Hunting and gathering societies of the South American Western Chaco presented a threat to Europeans who began settling the fringes of this area in the mid sixteenth century. Colonial chroniclers described Western Chaco indigenous groups as nomadic and brutal nations, without permanent homes or property but with so many warriors that, had the Spaniards not arrived, these warlike peoples would have conquered and decimated the more sedentary indigenous agriculturalists who lived in nearby valleys. For example, in 1584, Captain Hernán Mejía Miraval reported to the Spanish governor of the Tucumán Province that he had captured and killed many Western Chaco Indians, recovering scalps and trophy heads that they had taken from their enemies (Cabrera 1910, 17). European expansion has been credited with suppressing the violent
resistance of the indigenous groups and pacifying the region. Lawrence Keeley calls this explanation for imposed pacification "one of the apologies for imperialism during its heyday" (1996, 150). Much has been written about the conquest of Gran Chaco by the Argentine, Bolivian, and Paraguayan armies; however, the study of the intergroup aboriginal warfare that continued in Western Chaco until the beginning of the twentieth century has received little attention from ethnographers.

Following the anthropological literature, I consider the raids and feuds of the hunter-gatherers of the region as unique forms of collective violence explained in terms of complex models that include environmental, behavioral, and sociocultural variables (Rubenstein 1994). Intergroup warfare in the region largely preceded the arrival of the Europeans and continued until the early twentieth century. The aboriginal warfare among hunter-gatherer societies of Western Chaco from 1875 to 1925 manifested as aggressive resistance to the encroachment upon their land by European settlers and colonists. Thoroughly defeated by the Argentine, Bolivian, and Paraguayan militar, the indigenous Chacoans' resistance ended in the second decade of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the Chaco War (1932–36) between Bolivia and Paraguay eliminated the indigenous peoples' prospects of continuing a lifestyle of seasonal trekking in their home ranges. This chapter examines the territorial expansion of the hunter-gatherer bands, the shift in range areas, and the socially unstable relations between neighboring groups with reference to demographic packing—a measure of population density per square kilometer that evaluates the productivity of different habitats in relation to the size of the group (Binford 2001). My interest in this subject developed while conducting fieldwork among the Western Toba in the late 1980s and early 1990s.1

**Indigenous Peoples of Western Chaco**

The Gran Chaco is the second-largest natural biome of South America. In the heart of the continent, it extends over one million square kilometers in area. The semiarid Western Chaco includes eastern Bolivia, northern Argentina, and western Paraguay (fig. 10.1). Chacoan ethnographic and linguistic groups have been known as "tribes" since colonial times. These
independent ethnic groups speak mutually understandable variants of the same language and recognize the existence of social ties and cultural similarities among themselves; their modus operandi was characterized by continuous coalition building and offensive raids during which scalps, captives, and booty were taken. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of Western Chaco north of the Pilcomayo River comprised the Ayoreo and Chamacoco (Zamuco linguistic family); the Toba and Pilagá (Guaycurú linguistic family); the Izóceño, Chiriguano, Guarayo, and Chané (Tupí–Guaraní linguistic family); the Kaskihá, Sanapaná, and Enxet (Maskoí linguistic family); and the Chorote, Wichi, Nivaclé, and Maká (Matako–Maká linguistic family).

Chacoan hunter-gatherers made their living through a combination of hunting rhea, guanaco, peccary, tapir, deer, and other small animals, collecting xerophytic seeds and honey, and fishing. They occasionally planted maize, pumpkins, melons, beans, and tobacco to supplement other foraging activities. However, planting did not tie them to the land in permanent settlements (Steward and Faron 1959, 415).

The Chaco region is both an ancient and a dynamic population nucleus. The region contains one of the few heterogeneous clusters of Paleo–American hunter-gatherers that can be associated with prehistoric routes of migration (Salzano and Callegari-Jacques 1988). Current inhabitants are descendants of prehistoric hunter-gatherers who entered the basin over eight thousand years ago from different directions and adapted their foraging economies to a new natural biome. Latin American anthropologists call these societies “typical chaquenses” (typical Chacoan inhabitants). Mitochondrial DNA analysis indicates that Chacoan groups have the highest genetic variation and the lowest intergroup variability when compared to other population groups, such as tropical forest, Andean populations and the indigenous peoples of Tierra del Fuego–Patagonia—who appear to retain the phenotypic and genetic traits of the first settlers of the Americas (D'Erricchi et al. 2001; González, Dahinten, and Hernández 2001). Chaco genetic diversity is explained as a product of gene flow, most probably favored by the bilateral kinship system and uxorilocal residence pattern prevalent among the hunting-and-gathering bands (Braunstein and Miller 1999). Small exogamous social units would send their young males out to marry
The Gran Chaco region, with the approximate location of the major indigenous ethnic-linguistic groups.

