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Traditional Games of the  
Dogrib and Slave Indians  
of the Mackenzie Region N.W.T.

-An Exploratory Study-

Thesis

Presented to the Department of Physical Education  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of  
Masters of Physical Education (Admin.)

By

François Gravelle

Department of Physical Education  
University of Ottawa  
1985

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to collect and categorize the traditional games of the Dogrib and Slave Indians residing in the Great Slave Lake area of the Northwest Territories (NWT). These populations were chosen because their traditional games had not yet been recorded and they still led a fairly traditional lifestyle. Interviews were conducted with senior members of eight different Indian communities during the months of May and June of 1984. In total, 27 subjects, with an average age of 66 years, were interviewed by the researcher.

The 33 games identified by the elders were described and classified according to the Component Structure Model (Orlick et al., 1978) and the Outcome Attribute Model (Roberts et al., 1962). The Component Structure Model indicated that there was a predominance of competitively oriented games between teams, followed by non-competitive games with goals attainable by all players simultaneously, and mixed orientation games (with a structure open to both competitive and non-competitive versions). The Outcome Attribute Model demonstrated a strong inclination towards kinetic games (including multiphysical skills) followed by games of chance (which focussed on random choices on the parts of the players) and representation games (in which adult life would be imitated). Gambling was involved in nine games. Most of these games were competitively structured games of chance. Nine games were reported to be participated in by women. According to the Component Structure Model, five of those games were classified as being competitively structured and four as being non-competitive activities. Following the Outcome Attribute Model, seven of the games were kinetic activities and two games were representation activities. None of these games featured a gambling component.



## CHAPTER I

## Introduction

Introduction and Importance  
of the Study

North American Indians had a traditional culture that fulfilled the needs imposed by their environment. Their culture promoted values and norms which were required for their survival. The transmission of the Indian heritage was accomplished orally, from one generation to the next.

The arrival of the White culture brought to the Indians different and sometimes conflicting values, social structures and lifestyles. This led to a weakening of their own cultural heritage. The Indian's once strong oral method of transmitting his culture began slowly to disappear. The influx of the White Man's ideologies eventually created a generation gap which was marked by a break in communications channels. The old people, preservers of tradition, were dying in mutism.

Fortunately, the northern Athabaskans (i.e. Dogrib and Slave) are reported to have experienced fewer changes over the last 150 years than did any other North American Indians (MacNeish, 1956). This situation existed due to the fact that the White Man did not want his land (MacNeish, 1956). The main income of Whites in the Northwest Territories was from fur, and the Indians were regarded as being the prime suppliers. The Indians were encouraged to maintain their traditional skills; their life has been modified rather than overthrown (MacNeish, 1956). Traces of traditional Indian culture and games still exist today. The older members of these populations can still describe some of the traditional games which served purposes such as socialization and transmission of human and survival skills. These traditional activities must be recorded now, or it

will be too late. The loss of these activities would mean the demise of a significant aspect of our national heritage.

In this study, the researcher attempted to collect and classify traditional Dogrib and Slave Indian games and to elaborate on their structure and the manner in which they were played. Through this research, it was hoped that a better insight might be gained into the types of games played by Indians and that in time, this may aid in the understanding of contemporary Indian culture.

#### Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this descriptive study was to collect and organize a taxonomy of traditional Déné games from the Great Slave Lake region of the Northwest Territories. The exploration was structured as follows:

The researcher constructed a list and description of Déné traditional games by interviewing senior members of eight settlements - Hay River, Fort Smith, Rag Lakes, Fort Rae, Nahani Bute, Fort Simpson, Trout Lake and Jean-Marie River. The researcher also interviewed people related to those senior members such as missionaries and kin. The researcher drew heavily on the views and memories of those being interviewed. The description of the traditional Déné games was made from a Déné's point of view, insofar as this was possible.

#### Delimitation

The subjects interviewed in this study were limited to senior members and closely related members of the Dogrib and Slave Indians. Some outside

4

members of the communities, such as missionaries who had been living with the Slaves and Dogribs for a long period of time, were also included. The study was confined to the Great Slave Lake region between the 60° and the 64.10° parallel north and the 111.50° and the 123.20° longitude west in the Canadian Northwest Territories.

#### Limitations

Some of the restrictions imposed on the investigation were; the shortness of the research period (from May 21 to June 25, 1984) and the limited time spent in each community. The accessibility of the communities, the transportation and the uncertainty of the weather were other limiting factors.

During the interviews, the major limitations were the willingness of the subjects to share information with the researcher; the clarity of the memories of each interviewee and their original ability to observe games, the biases and availability of appropriate subjects to interview. The capacity of the translators to understand and clearly interpret the information provided by the subjects was another limiting factor as well as the extent of the White Man's influence upon the information given. The quality of key contacts in each community made possible the best collection of information under the circumstances being faced.

Definition of Terms

1. Indian                    person registered or entitled to be registered as an Indian according to the Indian Act; i.e. a Status Indian.
  
2. Native                    Canadian of aboriginal descent; may include Status and non-Status Indians, Inuit and Métis.
  
3. Band                      body of Indians recognized by the Canadian Government and for whose benefit and use land and money have been set aside and held by the Government.
  
4. Reserve                   tract of land set aside for the use and benefit of a band, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty.
  
5. Traditional Games      games played by the Indians before or in the early stages of acculturation by the white culture.
  
6. Games                    recreational activities characterized by play; they can be organized or non-organized, competitive or cooperative, can include two or more sides as well as individual play, and may or may not have winners and agreed-upon rules.
  
7. DIAND                    Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; federal department exercising delegated duties, powers and functions of the Minister of Indian Affairs under the Indian Act and related appropriate acts.
  
8. Senior Citizen          member of a community who is sixty-five years of age and older.

9. Babiche • string or cord made out of animal skin, and used for many purposes, such as snowshoe weaving.

10. NWT Northwest Territories

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

In the first section of this chapter, the origins of the Dogrib and Slave Indians is briefly discussed. The second part of this chapter is devoted to social indicators relating to the development of the Dogrib and Slave cultures. The third part examines some contemporary studies done on traditional Indian games.

The Origins of the Dogrib and Slave Indians

The Dogrib and Slave tribes form part of a larger nation called the Déné. The Déné nation includes other tribes such as the Chipewyans and the Apaches. The Dogrib Indians were first identified at the end of the eighteenth century by Alexander Mackenzie, during his first trip to the Arctic Sea (Mackenzie, 1922). These Indians occupied the area between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake, and exploited some land between the Horn Mountains to the Southeast, past Coppermine, and as far as Contwoyta Lake to the Northeast (Helm and Lurie, 1961). This area seemed to have belonged to these tribes for a few centuries, but during the last one hundred years or so, the Dogribs lived in the Rae area, on the Northern arm of Great Slave Lake (Jenness, 1955).

The origin of the Slave Indians is still shrouded in obscurity. These Indians may have at one time formed a group with the Beaver Indians until they were driven north by the Chipewyans or the Cree (Osgood, 1932). In the early eighteenth century, these Indians inhabited the Athabaska Lake region (Osgood, 1932). Towards the end of the last century, following the incursions by the Cree and the Chipewyans, the Slaves were pushed to the Mackenzie River region, where they occupied a broad stretch of terrain along both sides of the river. Their territory extended from the outlet of the Mackenzie River at Great Slave Lake to Fort Norman, and from the basin of the lower Liard River to the western end of Great Slave Lake (Helm, 1972).

Social Indicators

In this section, the following social indicators relating to the Dogrib and Slave cultures are discussed: The family structure, education, extra-familial relations, the relationship with the supernatural, and the relationship with other tribes. Each of these social indicators is examined within the framework of three historical periods, namely the 1800's, the 1960's and the present. It would seem that these periods in history were crucial to the development of the two societies. The process of enculturation began in the 1800's with the arrival of the White Man, and continued into the 1960's with the incursion of the White Man's lifestyle, to the present-day social setup as observed by the researcher. The relationship between games played by the Dogribs and Slaves and the social factors involved is also made.

Family Structure

The literature considers the Dogrib and Slave throughout history as being more or less an extended form of one nuclear family and some siblings (see Helm, 1972).

In the 1800's, marriage, according to Wheeler (1914) involved a permanent union between husband and wife. Dogrib men normally married between the ages of sixteen and twenty as opposed to Slave men, who would marry between the ages of twenty and thirty. Women normally married younger, often as early as ten years of age (Dogribs) and no later than twenty (Ross, 1866; Helm, 1961). According to Helm (1961), marriage was organized, especially for the Slaves; this was done by the bride's parents, whom the groom had to please. The relationship between the two sexes was based upon definite roles between man and women. Men would provide food and raw material for the household, while women would process these items into articles of daily use such as clothing or footwear (Helm, 1961; Helm and Lurie, 1961). A working relationship existed between the sexes; this is borne out by the fact that both men and women would bear the responsibility in a common-project, such as building a canoe (Wheeler,

1914; Helm, 1961; Osgood, 1932). Women, however, as indicated in the literature, seldom participated in games played by the male Dogrib and Slave Indians. This situation persisted during the 1800's. During the 1800's, such games as the Axe Throwing Game and Snow Snake Game (Honingham, 1946) were reported to have been played mostly by men. Women were reported by the literature to have taken part in Tea Dance events (Mackenzie, 1922; Helm and Lurie, 1961).

The 1960's proved to be consistent with the 1800's as far as the family structure was concerned. The household was, according to Helm (1961), still formed of a nuclear family and some siblings. Men would still bear responsibility for hunting, while women would take care of children and the home (Helm and Lurie, 1961). Men would also be responsible for providing the household with the money needed to buy commercial goods such as flour and clothing. This money would be earned by trapping and through salaried work. Sex roles were still an important factor in the games since the participation of women outside of the Tea Dances was reported to have been slight. Helm (1961), however, reported that at times, women would place bets in gambling, howbeit through the agency of a man. The researcher noted that in this day and age (1984-1985), the Dogrib and Slave families are still basically formed of a nuclear family with minor extensions. However, as was pointed out to the researcher by Father Dovet (OMI) of Hay River, marriage was no longer arranged by parents. The researcher did not observe the participation of women in games such as the Hand Game. The active participation of women in drum dance events, however, was noted.

### Education

Education will be viewed in this section as being the process by which social, physical and intellectual abilities were transmitted to children in order to help them interact within the Dogrib and Slave communities. In the 1800's, education commenced at an early age for the youngster, who would learn to perform survival tasks. At the family level, the child received training in hunting and other related survival tasks and also learned more concerning his role within the community

(Wheeler, 1914). As the child grew older, more difficult tasks were expected from him, so that by the time puberty was reached, he would have acquired enough knowledge and abilities to be able to survive on his own (Helm, 1961). During the 1800's, education of the children was ensured by parents and older members of the community. Some games played by children, such as playing house, or Caribou Tag (described in Appendix C), would imitate adult life, and therefore assist the children in their social education.

According to Cohen (1962), Helm and Lurie (1961), education during the 1960's was for the most part confined to the hands of professional educators and institutions. The knowledge acquired through school was viewed as being a strong asset in finding a job, even though the application of those skills to the actual field of work was not satisfactory. The influence of parents and older members of the community seemed to be quite strong in the children's education, because some games imitating traditional Dogrib and Slave life were still being played. Such games as Playing House and the hunting of small game imitated segments of the traditional Dogrib and Slave lifestyles (Helm, 1961). The presence of school teachers and their small schools was observed in each settlement visited by the researcher, which would indicate that institutional education is still today an important factor in the child's rearing process. The House Playing Game was still observed by the researcher as being a game played by today's children.

#### Extra-Familial Relations

Extra-familial relations are considered in this study as being interpersonal relationships involving members of a community, but outside the household or the nuclear family unit. In the 1800's, the social organization of the Dogrib and the Slave Indians was centred about familial pockets within a territory (Helm, 1969). These territorial settlements remained in constant contact with one another while exploiting the land; in this way, they formed bands. The bands thus formed were part of an even greater group called the tribe (Honingham, 1946; Helm, 1969).

Within the settlements, the character and temperament of the Dogrib and Slave Indians influenced the social interactions between residents. The character and temperament of the Dogribs sharing resources fostered social harmony and generosity. Commitment to hard work was also part of their character. The Dogribs were cheerful when living in a secure atmosphere (Richardson, 1951). Within the settlements, property and hunting rewards were shared, while stealing was not a threat since it wasn't part of their culture to do so (Richardson, 1951; Wheeler, 1914).

