Regenerating Haa-huu-pah as a Foundation for Quu'asminaa Governance

by

Chiinuuks (Ruth Ogilvie)
B.A.F.N, Malaspina University/College, 1998

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ABSTRACT

Regenerating haa-huu-pah is necessary for the development of a vision of self-determination, and the reclamation of land and freedom for Indigenous peoples. Tla-o-qui-aht and Checlesaht are Indigenous nations who recognize the need for an alternative to colonial processes and have begun looking for strategies for regenerating Quu'asminaa governance. Quu'asminaa leaders, called 'hawiih' (respected and knowledgeable people), were, and in some families continue to be, groomed from an early age to uphold their specific responsibilities. These responsibilities are both personal and collective and include adhering to the laws of the hahuuthlii (the territories, including land, sea, mountains and sky), as well as accountability to the muschim. Hawiih are taught these responsibilities through haa-huu-pah, which are the re-telling of stories, teachings, and ways of our people. Today, utilizing haa-huu-pah is vital to the regeneration of Quu'asminaa governance and to building strong movements toward self-determination within Indigenous communities.

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Acknowledgements

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For Muhwa and Kimiwan:
these haa-huu-pah are yours to carry forward and to hold your selves up with.

Chapter One

Haa-huu-pah

"We need to stop sitting around the academic tipi, speaking in big words and start having potlucks in our communities, telling our stories"

Vine Deloria Jr. WSSA Conference, Albuquerque NM, April, 2005

Indigenous storytelling is connected to our territories and is crucial to the cultural and political constructions of Indigenous societies. Though it is not limited to strictly oral renditions, Indigenous storytelling in the contemporary context is interrelated with leadership, governance, and warriorism. In this project, I will be examining haa-huu-pah (teaching stories, sacred histories) as a way to regenerate a set of principles and ethics, a socio-political philosophy from which to build a strong foundation of Quu'asminaa[1] governance, or what we call huupukwanum. Huupukwanum is a broad concept like Indigenous governance and refers to the way in which Quu'asminaa governs ourselves as peoples living within our territories. This includes how we conduct our relationships with other peoples and the hahuuthlii. When we refer to huupukwanum, we are referring to all the laws, songs, dances and haa-huu-pah which our hereditary chiefs are responsible for. In previous times, huupukwanum was both literally and symbolically represented by a bentwood box. This cedar box is where our chiefs' headdresses, rattles, masks, etc were

[1] Quu'asminaa is the original name of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples pre-1960 (we include the Makah nation who reside in Washington, USA). The name 'Nuu-chah-nulth' refers to the people west of the mountains on Vancouver Island. Elder Moses Smith of Ehattesaht protested the development of the name Nuu-chah-nulth as it means 'people all along the mountains'. This definition was seen to be limited in its scope as we are people of the land, sea, mountains and sky. Quu'asminaa means 'Real People' or 'Human Beings' and refers to the original obligation of our people to the hahuuthlii or the territories, which includes the land, sea, mountains and sky. It is important to differentiate between the two terms as they each have distinct political implications in terms of describing the relationship of 15 distinct nations to each other, as well as to the Canadian state. I prefer Quu'asminaa, or Quu'asa (singular) and will use it throughout this thesis.

contained. We brought these sacred items out during gatherings which, in essence, represented the reinforcement of our laws, our ways, and our haa-huu-pah to the collective communities. Since colonization, we have managed to revitalize our songs, dances and the carving tradition so that we may express those aspects of who we are as Quu'asminaa, during our maathmyaa (known today as potlaches, feasts or gatherings).

As is the experience of colonized peoples everywhere, Quu'asminaa were forced to adapt to a Western, imperialist model of governance through coercive and violent means. This meant that aspects of our society, our political and spiritual philosophies, were repressed. Further adding to the confusion, anthropologists of the Western world were fascinated with 'the culture', meaning the songs, dances and art of the Quu'asminaa, and they separated it from our huupukwanum, starting with our leaders, our governance system and our warrior societies (the lawkeepers and enforcers). This focus on 'the culture' of Quu'asminaa has resulted in the near loss of the haa-huu-pah about leadership, governance and warriorism. Haa-huu-pah is one such part of our huupukwanum and is fundamental to understanding our laws, histories and ceremonies; it is fundamental to understanding how we govern ourselves as Quu'asminaa.

