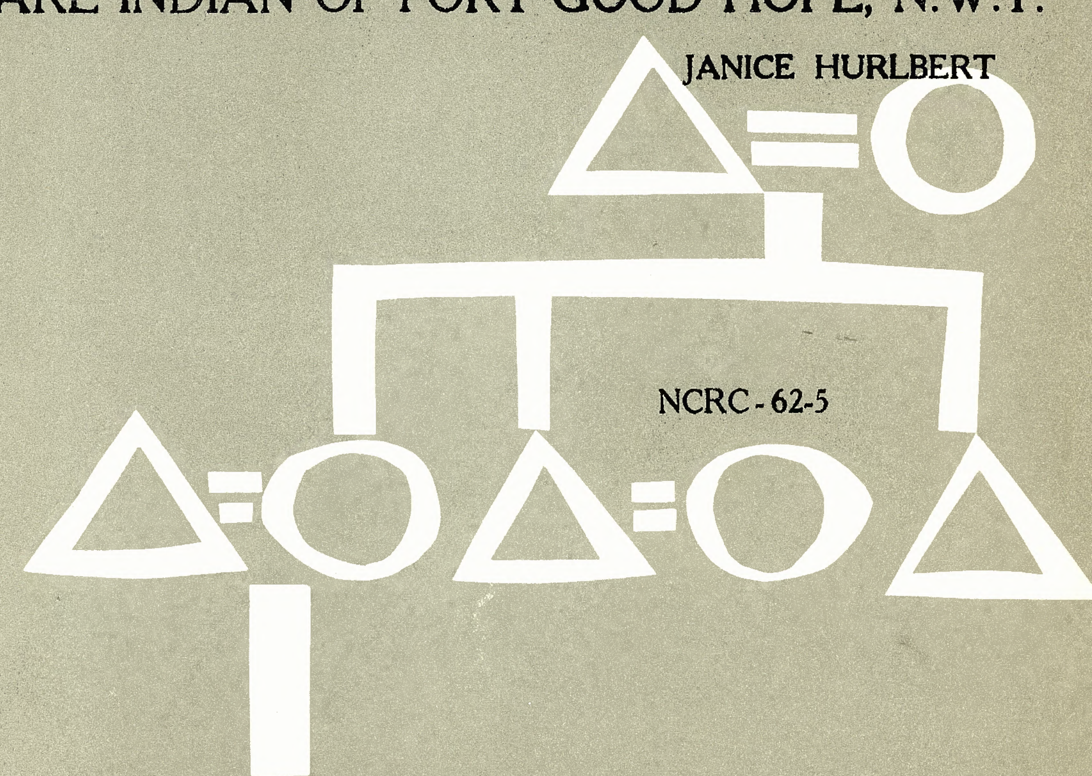
northern co-ordination and research centre department of northern affairs and national resources

AGE AS A FACTOR IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HARE INDIAN OF FORT GOOD HOPE, N.W.T.

JANICE HURLBERT



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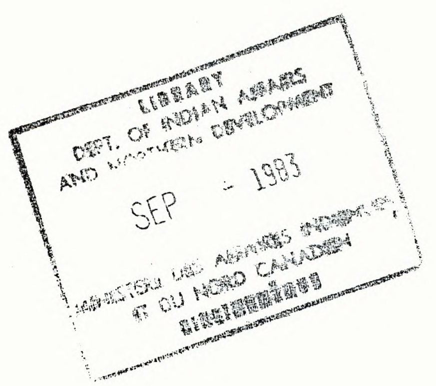
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by

Janice Hurlbert

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre during the summer of 1961. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to V. F. Valentine, Esq., Chief, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

September, 1962.

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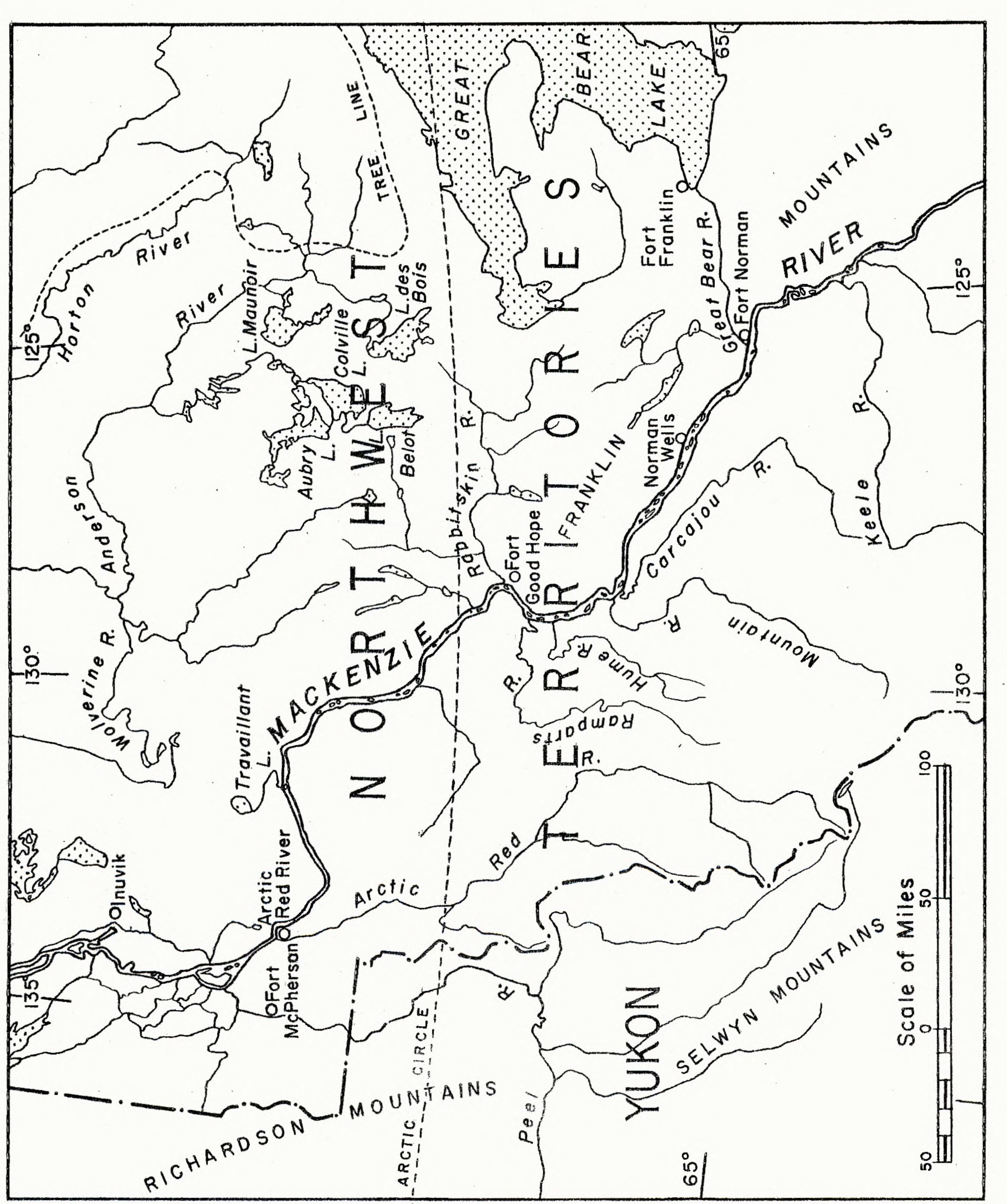
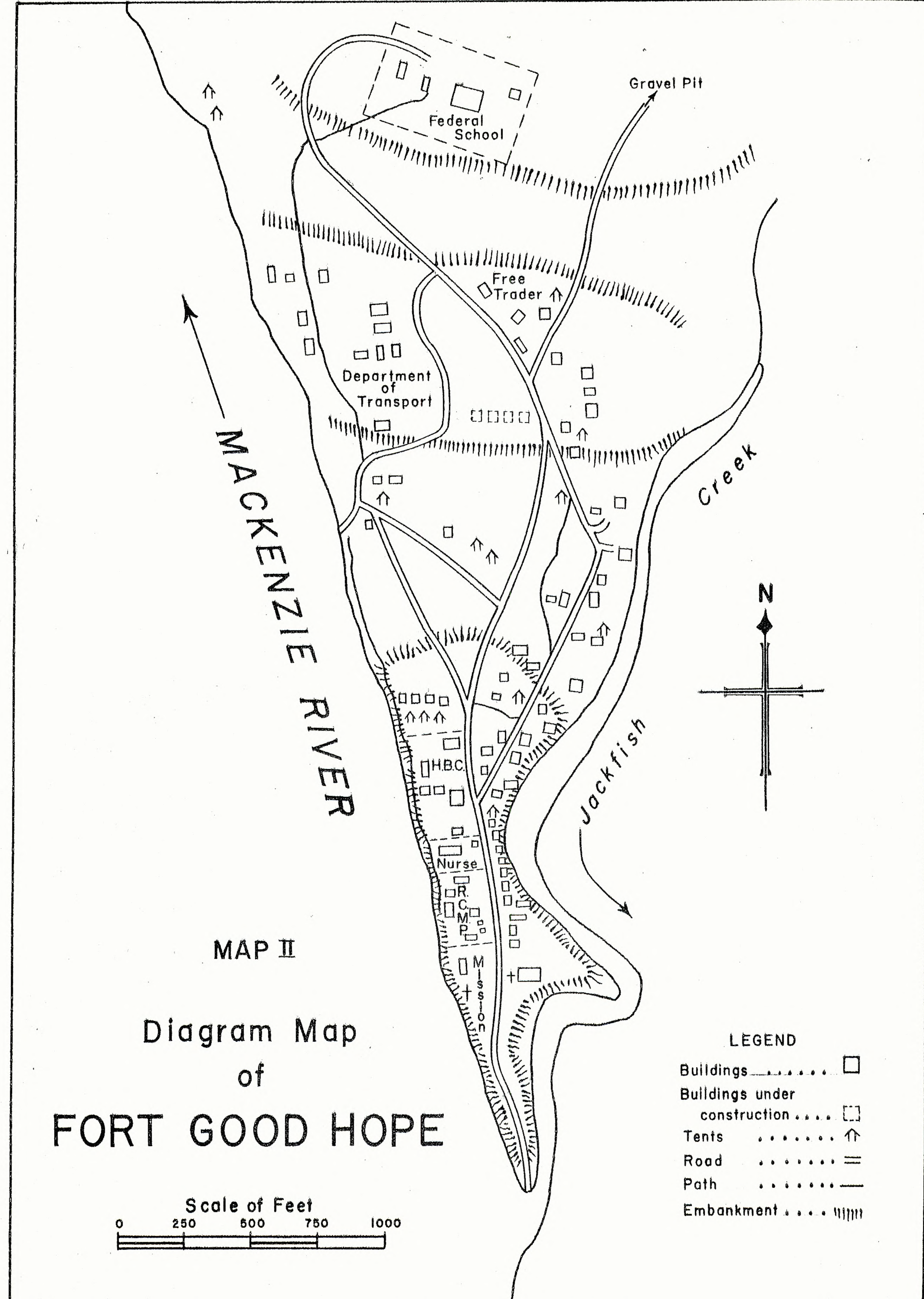
I would like to thank the Hare Indians of Fort Good Hope whose friendly co-operation as informants made research possible. I would also like to express sincere appreciation for the hospitality and invaluable assistance given us throughout our stay in the community by Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Moran of the Federal School, Mr. and Mrs. David Roberts of the Department of Transport, Father Bretar, O.M.I., Misses Herta Richter and Anne Criddle of the nursing station, Mr. and Mrs. John Cormack of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. and Mrs. Bud Innes of the R.C.M.P. station, and Mr. and Mrs. William McNeely.



MAP I
LOWER MACKENZIE RIVER VALLEY


Gravel Pit
Federal School
Free Trader
Department of Transport
MACKENZIE RIVER
Creek
Jackfish
N
H.B.C.
Nurse
R.C.M.P.
Mission
MAP II
Diagram Map of FORT GOOD HOPE
Scale of Feet
0 250 500 750 1000
LEGEND
Buildings
Buildings under construction
Tents
Road
Path
Embankment

INTRODUCTION

The four basic systems in terms of which the social relations of a society may be organized are: (1) age and sex, (2) socially recognized biological relationship, (3) associational relationships and (4) prestige grading. (cf. Fathauer, 1942: 14). For fourteen weeks during the summer of 1961, field work was carried on among the Hare Indians of Fort Good Hope to discover the existing age and sex groupings and the process of socialization in the movement of the individual from one group into the next. This, it was hoped, would determine the degree to which culture was learned and retained in each phase of the life cycle of the community members.

This project was part of a larger research programme to examine problems of culture change in the Mackenzie River area, which was being carried on by Drs. J. W. VanStone and Ronald Cohen of the University of Toronto.

> Although it was postulated that this culture area would turn out to be a relatively homogeneous universe of interacting forces, this generalization was qualified by the realization that in the history of contact, different parts of the area would show a variation of results ... Obviously, in order to understand all the operative factors, it would be necessary that sub-groups or communities displaying all the differential effects of the historic acculturative continuum be discovered and made available for study. (VanStone, 1961: ii).

During the summer of 1961 Dr. Cohen made a field survey to classify the Mackenzie River communities into types. Fort Good Hope was chosen for intensive work as a representative of a "Fort" type community with long European contact but of a less intensive nature.[1] Since in Good Hope, the socialization process included learning, to some degree, of southern, universalistic values as well as native cultural values, knowledge of the age grades seemed particularly valuable in the understanding of the degree of acculturation and of the problems of culture change in that community.

Entry into the field was made on June 14 and the writer was very fortunate in having as collaborator Miss Hiroko Sue, a doctorate student at Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, working under grants from the Canada Council and the National Museum. The first week was spent in the teacherage while acquaintances were made and arrangements made to rent a house from one of the Hare Indian ladies. On June 21 we moved into the native cabin and almost immediately we received many visitors who first came out of curiosity and, as the summer went on, to gossip, play cards, and drink coffee. On August 16 we moved out to a fish camp ten miles south of Good Hope on the Mackenzie River and here spent ten days with four Indian families. We borrowed a tent from the Federal school in which to live. On August 21 we were able to travel to Inuvik through the courtesy of the Indian Agent, Mr. A. Cotrell, who took us in his chartered plane. Here we lived at the Roman Catholic Hostel, where the Good Hope students reside while at school, met Good Hopers in the town and collected governmental statistics from the Federal Office. We returned to Good Hope on September 3 and remained here until September 21.

In collecting material no use was made of paid informants. Dependence was placed chiefly upon participant observation. Questions were asked to substantiate and fill out observations both while participating and from visitors at later dates. When the group of visitors was small it was possible to conduct informal and loosely structured interviews for such information as language, social groupings, kinship terminology, scientific knowledge, seasonal cycle, etc. During the last month, when friendships were more firmly established, a number of more formal interviews were held with individuals in order to collect life histories. Population statistics, game catches, school and church records were collected from the various government departments both in Good Hope and Inuvik.

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1. For Dr. Cohen's definition of "Fort town" see, <u>An Anthropological Survey of Communities of the Slave Lake-Mackenzie River Region of Canada</u> (in press), Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

In recording the information a daily journal was written in as much detail as possible, each evening. During the day a small notebook was kept at hand to record details of technological processes, language vocabulary and non-personal observations. During both the informal and formal interviews responses were recorded immediately in a notebook. Upon leaving the field all records were transferred to five by eight inch punch cards (E-Z Sort System) which were punched for the major categories of culture (e.g. Individual, Social Structure, Technology, etc.) as well as the sub-categories (e.g. childhood, hunting techniques, entertainment, etc.).

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY

Geography

The Hare Indian community of Fort Good Hope is located at $66^{\circ}15'$N. latitude and $128^{\circ}38'$W. longitude, just south of the junction of the Hare Indian and Mackenzie Rivers in Mackenzie District, N.W.T. The Mackenzie River passes through a wide plain bounded on the east by the Precambrian, Canadian Shield and on the west by the Mackenzie Mountains which rise abruptly to jagged, bare-topped peaks. The Valley consists of Paleozoic sedimentary rock over which was deposited hundreds of feet of boulders and gravel during the Glacial age. North of Norman Wells the plain is flat and poorly drained, broken only by a few outcropping limestone escarpments. The Franklin Mountains decrease in altitude east of Fort Good Hope and the lowland broadens out to the north-east, extending uninterrupted to the Arctic coast. The area is composed almost entirely of swamp and many small ponds and lakes.

The Mackenzie River incised its channel through the Glacial deposits and flows between high banks of gravel and clay. At Fort Good Hope the banks range from forty to sixty feet in height and just south of the town they rise from 125 to 200 feet to become sheer precipitous walls of Devonian limestone at the Ramparts. (Robinson, 1945: 31-34).

The vegetation is essentially that of the boreal forest, sub-arctic region and white spruce is most prevalent. On the better drained areas, such as old river banks, balsam poplar stands are characteristic and in the swampy areas black spruce, tamarack, willow and alder are abundant. (Taylor, 1947: 46). In the cleared town area, grass is heavy and on the banks are thickets of raspberry and gooseberry bushes. In the "bush", blueberries, cranberries, blackberries and other edible berries are plentiful. In the latter part of June and first half of July, wild roses, cotton grass, fireweed,

Labrador tea and other common sub-arctic flora bloom in profusion.[1]

The fauna of the region is typical of north-western Canada. The animals most familiar to the Hare Indian are moose, caribou, black bear, marten, weasel, mink, wolverine, otter, fox, wolf, lynx, squirrel, beaver, lemming, muskrat and hare. Those of the Indians who have travelled to the Mountains have seen mountain sheep and those who have been to the barren lands the musk-ox, although this mammal is nearly extinct. Among the birds caught for food are ducks (black, mallard, wood, scaup, old squaw, buffle head, eider), widgeons, teal, geese, loons, grouse and ptarmigan. The gull (Herring, Franklin), owl, heron, sandhill crane, robin, wood thrush, kingfisher, rail, swallow and sparrow are all recognized on sight. Fish commonly caught in the Mackenzie River and local lakes are whitefish, jackfish (northern pike), inconnu, herring, suckers, loche, bluefish (greyling), and lake trout.[2]

The climate of Fort Good Hope is typical of the north-western interior. The town is only eighteen miles from the Arctic Circle and for a period of two or three days in winter the sun just appears on the horizon and from June 20 to June 22 it does not set at all. The coldest winter months are January and February and temperatures often fall to -50°F, though none have been recorded below -60°F. It is not unusual to get temperatures above 0°F. during the winter months and on January 15 and 26, 1957 readings of 34°F. and 44°F., i.e. above the freezing point of 32°F., have been made. During the summer months, from the middle of June to the middle of August, there may be up to a dozen days reaching 80°F. The maximum temperature recorded is 90.2°F. for June 27, 1957 and the minimum for the same date is 27°F., i.e. below the freezing point. Throughout the year, the

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1. Miss Sue collected and pressed over forty samples of these flora during the course of field work.