The Slave Indians being for the most part modest with regard to self-expression, would solve their problems within their own community by initiating discussion between the parties involved (Ingstad, 1933). Dogrib and Slave community leaders were chosen on the basis of their hunting and woodsmanship abilities as well as their judgement, which was held to be superior to that of other community members. They could often be found heading war parties, or guiding task groups whose members would be involved in activities such as hunting or fishing.

Some games such as the Ecagoo or the Bones Game, the Snowsnake Game, described in Appendix C, were reported by Osgood (1932) and Honingham (1946). Those games were typical of activities involving members of different unitary families. Alexander Mackenzie (1922), Helm (1961), Honingham (1946) and Jenness (1955), all underscored the importance of dances and chants to the Dogrib and Slave Indians. These traditional social gatherings involved most people in the community and could last for many hours. Those gatherings were one of the few social activities in which women were allowed to participate; they were spectators at most other games. Some games such as the Axe Throwing Game, described by Honingham (1946) could have been activities proving the superiority of the leader's woodsmanship skills. These activities could have been strong factors in shaping the development of the interpersonal relationship between the community members.

In the 1960's, the changes to the native's social organization which involved the arrival of the nurse, the missionary, the teacher and the trader, was becoming more evident (Cohen, 1962). The traditional economy and social setup of the Dogribs and Slaves, gradually changed as their lifestyles became increasingly money-oriented (Cohen, 1962). The Indian population began to physically gravitate toward institutions such as schools and hospitals (Cohen, 1962).

In the 1960's, the Indian leaders were viewed as middlemen between the White Man and their own people. Various qualities, such as good knowledge of the English language, were required of these leaders.

In the 1960's, many social gatherings, as reported by Helm (1961) and Cohen (1962), instead of revolving about survival activities, centred around drinking parties. Drinking during this period was to become a powerful symbol of group membership; Indians would seldom drink alone.

The researcher was impressed by the time and effort spent by today's Settlement Councils in working towards the development of the well-being and the improvement of the lifestyle of people in their community.

Such group activities as volleyball, softball and drum dances involving people from the community, were observed by the researcher in 1984.

#### Relationship with the Supernatural

The supernatural is viewed in this study as being the Dogrib and Slave beliefs related to spirits, death rituals and religion. In the 1800's, many of the Dogrib and Slave spiritual beliefs were related to nature. Each hunter had a guardian spirit in the form of an animal, that was to help him in times of crisis (Ross, 1866; Jenness, 1955; Helm, 1961). Other beliefs, for instance, concerned the Nakan spirits who were

thought to be responsible for spying and the kidnapping of women and young children roaming about the woods. Of interest as well were giant underground animals which were considered to be able to make the earth move.

Most religious rituals of the Dogrib and the Slaves were related to death (Jenness, 1955). The deceased, laid on a scaffold and covered with leaves or snow, would have a hut erected over them as a protection against animals. Some of the possessions of the deceased would be left beside them and the rest dispersed in the woods (Jenness, 1955, Honingham, 1946). The Dogribs used streamers to amuse the shade around the dead, and in order to keep his spirit in the same spot. A year after the funerals, the remains would be uncovered to the sound of death chants and a feast would be held (Jenness, 1955). No games were reported in the literature as being related to spiritual beliefs. In the 1960's, religious beliefs brought some changes in Dogrib and Slave rituals. Deceased were buried in spruce boxes according to religious rituals. Other religious ceremonies such as baptism, and marriage, became part of the Dogrib's and Slave's lives (Cohen, 1962; Helm and Lurie, 1961).

The researcher noted the involvement with religion in the Dogrib's and Slave's lives by observing the numerous religious pictures in each home visited. The involvement of the missionary in the settlements visited was also observed by the researcher.

#### Relationship with Other Tribes.

The relationship with other tribes will be defined in this study as being interactions between the Dogribs and the Slaves and the surrounding tribes, such as the Chipewyan and the Kutchin. The Dogribs were reported in the literature as being, in the 1800's, an unwarlike community. The Slaves also had the reputation for being peaceful and inoffensive. Surrounding tribes would respect them for fear of witchcraft (Richardson, 1951; Vanstone, 1974). Nevertheless, this fear of witchcraft did not stop the Crees or the Chipewyans from attacking the Slaves, pushing them up

north to the Mackenzie region (Osgood, 1932).

One game in particular, the Hand Game, was reported to have been played in tournaments involving teams from different tribes. This game, one of the most popular gambling games played by Indians of the North, was described in 1966 by Helm and Lurie. Two teams, each consisting of about 15 men, would line up and kneel on either side of a tarpaulin, facing each other. Each member of the playing team would have a token in his hand. Shuffling the token from hand to hand, and keeping their hands under the tarpaulin, each player would try to mislead the other team's leader as to which hand held the token. The guessing team's leader had to determine the position of each player's token. This game was played to the sound of vigorous drum beats and chants under the watchful eyes of the spectators (Helm and Lurie, 1966). The Slaves used to play a game similar to the hand game, in which the players exchanged a small piece of bone between members of the team while shuffling it under the tarpaulin (Honingham, 1946).

Very little information was unveiled by the literature concerning intertribe relationships during the 1960's. But the researcher was impressed by today's efforts on the part of settlement councils to engage in some discussions with members of other tribes in order to solve some common problems.

The Hand Game was observed by the researcher to be an activity played by today's Indians involving teams from different tribes. Efforts on the part of the local NWT Government and the Déné Games Association are being made to organize some traditional Déné games festivals involving participants from different Déné tribes.

#### Research on Traditional Dogrib and Slave Games

No contemporary research exists which focuses specifically on traditional Dogrib and Slave games. However, a few related studies involving aboriginal games guided this research. The "Traditional Game

Documentation as a Sociocultural Development Technique: The Elder's Cultural Workshop on Community Self-discovery and Celebration" written by H.A. Scott and R.G. Glassford was a paper describing the steps followed in the organization of a cultural workshop festival in a number of Déné (Athapascan Indian) and Inuit (Eskimo) Communities in Canada's Arctic. This document was a great help to the researcher in understanding the type of research done in Northern Canada concerning traditional Indian Games. Other articles written by Scott in 1974 and 1976 that were of help to the author of this study were "Mountain Games, the elders from Fort Good Hope, Colville Lake, Fort Norman and Fort Franklin remember from the old days" and "The Wisdom of the Elders": The article "Games of the Great Ancestors", written by Orlick (1980), studied traditional games of the North Solomons. This article was used as a framework by the researcher to organize the present study.

#### Summary

The information revealed by the literature on Dogrib and Slave Indians was in many cases influenced by prejudice and bias on the part of some researchers and explorers who came from different cultures. Through an apparent lack of understanding of the Indian culture and values, these writers, in their reports, often painted an inaccurate picture of these peoples. In addition, unfortunately, very little attention was paid to traditional Dogrib and Slave games. However, the few pieces of literature dealing with play and games make clear a relationship between traditional games, survival tasks and culture.

Overall, the literature viewed the Slaves and the Dogribs as mobile populations, always searching for food in an endless journey for survival. Exploiting a territory in small autonomous population pockets, the Slaves and the Dogribs never had a highly structured or defined social organization. Today, the territorial band plays an important role for those Indians who would meet at reunion points at certain times of the year, and engage in feasting and games activities. Regarded by the White Man as suppliers of fur, the Slaves and Dogribs were encouraged through the years to maintain their traditional lifestyle. The richness of the culture as it was 150 years ago is still in many ways

alive today in the minds of the senior citizens. For this reason, the researcher of this present study was moved to record this information before it became extinguished.

## CHAPTER III

## Research Methods

This chapter includes an overview of the methodology utilized in this study, a chronology of the steps followed in the preparation of this study, selection of subjects, as well as the procedures for the collection and analysis of the data.

Overview

In this study, an attempt was made to record, describe, and categorize traditional games of the Dogrib and the Slave Indians of the Great Slave Lake area of the NWT. Personal interviews were conducted with senior members and closely related people living in eight Déné settlements. The interview was designed to identify and get a clear description of the games played by the Dogrib and Slave Indians in traditional times.

Chronology of Steps Followed in the Preparation of this StudyInitial Contacts and Pre-trip Preparation

This section describes initial contacts and pre-trip preparation, familiarization with previous research, government involvement, and organization within the community.

Initially, a contact was made with Dr. Harvey Scott, professor in the Department of Physical Education at the University of Alberta. Dr. Scott has been conducting research on traditional Déné games since 1976, and has visited various populations in the Northwest Territories. The Dogrib and the Slave Indians were suggested by Dr. Scott for this research, since no work of that nature had been done with them before. A

traditional games festival was being set up by these Indians for June 1984 in Fort Simpson and they were receptive to the study.

The project was presented by Dr. Scott at the general Déné games meeting in March 1984. It was decided that all material collected for the study would be given back to the Indians so that it could be turned into a book or booklet that could be distributed to the different populations in the area. The Déné Games Association agreed upon the value of using the material in the thesis. Support from the local Northwest Territory Government and the Déné games Association was granted for the project, providing the researcher would also help in the preparation of the Games festival in June of 1984. This was agreed to and the project went forward.

#### Familiarization with Previous Research

The first part of the research trip, which began in May 1984, was spent in Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Scott. The researcher familiarized himself with specific literature on Slave and Dogrib Indians, and with the nature of research on traditional Déné games already done in the area. Dr. Scott and the researcher agreed upon the most acceptable and relevant questions to be used with the subjects during the interviews.

This interview is discussed later in this chapter. The territorial delimitation of the research area was also identified as being the Great Slave Lake area in the NWT.

#### Government Involvement

The second part of the trip was spent in Fort Smith. With the help of Mr. Brian Burrell, recreation consultant for the NWT Local Government, the project was presented to top administration members in order to gain their full support. The researcher was granted special authorization to

travel on Government chartered planes to the different communities in the area. A list of the best possible communities to visit, as well as key contacts known by government officials in these communities was added to the original list drawn up by Dr. Scott. A few days were spent in Yellowknife, where contacts were made in the Fort Rae area with the help of Dr. Vicky Paraschack.

The last part of the trip was spent in the Fort Simpson region where, with the help of Mr. Ron Harnisty, contact was established in Trout Lake and in Jean Marie River. A list of all the key contacts who contributed to the actualization of this research is presented below.

#### Key Contacts

1. Dr. Harvey Scott, University of Alberta , Edmonton
2. Brian Burrill, NWT Local Government, Fort Smith Region  
(Recreation Development Officer)
3. David Wedowyn, Rae Lakes
4. Dr. Vicky Paraschack, Recreation Policy Officer, Territorial  
Government, Yellowknife
5. Don Antoine, Fort Simpson, Community Development
6. Ron Harnisty, Local Government, Fort Simpson District
7. Alison Jambo, Trout Lake
8. Gerald Antoine, Jean-Marie River
9. Lucie Desnoyers, Hay River
10. Vy Camsel, Fort Rae
11. Edy and Madelaine Rabesca, Fort Rae
12. John Beckale, Fort Rae
13. Ed Erasma, Fort Rae
14. François Paulette, Fort Smith

The researcher also assisted in the organization of activities for the traditional Déné Games Festival that took place at Fort Simpson in the middle of June 1984. By helping with the organization of some events in the festival, the researcher was able to give some feedback to the Déné committee in view of future games. (Consult Appendix B for more information.)

### Organization Within the Communities

Before visiting a community, the key contact was notified by the researcher and assured of the Band Chief's approval for the research. Upon arrival in a community a few days were spent, whenever possible, getting familiarized with the people and the daily activities in the settlement. Next, a list of possible subjects was made with the help of the key contact and other key people within the community, such as the missionary. An interpreter who could help the researcher during the interviews was also obtained. Each potential subject was then visited and interviewed. (Please consult the section on interviewing procedures for more information.)

### Selection of Subjects

This section discusses the methodology followed to obtain subjects, factors for eligibility of the subjects, and the number of subjects who participated in the study.

### Methodology Followed to Obtain Subjects

The names of the subjects selected for the study were acquired through key contacts, missionaries and interpreters in each of the eight communities visited. Each of these community key people was asked for the names of the older people who knew most about traditional ways. These subjects were then approached by the researcher, informed about the study and asked if they would agree to an interview. An interpreter was used whenever necessary.

