

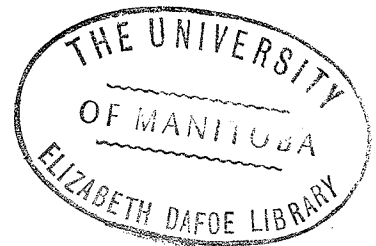
RECENT CHANGES IN MARRIAGE PATTERNS
AMONG THE CHURCHILL CHIPEWYANS

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies in Partial
Fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

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February, 1972



ABSTRACT

Marriage among the Churchill Band of Chipewyan is studied for the period 1700-1965 for which records are available. Marriage is analyzed in two ways: 1. the qualities of Chipewyan marriage; and 2. the modes of courtship.

Where polygyny with as many as eight wives was possible in the early fur trade period 1700-1850, polygyny declines until this type of marriage almost disappears by 1910, largely the result of missionary activity. Marriage by purchase, marriage by capture and inheritance of wives also disappears.

With the move of the group into Churchill after 1956, the women rebel against the traditional system of arranged marriages and arrange their own marriages, largely outside the group. The men, because of the social position of Chipewyan at Churchill, have no one to marry. The prime reasons for the Chipewyan women marrying outside the group appears to be the acquisition of a better standard of living, higher status and a greater degree of independence.

Unless the males find women to marry, it is likely that the Churchill Band will gradually disappear. However, it is likely that a cultural solution will be found.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this study, I am indebted to a great number of persons. At the University of Manitoba, I would like to mention particularly the two advisors who were assigned to me at various stages in the study. Initially, Dr. Joan B. Townsend, who assisted in the early stages; and latterly, Dr. W. W. Koolage, whose advice has been extremely useful because of his recent experiences with the same group dealt with in this study. Dr. William J. Mayer-Oakes, former Head of the Department of Anthropology, had been helpful in various stages of this study.

I am indebted, also, to Mr. J. G. E. Smith of Waterloo University in Waterloo, Ontario, Dr. June Helm of the University of Iowa in Iowa City, Iowa, and Dr. Nancy O. Lurie of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Their assistance in many forms has been most helpful.

The churches have been extremely helpful in this study. Copies of Chipewyan grammars and a dictionary were obtained through the Bishop's house at The Pas, Manitoba, through the kindness of the Most Reverend P. Dumouchel, Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin. Access to the records of the Churchill Mission of the Anglican Church of Canada was kindly provided by the Rt. Rev. H. E. Hives, Bishop of Keewatin, in Kenora, Ontario.

Assistance was also given by the Indian Affairs Branch, then of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Many townspeople of Churchill, and members of the Canadian and American Armies at Fort Churchill, were most helpful. My secretary, Miss Mary Romaniuk, has

been responsible for much of the typing of revisions and the final draft. The major effort, however, was made by my wife, Ora, and our children, for maintaining the home front during the extended periods of my absence at the time of the study.

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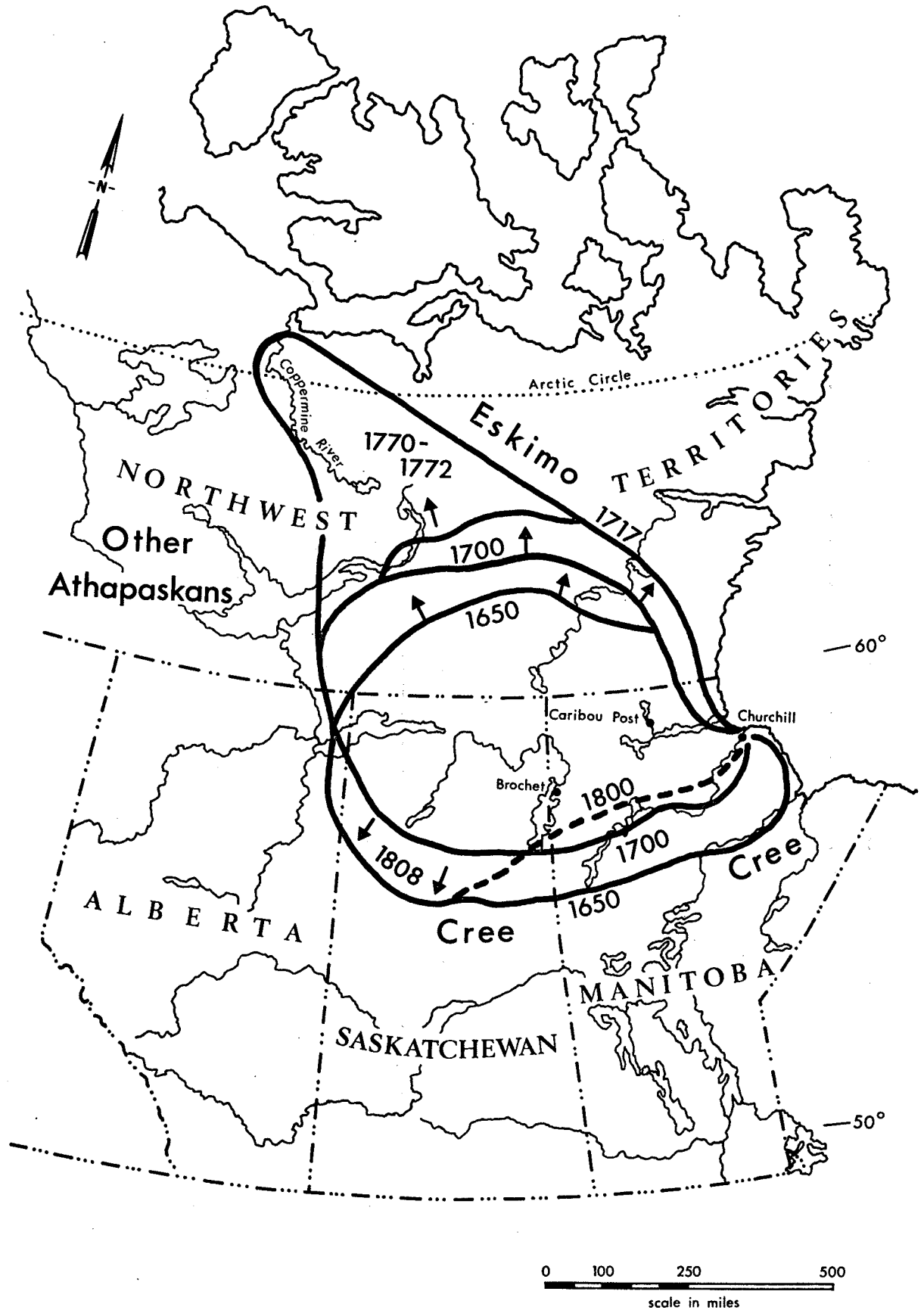
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FIGURE 1

APPROXIMATE CHIPEWYAN TERRITORY 1650-1850



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Marriage patterns among the Churchill Band of Chipewyans at Churchill have changed drastically since 1958. The Churchill Band is a part of the Chipewyan Tribe and particularly the eastern division, the Caribou-eaters (Edtheneldeli). In spite of their periodic proximity to the shores of Hudson's Bay, little has been recorded of the group. At the same time, there has been a rugged and slightly romantic stereotype of the group in southern Canada because of the journey of Samuel Hearne with members of the group to the Coppermine River in 1770-1772.

It was largely because this group was badly neglected in the literature that I was drawn to them as a subject for a thesis. The accounts about the Chipewyan have been written, in the main, by men engaged in the fur trade or in missionary activities. There are normally long time gaps between accounts. In the period prior to 1958, perhaps Kaj Birket-Smith alone can be considered a trained ethnological observer. However, much of that which he reported was second hand. In addition, two Roman Catholic priests, A. G. Morice and E. F. S. Pettitot, may also qualify.

Minor sources include Father Alphonse Gasté's letter of 1869 to his superior (1960); Diamond Jenness (1963) and his editing of the account of an early explorer (1956); Kenney's editing of Captain James Knight's journal (1932); Father Laurent le Goff's introduction to his Chipewyan grammar (1889) and his dictionary (1916); the Rev. J. Lofthouse's account of Churchill and the Chipewyans in this century

(1922); J. Richardson's account (1851); B. R. Ross's account (1872); and the Rev. John West's visit to Cape Churchill (1824).

This thesis is written primarily as a contribution to knowledge concerning the group involved. The lack of information and knowledge regarding the Churchill Chipewyan has led to a search for all sources of information. This information has been analyzed and synthesized to develop new knowledge concerning the group. This thesis is therefore in terms of contribution to knowledge rather than theory.

The following is the result of finding any source that could be brought to bear on the subject. A number of periods was spent with the Churchill Band including periods in 1954, the winter of 1959-1960, and in 1965. Approximately six months of intensive contact was involved. Published materials were searched out and studied. Archival research was carried out on pertinent records of the Indian Affairs Branch, then in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, among other sources. Finally, my fieldwork with other Chipewyans in northwestern Manitoba, northern Saskatchewan and northeastern Alberta in the period 1959-1964 has also been utilized.

In the thesis which follows, a number of names appear for Chipewyan individuals. These are all pseudonyms.

STATEMENT OF THESIS

For the Churchill Band, the move from semi-nomadic existence based upon hunting, trapping and gathering into a Euro-Canadian urban centre has produced a high level of conflict between the younger post-puberty females in the group and particularly the older males and

females. This conflict manifests itself most clearly around marriage patterns and parental authority. The young women have rejected the system of arranged marriages long prevalent in the group. They have been arranging their own marriages and common-law relationships primarily outside of the group since males in outside groups provide a higher standard of living and higher status than is possible within the group. The males would appear not to have adapted adequately to the urban environment and maintain the older values based upon hunting and trapping rather than upon wage employment. It would appear likely that without changing their values, the younger men will be unable generally to find wives. As a result, the Churchill Band as a group will likely decline sharply in numbers over the next twenty-five years and possibly disappear. The women, whose role is much closer between Chipewyan and Euro-Canadian societies than is that of the men, find adaptation to the new circumstances much easier than do the men.

The following thesis is suggested. The recent (post 1956) movement of the Churchill Band into Churchill has not only changed their economy and the roles related to it, but has also changed the inter-relationship of roles, the role expectations, and has opened a much greater marriage universe to the women by the inclusion of non-Chipewyans. The shift in roles is greatest for the men, who also have the least opportunity for adaptation. As a result, the women can be considered as in revolt against the former system of values.

The problem was to look closely at marriage among the Churchill Band both historically and presently in order to determine the changes which have occurred and where possible to isolate the

factors of change. The breakdown of the formerly viable system of arranged marriages within the group appeared to present a logical demarcation between the "old" and the "new."

The method employed was to search out any published reference to the group, any extent record which could be located, and whatever information could be obtained in interviews and from observation. In addition to published materials on the Chipewyan themselves, the published materials on similar Athapaskan groups was closely studied. Unfortunately, many of these studies (e.g. Helm 1961) proved to be from sufficiently different situations to the urban experience of the Churchill Band in the community of Churchill that little of the information could be used.

The conclusions were drawn from a synthesis of the information available. The patterns of marriage were determined as fully as possible from the evidence which existed. The present patterns were determined from informants and the recorded information as well as observations made while with the group. Comparisons were then made.

CHAPTER II

THE GROUP

It is intended in this study to examine the Churchill Band in relation to the other bands of the Chipewyan and to set the band into the environment in which they live. This will be done in terms of identifying the group in relation to other bands, to look at the data which is available in terms of population, past and present. Some attention will be paid to the geographical area occupied by the band in its hunting, fishing and trapping activities as well as specific data upon the climate and topography.

IDENTIFICATION

The Churchill Band, the focus of this study, are members of the Chipewyan, a loose tribal entity stretching across the northern portions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta as well as southern sections of the Northwest Territories. They are part of the many Athapaskan-speaking groups inhabiting northern Canada.

The Chipewyan have been given a variety of names by the Europeans and Indians who came in contact with them. Jenness states that the name, "Chipewyan" is of Cree derivation meaning "pointed skins," after the manner in which they stretched beaver pelts (1963: 385).

The earliest name given them by Europeans appears to be the "Northern Indians." Kenney (1932:51) states that this term undoubtedly referred to the Chipewyans in the time of Samuel Hearne, David Thompson and Alexander Mackenzie. It had been used in Hudson Bay Company records without known change of usage since at least 1689 when Henry Kelsey was sent to encourage the Chipewyan to trade. Kelsey was

seeking, in addition, the "dogside Nation" (Dogribs). It is apparent, therefore, that all northern Athapaskans were not included in the term, the "Northern Indians."

The Rev. Laurent Le Goff (Legoff), O.M.I., who came to the Chipewyans as a Roman Catholic missionary about 1866 or 1867, used the name Montagnais (1889:9). He states that this name was given this group of Indians by early Canadian explorers of the northwest because of their resemblance of character to the Montagnais of the Saguenay River area of Quebec (Le Goff 1916:vi).

Le Goff stated that there were three groups in the tribe:

1. The Chipewyan who were situated at Lakes Ile à la Crosse, Cold and Heart; on the height of land between the Churchill and Clearwater Rivers at Portage la Loche; and along the English (Churchill) River (1889:9). This would be in present northwestern Saskatchewan and northeastern Alberta between latitudes 54° and 57° north.
2. The Kkai'telekke Ottinen (the inhabitants of the country covered with willows) who hunted around Lake Athabasca, along the Slave River and east of Great Slave Lake (Le Goff 1889:9). This area would include northern Alberta and northwestern Saskatchewan from latitudes 57° to 60° north and the Northwest Territories northward to possibly latitude 65° north.
3. The Caribou Eaters (Edshenn eldeli), who live around Caribou, La Hache (Wollaston) and Brochet (Reindeer) Lakes; to the east of Lake Athabasca; northward to Eskimo territory and eastward to Hudson's Bay (Le Goff 1889:9). This area would include northeastern Saskatchewan and northern Manitoba from approximately latitude 57° to 60° north and in the Northwest Territories, especially in the western portion of the territory, to latitude 64° north.

Le Goff includes the Chipewyan (Montagnais) as part of the great family dene-dindjie (1889:9). It is presumed that he was referring to the Athapaskan linguistic family.

