limited and vary substantially as to their detail, coverage, level of study, and several other dimensions. This study, therefore, attempts to synthesize this variety of semi-unrelated data to meet its aim. There will be some reflection of this variance noted because of the inability of the author to completely camouflage the gaps in the consistency of the sources. Such is Anthropology.

*should
leave
unperfected*

amen!

THE AREA

The topography of the northern Northwest region is important to a study of contact and trade since contact routes usually follow the easiest terrain between groups. In the northwest area the easy routes between groups are quite scarce because of the rough geography, and indeed several groups are not able to make contact because of physical **barriers** boundaries. The main bonds of trade lie between groups which have the best routes of communication between them.

The topography map (pg.4) shows a macro-interpretation of the terrain for this northwest area. It shows existing glaciers along the coast, and general elevations from sea level to above 7,000 feet. The area covered here (bordered in green) includes some of the roughest terrain in the northwest. Certain features are of significance here. First notice the rapid rise in elevation all along the coast, the jagged nature of the coast line with several deep fiord inlets, and mountainous nature of the interior. There are many waterways emptying into the Pacific Ocean, but few large rivers. The main pacific drainage rivers in this area are the Yukon, Steward, Pelly, Copper, Nass, Skeena, and Fraser. The underlined rivers drain into Northern Alaska and out

into the Bering Sea. The main mountain range in this area is the Coast Mountains. This range forms the main boundary between the coast and interior. Other important ranges are the Chugach Mountains and St. Elias Mountains.

Because of this topography, trade routes are limited and important for establishment of contact between groups in this area. Routes will be seen to follow either waterways (on trails or with watercraft) or overland routes along trails which are characterized by passes and gentle terrain. These trade routes will be handled in more detail while considering the routes taken by each group.

THE NORTHWEST COAST CULTURES: THEIR SIDE

The Northwest Coast cultures appear to have been actively in contact with interior peoples for trade transactions for some time. The fur and hide resource in the interior contrasted with the limited quantity found in coastal environments and the Coastal people found the interior groups a logical source for abundant quantities of these products. They established patterned contacts with the interior to guarantee a steady supply of this valued resource. Prehistorically the Coastal people used the furs and hides for clothes, ropes and lines, ceremonial costumes, robes, and some Tlingit used skins to line the insides of their long-houses, as well as many other uses. Then, upon White contact, the white fur trade boomed and these trade relationships became intensified. Coastal Indians maneuvered the Interior groups into trapping more fur-animals and into becoming more selective in their trapping.

The Northwest Coast groups had developed trade relationships between themselves, as well as the interior. The interaction between cultural groups on the coast certainly has time depth because of their close association. The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, and Kwakiutl (map, pg.2) had all developed distinct trade relationships between themselves. These relationships grew despite the distinct linguistic barriers found between groups. They seem to have fundamentally developed from the desire for certain prestige items not available in any given area. The early contact cultures on the coast were characterized with a distinct rank system that includes the nobles, commoners, and slaves. In general, the main sign of nobility was the possession of certain wealth goods, as well as a large accumulation of wealth. Since many of the wealth goods or resources were found only in certain limited areas,

and these were tightly controlled by lineage ownership, they were accessible only through trade. Some of these prestige items included dentalium shells from northern Vancouver Island, Cedar canoes from the Queen Charlotte Islands, outstanding art work commissioned from some Haida and Tsimshian Indians, jade from some southern areas, and slaves. These prestige items also often included more basic commodities. Such commodities included fish oils, dried shellfish, and sea weed. George MacDonald (1969) has noted:

"By the time of European contact we know that, particularly in the households of the nobles, the food boxes contained virtually the same things whether or not their territories produced these items. A claim to rank demanded these items. Through time, however, the trading for most items reached a scale where units of trade became standardized for most items (i.e. a box of a certain dimension of fish oil was worth two of dried sea weed, etc.) and special processing centres for trade items were established."
(pg 12)

This trade complex developed by Coastal groups ultimately involved the adjacent Interior groups. As mentioned, the Coastal groups desired furs and hides, and they exchanged certain coastal commodities, e.g. the basic dried shellfish, sea weed, and fish oils, for these items. Their superiority was well established and everywhere along the coast the Interior Athapascans were considered "people without houses" or simply "sticks". The time depth involved in this Coastal-Interior trade is not known, but certain lines of evidence seem to indicate a considerable span. At contact the trails to the interior were well known and frequently traveled. Certain Interior groups had already developed a substantial vocabulary from Coastal languages, and Coastal culture elements had diffused into many interior regions. Some archaeological evidence might indicate some time depth. The archaeology done by George MacDonald (1969) gave him this impression:

"The upper horizons of all northern middens show a marked increase in rate accumulation of shell which may have become a major trade item to the interior for prestige items involved in maintaining rank. Some sites appear to have been primarily processing sites on a large scale for shellfish and presumably seaweed that were the main items in trade up the Skeena."(pg 12)

Note: the upper horizons are labeled 500A.D. to present

The Coastal group projecting the most influence towards the Interior at time of contact was the Tlingit. They were in direct contact with the Tutchone, the Tahltan, probably the Tsetsaut, the Upper Tanana, Ahtena, and Eyak. The Tsimshian group was directly in contact with the Carrier. The Bella Coola were mostly in contact with the Chilcotin, though also with the Carrier (see map, pg 9). The term contact here means that there were distinct trade bonds in these directions. These stated contacts are, of course, very general since the contacts were usually very specific to a certain sub-group in each area, e.g. the Chilkat Tlingit had control of trade with the Champagne Tutchone.

The following sections of this paper will considered each of the above mentioned Athapascan groups and their specific contacts with the coast.

Colors indicate Coastal-Interior trade ties.

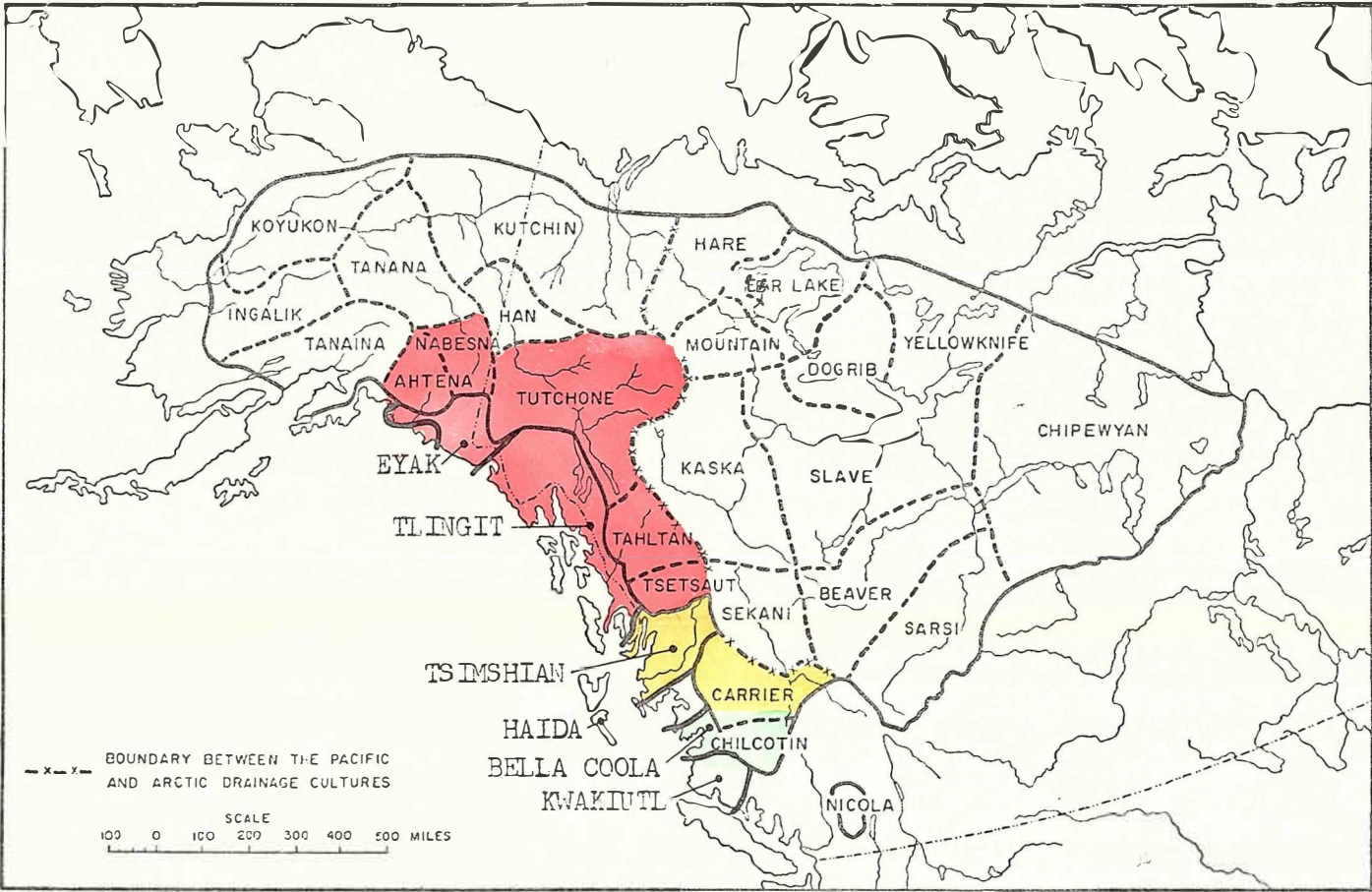


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians.

