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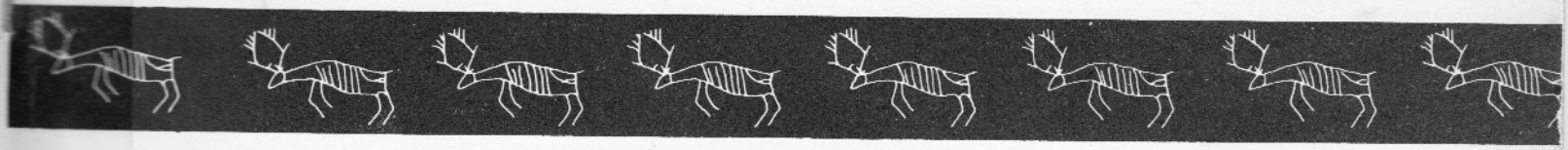

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THE KYUQUOT WAY: A Study of a West Coast (Nootkan) Community

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A very modest man, a scholar and a gentleman quiet-spoken and self-effacing: that was the outward expression of a man of intellectual brilliance, physical courage and sharp wit who had a strong influence on anthropological studies in Canada and beyond--Diamond Jenness.

Canada's most distinguished anthropologist was born in New Zealand, graduated at Oxford, did his first ethnographic field work in the Pacific Islands, and then joined the Canadian Arctic Expedition in 1913 for three years in the Arctic. After overseas war service he became chief of the Anthropology Division of the National Museum. Besides proving himself a great eskimologist, Dr. Jenness conducted field work among various Indian Peoples, did archaeological work in Newfoundland and Alaska and wrote many books and papers. His book, "The Indians of Canada", published in 1932 is still the classic statement on Canadian Ethnology and his volumes on Eskimo administration

Un homme très modeste, un savant et un gentleman modéré et discret, voilà ce qu'on pouvait percevoir de cet homme d'une intelligence brillante, à l'esprit vif, d'une résistance physique et d'un courage à toute épreuve qui, au surplus, a eu une influence déterminante sur les études anthropologiques poursuivies au Canada et à l'étranger; voilà, en quelques mots, ce que fut Diamond Jenness.

L'anthropologue le plus éminent du Canada naquit en Nouvelle-Zélande et était diplomé d'Oxford. Il effectua ses premiers travaux d'ethnographie sur le terrain dans les îles du Pacifique et se joignit par la suite à l'Expédition canadienne de l'Arctique en 1913, et passa les trois années suivantes dans les régions polaires boréales. Après avoir servi outre-mer durant la guerre, il devint Chef de la division d'Anthropologie du Musée national. Spécialiste des cultures esquimaudes, Jenness fit aussi des recherches sur le terrain au sein

are masterly studies which a scientist made absorbing to the layman.

The portrait above, painted by Robert Hyndman, was presented to Diamond Jenness on his 80th birthday in 1966 by friends and colleagues who held him in high esteem.

de nombreuses populations indiennes et se livra à des travaux d'archéologie à Terre-Neuve et en Alaska. Il est l'auteur d'un grand nombre d'articles et d'ouvrages dont, "The Indians of Canada", édité en 1932, qui demeure une oeuvre classique de l'ethnologie canadienne. Ses écrits sur la gestion des affaires esquimaudes sont des études savantes que leur auteur a su rendre passionnantes même pour le lecteur non averti.

Le portrait ci-dessus, oeuvre de Robert Hyndman, fut offert à Diamond Jenness en 1966, à l'occasion de son 80e anniversaire de naissance, par un groupe d'amis et de collègues qui le tenaient en haute estime.

CARIBOU BORDER MOTIF

A Dorset Culture motif was thought appropriate to this series since Diamond Jenness first named and defined this culture in 1925. Two-dimensional design appropriate to a repeat motif are rare in Dorset collections. It was therefore a stroke of good luck that Father G.M. Rousselière, an Arctic archaeologist on contract with the Archaeological Survey of Canada, The National Museum of Man, appeared at the appropriate moment with the example illustrated. The find, a portion of a composite bone box, discovered by a young Inuit girl, Martina Nubviak, at Hall Beach, is assigned to Late Dorset with a date about A.D. 1000.

BORDURE A MOTIF DE CARIBOU

Nous avons cru qu'il conviendrait d'identifier la présente collection par un motif décoratif propre à la culture de Dorset, puisque Diamond Jenness a été le premier à nommer et décrire cette culture en 1925. Les décorations bi-dimensionnelles se prêtant à un motif répétitif sont rares parmi les collections de Dorset. Il convient donc de se réjouir de ce que le Père G.M. Rousselière, archéologue de l'Arctique, et collaborateur à forfait de la Commission archéologique du Canada, Musée national de l'Homme, ait fait surgir à point le dessin reproduit. Il s'agit d'une portion de la décoration d'un aiguillier en os, découvert par une jeune fille inuit, Martina Nubviak, à Hall Beach, et attribué au Dorset récent, vers l'an 1000 de notre ère.

ABSTRACT

"The Kyuquot Way" is an account of a modern West Coast (Nootka) Indian community in historical perspective. Contemporary settlement patterns, house styles, economic occupations, social organization, political developments and ceremonial activities are analyzed against a background of how these forms have evolved, especially during the last century for which we have adequate documentation. It is shown that while there has been substantial innovation in terms of material culture, technology and political institutions, there has been a great deal of continuity in the types of social interaction observed, and the values and ideals shared in the community. Commercial fishing now dominates the economy of Kyuquot but as an occupation, this implies no break with the past. It is often carried out simultaneously with the collecting of food for home consumption. Political organization is now dominated by the federally imposed band system, but to some extent this merely consolidated a process that had long been developing and does not exclude traditional political processes. Directed changes are less apparent in aspects of social organization, although changes have certainly occurred in the last century, particularly as a result of population decline. Old ideals of dynamic extended family groups are still the norm, however, an ideal manifested in the establishment of a new village settlement at Houpsitas. Attitudes also to more distant relatives, to marriage and to affines, to adoption and to child-rearing all reflect developments which can best be understood in view of what has gone before rather than simply as the result of recent changes.

Finally, the people of Kyuquot share a commitment to a certain way of life, the Kyuquot way. This includes Catholicism as well as traditional ceremonies, store goods as well as a dependence on salmon, rugged living conditions as well as very beautiful surroundings. Above all, it implies a continued association with a particular area of land and sea and with certain traditions and values which have been handed down from generation to generation.

RESUME

"The Kyuquot Way" est le récit, dans une perspective historique, de l'évolution d'une communauté indienne moderne de la Côte ouest (Nootka). Le plan du village contemporain, les différents styles de maison, les occupations économiques, l'organisation sociale, la politique et les cérémonies sont étudiés en fonction de leur évolution, surtout au cours du dernier siècle pour lequel nous possédons la documentation voulue. On voit que s'il y a eu d'importantes innovations en matière de culture matérielle, de technologie et d'institutions politiques, il existe une grande mesure de continuité dans les différentes sortes d'interaction sociale observées ainsi que dans les valeurs et les idéaux que partagent les membres de la communauté. La pêche commerciale domine l'économie Kyuquot mais, en tant qu'occupation, elle ne marque aucune rupture avec le passé. Elle est souvent effectuée parallèlement à l'approvisionnement en nourriture pour la consommation domestique. L'organisation

politique est maintenant dominée par le système de bandes, imposé par le gouvernement fédéral, système qui, dans une certaine mesure, n'est qu'une fixation d'un processus n'excluant pas les méthodes politiques traditionnelles, et dont le développement avait commencé depuis longtemps. Les changements formels sont moins apparents dans les divers aspects de l'organisation sociale, bien qu'il y en ait certainement eu au cours du siècle dernier, en particulier par suite du déclin de la population. Les vieux idéaux au sujet des groupes de familles étendues existants sont encore de rigueur cependant; on en trouve une manifestation dans l'établissement d'un nouveau village à Houpsitas. De même, les comportements vis-à-vis de parents plus éloignés, du mariage et des parents par alliance, de l'adoption et de l'éducation des enfants, ont tous évolué en fonction de ce qui s'est fait auparavant plutôt que tout simplement par suite de récents changements.

Finalement, les habitants de Kyuquot partagent une manière de vivre, la manière de vivre Kyuquot; celle-ci englobe à la fois le catholicisme et les cérémonies traditionnelles, les marchandises commerciales et le saumon, dont la vie dépend en grande partie, de rudes conditions d'existence et un cadre de vie magnifique. Avant tout, cela dénote une association continue avec une zone de terre et de mer particulière, et un attachement à certaines traditions et valeurs qui se sont transmises de génération en génération.

Les personnes désireuses de recevoir en français de plus amples renseignements sur cette publication sont priées d'adresser leurs demandes à:

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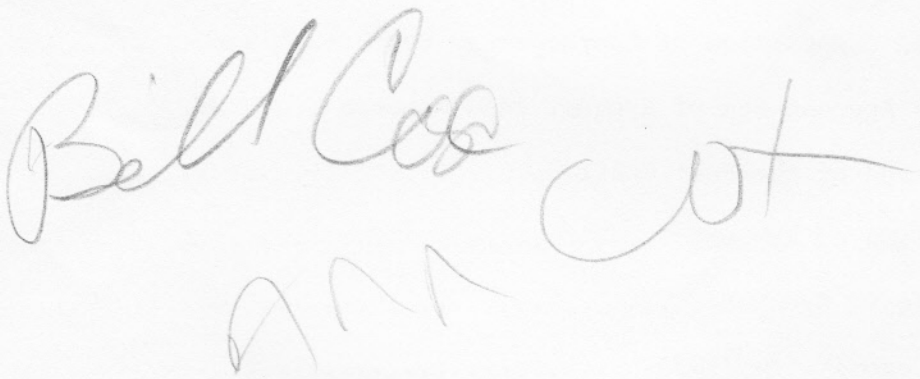

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PREFACE

The research upon which this study is based was drawn primarily from two periods of fieldwork on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, from June to September, 1972 and from May to October, 1974. Fieldwork was supplemented with library and archival research, particularly at the National Archives, Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and the Provincial Archives in Victoria.

My fieldwork was originally undertaken as part of a projected ethnohistorical study. I had already worked with many of the 18th and 19th century sources for the Nootka-speaking Indians (Kenyon 1972) and I wished to see if and how the Indian people themselves recounted the events of the early days of Indian-White contact. As far as I knew, only one comparable "native" account is found in the literature (in Curtis 1916:7-9) but because of the rich oral history found in this area (e.g. Sapir 1939; Sapir and Swadesh 1955) it seemed very possible that other similar stories might be collected.

In this way, I hoped not only to complete a balanced historical account of this part of British Columbia, but also to learn something about the nature of history or historiography in its widest sense by contrasting the oral historical records of the Nootka with accounts of what was happening to them made by outsiders.

I chose Kyuquot as a suitable location to begin my research for several reasons. It seemed to be the most isolated group geographically and for that reason more likely to have the sort of information I was looking for. Furthermore, I had heard that other people were conducting research in Friendly Cove, perhaps a more obvious place to go in view of its importance in the early historical period and I was anxious to avoid being crowded. Also important was the fact that Kyuquot had a female Chief Band Councillor at this time, something I had learned from a recent list of band chiefs in British Columbia and I thought that this situation might add another dimension to our knowledge of Nootkan culture, traditional and modern.

Although I had written to the band before I went to British Columbia, I received no reply and my arrival in Kyuquot was not greeted with any enthusiasm. Indeed, my plans to work on the history of the area met with open opposition. I could find very few people to talk with me about the old days and it was some time before I was given an explanation. "The culture and history belong to the people," one man told me. "They don't want it taken away." By this time, I had realized that people in Kyuquot distinguish between different types of historical accounts. Many are still regarded as being privately owned within the distinct family lines and only people closely related to the family are entitled to tell the story; certain stories relating to the first Whites in the area fall into this category, particularly those told by the Chicklisets (below, page 42), which are still enacted at potlatches. Such formal accounts are distinguished from descriptions some people gave me quite readily about their own lives or those of their parents, telling of where and how they lived, their houses, foods, families and ceremonies as well as of their contact with Eurocanadians earlier this century.

Since it became apparent that my original research plan could not be carried out in Kyuquot, I travelled around Vancouver Island, meeting people from other bands (Queens Cove, Nootka, Tseshart and Toquaht) and visiting Port Alberni, Ucluelet and Tofino to see if the potential for research was better elsewhere. Although I found that there was more interest in my work further south, probably a much easier area in which to carry out any sort of ethnographic or historical research, I found myself missing Kyuquot as I came to realize that this contemporary settlement is particularly interesting in its own right as well as in relation to its past. I therefore returned to Kyuquot for the rest of my first summer's fieldwork and for the summer of 1974. Kyuquot is indeed more isolated than any other settlement of Nootka-speakers and for that reason, probably more conservative. In terms of size and composition it is ideal for a community study and in addition, it is situated in one of the most beautiful locations of the Northwest.

During my first field study I was fortunate enough to live in Walters Cove in the home of the Chief Band Councillor, Jacqui Leo, her husband Dick, and their three small children, Richard (aged 4), Jordan (aged 3) and Meighan (aged 1). In addition they provided hospitality to my husband when he came out for two weeks, and I owe them all a tremendous debt, both for their hospitality and for all the help and support they gave me in my research. With them I learned a great deal about Kyuquot, through casual conversations, and through the many trips we made, up the inlets for fishing trips or for picnics, up west or to Rugged Point for overnight camping trips and down the coast, to the other villages and to Gold River when leaving the area. Furthermore at this time the band office was located in the Leo's house and I was able to learn something about band business and local politics simply by being around.

Before I left Kyuquot in 1972, several people warmly invited me to return, promising me their assistance should I attempt to resume my study of the history of the area. I therefore returned to the West Coast in 1974, still hoping to be able to complete my original project, but planning to work out of Tahsis with the four northern bands (see page 9) since historically ties between the groups were so important. On this occasion, I was accompanied by my infant son and by Mimi Kahn, graduate student in Anthropology, who remained with us for two months. After staying in Tahsis for a couple of weeks, with very discouraging results, we made a day trip to Kyuquot to greet old friends. The visit was so encouraging, we decided to move there for the rest of the summer. We rented a house on Actis and from there were able to move fairly easily to each of the three main settlements of Kyuquot (page 1). In 1972, I had made only five visits to Actis and none to Houpsitas. In 1974, I was also able to make three visits to Nuchatlitz and one each to Queens Cove, Friendly Cove, and Port Renfrew.

In 1974, Mrs. Leo was band manager of the Kwawkewlth District Council and was living in Campbell River. I was able to spend some time there, working on District records and with Kyuquot people who had moved to that area for the winter. In addition, Jordie Leo spent six weeks with us on Actis, while his father and brother were fishing out of Kyuquot, being joined at the end of his stay by his mother and sister. My husband also came and spent four weeks with us.

My methodology relied for the most part on the advantages of participant observation. Especially when living in Actis, I was in a position to observe much of the daily round of summer life in the village and I was also involved, as a home-occupier, in the ceremonies, lahal games, ball games, movies and occasional crises of the village. When living with the Leos, I also found myself marginally involved in many band activities. I rarely made notes in public and most of my data was written up later. Photographing was done more openly but with this too I had to exercise some discretion. A certain amount of formal interviewing was conducted, in order to ascertain residential patterns (later substantiated by observations), genealogical information (cross-checked both formally and informally in the community and later against the Church records in Tahsis), kin terms and a limited amount of linguistic data. Later in my stay, several people began to work more formally with me and much of the data below on the development of Kyuquot in the 20th century is derived from this. Very little taping of information was done. On ceremonial occasions, there is no objection to photographs being taken but tape recorders are not allowed.

Despite the fact that many people cooperated to teach me about Kyuquot, I was never able to complete my original plan of study. It was assumed (to some extent, erroneously) that the sort of information I wanted was that which is still valued in the community--formal histories, legends and songs -- and therefore some of the most knowledgeable people about the old days would not agree to talk with me at all on historical subjects. On the other hand, people were prepared to show me Indian ways of doing things or allow me to be involved in contemporary village life, and were often very candid about matters pertaining to Kyuquot today. This provided me with insight I might not have had were I able to concentrate more on my original interests.

It is felt that this study fulfills several important functions. In the first place it updates our knowledge of the people of the West Coast, particularly of the Northern Nootka. Although information on the Nootka of the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries is among the fullest for all the native peoples of the Northwest Coast, there have been virtually no accounts of them made public since Drucker's (1951) fine monograph was published. Some limited information for the 1930s is found in Drucker's unpublished field-notes, but for the most part his work refers to the period 1870-1900. The Ph.D. dissertation of Mill (1955) is the only description I know of the contemporary scene although this writer too was concerned with an ethno-historical perspective. This neglect of the Nootka is all the more striking because several ethnographic studies have been made of neighboring contemporary Kwakiutl communities (Codere 1961, Rohner 1967, 1970, Wolcott 1967).

In addition, this is the first real community study of a West Coast group. Sapir's association with the Tseshart people was a long one (1910 to 1934) and he obviously knew the people of that area intimately but his concern was to record Nootkan culture as reflected through linguistic and textual materials. Drucker's fieldwork on the West Coast, carried out in 1934-5 under the direction of Kroeber, resulted in an incredible amount of detail about the Northern and Central groups but was collected mainly at Nootka (at the cannery) or at Hesquiat. He was unable to visit any of the home villages.

Since that time, research on the West Coast has been mainly linguistic or archaeological. In 1966 the National Parks Service of Canada began excavating a midden in Friendly Cove and the first part of their results are expected later this year (see below, page 28). In 1967 Morris Swadesh and his students made a field trip to the West Coast, visiting Kyuquot, Port Alberni and Port Renfrew and material from this study made its way back to Kyuquot while I was there (Klokeid 1972). Thomas and Arima (1970) have also published a popular orthography. Most recently, the Sheshart and Hesquiaht Bands have themselves initiated research projects to preserve and record their past and to ensure that it is not exploited or distorted for commercial ends.

It is hoped that my study does neither of those things. It is an attempt to fill an ethnographic *lacuna* by describing a contemporary West Coast village and by indicating the main lines of change and continuity that have affected it. I do not believe that Kyuquot is a typical West Coast village, for each of the West Coast bands has been affected by various developments and has reacted in various ways. A few contemporary bands are expanding while others are being depopulated or are beset by social problems. The northern groups, more isolated than those further south, also appear to be more traditional, or at least old-fashioned (as other West Coast Indians would describe them). I do feel, however, that some of the trends and attitudes I noted in Kyuquot are shared by their linguistic relations further south, and in that sense, this study has something to say about the West Coast as a whole.

In considering continuity and changes in a particular community, I analyze its contemporary social and political organization and some of the findings in these sections have relevance for a broader field than just the Northwest Coast. It is significant that principles of nonunilineal descent still function in Kyuquot, albeit in limited contexts, and that traditional attitudes to political institutions are very much a part of the modern political process. This study attempts only to document such developments, but they have interesting parallels and contrasts in other parts of the world.

Finally, I am not trying to suggest that Kyuquot is an anachronism, that it is old-fashioned or unable to compete in terms of modern developments. It is now, like the rest of the West Coast, very much an integral part of modern Canadian society, and although many traditional ways and forms persist, these must be understood in the context of the larger perspective. What I feel very strongly, however, is that Kyuquot should not be viewed entirely in terms of modern Canadian developments; its history and traditional culture, which are still very influential in much of the daily round, supply it with alternative values and goals which continue to have a place in the Indians' contemporary world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Frederica de Laguna, who first introduced me to the Northwest Coast and who pointed me in the direction of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Her constant interest and encouragement as well as her patience in reviewing my work have been very much appreciated. I also wish to thank Dr. Jane Goodale of Bryn Mawr College and Dr. Margaret Blackman of the University of Delaware for all the assistance they have given me during the course of my research, and Dr. Peter Weil of the University of Delaware, discussions with whom helped me to analyze Kyuquot politics.

My research was funded through the generosity of the National Museum of Man, Canada, the Society for Sigma Xi and Bryn Mawr College. To these I express my sincere appreciation.

My debt to the work of Philip Drucker will be obvious from the text. I should here like to note that it was also the warmth and humor of his text (1951) which first persuaded me that I should like to work in this area.

I should like to acknowledge the assistance I received in British Columbia from Mel and Betty Doke, Father Gerry Guillet, Lloyd Hooper, Peter Macnair, Mary Motlow, Kip and Lois Slater and Dr. Mary Lee Stearns.

Above all, however, I must thank the Kyuquot native people, whose story this study aspires to be. The help and hospitality that was extended to me and my family were very much appreciated and impossible to repay. I should personally like to thank Jacqui and Dick Leo and their family, both for sharing their home with me and for all the help and understanding they showed to me. I should also like to acknowledge the contributions to this study of Caroline Arnett, Billie Cox, Sophie Gillette, Julia Hanson, Gene Leo, Lucy Leo, Arthur Nicolaye, Betty Nicolaye, Mary Anne Oscar and Lucy Short. Many other people helped in various ways; the numerous boat rides, gifts of fish, cups of tea and pieces of advice I was given all added to my understanding, though no one in Kyuquot is responsible for the final expression of this.

I also wish to thank Rose Michael and her family Nuchatlitz for their wonderful hospitality, Andrew Callicum (Nootka) and Moses Smith (Queens Cove) for their assistance, Bert Mack and Jessie Mack (in Ucluelet) who told me something about Toquaht ways and Hughie and Gracie Watts (of Port Alberni), from whom I gained some insight into the differences between the Northern and Central bands. To all these people I express my gratitude.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, Simon, Alistair and Katie, whose patience and understanding have enabled me to complete this study.

Note on Linguistic Transcription

For the sake of simplicity, contemporary band and place names are after Duff (1964). In describing the former local groups of Kyuquot Sound, I have followed the terms used by Drucker (1951), since much of that discussion follows his work. Drucker's transcriptions are also retained in references to his work.

Elsewhere, however, I have adopted the orthography designed by Thomas and Arima (1970, after Sapir and Swadesh 1955:8). This has proved simple to use and is popular with the people of the West Coast themselves.

Consonants and Semi vowels

p t k m n w y s h sh ch ts tl -- approximately as in English.

- l -- something like the "thl" in athlete (the spirantl).
- q -- back or deep "k" (voiceless velar stop).
- x,X -- fricatives in the front and back "k" positions, as in German *ich* and *ach*.
- H -- like "h" but with the tongue drawn back narrowing the throat passage.
- ? -- glottal stop, like the break in the middle of uh-uh.
- ' -- like ? with tongue drawn back narrowing the throat, indicating glottalization.

Vowels

i as in pit	0 as in pot	i: as in feed	0: as in fog
e as in pet	o as in put	e: as in bad	o: as in food
a as in putt		a: as in father	

What is culture but tradition, incompletely shared by all its carriers and continually reaffirmed and reanimated, albeit with distortions, by their deeds and thoughts.

(de Laguna 1968:470)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Kyuquot is the most northwesterly contemporary settlement of the Nootka-speaking Indians. These continue to occupy some of their traditional villages on the Pacific shores of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, an area referred to colloquially as the "West Coast", while the side of the island facing the mainland is the "East Coast" (Fig. 1). Kyuquot is situated at approximately 50'N.,127'30"W., and as a dispersed community straddles several small islands (the most important of which are Actis and the island of Walters Cove), as well as a portion of Vancouver Island's mainland at Houpsitas (Fig. 3).

The area is rugged and isolated, frequently cut off from neighboring Indian settlements as well as the more populous White centers of Tahsis and Port Alberni. This remoteness has done much to foster the tradition of independence which is still strong in Kyuquot. In native eyes, "the Kyuquot way" is very much a reality and the Indian people continue to feel they are different, both from Whites, in contrast to whom Indian identity in Kyuquot is often described, and from other Indians, whose practice of distinct traditional ways helps to define the essence of the "Kyuquot way".

This study is an attempt to understand that way. Outwardly the people of Kyuquot share many features of modern Canadian society; a commercial economy based on fishing, modern style housing, western dress, motor boats, radios, ball games, Christianity. The adoption of these traits has been spread over the last century, however, and the gradual nature of the changes has meant that there has been no complete disruption of Kyuquot society and culture. Contemporary Kyuquot is the result of many developments and events and in the following pages some of those cultural processes are discussed as a picture of life in Kyuquot is built up.

The "Kyuquot way" means different things to different people. Generally speaking, for the Indian it represents a distinctive lifestyle derived from Indian traditions which have been passed on from generation to generation. It is the way things have always been done, validated by time. On the other hand, even "Kyuquot" identity as such is relatively new and has gained much impetus from the impact of the White man. In earlier times, it was the local groups, small territorially based kin groups scattered throughout Kyuquot Sound, that were the fundamental units of society. Although these groups had joined into larger entities before the coming of the Whites, the commercial and administrative events of the 19th and 20th centuries did much to consolidate the more complex group, now known as the Kyuquot Band. Kyuquot, as a single territorial designation, is a term used mainly by Whites to refer to all the occupied areas around Kyuquot Sound; it is copied sometimes by the Indian people when speaking English. In their own language, however, Kyuquot refers only to the band, to the group of people who continue to occupy distinct areas within this locality and who now share a basic organization and culture, typical of this locality.

In considering the recent cultural development of Kyuquot, particularly in the face of introduced changes, it is apparent that the options used to adapt to these changes involve both a manipulation of traditional mechanisms and the selection of new solutions. What I hope to emphasize, by inference as much as by explication, is the flexibility and opportunism of the cultural

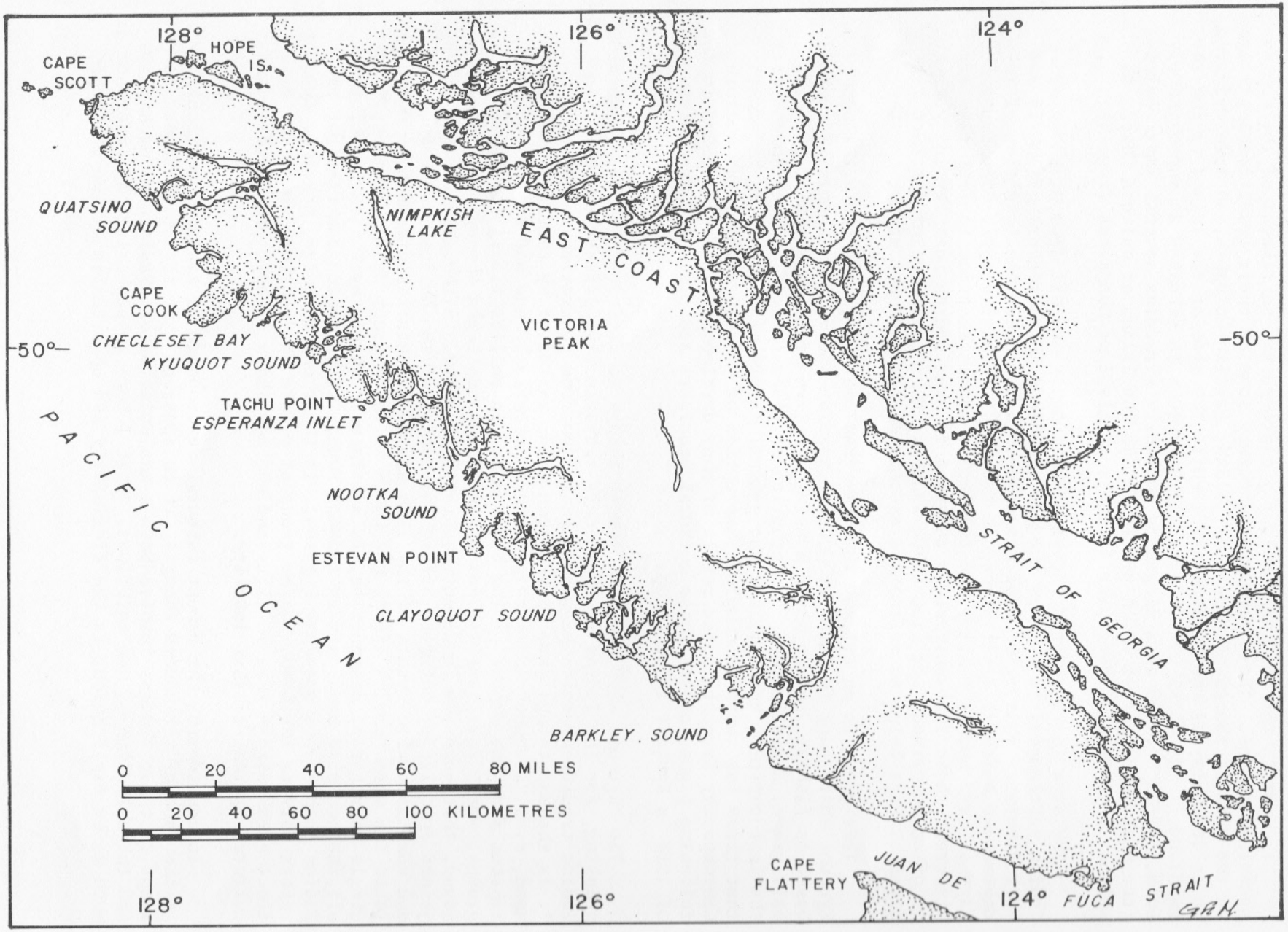


Figure 1. Vancouver Island's West Coast: Physical Features.

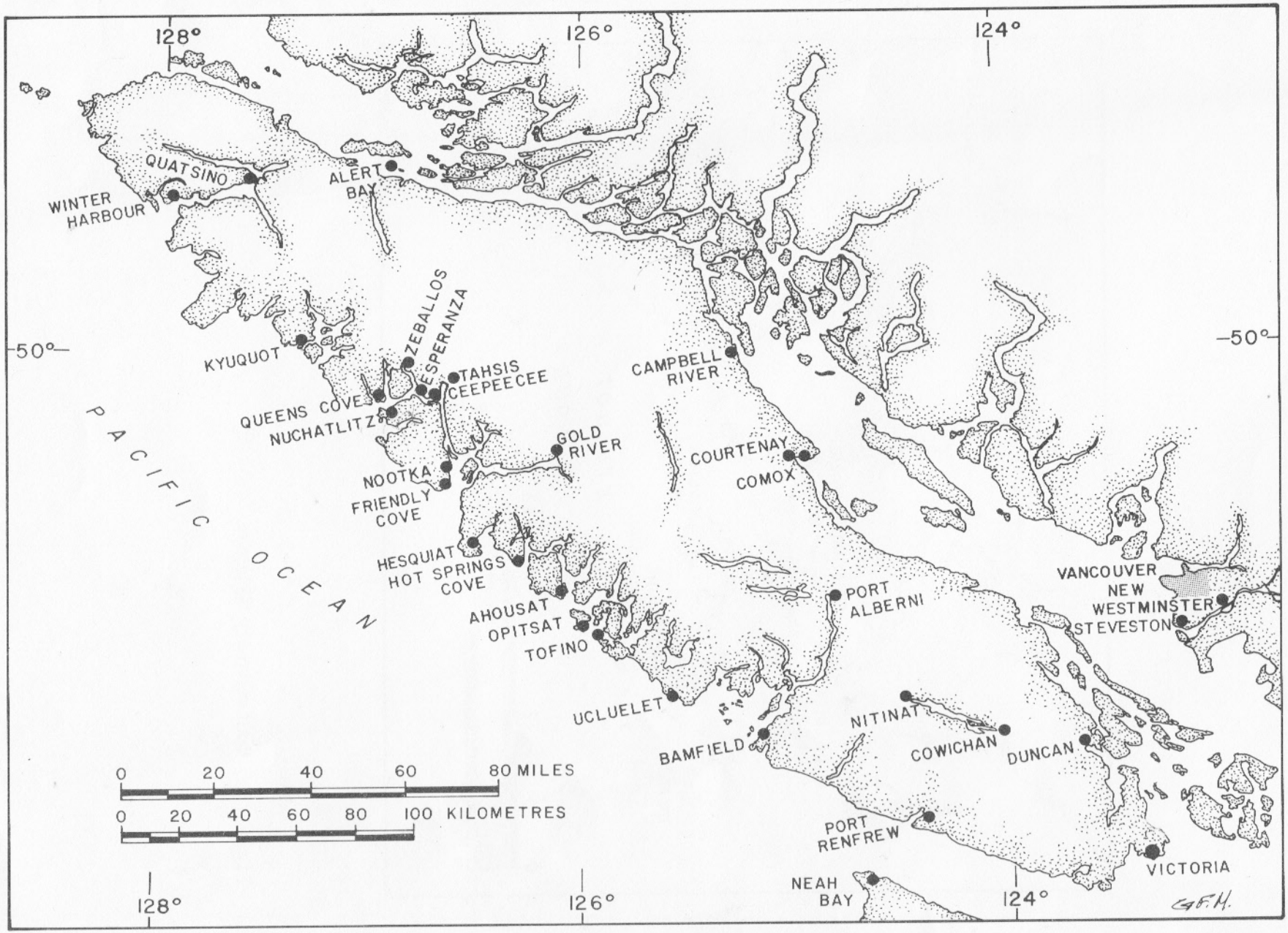


Figure 2. West Coast of Vancouver Island: Contemporary Settlements.

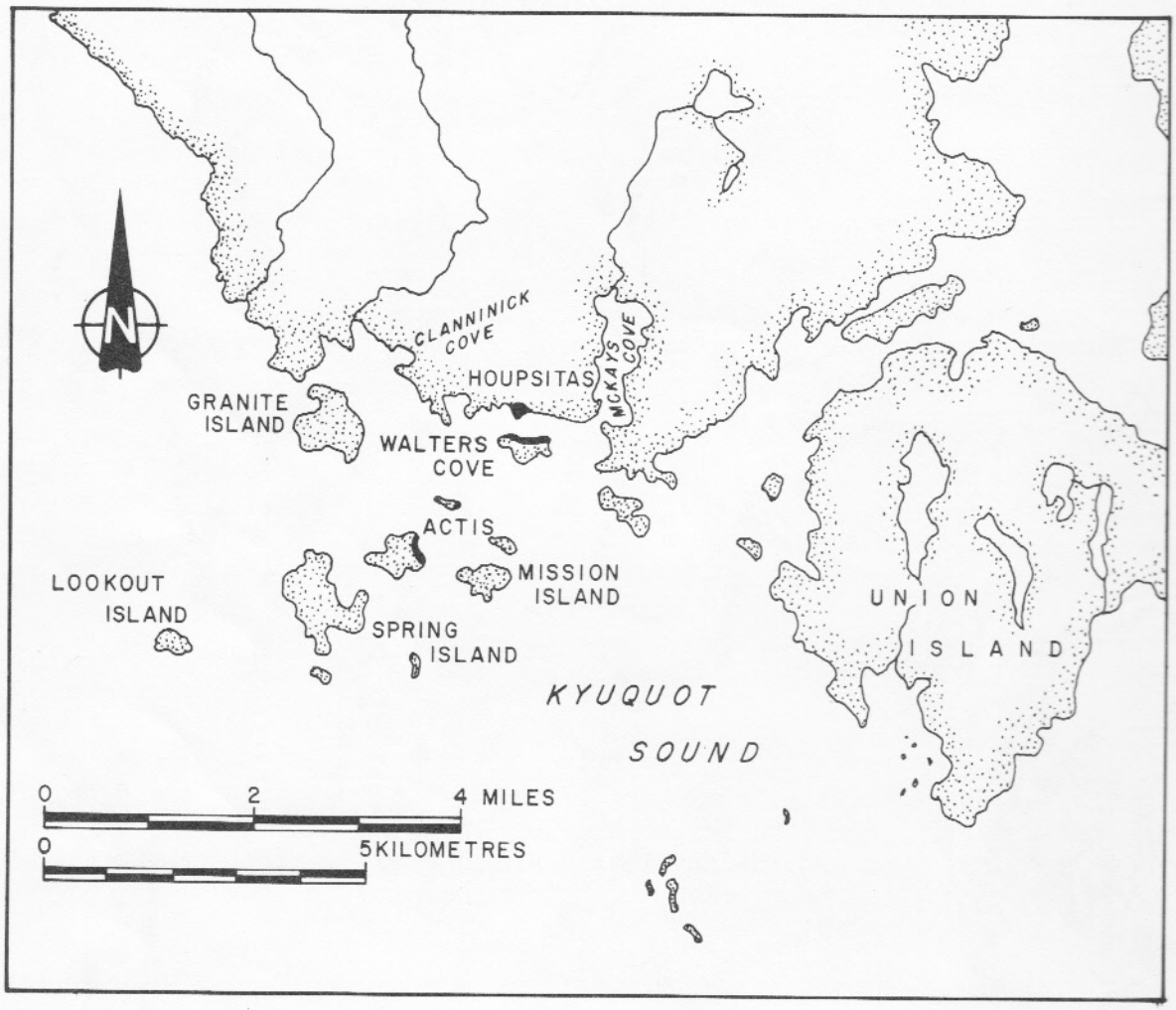


Figure 3. Contemporary Kyuquot.

process revealed in Kyuquot. When a custom becomes obsolete it is discarded; but where traditional ways can be adapted to changing situations then generally they and their associated values and situations are preferable. This is thus not a study of how "They" become like "Us". It is a description of a constantly changing and evolving culture, with consideration of some of the ways in which various changes have been accepted, modified and assimilated. The fact that not all the changes in Kyuquot culture have been "for the better" or "progressive" in terms of dominant White values is irrelevant. In order to begin to understand them we have to look at the traditions and processes behind them as well as the changes themselves and regard the Indian people with respect, not merely sympathy.

In the following pages, Kyuquot will be described in these terms:

1. *Band*, to refer both generally to all the Indian people of Kyuquot and specifically to their official organization (see below).

2. *Settlement*, to refer either to a specified geographical unit within Kyuquot such as Actis (the "Village"), Walters Cove (the "Cove") or Houpsitas, or to Kyuquot as a whole.

3. *Community*, to refer to all the residents of Kyuquot (Indian and White) who share its facilities, such as store and school, but excluding the marginal and often temporary residents of Spring Island and nearby logging camps or the summer fishermen, who are not home owners in Kyuquot. Where the Indian or White community is distinguished, this will be indicated.

KYUQUOT AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

a) Physical Surroundings

The northwest coast of Vancouver Island is a spectacular if awe-inspiring area. The sheer boldness of its natural surroundings seems relatively untouched by human hand and the physical features and the elements continue to be dominant, despite the encroachments of modern logging companies, commercial fishing companies and air transportation.

For the most part this is an inhospitable area. Most of Vancouver Island is occupied by ranges which, with those of the Queen Charlotte Islands, are the westernmost parts of the Canadian Cordillera. Though lower than the mountains of the mainland, they reach their highest elevation just south of Kyuquot in Victoria Peak (7,095 feet; Department of Regional Economic Expansion 1970). The topography is described as "steeply rolling" up to 5,000 feet, with a narrow coastal strip (which includes most of the smaller coastal islands) lying below 2,000 feet, which has a gentler landscape. Travel across the island is difficult, except in the few areas where streams have cut natural passes. Today the only paved road runs from Campbell River to Gold River and sea planes keep to the route of the mountain passes as much as possible.

The coastline is equally forbidding. Vancouver Island is a region of sharp contrasts in which the rugged highlands, often snow-capped, alternate with long, narrow valleys. Fiords cut far inland, creating inlets which may be as deep as a hundred fathoms in places. Along the shore, thousands of tiny

islands and rocks create a complicated mazeway. Promontaries such as Cape Cook, Tachu Point and Estevan Point jut far out into the Pacific, disturbing the tides and creating strong swells to make travel difficult at the best of times.

b) Climate

Kyuquot is in an area with a maritime climate of mild, wet winters and cool drier summers with considerable variation caused by topographic influences. Annual rainfall is high, averaging between 120 inches at Cape Scott and 149 inches at Tahsis. By contrast, average precipitation at Alert Bay is only 56 inches annually, since the East Coast of Vancouver Island is protected by a weak shadow effect produced by the mountains. Total annual snowfall along the outer west coast is light, averaging less than 11 inches at Estevan Point, but increases inland. The average annual snowfall at Tahsis is 24 inches, while Zeballos, at 3,000 feet, has approximately 66 inches.

Annual and daily temperature ranges are small, especially near the coast, where the Japanese Current, passing offshore, exerts a moderating influence. The annual mean temperatures in the area range from 40'F. in January to 57'F. in August (Department of Regional Economic Expansion 1970). That these figures do not convey the full story are born out by memories of several very hot spells in the summers of both 1972 and 1974 when the temperatures reached over 80'F. and by tales people tell of the occasional winter snowfalls in Kyuquot.

The most important climatic factor is probably the southeast wind which may bring severe storms to the coast throughout the year. These are particularly severe during the winter months. Accompanied by gales and lashing rain, they generally last for several days and can bring life to a standstill. Thunderstorms are common during the summer and can alsc be quite severe.

c) Flora and Fauna

Despite the encroachments of modern life, most of the natural resources of the northern west coast of Vancouver Island are still abundant. Even the sea otter, which was supposed to have been eradicated over a hundred years ago through overly intensive hunting, has recently been restored to the area. It is, however, worth noting that older people in Kyuquot recall hunting it locally in their youth.

Most of the area is covered with dense forest. Logging activities have denuded large pockets of trees but extensive replanting has now begun. The forests consist predominantly of conifers: western red cedar, western hemlock, amabilis fir, Sitka spruce, Douglas fir and white fir (locally known as balsam) are widespread, while nearer the treeline, yellow cedar and mountain hemlock are common. Western yew is found less frequently. Deciduous trees and shrubs are more scattered, mainly along valleys and streams: red alder, broadleaf maple, black cottonwood, red osier dogwood, willow, and bushes of salmonberry, wild blackberry, thimbleberry, blue, red and black huckleberry and red elderberry. On lower ground, often on rocky slopes where little else grows, the salal stands in great profusion. Forest plants, such as skunk cabbage, lady fern, sedges and fireweed complete the dense growth, the effect of which is a virtually impenetrable hinterland. Fallen, rotting trees covered with ubiquitous mosses and lichens add a sense of decay to the gloom of the dark, damp, inhospitable environment.

Though humans rarely enter the forests, animal life abounds. Large numbers of the Columbia blacktailed deer are found throughout northern Vancouver Island, concentrating mainly in the river valleys. The Roosevelt elk is less numerous but also keeps mainly to valleys such as Tahsish, Kaouk and Power. The only other large game of the area are the black bear, cougar and timber wolf while raccoon, marten, mink, beaver, land otter and squirrel are the main small animals.

Although the area does not contain a great deal of suitable marshland, many waterfowl come to the area. Mallard ducks, Canada geese and the common seagulls are especially plentiful. The pelagic cormorant has nesting colonies on some of the off-shore islands and just east of Cape Cook, on Whiteface Island, is a colony of tufted puffin. Sandpipers can be seen occasionally (for example on Highest Island). Other birdlife is also plentiful although early visitors to the West Coast (e.g. Mozino 1970:6) were surprised by its paucity. Crows, bluejays, woodpeckers, hummingbirds, and most dramatically, bald eagles, are all common sights around Kyuquot.

The sea, however, dominates life on the West Coast. It now provides a substantial living to large numbers of commercial fishermen as well as the local population, although the industry is under strict control of the Federal Government. Within the last few years, the Department of Fisheries has begun carrying out extensive tagging operations in the Northwest, specifically with salmon, to determine how far marine life is affected by commercial and industrial developments. At this point, however, its abundance does not appear to have suffered to any great extent.

Salmon is the most important fish and all five species are found in large numbers. The spring or Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytocha*, Statistics Canada 1974) is the largest species and most favored by the Indian people. Sockeye or red salmon (*O. nerka*) is the most valuable commercial catch. Coho or blueback salmon (*O. kisutch*) is the first run of the season and is found in large numbers all summer. Humpback or pink salmon (*O. gorbuscha*) is the smallest and shortest-living of the salmon, with only a two year life span. Chum or dog salmon (*O. keta*) is the last salmon to run up stream in the autumn and as such has a special importance for winter food. Steelhead and sea trout accompany the salmon runs. Halibut is also particularly plentiful in the Kyuquot area, often reaching tremendous size, and several species of codfish are to be found there. Herrings and pilchards were formerly very common. The pilchard disappeared completely in the 1930s, probably through overfishing, while the herring is now recovering from a very severe decline in numbers. The herring fishing industry has recently revived and figures suggest that the danger to the herring is past.

Along the beaches of the west coast cluster large numbers of shellfish: mussels, clams of several varieties (little neck, horse, razor and butter clams), cockles, scallops, abalone, sea urchins, crabs and shrimp. Further offshore, sea-mammals are often to be seen. Several species of whales, including killer whales, were quite common in 1974, which was said to be a "good year for whales". There is a large colony of sea-lions just west of Kyuquot on the O'Leary Islets and Kyuquot even has its own pet seal, Charley, which was rescued as a pup after its mother had been killed. Porpoises and sharks are also encountered quite frequently by fishermen.

THE NOOTKAN LANGUAGE

The term "Nootka" is a linguistic description, often used as a supposedly "tribal" name for all the inhabitants of the West Coast of Vancouver Island between Cape Cook and Port Renfrew who spoke the same language. Locally, however, only the people of Friendly Cove and Gold River, the former Moachaht and Muchalat groups, recognize the designation. It was at Friendly Cove that the word was first coined, in 1778 by Captain Cook. He apparently mistook the response of the local people when he pointed and asked who they were. "Nootka" probably meant "to go around" (Scholefield 1914:92-3, Moser 1925: 160) or possibly "mountain" (Sproat 1868:315). There is no single term by which all Nootkan speakers refer to themselves and on the West Coast the idea of a "Nootka Nation" is rejected except by a few from Friendly Cove. Individual groups are too aware of their cultural, dialectal and personal differences to regard themselves as that closely related. In the last century, Gilbert Sproat (1868) attempted to refer collectively to the "Aht" people, using the suffix *-aht*, "people of - " and this idea has been revived in a recently published orthography by Thomas and Arima (1970). On the whole, however, it is easier to refer to the "West Coast Indians," a description which is fairly generally recognized in the area, at least in part because of the administrative developments of the 20th century.

The Nootkan language is classified as a member of the Wakashan language family. Wakashan was also a term first applied to the Nootka by Captain Cook, because of their frequently used exclamation "Wak'ash ... to express applause, approbation and friendship" (Cook 1967:323). The term was extended to include the Kwakiutl by Vancouver when he heard the same word being used by them (Mozino 1970:35n) and was standardized by Powell, based on the work of Boas (Powell 1891:128-30).

There has been considerable discussion about the relationship between the Kwakiutl and Nootkan branches of Wakashan. Sapir compared them to two separate branches of Indo-European, Slavic and Latin (1911:15) or Russian and German (1938:254 fn.) but this implies too long a period since their separation. Swadesh (1953:26, 41) calculated that Kwakiutl and Nootka divided around 2,900 years ago, an estimate which is considered (e.g. by Jacobsen 1976) more reasonable. It is suggested that they separated in the northern part of Vancouver Island, in the vicinity of Quatsino Sound, since the greatest differences exist between the forms spoken at Quatsino and Kyuquot (J. Miller, personal communication).

Edward Sapir did a great deal towards the reconstruction of Proto-Wakashan, based on a comparison of Kwakiutl and Nootka (e.g. Sapir 1938). It was he who first proposed that the three stocks of Wakashan, Salishan and Chimuakan were within the so-called "Mosan" phylum (the term "Mosan" being derived from similar words for "four" in each of these languages). Sapir also suggested that Mosan was probably related to Algonkian, with a preliminary estimated time-depth of 9,000 years for Mosan (Sapir 1929; Haas 1960).

Much of the definitive work on Wakashan languages was done by Morris Swadesh. His doctoral dissertation was based on fieldwork in Port Renfrew with the Southern Nootka and he collaborated extensively with Sapir over the tapes and data the latter had collected earlier in Port Alberni. Shortly before his death in 1967, Swadesh visited Kyuquot, Port Alberni and Port

Renfrew and data collected at that time is still being analyzed. He had reconsidered the question of the Mosan phylum in 1953 and concluded that the relationship of Wakashan to Chimuakan seems closer than that of Wakashan to Salish. He calculated a time-depth of about 6,500 years separated Wakashan and Chimuakan. The case for the relationship between these two languages has recently been renewed by J. Powell (1976), although there is some doubt about the Mosan hypothesis itself.

The southern or Nootkan branch of Wakashan is composed basically of three languages: Nootka (which includes several distinct dialects spoken in West Coast villages as far south as Barkley Sound); Nitinat (spoken from Barkley Sound to Cape San Juan); and Makah (spoken at Cape Flattery across the Strait of Juan de Fuca) (Voegelin and Voegelin 1966; Jacobsen 1976). Nowadays the Nootka language is referred to locally as the "West Coast language", which seems to include Nitinat and conforms to the ethnic description which the people prefer.

It has been estimated that Makah and Nitinat separated approximately 1,000 years ago, when the Makah moved south and displaced the Chimuakan speakers of the Olympic peninsula. There are hardly any apparent dialectal differences in Makah, although the southernmost settlement at Ozette did have certain characteristic speech patterns (Jacobsen 1976:5). To my knowledge, there are no comparable data for the separation of Nitinat and Nootka though it was obviously earlier than that of Makah and Nitinat.

Within Nootka proper, there are very distinct differences of dialect, mainly of intonation and phrasing, so that an individual's tribal or band affiliation is very evident from the way he speaks. The Kyuquot people, for example, speak quickly, seeming to clip their words through a tendency to elide the final vowel and lay stress on the first of two syllables. The Chickliset people, on the other hand, whose speech patterns are more like those of the Southern Nootka in some respects, stress the second of two syllables and retain the final vowel (Klokeid 1972). "These local differences are of about the order of those in modern American English, comparable, for example, to those distinguishing the colloquial speech of Boston, Baltimore and Fort Worth, and do not hamper communication" (Drucker 1951:4).

Most people in Kyuquot today speak some "Indian" (Nootka), although fluency mainly depends on age. Everyone over 50 prefers to speak Indian and in some cases have little knowledge of English. Most people between 30 and 50 years of age appear to be equally at ease with either language and can change tongue, apparently unconsciously, in the same conversation. Younger people, who have spent more time at school and been more exposed to White society, generally prefer to speak in English and many teenagers and small children have no knowledge of Indian. Older people recall how they were forbidden to speak Indian at the Christie Indian Residential School near Tofino. Consequently, they encouraged their children to learn English at an early age and as a result, this has now become the first language for most of the younger generations.

Even the English spoken by the Indian people, however, retains some distinctive characteristics from their own language. The accent is flat and subdued. Initial sounds in Nootka are not aspirated, so to those who speak Indian as their first language, certain English sounds, such as 'p' and 'b',

'd' and 't' present difficulties. Final vowel sounds are particularly ambiguous. There is a tendency to stipulate whether or not the speaker is a first hand witness of an event or news item by adding "I hear" to the end of phrases and sentences. Certain phrases, such as *cho*, (o.k., amongst other things) *tl'e:ko:*, thank you, are used frequently alongside distinctive English colloquialisms like "not even" and "no way".

At present, Nootkan is a changing rather than a dying language, as Rohner (1967:8) described the Kwakiutl (Kwakwalla) language. Old people feel that many terms of their youth have disappeared and in particular, much of the ceremonial vocabulary is forgotten as the formal speeches of the old days are no longer made. On the other hand, a whole new vocabulary has been introduced to accommodate their changing world and the trend in Indian education is towards making the Indian language a part of the children's formal education, in written as well as spoken form.

THE KYUQUOT BAND AND ITS NEIGHBORS

1. The People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island

Kyuquot is one of fourteen bands on the West Coast of Vancouver Island who share a common language, and traditional culture. These bands are listed in Table 1, together with the contemporary location of each band and the major social or tribal groupings of the 19th century which are now associated with them.

Throughout Canada, Indians are officially organized into bands, socio-political groupings which bear no relationship to anthropological definition but which were defined by the revised Indian Act (1951.2 (1) as

> a body of Indians (a) for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before, on or after the 4th day of September, 1951; (b) for whose use and benefit in common, moneys are held by Her Majesty, or (c) declared by the Governor in Council to be a Band for the purpose of this Act.

The same act defined the term "Indian" as "a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian". This category includes White women who have married Indian men and are thereby "legal Indians", while excluding women born to Indian parents who have married White men or individuals who have become enfranchised in some way. The fact that this has little or no relation to the Indian peoples' own interpretation of "Indian identity" will be taken up in Chapter 8.

Each band remains autonomous within the federal system but certain factors have led to subdivisions into Northern, Central and Southern Nootkan (or West Coast) bands. Traditional links and exchanges between the groups north of Estevan Point and the Southern Kwakiutl led Drucker (1951:4) to differentiate the Northern Nootka from the Central Nootka groups (who occupy the territory from Estevan Point to the east shore of Barkley Sound), who appear to have had few traditional outside contacts. The Southern Nootkans (the groups of Nitinat Lake and Port Renfrew) differed from the others both

TABLE 1: LOCATION AND COMPOSITION OF CONTEMPORARY WEST COAST BANDS

Northern West Coast Bands	Tribes (1850) (after Drucker 1951)	Geographical Location (see Fig. 2)
1. Kyuquot	Kyuquot Confederacy Chickliset	Kyuquot (Actis and Houpsitas)
2. Queens Cove	Ehattesaht Queens Cove	Queens Cove, Zeballos
3. Nuchatlaht	Nuchatlaht	Nuchatlitz
4. Nootka	Moachaht Muchalat	Friendly Cove, Tahsis and Gold River
Central West Coast Bands		
5. Hesquiaht	Hesquiat	Hesquiat Hot Springs Cove
6. Ahousat	Ahousaht Kelsemaht Otsosaht	Ahousat
7. Opitsat	Clayoquot	Opitsat Tofino
8. Toquaht	Toquaht	Ucluelet (village)
9. Ucluelet	Ucluelet Soma	Ucluelet (reserve)
10. Tseshart	Seshart	Port Alberni (Polly's Point and River road)
11. Opetchesaht	Hopachisaht	Port Alberni
12. Ohiat	Ohiat	Bamfield
Southern West Coast Bands		
13. Nitinat	Nitinat	Head of Lake Nitinat
14. Pacheenaht	Pacheenaht	Port Renfrew

in dialect and in their close ties with the Coast Salish peoples of southern Vancouver Island. Each of these subdivisions was consolidated by close ties of kinship which were extended throughout the West Coast but which were far stronger within these relatively well-defined areas. Such ties in turn led to shared economic resources and ceremonial occasions which far less frequently included groups from other subdivisions.

Geographical barriers were extremely important in strengthening these subdivisions. Estevan Point, for example, a hazardous area to navigate even on the calmest day, is still an effective deterrent to much direct communication in an area where boats are the main means of transportation. Similarly the only direct route from Port Alberni to Port Renfrew, by sea, involves the stretch of coastline known as "the graveyard of the Pacific" because of the number of shipwrecks that have occurred in its vicinity. For matters of pure convenience, the Port Renfrew people are oriented towards Victoria and Duncan, to which they are connected by road, while Port Alberni is now a base for many of the Central bands, where they find employment, medical facilities and schools.

In the last century, religious differences have added to the divisions that exist on the West Coast. All four northern bands are predominantly Catholic. There has been very little Protestant missionary work in the area, except for the activities of the Shanteymen (a Protestant evangelical sect) in Esperanza and a United Mission based in Tahsis. From Ahousat south, however, Protestantism is the dominant faith today. This has repercussions on both a personal and administrative level. Less than 40 years ago, an important marriage, arranged between two high-ranking families from Nuchatlitz and Ahousat fell through after all the formalities had been completed because the girl was Protestant and did not want to leave her faith. Today the northern bands feel that some of the problems they encounter in district politics stem from the fact that the West Coast District Council, based in Port Alberni, is predominantly Protestant, and consequently prejudiced against the Catholic bands.

Recent administrative changes made by the Department of Indian Affairs have further reinforced the traditional subdivisions. For most of their history, the Northern Nootka have been members of the West Coast District, but for a few years (from 1969-1973) the Northern Nootka were a part of the short-lived North Island District, which also included the 14 Southern Kwakiutl bands, while the Southern Nootka were in the South Island District with the Salishan bands of the East Coast and Victoria. Even though these districts were soon revised, they did underscore the continuation of traditional divisions among the Nootka speakers.

Today the dense networks within the Northern, Central and Southern Nootkan groups persist. The Kyuquot (including the Chickliset), Queens Cove, Nuchatlaht and, to a lesser extent, Nootka Bands are in close and constant contact. Marriage and kinship ties continue to provide links between them and there is frequent visiting. Any ceremony held in one village attracts visitors from the other villages. The members of all the bands know each other and have a good idea what is happening in the other villages. On the other hand, the Kyuquot people may only know one or two individuals in the central and southern bands. Many people in Kyuquot have not been further south than Estevan. The only people from Kyuquot who go to "Hesquiat Days", the annual ceremonies in the Hesquiaht band, are two sisters from Hesquiat

who are now living in Kyuquot with their husbands. Otherwise, Kyuquot people do not generally go to the ceremonies of their more southerly neighbors. Many people have attended the Christie Indian Residential School near Tofino, and have met individuals from other bands there but, even in their school days, their immediate companions appear to have been their relatives from home. A few Kyuquot families remember their relations in Port Alberni or Ucluelet and many have visited them while attending to band business, but for the most part, there are few direct links between these bands.