This thesis establishes a foundation from which to examine Indigenous leadership, governance, and warriorism both in history and contemporary contexts. This thesis project is formatted in a way that illuminates my role as storyteller as a reflective one, particularly when considering how haa-huu-pah can be regenerated as a foundation of huupukwanum. I will utilize haa-huu-pah which describe the lives and events in Elder/grandfather Cha-chin-sun-up's (To Put the Land in Order) family history, which is also the history of Cheklesaht.

To begin, I will tell a more 'traditional' haa-huu-pah that comes from Cheklesaht and was re-told to me by my grandfather and Elder Cha-chin-sun-up. The Quu'asminaa Family Way[2] is the Quu'asminaa way or method which I, as a Quu'asa, must adhere to in order that I may both be honoured with the privilege to be able to listen and re-tell these haa-huu-pah. In this way, I will discuss my place within my muhdii (house, longhouse) as I tell the listener/reader who I am and where I fit within our familial system.

This haa-huu-pah will be told in English[3]. I acknowledge the varied debates that have taken place around issues of language and translation, and the importance of language revitalization within literary and post-colonial studies. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, for example, draws attention to the critical potential of work that discusses anti-imperialist, anti-colonial African writers who choose to write in both Africanised English and African as a tool of self-determination for Indigenous peoples. In his essay, *The Language of African Literature,* he writes, "For, from a word, a group of words, a sentence and even a name in any African language, one can glean the social norms, attitudes and values of a people" (eds.Chrisman and Williams, p. 435). I am not yet a fluent speaker of Cheklesaht and I understand that re-writing this haa-huu-pah in English may involve certain compromises in terms of language and meaning. However, I have taken care to incorporate what I do know of our names, including place names and concepts as I am taught by Cha-chin-sun-up. Cha-chin-sun-up is the last remaining fluent speaker of Cheklesaht. He has challenged me to hear the haa-huu-pah in English and to translate it

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[2] For an in-depth description of the Quu'asminaa Family Way please see the methodologies section on the Quu'asminaa Family Way. For the purposes of this section it is sufficient to explain that Quu'asminaa utilize a familial system of passing on knowledge or educating within Quu'asminaa communities and is strictly adhered to, even today.

[3] Though this haa-huu-pah is written in English, I will adhere to the principles of haa-huu-pah and as such, demonstrate the ability to keep the integrity of the haa-huu-pah intact.

into English words that honour and hold up the original meanings and nuances of the haa-huu-pah while adhering to the principles of haa-huu-pah. These principles include passing on oektek (knowledge) within communities and directly within families. For now, I am learning the language as much as I possibly can along the way and integrating Quu'asminaa words and concepts as I learn them for this re-telling. Both Cha-chin-sun-up and I acknowledge and recognize the current political reality that we as Indigenous peoples are currently living in – a context in which the majority of Quu'asminaa peoples do not speak fluently our original languages. This reality is a direct result of racist colonial processes, such as the Indian residential school systems, which nearly wiped out our cultural and spiritual foundations by attempting to assimilate us through the imposition of Western educational systems. Fortunately, there are Elders like Cha-chin-sun-up who persist in regenerating our haa-huu-pah, so that a strong foundation for huupukwanum can be re-established and sustained. Cha-chin-sun-up did not attend residential school until he was a young man, of either sixteen or nineteen, as his father hid him and his brother from the priests who came to take the children away to Christie Residential School. As a result, he still thinks in our language first, and it is from there that he begins to translate his thoughts, feelings and experience into English.

The following is a haa-huu-pah I have permission to re-tell as was passed on to me from the original Cha-chin-sin-up to my grandfather today, who is also named Cha-chin-sun-up. Ou klaa sish Chiinuuks (my name is Keeper of the Road) and my mother is Enoc (her English name is Cecelia Williams), and I am from both Tla-o-qui-aht and Cheklesaht of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, originally known as Quu'asminaa.