It is likely because of the use of the name "Montagnais" that Hodge (1907:276) lists as a name for the Chipewyan that of "Mountain Indians." Morice (1906:31) uses the name "Cariboo-Eaters" and "Meat Eaters (Et sèn-eldeli)" which are almost identical except for a slightly different translation from French to English. The group refers to themselves in one or other variation of Déné - the men. Le Goff lists this as Dénen (1916:212).

The Churchill Band is referred to by non-Chipewyans in the Churchill area as "Chips." In general, it is considered a term of derision. One misnomer for the Chipewyans appeared in the 1956 National Film Board film, *The Caribou Hunters*, in which the group was referred to as "Chipewans."

The group with which this study is concerned, the Churchill Band, appears first in the records of the Indian Affairs Branch at the time of the signing by the band of the treaty with the Government of Canada in 1910. At that time, they were known as the Fort Churchill Band. By 1918, the name was shortened to Churchill Band.

There are fifteen other bands listed as part of the Chipewyan Tribe by Indian Affairs Branch (1964:25-26, 28-32, 45-46). In Manitoba, the only other band is the Barren Lands Band at Brochet. However, this band includes a few Cree "lumped in" for administrative convenience by Indian Affairs Branch. In Saskatchewan, bands include the Lac La Hache Band at Wollaston Lake, the English River Band at various Churchill River locations in northwestern Saskatchewan, the Fond du Lac Band at Camsell Portage, the Peter Pond Band at Dillon, the Portage la Loche Band near La Loche, and the Stony Rapids Band at Stony Rapids and Black

Lake. In northern Alberta, the Chipewyan Bands are the Chipewyan Band, The Fort McMurray Band, the Janvier Band, the Fort McKay Band and the Cold Lake Band. Both the Fort McMurray and Cold Lake Bands have Cree elements likely included for administrative convenience by Indian Affairs Branch. In the Northwest Territories, there are the Fort Providence, Chipewyan (Resolution), and Snowdrift Bands.

The same report (Indian Affairs Branch 1964:45-46), lists the total Chipewyan population as 4,149. The total Athapaskan linguistic family population for Canada is given as 18,824. The date for the population information which is listed is not given. It is possible that the information is from the 1961 Census or from later statistics but the source is not known. These populations are Chipewyan 4,643 and Athapaskan 20,728 as of January 1, 1967 (Indian Affairs Branch 1967:25).

POPULATION

It is difficult to estimate the population for that portion of the Chipewyan that was to become the Fort Churchill Band in 1910. In addition, it is not possible, except in very general terms, to speculate as to the general area where members of the treaty-signing group wandered prior to 1910. This is due, in large measure, to the wandering of family groups. It was not unusual for family groups to join with a number of groups over a period of time, groups which may have become members of other bands such as the Barren Lands or others to the west. The knowledge which older members of the band had of other bands farther to the west suggested some continued contacts of this kind. The practise had been formalized in some situations. There are families in the Barren Lands Band who were formerly members of the Churchill Band. At least two families have transferred from the Barren Lands Band to the Churchill

Band in the quarter century prior to 1960. One of these was said to have been members of the Churchill Band prior to transferring to the band at Brochet. This information was received from close relatives who have been members of the Churchill Band since 1910.

In another example, a male member of the Churchill Band married a woman from the Maurice Band and has subsequently transferred to that band. In addition, there have been several enfranchisements of women who married non-Indians and who are no longer considered members of the band. Only one woman married into the band in the period 1956-1965.

The population figures given previously for the Chipewyans (4,149) from an Indian Affairs Branch publication (1964), cover only those considered as legal Indians by the Government of Canada. These do not include those Chipewyans who have become enfranchised such as Chipewyan women marrying non-Indians, nor those who have elected to give up their Indian status and become legal non-Indians. The number for the Chipewyans in this category is not known, nor is it possible for me to estimate their numbers. In the Churchill Band since 1910, the numbers losing their Indian status in this way would not likely number more than twenty.

Additional persons of Chipewyan culture did not sign treaties and are therefore not listed in Chipewyan population. Some of these were married to non-Chipewyans prior to the signing of the treaties. Others were not concerned with signing the treaties. Most of these are now called "Halfbreeds" although many are of Chipewyan ancestry.

The population figures given in Table 1 for the Churchill Band are from the records of the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

TABLE 1: POPULATION OF THE CHURCHILL BAND AS DETERMINED FROM BAND MEMBERSHIP RECORDS

DATE		POPULATION
July	1910	180
September	1959	270
January	1964	327
March	1965	349

Table 1 indicates that it required 49 years for the population to increase 50% (1910-1959), but only 55 years (1910-1965) to increase 94%. The reasons for the rapid increase in population are the result of the move of the band from the barrenlands into or near Churchill. The major improvement in health care with the availability of a hospital and doctors, a more stable food supply through wage employment or welfare, and a less arduous and dangerous way of life have combined to reduce drastically the infant and child mortality, natural abortions and miscarriages, and the death rate of adults.

With the movement of Chipewyans from Caribou Post, Duck Lake, to North Knife River, 40 miles northwest of Churchill, trapping was considered initially as practical for winter employment with seasonal summer employment in Churchill completing the annual cycle. However, trapping was extremely poor in the winter of 1956-1957. The summer of 1957 found most of the Chipewyan establishing shacks on the peripheries of Churchill or across the Churchill River at two emerging hamlets,

Thuntonah and Ghotellay. Indian Affairs Branch set up an office in Churchill with an assistant Indian agent in charge (Hlady 1960:4). The explosive increase in population began to occur by late 1958.

The increase of 33% in population from September, 1959, to March, 1965, a period of five and one-half years, suggests strongly that the population should double in under fifteen years. Similar rates are evident in other rural Indian populations in Manitoba and Saskatchewan where there has been access to improved medical facilities.

Koolage, according to his August, 1966, census at Camp 10 found only 220 resident with another 63 in the area (Egloff, Koolage and Vranas 1968:63).

Attempting to reconstruct early historical populations of Chipewyan is not only treacherous but without hope of meaningful accuracy. For instance, Hearne (1958:115ff.) estimated that nine-tenths of the Chipewyans died from a smallpox epidemic in 1781. However, we have no basis upon which to determine the population either before or after the epidemic. Hearne's estimate was likely a rationalization to his home office to explain the decrease in trade as a result of the activities of Montreal traders along the upper Churchill River. Scattered as the Chipewyans were, it is likely that the epidemic had a limited effect upon population numbers. It is unlikely that a group decimated to the degree Hearne alleges would have been able to push the Cree out of the La Loche and Ile à la Crosse areas only three years later (Hlady 1964:42).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Richardson (1851: II:4-5) has some comments upon Chipewyan population:

"...they are very thinly peopled, and rather by isolated families who resort thither for a year or two to hunt the reindeer than by parties associated in such numbers as to deserve the name of a tribe. Part of these wandering, solitary people resort at intervals of two or three years to Churchill for supplies, and part to Fort Chipewyan..."

Morice (1906:32) agrees with Richardson's description of Chipewyan population. In addition, he estimates the number of Chipewyan in the eastern part of the area east of Lake Athabasca, around La Hache, Brochet and Reindeer Lakes, northwards to the Eskimo and eastward to Hudson's Bay at 1,700 persons (Morice 1906:31). These are the same groups referred to by Le Goff (1889:9).

There is a difficulty in equating present-day information with that contained in Hearne, Richardson and Morice. This is primarily because we are not certain that exactly the same bands remained in the area. However, if we assume that there has been little or no significant movement of bands in or out of the area Morice used in his estimate, the bands would include the present-day Churchill, Barren Lands (excluding the small number of Cree in that band), Wollaston Lake (Lac La Hache), Stony Rapids (Maurice), and Fond du Lac Bands.

Table 2 gives the recent population of these bands.

TABLE 2: RECENT POPULATIONS OF THE EASTERN CHIPEWYAN BANDS¹.

BAND	POPULATION	DATE OF STATISTIC
Churchill	349	March, 1965
Barren Lands (includes some Cree)	387	Jan., 1964
Lac La Hache (Wollaston Lake)	209	March, 1965
Stony Rapids (Maurice)	364	March, 1965
Fond du Lac	411	March, 1965
TOTAL	1,720	

If we were to remove the Cree from the Barren Lands Figures, our total would be less than 1,700. This would be less than Morice estimated for the area. It would also suggest that population has dropped in the previous sixty years, a situation which is not supported in the population figures from each individual band.

It is likely, in view of substantial population increases by Chipewyan bands, that Morice included the Chipewyan bands farther south in Saskatchewan. These include:

La Loche Band	479
Peter Pond Band	346
English River Band	313
TOTAL	1,138

1. Population figures for Saskatchewan bands are from the Saskatchewan Regional Office, Indian Affairs Branch, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Barren Lands Band figures are from the Manitoba Regional Office, Indian Affairs Branch, Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Churchill Band figures are from my own survey.

The addition of the 1,138 population for the latter three bands to the 1,720 of the first five bands, a total of 2,858, would be a more realistic increase from that estimated by Morice (1906:31). The increase would be a smaller rate of increase than that which occurred from 1910 to the present for the Churchill Band, but would be compatible with the rate of increase which occurred for that band between 1910 and 1959. If Morice's estimate was accurate, likely based upon church sources, then it is likely that the eight bands mentioned are those involved in his estimate.

Jenness, on the other hand (1963:385), accepts Mooney's estimate (1928:26) of 3,500 persons in pre-European times and gives the tribe's population as "little more than 1,000" persons. This latter figure is very low if the figures are concerned with the period just prior to 1932, the year his work first appeared.

The obvious conclusion of the foregoing is that the accuracy of population figures prior to 1900 is highly suspect. Information, therefore, provides only the occasional generalization and the degree of possible error must be considered as extremely high.

THE AREA

The area utilized by the Churchill Band has its boundaries on the south at approximately 58° North Latitude, on the east by Hudson's Bay, on the north by the boundary between Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, and on the west by the eastern boundary of the Barren Lands Band territory at approximately $98 \frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ West Longitude. The trading centre is Churchill. In the western part of the territory, Caribou Post, now abandoned as a trading post, is used by a few of the Churchill

Band at the present time for trapping. There are two villages on the North Knife River, now largely abandoned except as trapping camps. Thuntonah and Ghotellay, across the Churchill River from Churchill, are largely depopulated with the movement into Churchill.

Part of the Northwest Territories are occasionally utilized but this use has declined markedly in recent years. However, it was extremely difficult to determine the level of use of this area. Gasté's trip with the Chipewyan in 1868 to visit the inland Eskimo, however, shows that at that time the area was well known to the Chipewyan and that it was normal for them to meet with the Eskimo (Eskimo 1960:v, 57:3-15).

The major concentration of the Churchill Band at the time of the study was in Camp 10 at Churchill. Camp 10 was the Indian Affairs Branch housing project for the Churchill Band in Churchill. In addition, other members of the band were living on the peripheries of Churchill in the areas known as The Flats and Jockville. While the situation has changed again recently, this study is written as of 1965.

There was a definite pattern to the migration of the Churchill Band into Churchill. In the past 50 years or so, there would seem to have been three loose divisions in the band. This appears to have been reflected in the semi-political factions evident in 1959-1960, each faction with a member on the then three-man band council. The original location of the three groups is not altogether clear. One was based at Caribou Post at Duck (Nejilani) Lake. This was the main reason for the establishment of a Hudson Bay Company post there. The second group was based at the North Knife River village farther inland from the coast.

This group resorted to Churchill, 40 miles away, for trade and medical attention. The location of the third group is less clear. The most promising suggestion has been in the North Knife Lake area. One of the men designated as a band councillor at the signing of the treaty in 1910 disappeared for 12 years between 1913 and 1925. For much of the period, other families appear to have been involved. Recent familiarity by members of the group with South Knife Lake, and other lakes in the area would suggest that that area was the location. One other possibility, certainly an alternative summer site for any of the groups, is in the area of Thuntonah and Ghotellay, across the river from Churchill. However, from Birket-Smith's 1923 photographs (1930:46), it appears to be a temporary tenting site.

The main migration developed when Indian Affairs Branch in 1956 flew the group from Caribou Post along with dogs and household effects to Churchill, then by boat along with building materials to North Knife River. Enroute, the group was in Churchill for a period of up to six weeks. Using some buildings on the site as a nucleus, the village nearest the mouth of the river was developed. At the same time, the village farther up the river was expanded. At about the same time, or shortly afterwards, Thuntonah and Ghotellay began to develop across the Churchill River from Churchill. It is uncertain when the nuclei of the villages actually began although it appears there were buildings there sometime in the interim between Birket-Smith's visit in 1923 and the abandonment of Caribou Post in 1956.

As the area around North Knife River proved to be extremely poor for trapping in the winter of 1956-1957, (the average income per trapper was about \$83.00), families from both North Knife River villages

began moving to Thuntonah and Ghotellay. In addition, others began settling in shacks and hovels on the peripheries of Churchill at The Flats and Jockville. These hovels were built of any material available - grain doors, canvas, boards, cardboard, sheets of tin, etc. The grain doors came from the grain boxcars unloaded at the port elevator.

Some of the more influential residents of Churchill launched a strong campaign to various levels of government protesting the living conditions of the Chipewyans. Late in 1958, Indian Affairs Branch built about 20 one-room cabins, 16 feet square with a small porch, on land obtained from the Government of Manitoba on the southeastern edge of Churchill on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The land was next to the local cemetery. The insulated buildings were constructed of plywood. The hovels and shacks, some of which were only canvas insulated with cardboard, were destroyed as families were re-located in the new housing units.

The new community was named Camp 10 by the local people. The Eskimo community had been named Camp 20 when the area was used as a construction camp in the building of the Army Base. Camp 20 then became the Eskimo housing project with its pre-fabricated two and three bedroom homes of cedar logs (estimated to cost as much as \$17,000 per unit). The Eskimo community was later re-named Akudkik. From the impressions which were received, Camp 10 was so named because it was only "half as good" as Camp 20.

As some twenty families became established in Camp 10, other families moved into the areas of Jockville and The Flats building whatever shelters they could. Whether they hoped to obtain housing similar to the first twenty families is not known definitely. However, this would appear to be part of their reasoning.