2. Animals and birds were identified by asking two informants, Mr. Edward Gardebois and Mr. Gregory Shae, to give native terms when shown the pictures in "A Field guide to Birds", R.T. Peterson, and "A Field Guide to the Mammals", W.H. Burt and R.P. Grossenheider.

temperature may range between wide extremes within one day, e.g. July 27, 1958: maximum 83°F.; minimum 41°F., January 14, 1957, maximum 40°F., minimum -9°F. November and December are the months of heaviest snowfall, and the snow remains on the ground from October till May, though seldom is it deeper than three feet. July and early August is the period of heaviest rainfall. The total fall averages about five inches but as the ground never thaws more than six feet (twelve feet in town) much of the water remains on the surface. The freezing of the Mackenzie River usually takes place in the first half of November and the melting (breaking-up) occurs in the last half of May. Occasionally at break-up the water rises and floods part of the town.[3]

The Physical Community

Fort Good Hope is situated on the long, narrow spit of land formed by the junction of Jackfish Creek with the Mackenzie River. The spit points almost directly south and is composed of three hills separated by two high-level valleys, which probably mark former outlets of the Creek. Both the bank of the River and the Creek rise forty to sixty feet out of the water and, consequently, the buildings of the town, when approaching by water, seem to be set on the edge of a cliff.

The town consists of some sixty frame residences. The majority of these are situated on the southernmost hill and valley though as the village grows it is expanding northward. On the western riverbank side are the freshly painted establishments of the O.M.I. Mission, the R.C.M.P., the Northern Health Service nurse and the Hudson's Bay Company. On the south-eastern side, across the road and overlooking the creek, is the beautiful little church. Directly north of this a dozen or more native houses stand in a row along the road. None of these are more than five yards apart. As the road

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3. The information on temperatures was gained from records kept at the meteorological station, operated by the Engineering Division of the Army, since May 1955 and by the Department of Transport since April, 1959. The records of break-up and freeze-up have been kept by the O.M.I. Mission at Fort Good Hope since 1868.

dips down into the first valley the houses become more spread out and irregularly placed. Intermingled with the houses are warehouses, the community hall, the tents of widows and non-Fort Indians, and the picturesque storehouses perched on their pole stilts. On the west side of the second hill is the wireless and meteorological station of the Department of Transportation, while to the east of this, overlooking the valley, are the newly constructed houses built as part of the Indian Affairs native housing program. Behind these, on the east side of the road, are the warehouses, store and residences of the free trader and his family. On the third hill, well back from the main town, is the Federal school.

The houses of the white people are modern bungalow style with regular cement foundations and basements. These are equipped with all the urban conveniences including indoor plumbing and central heating. Electricity is supplied to them from a small plant run by the Department of Transport. They are all connected by a local telephone exchange. The Indian houses range from one to three rooms and are whitewashed or of a natural wood, weather-beaten in colour. The older houses are of log, chinked with moss, the more recent are built of plywood. The interior walls are covered with cardboard, wallboard or plywood. These are heated by oil-barrel stoves or kitchen ranges and lighted with Coleman lamps. Sanitary needs are met by outdoor latrines. The average house contains a stove, table, cupboards, two or three chairs or stools, iron or home-made wooden beds, a wash stand, and blinds or curtains in the windows. The more elaborate home may have a sofa, linoleum floor covering, radio, or phonograph. Once a week water is pumped, by a Wajax pump and hose, from the creek to all parts of the town. Each house fills its barrels and the white people have large tanks. If more water is needed it is carried in pails from the creek. There is a community freezer in the centre of town where all community members may keep fish, meat and berries.

At the southern tip of the town is a beach where the freight boats all stop. The R.C.M.P. and Department of Transport have their own small floating wharfs where they keep their boats and visiting planes land. The Indians keep their canoes in the creek, immediately below the town. When this goes dry in late summer they pull the canoes up on the river bank below the Hudson's Bay Company.

The community has comparatively frequent and regular contact with neighbouring communities and the outside world. On the first and third Wednesday of every month Canadian Pacific airlines has a scheduled Beaver service between Good Hope and Norman Wells. This schedule connects with the mainline flight between Edmonton and Inuvik. Besides the scheduled flight, particularly in summer, there are frequent chartered flights into and out of the town which often have empty seats. Though air communication is primarily used by the white people, it is becoming more and more popular with the Indians who leave the community for wage employment in other centres.

During the summer months, while the Mackenzie River is free of ice, the Northern Transportation and Yellowknife Transportation companies each have boats operating between Hay River and Aklavik. These boats are small, tug-like diesels which push from four to eight barges carrying freight. These boats stop at Good Hope on each trip to leave and pick up freight and the occasional passenger. Once a year the O.M.I. mission boat goes down the river to Aklavik and makes the return trip.

The community of Norman Wells is approximately 100 miles up the Mackenzie River from Good Hope. It is not unusual for the Indians to make this trip, a day's journey, in their canoes with outboard motors, to visit friends and relatives, get wage employment, or renew liquor supplies. Occasionally a canoe trip is made to the communities of Arctic Red River or Fort MacPherson, though these are more than 200 miles down the river.

The town has a post office run by the Hudson's Bay manager. Mails are received and delivered bi-monthly on the scheduled air plane. The Department of Transport wireless station receives and transmits telegraphic messages. The R.C.M.P. and Northern Health Department each have representatives in the community. If a case is too serious for the nurse she may charter a plane to take the patient to a hospital.

Approximately 100 miles to the north-east of the town is the small settlement of Colville Lake. The members of this group spend part of the year at Good Hope and this settlement may be considered

an extension of it. The free trader has a small post there and the mission intends to build a chapel in the near future. During the summer the free trader charters a plane to take supplies and to bring back his hired man. He is also willing to bring an extra passenger if there is room. This year a precedent was set when an Indian family chartered a plane to take them to Colville Lake. During the winter the Indians travel between the two centres by dog team while the free trader intends to use his newly acquired autobogan.

Thus Good Hope, for most of the year, is not an isolated community. However, for a period of a month or so in October-November and again in May-June, while the river is freezing and breaking-up, the town is deprived of its main source of communication - the air plane. These planes must use either floats or skis and cannot land during freezing and thawing conditions. In the not too distant future this situation may be remedied for the Department of Transport is presently constructing an air strip back of the town which will permit wheeled planes to land at any season.

Historic Background

Fort Good Hope is the oldest permanent settlement in the lower Mackenzie River valley. Its history can be divided into five periods:

1. Before 1806: the period of pre-European contact. During the last half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the exploration of western and northern North America was being pushed rapidly forward by rival fur trading companies, e.g. the Northwest Company, the X-Y-Z Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Even before 1789, the date of first contact the Hare Indians were receiving the occasional European trade article through tribes to the south whose territories had already been entered by traders. It is even reported that "Russian copper coins had once made their way thither across the continent from the westward". (Franklin, 1823: 292).

In 1789, Alexander Mackenzie, of the Northwest Company, on his exploration journey to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, described seeing six families of Hare Indians fishing at the Ramparts on July 1, and several more families scattered along the river banks within the next fifteen miles. He called this tribe the Deguthee Denees or Quarrellers and described their houses as shelters made of felled logs. (1801: 51 ff.)

2. 1806 - 1859, founding of the Fort by the Hudson's Bay Company. On July 12, 1806, Alexander Mackenzie, a nephew of the explorer and partner in the Northwest Company, began the building of Fort Good Hope at the mouth of the Bluefish River.[4] This fort, the lowest on the river, at that time, was to establish contact with the Hares, Loucheaux and Eskimo. On June 14, 1823, after Loucheaux complaints of the distance to Good Hope, it was moved down the river two days journey to the mouth of Trading River, 67°28'N. (probably the present day Travaillant R.). However, due to scarcity of food and the dissatisfaction of the Hare Indians, the post was moved back to its former site below the Ramparts on June 12, 1827, and located on Manitou Island. In 1821 the Northwest Company had united with the Hudson's Bay Company and after that date Good Hope was under the latter's jurisdiction. During the break-up of ice in the river in the springs of 1831, '32, and '33 the waters rose extremely high and flooded the fort. In the spring of 1836 the flooding was extremely bad and Factor John Bell decided to move the fort to the steep east bank of the river, opposite the Island, i.e. its present site. (Franklin, 1828: 23) (Simpson, 1843).

The Hare Indians had been accustomed to come to the Ramparts during the summer months for the fishing. With the establishment of the fort, they began to set up their tents around it to trade their furs for beads, blankets, knives, flint, axes, kettles, etc. Some of the Indians were hired by the Company to fish and hunt for food supplies. Those who learned to speak English or French were taken on as interpreters. The traders reported that the Indians frequently suffered from starvation. They were, in winter, dependent on the varying hare for food and when these were scarce starvation resulted. The hare seem to have had seven to ten year population cycles. Factor Bell mentions in his journal that he vaccinated some Indians, so white man's diseases must have already been spreading. P.W. Dease, in his journal, mentions holding a dance to entertain a group of Indians at the post. The Indians were very pleased with the music and attempted a few reels. As early as 1828, a garden of barley, potatoes, turnips

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4. According to Hare Indian informants the river just above the Ramparts, named Tsintue River on the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys maps, is the Bluefish River.

and radishes was planted. This attempt failed but in 1837 another was planted with potatoes, turnips, cabbage and barley. Potatoes and turnips proved the most successful.

Besides John Franklin and Thomas Simpson, a number of other explorers mention stopping at Good Hope; however, they give little in the way of further information on life at the settlement. John H. Lefroy (1938: 89), who was carrying out a magnetic survey in 1844, remarked on the cannibalism of the Indians, the ugliness of their women and of their reluctance to work. Sir John Richardson (1851, I, 208-14), who was in command of the 1848-49 Admiralty overland expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, mentions the Ramparts fisheries and the garden at the fort. Lt. W.H. Hooper (1853: 268-82), a member of the H.M.S. "Plover" expedition in search of Franklin, arrived at Good Hope in September, 1849 and tells of the starvation of the Indians that spring and of the cannibalism that resulted.

3. <u>1859-1921: establishment of the Roman Catholic Mission.</u>
In 1859 Father Grollier, Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, arrived at Good Hope and held the first Mass on September 2. The first mission was built at the Hare Indian River but several years later was moved to the site of the town. In 1866, the Church of Our Lady of Good Hope was completed on its present site and in 1877 the present altar was added. The beauty of this little church is enhanced by wall murals painted from native pigments and fish oils. Much of the painting was done by Abbe Emile Petitot, the well-known writer on life in the North. Other priests who served in Good Hope during this period were Fathers Sequin, Houssais, and Giroux and Brothers Kearney and Ansel. (Duchaussois, 1923).

The missionaries, though concerned first with converting the Indians, undertook to educate them and to improve their sanitation and work habits. Some of the Indian children were sent to the Fort Providence mission school and learned to speak French. The mission hired a few Indians to help get the winter food supplies and to act as interpreters.

The fur trade continued to prove very profitable and the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its post. New buildings were added

and cattle, oxen and chickens imported. Several attempts were made throughout the period to establish a subsidiary post on the Anderson River. The Hare Indians were hunting and trapping in the barren lands to the east and well over into the Yukon, as far as Lansing Creek and Mayo, in the west. The staff of the post was increased both by local Indians and southerners. Many of the company members were French courier-de-bois and these began to take Hare women for wives. The company boats, bringing supplies in the summer of 1865, brought with them an epidemic of scarlet fever which spread rapidly among the Indians. Throughout this period the Indians continued to suffer from cyclic starvation.

In 1908 the Hudson's Bay Company put the first of its stern wheelers, the "Mackenzie River", on the river and it stopped each summer at Good Hope to transmit passengers and freight. The settlement, after 1908, had semi-annual mail delivery, in summer by boat, in winter by dog team.

4. <u>1921-1940, signing of the Treaty and influx of free traders.</u> In 1921 the Canadian government made a Treaty with the Mackenzie Valley Indians and all the Hare Indians were listed on the band list as Band No. 5. They received annual treaty payments of $5.00 per person and elected a chief and three councillors.

The fur trade monopoly was taken away from the Hudson's Bay Company and other companies began to send traders into the community. Lambertson-Hubbard sent traders but this company collapsed in the late twenties. Northern Traders built a post and hired local Indians as hunters and interpreters. These traders were responsible for the introduction of "home brew" amongst the Indians though brewing did not become really popular until the late thirties. In the late twenties and the thirties more and more Indians began to build houses and live in the town to be nearer the manufactured goods offered by the traders. They came from as far away as Anderson River and Little Chicago, and Osgood (1931: 34) reported that the former band was practically extinct.

In 1923 the R.C.M.P. sent Constable Fielding to open a post at Good Hope. He built a house the first year and a bunk house several years later and hired an Indian as Special Constable.

In 1926 the Oblate Order opened its mission and school at Aklavik and thereafter Hare children were sent to Aklavik to residential school. The mission steamer picked the children up on its annual summer run down river and they remained in school for three to five years, never getting home during the period.

In 1928, there was an influenza epidemic throughout the Mackenzie River valley and many of the Good Hope Indians died.

5. 1940-1961, extended northern development precipitated by World War II. With the outbreak of World War II the Americans and Canadians jointly began the Canol project in which they drilled for oil and gas at Norman Wells and piped it to Whitehorse, Yukon, and thence to Alaska for sale. The construction and maintenance of the oil field led to wage labour openings for Good Hope Indians. After the war the Canadian Imperial Oil Company took over the oil operations and now supplies the whole Mackenzie valley. This period also saw an increase generally in northern oil and minerals and numerous companies sent prospecting parties into the Mackenzie valley. A number of these crews spent summers in Good Hope, hired local Indian labour, and intermingled with the natives intermittently.

In the fifties the Canadian government started to activate a policy stressing northern potentialities and government responsibilities in this area. Consequently much larger sums of money have been allocated for the development of northern communities. The resulting government construction at Fort MacPherson, Aklavik, and of the new administrative centre of Inuvik produced more wage employment opportunities for the Good Hopers.

In 1944 the Royal Canadian Signal Corps, Engineering Division of the Army, established a wireless and meteorological station at Good Hope as part of the Northern defence system. This station was turned over to the Department of Transport in 1959.

During the late thirties and early forties fur prices rose to an unprecedented level. The Good Hope Indians found trapping extremely profitable and a few even set themselves up as traders. Some of these were financed by the Edmonton Fur Auction Company. The lack of business knowledge, compounded with the rapid fall in prices in the late

forties, sent these ventures into bankruptcy. The continuing low prices and scarcity of animals has discouraged the Good Hope trapper so much that he refuses to exert himself to set his traps beyond the immediate fifty mile radius of the town.

In 1943 the town was the victim of another influenza epidemic though this was less severe than that of 1928. Throughout the forties and early fifties the tuberculosis rate increased until eighty per cent of the population proved positive. In 1948 the Northern Health Service opened a nursing station in the town. The first building burned and the second, modern establishment was erected in 1954. Since 1948 there has been a resident nurse who has diagnosed and treated the Indians' ills, sending the more serious cases to hospitals in Aklavik or Edmonton. In recent years dentists, X-ray technicians, optometrists and other specialists pay an annual visit to the town.

In 1951 the Indian Affairs Branch built a federal day school with two classrooms in the town. This school follows the programme of studies for elementary and secondary schools as authorized by the Alberta Department of Education. The maintenance of the school and education of the Indians has since been turned over to the Department of Northern Affairs. Since 1959, pupils reaching the seventh grade are sent to the residential school in Inuvik.

With the government introduction of social security benefits, the people of Good Hope have been receiving family allowances, disability pensions and old age pensions. The Indian Affairs Branch has introduced relief payments, trapping and fishing allowances and a housing program. The Indian Affairs representative in the town is the R.C.M.P. officer.

As early as 1929 airplanes were providing transportation in the North and in 1942 the Canadian Pacific Airlines opened a scheduled flight into Good Hope. Mail has been carried by air since that time. In 1946 the Hudson's Bay Company withdrew its stern wheelers from the Mackenzie River but in the forties Northern Transportation and Yellowknife Transportation companies began their services on the river. In 1958 a sled road was built by Indian Affairs to the Colville Lake settlement where, in 1959, a trading post was established.

Population Statistics and Sub-groupings

In Table I presented below are population figures for Fort Good Hope covering a period of 135 years. The population has been comparatively stable over this period, ranging from 300 to 350 Indians. The figures given for 1867 and 1871 seem out of proportion with the general trend but may include Indians from the Loucheaux tribe trading at the settlement at the time of census taking. Since local food supply is one of the major factors in population density in a subsistence economy, it seems appropriate, because of the constancy of population, to suggest that 350 is the critical density which this area will support. Throughout the nineteenth century starvation was a frequent cause of death, occurring about every ten years with the variation in hare population.[5]

5. The information on hare population variation and resulting periods of starvation for the Hare Indians was gained from unpublished reports among the records of the O.M.I. Mission at Good Hope.

TABLE I: POPULATION OF THE FORT GOOD HOPE AREA

Date	Men	Women	Total	Sources of information
1827	197	124	301	O.M.I. Mission Records
1867	---	---	422	Petitot (1883: 653)
1871	244	276	520	O.M.I. Mission Records
1921	103	105	208	Treaty Records[6]
1922	162	162	324	Treaty Records
1923	176	183	359	Treaty Records
1928	179	171	350	Treaty Records
1929	162	146	308	Treaty Records
1934	170	156	328	Treaty Records
1941	---	---	337	Dawson (1947: 151)
			Whites 14	
1951	---	---	257	Canadian Government Census
			Whites 28	
1955	157	134	291	O.M.I. Mission Records
1957	156	145	301	O.M.I. Mission Records
1958	170	157	327	O.M.I. Mission Records

6. The population figures on the Treaty Records include only those Indians who are Treaty Indians, i.e. it excludes those who have become enfranchised or are the children of an enfranchised father. If the person is a member of Hare Indian Band 5, he is registered whether he lived in the community that year or not. In the 1921 record it is probable that not all Indians had been registered in the Treaty Book.

TABLE I (cont'd)

Date	Men	Women		Total	Sources of information
1959	175	159		334	O.M.I. Mission Records
			Whites	21	
1961	166	162		328	Hurlbert and Sue
			Whites	17	

- -

TABLE II: POPULATION PERCENTAGES BY AGE IN 1959

	Total	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-
Good Hope	100	27.5	22.1	16.7	7.5	7.5	9.5	3.6	5.0	.3
Canada	100	23.9	17.0	13.9	14.2	11.8	8.5	5.9	3.7	1.2

A second factor influencing population is disease. This effect can be seen in the figures of 1951 and 1955. During the 1940's and early 1950's a large percentage of the population contracted tuberculosis. As many as eighteen people died in one year and from 1954-57 there were twenty-four to thirty-six people in hospital each year.