My grandfather Cha-chin-sun-up and I were travelling up island to Kyuquot to a funeral for our relatives who were grieving the terrible loss of young ones in a house fire. I was somewhere amidst my undergrad studies then, and my daughter Muhwa was in grade school. She was too young to attend the funeral with us, so she stayed home with relatives, which was at that time in Snu ney muxw (Nanaimo). As we travelled North up Island towards Port Hardy, we came across a huge clear-cut of land. I was immediately indignant and angry. Though I was driving, I managed to spew off a few angry words about clear-cuts and governments – using new vocabulary and rhetoric that I was developing in my First Nations' Studies courses at Malaspina University/College. Grandpa sat quietly listening. I finally realized, with some discomfort, that I was spouting off to an Elder who had a least 80 or so years of experience with the "white guys" and their antics. I shut-up, feeling sheepish at bragging about my new-found education. That's when he told me this haa-huu-pah. He smiled and began directly like this:

Chaastims (Mink) wanted to go visit his father up in the sky. He wanted to be a good son and take care of things up there while his father went on a vacation. His father was responsible for watching the fire in the sky, the sun. Chaastims assured his father he could watch the sun for him, not to worry. "Just go ahead and enjoy yourself and I'll take care of things here," he said.

So his father agreed and went maybe to Hawaii to smoke some cigars and relax with his feet up on its warm sandy beaches.

Now Chaastims was a handsome guy. You know how good-looking people can be sometimes…So Chaastims set himself about to watch the fire, taking pains to have enough wood and watching that the flames didn't get too high. As time passed he grew bored of the constant effort and attention that fire tending requires. That was when he caught his reflection in a flame and was distracted by his own reflection—"Gee I really am handsome," he thought.

As you may know, fires only take a moment of neglect before they are roaring and hungry flames leap out. Chaastims got scared, ran away and hid as the sun's fire grew rapidly out of control. The fire ended up burning the whole aauuk (island, now

known as Vancouver Island) down! The land turned to ash, covering the whole island. There was only the sea left. Koho (Codfish) got so excited he swallowed the moon too.[4]

Now remember, this was a haa-huu-pah from the time before there were Quu'asminaa, just animals, winged ones, four-legged ones and finned ones. There were a few chiefs who led the people then and as soon as this disaster struck they gathered the animals together to strategize what to do next. You see, we didn't like dwelling on what had been done and exasperating ourselves with why things happened – we simply needed to put our heads together to figure out the answer to the question 'where do we go from here?'

The Chiefs we remember today are Halibut and Woodpecker. They called all the people to gather around the shore. Halibut explained there was earth at the bottom of the sea. He called for volunteers to dive to the bottom to retrieve the earth while Woodpecker produced two cedar baskets for the volunteers to carry the earth in. Halibut told the people that once the earth was retrieved he would call the two fastest runners, the two qwayaatsiik (wolves) named Aykutupis and Astaasapii, and they would be tasked with running around the entire island redistributing the earth so the regeneration of the hahuuthlii could begin.

The first volunteer was Chims (Bear). He growled he would get the earth. He seemed a logical choice as he was a great swimmer and very strong physically. He took the baskets and placed them on his shoulders and dove. The people and their chiefs waited and waited. They waited some more and then Chims popped up, shaking off water droplets off his fur and panting. The baskets, however, were empty.

Halibut called for another volunteer. This time Mowich (deer) volunteered. He is known to be a fancy-footed, having stolen back fire from the qwayaatsiik people at one time, so he took the baskets from Chims and dove nimbly into the water. The people waited and waited. They waited some more, then Mowich popped up, panting, almost out of breath. The baskets were empty and so this went on for a while with different people volunteering, from the strong to the clever.

Even many of the seabirds volunteered and each time they came up empty, without any earth in the cedar baskets. The people grew discouraged as the last few people were unsuccessful. They began to lose hope and started to move away from the shore, despairing.