In the summer of 1959, Indian Affairs Branch constructed nine three-room units in Camp 10. Each consisted of kitchen-sitting room and two bedrooms. These units were approximately 20 feet square with a small enclosed porch attached. Some of the larger families in the smaller units moved into the new larger units. Families from The Flats and Jockville moved into the vacated units. In late 1959, outside of those families still living in the outlying villages, there were only five families living on the immediate peripheries of Churchill. Two of these families were in The Flats and three in Jockville. In addition, one elderly widow of 78 occupied a tent in Camp 10.

This movement has continued until almost all of the families have been housed in Camp 10 as additional units have been constructed. It was expected that by the end of 1967, all of the Churchill Band would be housed in Camp 10.

In 1965, however, there were plans underway to develop a well-planned village for the Chipewyans on part of the area known as The Flats. It was to be composed of new two and three bedroom homes except for a small number of houses which would be moved from Camp 10. The new homes would be built with vastly increased funds for housing becoming available through Indian Affairs Branch. However, by 1967, the plans were changed and a new village, Dene Village, was constructed away from Churchill just beyond the Eskimo village of Akudlik.

CLIMATE AND TOPOGRAPHY

The climate of the area is sub-arctic. The temperature varies (with the lowest temperatures along the coast) from 43° to 49° in June, 54° to 60° in July and from -24° to 16° in January. There are 70 to 80 frost-free days per year (Weir et al 1960:15).

The average precipitation annually is 14 to 17 inches with 4 to 7 inches of this occurring in the months of May, June and July. The annual average snowfall is 45 to 55 inches. The area is considered a moist sub-humid moisture region (Weir et al 1960:17, 19).

The area adjoining Hudson's Bay is part of the Hudson Bay Lowland. The relief in this area is flat to gently undulating. There is inadequate drainage. The dominant soil types are tundra and arctic meadow soils (Weir et al 1960:6).

The area inland to the west of Hudson's Bay, and including the remainder of the Churchill Band's hunting territory, is part of the Precambrian drift plain. It is an area of rolling to hilly plain with rolling to hilly relief. The soils are grey wooded, brown podzolic, podzol and organic (Weir et al 1960:6).

The elevation of the area is under 500 feet a.s.l. for a zone up to 70 miles in width from the coast. Farther away from the coast, the elevation is mainly 500 to 1,000 feet a.s.l. (Weir et al 1960:3).

The principal rivers crossing the area (Churchill, North Knife, Wolverine, etc.) have valleys cutting 50 to 150 feet into the till and bedrock (Weir et al 1960:4).

The area is largely one of northern transition with the tree growth composed mainly of conifers with decreasing stands on the uplands and confined to valleys in the more northerly sections. In addition, there is a small section of arctic tundra in which trees are absent except for stunted willow with other vegetation including mosses, grasses, sedges and lichens (Weir et al 1960:21).

Winter at Churchill normally spans from late September until June. The shipping season at the Port of Churchill is from late July until late October although the season is not dependent upon local ice conditions as much as ice conditions in Hudson Strait. A popular local belief is that the port could remain open up to nine or ten months each year with the services of an icebreaker. In January, 1960, I observed Hudson's Bay completely open to the horizon after two or three days of strong southerly winds. However, I would expect that this condition was somewhat unusual.

The seacoast is rocky. The depth of water in Hudson's Bay is generally shallow for long distances from the shore. In the Nelson River estuary, the depth is about 20 feet on the average for a distance of 22 miles from the site of Port Nelson. On either side of the Churchill River estuary, the five fathom line is at least one and one-half statute miles from shore (Palmer 1927).

The area, from personal observation, is one of permafrost.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE DURING THE EARLY FUR TRADE PERIOD 1700 - 1850, THE MISSIONARY AND LATER FUR TRADE PERIOD 1850 - 1950 AND THE RECENT PERIOD

Attempting to reconstruct the life style of a group such as the Chipewyan when there is a frustrating lack of information is difficult at best. The information which is available is limited to a few sources. In addition, it is likely that the vested interests of the writers provides definite biases in each case which may be impossible to eliminate.

These biases would likely include the views of religious groups attempting to evangelize a 'heathen' people; the natural biases of a male describing females and their activities; and a fur trader reporting on trade to a home office. Almost none of the accounts are by trained anthropologists.

It is intended to view the historical overview of marriage among the Chipewyan as arbitrarily encompassing three periods. These are:

1. 1700-1850 Early Fur Trade Period.
2. 1850-1950 Missionary and later Fur Trade Period.
3. 1950-1965 The Recent Period.

Separate chapters will not be used to deal with each period. However, for each of these periods, the institution of marriage will be looked at in two ways: the qualities of marriage and the modes of courtship.

In examining the qualities of marriage, use will be made of Davis' classification (1949:414-415) as adapted by Bohannan (1963:74-76):

1. Number of mates
2. Degree of authority
3. Residence after marriage
4. Choice of mate
5. Exchange at marriage
6. Age at marriage
7. Strength of the bond
8. Possibility of remarriage
9. Kind of mates

In terms of the modes of courtship, marriage will be examined using an adaptation of Hoebel's eight divisions (1956:301-317):

1. Marriage by purchase
2. Suitor service
3. Marriage by capture
4. Inheritance of wives
5. Elopement

In addition, Hoebel has three other divisions which are not being utilized in this study as there is nothing to indicate that such forms existed. The first of these divisions is exchange marriage. While there were instances of exchanging wives for a night or short period, and this will be discussed as a basis for inheritance of wives, there was no evidence uncovered to suggest exchange marriages were

practised. However, there would not appear to be anything in Chipewyan mores which would preclude such marriages if they had been considered as practical in the group.

There is no indication that adoptive marriage, another of Hoebel's divisions, ever existed in Chipewyan society. In fact, since the Chipewyans were little more than a loose association of family groups to the extent that Birket-Smith observes, "There does not seem to be any fixed social unit beyond the family. Mgr. Turquetil asserts that the community is looser still than among the Eskimos..." (1930: 69). In view of this, there would be no need for adoptive marriage.

The third and last division of Hoebel's which is not used is that of fictive marriage. As this is basically an arrangement between members of the same sex for the sole sake of passing property (Bohannan 1963:77 citing Hoebel 1949), this mode of courtship would have no role in Chipewyan society. The property of a dead Chipewyan and that of his nearest kin was destroyed in the fur trade period (Hearne 1958:70, 218-219), and later has been modified by the influence of the missionaries so that this division is not a useful one.

THE QUALITIES OF CHIPEWYAN MARRIAGE

The NUMBER OF MATES which a Chipewyan man could marry differed with the ability of the man to look after his wives. There is clear evidence that polygyny was an integral part of Chipewyan life during the early fur trade period. Hearne (1958:80) is very explicit that six or more wives were the number of concurrent mates a man might have at any time during this period. In the same statement he adds that the wives are generally "humble and faithful servants," affectionate wives, and fond and indulgent mothers to their children.

The most wives possessed by one man to which reference was found was Matonabee, who purchased a seventh wife, April 18, 1771 (Hearne 1958:56). There is possible evidence that he also possessed an eighth wife at about this time since Hearne remarked on the elopement of one of Matonabee's wives to her former husband that she "chose rather to be the sole wife of a sprightly young fellow of no note, ... than to have the seventh or eighth share of the affection of the greatest man in the country." (Hearne 1958:66).

One of Hearne's oblique references to polygyny concerned his first unsuccessful attempt to reach the Coppermine River when he relates his hardships but notes that "My guide was entirely exempted from all those inconveniences, having procured a good warm suit of clothing; and as one of his wives had long before joined our party, he was provided with a tent, and every other necessary consistent with their manner of living..." (1958:33). (Emphasis mine).

Le Goff states (1916:x) that "bigamy, polygamy and even a communistic relationship" occurred among the Chipewyans in the past. However, it was always the man who obtained multiple mates.

Keelshies, another Chipewyan, gained his freedom from the Athapuscow (Cree) Indians in the 1750's or early 1760's at the cost of his effects and six wives (Hearne 1958:225-226). Hearne

mentioned the multiplicity of women to men several times.¹ Jenness states that a skilful Chipewyan hunter enjoyed considerable prestige and could maintain several wives (1963:387).

Morice (1906-1910:256) states that "polygamy" was much more general in the past. Every man who had any social ambition had at least two wives and the leaders had from two to seven or eight wives. In this, it is obvious that Morice leans heavily upon Hearne.

Another possible reference to polygyny is that of Rev. John West on July 17, 1823 (1824:165-166).

"The next day we passed Cape Churchill and came to a tent of Chipewyan or Northern Indians. The question was not asked if we were hungry, but immediately on our arrival the women were busily employed in cooking venison for us." (Emphasis mine).

1. "I observed that very few of those people were dissatisfied with the wives which had fallen to their lot,..." (Hearne 1958:68).

"...We arrived at two tents, which contained the remainder of the wives and families of my guides who had been waiting there for the return of their husbands from the Fort. Here we found only two men, though upward of twenty women and children;..." (Hearne 1958:45).

"...he (Matonabee) thought it expedient to leave most of his wives and all his children in the care of some Indians, than in our company... The same measures were also adopted by all of the other Indians of my party; particularly those who had a plurality of wives and a number of children." (Hearne 1958:72-73).

"In our course down Seal River we met a stranger, a Northern Indian, on a hunting excursion, ... and told the Southern Indians, that as there were two or three beaver houses near his tent, he should be glad of their assistance in taking them, for there was only one man and three women at the tent." (Hearne 1958:5).

"The Northern Indian men make no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time, ..." (Hearne 1958:83).

It is highly probable that polygyny as practised by Matonabee or Keelshies with up to eight wives were extreme examples which resulted from the influence of the fur trade. Hearne approved of Chipewyan polygyny because of the need of a good hunter (or Indian middleman) to carry as many furs as possible to trade. He felt that women were the best for this kind of labour in the north (1958:80).

At the same time Matonabee was able to maintain a goodly number of wives in spite of the vagaries of possession due to the manner (e.g. elopement or wrestling) in which wives could be lost. Even at the time of his suicide in 1782 or 1783, he still retained six wives who starved to death the following winter (Hearne 1958: 228). Matonabee was probably 45 or 46 years of age at his death.

In the second period, between 1850 and 1950, there are developing changes in marriage patterns. With the arrival of missionaries in northern Manitoba, the outward incidence of polygyny seems to decline rather quickly. Anglican Church of Canada records¹ for the Churchill Mission note two marriages and ten baptisms dated July 15, 1860. The first death (and Christian burial?) date back to 1867. Rev. John West, an Anglican priest, had visited the Churchill area in 1823. However, he did not do any missionary work

1. Information on the early Anglican Mission at Churchill was extracted from the record book of the mission (1860-1934) which is deposited in the office of the Rt. Rev. H. E. Hives, Bishop of Keewatin, at Kenora, Ontario.

TABLE 3: MARRIAGES AT CHURCHILL MISSION WHICH
APPEAR TO INVOLVE CHIPEWYANS 1860-1934

1860	2		1908	11	
1861	9		1909	1	26
1862	1	13			
1866	1				
<hr/>			1910	1	
1871	2		1911	3	
1873	1		1913	3	
1875	1		1914	1	
1878	2	6	1916	4	
<hr/>			1918	1	
1882	1		1919	3	16
1887	2				
1888	2	5	1921	2	
<hr/>			1922	2	
1890	1		1923	2	
1891	1		1924	2	
1892	1		1925	2	
1895	1		1926	2	
1896	3	7	1927	7	
<hr/>			1928	1	
1900	1		1929	2	22
1901	1				
1903	3		1930	1	
1904	5		1931	4	
1905	1		1932	3	
1906	2		1933	1	
1907	1		1934	5	14
<hr/>					
			TOTAL	109	
			AVERAGE	1.45/YEAR	

Source: Churchill Anglican Mission Records

with the Chipewyans (West 1824:165-166). In the periods of the records checked, there were 109 marriages between 1860 and 1934, an average of 1.45 marriages per year. It is assumed that none of these were knowingly polygynistic to the minister.

In Table 3, marriages at the Churchill Mission which appear to involve Chipewyans, are noted by year and marked off in decades. From an initial thirteen marriages in the first decade, the following three decades list six, five and seven marriages, respectively. In the decade 1900-1909, marriages almost quadruple to twenty-six. They drop to sixteen in the decade 1910-1919, rise to twenty-two in the decade 1920-1929, and in the final five years of the records which were consulted rise to fourteen (equivalent to twenty-eight marriages for a decade), the highest for any of the periods under discussion. As far as is known, no other church was active among the Churchill Band during the period.

From the foregoing, it would appear that polygyny was probably experiencing its most rapid decline in the period 1900-1909 with the critical point in 1908 when there were eleven marriages. The marital status of the members of the Churchill Band for the year 1910 (when the band signed their treaty with the Canadian Government) is revealing.¹ For the population of 180, there were (in approximately the wording of the Indian Affairs Branch records) nine

1. This information was extracted from the paylists and other records in the files of Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Ontario; Winnipeg, Ilford and Churchill, Manitoba.

unattached females, four females with children and four widows with children. As the unattached females were not part of their original families, and there were females with children (some of these children were listed as illegitimate by Indian Affairs Branch), it is possible that most of these women were additional wives of some of the men. Living as they were in a semi-nomadic state by hunting caribou, trapping and fishing, seventeen unattached females, many with children, would require the support of men to hunt food and secure other necessities.

That there were at least seventeen marriageable females in a group of 180 persons seems disproportionate for a semi-nomadic group. It would appear highly probable, that the Canadian Government, by disregarding the local custom, was acting to eliminate polygyny as quickly as possible.

The records which have survived are usually those concerned with accounts. However, intriguing sidelights occur. One man, Teesee, disappeared into the barrenlands in 1912 after receiving his treaty payment. In 1918, he and his family were presumed to have perished. In 1925, he reappeared to claim his accumulated treaty payments. While it is now known from informants that other families were involved, and the main person in question was a councillor of the band, this may give a clue to one of the three divisions in the band mentioned earlier. It is highly likely that this division comprised those who were polygynous. The pressure from the Indian treaty parties over the three years, 1910 to 1912, was such that they decided that they were not interested in further contact with

the Canadian Government. Teesee was likely the last major polygynist returning in 1925 when he had outlived all but one wife. Teesee died in 1927.