TUTCHONE REGIONAL BAND

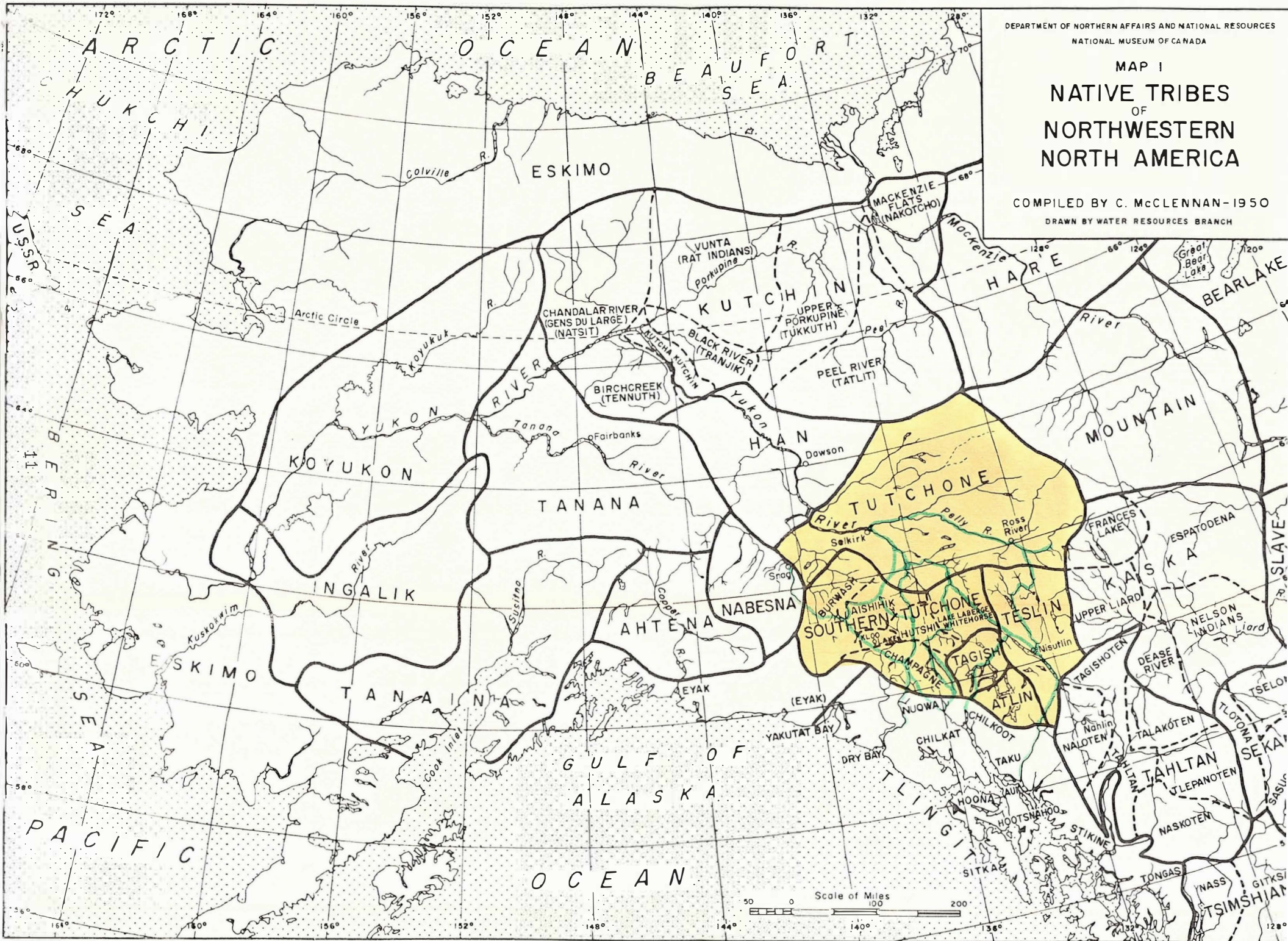
The Tutchone regional band will be considered in the most detail in this paper. This coverage is for two reasons. One, there is a larger quantity of material on this group, and two, there will be a lot of data covered concerning this group which will not need to be repeated for the other regions because of their similarities.

INTRODUCTION

The Tutchone regional band and the main general trade routes used in the area are illustrated on the following map (page 11). The Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Atlin, and Teslin are subdivisions that are most strongly associated and influenced by the Coastal Tlingit Indians. Following this regional area map is another map (page 12) which has more specific data on trade routes and will be referred to later in the essay. By far the most important focus of Tlingit trade came from the Chilkat areas of Klukwan, Dyek, and Chilkoot. From this focus the Tlingit Indians actively penetrated and controlled the entire Tutchone region. At the time of contact the Tlingit trading organization was well established and direct ties, through trading partnerships and marriages, were established with the Tutchone. The Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Atlin, and Teslin in turn had begun to establish trade ties further interiorly with the Northern Tutchone. The early 1800's marks the beginning of increasing White trade in furs. The mainland Tlingit, however, did not start to make it big profit-wise until the mid-century. This stems from the decline in sea otter skins available from the island Tlingit and the switch to a desire for land animal furs. The mainland Tlingit, especially the Chilkat, completely controlled the role of middlemen between the Whites and the

MAP I
NATIVE TRIBES
OF
NORTHWESTERN
NORTH AMERICA

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



TRADE ROUTE MAP, PAGE 12, HAS BEEN MOVED TO

THE POSITION OF PAGE 47

FOR EASIER USE.

Interior Tutchone fur supply. In 1867 over 2,300 martens were taken by the Hudson's Bay Co. from the mouth of the Chilkat river alone, and the majority of the furs came from the interior. In 1885 Aurel Krause noted that "besides hunting and fishing, the Tlingit devotes the greatest part of his energy to trade."(pg 126; 1956) and this was towards the climax of the Tlingit reign over the interior. Until the Klondyke Gold Rush of 1898 the Tutchone region was virtually sealed by the Tlingit blockade which successfully prevented Whites from entering the area or the Tutchone and other Athapascans from leaving it.

THE TLINGIT AND TUTCHONE TRADERS: A DESCRIPTION

The Tlingit traders were by far the most active part of the Tutchone trade relationships. Their trading expeditions went as far as Fort Selkirk on the Yukon (which was destroyed by them in 1851 and is approx. 400 miles from the coast) and Pelly Banks on the Pelly (approx. 550 miles from the coast; see trade route map, page 12). These expeditions were usually made twice a year, in the winter and summer, and therefore required special preparation. A good general description of these expeditions comes from Krause (1956):

"In winter almost the whole trip is done on snowshoes, which are especially large to prevent the packer, who carries, in addition to his load, a gun and an axe, from sinking into the snow under his weight. Sleds were seldom used and the numerous wolf-like dogs were nowhere pressed into service as draft animals. Each carrier was provided with a staff which he used in winter to knock the snow off his snowshoes and in summer to bend back the thick underbrush.

In summer an even more extensive trip was undertaken in the period between the end of the candlefish run and the appearance of the salmon. In addition smaller groups went over throughout the year as well as single individuals who went into the interior to interior to hunt or set traps. Before going, dances were performed, thorough bodily cleansing was undertaken, and the face

was freshly painted; during the journey no one washed."
(135)

A good illustration of the Chilkat trader is also used by Krause:



Preparation of an expedition went on for weeks ahead and consisted of mainly trade good accumulation. The Tlingit expedition group sometimes were good sized - "a hundred people" - and usually comprised only of men. They packed their goods on their backs and these loads were apparently heavy - "a hundred lbs. or more". The headmen of the Chilkat was said to never carry the goods, but usually hired four or five packers and also slaves were used. They usually trapped on the route and could spend the rest of the winter in the interior if they could not or did not want to return. In the winter if they had no snowshoes

and it began to snow they would kill a moose and make some.

Transportation was basically on foot, but boats were used when possible. They would often build skin-boats from moose or caribou skins or rafts to travel across lakes or along rivers. These boats were often stored and used for several seasons.