Then, there was a little voice that piped up – target head duck. "Excuse me!" he said, "I'd like to try."

Halibut and Woodpecker were fair and gracious chiefs and so offered him the same chance to retrieve the earth. Some of the people snickered as he precariously

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[4] After reading Vine Deloria Jr.'s *Red Earth White Lies*, it is possible to theorize that the fire represents some volcanic eruption and the codfish may represent the ash that hangs in the air for a time after – unlike earlier theories of Cha-chin-sun-up's that this may have represented an eclipse.

perched the cedar baskets across his tiny shoulders. Woodpecker and Halibut ignored their snickers and encouraged the little duck to go on. The little duck dove neatly into the water and the people waited and waited. They waited and waited some more. The people started to feel alarmed, surely he has drowned! He'd been gone for too long and the people were discouraged and began to cry. As they cried they began walking away from the shore, their last hope left at the bottom of the sea – or so they thought. Suddenly, target head duck popped up and on his shoulders he carried two full cedar baskets of earth.

Halibut and Woodpecker acted quickly and called forward the two fastest runners; the two qwayaatsiik. They then took a cedar basket each to redistribute the earth. The first one was named Astaasapii because he ran in one direction around the island, taking as much time as it takes for a cedar ember to burn on the longhouse fire. The other, Aykutupis, took the other basket full of earth and ran around the island in the other direction. Aykutupis took as much time as it takes for a drop of rain to fall from the longhouse eaves to the ground.

When they finished this, the earth began to regenerate. Eventually, everything grew green again. The animal people spent this time preparing themselves because they knew Cha-chin-sun-up (To Put the Land in Order) was coming – he was coming to turn some of the animals into people.[5]

After hearing this haa-huu-pah I was not expected to respond but to ponder it. In time, I would eventually put it to good use or incorporate it into some kind of action. It has been at least ten years since I was told this haa-huu-pah. I encourage the reader to also ponder this more traditional or old-time haa-huu-pah as it relates to Cha-chin-sun-up and his family's governance.

Haa-huu-pah as Governance

Tla-o-qui-aht and Cheklesaht are Indigenous nations that recognize the need for an alternative to the colonial processes. Leaders in these nations have begun to uncover and create strategies for regenerating Quu'asminaa governance, or hupukwanum. Regenerating Quu'asminaa governance is necessary to the development of self-determination, the reclamation of land, and freedom for Indigenous peoples. Today, our

[5] This haa-huu-pah is where we find out where my grandfather Cha-chin-sun-up got his name from.

leaders engage in political processes like the BC Treaty Process in which the colonial laws and conditions dominate the process – where our leaders have no real authority or powers to relate to Canada as a nation of peoples. These processes leave it up to Canada to pick and choose which aspects of Quu'asminaa ways 'fit' while ignoring fundamental and relevant aspects of our huupukwanum which enable us to act in a self-determined way. In order to resist fitting in to an imperialist model, and, more importantly, to truly empower or revitalize huupukwanum as an alternative to these colonial, legal and political processes, our leaders must prepare themselves and our communities by prioritizing the learning of our haa-huu-pah, both traditional and modern. For Quu'asminaa, the key to leadership is turning this vision into action. Leaders are called 'hawiih' (respected or knowledgeable people). Quu'asminaa leaders were, and in some families today, are groomed from an early age to uphold their responsibilities as hawiih. These responsibilities are both personal and collective, and include adhering to the laws of the hahuuthlii (the territories, including the land, sea, mountains, sky and all non-human life) as well as being accountable to the muschim (the community or people). Hawiih are taught these responsibilities through haa-huu-pah, which is the re-telling of sacred histories and teachings, the ways of our people.