Ties with the Southern Nootka are somewhat closer because of a marriage between a Nitinat woman and a Kyuquot man a couple of generations ago. Their daughter, who married a Chickliset man and has a large family of her own, continues to live in Kyuquot while her brother returned to Nitinat (and also stays on the East Coast). Their families remain in contact, and through this link a common bond between the bands is recognized.

Among the Northern Nootka, the Kyuquot people form the largest band, and indeed on the whole West Coast, only the Ahousaht band is more numerous. Most of the people of Friendly Cove, the Nootka Band, moved to the industrial town of Gold River in the late 1960s and in 1974 only two families remained in the home village. From Gold River, the band is dispersing fairly quickly, either in search of new employment opportunities or to join relatives elsewhere, as the jobs and houses provided for them when they moved to Gold River are no longer adequate. They have abondoned their home village to the extent of allowing tourists to explore it as part of an excursion trip organized out of Tahsis and their reserve in Tahsis is occupied mainly by Kyuquot people. Only two families remained in Nuchatlitz during the summer of 1974 and their fish camp has been closed. Never a large or powerful group (Drucker 1951:228) suggests that the Nuchatlaht Confederacay was formed of the left-overs of the Moachaht and Ehattesaht unions), the Nuchatlaht Band today is one of two small bands on the West Coast still represented by a hereditary rather than a elective band chief in administrative matters. It is, however, in danger of being dominated by its more numerous neighbors, the Queens Cove people. The latter number about a hundred, of which one family constitutes a very large majority.

Kyuquot, however, appears to be the only northern band which is expanding. Having amalgamated with the Chickliset people some years ago (see below), the Kyuquot Band is now absorbing members from the other three northern bands as they disperse. It is entirely possible that in years to come, Kyuquot will be for the Northern Nootka what Alert Bay has become for the Southern Kwakiutl -- a social, cultural, commercial and administrative center. At present, however, the traditional divisions are too great and the image of Kyuquot too provincial for the area to become of much significane for the central bands, who are building up their own cultural centers in Hesquiat and Port Alberni. There is thus no real parallel with what has occurred among the Southern Kwakiutl. On the West Coast, the traditional and geographical divisions remain too strong for one locality to represent a single "Nootka Nation".

2. The Kwakiutl

For several of the Northern Nootka peoples, notably the Chickliset, Kyuquot and Moachaht, ties with their Kwakiutl-speaking neighbors were as old and as important as their connections with other West Coast groups. In the

old days, there were several overland "grease trails" connecting both the Moachaht and the Kyuquot groups with the villages of the Nimpkish and the Kwawkewlth tribes. These trails were still in use in the 1860s when Lieutenant Hankin and Dr. Wood, of H.M.S. *Hecate*, were escorted across from Actis by seven Kyuquot men to the Nimpkish village (Hankin 1862). Another overland route connected the Chickliset territory with the tribes to the northwest of Cape Cook, a trail which has partly been renewed recently by the construction of a logging road along it.

The Chickliset people were formerly bilingual and mixed regularly with their Kwakiutl neighbors the Klaskino, Gopino, Quatsino and Koskimo. The Klaskino, who were the Chickliset's immediate neighbors, were said to have mixed Kwakiutl and Nootka ancestry (Drucker 1950:158) and had developed traits centered on whaling, the only Kwakiutl to do so. By the middle of the 19th century, these four Kwakiutl-speaking tribes had abandoned their outlying villages and were settled together at the Quatsino village of Xwatis, except during the summer fishing season when they went to Winter Harbour (Mallin 1960:16). Today, they are referred to in Kyuquot as the Quatsino or Winter Harbour people, and although during my fieldwork I recorded only one instance of visiting between the Kyuquots and the Quatsino, the relationship is still valued. By the 1950s, the Klaskino and Gopino were extinct and only two Quatsino and 29 Koskimo were left in the village. Their population, however, included two Nuchatlaht women who had married into the band and the chiefs of both the Koskimo *numaym*a (see page 84) were closely related to people in Kyuquot (Mallin 1960:17, 61). Older people in Kyuquot talk about their Quatsino relatives warmly but recognize that there are cultural as well as linguistic differences between them. While showing me old photographs of these kinfolk, one woman was quick to characterize features in their basket-work, ceremonial behavior and way of talking.

In 1972, a Nuwitti Kwakiutl man, whose mother had been a Kyuquot woman, was living in Kyuquot, possibly intending to make it his home. He was a great artist, a painter, engraver, carver and silversmith and did much to stimulate an interest in traditional crafts among the young as well as introduce new designs and techniques to Kyuquot. He was killed, tragically, in 1974 but may well have spurred on some of the younger men to follow his example.

In recent years, Alert Bay, located on Cormorant Island on the main channel of Johnstone Strait, has become the major settlement for all the Southern Kwakiutl bands. Many Indians from outlying islands have moved there within the last 15 years, often for reasons similar to those which prompt the West Coast People to move to Tahsis or Victoria: to be with their children when they are at school or to give them a superior education, to enjoy better opportunities for employment and to seek an easier way of life, especially during the harsh winter months. Alert Bay has a population of 1200 or more, approximately half of which is Indian. It has paved roads and hotels, shops, beer parlors, government offices and a police station (Codere 1961:485, Rohner 1970:9). It is here that the most aggressive expression of Kwakiutl culture and traditions is found, with the Nimpkish people dominating.

Several people in Kyuquot are proud of their relationship with the "Alert Bay people" by whom they seem to refer to the Kwakiutl peoples of the East Coast, as distinct from the Quatsino, or Nuwitti Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast of Vancouver Island. Some of the most prized ceremonial property in

Kyuquot is said to have come from Alert Bay. In particular, the Sun Mask, owned until 1974 by the family of the Number One Hereditary Chief and shown only on the most important ceremonial occasions, was reputed to have come from there in marriage, almost a century and a half ago. This mask is apparently what Drucker (1951:259) referred to when he listed the privileges belonging to the tacisath chief of Kyuquot in the late 19th century, including

> a mask called hiqwtcil (said to be a Kwakiutl work) with a big round face with a small figure standing on top (the small figure opened up to become rays around the face, which was that of the sun).

The relationship between Kyuquot and Alert Bay continues to be reaffirmed ceremonially, as, for example in 1972, when a group of people from Alert Bay (and also a woman from Bella Bella) attended a wedding in Kyuquot. This is not a common occurrence, however, and for the most part, kin ties with Alert Bay remain on a more distant level.

Recent federal changes, however, have reinforced the traditional ties between the Kyuquot people and the Southern Kwakiutl in that they were briefly members of the same administrative district. Although most business meetings were held in Campbell River, the administrative headquarters of the North Island District (and formerly a Salish-speaking area), there was also a certain amount of traveling to Alert Bay and other Kwakiutl villages and an increased interest by the Kyuquot in what was happening among the East Coast bands.

3. Salish and Other Indians

Kyuquot is relatively isolated from much direct contact beyond its Nootka- and Kwakiutl-speaking neighbors or the local Eurocanadians. Connections with the Salishan bands of the southeastern Vancouver Island have been largely indirect, through the Southern Nootka. The latter have a long history of intermarriage with their Salish-speaking neighbors and their culture reflects a steady process of exchange, particularly apparent in ceremonial matters. The Southern Nootka, for example, elaborated the Salish *Tse:yi:q* ritual at the expense of the Wolf Ceremony or Shamans' Dance and were initiated into their Salish relatives' spirit dances during visits to their winter ceremonies. This pattern persists and the Kyuquot people have some awareness of Salishan ways through their Nitinat relations but it has been rare for a Northern Nootka to have direct contact with the Salishan peoples. Recently, however, a Cowichan girl married a Nuchatlaht boy and they are trying to decide whose home they will adopt. In addition, two extended families from Kyuquot have moved to Courtenay and nearby Comox for reasons of health and of education. They are buying houses there, but continue to maintain their homes in Kyuquot. It may be that this will lead to closer links between the various groups.

Other Indian groups with whom the Kyuquots have some connection are the Mount Currie (Interior Salish) and Kitkatla (Tsimshian) Bands. An individual from each of these bands has married a person from Kyuquot and spends considerable amounts of time in the community as well as taking some of his spouse's family for occasional visits to his own home.

4. The Local White Population

There has been a resident White population in Kyuquot for over 50 years, longer if the presence of the missionaries is included (see below). The first cooperative fish camp opened in Walters Cove in 1930 (Sharcott 1960:170) and this attracted increasing numbers of White fishermen and their families who made Kyuquot their permanent home. I was told by a White fisherman that, in the 1950s, there were as many as 250 White residents although I suspect that this exaggerates the size of a group which has been declining numerically ever since. Today there are about 30 Eurocanadians who are full-time residents in Walters Cove and the surrounding islands.

The other Northern Nootka Bands have no history of White settlements, apart from traders, school teachers, summer operators of the commercial fish camps and, in the case of Friendly Cove, the lighthouse staff. Other White settlements in Northern Nootka territory are at Zeballos, Esperanza, Ceepeecee and Tahsis and are quite distinct from the traditional Indian villages. Tahsis is a modern logging town, owned and operated by Tahsis Company. The Indian reserve (occupied by only four families and owned by the Nootka Band) lies well outside the town. Ceepeecee (abbreviated into a proper name from the Canadian Pacific Canneries) was the site of an important canning operation in the 1930s but this declined with the disappearance of the pilchard and the settlement is now occupied by only a handful of people. Esperanza was the location of a missionary hospital, run by a Protestant evangelical sect referred to as Shanteymen. A new hospital in Tahsis, opened in 1973, has now replaced it. Zeballos, at the head of Esperanza Inlet, was an active mining town in the 1930s and 1940s but is now also dominated by the Tahsis Company. A few Ehattesaht families still occupy their reserve here.

For the most part, the Indian people of Kyuquot have mixed very little with their White neighbors until the last five years. The White community kept itself aloof, although the families of the more successful White fishermen, mainly of Scandinavian background, appear to have condescended to the poor Whites as well as to the Indian people. Indians were effectively discouraged from living in Walters Cove (the first Indian couple to move here described a lot of opposition to their buying a house in the Cove) and were not included in the social events of Walters Cove. Indian and White children attended different schools and there was virtually no intermarriage. Thus the two communities remained largely segregated. The Indian people were exposed to a wide range of White social statuses but they had little interaction with any.

This situation has changed quite dramatically in recent years. The Eurocanadian community is much smaller and not particularly harmonious. Most of the dominant clique have moved away and the reluctant leaders of the Whites are the professionals such as the nurse, the teachers, the Fisheries Officer and the store keepers. These people mix more frequently with the Indian people, although such interaction occurs almost entirely off the reserves. Some formal mixed social evenings, organized by the White Social Committee, have been held in Walters Cove and a large number of Whites attended an Indian dance when it was held in the Cove; the number of White people invited to attend those held on reserve land remains very small. Schooling in Kyuquot is now integrated and certain community resources are shared. Cooperative efforts by Indians and Whites have been necessary to maintain some of these;

for example, when subsidized freight to Kyuquot ceased in 1972, the Kyuquot Band Council and some of the White community worked together to establish a new system of bringing provisions into the area.

5. Others

Quimby (1948) and Gunther (1972) have shown the range of contacts which were experienced by the West Coast in the late 18th century. Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, Asian Indians, Blacks and Filipinos all visited the area in the course of the trading and exploratory voyages of the period. In recent times, the West Coast has experienced more limited variety and there is little overt interaction between the different ethnic groups.

In the logging town of Tahsis, several familes of Hindus (as the local people distinguish the natives of Asian India) have come to work both in the logging industry and in professional capacities. The headmaster of the local high school is an Asian Indian and native people concede he is not bad "for a Hindu". In Campbell River there are also numbers of Asian Indians who are regarded with similar reservations.

Some Japanese operated the saltery in Chamiss Bay, Kyuquot Sound (Fig. 4) which was working in the early part of the century. Although they do not appear to have intermarried with Kyuquot women, an Ehattesaht knowingly pointed out that the Kyuquot people of today are far more Japanese-looking than other West Coast peoples. Stories are also told of how in the old days, the West Coast natives used to travel as far as Japan in their canoes. The spread of venereal disease in the first half of this century was blamed on the Japanese, so a certain amount of social interaction is tacitly recognized, even though Asians are regarded with some contempt.

Until the 1930s and 1940s, large numbers of Chinese workmen labored alongside the native people in the canneries and whaling stations. Very few Chinese-speakers are now left on the West Coast. A medical doctor and his family in Tahsis are the only ones who have any contact with the Northern Nootka.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEMPORARY KYUQUOT

RESIDENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

In 1970, there were approximately 209 members of the Kyuquot Indian Band. Not all are residents of Kyuquot, however, and not all the Indian residents of Kyuquot are official members of the band. Many Kyuquot band members, like other West Coast Indians, now spend the winter in towns like Tahsis, Campbell River or Victoria where opportunity for employment is available and where older children may attend high school locally. Often, however, they return to Kyuquot each summer for the fishing season and continue to maintain their homes there. Furthermore, some full-time Indian residents of Kyuquot are still members of another band, or, in a few cases, non-status Indians, who may be considered for Kyuquot band membership in due course.

Thus an accurate census of the actual residential Indian population of Kyuquot is complicated by such factors as the swelling of numbers in the summer months, the association of individuals with more than one band, and their mobile way of life. I should estimate the number of Indian people actually living in Kyuquot in the years 1972 to 1974, as 150 persons during the summer months and 80 to 100 people during the winter. In addition, there were approximately 30 White full-time residents.

An analysis by age and sex of the 209 band members enumerated in the official band list of 1970 is summarized in Table 2. The only real discrepancy in this analysis is the small number of people in the age-group 41 to 50 years. This is compensated somewhat by the fact that some non-status Indian residents of Kyuquot fall into this category. Otherwise there is no apparent imbalance in Kyuquot society in terms of either age or sex.

The Kyuquot Band has legal ownership of 26 reserves, of which only two, Actis and Houpsitas, are still occupied. Nine other reserves are "up west" and were the territory of the former Chickliset tribe, inhabited until about 30 years ago when the last of the tribe moved down to Kyuquot and the Chickliset people formally amalgamated with the Kyuquot Band. The remaining reserves represent the important former winter villages of the Kyuquot people. Decaying houses are still to be found at Mission Island, Markale, Cawispa (Chamiss Bay) and Cachalot (Fig. 4), where adults recall spending at least part of the winter "up inlet", hunting, trapping, drying fish or gathering herring eggs.

Actis, a windswept island situated near the outer waters, is regarded as the more traditionally oriented part of the Indian community and is also the most isolated. In 1972, there were 20 houses in the Village, situated on the sheltered inner beach. Houpsitas is situated on the mainland, about 30 minutes away from Actis (by a small motorboat) and is also referred to as Jules' Reserve, after the dominant family living there, or as Number Six, from its enumeration on the listings of the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1972 there were ten homes here but by 1974 that number had more than doubled and Houpsitas had quickly become the main residential area for the Kyuquot Band. It faces Walters Cove, a few minutes boat ride away, where the school, general store and landing dock for seaplanes are located. Until the late 1960s, Walters Cove was an exclusively White settlement, except for one

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX OF KYUQUOT INDIAN BAND MEMBERS (1970)

	Under 10	10-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	Over 60
Male	42	17	18	13	2	6	7
Female	36	23	24	10	3	4	4
Total	78	40	42	23	5	10	11

Indian girl living there with her White husband. Then several other Indian households moved there and in 1974 the band began to rent an old teacherage for their Band Office and Day Care Center. Thus although it is not reserve land, the Cove has become an integral part of the Indian community. There are now only about 30 Whites who make Kyuquot their home all year round, but during the summer, these figures are swelled considerably. Some White families also return to homes in Walters Cove maintained only for the summer fishing season, and varying numbers of fishermen live out of their boats which they dock in the Cove.

Several of the smaller islands in the bay around Walters Cove are also occupied by White families, and during the summer, the commercial fishcamps are located in this area. In addition, the Red Cross Hospital is situated on an island at the entrance to the bay. In the inlets, logging camps are active for finite periods: in 1972, a camp at Amai was breaking up after several years of operations, while in 1974 new camps had been set up at Chamiss Bay and Port Eliza. Finally, Spring Island is occupied by a Ministry of Transport Loran station, the staff of which are known to the Kyuquot people as the "Spring Island Hippies".

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In common with several other settlements on the West Coast, those of Kyuquot hug the shoreline. Immediately behind the occupied areas, forests and mountains rise up sharply in a dramatic backcloth to these small settlements, providing, with the ocean, well-defined boundaries for them.

In general appearance the village of Actis is very like several other old Nootkan villages such as Opitsat and Nuchatlitz. The buildings stretch along the shore in virtually a single line. The houses all face the water and the mainland, and a well-trodden path, running just below the houses and at the top of the beach, connects them together. A second pathway runs behind some of the houses, ending at the school and church. Actis is distinctive in Kyuquot for the broad stretch of grass between the beach and the forests on which the village sits. The green provides a favorite spot for ball games or occasional Indian dancing as well as for casual socializing on warmer days. By contrast, the outer beaches of the island merge directly into the forests. These beaches are occasionally visited for picnics or driftwood or shells and there are indications that the west side of the island was once inhabited, but certainly not within living memory. No game is left on the island. The

only creatures to push through the dense undergrowth covering most of the land are the many villages dogs in search of rodents, or two lonely bulls, last of a herd of cattle brought into the village to keep the grass short in front of the houses. They are now so intimidated by the village dogs that they rarely leave the dark interior unless to sun themselves on some isolated beach.

On Walters Island, a few houses are perched on the beaches at the entrance to the Cove or bay but as the name of the settlement suggests, most buildings in Walters Cove -- schools, houses, stores and wharves -- cluster in the shelter of the Cove in a single line along the shore. A narrow trail connects all the buildings on the island, terminating abruptly at either end of the settlement. While it is possible to walk all round the island of Actis when the tides are low, the outer beaches of Walters Island are accessible only by sea, and are virtually unapproachable. Rocks rise up sharply from the sea and achieve a considerable height in the center of the island.

The settlement of Houpsitas followed a similar pattern until 1973. The line of houses hugged the shore in more or less even formation and the forests came close to the back of the buildings. In that year, however, the band purchased 14 new homes for band members and the rest of the reserve land was cleared to make room for them. In the summer of 1974 these were erected in several rows, an arrangement dictated by the shape of the reserve. The original houses continued to occupy the sites along the beach while behind them were clustered the new houses. Such a formation is strange to many local people. One woman who had recently been to Alert Bay commented that they had the same arrangement there but that she didn't like it. Anyone can look in at everyone else's window.

HOUSE TYPES AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Indian houses in Kyuquot are mainly one or two-story, wooden frame buildings. Some of the weathered buildings are brightly painted so that their appearance belies their similarity. Their life-span is relatively short because of the exposure to harsh gales and strong southeasterly winds and the oldest home is only 30 years old. Several others, of similar age, have already been replaced. Doorways are generally sheltered from the southeast wind by porches and very few walls facing the southeast contain windows or doors.

The houses in Actis and Houpsitas are basically of three types:

1. Those constructed by the owner.
2. Those provided by Indian Affairs.
3. Those houses recently bought from the Navy ("Sea Island homes") and erected on Houpsitas in 1974.

It is a source of great pride that a family was able to build its own home without depending on outside agencies, such as Indian Affairs, for help, and also a testimony to the continuing skill in woodworking, although such homes tend to be older than the other types. No one at this time is building a house for himself with the exception of one man who has bought an abandoned house in Walters Cove and is renovating it for himself and his family. Generally such homes are well made although they lack insulation and are sometimes unfinished in places. All those older homes still standing were

individually designed and contain several large rooms, including, usually, a bathroon. The last single-room house was torn down in 1974, while multi-room houses were introduced about 40 years ago. In 1972, approximately two-thirds of the houses were of this type.

The houses provided through subsidies from Indian Affairs are identical to those found in other bands throughout the area, and have been received largely since the mid 1960s. For the most part, these houses are more modern and better equipped than the individually constructed homes but are apparently less durable in the harsh weather conditions of Kyuquot. Approximately a third of the houses were of this type in 1972.

The new houses brought to Houpsitas in 1973 are two-story, three- or four-bedroom homes and are the most up to date houses in the community.

The interior of the homes reflect considerable variety. Some are furnished very fully and comfortably in modern styles with mail-order furniture or items bought from families who have moved away from the area. The better equipped homes have vacuum cleaners, freezers, stereo systems and occasionally a television although reception is almost nonexistent. Most homes today have indoor plumbing and bathrooms, although three houses still use outdoor toilet facilities and at least two have only wood stoves. Several homes have minimal furnishings with little more than a table, a few chairs and some beds. In one of the most "old-fashioned" homes, the predominant article in each room was the large plastic bag used to hold the occupant's possessions.

Home ownership, however, regardless of the condition of the house, is perhaps the greatest source of pride to people in Kyuquot. This does not always extend to the contents of the home, for there is a far wider range of attitudes to the material possessions and the comfort contained therein.

Houses in Walters Cove, which were not included in the above analysis, do not differ greatly from those on the reserves. Some of these were individually built by their owners (Sharcott 1960) and many were bought down to Kyuquot in the 1940s from a logging camp at New Caledonia which had completed its operations. Several of the houses in Walters Cove reflect a greater air of prosperity than is evident on the reserves, a condition enhanced partly by bright paint but even more by carefully tended gardens and hedges or picket fences. On the reserves both gardens and fences are absent.

Associated with the Indian houses are other, smaller structures. Most homes own or have ready access to a smokehouse and these are in use for much of the summer. In the old days, they were situated in front of the homes but today there does not appear to be any pattern and smokehouses may be behind, beside or in front of the houses. A common and convenient location for a smokehouse is down on the beach in front of the house, where a ready supply of driftwood is available and disposal of fish guts and gills in the sea is facilitated.

One woman pointed out how many home-constructed smokehouses are basically styled on the old long-house design. They consist of perhaps four main posts; sidings and roofing of loose planks are then supported by these. The smoke hole is easily regulated just by sliding the roofing aside to the desired space. Slices of fish are hung over planks which are supported loosely on

the support posts. The lifetime of a smokehouse is far shorter than that of a house, but it is a simple matter to rebuild one. Younger people, however, have started to buy small sheds for this purpose.

Very few homes in Kyuquot now lack an indoor bathroom but many also have an outside toilet as well. These are always situated some distance from the back of the house, facing away from the house.

Several homes have separate work houses where the men store their tools and do construction work or wood-working. This ranges from fixing up the boats, mending electric generators, seeing to home improvements, or working on carving and craftwork.

Community facilities are provided for most of the Indian homes. Actis has a village well from which fresh water is pumped to all the village houses. In summer, when the population of Actis increases and the rainfall decreases there may be shortages, and water has to be rationed. There is also a village generator which provides each house on Actis with electricity; it is used, however, only when enough people are staying in the village, for it is expensive to run. During the long hours of summer daylight, most homes use kerosene lamps when necessary although some homes have their own private generators. Most homes today are equipped with calor gas stoves and oil heaters and some have gas refrigerators and washing machines (mostly wringer type).

In Walters Cove, a few people also own clothes driers. Here, water is piped by a community waterline from McKays Cove to all the houses around the bay, and this is maintained by the White sponsored Social Committee. Isolated houses in Walters Island maintain their own waterlines which are connected with the main line. On Houpsitas, fresh water is stored in a water tower and communal generators provide each home with water and with power.

Sewage facilities throughout the community are fairly simple. A few houses on Walters Island have their own septic system but generally sewage goes straight into the sea. On Actis, most of the waste material is deposited in a bog at the back of the village. Concern had been expressed about the pollution of the ocean but tests run in 1973 found the pollution count was almost nonexistent.

Kyuquot does not lack any important facilities but there is a continuous struggle to keep them working. There are no specialist artisans in the community and the upkeep of each house and its facilities falls on the occupants who have to cope with plumbing, sewage, generator problems, etc. themselves. Many of the men have a considerable range of equipment and technical expertise; and most of the women have their own practical tips such as using chewing gum to solder leaking pipes. Improvisation is very important in an area where one can wait weeks for spare parts to arrive.

Oil heating is effective but expensive and, without adequate transportation, it is very difficult to convey the oil from store to home. Wood stoves consume enormous amounts of wood and during long periods of stormy weather, when fires are needed most, it is hard to keep one's wood supply dry. Thus simply staying warm can be a problem. Washing and drying clothes are straightforward tasks when water is plentiful and the weather cooperative, but in damp weather it can take weeks for things to dry out. In an area so reliant on

water transportation, a good boat is a necessity. Very few families do not have access to some sort of boat, but in bad weather, only the largest and strongest trollers will undertake the journey from Actis to the store in the Cove. Thus people living on Actis generally keep in a stock of provisions for periods when such transport is impossible.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Scattered among the houses are a variety of other buildings. On Actis, as well as several other Northern Nootkan villages such as Queen Cove, Nuchatlitz and Friendly Cove, stands a small Catholic Church with adjacent church rooms, although none of the villages now has a resident priest. The churches are still used, however, when a priest from Tahsis or Tofino comes to visit. The church on Actis, the third in the history of Kyuquot, was opened in 1941. It contains a once resonant organ, some well carved pews and a loud bell, used on important occasions such as weddings. Like the surrounding houses, the church is constructed of cedar.

A now disused school house stands next to the church on Actis. It was closed in the fall of 1974 because too few children remained in the village for the winter. It consists of one large schoolroom, where all children aged from 5 to 13 were taught by a single teacher. His quarters were situated in the same building across a corridor, and downstairs were two basement rooms where the children could play in bad weather.

The schoolroom on Actis served several other functions. Here, band meetings were sometimes held, films were shown to the village every week, lahal games (see page 158) were played fairly frequently and Indian ceremonies were occasionally performed. In addition, both the school and the church room were used to accommodate outside guests to the village. In 1974, I stayed for several weeks in the church and, later in the year, a group of high school students from Vancouver, who came to work for the band as part of an ecumenical volunteer program, were accommodated in the school.

The school on Actis was owned by Indian Affairs and was exclusively Indian. In Walters Cove, on the other hand, there is an elementary school under the Provincial system which enrolls both White and Indian children. All the children in Kyuquot now attend this school which is easily accessible for both the Cove and Houpsitas. Unlike the school on Actis, it does not serve as a focal point for the community.

The Red Cross hospital, situated on an island at the entrance to the Bay treats the whole gamut of disorders. It has a small ward with room for four in-patients and is run by a single nurse. She copes with everything from veterinary problems to spirit hallucinations to sex education, in both the White and Indian populations. Cases she is unable to administer she refers to the hospital in Tahsis which has recently replaced the mission hospital at Esperanza. Today, largely because of the popularity and efficiency of the nurse, most of the Indian people go to the Red Cross Hospital with their medical problems, including pregnancy and childbirth, although native midwives are still common. Besides the hospital there is a Medical Center, which was moved in 1974 from Actis to the Jules Reserve. Here, visiting medical staff such as dentists and public health nurses are accommodated and hold their surgery.

There is now just one store in Kyuquot, situated at the head of the main dock in the Cove. There has been a store in the community for well over 100 years, which until 1931 was situated on Actis. Since that time, with the growth of a local White population, all commercial developments have taken place in Walters Cove. For many years there were two stores, one doubling as the post office and the second also handling a large amount of fishing equipment and hardware products. The second store closed in 1973 and much of its business has been taken over by the fish camps, at least during the summer.

The present store has a fairly limited range of canned and packaged goods at exorbitantly high prices, often double what they would cost in Victoria. Dairy products and fresh fruits and vegetables are available on a limited basis for a couple of days after the freight has been brought in each week. A deep freeze stores some meat and frozen foods. Paper items, clothes, cleaning and household products are also stocked.

In Walters Cove there are two community halls. The older building, a small structure standing near the top of the government dock, is used for the weekly movies shown in the Cove, for occasional community meetings or social evenings. The newer building, a long log house situated off the main Cove trail, is set up for basketball games and sports activities. Until recently, this was an exclusive White domain, under the management of the Social Committee. In 1972, the Indian people were allowed to use it for an Indian "party," a great step forward in terms of Indian-White relations.

Situated near the large community hall is the Department of Fisheries office and residence. This is occupied sporadically, being maintained from 1968-1973, but the work is now organized from the Tahsis office.

TRANSPORTATION AND CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Kyuquot is effectively isolated by Cape Cook and Tachu Point from other settlements on the West Coast. To the northwest of Kyuquot, the nearest occupied location is Winter Harbour where the descendants of the Quatsino and Koskimo Kwakiutl tribes make their home. Southeastwards, there are no other villages until below Tachu Point, where the Queens Cove and Nuchatlaht people occupy their old village sites in Esperanza Inlet. To both east and west of Kyuquot, the craggy, tree-lined coastline of Vancouver stretches out in unspoiled splendor. Only where occasional logging activity has sliced into the otherwise undisturbed dense forests is it apparent that the region is well within access of modern Canadian developments. Even on the best of days, however, the waters about Cape Cook and Tachu Point are treacherous and visiting between the native settlements is always limited by considerations of climate.

There are no roads in or to Kyuquot itself. The only means of transport in the area are boats or seaplanes. Scheduled flights are made regularly, three times daily from Tahsis and less frequently from Tofino, for which Beaver and Husky planes are most commonly employed. Mail is brought in three times a week and is distributed from the general store in Walters Cove which also operates as a post office. Chartered flights are made regularly by logging or government officials, and during the summer, large cargo boats, the fish packers, plough their way up and down the west coast, bringing ice and fresh provisions to the fish camps and collecting the fish which have been

stored on ice at the camps. They return to Tofino or Vancouver from where the fish are shipped across country.

There is thus fairly regular contact with the outside world. Contact is subject to the elements but rarely lost for very long. One of the most important means of communication in the area is the radio-telephone which enables messages to be relayed even when passage in and out of Kyuquot is impossible because of bad weather. Until 1971, only the Fisheries Officer and the Red Cross Hospital (and in summer, the fish camps) owned radio-telephones, but in that year, a band radio was installed as part of the Radio and Audio visual Educational Network (RAVEN) which services the more isolated bands of British Columbia. This has made a great difference to the Indian people. For the first time, regular contact can be maintained with relatives on the West Coast and further afield, and band business is run with far greater efficiency.

There has been a great deal of logging activity in the area of Kyuquot Sound. Logging roads have been constructed over much of the island to service such camps and it is now possible to drive up to the head of the inlets in Kyuquot Sound, to Amai or to Fair Harbour from Gold River, with an alternative route going to Port Alice on the East Coast. Since subsidized freight by sea to the West Coast ceased in 1972, the route to Fair Harbour has been used for conveying supplies weekly into Kyuquot. The truck of provisions is met by the *Patsco*, an old cargo boat owned for this purpose by the band, which brings the goods down to Kyuquot for distribution. The entire operation of return journey, loading and unloading of freight, takes up to 24 hours, and is an additional source of employment for several men in the Indian community.

This journey is rarely made by Indian people travelling in or out of the area, however, because of the problems of coordinating both land and sea transportation and the general condition of the road. Almost all trips of any length are made either by boat or plane. Within the last ten years, many Indian families have acquired speedboats but they rarely travel long distances in them because of the tidal problems in navigating Tachu Point or Cape Cook. Fish boats, the trollers, are the main means of transport both locally and further afield, and especially in the fishing season, the boats travel up and down the West coast following the fish. In addition to sea-worthiness, these boats have the added advantage of built-in accommodation, and thus the need for temporary shelters has long since disappeared.

Generally Indian fishermen from Kyuquot do not range further than Winter Harbour or Quatsino to the west or Port Renfrew to the southeast. Their fishing activities tend to be very localized, except when tuna fishing off shore.

MEMORIES OF KYUQUOT

An immediate impression of the village of Actis is that it has avoided much of the 20th century. There are no roads and no traffic, apart from an occasional mini-motor bike brought back in the summer by people from the town and used to race along the paths in front of the village. There is no store, no television or aerials, no signs or billboards. A splintered and sloping pole stands in the center of the village, once a proud totem with a paddle on top to welcome guests from all over the coast. The pole was snapped in half about 15 years ago when struck by lightning and the top was lost, but the pole

has resisted efforts by the younger generation to chop it down.

An air of calmness, peacefulness, timelessness hangs over the village. Evidence of life is everywhere. Wisps of smoke curl over the smokehouses and perhaps the chimneys of the houses too, giving a faint smell of burning wood to the fresh, salty air. Dogs chase seagulls along the beaches or root into potholes in the long grassy stretch between shore and houses. A bull lurks behind the houses but darts back into the trees or hides in the swamp at the back of the village at the first movement he senses. Rows of washing hang neatly on lines beside the houses, sometimes propped up by poles usually reserved for spearing abalone and looking strangely like the 18th century pictures of herring hung to dry with the same orderliness. In a few of the windows that face the bay, a glint of binoculars is evident, as someone peers to see who is coming to the village.

To approach the village, boats carefully avoid sandbanks and kelp beds and if the tide is not too low, tie up at the village float. This stands below the church and the school, neutral territory which does not lie on anyone's beach or property. There is generally a medley assortment of rowing boats, motorboats and fish trollers around but only rarely is a dugout canoe used today. Within the last ten years they have virtually all been replaced by swifter and simpler vessels although some plain dugouts may still be seen. The traditional high prowed Nootkan canoe has not been used for perhaps 20 years.

As boats are tied up, children who have been playing on the beaches hurry to the float. If the boat is a strange one, or belongs to someone who has not been around for awhile, some adults also come out of their houses and walk slowly down to the float to greet and help the newcomer. No villager who has been absent for any length of time comes back home to Actis without receiving a low keyed welcome such as this. Newcomers are also met and welcomed as soon as they set foot on Actis.

Initial impressions of idyllic serenity and welcoming words, however, belong to the fine days of summer. For much of the year, Actis looks very different, so different that to view it from a boat is impossible. When the southeasterly gales disturb this coast, the seas are often too turbulent to make the crossing from Walters Cove or Houpsitas. Even when the larger boats do attempt to cross, the winds, mist and rain make it impossible to stand on deck, much less to see any distance. In winter, it is not uncommon for the village of Actis to be cut off from the outside world for several weeks although radio contact can generally be maintained with the settlements in the rest of Kyuquot.

Doubtlessly it is this isolation which creates a special atmosphere on Actis, noticeable immediately to the newcomer. When landing by plane in Walters Cove, one lacks the carefully measured welcome, the total lack of urgency that is so special to Actis. Newcomers to the Cove arouse interest, but little more. It is assumed that everyone has specific concerns which do not affect the community as a whole. Furthermore, there is a sense of business in Walters Cove that is not apparent on Actis. Here people come to shop, to buy gas or to see someone, and even those who are hanging around outside the store to see what is happening in the Cove expect some action to occur in the near future. Houpsitas is but a stone's throw from Walters Cove. The

comings and goings of the latter are fairly evident to the reserve and for those who might have missed something, a relative can quickly relay news by radio. Encircling the bay of Walters Cove, as the two settlements do, they form much more of a unit than does either with Actis, which remains an independent and isolated branch of the community.

CHAPTER THREE: CULTURE HISTORY IN KYUQUOT

THE PREHISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD

It is now widely recognized that the cultures of the Northwest Coast have a long history of local origin and development. Excavations in the lower Fraser Canyon reveal evidence of continuous occupation for approximately 9,000 years (Borden 1975) and while no such time depth has been estimated for the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recent archaeological evidence suggests that the area has been inhabited by man for more than 4,000 years. In 1966, the National Historic Sites Service of Canada began excavations of a large midden at Friendly Cove, which yielded a long sequence of culture beginning 4,200 years ago. Little change in the predominantly bone or stone technology was evident until extensive Eurocanadian contact in the late 19th century (Folan 1969, and Dewhirst 1970). No archaeological work has been carried out in the immediate vicinity of Kyuquot but it is very possible that a comparable depth will eventually be proved for the occupation of Kyuquot Sound.

Early European visitors to the Northwest Coast in the late 18th and 19th centuries left vivid accounts of the complex and highly distinctive cultures they found in this area. From southeastern Alaska virtually to the northwestern corner of California, several linguistically distinct peoples had elaborated a series of closely related cultures which were among the most advanced in the New World. Efficiently exploiting an environment rich in maritime and forest resources -- fish, especially salmon, sea-mammals, seafoods and timber, -- the native inhabitants of this area had developed a sophisticated wood and stone technology and a complex social order. Art forms, such as totem poles, decorative houseposts and ceremonial masks as well as sturdy canoes and long houses were characteristic of much of this area and reflected a rich ceremonial and social life. Social stratification, and also a distinct slave class, was widespread and the basis of high rank rested on the acquisition of wealth in both material and ritual terms. Ceremonialism was elaborated around the display of individual wealth and often included the distribution of large amounts of gifts by the host to his guests, ceremonies commonly referred to as the potlatch. An analysis of the distribution of the main traits common to the area is given in Drucker (1950).

The Nootkan speakers of the West Coast shared in all the major traits characteristic of the so-called Northwest Coast Culture Area but they were also distinctive in certain respects. In the first place, they laid more importance than other Northwest Coast groups on sea-mammal hunting. They were the only people on the Northwest Coast (together with their culturally-affiliated neighbors the Makah and the Quileute) who hunted the whale, an occupation which was associated with only a few chiefs of the highest rank and expertise. Nine months of ceremonial bathing (*O:samich*), fasting and sexual abstinence were demanded of whalers in addition to the possession of the required ritual knowledge, acquired both through inheritance and through visionary experience. The whale provided an important item of diet, in that the blubber was boiled down and used as a condiment for dried foods in winter; the oily eulachon fish which served this purpose elsewhere on the Northwest Coast was available to the Nootka only through trade. Even more important, however, was the formal distribution of parts of the captured mammal to specific people which acknowledged the relative status of the chiefly members of

the group. Other large sea-mammals, seals and sea-lions, were also hunted by priviledged nobles, and it seems probable that sealing was more common than whaling in the Kyuquot area (see below).

Other resources such as fish, seafoods, berries, roots, land animals were also abundant for the peoples of the West Coast and were exploited with great efficiency. It seems unlikely that they ever suffered much hardship from famine and indeed appeared to have been among the wealthiest people of the Northwest.

Nootka woodworking and artistic styles reached their finest expression in their canoes, their large carved figures, their masks and their screen paintings. West Coast canoes were regarded as among the best on the Northwest Coast, distinguished by their high, arching prow which gave them almost a human appearance (Waterman 1920; also Duff 1965). They were extremely efficient in off-shore waters and were traded extensively. Houseposts and large wooden figures represented the most important property of their chiefly owners and were frequently of monumental size (see Meares 1967:138). Totem poles enjoyed only a brief, late vogue on the West Coast, being introduced from the Kwakiutl and most common in the territory of the Northern Nootka (Curtis 1916:62). Nootkan art, which is one of the least understood aspects of the aboriginal culture, was basically naturalistic and has been regarded as cruder than that of its northern neighbors. Archaeological evidence, such as that from the Ozette site, shows there was far more variety in Nootkan art than has previously been realized and furthermore that it was a direct development of the earliest art style of the area (termed "Old Wakashan" by Wilson Duff; see Holm 1972).

Aboriginal Nootkan society was highly structured around a ranked series of "places" which were held by chiefs or *ha:wil*. They owned all the property, economic and ceremonial, in Nootkan culture, with the most important chief, referred to today as the "Number One" chief, owning most. As Drucker (1951:247) pointed out, the Nootkan people carried the concept of ownership to incredible lengths; off-shore waters as well as rights to perform or to omit a part of an ordinary ceremony or song were all privately owned property. A great chief's *ha:wilmis* consisted of both lands and traditions, or *tOpa:ti:*, and it was the nature of this wealth that made him great. It had to be both inherited and acquired; a great man might succeed to the fame of his predecessor but in turn he had to validate his own status with displays of his own wealth and power in ceremonies and potlatches.

Basing the growth of their villages on the analogy of the family, the Nootkan people described the common class, the *masteim*, as "younger brothers," descendants who did not acquire any property of their own. Social distinctions were thus cast as much in terms of property as of birth. This also applied to the slaves who had no relatives and owned no property. They appear to have been either war captives or purchased from other tribes. From early accounts (e.g. Jewitt 1815) slaves may well have made up a large proportion of a great chief's household and were his most valued form of property.

Apart from the menial work performed by slaves, there may have been a more intensive specialization of occupation in Nootkan society than elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. Trades, crafts, ceremonial roles were assumed by

different individuals and often taught by parent to child.

The Nootka were possibly more mobile than other peoples of the Northwest Coast, since their natural resources tend to be somewhat scattered. The Nootkan social groups moved, during the course of each year, from their winter homes at the head of an inlet, where they could hunt, catch herring, and enjoy some shelter from the severe off-shore winds, to a coastal village where they spent much of the summer, and from which off-shore fishing and sea-mammal hunting could be conducted. Still later they moved to a third settlement on one of the various salmon streams, where they built up a supply of fish for the winter. In each of these three sites, permanent houseposts (*ne:ti:o:*) were constructed so that when moving from place to place, only the roofing and sidings of the building were transported.

Rank and status were most fully expressed on ceremonial occasions. Drucker (1951:444) distinguished three major ceremonial forms among the Nootka, emphasizing that their significance was social rather than religious. Feasts (*litso:*), the simplest form, were given on a wide variety of occasions. "Every time the chief got a lot of food of any kind, he gave a feast (*Lɪ̄tsū*) to give it away to the people," commented one of Drucker's (1951: 370) informants. Hosting a feast, however, was not confined to chiefs and the reason for a feast could vary from merely a surplus of berries picked by the women to a simple celebration of some life crisis event, to a grand welcoming occasion for visitors from another tribe. The potlatch (*no:shitl*; Drucker wrote it, *nɪ̄cil*) was a more spectacular ceremonial form, held when a chief had accumulated a quantity of property to give away and generally commemorating some important occasion or life crisis which affected the status of individuals within the group. A potlatch was always part of the Shamans' Dance, the ceremony of the Wolf Society (*tlo:qwa:na:*). This was the most important ceremonial in Nootka culture and comprised a whole complex of performances, feasts and potlatches. George Clutesi's (1969) recent book contains a very evocative account of a Shamans' Dance the author attended as a child. He portrays vivid scenes of the smoky big house filled with costumed dancers, of endless feasting and dramatic sketches which continued for 28 days and nights as the Wolf Society initiated new members into its ranks. Virtually everyone on the West Coast was initiated at least once during their lifetime. The Shamans' Dance generally took place in the middle of winter, and was attended by several tribes. It was hosted by an important chief who gave only one in his lifetime.

The coming of age of a highranking chief's daughter was one of the most important ceremonial occasions for the Nootka, and marriages between noble families of different tribes were likewise accompanied by a great deal of ceremony. On such occasions, strict rules of etiquette were followed, with a formal announcement of intent, ranked seating arrangements and gift giving and the formal presentation of lengthy speeches by guests and hosts. Both the conventional nature of the performances and the thoroughness of the rehearsals were in great contrast to the spontaneous spirit dancing of the neighboring Salishan peoples while Nootkan ceremonies also lacked the competitiveness which characterized Southern Kwakiutl potlatching, at least in the later 19th century.

The people of the West Coast do not appear to have been as aggressive or as competitive as their Kwakiutl neighbors. The personality ideals that were

admired by the Nootka were amiability, gentleness of manner and a sense of humor (Drucker 1951:456), qualities that were noted by most of the early visitors to that area. In this sense, therefore, their pattern of warfare, apparently endemic by the 18th century, was anomalous. The brutality shown in the type of guerilla warfare practiced by the Nootkans was in stark contrast to the otherwise mild-mannered quality of their life style. As Drucker (1951:332-365) pointed out, however, it was also carried out with a practiced efficiency typical of the people of the West Coast. Nootka warfare was confined mainly to the West Coast, to raids upon their neighbors for reasons mainly of revenge or conquest (Drucker 1951; also Swadesh 1948). Apart from some raids made on Coast Salish villages by the Southern Nootka, the Nootka rarely involved themselves in battle outside their own territory. One exceptional occasion was described to me in which a group of Muchalat men were decimated by the Nimpkish on the East Coast. The Muchalat had gone to visit their relatives but rashly had arrived singing a song they had been given by the Nimpkish in marriage. They apparently did not realize it was a war song. This story, which was related by a Moachaht man, was told as an illustration of Muchalat stupidity rather than of militaristic feats. In comparison with the Nimpkish Kwakiutl or the Haida (whose attacks on their villages are still recalled by some Chickliset people), the people of the West Coast were not regarded as great warriors. Although their history included some violence, the people of Kyuquot were renowned rather for their timidity (Jewitt 1815:94).

FOLK HISTORY IN KYUQUOT

a) Origins

In native histories, there has always been life on the West Coast of Vancouver Island.

> There was no order to it, however, until the Maker
> (literally "the man who made things the way they are")
> came to stabilize things. Everything was going on and on ....

This was at a time when the earth was flat. First the mountains were created and then man was put on earth. In Kyuquot, human beings preceded animal forms of life. The Kyuquot people claim that they have always been real human beings while the other West Coast tribes originated from animal forms.

In his fieldnotes, Drucker (n.d. 8N:101-2) gives the following story of the ancestor of the qwowinas people who claimed that they were the first inhabitants of Actis, and used to own the whole village.

> Two (beings) came down - *LaLuktinɬ* (who had 200 mouths) and *qanaqinxʷ* (who went to the East Coast.) *qanaqinxʷ* had gone around the island and met *LaLuktinɬ* on Village Island, (Actis), standing there with cooked mussels in his hand. *qanaqinxʷ* said, "That's no good. When people come up it won't be good for them to have 200 mouths all over body!" *LaLuktinɬ*'s 200 mouths all answered at once, "Yes, it's best. You're no good with just one mouth". *qanaqinxʷ* sat with hands over ears. Each started to tell what he had made on the sides of Vancouver Island.

qanaqinxʷ: "I've put places all along the East Coast where people can get sockeye etc. so that they won't starve."
LaLuktinɬ: "Yes, I've done that here too!"
qanaqinxʷ: "What do you think of this lake here (on Village Island)?"
LaLuktinɬ: "That's only good for children to play in."
qanaqinxʷ: "Don't you think it'd be good for sockeye?"
LaLuktinɬ: raised the mussel in his hand "This is *my* sockeye. It's good food - better than sockeye."
qanaqinxʷ: "No, this will be better. I can make the outlet deeper for you so sockeye come in."
LaLuktinɬ: "No, you can't beat me. *Lutcim* (mussels) are better - sockeye just comes once a year. What will the people do the rest of the time, starve? Mussels are best - they're here year round."
qanaqinxʷ: "There's something else I don't like about you. You have too many mouths."

They argued, finally *qanaqinxʷ* took all the mouths away from him, threw them away leaving only one. So *qanaqinxʷ* won....
Before *LaLuktinɬ* got fixed up, they were arguing about who was older (they were brothers). *LaLuktinɬ* with his 200 mouths said "I'm oldest, I stepped on this world first." *qanaqinxʷ* said, finally, "Well, lets say we came down same time." "No, I'm older" (LaLuk) So he won (therefore Kyuquots call themselves oldest). So then *qanaqinxʷ* said "Well, don't forget that we're always friends. Now I'm going back to Nimqic and bring up people. Don't forget to tell your people that there are people living on the East Coast."

So then they gave names to all places. *LaLuktinɬ* threw rocks all over for mussels, etc. Then *LaLuktinɬ* fixed places for the houses. Now the qwowinasath were placed where *LaLuktinɬ* first touched the ground (and they use a screen named *LaLuktinɬ* to show in potlatches with 200 mouths painted on it) - they are real aqtisath - and all the chiefs came from there and were given rivers of their own.

I recorded a much shorter account of how Kyuquot was made with inlets full of mussels rather than sockeye but no further references to the 200 mouths or the relationship of "elder brother" towards the East Coast peoples.

Stories of how the Creator or Transformer set about making things the way they are formed a basic part of a West Coast child's education. They included the antics of such characters as Raven and Mink as well as allegories such as how fire was first brought to the villages. George Clutesi, a Tseshart Indian from Port Alberni has also published a collection of these stories (1968). Such stories were not privately owned but they were known by everyone.

On the other hand, strict ownership is still observed of those ancestral legends, such as that of *LaLuktinɬ*, which describe the origin of certain family lines. Flood stories also appear to be quite common on the West Coast; but each is still the private property of a certain family and its narration is strictly controlled. The few I have heard (one in Kyuquot, one

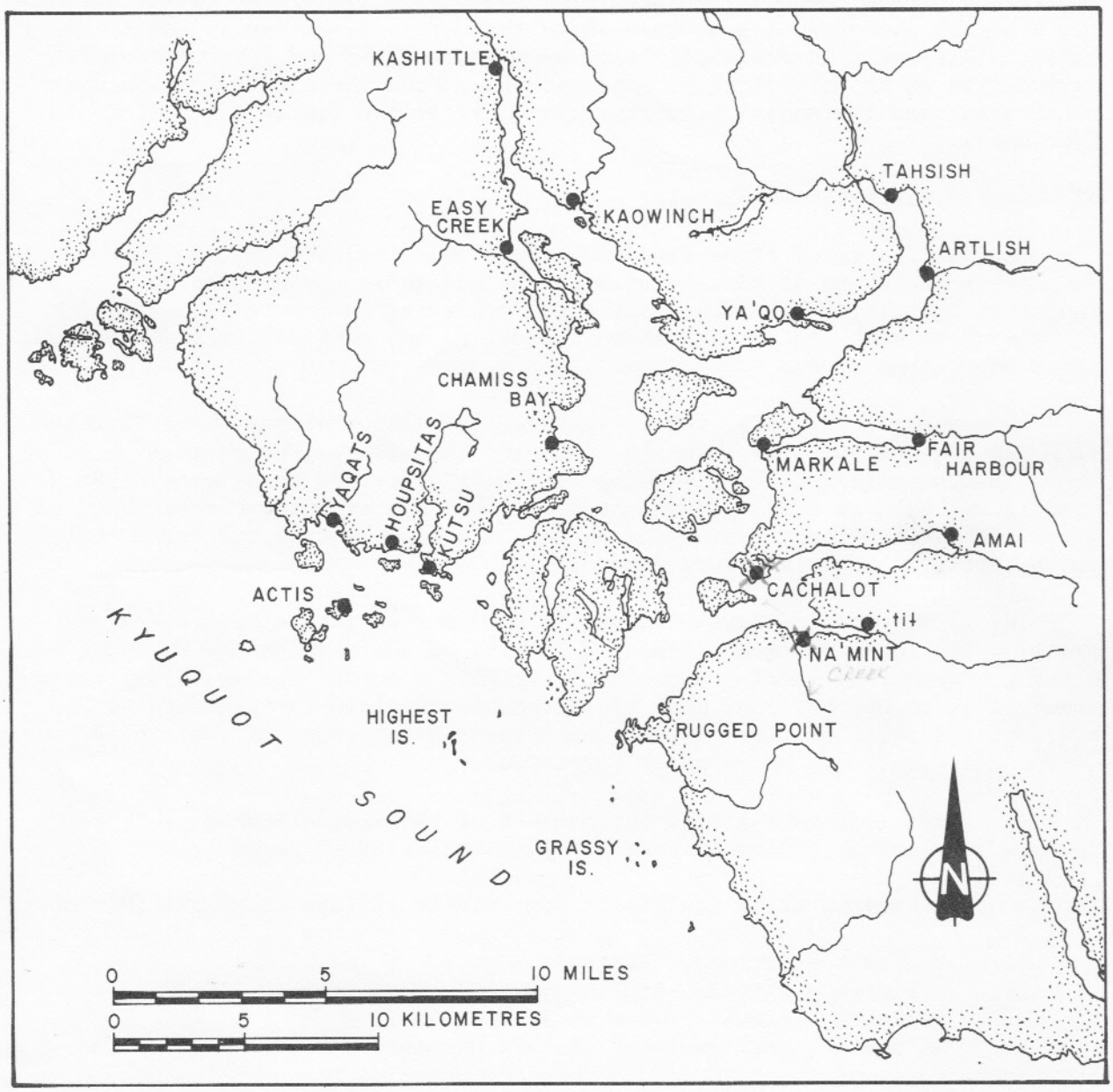


Figure 4. Former Local Group Sites in Kyuquot Sound.

from Port Alberni, one from Port Renfrew) explain how the founding family of the local group first came to their "place" or "home" from which the family derived its name. The major features involve father, mother, sons and daughters (often employing the magic number 10) and relate how these were saved from a great flood by supernatural help and guided to a suitable spot for settlement. From these early adventures came the basis of the family fortune, the story or ancestral legend upon which the unity of the family was to be based. This included descriptions of supernatural aid and instructions received from an animal spirit or supernatural. From these were derived both territorial and ceremonial property, the basis of the family's *ha:wilmis* (fortune).

b) Later Political Developments

The successors of these founding heroes took the name of this home, frequently a fishing stream, or of a chief, and these groups were the fundamental units of West Coast society. According to Drucker (1951:222) there were 14 such "local groups" in Kyuquot Sound, most of which were named after the salmon stream they owned.

In Drucker's analysis, the local groups were not autonomous by the time of White contact but were formally organized into tribes "by possession of a common winter village, fixed ranking for their assembled chiefs and often a name" (Drucker 1951:220). It was at the tribal winter headquarters that the great houses with their carved and named posts were erected and there that the important ceremonials were conducted.

The four tribes of Kyuquot Sound in turn united into a single confederacy. "The confederacy was cemented by ties of the same nature as those uniting a number of local groups into a tribe: a common village site, ... a summer one, to which all or most of the people repaired for sea-fishing and hunting; seriation of their chiefs, expressed in the order of seating on ceremonial occasions; and a name" (1951:220).

Drucker's informant listed the members of the Kyuquot confederacy as follows (the salmon stream of each group is indicated in parentheses):

1. Qanopittakamɬath tribe in Tahsish Arm; winter village at maxqet (Markale).

   i. tacisath - (stream, Tahsish)
   ii. a'Licath - (stream, Artlish)
   iii. ya'qoath - (small stream in Tahsish Arm)
   iv. qa'oqath - (stream Kaouk at Fair Harbour)

2. Cawispa tribe in Kokshittle Arm; winter village at cawispa (Chamiss).

   v. qa'opincath - (stream at Kaowinch)
   vi. qaqciLath - (stream at Kashittle)
   vii. qa'yoqwath - (stream at Easy Creek [Kayouk])
   viii. ca'wisath - (stream in Chamiss Bay)

3. Qwixqo'ath tribe in Deep Inlet; winter village at qwixqo (Cachalot).

   ix. amai'ath - (stream at Amai)

x. tiɬath - (stream in Narrowgut Inlet)
xi. na'mintath - (stream in Narrowgut Inlet)

4. La'a'ath tribe; winter village at Houpsitas

xii. ya'qatsath
xiii. kutsu'ath
xiv. qwowinasath

Although there are streams flowing into Clanninick Cove and McKays Cove, the fishing places of the La'a'ath people are not clear. These peoples were located on the outside waters. It seems as if their wealth was based on off-shore resources while at the same time they possessed a protected site for the winter at Houpsitas.

The last named group, the qwowinasath, were the legendary descendants of *LaLuktinɬ* and were created on Actis. They were also traditionally the highest ranking group in Kyuquot Sound (Drucker 1951:224). Over the years, this rank was transferred to the tacisath chief and subsequently to the ya'qatsath chief whose descendants retained it at least until the 1930s (see below, page 125). Thus the people from the outside shore appear to have been dominant throughout the culture history of the area with the tacisath house also playing an important role.

Curtis describes the traditional social organization of Kyuquot somewhat differently and it is worth comparing his description with Drucker's. Both refer to a similar period (the late 19th century) although Drucker's information is much fuller. Neither man actually visited Kyuquot but relied on information they learned in Nootka.

According to Curtis (1916:180), there were formerly only six villages of the Kyuquot people, which were occupied by the following "septs":

1. *Hihlhinnataut^{ha}* ("those who live outside" on the open coast), at the village Katsnim't on a small cove a few miles north of Blind Entrance.

2. *Kutsuut^{ha} kamihl (kutsu,* name of a local creek; kamihl, a suffix indicating a group of people) at Houpsitas on a point at the northern side of Blind Entrance.

3. *Shitlapaut^{ha}* (shitla, braken root; pa, eat) at Shawispa on Chamiss Bay.

4. *Kannopitkamihl'ut^{ha}* (Kannopit, name of a chief), at Mahket on the coast just south of Fair Harbour. This was the largest group of the Kyuquot, and the Shitlapaut^{ha} were the second largest.

5. *Tihl'ut^{ha}* (tihlocht, constantly in the water; these people were constantly hunting sea otter), at Qe^{ha}ka on the point at the north entrance to Deep Inlet.