The Tutchone traders were not so well organized nor the groups as large. Their primary objective was to secure additional furs from further interior groups to trade ~~themselves~~ to the Tlingit for profit. The Southern Tutchone, Tagish, and Teslin seemed to be particularly active in their own trade expeditions.

The Champagne band of Southern Tutchone usually snowshoed to the Donjek river to trade, after the Chilkat had left in the winter, and traded for furs and native copper from the White river area (see detailed trade route map, pg.12). They introduced white man's goods here, i.e. guns and tobacco. This trade may have been rather recent, but certainly may have been older. This could have been the original source of native copper for the Tlingit if they did not know where the Tutchone obtained it.

The Tagish Indians seem to have had trade with the Pelly Banks Indians and used the trail shown on the map (pg.12).

The Teslin Indians like-wise played a profitable middleman role both at Ross river and Pelly banks. They meet the Ross river natives at a camp which was $\frac{1}{2}$ way between the two. This trading was done in the spring after the winter trapping was over.

TRADE ROUTES

The major trade routes for the Tutchone region are shown on the map pg.12. The routes taken are usually the easiest possible way between the two points for the transportation available to the people.

When traveling overland, passes are used, e.g. the Chilkat pass, and where~~ver~~ possible rivers and lakes are navigated. For obvious reasons the waterways are used even if it means going several miles out of the way. An example of this is the route taken by the Chilkoot Indians to Pelly Banks (the solid orange line). Major trading centers are shown with black squares on the map. These are either villages on the coast or trading points in the interior. These trading points soon turned into trading posts once trade became an important subsistence activity for the natives.

Four important major trade routes will be discussed for the Tutchone, and their importance stems from their frequent use, yet other routes were also commonly used. The first is the Dalton trail which is shown in solid blue on the trade route map, page 12. It runs from Klukwan, through the major trading centers of Neskatahin and Hutshi ~~of the Tutchone region~~, to the upper point of Fort Selkirk. This was frequently used by the Chilkat Indians and Champagne Southern Tutchone for trading at the very important trade center on the fork of the Yukon River at Fort Selkirk. Tributary trails off this trail (shown in dashes) go to the important trade center of Aishikik and, from here, there were trade routes to the source of copper on the White river. There was also an important route to the White river copper source through the center of Neskatahin. Occasionally the Neskatahin Tutchone walked down to the Tlingit area of Dry bay themselves (shown in dotted blue). This is noted by Catherine McClellan (1950) and she further noted:

"They did this in winter time, and the trip took two months. The motive for one such expedition was described as simply the desire to 'see a new country'. The people who made the journey brought back 'lots of fun,' by which the informant meant new dances and new songs. Trading must certainly have been done as well."(133)e

A second important trade route was the trail and waterways to Pelly Banks from Klukwan (shown in solid orange). Catherin McClellan (1950) described this route as follows:

The Chilkat came inland via the Chilkat pass to Lake Arkell and to Lake Laberge. There they built skin boats and went down to Pelly River. They would go up the Pelly and get furs at Pelly Banks and then cross the Pelly Mountains to McConnells river. Here again they made boats and came down the Nisutlin river to Lake Teslin. They finally "went out" again by way of the Teslin river to Lake Laberge, Arkell, and the Chilkat pass."(150).

On the map the direction of travel is shown by arrows.

The third important route is from Dyek to Tagish to Pelly banks (shown in solid green). The Tlingit went as far as Tagish and from here the Tagish Tutchone traveled to Pelly banks to trade. That way the Tlingit got goods from Pelly Banks through the Tagish.

The fourth important route is between Juneau Tlingit (Fort~~X~~ Taku) and the interior (shown in solid red). They went at least as far as Nisutlin to trade, and possibly further.

As easily seen the Chilkat Indians and other Tlingit groups had a widespread influence in the Tutchone interior. Their trails literally covered almost all of the Tutchone region at the time of contact.

In conclusion, a good description of how the trails actually were and their use is given by Krause (1956):

The trail varies with the season. It leads up the valleys of the streams coming to the coast and here it is well marked; on the plateau, however, where, on account of the snow one could lose the trail, markers are set. The campsites, which are chosen so that water and firewood are close at hand, could be recognized by an upright flat stone which marked the center of the circle. [this is included for Dr. Ackerman as Archaeological data] Climbing the snow covered cliffs is very difficult; as far as possible it is done by zigzaging up on snowshoes, but at the steeper places they take off the snowshoes and carry them on their backs. Rivers were usually crossed near the source. If current threatened to sweep away the heavily laden Tlingit, a chain was formed of several

noted

people who braced themselves against the stream with poles and thus gave the person passing downstream from them something to cling to." (135).

TRADE GOODS

As previously mentioned, furs and hides were the main items traded from the interior. Furs and hides were certainly important trade pre-historically and became even more sought after during early white contact. The types of furs and their values changed greatly through time, but to indicate which furs were traded, and a hint of their relative value at climax white-trade-times, this graph by Krause (1956) is well done:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CHILKAT DOLLARS</u>	
Brown bear (Ursus arctos?)	1.00 - 5.00	
Grizzly bear (Ursus horribilis Ord.)	1.00 - 6.00	
Black bear (Ursus americanus)	1.00 - 7.00	
Wolf (so-called mountain wolf from the interior)	2.00	
Wolf ("prairie wolf" from the coast)	1.25	<i>— probably coyote</i>
Fox, red	.50 - 2.00e	
Fox, black	5.00 - 60.00	
Fox, silver	5.00 - 60.00	
Fox, gray	8.00 - 15.00e	
Fox, cross	2.00 - 8.00e	
Lynx	.50 - 2.00	
Marten	.50 - 5.00	
Ermine	.125 - .25	
Sea Otter (Enhydra lutris nereis Merriam) from Yakutat	10.00 - 70.00	
Land Otter	1.50 - 5.00	
Seal	.25 - .50	
Beaver	1.00 - 7.00	
Ground squirrel sewed together for blankets.	.50 - 1.50e	(sorry Gus - I know you like ground squirrel)
Marmot, also as blankets	.50 - 1.50	
Also moose, caribou and mountain goat.		

The larger number of the skins mentioned above were obtained by the Chilkat from the Indians of the interior with whom they have traded since ancient times." (pg.134)e

Specifically it is hard to reconstruct what the protohistoric trade goods between the Tlingit and Tutchone were, but assuming the

natural products of each area at contact were exchanged a hypothetical list of protohistoric trade goods can be made. In Tlingit legends the discovery of guana (interior Indians) who could supply furs and copper seems to be a relatively important theme and points to the existence of trade between coast and interior which long antedated the 19th century. In legends the Tlingit taught the Athapascans, who "did not seem to have any sense", how to do many things, e.g. how to make fish traps, how to snare groundhogs, and to put up winter food. According to McClellan (1950) in one legend the guana told the Tlingit "to bring seaweed up to them, and they would exchange a beaver skin for a bunch of it."(38). "In this legendary time the Tlingit supplied seaweed rather than guns and calico in exchange for furs and copper. They showed the ignorant Athapascans how to cook and eat this marine product. Eulachon grease is another traditional article of pre-contact commerce."(161). The following will be a hypothetical chart showing protohistoric trade goods and then some of the added White contact trade goods between the Tlingit and Tutchone.

Salt?

TUTCHONE
Protohistoric

Furs
Hides
Sinew
Lichen (dyes)
Musk ox skins (for leather armor)
Native copper

Historic

Furs (much more and greater selective variety)
and the other protohistoric goods

TLINGIT: Protohistoric

Dentalium
Seaweed
Eulachon grease
Sticks of dried clams
Dried salmon
Carved utensils of wood (boxes, etc.)
Cakes made of the leaves of Alaria esculintia

Conifer gum used for chewing
Slaves
Chilkat blankets
Crabs
Hats
Masks
Sea lion whiskers (other trifles)
Red ochre paint
a root good for stomach medicines
Baskets

TLINGIT: Historic

Tobacco	Iron cooking pots
Guns	Calico
Ammunition	Handkerchiefs
Pipes	Beads
Blankets	Matches
Glassware	as well as several other misc. materials.
Flour	<i>Metal - wrought iron</i>
Alcohol	

This list certainly shows that the Tlingit had the most variety and quantity of trade items.

The amount of trade conducted and the quantity of goods exchanged is interesting and especially with the introduction of the White fur trade market. Krause (1956) notes:

"According to Roquefeuil, the height of the English and American fur-trading period on the Northwest Coast was from 1804 to 1807 (shortly after initial contact), during which a total of 59,346 skins were taken to China, 17,445 in 1805 alone. In the following five years, from 1808 to 1812, the figure was 47,962; and in the two war years, 1813-1814, only 6,200; in 1815, 4,300; in 1816, 3,650; in 1817, 4,177; in 1818, 4,500 to 4,800." (265).