Inspection of Tables II and III show that half the population tends to fall below the age of twenty-five years. There is a steady decrease in population up to the age of forty or fifty. In the fifties and sixties there is an increase over the immediately preceding and following decade. The sexes are comparatively evenly split throughout life with a tendency for women to outlive men.

The population of the town is split into two major groupings--Indians and Whites. The term half-breed is seldom used and people of mixed blood are recognized as Indians. The Indians may be subdivided according to their economic status:

1. Wage Employees - these include the janitors of the nursing station and school, clerks at the Hudson's Bay store and free trader's store, and the R.C.M.P. special constable. They receive an annual salary of from $1, 500. to $3, 000. and are able to maintain a relatively high standard of living in comparison to the other groups.

2. Semi-wage Employees - About fifteen per cent of the male population has fallen into this category during the last five years, though individuals vary with each year. Semi-wage employment includes construction, both in the town and other larger centres, work on the river boats, cooking for construction crews, and fire fighting. Most of these jobs are available only during the summer and for the rest of the year the men are dependent on hunting, trapping, fishing and government relief.

3. Subsistence dependents: these households are entirely dependent upon fishing, hunting and trapping. In recent years, with the decline of fur prices and scarcity of animals, these people have become more and more dependent upon government relief.

All the Indians would prefer to work as permanent wage employees. However, as only a few such positions are available, these fall to those whose need is greatest, and/or to those who have the greatest degree of formal education.

The White population may be sub-divided according to the length of residence in the community:

1. Permanent residents: the free trader is the only White to fall in this category. This man, who has lived in the north most of his adult life, tends to adopt Indian habits and attitudes; he has married an Indian woman. However, he retains the privileges accompanying white status.

2. Semi-permanent residents: over 90 per cent of the White population falls in this category. It includes all those government, Hudson Bay and Mission representatives whose stay in the town lasts from two to five years. Their contact with, and influence on, the Indian population varies according to two factors; (a) whether the job is of a social service nature, e.g. nurse, teacher, priest, or a technical job, e.g. wireless operator; (b) the attitude of the individual toward Indians which may be dominately traditionalist, apathetic or reformist.[7]

3. Transients: these include construction workers in the town for several weeks, and government, church and Hudson's Bay officials, who stay from an hour to two days in the town. These people see only the superficial side of Indian life and influence it only as impersonal representatives of institutional policies.

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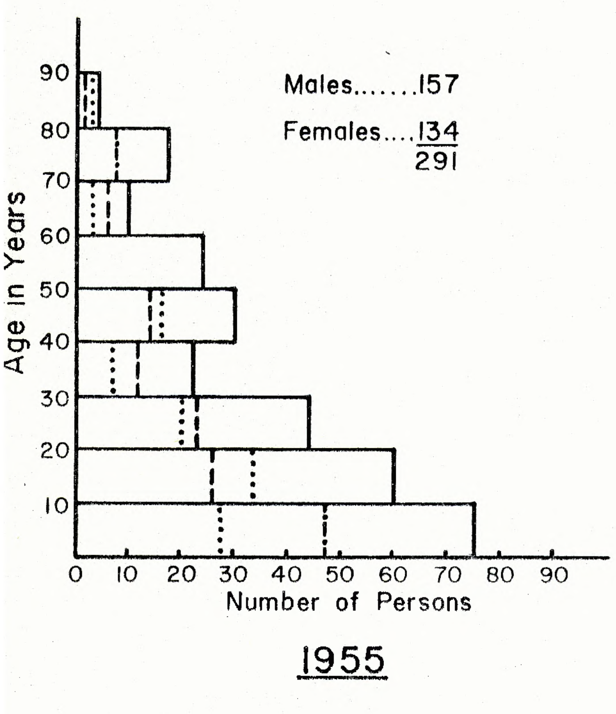
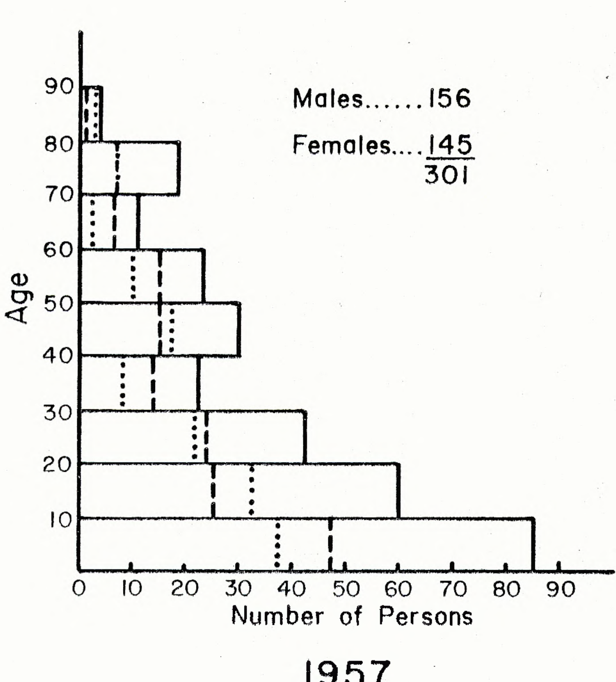
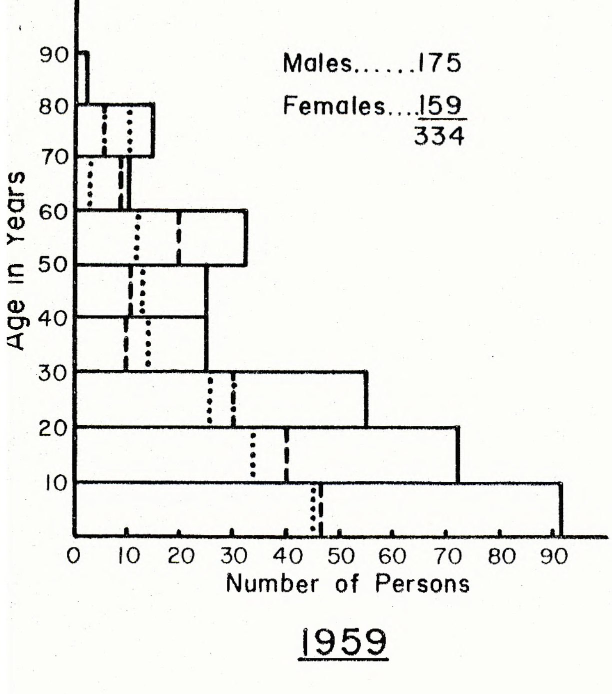
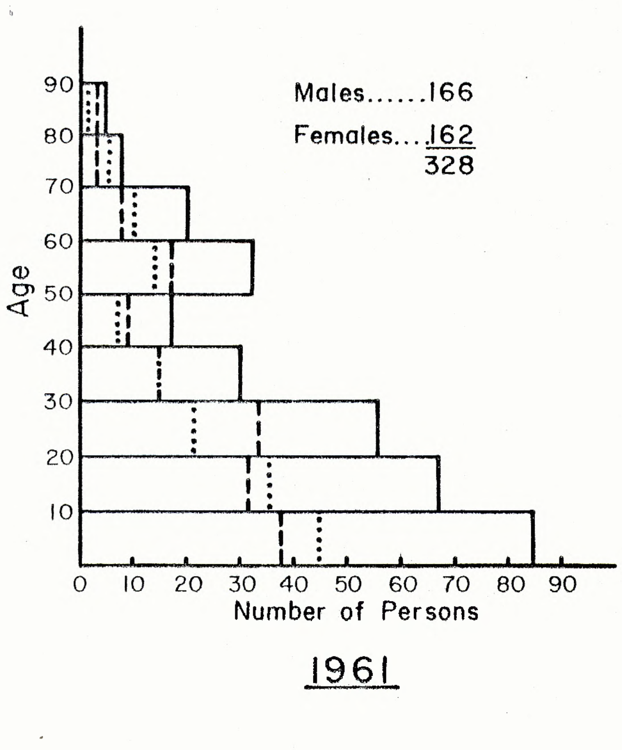
7. See Cohen(1962) for a definition and description of these attitudes.

TABLE 3. POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX









— total population

— female population

— male population

— male / female population

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

"The Northeastern Denes or Athabascans have gained a sort of anthropological renown for minimality of culture. This minimality is nowhere more striking than in the realm of socio-political organization". (MacNeish, 1956: 131). The Hare, being a tribe of this cultural area, are an excellent example of June MacMeish's statement.

In discussing Hare social organization the traditional, static social units will be considered. However, since in this area actual social grouping is so much a result of the food supplies available, a section of this chapter will be devoted to describing the various groupings according to the annual economic cycle.

Social Units

As mentioned above, the Indians of Good Hope are members of the Hare tribe.[1] Other geographical groups of the Hare tribe are found around Fort Norman, and Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake. The geographical boundaries of the Good Hope Hares are approximately the following: on the north Travaillant Lake and River and Wolverine River, on the east the Anderson River and Smith Arm of Bear Lake, on the south San Sault Rapids on the Mackenzie River, on the west the headwaters of the Hume and Ramparts Rivers. Formerly the Hares used to go over into the barren lands on the east and over into Yukon Territory on the west.

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1. Some readers will object to the use of "tribe" in reference to the Hare, therefore I should like to quote MacNeish (1956: 132-33).

   " 'The Athapaskans do not consider themselves as composing neat political or cultural units" Osgood rightly observes. (Osgood, 1936: 3). This holds true in the case of the largest taxonomic unit--the tribe. Due to this vaguity of outline, Osgood has refused to use the word 'tribe' for the peoples he classifies as Hares, Satudene, Mountain Indians, Slaves, Dogribs, Yellowknives and Chipewyans. He employs the correspondingly vague term 'groups'. For convenience sake, I will use 'tribe' to designate such major divisions as those just cited."

The Hares do fulfil the minimal requirements defined by MacNeish (1956: 133), determining a tribal group, i.e. a set of peoples living in physical contiguity (but not necessarily together), speaking a mutually intelligible language, sharing a common culture, and having at least a vague sense of common identity. They call themselves "kongot'ine" as differentiated from neighbouring groups such as the Eskimo ("arakey"), Loucheaux ("deyko.e"), and Dogribs ("naga'eya"). They call themselves "dene", the people, to distinguish themselves from the white people of the community who are called "mo.la". Their language, "denek'e" or "Slavey", [2] is spoken by all the members of the group though certain age groups now prefer to use English. There are two dialects within the language, the first spoken by those in the town area and the second by those of the Colville Lake area. These dialects are mutually intelligible.

In pre-contact times the majority of this group would gather for certain ceremonial occasions, and in the nineteenth century to trade furs at the Hudson's Bay post. Today fifty-two of the seventy-one households of the Good Hope Hares own a house in the town and occupy it at some period of the year. All members of the group gather in the town at Christmas, Easter and on Treaty day. Every member of the group has at least one primary relative in the community. A person from a neighbouring tribe may marry into the group but is never considered a member of it. He is accepted in the activities of the group but is referred to as a member of the tribe of his birth though he has lived amongst the Hare for as long as forty years, e.g. one Loucheaux man is known as Paul Loucheaux. Unusual personal characteristics are sometimes considered a result of formerly being a member of another tribe.

Traditionally the Hare tribe had no leader but in 1921, with the signing of the Treaty, the government established the positions of chief and three councillors among the Good Hope Hares. An election was to be held every three years for these positions. On Treaty day the chief received $25. and each headman $15. The role of the chief is primarily

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2. The language "Slavey" should be distinguished from the word "Slave" which designates a tribe whose location is south-west of Great Slave Lake. This tribe does not speak the same language as the Hare though it may have similarities.

that of intermediary between the white government representatives and the rest of the group. He calls group meetings at the request of the Indian Affairs agent, and conveys the policies and plans of this governmental organ to the people. Two meetings were held during the summer of 1961. The first was concerned with building houses according to the Indian Affairs housing programme. Material for six houses was to be provided and the Indians met to decide who would get these houses. The Indian Affairs officials required that the houses go to those without homes, or poor homes, with preference for old people, widows and newly married couples. At the second meeting it was announced that the Indians Affairs Branch had extra funds to be spent on wage employment. The Indians, following the agent's suggestion, decided that this money should be used to hire men to improve the road and work on the airstrip. Those to be employed were chosen. In making the selection men who had large families, were staying in town, and had no wage employment were given preference. The list of persons decided on at the meeting was given to the Indian Affairs agent who chose from it the men he thought most eligible. These meetings are attended by the married men of the town, widows with families, and occasionally the wives. The unmarried person has no voice in these meetings and women have very little influence.

The chief plays a conciliatory role in cases of trouble or misunderstanding. For example, several boys had been in jail several times during the summer on charges of drunkeness. Some of the people were angry at the police because of these arrests but the chief explained to everyone that these boys should really have been out in fish camps working rather than hanging around town getting into trouble. The chief may intercede for individuals who need government relief although these individuals usually carry their requests directly to the policeman, who is the Indian Affairs Branch representative in the town.

In choosing a chief the people seem to look for those qualities that MacNeish says are required of a band chief (MacNeish, 1956: 149ff). They do not want a chief who is dictatorial but one who will be influenced by the advice of his peers. Whenever the present chief came into town from fish camp during the summer there was a continuous procession of older men coming to squat on his doorstep and discuss affairs. People were frequently heard to say "We don't like a bossy guy." They prefer a chief who is a good hunter or an older man who is considered wise. Generosity and courage are other qualities required in a leader. A man

who has a large kin group to support him frequently becomes the chief. The government prefers a chief who can speak English but this is obviously not a deciding factor among the Indians for the present chief cannot speak a word of English.

In 1959 the white people established a community club in the town which was to include both Indians and Whites. This club shows movies at the school at a charge of fifty cents an adult. Every July 1 it holds a sports day and gives prizes for various competitions. This summer (1961) it held a bingo game to raise money for a skating rink. Though the club was intended to include all community members, at this point meetings have never had more than five Indians present and all officers are Whites.

The Good Hope Hares are divided into six bands according to our informants. These are the Town People, the River People, the Ramparts People, the Anderson People, the Colville Lake People and the Mountain People. As the names imply, these are territorial groupings. A person is a member of a certain band if he tends to go to that territory for winter hunting and trapping. He may go to a different territory for one season because the animals are more plentiful there or a friend, who is a good hunter, is in that territory. However, unless he continues to go to this band's territory his band affiliation does not change. A man may join any band group but there is a strong tendency to go with that of his father, i.e. the area to which he went most as a child and with which he is most familiar.

After comparing our bands with those given by Petitot (1891: 362) and Osgood (1931: 33-34), it seems probable that the bands themselves may have undergone change in the last hundred years either through absorption of one band by another or by the breaking up of one band into two or more. (See Table IV).

The Town band consists of seven households who spend the entire year in town. This group emerged in recent years and has a cash income. The Ramparts People consists of twelve households. This band spends the winter and spring in the marshy regions of the Ramparts and Hume Rivers. During the winter (1961-62) four households remained in town and three hunted and trapped in the River territory. This area becomes popular in spring for beaver and muskrat are extremely plentiful. The

River People consists of eighteen households and this group hunts in the plains of the east side of the Mackenzie River around such lakes as Manuel, Rory, Loon, Yelta, Sucker and Loche Lakes. This past winter five households remained in town. The Colville Lake band consists of sixteen households which spend the winter in the vicinity of Colville, Manoir, Belot and Aubry Lakes. Of this group two households remained in town this past winter. The Anderson band, consisting of four households, used to hunt along the Anderson River. This past winter two households were in the Colville Lake territory, a third in the area of Lake des Bois and the fourth remained in town. Though the households are still known under this band title, in reality it no longer exists but has been merged into other bands. However, very occasionally the men of this group do go as far as the Anderson River and they are the people most familiar with this area. The Mountain band is in reality extinct now too. This band used to hunt to the west of the Mackenzie River in the ranges of the Mackenzie Mountains. Today eight households are said to belong in this band but in actuality four remain in town, and this winter two went to Colville Lake and the other two to the River area.[3] The remaining six households of the seventy-one in the group have heads who come from other communities (e.g. Arctic Red River, Norman, Travaillant River) and married into the Hare group. Table V shows that in 1961-62 53.5% of the households spent the summer in fish camps and 61.9% spent the winter in hunting camps.

From the analysis of households for the year 1961-62 and from information on recent years, it seems that the actually existing bands are those of Town--River and Colville Lake, with a tendency to go to the Ramparts region in spring for muskrat and beaver. This theory coincides with the tendency of informants, who on first being questioned, answered, "There are only two bands--the people of town and along the river, and the Colville Lake people". At present people are receiving much encouragement from the Indian Affairs to go to the Colville Lake area where animals are more plentiful.

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3. As we left the field in September, the locations of households for the winter of 1961-2 exists through the courtesy of Anne Criddle, Northern Health nurse, who kindly recorded this information for me.

TABLE IV: BANDS OF THE HARE INDIAN TRIBE SITUATED AT GOOD HOPE

Petitot (1891)	Osgood (1931)	Sue and Hurlbert (1961)
Nne-lla-gottine - end-of-the-world people along the Anderson R.	ne la gotine (end of earth people around Anderson R.)	du taw tin (Anderson R. people)
Kfwe-tpa-gottine (gens des Montagnes, along the Mackenzie R. south of Good Hope)	k'a' tco got'ine (big arrow people)	K'a so t'ine or ko^{n}got'ine (Town People) dehoka got'ine (River People) si^{n}taw tin (Mountain People) or nefak'e got'ine (People of the S.W. shore of Mackenzie R.)
Tchin-tpa-gottine or Kla-tpa-gottine (gens du Bois, along lower Mack. R. north of Good Hope)	du ta got'ine (among-the-islands people, east of the River).	tu a ta got'ine (Ramparts People)

TABLE IV (cont'd)

Petitot (1891)	Osgood (1931)	Sue and Hurlbert (1961)
Na-tle-tpa gottine (among the lakes P.) <u>or</u> kha-tcho-gottine (gens du Large)	t'a la gotine (north of Aubry L., Colville L. & L. Maunoir)	t'a la gotine (Large people, Colville L. people, including those of surrounding lakes)
Nni-gottine (along the Hare R.)	ta tci ne got'ine (meaning unknown, along the Hare R.	
Eta-tcho-gottine (actually of the Satudene Tribe)		

TABLE V:

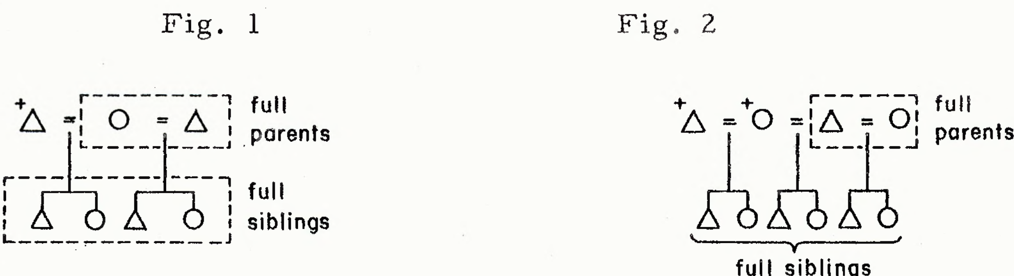
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS, IN EACH BAND, GOING TO THE BUSH IN 1961-2.