Quu'asminaa governance, known as huupukwanum, has the potential to be re-envisioned through the regeneration of haa-huu-pah, both modern and traditional. Haa-huu-pah which educate the muschim in terms of histories and connections to land are re-told through ceremonies like maathmyaa (today known as potlaches) or through familial ceremonies, such as from a mother to her daughter on her first uusmch (ceremonial bathing) as she comes of age. The social structures of Quu'asminaa communities are

rooted in these haa-huu-pah. Today, we must re-tell these histories along with haa-huu-pah of the recent collision with colonization, in order to decolonize, regenerate, and create self-determination for our peoples. Since these haa-huu-pah principles are grounded in whatever the present day situation may be, it is appropriate to adjust them according to the current political and social realities of Quu'asminaa communities. As it relates to governance, haa-huu-pah can be utilized fully in terms of re-teaching our hawiih and the muschim their reciprocal responsibilities, ethics and principles as Quu'asminaa. Contemporary works by Indigenous writers and storytellers are excellent examples of the emerging regeneration of haa-huu-pah. On the west coast there are a number of Elders who are offering their own haa-huu-pah, their teachings and knowledge, as a modern form of leadership. This includes people like the late George Clutesi, Stanley Sam, Umeek Atleo, and Chief Earl Maquinna George to name just a few.

Literature of Storytelling

As authors Chrisman and Williams suggests, "Language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture" (eds. Chrisman a and Williams, p. 439). Storytelling is a means through which community identity and shared values are created and then relayed to educate new community members, including children. The regeneration of Indigenous communities must be based on the original teachings and orienting values of Indigenous peoples. Encompassing all forms of life, these teachings and values are a collective responsibility to maintain and are found in our haa-huu-pah and teachings. As Leslie Silko explains with respect to Pueblo peoples:

> The oral narrative, or stories, became the medium through which the complex Pueblo knowledge and belief was maintained. Whatever the event or subject, the ancient people perceived the world and themselves within that world as part of an ancient, continuous stories composed of innumerable bundles

of other stories (Silko)[6]

Storytelling within Indigenous communities, in Indigenous studies programs and within our current political strategies, is decolonizing, re-educating and a part of self-determination for Indigenous peoples today. Silko informs us that the significance of re-telling Pueblo stories from the ancient to the present generation ensures that the Pueblo worldview is taught and reinforced in the minds, hearts and actions of their people. The haa-huu-pah of Indigenous peoples connect communities in their relationships to family, clan, and all other components of the natural world.

In the Western worldview, the perception of sacred histories is often limited to what is known as "creation mythology" or folklore. Such a perspective treats those specific stories as material objects. They are viewed as historical artifacts and as if all sacred stories must be origin stories from the distant or "imagined" past. The Western idea is that these stories are fixed in the past, like artifacts. One such example of this crafting of creation mythology is anthropologist Shepard Krech's book titled, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (1999), published widely throughout Canada and the US. It is particularly problematic as Krech uses what he posits to be 'good science' to demonstrate 'the truth' in which Indigenous peoples, prior to colonization, are accused of being no different than the colonialist in their approach to land and 'conservation'. Krech uses scientific theories to demonstrate that Indigenous peoples were and still are destructive and wasteful. He actually uses unsound theories like the Bering Land Bridge theory to justify treating Indigenous people's stories about our creation as quaint, imaginary and confusing to the extent that Indigenous people themselves are perceived as

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[6] From ed. Simon J. Ortiz, *Speaking for the Generations: Native Writers on Writing* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998)

quaint, confused and imaginary. "Even to this day native people do not speak with one voice on these or any other issues" (Krech, p.30). In one fell swoop Krech perpetuates colonial depictions of the lazy, uncivilized and disorganized savages, myths that colonial society needs in order to justify the subjugation of Indigenous peoples and the continued theft, destruction and development of our hahuuthlii. This book has been used to hold up racist attitudes and policies across US and Canada. Krech's book has also affected people within 'radical environmental and ecological' movements by claiming that today, the non-Indigenous radical ecologist or environmentalist may be more "Indigenous" than Indigenous people themselves. This has resulted in the destruction of alliances, either potential or real, between these groups and Indigenous peoples, who may share a common goal to protect the earth from further development. Krech uses science like his colonial ancestors to silence and discount Indigenous stories or haa-huu-pah. Sacred histories are devalued in relation to Western modes of history, and Western forms of knowledge production. Sacred histories are more than that as they provide valuable teachings for how to live as our world-view indicates: hishuukitsawalk (everything is connected). They also remain relevant to the times as the details shift with time to accommodate the context of each day. As they are re-told over time, the aspects of these haa-huu-pah which are relevant shift as needed.