6. *Ammaiut^{ha}* (amma, loon; referring to the abundance of loons at this place), at Aqtlis on the north side of Deep Inlet just opposite the southern headland. At a time that has not been determined these

> groups assembled in a single town, Aktese, which had been a fishing village. It now contains about sixty houses. On the opposite side of the Bay is Chuhwuttaqhl with more than twenty houses.
>
> (Curtis 1916:180)

Apart from the first named, all the groups named by Curtis can be identified with Drucker's groups: The Kutsuut^{ha} (2) are Drucker's local group Kutsuath, the Shitlapaut^{ha} (3) are the CiLapath (probably Drucker's qaqciLath in another form, the prefix qaq expressing "human beings"); the Kannopitkamihl'ut^{ha} (4), named for a chief, are Drucker's tribe at maxqet; and the Tihl'ut^{ha} (5) and the Ammaiut^{ha} (6) are Drucker's local groups tiɬat and amai'ath. The hiɬina'toath Drucker identifies as two housegroups in the yaqatsath local group. He translated their name too as "always on outside," adding in his fieldnotes that they didn't go up inlets. He also noted that they were the last group to move over to Actis, and consequently got house sites right at the end of the village.

It seems probable that Curtis's information was incomplete. It may also be that by the turn of the century only the villages he mentions were in use, although in 1914 (see below, page 40) representatives of the Royal Commission were told that 17 sites were being used by the local people. In all probability, many of these sites were merely work areas (*ma:ma:aht*) rather than residential areas by this date.

Today people conceptualize their ancestors' way of life as being divided mainly between two villages, their summer and their winter places. From the latter, individuals and families would go off to their *ma:ma:aht*, work areas, to collect the seasonal resources: herrings, berries, winter salmon; to trap; and to chop wood. These *ma:ma:aht* were inherited properties and only the rightful heirs or their kin could use them. At least in contact times, individuals had rights to use several such areas. Frequently, only temporary shelters were erected there, while at the winter places, Markale, Chamiss Bay, Cachalot and Houpsitas, full-size houseposts were erected. Three full-size canoes, with planks laid across them were needed to carry the sidings, roofings and personal possessions from one place to the other.

People from Kyuquot Sound appear to have been spending the summer at coastal village sites for a very long time. There was always a place to stay, either in temporary shelters or with kinsmen but a seasonal stay on the outer shores was essential for the yearly round of exploitation. It was not until they began to spend large parts of the winter at Actis too, however, that significant political adjustments were made. This obviously happened well before the middle of the 19th century since in the war of 1855 the Clayoquot and their allies found most people at Actis in March with present house sites already established.

The following story told by a Kyuquot man accounts for the move to Actis, and incidentally gives contemporary Kyuquots the necessary charter (in traditional terms) for their property on Actis and Houpsitas:

> Chief Emil's family (sic; refers to the Number One hereditary chief's family) used to live all alone on Actis. The Head Chief owns the island. All the people lived up inlet, at different inlets. Each had two chiefs, one or two chiefs. They used to call the chief up inlet, let him go up inlet, give him to eat,

> presents of some kind, like a potlatch, up inlet. Even in winter, they used to come and pick up the chief ... When the potlatch was finished, he had to go back home.
>
> The Chief got tired of going up inlet. He called together the old men who knew everything and said he was tired of going up inlet and why not call all the Indians together to live on one reserve. The big men say its all right to ask the people to move down there. They sent young people to call the people down. When they came they held a meeting and asked the people. The chief said he would give land to every chief, every family. They said all right.
>
> He gave each chief land and houses and still today the houses are called after the inlet the family came from.

c) The 1855 War

One of the most important events of the 19th century for the people of Kyuquot was the great war of 1855, when the Clayoquots and their allies attacked the village of Actis. This is still referred to as the "last war" and several incidents from the attack were described to me while I was in Kyuquot by people whose grandparents had witnessed them.

Sproat (1868:188 ff), Moser (1925:171 ff), Drucker (n.d. 1951:340) give full acounts of this war which involved most of the people of the West Coast. The Clayoquots were joined in their attack by the Hesquiaht, Moachaht, Ehhattesaht and Chickliset people (Moser), Ucluelet, Kelsomath, Muchalat, Nuchatlaht, Nitinat and Ohioth (Drucker n.d. 8:N). The reasons for the war were complex. A young woman, half Chickliset and half Clayoquot, was killed or drowned in the Kyuquot area and the Clayoquot people blamed the Kyuquots for her death (Moser 1925:188, Drucker n.d. 8:N). Feelings of hostility between the Kyuquots and the Clayoquots had been building up for several years. The Clayoquots earlier attempted to cause trouble by killing both the Kyuquot trader, Barney, on his way down the coast from Actis to Tofino, and subsequently the Kyuquot chief Tlaninitla, when he followed to investigate. According to Moser, a schooner manned by a White man accompanied the Clayoquot expedition but it failed to bring reinforcements to the Clayoquots when needed, and led to their returning without the complete victory they had anticipated.

The Kyuquot people were forewarned of an attack and set sentinels to keep guard at Actis. They waited for quite some time and when no enemy appeared, many of the people went up inlet to tiɬ to gather herring eggs. Finally, the allies came. They landed at Granite Island and waited for the cover of darkness and for the boys on guard to go to sleep.

After midnight, the Clayoquots landed on the west end of the village and set fire to a house of the La'a'ath. This woke the people but their defense was disorganized and soon all the houses as far as the middle of the village were burning, with many of their occupants still inside. Meanwhile, the allies were gradually repelled by various individual acts of heroism, told in Kyuquot today as well as in Drucker's field notes.

> Lawic, of Latcwostakaml, woke his daughter and sent her out of the house at the first commotion. She was still half asleep and

> ran towards the beach instead of the bush; he saw someone running and shot -- and killed his own daughter. So he didn't care after that. He ran out and killed three Clayoquots and let them kill him.
>
> (Drucker n.d. 8:N)

> There was one man who lost his son a little while ago. He was kind of mad. He got his gun and was going to fight the Clayoquots by himself. Hw crawled on the beach down by the logs which lay around there. He had some slugs and a musket, the old styled gun which was fired with powder. He shot at the Clayoquots and with every shot he got two because they were in groups and he used to hide in different places. They couldn't see anything on the beach because of the fire. He kept on firing till he had no more ammunition.

> Some of them (Clayoquots) went to the middle of the village. Here was a brave man who didn't want to fight. He had a gun in his hand. There was an opening in the back of his house and he pushed through it and lifted up his roof (there were no nails on it and it could easily be raised) and he looked out and saw the Clayoquots. He shot and got three of them because they were standing in a line, straight away from him. They ran away, he ran after them. He had a sawed-off shot gun and a knife. He followed them into the woods, and found their canoe, as they were going away ... With one shot he got a lot of them.

Fighting went on till dark. The Clayoquots retreated for the night to Mission Island and the Kyuquots sent four men to fetch the others from tiɬ. When the reinforcements failed to arrive for the allies, they left. The number of dead and injured for each side varies considerably with each account. Neither side enjoyed any great victory but despite their accounts of valor the Kyuquots still remember the loss of half their houses and of their ancestors.

Although the Kyuquots are supposed to have made retaliatory raids on their Northern Nootkan neighbors, no full-scale counter attack was launched. In 1972, an old Chickliset man recalled attacks made on Kyuquot when he was a boy, but the battle of 1855 was the last real war on the West Coast. Early missionaries and government agents did their best to control such hostilities and the drastic population decline resulting from disease in the later 19th century was an even more significant factor in ending Nootkan warfare.

d) The Coming of the White Man

There are few recorded accounts of initial native reactions to the White man and those we have contain very similar themes. One recurrent idea is that the first White man was believed by the Indians to be a local Indian returned from the dead, as in the following story told by the Kyuquot people.

> When the first sailing schooner came into Kyuquot, it anchored up in Ououkinish Inlet, or that area, and was hidden by the mists. An old man, out alone in his canoe, saw this and heard the people on board talking; "heh, Jimmy!" cried one to the other. An Indian had died a few days before who had been called by a name

> something like Jimmy and this old guy thought he was seeing ghosts through the mists.
> So people (on board) saw the canoe go and rode over there beside the schooner. They gave him a box of hard tack biscuits. He took them home, kept them hidden and used them as medicine. He rubbed them all over himself when he swam in the creeks.
> In those days, they used to swim in pools for three or four days for prayers. Hunters never slept with their wives for a month or so before hunting.
> The next year, another sailing schooner drew into Kyuquot and this time, several Indians went out to the boat to greet them. They were given lots of things; carrots and potatoes as well as hard tack biscuits. They took them home, looked at them all night and then decided they must be food and ate them and they were good. The other man heard about it; but for a whole year, he had kept them for medicine. Every time he went into his room, he had rubbed the biscuits all over him and prayed. He had never told anyone, for in the old days, you never told anyone of your medicine, because if you did it would lose its power.

The Nootka referred to the White man as *mamalti:*, "houses in the water" or "he who comes in ships." The early contact, of the late 18th and 19th century, was through trade and the newcomers did not spend much time in the native villages. The main effect was to increase the year-round importance of the outer villages, such as Actis. Both the possibility of trade and the hunting of the major trade commodity, the sea otter, made the village site convenient throughout the year. Otherwise, there was little overt change for almost a century.

It was not until the 1870s, by which time Kyuquot men were becoming increasingly involved in a commercial economy, a Catholic mission was set up on the West Coast, and the Federal Government began to reorganize Indian Affairs, that any real change was felt in the villages. The nature and effects of these changes will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

RESOURCE UTILIZATION AND EXCHANGE

The aboriginal way of life on the West Coast was basically semi-nomadic in that seasonal moves were necessary to utilize the range of resources available. It seems likely that informal sharing of the same summer village sites by several local groups, who maintained distinct winter and fishing stream settlements, is very old in Kyuquot. Further south, such seasonal alliances were not necessary since most local groups had easier access to both protected inland areas as well as the outer shore. There is no doubt that the local groups of the area of Kyuquot Sound had united into a more complex political entity by the early 19th century for Jewitt (1815) talks of the Kyuquots as a single group. Since the basis of the more complex political organization was basically economic, however, it seems probable that the Kyuquot local groups had some sort of rudimentary organization from an early date. Certain of their staple resources depended on access to the open waters, but in Kyuquot Sound this is far more restricted than it is among the Central Nootkan groups. There are only a limited number of sites in the area which are convenient for off-shore fishing and sea-mammal hunting. The outer

shore of Union Island has no shelter whatsoever from the southeasterly gales, although the eastern side of this island was used for burial sites which might indicate an earlier settlement. Rugged Point, on the west side of Tachu Point, has a pleasant sandy beach but the channel of Kyuquot Sound, which separates it from Union Island and points further west, can be extremely hazardous. To the east lie only the barren lands of Tachu. On the other side of the Mission Island group, "up west," is territory now claimed by the Chickliset people, although Drucker (1951:222) was told that they owned only as far east as Whiteface (Thomas) Island.

Several other sites, however, were used on the outer shores. Spring Island and Mission Island were both supposed to have been occupied by Kyuquot groups till fairly recently. In pre-contact time, "before the sealers came," people also used to live on the westerly side of Actis Island. Nothing remains now, except for a large shell midden, and, possibly, the remains of their gardens (in which case the beaches may have been occupied until fairly recently). One jutting promontary on this westerly side is still referred to as a look-out and from it a good view of both Spring Island and "up west" towards Chickliset territory is afforded.

Both halibut fishing and sea-mammal hunting were important off-shore activities which made necessary the use of a coastal site. Whaling does not appear to have been as important an occupation among the Northern Nootkan groups as it was further south. Drucker (1951:49) was told that in Kyuquot only the CiLapath chief possessed the requisite knowledge for whale hunting, although rights to stranded whales were elaborated (and for some reason distribution to the CiLapath house was not included [Drucker 1951:255]). In the Kyuquot area, hair seal hunting and ceremonial sharing appear to have assumed the significance of whaling further south, and hair seal rights and formal distribution of the captured animals were observed into the 20th century. Six chiefs or "owners" were called whenever a hair seal was caught. The qasttsaksk (Number One) chief owned the breasts, the tacisath chief the right flipper and the qa'opincath the left flipper; the qa'oqath chief had the right rear flipper and the CiLapath chief the left rear flipper and the alicath chief had the strip of fat running down the backbone.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the people of Kyuquot Sound occupied at least 17 sites scattered throughout Kyuquot Sound. In 1914, the people met on Actis with Mr. Commissioner Shaw and described to him what land they used so that appropriate recommendations concerning their reserve lands could be made. The Indians' main concern was to keep all the rivers of Kyuquot Sound and two areas of open water where halibut fishing was good. Exclusive rights to fish in the open sea were denied them but they succeeded in retaining sites at all the streams, the resources of which were carefully described at the meeting. It was obvious that these sites were very unequally endowed, but the account gives a great deal of insight into resource utilization of this period.

Tshsish and Kashittle were the main dog salmon streams, where the Indians caught most of their winter provisions. Chamiss, Amai, Fair Harbour (Kaouk), and Easy Creek (Kayouk) also had some dog salmon but only Easy Creek had any sockeye, since Jansen Lake is the only fresh water lake in the area. Easy Creek was apparently one of the richest sites with plenty of firewood and good duck- and goose-hunting.

Herring fishing was best at Mission Island (Kamils) and Amai. Amai was also a good place for hunting (deer, bear and ducks), berry-picking (wild blueberries) and trapping (marten and otter). Fair Harbour (Kaouk) was also a good berry-picking site, especially of wild strawberries.

Markale (Maxqet) possessed good land and it was here and at Actis that a little gardening was attemped under the encouragement of the early Europeans. Potatoes, and to a lesser extent carrots and turnips, were the main crops.

A few chickens were also kept on Actis and at this period, the berries (strawberries and raspberries especially) were plentiful near the Village.

Not all sites had timber for firewood or saw-wood for canoes and construction. Chamiss and Fair Harbour were reported as having plenty of firewood while Mission Island (Kamils), Tahsish, Artlish and Machta (na'mintl) seem to have had the best wood for construction. Actis and Markale, two very important sites, had no good timber.

No mention was made to the Commissioner of seafood, another important native resource, but from my own experience, two of the best beds of butter clams are at Markale and Actis. Abalone is plentiful just off Actis while mussels are found throughout the area.

The unequal distribution of resources throughout the area is striking. The groups with the richest local sites appear to have been those with access to the outer waters (the La'a'ath people): those with good salmon streams, especially the Ka-youk at Easy Creek who had the sockeye run (which may have something to do with the fact that the confederacy took the name of this sockeye stream); and those with land hunting and gathering resources (Amai and Markale). Both Drucker (n.d. 8N:100) and Curtis (1916:180) were told that Markale was the largest winter village. Drucker's informant also mentioned that Tahsish had several unnamed houses.

It seems likely that a certain amount of trading occurred both between the various groups of Kyuquot Sound and between the Kyuquot peoples and their neighbors of the East and West Coasts. Jewitt gives some description of the type of exchanges that occurred while he was with the Moachaht in the early 19th century. Soon after his capture (and the seizure of his ship's property) he noted:

> In this manner tribes of savages from various parts of the coast continued coming for several days, bringing with them blubber, oil, herring spawn, dried fish and clams, for which they received in return presents of cloth, etc., after which they in general immediately return home.
>
> (Jewitt 1815:30)

In a later section, he gives a fuller account of the sorts of commodities each group brought for trade:

> The trade of most of the other tribes with Nootka (the Moachaht) was principally train-oil, seal or whale's blubber, fish, fresh or dried, herring or salmon spawn, clams and mussels, and the *yæna* (salal), a species of fruit which is pressed and dried, cloth, sea

> otter skins and slaves. From the Aitizzarts (Ehattesahts) and the Cauyquets (Kyuquots), particularly the former, the best Ife-whaw (dentalia) and in the greatest quantities was obtained. The Eshquates (Hesquiahts) furnished us with wild ducks and geese, particularly the latter. The Wickinninish (Clayoquots) and Klaizzarts (Makah) brought to market many slaves, the best sea otter skins, great quantities of oil, whale sinew, and cakes of yama, highly ornamented canoes, some Ife-whaw, red ochre and pelpelth (mica) of an inferior quality to that obtained from the Newchemass (Nimpkish Kwakiutl), but particularly the so much valued metamelth (elk hide) and an excellent root called by the Klaizzarts Qwawnoose (wild onion). ... From the Klaizzarts was also received, though in no great quantity, a cloth manufactured by them from the fur already spoken of, which feels like wool and is of a gray colour (probably mountain goat wool).
>
> (Jewitt 1815:69)

To a certain extent, common resources were traded but there was also an exchange of scarcer items which persist today. The Nuchatlaht people still go to Kyuquot for sea gull eggs while the Kyuquot women go to the Nuchatlaht people for cedar bark for their weaving. The Queens Cove people go to Nuchatlitz for abalone and all the northern groups like to go to Friendly Cove in late summer as the blackberries there are reputed to be the best on the coast.

Among the most prestigious trade items to which the Kyuquot people had access were the dentalia shells. The main beds were on Tachu Point, although while visiting Nuchatlitz in 1974, I was shown a spot near the modern village where they are still found. Gathering rights were strictly controlled by the owners of the sites and an elaborate method of spearing the shell-fish on spiked poles or bundles of hemlock was devised. Although dentalia were highly prized on the West Coast (and now referred to as "Indian money"), they assumed far greater value the further they were traded.

THE CHICKLISET PEOPLE

The fact that the first White people in the area went to Chickliset territory (Ououkinish Inlet) is well accepted in the Kyuquot area. The Chickliset people still claim details of these stories as their private property and celebrate them in potlatches and song. Without knowing much of the recorded background history, however, people today claim that this meeting took place "before Captain Cook came" and was with a Spaniard. It is not unlikely that one of the Spanish exploratory voyages from California in the 17th or 18th centuries did get blown off course and met the Chickliset people; the meeting was not repeated ("They promised to come back, but never did," I was told) and unless details of it are unearthed from a search of the Spanish records, it must remain a mystery.

Little is known about many other aspects of aboriginal Chickliset culture. Drucker (1951) did not get much information about these people and indeed they remained isolated from Whites for longer than any of the other West Coast peoples. They also seem to have been more isolated from other groups on the West Coast, for it was a difficult journey into their territory, even in fine weather. At the end of the last century, it took Father Brabant,

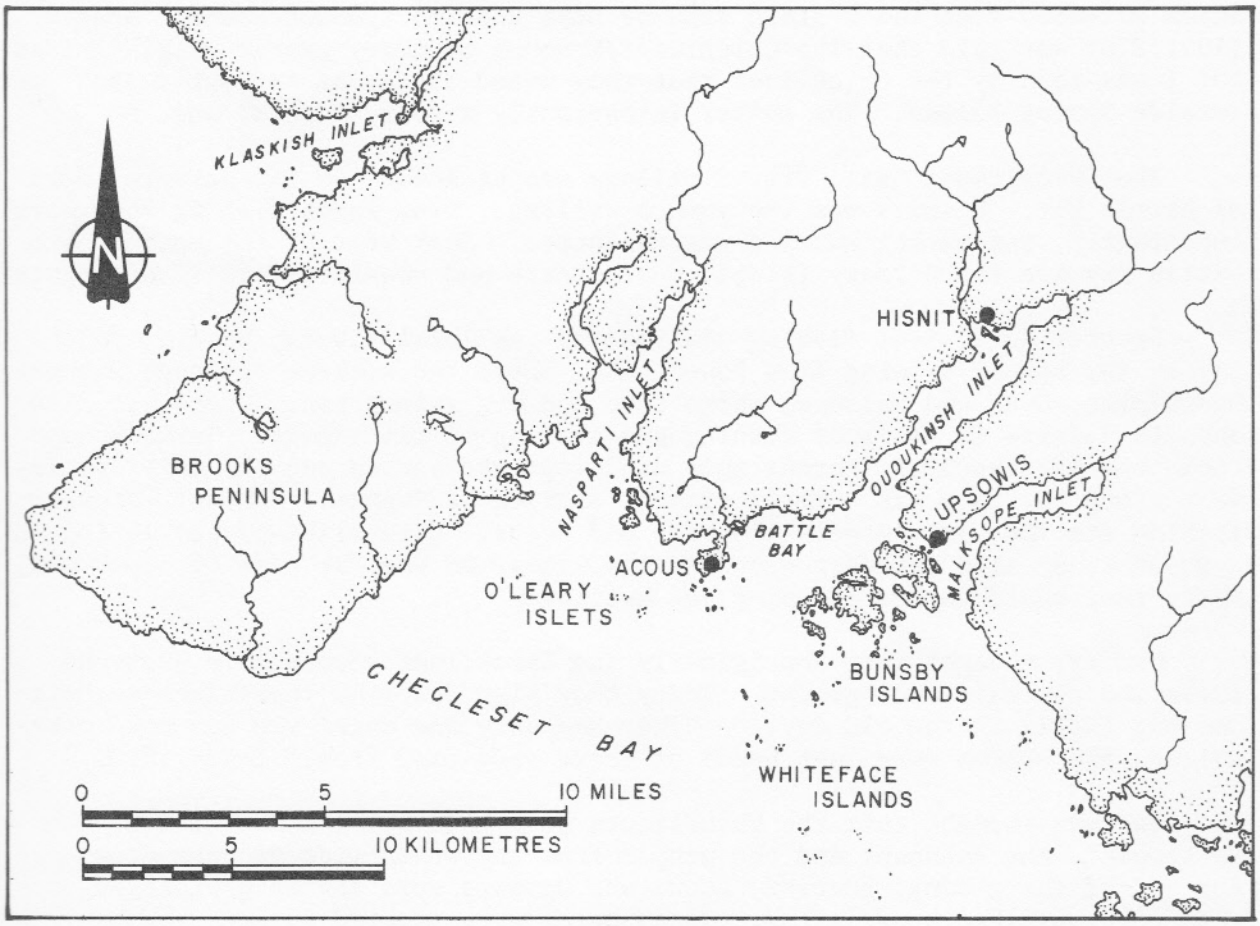


Figure 5. Chickliset Territory.

a Catholic missionary, a full day to travel by canoe from Actis to Acous, the Chickliset winter village. The only safe way to travel was along the inner passages, avoiding the open water as far as possible, but such meanderings often took a lot of time. It is easy to see, therefore, how in times past, the main channels of communication were up and down the inlets which could be traversed relatively quickly and easily, rather than along the coast.

There were numerous village sites scattered throughout Chickliset land, which extended from the western side of Cape Cook to Kyuquot Sound. Drucker (1951:220) was told that the Chickliset/Kyuquot boundary was at Thomas Island, but I was told by the Chickliset that they owned as far as Lookout Island just outside Spring Island. The matter is obviously a controversial one.

The Chicklisets' main winter village was at Acous, on the western shore of Battle Bay. Upsowis was the summer village, from where fishing and, more importantly, sea-mammal hunting was conducted. Just west of the entrance to Battle Bay are the O'leary Islets, where seals and sea-lions still congregate.

Drucker named five fishing stations up the local rivers; Hisnit, which lay on the stream flowing from Power Lake, where the sockeye spawned; Mahope, Ououkinish, Owas and Malsope, where coho and dog salmon ran. There was also an outside site for halibut fishing and sealing at Litsliwakt. Towards Cape Cook, the land becomes increasingly windswept and barren and the only settlement along the Cape was a small fishing station at Naspat. Hubtoul, another fishing station, lay between the Cape and Acous. Chickliset people living in Kyuquot today also remember spending the winter on the far side of Cape Cook, where they would go for trapping and hunting.

Drucker thought that aboriginally the Chickliset people were just one tribe and several local groups. Today they also describe themselves as "all one big family in the old days." "They had only one chief who was head over all and the others were just heads of where they came from," I was told.

One man thought that the Chicklisets were made up of three groups, the Malksopaht, the Ahkosaht and the people from the other side of Cape Cook. For all of the groups, however, Acous and Upsowis were the main villages, where they all had house sites. Totem poles were erected in both these villages, testimony to the close Kwakiutl ties enjoyed by the Chickliset. One such pole is still standing today, much overgrown and splintered, but a good example of Nootkan carving.

The Chickliset people were well-respected by their neighbors, although there was also a long-standing hostility between them and the Kyuquot people. Drucker (n.d.) was told by his Kyuquot informant that the Chicklisets were "good to potlatch, even though not a large tribe. They were all rich, all 'tyee' and invited lots of tribes. The women were noted for their looks ... (real black hair and light skin)." The Chickliset people were also noted for their independence and their aggressiveness, particularly in contrast to their peace-loving Kyuquot neighbors. Today it is still the Chickliset people who are known for the best war-stories in the area. One such tale recalls a night raid made on the Kyuquots within the narrator's lifetime. Another refers to a suprise attack made on the Chicklisets up near Malksope by the people of the Queen Charlotte Islands (who were much feared as warriors). The Chicklisets were forewarned and had chopped down a tree. As the enemy came up the hill,

the Chicklisets dropped the log on their heads and crushed them all.

Finally, the Chicklisets like to be remembered as great songsters, people who made up the best songs on the Coast and traded them all over the place. They remember their home up west as being the most beautiful of places, with lots of daffodils in spring (unusual for this area), and wild lilies, sunflowers, thrift and other blooms in summer; with water so fresh that one drank it on the spot; with herring eggs or blackberries so abundant that they never lacked them; and where nobody was ever in need.

Within a generation, however, all this has changed. Today, no one is living in Chickliset territory and most Chickliset people have settled in Kyuquot. They first started moving down to Kyuquot for the summer after a commercial fishcamp had been opened in Walters Cove. At first they stayed on their boats, but as they spent longer periods in Kyuquot, the Kyuquot people gave them places on Mission Island. They had no store and no school up west and gradually people spent longer periods of the year in Kyuquot, so that the families would not be broken up when the men were fishing or logging, and the children attended school.

There also appeared to have been a precipitating factor in the move of the last Chickliset residents. An important chief was killed in a shooting incident. His family, in their grief, "put away" his chieftainship (so that no successor would assume his title and property) and moved away from the place where it happened, to Kyuquot. His assailant was imprisoned for a while and his family disbanded. Thus two of the main Chickliset families left in quick succession.

Finally, the Chickliset and Kyuquot Bands decided to amalgamate. They pooled their finances and reserves and now share an elected band council. They have intermarried and now live together on Actis, Houpsitas and Walters Cove. Both peoples, however, continue to have their own hereditary chiefs and traditional property rights and they continue to distinguish themselves in terms of their former, rather than contemporary, band affiliation wherever possible.

CHAPTER FOUR: "FORMAL" HISTORY; THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN

Despite its isolated position, Kyuquot has a long history of contact with other Indian peoples and the Kyuquot way has obviously been influenced by them over a much longer period than it has by White culture. Certain Indian neighbors continue to have important economic, social and administrative links with Kyuquot and on a local level at least, such relationships are far more significant than any contemporary relations with Whites.

On the other hand, only the White man has left elaborate records of his contact with the area and thus our knowledge of the Indians' relations with Whites, although they are relatively recent, is far greater than that of their relations with each other. This leads to an almost automatic tendency to overemphasize the importance of Indian-White relations in Indian affairs. Furthermore we know a great deal of what the White man has thought of the Indian for a couple of hundred years; but there is very little evidence for the contrary and only isolated fragments indicate the Indians' changing views towards the newcomers. This in turn leads to a further imbalance in any type of "formal" history of the area.

There was, however, a great difference in the type of culture contact existing between native groups and that between the Indians and Whites of the later 19th century. Only the White man attempted to introduce and direct changes in the Indian villages. Relationships between most Indian groups were carried out on a footing of more or less equal understanding. In the early days, contact with the White man was on a similar basis. The explorers of the 18th century came to trade and to record their discoveries. They showed no interest in altering the native way of life, but were fascinated by the eagerness with which certain of the White man's goods were so readily adopted by the native people. In the long run, of course, the introduction of such revolutionary items as guns and metal did profoundly alter the traditional ways but it was a very different form of culture change than that experienced in the later 19th century, when both Church and State, missionaries and government agents moved into the area, eager both to convert the pagan to the one true faith and to establish the progressive order and values of the civilized world.

EXPLORATORY VENTURES

The first known European contact with the people of the West Coast was made in 1774 by the Spaniard Juan Perez, commander of an expedition to explore the Pacific Coast as far north as 60'. He did not land but anchored offshore in an inlet he calld San Lorenzo, later identified as Nootka Sound. From his ship, the *Santiago*, he traded with the local people (apparently from Friendly Cove) and was suprised to find they already had iron and copper. Jose Martinez, his second-in-command, later claimed to recognize San Lorenzo as Nootka Sound when he returned in 1789, a claim which did much to strengthen Spanish rights to sovereignty in the area. There is, however, some doubt about this because of inaccuracies in the records of latitude made by Perez' expedition. At one point, I wondered if this was the ship that the Chickliset stories refer to, but careful scrutiny of the preserved accounts (Perez, Martinez, and the two chaplains, Crespis and de la Pena, in Cutter 1969) does not support this theory. Their descriptions are obviously of Friendly Cove and its environment.

In 1778, Captain James Cook, on the last stages of his third expedition, stopped at Friendly Cove, as he named the Moachaht Indian village of Yuqwot in Nootka Sound. He spent several days there, trading with the local people and refurbishing supplies, and left a full account of the area and its inhabitants. In particular, he noted the wealth of skins available for trade. A handsome "sea-beaver" (sea-otter) skin was given him as a parting gift by the chief, who "Importuned us much to return to them again, and by way of encouragement promised to lay in a good stock of furs, and I have not the least doubt but they will" (Cook 1967:308).

Even before the official account of the voyage was published, eager explorers and traders were hastening to the Northwest Coast from all corners of the globe. In the next 20 years, English, Spanish and American ships, flying under a variety of flags to avoid the monopolies of the big trading companies, competed with each other for furs, territory and ultimately sovereignty, as the respective claims to this wealthy area were contested by England and Spain on the strength of Perez' and Cook's expeditions. None of these voyages, however, appear to have stopped at Kyuquot. Our knowledge of the Northern Nootka of this period is based almost entirely on what was said of their relatives, the Moachaht, although it is also evident that the Kyuquot people were frequent visitors to Friendly Cove during this period.

Several invaluable accounts of the West Coast were left by these early explorers and traders. John Meares (1967), who built and launched the ship *Northwest America* from Friendly Cove in 1788, left a detailed, if somewhat biased description of the area, including accounts of the peoples of Friendly Cove and of Clayoquot (the Wickinanish group). James Colnett (Howay, ed. 1940), an English fur-trader and opportunist like Meares, left accounts of two voyages to the Northwest (only one of which is published) which contain much information about the West Coast as well as the political squabbles between Spain and England. It was the seizure of his ship, the *Argonaut*, in 1790 by the Spanish that precipitated the Nootka Sound controversy and also caused the poor captain to lose his sanity temporarily. George Vancouver (1801), the diplomatic British representative who managed to smooth relations with the Spanish and later reach a settlement between the two nations, also left an account of his visits to Nootka and Tahsis, the winter village of the chief Maquinna. These were made with Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish negotiator, who enjoyed especially amiable relations with the local people. Bodega y Quadra's expedition of 1792 was accompanied by Jose Mariano Mozino, a priest and meticulous botanist-naturalist, who has left one of the fullest and most sympathetic accounts of the period (1970), both in terms of the political situation and of the local way of life. The around-the-world expedition of Alejandro Malaspina (n.d.) which stopped at Nootka Sound in 1791 and navigated Nootka Island, also made some important observations on the area.

The Nootka Sound controversy was finally settled by an agreement signed in Madrid in 1794. The Spanish garrison which Martinez had established in Friendly Cove in 1789 was abandoned and free access to Nootka was guaranteed both nations, although in effect this left possession of Nootka once more in the hands of the Indians. European powers were by this time too embarrassed by events in Europe to be concerned about the Northwest Coast of America and, even more significantly, the supply of sea otters was already drying up. By 1800, virtually all voyages to Nootka and the West Coast had ceased. The seizure of the *Boston* in 1803 and the massacre of most of its crew finally

erased any advantages Friendly Cove and the west coast of Vancouver Island might have as a stopping place for vessels. For the next three years no ships went near the West Coast, and after the *Boston* survivors had been rescued to tell their tale, very few ships were prepared to contemplate visiting the area for almost 50 years.

John Jewitt, one of the rescued *Boston* crew, later published an account of his captivity, which was to become a best seller in its time, and in later periods one of the most entertaining pieces of Indian-White literature. Not only did he substantiate much of the detail in other accounts of Nootkan material culture but he also provided insight into less tangible aspects, such as social and political oganization and trade.

Jewitt recorded that the Kyuquots were frequent visitors to the Moachaht while he was at Friendly Cove, and it seems probable that in this way the Kyuquot people were indirectly involved with the earliest Europeans to come to the area. He claimed to have made two visits to the Ehattesaht people with his chief, Maquinna, but never went as far north as Kyuquot. The only description he made of them was not altogether flattering, but perhaps represents Maquinna's tendency to brag rather more than the character of the Kyuquots:

> A considerably way farther up to the northward are the Cayuquets; these are a much more numerous tribe than that of the Nootka but thought by the latter to be deficient in courage and martial spirit, Maquinna having frequently told me that their hearts were little like those of birds.
>
> (Jewitt 1815:94)

Apart from this brief statement, there is no direct reference to the Kyuquot and Chickliset people before the mid 19th century. Jewitt's brief mention is thus important for several reasons. The Kyuquots remained the largest West Coast group throughout the 19th century (as shown by the early figures cited by Indian Affairs reports) and today only the Ahousaht Band is larger. Although some of their more important historical events were militaristic, the Kyuquot people are still known on the West Coast for their sense of humor and their mildness of manner rather than their aggressiveness, in contrast to the Chickliset people, who seem to have prided themselves on their warlike character. The Chicklisets Jewitt described in his Journal as visiting Friendly Cove after a war-raid. They "informed our chief that they had been to war with another tribe and killed 100 men and women" (Jewitt 1931:46).

Finally, there is little doubt that the complex political organization of all the groups in Kyuquot Sound, Drucker's "confederacy," was already distinct at this time. Jewitt makes no mention separately of any Kyuquot local group, while he distinguishes such groups in both the Nuchatlitz and Nootka Sound area.

There are no records of any further voyages in the area of the Northern Nootka until the second half of the 19th century. In 1862, *HMS Hecate* made a survey of the area and it was this expedition which gave the contemporary names to many points just west of Kyuquot. Captain George Richards, in charge of the trip, seems to have been very much impressed by a popular young English novelist of the time, and place names such as the Bunsbies, Gay Passage, the Cuttle Islets and Cautious Point all came straight from the pages of *Dombey*

and Son (Sharcott 1960:28).

The *Hecate* was accompanied by a Lieutenant Hankin and Dr. Wood who set out to find a route overland from the West Coast to Fort Rupert on the East Coast. The two men left Queens Cove on May 25th, 1862, by canoe, and

> arrived at Kayuket Island the following day by noon, where I found a very large Indian settlement called by the natives "actiss". There are between 700 and 800 people living here, and they are a finer looking race than any other natives I have seen on Vancouver Island....With the exception of occasional visits from trading schooners, they had seen but little of the whites. But two of them had visited Victoria....I found my knowledge of the Barclay Sound language most useful to me, in fact without it we should have been quite unable to proceed for they are totally ignorant of Chinook.
>
> (Hankin 1862)

With some difficulty, Lieutenant Hankin persuaded seven of the Indians to act as their guides and they all set off by canoe the following morning for the Tahsish River where the trails should start. At the mouth of the river, Hankin saw "the remains of a considerable Indian village which is inhabited during the salmon season by the Kyuket Indians, who all report this as being an extremely good fishing ground." Unfortunately, when they attempted to travel upstream they were driven back by bad weather and had to return to Kyuquot. "We were received by the natives as before, with every kindness; and pitching our little tent, took up our old quarters."

They spent three more days at Actis, learning the language and playing Indian games, such as leaping, jumping, tug-o'-war and picking up a feather from the ground, while one-legged. "During the day an intelligent Indian would draw for me on the sand the trail across the island to Nimpkish, putting in the lakes and rivers and telling us their native names," Hanken noted, a statement which contradicts Codere's (1961::1436) assertion that "the Nimpkish were in command of this trail; not even the Nootka seem to have used it."

Finally they were able to persuade six Indians to accompany them on a second attempt at the trail to Nimpkish, this time successful despite bad weather and lack of provisions. They paid each man five blankets and a shirt, and were assisted in their business arrangements by the young chief Kai-ne-nitt, who "appears to possess more influence with his tribe than any other chief I have met." They noted briefly that the Indians did not have any religious views,

> but they appear to be perfect heathens, worshipping neither sun, moon nor stars, nor having any idea of a supreme being...They are clothed principally in the blanket and cape made from the bark of the yellow cypress, from which most invaluable tree they also manufacture canoes, paddles, fishing nets, twine net hats, and the chief had a quantity of a very strong stout rope which they used for whale fishing, made from the fibre of the same tree.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

After the decline of the sea otter trade by 1800, there are no records of the Northern Nootka actively participating in trade with Whites until the mid 1850s. It is likely, however, that they continued to hunt and trap for trade and took their skins to the newly established Hudson Bay Company in Fort Rupert, since that trail was obviously well trodden during this period.

In the middle of the 19th century, there was a great demand for "dog-fish" oil, which was used in huge quantities by early loggers to grease their skids, such as in the newly opened saw-mills of Puget Sound and the lower Fraser (Drucker 1951:56). Once again, trade goods, such as blankets, guns and ammunition, steel knives, molasses, hard-tack biscuits, matches, and buttons became available in large numbers, as well as new items which were adopted eagerly by the people of the West Coast. Regular visits were made to Kyuquot by a trading ship belonging to the firm of Bamfield and Francis, which operated out of Clayoquot (Tofino). They had a permanent representative stationed at Kyuquot, a Maltese named Barney, who lived on Mission Island and supplied the people with increasingly necessary commodities such as iron, steel, flour and potatoes, in return for "dog-fish" oil and skins. The Indian people began to spend most of the summers fishing "dog-fish" (small littoral sharks) with cod hooks and harpooning "mud sharks" with a sealing harpoon and buoy. The oil they then processed themselves for sale. During the winters, most of their time up inlet was devoted to trapping.

In the later half of the 19th century, trade in sealskins became a profitable enterprise. Fur seals had formerly been plentiful off the West Coast and had been hunted by the Indians from their canoes with harpoons. As White weapons were used more widely, however, the fur seal was driven further and further from the inlets and only for a short time in the year were they to be found within hunting distance of the shore. Seal-hunting was then carried out from schooners, which followed the seals around the northern Pacific Coast.

Despite the opposition of the missionaries, commercial seal-hunting, at least in the early years, was carried out in the spirit of traditional sea-mammal hunting.

> When the young men are out sealing, the people at home observe strict old-fashioned rules. So, for instance, the doors of the houses must remain closed and the room be kept as dark as possible; dogs, chickens and even children are turned outside. I heard a young man say that he missed a seal -- or rather saw a small school of seals on which he was gaining stealthily, expecting to throw his spear at one of them and kill it, - when all at once they all awoke and began to fight on the water; and he attributed his ill-luck of not killing it -- as they can only be speared when they are asleep -- to the fact that at that very time a band of dogs had a row in his house, as he was afterwards informed by the women at home.
>
> (Moser 1925:104)

A colorful description of the procedures of the sealing schooners is given by Swarthout (Haicks n.d.:27-8). The fleet of sealing schooners had its headquarters in Victoria. Early every year, they left their base and went

round the Indian villages of the coast to recruit men. Nootka Indian crews were especially sought because of their knowledge of the seas and their experience in sea-mammal hunting. The arrival of the schooners in the village caused tremendous excitement, particularly since the crews were paid in advance and each trip could therefore be preceded by a great deal of celebrating.

In the early spring, the schooners went south as far as the California coast and then moved gradually north towards the Bering Sea, following the seals. Around the beginning of May they returned home from this first season. The second season was during July and August and was spent in the Bering Sea.

Each schooner carried from 10 to 15 canoes and a crew of 20 to 30 Indian hunters. As a rule, two or three schooners were able to secure crews at each Indian village. For several weeks before sailing, the schooners lay in the various harbors and competed with each other for the most expert spearmen of the tribe. They thus chose a "boss" from among the Indians to recruit the rest of the men, a procedure which was not without problems.

Many schooners came up to Kyuquot in search of crews, but probably the most colorful sealer was Gustav Hansen, the "Flying Dutchman of the Pacific," who came to the West Coast around 1878. He earned his notoriety by making illegal raids for furs all along the Northwest Coast. He was captured and taken to Sitka on piracy charges, but he managed to escape. Later he was captured by the Russians and held prisoner in Vladivostok for six months. Finally, he returned to Kyuquot to work out a mining claim with his partner, John Donahue, only to be drowned in a canoe accident in 1900. He was buried by the Indians in Clanninick Cove, with full honors due a chief (Sharcott 1960:175-8). He is still remembered in Kyuquot where his name is born by one of the main families.

His partner, John Donahue, survived the accident and married an Indian girl, Annie. They settled on her family property at Chamiss Bay where they built up a small orchard. Annie was apparently a woman educated in White ways and she is credited with helping the Indians get the reserves they were due in the following years.

By 1890 there was no further demand for "dog-fish" oil, and in 1891 the United States Government closed the Bering Sea to sealing by Canadian and British vessels. Although it was feared initially that this would affect the Indians' prosperity, they began hunting offshore in canoes again. In this way men were soon making up to $600 a season.

> The West Coast Indians are expert canoe men and often venture far out on the sea with their frail bark, which however, are beautiful models of marine architecture. With sails made of flour sacks, it is astonishing with what facility they handle their canoes and the rough seas they sucessfully encounter when hunting the fur seal or highly prized sea otter.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1889:101)

By the end of the century, some of the Indians themselves owned schooners (Indian Affairs 1898:45) and were earning large incomes. Some form of cash economy had become very necessary to the Indian people so that their industry had practical motives:

> They use very large quantities of sugar, tea, clothing blankets, etc., and the stocks of flour (mostly imported from Oregon) to be found in their own possession and at the trader's stores surprise me.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1889:101)

The Pelagic Treaty, concluded in 1912, finally ended the sealing industry. Indians continued to hunt illegally from their canoes, but by this time, alternative forms of employment and income were becoming available.

The early 20th century saw the rise of several new commercial enterprises in the area. In 1901, a cannery was opened in Alberni, and this was followed by several others, including those at New Westminster, Ceepeecee and Nootka, where large numbers of Indian workers were employed periodically. These canneries were mainly concerned with catching and processing the pilchard, until it mysteriously disappeared in the 1930s, and subsequently, for a short while, with herring. Both men and women were employed, men in fishing and women in canning operations. Today people who remember working in their youth look back on their periodic stays at Ceepeecee or Nootka with fond memories. The workers were accommodated in tribal "camps" at the canneries, and they recall the parties, the potlatches and the lahal games that used to go on well into the night. They also remember the hard, often dangerous work they performed, when mothers used to smuggle their children in because they hated to leave them all the time and then how one child fell in a vat of lye; or how tight things became during the fishermen's strike of the 1930s when operations had to be closed down.

There was also a saltery near Kyuquot, in Chamiss Bay, owned and run by Japanese, which employed local people. Here, herrings and chum salmon were salted and shipped to China. It was closed when trade difficulties developed between China and Japan in the 1930s. A Kyuquot man still remembers working there and the ruins can be seen up inlet.

In 1908 a whaling station was built on Narrowgut Inlet (Cachalot Inlet) by Messrs Sprott and Rufus Balcon and this was operated until 1926. The station was fed by five "killer" boats, each manned by eleven men. The crews were mostly White, but many local men were also employed, both as whalers and in more menial jobs. In the actual five months of operation each year, they were reported to catch up to 400 whales (Sharcott 1960:147). Today people remember Cachalot in those days as a good place for whale teeth to use in native masks, but only the ruins of the old wharf remain. Since that time, West Coast Indians have worked for whaling operations out of Alert Bay, but these too have now ceased to operate.

Several mining operations were carried out on the West Coast involving the Indian people to a lesser degree. In Zeballos, there were iron mines in the 1930s, while up Amai Inlet prospectors have been looking for gold for many years. In 1938 they sank the first shaft and worked there, unsuccessfully, until the 1950s, when their funds ran out. The claim has not been abandoned, however, and four log cabins, the saw mill and shaft itself are still in good repair.

Regular freight service up the West Coast began with the C.P.R. ship *Teis* in the early years of this century. In 1913 it was replaced by S.S.

Maquinna, which today is remembered by older people for attempting to enter Kyuquot Harbor in 1917 and getting stuck in the mud. Henceforth it docked up at the whaling station in Cachalot Inlet, bringing in supplies and passengers approximately every 20 days. Indian people describe how they occasionally travelled up and down the coast by riding in the hold, uncomfortable but less demanding than some other routes.

Within the last 40 years, logging and commercial fishing have become the most important industries for the Northern Nootka. West Coast Indians excel in both occupations which obviously represent no great break with tradition for them. A lumber mill had been erected in Port Alberni in the 1860s and scattered logging activities developed on the East Coast of Vancouver Island towards the end of the 19th century. By 1900, hand-logging was carried on profitably among the Southern Kwakiutl (Codere 1950:39, Duff 1964:86), and at about this time, a pulpmill was built at Quatsino Sound (Drucker and Heizer 1967:26). Thus although opportunities for working within the logging industry occurred from an early date for the Northern Nootkans, this was on a fairly limited basis before the second World War. There was then a great expansion of the logging industry of the Northwest and a more integrated system of forestry developed under the control of the large corporation (Robinson and Hardwick 1973:17,30,41). Today logging activity is extensive all over Vancouver Island. Indian men are employed in both logging camps and lumber mills. In the camps they perform a range of activities from those of cook to positions of risk and responsibility such as fallers and spa-operators. With a few exceptions, however, they do not hold administrative posts. Their employment tends to be seasonal and short term, so that they have the freedom to go home and spend time with their families.

Today, commercial fishing is the most important economic activity among the Northern Nootka. Men from Kyuquot began to acquire their own schooners in the early decades of this century but either worked on the East Coast, or Nootka (after a fishcamp was opened there in 1915), or Winter Harbour (where a fishcamp was opened in 1925). In the summer of 1930, the first cooperative fishcamp was established in Kyuquot and this has ultimately resulted in far-reaching changes in Indian society and life-style. Until this time, all commercial enterprises had been at a distance and people returned to their traditional village when they had worked sufficiently. With the fishcamp located in the harbor of Walters Cove, however, a whole range of new experiences were introduced. A White communtiy, small at first, but increasing year by year, began to settle in the new Cove. For the Indians, previous contact with Whites on such a regular basis had been limited to a few adventurers, like Gustav Hansen, or to priests and store keepers, none of whom lived in a manner very different from themselves. Now, however, the Indians of Kyuquot were regularly exposed to a group of White people with very different values and ambitions from their own, who furthermore did not disguise their feelings of superiority to the native people.

With the opening of the fishcamp, the Indians were gradually drawn into a full-time market economy. Most men fished during the summer. They began to acquire their own small fish-trollers, boats which could be manned by one person, or at most by two. A couple of men in Kyuquot are still using the boats which they, or their fathers, built over 30 years ago, while the remains of several other such boats stand proudly on the beach where they were last landed. These trollers have enough room to sleep a couple of men.

Thus the need for temporary accommodation up inlet disappeared since, even in those increasingly rare cases where men went off to trap, gather berries and herring eggs, they slept on the boats they were travelling in.

The growth of the trolling industry also introduced new methods of fishing. Now it became an individual enterprise rather than the group effort it had been previously. Men may take as deckhands younger relatives who do not have their own boats but it is basically a one man operation and the Indian economic units became increasingly smaller.

CHURCH ACTIVITIES

The Spanish expeditions of the late 18th century were accompanied by priests, but they made small efforts to convert the Indian people. More thorough missionary efforts did not begin until the 1870s, when a Catholic (Oblate) mission was set up in Hesquiat under the Rev. A.J. Brabant. Amongst other things, he was instructed to see

> that the Indians themselves shall acquire property and settlements and improve their condition of life, so that with the improvement of their temporal and physical conditions their minds and hearts be raised to higher and better things hereafter.
> Let him neglect nothing towards establishing a civilized social order of life among them, for which purpose he himself shall not decline to act as judge in settling their disputes and shall instruct some among them how to keep public order, and protect the smaller and weaker from the stronger, and holding in check the evil passions of the wicked...
>
> (Moser 1925:5)

Despite the ignorance of local ways evident in the tone of Brabant's instructions, Brabant himself appears to have been fairly sympathetic to the native people. His account of his years at the mission (from 1875-1910) is full of the difficulties and personal suffering he endured, but, on the whole, he tried to comprehend local ways, without simply pushing through changes. He was puzzled, for example, by government opposition to the traditional ceremonies of the local people, and commented:

> ... I can see nothing to find fault with at the present time. When I see the masquerades, the cavalcades, historic processions, dramas and other entertainments of our white population abandoned and given up forever, it will be time enough to tell the Indians that they must give up "Tlookwana" festivities.
>
> (Moser 1925:103)

He felt the *Tloqwana*, Winter Ceremonies, of the Indian people reminded him of the *Mardi Gras* of Europe and he obviously enjoyed the performances.

Nonetheless, Father Brabant was not without prejudices. In particular, he felt that the traditional blanket-type dress of the local people had no place in the mission or indeed in contemporary society:

> I now made it a rule that no man should come to my house unless they wore pants!
> This was hard on them, for they had always considered this covering of their lower limbs as superfluous - a real bother.
> But I was inexorable....
>
> (Moser 1925:103)

This was in 1881. White style clothing had just been introduced to the Indian villages, being traded, together with print-calico, flour, molasses and tobacco, in return for "dog-fish" oil.

> The old people, who did most of the work, objected to the buying of clothing, but the young people, especially the women, did not listen to the pleadings of their elders and invested most of their earnings in the purchase of decent wearing apparel.
>
> (Moser 1925:103)

By the end of the century, Brabant and the women appear to have prevailed. White style clothing is predominant in almost all the photographs we have from this period, and indeed, when the Kyuquot people looked at some pictures taken by Edward Curtis in the early 20th century, they immediately denounced them as fakes, because "nobody dressed like that when cameras were around."

In 1874, shortly before the mission was set up, Brabant and the Right Reverend Charles E. Segars, Bishop of Victoria, made an exploratory visit to most of the 18 tribes on the West Coast. They reached Kyuquot on April 24th. Because of confusing and horrifying stories they had heard about missionaries, the Indians were at first too frightened to come out to meet them, a timid reaction that seems typical of the Kyuquot's reputation. Reassured by the missionaries' cook, a Kyuquot man, they took the visitors ashore and there the clergymen were welcomed by the Kyuquot chief, a cripple. Two days later, Father Brabant spent most of the day baptizing 177 children. The missionaries also visited the Chicklisets at Acous (Eiko-os), and there they baptized 46 children. Their Kyuquot companions were also thoroughly intimidated by the Chicklisets, in this case justifiably so, since at the first opportunity, the latter locked up the Kyuquots in one of the big houses, from which they had to be rescued by the missionaries.

It was six years, however, before this initial "conversion" could be followed up. In 1880, Reverend J.N. Lemmens established the permanent mission of St. Marc in Kyuquot and he was succeeded by Rev. Jos. Nicolaye (Moser 1925: 133 ff.). The first mission was on Kamils Island (Mission Island or Graveyard Island as it is variously called). During the 1880s, Father Nicolaye staked out village lots on the land adjacent to the mission, where families whose children were attending school might build houses. These were the new, small one-roomed homes, so much commended by Church and government officials, and intended to replace the traditional big house which was still in use at this period. Both houses and sites seem to have declined after the closing of the Church in 1897. In the 1930s and 1940s, Mission Island was once again inhabited, this time by the Chickliset people.

When a new priest arrived in the 1920s, the Kyuquot Church was rebuilt on a new site on the northwest side of Actis. This was replaced in 1945 by a

third church, dedicated to St. Michael, which is still standing today in the middle of the village of Actis. Although there has been no resident priest for many years, it is in good condition and is used when a priest comes up to Kyuquot a couple of times a year and holds mass, performs weddings or merely visits with local people. Today, virtually everyone among the Northern Nootka is at least nominally Catholic. Instruction is now limited except for those who have attended the Christie Indian Residential School (opened in 1900, but recently amalgamated with the local provincial school and operative only as a Residence). Nonetheless, Catholic baptism, marriage ceremonies and funerals are preferred whenever possible, and in almost every house on Actis hangs a picture of Saint Francis of Assisi, a gift from a visiting priest some years ago.

The missionaries, however, met with a slow and limited response. The people of the West Coast appear to have been even more tenacious of their beliefs than other Northwest Coast tribes and Duff (1964:87) records that in 1939, most of the 28 people in British Columbia who still held to "Aboriginal beliefs" were Nootkans. Brabant himself noted that "The Indians tell their yarns with such conviction of truth that it is almost painful to have to contradict them" (Moser 1925:51). Another factor also handicapped missionary efforts.

> It is a family of chiefs who suspect that Christianity will have the effect of lowering them in the esteem of the other Indians of the Coast. The idea of seeing people of low rank raised to their level, as all Christians are alike, and have the same spiritual privileges, hurts their feelings. Pride is at the bottom, that Indian pride which is among the greatest obstacles to the conversion of all Indian nations.
>
> (Moser 1925:115)

Christianity not only ran counter to most Nootkan beliefs, but it also upset the social order of the West Coast. The very slowness of missionary endeavors is a testimony to the strength and importance of ideas on rank and property in traditional West Coast society.

More significantly, however, Christian ideas were slow to catch on because old beliefs continued to have a great deal of validity and effectiveness.

> In fishing and hunting, the Indians not only use charms ... but they also practised oos-im-itch, a system of conjuring by which the animal sought was rendered as easy prey .... if by any means the ko-utsma can be charmed into subjection and caused to leave the body, the latter can be quickly secured.
> ... and yet, strange as it may seem, and herein lies one of the serious obstacles to Christianity, those Indians who strictly practise oos-im-itch are almost invariably the most successful hunters.
>
> (Haicks n.d. 85-91)

So observed one of the missionaries about a practice he felt it his Christian duty to eliminate.

Far from being passive recipients of all the changes of the late 19th

century, the Indians of the West Coast showed a great deal of selectivity in what they adopted into their lifestyle. The missionaries were tolerated and, in some cases, treated well, because the Indian people felt they could gain something from their presence. On the other hand, the Indians did not want to accept everything that the missionaries brought:

> Missionary, we are glad to have you with us. We are glad because you help us. You do many things for us. Your medicine is good. Your schools are good, and we are pleased to have our children learn the English language. We do not want you to go away. We want you to stay here and help us ... But ... you want my people to become Christians ... The Haidahs are Christians, and the Tsimsheans and some other tribes. A Christian is a man who never eats with his friends, but always sits down alone with his wife to eat. He never invites the other Indians to eat with him. He never gives a potlatch. That is a Christian. Missionary, I do not want you to try to make Christians of my people.
>
> (Haicks n.d.:35)

Thus spoke one of the chiefs of the Tsee-shos (Tsesharts) to the Protestant missionary, M. Swarthout, who came to the West Coast in the 1890s, first to Alberni and then to Ucluelet (Etedsu, as it was then called). They did not extend their activities further north than Ahousat, and thus while the Northern Nootkans are almost entirely Catholic, the Central bands are divided into Catholics and Protestants. Swarthout criticized the Catholic missionaries for failing to follow up on their initial conversions with proper instruction and help, commenting:

> The Roman Catholics had had nominal possession for many years. They had gone from tribe to tribe baptising the children and then had left them to grow up baptized heathen. Still in the government reports, credit was given the Roman Catholic Church for many converts in each tribe ... (they were) credited with 30 converts in Etedsu, where that Church had never had a mission and where, for years, no priest had ever been.
>
> (Haicks n.d.:71)

Despite native reservations about their work, the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, were given land on which to build their churches and help from the local people in obtaining food and transport. In a typically amiable and accommodating manner, the West Coast people absorbed much that the church had to offer into their traditional culture. At a potlatch held in Kyuquot in 1884 for the Koskimo (Moser 1925:139), the priest's sermons were obviously regarded as significant performances in the Kyuquot presentations, though Father Nicolaye would have been horrified had he realized how they were regarded. In this period of increasing contact, it appears that for many years the Indian people had the whip hand. It was not until their numbers were drastically depleted that their old ways began to fail them or became unable to provide explanations and solutions for all the new problems.

This occurred in Kyuquot in the 1920s and 1930s, which are remembered as being some of the most difficult years. It was during this period that the church made a concerted effort to eliminate native ways. The children who

were taken off to attend the Christie school were forced to speak English and prevented from attending native ceremonies. Punishments for non-compliance were severe. Today older people who grew up in this atmosphere are puzzled by the enthusiasm Whites express for the traditional Indian cultures. "Now its crazy," said one man, "they are trying to bring everything back, culture, language, after taking it all away from us." This was also the period when government legislation on the potlatch became effective, in the arrests and sentencing following Daniel Cranmer's potlatch at Village Island in 1921. Traditional ceremonies became increasingly infrequent, although certain forms have never disappeared completely.

From the 1920s to mid 1950s, the church was very active in Kyuquot among the Indian people, filling significant social as well as religious functions. A resident priest occupied the church rooms and organized social evenings, bingo games, and ball games as well as conducting regular church services. I am uncertain as to why resident priests were then withdrawn from the villages but suspect it was for economic reasons. Since that time, the outlying bands have been part of a church parish run out of Tahsis.