### Factors Determining Eligibility of the Subjects.

To be eligible for the study, subjects had to meet one or more of the following criteria:

- 1) To be a senior member of the Slave or Dogrib population (65 years old or over);
- 2) Related closely, or once related, to senior members of the population visited, such as younger members of a family or siblings;
- 3) Being an outside member of the population who spent a good deal of time with the group studied (such as the missionaries).

### The Number of Subjects Who Participated in the Study

Twenty-seven subjects participated in the study, of whom 13 were Dogrib Indians and 14 Slave Indians. The average age of those 27 subjects was 66.0 years old. Following is a list of the subjects, grouped by community, and including their names and ages.

### Collection of Data

This section is be divided into two parts, instrument development and interview procedures.

#### Instrument Development

The first step towards initiating the collection of data was to develop appropriate interview questions. The interview questions used in this research were constructed by Dr. Harvey Scott, an experienced northern researcher, who found the questions appropriate for similar games research with other native northern groups. The questions were designed to gather specific information on each game noted. Information such as the name and age of the subject, the name of the game, how the game was learned, general information about the game (start, scoring, rules), the role of the player in the game, when and where the game was being played, the attitude of the people, and the lineup of the players was recorded. The questions were written in a simple language that was easily understood.

by the subjects.

The interviews, all individual except for one group interview in Trout Lake were carried out by a single researcher in all of the eight Dogrib and Slave settlements mentioned earlier in this report. In 50 percent of the interviews, an interpreter was needed to translate the information revealed in a native language to English. A tape recorder was used on two occasions to record songs and music related to the Hand Game and the Drum Dance. Information was also gathered by means of observation and demonstration.

### Interview Procedures

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a list of potential subjects was obtained in each community through key contacts. Because the settlements themselves were interested in recording their traditional games, they agreed to supply their own interpreters free of charge. At the beginning of the interview, each subject was informed that the information related to traditional games would be returned to the Déné Games Association. A book on traditional Dogrib and Slave games would be published by the Déné games Association and the local Northwest Territory Government. This book would be distributed to children in the different schools of the area. The subjects who agreed to participate in this study were invited to describe any traditional games they could remember. Specific questions were then asked relating to each game case (See Appendix A for basic questions included in the questionnaire.) If the subject did not respond, or if he did not remember any games, a traditional game mentioned by another person would be suggested to him. This usually resulted in his remembering several other games. Due to time restrictions imposed in each community, subjects were not asked to demonstrate the games or to build materials related to those games. No subjects or interpreters were paid to participate in the study.

### Analysis of the Data

The games collected throughout the interviews were classified

according to two models: Classification of games by the Component Structure Model (Orlick, McNally and O'Hara, 1978) and the classification of games on the basis of Outcome Attributes (Roberts and Sutton-Smith, 1962). The Component Structure Model (Orlick et al., 1978) has three levels of classification; the competitive game, the non-competitive game, and the game with mixed orientation. In the competitive games, players or teams compete against one another for conflicting goals that cannot be achieved at the same time or by the same act. When one player or team achieves the goal another does not necessarily (Orlick et al., 1978). The Axe Throwing Game, a Slave game, is a good example of competitive game, for in order to win the game, one player had to throw his axe as close to the target as possible, eliminating all the other players. In the non-competitive category, players or teams do not compete against one another. Participants play together for a common goal that can be reached by everyone. Self-paced, non-competitive individual activities are also part of this category (Orlick et al., 1978). House playing was a non-competitive game where children imagined a story that did not necessarily conflict with someone else's story. The mixed orientation games have either both competitive and non-competitive versions (a structure open to different interpretations). One game could be played in a competitive way at one time, while at another, minor modifications would make it a non-competitive activity (Orlick et al., 1978). The marble game (Game #11) is an example of a mixed orientation activity. The purpose was competitive: tossing a marble close to or on target, in order to determine a winner. However, the fact that the winner would give back some marbles to the losers to help them continue to play and possibly recoup their losses, was an example of cooperative practise among the players. The Outcome Attribute Classification by Robert et al in 1962 had three levels of classification: Kinetic games, Chance games, Representation games.

The kinetic game required multiphysical skills from the players in order for them to succeed. These activities allowed the participants to test and develop specific physical abilities often needed for survival (Robert et al, 1962). The High Jump game played by the Slaves was a kinetic game that required good leg strength. The Chance Game was an

activity based on a random choice. The outcome of the game was unpredictable (Robert et al., 1962). The Dice Game was a game of chance played by these Indians. The player could not predict if he would have the advantage or not. The representation game was an activity which included replication or role play and imagination and in which some segments of adult life, such as hunting, were practised in a playful and less structured environment (Robert et al., 1962). Caribou Tag was a representation game played by the Dogribs, where two groups of children, the caribou and the hunters, would chase each other. In this hunting imitation game, the hunters, carrying a branch with leaves, would try to 'kill' the caribou by touching them with the branch.

The Outcome Attribute Model and the Component Structure Model were chosen to classify the games collected for this study because both of these models had been previously used to classify traditional aboriginal games. The Component Structure Model was employed by T. Orlick in his article "Games of the Great Ancestors" to classify the games. The outcome attribute model was used by A.T. Cheska in her article "Native American Games as strategies of Societal Maintenance", to classify traditional North American Indian Games.

Subjects Participating in the StudySlave Indians

## Hay River

Frank Horn	80 yrs old
Albert Horn	53 yrs old

## Trout Lake

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs
Marie Jambo	82 yrs

## Nahani Bute

Georges Motus	67 yrs
John Vital	74 yrs
John Vital	68 yrs

## Jean-Marie River

Henry Ekali	80 yrs
Gabriel Sanguet	74 yrs
Sarah Mack Ferson	60 yrs

## Fort Simpson

Father Piché OMI	45 yrs
Father Georges OMI	43 yrs
Albert Thomas	yrs

Dogrib Indians

Fort Rae

Vital Thomas	80 yrs
Jim Erasma	72 yrs
Madelaine Zo	100 yrs
Father Amourous OMI	43 yrs
Peter Witzin	80 yrs
Father Poucher OMI	38 yrs
Edy Rabesca	40 yrs
Madelaine Rebesca	40 yrs
John Beckale	30 yrs

Rae Lakes

Alphonse Quity	87 yrs
Bruno Monthla	83 yrs
Joe's Mother	87 yrs

Fort Smith

François Paulette	42 yrs
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Total: 27 subjects

Average Age 66.0 yrs

## CHAPTER IV

## Results and Discussion

The Results and Discussion chapter is divided into five major sections: Description of the games, categorization of the games, gambling in the games, involvement of women in the games and discussion of the results obtained in this study.

Description of the Games

In this section a brief description of the traditional Dogrib games, and the traditional Slave Indian games as reported by the subjects is presented. Appendix C contains a full description of these games.

Traditional Dogrib Games

The following games were reported by Dogrib subjects. The games preceded by an asterisk (\*) were also reported by Slave subjects.

Game 1. Sliding Downhill: In the wintertime, the children would slide down snowy hills on their clothes. This game was played for amusement.

Game 2. Playing House: Children (mostly girls) would play house in a roughly constructed teepee that they had erected. The game would include scenarios imitating the daily activities of the adult world.

Game 3. Caribou Tag: Boys and girls playing separately, would divide themselves in two equal teams, the hunters and the caribou. The hunters carried branches with leaves and would run after the caribou and try to reach them with these branches. Any caribou touched would be out of the game.

Game 4. The Dog Whip Game: Two equal teams would be formed. The object of the game was for the players on one team to propel a small piece of

wood in the direction appointed to their team. The piece of wood was either whipped with a dog whip or hit with a stick. The members of the opposite team attempted to gain possession of the piece of wood and travel in the opposite direction. The game could be played over a distance of a few miles in each direction.

Game 5. The Two Bases Ball Game: Two bases were set, one in front of the other, at about ten feet apart. On each one of those bases stood one player holding a bat. An indefinite number of players would be in the field which was located behind each one of the batters. A ball was thrown to the batter by a fielder standing opposite to him. The batter would then try to hit the ball as far as possible towards the field facing him. If the batting attempt was successful, the two batters exchanged bases before a fielder, carrying the ball, could touch an empty base and gain possession of it. The batter running towards the base stolen by the fielder had to return to the field. On regular occasions, fielders would exchange the ball, from one field to the other, in order to give a chance to both batters to hit the ball.

Game 6. Diving Ducks: Young boys would stand in a circle in shallow water, about waist-high. One player, the diver, carried a rock within his bent elbow, between his forearm and his arm, to be used as a sinking weight. The diver, was in the middle of the circle, and tried to sneak out through the legs of the players, while swimming under water. Other players would try to stop the diver from succeeding. If the diver succeeded, he was a winner and exchanged places with another player in the circle. If after a while the diver did not succeed, he would exchange places without being a winner.

Game 7. Swimming and Diving Game: Players would dive under the water, each carrying a rock within his bent elbow which acted as a sinking weight. The aim of the game was to swim under water while carrying the rock and a stick, and to plant the stick as far away as possible from the starting point. Other players tried to beat that distance. The winner was the one who could plant his stick the farthest.

\*Game 8. Dogsled Races: This race could involve up to sixteen teams of from five to six dogs each, that raced over a distance of about sixteen miles. The aim of the game was, for a racer, to be the first one to arrive at the finishing line, beating everybody else's time.

\*Game 9. Canoe Race: The canoe races for men and women could involve twenty canoes with two to four participants in each one. The aim of the game was to be the fastest team to travel a preset distance.

\*Game 10. Snowshoe Races: The snowshoe races took place on ice or snow, in the wintertime. Men and women participating in the race tried to be the first to travel a set distance and arrive at the finish line.

\*Game 11. The Marble Game: A hole of about two inches in diameter and two inches deep would be made in the ground. From a set distance, four to six men, each playing at their turns, would toss about five marbles, rocks or buttons one at a time in an attempt to get them into the holes, or as close to it as possible. The player succeeding in this task was declared the winner, and picked up all the marbles on the playing surface, giving some back to his opponents in order that they could recoup their losses.

\*Game 12. The Bow and Arrow Game: From a set distance, players had to shoot an arrow, using a bow, in order to hit a predetermined target. The arrow on or closest to the target determined the winner.

\*Game 13. The Stick Throwing Game: A stick would be planted in the ground, acting as a target. Four to five men would stand at a preset distance and throw another stick in an attempt to hit the target or get as close to it as possible. The player who threw his stick closest to the target won the game.

\*Game 14. Strength and Trick Game: An undetermined number of men would sit in a circle and pass a dead caribou leg amongst themselves. Each man attempted to twist and pull the leg in order to tear tendons and ligaments, so the leg bone could be pulled out. The first one to be successful at the task was the winner.

\*Game 15. Keep Away Game: Two teams were formed: a women's team and a man's team. The purpose of the game was to keep a ball among members of one team as long as possible while stopping the opposite team from getting it. Strategies, such as passing the ball to the strongest member of the team, were evolved to increase the chances of success.

\*Game 16. Ring Toss: The purpose of the game was to toss a ring (like a horseshoe toss) at a stick planted in the ground, which acted as a target. Two teams of from two to ten men stood at a preset distance from the target. The team that managed to get the most rings on the target was the winning group.

\*Game 17. The Bones Game: Five to ten men would sit in a circle, passing among themselves the object of the game, made of hollow caribou knuckle bones strung on a string, at one end of which was tied a needle-shaped bone. The purpose of the game was to toss the hollow bones into the air in order to ring them on the needle-shaped bone which the player held. If all the bones were rung on the needle in succession, or if the fifth bone was rung first, it would mean that the player was a winner.

\*Game 18. Snow Snake Game: On top of the snow covering frozen rivers, about ten boys slid a branchless stick, in the manner of a stone being skipped on the water. The purpose of the game was for a player either to get his snow snake to stop as close as possible to the first one thrown, or to try to slide it the furthest distance.

\*Game 19. The Hand Game: Two teams of about fifteen men each would be formed. Kneeling on their own side of a tarpaulin, they would face the opposing team. The purpose of the game, for the playing team, was to shuffle a token from hand to hand while keeping them under the tarpaulin. After the shuffling was done, the guessing team's leader had to identify in which hand each member of the opposite team had put the token. A good guess meant the disqualification of the player having unsuccessfully hidden his token. The game was played to drum beats.