Band	Total No. of Households	In the bush Summer (1961)	Winter (Feb. 15/62)
Town	7	0	0
Ramparts	12	8	8
River	18	10	13
Colville	16	13	14
Anderson	4	1	3
Mountain	8	3	4
Non-Hare	6	3	4
Percentage	100	53.5	61.9

The third unit in which the Hare Indians are members is the kindred. The kinship system of the Hare is characterized by bilateral descent. Thus the kin include primary relatives (i. e. siblings, parents and children), all consanguines traced through both mother. and father, and those of affinal ties. A person can usually remember his grandparents' generation but rarely further back. A person's greatest familiarity is with his primary and secondary relatives. These include mother, father, siblings, spouses, grandparents, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, half-siblings, siblings-in-law, parents-in-law, children-in-law, and grandchildren. With these relatives, geographical proximity and the frequency of face-to-face contact help determine the degree of personal involvement, e.g. a man is apt to have greater involvement with a paternal uncle who resides in the house next to him than one who lives in another settlement.

The high death rate among Hare is another factor determining relationship in some kin groups. There are a number of men and women who having lost their first spouse due to the high death rate, marry a second or even third time. Children of the first marriage go with the surviving parent into the household of the second marriage. The children of the first and second marriages who are in reality step-siblings, consider each other full siblings and the step-parent a full parent. Where the surviving parent dies and the step-parent marries a third time, the children both of the first and second marriages go with the parent/ step-parent into the household of the third marriage. The children of the first and second marriages both consider the children of the last marriage full siblings and the step-parents full parents. Between the children of the first and third marriages, and the children of the first and parents of the third marriage, there is in reality no blood relationship.

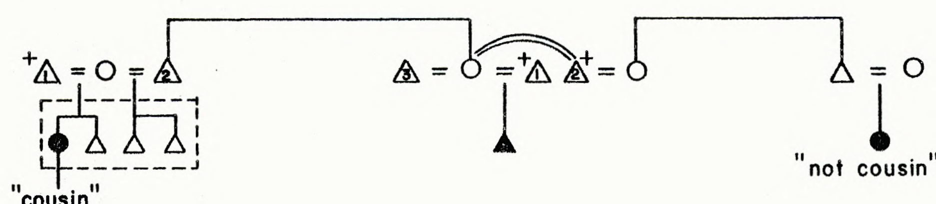
Fig. 1 Fig. 2



These second and third marriages also complicate secondary and tertiary relationships. The children of the first and second marriages tend to forget the relatives of these marriages and adopt those of the third

marriage. Thus one boy, the son of his mother's first marriage, told me he could not marry his mother's brother's second wife's daughter by her first marriage because she was a cousin; yet he intended to marry his mother's second husband's first wife's brother's daughter, not realizing that she was essentially of the same relationship to him as the first girl whom he called "cousin".

Fig. 3



This inclusion of step-relatives among the primary and second kin suggests that the high death rate is a factor causing the wide range and narrow depth found in Hare Indian geneologies.

Dr. Cohen (personal communication) reports that he heard people in fish camps calling each other by kin terms rather than by personal names. We have no data to support this, however, whether in town or fish camp, young people always address old men as "e'si", the term for grandfather, and old women as "a so^{n}", the term for grandmother, whether they are relatives or not.

Adoption is a common and traditional means of increasing the kin group amongst the Hares. In the summer of 1961 there were twenty-four adopted children, 15% of the child population, in eighteen households. Eight of these were legal while the rest were of the traditional type. Of the legal adoptions none of the children were relatives of the host parents. In twelve of the eighteen traditional adoptions one of the host parents was a secondary or tertiary relative. Causes for adoption given were: hospitalization or death of parents, too many children in the family, old people desiring a younger person to support them in their last years, the child was poorly cared for by the mother, the child was illegitimate and the unmarried mother could not support it.

Groupings Resulting from the Annual Economic Cycle

The basic unit in the groupings resulting from the annual cycle is the household. The household includes all those who live under one roof and members of the household co-operate in economic activities. Property necessary to these activities, though it may nominally be individually owned, is used by all members of the household, e.g. dogs, sleds, guns, canoes, "kickers" (outboard motors), fish nets, traps, cooking utensils, etc. Each household member has his own clothing, snowshoes and sleeping bag. It was traditionally the custom, on the death of the household head, to burn his personal property e.g. dogs, sled, clothing.[4] However, through the influence of the missionaries and other white men this is infrequently observed today.

According to our census, taken on September 15, 1961, there are seventy-one households. Of these forty-four households consisted of church or common-law couples, with or without children. The children include those of former marriages of either spouse and adopted children. Ten households included a widow with or without dependent children. Five households included a widower with his sons or daughters and in two cases a widower friend and son. Twelve households were composed of extended families. Of these, five consisted of a married couple or widow, unmarried children, a daughter who was unmarried or separated and her children; two households with an old married couple, their unmarried children and children of a daughter; two households with an old couple, their unmarried children, a married son and his wife and children; one household with a married woman, her illegal spouse, her children, her sister and her son.

In the rest of this chapter the household groupings will be traced according to the annual economic cycle.

Summer: This season begins in the second week of June and lasts till late August. From June 15 until the first of July the households, which have been out for "spring hunt", begin to drift into the town and reoccupy their houses or set up tents in their favourite spots. In the summer of 1961 all but six households, which remained at Colville Lake,

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4. This information was gained in a personal interview with Father Bretar, priest in Fort Good Hope, and is confirmed by Osgood (1931: 81) and Keith (1890, II: 109).

came into town. About June 30 the children, who have been away at residential schools in Inuvik and Yellowknife, arrive home by plane.

July is a time for relaxation and fun. On fine afternoons the women tan hides, make moccasins and gather for gossip and card games on neighbours' doorsteps; the men gather for leisurely chats along the river bank. Air planes bringing mail, government officials, mission representatives and other officials arrive frequently and everyone rushes to the river bank overlooking the plane dock to watch arrivals. Nights are spent dancing, going to movies, and playing cards. Midnight masses are held in the church and all attend. The sun hardly sets at this period and night becomes the most lively period; people sleep in the morning and there is little activity before noon. On July 1, sports day, everyone gathers in the middle of the village to watch competitions in jumping, running, paddling canoes and "kicker" races. During this period the R.C.M.P., mission and Indian Affairs all hire men to cut lumber for firewood. The younger men form partnerships and go as far up the river as the San Sault Rapids to gather drift logs, cut them in six foot lengths, and bring them back to the settlement by raft. They are away from the town from four to six days.

As July goes on the government construction crews arrive and take on local labour. Those households whose men have wage labour will stay in town for the summer and must live a scheduled day for the men must be in bed early to be up for work at 7 a.m.

Toward the end of July, as the level of the river goes down, men are seen mending nets, recanvasing and painting their canoes and the women begin to close up the houses and gather supplies to set out for the fish camps. The first households go during the last week in July and many follow in early August. Only the old, the mothers with very young children, the wage earners and a few who still hope to get wage labour remain in town. In the summer of 1961 thirty-four of the seventy-one households remained in town all summer.

The fish camp sites are chosen where the river is narrow or shallow and the fish pass in large quantities. South of Good Hope the catch is primarily herring and is best in early August; north of Good Hope the catch is largely whitefish and connie and is better in late August and September. The camps are placed on flat gravel beaches near a source of drinking water and the size varies according to the size of the beach chosen. Last summer (1961) there were ten camps all within thirty

miles of the town, varying from one to seven households. (see Map III). Households camping at the same site are often consanguinally or affinally related. Relationship is not necessary in joining a group and some households join a group where friends are or where a good fisherman is known to be. The membership of camp groups is fluid and may change its household combination several times in a summer.

Each household moves from town to the camp in a canoe with a "kicker", and on arrival cuts tent poles, erects its tent, collects firewood and builds a frame and smoke house for drying and smoking fish. Dogs are taken to the camp and staked near the tent. They are not used during the summer but are fed a few of the fish caught each day. The men set out their nets and visit them each morning around 7 a.m. and each evening about 6 p.m. They visit the nets near the camp in hunting canoes but if the nets are at a distance they must use a large canoe and "kicker". Every household has a hunting canoe but not necessarily a canoe with "kicker". In the latter case several men go with the man who has a large canoe and each man's net is visited in turn. When the men bring the fish in they give them to the women of the household. The women pick a few fish out for food for the day and cut the rest for drying and smoking. When the fish are abundant this process takes up to two hours to complete. The dried fish are used for human and dog food in winter and the roe is dried and saved for trap bait. If a household does not have a woman in it the man may give his fish to a woman of another household to dry on condition that she gets half of the fish she dries.

During the rest of the day the men rest, work leisurely on their nets, canoes and "kickers", or make snowshoes for winter. The women make bannock, moccasins and mittens for winter, tan hides, visit rabbit snares, collect firewood and pick berries. In the evenings people visit from tent to tent to gossip until about 10 p.m. when everyone goes to bed. Sundays are holidays and the fish is gathered and cut as quickly as possible so that everyone will be ready for mass when the priest arrives at the camp. Mass is held in one of the bigger tents and those who cannot get in kneel about the doorway. In the afternoon people visit from one camp to another. Occasionally during the week several men will go to town on business taking a few of the children. They take bales of fish and berries to store for winter, to give to friends or to sell to the mission, the Hudson's Bay and the free trader.

August 15, Assumption Day, is an important church holy day and everyone tries to come to town for the services. In 1961 the bishop

arrived on Assumption Day and confirmed four Indian children. The men often use this occasion to learn where fish are running best and shortly after the holiday the households may change location.

Fall: This season begins with the shorter days and cooler weather of late August and lasts till the freeze-up of the river and lakes and the fall of snow.

Toward the beginning of September those households which have school-aged children return to town while other households remain at the camps as late as September 20. In 1961 those children going to residential schools left by plane on September 3. The rest started classes at the federal day school in the town.

As the various households come back to town they sell their dry fish and begin to prepare for winter camp. Those who habitually go to Colville Lake and to camps well down the river set out for these by the middle of September. Other households remain in town waiting for snow so that they can travel by dog team. The decision of where to go for the winter is always made at the last minute and even in late September when we asked people where they were going they answered "We don't know yet". While waiting the women make high winter moccasins, mukluks and mits. The men repair their sleds, harnesses, and make snowshoes. They may go out alone or in parties to hunt moose and shoot ducks.

Winter: This season lasts from November till May. The winter camp sites are located along the river and on the lakes of the river plain e.g. Long, Loon, Losh Lakes, where the swampy land makes for better trapping. The households tend to go to their own band territories but local camp group composition is as fluid as that of summer fish camps. Some of the older household heads have winter cabins along the river and at the Ramparts and they return to these spots every year. Other households may join the camp of either spouse's parents or siblings, or a son's or daughter's spouse's siblings. Others join the camp of a well-known hunter. In the winter of 1961-62 there were ten winter camp groups (see Map III) ranging from one household to four; twelve households were in the Colville Lake area. Of these camp groupings one was composed totally of parents and siblings, and another, that of one of the best trappers, had six unmarried boys.

The total number of households in winter camps was forty-four during the winter of 1961-62. Of those households which remained in

town eight were composed only of women, eight had wage labour positions, the heads of three had just returned from Camsell hospital, five were composed of old couples and dependent children. A number of town households set their traps in the immediate vicinity of the town.

The household travels to winter camp, after snowfall, by dog team and lives in a tent banked with snow. After November 1, the opening of the trapping season, the men set out their traps and visit them once or twice a week depending on the length of the trap line. There are no family trapping territories. The majority of men trap alone, though a trapper may take a son or nephew with him to teach him trapping methods. Marten is the most plentiful pelt animal in this area though fox, wolverine, mink, and beaver are also caught. The women sometimes set out their own traps but these are never more than a day's journey from camp. The women also set rabbit snares for if moose are scarce hare becomes a major source of food. If a man shoots a moose or caribou the meat is shared with every household in the camp. The shooter usually keeps the hind legs. Some of the meat is eaten fresh and the rest is dried. The hide is given to the woman of the household to tan and make into moccasins and mitts. If the camp is along a lake the men will set a fish net under the ice to catch whitefish or trout. These are fed the dogs for every household has at least one dog team of from four to six dogs. Fish are also caught through holes in the ice on hooks.

A week before Christmas all the households begin the journey to town for the holiday celebrations, and to get more supplies. Christmas eve high mass is held in the church and afterward everyone goes visiting from house to house seldom returning home till noon on Christmas day. A Christmas party is held in the school for the children and Santa Claus is present; afterward there is a dance for all. Drinking parties and card parties are held throughout the week following Christmas. The younger people take their dog teams in the evenings and go for races along the river and back of the town.

During the week after the New Year the households begin to drift back to their hunting camps. Some take this opportunity to change camp groups. They come to town leaving their tents and equipment at the camp and if they decide to go somewhere else they just leave their things there to pick up later or another year.

They return to town again at Easter to attend church services, sell their pelts and relax. Usually Treaty Day is around Easter time and every-one receives his treaty money, i.e. $5.00 a person. After Easter they

return to the camps they left in the bush or stay in town to wait for the opening of the muskrat season.[5]

Spring: This season lasts from May till the middle of June. The muskrat season opens on May 1. Traps are set for these and after the ice breaks up the men shoot them. Many of the households go to Tuyata (the Ramparts and Hume River area) for the spring hunt since beaver and muskrat are plentiful in this area. The Hare Indians seem particularly fond of the spring hunt and a number were heard to say "I never miss spring hunt, it is so much fun". Households which do not go out to winter camp leave town for the spring hunt. The households begin to return to town for summer activities after break-up.

Those households which go to Colville Lake for the winter do not stay at the settlement but go out to winter camps in that area. At present they return to Good Hope for Christmas and Easter. With the establishment of a trading post in 1959 and the building of a church next year it is hoped that the people will stay there the year around, coming into that settlement for Christmas and Easter, thus becoming independent of Good Hope entirely.

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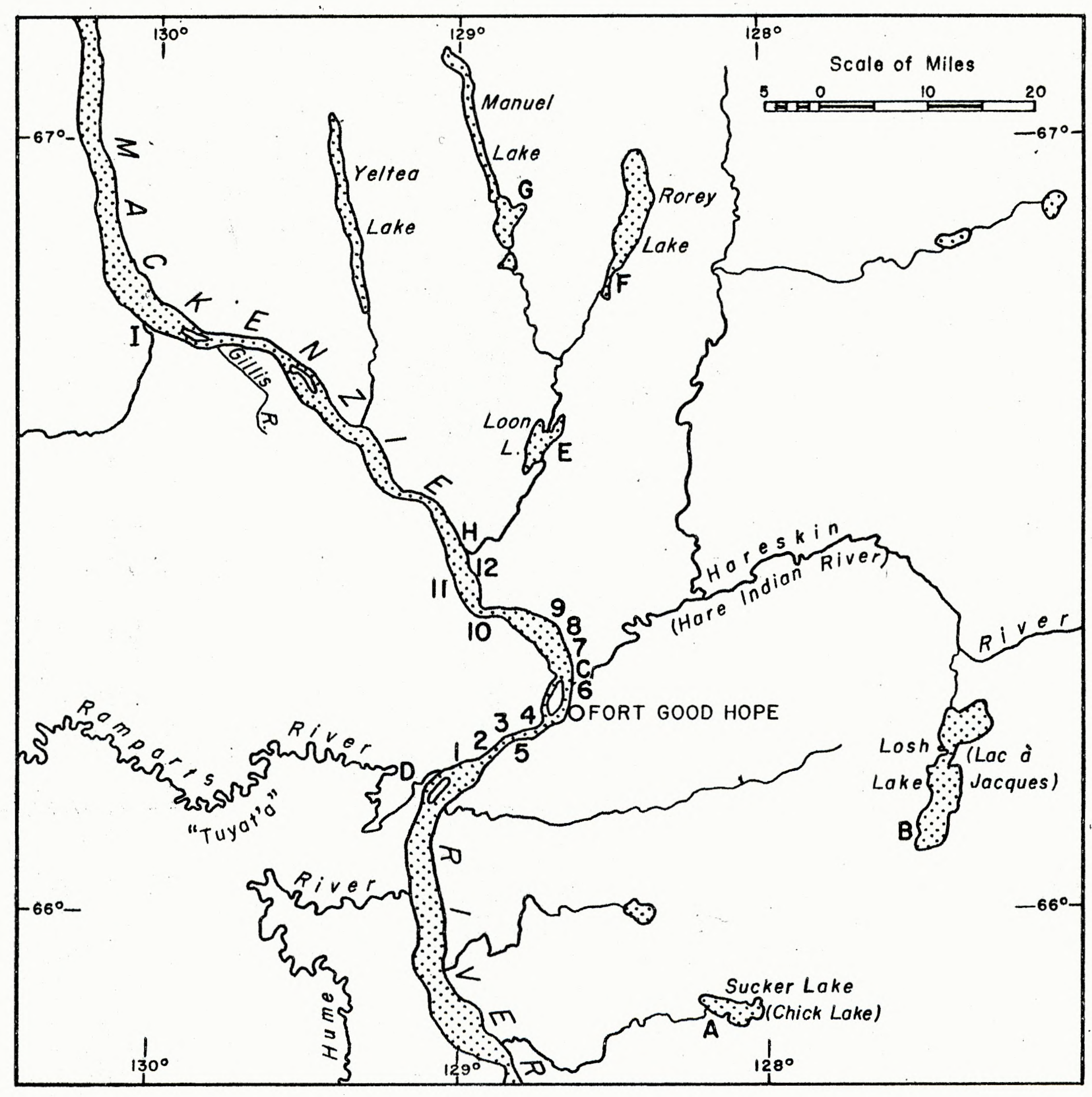
5. Less detailed data were collected on winter groupings as we were not able to participate in these activities but had to depend on informants' descriptions.