GOVERNMENT CHANGES

In the 1870s, Indian administration was reorganized. In 1873, "Indian Affairs" became a branch of the Department of the Interior and was no longer responsible to the Secretary of State. From 1880-1936 it was a separate Department of Indian Affairs. Subsequently, until 1950 it was a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources, from 1950-1966 the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (Duff 1964:63), and in 1966 it became the Department of Indians and Northern Development.

In 1872 Dr. I.W. Powell was named as the first Commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia. He made several inspections along the coast, including a trip to the West Coast in 1873 in H.M.S. *Boxer*. In 1881, the first six Indian agencies were established in British Columbia and Henry Guillod, the first West Coast agent, took up his headquarters in Ucluelet. For many years, this remained one of the most isolated agencies, and indeed Guillod was able to make only infrequent visits to many of the people in the area.

Before Guillod came to the West Coast, the only government representative in the area had been Gilbert Sproat. He had first come to what is now Port Alberni to build a mill in 1860, an employee of a firm of shipbrokers and owners. He stayed on as local manager of the mill and in the next few years became "what in practice amounted to an unofficial government agency for the West Coast District" (Rickard 1937:22). In 1876 he was appointed a member of the Indian Land Commission and was instrumental in the creation of reserves in British Columbia.

These early officials were all very interested in and sympathetic towards the local people. Their descriptions are full of praise for the industry and amiability of the West Coast Indians and contrast sharply with reports made on the neighboring Kwakiutl. In 1875, Commissioner Powell wrote of the Nootka:

> Though heretofore noted for their treacherous and warlike character, I found them tractable and remarkably well disposed....

> They are a hardy and industrious race, and so far as I could perceive, the richest of any Indians I have met in the Province
>
> (Indian Affairs 1875:44)

In 1882, he visited Kyuquot on H.M.S. *Rocket* and commented

> The West Coast or Aht Indians are not much behind the Kwahkewlths (sic) in their love of holding potlaching feasts, gambling, etc, etc. They are, however, much more industrious and amenable to recognized authority
>
> (Indian Affairs 1882:162)

While the Indians of the Kwawkewlth Agency were regularly denounced as "the least advanced and the most averse to civilizing influences of any in the Province" (Indian Affairs 1887:lxx), the people of the West Coast were lauded as "intelligent and active and industrious ..." (Indian Affairs 1898:245).

The people of Kyuquot seem to have been singled out for their industry:

> The Kyukahts, who form the largest tribe on the West Coast, are remarkable for their industry. They are beginning to erect frame houses on their reserves instead of "rancheries," which is the style of building generally used by the Indians of the Coast. The latter are most comfortless structures, affording less protection from the weather than an ordinary barn, and they are doubtless the cause, to a large extent, of the fatal pulmonary diseases which are so prevalent among the Indians of Vancouver Island.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1884:lix)

Perhaps because of the missionaries' influence, the people of Kyuquot appear to have begun adopting smaller houses before some of the other tribes of the Coast. Each long house, however, was replaced by a line of three smaller structures which stretched from the beach to the woods. Facing the beach was the ceremonial or dance house, behind this stood the smokehouse and finally at the back was the dwelling. This pattern persisted until well into the 20th century, when the dwelling and dance house were merged in either a large single-room house or a multi-room building with a living room large enough to hold the whole village.

The industry and intelligence of the West Coast people is not questioned but their accommodation and apparent acquiescence may well have been somewhat misleading. Sproat probably knew the Indians of the West Coast better than any other White of the period and he says a great deal about their sense of humor when he noted:

> The fondness of the Ahts for mystification and the number of "sells" which they practice on a painstaking inquirer going about with notebook in hand, are unexpected and extraordinary on the part of the savages whom we regard as so mean in intelligence. They will give a wrong meaning intentionally to a word, and afterwards, if you will use it, will laugh at you and enjoy the joke greatly among themselves.
>
> (Sprout 1868:295)

Government records reinforce the view that for the first generation or so of intensive contact between Indian and Whites, the Indians were in control of most situations. Unlike the neighboring Kwakiutl, they did not antagonize the Eurocanadian newcomers, but treated them hospitably, complied with their demands when it suited them and remained isolated enough to carry on much as they had always done.

In those early years, when officials felt it their "peculiar responsibility ... to use every endeavour to promote the civilization, education and ultimate Christianization of the native races..." (Joseph Trutch in Indian Affairs 1875:lix) "two serious obstacles" were felt to hinder the amelioration of the Nootkan Indians' condition "by the blessing of civilization" (Indian Affairs 1875:44). Government efforts were therefore directed at eliminating these obstacles. They were:

> Firstly. They are inveterate gamblers and this vice has taken such a firm hold of them, that from childhood to old age there is no attendent sacrifice they are not ready to make to gratify and encourage it.
> Secondly. The frequent assemblages of the different tribes for the purpose of holding donation feasts ("potlatches"). On such occasions a large amount of property is given away or destroyed, and the continual round of feasting at a period of the year most important to the development of perhaps the most valuable source of wealth, is quite destructive to any settled habit of labour and industry.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1875:45)

The Nootkan potlatch was never fully understood by government officials outside the West Coast, who viewed the institution of the potlatch in the same terms throughout the Northwest Coast, and demanded its total abolition. Henry Guillod was a little more understanding. In 1884, he reported that

> I have explained to the tribes the wishes of the Department and proclamation issued to stop the "potlatch." They reply: "It is very hard to try and stop us; the white man gives feasts to his friends and goes to theatres; we have only our 'potlatches' and dances for amusement; we work for our money and like to spend it as we please, in gathering our friends together and giving them food to eat, and when we give blankets or money, we dance and sing and all are good friends together; now whenever we travel we find friends; the 'potlatch' does that."
>
> (Indian Affairs 1884:101)

Guillod added that he also failed to understand the justice behind the legislation to make the Indians give up the potlatch, since there was no prostitution or drunkenness on these occasions. One suspects, therefore, that little real effort was made at this period to prevent native ceremonies.

Meanwhile, the Indian Agent attempted to introduce some western methods of social control. That these were not always successful is underscored in the following entry for 1888:

> At Nootka the chief and his police were in trouble with the

> tribe, having greatly exceeded the authority I gave them; to quiet matters I took away the handcuffs for a time.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1888:103)

Problems arose when the officials misunderstood the status-system of the people, and upset both the traditional order and balance of society. Upstart chiefs, who were friendly towards the White man, were given powers disproportionate to their rank, and matters of law and order, traditionally a communal matter, were concentrated in a few hands. This marks the beginning of conflicts which are still apparent in West Coast society. In addition, government agents, in attempting to offer equal protection to all, further upset the traditional balance by offering security to bad native doctors, who otherwise might have been checked by the people themselves.

The most pressing matter of all, for government and Indians alike, was the land question and the present controversy is testimony to the fact that this was never settled. In British Columbia, no treaty was ever signed with the Indian people who were merely allotted reserve land of varying amounts according to the recommendations of the Commission on Indian Reserves (active from 1876 till 1908). It was hoped that a generous policy in alloting reserves would satisfy both sides. The Indians of the West Coast were awarded most of their traditional sites as reserve land but continue to feel that the size of many of these reserves is too small and that some important sites were excluded.

General dissatisfaction with the initial settlement led in 1913 to the creation of a second Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, "the Reserve Commission," which travelled all round the Province to get information about Indian requirements and reserves. In 1916 they published their report, the recommendations in which were later ratified by Federal and Provincial Governments to form the basis for the present land settlement.

The first Indian Act of the post-Confederation period was promulgated in 1876 and entitled *An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians*. It generally continued the earlier policy towards the Indians with no major modification. A major revision in 1880 (the *Indian Act*) included an attempt to suppress the native ceremonies of the Northwest. The most recent revision, which directs the contemporary Indian administration, removed these prohibitions, recognized the voting and drinking rights of Indian people and also attempted to redefine the structure of band organization and councils by handing over more responsibility and power to the bands (Smith 1975:xvi-xxv).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Kyuquot Sound was once a relatively densely populated area. Seasonal villages and fishing stations were situated up all the major inlets and at several locations along the coast. Occupied for various parts of the year to exploit the local resources, these settlements were often empty for much of the time while their inhabitants moved on, with great facility, to other regularly used settlements.

This tremendous mobility makes population estimates difficult, and the

figures we have are often conflicting. In 1805, Jewitt (1815:94) described the Kyuquots as being "far more numerous" than the Moachaht, or the people of Yuqwot, "who numbered about 500 warriors "(Jewitt 1815:90) and a total of "no less than fifteen hundred persons" (Jewitt 1815:142). This would indicate that an estimate of 2,000 Kyuquots at the turn of the 19th century is a conservative one. On the other hand, Kroeber (1939:135) assessed the total population of the West Coast as only 6,000 at the time of contact.

His figure is obviously very low. As Hazard (1960:6-7) pointed out for the southern Kwakiutl, the presence of so many unoccupied villages may have suggested to the earliest visitors in the area that the population was suffering from severe decline while in fact they were merely observing seasonal villages presently unused.

Duff (1964:39) gives a slightly higher figure of 7,500 people on the West Coast in 1835, the time for when the first censuses are available for some areas of British Columbia. This again appears to be too low, reflecting the problem of obtaining accurate estimates because of population mobility. These difficulties are also apparent in the estimates of Indian Affairs from the turn of the 20th century, which are far from consistent. Together with statements concerning natural disasters and diseases, however, they make it plain that the people of the West Coast were suffering from severe mortality, later than people in the north of the province, but no less dramatically.

In Kyuquot, three factors were responsible for the great population decline which is reflected in the figures of Tables 3 and 4: war, disease and sea-casualties. The last inter-tribal war, that of 1855, has already been described. Half the village of Actis was razed to the ground and the number of dead and wounded is now impossible to estimate. Enemy accounts obviously exaggerate the extent of their victories. In the version given to Drucker (n.d.:8N) there were at least nine dead and many wounded, and it is likely that in this, a Kyuquot story, the losses were minimized. According to Moser (1925:189) 70 Kyuquots were slain and 20 taken as slaves, while Sproat (1968: 195), who is perhaps the best informed and impartial source for this story, says that the "Clyoquots" killed 35 people and took 13 slaves. Prior to this war, there had been several outbreaks of hostilities involving injury and death both for the Kyuquots and their enemies. After 1855, the Kyuquots made raids on the Nuchatlaht, Ehattesaht and other allies, though not the Clayoquot (Drucker 1951:341).

One of the worst accidents in Kyuquot's history occurred in the sealing industry. In the spring of 1902, the sailing schooner *Hatzie* sailed from Kyuquot

> having on board, besides the white crew, twenty three Indians and one kloochman, all of whom were supposed to have been drowned during the terrible gales then raging along that coast. The loss of these native people was rendered all the more deplorable owing to the fact that the chief, an excellent man, and many of the influential men of the tribes were among the hunters engaged on the ill-fated schooners
>
> (Indian Affairs 1903:280)

Accidents at sea were not new but they occurred on a far greater scale

TABLE 3: THE POPULATION OF THE WEST COAST

Year	Population Figure	Source
1774	6000	Kroeber 1939:135
1835	7500	Duff 1964:39
1876	3500	Indian Affairs 1876:91
1886	3415	Indian Affairs 1886:100
1896	2750	Indian Affairs 1896:434
1908	2133	Indian Affairs 1908:268
1913	1919	Indian Affairs 1913:13
1939	1605	Duff 1964:39
1963	2899	Duff 1964:39
1970	3057	Indian Affairs 1970:28-32

TABLE 4: THE POPULATION OF KYUQUOT

Year	Population Figure	Source
1805	2000	Jewitt 1815:142
1862	7-800	Hankin 1862
1874	800	Moser 1925:18
1886	640	Moser 1925:192
1897	430	Moser 1925:192
1904	281	Curtis 1916:180
1906	257	Indian Affairs 1900:76
1925	124	Moser 1925:192
1970	209	Band List 1970

with White men's boats. One woman in Kyuquot talked bitterly of the coming of the schooners and the serious casualties that ensued, feeling in retrospect that the old canoes were far safer. Indeed, the loss of the *Hatzie* is still felt in Kyuquot for most of the leading families lost their men; it was said that "it wiped out the cream of Kyuquot manhood."

Sea fatalities continue to be a significant cause of death, hardly surprising in an area so oriented towards the ocean. During the periods of my fieldwork, however, only one child, from a neighboring band, actually drowned. There were a few other serious incidents, involving life and limb, and on at least three occasions resulting in the loss of the boat, but the people involved were rescued, albeit in a state of shock.

Undoubtedly the greatest source of population decimation, however, was the White man's diseases, which swept through all the West Coast tribes at the end of the 19th century. There is no record of this area being directly affected by the great smallpox outbreakes of 1838 or 1862, which devastated many of the native Northwest coast populations. The latter afflicted Fort Rupert and Cape Mudge, however, and may well have reached places like Kyuquot.

Towards the end of the century, measles, whopping cough and, even more, tuberculosis were particularly serious. The Annual Reports of the Indian Agent regularly carry entries about the severe mortality they caused. In 1883, the Agent noted that in Kyuquot alone, an outbreak of measles and whopping cough caused the death of 20 adults and 50 children. Another bad measles epidemic in 1888 also took a heavy toll, while in 1899 a typhoid epidemic was raging all along the coast, being carried to the villages from the Fraser River cannery. At the turn of the century, the West Coast and Fraser River Agencies were showing the most severe mortalities, with pulmonary and bronchial complaints being the most serious illnesses. In 1908, it was noted in the Annual Report that "it is probable that in addition to the influence of their occupation and the climate of the seacoast, these bands suffer from contact with the worst elements of the cities and towns of the coast." Tuberculosis by this point was having a dramatic effect on the death rate. Venereal disease was also to reach almost epidemic proportions by the 1920s and 1930s.

Duff (1964:45) pointed out that the lowest point of West Coast mortality was reached in 1939, somewhat later than elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. He suggested that the fact that recovery from population decline was slower in coming to the Nootka than some of the other tribes of the Northwest was a reflection of "the willingness of the different tribes to remould their lives into new patterns and adopt more healthful working conditions" (1964:45). Duff does not do justice to the people of the West Coast. He ignores both the isolated nature of many of their villages and their history of accommodation to and appreciation of many aspects of White culture. Until the 1930s, the Northern Nootka had to make a lengthy and often arduous journey to Port Alberni or Victoria to receive medical attention. The mission hospital at Esperanza was opened in 1934 and in 1938, a Red Cross outpost, also operated by Shanteymen missionaries, was established in Kyuquot. Though closed as part of the war effort from 1940-1946, they have both operated almost continuously from that time (Sharcott 1960:225). The Northern Nootka appear to have adapted very readily to western medicine when it was available to them, but during the most crucial years they obviously had very little access to it.

Furthermore, the figure Duff cites may be more than a little misleading. Older people in Kyuquot recall with nostalgia the Actis of their youth, around 1920. Then, it is claimed, the Village was a large and lively place, with as many as 1,000 people staying there and more than 40 houses occupied. This last figure is substantiated to some extent by Curtis' (1916:180) statement that there were about 60 houses on Actis, and more than 20 houses on Mission Island (*Chuhwuttaqhl*) a few years earlier (although his population estimate for 1913 was only 165). People also describe all the fun and "pretending" that went on during the winter, referring to the winter ceremonies, the performances of the Shaman's Dance, that were still being held at this period. It may be that the decline in West Coast population was exaggerated because of the continued mobility of the people and the consequent difficulties of obtaining reasonable census figures. On the other hand, there is no doubt the number of Indians on the West Coast was greatly reduced and official figures have only recently begun to show much improvement.

CHAPTER FIVE: MAKING A LIVING

> They (the people of the West Coast) are a hardy and industrious race and so far as I could perceive, the richest of any Indians I have met in the Province. Were a proper disposal made of their immense gains they could, without a doubt, live independently and furnish themselves with every comfort and every luxury to be wished for. There seems to be scarcely a limit to their productive resources, and I am told that it is not at all uncommon for any Indian to realize from $500.00 to $1,000.00 per annum, from their sealing grounds and fisheries alone.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1875:44)

The way of life in Kyuquot continues to be oriented towards the sea. Early accounts, such as that cited above, stress the abundance of resources on the West Coast, "its inexhaustible storehouse" (Indian Affairs 1892:xx). While there is no way, at this stage, to test the interesting hypothesis that the Nootkans were the richest of the aboriginal peoples of the Northwest, it seems unlikely that any Nootkan group ever suffered severe shortage. Thus the theory, raised by Suttles (1960) and subsequently by Vayda (1961) and Piddocke (1965), that the potlatch served as a means of redistributing wealth goods in a food-for-wealth exchange system generated by periodic famine has little relevance for the Nootka. Drucker (1951:36-7) described how there was always something to eat on the West Coast, even if through mismanagement or inclement weather, more palatable foods were unavailable.

Despite the readiness with which many White foodstuffs and domestic items were adopted on the West Coast, certain traditional subsistance techniques and foods have persisted. Early Indian Agents' reports record surprise at the local demand for flour, showing how quickly "Indian bread" became a staple. I was given several recipes for this which were said to have been handed down for generations and it is recalled how within living memory bread was baked in hot coals on the beach. As flour became a necessary luxury, some form of cash economy quickly became part of the Nootkan subsistance pattern. On the other hand, a basic sea diet has remained largely unchanged. Many people complain that they are "starving" if they have had no fish or seafood to eat for some time; and thus in addition to commercial fishing, a great deal of energy is expended in procuring the "traditional" foods from the sea and shore for home use and in ensuring a steady supply of such items throughout the year by various means of preservation.

THE COMMERCIAL ECONOMY

1. Fishing

Commercial fishing, in the form of trolling, is the single most important economic activity in Kyuquot today. Although the opening of the first cooperative fish-buying camp in Walters Cove in 1930 has led to far-reaching changes in the community, commercial fishing as an occupation or way of life involved no great break with the past. The Nootkans were always great fishermen even if traditionally it was the work of commoners rather than a suitable aristocratic pursuit. In terms of organization, however, changes have been

introduced which are still being felt (see above, page 53). Men can troll and make a living independently; the old extended family and household structure is being broken up, at least as an economic entity. A dependence has been created on the summer fishing season and on a cash economy and, when this fails, on government aid. In 1972 and 1974 several men were unable to fish commercially because their boats were broken, and some applied for welfare assistance. This situation of increasing reliance and dependence on the government to provide for them disturbs some of the Indians who are beginning to question each other about how they managed before they had the government to support them.

Furthermore, commercial fishing has created a new social *élite*, of boat owners, which does not particularly coincide with either the traditional or elective status systems. Good fishermen carry great prestige in the community, and the fisherman's most prized possession is his troller. These show great variety in size, age and condition, although a large, modern boat may be no more cherished than a small, old-fashioned troller that was first owned by a grandparent and perhaps even built by him. Today the boats also have a value over and above their actual worth as sea-worthy vessels. Recent government restrictions have been imposed to attempt to control the taking of salmon and boats are licensed according to the type of fishing they might undertake. An "A" license, the most desirable, enables the boat to take any sort of fish for an unspecified time. A "B" licence allows for taking any sort of fish other than salmon, is valid for 10 years, and is not renewable. A "C" license is even more limited. All the Indian-owned trollers carry "A" licenses and have been owned by family lines for years. On the other hand, it is very difficult for a young man, either White or Indian, to get started in the fishing industry if he has to buy a boat and the appropriate license. In 1973 to 1974, the licensed boat market hit a tremendous inflation which caused prices to treble in a very short period.

Other results of the establishment of a fishcamp in Kyuquot have already been mentioned. Fishing from trollers ended the need for homes up inlet as well as on Actis, for people could now travel and sleep in the same boat. Finally, it introduced a White community as neighbors to the Indian people which demonstrated different attitudes and values while sharing the same sea-oriented life-style.

Salmon is both the major cash item and the diet staple for local people. All five species of salmon are caught but to the Kyuquot people, only one species is worthy of the designation "salmon": the mighty spring (or Chinook) salmon. The others are referred to more specifically as coho, humpies, chum (or dog) and sockeye.

In Kyuquot the commercial fishing season opens on June 1st with coho fishing. Beforehand, fishermen are busy preparing their boats and equipment for the very concentrated work necessary in June, July and August. All commercial fishing is done from trollers, although the larger boats can carry the equipment for seining later in the season. Boats vary in size from 25 feet to 40 feet with as many as 16 fishing lines on the larger boats. These are dropped with lures from central poles when the boat is in motion. A bell on the central pole rings to show when a fish is caught and the line can be pulled in. Fish are cleaned and gutted on the boat and are generally sold that same evening to one of the fishcamps in Kyuquot, since only the largest

boats can carry enough ice to make overnight fishing trips. The price of salmon varies throughout the season, according to the species and the supply; during the summers of my fieldwork, it ranged from 49 cents a pound to $1.49 a pound.

During the summer, fishermen work long hours, often leaving home at 3 a.m. to be sure of getting to the fishing grounds by dawn. Watching the boats leave the bay, with lights flashing, horns blaring, as they jostle for position, is a memorable sight. Once on the open waters, the boats separate in search of the fish. When these are found, lines are dropped and for endless hours the boats move slowly to and fro, dragging their lines and waiting for the bells to ring.

On good days, boats are out till late in the evening, returning to the nearest fishcamp to sell their catch and leaving early next morning to try to repeat their luck. Though most men fish alone, they keep in contact with their families in the village and with other fishermen by the short wave radio carried in every boat and house. Most Indian people have it tuned to the same wavelength. In this way, conversations within the community and with the fishermen are monitored and everyone knows both the situation for the fishermen as well as what most of their neighbors are doing.

Young Indians, who do not yet own boats, can generally find work as a deckhand on the large boats, either with a relative or with White fishermen. Many Whites come up to Kyuquot during the fishing season and stay all season if they are successful. Because of the facilities it offers -- fishcamps, with their supplies of provisions and fresh ice, their showers and saunas, as well as its central location for a very favorable stretch of waters-- Kyuquot is a popular area for White and Indian fishermen during this season.

Salmon trolling on the open waters is the predominent method of fishing for most of the summer and is done with synthetic line and plugs. All species are caught in this way before they begin to enter the inlets although the chum (dog) salmon arrives somewhat later than the main trolling season. Sockeye is the most important species commercially, being the best for canning. Once it enters the inlets, it is also taken by net, either by gill-netting or by seining. These methods generally involve use only of the larger boats, since a large net and a boat with which to lay the net have to be transported and a crew of at least two is necessary. Coho and dog salmon are also caught commercially by net in the late summer and early autumn as they move upstream to spawn. Until recently, dog salmon was the least desirable species on the market but successful efforts are being made to promote its sale.

Halibut fishing is especially good in the Kyuquot area. The fish are taken off-shore, though nearer land than the salmon, by means of trolling lines and fresh bait. Herring fishing, recently increasing in importance once more, is done by net, and cod are caught by jigging, often concurrently with trolling.

In August, larger boats may also go tuna fishing. The very large fish are caught way off-shore and thus a supply of ice is needed to pack them, in addition to stronger gear and a larger crew to catch them.

Other fish, red-snapper, bass, perch and trout, are less important

commercially although they are bought at the fishcamp. Seafood is also an insignificant commercial item in Kyuquot. Sometimes children go out picking abalone, sea eggs or clams and sell them at the fishcamp but this is not done on any large scale. Recently attempts have been made to introduce crab fishing into Ahousat and Nuchatlitz but the result has been limited. Seafood remains important for the local diet rather than for the commercial economy.

The commercial fishing season closes in Kyuquot with the end of the seining season early in September. Men wishing to fish commercially after that date move down the coast, to Nootka or to Bamfield, where fishcamps remain open longer. Most men weigh the odds up carefully to decide if it is sensible to do this; the weather is often so bad for much of the late fall and winter that they only spend their days lying in the harbor. Generally they opt for some other form of employment and dock their boat for the winter.

2. Logging

The logging industry is the most popular form of winter employment. Indian men usually have little difficulty in getting a job in a logging camp since the more experienced loggers are known to the camp operators and are readily employed when they decide they want to work. No Kyuquot man chooses to work in this way on a regular basis but some "go logging" for much of the winter and occupy responsible positions in the camp. Wages, as well as risks, are high for such jobs as "fallers" and equipment operators but this factor tends to encourage short-term work rather than extended employment. Kyuquot men complain that they do not like to leave their home or their families. They feel homesick or worry about their children. Consequently, logging is a part-time rather than a full-time occupation for those concerned. Recently there has been a preference for work in the sawmills in Tahsis or the pulp mills of Port Alberni, where men can live with their families and do not have to go off by themselves for long periods, even though the work is less to their liking.

3. Beachcombing

For those who do not choose to go logging in winter, an alternative source of income is beachcombing. Men who have larger boats search the inlets and coastline for salvage logs which have drifted away from the logging camps and drag them to the camps where they are paid large sums for good wood. Some White men make a good living in just this way although no Indian does it more than occasionally.

Hunting and trapping are no longer done commercially by the Northern Nootka, although they are still popular occupations in winter.

4. Administrative Work

In recent years, bureaucracy has mushroomed in Kyuquot and many Indian people hold some sort of official administrative post. In 1974, in addition to the elected Chief Band Councillor and three councillors, there was a bookkeeper, a secretary, a welfare aide, two recreation officers, a handyman, day-care teachers, as well as several student officers for the summer.

5. Welfare

There are very few families in Kyuquot who have no alternative source of income to federal welfare assistance. Several elderly people now have an old-age pension, certain handicapped individuals also have full-time aid, and family assistance is widely received. On the whole, however, welfare aid is a sporadic thing in Kyuquot, used when other sources of income fail, and an income most people are reluctant to talk about.

THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY

Most foods are now bought from the store, although Indian people recognize the cost, both in financial and in health terms. Prices at the store are exorbitantly expensive and teeth, particularly, have deteriorated badly in the last generation. Bread, "spuds," balognas and sodas form a significant part of the local diet with far less consumption of fresh vegetables or fruit. Such eating habits are to some extent a reflection of the type of goods available in the store. Unless they also eat regularly from the sea, however, old people feel that they are "starving." Salmon continues to be the one item that virtually everyone finds it hard to do without. A certain amount of time and effort continues to be devoted to the collection and preparation of "traditional" items of diet and in building up a store of summer preserves for winter use.

1. Fishing

In referring to the subsistence pattern of the old days, a distinction is made between hunting and gathering activities, the former obviously being accorded greater prestige. Fishing was regarded as a gathering activity. "Chiefs were given first cut on anything that was caught, but when it came to gathering food -- fish, berries, roots -- it was a community effort," I was told. Nowadays, fishing is obviously so important as part of the Indian lifestyle that it stands in a category of its own.

Fishing tends to be men's work. It is the men who own the trollers and work them. No woman owns or appears to know how to operate a fish troller and, on the whole, very few women go out fishing with the men. When there are lots of fish around, however, one or two women take speedboats out locally and either troll by dragging lines or try to jig for cod. In August, when fish are very plentiful just offshore, young boys fish off the float at Actis and are often able to catch several species just with line and bait.

Salmon

The most prestigious foodstuff in Kyuquot is the spring salmon, *tsOʔha:* (as it is called when it appears offshore) or *ts'e:ts'Op^{h}*, king salmon, (when it is running up inlet to spawn in late-August and September). The Indian people prefer the fish when it is far up inlet, at which stage it is large, dark and rich with oil. Taken in this condition, often in great quantities, it may be soaked in a salt brine for a day before being sliced thinly, hung in the smokehouse to dry and sometimes canned later. Local Whites claim that the fish is too oily and strong for their palates and too rich for hygenic preservation. Indian people, however, get most of their winter store from the fish

TABLE 5: ANNUAL CYCLE IN KYUQUOT

Month	Traditional Moon Name (1)	Activities
November	Elder Sibling Moon	Traditionally, the ceremonial season, following the end of the fall salmon fishing. Today, many people move away from Kyuquot to winter in the town. A few men are away logging, others are beachcombing For local foods there is some hunting and gathering of seafood, also cod fishing (especially in November).
December	Younger Sibling Moon	
January	No (food getting) for a long time	
February	Bad weather Moon (Ebbing of tide moon?)	
February	False (spawning?) Moon	Early appearance of herring eggs. Commercial economy remains the same.
March	Herring Spawning Moon	Gathering of herring eggs and seaweed.
April	Geese Moon	Goose shooting
May	Stringing (berries) Moon	Preparations for the summer commercial fishing season. Early catches of coho for food.
June	Salmon berries Moon	Coho season opens officially. Salmon berries, wild strawberries and gooseberries ripen.
July	Wasp Moon	Peak of commercial fishing season.
August	Spring (King?) salmon Moon	King salmon taken up inlet for home consumption and preservation. Huckleberries and salal at their best. Settlements begin to disperse.
September	Dog (chum) salmon Moon	Dog salmon seining in inlets, after trolling season closes. Blackberry picking and duck shooting good. Many people move back to the towns for the winter.
October	Rough Sea Moon	End of dog salmon fishing. Some herring fishing.

(1) After Drucker, (1951:116) who points out that the moon "began" with the first appearance of the first quarter. He also notes discrepancies in moon counts between the different groups of Nootkan speakers, although the Northern Nootkan were generally consistent.

caught at this stage of migration and say that it does not rot any faster than other preserved fish.

The roe of the spring salmon is also utilized, either by baking it or by smoking it in the shape of a large sausage. The roe is also simply left to soak, a form of the delicacy *que:kamis* described by the early explorers. This was fermented salmon roe, left until it became very ripe.

Sockeye (*hisit*) is the species next preferred by the Indian people because of its good preservation qualities. Jansen Lake is the only place in Kyuquot Sound where it migrates to spawn and in early July small groups of Indians catch them by net as they enter the lake. The roe of the sockeye is salted and used as bait in trout fishing. Coho (*tso?wil*) is eagerly awaited as the first run of the season and is mainly eaten fresh. Humpback (*tce:pi:*) seems to rouse the least interest and is treated with a certain disdain. I was told about a store in Vancouver which advertised it was selling "Fresh Salmon." A Kyuquot man went eagerly into the store, only to find he was deceived. "They weren't selling salmon (i.e. spring salmon); all they had were humpies." Chum salmon (*hink'o:?as*) was valuable as the last run of the year, but in Kyuquot at least, does not appear to have the same importance that it had, for example, among the northern Haida (Blackman, personal communication). Among the Nootka speakers, spring salmon (referred to as *So-har* by Jewitt 1815:4) has always been the prestigious fish.

Traditionally salmon were caught in a variety of ways, including a simple form of trolling in open water (Jewitt 1815:83, Koppert 1930:72). As the fish were moving up the inlets they were sometimes speared from the banks, a method employed until about a decade ago, according to a Kyuquot woman who demonstrated with her fish spear how she took dog salmon in this way. Weirs or traps were also common. Those for sockeye were described to me as follows:

> In tidal lakes they used to pile up boulders in a V-shape, then go outside in their canoes, out in the inlet and throw stones at the fish to force them through the V (which was left open at the point). Then when the tide went out again they were able to scoop out the fish.

To be sold on the commercial market today salmon have to be a minimum of 26 inches. Smaller fish ("smilies") are often brought home and either left on the float for everyone to help themselves or taken home for smoking and drying. Indian people also have certain "aboriginal rights" for their own food purposes, which entitles them to fish up in the inlets after obtaining the necessary permit from the Fisheries Department. They are expected to remove the dorsal fin from any fish they catch and leave it where it was taken to avoid the fish being sold on the commercial market. The band owns a gill-net and the Indian people use both netting and trolling methods up inlet when taking "foodfish."

Halibut

After salmon, the next most important fish, both commercially and domestically, is halibut. In the "old days," it was taken off-shore in summer with a special kind of U-shaped hook (Drucker 1951:22, 1955:plate 3) which was described in detail to me by an older woman in Kyuquot and which was in use till relatively recently. While halibut fishing, the "old-timers" used to stay

on Highest Island as well as Actis. Highest Island is very sheltered, even during the worst storms, and is nearer the open sea than Actis.

Halibut are now taken by trolling but are rarely sought deliberately. Occasionally they are of enormous size. In 1974, a halibut of about 50 pounds was brought to Actis, and was sun-dried, after being topped, tailed, quartered and cut into very fine slices. This is the usual way of preserving halibut if it is not to be eaten fresh, although the bones and outer skin are sometimes smoked.

Herring

Drawings from the late 19th century (e.g. Weber in Bushnell 1928) suggest that at that time the herring (*tlo:smit*) was an extremely important food. Its scarcity in recent years has no doubt led to its declining usage by the Indian people. Nonetheless, herring eggs are still gathered in February and March each year. Clanninick Bay and places "up west" are the best spots for this, and twigs and branches are laid on the water for the herring to spawn on as soon as the water begins to turn milky from the roe. A couple of weeks later, the branches and attached eggs are taken home and kept soaking in a salt brine. Herring spawn is generally eaten as a snack by the children though it was this delicacy that caused Captain Cook (1967:319) to comment: "They make a very good caviare, preserved dry on small pine branches and sea-weed." I was cautioned, however, that herring spawn should not be eaten alone on an empty stomach as it can lead to acute constipation.

Kyuquot people recall two methods used for catching herrings:

1. When they saw a *he:ntsi:* (herring school) they would drop a cedar board into the water, so that it would float under the herrings. Then, as it came up, it would push up the herrings. Three or four canoes would immediately rush out and pick up the board and the fish and then lay the board in another place.

2. *ye:Xmalna:*, herring rakes, were also used around here. At first, they used to have little bones in them, but later they used nails, real thick ones. They were easy to make. You take a long stick, 15 to 20 feet long, and some thick nails, two inches by half an inch, and bash them into one end of the stick. It needs lots of nails to catch the fish and needs to be long to reach way into the water. When they saw the first sign of herring in winter, the fishermen would go straight out and try to catch them with this stick with nails on. Would do it all night. I saw my cousin do it; he would paddle his canoe with the stick with nails in it, and he would paddle along till the boat was full, paddling and catching all in one movement. Then he would invite everyone for a feast. Even if they were all sleeping, they would go down to the beach, wiping their eyes to wake up. He would clean them the same night, smoke them and share them. In those days, no one kept it for themselves for the winter. Wish it was like this now!

Cod

Several types of cod, but mainly ling cod, are caught by jigging. This

is often done from a speedboat or rowboat with a simple line and lure. Though cod is available all year round, the main cod fishing is done in November. A white fish, particularly cod, is preferred for such popular Indian dishes as fish and chips! Occasionally cod is smoked.

Trout Fishing

Catching fresh water trout (*te:twan*) is regarded by the Indians more as a form of sport fishing. Trout is not an important part of the diet but is enjoyed when available. Rods and lines are used, with different types of fresh bait.

Other

A variety of fish, perch, bass, steelhead, red-snapper are caught by the trollers and brought home for supper for a change or when the price at the camp is too low to make the sale of these fish worthwhile. The steelhead and red-snapper are particularly enjoyed. Tuna is also available after the commercial expeditions have been made, either because some of the fish taken were undersized or because some of the catch is held back. These are baked and jarred for the winter.

2. Gathering

Seafood

Various types of seafood are almost as important for the local diet as fish, especially during the winter months when fresh fish is scarce but shellfish are plentiful.

Abalone (*ap'tsi:en*) is probably the most important seafood. Some people also claim to be starving if they have eaten no abalone for some time and they can consume it in great quantities when it is available. It is gathered all year round, during exceptionally low tides. There are certain places known for abalone; for example, off Actis, abalone are found in large numbers around the rocky inlets that lie behind Mission Island. Special three-pronged poles are used to prise them off the rocks; these are made simply by knocking stout nails into the end of a long pole. Nevertheless, it is no mean task either to spot the abalone or to knock it off the rocks and secure it on the pole, without either mangling the whole abalone or losing it into the sea. Certain people are more adept than others. One man, a good abalone gatherer, claims to be able to hear the abalone before he sees it.

Abalone is eaten in a variety of ways. Several people prefer it raw, while others like to beat it, scar it and fry it lightly in butter. It is also canned, although this takes a long time as it has to be scrubbed so thoroughly. There is no need to add water, for abalone will cook in its own juices.

Sea eggs or sea urchins (*totsop*) are generally gathered with abalone although they are available at higher tides, and are also eaten for much of the year. They are either picked directly off the rocks or taken with the same pole as abalone.

Totsop is eaten raw, merely by cracking open the shell and scooping

the soft inside out by hand. Customarily this is eaten on the beach, and when they are found in large quantities, buckets of sea eggs are sometimes left for everyone to help themselves.

Too many sea eggs are reputed to spoil one's appetite and make one drowsy and very thirsty.

Several types of clams are found throughout Kyuquot Sound. One of the best beds of butter clams is directly in front of the village of Actis, and McKays Cove and Markale are also good clam sites. Local people claim that their clams may be eaten all year round and that they have never become sick from eating them, but during the summer months there is a noticeable lack of interest in this food. On the whole, they are dug mainly during the winter months, from November till March or when the herring begin to spawn. One is not supposed to mix herring eggs and clams.

Clams are dug with a simple stick, and are generally steamed by laying them on hot coals and letting them stew in their own juices. Clams may also be fried and are sometimes dried, first by boiling them and then spreading them out in a warm place. Later they may be eaten dried, "nice and chewy."

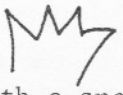
As noted above, (page 31) California mussels are renowned in the Kyuquot area for their great size, which may be up to 12 inches in length. The smaller blue mussels are still eaten today, though with less enthusiasm than clams, and are prepared in similar ways. They are also dried, but tend to be tough.

Chiton (*he:ʔi:shtʔp*) are not sought but are sometimes taken home and eaten when found lying on the rocks or attached to other shellfish. They are either baked or boiled. Both red and black species are used; the red chiton is supposed to "give you a real high" if eaten before smoking a cigarette. It is also believed to be good for arthritis.

Other edible shellfish include gooseneck barnacles, which are picked off the rocks and enjoyed as snacks by chewing the raw ends. Crabs are not found in any quantities in the Kyuquot area. Dentalia shells are no longer gathered from Tachu Point even as curios although older people can recall them being taken with bundles of hemlock and used as "Indian money."

Seaweed continues to be an important foodstuff. The purple kind, "long and thin, with frilly fronds" is the kind preferred (probably *Porphyra perforata*, Turner 1975:36-8), although one woman claimed that all types of seaweed may be eaten. The purple variety is picked from the rocks off Highest Island in March, when it is very dark in color and full of flavor. After being washed in fresh water to remove all the salt and to prevent mould developing, it is shredded carefully so that it does not swell up when cooking, and then may be sun-dried. Although dried seaweed is commonly eaten raw, dipped in eulachon oil, both fresh and dried seaweed may be cooked by boiling. One woman recommended serving it with dumplings and sprinkled with sugar. No methods other than sun-drying were known for preserving seaweed.

Underwater cress (*hashq'e:t*) is another seaweed which was formerly eaten although it is not used nowadays. A Kyuquot woman described to me how the "old-timers" used to make a T-shaped stick, drop it into the water and pull up the cress. They would then clean and eat the roots which were described as very good and sweet.

k'entlom was described as a plant, green and shaped so  which may be found clinging to the rocks. It is prised off with a special flat piece of iron, soaked for two days to remove the salt, and then baked.

Land Plants

Although the largest class of land vegetable products used by the Indian people were berries, a variety of roots, leaves and shoots were also exploited. Some of these are still used, very occasionally, today.

In the old days, several different roots were dried and stored for the winter. Today, roots are only eaten fresh. Clover roots, found on Actis in the bog at the back of the village, are steamed and eaten. A common fern, possibly Bracken fern, is said to have roots which taste just like sweet potato, and these too are cooked by steaming over a wood fire. The roots of skunk cabbage were also eaten, at least by the Chickliset people.

In April and May, green salmonberry shoots (*me:ya:*) are chewed and enjoyed before they grow tough later in the summer. Wild rhubarb (*qelts?p*) no longer seems to be eaten but is commonly recognized as a former food (see also Koppert 1930:83, Jewitt 1815:122). Small indigenous onions (*as'hak*) grow near the little hill at the east end of Actis and are gathered by some people. Chewing gum is now bought from the store but several people told me how spruce pitch was used for chewing in the old days.

"Indian tea" may be made from a special leaf, which is probably Hudson's Bay tea (*Ledum Groenlandicum Oeder*, Turner 1975:143). Another leaf (kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*, Turner 1975:137-9) is dried, crumbled and smoked. "Indian tobacco," *tl'e:kap*, was said to be so powerful that after a mere couple of puffs, grown men were carried off to their beds. It is best when mixed with store tobacco.

The berry season is eagerly awaited even though the store makes available a limited range of imported fruits. Kyuquot people coming home for the summer waste no time in testing the berries which are found in large quantities, even though berry patches are much depleted near the inhabited areas. Old people bemoan the fact that Actis no longer has enough berries to feed the whole village.

Early in June, the salmonberries ripen, followed closely by wild strawberries and a few gooseberries, thimbleberries, the salal (*ye:hma:*) by mid-July, huckleberries and blackcurrants by mid-August and finally the blackberries early in September. Most of the berries are eaten fresh. Children spend a lot of time berry-picking for themselves and their families. Salal and blackberries are preserved in large quantities, either as jelly or jam. Spring Island, Markale and Chamiss Bay are popular sites for berry-picking. One woman in Kyuquot sometimes makes "Indian icecream," *mOk'oshkin*, from soapberries which are mashed until they are thick and foamy. Soapberries are probably bought from the mainland.

The so-called berry-baskets, large, square-shaped containers made from woven spruce roots and cedar bark, were still in use a few years ago. It is said they had several functions and could be strapped to the front for berry-picking or to either the front or back when gathering seafood. "It was said

that if you got ten or more baskets of berries you could feed the whole tribe of Kyuquot." People recall that in the old days many berries were preserved for winter, although Drucker (1951:65) noted that only salal and some thimbleberries mixed with clams were preserved in the late 19th century. Salal, which are extremely plentiful in the area of Kyuquot, used to be washed in fresh water simply by dipping the baskets of berries in a stream; then they would be stored and it was said they lasted till the New Year without rotting. Some people also claim that thimbleberries were eaten all year round. In summer, they were laid out on their large leaves and sun-dried. To eat them, water was poured over them and they came up like fresh berries. Not everyone concurred with this statement; another woman said that every type of berry could be preserved except the thimbleberry, which contains too much water and turns sour, if dried. Some Central Nootkan women also talked to me of sun-drying salmonberries and a Toquaht woman said that these used to be the main berries they preserved.

Other miscellaneous items that are gathered by the people of Kyuquot are seagull eggs, collected from Whiteface Island and Highest Island in June. These are generally cooked by boiling and are regarded as somewhat of a delicacy. According to Drucker (1951:61), seagull eggs were not eaten till recent times, when it is said that the use of them was learned from the Haida and Tsimshian.

3. Hunting

Formerly, sea-mammal hunting was the most prestigious occupation on the West Coast, one that distinguished the Nootka-speaking peoples from all their neighbors since only they actively hunted the whale. It was for this reason that a long shoreline was the most valuable of properties. This may well be an important factor in explaining why the local groups of Kyuquot Sound confederated early, for most of them did not come from the outside shore. Significantly the highest rank in the confederacy was owned originally by the people from the outside waters.

In Kyuquot, they say that the last whale caught in the old style was by old Nuqmis in Bamfield in the late 19th century. Later a whale was taken in Ahousat but not in traditional manner. "The water there was very shallow in the bay and when a whale came in, the boys just put harpoons in it and then shot it." No one recalled when a whale was last taken in Kyuquot, though people marvel at the long and rigorous training demanded of a whaler. Until well into the 20th century, however, whales that drifted up on the beach were regarded as the chief's property and a potlatch was held to distribute the pieces of it to those who had inherited the traditional rights. On such occasions "It was said that the lightning had sent it (the whale)," I was told.

In the Kyuquot area, however, it seems likely that seal-hunting was a more significant occupation than whaling and the capture of this animal was surrounded by a great deal of ceremony (see above, page 24). A woman described what used to happen in Kyuquot once an animal had been taken:

> ... When a sealion or hair seal was caught, then the people would have a potlatch. In Kyuquot, the right arm of the animal belonged to ..., the Number One Chief. Then the animal had the fur singed off it, the blubber was cut off and it was stretched. The meat was

> placed in the coals and cooked. It was important to remember which way round it was (from right to left) because each bit was owned. Then the people who owned bits of the animal were invited to the potlatch.

Some sealing harpoons are still privately owned in Kyuquot. Though the seal prefers to live in salt water, it will follow the fish upstream, and in the inlets was an easy prey for a hunter.

Today fishermen are entitled to shoot a seal if it interferes with their lines and the Indian people's aboriginal rights include seal hunting for food. Most people in Kyuquot have eaten seal meat but seem fairly indifferent to it. It is commonly cooked by boiling although one woman recommended frying it.

The hunting of land animals is far more common. Young boys of 11 and 12 start practicing with air guns in the woods behind the houses, an exercise not without its casualties since supervision is largely in the hands of slightly older boys. More formal training begins when the boys accompany the men on hunting trips. In the past, young boys were frequently taken along in the autumn to hunt mallard ducks. One man in his 30s remembered:

> I learned hunting very early from watching dad. We used to go out in the big boat and come across some ducks. Dad would say "Shsh!" and we would laugh because the ducks must be able to see the big boat. But they wouldn't move until the boat was right up to them. Then, wham!, dad would shoot 4-5 right away as they tried to escape. There's nothing like a mallard duck taken in the autumn, fried and tender....

He remembered first hunting when he was little more than five years old. "I shot a loon, a real big one, and took it back to "X" (an old uncle). He said, in surprise: It's fat, it's real fat! and takes it in and cooks it. I felt real good."

Hunting ducks and geese by "pitlamping" is widely recalled and still occasionally (but illegally) practiced. This traditional method, called *ʔeche:k* "light in the water," was described to me as follows:

> Two men in a canoe would creep upstream till they saw a flock of ducks on the ground. Then the guy in the back of the boat would light a stick covered with pitch, *lehe:lth*.
> The ducks would be blinded by the light from the back of the boat, but meanwhile the guy in the front has a net and he throws it over the ducks and pulls it in as they rise to fly away.
> The guy in the front pulls out the ducks, one by one, and bites through their head and then passes it to the guy in the back.

Deer, elk and bear are the animals most commonly hunted today. Most hunting is done in autumn and winter, by groups of men who make specific hunting trips and share the results of the expedition between their families. A few households have freezers in which they pack the meat thus obtained. Fish, on the other hand is never preserved by freezing as it is believed to lose its flavor. Occasionally, deer are also shot in summer too, and a roast *mOwich* (deer) makes a welcome change from the summer diet of fish. Elk (*tlOnim*)

do not come so far down to the coast and none was taken during the summer months I was in Kyuquot, though they are sometimes caught near Amai and Fair Harbour. Bears are rarely caught nowadays although people regard them as formerly important in the old-timers diet.

On one occasion a local artist made a trip to Amai to shoot an eagle for feathers for a thunderbird mask he was working on. This association, between thunderbird and eagle, was repeated to me several times but the eagle, in itself, carries no special significance. The seagull (*qwini:*) on the other hand, was described as "sacred for us Indians" and should not be killed (this comment was made despite the fact that the seagull is the main prey for the teenagers' air guns).

Raccoons, minks, squirrels and rats are often nuisances but are generally left alone. There is no longer any trapping activity in the area.

4. Preparation and Preservation of Foods

Cooking is not necessarily a woman's job, but for convenience she frequently does it. The presence of a local store makes much of the work lighter and a few women bake regularly too, often selling their bread and rolls to others in the community. Consequently there is no longer the need to spend so much time in either preparing meals or in putting up foods for the winter. Nonetheless the Indian people continue to make use of many local resources, both fresh and preserved.

A variety of modern conveniences are used in handling foods, ranging from deep freezes, which are fairly rare, to gas cookers, which are used by every one for at least some of their cooking. In summer, many people like to cook outside sometimes and barbecued fish, wieners and hamburgers, followed by toasted marshmallows, are popular suppers. Most families have their own set of barbecue sticks or spits and these are used to barbecue salmon in the "Indian way." A fresh fish is cut open and the gut removed without filleting the fish. The whole fish is then opened out and, held spread by several sharp wooden skewers, is pinned between the two prongs of the spit barbecue stick. This spit is then stood close to the fire and the fish is left to cook for about half an hour. A simple method of barbecuing fish is merely to cook fillets of fish over hot coals, basting them with butter as they cook. Salmon is frequently smoked, at least for a short while, even when it is to be eaten fresh. There is not a great deal of concern among the people in Kyuquot about the sort of wood to be used for smoking; I was told only that cedar is no good because it burns too fast and cooks the fish; any other sort of wood can be used. One friend liked to use some young cherry and others prefer alder. There does not appear to be any strong feeling, however, although people know that other tribes are more selective. Equipment is also simple. The smokehouses, as discussed above, are very simple structures, generally home-made and frequently located near a work table, which may be simply a piece of trunk from a large tree, rubbed smooth. Most women have at least one, and sometimes several, of the multi-purpose women's knives, which they claim are very old. These consist of a wide blade set in a deep wooden handle, which allows a strong grip with the whole hand. The knife can be pulled forward, for example to remove flesh from skin, or used sideways to slice and cut. In the old days, the mussel shell knives served a similar purpose and are still found in female burial sites. Mussel knives continued to be used long after contact

as it was believed that steel was offensive to the salmon.

Salmon smoking as practiced on the West Coast, however, is deceptively simple. The art of keeping the fire alive without over-cooking the fish is an acquired one and the Indians are proud of their fine, thin strips of fish, as compared to the East Coast (Kwakiutl) where the fish is smoked and dried more crudely in thick strips.

Several women still prefer to smoke and dry fish than to use more modern methods of canning and jarring. Everyone has her own ideas on the subject but I was told that to get a "hard smoke" for preserving fish, the fish should be left for about four days. The fire should not burn too long beforehand and wet wood, such as driftwood, should be used, to let the fish really smoke. "It kind of cooks the fish and dries it up only a little." For a "soft smoke" which is either to be eaten right away or canned, the fish need only be left one or two days.

Many people combine smoking and sun-drying methods. Drying fish is

> real easy if you have a good sharp knife. You cut the fish in fairly thick strips to begin with, sun-dry them, and when they begin to harden, slice them again, dry them and so on until you have fine, firm pieces of fish.

One woman, who dries all sorts of fish, said she finds little sockeye especially good. She smokes them for a couple of days first and then sun-dries them so they don't become too tough. Fish like this are good to chew on and can also be boiled or baked in the winter.

Halibut, perhaps more frequently than salmon, is sun-dried. Pieces of the fish are hung over a bar which is apparently constructed for this purpose. The main difficulty appears to be keeping the cats and crows away from the drying fish; young children are often left to guard it.

Many women can or jar their fish, especially in early July, after a large catch of sockeye has been brought home, or in August, when large king salmon are taken from the inlets. These are exceptionally rich and oily, and sometimes are left soaking in salt for a couple of days, so that they will preserve better. At this time of year, it is not uncommon to see large tubs filled with boiling water and jars of newly packed fish simmering away down on the beach for several hours till the jars are sealed. Nowadays, women generally do this individually for their households and only rarely do two or three women work together.

Indian bread (*tlopsho:*) is regarded as a very traditional item, being cooked in hot coals in the old days. Basically a baking-powder bread, is used to be placed in a hollow of hot sand to bake, and was then eaten dipped in whale oil or fish oil. Today it is eaten with butter and jam. *ʔechow* or *habcho:* were described as types of Indian pastry. Flour and water are mixed, rolled into small balls and then dropped into boiling water. They are either rolled in sugar or eaten with syrup or honey, and are used mainly by children as snacks.

5. Local Medicines

Most Indian people in Kyuquot now take their various aches and pains to the Red Cross Hospital but this has been a very recent development and many families still maintain a variety of home remedies for simpler disorders. In the old days, all medicines were privately owned and were regulated by magic ritual. They should not, for example, be taken at sunset, and a person giving medication to another was required to taste it first. Such ritual is no longer observed but several of the following are still recommended.

1. Chiton, when boiled, is believed to help arthritis.

2. Eulachon oil (*tline:*) is remembered as being a very strong medicine associated with certain illnesses until a big epidemic hit the area. Everyone started eating *tline:* for protection, came to like it and now eats it regularly with dried fish. No eulachon fish are found at all on Vancouver Island nowadays and this *tline:* has to be bought, at great cost, from the north of British Columbia.

3. Seaweed, (*Porphyra perforata*) was said to have cured a recent bout of pleurisy. It is regarded as having a variety of medicinal purposes.

4. A small plant, found on rough land and referred to as *sha:sha:Hta:nOk* is used as a cure for toothache.

5. A leaf, *ke:ti:me:tkhot*, is used as a poultice. It is chewed, then applied to inflamed boils to draw out the soreness.

6. Another leaf, (possibly *falso helebore*), is taken to induce vomiting. It is known locally as *Owt'wa:*.

7. A common heart-shaped leaf is used on cuts to stop them bleeding.

8. Boiled alder bark was widely used as a cure for T.B. The bark should be peeled off the side of the tree facing the sunrise, then boiled and strained.

9. A root, with a smell like celery, is boiled and rubbed on aching limbs.

6. Craftwork

Only since 1973 has the craftwork of Kyuquot become commercialized to any extent. In that year, the band council began to send locally made goods to cooperative stores for sale. Previously there had been a general reluctance to sell one's work indirectly through a middleman because of a vague fear of exploitation and the more general uncertainty as to how to begin to reach a wider, honest market. Much of the local craftwork was merely recycled from one home to another in Kyuquot, often in the form of gifts, direct and indirect; the craftsman not only gave away his own work but also sold it to other Indians to use as gifts.

Certain traditional crafts are still practiced although in contemporary forms. Woodworking is the most important craft for men and in recent years women have also begun carving. One man in Kyuquot, who has only been working seriously at the craft for about ten years, has earned a wide reputation as a carver and teacher and one of his daughters is learning with him.

In many ways, he represents a transition. The last craftsman in Kyuquot to carve utilitarian goods, such as canoes, in the old style, and who was knowledgeable about traditonal techniques, is now too short-sighted to work. A new generation, using most of the same techniques, tools and designs, has begun to carve ornamental objects, such as masks, rattles, paddles and miniature canoes. The masks represent characters from traditional Indian myths such as Wolf Man, Crazy Man (the term used for *Ha:ma:tsa:* on the West Coast), Cougar Man or Eagle Man and are recognizable by traditional features. Crazy Man is identified by his round face and large open mouth, Cougar Man by his bold features and fanged teeth.

The young men who have begun to carve within the last few years often learned the art as children from their fathers or uncles. They have started to use their knowledge as they come to realize the potential market for genuine Indian goods. They have the tools from their childhood (of limited range, often only a short-bladed knife and a chisel) and have gone to libraries in Campbell River and Victoria to study pictures of old works of art. Gradually they are building up their own folders of designs for painting, carving and engraving.

Basketwork does not seem to be enjoying the same sort of revival. Mainly an ornamental art for several decades, it is now the work of only the older women or of the few youngsters who have bothered to learn it. Many women feel that too much hard work is involved and they prefer to expend their energy on beadwork, which is quicker and easier to do and ultimately just as lucrative.

Only one or two women weave the conical cedar-bark checkered "Maquinna" hats ("Chief's hats") that typified the early dress style of the area. More women continue to weave swamp-grasses with some cedar into decorative baskets, containers and glass covers. Beautifully executed, these involve a lengthy and in part arduous procedure, which the weavers have to give up as they get older. The bark of the red cedar has to be pulled from the tree in June or July and then soaked, ready for use. It takes a lot of strength both to pull and shred the bark and then to keep one thread of bark firm as it is being worked. The cedar near Actis is no longer any good for weaving and some Kyuquot women have been getting their bark from a relative in Nuchatlitz. The swamp-grass on Actis, picked in the bog just behind the houses in the old days, is no longer adequate and it has to be gathered from Rugged Point, near Tachu. Best when picked in late August, it is dried in the sun or around the house until it is brittle in texture and has turned to a natural color.

Imported colored grasses have been used for many years now in place of the naturally dyed grasses although some of the traditional dying procedures are remembered; black was made from charcoal and red from a type of berry. Formerly the conical hats bore designs which indicated from which locality their wearer came and to which family he belonged, but most of the designs used on basketwork, and indeed on all craftwork, now incorporate only the three symbols of the West Coast Indians: the Whale (or a whaling scene), the Thunderbird and the Wolf.

A few older women also continue to make cedar capes or wrap-around cloaks. Yellow cedar bark is not used at all in basketwork today, but the techniques for softening it on the beach under sand were described to me by a woman who had watched her mother do it.

The equipment for basketwork -- wooden moulds on which to make the baskets, little scrapers or small pieces of razor blades embedded in wood which split the grasses, lucky stones for smoothing the work -- are all passed on from one generation to the other, together with the knowledge for the craft. The women have their designs preserved either on paper or in some more durable form such as a beadwork belt. This they add to as they learn more designs from books, from other people or as they invent them.

New forms of craft are competing with the old. Woodworking continues but the products have changed tremendously. Basketwork, on the other hand, is being superceded by new forms: beadwork, shellwork, leatherwork, knitting and crocheting.