and exchange information with other units; females were incorporated through both marriage and warfare. Fission and fusion mechanisms of social aggregation would have facilitated the dissemination of genes and culture within linguistic-ethnic groups and also among different ethnic groups in the past, as much as it effectively occurred in historical times.
SOCIAL EXCHANGES

Chacoan linguistic-ethnic groups have made alliances, fought, and traded with each other frequently, as reported in ethnographic and historical sources. Intermarriages and fictive kinship arrangements formed the basis for trade and alliance among hunting-and-gathering bands and between hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists. For example, the Chiriguano and Chané would trade garden products with Chorote and Wichí; the Toba would trade dry fish for maize with neighboring Wichí (Tebboth 1989). In 1908–9, the Chorote and Nivaclé would trade skin cloaks and wool for shell beads and European goods with the Enxet (Nordenskiöld [1930] 1979, 136). Trade and social exchange created the conditions for disagreements and violence (Sterpin 1993). In analyzing the causes of ethnographic warfare, Lawrence Keeley says, “To varying degrees, then, many societies tend to fight the people they marry and to marry those they fight, to raid the people with whom they trade and to trade with their enemies. Contrary to the usual assumptions, exchange between societies is a context favorable to conflict and is closely associated with it” (1996, 126).

Chacoans either raided one another’s camp to avenge a previous attack or forged alliances to trade goods and participate in seasonal gatherings that included ritual dances and drinking feasts. During the dry season (called the “hungry season”) at the end of winter and beginning of spring, folks from different bands gathered together to play a ball game resembling hockey, to dance, and to drink fermented beverages made of honey. During those gatherings, they organized war parties against neighboring groups. In the 1990s, I recorded oral stories from Toba elders about hockey games and fiestas celebrated among Toba bands and neighboring Tiagaiquipi and Cagaic’pi bands at sites called Paso de los Tobas and Toba Quemado.

SOCIALLY UNSTABLE TERRITORIES

The presence of large herbivores adapted to open country suggests that the Gran Chaco was open grassland long before human occupation. A surplus of dry vegetation covered the grassland during the dry sea-
son, when the animals migrated to riverine areas in search of water. Chacoan indigenous peoples would burn dry bush for hunting, warfare, and communication purposes, clearing large patches of land every year. The indigenous peoples’ management of fire favored the dispersion of grass and herbaceous species not adapted to grazing. Fire intensity and frequency declined in Western Chaco after colonization by campesinos (small-scale cattle ranchers who display a cultural and genetic mix between Europeans and aborigines).

Western Chaco hunter-gatherers had flexible, egalitarian, and individualistic social structures similar to the social structures of the indigenous peoples of northern North America (Riche; 1995). The social units I call bands are coresidential groups of related families who would trek together (and share food) in the same ranges. They considered each other as relatives and were identified with proper names. Band members explain the notion of “range” as the habitual exploitation of the same area. Members of other bands in the same linguistic-ethnic group were advised of the extension of the ranges habitually trekked by each social unit, yet they would hunt and gather in those ranges if they needed to. The ranges trekked by each linguistic-ethnic group were separated by buffer zones that included common-pool resources. These particular resources are characterized as being so widely available to all that any attempt to exclude other potential consumers from obtaining benefits from their use would prove too costly (Eerkens 1999).

These regionally oriented, mobile, hunter-gatherer-fisher Chacoan societies eventually negotiated among themselves socially unstable territories that would have taken into account the presence of newly arrived populations (Dortch 2002; Pereira, Bergman, and Roughgarden 2003). Geographically stable territorial systems are most likely to form when resources are relatively abundant and occur predictably (3aker 2003); when resources occur predictably but are relatively scarce, the result may be a home range system where some kind of ownership exists but is never exclusive because the costs of defending exclusive ownership rights are higher than the benefits of negotiating reciprocal access to natural resources (Cashdan 1983). As resources get even scarcer, cohabitation of two groups in the same habitat becomes less likely, and the group with the greatest fighting ability may obtain the whole patch.
The warlike Toba of Western Chaco exercised their fighting ability to occupy the best patches in the home ranges of other ethnographic groups.