MAP III HUNTING AND FISHING CAMPSITES ON THE MACKENZIE RIVER PLAINS



FISH CAMPS
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

	AUG. 16	SEPT. 15
1.	4	3
2.	8	6
3.	1	0
4.	3	0
5.	3	3
6.	3	2
7.	2	0
8.	0	1
9.	1	0
10.	3	2
11.	0	3
12.	4	4

WINTER CAMPS
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

	(FEB. 15, 1962)
A.	3
B.	3
C.	1
D.	3
E.	1
F.	3 (6 unmarried boys)
G.	0
H.	2
I.	1

CHAPTER III

AGE-GROUPS

As was explained in the introductory chapter, age is a basic system for allocating roles within society. In this chapter each age grade, from birth to death, is discussed in order to show the process of socialization as it takes place in the Hare society. These age grades are: (1) infancy, from birth till about two years, (2) childhood, from two years till eleven years, (3) adolescence, from twelve years till marriage, (4) middle age, from marriage till between forty-five and fifty years, (5) old age, from the fifties till death.[1] The ages given are those for the average person but particular individuals may vary to some extent from norms. Extreme cases are noted in the description to follow.

1. Infancy

The native term for this grade is bebi and there is no sexual distinction. Childbirth is usually a relatively easy event for the Hare mother. She is accustomed to work throughout the pregnancy right up to the time of birth. One woman was reported to have been seen out chopping wood just before she went to the nursing station for the birth. The priest told us that he arrived at a winter camp for mass and was asked to return the next day, for by that time one of the women would have had a baby who could be baptized. He returned the next day to see the mother out cutting and bringing back firewood. He asked a nearby woman about the baby and she said it had been born that morning and was in the tent.

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1. The lengths of the age groups were determined in the following manner: (a) observing behaviour to place people into groups of similar behaviour then determining their individual ages, (b) asking for the native terms for the various phases of life and then inquiring of the informant the age included in each term.

   The most difficult group to determine was "old age". Fathauer (1942: 20) states that traditionally old age began among the Northern Athabaskans when they were no longer economically independent. However, government welfare benefits have made old people self-sufficient economically and thus this was not the major criterion upon which the present age group transition could be based. Our informants who gave the native terms, insisted that anyone over forty-five was an old person. Upon checking, throughout the summer, this information against attitudes toward people over forty-five, we concluded that this information was valid.

In recent years most babies are born at the nursing station, or if complications arise the mother is sent to the hospital by an emergency, chartered plane. However, particularly during the winter, a few babies are still born in the bush. When a child is born in the bush the mother is usually attended by her mother, if present, and another female relative or older woman. One case is recorded of an unmarried girl acting as attendant. If no one else is present the husband will help. When labour pains begin the attendants may pray either in Slavey or in English or French. A long stick is set between two objects about two feet from the ground and padding placed over it. The mother-to-be kneels, with legs open, and presses upon the stick which passes under each arm pit. As the pains become frequent one of the attendants, gripping her under the arms, lifts the mother while she exhales. One woman reported she had only five pains on her first birth and three on a succeeding birth. The woman kneels on old rags which are burnt afterward.

A number of taboos and prohibitions, observed in the care of the infant, have been reported for Athabascan tribes. Ross(1866: 305) reports that the Hare did not feed the child for the first four days so that it could endure starvation in the future. He also says that infant girls did not have their nails cut for the first four or five years so that they would not be lazy. It was also believed that this contributed to an ability to embroider in womanhood. Wentzel says (1896: I, 305) that among the Beaver a male child's legs are pulled daily so that he will have the long legs necessary for a good hunter. Though none of these taboos or practices were recorded for the present-day Hare, on one occasion we did observe a girl pulling a pup's legs "so he will have long legs for pulling a sled". This suggests that Wentzel's practice was applied among the Hare.

There are many references to infanticide among the Athabascans (Franklin, 1828: 64; Simpson, 1843: 187, 202; Hooper, 1853: 319; Petitot, 1893: 110). This practice has been very much discouraged by missionaries and there are no records of actual infanticide in recent years. However, we did record two cases, occurring in the last five years, in which a female child, born in the bush, though not abandoned, was neglected until near death. In one case the child was discovered by the police and rushed to the hospital, regained health, and was later adopted by another family. In the second case the baby died within six months of birth. The mother was a married woman living out-of-wedlock with another man, who did not want the child.

The Hare believe in reincarnation. The reincarnation of a person in the child is said to be reported by the child himself or to be determined from a birthmark. In one case the child was reported to have dreamed before he was born that he was his grandfather. In another case the child is reported a reincarnation of her grandmother because her first words were "where is that old man?" and she described her grandfather though he had died before

her birth. In yet another case the mother had known her child was the reincarnation of a man who had been shot previous to the child's birth because it had a birthmark in the shape of a bullet.

The Hare are extremely fond of children and the baby is welcomed both by the adults and children of the household, though the immediately preceding child may show signs of jealousy because of the lessening of his mother's attention for him.

Every child is baptized by the priest, usually within a month of birth. At that time it receives its name. The baptism is usually held after the Sunday afternoon service, in the little chapel in the mission house. The parents, godparents and perhaps a few close relatives are present. The name given must always include the name of a saint. If the child is sickly and may die it must be baptized immediately. If the parents are in the bush at the time and no priest is available anyone may baptize the baby by saying the blessing, sprinkling water on its forehead, and making the sign of the cross once.

The young baby is clothed in a night shirt, diaper, sweater and wrapped in blankets. Usually most of the clothing, the blankets, and the other necessities are not purchased or obtained until after the child's birth. After six months or so the male child is dressed in rompers, or overalls and shirt, and the female child in dresses. In winter they are wrapped in heavy blankets when out-of-doors. Many mothers use moccasins of soft duffel for the baby though some babies over six months had regular baby boots. In the summer while in the house, the baby may go in bare feet and just a shirt without even a diaper. In the bush mothers use white moss for diapers because this can be changed often and thrown away. Cotton diapers, though changed several times a day, are not necessarily changed immediately upon being wet and several babies were noticed to have diaper rashes.

The child is washed whenever it looks dirty and the hands and face may be cleaned many times a day. Some mothers are much more conscientious about keeping the baby clean than others but most bathe it frequently. The nurse told us that mothers are afraid to wash the heads of babies because of the softness of the fontanelles, consequently the child gets dirty scabs on the scalp.

The baby, when not being held, is kept in a canvas cradle hung from the ceiling. No attempt is made to have it sleep at regular hours.

It may be cared for by the mother or another woman of the household. Teenage daughters are often given charge of the child and give it its bottle, change its diaper and tend it. The younger girls, from six years of age upward, often play with the baby and carry it about in their arms.. The father or boys of the family may rock its cradle or bounce it up and down on their knees. If the child cries someone will pick it up and divert its attention or if the mother thinks it is hungry she will give it her breast. Either parent may rock it and sing in Slavey to it but it is never left to cry any length of time.

To carry the baby the mother folds a blanket into a triangle, places the baby's head on the widest side, pulls the ends over her shoulders, crossing them in front and then puts them through under her arms and ties them under the baby. She carries the baby everywhere with her whether visiting, or even to church. While visiting she unties it and puts it to sleep on a bed; if in church she places it at her feet, under the bench, with its bottle. Sisters, from eight years up, may also visit from household to household during the day with the baby on their back. A few of the young mothers, who have spent some time in larger communities, have begun to carry the baby in their arms as they have seen white women do.

The majority of mothers feed their babies from the breast, though a few, who have no milk or prefer white women's methods, give the baby a bottle with a formula of canned milk, water and sugar. Many of the mothers feed the baby pablum after it is ten months old and a few, whose households have a money income, use canned baby foods. At about six months the baby is given a little dried fish to chew on, and at eight months a little dried meat. Traditionally the child was not weaned until the second or third year. Today it depends on the mother's attitude and some are weaned as early as six months, others not till the arrival of the next child or until the child is more than eighteen months old and eating solid foods. One child of three years was seen asking for his mother's breast while she was feeding the baby. In the latter cases the child weans itself though sometimes a bitter substance is placed on the breast.

Toilet training is begun between the sixth and fifteenth months. The baby is set on a small pot when it indicates a desire to defecate. After the baby learns to walk it is encouraged to go outside in summer to squat in a sheltered place. Urinary training is not stressed until the child is over a year old and even then no strict disciplinary actions are taken to enforce the training.

The child begins to learn to talk from the age of nine to fifteen months. It learns either Slavey or English depending on which language is spoken in the household but it is more apt to be Slavey. It begins to walk at about fifteen months and is usually quite proficient by the age of two years. It learns by pulling itself up on objects or by being walked by others. Many babies are placed in playpens at about eight months; others are permitted to crawl or walk around the house examining everything they contact. Little effort is made to keep harmful objects out of reach.

Adoption, as already mentioned, may be either traditional or legal. In those cases where the adopted child was illegitimate adoption usually takes place within the first year. In cases where the parents become ill or where the family becomes too large, the adopted child may be up to seven or eight years old. The adopted child takes the host family as his relatives. If he is seven or eight years old he may not call the host parents by kin terms but rather by first names. If the "real" parents are alive he may go on calling them by kin terms, though in cases of infant adoption this does not occur. In these cases the situation may occur where the child is calling both blood relatives and host relatives by kin terms and thus has two sets of primary kin. In the majority of traditional adoptions the host couple are persons in their sixties who want someone to support them and give them company in their old age. In these cases boys are preferred though girls are taken.

2. Childhood

The native term for this grade is tzut'anki or "kids". A child is included in this group from the time he begins to walk and talk till the age of ten or eleven years. The youngest speak only Slavey. In three households English is spoken as the primary language and here the children learn English first and Slavey secondarily from other children. All children of school age learn English as classes are taught in that language. They tend to use English, once learned, in preference to Slavey except when talking to older people who are more fluent in Slavey.

The girls wear dresses, several pairs of cotton stockings, sweaters, and moccasins or shoes in summer. On cooler days or for church they wear navy blazers or boys' cotton or nylon jackets and brightly coloured head scarves. In wet weather boots or rubbers are worn over moccasins.

In winter they wear wool skirts or slacks, homemade parkas, and mukluks with several pairs of duffel socks in them. The boys wear jeans, shirts, sweaters and sneakers or moccasins in summer and in winter wool pants, parkas and mukluks. The children who go to the government residential school in Inuvik receive full outfits of clothing while in school. The girls get two uniforms, a blazer, a dress, winter pants and jacket, shoes and boots; the boys get shoes, sneakers, jeans, corduroy shirts, grey flannel pants, a navy blazer and white shirt, parkas and mitts. When the children return home in spring they are permitted to wear one outfit. One or two girls of this age group are seen in brightly coloured cotton slacks. The girls from residential school have their hair bobbed while those of the town wear it long and straight.

Except in those households where a member is employed at wage labour, meals tend to be irregular. In a few households the family sits down together to eat but in many the children come as they want and may eat while doing other things. The children eat the same foods as adults and food varies from a native diet to canned goods depending on the income of the family. They like canned meats, potatoes, brown beans, cereals, oranges and apples. The Sisters of the Inuvik residence report that the children do not like veal, pork, canned vegetables or soup. They all like candy, particularly suckers and ice cream.

Much of the play of this group is in imitation of adult life. Many of the girls have dolls for which they make clothes with some help from older women. A favourite game is that of "keeping house". Three or four little girls get four or more poles and make a tipi-like structure over which they spread blankets or canvas. Then all crowd inside with their dolls and old cans for dishes. The younger girls are fond of making mud pies. Swings are made by tying two long moosehide thongs on a long cross pole, one end of the thong being tied some five feet from the other. A blanket is placed over the thongs to form a hammock-like seat. Skipping and toss ball are other pastimes. The younger boys play with plastic trucks and whirly-gigs bought at the "Bay" (Hudson's Bay store). Older boys love baseball. They go down to the Point, where they will not be seen, to swim. They carve wooden boats (or an older man does it for them) and small wooden "kickers" and pull these along on strings in the creek and river. Almost all the boys make themselves bows and arrows and practice shooting at cans or other targets. They make the tips of the arrows with shells or nails and these are very sharp. In fish camp

several boys put a fish net in the creek and actually catch fish.

In winter both boys and girls play a sort of hockey on ponds near the town. If they do not have skates they slide and kick the puck with their feet. They also like to go sliding and riding with the dogs. Even in August we saw a three year old hitch up a dog to an old toboggan and try to make the dog pull several of his friends. The younger boys and girls play together with little attention to sex but after about seven years the girls tend to form girls' groups and boys boys' groups, particularly when imitating adults.

Both boys and girls are very fond of card games and know all the simpler ones such as "old maid", "fight", "steal", "fish", "eights", etc. They like to draw scenes of native culture, and the boys make paper airplanes. A few have crayons and colouring books. They love the movies and go to every show sitting on the floor within feet of the screen laughing uproariously at any slap-stick comedy.

All the children are fond of music and are often heard singing Slavey songs while playing. They all attend the dances and before the dance really begins the older children may lead several three or four year olds onto the floor, put their arms around each other and tell them to dance. These younger children walk about the floor keeping time to the music. As they become older they become shy and prefer to sit watching on the sidelines. The little boys sit with the older boys and men and the girls with the women. At one drum dance we attended an eight year old boy got a small drum and, hiding behind others, began to beat it in time with the drummers.

The older girls of this age group are expected to take care of their younger siblings while at play or on social occasions such as movies, church and dances. The younger children are given few duties but do run errands. The girls of ten or eleven begin to take an active part in the women's work in the household. They wash the dishes and in fish camp help pick berries and make bannock. They may also collect firewood and even saw it to proper size for the stove. Occasionally they go with their father to the fish nets. The older boys help their father at the nets and in winter may go with him on the trap line. They learn to paddle the small hunting canoes in summer and in winter to drive the dogs. They learn to shoot .22 calibre rifles and go hunting for rabbits and other small animals. Both boys and girls enjoy watching their parents make objects of native culture. The older girls learn to embroider and to

sew bead patterns for moccasins. During the winter the children have less time for household duties as they spend much of the day in school.

In 1950 the federal day school was opened in Good Hope. During the 1950-51 term fifteen children of this age group attended school though average attendance was only 51 per cent. Those students whose parents lived in town attended regularly but eight of the children, whose parents went to the bush, were very irregular in attendance. For the 1951-52 term there were twenty-five children and average attendance increased to 70 per cent. Numbers of children and rate of attendance continued to improve until in 1958-59 there were forty-seven children and the attendance rate was well over 80 per cent. Previous to the day school, children had been going to Aklavik mission school and up to twenty-five children attended each year. While in residence at Aklavik the girls lived in one large dormitory and the boys in another. The older children looked after the younger ones. Besides their regular lessons the girls were taught to embroider and sew and the boys went out with the priest and brothers to hunt moose and caribou for winter meat. The boys set their own traps in the vicinity of the school and the girls helped skin the animals and prepare the pelts. The boys had their own huts in the woods near the school and could go to them after classes to play. They shot birds with both guns and bows and arrows. When the berries were ripe the girls were taken on all day picnics to pick them. They also helped make dry fish. After break-up older children were taken by mission boat to help get winter wood.

Since 1959, with the building of the government residential school in Inuvik, all children from grade seven on and all those whose parents spend more than three months of the year in the bush go to residential school. Here all regular subjects are taught and there are classes in manual training for boys and domestic science for girls. The girls and boys under twelve each have their own dormitory with a sister in charge. The girls' dormitory has many toys such as kitchen sets, small pianos, dolls, rocking horses, sewing machines, record players, books and funny books; the boys have shuttle board, weights, boxing gloves, books and a large variety of games such as marbles. The children return to the dorms to play after classes. There are also large gymnasiums for team games such as basketball, volleyball and badminton. In winter there is an outdoor rink and the boys form teams for hockey. There are Girl Guide and Boy Scout and Cub groups for all children over eight years. Movies are shown twice a week. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons the children may go into the town of Inuvik but must be escorted by relatives.

During the first week or so the new pupils may be a bit homesick but soon get over it and adjust to the new life. Visitors may cause recurrent homesickness.[2] Occasionally a child will refuse to stay but as the family must pay the transportation expenses home in such cases this acts as a strong deterrent.

Discipline in the home is of a very lenient nature. Children are never forbidden to use adult objects even when expensive or dangerous. The most effective form of discipline is shaming by laughing at the child's actions. Even adult Hare Indians show strong embarrassment when laughed at. Temper tantrums are not infrequent in young children but during these the child is just ignored. If they are of long duration he is slapped. If the child's behaviour becomes really annoying to others in a public place he is taken from the room but much freedom is given even in these situations. A father's authority is respected and feared but boys show little obedience toward the mother. Children obey the commands of any older man in the town.

Young children usually remain in the immediate vicinity of the household or visit young relatives in a household close at hand. However, they may be seen anywhere in the town if accompanied by an older sibling. The older children visit and play anywhere within the town or camp group during the day though they are accompanied by adults when going any distance after dark. The older children often wander outside the town for picnics and skating parties. Boys of eleven may go shooting a few miles from town but return before evening. Children have no real bedtime but mothers tend to put them to bed soon after dark or when the parents themselves go. In summer, when darkness never really comes, children may be seen out as late as 11 p.m. or midnight. At dances or other social events they crawl up in a sheltered corner or in someone's arms and go to sleep. Occasionally on return from school in summer the children will go home to bed around 8 p.m. of their own accord but this only lasts for four or five days. During vacation they are permitted to sleep as long as they want in the morning but during school term most mothers try to get them to school on time.

The child of two or three years can usually dress and wash himself though he often is given a helping hand by his mother or an older sibling. Older children are left to look after themselves. A teenage girl may make sure that the child is clean and may wash his hair. Often the teenage sister takes pride in washing and curling a younger sister's hair. The young child feeds himself usually with fingers or a spoon. Older children use knives and forks. The child is generally toilet trained by the age of two but may go on urinating in bed at night up to the age of twelve. The Sisters at Inuvik

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2. As we visited the residential school during the summer vacation months our information on homesickness was obtained from the Sisters rather than by observation and questioning the children involved.

residential school reported this a real problem with boys from six to nine.

Children are encouraged to be stoical about pain. If a child falls or hurts himself he is usually ignored, particularly if he cries and it is obvious that he is not badly hurt. When he stops crying an older relative may comfort him. We saw a boy of about eight years fall several feet and knock his breath away and another slip and twist his ankle badly but in both cases the child just sobbed quietly for a short time and then went away while people around him ignored the incident.

All the children are taken to church from babyhood onward. The children of two to four years sit with their mothers or sisters on the women's side of the church. Little boys from four years onward sit with their fathers or older brothers on the men's side. The older children tend to sit in groups, according to sex, toward the back of the church. Those of three to six years seldom sit quietly but twist and squirm in their seats, run up and down the aisles, or slide about under the seats on their stomachs. The child of seven or eight years is expected to sit quietly and pray during the service. The priest trains a few ten year olds to act as altar boys. Each spring the priest gathers together the ten and eleven year olds and gives them special training and during the summer, when the Bishop arrives, they are confirmed. After confirmation the child may take the sacrament of holy communion. During the school term the priest spends an hour a week after classes giving all the children further training.