\*Game 20. The Lead Game: Three to ten men would have a few lead chips or

buttons to be thrown at a target some thirty feet away. The object of the game was to throw their chips as close to or on the target which was a lightly planted stick. The winners would be the ones with the chips closest to the target.

\*Game 21. The Tea Dance: The Tea Dance was a social activity involving men and women. The early Tea Dance version was done outdoors where everyone in the community would dance in a circle around a fire, shuffling their feet. The rhythm was originally made by the songs sung by the dancers, and later on was created with the help of drums.

\*Game 22. The Boogeyman Chase: This game, played in the forest involved the entire community. A socially withdrawn member of the community was the Boogeyman, dressed in a special attire, and carrying an axe or a cane. Similar to a tag game, the Boogeyman chased members of the community in an attempt to touch them. Players who were touched were disqualified from the game.

#### Traditional Slave Games

The following games were reported by Slave subjects. Fifteen of those games were also reported by Dogrib subjects and have already been described. They are marked below with an asterisk\*. Consult the previous section on Dogrib games and Appendix C for a description of these activities.

- \* Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \* Game 9 Canoe Race
- \* Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \* Game 11 Marble Game
- \* Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \* Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \* Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \* Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \* Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \* Game 17 Bones Game

- \* Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \* Game 19 Hand Game
- \* Game 20 Lead Game
- \* Game 21 Tea Dance
- \* Game 22 Boogeyman Game

Additional games reported by Slave subjects (not reported by Dogrib subjects) are presented below.

Game 23. Strength Game: Men would test their strength by lifting heavy rocks, which became progressively larger and heavier.

Game 24: Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log: Each player would kneel on a wooden log. While swinging his arms, the player would extend his legs quickly in order to propel himself as far forward as possible away from the log, and land on his feet. The winner was the one who could hop the farthest from the log.

Game 25. Stone Throwing Game: This game was a throwing activity in which a stone was slung forward by means of a mooseskin slingshot. The player who slung his stone the farthest was the winner. An undetermined number of boys would play the game.

Game 26. The Woodsmen Game: An undetermined number of men would make themselves a wooden gun by using a hollow wooden tube with holes along the side. The purpose of the game was for the men to shoot their arrows through the tube, aiming at a set target, imitating a crossbow. The participant whose arrow came the closest to the target was the winner. The tube was made mainly to create a sound effect.

Game 27: Baseball Type Game: Two teams made of an undetermined number of boys and sometimes girls would play this game, which had no set rules. However, the general organization of the activity was similar to an American baseball game. One team was in the field while the other was engaged in batting the ball. When the batter made a hit, he had to

run around the three bases while fielders attempted to throw the mooseskin ball and hit him with it. If the runner was hit by the ball while running between bases, he was out. Three outs meant a change of team at bat.

Game 28. Keep Up Ball Game: The purpose of this game was to hit a ball back and forth between two players using either an open hand or a racket. The players, men or women, tried to keep the ball in the air for as long as possible without having it touch the ground. When players grew tired of playing, two new players would replace them.

Game 29. Axe Throwing Game: From a distance, men participating in the game had to throw a short-handled axe on or as close as possible to a target. The winner was the one who could throw his axe the closest to the target, often knocking the other axe out of the way.

Game 30. High Jump Game: Players tried to jump over a wooden crossbar that was gradually increased in height. The winner was the one who could jump the highest.

Game 31. High Jump With a Pole Game: Players tried to jump over a crossbar using a wooden pole. The winner was the one who could jump the highest.

Game 32. Arm Wrestling: Two players sitting would face each other and hold their opponent's hand firmly, elbows on a flat surface. The winner would force the back of the hand of his opponent onto the flat surface.

Game 33. Wrestling Game: Two players would stand in front of each other. The winner was the first to throw his opponent to the ground.

#### Categorization of the Games

This section is divided into two parts, an enumeration of the games reported as Dogrib games, Slave games and the totality of the games collected. The second part contains a categorization of traditional games

according to the Component Structure Model and the Outcome Attribute Model. The proportion of games in each category of both models are revealed in a percentage form; for games reported by Dogrib subjects, games reported by Slave subjects and the total number of games.

#### Enumeration of the Games

Traditional Dogrib games. Here is a list of 22 traditional games reported by Dogrib subjects. The games preceded by an asterisk (\*) were also reported by Slave subjects.

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- Game 3 Caribou Tag
- Game 4 Dog Whip Game
- Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game
- Game 6 Diving Ducks Game
- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 8 Dogsled Races
- \*Game 9 Canoe Races
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Races
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

Traditional Slave games. The following 26 games were reported by Slave subjects. In the list, the games also reported by the Dogribs are preceded by an asterisk(\*).

- \*Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bone Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 23 Strength Game
- Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log
- Game 25 Stone-throwing Game
- Game 26 Wooden Gun Game
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 30 High Jump Game
- Game 31 High Jump with a Pole Game
- Game 32 Arm Wrestling
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

Totality of games collected. The totality of the games (33) collected for this study are listed below. The games preceded by an asterisk (\*) were reported by both Dogrib and Slave subjects:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- Game 4 Dogwhip Game
- Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game
- Game 6 Diving Ducks Game
- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 8 Dogsled Races
- \*Game 9 Canoe Races
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Races
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 18 Snowsnake Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 23 Strength Game
- Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log
- Game 25 Stone Throwing Game
- Game 26 Wooden Gun Game
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 30 High Jump Game

Game 31 High Jump with a Pole Game

Game 32 Arm Wrestling

Game 33 Wrestling Game

### Categorization of the Games

Component Structure Model. The Component Structure Model has three distinct categories; the competitive games, the non-competitive games and the mixed orientation games.

**Competitive Games:** These games were structured in such a way that players or teams competed one against another for conflicting goals that could not be achieved at the same time or by the same act.

Eighteen of the 22 games, or 81.8% of the games reported by Dogrib subjects were classified as being competitively structured. Here is a list of these games:

Game 3 Caribou Tag Game

Game 4 Dog Whip Game

Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game

Game 6 Diving Ducks Game

Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game

\*Game 8 Dogsled Race

\*Game 9 Canoe Race

\*Game 10 Snowshoe Race

\*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game

\*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game

\*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game

\*Game 15 Keep Away Game

\*Game 16 Ring Toss Game

\*Game 17 Bones Game

\*Game 18 Snow Snake Game

\*Game 19 Hand Game

\*Game 20 Lead Game

\*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

Twenty-two out of 26 games, or 84.6% of the games reported by Slave subjects, were classified as being competitively structured. The following games classified as competitive activities:

\*Game 8 Dogsled Race

\*Game 9 Canoe Race

\*Game 10 Snowshoe Race

\*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game

\*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game

\*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game

\*Game 15 Keep Away Game

\*Game 16 Ring Toss Game

\*Game 17 Bone Game

\*Game 18 Snow Snake Game

\*Game 19 Hand Game

\*Game 20 Lead Game

\*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log.

Game 25 Stone Throwing Game

Game 26 Wooden Gun Game

Game 27 Baseball-type Game

Game 29 Axe Throwing Game

Game 30 High Jump Game

Game 31 High Jump with a Pole Game

Game 32 Arm Wrestling Game

Game 33 Wrestling Game

Twenty seven games out of 33 games, or 81.8% of the totality of the games collected were classified as competitively structured activities.

Those games are:

- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- Game 4 Dog Whip game
- Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game
- Game 6 Diving Ducks Game
- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log
- Game 25 Stone Throwing Game
- Game 26 Wooden Gun Game
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 30 Highjump Game
- Game 31 Highjump with a Pole Game
- Game 32 Arm Wrestling Game
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

Non-competitive games: In these types of games, participants play together for a common goal that can be reached by everyone. Self-paced non-competitive individual activities are also part of this category. Three games reported by Dogrib subjects, or 13.6% of the totality of the Dogrib games (22 games) were classified as being non-competitive activities. Here are these games:

Game 1 Sliding downhill

Game 2 House Playing

\*Game 21 Tea Dance

Three games reported by Slave subjects were classified as being non-competitive activities which represented 11.5% of the total number of 26 traditional Slave games collected for this study. Here are those games:

\*Game 21 Tea Dance

Game 23 Strength Game

Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

Five of the 33 games collected were classified as being non-competitive activities which represented a percentage of 15.1%. Those games are:

Game 1 Sliding Downhill

Game 2 House Playing

\* Game 21 Tea Dance

Game 23 Strength Game

Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

Mixed orientation games:

The mixed orientation games had either both non-competitive and competitive versions or else a structure open to different interpretations. One game reported by both the Dogrib and the Slave subjects was classified as being a mixed orientation activity. This represented 4.5% of the 22 games reported by Dogrib subjects, 3.8% of the 26 games reported by Slave subjects and 3.0% of the totality of 33 games

collected for this study. The game was Game 11: Marble Game.

The Outcome Attribute Model. The Outcome Attribute Model has three distinct categories; the kinetic games, the chance games, and the representation games.

The Kinetic Games:

These games required multiphysical skills allowing the participants to test and develop specific skills often needed for survival.

Thirteen, or 59% of the 22 Dogrib games were classified as being kinetic games.

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 4 Dog Whip Game
- Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game
- Game 6 Diving Ducks Game
- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

A major part of the 26 games reported by Slave subjects were classified as being kinetic games. The 18 games classified as kinetic games represented 69.2% of the total number of games reported by Slave subjects. They included:

- \*Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game

- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 23 Strength Game
- Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log
- Game 25 Stone Throwing Game
- Game 26 Wooden Gun Game
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game
- Game 30 Highjump Game
- Game 31 Highjump Game with a Pole
- Game 32 Arm Wrestling Game

Twenty-three out of the 33 games collected for this study, or 69.7% were classified as being kinetic activities. Here is a list of those games:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 4 Dogwhip Game
- Game 5 Two Bases Ball Game
- Game 6 Diving Ducks Game
- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 23 Strength Game
- Game 24 Hopping Game Using a Wooden Log
- Game 25 Stone Throwing Game
- Game 26 Wooden Gun Game

- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep up Ball Game
- Game 30 High Jump Game
- Game 31 High Jump with a Pole Game
- Game 32 Arm Wrestling Game
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

\* Games reported by Slave and Dogrib subjects.

Chance games:

The chance game was an activity based on random choice whereby the outcome of the game was unpredictable. The activities listed below were classified as chance games and represented 31.8% of the total.

Number of games reported by Dogrib subjects:

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game

The Slaves reported eight games that were classified as games of chance, which represented 30.8% of the total.

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game

Eight of 33 games collected for this study, or 24.2%, were classified as games of chance. Those eight games are listed below.

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game,
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- \*Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects.

Representation games:

These games included replication or role play and imagination in which some segments of adult life were practised in a playful and less structured environment. The Slave subjects did not report any games that were classified as representation games. The Dogrib subjects reported two games out of 22 games, or 9.0%, that were classified as representation games. These two games represented 6.1% of the total number of 33 games collected for this study. Those games are:

- Game 2 House Playing
- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game

Gambling and the Games

Gambling was present in nine of the traditional games reported in this study. Bets were placed by spectators, predicting the outcome of the game. Material goods were exchanged between the players at the expense of the losers. Here is a list of the nine games mentioned above:

- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game

Table 1

Categorization of Games According to the Two Models

	Component Structure Model			Outcome Attribute Model		
	Compet	Non-C	Mix Or	Kinetic	Chance	Repres
Total	27	5	1	23	8	2
Games (33)	81.8%	15.2%	3.0%	69.7%	24.2%	6.1%
Dogrib	18	3	1	13	7	2
Games (22)	81.8%	13.6%	4.5%	59.1%	31.8%	9.6%
Slave	22	3	1	18	8	0
Games	84.6%	11.5%	3.8%	69.2%	30.8%	0.0%

Compet = Competitively Structured Games

Non-C = Non-Competitive Games

Mix Or = Mixed Orientation Games

Repres = Representation Games

Table 2

Games with a Gambling Component

	Component Structure Model			Outcome Attribute Model		
	Compet	Non-C	Mix Or	Kinetic	Chance	Repres
Gambling	8	-	1	2	7	-
Games (9)	88.9%	-	11.1%	22.0%	77.8%	-
Total	8	-	1	2	7	-
Games	24.4%	-	3.0%	6.1%	21.2%	-

9 games = 27.3% of the total no. of 33 games

Compet = Competitively Structured Games

Non-C = Non-Competitive Games

Mix Or = Mixed Orientation Games

Repres = Representation Games

- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

\*Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects.