Social units that shared the same territory would not normally fight among themselves, but ethnographic accounts indicate that unannounced foraging in the home range of a band, damage to fish weirs, and unauthorized appropriation of food kept in storage have been immediate causes for retaliation and vendetta raids between neighboring ethnic groups, well into the twentieth century.

In the late 1800s, the land north and south of the upper Pilcomayo River, between latitudes 23°15' and 23°35' South, was inhabited almost exclusively by indigenous groups. North of the river (then Bolivian Chaco), the Toba occupied the ranges previously trekked by Nivaclé-Tiagaiquipi and Wichí-Cagaic'pi bands. Historical and oral records indicate that these three neighboring groups have adopted contentious attitudes and fought each other. At times, the Toba raided Tiagaiquipi and Cagaic'pi campsites, taking captives, scalps, and boots. At least two Toba camps along an old dry river course are named after fights with the Tiagaiquipi. In turn, the Tiagaiquipi and Cagaic'pi raided Toba camps and destroyed their fish traps during the height of the fishing season (Mendoza 2002).

South of the Pilcomayo, Wichí-Viac'pi and Wichí-Damacapi bands occupied the land. In 1995, I interviewed Wichí-Damacapi adults who recalled that Toba warriors had driven their ancestors away from the land south of the Pilcomayo River, a territory that the Wichí still consider their own. Some Toba bands regarded the Damacapi as friends; other Toba bands would fight them whenever unprotected Damacapi families were found in the country. In general, the Toba say that the Damacapi are adversaries with less stamina than the Cagaic'pi, Viac'pi, and Tiagaiquipi people. In fact, the Damacapi resented the Toba for a long time.²

By 1900, the Toba had driven away the Wichí and Nivaclé from creeks and lagoons rich in natural resources, both north and south of the Pilcomayo. Toba oral tradition carries on memories of many algarrobales (groves of algarrobo trees) and highly productive pescaderos (fishing spots) surrendered by previous occupants.
ABORIGINAL RAIDS AND FEUDS

In Western Chaco, warfare was a collective enterprise against other social units defined as "enemies" and viewed at the moment as a threat. Different authors have mentioned retaliation for previous raids as a common cause of aboriginal warfare. "Behind the blood-feuds," wrote Rafael Karsten ([1932] 1979, 103), "there are often earlier quarrels, especially about boundaries." Foraging, fishing, and pasturing flocks in the ranges habitually trekked by another ethnic group without asking permission were considered trespass and could cause a blood feud. For example, Giovani Pelleschi ([1881] 1886), who visited Western Chaco in 1875, said,

Each nation of Indians has its own territory and will go to war over the smallest patch of land as we would. These wars are very frequent for many reasons set down elsewhere and because of the marauding spirit which dominates the Indians—thus it is that whenever they learn that a tribe has become rich, for one reason or another, in animals or belongings, they try to despoil it by surprise. These actions are always followed by deaths, wounds and imprisonment, which are cause enough for new wars, made without warning, to which end each has informers and spies in the other camp.3

War raids were organized to surprise-attack the enemies in their villages; the warriors were expected to take booty and captives and return with scalps. The leaders of the bands were warriors who had killed an enemy during a war raid and could display head trophies and scalps. The warriors acquired prestige and supernatural power from their victims’ scalps. The Toba said that the women would encourage their husbands to participate in raids, in part because the women overestimated the amount of food available in their neighbors’ villages during the season of scarcity. The women reasoned that their neighbors were enjoying abundance while their own children were hungry.

War parties worked on carefully planned schemes. When the Toba planned an attack on another group, old men and warriors in allied social units gathered together at the campsite of one of the convening
bands. Shamans made invocations to the spirits, and the men drank a fermented beverage and performed dances in anticipation of the coming victory. Sexual abstinence and body painting prepared them for the war expedition. Members of a war party would pierce their skins with peccary bones to gain strength and fierceness. They would pierce themselves with charata bird bones to rise up early during the journey and with owl bones to be able to see and fight in the dark.

The Toba used to attack at nighttime—preferably a moonlit night, not during the “dying” moon—but the Wichí always attacked at daybreak. In 1929, ethnographer Alfred Métraux documented an encounter between Toba and Wichí near Pozo del Tigre in the Argentine Chaco: “In consequence of that conflict, the Wichí made prisoner a Toba woman, but later on they surrendered her to her people for a payment” (1939, 117).