To look at the decline of polygyny in the closest Chipewyan band to the Churchill Band, we must look to the Barren Lands Band. The Roman Catholic Mission of St. Peter's was founded in 1861 by Fathers Gasté and Végreville "at the extreme northern tip of Reindeer Lake where no trading post existed as yet." (Eskimo, v. 56:8). This community is presently called Brochet, Manitoba. Father Le Goff (Legoff) was stationed at Brochet when Father Gasté returned from a visit to the inland Eskimos in 1868 (Gasté 1960:15). We have previously noted his observations that bigamy, polygamy and even communistic arrangements were common prior to evangelization (Le Goff 1916:x).

Following an occurrence in the church at Brochet which was considered a miracle by the Roman Catholic Church, the Chipewyans began to be converted in large numbers. It was observed that by 1884, all but four or five Chipewyans were "fervent" Christians (Eskimo, v. 56:9-10). It is strongly suggested, therefore, that the period 1870-1884 marks the virtual disappearance of polygyny for the Chipewyans centred at Brochet. While there is little evidence for such a possibility, other than the fact that there has been movement over the years by families between the Barren Lands and Churchill Bands, did the "diehard" polygynists from the Barren Lands Band move to the Churchill Band and take up residence with them?

Birket Smith, reporting upon his 1923 fieldwork, noted that "the fundamental pillar in Chipewyan society is marriage, which today is of course monogamous." (1930:66). By 1950, monogamy was the rule with the Churchill Band although that does not mean that polygyny had completely died out. Mrs. Ellam, 40 years of age and a widow of six years gave birth to a child. While there is no indication that this was part of a polygynous arrangement, such arrangements were hinted at by informants during my stay there.

While there appears to have been a period during the development of the fur trade when the possession of a number of wives was possible by the leading figures (middlemen) among the Chipewyan, it is likely that polygyny consisted normally of an additional wife or two based on the sororate. The fur trade became less important in the Churchill area after the disruption of trading caused by the French capture of Fort Prince of Wales in 1782. Polygyny probably declined as seen in part by Matonabee's six wives' starving to death in the winter following Matonabee's suicide shortly after the French victory (Hearne 1958:228). The decline was likely in the number of wives rather than the institution declining. With the arrival of missionaries and as an effect of their work, polygyny seems to have almost died out by 1908 with only the occasional holdout remaining. Where it is practised today among the Churchill Band, it is reasonably well concealed.

THE DEGREE OF AUTHORITY

The DEGREE OF AUTHORITY in Chipewyan marriage, as viewed in the early fur trade period, resided with men. Hearne was most explicit that the men had complete authority in the marriage. The women were in

awe of the husband and in effect the husband assumed the same authority over his wives that a master of a family in Europe assumed over his domestic servants (Hearne 1958:200). This went so far as women being beaten to death. As Hearne states: "The women, it is true, sometimes receive an unlucky blow from their husbands for misbehaviour which occasions their death; but this is thought nothing of..." (Hearne 1958:70). In another passage he notes the death of one of Matonabee's wives who had, when Matonabee had considered taking another wife, shamed him of the idea by stating he already had more wives than he could look after. Matonabee "took it as such an affront that he fell on her with both hands and feet, and bruised her to such a degree, that after lingering some time she died." (Hearne 1958:170-171).

The authority of the man was also apparent when Matonabee left most of the women and all the children behind in the last leg of the journey to the Coppermine River and, although it was over the women's strong protests, the women were obliged to comply. (Hearne 1958:72-73).

Le Goff (1916:ix) says that the Chipewyan man's idea of marriage before knowing and practising Christianity was to instill fear in the woman, make her his slave, impose a servile obedience and rule over her in despotism.

In terms of authority, I think it important to view the sexes in terms of status. Goodenough (1965:2) treats status as combinations of rights and duties. Where Linton spoke of 'ascribed'

and 'achieved' statuses (1936:115), the former obtained by inheritance and the latter established through individual effort and by special qualities. Goodenough refers to these as ascribed and achieved social identities (1965:2). He considers the formal properties of statuses to involve both "what legal theorists call rights, duties, privileges, powers, liabilities and immunities" (citing Hoebel 1954:48-49), and the ordered ways in which these properties are distributed in what he calls identity relationships (Goodenough 1965:2).

Goodenough states that "Rights and their duty counterparts serve to define boundaries within which the parties to social relationships are expected to confine their behaviour." He adds that for status analysis, rights and duties as the boundaries command our attention and not the domain of privileges which he calls "the domain of idiosyncratic freedom." The powers and their liability counterparts stem from the privileges while immunities result from rights and the observance of duties (1965:3).

When we look at the Chipewyan from our historic sources generally and from the Churchill Band particularly whenever the group can be distinguished, what do the rights and duties appear to be? Jenness states that Chipewyan women ranked lower than in any other tribe (1963:386). Hearne noted the inferior status of women on several occasions. In times of want, the women were the ones who suffered and were permitted to starve while the males were amply provided for (1958:190). Matonabee was quoted to the effect that

women were made for labour and able to carry twice what a man could haul (Hearne 1958:35). It was clear that when there was trouble or jealousy between wives "...the husband is always arbitrator, he soon settles the business, though perhaps not always to the entire satisfaction of the parties." (Hearne 1958:80).

In a discussion of the Chipewyan concept of beauty in a woman, it was her strength and size that seemed most important. Part of the statement is revealing in the authority of the male (Hearne 1958:244):

"As to their temper, it is of little consequence; for the men have a wonderful facility in making the most stubborn comply with as much alacrity as could possibly be expected from those of the mildest and most obliging turn of mind; so that the only real difference is, the one obeys through fear, and the other complies cheerfully from a willing mind; both knowing what is commanded must be done."

Hearne refers to males on occasion not as husbands but as owners (1958:56).

While the foregoing suggests that the woman had few if any rights, it may well be that because the informants are universally male that such information was usually overlooked. Birket-Smith (1930:68) drawing upon the experience and knowledge of Bishop A. Turquetil, O.M.I. who had spent many years among the Chipewyan at Reindeer Lake reports that the newly-married couple resided the first year with the parents of the bride. There is no indication of this in the reports of Hearne (1769-1782) in spite of the fact that Hearne is fairly comprehensive in his description of the arrangement of marriages (1958:200-201). Of

course, whether this suggests particular rights for the woman rather than her family is problematical.

In the change of husbands which occurred for some women either through purchase or by wrestling, the children always went with the mother. In this respect, women had rights although in practise few women with children were purchased or wrestled for since as Hearne appropriately notes: "...few of the men chuse (sic) to be at the trouble of maintaining other people's children, except on particular occasions, ..." (Hearne 1958:69). It would appear, therefore, that the marriage was often in danger of being broken by the strength of another man until such time as there were children, at which time there appeared to be reasonable prospects for its permanency.

It can therefore be stated that the rights of the husband historically include having supreme authority in the family unit, being the autocratic arbitrator of family disputes and being assured that in time of want, his needs would be met first. In the marriage, he had the majority of rights. This produced reciprocal duties for the wife. She was expected to unquestionably obey her husband, to work hard, even to starve if the amount of available food was only that necessary to sustain the husband, and to accept her husband's decisions in disputes.

The rights of the wife were few. She had the right to expect succour and protection from her husband but this was not guaranteed. She had the right not to be sold or gambled away once there were

children as the result of her marriage, and she had the right to have her husband and her live with her own family after marriage until the birth of the first child unless this right was cancelled by other more important considerations. The reciprocal duties of the husband therefore included living with and providing assistance to his wife's family after marriage until the birth of the first child; the duty not to sell or gamble away his wife after there was issue from the marriage; and the duty to provide succour and protection for his wife and family.

One other aspect which seems to relate to authority in marriage is in the area of wife lending. Hearne states that it was common to exchange wives for the night. He stated that this was considered one of the strongest ties of friendship between two families to the extent that in the case of the death of either man, the other considered himself bound to support the children of the other. However, the Chipewyan men are stated to be very particular in observing a proper distance in the consanguinity of those they admit to the wife-sharing arrangement. (Hearne 1958:83). From what Hearne reports, it would seem likely that the male was the dominant figure in these decisions, but at the same time we do not have the viewpoint of any of the wives to determine what their role in such decisions may have been.

In terms of Chipewyan society and the precarious livelihood which was pursued, the male seemed to have most of the authority. However, it is obvious that in spite of the pronouncements of later

ethnologists, women had rights and some authority, much of which was probably exercised in private rather than in public.

In the missionary and later fur trade periods, the degree of authority seems in the one hundred years under consideration to have shifted slightly. Le Goff (1916:ix) states that prior to the knowledge and practise of Christianity there were two categories of persons to be pitied - the woman and the orphan. He adds that this is changing gradually.

Rev. (later Bishop) J. Lofthouse, who was the Anglican priest at Churchill for most of the 1880's and later visited in his capacity as bishop at least once (1919) reports a similar attitude to women and a similar change apparently as the result of Christianity (1922:164-166).

The only statement which I have found which suggests authority for the women is from Father Jean Megret, the Roman Catholic priest at Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, for the Lac la Hache Band of Chipewyans at Brochet, Manitoba. He has informed me that women have authority over female children, but not over male children who are the prerogative of the father (Personal communication, January 28, 1965).

Programs of the Canadian Government have also produced impact in this period. The annual treaty payments were paid to the head of the family unit and this was normally a male except for units composed of a woman and/or children for unattached women; payments for orphans was paid to guardians. However, the dominance of the male received a major blow when Family Allowances were introduced in 1942 with payment being made to the mother except where the mother had died. This was money over which the woman had control.

It would appear in general that the degree of dominance of the male in terms of authority lessened in the period under consideration, but that there remained an obvious dominance on the part of the male.

At the beginning of the Recent Period, the degree of authority can be considered that described for the middle period. However, the Family Allowance payments to mothers were making their impact felt even more as time passed. Another occurrence that was to have an impact was education, especially among the females. The first few Chipewyan children started school in 1952. Education of children at Canadian schools became general for the band in 1953 and 1954.

A marked shift in the degree of authority in marriage has resulted from the movement of the band into Churchill itself. Where previously a man proved his worth by how he provided for his family through trapping and hunting, these skills mean little in the urban context.

The decline in caribou herds and changes in routes of migration in the 1950's meant that there were few animals to hunt. Trapping had provided an average of \$360 per trapper the winter before the move to North River in 1956. The first four seasons of trapping in the North River area produced the following average income per trapper (Hlady 1960:1):

1956-1957	\$ 83
1957-1958	\$162
1958-1959	\$212
1959-1960	\$ 86

A parallel occurrence was that two or three individuals in the band had secured employment in Churchill on a fairly steady basis. As trapping did not meet the needs of families, more and more of the men attempted to secure wage employment. The majority secured menial jobs for the summer season only. The difficulty in securing employment on a steady basis was linked to lack of skills, poor knowledge of English and poorly-developed work personalities (Hlady 1960:6).

The result was that where a man had proved himself as a hunter and trapper, he now had to prove himself in terms of an urban society. This proved difficult for the Chipewyan men. The difference in language was difficult to overcome; their skills could be matched to very few positions; and there was considerable social pressure on those men who were working to share their earnings with other men who were unemployed and who often had given up the quest for jobs.

At the same time, the young adult females were obtaining employment as domestics and in the army messhall. They were achieving a degree of independence Chipewyan women had not experienced previously and were in contact with many persons outside the group.

The young women quickly determined that the status of women in other groups was composed of a more favourable division of rights and duties between the husband and wife. In fact the major rights of the husband which were discussed earlier for earlier periods were not acceptable to the young women as these were not exercised in other groups

to which they had access. It followed that if the men were not accorded these rights, the duties which the women had had to complement such rights would not be operative.

For the older people (those over 30) who were well set in their culture, reliance continued upon the culture to handle problems as had been found effective in the past. For those under 30, and especially insofar as those who were unmarried were concerned, new ways of doing things were attempted. This was more evident among the females starting with the wife in the second last arranged marriage of which I have record. Mrs. Ian was dissatisfied as she looked at the possibilities in the new environment and this seemed to be communicated to her female friends, most of whom were unmarried.

A mother's authority over their daughter changed first. The young women refused to have their marriages arranged for them any longer. If one takes the second last arranged marriage in 1958 as the time marker, the rebellion against arranged marriages would seem to date from about this time.

Another type of female behaviour which was not entirely accepted by the elders was when Alice married a Canadian of European ancestry in September, 1957 and left the group.

The last arranged marriage of which I have record occurred in 1961. In both of the last arranged marriages, the women were much younger than the men - the women being seventeen and the men being 32.

For the young men, there was still a complete dependence upon the custom of arranged marriages to obtain their wives. The two marriages in 1962 were arranged by the parties themselves. Such is also the case for a marriage in 1960. By 1965, it was obvious that the young men were seeking other means to overcome the resistance of women to arranged marriages. One male informant, Teepay, 24 years of age and unmarried verbalized it by saying that the young people feel that "forced" marriages are not good and added that they don't occur anymore. He mentioned that the last two arranged marriages have broken up. In his own case, Teepay is keeping company with a Cree girl. He doesn't like the way girls of his own group are acting. This is also of great concern to the older people who feel the young women should act in the old way. At the same time, Teepay feels that marriages should be arranged by the boy's father and the girl's mother as had been customary.

While the mother normally has little authority over the sons, it was the mother who confined Teepay to the house after working hours when she caught him with a married woman. This may be an instance where the women are assuming authority because of the inability of the men to adapt to the new situation.

Another instance which should be noted occurred when the author attempted to learn Chipewyan. The person best qualified in terms of English knowledge was the wife in the second-last arranged marriage. Lessons were arranged for and progressed satisfactorily as

the husband received the payment. When the wife was paid for the lesson on one particular occasion, the lessons ceased.

In viewing authority, it is pertinent to describe an instance where the traditional division of labour between sexes seems to be changing. Tanning hides is traditionally women's work (Hearne 1958: 200, 57; Birket-Smith 1930:60-63). The only variation is that occasionally men took the leg skins and scraped them for use in par-fleches and for the sides of carioles. At the time I was expediting the tanning of hides for Eskimo handicrafts by Chipewyan women in 1960, men were willing to scrape leg skins but they always came back untanned. At the same time, it became obvious that some of the men were involved in the tanning process as their wives secured larger number of hides than was normal. In one obvious case the man removed his family to an area where they would not likely be observed on the reasoning that "wood was available." (Hlady 1960:b). In 1965, Teepay gave me the names of three other men who were tanning hides. Whether the monetary aspect made this type of work more acceptable is not known, but this might be the needed impetus.