Today beadwork is by far the commonest craft form in Kyuquot. Everyone does it--men, women and children--although it is predominantly a female art. Most beadworkers have a small loom, made locally for them or by them, on which to weave their beads and a large stock of different colored beads bought mainly from the United States. Necklaces, headdresses, covered bottles, balls, glasses, doilies, earrings and brooches are the items most commonly made, varying somewhat in their designs according to the beadworker but showing only slight variations in form.

Shellwork is less common, but the older women who do this have been going into the schools to show the children how to do it. Small, decorative shells, especially clam shells, are abundant around Actis and are cleaned and arranged into designs on pieces of glass for jewelry or as ornaments. Dentalia shells are not used for this but the shellworker on Actis has a collection of these which she found on the outer beaches of Actis.

Leatherwork kits, knitting and crochet patterns are obtained from craft shops in Vancouver or Victoria, either through catalogues or during visits to the towns. Indian styles are preferred wherever possible, either in pattern (several children wore handsome cardigans with Thunderbirds worked into the backs) or in form (mocassins, for example, are sometimes made).

A type of craft which was practiced in Kyuquot some years ago, but which is no longer done, is "rag-working." In the Village remain two fine rugs, woven out of rags which had been braided together. Complete with the local Thunderbird designs, these are very much admired both by local people and outsiders.

No one in Kyuquot makes button blankets, although some people own them. These are purchased from either Alert Bay or other West Coast Indians. At this time, they do not appear so common or so significant as elsewhere on the Northwest Coast.

Metal working is rare on the West Coast. The Kwakiutl craftsman mentioned above (page 14) worked and engraved silver and gold jewelry (bracelets, brooches and rings), which are owned by many people in Kyuquot. Unfortunately there is no one in the community to carry on his work.

CHAPTER SIX: THE WORLD OF KIN; THE NATURE OF SOCIAL GROUPS

> So far as society is a system, an organization -- and this is inherent in the definition of society -- the direction and effect of changes in the system will be governed by its component parts and overall nature. In short, sufficient causality lies in large part within the social structure, and the dynamics of social change need not be sought completely outside the unit under study.
> (Murphy 1960:23)

Living in Kyuquot, one is very much aware of two factors: the sense of social solidarity within the Indian community and the Indian peoples' feeling of association with their past. Their links with the land and with the sea are the more tangible manifestations of continuity. Behind the material changes brought in by the historical developments of the last century and the constantly changing ideas that are found in each generation, other elements of continuity are evident which can best be understood in the light of what we know of traditional Nootka society.

In terms of social organization, of the attitudes and behavior that characterize social interaction, there is apparently direct continuity. In terms of the formal political entities, such as the band or the district, the Indian people conform to the larger, national system and to some extent, therefore, two levels of organization may be distinguished. Traditional attitudes towards rank and political processes exist alongside the newly established institutions and procedures brought in by the Federal Government, although these traditional attitudes are now conceptualized within the modern political entity, the band.

Within the band, however, in terms of social interaction and groupings, kinship, marriage, adoption and socialization, no such overlap has developed. Despite parallels with the large White society in occupation, incomes, residence and situation, diversions and difficulties, Kyuquot Indian society is still very different. The difference, moreover, is more that of historical growth than either a reflection of "social disorganization," as Duff (1964: 102) maintained, or an accommodation to the dominant White culture, as Rohner (1967:77) suggested of the Kwakiutl. These viewpoints fail to take into account both the tremendous social solidarity found among members of one band or of the social ties, divisions and mutual obligations within the band, which are not found in a contemporary White community in the same manner.

THE LOCAL GROUP PRINCIPLE: KINSHIP AND DESCENT

The basic unit of traditional Nootka society was the local group. Similar in many ways to the Kwakiutl *numayma* (Boas 1897, 1966, amongst others) and the Bella Coola *mimints*, (McIlwraith 1948), the Nootkan local group was conceived of as an idealized family, expanded over time, which owned a distinct territory and shared common ceremonial and ritual property. Members of this family were ranked on the basis of primogeniture and it was the highest ranking member who was regarded as the owner of most of the group's property. The group bore a name, usually that of their "place," the fishing stream where they "belonged." By the later 19th century, Kyuquot groups were still spending

at least part of the winter at their "places," and despite the formation of larger political entities in the Kyuquot area, (tribes and the confederacy), the local group seemed to remain a primary focus of identification and certainly the basis for the ranked structure of chiefs.

Each local group had its own house or houses at the summer and winter villages, settlements it shared with the other confederacy or tribal members. The house had four chiefs, generally brothers or close paternal kin, who occupied the corners, with the highest ranking chief, theoretically the owner of the house and all the property associated with it, occupying the rear righthand corner. Other places were not owned. People of low rank, commoners and lesser chiefs, either lived in the corners with a chief as his supporters (*mamutswiniłim*) or occupied the spaces between the corners as tenants (*maiyusta*), being in effect perpetual transients (Drucker 1951:279).

Earlier descriptions of the Wakashan local group (Boas 1897; Sapir 1915) were somewhat confusing because of the prevailing preoccupation with unilineal descent principles. Although descent from a common ancestor was an important factor in the development of the local group, it was obviously not reckoned either patrilineally or matrilineally, for which reason Sapir (1915:365) regarded it as "too ill-defined and vacillating" to be considered as a "clan organization" (i.e. a descent group as understood at that time.) Drucker, writing a generation later, depicted Nootkan local groups as stable, integrated units, adding that

> I sometimes refer to these local groups as lineages, for the Indians themselves considered them to be based on kinship, although the precise relationships of their members is sometimes difficult or next to impossible to unravel.
>
> (Drucker 1951:220)

The question that I wish to raise here is whether the Nootkan local groups were based primarily on descent, as the mythology of the group would suggest, or whether other, more important principles of social organization were at work which would lead to a fuller understanding of the group. It is now recognized that the descent principle found among groups like the Nootka, Kwakiutl and Bella Coola was nonunilineal or ambilineal, rather than strictly patrilineal or matrilineal. The factors, however, leading individuals to choose between the descent groups they were entitled to join, need to be spelled out so that the association between such factors and the actual principle of descent is quite clear.

In the formal structure of the local group, ancestor orientation (Goodenough 1961; also McIlwraith 1948) was obviously paramount. In terms of actual organization, however, this emphasis on descent seems far less important for the cohesion of the whole group than do ties based on kinship. Most of the problems in the past have arisen from the equation of descent with kinship, which indeed the Indians seem to make (Drucker, cited above). While consanguineal kinship is an inevitable consequence of descent, the two principles are not synonomous. The focus is different and this difference is apparent in the rights various members have in the group, some of which are based on ideas of descent, most of which rest on claims of kinship. In addition, both principles need not be of equal importance for all members of the group. The situation among the people of the West Coast is not unlike that of

medieval Europe (a comparison suggested to me by a Toquaht chief) where the descent principle was fully utilized only by the *élite* of society and where the common people neglected to trace their genealogies the further they were removed from aristocratic rank. This very *élitism* may be the main reason why anthropologists have tended to stress the importance of descent ties rather than those of kinship.

At the centre of each local group was obviously an ancestor oriented line, a descent group or lineage restricted not primarily by sex, but by rank, residence, and to some extent, by collateral limits. Drucker (1951:220) described the local group as

> centering on a family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses and various other privileges ... and had a tradition, firmly believed, of descent from a common ancestor.

Sapir (n.d.) described the village or local group as "merely an overgrown family, descended from an ancestor," descriptions which substantiate McIlwraith's (1948) succinct phrase, "ancestral family," or Goodenough's (1970) "descending kindred" (see below).

The Kyuquot people believed that shortly after the transformation of the world, their ancestors were created in human form at their local group sites (Drucker 1951:223-4). Other West Coast families have tales of floods or other natural disasters which brought their ancestors to their "place." These early events and adventures were the basis of the family fortune, its *ha:wilmis* which included both land and house sites as well as songs, dances and names. Ideally this heritage would be entrusted to the eldest son, long before the death of his father:

> He was the eldest family. His brothers, while sharing a great part in his prestige, were slightly lower than he, his parental cousins still lower, and so on.
>
> (Drucker 1951:245)

The status of the first born was substantiated by the property he inherited, at the heart of which were the ancestral legends which told of his group's history. Younger brothers were entitled to use the property and their descendents might even inherit the rights to certain parts of the property, such as a name, an office or role, or a place in the house. In addition, the chief had certain minor privileges or offices which he would give to some deserving commoner and so bind him closer to the group, I was told:

> If they (i.e. non chiefs) did the chief a favor, such as performing a sacred dance to teach the chief's children then they would be given a name. For a subchief, this was a way of lifting his name a little higher.

Such rights, however, were held at the discretion of the main chief. His rights to ownership of all the local groups' property were symbolized by his position in (and thus ownership of) the house, and his relationship to the rest of the people in the group was publically reaffirmed on all ceremonial occasions. On such occasions, great emphasis was laid on the relationship of the chief to other members of the local group. The chief owned the privileges being displayed and the property, such as names and songs, rights to which

were being distributed while his relatives, who supported him by helping to perform the dances and songs or contributed to expenses, were in return entitled to use certain of his property.

The collateral limits of this chiefly descent line appear to have been fairly closely restricted to those descendents of the senior line who had inherited title to the group's property and knowledge of its history. In the larger local groups, with several tribal house groups, this chiefly line might include the lines of several descendents but it was restricted to those of high status.

In order to keep the eldest line exclusive, every effort was made to ensure that high rank married equally high rank. Thus the chiefly families were mainly exogamous (although after several generations there was a preference for marrying back into the local group to which an ancestor had "belonged"). A chiefly couple generally lived with whichever of their families was of highest rank, and if of equal rank, with the groom's "side." High ranking women took with them as dowry some important, though generally portable, pieces of property from their own group which would become a highly prestigious part of her new group's heritage. The woman and her descendents would be entitled to display the property on ceremonial occasions and it would serve as a means of maintaining their claim to a "place" in her descent group. For this reason, marriages in later generations would be preferred between the high ranking families of the same groups that had been previously united, in order "to get back the *tOpa:ti:*," the dowry.

The affiliation of younger sons or junior chiefs with particular descent groups was often less clear-cut. Choice of affiliation was affected by their own relative rank and by that of their parents, by the residence of their parents at marriage, which consequently influenced the local group into which they were born. At all levels of society there was a great deal of mobility and opportunism. Individuals tried to affiliate with whichever group offered them the best opportunities although such choices were no doubt in practice restricted by political realities. Every group had to be prepared to recognize claims to membership.

Despite the general trend for nonunilineality, a definite preference for patrilineal descent was expressed by most West Coast groups, a characteristic of other nonunilineal societies (Keesing 1975:92). On the West Coast, the highest status was generally accorded to those male descendents who were patrilineally descended from the ancestor, who was apparently always male. A patrilineal bias was also expressed by patrilocal residence, which was common except in those cases where a man married a woman of higher rank.

Jewitt's (1815) account from the turn of the 19th century makes it clear that at that time the number of commoners far outweighed that of chiefs (taking into account the relative rather than absolute nature of these categories). Because of the top heavy balance created by the population decline of the later 19th century, it is easy to forget that formerly property ownership and thus affiliation with a chiefly descent line was an exclusive right. Residence in the local group or house, however, was far from exclusive. Drucker (1951:279) was told that

> the people who lived in the houses used to move in and out all the

> time. After a man had stayed with one chief a while, fishing and working for him, he would decide he had helped that chief enough and would move onto the house of another chief to whom he was related. If a man stayed too long in one house, his relatives became jealous. They would think he didn't care for them anymore.

Drucker's description and the accounts of his informants make it clear that at least by the late 19th century, the composition of a local group or house consisted, not of people who regarded themselves as lineage mates, as belonging to that group by virtue of their inherited rights, but rather of an *élite* group of chiefs who owned their places there, plus their relatives and supporters. Both of the latter justified their presence on the grounds of kinship but enjoyed different types of relationship with the chiefs.

The ideology of kinship was as real and as vague as that of descent. Ties of kinship were never difficult or forge, because of the very loose interpretation placed on consanguineal bonds on the West Coast. A single connection was enough to unite the individuals of two tribes. The exogamous marriages of the high ranking families created a network of kinfolk between local groups which was regularly reaffirmed at all levels by ceremonies and by formal and informal visiting. It was in terms of this looseknit but universally recognized field of kinship that all amicable relations on the West Coast were and still are conducted, and it was emphasizing ties of kinship rather than descent which gave many people their rights to local group identity.

A special term, *hinasyūkcił*, described someone who was "related to a house" (i.e. to the chief of the house).

> One derived from this all rights and duties of membership in the group. The chief might call on one to assist and dance in ceremonies, and in return give names to one's children and initiate them in his Shamans' Dance. In modern times, with the decrease of population, the *hinasyūkcił* relationships are still more stressed and such people may even inherit rank when the chiefly line dies out. This is not an inharmonious change, but simply a consistent development on the old lines.
>
> (Drucker 1951:274)

There was thus obviously a distinction made between the people who "belonged" in a local group by virtue of owning rights to their place there and those who recognized mutual obligations between themselves and the chief on the grounds of kinship. It was incumbent upon a good chief (if he wished to keep up his name and maintain a large following) to look after his relatives by feeding them, defending them and providing for them in his ceremonies. If he did this, he could in return expect help, in both economic and ceremonial matters, from the kin who stayed in his home.

The composition of the tacisath house *naniqs* at the end of the last century (Drucker 1951:284, Fig. 6) helps to illustrate these distinctions. The numbers in the house plan (reproduced from Drucker) refer to the families who either owned places in the house or lived there frequently. The temporary low rank visitors are not included. The description of the residents that accompanies the figure makes it plain that "pedigree" is important only for the main house chiefs whose places are inherited. Residence of the rest of the

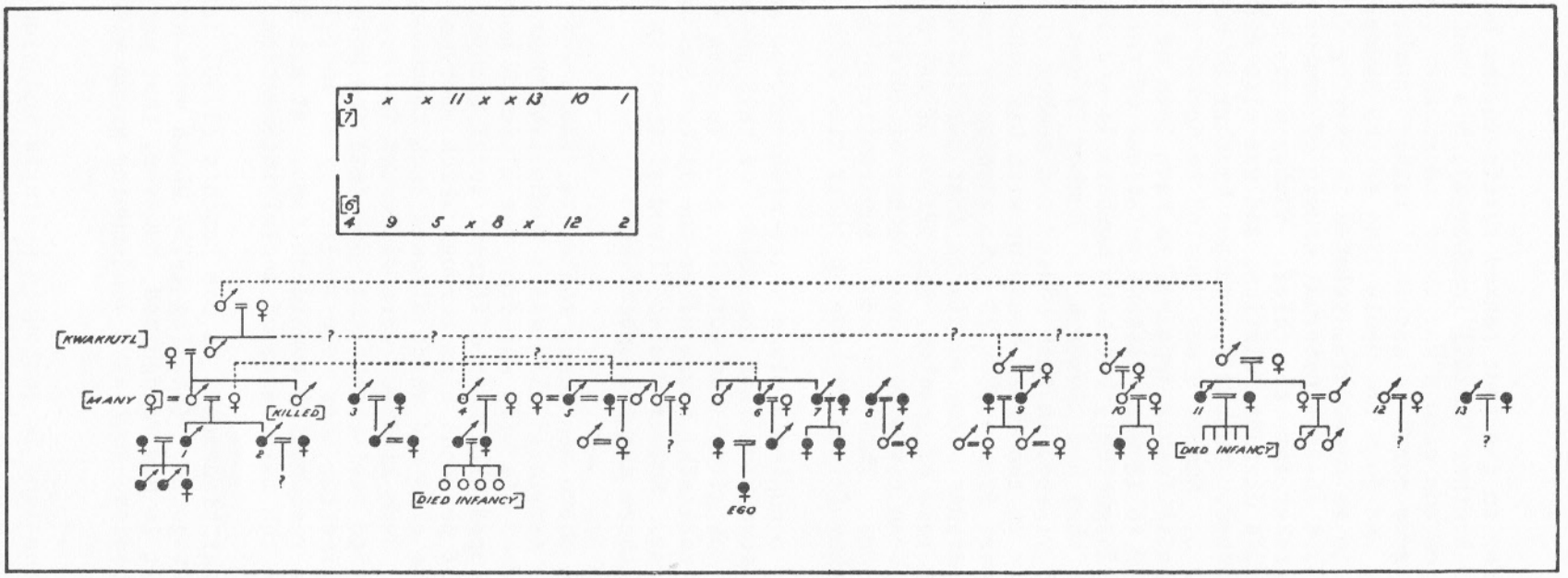


Figure 6. Residence in the Tacīsáth House at Kyuquot (1800-1900), and Relationships of Residents (From Drucker 1951:284).

occupants is based on kinship with the main chiefs regardless of how distant or how determined.

Numbers 1 to 4 refer to the four ranked chiefs in the house -- naswinis, (number 1); his younger brother Laninil (number 2); his "uncle", yumotqw, a distant paternal relation and also a war chief and speaker (number 3); and nahwinic, "a cousin of some sort" to naswinis' father (number 4). These four occupy inherited places and form the noble line of the house. The remaining residents are referred to as commoners, related in varying degrees to the house chiefs. Number 5, a distant paternal cousin of number 4 (and thus to number 1) was also a speaker for the chief. Number 6 was *mamutswiniɬim* (supporter) to number 4, a distant relation, and was also related to number 1 through the latter's mother. Number 7, younger brother to number 6, was *mamutswiniɬim* to number 3. Number 9 was "uncle" to number 1 through naswinis' mother (naswinis' father appeared to have been of lower rank than his mother). Numbers 10 to 13 were distant relations of the chiefs (the actual genealogy being forgotten), but both numbers 11 and 12 were associated with other houses where they had closer kin. Number 12 was "considered an A'Lic man but sometimes visited in this house" and number 11 also spent time with his sister's family in the cawis house or with his mother's people in the ciLsya'phath house. Apart from number 13 (who also spent much of his time elsewhere), all these persons occupied places that carried with them some sort of minor privilege, the role of speaker, the office of war chief, the use of a salmon trap, which had been given to their father or forefather to make the relationship a lasting one. This they would apparently forfeit back to the corporate property if they failed to keep up their ties with the house.

Number 8 in theory occupied a place which also carried an office, that of war chief, but it is interesting that the holder of this place (whose relationship with the chief is not given) had actually gone to live with his son in the natcasath (another tacisath) house after the latter had married a woman of higher rank in that house. Number 9 also "lived at times in the Latcwo'stakamɬ house" though his ties there are not specified.

In addition to the above mentioned residents, there were also the affinal relations; for example, naswinis' wife was a Nuchatlaht woman, number 5's wife was tiɬath and number 7's wife was from the a'Licath house. Each individual's kindred overlapped with many different local groups, thus providing the crisscrossing web of personal ties through which everybody could claim a relationship to everyone else and which allowed such tremendous mobility for all levels of society. Such kindreds were different for every individual (except possibly unmarried siblings of the same sex) and were potentially unbounded although in practice they were limited by an individual's mobility and by geographical and residential considerations. At all levels of society, however, such ties were the main bases of social interaction.

Frequently "personal kindreds", to use Leach's (1950) term, were merely potential groups or "categories" (Keesing 1975) which were widely dispersed and never mobilized. It is now recognized, however, that personal kindreds, can also be corporate bodies, such as a land-owning group with continuity, like a descent group

> if the title to the land is vested in a single individual with the limitation that it must be distributed and redistributed among his

> personal kindred and cannot be alienated without their consent. A member of this kindred who does not hold the title has the right to claim some land for his use and the power to approve or disapprove its transfer or alienation from the group. If there is a patterned rule of succession to the title, regardless of what form this might be, the system has continuity through time. There will be a genealogical line of title holders, at the end of which is the incumbent's personal kindred.
>
> (Davenport 1959)

Davenport called this type of organization a "Stem Kindred" and showed it has a fairly wide distribution in Europe, Oceania and Southeast Asia. Keesing (1966) further demonstrated (from his study of the Kwaio ambilineage) how the title holder in a stem kindred may be a corporation or a lineage as well as an individual. This is what Goodenough (1970) referred to as a "descending kindred" and he suggested that the distinction between descending kindred and personal kindred are relevant for most, if not all, nonunilineal societies in the world.

In the case of the Nootka of the 19th century, these concepts are very useful. The idea of descent was sustained by the chiefly lines whose pedigrees were validated both by their property ownership and by their knowledge of the group's past and it was this myth that gave the structure to the group. A large proportion of the group, however, neither cared about their pedigree nor owned any property other than of a personal nature (clothes, equipment etc.) Instead, by virtue of their claims of kinship ties with a chief and their residence within his group, they shared the resources of the group over which the chiefly owners exercised a sort of stewardship. In this sense, the descending kindred of the chief, restricted largely by rank and residence, acted as the stem of a larger body of kinsmen. Principles of both descent and kinship thus complemented each other. Kinsmen, no matter how reckoned, real or fictitious, were always being sought or manipulated by the chiefs, regardless of their rank, and the poorest and most distant "kinsman" was prompt to claim (or fabricate) some bond of relationship to him, citing some distant common "ancestor" if closer links were not available.

CONTINUITY IN DESCENT PRINCIPLES

In ordinary daily life in Kyuquot today personal kin ties govern behavior. Continuity in the importance of personal kindreds is immediately apparent but the operation of principles of descent in the area is less obvious. The fact that nonunilineal groups possess cohesion and the ability to survive over time has been well-documented by evidence from Southeast Asia and Oceania (e.g. Goodenough 1970). The descending kindreds of the Nootka are another example. Affiliation with the descent line of the local groups is still found among the Northern Nootka, but is now restricted mainly to situations associated with property ownership and ceremonial organization.

Population changes on the West Coast, as throughout the Northwest Coast, had a decisive effect in changing traditional social forms. If I am correct in suggesting that the total population of Kyuquot Sound fell from about 2,000 in 1800 to 124 by 1925 (see Table 4), then these figures point to the key factor in the disappearance of the 14 or so local groups in the area as

independent entities. By the end of the 19th century, most people were spending summer and winter at the coastal village of Actis, a situation which was encouraged by the development of sealing and canning industries in the area. Individual rather than communal trips were made "up inlet" to the *ma:ma:aht* (work areas) of the local group to trap, hunt, fish and garden.

The population decline also created the situation, which persists today, to "too many chiefs and not enough warriors," a phrase I heard several times in Kyuquot. Virtually everyone came to inherit a ranked position in at least one local group and was closely enough related to most of the other groups to be able to use their resources when necessary. Consequently, in terms of the local group structure, the *élite* descent element (as restricted by rank, property ownership and knowledge) absorbed the kindred which had formerly been associated with it.

Residences were maintained at those local group sites with superior resources. People continued to travel to these sites for short periods but the local group "places" were no longer the main seat of local group tradition. This had shifted to Actis, where each local group had been given land on which to erect its house. This land was a permanent site which was called after the place from which the group originally came. The house site carried with it all the traditions of the local group to which it had been given.

This property is still recognized today. Houses are built on Actis, and in several other West Coast villages, in a single line along the beach, with sites running from the beach back to the woods. The houses are much smaller than in the past and in most cases accommodate only a single family or household, though they are often arranged in distinct family clusters (see page 98).

Many houses are not occupied, at least for much of the year, but unrelated families should not use them. Much of the trouble in recent years has been over property and the fact that certain people do not live where they should. The extent of each named house site is still known, though the name is not used regularly, and people remember the property they own "up inlet" although they rarely visit it. This property continues to be inherited largely along lines of rank; the first born gets the property of the higher ranking parent and younger children inherit the lesser property from the other parent. This is then validated by residence. Only rarely is it further validated ceremonially.

Ceremonial organization, nonetheless, is still based on descent group affiliation. At the potlatches I attended in Kyuquot it was ties of origin rather than of close kinship which distinguished hosts from guests. One man explained that the reason for his not participating on a particular occasion was that he came from a different "place," meaning that his ancestors were of a different local group, for both he and the host now identify themselves as "Kyuquot." Another man, who was actively involved in the singing at a potlatch, said that he did so because he came from the same inlet as the main host. On any ceremonial occasion, the roles of side dancers, singers, food servers and gift distributors, as well as of the main ceremonial figures, are all performed by members of a distinct group, who, in assuming these tasks, are defining their relationship to the host. Since everyone in Kyuquot is related, often in several ways, the choice of people to help on such occasions involves deliberate decisions, and these are expressed in terms of the traditional descent principles which formerly structured the local group. This

is the ideal, even though in practice individual ancestors may have been in a *hinasyūkcił* relationship to the house rather than its chiefs.

In the past, the exogamous alliances of high ranking families meant that inter-group ceremonies were the norm, occurring not just at marriages but whenever a chief celebrated some important event. The scale of the proceedings would depend on the nature of the alliance, on whether it was between houses within the same local group or between tribes within the same confederacy or between two confederacies. The same situation prevails today and although there is basically only one level of social integration on modern Nootkan society, the band, on ceremonial occasions traditional divisions and groups resurface.

Inter-group, in the sense of inter-band, ceremonies are still mainly associated with weddings. With the widening mobility of the Kyuquot people in the last decade, more marriages are occurring with people from other West Coast bands (at present there is very little marriage outside the West Coast). The "Indian Marriage" ceremonies thus tend to develop into more significant occasions because of the arrival of guests from outside bands. When guests come in sufficient numbers and with sufficient prestige, the whole Kyuquot band (Chickliset and Kyuquot people) might act as hosts and contribute to the gift distribution in degrees conforming to the closeness of their kin ties with the immediate families of the couple. At one of the weddings I attended in Kyuquot, the groom's family came from Nuchatlitz, Nootka, Alert Bay and Bella Bella and included some very well-placed individuals. Consequently, the bride's family, itself high ranking, was assisted by the Kyuquot Number One Chief, who displayed his Sun Mask, and by all the adults of the Kyuquot-Chickliset group, who contributed to the gifts. In addition, the bride's maternal grandfather, a Chickliset chief, chose this occasion to reopen his chieftainship which he had "put away" twenty years earlier, after the murder of his brother. The bride's side held an impressive party the first day, while on the following day, the groom's relatives staged an even bigger affair which included dances from the East Coast and Bella Bella and the distribution of gifts by four separate individuals.

Intra-band, rather than inter-band, ceremonies are more common nowadays. It is on these occasions that traditional divisions are most apparent. In the case of one such ceremony, a ceremonial "Bathing," held in Kyuquot in 1974, (see below, page 164) three contrasting groups were evident:

1. The immediate family. Consisting of the sick girl, on whose behalf the ceremony was held, her parents, siblings and half-siblings with their spouses and children and her mother's brother, this group organized and financed the ceremony, and prepared and served the feast. Although the father acted as public host on his daughter's behalf and the entire group assumed the host role, the girl herself was said to be holding the party.

2. The people from the same inlet. Some other relatives were called on to help with the performance of the dance.

3. The remainder of the Kyuquot-Chickliset people. This group comprised the guests, and although they were differentiated into ranked families for receiving gifts, everyone fell into the same guest category regardless of the degree of relationship to the family.

These three groups correspond to the traditional socio-political units of

Kyuquot, the local group, the tribe and the confederacy. The first group is not merely a bilateral family in the modern Canadian sense, but is linked to the past by the fact that each nuclear household within the family group occupies adjacent houses on the land which was believed to have been given to their ancestors when they moved to Actis from their local group home and which is named for that home. Thus this group is also more than a ceremonial group. The second group, composed of descendents of other local groups from the same inlet, is less close-knit and seems to symbolize, rather than to actualize, traditional tribal ties with the first local group. One man who helped with the gift distribution was not sure of his exact relationship to the host, but came from the other chiefly line in the same inlet. The third group, the guests, as descendents from other inlets, illustrates the old idea that one potlatches only to outside groups, even though they are kinsmen.

In Kyuquot today most individuals are consanguineal kin through several links. The choice of which relationship is activated depends largely on the situation in question, although other factors, such as recent disagreements or accidents may affect this. On ceremonial occasions, the division of this large kin group involves deliberate decisions and they are determined in terms of origin. In such situations, however, which obviously occurred also in the traditional social groups, there comes a stage in which ties between groups and individuals based on supposed descent from a common ancestor are merged with those based on actual personal relationships.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

The basis of Kyuquot society continues to rest on kinship. Its importance in the nature of contemporary social organization cannot be overemphasized for, with few exceptions, Kyuquot people do not have friends who are not also relatives. Their dealings are only with their kin. Everyone in Kyuquot today is related, frequently in several ways, and thus a situation is created of many overlapping personal kindreds within the band. On most occasions, these are quite distinct from the descent lines which, as noted above, have become restricted in function although they are virtually unrestricted in affiliation.

As in the past, the day to day reality is played out within a relatively confined area and with a small group of people. In the old days, separate areas in the big house, not necessarily demarcated, were occupied by a group of people nucleated around a man, his wife and their children. This unit was defined by the sharing of a fireplace, which meant that they shared their provisions and ate together and slept within close proximity. The actual composition of the unit varied. After his alleged marriage, Jewitt's household included himself and his wife, Thompson (the other surviving crew member whom Jewitt claimed as his father), and Sat-sat-sok-is, Maquinna's young son. In polygynous households, wives shared the same fireplace and might have their own relatives to stay. Like the larger, local group, the composition of the household was constantly changing and the mobility of its members was not dependent on that of the rest of the group.

Most houses in Kyuquot today accommodate a single nuclear family, although there continues to be a certain amount of variation and mobility among members of each household. In 1972 and 1974 the household composition of Kyuquot showed considerable differences (see Tables 6 and 7). These changes

were due mainly to the arrival in 1973 of the new homes for Houpsitas which created an unusual amount of relocation and temporary arrangements. The delay in settling the houses on their new sites led several families to leave their old homes and stay with relatives until their new home was ready. Other people did move into their new homes despite the fact that they had no sewage or heat. In 1974, there were no examples of siblings and their families sharing the same household for any length of time, although in 1972, this was the arrangement in several homes. Such an expedient is generally a temporary one and is not expected to last. The households so constituted in 1972 split up, either through the death of one of the senior members, or because one sibling and his (or her) family have found accommodation elsewhere.

The figures cited in Tables 6 and 7 represent the general picture of how households were structured in the summers of 1972 and 1974. On any one day, the figures might be slightly different, for especially in the summer months there is a steady flow of visiting relatives coming to Kyuquot. Thus one nuclear family had the husband's brother and his wife from Queens Cove to stay. After a time the visitors moved in with another nuclear household where the wife was also from Queens Cove (and thus related to them). They stayed there for a while before moving back to Ahousat, where the girl's family lived and where they thought they would stay for the rest of the summer.

The multi-generational household is the second most commmon form. Rarely does a newly married couple in Kyuquot find its own home immediately and they therefore live with one set of parents until they can live on their own. Frequently, their own family has expanded several times before they can move out. If one parent dies, then they may well stay on in the house and look after the remaining parent. Other elderly relatives may also move in rather than live alone. Since the composition of these complex households varies, it is worth perhaps discussing the members of typical examples.

1) The head of the household is Thomas, a widower, aged 67. He owns the house (which is off-reserve) with his deceased wife's elderly father's brother, now much disabled, who has lived with him for much of his life. Thomas continues to work at various maintenance jobs and the uncle receives social security. These are the main regular sources of income. Also living in the house are Thomas's second daughter, Annie, her husband, and their three young children. Annie keeps house and prepares the meals for everyone, and her husband gets temporary jobs with logging companies or as a deckhand. In addition, there are frequent overnight visitors in the house, which is felt to have lots of room, although there are in fact only three bedrooms.

A home is never too small for guests to sleep overnight. Room can be found for large numbers of guests with virtually no notice. The hospitality of the people of Kyuquot is still something of which they can be proud.

2) The head of the household is Dick, aged 44, a fisherman, who bought the house (on reserve) five years ago, where he lives with his wife and their six children. Also living in the home are their second daughter's husband and two children. During the summer their oldest daughter brought home her new husband and her daughter by an earlier marriage. The latter family were soon to move into their own home on Houpsitas. Dick's son was to be married soon afterwards and would be staying with either his parents or the parents of the bride.

TABLE 6: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (1972)

1.	Single adult individual (in one case also includes a child).....	10% (3 households)
2.	Nuclear family unit (two parents plus children).....	63% (19 households)
3.	One or both parents plus children, plus children's spouses and children...	10% (3 households)
4.	Married siblings (of same sex) plus spouses plus children....	17% (5 households)

TABLE 7: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (1974)

1.	Single adult individual (with adult son for some of the time)...	4% (1 household)
2.	Nuclear family unit (two parents plus children).....	60% (15 households)
3.	One or both parents plus children, plus children's spouses and children...	32% (7 households)
4.	Single married couple.....	4% (1 household)

3) Frank, aged 69, is the head of the household and has lived in his present home (on reserve) for more than 25 years. With him live his second wife and their five daughters, plus the oldest daughter's three sons and the third daughter's husband and baby. The last family had recently returned to the village and were trying to find jobs to keep them there.

Nuclear family households may be as large as the above multi-generational ones. The largest young family in Kyuquot in 1974, with all children still at home (except during the school year, when high school children have to move away) has nine children, ranging in age from 3 to 14. Five or six children are common and large families are very much desired by young couples.

In terms of practical authority, Indian households are notable for their equality rather than for authoritarianism. One White resident of Kyuquot felt that the households were generally "matriarchal" since women frequently appear to take a dominant role in organizing the family. Household duties are not allocated according to sex; men can do the cooking on occasions and women go out jigging cod for supper, although on the whole such activities are assumed by the other sex, through convenience rather than expectation. Men are the commercial fishermen or the loggers. Apart from that, work is completed regardless of sex. Child-rearing especially is a job that is enjoyed by both men and women. This will be discussed in greater detail below but it is worth emphasizing here that households in Kyuquot in many ways lack the role structure of their White counterparts.

Despite the preponderance of nuclear households today, a trend which will probably be accelerated by the purchase of the new homes, the old extended family idea is far from being lost. Nuclear families continue to live in extended family clusters, occupying neighboring houses on adjacent house sites. Obviously, since everyone in Kyuquot claims kin ties with everyone else in Kyuquot, there is in effect a single line of relatives in the village. Noticeable, however, are the distinct family clusters, focused generally on the senior members of an extended family and with the more distant relations occupying homes furthest from this focus and also providing the link with the next group. This is best illustrated by consideration of a plan of Actis, with contemporary house sites, illustrated on the following page. Though not as many sites are occupied as when Drucker's informant described the village (Drucker 1951:223; see Appendix 1) and my information may be incomplete, the correspondences may be made. My House site 1 is called "Easy Creek", or *Mutsuwa*, Drucker's House 1. My site 7 corresponds to Drucker's House 9, *Nanîqs* House. My site 12, "House in the Middle of the Village" corresponds to Drucker's House 15 and my site 20 refers to Drucker's House 23. It seems evident that the provision of land for church and school (taken in the last 40 years from house sites said to belong to the neighboring families) has been the only major alteration in the arrangement of sites in the last century, although old people feel that the traditional boundaries are no longer respected or remembered. In addition, many houses today are unoccupied, and indeed in 1974, only one house was occupied during the winter months. That year, several houses which had been abandoned for many years were pulled down, leaving even more gaps in the line. It thus seems that the situation I am describing here for Actis, which has direct links with the past, is about to disappear, although a few house sites are likely to survive for some years to come as summer residences. On the other hand, the settlement of the new houses on Houpsitas, where new sites were demarcated behind the existing

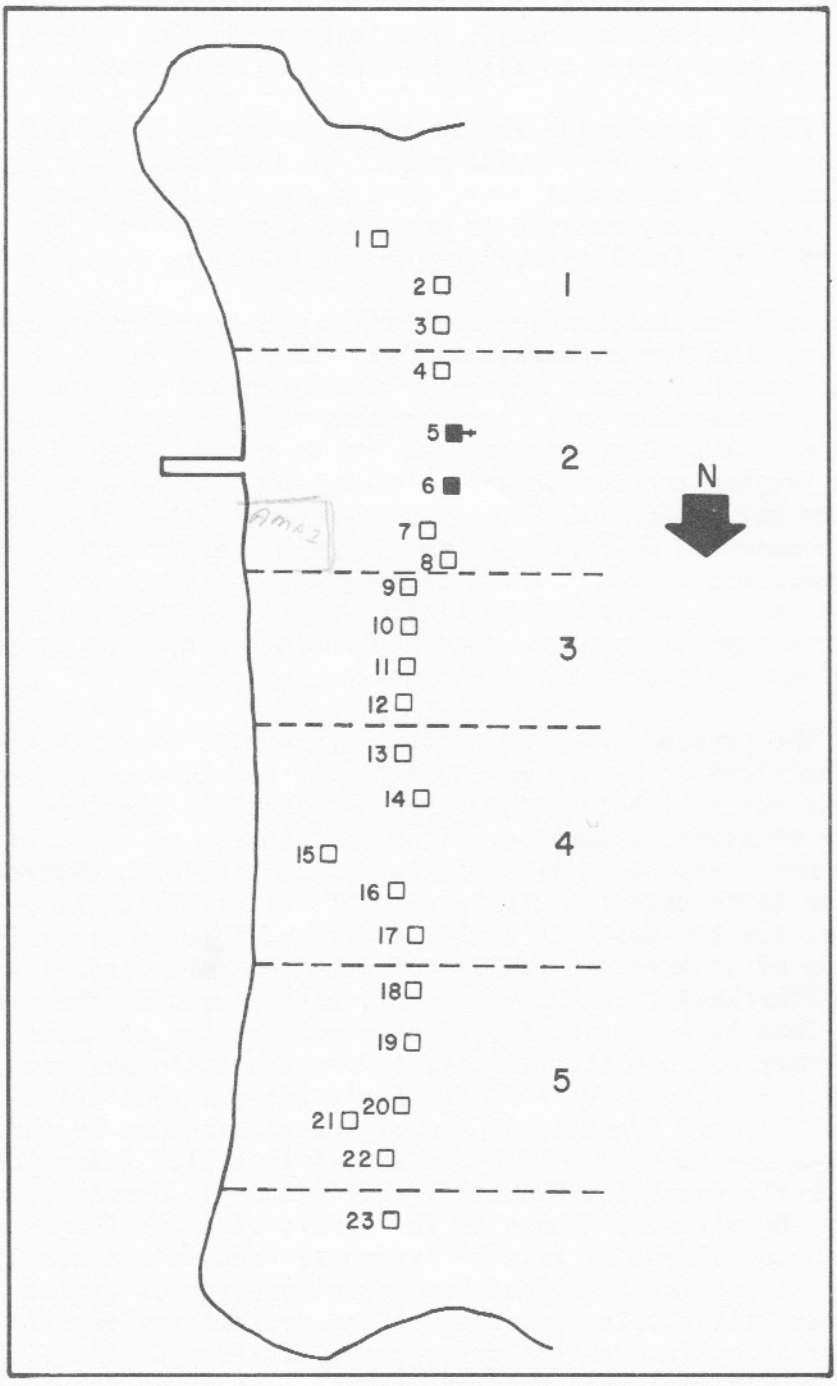


Figure 7. Sketch Map of Contemporary House Sites on Actis.

houses, has followed a similar pattern, which suggests that there continues to be a definite structure to village composition.

For the period up to 1972, there were five distinct family clusters on Actis, taking into account both the ownership of unoccupied houses as well as the actual residences occupied in the village during that year.

Three houses fall into Cluster 1. The deceased head of House 2 was an "old uncle" of the head of House 1, which is the focus of this group. The head of House 1 is a first cousin of the head of House 23, and had in fact shared with the latter and with two other nuclear families a large house, on Site 23, before he had acquired House 1. There are still close links between these two families of Houses 1 and 23 but, as they have each grown in size and live at opposite ends of the village, they have become more independent of each other. House 3, which has been empty since the death of the wife of the owner, belongs to a relative through the half brother of the head of House 1. The children of the deceased woman depend for help on their mother's family (Cluster 3), and the widowed father has moved to Victoria.

Cluster 2 is related to Cluster 1 mainly by the fact that the women of House 1 and House 7 are sisters. House 7 is the senior house in this group. House 4 is owned by a junior relation of the sisters, a parallel paternal cousin, son of their father's younger brother. House 8 is owned by the oldest son of the present owners of House 7.

House 12, "The House in the Middle of the Village," has not been occupied since 1973 but is owned by the oldest line of Cluster 3. The head and his family now live in a house on Tahsis Reserve for much of the year, but continue to come home for the fishing season. In 1974, they stayed in House 9, with the man's mother's sister, and his younger brother who is now the head of this latter household. A third brother owns house 10. House 11 is now owned by a Chickliset, a man who inherited the house through his Kyuquot mother and who is a half brother to the sisters in the senior houses of Clusters 1 and 2. There are distant or more obscure kin ties relating him to the other occupants of this cluster, but nothing close. Significantly, he has not lived in the village for many years, and it was this house we rented when we lived in the village.

Most of the house-owners of Cluster 4 are also primarily Chickliset. House 15, situated close to the beach and way out of line with the other houses, is owned by the senior family, the wife having inherited it from her Kyuquot father. House 13 is owned by the orphaned son of her husband's older brother. House 14, which was abandoned several years ago after the death of a child, is owned by her son-in-law and third daughter. House 16 is owned by her son-in-law's half brother and his Chickliset wife (a relation, though not of the same family as the main family of this cluster). House 17 was owned by another son-in-law and the oldest daughter and was occupied by this couple until they moved into a new house on another site they owned on Houpsitas. Their oldest daughter then took over House 17, although she too has recently acquired a new home on Houpsitas.

House 20 is the senior house of Cluster 5, and the head of this household is the father of the owners of houses 19 and 22. These were the sons of his first marriage, both adults with their own families now. Until he acquired

his present site, the owner of 19 lived in 21, a little "shack" down on the beach which was recently demolished. In later years House 21 was occupied by a niece of the wife of the head of House 20. The owner of House 18 is a "half brother" of the head of House 20, an elderly widower who spends most of his time on his boat.

A final house is still standing on Actis, House 23. This was the home of the late Chickliset female chief and her family who have since moved over to the Cove. It was occupied by a large family, by the chief and her husband, her maternal uncle, their three daughters and later their spouses, and their young son.

It is worth restating that this represents a constantly changing picture. Although the senior families of each cluster have occupied their homes for considerable periods, the occupation and the composition of many of the other houses might change frequently. Individuals may have a right to several sites and a large number of reasons can cause them to move from one to the other. The death of a close relative is still a particularly potent factor for many people, who "cannot live in a place where (their lost one) was so happy." Thus an elderly lady, who spent much of her childhood in Cachalot, "where the family comes from," has lived in at least four sites on Actis. When she was first married, she and her husband shared the large house on my Site 20 with her husband's older brother's son, her husband's son by an earlier marriage, and her husband's classificatory "younger brother," together with the wives and children of each. Then she and her husband moved into a little house behind the church, on my Site 4 (while her husband's son moved to House 1, and the younger brother to House 2). After her husband's death, she immediately moved out, briefly staying at House 13, where she lived with her late husband's grandson, and then settling at House 9 which she shared with her sister, and now with her sister's children. This had been her mother's site.

The family in contemporary Kyuquot can therefore be seen as an elastic unit which expands and contracts with varying numbers of people. Although the basic household unit may be a nuclear family, more distant relatives are frequently associated with it for undetermined lengths of time. Consanguineal links of apparently unlimited degrees are expressed in this way. In addition, every household today is part of a larger extended family cluster in which the most social interaction occurs and which to some extent shares common resources such as a smokehouse. Like the household, this extended group exhibits some changes due to the mobility of households but the senior members of these clusters tend to be fairly static. Such clusters are distinct in Kyuquot but do not form isolated units. Ties of kinship are shared with their neighbors so that a certain amount of overlap is always present.

The structure of family and household composition of Actis is obviously being carried over to the new settlement of Houpsitas. This, the traditional winter village of the La'a'ath people, has been occupied continuously by a few families. In the 1920s, four houses are remembered there, though they were not always occupied and the owners also had homes on Actis. Then about 30 days ago, the new Number One Chief moved permanently to his house on Houpsitas. Many reasons are given for this, one being that Actis was too sad a place for the family after they had lost a child. Political considerations were also apparently behind the move. For many years, they were the only family on Houpsitas. The children have all remained there, bringing their spouses to

live with them rather than moving away at marriage, and today they occupy seven distinct but adjacent sites along the beach. In 1971, two unrelated (to them) households moved houses onto land at the end of the Houpsitas settlement and this was the beginning of the big expansion. When more new houses were purchased for the band, the rest of the Houpsitas reserve land was cleared of forest and a band meeting held to determine the ownership and composition of sites. I was told that this was done on a first-come, first-served basis. Priority was given to sites with a view of the sea and near the beach.

It is striking, however, how closely related nuclear families continue to occupy neighboring sites. Children have sites adjacent to their parents and siblings continue to be next door to each other. Although houses were not finally settled when I left in September 1974, the pattern was clear. The extended family cluster formation was still prevalent, although the pattern found in Actis was not so obvious since the whole settlement at Houpsitas is in rows rather than a single line, a formation dictated by the size and shape of the reserve (see figure 8).

Four distinct extended family groups emerge at Houpsitas, with one or two "marginal" residents who are less closely associated with a focal household. The focii of three of the four clusters are House 1, House 7, and House 12. House 1 is the home of the parents of one of the spouses of each of the houses in Cluster 1 and belongs to the old Number One Chief and his wife. The head of House 7 is the father of the wives in House 9 and 10 and his wife's younger sister and her husband live next door in House 8. It is worth noting that the sister's parents live very close, in Walters Cove, and it is but a short boat ride from one beach to another. The head of House 12 is also the father of the heads of Houses 13, 14 and 15. The head of House 11 is a fairly close relative (his mother and the father of the owner of House 12 were close kin), although he is more closely related to other groups. His wife, however, a Hesquiaht woman, has a sister married to the owner of House 17.

The sites of Houses 1 to 8 are not new. Houses 1 to 6 have all been built during the last thirty years on traditional sites. Houses 7 and 8 are new but replace structures on old sites which the owners claim as their own. One of these buildings was destroyed by fire and the other, which still stands, is now adjacent to the new house, on the same site. These 8 sites, which occupy the beach, are the basis of the new village structure and the rest has been created around them.

It should be noted that several of the families included in this description of Houpsitas were also included in the account of Actis. They continue to own their property there, but have moved their actual residence to their new homes.

It is obvious that many factors influence the choice of residence, but kinship is the determining factor. When a family moves, they either do-so in an extended family block or they follow a relative who has gone for some specific reason. The first Indian to live in Walters Cove was a girl whose White common-law husband owned a house there. Shortly afterwards, her parents and siblings rented a neighboring house and also moved over. The next family to move into the Cove did so in a large group, including parents and children and were related to the first family, both being Chickliset. The same pattern is observed when people move to the towns of Vancouver Island or even to Vancouver

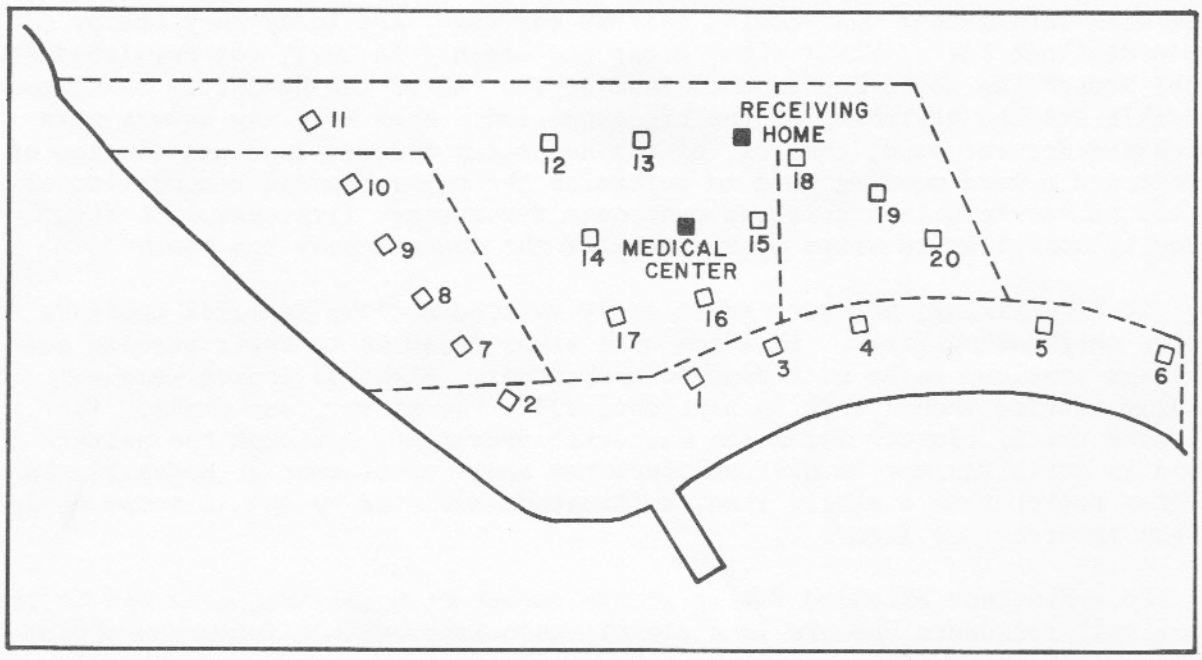


Figure 8. Sketch Map of House Sites on Houpsitas Today

TABLE 8: NOOTKAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY (Chickliset Dialect)

Consanguineal Kin

Father	*nawe:qs*
Mother	*ameqs*
Parents' siblings (and cousins)	*ne:ʔe:qs*
Parents' parents (and siblings)	*ne:ne:qs* (colloquially, *ne:an*)
Older siblings (including child of parents' older siblings)	*me:ʔe:tme:qs*
Younger sibling (including child of parents' younger siblings)	*yaqwe:qs*
Son	*ha:wil*
Daughter	*he:qw:l*
Grandchild	*kwOʔys*

Affinal Kin

Husband	*che:kOp*
Wife	*lotsma:*
Spouse	*Otxei:*
Parents-in-law, Child-in-law	*kwi:ya:qs*
Sibling-in-law (of speaker's sex)	*i:yiqs*
Sibling-in-law (of opposite sex)	*chi:nipse:qs*
Parents' siblings' spouse	
Spouse's sibling's child	
Step-parent, step-child	*o:wiqs*
Child's parent-in-law	*me:lti*

itself. Frequently a family moves to the town where their school age children attend high school, because they cannot bear to have the family broken up. Other relatives follow, either temporarily or permanently, and in this way "clusters" of Kyuquot folk have developed in Tahsis, Campbell River, Courtenay/Comox and, to a lesser extent, in Victoria and Vancouver. Few people have moved to Port Alberni recently, but that town was also a popular area with Kyuquot people a decade ago, before the school and hospital were built in Tahsis and when Kyuquot was part of the West Coast District.

Residence at marriage is a distinct topic, and will be discussed in greater detail below. Here, it is sufficient to note that ideas on rank, in the traditional sense, are still important in this context. A young couple, before and after marriage, frequently stay with the girl's family until they find their own home, although their stay is punctuated by frequent visits to other relatives. When the time comes to move to their own home, however, it is very interesting that in cases where the girl comes from a higher ranking family than the boy, they settle near her parents, and a distinct matrilocal tendency is apparent. In most situations, however, the couple will live with or near the boy's family. All the children of the Number One Chief, sons and daughters, have settled on their own sites near their parents. In Cluster 3 on Actis, on the other hand, all the sons have remained on their parents sites, while their sisters have moved away.

Descent and the inheritance of property to some extent determine where one lives. Formerly, of course, this was the most important factor only for property-owners or chiefs, but today, most individual adults can claim to own property somewhere. Traditional patterns are still followed: the oldest son inherits his father's property and the younger children, their mother's. Three adult brothers are all home-owners on Actis, owning almost adjacent houses. The oldest got his property from his father, the second inherited property from his mother's father and the third lives in his mother's house (inherited from his mother's mother). Another pair of adult brothers own property in different parts of the village. The oldest inherited his father's village property and the younger from his mother's family. They also both inherited property up inlet from different grandparents, the younger apparently getting this from his father's side, the older from his mother's. Neither of them visits these sites. In addition, neither of them lives on his own house sites. The younger has no house on his property and instead lives with his wife and their young children in his brother's house and site. His brother, who is unmarried, stays with other relatives. Though inheritance follows descent, which thus dictates where one owns property, it is the daily demands of kinship which decide where one lives.

CONTEMPORARY KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE: A QUESTION OF SIDES

Nootkan kinship terminology is basically of Hawaiian type, emphasizing generation and seniority rather than distinguishing sex or particular categories of relatives. Many of the native terms for kin are disappearing in the same way that the Indian language is not generally used. Old people are often referred to as *ne:an* (grandparent), but I did not hear the terms for son or daughter in use. The terms for older and younger sibling are still common but, of affinal terms, I collected only those for husband and wife (terms which Drucker did not include, although Sapir [n.d.] did so) (See Table 8).

Colloquial English kin terms, however, frequently have the same application as their traditional Indian translation. "Auntie" and "uncle" are used loosely to refer to any relation of the parents' generation and the actual kin tie may not be recalled. Cousins are usually distinguished from siblings in English, at least among younger Indians, but when the terms "older brother" or "younger brother" or "older sister" or "younger sister" are used, it is in the traditional sense that includes cousins, but differentiates senior and junior lines.

For example, some young women in their early twenties are related to a neighboring family "somehow; it goes way back." The older woman has inherited the high traditional status from her mother, and consequently, the "cousins" in the second family, even those who are older than she, refer to her as "elder sister." On the other hand, her genealogical "younger sister" refers to the son of the second family, a man younger than herself, as "uncle." It is he who has the hereditary place in that family now, although this is not as high as that of the "elder sister."

Thus, in an important sense, traditional kin terms are associated with status and are the means of maintaining it. Relative status is still awarded according to birth order which is now substantiated not so much by property ownership as by kin title.

Even more significant, however, it seems to me, is the application of kin terms to exclude a section of the community, "the other side." These are the "in-laws," one's spouse's people, who may be related to one's spouse but are certainly not considered to be related to oneself. Although, in fact, genealogical connections link everyone in Kyuquot in varying ways, it seems that the fact of marriage transforms any previous connection with certain groups. Indeed it is still considered improper to marry a relative (i.e. a close consanguine). Children were playing boy friends and girl friends in my house and I teased one boy about a particular girl. "She's not my girl friend!" he exclaimed. "She's my relative," indicating that the two categories were mutually exclusive. I was told, in amusement, of several instances where close relatives had wed. The fact that one of the children thus produced had a hairlip was blamed on the kin tie. To say that someone marries a first cousin appears to be the ultimate in ridicule. In effect, therefore, kin terms are applied to varying degrees of close kin (and to those more distant if an occasion warrants such an identification, actual genealogical relationships being irrelevant), while the act of marriage creates the boundary between one's own family and "the other side." The two should not overlap. The fact that they sometimes do can only complicate the kinship roles which are normally clearcut in a marriage between two sides.

Such an assertion is contrary to what we know of the traditional marriages arranged for high-ranking individuals. There, the two parties emphasized their close kin ties, through their exchange of wives for so many generations (Sapir 1939), a form of marriage aptly described as "delayed endogamy" (de Laguna, personal communication). In such cases, however, the question of sides was never in doubt. Individuals from two distinct descent lines were being wed and the division of their kin groups was therefore not in question. With the more frequent marriages within a group, unions between more distant kin must have occurred. Despite common genealogical connections, however, the symbolism of two sides was maintained through the consistent application of affinal kin

TABLE 9: PATTERN OF MARRIAGE CHOICES IN KYUQUOT (1972)

		HUSBANDS							
		Kyuquot	Chickliset	Queens Cove	Nuchatlaht	Nootka	Nuwittee	Mount Currie	White
WIVES	Kyuquot	11	1	1	2	1		1	1
	Chickliset	2		2					1
	Queens Cove	2							
	Nuchatlaht								
	Nootka	1	1						1
	Hesquiaht	1							
	Opitsat	1							
	Nitinat		1						
	Kitkatla					1			
	White	1							

terms at marriage. This was then further strengthened through potlatching which, on the West Coast, is very much tied up with marriage.

Within the last couple of generations, marriage in Kyuquot has been overwhelmingly endogamous, at least on a band level. That earlier distinctions, in terms of origin or local group, still persist for ceremonial (and marriage) purposes has already been discussed. In very recent years, Indian people have begun to travel more outside the Kyuquot area and there has been a noticeable increase in marriages involving other West Coast bands, and occasionally beyond the West Coast, a trend which coincides with the wider range of mobility.

Table 9 summarizes the pattern of marriage choices observed in Kyuquot in 1972. The marriages with Nootka, Hesquiaht, Mount Currie and Whites are all recent.

In recent years the significance and pattern of marriage have altered tremendously, while certain aspects of associated kin behavior have changed less. Until well into the 20th century, marriage was the basis of the most important political alliances on the West Coast. For a man of high rank it was essential that he marry, at least as his first wife, a woman of equal or higher rank so that the status of his family would not be spoiled. Thus an oldest son of an oldest son married a woman of the oldest line of another family, and to achieve such an ideal match, relatives started to look for a suitable partner as soon as the first born arrived. Their children would inherit the combined high rank of both parents. If there was any great discrepancy in the rank of the parents' lines, the children, out of courtesy, would be accorded the status of whichever parent was higher, but the line of the family would be ruined, for the children would be bound to acquire low status relatives who could address them and their descendents as "younger brothers."