This large ^vsurge in fur trapping must have had a marked affect on the natural balance of fur bearing animals, and still affects some animals, e.g. the sea otter. As mentioned the interior animal population became affected at about mid-century, but no data on the influence of this occurrence has been located.

RELATIONSHIPS and PROCESS OF EXCHANGE

The Tlingit Indians were professional traders and had been long before White contact. The statements by Krause (1956) in 1879 seem to indicate this situation:

"That this trade is not a new custom and that it moves along ancient trails and probably was only

intensified by the interference of the Europeans can be seen from the reports of the fur traders who found the natives endowed with the tricks of trading."(127).

"'They showed', said La Perouse, 'to our great astonishment, great familiarity with trading and they made bargains as astutely as European merchants.'"(130).

There is a possibility that the Tlingit developed these skills from unrecorded contacts with earlier schooner trading vessels, but their ability to bargain between themselves and other groups had certainly been previously highly developed.

The Tlingit affect on the Tutchone Indians has been called Tlingitization since most of the influence has been interiorly. The Tlingit played the role of complete superiority, and even though the Tutchone often felt wholely cheated, they accepted the Tlingit as their superiors. The trade carried on in the southern Tutchone region usually involved a pattern of trading partners, and the language used was Tlingit. Trade was controlled by certain Tlingit clans, members of which traded with their regular interior trading partners. The Tlingit men often married Athapascan women for commercial reasons. They rarely saw these interior wives. These women probably had interior husbands as well. One informant said that gunana did not mind when the Tlingit men took their wives "into the woods"; yet there are hints that trouble sometimes arose over Tlingit treatment of Southern Tutchone and Tagish women. (McClellan, 1950; pg. 202)

Before we can discuss the process of exchange, the process of making contact might best be examined. Krause (1956) explains that: "Often the Chilkat Indians have to cover considerable territory before they secure sufficient skins from the nomadic Athapascans." The Chilkat found this Tutchone habit of moving about very inconvenient for while roaming all over the hinterland they have to pack a good supply of dried salmon

for food as well as trade articles. They bent twigs or made smoke signals to show which way they were traveling.

Upon contact they started the trading activities which often consist of elaborate speech making and festive dancing, singing, joking, and games. Gifts were exchanged between trading partners and eventually trade business was undertaken.

As previously mentioned the Tutchone felt cheated, but felt they could do nothing about it. They, in turn, knew they overcharged people further interiorly and often said it was because they had to pack the things there. An example of trade exchange for one rifle in early white contact was its height, to the top of the muzzle, in flat lying furs. Slaves were also worth their height in furs. The Tutchone had little to say about these prices and were obligated to accept them. This pressure meant that the interior Indians had to learn to practice extensive trapping and how to select profitable furs. These changes included rapid Tlingitization, in both language and customs, to promote better trade organization and relationships. This basically took place right after the white contact demand for furs. The relationships were there previously, but, again, the connections between the Tlingit and Tutchone became very intensified after white contact. This meant more unity and the "inferior" group, the Tutchone, were obligated to become more Tlingitized. And this is what they more or less did.

Trade exchange became a little more difficult with the Northern Tutchone since they had not been so Tlingitized. The language barrier meant interpreters were needed or bartering was carried out by pointing and displaying. This process of exchange might have been the earlier method of communication between the Tlingit and Southern Tutchone sub-groups.

TAHLTAN and TSETSAUT REGIONAL BANDS

INTRODUCTION

These two regional bands were south of the Tutchone regional band and appeared to have had the strongest trade ties, again, with the Tlingit Indians (see map page 24; also page 11). The Tahltan were mainly in contact with the Stikine Tlingit, but also traded interiorly with the Kaska Athapascans. The Kaska are categorized by Osgood (1958) as Arctic Drainage Athapascans, yet in many regards they can be considered transitional (Honigmann, 1954).

The fur wealth of the Tahltan region was recognized early in the 19th century. As G.L. Emmons wrote (1911):

"As early as 1799 trading vessels visited the waters above the mouth of the Stikine, attracted by the furs from the interior. In 1834 the Hudson's Bay Co., keenly alive to the wealth of this section, made two ineffectual attempts to plant trading posts on the river for the purpose of controlling this trade." (11).

The Hudson's Bay Co. remained ineffectual in establishing a post here because the coast Tlingit claimed sole right to trade in this region.

Little ethnographic data has been gathered about the Tsetsaut Athapascans. Franz Boas explains this situation when he wrote in 1896:

"As the tribe is reduced to twelve members, it is not likely that much more material will ever be obtained. The traditions resemble in character very much those recorded by E. Petitot from the Tinneh tribes of the Mackenzie Basin, but they evidently have been greatly influenced by the Tlingit tales." (257).

This remains the only information here gathered and it's only on this statement that the assumption is made that they had ties with the Tlingit. They may also have been in contact with the Tsimshian to the south, and probably were. For this lack of Tsetsaut information, the

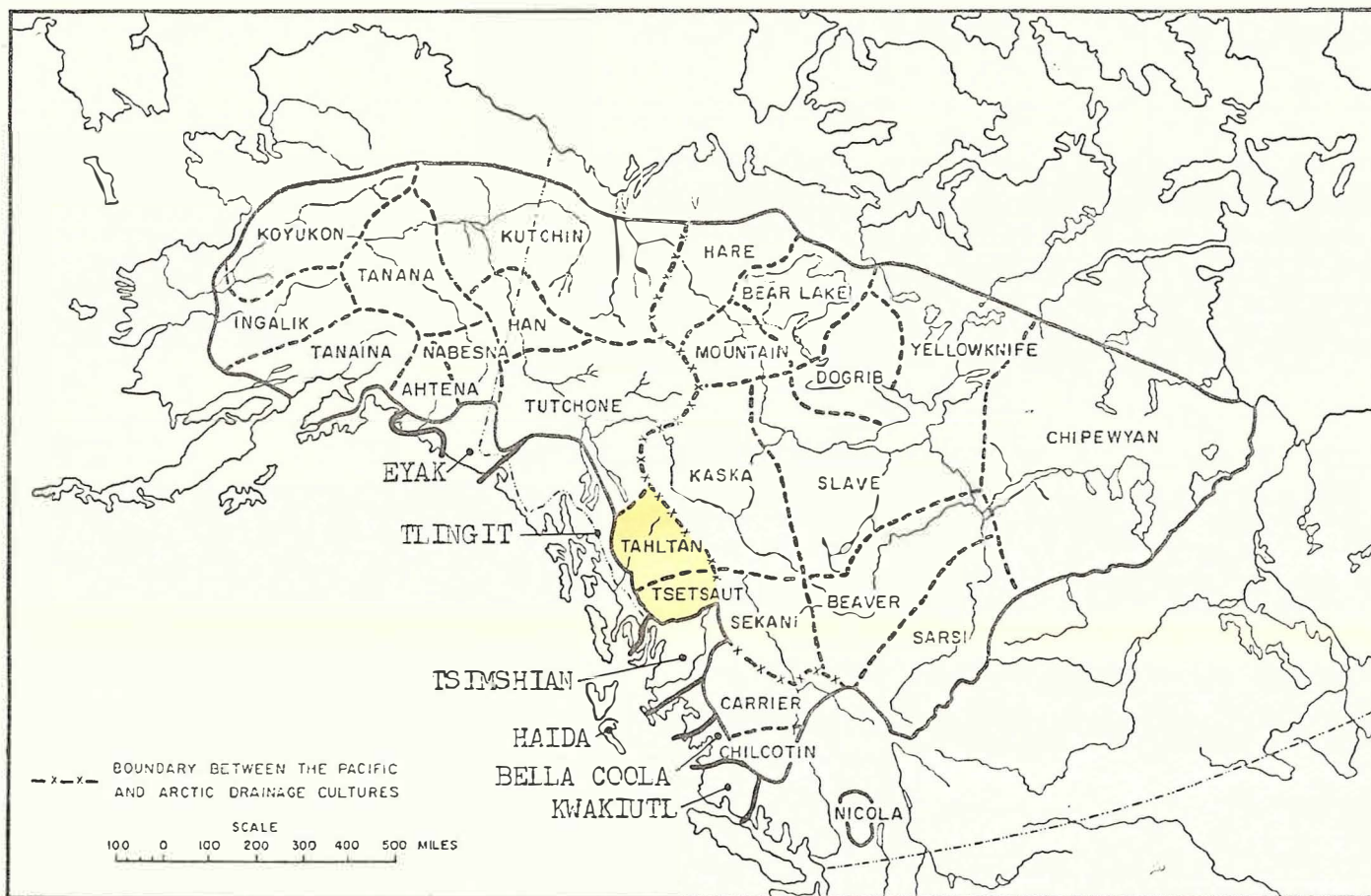


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians.

rest of this section will only cover what little is known of the Tahltan.