In one of the marriages which was decided upon by the couple themselves, the wife seems to wield much more authority than had previously been considered normal in the Chipewyan household. The male was one of the few who had permanent-type employment and it would seem that this was an important criterion in the girl's thoughts concerning

marriage. On at least one occasion, there has been a separation when he resigned his job. The two were reconciled only when he again obtained permanent-type employment. This will be explored further later in this thesis.

In Snowdrift, Vanstone says that marriages are, to some extent, arranged but it is not always clear who the persons responsible are. He obtained the information that old women wielded considerable power in these matters in the early 1960's (Vanstone 1963: 49-50).

Authority in Chipewyan marriage among the Churchill Band would appear to be shifting appreciably in favour of the female. This is because the female is finding a greater degree of independence in the new environment and because the male has not been able to adapt adequately to the new situation particularly in the matter of providing for his family other than by welfare payments. The women are utilizing this situation to erode the previous rights of husbands and to evolve additional rights for themselves.

RESIDENCE AFTER MARRIAGE

In the matter of RESIDENCE AFTER MARRIAGE, there is a lack of adequate information. What there is, however, gives us some indication of residence patterns after marriage.

With Hearne, there seems to be no variation concerning this quality of a Chipewyan marriage. In all the examples he notes,

the woman went with the male.¹ Birket-Smith (1930:68), however, using the knowledge and experience of Bishop Turquetil states that the usual rule was for the newly married couple to reside for at least the first year with the parents of the bride. Bishop Turquetil spent twelve years at Reindeer Lake (Brochet) from 1900 to 1912 (Eskimo 1960:10) when he left to found the Roman Catholic Mission at Chesterfield Inlet (Ducharme 1962:3).

Jenness (1956:24) shows as part of the account of an early explorer the following:

Among the Chipweans (sic) "...She is bestowed upon him about the age of thirteen or fourteen and the young couple generally remain with her relations until the time she begins to bear children which is seldom earlier than at fifteen and leaves off at thirty-five...."

Murdock (1957:670, 682) shows the Slave whom he feels are representative of their culture area which includes the Chipewyans as matrilocal in marital residence with no reported alternatives.

1. Hearne tells of Matonabee purchasing a seventh wife. She joined Matonabee. (1958:56). The elopement of one of Matonabee's wives and another woman, both of whom had been taken from former husbands by force and had been accompanying their new husbands. (1958:66). In gaining a wife through wrestling, Hearne is clear when he says, "...they make no scruple of tearing any other man's wife from his bosom, and making her part of their luggage. In another example connected with wrestling where the woman did not like her former husband, she goes with her new husband (1958:68-9). These examples, however, may be at odds because most or all are not initial marriages for the women. In his extensive discourse on the arrangement of marriage, there is no indication that there is a period of residence required after marriage of the male and his wife with the parents of the bride. (1958:200-203).

The source for this contention is not given. Driver (1952) and Driver and Massey (1957:435) refer to the Slave as matrilocal. Again no evidence is given for the statement. Honigmann (1946:69) states for the Slave that residence is generally matrilocal after marriage and this was the basis for functioning of the sororate among the Slave.

Helm (1961:67), however, states that the Slave are not matrilocal if the term is utilized according to Murdock (1949:16-17) to mean permanent residence with or near the wife's parents. Rather it is matrilocal residence for a year or two or until the birth of the first child, after which permanent patrilocal residence is the rule (Helm 1961:67). Helm feels that it is probable that in aboriginal times one can make no useful distinction between pre and post-marital bride service, as it is likely that the marriage was not really established until pregnancy (Helm 1961:68).

As a result of these possibly opposite views concerning residence after marriage among the Chipewyans, several questions arise. Did the patterns change between the time of Hearne (1760's to 1780's) and the period Bishop Turquetil comments upon (1900-1912)? Was there a difference between what was expected of young men as husbands and older, more mature and proven men? In this Hearne states that the men are often much older in the arranged marriages. Children are often betrothed to men of thirty-five or forty years

of age (1958:200). Would this mean that the bride-price - if such existed - was more secure from an older man and therefore bride-service in residence was not as likely to be demanded?

While the evidence is not entirely clear, there is a strong indication that this latter possibility was indeed the case especially since most of Hearne's observations were made as a companion of Matonabee, the most important man of that period among the Chipewyans. Influence and other considerations such as gifts likely took the place of service.

As Birket-Smith remarks (1930:68), matrilocality need not necessarily mean that the Chipewyans are the remnant of a former matriarchate using as an example the Yukagir in northeast Siberia (citing König 1928-29:122). However, he notes that genuine matriarchate is mentioned from the Kutchin, an Athapaskan group in the Yukon. It would appear historically that matrilocality was partly the case, but was substituted often by other consideration when the bridegroom was much older. Considerably older bridegrooms seem to be the rule in the observations of Samuel Hearne (citing Hardisty and Jones in Gibbs 1872:315, 326).

At the same time, the information supplied Birket-Smith by Bishop Turquetil may well show changes as the Chipewyan gradually tied themselves to settlements at least for a small part of the year with the result that initial matrilocality became more pronounced. Birket-Smith's observations upon matrilocality

by the couple in their first year of marriage (1930:68) would probably be typical in the recent period. This would appear especially likely after the decline of polygyny and a greater opportunity for younger men to marry.

Heedee had, in his first marriage in 1948, married a woman from the Barren Lands Band at Brochet. At her later death, one of the surviving children went permanently to her parents in Brochet. It is not known whether he lived with his wife's parents in Brochet after marriage and before his wife joined the Churchill Band.

The only concrete evidence of matrilocal residence after marriage involved the young man from the Churchill Band who married a Chipewyan girl of the Stony Rapids (Maurice) Band in northern Saskatchewan and transferred to that band. The two had met in residential school.

Evidence was not found which would suggest that Birket-Smith's observation (1930:68) that the newly married couples resided with the bride's parents for the first year was being practised at present. However, since observation of newly married couples was not possible in the period of my resident observations, this practise may possibly occur. In addition others who have been in close contact with the group, including one anthropologist, Revindra Lal (personal communication) have not observed this trait either. One couple known to be living together in a common-law relationship have shifted residence constantly between the houses of both sets of parents.

In another case, there was bride service, possibly because of the difficult condition of the widowed mother. However, residence of the couple was on the other side of Churchill from the mother. While the couple was childless, they did have children living with them in their care.

The picture is extremely confused. With the limited examples available, the suggested conclusion is that at the time of Hearne, when husbands were usually much older than the wives, patrilocal residence was practised perhaps substituting influence and wealth for matrilocal residence. At the beginning of this century, the information suggests matrilocal residence. Recent information (1948 and later) infers matrilocal residence after marriage, but also suggests bilocal residence as well. It is obvious that the information is far from adequate to give a clear picture.

CHOICE OF MATE

In the discussion of CHOICE OF MATE in a Chipewyan marriage, there are two considerations which must be taken into account:

(1) who determines choice? and (2) what is the basis of choice? In addition, each of these have to be observed in the light of whether it is the initial marriage or a subsequent one.

In the determination of choice of a mate for a young woman, Hearne is implicit that the women "seem to have no choice, but implicitly obey the will of their parents, who always endeavour to marry their daughters to those that seem most likely to be capable

of maintaining them, let their age, person or disposition be ever so despicable." Where parents are dead, the male next of kin takes over (1958:200). Jenness' explorer (1956:24) agrees. However, as Hearne notes elsewhere, "...they seem to have a great affection for their wives and children..." (1958:33). It may well be that the daughter can wield singular influence in the choice through the affection felt toward her by her father and through the efforts of her mother. However, there appears nowhere a direct statement of this kind. Morice agrees with Hearne that marriages are arranged for the young women by their parents or next of kin (1906-10:247).

In some instances it is obvious that parents had little or no choice, especially if they were in a weakened or indefensible position. One such instance is reported by Hearne (1958:176) where some of his companions sought out a family whose tracks they had found and "...finding them to be poor inoffensive people, plundered them not only of the few furs (sic) which they had, but also took one of their young women from them." It would therefore appear that while the parents normally arranged the initial marriage for a daughter, that marriage by capture did occur.

In the choice of mate for a previously unmarried daughter, the following series of choices appear to have been the norm:

1. Marriage arranged by parents in which event the daughter might exert some influence because of the affection of the father.

2. In the event parents are deceased, the male next of kin assumes the function of arranging the marriage.

3. In the event that the parents or the male next of kin are weak or in a poorly defensible position, marriage by capture is possible. In that event, there is no choice.

In determining the choice of mate for a young man, Hearne does not leave any direct statements. From later sources, however, it is likely that the parents normally arranged the marriage for him. However, Father J. Megret, O.M.I., who worked with the Chipewyan both of Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, and Brochet, Manitoba for many years told me that the father would arrange the marriage of his sons. One of my Churchill informants Esay, at that time 19 years old, said that when he was married his parents would arrange the marriage with the parents of a suitable girl. As such, I believe it is likely that this tradition is of long standing and can be ascribed to the period under discussion. The custom is described in detail for the young females.

It is obvious from what has been noted in Hearne that the older male negotiated directly with the parents of a young female (Hearne 1958:200), or won her from her husband by wrestling, purchase or capture (Hearne 1958:68, 176). There is no evidence one way or the other that when there were negotiations that an intermediary was utilized.

The arrangement of marriage for a previously married female seemed to present more possibilities than one who had not been married previously. If she were without protection as was the Dogrib-woman

found by Hearne's party, her future husband was decided in a wrestling contest (1958:170). Wrestling has been noted as the way in which wives were taken away from husbands especially if there were no children (Hearne 1958:67, 68). Morice says this was common to all the Athapaskan tribes east of the Rocky Mountains and even the Loucheux (Kutchin) of Alaska (1906-10:247). The taking of a young woman by force from a weak family by some of Hearne's companions (1958:176) has already been noted.

Another possibility that existed, especially if the woman had children, was noted in Hearne's description of wife-lending where the practise bound the surviving man to support the children of the deceased (1958:83). What is not said but would appear obvious, since the children always went with the mother, (Hearne 1958:69; Morice 1906-10:249) is that the mother became one of the wives of the man so obligated.

Direct purchase of a wife was another method. Matonabee (as previously noted) purchased the wife of another man (Hearne 1958:56).

There was a major type of remarriage, if it can be called such, which occurred. This was when women were carried off by other groups as slaves. Knight reports such a case in the spring of 1713 when Crees had destroyed a band of Chipewyans, carrying off several of the women as slaves (Kenney 1932:52). Knight was to buy and use such Chipewyan women to obtain information about the Chipewyans and their

territory and later used one such women in 1715-16 to establish contact and negotiate a truce between the Cree and Chipewyan (Kenney 1932:52-56). Another instance of Cree taking Chipewyan women as slaves in 1715 was reported in Knight's Journal but when the group were at the Churchill River on their return to York Factory, the women had escaped (Kenney 1932:56).

In 1717 when a Chipewyan slave woman, two men and a boy, all useful as interpreters had died, Knight bought another Chipewyan woman from a Cree since he was desperate for a Chipewyan interpreter (Kenney 1932:62). The Dogrib woman who had escaped from the Athapuskow (Cree) Indians and was found by Hearne's party had been captured and enslaved (Hearne 1958:168).

Whether the Chipewyan woman reported by Hearne (1958:5) as married to the Cree, Mackachy, had originally been a slave is not known, but as peace had existed between the two groups for many years in this area, it is unlikely. The way in which Mackachy secured provisions from Chipewyans would suggest it was the result of friendly relations.

In the missionary and later fur trade period, additional changes occurred. Father Megret states that for Wollaston Lake and Brochet, the marriages are arranged by parents except that 5% to 10% of marriages are the result of the arrangements of the young couple themselves (Personal communication January 28, 1965).

There was a problem at various times to find enough persons who could marry within the Churchill Band. The marriage universe became too small. Where this situation had occurred previously, it was normally resolved by obtaining eligible persons from other bands to the west. From the loose organization which had existed prior to the treaties with the Government of Canada, at least three bands had moved in roughly the same large general area. An individual family could have been part of any number of combinations involving parts of the three or more later bands. These bands were the Churchill, Barren Lands and Lac la Hache with the possible addition of the Stony Rapids (Maurice) Band.

With the signing of the treaties the bands became stable in membership and the difficulties in finding acceptable mates, appeared at intervals. To overcome part of this difficulty within the Churchill Band, a trade of families was arranged with the Barren Lands Band. As a result, Teepear, his wife and five children (ages 3-16) joined the Churchill Band. This would likely indicate that child betrothal persisted in the group throughout this period although with the elimination of polygyny, the custom was used for both girls and boys instead of for girls alone. Other examples of trading families or individuals also occur early in the recent period.

In the qualities of marriage, the choice of mate, more than any other factor, appears to have altered greatly in the recent period. As has been noted earlier in the discussion of this under "Degree of

Authority," the arrangement of marriages has broken down with the second last such marriage occurring in 1958 and the last in 1961. If we look at the number of marriages in the group between 1935 (the year after the end of the Anglican Church records noted in Table 3) and 1958, I have record of 45 marriages. (See Table 4). I feel there is every likelihood that the information I have is incomplete so that this should be considered the minimum number. This is an average of 1.88 marriages per year compared to 1.45 marriages per year for the 75 year period noted in Table 3. The 45 marriages include two to members outside the group - one in 1955 to a Chipewyan who had become enfranchised and is no longer legally an Indian and one in 1957 to a Euro-Canadian. Both involved females of the band.

If we consider only the period 1955-1958, there were sixteen marriages recorded. Since 1958, marriages have been less frequent. There was one in 1959 between a female of the band and a Euro-Canadian; one in 1960 in which the couple themselves decided upon marriage; two in 1961 - one of which was arranged by the parents and the other by the couple themselves; one in 1962 arranged by the couple themselves; none in 1963; two in 1964 - one between one of the men and a woman of Cree ancestry who is not a legal Indian and the other where a Chipewyan woman left the band and married a Euro-Canadian; and one marriage in 1965 of a Chipewyan woman to a Euro-Canadian.

The woman who married the Euro-Canadian in 1959 was legally divorced by her husband. The final decree became effective in 1965.