We noticed only one seriously deviant child in this age group. She was a seven year old who had been adopted when three after having been passed from family to family when her parents left the town. Other age mates tried to avoid her and she was frequently seen standing by herself crying for long periods. She showed a fascination for brightly coloured, particularly red and yellow, objects and a tendency to steal these. She constantly demanded to be the centre of attention and became upset when people ignored her. She had a stutter when excited and a tendency to confuse English and Slavey vocabulary though English was spoken more frequently in her home.

3. Adolescence

The boys of this group are called *eke* while the girls are called by their first names. This group includes a much wider age range now than it did traditionally. Old people report that girls used to marry at

about fourteen years and boy's in their late teens, however now the average marriage age for girls is eighteen or nineteen and for boys, between twenty and twenty-five.

There are no records or indications of puberty rites for boys among the Hare Indians. Traditionally those for girls were very rigorous. The girl retired to a small tipi-like shelter where for the first four days she ate nothing but might chew on spruce bark. She wore a caribou-skin hood and was not permitted to speak to anyone. She remained in the tipi for six weeks to two months. Upon leaving the shelter she continued to use special eating utensils for two to four months. (Osgood, 1931: 79). Some of the girls still observe the rites though for those away at school it is impossible. However, the rites are less rigorous for the girl remains in the shelter only about a week and she is brought food daily.

The favourite clothing for boys of this group is the black leather jacket, blue jeans and high black boots. Plaid shirts, nylon jackets, moccasins and ordinary shoes are also worn. The girls wear clothes similar to those of teenagers in the south. They like full cotton skirts, blouses, sweaters, socks and for dressing up, pretty cotton dresses. In the winter they wear plaid wool skirts and parkas. Plaid wool and bright cotton slacks are very popular and it is only in this age group that they are worn extensively. They seldom wear moccasins but sneakers, loafers and low heeled pumps are common. Those girls who earn pocket money use it to get orders of clothing from Simpson's and Eaton's mail order catalogues. The girls all have home permanent waves and the boys wear their hair quite long and with accompanying side-burns. Girls wear very little jewellry but both sexes usually have watches; those of the boys may be quite expensive.

The girls of this group learn the full responsibilities of the woman in the household. They learn how to set up the tent and often go ahead of the family to fish camp to put the tent up and gather fire wood. They are expected to know how to prepare meals and make bannock. They go with the women to the bush to gather spruce bows for the floor of the tent and learn the proper way of laying the bows so that they will not slip. In fish camp they learn to cut dry fish and help their mother cut and smoke the fish. They go with older women into the bush to learn where to set rabbit snares and learn to skin, clean and cook the hares they catch. In the winter they learn to set traps, to shoot a .22 calibre rifle, and to prepare the pelts. They drive dog teams and, if there are no boys in the family, may have a couple of dogs of their own that they have trained. They learn from older women to make moccasins, mitts and parkas.

Almost all have made themselves parkas by the time they are eighteen. They are usually proficient at all these skills by the age of sixteen though residential schooling interferes with the learning process. One lady said of her fifteen year old daughter, "She is a good housekeeper but she is flighty. You know she was in school since she was three." Most of the skills are learned from the mother, but if the mother is dead or an aunt or grandmother does a particular thing better the girl may go to her for instruction.

It is in this age group that the boy learns all the skills essential to life in the bush. He has learned to shoot a gun at targets by the time he is twelve years old. He usually goes on his first moose hunt at the age of fourteen. To hunt moose takes skill in tracking and knowledge of moose habits. A good hunter can tell in which direction a moose is apt to go and, keeping to the lee of the moose so that it cannot smell or hear him, can come out at the same spot to get a shot at it. (See Osgood, 1937: 34). Boys learn from a good hunter, usually the father or a maternal or paternal uncle. A feast, lifa t'a wisi, is held when a boy shoots his first moose. If it is shot in winter the meat is dried. Then in June his mother "makes tea" (i.e. gives a feast). Everyone comes and is given tea and a small piece of the meat and a dance is held that night. The mother takes the hide, tans it and then cuts it in pieces large enough to make one pair of moccasins. The boy takes the pieces and gives one to each old person in the group.

The boy sets his first traps between the age of thirteen and sixteen. He usually first goes out with an uncle to see how it is done. However, he may set his own traps and learn by experience. Here is the account one boy gave of his first trapping experience:

> I went out and set fifty traps for marten and mink. I went out a week later but there wasn't anything in the traps. I came home and I wasn't going to tell anybody. The men were all talking and telling each other how many marten they had got. I didn't say anything. Then one of them asked me and I had to say I didn't get any. They asked me how I set the traps and I told them I had set them on top of the snow and covered them with it. They laughed at me and told me I must set them on a mound or under brush so that the snow wouldn't cover them. The snow had frozen over my traps and the marten just walked over the trap and got the bait.

It takes experience to know where to set the traps and very few boys reported large catches during the first year. The boy, having caught his first marten or mink, takes the pelt to the "Bay" and with the money buys matches, tobacco, gloves or other small objects and gives something to each of the old people. According to one old lady, "this will make them smart in hunting". Many of the boys are away at residential school at the age they formerly learned to hunt and trap and come home at the age of sixteen or eighteen to learn then. The ceremonies performed by boys on shooting the first moose and trapping the first animal may be considered _rites de passage_ acknowledging the achievement of adult status in economic pursuits.

At fish camp the boy goes out with his father to the nets and learns how and where to set them and how to mend them. In winter he helps to make the holes through the ice, to pull the net through under the ice, to weight it to the bottom, and to pull the net in and remove the fish. Here too the boy may be sent out to do the task without any actual instruction and, if he makes mistakes, is laughed at and shown the proper method. The boy helps in such jobs as making dog harnesses, recanvasing the canoe, and making snowshoes so that by the age of eighteen or nineteen he can do these things by himself. Pups are given to him and he trains them during the winter for his team. The women make bright pompoms for him to fasten on his dog whip and irons. Several boys go out together for duck shooting and beaver hunt. Most boys can cut the meat when they shoot an animal, clean a duck and even make bannock for themselves while on the trap line.

In 1961 all the boys and girls under sixteen and eight more between the age of sixteen and twenty were in school either in Good Hope or Inuvik. Most of these were in the residential school at Inuvik as they were in grade seven or better. With the completion of the vocational school in Yellowknife increasing numbers of students are going there for training. In the fall of 1961 two boys and two girls went there to get training in carpentry and domestic science. The girls and boys of this group live in the senior dormitories in residential school. They must help to keep the offices and rooms clean and to clear up after meals. The Sisters in Inuvik reported that the girls of sixteen and older become restless under residence restrictions, particularly those who have not spent long in school. They dislike not having more freedom for they are only allowed into the town on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Besides the group activities discussed for the previous age group, these girls and boys have regular dances every Friday evening and the boys often play team games in competition with town teams.

Boys of eighteen begin to get wage labour both in Good Hope and in other communities. Last summer the boys worked on the Department of Public Works projects at the school, airstrip, and R.C.M.P. house; they dug foundations, painted, did carpentry work, and cleared land. Other years they have gone to Inuvik and Fort MacPherson to work on government construction crews, have joined fire fighting crews, and worked on various government and Hudson's Bay Company projects in the town. A few have been as far south as Edmonton for summer employment. Most of these jobs last only for the summer but the boys make an average of $16.00 a day while on them. While on construction jobs outside the community they live in bunk houses where there is much drinking and gambling. Often they lose their jobs because of drunkenness and even those who are not dismissed may spend all their money on liquor and in card games so that they return to the community with little or no money. They seem unable to discipline themselves to the scheduled work day of wage labour more than a few months and after a maximum of three months usually quit and come home. They are prone to homesickness and if their friends begin to return they will give up a good job to come with them.

A number of the girls have held positions as domestic help, hospital aides or waitresses in Good Hope and other communities. Girls finishing school or getting out of hospital in Aklavik, Inuvik, Fort Smith, and even Edmonton will remain in the town several more months working. In Good Hope several of the white households hire girls and the nursing station has one girl to act as interpreter and aide. The average reported salary for a girl is $8.00 a week.

Both boys and girls report that when they first arrive in a new community they feel lonely and lost and immediately look up any relatives that may live there whether they know them or not. After a few weeks they make friends and really enjoy the social life available in the larger centre. However, even those who overcome homesickness and want to remain, begin, after several months, to receive letters from home telling them how they are needed and missed and begging them to come back. Under these pressures they usually return home.

The way in which salaries are spent varies. The boys who do not spend it all on liquor or gambling while away may turn it over to the head of the household on return or may buy objects such as radios and kickers which are used by the whole family. The girls are usually expected to

contribute to the household income, however most dislike this obligation and may spend it almost entirely upon clothes for themselves.

A favourite pastime of this age group is to gather in threes and fours of either sex and wander through the village visiting; the boys usually congregate in front of the "Bay" to talk. In winter groups of girls and boys take dog teams and go racing on the river or in the bush back of the town. Both sexes are very fond of playing cards although they seldom play together. The boys play poker, cribbage and trick games among themselves and with older men. The girls like "crazy game" and cribbage best; they too sometimes play with older women. The younger boys and girls of the group like to draw and prefer scenery to native culture. A favourite pastime when a group gathers is to mention nicknames for various members and have others guess who they represent. The boys have a set of nicknames with which the girls are not familiar. Both sexes love to read comic books and as would be expected the boys like "fight" and "hunting" magazines while the girls prefer "romance" magazines.

The older boys like to borrow canoes and kickers and go off for the day up and down the river visiting the various fish camps, shooting ducks and stopping to see how many fish are in each net. Younger boys will take a hunting canoe and go away from town to explore and hunt. The girls like to go on berrying picnics.

Both boys and girls gather on summer evenings in the large field to play softball or just to play catch. An older man told us that they used to play football almost every night and all males from thirteen to fifty would join the game. This was stopped when the R.C.M.P. and Health Department built houses on the playing field. He said that boxing used to be very popular and the police used to supply a punching bag and gloves and arrange matches. Boxing and weight lifting are still popular but there were no matches last summer (1961) supposedly because no white man was interested enough to provide the equipment and organize matches.

This group loves hillbilly music and they spend hours listening to the hit parade on local radio stations. One of the group usually writes down the title and words of the favourite songs. While they are away at school they often make requests for members of their family and friends at home. Movies too are extremely popular. On movie nights the

boys and girls arrive early at the school and sit at the back of the room, boys on one side, girls on the other. Occasionally an older boy and girl who consider themselves sweethearts will sit together. They like "westerns" and horror movies best and pay close attention to the plots which they can retell in detail six months later. There is a strong tendency to believe that the horror movies recount actual events no matter how fantastic the plot may be.

This group is always on hand for a dance. The boys and girls of twelve to fifteen all know how to dance but usually sit on the sidelines claiming they are "too shy" to actually participate. Once in a while two girls will dance together but boys do not start asking girls to be their partners until they are over sixteen. When a boy asks a girl to dance, instead of going over to ask her, he attracts her attention by smiling at her and pointing at the floor by his side or by nudging her foot when no one else is looking. Sixteen to eighteen year olds who have been in residential school prefer jiving and waltzes but square dances are always popular. A few of the older members have learned to jig and to dance at the drum dances. Boys provide the orchestra, playing guitars and violins. A few of the older ones have learned to beat the drums and play for drum dances. This group often sets the pace of the dance and several we attended started out as drum or square dances but soon became mostly jives as the teenagers outnumbered the other age groups. Last summer several record dances restricted to teenagers were held which was an innovation in Good Hope.

Almost all of this age group smoke. The boys learn when they are around eleven years old and by the time they are fifteen are buying cigarettes regularly. The girls usually do not begin till they are fourteen or fifteen and do not buy their own till they are earning pocket money; they smoke what others will give them. Boys begin experimenting with liquor at about fourteen. The older boys make their own homebrew and join in drinking parties with the men. They have to be twenty-one before they can buy liquor from the liquor store in Norman Wells. The girls under sixteen do little drinking and try to avoid men and boys who show the least signs of drunkenness. Girls over sixteen drink and go to a few drinking parties but do not let older people see them intoxicated.

There is no "going steady" or obvious dating among the teenagers of Good Hope. Boys and girls under fifteen are never seen paired off together. Older girls all seem to have a preference for one boy but they

are rarely seen in public with him and prefer to keep his name a secret. At dances a girl will dance with many boys but usually her "sweetheart" walks her home. The boy may invite the girl to a social gathering but will not sit with her while at it. The girl often makes moccasins or even parkas for her boyfriend and he usually wears an object she has given him. If one of the lovers is in fish camp the other will visit friends in the camp for a few days. Pre-marital relations are not forbidden though the girl is in shame temporarily if she becomes pregnant and the boy does not marry or support her. Such illegitimate children may be kept by the mother or given for adoption. While in the field, we obtained an impression that pre-marital relations between both parallel and cross cousins occurred but they were not encouraged.

Very few boys reach the age of eighteen without some serious injury, e.g. knife wounds, bad burns, bad cuts from being thrown from a dog sled. These wounds are treated as minor things at the time of occurrence but great pride is taken in recounting later how they were received as a proof of the individual's bravery. In cases of sickness both boys and girls will keep going about though they have a high fever unless ordered to bed by the nurse. Even then they reappear shortly after the fever drops to tell how sick they have been.

All members of this group have completed their religious training as Roman Catholics and most attend church services regularly. They sit in the back rows of the church behind the younger children and adults. It is from this group that the altar boys, organist and choir are usually chosen. However, their religion still contains native superstitions and beliefs. They refer to heaven as "a very nice place which looks like Good Hope", to Hell as "a burning fire", and to "Laimbow (Limbo) which is a place for non-Roman Catholics. God is regarded as a Guardian Spirit and when a member of a family was sick or in danger others were observed going daily to church to pray for his safety. When the sawmill was in operation one boy said to some others before leaving for Mass "Come on, let's all go to Mass so that nobody will get hurt by the saw tomorrow". Those who will be away or in some position of danger often say to another person "say a prayer for me".

They are familiar with native traditions and folk-lore which they have heard from older people. They know the names for the Slavey months, stars and natural phenomena. They know how to use herbal remedies for headaches, colds, pains and cuts. They have watched old people play _udzi,_ a native gambling game of wide-spread distribution in North America (see Birkett-Smith, 1929: 370-71), and a cup and ball game. They may serve

as grave-diggers and observe the taboos accompanying this role. They believe that the ghosts of the dead inhabit burial grounds but can do little harm if a person keeps singing and talking while near. They have bad spirits who try to scare people by tricks and whistling, and good spirits who will protect them from harm. They have many stories about the "Nakani" who may be either a bad Indian or white man who lives by himself and will injure women or lone men. (c.f. MacNeish, 1954: Osgood, 1931: 85). They tell of a huge water monster in the Mackenzie River sixty miles from Good Hope who tips canoes; people seeing it faint. They also fear the "human mouse" which appears in large numbers every ten years and which has a poisonous bite. They say these animals go from west to east and are travelling around the world.

Attitudes toward senior age groups vary a great deal within the group. Those boys who have spent much of their teens with the family in the bush show respect for the authority of their elders. They are strongly aware of the family as a co-operative unit and will readily turn over wage incomes for its support. Of this group a few show a strong interest in native lore and traditions and are proud of being good hunters and trappers. However, those who have been in residential school during their teens return home with little knowledge of the native way of life. They feel this life would be too hard and are interested only in wage labour. They do not feel the same family unity and are often defiant of parental authority. Most of the girls spend much time in school; on returning home they are dependent on the family, for few jobs are available in the town, and thus they accept the parental authority more readily. Often the sixteen year olds find home restrictions are much less severe than are those of school. They like best to get local jobs so that they have pocket money for clothing which the parents cannot supply. This also frees them from bush life which most consider too hard.

There are two boys who might be considered deviant in this age group, both suffer from physical handicaps. The first, a sixteen year old, is blind and as a consequence has had little formal or traditional education. He spends the most of his time with children of seven or eight playing their games. They accept him and help to guide him whenever necessary. He has learned no English although most of his associates speak English more frequently than Slavey. The second, a fourteen year old, is a spastic who has spent a number of years in Camsell hospital, Edmonton, taking therapy and can now get about on crutches. He too tends to associate with people younger or older than himself; however he is not accepted by them. His

speech impediment leads the older people to look upon him as mentally deficient and his own age group and children mock his awkward movements. However, he has only been out of hospital since July 1961. Perhaps as he remains in the town he will be better accepted in those roles which he is able to perform.

4. Middle Age

Women in this age group are referred to by the term yennene and men by the term deneke. A person becomes a member of the group upon marriage and at this point he attains full status as a member of the community. The age for passing into the next age group is indefinite but may be set between the age of forty-five and fifty.

According to Ross (1866: 305), Keith (1890, II: 114), and Petitot (1876: 32), the northwestern Athabascans, and the Hare in particular, married at a very young age, being from ten to fourteen years old. Old people told us that girls used to marry at fourteen years, however, today they rarely marry before eighteen and many are over twenty. A boy does not marry till he is twenty and it is not unusual for him to be in the late twenties. In 1961 there were five men in their thirties who had not married; there were no unmarried women over twenty-five. Formerly marriages were arranged by the parents and girls had no voice in the decision though they might persuade their mother to intercede for them. Today, though some marriages are still arranged by the parents, the boy and girl may intercede and in most cases the boy chooses his mate himself. It is still the custom for boys to go to the father of the girl he has chosen and ask him for his daughter. The father at first refuses but the boy continues to make requests. Sometimes as much as a year passes before permission is given. Parents prefer that their daughters marry Indians of the Hare tribe. Of the forty-eight church-married couples and five common-law unions in the town in 1961, in seven cases the husband was a non-Hare, and in one case the wife was non-Hare. There is no record of a Hare boy marrying a white or Eskimo woman. Hares claim they cannot marry a primary, secondary or tertiary relative as this is against the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. They deny knowledge of any preferential marriage customs. However, on inspection of church records we found cases of parallel cousin marriage, cross and parallel step-cousin marriage, sister exchange and a case in which a brother and sister of one family were exchanged for a brother and sister in another. The reason for these cases may be simply numerical and residential, i.e. the low number of possible mates and propinquity of relatives as against non-relatives in these small groups.

When permission for marriage has been given by the girl's father the couple go to the priest to arrange the date. The priest gives several periods of instruction to the couple before the wedding. The wedding takes place at the church and according to the regular Roman Catholic service. The bride used to wear a new skirt or dress and dark shawl but today most girls have a regular white wedding dress or a sheer "cocktail" style dress ordered from the mail catalogues. A girl may borrow her dress from a previous bride. The men usually wear a suit and almost always wear new moccasins. After the church service everyone gathers outside the church door to shake hands and wish the couple luck. Then the parents of the couple give a "tea" to which everyone is invited. In the evening a dance is held. Wedding presents are given on the eve or day of the wedding. The parents may give the couple a tent, kicker or large household item but most gifts are of a personal nature such as clothing and moccasins.