TRADE ROUTES of the TAHLTAN

The trade route map (page 12) shows the main trade route through the Tahltan region (shown on the right in solid yellow). Its source is the mouth of the Stikine and travels overland into the Tutchone territory.

TRADE GOODS of the TAHLTAN

The furs gathered certainly were similar to those on the graph for the Tutchone (page 18). Emmons (1911) comments that:

"The marten is very abundant throughout the lower woodland and in the vicinity of water. It has always been esteemed for its rich, soft fur, which makes the most valuable blankets and robes, and is always marketable."(76).

Trade goods taken by the Tahltan in exchange for furs included dentallium, dried clams, dried seaweed; glass beads, bracelets of silver, and flintlock muskets, as well as most things secured by the Tutchone.

RELATIONSHIPS and PROCESSES OF EXCHANGE

G.L. Emmons (1911) mentions nothing concerning trade partnerships, but they very likely existed. He does state several times that the Tahltan intermarried with both the Tlingit and Kaska and some of the reasons for these marriages were for trade rights and the privilege of hunting grounds. No mention is made of dominant roles in trade or their feelings towards one another.

The major exchange point was at a place called Nine Mile flat, on the Stikine River, where the Tahltan assembled in summer to fish.

The ceremonial and kinship system of the Tahltan appear to be quite

similar to their Tlingit neighbors. Their language and pursuits, though, seemed more similar to their Athapascan neighbors, the Kaska. The Tahltan cultural similarity to the Tlingit probably affected their contact relationships. There may not have been such a Tlingit dominance as seen with the Tutchone and this might be indicated from the lack of data available reflecting such dominance.

UPPER TANANA (NABESNA), AHTENA, and EYAK REGIONAL BANDS

INTRODUCTION

The Upper Tanana, Ahtena, and Eyak lie in a position north of the Tlingit Indian region (see map p.28&11). These three regions are particularly noted for their access to the highly prized commodity of native copper, which drew natives from all directions. They too became important contributors of furs during the White contact periods, but the copper in their area made them very important protohistorically. The source of this copper appears to be from two locations (marked 1 and 2 on the trade route map, page 12): 1) the native copper of the Copper River, and 2) the gravels of the Kletsan, a tributary of the White River (McKenna 1959; pg. 127). The first source is found protohistorically in the Ahtena region while the second source seems to be in the region transitional between the Upper Tanana and Tutchone regions. The second source is said to belong to the Kluane Indians, who are not said to be Upper Tanana, and probably are Western Tutchone (?)(McKenna, 1959; page 127).

UPPER TANANA REGIONAL BAND

INTRODUCTION

In comparison to Southern Tutchone regional bands, the Upper Tanana were probably little affected by coastal trade in protohistoric times. They had little to trade that the coast tribes lacked except copper. Actually the Upper Tanana is said to have traded little copper with the coast although they did exchange some downriver with the Yukon tribes (trade routes shown in dashed green) (McKenna, 1959; p. 127). The Coastal Tlingit probably received more copper via the Eyak (trade along the coast) or

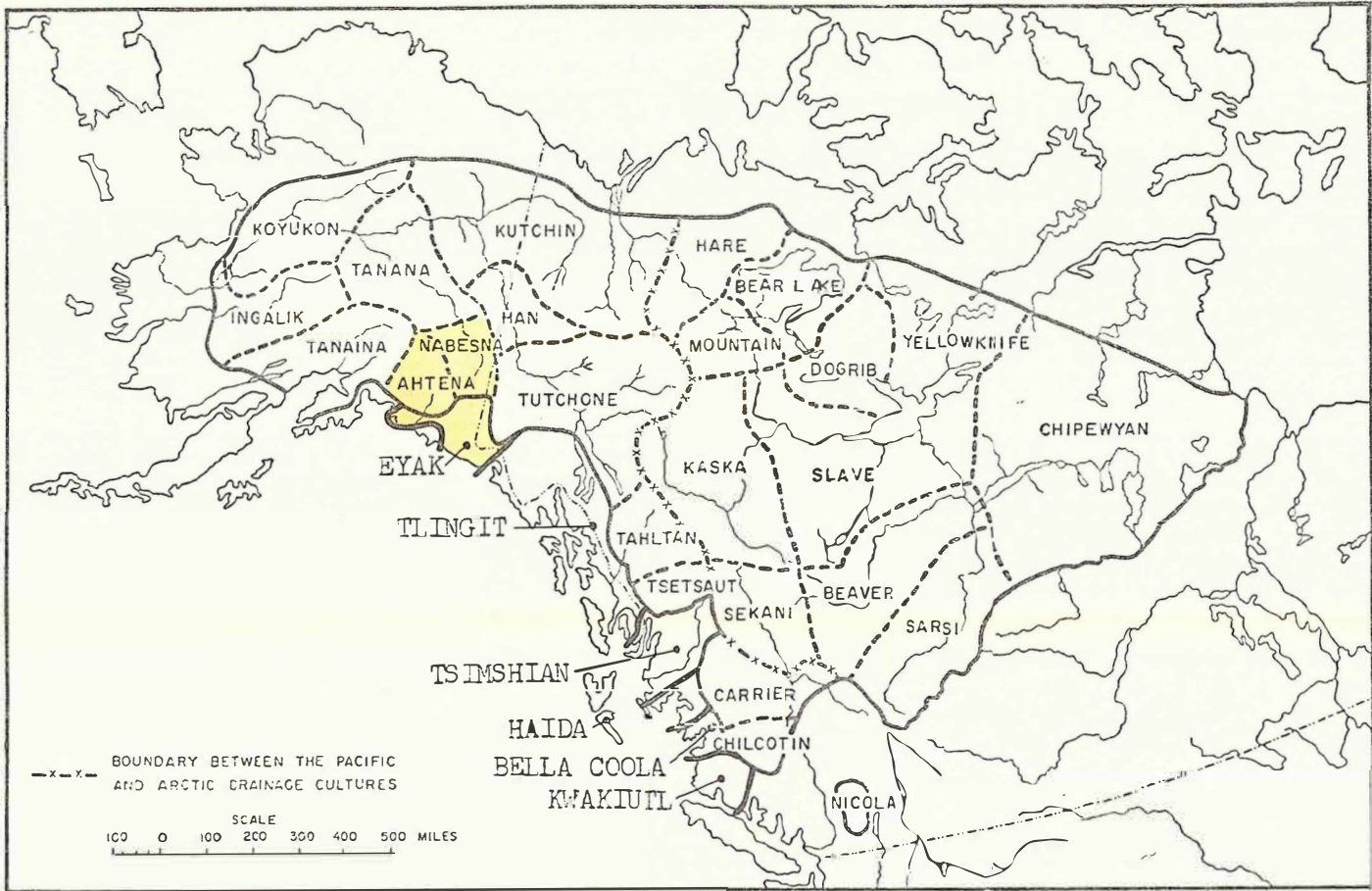


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians.

the Ahtena (overland trade) who both had more copper than the Upper Tanana. The Upper Tanana seem to have been influenced by the Coastal Tlingit via intermediate groups.

TRADE ROUTES

The position of the Upper Tanana, between the Tutchone and Ahtena, made them the overland trade route for the copper. The solid yellow line on the left on the trade route map (p. 12) is the main trail utilized.

TRADE GOODS

Again, copper was undoubtedly the commodity in demand in prehistoric trade between the Upper Tanana and groups to the south and east. After the advent of White fur trade between the Upper Tanana became more influenced, through intermediaries, by the Coast. McKennan (1959) summarizes this influence as follows:

"It was from the Chilkat via the intermediate Kluane that the Upper Tanana first secured dentalia, tobacco, glass beads, iron implements, blankets, and Chilkat ceremonial robes."(128).

RELATIONSHIPS and PROCESS OF EXCHANGE

McKennan (1959) discusses exchange in this manner:

"The meeting place between the Kluane and the Upper Tanana was at North Fork Island on the White River, a site very close to the present international border. The trading took place annually during the winter and for about a month the two groups camped together amidst much singing, dancing, and merrymaking. On their way home the Upper Tanana Indians might visit the Copper River where more trading would take place, although such meetings were not annual like those at North Fork Island."(128)

Again, trade between groups seems to have been rather festive with considerable enjoyment surrounding the contact.

EYAK REGIONAL BAND

INTRODUCTION

At contact, the Eyak had some trade relationships with the Tlingit and Ahtena, but not with the Eskimos. The Eyak claimed they did not trade with the Eskimo since they "had no use for them", yet all their slaves were Eskimo (Birket-Smith, K. and deLanguna, F., 1938).

TRADE ROUTES

The main trade route interiorly is shown in dash and dot red on the trade route map, page 12. The trade routes to the Tlingit territory were along the coast as far as Yakutat Bay.

TRADE GOODS

The most important trade good obtained by the Tlingit was copper and this probably came from the Ahtena via the Eyak.