TABLE 4: MARRIAGES BY YEARS FOR THE CHURCHILL BAND 1935-1965

<u>Year</u>	<u>Marriages for which an exact date is recorded</u>	<u>Marriages recorded but date obscured and assumed to be this year</u>	<u>Totals</u>
1935	1		1
1936			
1937	1	1	2
1938	3		3
1939	1		1
1940	4		4
1941	1		1
1942			
1943			
1944	1		1
1945			
1946		2	2
1947	3		3
1948	2		2
1949	1	2	3
1950	1		1
1951	1		1
1952	1		1
1953	2	1	3
1954			
1955	7		7
1956	4		4
1957	1		1
1958	4		4
1959	1		1
1960	1		1
1961	2		2
1962	1		1
1963			
1964	2		2
1965	1		1
Totals	47	6	53

Source: Indian Affairs Branch, Churchill, Manitoba.

In the marriage listed for 1960, there was a great rush to be married on December 31st so that the husband could claim his bride for that year as an income tax exemption. This is a rather extreme example of limited acculturation.

In addition, both of the marriages contracted by the couple themselves in 1961 and 1962 ended in tragedy in 1963 when both husbands drowned in an accident.

In the period 1959-1965, therefore, there were eight marriages of which one was arranged by the parents, three between members of the band who determined their own mates, and four where a member of the band has married someone from outside the band.

What this record of marriages does not show is that most of the unmarried women as well as a few of the married women are involved in common-law relationships outside of the band, normally with Euro-Canadians. This has resulted in a large number of "illegitimate" children. Where record was found of no such births in the period 1910-1948, except those recorded in the original treaty as "illegitimate" but who were likely the offspring of polygamous marriages, the situation has changed drastically since. There were 24 women noted with "illegitimate" children - eleven women with one child, six with two children, four with three, two with four and one with five - a total of 49 children.

Table 5 shows the frequency by years. It should be noted that in the ten years prior to 1958 (this is approximately the move in 1956 to the Churchill area plus fifteen months to begin and complete the pregnancy period, involves, twelve "illegitimate" births or 1.33 per year in a period when there was some limited contact with the Churchill area. In the eight years (1958-1965) since, there have been 37 "illegitimate" births, an average of 4.63 per year. For the period 1958-1965, I have record of 124 births to members of the band, so that "illegitimate" births comprise 29.8% of the births.

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF "ILLEGITIMATE" CHILDREN BORN IN THE CHURCHILL BAND BY YEAR

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1949	1
1950	2
1951	1
1952	1
1953	1
1954	1
1955	2
1956	2
1957	1
1958	3
1959	5
1960	4
1961	5
1962	5
1963	6
1964	5
1965	4
TOTAL	49

The incidence of individual choice by the woman seems rarely mentioned by Hearne although he does note the elopement of one of Matonabee's wives to rejoin her former husband (1958:66). Hearne in his specific chapter on the Northern Indians states that divorces are common. "...This ceremony, ... consists of neither more nor less than a good drubbing, and turning the woman out of doors; telling her to go to her paramour, or relations, according to the nature of her crime." (1958:201). It would appear, however, that in this period the direct use of negotiations or choice by the woman securing another husband was somewhat limited.

In the early fur trade period, there seem to be only two considerations concerning the basis of choice which can be gleaned from Hearne. The first is that the husband-to-be is likely to be able to maintain the girl (1958:200). Conversely, from the male's point of view that the girl be able to dress all kinds of skins, make clothing, be able to carry up to 140 lbs. in summer, haul even more in winter and other similar accomplishments.

At the same time, the early explorer's journal (Jenness 1956:24) states that the parents determine who the young girl is to marry and that they adopt the same maxims as Europeans in "studying how they may dispose of the daughters to the best advantage without any regard to the inclination of the young women, for if the son-in-law be a good hunter he generally supports the family of the wife's relations should they require it." The author of this manuscript is

unknown but is believed to be John Macdonell, a contemporary of Alexander Mackenzie and is believed to have been written sometime between 1790 and 1810.

The second consideration is blood relationship. It is extremely difficult to determine to what degree closeness in blood relationship is permitted in Chipewyan marriage but there appears to be a greater taboo to close kinship than exists in Canadian society. As the marriage universe later expanded to the recent period, blood relationship seemed to be absent in all marriages of the past 56 years in a study of genealogies. Hearne is clear that incest in terms of biological union with close relatives is held in abhorrence by the Chipewyans (1958:83-84):

"Though the Northern Indian men make no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time, yet they are very particular in observing a proper distance in the consanguinity of those they admit to the above-mentioned intercourse with their wives. The Southern Indians are less scrupulous on those occasions; for among them it is not at all uncommon for one brother to make free with another brother's wife or daughter; but this is held in abhorrence by the Northern Indians."

Petitot (1891:289) says that Athapaskans as a whole are entirely averse to incest. Birket-Smith states the only hindrance to marriage is too close consanguinity and he reports that Bishop Turquetil stated that in this respect "they go further than white men." (Birket-Smith 1930:67).

From the available information it would appear that ability to perform adequately as providers and a marked degree of separation

in blood relationship constitute the primary bases of choice for Chipewyan marriage in this period. In the latter consideration, Murdock (1957:671-672, 682) states for the Slave that marriage with a parallel cousin was forbidden. This was possibly true for the Chipewyan.

In the recent period, the bases of choice in marriage for women in the band appears closely linked to the standard of living possible. With the move to Churchill, the marriage universe for women has expanded. This accounts partly for the increase in marriages of women outside the group and the large number of common-law arrangements with Euro-Canadians. Linked with this is the greater degree of freedom possible for women and the higher status outside of the group.

The basis of choice in marriage for the men is extremely limited. With the unavailability of the women of their own group, their marriage universe has shrunk. As the Chipewyans are the lowest class in the Churchill situation, women of other groups find little reason to marry or even associate with Chipewyan men. As a result, the young men are increasingly under pressure by this situation to find ways of meeting the observed demands of Chipewyan women. The one instance of marriage within the group because the man held permanent-type employment has been noted as has the fact that when he did resign his position, his wife left him until he obtained similar employment once more.

Another example, Esay, joined the Army because he saw that soldiers were extremely popular with the Chipewyan women. He served four years in Germany and on his return found that the standards of the women had changed somewhat because the local Army Camp had closed and soldiers were no longer stationed in the community.

The situation at Churchill is much more marked in this respect than for any other Chipewyan band. One contrasting example is available from Snowdrift on Great Slave Lake. Vanstone (1963:48), states that marriage is the normal state of affairs. Men and women do not remain single by choice. There are no rules of endogamy. He suggests that young men do not seem to rush into family responsibilities. If they did, they would be looking for wives in Yellowknife or other villages.

One of the frustrating situations which confronts the researcher in terms of basis of choice is attempting to determine the degree of consanguinity which is allowed in marriage. In terms of the genealogies developed, no degree of blood relationship was recognized in any of the marriages. As the information used goes back to roughly 1910, this concerns at most two or three generations. However, the early records are confusing and one must have an intimate knowledge of each family to use the data from 1910-1925. Church and the Indian Affairs Branch records vary as to names. An example of this would be a woman who was baptised in 1893 as Jane Shinazegun, married as Jeanie Chinassie to Bessiedie in 1911,

married again in 1929 as Jean Bezziedaw. The Anglican records in 1923 show this name as Busydaw. Birket-Smith in his 1923 fieldwork presents this name as Bezeda (1930:87 et seq.). This latter name persists in the group presently as Bussidor.

In addition, the Anglican priest of the Churchill Mission attempted to anglicize all the names in 1923, but with little success. Only three of the approximately forty changes attempted were successful. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, were found in the 56 years of records consulted. However, such relationship could exist masked in the confusion of continually changing names.

There has been a trend, which is gathering momentum, for young single men to leave Churchill for more southerly points (e.g. Thompson, etc.) to look for employment (and wives). The young man mentioned in the 1964 marriage to a young woman of Cree ancestry, met her in Winnipeg. It can be expected that unless the young men develop employment skills which ensure steady employment at a favourable rate of pay so as to attract women of the group, the men will leave Churchill in growing numbers to find themselves mates outside, or to obtain employment and wages which will possibly attract females in the group to marry and follow them.

At the beginning of this period, before the revolt of the young women against arranged marriages, there was some exchanging of families with other bands for purposes of maintaining the proper

distance in blood relationship in arranged marriages just as had been noted toward the end of the middle period. Ennis, his wife and one child joined the band in 1951. Tessee, on his marriage in 1955 to a girl from the Stony Rapids (Maurice) Band in northern Saskatchewan, transferred to that band in a likely case of matrilocal residence on marriage.

EXCHANGE AT MARRIAGE

In the early fur trade period concerning EXCHANGE AT MARRIAGE, there is nothing in Hearne which explicitly states that there was any type of exchange at marriage. Birket-Smith stated he was unable to ascertain whether or not the bride was bought (1930:66-67). One indication which would suggest a possibility of some such obligation is perhaps the matrilocal residence of the newly-married couple for the first year. This trait is noted by Birket-Smith (1930:68).

As was noted in the discussion concerning "Residence after Marriage," since the young women were normally betrothed to much older men, who were well established and proven providers, the price that was likely paid was in terms of a continuing arrangement. One was more likely to share with in-laws than others. As was noted in the case of Matonabee, influence as well as some material considerations likely would be another added factor as it would have been with any powerful man.

Le Goff (1916:x) states, however, that before the arrival of the missionaries marriage was accomplished without any kind of formality. The suitor offered gifts and that was all. If the presents were accepted, the young woman was given to the man who, if he came to tire of her, returned her to her father losing all right to the presents he had given and which apparently represented the value of her company.

In the missionary and later fur trade period, there would appear to be only a token exchange at marriage. However, in the case of a widow whose daughter was being married, the widow would accept help as needed. This is reported to have occurred when Ellam agreed to the marriage of her daughter Nancy.

In the recent period, there was no evidence which suggested that exchange at marriage was a practise of the group. With the young persons arranging their own marriages, the position of the family in terms of gain from such an arrangement seems to have been weakened to the point where such a practise is meaningless.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Concerning AGE AT MARRIAGE in the early fur trade periods, Hearne notes that young girls of ten or twelve and sometimes much younger are married (1958:200). He adds that early marriages are seldom productive of children for some years (1958:201). The early explorer's account (Jenness 1956:24) states that girls were generally married about the age of thirteen or fourteen.

TABLE 6: CHURCHILL BAND - AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

<u>YEARS</u>	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	TOTALS
<u>FEMALES</u>																														
FROM 1910 TO 1950	2	1	4	5	7	1	4	1	1	1	1					2						1								31
FROM 1950 TO 1965			4	7	2	3		1	1	1	2																			21
<u>MALES</u>																														
FROM 1910 TO 1950						4	3	1	2	3	3	3		5	2	1	1			3			1					1		33
FROM 1950 TO 1965						1	1	1	1	3	1	2		1			1	1	1								1			15

Source: Indian Affairs Branch records, Churchill, Manitoba.

In the missionary and later fur trade period, information does not appear in church records to any useful degree. Neither are the records of the Indian Affairs Branch complete, but they are useful. Table 6 contains the data which are reasonably accurate. Even so, Table 6 is the age at first marriage, and it is possible that a small number such as the females age 30 and 36 might represent age at a subsequent marriage. However, prior marriages are not noted and they have been included as first marriages. The 31 females married by 1930 for the first time averaged 20.3 years at marriage with the median falling between 19 and 20 years. The 33 males in the same category averaged 25.7 years at marriage with the median being the same. This is a difference of 5.4 years which also shows up approximately in the youngest ages at marriage. Females entered marriage as young as fifteen years of age. Males were at least 20 years of age at marriage. None were younger.

It should be noted that dates of marriage were not available in Indian Affairs Branch records for couples who had been married prior to 1920 and some later records were unusable. The age at first marriage was therefore for most of those married in the period 1920-1950.

Subsequent marriages were naturally contracted at ages which averaged more than initial marriages.

Gibbs (in Ross 1872:305) writing of the Eastern Tinnah or Chepewyan (sic) states that boys marry generally at sixteen to twenty years of age and that girls marry sometimes (but not often) at ten. However, the account deals with Chipewyans and Athapaskans well to the west of the group under discussion and there is only one pointed reference in the account (in Ross 1872:304-311) to the English River Chipewyans in present northwestern Saskatchewan. There is no reference to groups farther east.

In the recent period (after 1950), the average age of the 21 women married for the first time (see Table 6) averaged 19.6 years of age with the median being between 18 and 19 years of age. The average age of the 15 males married after 1950 averaged 26.7 years with the median being about 25 years. The youngest women at initial marriage were 17 years of age, the youngest man was 20 years old. The oldest woman at initial marriage in this period was 25 years old compared to 41 years of age for the oldest man.

STRENGTH OF THE BOND

Through the writings of Hearne and others, there appears to be at least two levels which must be considered in the discussion of the STRENGTH OF THE BOND of marriage in Chipewyan Society in the early fur trade period. The first is before the birth of children. The second is afterwards.

Prior to the arrival of offspring, the strength of the bond appears fragile. Le Goff's example (1916:x) prior to the

arrival of missionaries in which a wife can be returned to her father at the loss of the bride-price would suggest that one reason for severing the relationship was the lack of children.

The elopement of one of Matonabee's wives to return to her former husband (1958:66, 122) indicates that the original bond was the stronger although it would appear that no children were involved. Birket-Smith observes (1930:68) that "until the first child is born the bonds of matrimony are so loose that marriage is mostly to be looked upon as a trial." Morice notes that in the east (the Chipewyan area) cohabitation was always of uncertain duration. This was especially true if there were no children to deter a passer-by from attempting to win her to his side (1906-10: 249). Hearne also notes that a weak man, unless he was a good hunter and well-beloved, was seldom permitted to keep a wife that a stronger man thought worth his notice (1958:67).

For the affluent Chipewyan, one method to ensure that a wife was not taken from him by force was to pay ransom. This Matonabee paid in one incident which Hearne reports (1958:71). This was the same man who had sold the woman to Matonabee some seven weeks previously.

In one reference (1958:33) Hearne notes that the Chipewyan men seem to have great affection for their wives and children. One wonders whether this affection would have been less without the

children. Hearne states that, in general, men are very jealous of their wives and he has no doubt that the same spirit reigns among the women (1958:200).