These nine games involving gambling represented 27.3% of the 33 games collected for this research. Of these nine games, seven were reported by Dogrib subjects, which represented 31.8% of their 22 games.

Here is a list of those games:

- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game

Of these nine games involving gambling, eight were reported by Slave subjects, which represented 30.8% of the 26 games they reported. Those games are:

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects.

Involvement of Women in the Games

Most games reported by the Dogrib and Slave subjects were played only by men and boys. Nine games, or 27.3% of total number of games collected (33) also involved women.

Here is a list of these nine games:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball-type game
- Game 28 Keep Away Game

Seven of these nine games were reported by Dogrib subjects, or a proportion of 31.8% of the total games collected through them (22). Those games were:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race

Six games, or 23.1% of the 26 games reported by Slave subjects included women. These were:

- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

Component Structure Model:

Competitive activities. Games involving conflicting goals between opponents.

According to the Component Structure Model, five games, or 55.6% of the nine games involving women, were classified as being competitively structured. This represents 15.1% of the 33 games collected in this study. Here is a list of these games:

- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 22 The Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball Game

Four of these five games were reported by Dogribs, meaning 18.2% of the 22 games they identified. They are:

- Game 3 Caribou Tag Game
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

Slave subjects also identified four competitive games involving women. This represented 15.4% of the 26 games they reported.

Here are listed these four games:

- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game

\* Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects

Non-competitive activities. Games in which participants play together for a common goal that can be reached by everyone simultaneously. The following four games, or 44.4% of the nine games including women, were classified as non-competitive activities. This represented 12.1% of the 33 games collected for this research.

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

Of these four games three were reported by Dogrib subjects, which represented 13.6% of the total number of games they identified:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 2 Playing House
- Game 3 Tea Dance

Slave subjects reported two such games, which represented 7.7% of the 26 games they contributed to this study.

- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

\*Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects

The Outcome Attribute Model:

Kinetic Games.. Games focussing on multiphysical skills.

According to the Outcome Attribute Model, seven of the nine games collected involving women, or 77.7%, were classified as kinetic activities. This meant 21.2% of the total number of games collected (33).

These are:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball-type Game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

Of these seven games, five were reported by Dogrib subjects, which represented a proportion of 22.7% of the 22 games they reported in total. Here is a list of those games:

- Game 1 Sliding Downhill
- Game 9 Canoe Race
- Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

Six such games were reported by Slave subjects which represented 23.1% of the games, collected by them (26). Those games are:

- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase
- Game 27 Baseball-type game
- Game 28 Keep Up Ball Game

\*Games reported by both Dogrib and Slave subjects.

Representation Games: Games imitating adult life. The following two games, or 22.2 % of the games involving women (9), were classified as representation games. They represented 6.1% of the 33 games collected for

Table 3

Games Involving Women

	<u>Component Structure Model</u>			<u>Outcome Attribute Model</u>		
	<u>Competitive</u>	<u>Non-C</u>	<u>Mix Or</u>	<u>Kinetic</u>	<u>Chance</u>	<u>Repres</u>
Women	5	4	-	7	-	2
Games (9)	55.6%	44.4%	-	77.7%	-	22.2%
Total	5	4	-	7	-	2
Games (33)	15.1%	12.1%	-	21.2%	-	6.1%

9 games = 27.3% of the total no. of 33 games

Compet = Competitively Structured Games

Non-C = Non-Competitive Games

Mix Or = Mixed Orientation Games

Repres = Representation Games

this study and 9.1% of the 22 Dogrib games. They were not reported by Slave subjects. The games are:

Game 2 Playing house

Game 3 Caribou Tag Game

### Discussion of the Results

The first section of the discussion is concerned with the particularities of the subjects and the games. The second section deals with some aspects of the numerical analysis of the research.

#### Particularities of the Subjects and the Game

The following paragraphs discuss some general information pertaining to the subjects interviewed and the games reported.

Most of the subjects interviewed for this research did not show any reluctance in speaking about traditional games. The cooperation on the part of the subjects was attributed first of all to the fact that the subjects were informed that all material released would remain the property of their people. Secondly, this information related to recreational activities and did not seem to have any spiritual, mystical or taboo connection for these Indians. Therefore revealing information on traditional games did not appear to be in any way a threatening matter for the subjects.

Subjects who participated in this study reported to have learned the traditional games they described through interaction with parents, older members of the community and other players. According to the subjects, the observation of other players playing the game was the most important factor in learning it.

For most games reported, no signs of anger among players reportedly arose during play. However, in some situations, as reported by Slave subjects, players got angry and sometimes hurt due to the aggression of others. The Axe Throwing game (29), the Wrestling Game (33) and the Lead Game (20) were reported to have been the scenes of some aggression on the part of players following the outcome of the game. Gambling was often at the root of these quarrels.

It should be noted that some of the material collected may not have been related to original Dogrib and Slave games, due to the influence of the White Man's culture on those Indians. Games such as the Dogsled Race (8), the Canoe Race (9), the Snowshoe Race (10), the Marble Game (11), the Lead Game (20), the Baseball Game (27), the High Jump Game (30), the High Jump with a Pole Game (31) and the Arm Wrestling Game (32) may have been derived from or at least influenced by some White Man's games introduced to the Indians by early traders and missionaries. Since these games were reported to have been part of the Dogrib and Slave cultures for many generations, they were viewed in this study as being traditional activities.

Most of the activities reported in this study, or 78.8% of all the games collected, were typical summer activities. The Marble Game (11), the Snow Snake game (18), Bones Game (17), Sliding Downhill (1), Dog Whip Game (4), Dogsled Race (8) and the Snowshoe Races (10) were the only games reported to be played also or only in the winter. In the summer, games were played mostly at gathering points where different population pockets would meet and engage in some feasting activities. In the winter, little time was devoted to playing games since the focus was rather on hunting and other survival tasks.

Most games started spontaneously and in most cases seemed to have the minimum number of rules and restrictions attached to them. Interested players were sometimes recruited by yelling to signal the commencement of the game. If games such as the Boogeyman Chase were part of a feast, they would invariably begin at a undetermined time during the festivities, when members of the community would get up to start it. In some cases, such as in the case of a Hand Game tournament against players of another community, pre-game preparations would be made. The actual starting time of the tournament was not known.

## The Numerical Analysis of the Research

This section underscores some general numerical findings concerning the games, and comments on the categorization of the games, gambling in the games and the women's role in the activities.

General Information Concerning the Games. A total of 33 games were collected for this study. Fifteen of these were reported by both Dogrib and Slave subjects; seven games by Dogrib subjects only and 11 games exclusively by Slave subjects. The Dogrib subjects reported a total of 22 games as opposed to 26 by the Slave subjects, but these cultures had many games in common.

### Categorization of the Games.

The Component Structure Model:

The Component Structure Model (Orlick et al, 1978) includes three categories of games: competitive, the non-competitive, and the mixed orientation games. According to this model, 81.8% of the games collected were classified as competitive games. The preponderance of competitive games could be attributed to the fact that social recognition and leadership powers in the Dogrib and Slave cultures were won according to personal achievement. A certain amount of social power could thus be gained through competitive games. The non-competitive games, falling well behind the competitive activities, with a percentage of 15.1% of the total number of games were the second most important category, according to the component structure model. This relatively low percentage of non-competitive traditional games (especially for males) tends to imply certain orientation towards individualism within the Dogrib and Slave cultures. This contrasts with the pronounced cooperative orientation of the Inuit in their games (Orlick, 1977).

One game, classified as a mixed-orientation activity (The Marble Game), had players aiming and tossing marbles at a target (competitive).

However, the winner had to give part of his gained marbles to his opponents in order to help them regain their losses (non-competitive). Perhaps this kind of orientation existed with other traditional competitively structured activities. If so, it was not made evident by the subjects in this research.

#### The Outcome Attribute Model:

According to this model (Roberts et al. 1962), the games could be categorized as kinetic, chance, or representational activities.

Most of the traditional games collected (69.7%) were classified as being kinetic in nature. Such a concentration of kinetic activities demanding a great amount of physical movement tends to support the importance ascribed to physical skills in the Dogrib and Slave cultures. This could stem from the fact that these Indians, in constant quest for food in a harsh environment, had to rely on finely tuned physical abilities, in order to survive.

The games of chance, focussing on random choice on the part of the players, represented 24.2% of the total number of traditional games collected, taking a second place in importance to kinetic games. The emphasis placed on those games may imply that these games fulfilled a need in their cultures to maintain a certain level of psychological comfort when having to deal with the unpredictable. Such unpredictability was a daily reality for these Indians who were forced to interact with such an unforgiving environment. Nine traditional games reported for this study, or 27.3% of the total number of games collected, had a gambling component relating to the outcome of the game.

Only 6.1% of the total number of traditional games collected were classified as representation games. This low level of representation games imitating adult life could be attributed to the fact that these two cultures might not have considered games as being strong socialization

agents. It is more likely that the elders (mostly men) did not view role playing and imaginative play activities engaged in by children as traditional "games".

It is difficult to know where the element of gambling came from and what purpose it served. It may be an extension of playing with the element of choice which existed in life. It is however interesting to note that the Inuit who also lived in a harsh and unpredictable environment did not develop gambling games to anywhere near this extent (Orlick, 1977).

Games involving women. As a general consensus among the subjects interviewed, women would seldom participate in games. Some involvement by women was nevertheless reported in nine games that were divided fairly equally between competitive activities (55.6%) and non competitive activities (44.4%) according to the Component Structure Model. According to the Outcome Attribute Model, 77.7% of these nine games were described as kinetic games. Two games, 22.2% of the games involving women reported by the Dogribs were representation games. The women seemed to have played and placed more emphasis on non-competitive games. This could have been attributed to the fact that women did not have access to leadership roles and social power based on their personal achievements. They played a more supportive and cooperative role within the family and culture than men did.

The extent to which women were involved in competitively structured games at all is unclear since subjects reported only the occasional participation of women in such things as the Baseball-type game (27) and the Keeping Ball Game (28). The basic orientation taken into the game also likely changed with the inclusion of women, for example, additional humour and less overt aggression in the Keep Ball Game.

## Chapter V

### Summary and Recommendations

The following pages briefly summarize the study and provide some recommendations for further research in the area of traditional Dogrib and Slave games.

#### Summary

The purpose of this study was to record and classify traditional Dogrib and Slave games, which were originally closely related to the Dogrib and Slave cultures. It was imperative to collect those games before the senior citizens, possessing that information, died carrying their vanishing knowledge. The review of the literature focussed on the cultural aspects of the Dogrib's and Slave's traditional life. It was difficult at times to paint an accurate picture of the Dogribs' and Slaves' lifestyles, due to the bias and prejudice of some "foreign" authors towards Indians. However, it is clear that the Dogrib and Slave Indians were a mobile population engaged in hunting and survival tasks, facing their harsh environment. Exploiting a vast territory, these Indians lived in small autonomous population pockets on their land.

At certain times of the year, small groups would come together into a larger group called the regional band. They would meet at a specific rendez-vous point and organize feasts or festivals where traditional games would be played. Unfortunately, very little attention was devoted to recording those games throughout the literature. The information revealed was in many cases incomplete and unclear.

For the purposes of this study traditional games were collected by interviewing senior citizens living in eight Dogrib and Slave settlements. The interviews, conducted by a single researcher, were made possible by the collaboration of Dr. Harvey Scott from the University of Alberta, members of the NWT Government, the Déné Games Association and key contacts in each community. The games collected were classified firstly according to the Component Structure Model (Orlick et al, 1978) as being either competitive, non-competitive or mixed orientation activities. Secondly, the games were classified according to the Outcome Attribute Model (Roberts et al 1962) as being either kinetic, chance or representation activities.

As a result of this study, 33 traditional Dogrib and Slave games were collected. Those games were classified according to the Component Structure Model. 81.8% were found to be competitive activities, followed by non-competitive activities, which formed 15.2%. Mixed orientation activities made up the least numerous category, containing 3.0% of the total number of games collected. Following the outcome attribute model, the major concentration of games, or 69.7%, were classified as being kinetic activities, followed by games of chance in a proportion of 24.2% and representation games at 6.1% of the total number of games collected (33).