RELATIONSHIPS and PROCESS OF EXCHANGE

Birket-Smith and deLanguna (1938) gave these statements about Eyak-Tlingit relationships and process of exchange, which were collected from informants:

- "The Eyak sometimes, but not often, fought the Tlingit."
- "The Eyak used to marry Tlingit women, and these women were always (frequently?) stolen, but always from the proper moiety."
- "The Eyak would meet them, either in their own village or at Katalla. They had to secure the permission of the (Tlingit?) chief by means of gifts before trading could begin. Trade was usually carried on in the summer. The Eyak men went as far as Yakutat in their wooden canoes, using the seven mile portage between Copper River and another river. The Tlingit and the Eyak used to invite each other to potlatches.

The Eagle House at Katalla (in Eyak region) was built by Galushia's Tlingit uncle, to accomodate the visiting Eyak Eagles."(149)

These statements reveal a closer relationship between Tlingit and Eyak than most Athapascan groups. This probably stems from their coastal adaptation and unique position as transitional between Eskimo, Athapascan, and Northwest Coast. There is little information indicating how the Eyak Indians are categorized, but they tend to be more similar to Interior Athapascans and Northwest Coast. Because of their similarities to the Northwest Coast they would fit easily into the Tlingit Potlatch and it is of interest that both invited each other to their potlatches, at least historically. There was probably a feeling of superiority by the Tlingit towards the Eyak, but it probably was not near as dominant as between the Tlingit and the other interior Athapascans.

The Eyak thought the Ahtena people to be "all right," but they seldom came down the river into Eyak territory and never in large numbers. The Eyak were afraid to go to Athena country because of supernatural fears of the glaciers and other things. There is some thought that this interior Eyak trade is recent, but the copper traffic along this route seemed too well-established. When the Ahtena came, they came down the Copper river to Alaganik (on the mouth of the Copper river) in moose-skin boats. Upon contact there seemed to be mutual fear and mistrust (Birket-Smith and deLaguna, 1938).

AHTENA REGIONAL BAND

INTRODUCTION and COPPER TRADE GOODS

Unfortunately little is known about the protohistoric people of this region. Their copper was in great demand all along the coast and

was traded as far south as the Columbia river, as well as far north and east. (Driver 1961, p.230). Upon contact it was noted early that the Tlingit used considerable copper. The early Russian fur-traders heard word of this copper supply and requested some from the Ahtena for making bolts for the ships that they were building. When firearms became a little more common in this area, the Ahtena also manufactured bullets of copper as trade goods. Even with this resource of copper some hints are given that the people were not much better off than most other interior Athapascan groups associated with the coast. Henry T. Allen notes in 1886 that the wealthiest count for a single family included "one to three large kettles, one tea-kettle, one frying-pan, several wooden trays (native), several knives (generally home manufactured), horn spoons, and two or three cups." (1889; p. 261). He was definitely of the opinion that these Indians were extremely poor, but, of course, without any other reliable data, it is hard to really explain their cultural position protohistorically.

TRADE ROUTES

The main trade route found in their region appears to follow the course of the Copper river (shown in dashed orange on the map, pg. 12). It is interesting to note the northern orientation of this route, into the central Alaskan, Yukon drainage area. Another route is shown in yellow coming through the Upper Tanana region from the east.

RELATIONSHIPS

As noted earlier the Eyak feared and distrusted the Ahtena and feared going into their territory. The Eyak also felt that Ahtena shamans were more powerful than Eyak Shamans (Birket-Smith, deLanguna, 1938; p. 149).

There appears to be little direct contact between the Ahtena and Tlingit protohistorically, but again for lack of data it can not be established yet just what kinds of connections existed.

CARRIER REGIONAL BAND

The Carrier Athapascans (shown in yellow on map, p.34) were most influenced prehistorically by the Tsimshian cultures of the Coast, but to some degree by the Bella Coola. Like the Tutchone, the Carrier most affected by the coast were those groups adjacent to this area. It appears that at White contact the Tsimshian were diffusing their cultural ideology steadily up the Skeena river and the most noticeable transitional Carrier groups were those influenced by the Gitksan Tsimshian. It has been said that this dynamic diffusion evident at contact was primarily the result of one factor, that was the abundant salmon in this Carrier region. Julian Steward (1941) stated that "the wealth that salmon made possible was insufficient to create a new system, but without it the system would not have been introduced." (497). Therefore, the spread of Tsimshian ideology was not directly a desire for trade relationships, but the environmental capability surrounding these particular Carrier groups that allowed this transition. From the data studied the process does not seem to be directly linked with trade ties, though they were important, again, for furs, hides, and other resources of the interior.

Once these Carrier groups developed the wealth and potlatch concepts of the Tsimshian culture, trade did become quite important, late prehistorically, to these groups. This evolved from their added demands for wealth goods from the coast, which, again, stems from their new wealth-oriented cultural ideas. Fur-bearing animals were more actively trapped and traded to the Tsimshian in correspondance to the Carrier cultural desires.

In this manner the Tsimshian did not directly exploit the Athapascans, as did the Tlingit, but they promoted their transition into a Tsimshian-

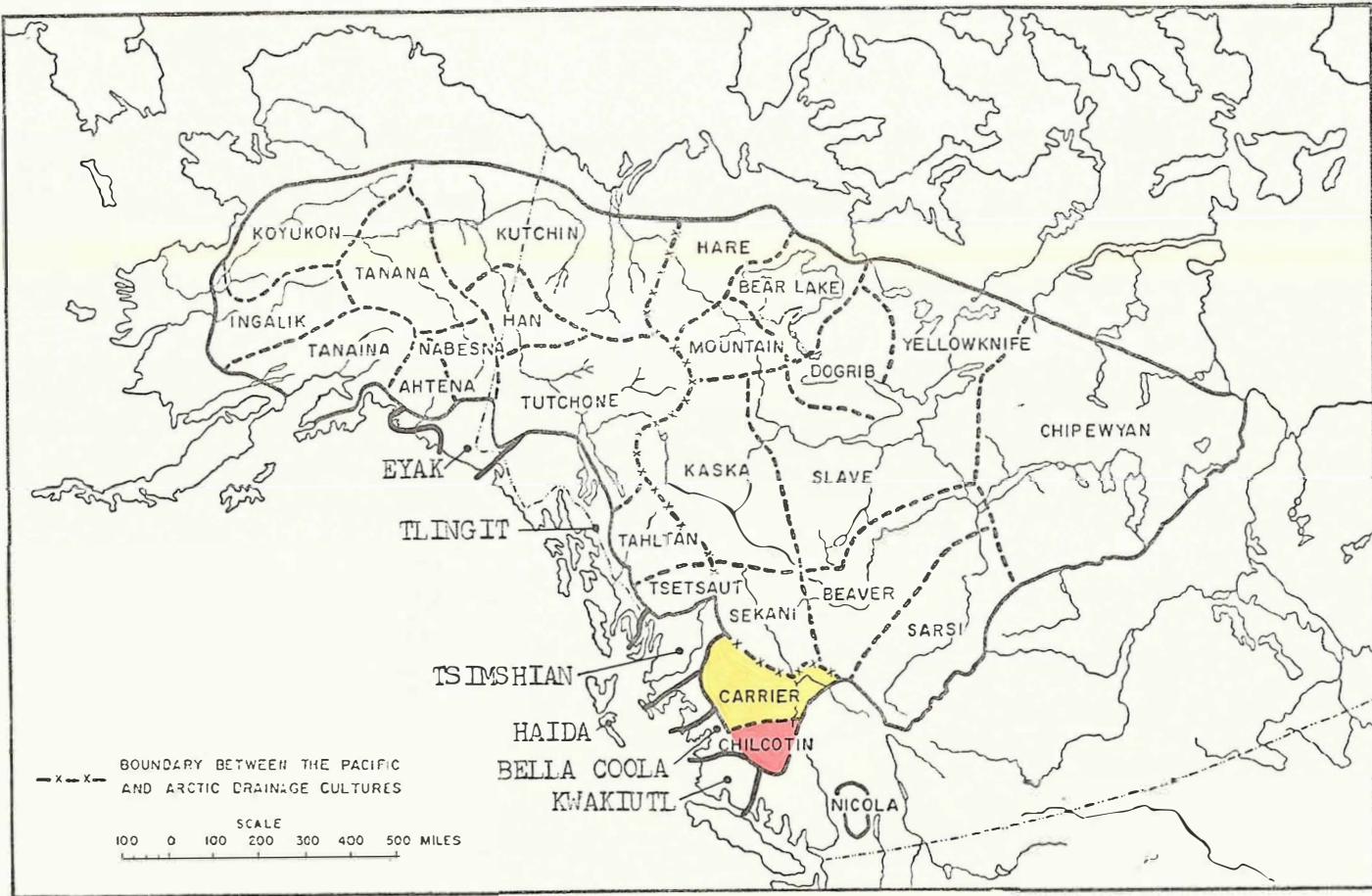


FIG. 1. Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians.

like cultural system so that they were sharing a similar cultural arrangement. Not only did these Carriers intermarry with the Tsimshian, but they had easier access to travel to the coast or between any other groups. In fact they used to travel to the Nass or Skeena subregions in times of starvation to be helped out. Feuds did break out occasionally, but they were still considered part of the whole cultural system.