In the cases of pre-marital pregnancy the priest tries to persuade the couple to marry immediately. Divorce is not permitted in the Roman Catholic church. However, husbands who tire of their wives may, and do, leave them and the children and go to live with another woman. Widows, women whose husbands are absent from town, and deserted women carry on extra-marital relations. Illegitimate children resulting from such relations are taken into the mother's household. A young widow usually remarries and due to the high death rate in recent years men and women have had as many as three spouses.

After the wedding the couple may set up their own tent or may move into the household of either set of parents. Usually they move in with the parents who have the nicest or least crowded house. Of the seven marriages from July 1960 to July 1961 three couples lived with the wife's parents, three with the husband's parents and one neolocally. One of the couples living with the husband's parents moved to the wife's parents' camp after the birth of a child. Within a year or so after the arrival of the first child the couple sets up its own household either in a tent or one of the vacant houses in the town.

Women in this group wear dark cotton skirts and dresses, blazers, kerchiefs, several pairs of cotton stockings and moccasins in summer, and in winter wool skirts, sweaters, parkas and mukluks. A few of the younger women have slacks and loafers in summer as well as coats and wool slacks in winter. The younger women may have a home permanent

wave but for the most part they wear their hair long and straight. They usually have very little money to buy clothing and articles of personal adornment. The men wear dungarees, plaid shirts and moccasins, and in winter heavy jackets or parkas. A few of the younger men have suits, ties and white shirts for dress occasions.

Four of the five permanent wage labour positions are held by men in this group. These men and their families live in town the year around and buy their food and clothing and household needs. Four households that usually remain in town during the summer have small gardens supplying potatoes, carrots and lettuce. The rest of the men spend most of the year in the bush. They prefer not to leave the village for wage labour particularly if they have children and only a few are able to get temporary work in the town. As already mentioned in Chapter II, the men while in fish camp set nets, visit them, mend them, and in the remaining time just rest or fix kickers and canoes, repair fish racks and smoke houses, and visit town to bring the dry fish and get provisions. In winter they set out traps, usually alone, and go on moose or caribou hunts in groups of four to eight. In the evenings they mend dog harnesses, make snowshoes, prepare pelts, or sit and smoke. If on a lake they set nets under the ice for fish. In this group are several very good trappers. While in town and not working at wage labour, men repair their houses and canoes.

All of the men have spent some of their youth with their families in the bush and are familiar with this way of life. However, a few consider that what they get out of the bush is not worth the labour involved and they tend to stay in town as much as possible depending on relief and family allowances to support their households. Since a good trapper would earn about $550.00 a winter from his furs at their present low prices, almost all who are without some wage labour, need relief. Indian Affairs relief is given on the following scale: $25.00 for the head of the household, $17.00 for women and those over sixteen, $15.00 for those under sixteen. The Indian Affairs also supplies, on request, nets, twine, shells and building repair supplies.

The women have the care of the household and theirs is a very busy life. In town, they cook, wash and house clean, go out to gather wood, and pick berries. Most houses have poor kitchen ranges and cooking is of the simplest type, done on top of the stove. Washing must be done by hand and often the women take it down over the river bank to wash there rather than

carry the water by hand. In fish camp they must cut and dry a hundred or more fish a day, collect spruce bows for the tent floor, and set rabbit snares in addition to the tasks mentioned above. In winter they may set their own traps and help to prepare the pelts. A few of the older women tan their own moose and caribou hides but the younger ones give their hides to their mothers or to old women to tan for them. Throughout the year the mother must make moccasins, mitts and parkas for the household and make and mend clothing for the younger children. The mother is relieved of some of the care of children when the first children have grown old enough to care for the younger ones.

In 1961 there were five widows, four separated women, and three women whose husbands were in hospital, in this age group all trying to support households. Seven of these went out to fish camp and set their own nets to get enough fish to feed the dogs and children. The older women go out to winter camps but those who have very young or school-age children must stay in town and depend on relief and family allowances. Three women, two of whom are widows, are known as good western style cooks and are often employed by visiting construction crews. Other women add to the family income by making moccasins, mukluks and parkas for the white people. They charge $30.00 to make a parka and from $6.00 to $18.00 for moccasins and mukluks. The free trader will take products from them for resale to visitors in the community.

This age group, because of its economic pursuits, has less time for recreational activities. The women, when in fish camp, enjoy going to pick berries in groups of four or five. They can gossip as they work and often the expedition becomes a picnic and they "make tea" (i.e. build a fire for tea and eat dry fish and bannock). In town they may take a short time between household tasks to talk to neighbours or visit mothers and sisters. They rarely make extensive visits or go far from the household. During the summer, if in town, the whole family travel by canoe to visit fish camps up and down the river on Sundays. They visit relatives in each camp and may return home with gifts of fish, rabbits and berries. The men of this group rarely get together during the day to talk. Some of the younger men will join the older, unmarried boys in baseball games or just to stand outside the "Bay" talking. One informant told us that a man feels too old for athletic endeavours after he reaches thirty. He said he had been a very good boxer as a young man but gave it up at twenty-eight.

The major pastimes in this age group are card playing and drinking. Five or six women will gather in one house on Sundays or in the evenings and play "crazy game" for several hours. Small bets are placed in some

games. The men spend whole evenings playing cribbage and, though most have had no more than a grade two education, their accuracy and speed in keeping scores is surprising. Though the maximum for a cribbage game is four players as many as twelve will gather for the evening and the non-players will watch and advise players with a real sense of participation in the game. During periods when the men have money from wage labour or fur sales poker is played nightly. Bets are high and a man may gain or lose as much as $200. or $300. in an evening. A man, when he becomes broke, may not stop but go on to stake dogs, outboard motors, watches, parkas and other items of value.

The heaviest drinkers of the community belong in this group. Since 1959 Treaty Indians have been permitted to have liquor licences. The nearest liquor store is in Norman Wells and orders are sent and delivered by the scheduled air service. Around Christmas and Easter most of the household money goes for store liquor to celebrate the holidays. The most popular drink is over-proof rum at $9.00 a twenty-six ounce bottle; however whiskey, gin, wines and even champagne have been ordered. Home-brew, because of its cheapness, remains the largest source of liquor. Since homebrewing is illegal, pots are made and set in the bush for three or four days and brought into town under the cover of darkness. A drinking party may include both men and women, but only those who are invited attend. It begins soon after dark and the host dips the brew from the pot and passes it around. Proper behaviour demands that one wait for each cup of brew to be offered rather than helping oneself from the pot. During the earlier hours of the party participants relax and talk and younger men may play on guitars. As the evening wears on it becomes boisterous and fights may begin though those who are less intoxicated try to prevent them. However it is not unusual for even the women to become belligerent and to receive beatings in an extended party.

These men and women also enjoy dances and movies. They prefer square dancing and the best callers belong in this group. The fathers and mothers who have babies or young children sit at one side of the dance hall holding or surrounded by their children, but will occasionally give the child they hold to another person and get up to dance. They usually leave about midnight to take the children to bed. Those who have older children stay till the dance breaks up though it may be two or three in the morning. None of this group can jive or waltz but most are good at dancing to the drum. This group attends the movies regularly taking the younger children and sitting in family groups in the centre of the room. They enjoy westerns most and the Hollywood romance or comedy has little appeal as they are unfamiliar with the urban way of life and satiric humour on it is meaningless.

Some of the group have attended the mission school at Aklavik in their youth and received religious training there. A few of the women help form the church choir on special holy days and are familiar with church hymns. Most members of the group attend church for Sunday services and for midnight masses, taking the children with them. The women sit in the middle on the right hand side with their babies and young daughters and the men sit in the middle left side with young sons. Those who are living out-of-wedlock seem to feel estranged from the church probably because of pressure put upon them by the priest to break non-legal unions; however they too attend services on important holy days such as Christmas, Easter and Assumption Day.

This group, particularly the older members, is familiar with the native folk-lore and superstitions having heard them often as children from their parents. However most do not attempt to perpetuate the lore by telling their own children. They have participated in the game of udzi and 'kago (cup and ball game) although these have not been popular in the last decade. The younger members, like the adolescent group, have an underlying belief in native spirits and ghosts but show a reticence, for fear of ridicule, in revealing them to outsiders. Older people of the group still prefer the medicine man's curing to that of western medicine. Though they take their children to the nursing station, they rarely go for cure of their own ills.

Parents are extremely fond of their children and show their affection by taking younger children with them wherever they go, giving them what they ask for, and talking about their accomplishments with other people. Between this group and the adolescents there tends to be a break in communication and understanding. They are very proud of the adolescent's educational achievements but cannot understand why the latter show less respect toward parental authority than they themselves were taught to show. They also consider the adolescent boy lazy when he comes home from residential school and shows little interest in bush life. On the other hand the adults' respect for the authority of old people is somewhat weakened by the latters' lack of knowledge of the wage employment situation.

The high rate of tuberculosis in the forties and fifties took its toll on this group in particular and half of the members have spent a year or more in hospitals in Aklavik, Fort Smith or Edmonton. As a result of this and the schooling received in Aklavik almost all can speak English fluently. They grew up in a period when fur prices were high and there was money to be spent on the material conveniences provided by western culture.

With the influx of white population into the north during and after the World War II, they observed an even higher standard of living in which they wished to participate. After the fall in fur prices the desired standard of living was impossible. Today this group looks with dissatisfaction upon the bush life which most of them are forced to lead and conversely they are increasingly attracted to wage employment with its possibility for a more stable income and a better standard of living.

One of the "culture heroes" of the community belonged to this age group. He went to mission school in Aklavik for six years and then to school in Edmonton where he received his senior matriculation diploma at the age of twenty-two. He worked at a number of wage labour and bookkeeping jobs and, in 1954, became a bookkeeper for the Indian Affairs Branch, first in Chipewyan and later in Inuvik. He married a Good Hope girl and now lives in Inuvik in a government employees apartment house with all the modern conveniences. Good Hopers going to Inuvik always visit him.

5. Old Age

The Slavey term for men of this group is e'si and for the women a'son. These are kinship terms meaning grandfather and grandmother. The group includes those from the late forties till death, the oldest living member being eighty-four. Only a dozen members out of this group can speak English and of these nine are under sixty.

This group is distributed among thirty-eight of the seventy-one households of the community. Two widows and three couples each have their own household, while six households are composed of a widow or old couple with an adopted child. Two widows and two widowers are living in the household of another member of this age group. The remaining members of the group are heads of the twenty-seven households they inhabit.

The old men wear dark wool or cotton pants held up by string or braces, heavy woollen underwear showing below the sleeves and pant legs, plaid shirts and cotton jackets or parkas. A few men in their fifties have shoes but most wear moccasins covered by rubbers in wet weather and mukluks in winter. The women wear home-made skirts of dark prints, navy or black cotton in summer and plaid wool in winter, sweaters, men's jackets, parkas and kerchiefs. For church they wear navy blazers and red kerchiefs. Clothes usually look worn and little attempt is made to patch holes or sew on missing buttons. The women wear their hair long and

braided into a single or two plaits hanging down their backs.

Most members of this group do not eat canned foods though they do use canned milk, sugar and flour. They particularly enjoy such delicacies as the milky white fat of the female hare's breast and caribou stomach. Their diet consists chiefly of fish, either dried, boiled or roasted on the coals (with the insides left in), dried or fresh moose or caribou meat, young bear, hare (including kidneys, lungs, heart, and head meat), ducks, loons, geese, cranberries and blueberries. They sometimes make a pemmican-like mixture from pounded dry meat, berries and moose or caribou tallow. Both men and women smoke cigarettes though men and women over sixty prefer pipes. Both sexes chew snuff.

Of this group, one man has permanent wage employment as clerk at the Hudson's Bay store, two work on river boats during the summer, one is a carpenter and four others spend their summers in town working at temporary wage employment. All but one of these are in their fifties. Of the remaining members, all but three physically disabled men, three old widows and wives whose husbands were in town, went to fish camp in the summer of 1961. In the winter of 1961-62 only eight very old or disabled men and their wives, the carpenter and the clerk did not go to winter camps. Members of this group enjoy bush life and prefer it to staying in the town. The Hudson's Bay clerk's wife said that she missed going to the bush winters and would like to go again.

The best hunters and several of the best trappers are found in this age group. The boys go with these old men to learn to hunt and the younger men usually wait for their advice as to the best hunting and trapping areas for the season. These men are skilled at paddling the small hunting canoe. Though the younger men use this canoe on small streams and lakes, old men will use it on the Mackenzie River which has a swift and dangerous current. The women of this group tan the most and best hides. While tanning in the bush they still use bone and stone scrapers. They use twine snares for hare in preference to wire ones and a few still make birch bark containers for berries and fish. They lead the berrying parties and know where the largest berries are. Several of the oldest women still make and wear the moccasins with the pointed rather than rounded toes.

It is from this group that the tribal chiefs, required by the government, are elected. The main functions of these chiefs, as explained in Chapter II, are to call councils and negotiate between Indians and white

officials. The attendance of council meetings is drawn largely from this group. The chief follows the advice given by his peers in informal gatherings before the council meetings. The men may discuss matters with their wives before getting together and they report the results of the meetings to the wives afterward.

Those members over sixty-five receive the old age pension of \$55.00 a month from the federal government. (This was increased to \$65.00 a month in January, 1962). This pension permits an old couple to live comfortably and may even be the sole or major source of income for a large houschold including several unmarried children, a widowed daughter and her children. Those old people who have no younger relatives in the household are supplied firewood by the Indian Affairs.

The women spend most of their time in their own household though occasionally they will visit a neighbour of their own age group and gossip while helping tan a hide or make a moccasin. They may sometimes visit a married daughter though more frequently the daughter comes to visit them. The old men love to gather in groups of seven or eight on a door-step or tent entrance, or, when in town, in the square or along the river bank. They squat, with thcir legs under them, smoke, and gossip for an hour or more at a time while watching the activities of younger people. A few old people go to the movies though they do not understand English and cannot follow the talking. They sit in the front of the room immediately behind the children, men on one side, womcn on the other.

Almost all old people attend the dances and sit together according to sex, near the door or close to the orchestra. Only those in their early fifties square dance but if it is a drum dance they are the major participants. The best drummers are men from this group. They hold the drum in the right hand under the chin and beat with a stick held in the left hand while singing Slavey songs. One good dancer will lead a group of men followed by women around in a circle in the middle of the dance hall. The men hop using the outer foot more than the inner. The dancer kecps his head, arms and legs moving and his body straight. Some dancc with their eyes shut and seem almost in a trance. A good dancer is one who inserts some comic action into the dance thus amusing the watchers. The women just shuffle around the circle.

Though none was held during our visit in the town, the older people sometimes have gambling games. In this gamc, called udzi, twelve men line up, six on a side, and each is given a small stick which he is to hide

in one hand or the other. The drummers play and sing and at a certain place in the song one set of six men must tell in which hands the other set have the sticks. Another game played by this age group, though infrequently in recent years, is k'aλo. A stick is attached to one end of a piece of string or babiche, about half way along the string are attached six caribou nails, at the other end is a piece of hide about four inches by two inches punctured with holes. The purpose of the game is to swing the string upward from the stick and catch the caribou nails or hide on the other end of the stick. In scoring each bone caught is worth one point and each hole in the hide five points.

A number of the old men were well known in the town for their knowledge of Hare folk-lore and one man over seventy wrote some of the stories down. It took him nearly a year but he wrote some seventy standard size pages.[3] Informants in the group were able to give us detailed descriptions of various items of material culture which are no longer produced, e.g. jackfish jaw combs, pots made from the ribcage of caribou, bone needles, native dyes, etc. One man told us taboos to be observed while travelling in foreign country. One must not eat anything hot or sleep too much or when he returns home he will get sores and die.

Our informants told us that old people still perform a feast at the eclipse of the moon. The women cook food and fill a sack for each man. Then the men go from household to household wearing the sack and singing a special song. At each household the man gives a piece of food in exchange for some object. The food must be eaten immediately by the recipient. This will bring good luck and prevent starvation. Osgood (1931: 86), describes this feast as observed by the Satudene, and Petitot (1876: 95) describes a similar feast but he claims that the Hare used it to celebrate a spring festival.

These men and women all attend the Roman Catholic Church services regularly. They sit at the front of the church, men on the left, women on the right. Those who have gone to mission school in Providence or Aklavik sing the Masses in Latin but those who know only Slavey half chant in Slavey giving the Mass a non-Western atmosphere. The women of this group are very devout and often they were the only attendants at daily morning services. However this group maintains a firm belief in native supernatural powers. A number of men are endowed with these powers. However there is a difference between those who use them for personal benefit, as in hunting,

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3. Dr. Cohen has purchased this manuscript from its author, and is at present analysing it for publication.

and those who act as "magicians" or medicine men. Good medicine men are good at sleight-of-hand tricks and gain much prestige in this manner. One of these is reported to have thrown a pan of water into the air and it turned into gas, another told a group that he could not drink homebrew and to prove it drank some and it ran out his fingers, mash and all. Because of the negative attitude of the church, nurses and doctors, it was very difficult to learn if people still have medicine men to cure and what methods of curing are used. Two men were pointed out as medicine men and one was said to have lost his powers. We had a strong suspicion that old people still go to medicine men and that cures are primarily effected through drumming and herbal remedies. We were told that as a medicine man grows older he often is blinded because of his powers.

Petitot (1876: 47) reported that the dead among the Hare were placed in rough coffins on scaffolds three to seven feet above the ground. However, in recent times the European method of burial in the ground has been used in place of native forms. After a person dies a member of the family tells the priest and goes to the police to get a licence for burial. The chief gets some member of the community to make a coffin from rough lumber (sometimes in the bush canvas is used) and gets some young men to dig the grave. While the grave is being dug the body rests in church. It is dressed in its best clothes and always has new moccasins. The regular Roman Catholic burial service is given, then the body is taken to the cemetery and the burial blessed. There are no grave goods but the wife or a relative may toss in a handful of stones.

A few superstitions and taboos remain in connection with death. People do not like to leave the grave, after it is dug, open over night. Old and middle aged people fear using a dead man's possessions though they burn them less frequently now. Old people say that when a man is drowned it will rain until the body is found. Grave diggers must not sleep for three days after the burial. To keep awake they sing and shout and carry sharp sticks upon which they rest their chins when sitting down. If they doze the sticks wake them. If they should sleep at this time they will be lazy the rest of their lives. They must not smile. A few of the old women still wail for a deceased relative at certain periods for an extended time after the death. Times for wailing are sensed by the individual rather than set. One old lady whose husband died two years previous put on a weeping and moaning demonstration at a birthday party attended by Indians and whites.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF CANADIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the previous chapter, age being recognized as a basic system of Hare social organization, the behaviour and attitudes of each age group were discussed. In the last one hundred and fifty years the Hare society has come increasingly in contact with Canadian social organization and a degree of aculturation has resulted. This chapter is a summary of the economic, political, social, religious, health, and educational aspects of Hare life with reference to Canadian influences and how these have affected the age groups.