Residence generally followed rank, so that if the bride's family was of higher rank than the groom's, the groom might move to his wife's home. In such a case, a chief might lack a male heir and it was said that the girl's side paid for the groom (rather than the other way round) so that the son of the union might inherit from the maternal grandfather. This could establish a precedent and be incorporated into the family's inherited traditions, their *tOpa:ti:*.

When rank was equal or the boy's side was of higher status, the couple would live with the groom's family but the bride would take with her some important part of her own people's heritage, "so that their children would remember where they came from." Such dowry was mainly incorporeal property consisting of songs, dances and names commemorating the history and traditions of the bride's ancestors. If the marriage failed, it did not revert to the original group and thus the groom's side felt they were increasing their own property in this way. It was to this type of property that Drucker (1951:258) gave the term *tOpa:ti:*. Although I tend to believe, with Sapir and Swadesh (1955:3), that *tOpa:ti:* probably referred to all inherited, ritual prerogatives rather than just those exchanged at weddings, the fact remains that most incorporeal rights of this type were exchanged only through marriage. In this way, *tOpa:ti:* served as mnemonic devices for preserving an individual's genealogy. The actual kin tie might be forgotten but the fact that a person or family owned property from another group was lasting proof of the linkage. So it is today that in Kyuquot several people talk of property (a mask, a song, a tambourine drum) they acquired in marriage from "Alert Bay" several generations

ago. They no longer have close kin in that area; but the important connection between the communities is not forgotten.

In political terms, marriage was the only real way in which a family's wealth could be augmented. Repeatedly we find that "the major motive in marriage alliances was therefore to recover *tOpa:ti:* which had been given away as dowry or to acquire new ones" (Sapir n.d.). War might result in the annexation of neighboring territory but could also lead to the disappearance of much of its inherited ritual unless some survivors could be adopted into the successful family and forced to hand over their *tOpa:ti:*. More frequently, the violent demise of a chief before he had handed down his "place" (family property) to designated heirs caused his surviving family to put away the place for a period. This was not an uncommon occurrence and has in fact been recently witnessed in Kyuquot. A generation ago, a Chickliset chief was murdered and his younger brother was so distressed by the event that he put away his own place, as well as that of the murdered man, until a couple of years ago. At the wedding potlatch of his granddaughter, it was announced that he was reopening his place, which would be taken by his son. The heir of the murdered chief is also being instructed in his inheritance, preparatory to assuming his rightful position. In more extreme cases, the place could be laid aside altogether. Such an act might involve the destruction of associated material wealth, such as masks, canoes, houses, decorated boards; but all of these can be remade if necessary. What were important were the inherited, intangible prerogatives on which these were based.

It is not surprising, therefore, that such an important occasion as marriage was celebrated in lengthy and elaborate fashion. Most older people on the West Coast, those in their 60's and 70's, have been through some form of traditional "Indian marriage," *lo:tcha:* (a term used only for the first or formal marriages), and remember this as being not only the most elaborate traditional ceremony but possibly the most fun. It is the excitement of the *tOpa:ti:* displays, with their well-established and colorful pattern of rivalry and competition, that they recall so vividly and it was these that dominated the proceedings. Both sides, the bride's and the groom's families, were bound to do their utmost to show the high ranking nature of their family background through exhibiting as important *tOpa:ti:* as their family could claim.

It is almost fair to say that the wedding potlatch of the Nootka most closely approximated the so-called rivalry potlatch of the Kwakiutl, for on no other occasions on the West Coast was such competitiveness displayed. Regardless of how much was to be handed over as dowry for the bride, both sides tried to outdo the other in exhibiting the extent of their ceremonial property and influence. The competition was strong since children of the next generation would take as their main *tOpa:ti:* whichever was the most prestigious and in so doing define their primary group affiliation.

Different sorts of displays were made by the bride's and groom's sides (Drucker 1951:258). The latter performed dances and songs, and feasted the bride lavishly, thus indicating the size of their *ha:wilmis*. The girl's side replied by subjecting the groom (represented by all his family who accompanied him on this delicate mission) to a series of four tests, themselves part of a *tOpa:ti:* in that they referred to all the family inheritance, and which were designed to test not only his physical ability but also the boy's

knowledge of the bride's family background. These tests provided the most entertaining part of the proceedings and are the most missed today, for they have not been performed in Kyuquot for about a generation. Anyone on the groom's side might attempt the test, including, at least in recent times, women. The suitable contestants were rewarded with blankets or other equivalents by the bride's side. Designed as these trials were to test the acceptability of the groom in terms of his and his family's knowledge of the bride's family background and status, the results were, of course, fixed. But neither a slave nor a lowborn would be likely to possess the knowledge to pass them.

Marriages were thus occasions for both sides to display the depth and breadth of their connections and were characterized by exaggerated expressions of competitiveness and opposition between the two sides. The attitudes which prevailed are in marked contrast to those of other ceremonial occasions at which consideration and concern for the guests, "the other side," is very marked. Some opposition between two sides, however, was a *sine qua non* for any important ceremony. In order to potlatch, a chief or host group had to have as guests an "outside" group, the "other side," who would witness the performances put on by the hosts and, in so doing, validate their right to display them and the status that was associated with them. Such guests had to be outside the immediate kin group and represent impartial witnesses. What they also represented were affinal relations, people from other groups (be it local group, tribe or confederacy) with whom spouses were exchanged.

Such "sides" were not absolute categories but were created by actual situations and the flexibility of the Nootkan kinship system is very evident on these occasions. It was entirely possible for two people to be on the same side on one occasion and on opposite sides at another ceremony. Two commoners from the same inlet would be on the same side at the marriage ceremony of the Number One Chief of the Kyuquot Confederacy; but if one of them married the other's sister, then each of their local groups would be in opposition. In cases where they came from the same local group, then either their housegroups would be distinguished or the groom would call on relatives from another local group to help him with the ceremony (and provide him with an identity in a separate local group; see Sapir 1939:139). On subsequent occasions, the decision whether to treat each other as brothers-in-law (implying a certain distance) or "brothers" depended partly on whether the occasion involved the larger political units or was simply a local affair, and also on their later relationship. There was no pattern of marriages between the same opposed sides on a local group level although there was a tendancy for wife exchange between certain confederacies, such as Kyuquot and Nuchatlaht, Ehattesaht and Nootka. The pattern of kin behavior was largely informal and certainly not institutionalized in alliances between distinct family or tribal groups.

Among the Nootka and probably the other nonunilineally organized peoples of the Northwest Coast, the potlatch ceremony was not only a means of validating status but also functioned to ensure the future solidarity of the groups concerned. The hosts, by displaying their hospitality, their wealth and their graciousness to their affinally related guests, were investing in the future membership of the people already shared by the two sides and in the children yet unborn of the marriage alliances between them. They were hoping to attract or keep worthy younger sons to fill lesser offices and swell their ranks

and to secure suitable marriage alliances (and consequently well-endowed future generations) for those of the highest rank.

Thus, although the acknowledged emphasis in ceremonies and potlatch proceedings was on the past, in terms of the history that was narrated through song, dance and speeches and the constant references to one's ancestors, a vital function of the potlatch was future oriented, in that through this mechanism, recruitment of new generations was ensured. Only in wedding ceremonies (and to a far lesser extent, puberty ceremonies), however, was the rivalry between the two sides made explicit. It was on these occasions that the group affiliation of the new generations was most clearly in question or most apparently up for auction. Wedding ceremonies thus institutionalized feelings of competitiveness and of opposition between affinal kin. This, in turn, must have had no small effect on the consequent relations between individuals and their spouse's family, an aspect of contemporary kinship which is in sharp contrast to other relationships. There is a very noticeable pattern of strained relations between parents-in-law and children-in-law, which is expressed by parents when they say that their child's spouse is not "good enough," and when the spouse complains of the parents'-in-laws' interference, or alternatively, their lack of interest. Criticisms of each other vary in kind and intensity, and I know of only two instances where the parties concerned actually came to blows but this type of behavior is consistent, and even where relations were reasonably harmonious for much of the time, disagreements occasionally surfaced to reveal underlying tensions.

Since such trouble mainly occurs for the individual who happens to be living with or near his spouse's parents, and since residence depends on rank, it is ultimately impossible to determine whether such differences are structural aspects of kinship or of rank. In one sense, they reflect both. It is certainly possible to see them as an indication of the continuing of kinship ties in terms of a ranked structure.

Young people getting married at home today like to combine a Catholic mass with a traditional ceremony, or "Indian marriage." Old people, however, feel that the modern ceremony lacks most of the basic ingredients of the old form, or *lo:tcha:*. These included the arrangements between the two families, with the groom's side asking for the bride's hand (*tse?a:s*) and being subjected to certain formal humiliations while the offer was being considered and also the *tOpa:ti:* trial performances which took several days to enact. The modern ceremony is much shorter, but the occasion is still an important one. Marriages are today probably the most common form of Nootkan ceremony, and continue to be both an opportunity for a family or group to reaffirm its traditional position and an occasion for enjoyment.

Marriage is no longer a formal alliance, even for those of high rank. It has thus left the realm of politics and become more of a personal matter, essentially tied up with kinship. The last arranged marriage was made in Kyuquot some fifteen years ago and was not a success. Efforts made by parents in the last few years to choose their children's spouses have been largely ineffectual. Parental support, however, often does affect a youth's marital future. Marriage for most young people is now a process rather than a single event heralding a change of status. There are few opportunities for courting on the West Coast, at least in the villages, for old codes of modesty and restrictions on open relationships between men and women persist. Thus in many

cases a young couple who are attracted to each other merely start living together, generally in the homes of one of their parents. Sexual activity seems to start for both sexes at an early age but is generally considered not a suitable subject for discussion. Similarly, clandestine affairs are not socially acceptable although they are far from unknown. On the other hand, marriage, even when it is common-law, is within the bounds of propriety and is encouraged. As a more long-term and exclusive type of relationship, it contrasts sharply with the other, short-lived or part-time and socially suspect liaisons. If the marriage relationship does not work out, the couple splits up very easily and the party not living at home moves away, often going back to his or her own consanguineal kin, to "his own side." Children of the alliance generally stay with their mother, although they continue to maintain their ties with both sides of the family. In a first relationship, a formal marriage ceremony of a Catholic mass and Indian dancing is often undertaken at some point, chosen partly to coincide with the priest's visit to Kyuquot and partly when the relationship has already proved itself to be relatively durable. In terms of the general stability of the marriage, however, this does not appear to have a great deal of effect and only complicates a separation.

Marital relationships are entered into and abandoned with ease. Because of the continuation of extended family networks, children are generally not totally displaced by the end of a marriage for from infancy they have moved in a larger family group than the simple nuclear household (see above, page 91). To be sure, not all marriages follow such a course and many older people have enjoyed long and lasting relationships. It should be added, however, that sometimes in their youth they had a similar marital pattern to today's youth.

Mallin (1961) described a comparable situation among the Quatsino and referred to it as "brittle monogamy." The pattern is not new on the West Coast. Jewitt (1815) described how the daughter of Maquinna left her husband because of alleged mistreatment and came home to her father, an act signifying divorce, and Jewitt was allowed to leave his wife when his marriage did not work. At this period, in the early 19th century, however, a woman was under far more pressure to remain faithful to her husband, for if she strayed she was in danger of having her nose cut off. A century later, that threat had been removed, and Swan (1868:11) noted:

> The marriage tie is but a slender bond which is easily sundered although it requires much in negotiation when first contracted. The facility with which wives can leave their husbands and take others gives rise to great confusion, particularly in the mind of a stranger seeking information relative to their domestic affairs.

A few years later, the Superintendent for Indian Affairs noted (Indian Affairs 1907:xxx):

> ....the practice of discarding wives or husbands and contracting fresh alliances ... reaches its climax on the West Coast and Kwawkewlth agencies, where probably something like half the population are more or less affected.

and Curtis (1916:67) pointed out, in a description with a contemporary ring to it that

> Divorce was easily accomplished by simply separating. Each retained his own possessions, the children, as a rule, remaining with the mother.

The frequency of half-sibling relationship in each generation suggest that contemporary marriage practices have been long established. It seems highly probable that among the greater proportion of the population, where no large amounts of property or the future status of children were at stake, this has probably always been the case. Today, formal or legal divorce is virtually nonexistent among the Northern Nootka, in part because of the influence of Catholicism but even more because of the lack of concern for legality. This does not affect individual marital careers at all and the fact that some of the most respected members of the community have common-law marriages, because they have not annulled previous "legalized" weddings, has no relevance on their status whatsoever. "Illegitimacy" is a word rarely applied to the children, even when born outside a legal marriage. Only when neither parent nor their "sides" want the child, a situation which has occurred in Kyuquot a couple of times within the last few years, does the child suffer inferior status.

The question of marriage today has been complicated by the Whites' laws in other ways, however. Because of the practice of according the child the legal status (White or non-status Indian *vis-a-vis* Indian or non-White) of their father (see page 153), many Indian women are reluctant to marry a man who is non-status Indian and thereby lose for their children certain valued rights. Sometimes it is preferable to continue a common-law relationship for that reason. On the other hand, old people do put pressure on the youngsters to get married, especially when the latter already have children. They urge them to think of the children, and to that extent there is a feeling of unhappiness with single parenthood. For a successful and happy life a child needs both sides of his family.

Throughout a person's life, his consanguineal kin are expected to support him and help when necessary, to the point of interference if the situation demands. This is in striking contrast to the normal attitude of noninterference in the affairs of others, even close family, and respect for their privacy. In several cases of broken marriages blame is placed on "in-law trouble," when the parents of one spouse interfere on their child's behalf. The mother's brother/sister's-child relationship is a particularly significant one on both a day-to-day level and on more formal occasions. Especially when a brother is senior in age, he is expected to assume a certain responsibility for his sisters and their children, as well as for his own, but often in the most mundane situations, he seems to be the person they all turn to for help or companionship.

Mother's brother and sister's child share a close and affectionate relationship which sometimes seems warmer than that shared by parents with their own children. There are instances of a man bringing up his sister's children when something happened to their parents, of sheltering his sister when she has quarreled with her husband, of assuming responsibility at an accident and rushing his sister's child off to the hospital. In addition, he had an important role on certain ceremonial occasions. George Clutesi (1969:15) noted in his narrative:

> In accordance with the coast custom the uncle of the prospective host, on his mother's side, had taken all responsibilities into his able hands to see to the many requirements pertaining to the tloquana play.

At the Indian dances I attended in Kyuquot the mother's brother of the hosts occupied a conspicuous role. Another man talked proudly of the potlatch he held to give his sister's son a name. To a great extent, the importance of the mother's brother rests on the fact that he embodies the support of a person's "own side." This continued strength of kin ties the Indian people themselves feel to be one of their greatest assets today, and besides representing the "old ways" it continues to reinforce their sense of social solidarity.

ADOPTION AND SOCIALIZATION

Children are much loved and wanted on the West Coast. Although parents today do not try to emulate the family sizes of their parents, when 14 to 18 children were not unheard of, large families are still very much desired and 6 to 8 children is a usual size for a family. Birth control measures have been introduced within the last decade and seem to be having some effect on regulating family growth, but by no means to the extent among White families. Such a pattern has been noted for British Columbia as a whole (Stanbury 1975).

Unwanted pregnancies appear to be rare. Women say that the old-timers had ways of massaging the abdomen to get rid of an unwanted baby. That this was not an entirely reliable method was recalled in an incident of a woman having a deformed child with marks on him suggesting he had been unsuccessfully pinched before birth. Although he survived for several years, the child died in a situation which suggested neglect. On the other hand, the Indian people today do not seem ready to accept the idea of hospital abortions.

Despite the availability of birth control procedures, many young teenage girls are having babies early, sometimes when living with the father, sometimes while still unattached. In the past, one girl told me, such babies would have been killed at birth, but now they are often being raised by other members of the family, close relatives where possible, with the mother in some cases assuming more responsibility when she is able. This appears to be a development of the last twenty years. Before that time, "there were no illegitimate babies."

In some matters of child-rearing, the idiom of being "all one family originally" is very real. To a certain extent, there is a genuine collective interest and sense of responsibility towards the children of the group, felt in degrees of intensity varying with residence and kin ties. On Actis, parents will leave young children behind when they go visiting in Houpsitas or Walters Cove in the sure knowledge that someone will look after them. On one occasion we found ourselves "babysitting" till after midnight with two small children who had been left to watch a "show" (film) by their parents while they went to the store and to visit relatives. The parents were detained but were not concerned because they knew someone would take the children in. We lived next door and it was to our house they came first, even though nothing had been said to us earlier.

Relatives are frequently asking to "keep" each other's children, especially when favored kin, such as sister's child, are concerned. Small babies and teenagers are included in this "borrowing." From the earliest age, children are able to move easily from relative to relative and rarely show signs of insecurity. This was underscored by a two-year old girl from Opitsat who came to stay with her father's brother and his family. She settled in happily and stayed for two months before her relatives returned her on the grounds that she was beginning to feel homesick. On the other hand, an Indian toddler who had spent the previous year in Vancouver with only his parents came back to Actis for the summer and was unable to adjust to the wider world of kinfolk for several weeks.

Adoption

Under these circumstances, adoption is normally not the difficult and lengthy legal transaction which it becomes for Whites. A couple who have too many children, or one they do not want for some reason, may "give" it to other relatives to raise. This rejection of a child may be due to several factors, such as the mother's health or the father's doubts about the paternity of the child or a mental or physical handicap, including being born a twin. Children are also "given" in this way to relatives who do not have any children, or are unable to have any more. The arrangement is as binding as the situation over time makes it. A parent does not deny his or her paternity, but rather shares with members of his family who are less fortunate, or conversely accepts help from relatives when unable to care for the child alone.

Over 40 years ago, a young boy was given to his father's younger brother, who feared that he and his wife could not have any children of their own. They later had several children, including sons, but the "nephew" remained with them as their own child and today he owns property where his adoptive father lived. His natural mother is still alive and they visit each other on occasions although they now live in separate bands. He appears to be equally affiliated with both his natural and adopted families but his residence choice means that his primary affiliation is presently with his adopted family.

In 1974, a young middle-aged couple who have six children but can no longer have any more of their own were considering adopting the child of the wife's cousin (her father's brother's daughter). The latter no longer wanted the baby since she had left the father and she was prepared to give it to her cousin. The couple hesitated because they did not know whether they wanted to take on another baby (their youngest child was five at the time). The baby was theirs, however, whenever they went to pick her up. She was presently spending most of her time with her maternal grandmother.

Within the last decade, a young women delivered two sets of twins within a year. When she immediately became pregnant after having the first pair, her parents took the babies, since she felt unable to cope with them. Her parents shared the traditional attitude towards twins, however, and felt that they were a sign of ill-luck. The babies were consequently unwanted and finally a home was found for one in another band, where he was placed legally. The second has remained with the grandparents or mother's sister for much of his life. After the death of his grandmother, he returned to his natural parents but his mother admits that she feels unable to cope with him. For some reason (and she blames the attitudes of the "old-timers"), she feels differently towards him than to

the others and she blames him whenever things go wrong. The second set of twins have remained with their parents, and appear to have been better accepted.

Such easy "giving" of children to relatives may sometimes lead to friction but the very flexibility of the system generally carries its own solutions. Adoption outside the Indian community, however, is a very different thing and is normally not acceptable. This was made evident in 1974, when a White couple in Walters Cove adopted, through official legal channels, the infant child of one of the Indian women now living in Victoria. The mother had agreed to the adoption before the baby was born but her family (represented mainly by her mother's brothers and her siblings) felt very bitter about it. Their feelings were no doubt strengthened by common Indian attitudes in British Columbia towards such mixed racial adoptions. As long as the child was in Kyuquot, however, she was treated as a close relative and her natural family closely watched the treatment she received at the hands of her adoptive parents.

An "orphan" was traditionally regarded as the most unfortunate of creatures. He is still felt to be deprived but the true orphan should not be confused with someone who still has close relatives to care for him, even though both parents may be dead. This point was brought home by a recent situation in Kyuquot, in which eight children from Nootka, siblings whose parents died suddenly, came to live in Kyuquot where three of their father's siblings have married and settled. For a while they lived with their relatives but no one was able to provide a home for all of them, so they were all moved into the Receiving Home, a new home which the band had purchased with the Sea Island homes for the purpose of accommodating such exigencies. During the summer of 1974, the following entry appeared in the student-produced newspaper, *Ah-up-wak-eek:*

> We also like to ask the people of Kyuquot *NOT* to call the children's Residence an Orphanage because we feel that it is not an orphanage and the children are not orphans. Somewhere in this community they have relatives. Thank you.

In other instances where children have been orphaned young, homes have been found for them with close relatives. In one case, the maternal grandparents care for the children. In another case, the deceased father's younger brother and his wife took the older son and the younger child was brought up by his mother's father and brother.

Several older men, whose parents had died when they were young, have since acquired a certain amount of traditional status, although it is evident that they are not without important relatives. One man was "bought" from the Kyuquot people by the Nuchatlaht as their chief. He settled down in Nuchatlitz and took a Nuchatlaht wife. A second man married the heiress of the Chickliset chief. One of his close relatives, however, is the wife of the old Kyuquot Number One Chief. A third man settled down with the woman who is now the Number Two Chief in Kyuquot. The families of all three men are among the most important traditionally-ranked groups on the coast and their early misfortune did not have any adverse effect on their future success. In contrast, at a recent wedding potlatch, the groom was from Nootka. He had some kin in Kyuquot and from Queens Cove who came to the wedding but both his parents were dead. During the Indian ceremony, an older female relation came forward and spoke

for him, but there was no one at the end of the party to thank the hosts. A member of the host's side was hired to do it for him. An old lady explained: "It's because he's an orphan; he has no one to look after him."

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Today all babies born in Kyuquot are delivered in the hospital. When no difficulties are anticipated, they are born in the Red Cross hospital in Kyuquot, while more complicated cases are sent out to the new hospital in Tahsis. Pregnant women are encouraged to have regular check-ups with the nurse and doctor. Some younger Indian women are able to deliver babies, having been given some instruction by the nurse whom they sometimes assist. The older, traditional mid-wives, who learned their craft from their mothers, have been replaced only within the last few years and are still considered as alternatives by pregnant women. The reputation of some is well-known and even the nurse admires the skill of one woman in especially difficult deliveries.

On the whole, pregnancy does not attract a great deal of attention and the mother-to-be leads a perfectly normal life up to the time of delivery. In 1974, one woman was playing baseball, rowing a boat, and canning fish in the last month of her pregnancy even though she has a history of difficult births. Another insisted on staying at home, despite a severe bout of toxemia. There are no special exercises for pregnancy, though walking was recommended, and for pregnancy cramps, a kneading of the lower abdomen was suggested.

For the woman having her baby at home, the delivery is considered easiest if she assumes a propped up position or lies on her side. One woman recalled how a local mid-wife gave her two cups of melted lard to drink when she went into labor, predicting that this would expel the afterbirth easily within twenty minutes of delivery. To ensure its expulsion, she tried the severed cord to the patient's toe. The choice of who attended the birth was up to the mother and also dictated largely by circumstances. It is not unusual today for the father to have assisted at or attended the birth of their child, though traditionally only the mid-wife would be present.

If too many people were around when the baby was born, it was said that the child would be shy. Such traditional taboos surrounding childbirth are far from forgotten. Young women in their early twenties told me of the following prohibitions for a menstruating and pregnant woman. She should not:

1. Close a door behind her. To do so would be to invite a hard labor.

2. Chew gum. This "messes up your insides."

3. Eat smoked fish. Consequences unknown.

4. Eat ice-cream. This makes the baby small.

5. Look at ugly things such as octopus, whalebirds (*ashats*). These deform the baby in their own image.

6. Run around too much. The baby will also be wild and run around a lot, being too friendly, "not a right person."

All these regulations were learned by the women at their first menstruation and should be observed every subsequent month, and when pregnant.

Head deformation, caused by the special baby cradles for carrying infants, passed out of vogue a century ago, and was not known of by the young women. Instead they recall how the face of the newborn was shaped by squeezing the eyebrows, nose, mouth and chin, "to make them look nice, the way they wanted."

The birth of twins was traditionally an awesome event and is still treated with a definite sense of the unnatural. There appears to be a feeling that the parents "misbehaved" in some way, and should observe a certain set of taboos for several years. One man in a neighboring village, who had twins now almost adult, abstained from eating fish for four years, although he did not retire to the woods as some people felt he should have done. The family of the woman discussed above, who had two sets of twins within two years, felt that the rejection of the children was related to the old ideas about twins and the fact that the woman did not want to observe the customary taboos since her husband was a White man.

Childrearing

Today the newborn baby is placed in a bassinet or crib, furniture items which are often shared among relatives. The traditional baby cradles are forgotten, but women fix up a sort of hammock, perhaps a sheet suspended at both ends or a baby seat attached to the ceiling in the middle of the main living room. The baby spends much of his time in this, with people gently pushing him as they pass by. For the rest, he is held and cuddled by many relatives, men, women and children.

Babies are both breastfed and bottlefed. Till recently, women liked to breastfeed their babies for as long as possible, and let their children feed whenever they wanted. Now a similar pattern is followed with bottlefeeding. Babies are rarely allowed to cry, being either picked up or fed when they start to fuss. Bottles of juice or pacifiers as well as milk are given to the babies to sooth them, and there is always someone around to "pack" the child who needs holding. Even seven-to eight-year old children are well able to babysit in this fashion, and babies are rarely left alone, even in a separate room.

For although most babies today are born into a nuclear family household, the presence of many close relatives around them from the beginning is still an important influence. Before a baby is very old, relatives are clamoring to keep him overnight or even longer. There is always someone to pick him up and hold him when he cries, to feed him or change him, sing to him or rock him, cuddle him and love him. On the other hand, babies are far from being regarded passive, helpless objects. From the earliest age he is assumed to know his own mind, and is accepted as a distant individual. Hence, little attempt is made to schedule feedings or sleeping habits or to form his personality in any way. Babies are weaned when they are ready. One young mother told me that her four-year old still wanted a bottle. Her sister told her that she ought to try and stop him but she agreed with her father that he could have one as long as he wanted it; he would stop when he was ready. Another six-year old was accustomed to making up his own bottle whenever he wanted it.

Toilet training is a process that begins early. When very small, babies may be held out to urinate, and sometimes are sung to at the same time. Frequently it is claimed that children are out of diapers by the time they are a year old, achieved with the minimum of effort. In the same vein, discipline is very low key. There may be a certain amount of yelling at the children (which they rarely appear to imitate) but generally children are given a great deal of freedom. Strictness or firmness is not a quality admired by the Kyuquot.

Despite the general lack of formal discipline, the Kyuquot people retain one ultimate threat. Children know that if they do not behave, *Ni:poth* will come and take them away in her basket. *Ni:poth* is an awesome female creature, living in the woods, who occasionally appears in the village carrying her large basket into which she pops bad children. In the past few years, two local women on Actis have impersonated *Ni:poth* and intimidated the younger generation. Interestingly, both are of Chickliset descent. It seems not unlikely that this institution was transmitted from the neighboring Kwakiutl tribes, where *Tsonoqua* fulfills a similar function, although this is a widespread motif throughout Northwest America. The effectiveness of the threat was brought home to me in 1974 by a seven-year-old White girl who was staying with an Indian family for the summer. She was having problems in adjusting to her new home and was being so difficult that her Indian "mother" warned her that *Ni:poth* would come and get her if she did not behave. In her case, this only served to aggravate the problem as the child became terrified.

Children are also told about other fearful spirits roaming the woods and mountains. *boqmis* are creatures, half man, half beast, who kill the humans they encounter. This serves as an obvious deterrent to wandering off into the dangerous hinterland, and adults as well as children are petrified at the prospect of seeing a *boqmis*. Instances are told of such an event and it seems possible that they refer to some half crazed survivors of plane or boat wrecks in the area. Enough of these accidents have happened, in mysterious circumstances, to make such an explanation valid.

Parents and relatives of either sex take an active interest in child-rearing. Although the mother is inevitably closer to small children who are still nursing, the father also spends a lot of time caring for them. Several cases were noted where the father had sole responsibility for toddlers after the mother had left them. Other relatives help, but it is the father who does the routine chores for the children.

One older woman commented that one of the biggest changes in Kyuquot society was the fact that girls now get married so late and have their first child when they are in their twenties. In the past, she felt that mother and daughters were like sisters whereas now a mother is almost like a grandmother. Till recently, Indian families have been so large that many couples have grandchildren as old as their younger children. Generational lines thus become blurred whereas they now are tending to become clearer.

Grandparents (including their siblings) have a very special role in bringing up the young. Many grandparents take over the whole upbringing of a grandchild when the mother is unable to do it, as in the case of the twins, cited above, or in two other cases, where the mother has taken another husband and has left a child by an earlier husband with her mother. Grandparents are

able to spoil the children more than their parents; they often sleep with them at night and spend much time teaching them about their families.

Children play happily together along the edge of the shore or around the house, with the minimum of toys and amusements. What is most striking is how, from the earliest age, they play only with their closest relatives. Generally these conform to the extended family clusters outlined above, with siblings and first cousins making up distinct play groups of various age grades. Only as they approach puberty do children also seek out companions of their own age but close kin are still preferred. Games tend to be eminently practical, imitations of household activities or occasionally representations from films they have seen recently. Playing "house" is undoubtedly the favorite activity for young children under ten. When they reach this age, boys begin to enjoy rowdier games like "Cowboys and Indians" (in which the cowboy is generally the hero), and girls spend more time with their mothers. Young children are sometimes taken out fishing, spending days quite happily on the trollers with surprisingly few mishaps. As they get older, boys who show interest or aptitude are taken out regularly by a father or uncle and can act as deckhand. They also spend long hours in the summer, fishing off the float in front of the village and may catch enough fish to feed their pet cats or to serve as bait for the following day.

Children are also expected to work. When recalling their own childhood, adults stress how they were taught not to be lazy. Gathering driftwood for fires, watching smaller children, packing water, passing messages from house to house are all considered children's jobs. Mothers early teach their children to cook, and teenagers are generally able to look after their younger siblings.

Schooling

School begins for most children in Kyuquot at the age of five or six, although the band also runs a pre-school program for children in the community. The local elementary schools take all children up to the seventh grade, and at this level most children attend school regularly and parents show concern for their progress. After the school on Actis was closed in 1974, Indian and White children attended school together in Walters Cove, although the White children were a distinct minority and there were some disciplinary problems which had not been felt in the school on Actis.

After completion of seventh grade, teenagers have to go away to school. The choice of which local high school to attend rests more with the student than the parents, and is frequently made on the basis of where other children in the family go, or where relatives are already living, or perhaps where employment is available for the father and there is consequently a place where all the family might move for the next few years, at least for the school year.

Kyuquot school children are thus scattered all over Vancouver Island in a pattern that coincides with the movement of the general Kyuquot population. One extended family has moved to Courtenay and neighboring Comox and another to Tahsis. Children at these schools suffer much less disruption than, for example, Kyuquot students in Campbell River, where they have to live with families found by the school authorities. It is possible that they might

therefore show more interest in finishing high school than has been general in the past. The West Coast people have only recently begun to be concerned with high school diplomas and possible college training, a trend which so far has barely affected the Kyuquot people. Such qualifications do not appear to have much relevance in the village. Many parents do not encourage their children to get a full formal education, since they fear, often justifiably, that this will keep them from returning to the village to live. In cases of students who have completed, or almost completed school, there is no significant difference in terms of sex. The decision to drop out of school is apparently again left to the individual.

Adolescence

Since most adolescents are now away at school, the occasion of a girl's puberty is largely ignored. Formerly this was a most important social occasion for both the individual and the group and, according to the rank of the girl and her family, was commemorated with certain ceremonies. During this period the girl had to observe a series of taboos, which underlined her training as a wife and mother and marked the end of her carefree childhood. Henceforth she had to adopt a more modest manner and conduct herself with the restraint of a marriageable woman. Her puberty ceremony served to proclaim her as ready for marriage and displayed her dowry. Marriage, a ceremony organized and largely financed by the groom's side, generally followed soon afterwards.

Today, girls generally settle down at a later age and their first menstruation is explained to them by the local nurse. The puberty ceremony and its traditions however, are not entirely forgotten.

Certain puberty taboos were still being observed within the last ten years. These were mainly dietary restrictions. Some young women also recall being kept home from school for varying periods, during which they were restricted in their activities and instructed in domestic matters. This is becoming increasingly rare, however, as more and more families spend most of the school year away from the home village. A brief party was held in 1972 when the old chief's wife gave names to her grandchildren, including two teenage girls who had recently "come of age." It was only a small affair, and not all the band attended, but there was Indian singing and dancing and food and gifts were given out. At that time, no other teenage girls had had puberty ceremonies, although most women in their twenties and older had had some sort of party to commemorate the occasion of their first menstruation. Sapir (1911) described how the actual onset of menstruation was the signal for the ceremony but now, with a far more casual attitude toward such matters, the party may be held any time around the age of puberty. It is also a small ceremony, even for an important family. Just a generation ago, however, the second chief in Kyuquot gave away $2,000 when her oldest daughter came of age and also passed on the chieftainship to her at the same time. The important feature remains the assuming of a grown woman's name by the girl and the public announcement that she has now become an adult.

No such ceremony marks a boy's adolescence. The reciprocal party made by his side, in return for the girl's puberty ceremony, was at marriage, a comparable occasion in certain ways, particularly in that the boy's adult status was then fully defined. This came at a later age, however. On the

whole, adolescent boys do not receive much attention. They may be given a certain amount of responsibility in that they frequently spend long hours helping their fathers fish or hunt, and in one case, a boy dropped out of school to look after the family when his mother was sick. On the other hand, acts of irresponsibility and daring are also regarded as "part of the age." Two boys "borrowed" a relative's fishboat and took it out to test its motor. As they were nearing the outside waters, they hit a rock and were forced to spend the night there, unable to attract help. During the night, an earthquake shook the coast and the boys endured one of the most frightening experiences of their lives. They were rescued early the next day, frightened but safe. No further punishment was suggested.

By the age of 9 or 10, children become self-conscious about friends of the opposite sex, and are teased about them by their contemporaries. By the time they reach puberty, boys and girls mix very little publicly, unless they are closely related or in large groups. This attitude to male-female relations persists throughout adult life and any sort of encounter between a man and woman is viewed critically by the rest of the population. Restraint and modesty are the qualities expected between the sexes, at least publicly. There is very little open display of affection or emotion, especially between adults. Kissing or terms of endearment are rare, even between spouses.

In the same way there is no overt form of courtship. Teenagers of opposite sex are only seen together in a group. Parents, however, generally encourage relationships between teenagers if their kin ties are not too close, status differences not too great, and if the youth is acceptable to the family. That the family is still very influential in these matters was illustrated when a young Kyuquot girl, who had been staying in Victoria with her father, came back to the village followed by a young White man. Although he insisted that he wanted to marry her, the girl's uncles (her mother's brothers) would not allow him in their home (where the girl was staying) or on the reserve.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE WORLD OF MAMALTI:*; A CHANGING POLITICAL SYSTEM

Cultural and social developments in any society are ongoing processes. In terms of understanding social groups in contemporary Kyuquot, the previous chapter has attempted to show that certain traditional groupings and native principles are still operative. To a great extent, these have evolved into what we find today, affected by factors such as population decline and changing economic conditions but reflecting no real intrusions. In terms of political structure, however, Nootkan society has experienced major innovations which have led to more drastic changes. In this context, therefore, both the traditional so-called "socio-political" system (Drucker 1951) and the nature of the innovations need to be considered before the way of the modern political process can be fully appreciated.

It is now almost a century since the people of Kyuquot were brought under Federal and Provincial authority. Today the impact of government institutions is felt in varying degrees but there is no doubt that the Kyuquot people feel themselves to be part of a larger political system. Such a situation is far from unique. Throughout the world, colonial or national governments have been bringing various peoples within their territory under their sphere of jurisdiction, accompanied in many cases by anthropological documentation. What is significant about these situations is the reactions to this larger authority manifested in each cultural system. In some cases, the new local government institutions are grafted onto or adapted to existing structures with traditional leaders continuing to assume power locally but becoming answerable to the larger government body. This is particularly apparent in more complex societies such as certain African chiefdoms (Beattie 1960) and was also found at certain periods of time in some areas of the Northwest Coast (e.g. among the Haida and Nishga, [M. Blackman and S. McNeary, personal communication]).

In Kyuquot, however, this is far from being the case. Local government institutions are not regarded as of central importance in internal Indian politics and are not positively reinforced by the traditional socio-political system. There is little communal effort to cooperate with band officials. They in turn become rapidly disillusioned with their efforts and there is little continuity of band appointments. To some extent, therefore, it is possible to see a political system at work on two levels. The first is the bureaucratic level on which daily administration *vis-a-vis* the outside government agencies is conducted, an alien organization in which the Indian people participate as little as possible. The second level, more ambiguous and tenuous, rests in the community itself and can be viewed as a more direct development of the "old ways," at least as they are interpreted by each successive generation.

Any consideration of actual political processes, however, makes it clear that these levels or subsystems, distinct though they possibly are analytically, are completely interdependent. Political actions are affected as much by local opposition or divisions as by band council initiatives. Band politics in Kyuquot are greatly colored by the negative attitudes local people hold toward them, but they are not nullified because of those attitudes, and no

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*"White Man"

substitute political rival is likely to supercede the band council. Opposition to the system now takes place largely within the system (albeit in terms of traditional attitudes), and the result of dissatisfaction with the council system is expressed chiefly by opposition to each council's decisions and by a lack of continuity in officials. Traditional leaders, individuals of high status in terms of their hereditary rank and property ownership, confine their leadership to ceremonial affairs. Although they carry a certain amount of personal clout within the community and are particularly significant in terms of family or extended family leadership, on a formal band level they offer no leadership at all nor are they expected to.

TRADITIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

As noted above, the local groups of Kyuquot Sound, the "fundamental political units" (Drucker 1951:220), appear to have confederated prior to White contact, mainly so that each group could secure access to the resources of the outer waters. The coming of the Europeans, with their demands for sea otter furs, reinforced the importance of the summer village on the outer shore, although Actis never became the center for European trade that Friendly Cove was, lacking, as it still does, a suitable harbor. In addition, autonomous local groups were no longer feasible in face of a declining population and by the late 19th century, the band or tribe of Kyuquot people, based on Actis as a year round village, was the major political unit. Thus the Kyuquots did not become a "tribe" in opposition to White contact, in the way the Makah people appeared to have done (Colson 1953:62). The organization of the people of Kyuquot Sound into the federally recognized Kyuquot band merely acknowledged a process that had long been developing. In time, however, it was also to introduce changes that had nothing to do with the earlier type of organization.

Within the local group, it was the common recognition of a ranked hierarchy of chiefs, as well as ties of kinship, which gave coherence and structure to all levels of political organization. In addition it was the expression of such rank, in terms of property rights and social obligations as well as on ceremonial occasions, which dominated the traditional political process. Primogeniture was the basis for ranking within the group. The eldest son of the eldest son was the highest chief (*Ha:wił*); his was the "Number One" place and he was, at least theoretically, the owner of the local group's ancestral and territorial wealth, which was regarded as the real basis of his high social status. Political authority or chiefly power were derived from the various rights and properties that were inherited by the leaders of each group. These included both economic and ceremonial types of property and privileges which were handed down to individual chiefs as a trust for the whole group. While he might give rights of usufruct to lesser chiefs and commoners, the chief remained owner of such property. Such ownership was acknowledged by gifts of tribute made to the chief from produce taken in his property; the chief also directed the activities at the opening of the season. Economic authority was reinforced by ritual privileges, which included rights to names, decorated houseposts, dances and ceremonial displays (including masks), and a ceremonial seat for potlatches and feasts.

Ranking within each local group was indicative of the distance of an individual from the eldest line of descent from the family ancestor. Those close to the direct line of descent formed a sort of middle class of junior chiefs,

being not without means or formal roles. The common class, *mastcim*, were those supposedly descended from junior lines who did not own any of the group's property (although their kin ties with the chief entitled them to use it). While there was thus a distinction between the chiefly lines who owned property and commoners who did not, this was not a rigid class distinction. Sapir (n.d.) noted

> One had to be *mastcimi* to someone - there was no unattached class. *Mastcimi* are in main part descended from younger brother lines that did not carry many privileges, these being given always to oldest sons .... *Mastcimi* are those living with the chief in his house or else, if too many for one house, living in a smaller house subject to the chief's house. *Mastcimi* are supposed to be related to corresponding chief as "younger brothers", "uncles" and so on. One's real uncle can act as *mastcimi* for one. There is thus no hard and fast line between *mastcimi* and chiefs.

Slaves (*qo:l*, Drucker wrote it kōl) were regarded as the bottom of Nootka society. Generally prisoners of war whose lives were spared for them to fulfill menial jobs for their captors, their lot was ignominious. Even if a slave escaped, he could never shake off the shame of such slave status which would tarnish the position of all his descendents. Children of slaves were treated as free members of their captor's group, although as the lowest of the commoners attached to a chief's household.

Jewitt (1915) describes his life as a slave in the early 19th century as far from easy. Spared only because of his trade as a blacksmith, he spent his days packing water and firewood, when not making tools or equipment at the chief's command. There is no doubt that he was the absolute property of the chief Maquinna and he was able to do favors for the other chiefs at the confederacy village of Friendly Cove only through Maquinna's good grace. It does not appear, however, that he was ever treated unduly harshly and he certainly suffered no physical abuse. Food was shared with him in times of shortage and he was included in the major ceremonials. Yet a slave's life could easily be disposed of. Stories are still told of the killing of a slave on the death of his master or to provide a corpse on which to roll the canoe of an important visitor up the beach.

In practice, the sort of political power exercised by the chiefs in Nootka society was that of a steward rather than of a despot. His authority was tempered by the knowledge that his position depended on retaining as large a following of kinfolk as possible. These helped maintain his status and rank in various ways; through exploiting the widest range of resources available; through their help in ceremonies and potlatches (both in terms of material contributions and of service); and through support in housebuilding, entertaining, raiding etc. Any form of absolutism was militated against by the tremendous mobility of persons in all levels of society, who were always free to move elsewhere.

In addition, the common people had very real checks to curb a bad chief's power, killing, sorcery, or "medicine," measures which did not necessitate their moving away from the area. Stories contain several references to chiefs chiefs who did not fulfil the obligations expected of them as chiefs and were then replaced. Maquinna, the chief of the Nootka who encountered the Spanish

and British in the late 18th century, enjoyed a far better reputation among Europeans than among his own followers. Jewitt's (1815) account makes it evident how insecure Maquinna felt among his own people, to the extent on one occasion of seeking protection from them among his slaves. This crisis was precipitated by a shortage of food, a situation blamed on the chief who had met with no success in whaling and who was also felt to have driven away the prosperity brought by European traders by his decision to capture the *Boston*. Today, local people describe Maquinna as "the first of the White men," a man who was too arrogant, too aggressive and too high-handed to be a good chief. He acted on his own decisions rather than by consulting the people and thought more of his own reputation abroad than of his own people's well being.

Other types of behavior were not tolerated in a chief. Stinginess was a very real reason for a grudge and for replacing a chief, since he was expected to be generous to his people and to show his strength abroad by giving frequent potlatches. Also absenteeism was limited for a chief. Prolonged absence would cause his people to replace him, as was the case with the La'a'ath people earlier this century.

The fact that the ideal chief was not always found, however, testifies to the fact that the political system did not hinge solely on a benevolent leader. Friendly Cove obviously prospered under Maquinna even though he is not remembered with much affection. The Kyuquot people continued to function after the death of their main chiefs in 1902 despite the great personal losses.

Decision making was actually done in the community itself. I was told a good chief always consulted his people; "he had three sorts of council, as you would call them: one, of all the band, one of all the chiefs, and one just of specialists, who would know about the business at hand." When any decisions had to be made, all three might be consulted. In the case of the final move to Actis (above, page 36), the Number One Chief of the confederacy consulted first of all with all the "old men who knew everything." They approved of his plan (they say it is "all right" to ask the people) and subsequently all the people from the various inlets were called to a meeting at Actis and asked about it. The chief promised land to every family, so the people too reply that it is "all right." It seems most probable that the chiefs or elders discussed the matter with their own local groups before they all came to the meeting so that unanimity was reached on a local group level first. It is also possible (though not mentioned in the story quoted above) that the La'a'ath people did not join till later (see Drucker 1951:224), and merely remained away from the meeting, rather than attending it to disagree and thereby wreck the plan for everybody.

The decision to wage war used to be reached in a similarly formal fashion. At an outdoor meeting of all the men, it was agreed upon to fight and the tactics were planned. Nominally the decision rested with the highest ranking chief of the tribe, but a dominant individual, such as the war chief, could influence the proceedings. Despite intensive preparations, ritual was well as practical, and sophisticated tactics, however, the overall command was not good and a raid might fail because of poor discipline. The successful attack on Actis in 1855 was due partly to the careless watch being kept by the youths, and other accounts of battles show how victory could be quickly lost if the leader was killed untimely since there was no order of command. Individuals were left to make their own decisions in battle rather than subjected to a battle discipline (Drucker 1951:332-365).

The principle of relative ranking also provided the basis of political organization on a tribal and confederacy level. Such status was associated with property rights as much as with hereditary kin ties in that it was apparently the chiefs of the groups with the greatest resources who were highest in rank. Consequently there was a limited number of nobility on this level, no doubt reflecting the relative strength of individual groups and their fluctuations over time. Drucker (1951:224) recorded that the Qwowinasath, the owners of the territories of lower Kyuquot Sound and all the ocean frontage were originally given the highest rank of the Kyuquot confederacy:

> This rank, manifested in the right to receive first at potlatches, and most of their territorial rights, they transferred to the chief of the tacisath as part of a marriage dowry. Later a successor of the latter gave this highest rank also as part of a dowry, to the ya'qatsath chief of the qatstsaksk house whose decendents have retained it to the present
>
> (Drucker 1951:224-5)

It appears from the records that the ya'qatsath people suffered badly from population decline and their chief (together with the tacisath chief) was lost with the *Hatzie*. Subsequently the ya'qatsath people had a difficult time finding a chief since the direct line of their previous chief had died out. Finally, they chose a relative who was half Clayoquot, half Kyuquot and they rebuilt the house for him. He lived in it for a few years but finally decided (perhaps influenced by his wife) to return to Clayoquot. His successor was a qanopittakaml woman (related to the Clayoquot side of his family through Kwakiutl kin) who was "bought" by the hilinatoath (qatsaksk) people as queen for $55 (Drucker n.d.). This occurred during the 1920s.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how the father of the present chief came to succeed this queen. Various rumors were given as the reason; that the old queen willed the position to him, or that there was a fight. The queen did not choose any of her grandchildren as her successor (she had agreed to leave her two children in the qanopittakaml house when she was chosen queen) but was instead succeeded as Number One Chief by the tacisath chief. It seems probably that he took her place in the yaqatsath house while her oldest daughter took the second position in the confederacy as chief of the tacisath. Both positions are now held by the daughters of these chiefs.

Shortly after the (former) tacisath chief became Number One chief, he and his family moved away from Actis to live permanently on their property at Houpsitas. This move is also surrounded by a certain amount of mystery, and three reasons for it were given. First, it was said that he moved away because of the death of his son, which made the village too sad a place for him; second, because of pressure from the rest of the village where his children had become unpopular. ("They hadn't always been chiefs and there was talk of assassination") and lastly because the Indian people had been told (erroneously) that they would lose any reserve land which was not occupied and they wanted to make sure of keeping Houpsitas. It seems safe to assume that he moved partly to consolidate his title as Number One Chief, a position held by the yaqatsath people at Houpsitas. Whatever the reason, however, the move served to split the community again. Since this time (in the 1940s) there have once more been two distinct sides in Kyuquot politics, Actis and Houpsitas.

When people talk of these events, which they generally do reluctantly, they see them as the meat of Indian politics, a political system as full of excitement, intrigue and bickering as the White's system, but one which in the last few years has been superceded in significance by the band council system. It is difficult to be categorical about this, however, as Indian politics are still regarded as a private matter, the full knowledge of which is confined to family lines and about which other people are not qualified, or are at least reluctant, to talk. It appears that because of the unpopularity of the present Number One family, Indian politics in Kyuquot have lost much of their impetus in recent years. The place has passed to the oldest child, a daughter, of the old couple, although the latter are still regarded as the *de facto* chiefs. It was rumored that she was supposed to have taken her younger brother as her heir, but recently there has been talk that her son, who is partly (and legally) White, will inherit the place. Such matters are still of concern in the community, even though the failure of the old chief to live up to many of his traditional obligations seems to have generated a certain amount of indifference to contemporary Indian politics, and created the feeling that to some extent, there is no one to take the lead in these matters.

It was on ceremonial occasions, when a chief was conducted formally to his potlatch or feast place, that the relative rank of the various chiefs was manifested, for the Nootka had no distinguishing set of titles to indicate such rank. Potlatching thus had important political consequences both in terms of symbolizing the existing rank structure of each group as well as maintaining friendly inter-group relations.

Drucker (1951:261-2) lists the potlatching and feast seats of the Kyuquot, as remembered from the end of the 19th century (see appendix 2). There are some problems with these lists as the order of chiefs is not the same for each and no reason is given why this should not be so. Furthermore, the qwixqoath people do not appear to hold a feast seat; while these local groups were obviously ranked lower than the other groups it seems unlikely that they were excluded from feasts. On the other hand, there is no doubt about the ownership of the first two places. It may well be that in terms of Nootka or at least Kyuquot ranking, it was only these two places that were -- and still are -- really important. Several times I was told by Kyuquot people: "We used to have two big chiefs around here", and today the rank of the Number One and Number Two chiefs is not questioned. In all the potlatches I have attended or have heard about, they always receive the first two gifts. No one seriously questions the status of their extended families; the rank of a consanguineal half-brother or a younger grandchild is fairly well-defined because of this relationship. On the other hand, below the families of the two main chiefs is apparent confusion. Everyone claims to be the chief next in importance and puts down other people's claims to status, and if there is any structure to subsequent ranking, I was unable to find it. When I asked about the pattern of gift distribution in potlatches I was variously told that it depended on who was collecting the (Indian) names of people to be given gifts or on when people arrived at the potlatch. Yet there are no seating arrangements on these occasions; people can sit where they like. Sapir (n.d.) noted that formal seating arrangements in the Port Alberni area disappeared there in the early 20th century.

The traditional order of ranking in Actis was not affected by the coming of the Chicklisets to Kyuquot. The Chickliset system of ranking remains

independent of the Kyuquots, although much intermarriage in the last few generations has created close kin ties between the groups. At potlatches the Chicklisets are given gifts after the Kyuquot chiefs, although this is complicated by conflicting claims as to whom exactly is the present Number One Chief of the Chicklisets. The last chief, who died in 1972, was a highly respected woman but there has been no clear line of succession. Her oldest daughter (who is married to a White man and has moved away from Kyuquot) claims to be *Ha:qam* (queen) but it was also said that her younger brother is chief, and even that a male first cousin is also the rightful heir and should become chief if he would come and settle in Kyuquot.

Among the Kwakiutl speakers of Vancouver Island, inter-tribal stratification has been well documented (Boas 1966; Fort 1941:16; Codere 1950:66, Rohner 1967:73; Donald and Mitchell 1974). Nootkan speakers did not appear to have elaborated a grade of ranking beyond the tribal or confederacy level, although this too is a debatable point. Today a certain amount of competitiveness exists between bands which is sometimes expressed in terms of a traditional ranking system. For example, a member of the Nootka Band claimed that the top chiefs from the four northern groups, Kyuquot, Ehattesaht, Nuchatlaht and Moachaht, were highest in rank, those chiefs from Ahousat south all being *yaqwe:qs* (younger brothers). Proof of this lay in the fact that in ceremonial bathing, chiefs from the southern groups scrubbed with cedar whereas the real chiefs, those from the northern groups, used balsam. Furthermore, the real chief of the West Coast was the Nootka chief, and thus all the Indians of the West Coast now have his name. On another occasion, the Chicklisets claimed that their chief was the top ranking chief because he owned the territory at the top of the island. Such claims are treated by the Number One family in Kyuquot with indifference. One of their quoted sayings is: "Let them say what they like. We know what we know."

Undoubtedly some system of inter-tribal ranking must have been recognized to accommodate the occasions when several tribes were guests at the same potlatch. On the West Coast, however, it seems probable that this was a fairly rare occurrence before the 19th century, at least in the northern area, and then tribes potlatched to each other as equals. Any differences appear to have rested on individual prestige. In addition, the 19th century never saw the tremendous burgeoning of potlatching on the West Coast that occurred around the trading post at Fort Rupert and that led to the "fighting with property" described by Codere (1950).

> Nootkan social life, if we exclude the situation of full-scale intertribal war, was relatively free of tensions and clashes of personality, and tended to play down such instances of them as occurred.
>
> (Drucker 1951:220)

Drucker's statement is born out by Jewitt's description of the two and a half years he lived with the Moachaht. He mentions very little inter-group tensions and what there was was caused either by resentment of Maquinna's unorthodox behavior or by the apparent psychological breakdown of another chief (who after the death of his son began to suffer hallucinations about the massacre of the *Boston*). On Jewitt's advice, Maquinna attempted to cure the man by beating him; but when this made no noticeable improvement he readily abandoned the idea.

Problems of law and order were dealt with in fairly low key fashion. An unpopular individual ultimately had the choice of either removing himself from the scene or being removed physically. A certain amount of irregular behavior was tolerated so long as it was not too obvious and did not affect many people. Matters associated with sexual behavior were the most frequently cited causes of tension, concerns of property ownership and inheritance being very rare sources of trouble. One suspects that illicit relations were often condoned if carried out discreetly; the offense lay in publicizing the affair. At first, gossip about the offense would be aimed at causing the offenders to be more careful. If this failed, then the injured party, father, husband, wife, would have to be informed, to act on the situation. In extreme cases, the unfaithful wife had her nose cut off. The wife of an unfaithful husband might return to her father's home, and thus her own side would consider taking action on her behalf.

When tensions did arise, the offender frequently removed himself from the scene, going to stay with relatives in other places and not returning till the incident had been forgotten. Such a way out was not so easy for a chief and it appears that the few instances of premeditated murder in Northern Nootka history were of high-born people or of shamans. The latter were especially feared during the 19th century when so many inexplicable misfortunes were occurring, and murder was the only sure way of eliminating their threat. Chiefs, on the other hand could use their wealth and important chiefly connections to abuse their position of privilege, if they choose, and to resist efforts to make them conform. The murders, on separate occasions, of two chiefs among the Northern Nootka earlier this century are both rumored to have been caused by their irregular involvement with women. Further causes of complaint also developed, however. In one case, the chief was said to have been shot leaving his house because he had "failed to feed" his assailant - i.e. he had not invited him to a feast. In the other case, the precipitating incident was a fight over ownership of a log. The first incident was closed immediately since the murderer then shot himself. The families of both men continue to live in the community without any apparent follow up of the crime. In the second case, the police were called in, the murderer was arrested and served several years in prison. He is now free but has not returned to the Northern Nootka area even though some of his children are living in Kyuquot.

It was the relatives of the second murdered chief, however, who were so grief-stricken that they "put away his place" for many years (see above). In addition, the younger brother of the murdered man also "put away" his own place and this was not reopened until 1972 when it was announced in a potlatch that his son was assuming the position.

MODERN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The main political developments of the 20th century have been associated with the formation and growth of band entities from the pre-existing socio-political groups. Some of these bands have been the direct successors of earlier tribes or confederacies, as in the case of the Nuchatlaht people. In such cases, the developments of preceding centuries were consolidated by the assumption of new roles and obligations which were gradually imposed by the dominant Federal Government. Other bands such as those of the Kyuquot or Nootka are the outgrowth of an amalgamation of formerly distinct tribes and

confederacies and thus in a sense, represent a new stage of political development from that described by Drucker for the late 19th century.

The process of political alliances or unions, already well-established in the Kyuquot Sound area by the mid 19th century (see above page 36) developed quickly in the later years of that century, partly because of the rapidly declining size of most local groups, but also because of the demands of the changing economic bases. Such a pattern was common throughout the Northwest Coast (Duff 1964:50), but in other areas it did not have the precedents that were found on the West Coast of Vancouver Island where such amalgamations appear to have proceeded with the minimum of difficulties. In the 1930s the Moachaht and Muchalat peoples became one band after a long history or rivalry and feuding. It is worth noting that in the 1960s they were persuaded to move the Muchalat Reserve at Gold River even though the Moachaht were believed to have been the dominant group in this area, at least since the 18th century. The incentives to move were prospects of improved housing, greater employment opportunities at the newly opened pulp mills in Gold River, local school and shopping facilities. In 1974 only two households remained in Friendly Cove all year round. As noted above, the Kyuquot and Chickliset people also joined their resources (sometime in the 1950s), an event which followed the move of all the Chickliset people from their home villages mainly to the larger and more commercial settlement of Kyuquot.

a) Band Organization

The organization of Indians in Canada into bands was a direct consequence of the Indian Acts and the attempt to establish reserve lands for the use of distinct groups of people. The first Indian Act (1876), under the full title *An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians*, defined its terms as follows:

> 3.1. The term "band means any tribe, band or body of Indians who own or are interested in a reserve or in Indian lands in common, of which the legal title is vested in the Crown, or who share alike in the distribution of any annuities or interest moneys for which the Government of Canada is responsible; the term "the band" means the band to which the context relates; and the term "band", when action is being taken by the band as such, means the band in council....
>
> (Smith 1975:87)

This definition was repeated, virtually intact, in the revision of the Indian Act of 1880 and amended in the revised Indian Act of 1951, which is the latest statute concerning Indian Affairs in Canada.