Before the raid, some men were sent out as spies with the purpose of getting as much intelligence as they could on the daily routine of the enemies’ village. As Karsten observed, “In their actions they exercise the greatest prudence, rarely fighting in a body, and trying to overthrow the enemy with as little loss of life to themselves as possible” ([1932] 1979, 106). The targeted village was surrounded in silence, and the warriors communicated among themselves with cries that imitated nocturnal animals. At a signal, they made a sudden attack, entering the huts and killing the inhabitants. If they succeeded in taking the victims by surprise, the warriors would kill those who were not able to escape. Younger women and children from other ethnic groups were incorporated into the bands of their captors and socialized as band members.

All the hunter-gatherer societies of the Pilcomayo River were scalp hunters. The head of the slain enemy was cut off, and the scalp was stripped from the skull and kept as a war trophy. “Shortly before I arrived at the Pilcomayo in 1911,” Karsten wrote, “the Nivaclé had succeeded in killing nineteen Bolivian soldiers who were marching down to one of the military settlements on the river. The heads of the young men had been cut off and taken home by the Indians. Later on it was reported that their scalps or skulls, fixed on long poles, decorated the entrance of the main Indian village, being used at the great feasts as drinking-cups which were believed to inspire the drinkers with courage” ([1932] 1979, 107).
The stamina associated with the act of killing, sometimes described as "courage," actually refers to a mystical prowess that only a few men had. The act of killing was extremely dangerous, since the assassin would become polluted by the blood of his victim and could be threatened by the victim's avenging spirit. The warrior who had killed an enemy in battle, as much as the hunter who had succeeded in killing a carnivore such as a jaguar, underwent the appropriate ritual of purification involving both prayer and seclusion (Susnik 1990). Hunters would pray over the animal just killed and bring it to camp, and then they would rest and avoid strenuous activity for a period of one or two days. Warriors participated in public rituals to celebrate victory and made themselves and their weapons clean through fasting and isolation. The Toba believe that fortunate hunters as much as successful warriors—those who were not injured in raids and brought back booty and scalps—owed their success to the supernatural aid they received from their spirit guides.

**Encroachment on the Land**

In the early sixteenth century, before the arrival of European colonists and settlers, the Western Toba bands lived in the Andean foothills near the upper Pilcomayo River (Karsten [1932] 1979). The various Toba bands spoke the same language, shared a hunter-gatherer-fisher subsistence strategy, and celebrated periodic gatherings that strengthened alliances among social units. As a result of their successful adaptation, the bands grew in size and split into smaller groups. Some recently separated Toba groups of the Bolivian Chaco began expanding to the southeast, fighting their way down the river through lands occupied by the Chorote, Wichi, and Nivaclé. This Toba territorial expansion could have been triggered by the migration of Amazonian Tupi-Guarani-speaking peoples into the Andean foothills (reportedly in the mid-fifteenth century). The newly arrived Chiriguano horticulturalists limited the expansion of the Toba to the north and actually occupied part of their former territories. Thus, the influx from indigenous migrations as well as the incursion by campesinos resulted in great pressure being placed upon the natural food resources of the Western Chaco area.

Western Chaco indigenous peoples had been organized in small...
bands of hunters and gatherers focused on the exploitation of wild animals and terrestrial plants, occupying subsistence ranges over which the groups moved. For a long time, population density apparently remained low in relation to the availability of plant and animal resources in the water-depressed microenvironments of Western Chaco (Mendoza 2003). As population increased, new groups formed, reducing the subsistence area used by any given group and resulting in increasingly packed ranges.

As a reasonable response to increased regional packaging, Chacoan hunter-gatherers began to use aquatic resources more extensively and started practicing some horticulture. They also began to keep sheep and goats, probably as early as the sixteenth century. Using the resources more intensively, the social units augmented their dependence on food storage and developed some kind of “ownership” (in the sense of excluding or limiting the use of resources by other social units) over the best fishing spots and the most profitable patches in their home ranges. Nevertheless, the bands did not hold exclusive rights over the land where they commonly trekked and could not deny others access to the resources. The notion of ownership in hunter-gatherer societies is sometimes construed by saying that others who want to exploit the resources must “ask permission,” although “permission” cannot be denied to those who ask—the first campesino settlers who established their cattle ranches in the Toba home ranges actually asked permission of the leaders of the bands.