Economics

It is in the economic area that Canadian influences have been exerted longest upon Hare society. With the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company post in 1806 the Hares had their first permanent contacts with the fur trading economy. Trapping took on a new significance in the provision of material needs and became a means of supplying food, clothing and utensils in exchange for pelts. With the coming of other companies and of the free traders to the community competition for pelts gave the Indian a greater bartering power. However, it was not until the introduction of wage labour that the Indian was given any independence from an economy dependent entirely upon the local subsistence resources. Government aid in the form of relief, housing programs, and pensions has further alleviated the Indians' complete dependence on the subsistence sources.

Though the fur trade gave greater importance to the trapping aspect of the adult male's economic role, it caused little change in the actual organization of economic activities in that he continued a life in the bush demanding diffuse knowledge of hunting and trapping technology. However, the introduction of wage labour in the 1940's and increased openings in this field in the fifties has added a new area of economic endeavour with new values. Now the man must choose between bush life and a job in Fort Good Hope. If he is able to fill a wage position he finds that his role is no longer one of diffuse activities but is a specific type of performance such as clerk, carpenter, painter, etc., demanding specific skills. No longer is his economic role necessarily ascriptive but rather he finds that his position is dependent on the efficiency of his performance, i.e. an achievement evaluation. In other

words, though formerly there were good and poor hunters and trappers all adult males fell into this category, but now, if he desires a wage position, the man must prove proficient in a particular skill. Also, as was pointed out in Chapter III, since there are not enough wage labour positions in Good Hope to provide all the men desiring such jobs, it is not uncommon to find men in the community who are not pursuing any economic activities, either subsistence or wage, and are depending on government relief.

The government aid in the form of old age pensions, which are received by all over sixty-five, has greatly changed the status of the old age group. Traditionally the old, as they became economically dependent, were regarded as burdens and were neglected or treated with disrespect (Fathauer, 1942: 20-21). Now a person over sixty-five can contribute $780 a year to the income of the household and in many cases supply the major source of income. It is as much or more than most adult men can hope to earn in a year through wage labour or trapping and is a real contribution in supplying material needs. Thus the old become desired members in a household.

It is the adolescent age group which has perhaps been most influenced by the introduction of wage economy. In the last ten years the increase in construction in the various larger communities has offered opportunity for wage employment to those who were free to leave Good Hope to find it. The adolescent, with no family to support, can leave the community and take advantage of these positions. His education in residential and vocational schools gives him the specific skills and the achievement value orientation necessary in these jobs. However, in going to the residential school, he leaves the community at just the period in his life when traditionally he would have been learning hunting and trapping methods and co-operation in the family unit. On returning to the community, if wage labour is not available, he finds himself unprepared for life in the bush and so remains in town loafing and getting into trouble.

Education

Good Hopers were introduced to formal education when, in the first decade of the nineteen hundreds, a few boys and girls were taken to Fort Providence mission school. These children spent from three to seven years in the residential mission school, returning to the community at the end of the period to continue their traditional education in bush life. At Providence lessons were taught in French and the students

returned home knowing how to speak, read and write this language. Of the present population in Good Hope seven men and five women, all over forty-five, attended school at Providence. In 1926 the Aklavik mission school was opened and Good Hopers desiring formal education went to Aklavik rather than Providence. From 1926 until the opening of the federal day school in Good Hope an average of ten children attended Aklavik school each year. Here lessons were taught in English and the students became fluent in this language rather in French. In 1950 the Federal Day School was opened in the community. An average of twenty-five children continued to attend Aklavik mission school throughout the fifties. Those children who remained in the town were strongly urged by the teacher to go to the day school, though those whose families were in the bush could only attend during the periods when the family came to town. In 1959 the government residential school was opened in Inuvik and the Aklavik mission school closed. Since this date all Good Hope children between the ages of six and sixteen attend school. Those whose parents are in the bush more than three months of the year go to the residential school; the rest attend the local day school. In the government schools the Alberta programme of studies is followed.

The primary effect of the education given by the mission school up until the 1950's was that of making its student fluent in a language understood and spoken by the white people coming to the community. Though the student spent up to five years away from the community he was not alienated from it for the school programme stressed factors which were basic in the Hares' traditional education. Boys were taught to hunt and trap and older girls were given responsibility for younger children, helped prepare the boy's pelts, picked berries, dried fish, etc. Emphasis was placed on co-operation with the priests and nuns in the provision of economic needs. In the last ten years, through government aid, the residential school has become independent of local food resources and consequently has become similar to a southern boarding school where emphasis is placed on formal study. This has had a real influence on the present adolescent group. On returning to the town the adolescent must settle down to learn hunting and trapping technology at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The adolescent girl, who formerly married at about fourteen years, now does not leave school until sixteen or seventeen. Thus formal education is a factor explaining the increased age at which adulthood is reached. As already mentioned, the school system, with its advancement through grades, has stressed upon the child the value of individual achievement. This value orientation will be important to the adolescent who gets a wage labour position. However, it is to be suggested that the lack of emphasis on co-operative action, a value stressed in traditional education effected through the family group, is detrimental when so many adolescents

will continue to become adults dependent on the subsistence economy.

Politics

In Chapter II it was noted that traditionally the Hares had no political organization at the tribal level. The actual political manifestations were to be observed within the territorial segments which formed actual physical groupings together of persons, e.g. the macro-assemblages for ceremonial occasions, and the band. Leadership was manifested in the band chief and war chief. With the development of the fur trade the traders invented the role of trading chief among the Hare. The trading chief represent the macro-assemblage of men who gathered at the Fort to trade their pelts. His role was that of intermediary between his friends and the trader and his authority ceased upon departure from the Fort. (c.f. MacNeish, 1956: 130-141). This position disappeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the men learned to bargain for themselves.

With the signing of the Treaty in 1921, the Good Hope Hares became Band Number Five in the eyes of the Canadian government. They were requested to elect a chief and councillors. Since that date a chief is elected every three years but in reality his role is merely that of intermediary between the government and the individuals of the group. Meetings are held only on the request of a government official and are attended only by adult males and widows who are heads of households. The standards used in selecting a chief are those which were used in choosing the traditional band chief. His authority is limited being subject to the consensus of his peers.

Band affiliations still exist though, as it was suggested in Chapter II, these affiliations are perhaps more ideological than actual. Traditionally the band was a geographical group with a band leader. This group went to the Fort for specific occasions. Today people are situated either at Fort Good Hope or at Colville Lake and from these centres tend to go to traditional geographical (band) areas for winter hunting. In other words, in actuality there are only two groups - the Town group and the Colville Lake group. There are no band leaders.

The household is the basic and most active unit of social organization. The household's principal social interaction is with other households with which its members have kinship ties. This is particularly true in the community of Good Hope itself, though in hunting and fishing camps the small number and proximity of the households encourage

interaction where kin ties do not exist.

There is no awareness among the Hare of the functions of the Canadian government other than those which provide social benefits. In 1959 all Indians were enfranchised but in the 1960 elections only seventy of the one hundred and eighty eligible members of the group voted. However, some of the apathy may be explained by the fact that the election was held in early June when most people were still in the bush and were consequently unable to submit a vote.

Religion

The Oblate missionaries established a mission in Good Hope in 1859 and have been active in the community continuously since that date. Today all Hare Indians are Roman Catholics though certain native beliefs continue to exist.

Church services are held daily during the summer and on Sundays throughout the year. During the summer the priest also visits the fish camps to hold masses and during the winter he goes by dog sled to the hunting camps. A Sunday service is always well attended and people of the old age group are the best attendants. Age and sex grouping become conspicuous at these services for men sit on the left, women on the right with the old age group in front, middle age and infants behind these and adolescents and children in the rear.

The Roman Catholic religious training is harmonious with the overall socialization pattern of the Hare Indian. The Sacrament of Baptism is performed immediately after the child's birth and signifies his membership in the Church. At this time he is given a Christian name and godparents who will oversee his religious training. A few children are still given native names also. When the child is about ten years old, i.e. when he is passing from childhood to adolescence, he is given specific religious training, is confirmed and henceforth is permitted to take holy communion. It is from the adolescent group that altar boys and choir members are chosen. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is marked by the marital union of a boy and girl which also is a Church sacrament. However, marriage is one aspect in which conflict arises between Roman Catholic and traditional beliefs. Formerly a marriage lasted only as long as both members of the union desired it and new unions were formed easily. Today couples continue to break marriages and form new unions if they so desire; however, only the first marriage is recognized by the Church. Upon the

death of the individual the Roman Catholic burial service is now performed though certain traditional taboos are also observed. Beyond attending services and receiving the various sacraments mentioned, the Hare Indian has few participant roles in the Roman Catholic religion. No member of the community has studied for, or become, a priest or nun though one man recently became a Brother.

Traditional beliefs in good and bad spirits and the fear of ghosts exist simultaneously with the Roman Catholic beliefs. A few of the old people still observe traditional ceremonies such as that held at the time of the eclipse of the moon. A number of the people of the old age group are well-known for their knowledge of folk-lore and members of the middle age and even of the adolescent group are familiar with these tales. Without further field investigation, it is difficult to say to what extent the powers of the "shaman" are respected in the community. However, all age groups believe in his magical powers and old people still prefer his medicinal cures to those of the nurse.

In 1960 a Pentecostal minister moved into the community. However, he has had no religious services and his interaction with the people is primarily of a social nature. They enjoy visiting him and singing evangelic hymns he has taught them.

Social Activities

Traditionally all the Hare came together several times a year for ceremonies while smaller groups assembled in fish camps and for caribou and moose hunts. During these assemblages drum dances and gambling were frequently held and participation in these helped to maintain a sense of group identity. In the 1800's with the coming of the Hudson's Bay traders, the Indians were introduced to Scottish jigs and reels. The acceptance of Christianity after the arrival of the O.M.I. missionaries led to the substitution of Roman Catholic holy days for the traditional religious ceremonies. Now the people gather at Fort Good Hope for the Christmas, Easter and Assumption day services and participate in dances and games at these times. In the 1930's the free traders, arriving from southern Canada, introduced the square dance which has had great popularity since that time. In the last five years the adolescents, who have attended residential school, have learned to jive and this form of dancing is extremely popular with that age group.

The Canadian social activities show a definite age distribution corresponding to the time at which they were introduced. Thus the old age

group prefers drum dancing and the drummers come from this group; the middle age group prefer square dances and callers come from this group; the adolescents prefer jiving. Grouping according to age and sex association is particularly apparent at dances. The old men sit at the back of the room beside the orchestra, the middle age men sit next, then the old women, and lastly the middle age women with the young children. On the other side of the orchestra are the adolescent boys, then adolescent girls and finally younger girls. Dances, with one exception, in the summer of 1961 were attended by members of all age groups.

Movies have been regularly held in the school since 1950. These too are attended by members of all age groups and once again seating is arranged by age and sex association, i.e. the children at the front of the room, old people behind these with women on the right and men on the left, the middle aged behind these, and, at the back, the adolescents. Though usually in the adolescent group the girls sit on one side and the boys on the other, sometimes sweethearts sit together.

Liquor, k'on tu we or "firewater", did not become plentiful among the Hare till the 1930's, and drinking parties were not prevalent before this period. The free traders taught the Indians how to make homebrew thus giving them a source of cheap liquor. In 1959 Indians were given permission to buy liquor licences but previous to that a certain amount of distilled liquor was bought from bootleggers. Though all except the children drink, drinking parties are held most frequently by the older adolescent boys and the middle age group.

Health

Throughout the 1800's Church and Hudson's Bay records show that the Hare Indians suffered cyclic periods of starvation due to the failure of the hare supply. In the last half of the 1800's and in the 1900's there have been about eight epidemics of whiteman's diseases, such as scarlet fever, influenza, etc., each of which has decimated the Hare population. However, it was not until 1948, after the severe outbreak of tuberculosis, that the Indian and Northern Health Services established a nursing station in Fort Good Hope which could dispense western medicine. Since that date every member of the community has been given an annual X-ray and if anyone has tuberculosis, he is sent immediately to hospital in Aklavik, Inuvik or Edmonton. The nurse is prepared to give any other medical aid and if her facilities are not sufficient she will send the patient out to hospital. Infants

of the community are given inoculations and vaccinations before they become a year old. School children are given a check-up before the beginning of each school term. Adolescents go to the nurse for treatment of cuts, injuries, colds, "flu", etc. Married women, unless in the bush, give birth to their children at the station now. However, beyond taking the children to the nurse for treatment, few of the middle and old age people go to the station. They still prefer to solicit the "medicine" man's powers or to use traditional herbal remedies. Sometimes, if the traditional means fail, they will, in the end, go to the nurse. Once a year an optometrist visits the community and then almost everyone, including the old people, go to the nursing station to have their eyes tested. The old people seem particularly pleased to receive glasses which will improve their vision.

CHAPTER V

THE FUTURE

Any practical suggestion for possible plans applicable to the Hare Indians in the community of Fort Good Hope must be based on an assessment of the present position of the Indian throughout the Canadian North. Such an assessment was clearly presented by Diamond Jenness in his paper given at the "Resources for Tomorrow" conference in Montreal in October 1961. He states that the northern Indian was swept, in the nineteenth century, "into the meshes of the fur trade, chained to the money economy of the trading store, and deprived of their self-sufficiency and independence. ... Today we know with certainty that neither Indians nor Eskimos can obtain, from trapping alone, incomes large enough to keep them from starvation". (1961: 4). This leaves the Indian dependent upon wage labour for income but at present wage employment is insufficient to provide all with such positions. Demoralization and apathy is already spreading due to the resulting idleness or unremunerative employment and dependence on welfare money and services doled out by the government. Furthermore, plans for an increase of wage employment in the immediate future, based on the increased development of mineral deposits and of military defence, are too capricious to be dependable. Jenness proposes that to alleviate the situation the most intelligent young people must be removed to the South for training and placement in industrial centres.

Jenness' proposal seems well advised when considering the Hare Indians. It also leads to suggestions concerning the existing educational system. Though a percentage of the youth would leave the community under his proposal, a larger percentage will remain to attempt to obtain a living from local resources. There are suggestions to be made for increasing the use of local resources, nevertheless, in the immediate future most of those who remain in the community will be dependent to some extent on the hunting and trapping economy. At present those children who reach grade seven or whose parents remain in the bush are sent to the Inuvik residential school. This tends to remove the child from the community just at the period when he would obtain traditional economic education in the family. Consideration might be given to a plan whereby the child would not go to residential school until he reached the high school level; thus he would have the years from the age of ten to fifteen in the

community and an opportunity to learn the traditional methods of bush life. Those children whose parents go to the bush for long periods during the school term might be boarded with local families in the town and thus be able to go with those men who trap and hunt in the immediate vicinity. Under the present school term the children get a ten day recess at Christmas and at Easter. Perhaps it would be feasible to teach through these recesses, and instead, take a three week recess in the spring. This would permit children to accompany their parents on the spring hunt, for, in Good Hope, even those families who spend the winter in town tend to go out to the Ramparts River area for the spring hunt.

The summer fisheries at Good Hope are among the best on the Mackenzie River; herring, connie and white fish are caught in large quantities. At the present time these are dried for local use only, though people from Fort Norman sometimes buy some when their dog food runs short. With the development of a means of transport this fish could be marketed in communities up and down the river. A small refrigeration boat would be best though the existing river transport lines might be used to carry the fish to Fort Norman, Arctic Red and Aklavik, these being only a day or so from Good Hope. One man could be hired to collect the fish daily from the fish camps and bring it into the town. There it could be placed in the freezer until time for shipping. Other local products which are not exploited to the extent they might be are the blueberry and cranberry. Blueberries are abundant throughout July and early August and cranberries in late August and early September. Both grow in large patches within the immediate vicinity of the town and fish camps. At present the women pick these only sporadically but they too might be sold to communities along the river. The man who picked the fish up could get the berries daily too, and these could be transported on the same boat which carried the fish. The berries could also be frozen or preserved, making them less fragile.

The gardens of the mission, the R.C.M.P. station and the school prove that the soil at Good Hope is excellent for growing vegetables and that the summer is sufficiently long for such crops as potatoes, carrots, lettuce and radishes. Turnips and cabbage can also be grown if started indoors in the spring and then transplanted out-of-doors in June. However, only four Indian households had gardens during the summer of 1961. Other household heads, when asked why they did not have gardens, gave as the reason: "The children trample on the gardens and eat the vegetables". Perhaps if a garden project was started by the teacher (who generally spends the summer in the community), encouraging the children to grow

their own small plots, the adults who remain in town for the summer would also become more interested in this means of supplementing the household food supply. Some households do not have land enough for gardens but a co-operative project could be started, using the machines of the Indian Affairs Branch, to clear land and plots could be allotted to each household. There are several unsettled fields on the second and third hills of the town which would provide land for cultivation comparatively close to the households.

The Hares already have found that the sale of handicrafts to white people in the community is a method of supplementing income. These items include parkas, mitts, mukluks, moccasins and snowshoes. The plan to find mail-order markets for these objects in the south, set forth by MacNeish and Lurie (1961: 115), would increase income from this source. As MacNeish and Lurie point out, methods would have to be developed for stockpiling large amounts of goods during periods when people are free to make the craft objects, and in transporting and marketing them in the most profitable seasons.

As has been pointed out, the Indians of Good Hope lack a sense of community solidarity and organizations such as the community club have met with failure. Perhaps the projects for putting fish, berries and handicrafts on the commercial market, if properly conducted, could be the basis for the development of a sense of community co-operation among the adults which could be successfully transferred to non-economic aspects. However, a sense of community solidarity would be most effective if inculcated in the child and adolescent age groups. If youth groups were formed through the church and school, which were essentially social but included simple community improvement projects, these would prepare the youth for similar participant roles as an adult. In the summer of 1961 the teenagers on several occasions attempted to organize record dances among themselves. This implies that this group would not be averse to the introduction of the proposed youth groups.

The successful introduction of the projects mentioned above in a community like Good Hope, which has had no previous experience in co-operation, would necessarily demand careful and enlightened leadership. At present the community has no government personnel trained for such leadership. Any projects introduced to this date have been in the hands of the R.C.M.P. officer who also acts as Indian Affairs representative. Unfortunately he often finds it impossible to perform the demands of both positions adequately due to lack of time and the basic opposition of the two roles.

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