Provisions for band councils were also made in each statement of the Indian Act (Smith 1975:105, 137) but it was not until 1951 that the structure and organization of these were spelled out:

> 74. (1) Whenever he deems it advisable for the good government of a band the Minister may declare by order that after a day to be named therein the council of the band, consisting of a chief and councillors, shall be selected by elections to be held in accordance with this Act.

> (2) Unless otherwise ordered by the Minister, the council of a band in respect of which an order has been made under subsection (1) shall consist of one chief, and one councillor for every one hundred members of the band, but the number of councillors shall be not less than two not more than twelve and no band shall have more than one chief....
>
> (Smith 1975:179-80)

Provisions were made for electoral procedures, the eligibility of voters and candidates for office were defined and the powers of the council established. Such powers (outlined in Section 81, Smith 1975:182) covered matters of health, traffic control, law and order, animal control, the regulation of the construction, repair and use of buildings, the maintenance of water courses, roads, bridges, and of public water supplies, the control of public games and amusements, and the punishment of trespassers on reserve land. The council was empowered also to make bylaws relative to such matters. In addition, (Section 83), "Where the Governor in Council declares that a band has reached an advanced stage of development," the band council was also authorized to make bylaws relating to matters of finance: the raising of money from band assets and the expenditures of band resources, including the remuneration of councillors and other officials appointed to conduct band business by the council.

No doubt because of the isolated position of Kyuquot, there appears to have been little innovation in its political constitution until after the revision of the Indian Act in 1951. Up to that date, dealings with the local Indian Agent or policing authorities were relatively infrequent and, in addition, most people were continuing to maintain a home in their family property up inlet. The impression is that before 1950 individual identity was not so closely tied to Kyuquot as an entity and also was rarely expressed through opposition to outside agencies.

Today, however, band solidarity is an extremely important socio-political factor. It is shown strikingly at places away from the home villages where people tend to congregate, first of all by family or kinship ties, and secondarily by band association. In Tahsis, for example, where several Kyuquot families now live for much of the year, the Kyuquot people form a distinct group among the Indian population of the town. Band solidarity is also evident in Kyuquot itself, where groups of people are distinguished by belonging to different bands rather than by coming from different locations. As noted earlier, the term "Kyuquot" refers specifically to the band rather than to any locality. On the other hand, there is a strong tendency for individuals to dissociate themselves from band business or decisions, particularly where controversial matters are concerned or where it is felt that some action should be taken. On such occasions, "The Band" is criticized as a distinct entity, whereas it is obvious that it is the band officials who are being blamed.

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when a primary association with the band polity developed. It may have been during the 1950s when the Chickliset Band formally joined the Kyuquot Band, although a private (Kyuquot) individual was credited with taking care of all the paperwork relating to this matter and there was no elected council at this time. Elected councillors and chiefs first appear in the 1960s and until the end of the decade kept a fairly low profile. Band business was run on family lines and it was expected that elected officials would look after their own close relatives; thus in the mid-1960s one of the

valuable subsidy houses from Indian Affairs was allocated to an unmarried 21-year old man although several large families badly needed improved accommodation.

By 1968, the Kyuquot people themselves felt that they needed to improve their political process when they elected as one of their councillors a White woman, a school teacher, who had married a Kyuquot man and thus was a "legal Indian." The people told her "they needed her because she knew how to get things done and no one else did." At the next election, in 1970, she was elected Chief Band Councillor. In her two years in office, she introduced many changes, not the least of which was to give the Kyuquot people some confidence in their ability to organize themselves by means of a council and also in their relations with other bands. Furthermore, she attempted to improve the council system as it existed in Kyuquot. Lists of priorities were drawn up for all council decisions. A band constitution was approved by the band members which permitted, amongst other things, the council to decide when to call elections. In this way, it was hoped that greater continuity would be encouraged in band officials.

To some extent, she succeeded in making band business and official status respectable. In 1972, there were approximately four band officials (the chief band councillor/band manager, two band councillors, and a welfare aide) while by 1974, a large number of people claimed some sort of official band title. The following titles were all recognized, if not full time, positions:

1. Chief Band Councillor, an honorary position of an executive nature.

2. Band Manager (the same person as 1, though this need not be so), a full time, salaried position of an administrative nature.

3. Band Councillors, increased in 1973 from two or three (reflecting an overall increase in band membership); part-time positions.

4. Bookkeeper; a full-time salaried position introduced to Kyuquot in 1973.

5. Secretary; a full-time salaried position introduced to Kyuquot in 1973.

6. Welfare aid worker; a full-time salaried position created on a district level in the early 1970s and held by a member of the band rather than by an employee of Indian Affairs.

7. Several minor officials, such as Recreation Officers, Band Handiman, Day Care officers, Band Home-makers, most of whom were unemployed during the summer because of lack of funds.

Until 1973, the band council operated out of the Band Manager's house with the minimum of equipment or facilities. In that year, the band began to rent the old teacherage in Walters Cove (and so on a site which was not on the reserve) and, with more adequate facilities, rapidly began to expand its staff, aims and budgets.

Attitudes towards band officials and band decisions, however, were still predominantly negative in 1974. Although most people today are quick to claim a place to traditional rank, this does not imply that they are ready to act

as local leaders. Ranking is still determined in terms of traditional sorts of prestige, knowledge and ownership of ceremonial rights and privileges but there is a general unwillingness to assume a position of leadership in the community. Traditional titles carry with them a certain social standing. Elective or modern titles, such as Chief Band Councillor, on the other hand, bring only responsibilities, decisions, the need to stick one's neck out on behalf of the rest of the people and take the lead. There has therefore been a general reluctance, at least in Kyuquot, to stand for such positions, and the people who do agree to undertake them do not continue in this capacity for very long. As far as I know, no Chief Band Councillor has served for two terms. Almost all decisions and acts of the council meet with opposition from some quarters, and the job of the Chief Councillor is particularly thankless. There is a certain amount of reward in terms of "international affairs" in that some travelling is involved, occasionally as far afield as Ottawa or to outlying parts of British Columbia, which brings with it recognition and acceptance outside the band. On a local level, however, there is a strong tendency to belittle individuals in such authority and to attempt to stall any decisions by various devices. Several times the slave ancestry to certain chief councillors was mentioned, casually but pointedly. "Here comes the big Chief" was the sneer when the Chief Councillor came to the village of Actis. People of high traditional status (notably the families of the Number One and Number Two chiefs in Kyuquot) avoid any sort of modern administrative responsibility, except in the smaller bands, such as the Nuchatlaht and the Toquaht where the elective principle of band organization is not operative and the hereditary chiefs and their families undertake the necessary administrative work.

What appears to be still at work in Kyuquot politics are some of the old attitudes towards aggressive individuals, people who try to tell others what to do. They are ignored, obstructed or resented. No one is anxious to take the lead, to assume a position of authority or one which is obtrusive in any way. The attitude is rather to let everyone run his own life and make his own decisions. Noninvolvement and noninterference are the norms governing most forms of interaction.

Thus when a bureaucracy, however small and informal, is set up to run public affairs, it finds it impossible to continue to operate with the goodwill of the community. After each election, in which the strength of extended family connections and support has been the decisive factor, the body of support on which the council is elected has become increasingly narrow, ultimately resting on only the closest family members. If the council attempts to act totally impartially it is likely to lose even this, for it is felt that individuals who do not look after their own are not to be trusted. Similarly if the band council attempts to work with the whole band it finds action impossible because there is no way a concensus may be reached. Ideally people feel that band meetings to discuss business should be held very regularly (and indeed this is laid down in the Indian Acts). Experience has shown that these may only impede decisions indefinitely if they do not prevent action altogether. Such meetings may be swayed by an outspoken individual whose opposition to the band council has nothing to do with the matter at hand. There is little precedent for vigorous debate of issues. Many people will remain away from a meeting rather than be forced to choose between two options about which they do not feel strongly or simply to avoid getting involved in someone else's differences. Consequently very few meetings were held in Kyuquot from 1972 to 1974.

b) District Politics

The early administration of the Indian Affairs Branch was organized into a series of "Agencies" and for many years the Kyuquot people were, at least geographically, marginal members of the West Coast Agency. From his headquarters in Ucluelet, and later in Port Alberni, the Indian Agent was rarely able to visit these more outlying members of his agency and until the 1960s, Kyuquot participation in a larger political system was limited.

In 1969, the Department of Indian Affairs on Vancouver Island was reorganized and at the same time Kyuquot's political area expanded. Vancouver Island was divided administratively into the North and South Island Districts and the four Northern Nootka bands were joined with 14 Southern Kwakiutl bands in the North Island District with its headquarters in Campbell River. This town was much more accessible to the Northern Nootka than was Port Alberni and band councillors travelled more frequently to meetings and workshops (which increased in number). In addition, a district council of the band chiefs and councillors met to discuss the matters pertaining to their joint administration and to make recommendations to the Indian Affairs Branch. On joining the North Island District the Kyuquot people found themselves matched with far more aggressive political figures in the Kwakiutl leaders than those to whom they had hitherto been exposed. The Northern Nootka bands were also very much outnumbered by the Kwakiutl speaking bands and the uneasiness that was felt at this situation is indicative of the still strong feelings they share about each other (see below, p. 151).

In 1973, the Nuchatlaht, Queens Cove and Nootka Bands voted to return to the West Coast District. The Indian Affairs Branch was beginning to hand over much of its responsibilities to the district but only Kyuquot chose to remain with the newly-named Kwawkewlth District. This was empowered to employ a district administrative staff, including a district chief councillor and district manager, from the constituent bands. No doubt the Kyuquot decisions to stay in this district was strengthened by the fact that a Kyuquot woman, their Chief Councillor from 1970-1972, was appointed the band manager of the district council.

While part of the Kwawkewlth District, the Kyuquot people associated with it fully. Contacts with the rest of the West Coast seemed to slacken during this period. When the Federal Government was threatening to close the district offices in 1974 because of lack of funds, petitions were brought around by school children asking all the Kyuquot people to sign their support for the district system. Even though the petitions themselves aroused a certain amount of confusion, everyone signed without hesitation. A delegation of Kyuquot people also flew to Campbell River to demonstrate solidarity with the Kwakiutl people there.

c) Provincial and National Politics

The Indian people in Canada were enfranchised in 1951 and those of British Columbia were given the Provincial vote in 1962. Until 1972, however, this meant little to most of the Indian people in Kyuquot. Before that date, elections were organized in Kyuquot by members of the White community and the Indian people remained largely indifferent. In 1972, however, Provincial elections were held and the first parliamentary candidates ever to visit Kyuquot came to

try to solicit Indian votes. A Toquaht chief, who has relatives in Kyuquot, came as campaign manager with a National Democratic Party candidate, and they met first of all with the people of Actis on the village green. The meeting was informal, and while no questions were asked, the impression was made. Later the candidate and his manager held a second meeting in the old community hall in Walters Cove. There a fairly spirited discussion took place between the candidate and some of the White people in which it was felt that the candidate had expressed himself reasonably capably.

A few days later, the Conservative candidate also flew into Kyuquot. He had a White, not Indian campaign manager. Obviously unaware of local habits, he arrived at 9 a.m. and left shortly after 10 a.m., hours when all the fishermen were at sea and few other people were about. He visited only the store keeper and the Chief Band Councillor, and made but a negative impression on the people, Indian and White.

The Democratic candidate received overwhelming support from the Indian people. Not everyone voted, for the election day was held during the week of the Pacific National Exhibition, a time when several families make a trip to Vancouver. When the N.D.P. candidate was elected to Parliament, though, they felt that their support could have some effect on the outcome and took an active interest in the results. They have one more step to take, however. In 1974, while I was in Kyuquot, a national election was held. It passed virtually unnoticed in the Indian community, although voting was organized by the White people in Walters Cove and voting registration notices were posted on the Post Office door. The Prime Minister had visited the East Coast in the months before the election and had gained some support there but among the Northern Nootka there was no apparent reaction to the election. Indeed it was some days before newspapers were flown into Kyuquot and we learned the results.

Today, the Indians of the West Coast are active in the B.C. Union of Chiefs and Chief Band Councillors regularly meet with each other in various parts of the Province. Earlier organizations, notably the Native Brotherhood (founded in British Columbia in Port Simpson in the early 1930s), received but nominal support from the Nootkan-speaking villages. A certain conflict of interest was felt in that the Brotherhood increasingly urged the establishment of day schools (i.e. local schools in the village) while many Nootka regarded this as an attack on the Roman Catholic residential school system established on the West Coast, and as evidence of a sectarian bias within the Brotherhood. Brotherhood membership in Nootka villages was therefore sporadic (Drucker 1958).

THE MODERN POLITICAL PROCESS

The effectiveness of the band council system and of traditional attitudes in Kyuquot today can best be appreciated by consideration of some concrete events which make up the political process. As will be noted below, matters of life and death remain outside the sphere of the council system. It is the administrative details of everyday life, housing, schooling, commercial problems relating to the fishing industry or local store, and official relations with the larger political entities which constitute the band council's business. More weighty matters, which affect only Kyuquot people are generally not referred to the band council but are resolved within a smaller segment of the band. District Council concerns are similarly of an administrative nature.

1. Intra-Band Politics

The problem of housing is an old one in Kyuquot (see above). White style houses were adopted early in Kyuquot at least by some segments of the population, possibly by those of lower status. Although these were much easier to erect than the traditional big house and did not need to be formally opened with a potlatch, the new homes were not without problems. Because of the harsh southeast winds and the heavy rainfall, the deterioration of the new smaller houses was rapid, within a generation, whereas it had been possible to patch and repair the various parts of the older houses. In addition, smaller family groups now became responsible for their own housing and the leaders of the community no longer assumed responsibility for the larger family groups.

Until the middle of the 20th century, most men continued to be competent woodworkers and to construct their homes themselves. These were mainly a single large room with little elaboration or insulation. Once an individual acquired a house site, either through gift, inheritance or marriage, he was free to build a home if one did not come with the site. Timber was plentiful, obtained from old houses and by felling trees, and the mechanics of house construction were not complex. Some time in the 1940s, however, a successful Kyuquot man built a more modern home, with two floors and several rooms. This introduced new styles and new demands into Kyuquot. Others began to follow suit and several of the older houses in Kyuquot today represent this phase.

More recently, the band has become the beneficiary of government subsidy housing. At first, government houses appear to have been allocated on a fairly random basis although there was a general expectation that the families of the Chief Band Councillor and the councillors of the period were those expected to benefit. People felt that an important function of a councillor was to help his own extended family. On the other hand, the Number One (hereditary) Chief and his wife asked repeatedly for a new house during this period and were rejected by successive elected councils. Their house, homebuilt but still sturdy, was felt to be more than adequate.

By the time of my fieldwork, in the early 1970s, the housing problem in Kyuquot was becoming acute. Certain old houses had to be replaced. Government-provided housing was extremely short but no new houses were being built by the people. The band council therefore began to make concerted efforts to find new houses for the people. A housing committee was appointed by the councillors, consisting of themselves and some of the people who most needed housing. At one point negotiations were made with a logging camp at Amai which was moving back to the East Coast and did not want to transport all its buildings. In June 1972 I accompanied a group of representatives, including the Chief Band Councillor, a councillor and six potential buyers to look at the property. Six houses were available and after each had been explored, it was decided with the minimum of discussion and no apparent disagreement who should have which house. The group also decided, in an informal meeting held in one of the now empty buildings, that they could use the school and schoolrooms as well as some items of furniture. "Why don't you make an offer?" suggested the Chief Band Councillor to one of the prospective buyers. "I would if I were chief," he quickly retorted. Responsibility obviously rested on the band system.

An offer was not made or considered until after a meeting had been held

that evening for all interested parties and details were worked out as to how the undertaking could be financed. Subsequently an offer was relayed to the logging camp which turned out to be too low. Only the schoolroom was purchased by the band and this was carried down the inlet to Kyuquot on log floats a few weeks later.

Individuals were reluctant or unable to negotiate for themselves in this matter although the problem of housing was acute. The solution that was worked out, and on which the offer to the logging camp was based, was for the band to carry a mortgage for the price of all the property and for the homeowners to then buy their houses from the band by means of regular payments.

In 1973, the band finally purchased 14 new houses from the Navy, from Vancouver. Negotiations were worked out by the housing committee (basically one man and the councillors) and then a Kyuquot man was sent to Vancouver to supervise the homes till they could be brought up to Kyuquot, by truck to the end of the inlet and then floated down to Kyuquot on logs.

All went well till this point but then things began to go somewhat awry. The council and housing committee had neglected to arrange for a water supply and sewage system to be set up before the houses arrived, although arrangements for clearing the land and sites had been completed. The houses therefore had to be moved onto dry land at Houpsitas on arrival and for almost a year, they remained in temporary position, packed closely along the shore without adequate facilities. Undeterred, several prospective owners moved in, and in some cases needy families temporarily occupied some of the other houses. Meanwhile, a band meeting was held to decide who should have which house (they were of a standard two-or three-bedroom design) and more importantly, which house site.

House sites were allocated on a first come, first served basis. Everyone wanted a site with a view (i.e., looking out onto the water) and these sites went first apparently without any disagreement. The beach house sites were already occupied by the members of the (hereditary) Number One Chief's family. Two other sites, which had previously been occupied by families now getting new houses, were also spoken for. In one of these cases, the old house had recently burned down, while in the other case, the new house was to be set up behind the old. These two families were closely related (being the households of sisters married to a band councillor and an important local leader, respectively). Interestingly, the new house sites adjoining these families were to be occupied by closely related kin (see above).

During the course of the following year, while negotiations with the contractors were at a standstill, several of the early buyers dropped out; one family separated and moved away, another man died and his widow returned to her own home. One girl who then decided that she would take a house found she was left only with a site up near the water tank, away from the beach. "At least she'll have good water pressure," someone laughed, implying that she had one of the worst sites, although in fact she too was next door to her sister and had a somewhat elevated view of the whole bay. No one seemed unhappy about their situation and the whole arrangement for the new settlement was carried out with a minimum of friction or controversy.

Throughout the summer of 1974 the houses remained in temporary positions,

with the removals anticipated daily. As the months wore on there was increasing bickering, quarreling, and an occasional fight as houses sat almost on top of each other, forcing the occupants to live in almost impossible proximity. Finally, in September, a full year after the houses had arrived, a construction company from Vancouver came up to Kyuquot and moved the new houses into position.

The delay in getting the new houses set up was blamed on the construction company. Certainly they were expected for several months but they were not responsible for delaying for the full period. The election of a new chief and council at a crucial point in the negotiations to bring up the houses was also highly significant, for there was obviously a period of adjustment even though the outgoing chief had attempted to leave matters in a state of order. Perhaps even more important, however, was the fact that the traditional Number One Chief and his family, almost the only former occupants of the Houpsitas reserve, were bitterly opposed to the new settlement. They claimed that all the property on the reserve was theirs; the other Kyuquot people now say that they only own the beach while the rest belongs to the band, whereas by the terms of the Indian Act, the band owns it all.

The new council was obviously not immune to the difficult situation. In earlier years, the hereditary chief had been equally obstructive when the preceding council had attempted to arrange for some houses in Walters Cove to be hooked up to the water line used by Houpsitas. The old hereditary chief had refused to agree and although his approval was not really necessary, the council was reluctant to go against his wishes because of his importance in the community. On that occasion, the matter had been forgotton after the chief had needed help on another matter from the council. The situation with the new houses could not be negotiated in the same way. The council finally called in the construction company, but meanwhile, the old Number One chief bought a house away from Kyuquot, on the East Coast of Vancouver Island, with money he had received from the sale of his famous Sun Mask to the National Museums of Canada. Negotiations for the sale of the mask had begun early in 1974, a few months after the houses had arrived on Houpsitas, and its loss was bitterly resented by many people in Kyuquot.

The situation of conflict between Houpsitas and Actis is not new and runs through many of the references to incidents of conflict in the past and the present. In a sense, it is a legacy from "Indian politics" to "contemporary politics" which may now be resolved by the settlement of everybody on Houpsitas for a permanent base.

Finally, as most people moved over to their new houses in Houpsitas, complaints were heard about the conditions of the now empty houses on Actis, some of which had not been used for many years. The council felt that something had to be done to stop rats infesting them and the whole village, and so a group of volunteer high school students from British Columbia, organized by an ecumenical organization, was invited in June of 1974 to come to Actis to clean up the village. Obviously not everyone agreed with the decision. As the old houses were dragged down, very few local people, other than the owners (who had had to give their permission) came to help. Few bystanders even gathered to watch, although there was not much else happening in the village at the time. Perhaps a common sentiment, however, was expressed by one boy who criticized the council for having the houses destroyed in this way.

Houses are like people, he felt, or like anything else in this world; they should be allowed to die in peace and dignity and not deliberately be disposed of.

Somewhat different problems are posed to the band and council by the necessity of providing formal education for their children.

Efforts have been made to send the Kyuquot children to school since the 1880s. Father Nicolaye opened a school in the church room and some parents apparently had no hesitation in moving to Mission Island so that their children could attend (above, p. 55). Elementary schools were associated with the church until the 1950s, so that when there was a resident priest, there was also a school operating. The present school on Actis, owned and run by the Department of Indian Affairs, was open from the mid-1950s until 1974, when it had to close for lack of students after most of the village had moved over to Houpsitas.

As long as the school was situated in the village, there was no problem. There seemed to be little objection to the White man's education although in recent years critics have become increasingly vocal about the irrelevance of this for Indian children. It seems probable that the curriculum will be changed for Kyuquot children very soon and will contain far more about Indian culture and language. What most parents and children have always opposed was the need to send children away to school, either when there was no priest and school in Kyuquot or for intermediate and higher education. Thus in 1914, the Royal Commission was informed that no children from Kyuquot were attending school (Indian Affairs 1914). Older adults in Kyuquot today recall being sent to the Christie Indian Residential School near Tofino, but very few appear to have finished school. They were sick or too sad to leave home or had to help their parents ... and so never returned after a year or two of education.

The way of life in Kyuquot also makes high school diplomas still seem somewhat irrelevant. Most of the boys become fishermen like their fathers and start their apprenticeship early. Girls still marry fairly young, and for the most part choose to stay in Kyuquot or the West Coast. Parents see the choice equally clearly and in some cases actively discourage their children from completing school, in the knowledge that higher education will only take their children away from home, a pattern which has been fulfilled by the few local students to go on for higher education.

The band council is in a difficult position. In an attempt to solve the dilemma, in 1971 the council employed a man to teach its high school students by correspondence courses. The teacher himself lived in Actis, and met classes both in Actis and the Cove. The project was not a success and no student finished the year's classes. Since then there has been an increasing tendency for whole families to relocate for the winter to be with their high school students, but still the number actually to get a high school diploma is very limited.

In 1974 the council employed another way of motivating its youth towards formal education. During the summer, local high school students were made surrogate band officials and, under the supervision of the real officials, ran the band business for the summer. Despite a fairly steady turnover of appointments, the plan worked well and parents also appreciated the fact that

their children were kept "out of trouble" for the summer. One appointment was not a success, that of a student Cultural Secretary whose job it was to go round to the old people and tape record all their Indian songs, stories and memories of the old days. She resigned after less than a week on the job when she found that none of the old people would cooperate, least of all her grandmother. The latter explained later that the last place on earth she would leave recordings of her "property" was at the band office where one never knew who could listen to it and steal it.

Encouraged by the students' response to the overall plan, however, the Chief Band Councillor began to talk of trying to secure a high school for Kyuquot. He felt that this would be the answer to all their problems and could also attract children from other parts of the island to it.

Another problem, the reverse of the above, also presents itself to the council. Certain pre-high school children are sent out to attend the Christie Residence and local school. The decision as to whom should attend rests with band officials, including the Welfare Aide, who try to allocate places according to need. This is very much resented in the community. One woman, whose daughter had been rejected for boarding school by the band, planned to go directly to the church officials and ask for their decision, arguing that no one was going to tell her what to do. The council decision had been made by her husband's half brother and wife and was thus regarded with even more bitterness. Interference, especially with one's children, is opposed in any form and in this sense, band council decisions are treated with the same resentment as any other individual form of interference with one's personal life or family.

Another example of this attitude that the council has no right to invade an individual's privacy was provided in an incident concerning a fishboat. The band council had helped to arrange for certain fishermen to purchase new trollers, by acting as surety for the loans given to the fishermen. In return, each fisherman signed an agreement, individually drawn up with the band council, whereby they agreed to take care of their boats. In his agreement, one man had signed that he would never consume alcohol on his boat but when he brought the new boat back to Kyuquot, he was already quite intoxicated. Word quickly spread around the community and the band council decided that they had to take some action. They therefore went down to the dock, and warned the man that his boat would be taken from him unless he stopped drinking. The man left shortly afterwards and did not return to Kyuquot for a couple of days, by which time he was sober and the incident appeared to have blown over. Following the incident, however, the band council was faced with a great deal of opposition from band members on matters unrelated to this original incident. Particularly people related to the man involved, or those who felt that the council had overstepped themselves in this action, attempted to block any council initiatives during the next few weeks and presented other problems to the council which could not be dealt with at the time, in order to embarrass the council.

The band council is drawn into the commercial activities of the Kyuquot area in various ways. Until 1972, the provincial government subsidized the transport of provisions into Kyuquot, but when that was stopped, it fell upon the community to make its own arrangements. The band bought a freight boat, employed a local White man to operate it, and arranged for a trucking company

to bring the provisions weekly into the head of the Fair Harbour where it would be met by the boat.

The plan was basically conceived as a first step toward making the Indian people self sufficient. The boat operator was employed on a five year contract with an Indian youth as his assistant, the understanding being that the youth would succeed as boat operator when the contract expired. Unfortunately for the program, the youth left after less than a year and a replacement was not available.

It was also hoped by the band leaders that the Indian people would take over the sole remaining store in Kyuquot. This came up for sale in 1973, and a band meeting was held on the green at Actis to try to urge some of the people to consider taking on the job of running it. The band council could arrange for the mortgage if someone could be found to operate the store. A rather shy individual had indicated her willingness to do so but at the meeting remained quiet as an older and more forceful character ridiculed the plan, saying that the Indian people had no knowledge or experience with which to run a business. No one else spoke up. Consequently the time allowed the band for consideration expired without a volunteer being found; and the store, an extremely lucrative business for outsiders because of the high costs they are able to charge their customers through their monopoly of the area, was sold to another White couple.

2. Inter-Band Politics

Throughout the history of band organization on the West Coast, Kyuquot appears to have been a very marginal member of the West Coast Agency (and later District) and it showed little interest in the affairs of the outside world. It was not until Kyuquot was made part of the Kwawkewlth District Council that it was in a position to take any initiative in organizing its own relations with its neighbors.

Fearing that the four Northern Nootka bands would be outnumbered and outmaneuvered by the fourteen Kwakiutl bands in the district on all important matters, the Kyuquot band approached the other three Nootka groups with the suggestion that they should form their own tribal council. This would be made up of representatives of each of the four bands' councils and would meet prior to all the important district meetings so that the bands would be able to prepare a united line of action before the district council. The West Coast vote could then become a significant factor in district affairs. The proposal was accepted with enthusiasm and in 1971, the "Tribal Council" was formally introduced. For several days, the Kyuquot people acted as hosts to their neighbors from Queens Cove, Nuchatlitz, and Nootka, feasting them with home-made goods and putting on Indian dances and lahal games, while between the festivities, the newly formed Tribal Council met to discuss its program. Its chief or chairman was one of the Kyuquot Band councillors and its members were chosen equally from the councils of the other bands. The council was also given a name, by Arthur Nicolaye of Kyuquot: *Titsq'ah Eiguinuck*, meaning literally "Thunderbird Brotherhood." The name referred to twelve brothers who made a pact always to trade with each other and it was felt that this was a suitable analogy.

Meetings of the Tribal Council were highly enjoyable social events, accompanied by games of lahal and Indian songs and dances. In both 1971 and

1972, the main meeting of the Tribal Council was planned to coincide with the Nootka Sports Day, a special event held in Friendly Cove on the last Sunday of August, and consisting of games, athletics, Indian dancing and an ecumenical church service. The first of these occasions was an outstanding success. Boatloads of tourists and visitors were carried to Friendly Cove from Tahsis, as well as many members of the other northern bands, and it appeared that Nootka Sports Day was likely to become the major social event and unifying occasion for the area. In 1972, however, the occasion was a dismal flop. Very few people came, the whole affair ended early and the Tribal Council meeting had to be postponed because several members of the council had failed to come.

Various reasons were suggested for the poor attendance. In Kyuquot, fishing suddenly began to improve a few days before the Sports Day and so most of the boats were unavailable for transporting families to Nootka for the occasion. Other families, who spent the winter away from the home village, had already moved back to their winter home, in readiness for the opening of the school year. The week of the meeting a virus suddenly appeared in Kyuquot, infecting individuals with mouth sores, none seriously, but enough to prevent them from going away on a trip.

Perhaps even more significant, however, was the fact that relations between the Tribal Council members had already deteriorated badly. One of the council members was accused of embezzling council funds and the other members were divided in their loyalties. There might also have been some questions about the organization being dominated by the Kyuquots. The problem of the numerical strength of the Kwawkewlth (Kwakiutl) bands was not enough to hold the organization together. Besides, it was already apparent that the Kwawkewlth bands themselves did not agree on most things and the need for West Coast unity was itself no longer so urgent.

In 1973, the council broke down irretrievably. The bands of Nuchatlitz, Queens Cove and Nootka voted to return to the West Coast District and some of the Kyuquot councillors accused certain of their colleagues on the Tribal council of "treachery" and underhand behavior in walking out on the situation they had tried to build up. As noted above, the Kyuquots voted to stay with the Kwawkewlth in the newly formed Kwawkewlth District Council; they said that they had received fair treatment and did not want to appear ungrateful.

3. Law and Order

Within the Kyuquot Band there are obviously several conflicting interests. The Chicklisets maintain a distinct identity, considered to be more aggressive, progressive and outgoing than the Kyuquot people proper. While cherishing vague plans to return up west one day, they also tend to mix more outside the band and be more aware of the outside world. It was very noticeable in 1974 how many Chickliset people were active in band affairs although an election since that time has created more of a balance. No Chickliset, however, has yet been elected Chief Band Councillor. Chickliset people are determined not to be told what to do by the Kyuquots and, depending on their loyalties to the band officials, are prepared to act independently with little concern for the opinions of other members of the band.

Each of the three residential areas of the community also has its own conflicting interests. Each group feels that priority should be given to its

needs, such as renewed water lines or improved floats, and is impatient with the demands of others. To a certain extent, this situation has been simplified by the move of a large proportion of the population to Houpsitas but the permanency of that situation is yet to be decided.

Finally, conflicts arise within and between families. Because of the small size of the community and the personal basis upon which the administration of band affairs is run, dissension can easily arise when one family feels that another is being favored, for example in housing subsidies or fishermen's allowance. This results in tensions not only towards the band officials but also between the families involved. Generosity is admired and frequently found but unpaid loans are a source of friction in which outsiders can easily become involved. Everyone is closely related and people have sometimes been lifetime neighbors; yet undue interference in private matters such as the raising of children or the pattern of life style can be bitterly resented. Conflict between the sexes, particularly between spouses, easily flares up with the slightest suspicion of infidelity. There are stories of both men and women fighting with the suspected third party of their own sex.

Fighting is mainly a matter of hairpulling and verbal abuse, however, and except when stimulated by heavy drinking, rarely erupts into anything more violent. The most common form of a "fight" is carried out publicly by means of a loud argument conducted over the radio. Occasionally these can be fairly vituperative. Certain individuals in the band are known for their propensity to pick fights in this way and if they come on the radio in an argumentative tone, most people turn off their sets to avoid being involved. Such disagreement tends to become public knowledge even though the people concerned may be very close kin -- siblings or man and wife. Perhaps herein lies the safety mechanism in that such a quarrel does not get taken any further.

Much overt conflict, whether verbal or physical, is caused by drinking. Normally expressions of disagreement are made indirectly and often relayed through a third person (for which the radio might possibly be a substitute). When people have been drinking, they are more direct, less inhibited and often more aggressive than is usual for this area. In both instances I recorded when gunfights were threatened, the individuals concerned had been drinking.

The commonest way of settling more severe conflicts is for one party subsequently to remove himself from the scene for a period of time. There is a general reluctance to call in outsiders to deal with a difficult situation. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (the "Mounties") have rights of intervention on reserve land if directly invited by the Indian people and I know of only one case where they were called on for help. On that occasion, an outsider, a Queens Cove man, was involved. He was living with a local girl and got into a fight over her with a Kyuquot man whom he threatened with a gun. It looked as if someone might be killed and therefore some relatives of the Kyuquot man radioed to the mounties for help. By the time the police arrived, everything had calmed down and no action was taken. For the next few days, various rumors reverberated around the community, that the Kyuquot man and his young son had been shot, that the Queens Cove man had been arrested and that he had been taken to Victoria and placed in jail there. A similar incident, which occurred some years earlier, involved a Nootka man married to a Kyuquot woman who was permanently settled in Kyuquot. He too seized a gun and threatened people, though no one was hurt. On that occasion, possibly because he was a

permanent resident of Kyuquot, no outside help was called upon.

In Walters Cove, where provincial law prevails, the Fisheries Officer is regarded as the highest ranking civil authority in the absence of any formal law enforcement officer. Only once has he exerted any legal authority in this capacity and then it was for the safety of an Indian man accused of beating his children. A great deal of emotion was generated among his White and Indian neighbors, and the Fisheries Officer, in consultation with the Chief Band Councillor, locked the accused man up in the Fisheries Office overnight until tempers had cooled and the matter could be sorted out more objectively.

Occasions on which the Welfare Aide and the council have called in the Welfare Department of the Indian Affairs Branch in Campbell River to remove children from the home are also opposed by the community at large. If parents are having difficulties (and these too generally stem from heavy drinking) a happier solution is for some close relative to keep the children, although even this implies a certain interference when it is not help solicited by the parents. One couple, warned that because of their excessive drinking their children would probably be removed the following day, took their whole family off in their fishboat to go fishing from Tahsis and Friendly Cove. They stayed away for a few weeks and when they returned, sober, the matter was smoothed over and they acted as though nothing has happened.

Such a solution is very common. A man appeared in Kyuquot with bruises and a black eye. It was rumored that he could not go back to his own, neighboring band because of trouble he was involved in there. He stayed in Kyuquot for a few weeks, fishing, and then returned home. On the other hand, a Kyuquot man was rumored to have been in serious trouble in another band further west. Everyone in Kyuquot know about his part but, because the incident has not occurred locally, did not seem inclined to worry about it. In another case, a whole family was suspected of stealing from their neighbors. The situation was dealt with by the family moving to another part of the community. In another episode, a man was drinking on his new boat, when he had formally undertaken never to drink when he was out in it. The band council was ready to claim the boat but he disappeared with it for a few days and when he returned, sober, outwardly all was forgotten, though hard feelings persisted.

A similar tactic of evasion is resorted to in cases of financial problems. The answer to an outstanding debt seems to be to refuse to lend any more money till the debt is paid and to exert private pressure on the individual till that is done. On the other hand, one of the local storekeepers was resented because he allowed unlimited credit without trying to collect debts until the day he broadcast the fact that someone owed him $1,000. An Indian was also criticized because he posted a notice outside the store denouncing another Indian for not repaying a debt.

There are also several well-established mechanisms for avoiding open conflict as far as possible. For example, the respect for individual freedom of behavior extends to not noticing what he is doing, or at least not to the extent of admitting it or interfering. An individual's behavior within his own property is almost inviolate. Thus no one interferes if a man is beating his wife or children, or is known to be taking drugs or alcohol in large

quantities. All the neighbors, however, are alert to the situation and wait round discreetly and anxiously, prepared to help or clear up when called upon. Excesses in individual behavior to some extent are checked by public opinion (c.f. Colson 1953). Gossip is very effective in curbing certain forms of unacceptable behavior, or at least in driving them underground. In many ways the power of gossip reinforces discretion. For the person who drinks or is having an illicit affair or is ill-treating a child, the offense lies as much in being talked about and thus found out as in performing the offense. There is a considerable amount of discussion and gossip about stealing, to the extent that it seemed people must be constantly losing things to others. Yet the actual incidence of theft seemed slight. It is as though stealing is prevented by being anticipated and talked about as people recall items they have lost in times gone by and speculated about who probably took them. In one case, where something actually was taken, the owner said he realized who had taken it, spoke to the thief (without making an accusation) and the object was returned, mysteriously, to him soon after.

Perhaps with similar foresight, people who move away to the town for the winter, or even leave Kyuquot for a trip, lock and bar their houses with meticulous care. Pieces of wood are nailed to the windows and doors, inside and outside as far as possible, and the locked houses present a picture to total inaccessibility. Nonetheless, people still complain that someone (often suggesting quite unjustifiably who that might be) has been running round their property while they are away. Such feelings of resentment help maintain formal barriers or distance between people who otherwise share a small and very closeknit world.

CONTEMPORARY BAND SOLIDARITY

It is evident from the above discussion of certain political processes or events that "the band" to most people is an independent entity, with its own ways of doing things and values which are frequently felt to be incompatible with more traditional values and attitudes. Individuals talking of the band often are referring to the council when they say "I am selling my beadwork through the band," or "I hear the band has decided not to work with you" or even "the band can't tell *me* what to do." On the one hand, there is a very strong sense of band solidarity; on the other, a constant tendency to detach oneself from the band either merely by dissociating oneself from its decisions or by emphasizing one's affiliations with other groups. Frequently, the other half of one's social identity is used in such a context, for example the fact that one is half Queens Cove as well as half Kyuquot, although a legal member of the Kyuquot Band. The opportunism that was noted in terms of traditional associations with local groups is also at work in terms of band affiliation although instances of people actually switching from one band to another are few. On the other hand, the pattern of mobility that accompanied such opportunism is far from rare.

One of the most interesting paradoxes in Kyuquot society is that people generally emphasize the stable nature of their life-style while actually pursuing a fairly mobile existence. Most people, young and old, express strong feelings of attachment to their home, emphasizing that they have been born in Kyuquot and never left their home. They apparently overlook the trips of varying length and varying distance that are made by most members of the

community fairly regularly. Today these include trips out by seaplane, on "Band-Business" (a category which now affects a large number of people), for medical reasons, or on personal business (shopping, banking or consulting about home and boat repairs, for example). All of these are fairly recent developments and are what the Whites of the area refer to when they note that the Indian people have begun to "get out and about" more within the last decade.

Even more significant, however, are the casual and spontaneous trips made by perhaps whole families for undetermined lengths of time. Such are the journeys which began as a day's fishing, but turn into a six weeks absence. Sometimes only a single fisherman is gone in this way; other times he is accompanied by various members of his family. When they find no fish locally, they decide to travel to where conditions are more auspicious and stay away until their luck begins to fail them once more. The ease with which these trips are accomplished bespeaks their frequency. In one example, a woman (with her child) accompanied her husband ostensibly only for a day's fishing, but followed the fish as far south as Port Alberni. While there, they spent time visiting relatives in other villages along the West Coast and were away for over a month. No one knew when they would return and they obviously had not expected to be away so long. Laughingly the wife commented that they had even left their breakfast things on the table. Visits out are generally open-ended in this fashion and families expect their relatives back when they see them.

Such patterns of mobility have always been an important part of the West Coast life style, e.g. Drucker (1951) and the following reference in the records of Indian Affairs:

> The migratory character of the Indians, having different summer and winter residences and their fondness for being constantly on the move, unfit them for receiving instruction or being rapidly improved.
>
> (Indian Affairs 1882)

In the past, regular and formalized moves were made, at least two or three times a year, in order to take full advantage of the varied resources of coast and inlet, and villages were settled at the more strategic locations. In addition, there was always a large amount of visiting at all levels of society, which has a variety of functions: to reaffirm kin ties by visiting relatives and attending their ceremonies; to transact informal trade exchanges; and, one suspects, to break the monotony or tensions of village life and provide a change of scene and new faces. Mobility was, and still is, an important solution for internal crises of West Coast society, whether of a personal or public nature. Individuals suffering from a bereavement or suspected of some misdeed, remove themselves from the scene for a while until sufficient time has elapsed for the incident to be forgotten or for the matter to have been smoothed over.

The traditional pattern of mobility has thus not disappeared but has developed and changed to suit new demands. Formal moves continue to be made, perhaps twice a year, as many families respond to the exigencies of the labor market or their children's schooling. They are thus moving further afield than up inlet but in a sense the moves are motivated by the same kind of reasons as in the past: a sort of maximization philosophy in which available resources are exploited in the most advantageous fashion. Nuclear families

often move to a high school town when their children reach the age to attend the school. Once an individual or family has thus paved the way, it is easy for other relatives to follow, either for a short visit or to spend a longer period. In this way, there are discreet Kyuquot settlements in Tahsis, Courtenay/Comox and, to a lesser extent, in Campbell River, which function mainly during the winter months, the Kyuquot returning home for the summer. All these settlements are fairly new, which perhaps explains why the people concerned keep together, even when their closer relatives may still be at Kyuquot. It would be very interesting to see what happens to these groups in the next few years; will they continue to maintain an identity as a type of neo-local group or will they become absorbed into the rest of the communities into which they have moved? There is no comparable situation on the West Coast from which to take a cue. The people of Nootka, for example, were virtually relocated in Gold River, where prospects of jobs in the pulp mills and new housing were assured them. Their ties with the home village of Yuqwot were thus broken *en masse*, and although two families continue to live in the old village all year, there is no pattern of summer village residence for the rest of the band, who live all year in Gold River.

These flexible residential patterns consolidate the social unity of the group, nowadays in terms of the band. The Kyuquot people feel that they belong in a group, but they are not in constant face-to-face contact with exactly the same people. There are frequent breaks in the tensions of living in a small, relatively closed community made by the easy mobility of individuals. Thus the residents of Kyuquot are able to live along side each other in relative harmony while not knowing everything about all their neighbors' business. Both unity and distance, or a sense of privacy, are the result of a mobile way of life which is nevertheless deeply rooted in the home village.

Much of the daily social interaction within the community is dictated by the physical or spatial formation of the settlements. Especially on Actis and the other similar traditional villages such as Nuchatlitz, Queen's Cove, Friendly Cove, the fact that the houses were built in a single line along the beach was a tremendous effect on the social life of the people. As noted earlier, houses are owned in discrete family clusters and most social interaction occurs within these clusters. There is very little movement from one end of the village to the other, although paths behind and in front of the houses are kept worn by children running or cycling along them. Visiting between the clusters is very rare, and it is not common for adults to take walks away from their own property. The fact that householders know exactly what property goes with their house makes the social distance between residents of the village defined and clearly understood. This property extends from the beach in front of one's house back to the woods behind the buildings. People would no more think of barbecuing on their neighbor's beach than they would eat in their neighbor's kitchen, and blackberry patches, driftwood etc. are generally not disputed property. Ideas on property ownership thus act to reinforce boundaries within the group.

There are also more subtle ways in which individual privacy is protected. Because of the strength of the winds blowing from the southeast, very few doors or windows are built on the sides of houses facing that direction. Since houses are arranged on Actis in line roughly from southeast to northwest this means that each house faces the sea with the woods behind, and to the side looks out onto only a blank wall. This in turn fosters the sense of

privacy even though some houses are set fairly close together. That such privacy is valued was underscored by the fact that when I was visiting a young woman, her father, the home-owner, knocked on the door before entering. In such extended family households, individual privacy is also expressed in the respect shown to individual decisions and actions. Interference with another person's actions are rarely condoned, even in times of crises. For example, in a marital dispute even close relatives rarely interfere until it is over, although, in some cases, there might then be a lot of patching up to do. In the same way, no one disputes an individual's rights to drink alcohol or take drugs, even though it is well known that the consequences might be severe. On such occasions, other people in the village move around cautiously and quietly, well aware that trouble might erupt and ready for it, but unprepared to do anything to prevent it.

Individual separation is further emphasized in major economic activities. Fishing, logging, craftwork are all fairly solitary occupations. Indeed many fishermen say that they do not like to take a deck hand because they prefer to be out alone, with no one to tell them what to do, or because they hate to be tied down.

It would be a mistake to imply from all this, however, that cooperation and solidarity are token acts in Kyuquot society. This study has continuously emphasized the fact that today, people of the Kyuquot Band share a strong sense of social solidarity which is expressed mainly through the idiom of kinship, but which is constantly being reaffirmed in many small ways. Living in the village, I was very pleasantly aware of being part of a distinct group, albeit a very marginal member. This was felt most strongly on those occasions when someone had fish to share or a boat ride to offer; or when children called to remind me that the ball game or show was about to start; or simply when everyone emerged from their houses after days of relative isolation during a particularly harsh storm and we all breathed a sigh of relief that the sunshine had returned and the day smelt so good.

Food sharing is today largely spontaneous. When a fisherman catches too many "smilies" (undersized fish) he might leave them on the float for people to help themselves, or he might call at people's houses to see if they can use them. Similarly when someone brings back to the village a large pail of sea eggs they leave them down on the beach for everyone to help themselves. On the other hand, old people are deliberately looked after, even if not to the extent that they remember in the old days. One elderly lady proudly skinned a deer, brought her by a youth who was her "nephew" or "grandson" (the relationship was not clear, but he was certainly not immediate kin). This he does for her every year. In another instance, an uncle brought fish to a woman and her family when they had none. In return, she baked his bread.

The short-wave radio (the "mickey") which is present in almost every home and every fishboat or speed-boat, is a particularly significant factor in promoting social solidarity (and occasionally, as noted above, the reverse). Close relatives living next to each other tend to visit each other if they have something to say; but communication between clusters, and especially between Actis and Houpsitas/Walters Cove is generally by radio. People's voices are so familiar that they rarely have to identify themselves when calling someone on the radio and anyone who is tuned in to the same channel can follow conversations with great ease. In many homes, the radio is turned

on softly most of the time and conversation and events broadcast in this fashion are followed with interest. In addition to knowing who is ill or away on a trip or planning to go for a picnic, it is possible to follow the events of the fishing activities, the arrival of visitors in the community, and any other significant event affecting the community.

Certain social activities foster a strong sense of community spirit. Movies are in themselves not great group activities but the preparation for going to a movie is rather like getting a large family together for a special occasion. Word that a film has arrived and is to be shown that evening is passed quickly along, mainly by the children, who also go round to the houses (at least on Actis) to say when it is ready to start. If a large crowd arrives after it has begun, then the film might be started again for the newcomers' benefit. At the movies, people usually sit in small family groups, though the children gather in the front, often lying on the ground, and the teenagers, one of whom generally runs the projector, occupy the back row.

A kind of age-grade grouping is apparent on other occasions although it is invariably subordinated to kinship. Particularly those who have been to school together (and are therefore very close in age) have close ties other than kinship, even though such ties are rarely extended to include people from other bands. The elders of Kyuquot in particular enjoy certain common bonds and there is some visiting between persons of the same sex.

Ball games, far more than movies, are important social affairs, sometimes involving the whole band. Individuals of all ages attend, although the participants are mainly the youths and younger adults, both male and female. When the "Spring Island" team, made up of Whites from the Cove and Spring Island, takes on the Indians, the Indian people are united, good naturedly, behind their Band. When two Indian sides play each other, either by random selection or by Actis playing Houpsitas/Walters Cove, then loyalties are divided according to family associations and onlookers provide a great deal of cheering and encouragement for their teams. Such ball teams were formerly far more important than they are today. Each West Coast Band had its own, uniformed team and inter-band matches were played regularly.

Most expressive of social solidarity, however, are "Indian dances," traditional ceremonies still performed on certain crucial occasions, such as weddings and name-givings, in which the traditional histories of the people are reenacted and almost-forgotten social groups are revived. In these, the shared heritage of the band is manifest and they both provide and foster the sense of identity and solidarity. Obvious features, such as the characteristic Kyuquot dance dress, are probably less effective than the familiarity of the masks and dances being displayed and the songs sung, or the obligations of people as hosts or guests. These points will be taken up in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE WORLD OF THE INDIAN

DIMENSIONS OF INDIAN IDENTITY IN KYUQUOT

In the preceding pages, some of the ways in which Kyuquot culture and society have developed and changed in the last century have been discussed. It has been seen that changes in economic activities, in social organization and in the political systems have also contributed to the sense of solidarity that characterizes the Indians of the Kyuquot Band today. In this chapter, the way in which that solidarity is thought of and expressed by the native people themselves will be described and some of the factors which contribute to the sense of contemporary Kyuquot identity will be considered.

Kyuquot identity has several dimensions. Certain attributes may be characterized as "neo-Indian," such as the importance of beadwork, which is common to most contemporary North American Indians today. Both the manufacture and use of beadwork are symbolic of an association with a particular way of life, the Indian way, in a sense that excludes other ethnic groups. The young White girl, mentioned above (page 117) felt that she was deliberately prevented by the other youngsters from doing beadwork, and was told that as a White, she could not even learn to do it. Most native people in Kyuquot, regardless of sex and from a relatively early age, have learned how to thread a bead loom and make basic items, such as necklaces or rings. Beaded ornaments are found displayed in some Indian households, but the main use to which beadwork is put is ceremonial; to attend an Indian "party," many people deck themselves out in beaded necklaces and headdresses. Such beadwork has in no way replaced the traditional ceremonial regalia and for the performance of songs or dances, the old masks and capes are still used.

Bodily decoration, such as tattooing, is also regarded as distinctly Indian and although it was a characteristic of earlier West Coast culture, the expressions and designs (such as hearts and numbers) found in tattooing today are distinctly modern. Such decorations, which are common in Kyuquot, were done with needle and ink, and carry no formal significance. Patterns of drinking also fall into this category. Although not all Indian people in Kyuquot drink, most of those who do regard their drinking habits as "real Indian" and to that extent, drinking has a positive social function in Kyuquot.

Certain other traits, such as the dependence on fish and especially on salmon, are distinctive of the Indians of the Northwest Coast. Fishing, as a way of life, and salmon, as a staple of the diet, are intimately bound up with Indian identity in Kyuquot. The man who told me that he and his family could not stand to eat salmon was one who had moved away from Kyuquot, and by this statement he seemed to imply his distaste for both the diet and the way of life it symbolized.

On another level, designs such as the Wolf, Thunderbird and especially the Whale which ornament most forms of craftwork produced in the area, are characteristic of the Indians of the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Although some of their traditional art conventions are carried through in their contemporary works (like the use of geometric elements in their painting and basketwork) the design of the Whale has become the main symbol for West Coast basketworkers, beadworkers, engravers and painters.

Finally a whole variety of traits are regarded as being typically Kyuquot. These range from distinct physical attributes, personality types, to simply attitudes or ways of doing things. The Kyuquot people are regarded locally as being somewhat oriental-looking while the people from Friendly Cove (the Nootka) are more Spanish looking. The Kyuquots are said to be mild-mannered with a great sense of humor while the Chickliset people are more aggressive and outgoing and the Ehattesahts "take life more seriously."

All these dimensions contribute to the sense of identity which one finds expressed in varying ways in Kyuquot today. To some extent they relate directly to the past, to what is retained of the traditional history and culture. They also, however, reflect the developments of the last few years in that the "Kyuquot way" is not uninfluenced by what is going on in other Indian bands and is sharing in the so-called "renaissance" of Indian culture which is very much a reality on the Northwest Coast today. Encouraged by the successes of other Indian groups, particularly the Kwakiutl with whom they have had increasing contact in recent years, the Kyuquot realize that they do not have to lose their "traditional identity" to survive as a modern yet distinct group.

A respect for traditional ways is one of the main criteria for a "good Indian." The qualities admired by the people of Kyuquot today are interesting both because they support Drucker's earlier (1951) analysis of Nootkan personality types and because they supplement it. Generosity is still an extremely important quality; someone who shares what he has with others is much admired, and conversely, a person who is too possessive with his things, is "stingy," is regarded as behaving in a very un-Indian fashion. The case of a person who recalled a debt by posting notice of it in the post office has already been mentioned; his action was very disturbing to the community. Another man was gossiped about by his neighbors because he was said to give his family only hot dogs to eat while he fed on steaks alone in his boat. A third family is renowned for never sharing with anyone else, either boat rides, material goods or assistance, and therefore is helped somewhat reluctantly by others.

Modesty is also much admired and indeed demanded. There is little show of affection, except occasionally to small children, and adults rarely dress in very open clothes. During a spell of hot weather, some women wore shorts and sun-tops but none wore a bathing suit or went swimming, although a couple of men did so. The White summer students who came to clear up the Village were asked to show a little restraint in their behavior because the horse-play and wrestling they enjoyed on the village green apparently offended some of the Indian people. Related to modest demeanor is the respect accorded to quietness. One woman, describing to me how her marriage has been arranged, said that her future husband was recommended as the quietest boy in his group. Someone was criticized to me as a "real nice lady but she likes to talk" (i.e. too much). Respect for these qualities, however, are definitely associated with the way of life in Kyuquot, particularly Actis. It is noticeable how much freer people are away from social pressures engendered by Village life.

On the other hand, to call someone a "good Indian" or a "real Indian" generally refers to the fact that they speak "Indian" and try to observe the old ways. Such a person usually exhibits a generous nature and a modest disposition but even more important is the knowledge of Indian traditions, and interest in keeping them alive. Such people are active in Indian ways, such as native ceremonies or craftworks, which implies, at least in Kyuquot,

a corresponding lack of concern with the White man's ways.

To some extent, it is impossible to consider Indian identity without juxtaposing it against White culture. Until relatively recently, attempts were made to change the Indian, to eradicate Indian ways and to assimilate the Indian people into the White man's world. In Kyuquot, early missionary and government agents made little apparent impact, but with the coming of the commercial fishing industry to the community, the local people were exposed to increasing numbers of Whites who made it plain that they were different, often in an undesirable way. Although the Indian people had originally welcomed the White man as *mamalti:*, "people who come in ships," and so immediately placed them within their ordered universe, the White man later responded by imposing a separate identity on the people of the West Coast, calling them Indians in terms that inferred they were inferior, dirty or negative in every way.

Indian identity, conferred in this way by Whites who in Kyuquot have only recently begun to lose their prejudices, continues to be expressed most apparently vis-a-vis Whites. To some extent, Indians are what White men are not: Indians are dark-skinned while Whites are not; Indians care for the land and sea while Whites seek to exploit them rather than leave them in peace; Indians care about their family and remember their kin from "way back" while Whites care only for themselves and their immediate relatives; Indians are quiet and peaceful while Whites are noisy and aggressive, and so on. To state the Indian perspective from a positive point of view is to describe the relationship in terms which the Indians seem to adopt for themselves. When interacting with White people, Kyuquot people still adopt the "dumb Indian" pose on occasions (expressed in the oft heard phrase "Don't ask me, I'm just a dumb Indian"), playing up the stereotype that they believe is expected and to some extent, still is, while retaining the last laugh.

The qualities least admired by Kyuquots in White people were also present in some of their Kwakiutl neighbors. Notwithstanding the long history of contact and intermarriage between the peoples of the East and West Coasts, a certain amount of misunderstanding persists. Mutually derogatory terms are still in use and I was told that the Kwakiutl "despise" the people of the West Coast, regarding them as "backward and slow." On the other hand, a Kyuquot woman, staying in Campbell River, said that no, she had not met any of the local (Kwakiutl) Indians and she did not want to...they were a rough bunch.

These feelings of underlying mutual animosity are not new. Jewitt, who was doubtlessly influenced in his judgement of the Kwakiutl by his masters at Friendly Cove, commented:

> But the Newchemass (Nimpkish Kwakiutl), who come from a great way to the northward, and from some distance inland, as I was told by Maquinna, speak quite a different language, although it is well understood by those of Nootka. These were the most savage-looking and ugly men that I ever saw, their complexion being much darker, their stature shorter and appearance dirty in an extreme. They wear their beards long like Jews, and have a very morose and surly countenance. Their usual dress is a *kotsuk* made of wolf-skin, with a number of the tails attached to it, of which I have seen no less than ten on one garment, hanging from the top to the bottom;

> though they sometimes wear a similar mantle of bark cloth, of a much coarser texture than that of Nootka, the original of which appears to be the same, though from their very filthiness it was almost impossible to discover what it had been.
>
> (Jewitt 1815:68)

In terms of personality ideals, there does seem a great difference between the people of the West Coast, particularly the mild-mannered Kyuquot, and the East Coast Kwakiutl, most notably the aggressive Nimpkish, which substantiates the more general pictures drawn by Benedict (1934) and Drucker (1951).