**Campesino Settlements**

The expansion of Europeans into the region drastically reduced the ranges of movement of the indigenous peoples and pressured their relocation to less productive areas, considered an out-of-limit frontier by the settlers. While other typical Chacoan societies living in Eastern Chaco adopted the horses brought in by European colonists and became equestrian foragers, most of the bands in Western Chaco remained nonequestrian. These foot foragers were familiar with horses, but they had domesticated a limited number of animals when the cattle ranchers began moving into their territories.
Several authors studied the hunter-gatherers’ resistance to colonization in the Chaco region (Carrasco and Briones 1996; Gordillo 2001, 2002; Saeger 2000). Indigenous bands formed alliances to fight the settlers and the military of the Argentine, Bolivian, and Paraguayan states. In 1883, for example, the expedition commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Rudecindo Ibazeta fought a coalition of indigenous warriors along the banks of the Pilcomayo River. A coalition of Toba, Wichi, Orejudos, and a few Chiriguanos attacked the soldiers. According to Juan Baldrich (1889), the official reporter of Ibazeta’s expedition, in the combat that took place on August 1, 1883, the indigentous coalition numbered more than 800 warriors, 152 of them on horseback. In 1903, in the same area, 60 Toba warriors approached the expedition of the Argentine colonist Domingo de Astrada and proposed a pact: the Toba war party would join the explorers to attack a Nivaclé village and take the possessions of the Nivaclé and divide the booty equally (Astrada 1906). In 1908, the ethnographer Erland Nordensköld arrived in a Tapiete-Guarayo village in the Bolivian Chaco shortly after they had looted some Tsirakua-Ayoreo huts. “The entire collection of loot was disposed of to me,” said Nordensköld, “in exchange for some few trifling articles of barter goods” ([1930] 1979, 141). Nordensköld also recorded the following observation: “When the Nivaclé Indians were at war with the Toba, the children of the Nivaclé villages used to play war. I have also seen children splitting into two groups, one representing the Whites and the other representing the Indians” (1912, 60).

Campesino settlements had been limited to the borers of Western Chaco until the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Argentina and until the 1930s in Bolivia and Paraguay. Once the Western Chaco came under the control of these nation-states, cattle ranchers were able to spread through the plains—away from the watercourses—using pond and well technology. Extensive ranching favored continuous grazing of free-ranging mixed herds of cattle, goats, sheep, horses, and donkeys. Only the distance to artificially constructed ponds and wells limited the ranges of the herds during the dry season. Continuous use of the mixed herds’ overlapping ranges led to severe overgrazing and rapid degradation of the pastoral cover. This once-rich landscape was severely degraded during the twentieth century (Bucher and Huszar 1999; Revers 2003).
WARFARE AND COMPETITION OVER RESOURCES

Competition over diminishing resources has been identified as an important cause of aggression and deadly violence in hunter-gatherer societies (Gat 2000a, 2000b). According to a comparative study by Keeley (1996), territories changed hands among hunter-gatherers at a rate of 5 to 10 percent per generation—equivalent to the United States losing or gaining California, Oregon, and half of Washington every twenty-five years.

Aboriginal warfare in the Gran Chaco has been recorded since the mid sixteenth century. In a gradually more encroached-upon environment, Chacoan hunter-gatherer groups married each other, traded, and attacked their neighbors while adjusting their strategies of food procurement (foraging, fishing, horticulture, herding) to fit new modes of subsistence. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Western Chaco hunter-gatherers had just passed the demographic packing threshold, estimated by Lewis Binford (2001) at about nine persons per hundred square kilometers for small groups of mobile hunte-gatherers dependent upon terrestrial plants in similar environments. The mean value for each Western Toba band in the early twentieth century was seven persons per hundred square kilometers. However, the actual packing value was probably much higher because the bands’ ranges overlapped extensively within the territory habitually trekked by the Toba (Mendoza 2002, 119, table 10).

Although the indigenous ethnic groups of Western Chaco may have trekked widespread and overlapping ranges in the past, by the nineteenth century they had come to occupy narrowed contiguous home ranges. As their home ranges were encroached on, the natural resources turned scarcer. In this situation, trespassing and unauthorized use of resources were immediate causes of retaliation and ve idetta warfare. In 1911, ethnographer Rafael Karsten observed, “These limits are commonly recognized, and trespassing, when it is willfully done, may become cause of war” ([1932] 1979, 103).

Chacoan hunter-gatherers devised special weapons, apparel, and rituals to practice warfare, handle human trophies, and reward the most courageous warriors with social prestige and spiritual wisdom. Older warriors would tutor motivated young males in each of the bands to take the warpath. Warfare brought booty and captives to the groups, and
also—equally important in a threatened territory—served as a deterrent for intruders. The leaders of the bands were courageous warriors who had killed enemies and could exhibit human trophies.