The practise of wife-lending or wife-exchanging for a night was one of the strongest ties of friendship between two families and was compared by Hearne as being similar to the acquisition by Christians of godparents (1958:83). This, too, seems to be a part of the strength of the bond of marriage since it seems to have been intended as insurance in the event that one of the men died.

However, Hearne does state that divorces were common for such things as bad behavior, lack of performance of necessary tasks, or for incontinency. The ceremony consists of giving the woman a good drubbing, turning her out and telling her to go to her paramour or relations according to the nature of her crime (1958:201). This appears to be the male version of divorce. As has been noted earlier, the women eloped and later secured acquiescence of the husband to the change (Hearne 1958:66, 192). The foregoing seems to confirm that a Chipewyan marriage of this period was fragile until the birth of children at which time permanency was more likely assured.

In the missionary and later fur trade period, the main evidence which suggests that the strength of the bond increased comes from two types of evidence. The first is from missionaries who had a vested interest to develop. The second is indirectly in the eclipse of polygamy.

The missionaries seem unanimous in their findings. Le Goff states that under the influence of Christianity the Chipewyan man not only enjoys the company of his wife, but even surrounds her in that respect, in that affection, of those small attentions which produce the charm of the Christian home (1916:x). He would appear to be talking of the Barren Lands and Lac la Hache Bands at Brochet.

At Churchill, Lofthouse notes that the men were completely callous and inconsiderate of their wives when he arrived (1884). He held a meeting with the men "and had a long and severe talk with them on this matter." One of the oldest men replied that they had listened to the Yalti (priest) and knew that what he had said was right and true, but their forefathers had always acted in this way and they could not change (1922:165).

Lofthouse also relates the curiosity and amusement of the Chipewyan when he walked to the church with his wife on his arm. They would have scorned to do this with their wives. He adds that he saw all this changed. He tells of one man who helped his sick wife to church for many weeks, carrying her across creeks and swamps, helping her find her place in the service books and looking after her with unremitting care. He said it became common for the men to help their wives and even carry the baby. Aged and infirm parents were no longer left to die alone in the wilderness (1922:165-166).

The decline in polygyny likely strengthened the bond between a man and his one wife. Whether the bond between a man and his

several wives was any weaker is beyond the determination of this study but for the monogamous marriage which became outwardly universal for this band in this period, such would appear to be the case.

In terms of the strength of the bond of marriage in the recent period, there are presently four types of union which should be examined:

1. Marriages arranged by parents
2. Marriages arranged by the couple
3. Marriages to members outside the group
4. Common-law marriages

Each division seems to have factors which do not apply to others.

The parentally-arranged marriages contracted in the previous period are stable relationships in the narrow range of Chipewyan marriage. These are the couples who are entrenched in Chipewyan culture and for whom drastic change appears dangerous.

For the arranged marriages of this period, all are in trouble. Many have broken up. The causes seem to be the inability of the men to adapt adequately to the urban situation with the women feeling short-changed when they observe what men better adjusted to Canadian society can provide for their women. At the same time, the age differential between husband and wife is an important factor especially where this exceeds fifteen years. In

the last two arranged marriages, the husbands were fifteen years older than the women. The women who were seventeen years old at marriage have considerably less stake in Chipewyan culture and are more greatly affected by and adaptable to the local Euro-Canadian culture than the men. This is especially true since the women attended schools away from the band while the men did not attend school at all.

Another person, Wydee, was married to an 18 year old girl in 1955. She was about 28 years younger than he. In addition to the outside pressures mentioned earlier, her four children had died, three in a tragic fire. The woman herself died in 1965 as the result of a beating for which her husband was to stand trial. He was adjudged insane and died shortly afterwards.

There are only four marriages arranged by the couples themselves of which I have record. Two tragically ended, as has been noted previously, by the accidental deaths of the husbands. One is fairly recent and I have no further information. The other is the marriage noted where the wife leaves her husband if he resigns his permanent-type employment and only returns if he finds another such job.

It would appear from the last example that an observation concerning Chipewyan women of a much earlier time has some present substance. When they went to live with persons outside the group (the example is the French) they assumed self-importance and

instead of serving as they did in their own group exacted submission from the French. Those who returned to their own group submitted to the needs of the situation but showed a much greater spirit of dependence. They used the knowledge and experience of their life away from the tribe to exact more consideration from the males (Jenness 1956:23-24). This appears to be the case with the women presently but it would appear that the males have not been able to or are unwilling to satisfy the material needs of the women.

Marriages to members outside the group have been, with one exception, Chipewyan women marrying men outside the group. Most of these have been the result of a common-law arrangement which has developed into a legal marriage. Where the husband has taken his wife away from the community, there appears to be no information suggesting the breakup of such marriages. At the same time, there is little information concerning the success of these unions either. If any of the marriages have broken up, the woman has not returned to the band. Legally, they cannot regain their legal position as Indians and members of the band without marrying a male of the band. At the same time, the one marriage where the couple remained in Churchill has ended in the husband securing a divorce. This became final in 1965.

The one marriage of a Chipewyan male to a woman outside the group was likely facilitated by the pregnancy of the woman. The couple have since returned to Churchill several times and alternately make their home there or in Winnipeg.

At the time of writing, I know of only one common-law marriage within the group. It has been mentioned previously in terms of residence.

The normal common-law arrangement is between a Chipewyan woman and a male outside the group. Such a male is usually Euro-Canadian although a few persons are of Indian ancestry. Some of the latter are legal Indians; usually they are not.

While the goal of the women might be a permanent arrangement with legal marriage included, most of the women involved in this process do not appear to progress beyond the common-law stage. There appears to be considerable stress for the woman when such arrangements are terminated unsuccessfully. This may account in part for the apparent suicide of Esse after several unsuccessful attempts.

The women do not appear much interested in the misgivings of older persons in the group. Much of this apparently stems from the low status of women generally in the Chipewyan group and the apparent feeling that it is easier to adjust to Euro-Canadian society with its better standard of living and higher social status than it is to improve their position within the group.

Divorce within the group is not concerned with the legal aspects of Canadian law. Both the marriages and common-law arrangements are broken either through the agreement of both parties or through one leaving the other.

In addition, the payments from Government have provided the woman with additional support. Family Allowances, Old Age Security and welfare payments for women with "illegitimate" children have made the women increasingly independent. Therefore, an experience with a common-law arrangement does have financial backing in the event that a marriage does not result.

POSSIBILITY OF REMARRIAGE

There would appear to be no bar to the POSSIBILITY OF REMARRIAGE among the Chipewyans other than close blood relationship. The need for women was acute and it is possible from the fact that females were the first allowed to starve (Hearne 1958:190), that males outnumbered females. This may well be the real cause of the mass rape of several young women by as many as ten of Hearne's group when their family was unable to defend itself (1958:184). The frantic actions of Hearne's party in the wrestling to determine who would have the Dogrib woman they found (1958:170) may also reflect the same cause.

In addition, wife-lending seemed to be practised to ensure that children were looked after when the father died and that the woman would remarry automatically. In fact, this latter form could be called marriage by inheritance.

The only example of divorce in the early fur trade period which was noted was that of Matonabee divorcing one of his wives who had eloped to rejoin her former husband. The divorce

occurred when the former husband returned her to Matonabee. She then returned to her former husband (Hearne 1958:122).

As in the previous period, there would appear to be no bar to remarriage during the period 1850-1950 except for a close degree of blood relationship. However, it would appear likely that remarriage tended to become largely negotiated for the women either by herself or an intermediary who was likely to be a close relative. Marriage by capture seems to have disappeared as has the form which was marriage by inheritance. For the male, it was negotiated by himself if he was a proven provider or by his parents if he was in his early twenties.

One new bar in terms of remarriage develops in this period. This is the prohibition of marriages between a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law by the Church. This would tend to eliminate any possibility of a levirate or sororate operating in the early years of the period and appears to have eliminated any such possible practise by the end of the period.

In the recent period, there is a legal barrier to remarriage when a legal marriage has not been terminated by the courts. However, this is no bar to common-law arrangements. The normal prohibitions of marriage between consanguines and the elimination of the possible practise of sororate and levirate continue.

At the same time, the legal status of the women as Indians is lost if the women marry persons who are legally not Indian. As such, the support of the Indian Affairs Branch would be withdrawn if the woman became enfranchised. It would appear that some women consider this fact very carefully in event the choice is legal marriage to someone who is legally not an Indian and a common-law arrangement.

KIND OF MATES

In considering KIND OF MATES in Chipewyan marriage, the situation seems relatively uncomplicated. While the clergyman would likely argue that marriage among the Chipewyan of the early fur trade period was not really marriage (Le Goff 1916:x), there seems little doubt of reasonable stability once children were born. Prior to children, stability may be in question. Birket-Smith states that a husband could not without permission dispose of his wife's things (1930:69). There seems to be no idea of concubinage in the Chipewyan situation.

With the coming of the missionaries in the middle period, marriages were normally solemnized in the church. In addition, monogamy had become the rule. There was likely a low incidence of common-law marriages with non-Indians.

In the recent period, there has been a dramatic drop in church marriages within the Churchill Band, a marked increase in common-law and church solemnized marriages by Chipewyan women to

Euro-Canadians, and a marked decrease in either church solemnized or common-law marriages by the Chipewyan men. This reflects the drastic decrease in the authority of parents and grandparents over the young women and the rejection of the former system of negotiating marriages.

MODES OF COURTSHIP

As has been noted previously, modes of courtship will be examined using five of Hoebel's eight divisions (1949:301-317).

MARRIAGE BY PURCHASE

There appear to be two types of marriage by purchase among the Chipewyans of the early fur trade period. The first is the giving of gifts to the parents of the intended bride as reported by Le Goff as existing before the missionary period (1916:x). While this is not explicitly stated, this may also have occurred in the betrothals at a very early age of girls as noted by Hearne (1958:200).

The second type was the example given by Hearne when Matonabee purchased a wife of another man (1958:56). However, the price apparently was not final as a further payment was obtained from an angry Matonabee some seven weeks later (1958:71). This appears to be a commercial transaction dictated by the needs of the fur trade.

In the missionary and later fur trade period, there is reason to believe that the giving of gifts to the family of the girl as reported by Le Goff (1916:x) as occurring before the missionary

period stopped with the addition of marriage ceremonies in the church. However, Birket-Smith has reported that he could not determine whether or not the bride was bought (1930:66-67). It may well be that the value of gifts was not great and that the fact was not recognized by his informants.

The type of purchase noted by Hearne of another man's wife likely disappeared in this period (1958:56). No mention of this type of behaviour has been found.

In the recent period, the giving of gifts has shifted. Instead of the family receiving the gifts, it is the girl who receives them. In fact, the present manifestation of marriage by purchase is in terms of long term benefits where the standard of living and social status accruing to the girl is possibly the prime consideration.

SUITOR SERVICE

One indication that SUITOR SERVICE occurred in the early fur trade period is Birket-Smith's reference to matrilocal residence in the first year of marriage. There appears to be no reference from Hearne which would support this statement. However, since Hearne deals mainly with older and more powerful individuals in the group, such an arrangement may have been the case for younger men who had not satisfactorily proven their ability. However, in view of earlier discussions which suggest an imbalance in population of males over females, it would seem likely that males were normally mature and proven providers prior to marriage. Jenness' explorer (1956:24) confirms Birket-Smith. From

the evidence at hand, there is no information to suggest a difference in the missionary and later fur trade period.

In the recent period, the arranged marriage by Ellam of her daughter Nancy to Ejay, whereby provisions for the mother's support were involved, is cited. However, the couple lived apart from her mother. This type of service has not necessarily declined with the disappearance of arranged marriages. The daughters married to Euro-Canadians often bring material benefits to their families from their marriages.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE was a normal form of marriage, particularly for women who were or had previously been married. Wrestling with the husband for possession of the wife was a normal form of marriage by capture as noted frequently by Hearne (1958:66-69) and Morice (1906-10:249-250), amongst others.

In addition, the capture of young women by force from another family is noted in one instance by Hearne (1958:176). The example of the Dogrib woman who was found and fought over by men of Hearne's party is another type in this category (1958:170).

While Chipewyan women were noted earlier as having been taken as slaves by the Cree (Kenney 1932:52-56, 62), there is no indication that the reverse occurred. It would be strange, however, if Chipewyan had not enslaved Cree women when the opportunity arose.

There seems to be considerable doubt that the Chipewyan enslaved Eskimo women since at the massacre which occurred at the mouth of the Coppermine River, Hearne's attempt to save a young Eskimo woman was met with the question, insulting in its form, whether he wanted an Eskimo wife (1958:99-100). At the same time, I have observed many Chipewyan and Eskimo women who exhibited close physical resemblance and I have wondered whether such captures actually were common at some period in history.

One of my Chipewyan informants at Buffalo Narrows, Saskatchewan, who spoke the Eskimo language, told of his skill in an allegory. He said that one night he had slept on an Eskimo's pillow and the next day he could speak Eskimo. It was obvious from the way in which he told the allegory that he had lived with an Eskimo woman and had learned the language in that manner. I do not think that this is an isolated occurrence. Rather, very few such cases have been recorded.

All forms of marriage by capture, as noted for the previous period, seem to have disappeared early in the middle period 1850-1950. It is not mentioned in any form by either Roman Catholic or Anglican clergy, although it may well be implied in the treatment of women as noted by Le Goff (1916:ix-x) and Lofthouse (1922:164-165). There are no examples evident in the recent period.

INHERITANCE OF WIVES

INHERITANCE OF WIVES is the next division of modes of courtship. There is no evidence that levirate or sororate marriage occurred among the Chipewyan although as has been stated for exchange marriage, there would appear nothing in Chipewyan mores to preclude such forms. It would appear likely that such marriages occurred among this group especially in view of the widespread practise of polygyny.

However, one form of inheritance of wives would appear to have been practised by the Chipewyan. This was through the practise of wife-lending which bound the men to look after the other's children should one of them die (Hearne 1958:83). Since it is also accepted that the children always went with the mother (Hearne 1958:69), the obligation of looking after another man's children undoubtedly included taking the widow as a wife.