A gambling component was reported to be present for nine of the games collected. According to the Component Structure Model, 88.9% of those nine games were classified as competitive activities, and 11.1% were classified as mixed-orientation activities. The greatest proportion of those nine games, or 77.8%, was classified according to the Outcome Attribute Model, as chance activities.

Nine games were reported to have had involved women. According to the Component Structure Model, 55.6% of those nine games were classified as competitive activities, while the remaining 44.4% were classified as non-competitive activities. According to the Outcome Attribute Model,

79.7% of the nine games were classified as kinetic activities and 22.2% were coded as representation activities.

The results of this study tend to imply a certain commitment on the part of the Dogrib and the Slave Indians towards competitive and kinetic activities. Gambling was involved mostly in competitively-structured games and games of chance. None of the games that included gambling were played by women. With respect to the games played by women, greater importance was placed on non-competitive activities, in comparison with typical male games.

### Recommendations

This section is divided into two parts; recommendations for disseminating traditional games, and recommendations for further research.

#### Recommendations for Disseminating Traditional Games:

To increase our depth of knowledge of traditional games of the Athabaskan Indians, additional Dogrib and Slave settlements, such as Snare Lake, or Lake du Martre, should be visited so that more subjects could be interviewed.

The material acquired on traditional games should be given in the form of a simple booklet accessible to all teachers and distributed to each community. Videotapes may also be a useful aid in promoting traditional games. Promotion of those games could be done through schools, missions, community centres and other established institutions. Exchange meetings and common "play days" could be organized for the senior members of different communities, to help them share their memories. A traditional games 'bank' of memories could be set up by those who still

remember how to play. People of the communities would then be able to play the old games.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

More time could be spent in each community in order to establish better contact with the population and therefore gather more information. It would be helpful if the researcher could live in the community in question for many months or years. A study of the frequency with which each game was played would give us a better idea of the importance of the activities in the culture. The extent to which women participated in games should be further explored in future studies and a greater attempt should be made to find elder women subjects to interview. The importance of and rationale for gambling as part of the traditional Dogrib and Slave games could also be the focus of further studies. The material collected could be studied as an aid to understanding the cultures of these two tribes. Indications of social control, legal traditions or socialization, may be extrapolated from this information.

### Final Considerations

1. The Dogrib and Slave Indians had a social structure that fostered personal self-reliance. Living in isolated population pockets throughout a vast territory, these Indians had to rely on their own survival abilities in order to subsist. The author feels that survival could have been a factor influencing the concentration of competitively structured games among these Indians. Traditional games could have been a means of testing survival skills against those of their peers. Dogrib and Slave social leaders were chosen according to their personal skills and leadership abilities. Performance in traditional games may have been one of the means by which leadership was assessed and maintained. In some games such as the Lead Game, the best players were well known and opponents would challenge them. The guessing captains in the Hand Game were also chosen for their personal abilities.

2. The interview schedule should be modified to further explore the attitudes that the players had during the games. In some isolated cases, subjects did report situations wherein the players would become angry or hurt following the outcome of a contest. However, the general feelings amongst players and the intensity of competition generated throughout the game is still unknown.

The importance of women in traditional games as reflected by this study was rather slight. Women participated in only nine of the games identified. The comparison between men and women's participation in traditional games has to be made with some reservation since a) most of the subjects were males and b) according to these respondents traditional games seem to have been activities reserved mostly for men and women most likely became involved in other types of native activities.

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## APPENDIX A

Basic Interview QuestionsDENE GAMES

Once a game was mentioned, the following questions were asked:

1. What do you call the game? \_\_\_\_\_  
Who is describing the game? \_\_\_\_\_ How old are the  
subjects? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Where and when, and from whom was the game learned? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Tell me about the game. How was it played? Can you show me how it  
was performed? Explain the start, the basic rules, the scoring.
4. What did the players try to do in the game, (idea or goal of game,  
score, etc.)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Who played the game - young, old, men, women, girls, boys, all? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Basic Questions, continued

At what times of the day and year was the game played? \_\_\_\_\_

Where was the game played—indoors, outdoors, etc? \_\_\_\_\_

6. How many people played? \_\_\_\_\_ Draw how they lined up.

7. What did you need to play the game; equipment, etc.? Can you build this equipment, stage by stage so we can take pictures? \_\_\_\_\_

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Materials and Preparation:Equipment Building Stage:

8. Did anyone ever get hurt playing the game? \_\_\_\_\_

Did anyone ever get mad or angry, why? \_\_\_\_\_

Was it hard to start the game? \_\_\_\_\_

How was the game started? \_\_\_\_\_

9. How did people learn to play the game? \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B

Report on the 1984 Déné Games

by

François Gravelle

October 16, 1984

The 1984 Déné Games were held in Fort Simpson between June 19 and June 25. My role in these games was both as a volunteer and a data collector for a future Déné traditional game book.

The Games this year demonstrated a good effort on the part of the people involved; obviously, many hours had been spent in the preparation and organization phases. A good effort was also made to introduce traditional activities; this made the Games into a cultural event.

It seemed that all the elements for a successful event were present, except for the fact that the wheels of organization started spinning a little late. Organizers were then facing a last minute rush, trying to knuckle down to the on-site preparations. Earlier follow-ups with key contacts in each community could have helped identify the problem of the lack of participation that prevailed during the Games. Special strategies to deal with this problem would have been in order.

In some cases, volunteers involved in the Games were overloaded with responsibilities. It was noted on some occasions that overloading of the volunteers led to the neglect of important aspects such as the preparation of activity sites (i.e. the hand game competition), organization and distribution of equipment.

In order to facilitate the work of the organizers, different committees should be set up which would be responsible for supervision:

- publicity (before and during the Games)
- preparation and distribution of equipment to the different sites during the Games.
- ordering and preparation of food for the Games.
- the financial aspect of the Games.

The responsibility of the coordinator of the Games would then be to oversee the labours of each committee and to ensure the active collaboration of all.

It is further recommended that:

- the format of the Games be modified. A Déné cultural festival involving traditional games along with some other aspects of the Déné culture such as hunting, fishing or cooking, could be organized. It seems that traditional games are at times so closely related to culture, that it is hard to isolate the two.
- activities for different age groups be organized; senior citizens could have their own more traditional programmes, and young adults could still have their softball tournament. An exposure to traditional games would make everyone aware of their traditional culture. The transition to an all-traditional event could then be made.
- a long-term preparation of the event be undertaken in each community. Key people could be involved in this preparation; these might be senior members of the community, teachers, missionaries. Different age groups could be solicited, the children (through school projects) senior citizens (through discussions, workshops) and young adults.
- having three smaller Games ( as suggested by organizers this year) is a good idea since it would lessen travelling distances and would give a stronger feeling of community identification and involvement to the participants.

In conclusion, it must be understood that the Déné Games represent considerable initiative and are in any case a potential cultural event. Some minor organisational changes, such as those

mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, could very much contribute to the success of the Games.

Hoping that these few constructive criticisms will be accepted as positive feedback, I remain,

Yours truly,

François Gravelle  
951 Brant Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1K 3N1  
Tel. (613) 749-3511

## APPENDIX C

## Traditional Dogrib and Slave Games

The next several pages will contain a full description of the games reported for this study, based on the information collected.

Traditional Dogrib Games

The following games were reported by Dogrib subjects. All the games preceded by an asterisk(\*) were also reported by Slave subjects.

## Game 1

1 Name of the Game: Sliding Downhill

2 Description of the Game: The participants, often boys and girls, would slide on the snow down a hill. This activity was performed in a playful manner with no set rules.

3 Materials Needed: None

4 General Information: This game was played only in the winter.

5 References: Joe's Mother 87 yrs old Rae Lakes

## Game 2

1 Name of the Game: Playing house

2 Description of the Game: An undetermined number of children, mostly girls, would play house in a roughly constructed teepee they had erected. The game would be made out of scenarios imitating the daily activities of the adult world. The stories either involved the whole group or individuals.

3 Materials Needed: No predetermined or set materials were used for the game.

4 General Information: No set time was mentioned to play this game.

5 References: Father Amourous, OMI 50 yrs old, Rae Lakes  
Joe's Mother 87 yrs old, Rae Lakes

## Game 3

1 Name of the Game: Caribou Tag Game

2 Description of the Game: Boys and girls playing separately would divide themselves into two teams, the hunters and the Caribou. The hunters, carrying branches with leaves, would run after the caribou and try to reach them with the branches. Any caribou touched would then be eliminated from play.

3 Materials Needed: Branches with leaves.

4 General Information: The game, for the most part unstructured and spontaneous, was played outdoors during the summer.

5 References: Madelaine Zo approx. 100 yrs old Fort Rae  
 Joe's Mother 87 yrs old Rae Lakes

Game 4

1 Name of the Game: The Dog Whip Game

2 Description of the Game: This game was played on the ice and involved various numbers of men and boys. Two teams with an equal number of players, were formed. The aim of the game was to keep a piece of wood moving using a dog whip. Each team was appointed one direction towards which it should be travelling when in possession of the piece of wood, i.e., Team A would move in one direction and Team B in the opposite direction. Members of each team carrying either a dog whip or a stick would struggle to get or keep control of the piece of wood. Whenever one team got possession of the wood, it would move in its own direction until the other side could manage to regain possession. The pack would then travel in the opposite direction. The game could be played over a distance of a few miles in each direction. Body contact was not reported to be an important factor in the game.

3 Material Needed: The equipment required for the game was a dog whip with a handle weighted with lead for better performance. A stick could also be used. A small stick about the size of a cigar was used as a moving object.

4 General Information: The activity was conducted outdoors on an icy surface, during the winter.

5 References: Jim Erasmi 72 yrs old Fort Rae  
 Vital Thomas 80 yrs old Fort Rae  
 Father Amourous, OMI 50 yrs old Fort Rae

## Game 5

1 Name of the Game: The Two Bases Ball Game

2 Description of the Game: Two bases were set about five yards apart, one in front of the other. On each base stood a player holding a stick, about three feet long, to be used as a bat. An indefinite number of players were in the two fields located behind each batter. A ball was thrown to the batter by a fielder standing opposite to him. The batter then hit the ball as far as possible towards the field facing him. If the batting attempt was successful, the two batters tried to exchange bases before a fielder, holding the ball, could reach an empty base. If the batter got to the other base before the fielder holding the ball did, he remained in his batting position. The batter who did not succeed in this task had to leave his batting position to the ball carrier, and would go play in the field. A strategy used by the fielders to get the ball faster to the base was to pass it to each other. If the ball was hit far, the two batters met halfway between the two bases and struck their sticks on the ground, then together repetitively (in a fashion similar to a faceoff in field hockey). When the fielder carrying the ball got closer to the bases, the batters ran towards the opposite base, trying to reach it before the ball carrier did.

3 Material Needed: The material needed to play this game consisted of two bases made out of anything available at the time, two long clubs of about one yard each, and one caribou-skin ball.

4 General Information: This activity was done outside during the summer.

5 References: Vital Thomas 80 yrs old Fort Rae  
Personal observation in Rae Lakes

## Game 6

1 Name of the Game: Diving Ducks Game

2 Description of the Game: Young boys would form a circle, standing in

water up to their waists. One player, the diver, carried a rock within his bent elbow, between his forearm and his arm, to be used as a sinking weight. The diver, being in the middle of the circle, tried to sneak out through the legs of the other players, while swimming underwater. Other players attempted to stop him from succeeding. If the diver succeeded, he was a winner, and exchanged places with another player. If he would not succeed after a while, he exchanged places even without being a winner.

3 Material Needed: A rock was used as a weight for the diver.

4 General Information: This game was played only in the summertime.

5 References: Jim Erasma 72 yrs old Fort Rae

Game 7

1 Name of the Game: Swimming and diving game "TENITLAOUSE"

2 Description of the Game: The players, men and boys, would carry a large rock in their bent arm in order to keep them close to the bottom of the lake. The goal of the game was for one to travel as far as possible along the bottom of the lake, using hands and toes for propulsion. If the eyes could not be kept open under water, a hand would be placed in front as a means of protection. The object of the game, as stated, was to travel as far as possible under water and then plant a stick on the bottom of the lake. The next participant would try to beat that distance and plant his stick even further. Gambling would also occur, as part of the game. Spectators would bet on which player would get his stick the farthest.