On the other hand, the West Coast people seem to recognize some sort of cultural superiority in the Kwakiutl. When the latter attended a wedding ceremony in Kyuquot in 1972 and were active in the Indian party and potlatches which the groom's side gave to the people of Kyuquot, local people were very impressed by their performances. A Kyuquot woman marvelled at the Kwakiutl women dancers; "They must have practiced for years, not like us." The Kyuquot people still talk of this wedding attended by the Kwakiutl as the biggest ceremony they recall in recent years, although they do not appear to express any sense of being shamed by this, as one hopeful performer, half Kwakiutl, had suggested they might.

A woman who is half East Coast (Kwakiutl), half West Coast, described her difficulties on coming back to live on the West Coast after being brought up in Fort Rupert. She found the West Coast "real old-fashioned" after the carefree childhood she remembered on the East Coast. A marriage was arranged for her on the West Coast by her father's family, even though her Kwakiutl relatives were opposed to her remaining on the West Coast. She has rarely been back to Fort Rupert or the East Coast in 30 years but claims that she cannot speak "West Coast" properly.

Indeed, "they're not like us," commented Drucker's Kyuquot informant of the Kwakiutl. "They're not ashamed to tell things like this" (before everyone) (i.e. of sexual adventures. Fort Rupert men used to prostitute their own wives and daughters ... till stopped by Whites). "They wouldn't even do that to slaves at Kyuquot" (Drucker n.d. 8N). A Nuchatlaht man added "They are way different from us, those East Coast people. They think they are great. They think they're a great tribe" (e.g. they resent orders and refuse to comply with the Indian Affairs Branch) "or if anything happens, such as in a lahal game, they begin to argue, quarrel, right away. They can't just say 'all right, let it go.' Each one wants to beat the other one - he doesn't want to let him get ahead." Nonetheless, he feels compelled to acknowledge their cultural superiority: "They are the chief tribes of the Coast." (Drucker n.d. 3N). The same sort of ambivalent feelings are still at work today.

Contact with the Salishan peoples is far less frequent than that with Kwakiutl groups and mutual attitudes are correspondingly less elaborated. The Salish, however, seem to share the feelings of condescension towards the Northern Nootka expressed by the Kwakiutl. A Cowichan woman, who had married a West Coast man, felt that her husband's home was very quiet and dull. She thought that the Nootkan peoples had forgotten their traditions and old ways whereas her people still keep them very much alive. She had come to the West Coast expecting to find large numbers of people with hunchbacks and harelips, as her family, who had opposed her marriage, had warned her that this was the

result of too much intermarriage on the West Coast. Much to her relief, she found that this was not so.

Observations on other peoples, which contrast with the nature of Kyuquot way, are occasionally made in Kyuquot. The woman from Kitkatla, mentioned above, was regarded as different in many ways. She "talked funny, with too much 'ch' in her speech" and she liked *tline*: (eulachon oil) on sweet things such as fruit as well as on fish, a habit that horrified many Kyuquot people. On the death of her husband, she went back home for a year to her brothers, which was felt to be "their way." She was expected to return to Kyuquot, however, and a house was being reserved for her. Some conflict arose after the death of her husband when a cousin of the deceased burned all his clothes after the old custom of the West Coast. I was told that his wife had wanted to give them away, which again was believed to be "her way."

FORMAL AND FOLK DEFINITIONS OF INDIAN IDENTITY IN KYUQUOT

> Offically Indians are not simply Indians; they are registered members of one or other of the 189 bands in the Province.
>
> (Duff 1964:106)

In official terms, "Indian" no longer refers to a distinct category so that any formal definition is more or less arbitrary. Duff (1964) discusses two definitions in official use which actually refer to two overlapping groups. Registered Indians, the legal distinction used by the Indian Affairs Branch, refers to those people who come under the jurisdiction of the Indian Act (above, page 10). Such Indians need not live on reserve and some are of different "ethnic" backgrounds since non-Indian women marrying an Indian male acquire Indian status. Legal Indian status is acquired at birth if the father is a registered Indian or in most cases when the mother is Indian and unmarried. The Indian Act is being constantly revised and it is noticeable how the question of Indian status has become progressiyely more elaborate and precise. It is now closely tied up with the issues of land, band organization and participation in band property.

The second definition discussed by Duff is of "Indians by racial origin." This is used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Division of Vital Statistics, and includes those whose racial origin, traced paternally, is Indian. These are not necessarily registered Indians and do not necessarily live on reserve land.

Neither of these categorizations carries much relevance in Kyuquot today in so far as they might affect the Indians' own views of who is "Kyuquot" or who is a good Indian. Some of the traits associated with the latter have already been discussed. Speaking more generally, anyone who considered himself an Indian could be considered such regardless of his legal status or his ethnic background (a conclusion Rohner (1967) also came to for the Kwakiutl). Although membership in a Canadian Indian band depends technically on legal Indian status, the Kyuquot Band is now self-nominating and the Kyuquot members themselves approve new membership. In recent years, this has included non-status Indians who have settled in the community as well as full-status Indians from other bands who have chosen to live in Kyuquot. Whereas on the East Coast, for

example in Alert Bay, to be a non-status Indian (of ethnically mixed parentage, but with a chosen Indian life-style) is a distinct disadvantage, in Kyuquot such a distinction is now largely ignored. A recent elective Chief Band Councillor is the son of an Indian mother and White father and is thus legally White or non-status Indian, while his older brother is married to the hereditary chief of the Kyuquots. The (putative) chief of the Chickliset people is also married (in common law) to a White man and thus the children of both the Number One families have lost their status in the eyes of the law, if not of the Kyuquot people.

They continue to elect their members on their own terms. First and foremost are the links of kinship which give individuals their primary rights to join a band, just as in the past they entitled a person to associate with a local group. The two non-status men discussed above are the sons of a Kyuquot woman and they are related to most of the people in Kyuquot. Band affiliation is also described in terms similar to those formerly used for local group membership; individuals, regardless of their formal band membership, will describe themselves as part-Nuchatlaht, part-Kyuquot and may include up to four band names in their pedigree. On the other hand, it is not legally possible to be members of more than one band so that association with a group is obviously distinguished by the Indian from formal group membership. In effect what such pedigrees specify are potential claims to membership in other bands which could be revived if some misfortune caused a person to move away from Kyuquot.

The importance of close, family ties is one of the Indian community's strengths which they consciously value today. Ties with the land are an equally significant bond which is emphasized on many different occasions. One elderly lady thought that the biggest change that had occurred during her lifetime was in the shoreline of Actis; the bay in front of the village is now very shallow while the tides come up much higher on the other side of the island than they used to. There is a sense of identification with the land, rooted in the belief that their people have lived there forever and it is a part of their being. This feeling of tremendous continuity is apparent in Houpsitas but even more so on Actis, where house sites have been in the same families for generations. Roots in the land are matched by the feelings people express for the ocean. Most men are proud of their knowledge of the rocks, sandbanks and hazards of their area, and are insulted by any criticisms of their navigational abilities. There is also a great appreciation for the beauty of the surroundings. Older people especially sit at their windows looking out across the water to the mountains and appear to derive enormous satisfaction from this. Many people who left Kyuquot for an indefinite period returned home earlier than expected and gave homesickness as the reason, while people who now spend the winter away from the area hate both the towns and the fact that they are away from home. Kyuquot is where they belong.

Formerly, a most important means of conferring social identity upon members of a distinct local or tribal group was through the names an individual acquired during his lifetime, sometimes beginning before his birth. These names, ownership of which was strictly controlled within the chiefly descent lines, were derived from the family history, acquired in adventures with some supernatural being or symbolizing some form of property. They thus often signified locality in that an individual's place and/or origins were recognizable from his name. Individual names also signified status in that only a leading chief inherited or acquired the right to use the most important names

while other lineage names were passed on through junior lines. In some cases names also indicated age, and one of the most important occasions in a person's life was when he was given a name to show he had become an adult. Sex, on the other hand, was less frequently expressed in formal names since a woman could inherit a man's place even if only as a trust for her son. Certain names, such as that of a warrior or pubescent female were obviously reserved for a distinct sex. Finally names frequently expressed distinguishing characteristics, such as descriptions of generosity, bravery, piety, qualities which a new owner would be expected to uphold.

In addition to such formal names, of which a single, high ranking individual might own many, a person also had nicknames, personal names which perhaps described a physical condition ("Fat One") or personality traits ("Stingy One") which did not belong to the lineage and which would probably not be known outside a fairly localized area.

Names were inherited within distinct family lines and there was a definite feeling of living up to the name and exploits of one's forbears. This did not necessarily imply any feeling of physical association between namesakes but certain beliefs in reincarnation did help create a line of continuity between the generations and between individuals. Drucker (n.d.) gives the name *huatsitcL*, "come back to you," for this. Physical characteristics, scars or marks of the old people, were found on newborn babies, suggesting their relationship (not complete reincarnation) with an ancestor. Children born soon after a person died were believed to share certain of that person's qualities.

Names in Kyuquot continue to be symbolic of distinct social ties and are not simply personal belongings. Traditional family (Indian) names are jealously guarded; in 1972, there was some ill-feeling because one extended family gave a name to one of its members which another family group claimed as its own. Several older people are still commonly referred to by their Indian rather than their English names, although these are nicknames rather than their formal or ceremonial names. To give Indian names, *ampniqso*: (Chickliset *ampne:qs*), "giving names," is the reason Kyuquot people commonly give for holding celebrations today. Most people possess at least one Indian name and it is still important that the children should be given names, although new social status is no longer commemorated by taking a new name. It is felt that a child should receive his first Indian name when he is three to four years old; at this stage a girl is also ready to have her ears pierced. This ideal is rarely followed, however, and several older children still await a traditional name, mainly because their family has been unable to give the necessary party. Other youngsters possess several names, which have been given them by different sides of their family.

A significant development in the 20th century has been the fact that English names, instituted by the missionaries in the 1870s and now widely used, have acquired some of the symbolism associated with the traditional Indian names. Surnames are now quite well established, having for the most part been adopted by the second generation of baptized Indians from the baptism name of their father. In several instances, this did not work quite so simply; a man might give one of his sons his first name for a surname while his second son took his actual surname as a family name. This was done ostensibly to avoid confusion in the canneries where the men were working, but it also symbolized

the fact that the sons inherited "places" in different chiefly lines. The old Number One Chiefs of Nuchatlaht and Kyuquot (who bear different surnames today) are said to be grandsons of a man who thus split his name. There are basically five surnames associated with Kyuquot today (excluding the Chickliset names) and in at least two cases, recent family segmentation is structured in this way. The close family ties are recalled in the names of the common ancestor. Furthermore, most English surnames today are immediately associated with specific bands on the West Coast and to local people, the mention of a surname is generally enough to identify an individual's home, as well as his family.

In giving children English personal names, further distinct family patterns are apparent. There is a preference for keeping certain Christian names within a family, although the process is constantly expanding as new names are introduced through contact with outside. For the most part, however, parents name their children "for" somebody, generally a close relative. In some cases this can lead to all members in a nuclear family sharing very similar names. For example, over three generations in one family a father, son and grandson carried almost identical names while the granddaughter was also given the same names in a feminized version. One woman explained the naming pattern of her family as follows:

> Her husband was named for his mother's brother and his father.
> Her first daughter (not her husband's child) was named for her mother's sister.
> Their next daughter was named for her father's mother and father's sister.
> Their first son (deceased) was named for his father's father and his father.
> Their second son was named for his father and his (deceased) brother.

Among the males, the same two names were circulating but the order in which they were given indicated for whom the names were given from the preceding generation of name-holders.

English names are used, especially for younger children, as terms of address although as terms of reference, kin terms are invariably preferred.

Names of living, as well as deceased, relatives are passed along in this way, but there is a strong preference for the names of deceased relatives. This does not appear to be related directly to beliefs in reincarnation, which are still found, although there is some feeling that certain qualities of the deceased are carried in the name. On the whole, however, the pattern of naming is quite distinct from the belief that certain individuals bear distinct resemblances to dead relatives. During my fieldwork, a woman had a baby girl nine months after her mother died. When the child was born, an old woman told her that she should mourn no longer for her mother (i.e. because part of her mother had come back to her). While still very young, the child responded to recorded Indian songs of her deceased grandmother, even though she had never seen them performed. It was not suggested that this reincarnation was complete, rather than certain qualities of the deceased were revived in the child. The child, however, was not named for the grandmother, but rather for her father's sister.

Death in itself is regarded more as a process than as a single event.

Pictures are kept of deceased relatives laid out in their coffins, which have been lined with new sheets (torn into strips) and comforters that the dead might need. These pictures are publicly displayed and regarded with affection. At the same time, the dead are believed to stay around for varying lengths of time and certain precautions are taken to ensure these beings do not attempt to return to take someone else with them. It is for this reason that personal belongings of the deceased are either destroyed or given away to someone at a safe distance. After the recent death of an old lady, her son kept her radio despite the warnings of her sister. Then, mysterious things started happening: the radio kept switching itself on during the night or when everybody was out. The sister was anxious to throw the radio into the sea but finally the son gave it to some relatives in another band and as far as I know there was no further trouble.

No one likes to visit Graveyard Island or any of the old cave burials on the various beaches around Kyuquot. There is a feeling that the dead should be left in peace and also a vague fear that one might get pulled into a grave if one is not careful. On the other hand, graves of the recently deceased are visited and tended by close relatives.

The Red Cross Hospital, the scene of many deaths, is widely regarded as being haunted by unwelcome beings. Many inexplicable incidents were recounted to me by ex-patients, of doors opening and closing, of things disappearing and of music playing, even of cold breathing down one's neck.

The house I rented on Actis had been vacated after the sudden death of its tenant several months earlier. In the following months, it was often commented that his presence could still be felt around the house. The various squeaks and noises in the house were explained by one person as the result of construction with galvanized nails. Other people in the Village, however, occupying houses to the west of this house, described similar noises in their homes and went on to relay incidents which were apparently the work of "unwelcome guests." Finally, someone pointed out that in the last war (1855) all the houses in the village were destroyed as far east as where I was staying. On that occasion many people were burned alive and never buried. In such cases, the dead often stayed around, looking for help from the living.

Certain individuals are believed to possess a special sensitivity which gives them a foreknowledge of death, including their own. I was told of several people who knew they were about to die, including a young girl who told her mother exactly the hour on which she would pass away. In other cases, individuals simply have a special sensitivity to anticipate crises, either through dreams (in some of which the dead appear to give counsel or warnings) or through a particular feeling. Various incidents were recounted: a man was pushed off a wharf in Tahsis and badly injured his back. Meanwhile his brother-in-law had a feeling that "something was wrong with the family" and arrived in Tahsis from Kyuquot before he could possibly have received word through normal channels. Another woman was pregnant and considered abortion. She had a dream in which her mother advised her to follow her heart, and so she decided to have the child.

In 1974 a particularly extreme case of "visionary experience" occurred in Queens Cove which alarmed the villagers to the extent that they called upon medical help. A young man claimed he had been seeing evil spirits who wanted

to destroy the village. Then he dreamed about a good spirit who told him that he could save the village if he did as he was instructed. He was to empty the house of all its furniture ... at which point the Red Cross nurse was summoned from Kyuquot and the man was taken to a hospital on the East Coast. He was released fairly quickly and returned home. It should be added that this was just one of many accounts given for the incident which stirred up quite a lot of concern and interest in Kyuquot.

Indian identity in Kyuquot thus cannot be pinned down to any legal or official definitions, which at this stage are largely irrelevant for the Kyuquot Band. For the native people of Kyuquot, the right to belong is determined largely in terms of kin ties. These continue to be expressed in part by names, English as well as Indian, which follow distinct patterns. Membership is also related to the past, both through kin ties stretching back over the generations, and through the occupation of sites which have "always" been used by one's ancestors. Some of the latter continue to make their presence felt through distinct cultural attitudes towards matters of death and spirituality which are shared unevenly throughout the community.

EXPRESSIONS OF INDIAN IDENTITY IN KYUQUOT: CONTEMPORARY CEREMONIES

Pride in their distinctiveness is expressed by the Kyuquot people on many occasions and is certainly not reserved for formal, ceremonial displays. At tea one day, a group of women were talking about an encounter one of their menfolk had had a few months earlier with the Queens Cove people. They had plied him with alcohol and when he was very drunk, had beaten him up for some reason (which was not discussed). The next morning, he was on his feet, ready to bring his boat home. The Queens Cove people marvelled: "You Kyuquot people must be real tough." This story was told as a commentary on the meanness of the Queens Cove people as much as the strength of Kyuquot people who obviously do not share other peoples' assessment of their valour. At the various ball games which are held on the green at Actis during the summer, the cheers of the supporters are often indicative of a similar feeling of local pride. One woman was shouting "C'mon, Indians" at a game in which all the players were apparently Indian. I asked her who she was supporting and she said it was the side on which her brothers played, that of the "real Indians." The same sense of Indian identification as well as of local loyalties is found at the *lahal* games, which are being played with great enthusiasm in Kyuquot as the old people teach the young. Lahal, the stick game, (described in Drucker 1951:444) was formerly widespread on the Northwest Coast and earlier in this century was played for large stakes. Today in Kyuquot it is played largely for fun, by men and women, young and old. A womens' gambling game (played with black shiny pebbles and two pairs of sticks, one marked, the other unmarked) is no longer played.

It is, however, at local ceremonies that Kyuquot identity and solidarity are made most explicit. On these occasions, when contemporary potlatching and feasting accompany traditional dancing and singing, the distinctiveness of Kyuquot's traditions are most fully expressed. These modern ceremonies are referred to in English as parties, "Indian dancing" or "Indian parties" (Wolcott 1967:54 noted the latter term was used among the Kwakiutl too). Although they have undergone a great deal of modifications since they were first described, they persist in a distinctive and innovative form and are obviously invested with a great deal of local pride.

Such ceremonies continue to be based upon the potlatch, a word derived from the Chinook jargon and meaning "gift." The term was used to describe the ceremonial occasions characteristic of the Northwest Coast at which large amounts of property were given away, and it was this apparent wastefulness and lack of economic forethought, so contrary to the motivations of late 19th century Europeans, that caused the opposition to the potlatch. This was strengthened by the apparent excesses in potlatching held around Port Rupert in the late 19th century (documented by Codere 1950 and aptly described as "Fighting with Property"). Prohibitions against the potlatch and winter dances were first included in the Indian Act of 1880 but were not fully effective, at least among the Southern Kwakiutl, until 1921 when arrests were made after Daniel Cranmer's potlatch at Village Island (La Violette 1961, Codere 1950, Drucker and Heizer 1967). Among the Northern Nootka it appears that this legislation was never fully effective and there has been no complete break in the ceremonial tradition of the Northern Nootka.

From what is recalled today, it does seem that in the early years of the 20th century, ceremonies became more infrequent as certain pressures were exerted, especially on the young, to give up the practices of their forefathers. Yet there are records of potlatches in Kyuquot even in the years following the loss of all the leading men of the community in the *Hatzic* disaster of 1902. Furthermore, this was the period in which separate dance houses were erected in the village, in front of the residences and the smokehouses. It may also have been at this time that women began to assume more active ceremonial roles as fewer men were around to carry out these tasks. Certainly in the early 20th century it was the women who formally met visitors on the beach and carried the lead canoe up to the chief's home. Photographs of such welcome ceremonies may be seen in Kyuquot today.

A form of the Shamans' Dance was still being held in Kyuquot in the 1930s and people smile as they remember "all the pretending" that used to go on in winter. Most elderly people also claim to have had real "Indian marriages" (*lo:tcha:*) which they may since have validated with a Catholic service. Though the Shamans' Dance and *lo:tcha:* are no longer performed in Kyuquot today they are still widely remembered. Their decline seems to have occurred in the 1940s, a period when the old ways were becoming increasingly questioned. This was the time when the Kyuquot people were beginning to have some success in commercial fishing (now recovering from the depression of the 1930s), when children were being sent to school on a more regular basis, and when modern medical resources were more readily available. The population decline had hit its lowest ebb and was beginning to recover, but this seems commensurate with the disappearance of the major ceremonial forms. This may well be due mainly to the attitudes of the younger adults, those who attended the Christie Indian Residential School near Tofino in the 1920s. They recall how they were compelled to speak English there and were punished for participating in any native ceremony. Although many children dropped out of school and most returned home to live, there was increasing ambivalence about the efficacy of traditional ways in the modern world, especially of potlatching, against which legislation continued.

The removal of the ban against potlatching in 1951 appears to have had no effect in Kyuquot. Here, Indian dances have been performed throughout the century for a variety of occasions, but with less and less frequency. In the last few years, however, there appears to have been an increase in the number

of ceremonies held. These are now subject to new demands, such as the fact that only in summer are many people back in the home village (so that major events tend to be held in summer rather than winter) and also the exigencies of commercial fishing, which have led to a considerable shortening of the actual events, a sort of kaleidoscoping that has been noticed for Northwest Coast ceremonies generally (Blackman, ed., 1977). Other significant changes which have occurred since Northern Nootkan ceremonies were last described (by Drucker 1951:366ff) are the result of alterations in the system of rank and property ownership, topics which have already been discussed. Drucker (1951: 260-5) reported that in the Kyuquot confederacy of the 19th century, as many as 50 ranked places might be recognized at a local potlatch. When the Kyuquot people were potlatching to an outside group, only the 14 chiefs of the local groups, who held the first 14 places in the confederacy would be seated. The population decline of the last century has meant that most adults can now claim a ranked "place" in a local group. The potlatch no longer functions, therefore, as a means of validating rank and status to any extent. The formal seating of guests also appears to have disappeared fairly early in the 20th century (see page 126). Gift giving, on the other hand, is still made in terms of rank as far as possible. The Number One and Number Two Chiefs and their families continue to be respected in traditional matters, occasions when the Chief Band Councillor does not appear to carry much status.

Today the distinction between feast and potlatch that Drucker noted is no longer evident. The term *litso:* refers in general to any "feast" or "party" and *no:shitl* ("giving away property") describes a specific event which might be included in the party. Thus, in effect, contemporary ceremonialism has merged the feast and the potlatch which were formerly so distinct. The term "potlatch" is generally avoided in talking of ceremonial events, which are more commonly called in English "parties" or merely "Indian dancing." When asked specifically about a potlatch, people use the term only for a public gift distribution and make a clear distinction between this and the accompanying ceremony.

The range of dances and display paraphernalia in Kyuquot is not great but the details of each event show considerable variation. There are four main dances and any or all of these are performed by the band as a whole on formal occasions such as when the Lieutenant Governor comes to the area. In addition, family owned performances are displayed occasionally. The most prestigious of these was the Sun Mask owned by the old Number One hereditary chief until it was sold in 1974. Today only two other masks are shown regularly in Kyuquot. Dancing is performed by both men and women, who wear dance vests or button blankets. Women also have their own dances which are referred to as "side dances" and accompany the main performance. Dance steps are fairly simple but carefully executed. Singing is mainly by men. The tambourine drum (which was introduced in historic times with the lahal game; Philip Drucker, personal communication) and, less frequently, the wolf whistle are the accompanying instruments; rhythm is maintained by beating on pieces of wood, such as planks laid across some chairs.

During the period 1972-74, there were six occasions in Kyuquot at which "Indian dancing" was performed. Three were weddings, two were name-givings (including one celebration for adolescent girls) and one was a ceremonial "Bathing." The latter was an unusual event which impressed guests and neighboring bands by its demonstration of respect for the old days. Weddings

and name-givings, on the other hand, are the main reasons today for potlatching on the West Coast and range from modest affairs affecting only part of the band to performances lasting for several hours with guests from beyond the West Coast.

Today, both the arranged nature of marriages and the trial performances of *tOpa:ti*: are virtually a thing of the past, and the ceremony itself is considerably shorter. A wedding, however, is still an important occasion, an opportunity for a family or group to display its property and to reaffirm its traditional position.

Young people marrying at home today like to combine a church service with an Indian ceremony which contains symbolic elements of the traditional way. The local priest estimates that he performs two or three such services a year, though this type of ceremony has been increasing. The Catholic mass is held either in the church or on the green outside and follows a conventional procedure, with possibly some members of the group participating by reading from the Bible or singing. A best man and bridesmaid attend the bride and groom, and double weddings are common. The bridal party is generally formally dressed in modern styles while the guests wear everyday clothing.

The Indian ceremony follows later and includes a feast, Indian singing and dancing, and gift-giving to the guests as well as to the bride and groom. It may, in turn, be followed by another, "modern" party for the young people. Generally all the proceedings are completed within a day, although ideally there is the expectation that the other side will reciprocate before long. At one of the weddings I attended, the groom's side staged a return ceremony the following day.

As in the past, weddings are usually held in the girl's home village. In the old days, however, the brunt of the expenses were born by the groom's side, who came bearing gifts for the bride's family. Today, wedding expenses are more commonly met by the bride's family, who also perform the traditional rites, although there is some confusion in this procedure. At one wedding in Kyuquot, the groom's family arrived ready to potlatch first; but, when they found the bride's side prepared, they waited until the following day, even though some traditionalists felt this violated the proper rules.

The wedding feast is an important meal, prepared and served by the host family and popularly consisting of turkey with trimmings, followed by home-made cakes. Sometimes wine accompanies the meal. The wedding feast may be held out of doors or in the schoolroom, none of the contemporary houses being large enough for such a gathering. Guests tend to sit in family groups and the bridal party occupies a conspicuous position. The meal is followed by the performances of certain family "traditions" as local people now refer to the hereditary dances and rites. At each of three formal weddings during the period of my field study, the groom was from another band. In one case, he was a Cree and none of his relatives were present. A cousin of the bride acted as his best man and during the ceremony a telegram was read from the groom's people which thanked the Kyuquot people for making their son so welcome. At the second wedding, a large number of the groom's relatives were members of the Kyuquot Band and outnumbered visitors from other places. On both these occasions, the brides' immediate families performed their own dances and then gave money to the guests. The hosts were the brides' fathers, and in the second

case, the bride's maternal grandfather also acted as host. At the third wedding, important guests from other West Coast and East Coast (Kwakiutl) bands, close relatives of the groom, came to Kyuquot. The hereditary chief of the Kyuquot people displayed his Sun Mask and, with the aid of the band, potlatched to the guests. The bride's family also performed their own dances.

During the proceedings, the bride is formally handed over to the groom and his side, and a senior member of his family, or a suitable substitute, gives thanks to their hosts. Speech-making is still important, but the lengthy exchanges of the old days are virtually forgotten. Wedding gifts, including new names, are given to the new couple by both sides. A girl may be given songs and dances as gifts when she is going to live in another band. Gifts of names may also be given to other guests by various members of the host group who then validate the gift by distributing money. The occasion of the wedding thus may be used for other traditional purposes such as giving names, ceremonial bathings or reviving a chieftainship.

The name-giving celebration need not be very extravagant, but does include gift giving to the guests. Generally the event is hosted by family members who are senior in rank or age. Related families may help with the expenses. In return, their small children may also receive names which are chosen in advance from the family's property. In 1973, a small party was held by one family just to give their youngest grandchildren names. On other occasions, name-giving is part of a larger ceremony, such as a wedding, in which the host of the potlatch utilizes the event to bestow hereditary names on his children. Parents who are not in a position to do this sometimes arrange for an individual who is participating in a traditional ceremony to give the children help or medicine (*Oki:e:l*) by dancing for them. The parents make a contribution to expenses and the reason for the dance is announced.

In the old days, probably the most important name-giving ceremony was that put on for adolescent girls of high class families, "to show when they became women." Sapir's (1913) account of such a potlatch gives some measure of the significance attached to this event early in this century. Three distinct ceremonies normally took place. The puberty ceremony began a period of taboo at the onset of a girl's first menses. The potlatch given in her honor, the main event, was held generally a couple of months later to announce that she was now a woman and to validate her receipt of a woman's name. At this ceremony, certain family *tOpa:ti:* were performed, including trials which might be used again later at her wedding. Following the ceremony, the girl would be secluded for a period stipulated during the ceremony and she would be subject to rigorous taboos. A third puberty potlatch would be given at the end of the taboo period.

Today, many Northern Nootka women have had some sort of party given in their honor during their early teens, although this tends to be associated with high-status traditional families and the event is nowhere near as elaborate as formerly. The essential features, however, remain the bestowing of a woman's name upon the young girl, some dancing and singing, (though not strictly necessary) and the distribution of gifts to guests. Local people describe it as a "small" or "middle-sized" party. One of the name-giving ceremonies held during this period included celebrations for the teenage granddaughters of the old Number One hereditary chief in Kyuquot. There was some Indian dancing, but the more impressive traditions of the family were not displayed, and not all the Kyuquot band attended the party.

One of the biggest name-giving potlatches held in Kyuquot in recent years was put on in 1969 by the family of the Chickliset hereditary chief. Most of the Chickliset who are settled in Kyuquot assisted, certain people having the right to act as "side dancers" or to distribute the food. During the course of the celebration, Chickliset people -- especially the children -- were given new names. Though the old chief and her husband seemed to have directed the affair, it was her successor who funded and organized it, ordering the food and getting together musicians for a week of rehearsals. This was an occasion on which the Kyuquots were the guests of the Chickliset people. One man told his daughters that this was a Chickliset feast and they should be happy for their chief and not have long faces. (The next day the girls complained their faces ached from smiling so much!) Four Chickliset songs and dances were performed, and food and gifts together cost the hosts over $400.

I was told that the most important type of party is given when a chieftainship is being passed on, which can happen at any time, generally long before the death of the old chief. Such an event has not been held in Kyuquot for many years, although the traditional way of handing on positions to the young is still observed. The Number Two hereditary chief in Kyuquot passed on her place to her oldest daughter about 30 years ago, at the girl's puberty ceremony. They spent over $2,000 on this occasion. Another woman, now in her mid-30s, was considering passing on her chieftainship to her 11-year-old daughter when she put on her coming-of-age potlatch, but was concerned about whether she would be able to afford the added expense at that time. Despite the obvious decrease in the significance of hereditary rank, titles are still prestigious, particularly in ceremonial affairs.

There were, and still are, a variety of other ceremonial occasions among the Northern Nootkan. Funerals have never been the socially significant occasions they are further north, for matters of inheritance and succession were generally settled when an individual was in his prime, and ceremonies surrounding his death were fundamentally an expression of anxiety and personal loss by his survivors. Funerary potlatches are occasionally held, mainly in families of high traditional status, for ideally all members of the family should take a new name at this time. Gifts of dishes or cloth are handed out on these occasions but no dancing takes place. Some people still move away from a place after a death and try to get rid of all the deceased's property which is not considered suitable for including in the casket.

In the old days, the erection of a new house could not be completed without a cememony in which gifts were given to those who had assisted the owner. This custom was also applied to the erection of totem poles (which had a brief vogue on the West Coast) but it disappeared with the adoption of Whiteman style houses. Furthermore, no new totem poles have been erected since that of Captain Jack, at Friendly Cove, in 1915. While old totem poles are left to rot in abandoned village sites, an important reason for letting them be is that their removal would require a big potlatch.

Another type of ceremonial event was held in Kyuquot a few years ago when a popular store-keeper moved away after many years of service. The Number One chief put on his Sun dance, and the whole village helped with the expenses. Later in the evening, imitation dances were performed, strictly for entertainment. Drucker (1951:399-401) noted similar performances during the Shamans' Dance when informal age-grade clubs performed dances which mimicked different

animal species. On the occasion noted above, people tied ribbon and feathers to their heads and pretended to be ducks. "It was really all just a silly game," I was told.

In July 1974, yet another type of traditional event was put on in Kyuquot, a ceremonial "Washing" or "Bathing" (*chakwa:to:*). This was very much admired for its traditional nature and its performance raises some interesting points about the character of traditional ceremonies on the West Coast.

While attending a district meeting for Home-makers in the Kwawkewlth District headquarters of Campbell River, a local girl had narrowly escaped from a fire, which destroyed the hotel where she was staying. On her return home, she suffered from severe mental strain. Her concerned family decided to potlatch for her life and between them raised $360. Everyone in Kyuquot was invited to the party, which was held one evening in the school. The festivities were opened very casually by the girl's father, who welcomed the guests and explained the reason for the party, dwelling on both his joy at his daughter's escape and the suffering she was still undergoing. He was thanked by the wife of the old Number One chief, and presented with two pairs of trousers. Then, with the girl standing by, a Thunderbird dance was performed by two masked dancers, to the accompaniment of singing, tambourine drum and two female side dancers. The subsequent potlatch was preceded by a description of how the money was raised, and gifts, mainly of one and two dollars, were made to the heads of each family and various members of these families. The girl's father expressed his happiness by a comic song and dance, and this created a light-hearted atmosphere for the feast which followed. Speeches of thanks were exchanged before the end of the party and later in the evening people reassembled for a game of *lahal*. Playing continued until the early hours of the next day, with the girl's family still acting as hosts.

Despite the solemn nature of the occasion, this ceremony was undoubtedly a "party" in which a festive atmosphere prevailed. Most people from Kyuquot were present and those who were not able to come offered genuine excuses. In Kyuquot at least, there are no groups of "anti-potlatchers" such as are found in some Kwakiutl villages.

Another "Bathing" had been held in Kyuquot two years earlier. On her way to a wedding, a guest from Nootka fell against the stove of her boat and burned her hand. Because she was so clumsy, she had to give away money during the "Indian Marriage" ceremony she came to attend. On this occasion, however, the nature of the performance was overshadowed by the larger event, the wedding, of which it was a part.

The so-called "Bathing" raises an aspect of the potlatch which has not been noted before. There were two purposes behind this ceremony. One was to celebrate a loved one's escape from death but even more important was the hope of speeding on a full recovery. An important question asked later was "Did it help her?" and happily, it appeared to have done so. Implicit in the ceremony was the idea that by showing such largesse and generosity, the donor would regain her health and well-being. In other words, the action of giving and performing has some power to benefit the performer. Thus a ceremony serves as a form of ritual cleansing; by giving away material possessions to others, one gains physical and spiritual health. One man said repeatedly how good he feels after participating in an Indian party, being strong enough to tackle the most

difficult tasks.

There are a few accounts in the literature of similar "Bathings." Most closely comparable is Sapir's (1939:134) description of Tom "washing away" the low birth of his nephew. Boas (1925:133) has described a potlatch given at Fort Rupert to "wipe off" the shame of a canoe capsizing. Drucker (1951: 380) and Blackman (1977), describe similar "face-saving" ceremonies among the Nootka and Haida respectively. Somewhat different from these examples, but not unlike the "Bathing" was a potlatch held in Gulkana, Alaska, 1968 by an Athapaskan man whose wife had recovered from a serious illness (F. de Laguna, personal communication). These comparisons, however, lack the therapeutic aspect which seems so important and so effective in the contemporary Nootka bathings. This is, in fact, more reminiscent of the Salish Winter Dances, but the spirit dancing of the latter is a far cry from the carefully rehearsed performances so characteristic of the West Coast.

It seems likely that this association of ceremonialism with feelings of personal well-being is a recent development of the West Coast. It receives no emphasis in Sapir's (n.d., 1939, Sapir and Swadesh 1955) accounts from the turn of the century, although admittedly his data is from tribes further south. Nowadays, however, such attitudes seem fairly general (Mary Motlow, personal communication). I am not suggesting that every contribution to every potlatch is viewed only in altruistic terms. Often the reverse is true. Potlatching obligations may be tiresome as well as rewarding though negative attitudes are expressed with a certain amount of humor. Furthermore, I do not mean to imply that the native people themselves view the "Bathing" as an innovation. On the contrary, both guests and neighboring bands admired the very traditional nature of the bathing ceremony discussed above and did not otherwise see anything different from other types of "parties."

Earlier Nootkan ceremonialism conformed to the general pattern found on the Northwest Coast but lacked both the competitiveness of the neighboring Kwakiutl potlatches and the religious overtones of the Coast Salish ceremonies. In addition, it had its own distinctive characteristics, most noticeably the emphasis on theatrics and the communal nature of each performance. Ideally, rewards for ceremonial participation lay in personal satisfaction at sharing one's property -- ritual and material -- with one's kin, and in keeping to the ways of one's ancestors. Contemporary ceremonies are not dissimilar. "Indian dances" or "parties" among the Kyuquot continue to be carefully executed performances which are held with varying degrees of extravagance for the entertainment of the whole group. They are also expression of a group identity which has a rich and valued history. Perhaps ultimately it is participation in something regarded as traditional which gives modern performers their feelings of fulfillment and which, in turn, lends modern Nootkan ceremonialism its distinctive character.

KYUQUOT HUMOR

It has been mentioned several times that the Kyuquot people are noted on the West Coast for their sense of humor, their way of seeing the funny side of every situation and of making fun of a person in a kindly way. No account of the Kyuquot people, therefore, would be complete without mentioning a few examples of their humor, which perhaps will bring much that has been said above

to a more human level.

The Kyuquot people are not particularly expressive. They do not laugh a great deal or make a lot of show about their jokes. Rather, their funny stories are told very drily and often elicit only a slight smile from the audience; but the repetition of the tale later makes it evident that it was enjoyed. Their humor is mainly related to every-day events and often relieves what might otherwise be a rather stressful situation.

For example, during my stay in Kyuquot, the coast was shaken quite badly by an earthquake off Estevan Point, and everyone was fairly nervous for several days afterwards in case more spasms should be felt. The favorite story told in this connection, however, was about A., who, feeling his house shaking, decided that the bulls must have got under the house. In the middle of the night and during the earthquake, therefore, he came out in his trunks and was waving his arms and shouting at the animals which were nowhere to be seen. His son, who lives next door, looked out of the window on hearing the noise, and was horrified to see his father outside. He shouted to him to get back in, and explained that it was an earthquake.

In the same vein, the Kamchatka blast is vividly remembered locally. It is a long story, but is based on the reaction of B., who moved off the mainland, where she was probably safer, to Walters Cove, bringing only her chamber pot, and settled into the community hall there.

Other potentially stressful situations which are turned into entertainment include the frequently told story of C., well known for her ample size, and her husband, who were stopped by the mounties one day when they were crossing from Actis to the Cove, to see if they were carrying the mandatory life-jackets in the boat for their four children who were with them. They had no jackets, but C.'s husband turned to the policeman and asked "What do we need life-jackets for? If the boat goes down, all we do is hang on to her" (pointing to his wife) ... "She won't sink!"

A new story emerged shortly before I left Kyuquot, after a particularly stormy night when the southeast wind rose and mists closed in the Kyuquot area, so that no one was able to find his way in or out. A number of fishermen were lost and stranded out at sea. The next morning D. came round with his story of how he had been stranded, completely lost, for hours, until the mists lifted that morning, and he found that he was less than a hundred yards from the entrance to Kyuquot harbor!

Stories relating to the Indians early contact with Whites are often told in the same, humorous way, with the Indians being the dupes. McClellan (1970: 118) finds a similar set of contact stories among the Northern and Southern Tutchone, the Tagish and the Inland Tlingit and suggests that such stories, in which the natives laugh at themselves, "perhaps represents a genre of humor which is old in the oral literature of both the interior and the coast, but which may have received new impetus in the interior" (McClellan 1970:126). Although several of the stories I heard are fairly common on the Northwest Coast generally, the tendency today to turn new or frightening experiences into a funny story suggests that on the West Coast of Vancouver Island this type of humor is very old.

For example, old N. went down to Seattle to sell his seal skins. When he got there, all the fur had gone, rotted away, and only the hide was left. In disgust, he threw all the hides overboard ... and then found out that all they wanted was the hide, not the fur.

Another story told of how the men from Kyuquot used to go down to California in schooners. One time, there were five Indians on board, two Kyuquots, two Nootka and one Ucluelet. In California, people came to the Indians and said they had booked a hall for them to give some Indian dances; people wanted to see them as they had never seen Indian dances before. So they danced, different dances all the time and the hall was packed for three nights. One man, whose name was something Murphy, spoke Chinook, and he translated for the other Indians. They asked him what his name was and he said "Monkey." Everyone laughed and laughed.

A third story was about the time when people from Kyuquot used to go down to the States to work at hop-picking or berry-picking. They would go by canoe, leaving at the end of the summer (August) before it got too rough and the journey would take several weeks. Once some men were employed by a couple to chop wood. The lady, however, didn't like the way they were dressed, in cedar bark clothes, and so she brought out trousers and suits for them. When they put them on, they said "We look like Grizzly Bears" and began to do the Grizzly bear dance. The lady, of course, did not know what they were doing and looked on in amazement. As soon as they were finished work, they got back into their own clothes.

The nature of this humor was brought home to me on several occasions. Once I was at a lahal game, perhaps the second I had been to. Before the game began, I was talking with one of the players who was juggling the two pairs of "bones" which were concealed behind the player's back during the game. I asked if I could see these, and he said "No!" and laughed as he handed them to me, just pieces of common hollow metal tubing, about half an inch in diameter and three inches long with black tape bound round two of the four. The tape, he added loudly, is the skin peeled off the inside arm of our ancestors, dried and smoked!

Some time later, one of the biggest personal misfortunes of my field work occurred. While crossing in a boat borrowed from a neighbor from Actis to Houpsitas, I was stopped by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, charged with carrying inadequate life jackets on board and given a summons to appear in court within the month. The whole incident was witnessed by the people in Actis who quickly replayed the news to their relatives in Houpsitas and Walters Cove. Thus forewarned, all the Indian people likely to run into difficulties kept to their homes until the policemen left the area the following day. After the incident, my stock was perhaps higher than it had ever been as Indian people I hardly knew greeted me with subtle comments such as "Lovely day! Whatever are you carrying that heavy life jacket for?"

CONCLUDING REMARKS

> My intent is to stress the fact that a vital new culture exists, comprised of interesting blends and mixtures of ancient Indian and 20th century White American and Canadian usages and attitudes.
>
> (Drucker 1958:4)

The dynamics of Northwest Coast culture have been stressed by several writers (e.g. in Blackman ed., 1977, Codere 1961, Drucker 1958, Drucker and Heizer 1967, de Laguna 1960, 1972). There is no doubt that many important elements of cultural continuity are evident throughout the area and only in a historical perspective can contemporary culture and society be fully understood.

In comparing my study with the statements of Codere (1961) and the descriptions by Rohner (1967, 1970) about almost-contemporary Kwakiutl society, it would appear that the Kyuquot people are much more conservative than their East Coast neighbors. The Northern Nootka have certainly suffered less direct interference with their way of life than many other Northwest Coast peoples and thus although their performances of traditional rites may be less frequent and spectacular than, for example, certain Kwakiutl groups, there is a significant retention of social and political forms on the West Coast which is not found on the East Coast. Furthermore there is no indication that the people of Kyuquot are about to become assimilated into modern Canadian society; as I have tried to indicate above, those who no longer wish to follow the Kyuquot way of life leave the community on a permanent basis and for those who remain, tradition exerts a very important influence in organizing their lifestyle.

While I agree with Drucker's description of a vital Northwest Coast culture, quoted above, I cannot accept his statement entirely in relation to Kyuquot. To call that culture "new" seems a contradiction in terms. Northwest Coast culture as manifested in Kyuquot is obviously changed from what it was a hundred, or even twenty years ago but nevertheless it is rooted in what has gone before, in both the recent contact situation and the native Indian culture. Furthermore, although neighboring groups regard the Kyuquot people as somewhat old-fashioned, there is still a certain amount of interaction between the bands as equal and autonomous groups. Each band continues to see itself as a distinct group, a unique development, an opinion confirmed by the various ways in which different East and West Coast bands have reacted to contact with Eurocanadians and the policies of directed change that have characterized at least part of that contact.

Kyuquot is manifestly a modern community, with western dress and house styles, speedboats and stereos, full participation in a commercial economy and, to a lesser extent, in a national political and educational system. Knowledge of and interest in the ways of the old-timers vary tremendously from individual to individual. One incident, however, more than any other impressed me with the importance of traditional ties for the community as a whole. This was the sale of the famous Sun Mask by the old Number One Chief in 1974, an event touched upon several times in this study. Both the old chief's immediate family and the Kyuquot people generally felt very distressed

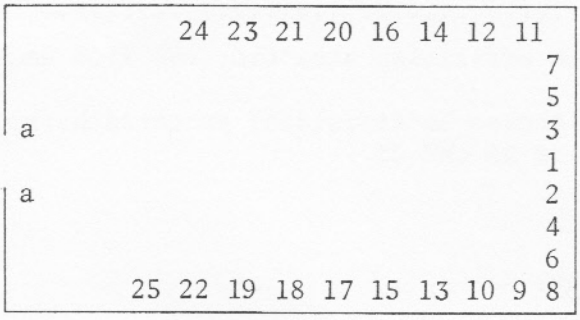
about the action and I heard of it from many different sources. But it was one of the younger members of his family who was most bitter about the disgrace of selling the old mask. "He gave away his name. Now he is nothing. The family is nothing. He threw it all away. He said nobody cares about such things any more, but they do still care. They really do."

APPENDIX 1: HOUSE-SITES ON ACTIS c. 1900 (FROM DRUCKER n.d. 8N)

	NAME OF HOUSE-SITE	OCCUPANTS
1.	Matsuwai	qa'yok people
2.	ciLsyap	qa'opinc people
3.	hupkinstinim ("round"--between 2 big houses)	qa'oq people
4.	tupksath ("dark people") sutcpiɬ ("big tree left growing in house")	qa'opinc chief
5.	hoatsisLath ("came back" house, drifted back from flood)	tacis people
6.	hictsoqtanɬ	qa'oq chief
7.	cawisath	Cawis people
8.	nuouɬ ("always singing")	amai people
9.	Naniqs ("grandfather to all")	tacis chief
10.	aLicath	alic people
11.	tiɬath	tiɬ people
12.	qaqciɬath	qaqciɬ people
13.	qwinaikinctakamɬ (ancestral chief's name)	tiɬ people
14.	qimiɬɬuqtakamɬ ("long-haired woman")	qayoq people
15.	qwawinas ("first people there")	yaqats people
16.	Latcwostakamɬ ("taking off boards for dance")	yaqats
17.	Tcitciɬqiniɬ	tacis people
18.	(name forgotten)	
19.	natcasath ("always looking for canoe" used to own beach)	tacis
20.	qa:tstsaksk (Queen's house. "3 lengths of roof's boards on each side)	yaqats
21.	(name forgotten)	
22.	yaqo'a'ath (from yaqo-river)	tacis people
23.	amaiath	amai people
24.	kutsuattakamɬ (from kutsu-river)	kutsu people
25.	kutsuatakmɬ	kutsu people
26.	hiɬinatoath (always on outside: don't go inlets people)	yaqats
27.	hiɬinatocth	yaqato

APPENDIX 2: CEREMONIAL SEATS OF THE KYUQUOT CHIEFS
IN ORDER OF RANK c. 1900 (AFTER DRUCKER 1951:261-2)

1. Potlatch Seats: Names in parentheses are those of houses.



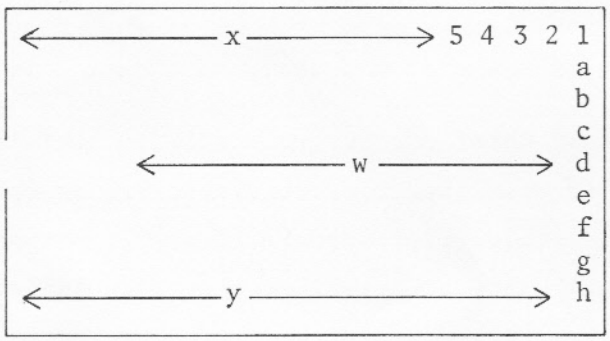
	LOCAL GROUP	TRIBE
1.	yȧ'qȧtsȧth (qast tsȧksk) chief	La'a'ȧth
2.	tacisȧth (naniqs) chief	qanōpit takamɬȧth
3.	cawisȧth chief	cawispȧth
4.	aq'ō'qath (hictsōqtanl) chief	qanōpit takȧmɬath
5.	aLicȧth chief	qanōpit takamɬȧth
6.	qa'yōkwath (mȧtsūwaiȧth) chief	cawispȧth
7.	amaiȧth (nū'ūl) chief	qwixqo'ath
8.	yȧ'qōȧth chief	qanōpit takamɬȧth
9.	qa'ōpincȧth (ciLsya'ph) chief	cawispȧth
10.	qaqciɬȧth chief	cawispȧth
11.	namintȧth chief	qwixqo'ȧth
12.	tiɬȧth chief	qwixqo'ȧth
13.	kūtsō'ȧth chief	La'a'ȧth
14.	qa'ō'qȧth (hūpkinstinim) chief	qanōpit takamɬȧth
15.	amaiȧth chief	qwixqo'ȧth
16.	qa'ōpincȧth (ciLa'ph) chief	cawispȧth
17.	qa'ōpincȧth (tupksȧth) chief	
18.	yȧ'qȧtsȧth (hiɬînatōȧth) chief	La'a'ȧth
19.	qȧtsnimtath chief	La'a'ȧth

20. yå'qåtsåth (qwowinasåth) chief..... La'a'åth
21. tiłåth (qwinaiqinic takåmł) chief ..... qwixqo'åth
22. tacisåth (na'tcsåth) chief ..... qanōpitakåmłath
23. (?) ..... (?)
24. qayōkwåth (qimiłuqtakåmlath?) chief ..... cawispåth
25. (?) ..... (?)

a,a, Potlatch officials, atca'Lim; one from amaiath, one from La'a'åth.

Note: tacis (house hō'åtsisłåth) ya'qatsåth (house Låtcwo'stakåmł), may be in place 23 and 25

2. Feast Seats



	LOCAL GROUP	TRIBE
1.	yå'qåtsath (qats tsaksk) chief	hōpsitåsath (La'a'åth)
2.	tacisåth (naniqs) chief	qanōpit takamłåth
3.	qao qath (hictsoqtanł) chief	qanopit takamłath
4.	qa'yōkwath (måtsūwaiåth) chief	cawispåth
5.	aLicåth chief	qanōpit takamłåth
a,	tacisåth chiefs of lower rank (except nå'tcasåth.....	qanōpit takamłåth
b,	måtsūwaiåth chiefs of lower rank.....	cawispåth
c,	La'a'åth chiefs	La'a'åth
d,	nå'tcasåth chiefs	qanōpittakamłåth
e,	to h, Chiefs of other high-rank houses.	
w,	War chiefs' seats	
x,	Low rank chiefs	
y,	Commoners, women	

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1975

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No. 27 PROCEEDINGS: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971. Edited by A. McFadyen Clark (2 vols). 803 p., 14 maps, 13 figures, 23 tables. $9.25

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No. 28 PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS, CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SOCIETY, VOL. I & II. Edited by Jim Freedman and Jerome H. Barkow. 723 p., 2 maps, 31 figures, 9 tables, 3 plates. $10.75

These Proceedings are of the Second Annual Conference of the Canadian Ethnology Society, held in February 1975 at Winnipeg, Manitoba. The first volume includes papers presented at two of the eight sessions: "Myth and Culture" and "The Theory of Markedness in Social Relations and Language". In the second volume are grouped the papers read at the six remaining sessions: "Contemporary Trends in Caribbean Ethnology", "African Ethnology", "Anthropology in Canada", "The Crees and the Geese", "Early Mercantile Enterprises in Anthropological Perspectives" and "Volunteered papers". An abstract in French and English precedes each paper.

1976

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O.P.

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This volume contains 7 papers on ethnological subjects. Four of them are on material culture (Day, Damas, Arima and Hunt), one on rituals (Stearns), one on general ethnography (Smith), one on ethnohistory (Gillespie) and one on cultural change (Rogers and Tobobondung).

No. 32 ESKIMO MUSIC BY REGION: A Comparative Circumpolar Study. Thomas F. Johnston. 222 p., 38 plates, 9 musical transcriptions. $2.75

Study of Alaskan Eskimo music, as part of a distinct western musical complex, compared with Eskimo music in Central and Eastern Canada and Greenland.

The following papers are being distributed gratis by the Chief, Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man:

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No. 33 LA CULTURE MATERIELLE DES INDIENS DU QUEBEC: Une étude de raquettes, mocassins et toboggans. Carole Lévesque. 156 p., 47 figures, 28 planches.

Cette étude sur la fabrication et la décoration des raquettes, des mocassins et des toboggans dans les communautés indiennes du Québec concerne à la fois des objets produits au 19e siècle et d'autres produits actuellement. Elle s'inscrit dans une approche récente de la culture matérielle où la production est étudiée en fonction des rapports sociaux à l'intérieur desquels elle s'insère.

1977

No. 34 A PRACTICAL WRITING SYSTEM AND SHORT DICTIONARY OF KWAKW'ALA (KWAKIUTL). David McC. Grubb. 251 p., 1 plate.

The purpose of this work is to present a phonemically accurate, practical spelling system of Kwakw'ala, the language of the Kwagulh (Kwakiutl) people. The first section deals with the use of the practical orthography while the second section is a two-way, cross-indexed dictionary: English - Kwakw'ala.

No. O.P. 35 THE INDIVIDUAL IN NORTHERN DENE THOUGHT AND COMMUNICATION: A Study in Sharing and Diversity. Jane Christian and Peter M. Gardner. 419 p.

The volume reports some of the preliminary findings of a collaborative study of thought and communication among members of one Mackenzie drainage Dene community. Subprojects, on aspects of communication and learning, on shared and diverse classifications and processes having to do with trapping, fishing, and exploitation of moose, are reported.

No. O.P. 36 SHAMATTAWA: The Structure of Social Relations in a Northern Algonkian Band. David H. Turner and Paul Wertman. 124 p., 12 plates, 8 figures.

This study aims to test a theory of Northern Algonkian social organization developed through a structural analysis of Australian hunter-gatherer societies and a critical reading of Northern Algonkian literature.

No. 37 SOME GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF LABRADOR INUTTUT (ESKIMO): A Survey of the Inflectional Paradigms of Nouns and Verbs. Lawrence R. Smith. 98 p., 59 tables.

This grammatical sketch surveys the nominal and verbal paradigms of the dialect in current usage among the Labrador Inuit of the Atlantic Coast.

1978

No. 38 O.P. SWAN PEOPLE: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance. Robin Ridington. 132 p., 20 plates.

The prophet dance, a complex of beliefs and practices among northwestern native people, is studied from the myths and oratories collected among the Dunne-za or Beaver Indians of the upper Peace River.

No. 39 NEIGHBORS AND INTRUDERS: An Ethnohistorical Exploration of the Indians of Hudson's River. Edited by Laurence M. Hauptman and Jack Campisi. 285 p., 29 plates, 3 figures.

Utilizing new archaeological, ethnohistorical and linguistic perspectives, the present volume is aimed as a starting point for future inter-disciplinary research in the field of study of the Indians of the Hudson River.

No. 40 PAPERS FROM THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, 1977. CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SOCIETY. Edited by Richard J. Preston. 431 p., 15 tables, 14 figures, 3 maps.

This volume contains selected papers presented at the Fourth Annual Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society in Halifax, February 23-27, 1977. It includes papers on subjects such as maritime ethnology, Micmac research, folklore, friendship, property and ownership, wage labour migration, and the concept of stranger.

No. 41 THE EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION ON ESKIMO MUSIC OF CUMBERLAND PENINSULA. Maija M. Lutz. 167 p., 5 maps, 2 tables, vinyl record.

The purposes of this study are as follows: to examine the types of music which are performed and listened to in Pangnirtung today, to discuss the cultural context of the music, to place present-day music in a historical perspective, and finally to formulate reasons and justifications for changes that have taken place in music.

No. 42 O.P. A PRACTICAL DICTIONARY OF THE COAST TSIMSHIAN LANGUAGE. John Asher Dunn. 155 p.

This Tsimshian/English dictionary of more than 2250 entries gives to researchers practical transcription, morphological information, English glosses and phonetic transcription, showing the local variants.

No. 43 O.P. CONTEXTUAL STUDIES OF MATERIAL CULTURE. Edited by David W. Zimmerly. 58 p., 29 figures.

This collection of five papers surveys the general field of material culture studies and includes specific recent contextual studies of North American Indian and Eskimo material culture.

No. 44 ALGONQUIN DIALECT RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTHWESTERN QUEBEC. Roger Gilstrap. 70 p., 4 illustrations.

This report examines dialect relationships (lexicon, phonology and grammar) which exist between the five Algonquin communities of Amos, Lac Simon, Winneway, Maniwaki and Rapid Lake of northwestern Quebec.

No. 45 A SURVEY OF THE DERIVATIONAL POSTBASES OF LABRADOR INUTTUT (ESKIMO). Lawrence R. Smith. 128 p.

The core of this work is a dictionary of derivational postbases in current usage by the Inuit of the Labrador Coast. Each entry includes the Inuttut form in phonemic orthography, morphophonemic specifications, a semantic characterization in English, notes on idiosyncratic properties and examples of use. An introduction to Labrador Inuttut word-formation is also provided.

1979

No. 46 ESKIMO ECONOMICS: An Aspect of Culture Change at Rankin Inlet. William Hugh Jansen II. 162 p., 11 illustrations.

This report is an investigation into the development of four distinct economic strategies by the Eskimos of Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories: economic specialization; economic generalization: entrepreneurship; and, dependence upon social assistance.

No. 47 INUIT ADOPTION. Lee Guemple. 131 p.

This study offers a description and analysis of the social and cultural aspects of traditional and contemporary adoptive practices among the Inuit.