Helm (1961:66) in talking of Christianity and aboriginal marriage patterns among the Slaves noted that missionaries attacked polygamy. "... (and thereby in many cases the operation of the levirate)." At the same time, she notes the words of one informant about a brother marrying his brother's widow especially when several small children were involved. Another of Helm's informants stated that remarriage to deceased spouse's siblings (both the sororate and levirate) were considered... "good things to do." (Helm 1961:67).

I could find no record of either form among the Churchill Band. Only one case was observed, Seajay, where a man married two women with the same maiden surname but it was almost impossible for the two to be sisters.

Rev. L. R. Willis, who was the Anglican priest to the group at Churchill for ten years until his transfer about 1964 said, that this situation did not occur during his ministry among them, since the Anglican Church forbids marriage to sisters-in-laws, it may be that this is another custom that has either died out or gone underground.

The lack of information on this form of courtship poses the possibility that the form may have been inheritance to someone outside the family although the levirate or sororate would be natural possibilities also. The fact that Hearne does not mention brothers in the practise of exchanging wives for the night as a strengthening bond between families may be significant. Inheritance of wives likely ceased with the disappearance of polygyny in the middle period.

ELOPEMENT

The last division in the modes of courtship to be discussed is ELOPEMENT. The only example of elopement noted in the sources was where one of Matonabee's wives and another woman eloped from their husbands apparently to rejoin former husbands (Hearne 1958:66). Matonabee had previously attacked and stabbed the former husband but had been prevented from killing him (Hearne 1958:66-67). Later, the

man returned the woman to Matonabee who divorced her on the spot. She then returned to her former husband (Hearne 1958:122).

While no examples were noted in the middle period, there is no reason to believe the practise did not exist. It appears to be the one safety valve in the first two periods to unsatisfactory marriages for women.

In the recent period, elopement was normal in terms of courtship between Chipewyan women and Euro-Canadian men. The woman often followed when her man left the community and the marriage ceremony was performed at some distant point. At the same time, the many common-law arrangements could be considered as elopements since they are arranged outside of the approved cultural context and are without sanction from the group.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For the period 1700 to 1850, it was possible for a Chipewyan man to have as many as eight wives. The criteria was the ability to care for them. However, the normal marriage situation seemed to include only one or two wives. The extremely high number of wives for some persons seemed to relate to the needs of Chipewyan middlemen in the fur trade. For the years 1850 to 1950, polygyny fades out rather rapidly after the missionaries became well established, disappearing except for one or two cases by 1910. Monogamy has been the rule since.

There is an erosion of authority for the male from the autocratic position he exercised from 1700 to 1910 in polygynous marriages. The main factor was the missionaries who preached monogamy. The second, and far less important factor, was the actions of the Canadian Government after the signing of the treaties. However, it is clear that as long as the group remained in semi-isolation, dependent upon the skills of the men as hunters and providers, their authority clearly outweighed that of the women. It was the decline and virtual demise of their former way of life with the move, first to North Knife River and latterly to Churchill, that the men could no longer provide adequately for their families. The men were unable in most cases to earn an adequate income in the urban situation. The younger women refused to rely on the older ways of their people since these did not seem to meet the situations they experienced in Churchill. This eroded the power of the older men, who attempted to handle the situation as

best they could, but without success. The younger wives followed suit with the resultant breakdown of many of their marriages. The younger women demand equality, at least in their marriages or common-law liaisons, as was evident in the one common-law union within the group. They normally demand a reasonable standard of living as they have found a number of employment opportunities of which they can take advantage.

An additional factor has been social security measures such as the Family Allowances for children, Old Age Security payments for women over 65 years of age, and welfare payments for the care of illegitimate children which are paid to women and over which the women have control. The Family Allowances in themselves since 1942 appear to have been a major impetus to women developing better status within the family unit.

Where their developing needs are not likely to be satisfied in marriage, the women are not marrying. The men in the group apparently are not able or willing to meet these needs with the resulting drought of marriages. The revolt of the women has resulted in a stalemate.

While matrilocal residence appears to have been normal in the marriages of young men until the birth of the first child, this situation in the period 1700-1850 seems to have been relaxed if the husband was a proven provider and especially if he occupied a position of influence. However, this trait appears to have been

discarded in the Churchill situation. The availability of housing with most of the group living in one location appears to be a factor. The breakdown of the authority of parents and grandparents with the women arranging their own marriages is another factor. However, parents, grandparents and other relatives are used extensively to care for children if such children interfere in the progress of a developing liaison or marriage.

Arranged marriages, through the offices of close relatives, were the normal method of marriage in the period from 1700 to 1950. After the movement to Churchill in 1956, arranged marriages became rare with the last recorded one in 1961. In the earliest period before missionary activity, marriage by capture (including wrestling the husband), by purchase and by inheritance seemed to have been alternate methods of securing wives. After 1956, most marriages have been negotiated by the persons directly involved.

The basis of choice has ideally required that the husband be a good provider, the woman a good wife and mother with a large capacity for work, and that the blood relationship be non-existent or well separated by several generations. Presently, the men and women of the Churchill Band employ similar criteria. However, the women consider the Chipewyan men poor providers in relationship to others in their marriage universe. At the same time, most of the men appear unable to come up to the standards demanded by the women.

Exchange at marriage likely existed but the documentation for such a practise is largely absent except for Le Goff's reference

(1916:x) given as prior to the arrival of missionaries and the one example in recent years of assistance to the widowed mother. It is presently the woman to be married or making a common-law liaison who is likely to benefit.

The age at marriage is increasing. In the earliest period (1700-1850) and through much of the middle period into this century, girls of the young age of ten, and sometimes younger, were married. It is more likely that fourteen or fifteen years of age was the more common age for marriage.

However, in the latter part of the middle period (after 1920), women married as young as fifteen but average of thirty-one cases for the first marriage was 20.3 years of age. The average for men in this period was 25.7 years at the time of their first marriage with the youngest twenty years old and the oldest forty-three years of age.

In the recent period, women at first marriage in twenty-one cases averaged 19.6 years of age with the youngest being 17 years old. For the men the age at first marriage for the fifteen cases recorded averaged 26.7 years of age with the youngest twenty years old.

The strength of the bond in Chipewyan marriage was weak until such time as there were children. This appears to be true throughout the entire time period under study. Children reduced the efforts of others to take the woman away from the man in the

period 1700-1850. Christianity in the period 1850-1950 seems to have eliminated this practise and through the elimination of polygyny to focus more of the man's attention on one wife. Since 1950, marriages without children, or where the children have died, appear to be those which are broken or are in the greatest difficulty. This is particularly noticeable in those marriages where the husband is much older than the wife. At the same time, children are a somewhat less important factor in maintaining a stable marriage where the wife is young.

The possibility of remarriage has been uniformly good once a marriage has been broken by death or breakdown. However, while the possibilities for remarriage for women were reduced slightly when marriage by inheritance disappeared, and by the possibility that some relatives may have been excluded from the marriage universe by the adoption of Christianity, the expansion of the marriage universe, especially for women, after the group settled in Churchill has increased the opportunities. In addition, in the recent experience, common-law arrangements are made in spite of marriages which have not been terminated legally.

The kind of mates in Chipewyan society has been a husband with one or more wives. Since 1910, polygyny has not been the mode. Monogamous marriage is presently the rule. Concubinage has not been known in this group.

In the recent period, the incidence of common-law marriages has increased dramatically. In terms of Canadian law such marriages are not recognized as legal marriages. In terms of the Chipewyans themselves, it is difficult to determine how such marriages are considered. The fact that no examples of relatives attempting to end such liaisons would suggest that they consider them as acceptable.

When one considers the qualities of Chipewyan marriage, there have been a number of major factors from outside the group which have caused changes. The fur trade and the use of Indian middlemen probably increased the number of wives these middlemen needed. The failure of the fur trade when the French destroyed Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill) in 1782, likely reduced the number of wives required. In addition, the fur trade, as noted by Jenness' explorer, was a means by which many Chipewyan women took up housekeeping with Europeans. The failure to secure adequate furs in the winter trapping of 1956-1957 resulted in the Churchill Band settling in Churchill.

The introduction and acceptance of Christianity led to the disappearance of polygyny, and improved the status of wives within the family unit. The beginning of written records by the churches have provided useful information on the group.

The signing of the treaty with Canada in 1910 brought the band under the Indian Affairs unit of the Canadian Government. The

immediate effect on marriage was the classification of extra wives as unmarried females and their children as "illegitimate." While Indian Affairs Branch attempted to control most aspects of Indian life, the Chipewyans normally kept aloof except to receive their treaty payments. The attempts to educate children of the Churchill Band were unsuccessful until a few children stranded in Churchill with their mothers at freeze-up in 1952 were whisked off to residential school. The general education of Chipewyan children began in 1953. It was from the educated young women in the group that the "revolt" began.

The effect of various social security measures and particularly Family Allowances as a means of improving the status of wives in the family unit has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Old Age Security payments and welfare payments for unmarried women with "illegitimate" children are much less important in viewing the qualities of Chipewyan marriage.

The effect of the urban environment has been the major factor in changing the qualities of marriage at the present time. The effect of a greatly increased marriage universe for the women has badly disrupted the institution of marriage among the Churchill Chipewyans. The Chipewyan men are not able to secure wives. Another factor is that the young women are able to find employment and become independent of their families. The younger men, generally,

appear to rely on the established customs of the group and that marriages for them will be arranged. However, it is obvious that more of the young men are attempting to find wives on their own. Very few can compete with outsiders in terms of the standard of living per se they can obtain for their families without considering the higher status that others can offer the woman.

There have been drastic changes in the modes of courtship over the periods being discussed. Marriage by purchase, suitor service in the traditional Chipewyan form, marriage by capture and inheritance of wives have all been discarded. Elopement as a result of the private arrangements made by the two persons involved seems to be the basic mode of courtship today. This can be considered, in effect, a more personal form of suitor service. The woman, herself, is convinced without the normal Chipewyan ways of accomplishing the marriage rite. In this the socially approved activities involved in the marriage, including the promulgations of the marriage and the appropriate festive observances are normally outside the group.

To discuss the changes in the modes of courtship and the qualities of Chipewyan marriage directly in terms of the thesis suggested on page 3, it has been demonstrated that the most dramatic changes have occurred since the Churchill Band settled in Churchill after 1956. The economy is entirely different with the local emphasis on wage employment and welfare payments rather than the hunting,

trapping and gathering economy of the barrenlands. It has changed the roles since the men have not been able to prove themselves adequate providers for their families in the majority of cases. Many of the women have secured employment as domestics, waitresses, clerks, nurses aides, etc. This has provided the women with independence to a degree they had not enjoyed in the past. The interrelationship of roles between men and women has changed as a result. Women are demanding better treatment, status and standard of living. They view their role as drastically different to that of a low status wife and mother on the barrenlands. The men have been able to adjust neither to the new environment with its demands of saleable skills, facility in English and an adequate wage employment personality nor to the accelerating expectations of the women.

The move to Churchill has opened up a much greater marriage universe to the women by the inclusion of non-Chipewyans. At the same time, the marriage universe has shrunk drastically for the men. Not only are there almost none of the unmarried women in the group willing to marry them, women outside the group have no interest in marrying them for the same reasons the Chipewyan women are not interested. The shift in roles is greatest for the men. The shift is as great as the Plains Indian men experienced with the near-extinction of the buffalo. For most of the Chipewyan men, the adaptation is more than they are able to handle accounting for the

escapism in alcohol, the many acts of anti-social behavior with the attendant increase in court prosecutions and detention, and the growing dependence on welfare payments. For the Chipewyan women (as with women generally in shifts from one way of life to another) the basic role of wife and mother requires less adaptation (e.g. see Hallowell 1952:109 for a Wisconsin Ojibwa correlation). In addition, women in a semi-remote and somewhat harsh climatic environment appear to enjoy many more opportunities for alliances because of the surplus of males in the population and the competition for women. In addition, when those men outside the group can offer a much higher standard of living, better treatment and higher social status, the inducement becomes most tempting. When the men within the group cannot compete on these grounds, the women revolt against the cultural traditions of their group. If we define culture as the memory of a people and we look at the group in terms of women, the women have a long culture of being dictated to, treated menially and for much of the past being little more than a slave. In the new situation, their sex is a wanted commodity for which non-Chipewyans are willing to provide very generously for the favours and attachment that a woman can provide. It might be paraphrased as "women of the Churchill Band unite" and one can say that the revolt is going very successfully whether the Chipewyan men capitulate or not.

There is a very clear lesson to be drawn from the experience of the Churchill Band and the adaptation to urban life which has occurred. It is pertinent to other Chipewyan bands for which the home community may be threatened by the development of a large townsite to serve the needs of new resource industries such as mines. The group has gone through a period of disorganization in a new situation because the culture has not been able to cope adequately with the new situation.

It means that one possible method in which to provide some cultural protection in such a situation is to build in a buffer zone of space - for example, twenty miles - between the Chipewyan settlement and the new townsite. This will provide the community with a buffer but at the same time preserve a place for the culture to be meaningful.

Many of the younger persons will gravitate to the new townsite for employment, entertainment and alliances. However, the older persons who have the greatest investment in the native culture will have a place in which the culture can remain viable. It will also provide a haven for those who attempt to operate in the new situation should they fail to adapt or find the new situation of no interest to them.

The recent movement of the Churchill Band into Churchill has wrought many changes for this group. The major change has been that the younger women in improving their status have

repudiated the long-established system of arranged marriages. This has produced a situation where the rights of husbands has changed in terms of their authority and reduced the duties of wives as a result. Since the males cannot seem to compete in terms of the demands of the women for more rights and less duties, as well as an adequate standard of living, marriages have declined drastically.

For the men attempting to support their families in a different environment and in a different economy, their roles have shifted considerably. Where a good hunter and trapper and therefore an adequate provider was the mark of a man in the former environment, this is not the case in Churchill where wage employment is substituted. However, the men are disadvantaged because of their lack of skills, inadequate knowledge of English and inadequately developed work personalities.

For the women, the role as wife and mother is closer between the two contrasting cultures than the role of the men. Employment is reasonably available for women as domestics, waitresses, etc. A shortage of women at Churchill provides for competition among the men.

Without some drastic changes in the situation where marriages within the group resume to ensure the future of the group, the Churchill Band could disappear. This is dependent upon whether

the men are able to find a solution to their problems, either by adapting to the urban life or by finding a way to remove the group into a more isolated location where their cultural values are again useful in solving their problems.

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