It should be noted that these main transitional Carrier made up basically the margins of the whole Carrier regional band and the further interior Carrier were influenced considerably by coastal ideas, but not to such an extent. They were, generally, more similar to the coastal cultures than other interior Athapascans, but it was the marginal groups, i.e. transitional groups, most affected. Unfortunately little data is available about the further-interior-Carrier trade activities and relationships. It is known that some southern Carriers traded with the Bella Coola, and they were considered by the Bella Coola as very inferior people. The Bella Coola "despised them for their dirtyness, their fondness for unsavory food, and ignorance."(Lane, 1953; pg.114). But it is interesting that the Bella Coola incorporated the Carrier into some of their ceremonies in this manner:

"The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude."(Lane, 1953; p.115).

In many ways the Tlingit and Tsimshian obtained similar quantities of furs from their interior neighbors, but, with the Tlingit, not as many of their cultural ideas influenced their interior relationships as did those of the Tsimshian. Again the economic factor of plentiful salmon seems to be an important criteria for the Carrier being able to have been markedly influenced by the cultural ideas of the Tsimshian Indians.

There were certainly other factors, but none so obvious.

TRADE ROUTES

The trade routes were found mainly along the waterways of the Skeena river and its tributaries. These routes of contact seem to have been occupied for five thousand years or longer. Recent archaeological research by George F. MacDonald might assist in explaining the development and connections between these regions. But for now the only data available remains in the form of ethnographic literature and recent linguistic research.

CHILCOTIN REGIONAL BAND

The cultural position of the Chilcotin is unique (see map; pg.35 - in orange). They occupy an area where three (or four) different areas of culture meet: the Northern Athapascan; the Plateau;(the Gulf of Georgia Salish;) and the Northwest Coast. Therefore, in almost every direction, there are peoples certainly with different types of cultures; and, in most cases, lying within different culture areas.

Regardless of this position, the influence from any of the neighboring groups does not appear to be very significant, though a little of the culture of each area is reflected by marginal Chilcotin groups. On the Northwest Coast the Chilcotin were mostly in contact with the Bella Coola. They had some contact also with Kwakiutl, but it was minor. The relationships between Chilcotin and the Bella Coola were never very influential, as found further north, and relationships did not seem to develop into anything more than friendships, in comparison with Tlingit partnerships, and Tsimshian incorporation. There were no elaborate systems of trade established prehistorically.

The Chilcotin were on shaky terms with their Northern Athapascan neighbors, the Carriers. Feuds were common and little exchange took place. Therefore contact appeared to have been slight and seemingly not especially friendly.

TRADE ROUTES to the COAST

West of the Chilcotin, the Coast Mountains (see topo. map, pg.4) are particularly rugged and forms a barrier between the coast and the interior. However, there are valleys through the mountains, and by these routes, the Chilcotin were able to communicate with the central Northwest Coast. This contact was mostly down the Bella Coola valley

to the Bella Coola area, and these were the easiest groups for the Chilcotin to reach. According to R. Lane (1953): "a trip from occupied areas in the interior to occupied areas in the valley would have taken from one to three days, depending upon the trail".(106). This is a very quick line of contact considering the means of contact, by foot. The other coastal group occasionally visited were the Kwakiutl. These trips were much harder and few Chilcotins ever went down the Kleena Kleena valley to this section of the coast. According to the Kwakiutl informant, Mungo Martin, the "contacts with Chilcotin were slight. The Kwakiutl knew of only one route - up the Kleena Kleena Valley. It was a long, hard trip to the places where Chilcotin lived, and contacts or visits by either group were rare."(R. Lane, 1953; pg.98).

TRADE GOODS

The only source on trade goods exchanged found here are the following:

CHILCOTIN

Buckskin
Dried berries in exchange for
Furs

BELLA COOLA

Dried salmon
Oalachen oil
Paints
White trade goods

RELATIONSHIPS AND PROCESS OF EXCHANGE

According to R. Lane's (1953) oldest informants and their grandparents, the Chilcotin have visited the Bella Coola to trade, to winter, or to hunt and fish in its upper parts. This contact probably existed prehistorically for some time. Trade is said to be the major motivating factor in this contact.

The exchange took place between Chilcotin and Bella Coola friends. A Chilcotin would visit his friend and both exchange goods. The Chilcotin did not consider this trade, but an exchange of gifts between "good

friends".

According to Lane (1953), occasionally a Chilcotin or a Chilcotin family would winter with a Bella Coola friend. In times of starvation many Chilcotin took advantage of the hospitality of the Bella Coola. By the 1860's this visiting was a common practice, and large numbers of Chilcotin were in the habit of wintering among the Bella Coola.

The Bella Coola rarely visited the Chilcotin country and only in the summer time. Intermarriage occasionally took place. There seems to be a minimum of friction or conflict.

R. Lane (1953) recorded the Chilcotin attitude towards the Bella Coola as seeming to be:

"one of friendship and admiration. The Bella Coola were 'smart man to get salmon'. They were inept as mountaineers and poor hunters but superior canoe men. The Chilcotin were much impressed by the magnificence of Bella Coola ceremonial life particularly by the dance costumes."(114).

The Bella Coola in return regarded the Chilcotin as a good source of trade items, i.e. furs and hides, as excellent hunters, and they valued them as unsophisticated quests to impress at ceremonies.

This Bella Coola-Chilcotin influence might be considered late pre-historically, in comparison with influence shown in the north, e.g. Carrier and Tutchone, and maybe the Coastal influence was just beginning to make themselves felt. It's questionable how Coastal influence may have developed among the Chilcotin if White contact had not intervened. If more was known of Chilcotin culture from 1800-1850 it might be possible to guess at some of these developments.

As mentioned the Carrier-Chilcotin contact relationship was slight. In relation to the Chilcotins, the Carrier were more coastally oriented -i.e. they have much more interest in accumulating wealth as their Tsimshian influence reflects. The Carrier considered the Chilcotin

as "reckless gamblers, drinkers, spendthrifts, are quick tempered, and warlike."(Lane, 1953;pg. 88).

When the fur trade commenced on the coast and stimulated inland trade it is interesting to note that R. Lane (1953) felt that some Carriers may have moved in order to participate in the trade and the Chilcotin may also have moved to avoid Carrier middlemen and to trade directly with the Bella Coola. Raids and fights over trade issues developed between Carrier and Chilcotin in later times.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This essay has attempted to describe the trade and contact relationships found between certain Pacific Drainage Athapascans and the Northwest Coast of North America during the protohistoric and early historic time periods. Most of the data used was, of course, early historic data, but that is all the data we have at present, except for limited archaeological data concerning this topic, for explaining protohistoric trade and contact relationships. The main criteria described herein for early contact times were trade routes, trade goods, and relationships and process of exchange. The trade routes and trade goods of early historic periods are important because of their probable time depth in this area. The indigenous trade goods to the area were probably exchanged through trade between coast and interior for a considerable time and formed the main basis for contact and diffusion. The trade routes also were certainly traveled for a considerable time period, and probably constitute the basic routes of transportation long before the elaborate systems of trade became established between protohistoric coastal and interior groups. The role of these trade routes in prehistoric cultural development and spread can only be assumed to be quite significant, and further prehistoric analysis and research will hopefully help explain the role of these geographic passageways between areas. The criteria of 'relationships and process of exchange' are the data here that seem to give a basis for explaining trade and contact between the coast and interior at the protohistoric time period. In a very generalized manner the data seems to indicate these kinds of important relationships found between the Coast groups and Interior at contact:

<u>COAST</u>	<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>	<u>INTERIOR</u>
Tlingit	Partnerships	Tutchone
Tsimshian	Incorporation	Carrier
Bella Coola	Friendships	Chilcotin

These relationship terms should be defined in their respective context, since they tend to overlap in some respects. First the Tlingit - Tutchone partnerships, as used here, means: the groups or individuals undertaking conjointly the business of trade for economic gains. Second the Tsimshian - Carrier incorporation, as used here, means: the outside group (the Carrier) are inculturated into the focal group (the Tsimshian) with the results of material exchange within this culturally established unit. And third the Bella Coola - Chilcotin friendships, as used here, means: the groups or individuals form a bond of association, or mutual attachment, because of the gains possible between themselves. This sort of general explanation for the relationship found between these groups, again, is very limited to the late protohistoric time period, and at White contact, initiated by the fur-trade activities, these relationships became greatly intensified and it is these intensified relationships that were observed ethnographically. These relationships lasted only as long as the Indian cultures retained the bulk of their cultural complex, but are mostly gone today, a little over a hundred years later. The dynamics of cultural change make it increasingly hard to decipher the processes that went into the initial development of these relationships prehistorically or even how they may have been three or four hundred years ago. If we view the ethnographic relationships described herein we might be able to find hints as to the establishment and development of trade and contact between the Tlingit-Tsimshian-Bella Coola and the Interior groups. The following are forwarded as hypothetical ex-

planations of these relationships:

1) TLINGIT - TUTCHONE PARTNERSHIPS

The Tlingit - Tutchone partnerships might be assumed to have been originally more like the friendship relationship found between the Bella Coola and Chilcotin. Because of the highly organized, wealth-oriented social structure of the Tlingit these relationships soon developed into formal trade partnerships, controlled by specific Tlingit clan organizations, which made annual trips into the interior. These relationships became very intensified after the white fur trade and the process of Tlingitization of southern Tutchone groups also developed quickly. Some of the southern Tutchone learned the Tlingit language, they trapped much more, and they became selective in their trapping, and generally became more organized towards the Tlingit demand for furs. They could not become completely Tlingitized since their environment was too dissimilar from that of the Tlingit and, therefore, they lacked the resources needed to develop such a system.

2) TSIMSHIAN - CARRIER INCORPORATION

The Tsimshian - Carrier relationship of incorporation seems to be the result of a long term diffusion of Tsimshian social system up the Skeena river. At contact this diffusion had reached the Carrier region and this is the situation of transition which is viewed through ethnographic data. The resource of abundant salmon is noted as the commodity that allows this social system to diffuse so successfully into the interior. With this incorporation the Coastal Nass and Skeena Tsimshian, and particularly the Riverine Gitksan Tsimshian, were able to take advantage of the sub-group, the Carrier, for supplies of fur and hide trade goods. The Carrier actually did not change their protohistoric subsistence patterns, but just incorporated the basic Tsimshian social system or

ideology into their own culture. There seems little indication of complete incorporation of Tsimshian language into their system, except for ceremonial use, but this seems to be the eventual direction. Upon White contact, the Coastal Tsimshian took actions to control trade with the Carrier, which had been previously controlled by the Gitksan Tsimshian, and succeeded after some conflict. But again this simply intensified the Carrier incorporation into the Tsimshian cultural system. If uneffected by eventual White contact the Carrier would probably have been completely incorporated into the Tsimshian system and the further interior groups (Sekani and other Carrier) would be more influenced.

3) BELLA COOLA - CHILCOTIN FRIENDSHIPS

The Bella Coola - Chilcotin relationship of friendships could be viewed as a transitional stage into something more like the Tlingit - Tutchone partnerships. The reason it probably never really developed into such a relationship, after White contact, was the cultural position of the Bella Coola. They themselves are considered an intrusive Salish people on the coast. They had not developed completely the elaborate Classic Northwest Coast cultural organization found further north, though they were basically coastal in orientation. Many ethnographic accounts recognize their lack of the highly structured social organization, and this certainly affected their social relationships with the interior Chilcotin. Given time and the influence of intensified need for interior resources, the friendships could easily have transformed into partnerships as found with the Tlingit-Tutchone.

Upon review, the main limitations seen in this sort of study seem to stem from two factors: 1) the ethnographic data, and 2) the lack of time depth of the data. The first problem of ethnographic data includes these dimensions: a) lack of enough good data, and

b) data is biased by the ethnography depending on the ability of the author, and the time he wrote his material, i.e. the cultural influence of his own time and style.

On the other hand, the lack of time depth does not allow us to view any long term change for the groups involved, and therefore does not give much basis for developing hypotheses for explaining the situation which was viewed here. Therefore, in conclusion, I would like to suggest that the situation we find here, described in ethnographic data, should be taken as a good description of what was there at contact, but the full cultural meaning that developed the protohistoric coastal-interior ties lies, presently, in never-never land and shall best be explained through further investigations of time and change using evidence still left to us through the theories of prehistory and linguistics. Otherwise, it's an interesting and intriguing problem.

Professors Ackerman and Gustafson,

Thank you both for the very informative class. The material gave us a better view of ecology and its problems, as well as a widespread coverage of several different aspects of culture and of cultures. For the amount of material covered, I don't see how it could have been presented much better. Thanks again and hope to see you next year.

Yours,

Dale

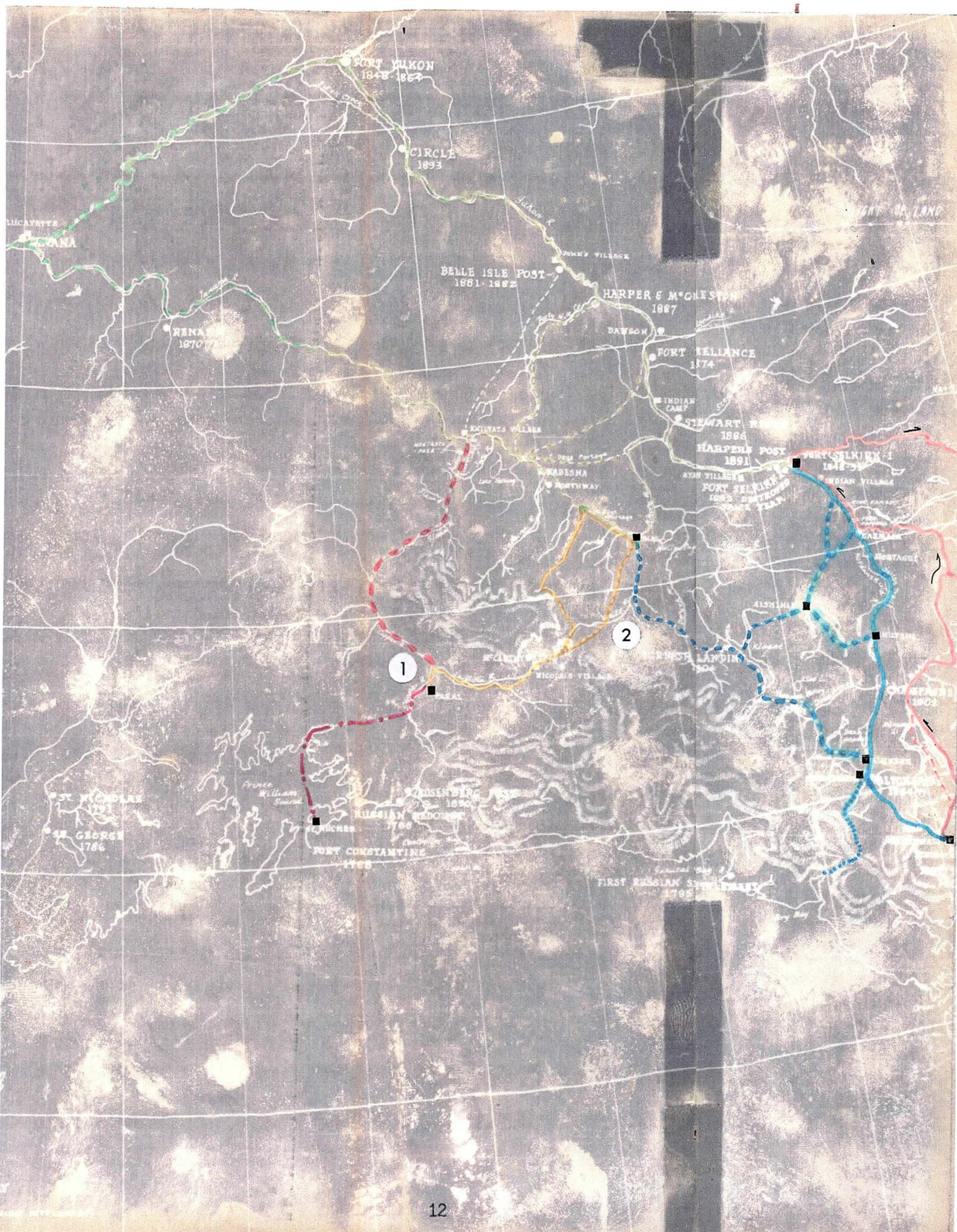
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As a paper for Anth 470 I am more than pleased. Your study of the trade routes and the distributions of materials from one area to another is excellent - A

Regarding it as a paper for Anth 509 I don't think you have made enough use of the local resource regions and the trade (desire for other products from other areas) that developed in prehistoric - protohistoric times. The reallocation of resources resulting from trade may have resulted as Suttles suggested on another level in the survival of NW Coast populations.

B+/A-

What is the effect of trade & changing economy on population levels? This paper seems to be more culture than ecology, but perhaps that is a result of writing for two classes.

B+