3 Material Needed: The material required to play this game was a rock large enough to weight the diver down and a stick to be used as a mark for the distance travelled.

4 General Information: This game was played outdoors during the summer.

5 References: Jim Erasma 72 yrs. old Fort Rae

## \*Game 8

1 Name of the Game: Dogsled Race

2 Description of the Game: This race could involve up to 16 teams of from five to six dogs each, that raced over a distance of about 16 miles. The aim of the game was, for a racer, to be the first one to arrive at the finish line, beating everyone else.

3 Material Needed: A dogsled and a dog team was the only material needed.

4 General information: This game was learned through parents and elders. In many cases, it was introduced to the Indians by the White Man.

5 References:

Gab Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Joe's Mother	87 yrs old	Rae Lakes

## \*Game 9

1 Name of the Game: Canoe Race

2 Description of the Game: The Canoe Race involved men and women. This event could count up to 20 canoes with two to four participants in each. The aim of the game was to be the first to travel a set distance and to reach the finish line before anyone else.

3 Material Needed: Canoes, one per team, and paddles, one per participant.

## \*Game 8

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Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Joe's Mother	87 yrs old	Rae Lakes

## \*Game 9

1 Name of the Game: Canoe Race

2 Description of the Game: The Canoe Race involved men and women. This event could count up to 20 canoes with two to four participants in each. The aim of the game was to be the first to travel a set distance and to reach the finish line before anyone else.

3 Material Needed: Canoes, one per team, and paddles, one per participant.

4 General Information: The game was played in the summer, on an unfrozen river or lake.

5 References: Gab Sanguéz, 73 yrs old Jean-Marie River  
 Vital Thomas, 80 yrs old Fort Rae  
 Joe's Mother 87 yrs old Rae Lakes

\*Game-10

1 Name of the Game: Snowshoe Race.

2 Description of the Game: The Snowshoe Race took place on ice or snow in the winter. Men and women participating in the race tried to be first to travel a set distance, and reach a finishing point before everybody else did.

3 Material Needed: One pair of snowshoes per racer.

4 References: Gab Sanguéz 73 yrs old Jean-Marie River  
 Vital Thomas 80 yrs old Fort Rae  
 Joe's Mother 87 yrs old Rae Lakes

\*Game 11

1 Name of the Game: The Marble Game

2 Description of the Game: Players would make a small hole in the

ground of about two inches in diameter. From a set distance, participants had to toss a marble, rock or button in an attempt to get it in the hole. The winner, succeeding in the task set-out in the game, would pick up all the marbles on the playing surface and give some back to his opponents in order to help them recoup their losses. The game was played only by men and boys. About four to six players would join to play the game either individually or as part of a team. A variation of the game was to plant a stick in the ground, toss a rock, coat button or marble towards it. The stick would be used only in the summertime. In the winter, a hole would still be dug in the snow. The winner would collect two or three marbles, rocks or coat buttons from each player. Gambling would be involved in this game; winners would acquire material goods such as shirts, from the opponents.

3 Material Needed: Either lead marbles, rocks or coat buttons were used to play the game. A stick might be also be used.

4 General Information: The game was played in the afternoon, outdoors, both in the summer and winter.

5 References:

Frank Horn	80 yrs old	Hay River
Madéline Zo	100yrs old	Fort Rae
Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Father Amourous OMI,	50 yrs old	Rae Lake

\*Game 12

1 Name of the Game: The Bow and Arrow Game (EDATSITON in Dogrib)

2 Description of the Game: A target, such as a small tree, would be identified. Players, men only, would stand some 500 feet away from the target and would take turns shooting an arrow using a bow in an attempt to hit the target. Participants and spectators would gamble either on their own skills or a chosen player's ability to hit the target and would hope to win matches, money or tobacco.

3 Material Needed: Bows would be built in the early spring for the summer months out of a twisted green stick of about four to five feet long. The middle of the bow was strengthened with babiche. Arrows made out of wood would either have metal tips, sharpened caribou bone tips or moose neck tendon tips (Slave Indians).

4 General Information: Boys would not play this game due to the stiffness of the bows. This game would be played in the summertime. It was too cold and impossible to use a bow and arrow in the winter, since mittens were worn.

5 References:

Bruno Monthla	83 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Joe's Mother	87 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Peter Wetzen	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Madelaine Zo	100 yrs old	Fort Rae
Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Georges Motus	67 yrs old	Nahani Butc

\*Game 13

1 Name of the Game: Stick/throwing game (BATA in Dogrib)

2 Description of the Game: A stick would be planted in the ground, to act as a target. Players, four or five men standing at a distance, would throw another stick in an attempt to either hit or get it as close to the target as possible. The stick closest to the target would win. Measurements were sometimes needed to determine which stick was closest to the target. Players would gamble for money, gunpowder or gun shells.

3 Material Needed: The material needed to play the game was a target, a stick planted upright in the ground, and two to three branchless sticks per player. These throwing sticks would be about two feet long.

4 General Information: This game would be played outdoors, both in the summer and winter. A game would last between three and four hours and would be played in the afternoon. A variation of the game was to throw a stick with branches onto the ground and use it as a target. Players would then throw their shooting sticks and try to get them as close as possible to the target, either of the middle branches or the branches attached to it. No one was reported to have gotten mad or hurt during the game.

5 References:

Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
Bruno Monthla	83 yrs old	Rae Lakes

Joe's Mother	87 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Madelaine Zo	100 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
Gabriel Sanguetz	74 yrs old	Jean-Marie River

## \*Game 14

1 Name of the Game: Strength and Trick Game

2 Description of the Game: An undetermined number of men would sit in a circle passing a dead caribou's leg amongst themselves. Each man attempted to twist and pull the leg in order to tear tendons and ligaments so that the leg bone could be pulled out. The first to succeed at this task was the winner.

3 Material Needed: The leg of a dead caribou and sometimes beaver or loon bones would be used mostly by Slave Indians.

4 General Information: This game would be played indoors in all seasons, including the winter. Indians, mostly Slaves, would also test their strength by lifting heavy rocks. No one was reported to have become angry or to have gotten hurt during this game.

5 References:

Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake

#Game15

1 Name of the Game: Keep Away Game

2 Description of the Game: The purpose of this game was to keep a ball amongst members of one team as long as possible while stopping the other side from getting it. Strategies were evolved to keep the ball amongst members of one team, such as passing the ball to the strongest member of the team, who would keep it.

Men and women would play this game, each forming a team that would play against the opposite sex. The number of players could vary from eight to a whole community.

3 Material Needed: A moose skin ball, filled with moss or moose hair, was shaped to fit into the palm of the hand. To fashion the ball, a piece of caribou or moose skin was cut in a circular manner, holes were made along the edge of the skin, and a string of babiche would be weaved through these holes. The middle was then filled with moss, moose hair or caribou hair. The interior was then sealed up by pulling on the string; the idea is similar to a small skin bag.

4 General Information: This event took place during the summertime on a sand or dirt surface. At night, players would meet to start a match that might last until morning. About seven or eight players would begin the game; five or six women would be in the middle with one man on each side of the group. Men would pass the ball to each other and the women would try to

intercept the passes and keep the ball to themselves.

Diagram



Other people would then join the two groups. Women could sometimes keep the ball amongst themselves for up to two hours before the men could get it back. If a man kept chasing a woman, it was said that he was "due", in other words, ready to get married.

<u>5 References:</u>	Sarah Mack Ferson	60 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Madelaine Zo	100 yrs old	Fort Rae
	Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
	Bruno Monthla	83 yrs old	Rae Lakes

\*Game 16

1 Name of the Game: Ring Toss Game

2 Description of the Game: The purpose of the game was to toss a ring at a stick planted in the ground, which served as a target (like a

horseshoe toss). Two teams of two to 10 men each stood at a preset distance from the target, and tossed their rings, about 10 per player, towards the stick used as a target. The team that managed to get the most rings around the target was the winner. The good players had a reputation that would bring other players to challenge them during the game. The gambling aspect figured largely in this game. The losing players would pay the winners with gunpowder, money or arrows.

3 Materials Needed: The material needed to play this game consisted of dried hide rings for Dogrib games, and willow rings for Slave games. Each player had about 10 rings to play with. The willow sticks planted in the ground would act as tossing line and target.

4 General Information: The ring game was played outdoors both in the summer, and in the winter, and at any time of day.

5 References:

Alphonse Quity	87 yrs old	Rae Lake
Georges Motus	67 yrs old	Nahani Bute
Gab Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
John Vital	74 yrs old	Nahani Bute
Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River

\*Game 17

1 Name of the Game: The Bones Game

2 Description of the Game: Five to 10 men would sit in a circle passing amongst themselves the game instrument, made of five hollow caribou knuckle bones strung and tied to a string, at one end of which was attached a needle-shaped bone. The purpose of the game was to toss the hollow bones into the air in order to ring them on the needle-shaped bone held by the player. The player tried to ring each hollow bone in succession—first, second, third, fourth, and fifth, in order to win. If in the first attempt the fifth bone was rung, which was the most difficult one to ring, the player would achieve also the goal of the game.

3 Material Needed: The instrument of play consisted of five hollow caribou knuckle bones tied to a string, at the end of which was a needle-like bone such as a bird leg.

4 General Information: This game was played indoors and outdoors, both in the summer or in the winter.

5 References

Bruno Monthla	87 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
John Vital	74 yrs old	Nahani Butc

\*Game 18

1 Name of the Game: Snow Snake Game

2 Description of the Game: On top of the snow covering frozen rivers, about 10 boys would slide a branchless stick, in the manner of a stone

being skipped on the surface of the water. The purpose of the game was either to get the snow snake to stop as close as possible to a target, such as the first snow snake thrown, or to slide the snow snake as far as possible. The winner would be the one who could slide his snow snake the farthest, or get it as close to the target as possible.

3 Material Needed: Players would use a small branchless tree about two to three feet long, curved up at one end. Some snow snakes would be turned in hot ashes to increase their sliding capacity on snow.

4 General information: This game would be played outdoors in the daytime, during the winter.

5 References:

Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Gabriel Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River

\*Game 19

1 Name of the Game: The Hand Game

2 Description of The Game: For a description of this game, refer to the section on Dogrib games in Chapter II.

5 References:

Father Amourous	OMI	50 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Madelaine Zo		100 yrs old	Fort Rae
Vital Thomas		80 yrs old	Fort Rae
Bruno Monthla		83 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Georges Motus		67 yrs old	Nahani Bute
John Vital		68 yrs old	Nahani Bute
Frank Horne		80 yrs old	Hay River

\*Game 20

1 Name of the Game: The Lead Game

2 Description of the Game: Three to 10 ~~men~~ would play this game, either as individuals or as part of a team, one team playing against the other. Players would each have a few lead chips or buttons and one or two bigger chips which would be thrown towards a target (a lightly planted stick) some 30 feet away. The one or two bigger lead chips were used to try to knock the target down. The winner was the player who could toss his lead chips as close to the target as possible or else knock down the target. He would then pick up all the chips on the playing surface. If there were more than one winner, the chips would be divided in a type of heads and tails draw. The chips, marked on one side with an 'x', were tossed into the air, after having both players choose one side of the chip. The player who had chosen the side with an 'x' would pick all the chips with the 'x' facing up and vice-versa for the other player.

3 Material Needed: The equipment needed to play the game was a stick planted in the ground, not too deeply, to act as a target. Lead chips were made out of flattened gun leads brought to about the size of a quarter.

4 General Information: A variation of this outdoor summer sport was to plant several sticks in the ground, forming a circle. The task was to try to get some lead chips inside or close to the circle from a set distance. Gambling was involved in both variations of this game.

<u>5 References:</u>	Frank Horne	80 yrs old	Hay River
	Sarah Mack-Ferson	60 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Gab Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Vital Thomas	80 yrs old	Fort Rae
	Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
	Father Amourous, OMI	50 yrs old	Rae Lakes,

\*Game 21

1 Name of the Game: Tea Dance

2 Description of the Game: The Tea Dance is a social activity involving men and women. The early Tea Dance version was done outdoors where everyone in the community would dance in a circle, shuffling their feet around a fire. The rythm was made by the songs sung by the dancers. This dance was later on modified by the influence of the Crees, whereby drums became incorporated. The name 'Tea Dance' originated with the White Man, who so called it because the dance was always performed after a feast during which people would drink tea. In the wintertime, the snow would be pushed to the side, a big fire would be lit, and the whole community would dance in a circle around the fire (5). This dance was one of the few activities in which everyone, men, women, and children, could participate together. The Tea Dance was performed only on special occasions such as gatherings, and especially during the summer, after a feast. The activity often lasted many hours, from 4 PM to 6 AM. The men would wear a specially designed caribou jacket for the occasion. The Slaves had a Tea Dance similar to this one, but they did not use any drums.