This “state of endemic warfare” (Renshaw 2002, 225) was over by the 1930s. As ranchers and colonists completely occupied the land and military expeditions defeated the indigenous resistance, those once-mobile hunting-and-gathering bands became increasingly sedentary. Young men in search of prestige and spiritual wisdom occasionally raided the ranches of campesino settlers in the early 1940s, but these attacks ceased as a result of the joint efforts of the local police officers and the settlers. The indigenous groups renounced those violent forms of resistance and developed new types of leadership (transitional leaders instead of warriors who had killed an enemy), native brokers who learned to compromise with the nation-state, while the people developed novel subsistence strategies to complement their foraging activities (including wage labor and craft production) during the second half of the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. Fieldwork 1984, 1985, 1987, and 1988 was supported by grants from the Argentine Council for Scientific Research (CONICET). In 1993–95, I received generous support from the Graduate College of the University of Iowa and CONICET.

2. In 1875, the Italian traveler Giovani Pelleschi ([1881] 886) collected trophy heads and a scalp of Toba warriors killed by the Wichi-Damacapi. Pelleschi wrote that on one stormy night, while he was staying at a Wichi camp, a warrior approached him asking for the head of the Tol'a: “The Indian grabbed the skull with his left hand, and as though possessed, started to claw at it and to stick his fingers into the eye-sockets and gaping mouth and then into his own mouth as though to suck them, all the while jumping at out and shouting confusedly.” This paragraph of Pelleschi’s writings was retrieved from the Human Relation Area Files (eHRI Collection of Ethnography) on September 23, 2003. Available in electronic format at http://ets.umn.edu/cgi/e/ehraf.

11 The Struggle for Social Life in Fuego-Patagonia

Alfredo Prieto and Rodrigo Cárdenas

Fuego-Patagonia is located between 39° and 55° latitude in South America. Archaeological evidence confirms the presence of human populations in this region as early as 11,000 BP (e.g., Masjone 1987; Nami 1987; Prieto 1991). The ethnohistorical record describes at least five cultures that can be grouped into two kinds of economies:¹ the “canoe” economies of the Yámana and Kawésqar cultures, and the “terrestrial” economies of the Aonikenk, Selk’nam and Haush cultures (fig. 11.1). In addition, canoe and terrestrial economies were also combined to form economies that were dependent on both maritime and land resources (Borrero 1997).
YÁMANA AND KÁWESKAR

The Yámana inhabited the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego, in the areas approximately between the Brecknock Peninsula and Sloggett Bay, on down to Cape Horn. The Káweskar occupied the western archipelagos of southern Chile, approximately from the Gulf of Peñas to the Brecknock Peninsula. Both populations are estimated to have reached about 2,500 individuals during pre-Columbian times (Cooper 1946a, 83).

Both Yámana and Káweskar were specialized in the exploitation of maritime resources. Their hunting technologies included harpoons, spears, wooden clubs, slings, bird snares, and to a lesser extent, the bow and arrow. For gathering activities, they made use of forked spears and developed a highly specialized form of basketry. Both groups used tree-bark canoes as a mode of transportation and for carrying out their economic activities.

The Yámana territory was divided into five areas, each with a distinctive linguistic dialect. Each of these five areas was subdivided into kinship-based groups, which had exclusive rights over the territory they occupied and its resources. The Káweskar society was also divided into small kinship-based groups; however, their territories were more loosely defined (Bird 1946).

SELM’NAM, HAUSH, AND AÓNKENK

Tierra del Fuego was the homeland of the Selk’nam and the Haush. The Selk’nam were subdivided into a northern group that inhabited the northern steppes and a southern group that inhabited the area south of Rio Grande. The Haush inhabited the southeastern region of Tierra del Fuego in the Mitre Peninsula. The Aónikenk, in contrast, occupied the continental territory south of the Santa Cruz River in Argentina down to the Straits of Magellan. During pre-Columbian times, the Selk’nam population is estimated to have consisted of about 3,000 individuals, the Haush population of less than 1,000 individuals, and the Aónikenk population of about 3,000 people (Gusinde 1982; Lothrop 1928; Martinić 1995).

Both the Selk’nam and the Aónikenk hunted land mammals, while the Haush depended upon maritime resources. The main hunting