5 Références:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
John Vital	74 yrs old	Nahani Bute
Bruno Monthla	83 yrs old	Rae Lakes
Madelaine Zo	100 yrs old	Fort Rae
Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae

\*Game 22

1 Name of the Game: The Boogeyman Chase (The DZEK Wi-Dogrib),  
(Tseho DZeti-Slave)

2 Description of the Game: This game was played in the forest and would be part of a feast which involved an entire community. One of the older members of the community, preferably someone withdrawn socially, was chosen to be the DZEK'WI or the Tseho Dzeti. The Dôgribs would disguise the Dzek'wi according to tradition, by covering up its face with a cloth. The Slaves would disguise their Tseho Dzeti by dressing him in a

tight-fitting caribou jacket. His face and jacket were marked with charcoal, and sometimes a birch mask would be worn. The Tseho Dzeti also walked with a cane. The Dzek'wi (boogey man) had the mandate to chase children (Dogribs) and other members of the community (Slaves), and threatened to cut their ears with an axe (Dogribs), or to touch them (Slaves). Everyone, naturally, would try to get away from the boogeyman. If someone was caught, he was either put out of the game (Slaves) or sat down, whereupon the Dzek'wi would dance around him (Dogribs). The aim of the game was purely recreational, where in a theater-like scenario, everyone would enjoy himself. The game was played either in the woods or on a very long playground. The Dogribs had most children of the community participate in the game and one adult, the Dzek'wi. The Slaves, on the other hand, would have one Tseho Dzeti and everyone in the community would be invited to join in.

3 Material Needed: The only material required were the disguises used by the boogeyman as described earlier. A cane was used by the Slave boogeyman, and an axe used by the Dogribs.

4 General Information: This game was played at night, outdoors in the summertime, and could last for ten hours, from 6 PM to 4 AM.

5 References:

Sarah Mack Ferson	60 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
Father Amourous OMI,	50 yrs old	Raq Lakes
Alphonse Quity	80 yrs old	Rae Lakes

#### Traditional Slave Games

The following games were reported by Slave subjects. The first 15 games listed below were also reported by Dogrib subjects and are marked by an asterisk(\*). Consult the section on Dogrib games for a description of these activities.

- \*Game 8 Dogsled Race
- \*Game 9 Canoe Race
- \*Game 10 Snowshoe Race
- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 14 Strength and Trick Game
- \*Game 15 Keep Away Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 17 Bones Game
- \*Game 18 Snow Snake Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 21 Tea Dance
- \*Game 22 Boogeyman Chase

## Game 23

1 Name of the Game: Strength Game

2 Description of the Game: Men would test their strength by lifting heavy rocks.

3 Material Needed: Rocks that gradually increased in size and weight.

4 General Information: This game was only mentioned by the subjects and no definite information could be recalled as far as the structure of the game was concerned.

5 References:

Jim Erasma	72 yrs old	Fort Rae
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake

## Game 24

1 Name of the Game: Hopping game using a wooden log

2 Description of the Game: Each player would kneel on a wooden log. While swining his arms, the player would extend his legs quickly in order to propel himself forward as far as possible, away from the log, and landing on his feet. The winner was the one who could hop the farthest distance from the log.

3 Material Needed: The only equipment needed to play this game was a wooden log lying on the ground.

4 General Information: This game was played primarily by men, outdoors during the summer.

5 References:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake

## Game 25

1 Name of the Game: Stone Throwing Game

2 Description of the Game: This game was a throwing activity in which a stone would be slung forward by means of a mooseskin slingshot. The player who could sling his stone the farthest was the winner. An undetermined number of boys would play this game.

3 Materials Needed: The equipment needed to play this game was a slingshot made of a moose skin strip, at both ends of which were attached two long strings.

4 General Information: The game would be played in the summer.

5 References:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake

## Game 26

1 Name of the Game: The Wooden Gun Game

2 Description of the Game: An undetermined number of men would make themselves a gun, by using a hollow wooden tube with holes along the side. They would then insert their arrows into the tube and hold the tube, the arrow and the bow as if they were using a crossbow. The tube was used to create a sound effect. Players would shoot their arrows through the tube, aiming at a preset target. The winner was the one whose arrow came closest to the target.

3 Material Needed: The material needed for the game was a bow and arrow, and a wooden gun. The wooden gun, through which the arrow was shot, was made out of a hollow wooden tube, constructed by emptying the inside of a willow. Along the side of the tube, holes were drilled in order to create the sound effect expected.

4 General Information: This game was played outdoors during the summer.

5 References: Joseph Jambo 80 yrs old Trout Lake  
 Frank Tetcho 80 yrs old Trout Lake  
 Marie Jambo 82 yrs old Trout Lake

Game 27

1 Name of the Game: Baseball-type Game

2 Description of the Game: Two teams, consisting of an undetermined number of boys and sometimes girls, would play this game; which had no set rules. However, the general organization of the game was similar to an actual American baseball game. One team was in the field, while the other was batting the ball. When a hit was made, the batter had to run around to first base. If he reached his base without being hit by the ball thrown at him, he was considered safe. The same runner would attempt the same move at an appropriate time during the game for second and third bases and for the home plate in order to score a point. If three players of one team were hit by the ball while running around the bases, the two teams would exchange positions.

3 Material Needed: The equipment required for this game included a mooseskin ball filled with moss or with an old rag or wool, a stick of about three feet, and anything available was used for bases.

4 General Information: The game was played outdoors in the summertime.

5 References: Frank Horn 80 yrs old Hay River

Game 28

1 Name of the Game: Keep Up Ball Game

2 Description of the Game: The purpose of the game was to hit a ball back and forth between two players, without having the ball touch the ground. The ball was kept in the air by hitting it either with their hands or with a handmade racket. The players, men or women, tried to keep the ball up in the air for as long as possible. When players grew tired of play, two

new players would replace them.

3 Material Needed: The material needed to play the game was a moose skin ball filled with moss to reach the required size. Sand was also added to add weight to the ball. A racket made out of a wooden frame with babiche weaving in the middle was sometimes used. This somewhat resembled a tennis racket.

4 General Information: This game was played outdoors during the summer.

5 References:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
Georges Motus	67 yrs old	Nahahi Bute
Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Gabriel Sanguet	79 yrs old	Jean-Marie River

Game 29

1 Name of the Game: Axe-throwing Game

2 Description of the Game: Any man who wanted to participate would throw an axe from a distance of about 20 to 25 feet towards a set target, either a tree stump or a small tree, in an attempt to hit it. The winners would be the ones who could hit the target or get their axes closest to it by knocking off other axes. Participants would gamble for matches or gun shells by betting on contestants. Some variations were brought to the game inasmuch as the targets were varied. For example different sizes of trees at different distances, sticks planted in the ground or in the centre of a big log, could all be targets. In other cases, a person would stand behind a tree. The best throwers would throw their axes and tried to hit that tree.

3 Material Needed: The material needed for that game was an axe with a short handle and a target (that could vary from time to time).

4 General Information: The axe throwing game was played during the summer

only.

<u>5 References:</u>	John Vital	68 yrs old	Nahani Bute
	Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Gab. Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
	Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
	Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
	Sarah MackFerson	60 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Frank Horn	80 yrs old	Hay River

### Game 30

1 Name of the Game: High Jump Game

2 Description of the Game: Men participating in the game tried to jump over a crossbar without touching it. The bar gradually increased in height, and the participant who jumped the highest was the winner.

3 Material Needed: Planted in the ground were two posts, which had nails protruding at various heights, so that a crossbar could be rested upon them.

4 General Information: The game was played in the summertime on a sandy surface.

<u>5 References:</u>	Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Gabriel Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
	Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
	Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
	Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake

### Game 31

1 Name of the Game: High Jump With a Pole game

2 Description of the Game: Men participating in the game tried to jump over a crossbar by using a second pole. The winner was the one who could

jump the highest.

3 Material Needed: Two posts were planted in the ground, with nails sticking out at various heights, so that a crossbar could be rested upon them (up to 7.8 feet). A ten foot wooden pole was used to propel the lumber over the wooden crossbar.

4 General Information: This game was played in the summertime on a sandy surface.

5 References:

Henry Ekali	80 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Gabriel Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake

Game 32

1 Name of the Game: Arm Wrestling Game

2 Description of the Game: Two men would sit facing each other and hold either their right or left hands firmly, elbows on a flat surface. The winner was the first one to push his opponent's hand down to the flat surface.

3 Material Needed: No material was needed for this game.

4 References:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Gabriel Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Georges Motus	67 yrs old	Nahani Bute

Game 33

1 Name of the Game: Wrestling Game

2 Description of the Game: The Slave people had different types of

wrestling games. One involved putting the opponent on the ground. The players, a few strong men, would struggle to see who would be thrown on the ground first. Another kind of wrestling game was arm wrestling. The participant, with his elbows on a flat surface in front of him, would grab the hand of his opponent facing him. The aim of the sport was to put the back of the opponent's hand onto the table. In both of these games, gambling could be involved. A player could lose his wife to his opponent for a set period of time after losing a match.

3 Material Needed: No material was needed to play these games.

4 General Information: These games would be played indoors during the winter and outdoors in the summer.

5 References:

Joseph Jambo	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Frank Tetcho	80 yrs old	Trout Lake
Marie Jambo	82 yrs old	Trout Lake
Gabriel Sanguéz	73 yrs old	Jean-Marie River
Georges Motus	67 yrs old	Nahani Bufo

## APPENDIX D

The Component Structure Model

The Outcome Attribute Model

Competitive Games. Games involving conflicting goals among members of the opposing teams. According to the Component Structure Model, eight games, or 88.9% of the total included gambling were classified as being competitively structured. Here is a list of competitively structured games:

- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- \*Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- \*Game 33 Wrestling Game

\* Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects. The above games were a 24.4% portion of the 33 games collected for this research. Six games from those eight competitively structured activities were reported by Dogrib subjects, which meant a proportion of 27.3% of the total number of 22 games reported by them. Those games are:

- Game 7 Swimming and Diving Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game

7 of those 8 games were reported by Slave subjects, which meant a proportion of 26.9% of the 26 games reported by these Indians. Here are those games:

- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game

- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game
- Game 33 Wrestling Game

\* Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects.

Mixed Orientation Games. Structure open to both competitive and non-competitive interpretation. One game, Game 11, Marble Game, reported by both Dogrib and Slave Indians, was classified as being a mixed orientation activity. This game represented 11.1% of the nine games involving gambling, 3.0% of the 22 Dogrib games collected and 3.8% of the 26 Slave Games collected.

#### Outcome Attribute Model

Chance Games. Games where the outcome is based on a random choice. According to the Outcome Attribute Model, seven of nine games, or 77.8%, were classified as being Games of Chance. Here is a list of these games:

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 19 Hand Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game
- Game 29 Axe Throwing Game

These represented a proportion of 21.1% of the 33 games collected for this research.

\* Games reported by Dogrib and Slave subjects.

All seven chance games were reported by Slave Indians for a proportion of 26.4% of the total number of 26 games. Out of seven chance

games, six were reported by Dogrib subjects, for a proportion of 27.3% of the 22 games reported by them. Those games were:

- \*Game 11 Marble Game
- \*Game 12 Bow and Arrow Game
- \*Game 13 Stick Throwing Game
- \*Game 16 Ring Toss Game
- \*Game 20 Lead Game

Kinetic Games. Games including multiphysical skills. Two Games were classified as being kinetic activities due to the importance of body motion in their execution. They made up 22% of the nine games involving gambling, and were: Game 7; Swimming and Diving Game and game 33: Wrestling Game. This meant that 6.1% of the total number of games collected for this study (33) were kinetic in nature. Of these two games, Game 7, Swimming and Diving Game, was reported only by Dogrib subjects, and represented 1.5% of the 22 games revealed by those Indians.

The other game, #33, Wrestling, represented 3.8% of the 26 games collected through Slave subjects.