These teachings, or haa-huu-pah, provide the foundation of our governance. In the contemporary little consideration is given to the need for new haa-huu-pah. For Quu'asminaa, new haa-huu-pah are vital as they can offer insight and possibilities for resolving some of the difficult issues we face today – for example, the legacy of

residential schools, historical trauma, intercommunal conflict, child apprehension and internalized oppression and violence, among others.

The Stop the Violence in Nuu-chah-nulth Territories of 2006 is a modern example of haa-huu-pah, which both addresses the issue of internalized violence while regenerating our original teachings about the iisaak (respect) for the women, or life-givers of our communities. This event arose out of a need to deal with the violence within our communities and families, which was particularly being targeted at young women. The march took place within Quu'asminaa territories and communities and therefore it became important as organizers/participators in this event to redefine what our haa-huu-pah is about women to redevelop an alternative to the normalization of the rampant sexualized violence that emanates from Western society and world-view. This event was both the re-enactment of a traditional haa-huu-pah and resistance to colonialism. Please see Chapter Six, Da da puh da (Reflections) for further reading on this Quu'asminaa, or community effort.

Without creating the space in our communities to tell these modern haa-huu-pah and without paying adequate attention to these stories, we may continue to be blocked from truly realizing Indigenous-centered solutions which empower Qu'asminaa. Current strategies tend to involve funding and little else which creates a needless cycle of dependency on government hand-outs.

Western, colonial perspectives on what constitutes evidence, knowledge, or truth do not recognize Indigenous-centered approaches to research and, thus, further perpetuate colonialism. Western perspectives define the terms and standards according to which all others will be measured, while maintaining a monopoly on

legitimacy and intellectual sophistication. Indigenous storytelling and Indigenous-centered approaches to research, or more specifically, the Quu'asminaa Family Way, are not addressed adequately in mainstream literature. Theorists such as Edward Said (1993), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) and Gaytari Spivak (1988) have provided us in-depth analyses of the relationship between colonization, knowledge and narrative or haa-huu-pah. These scholars have recognized that colonization is evidenced in the theft of Indigenous lands, political domination through imperialism, and via processes of economic development. It also functions at the level of knowledge, narrative or stories, and ideology. Through empire, neo-colonialism continues through the monopolizing, control, and distribution of information on a global scale, creating what Michel Foucault calls 'a regime of truth' (Foucault, p.131). He writes that,

> Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, p 131).

Western colonial research and research methods are, contrary to what people are taught to believe, political constructions that are used to legitimize the Western, colonial worldview and are, then, particular kinds of stories intended to craft a certain kind of individual operating within an imperialist society. Being situated within such a political context elevates the importance of re-telling our haa-huu-pah as a critical means to both resist colonialism and regenerate who we are as distinct Quu'asminaa nations.

Written works and other colonial depictions of Quu'asminaa continue to fill the shelves of universities, bookstores, and homes alike. *The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt Captive of Maquinna,* annotated by Hilary Stewart is one of the most widely published of these colonial texts. It is a white captivity narrative from the early 1800's, and depicts Quu'asminaa people from Jewitt's colonial perspective. Stewart boasts the narratives of Jewitt have "continued to be printed for some 170 years, including a German translation" (7, Stewart). Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains that while Westerners are colonizing the minds of our people, they are profiting from this process as well. She points out:

> Western knowledge and science are 'beneficiaries' of the colonization of indigenous peoples. The knowledge gained through out colonization had been used in turn; to colonize us in what Ngugi wa Thiong'o calls the colonization of the mind (59).

Western society tends to co-opt Indigenous knowledge for their own benefit and uses it as a tool to assimilate Indigenous peoples. Despite the imposition colonialism and assimilationist tactics, Indigenous stories and storytelling methods, both traditional and modern, have not disappeared. Globally, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles and movements for decolonization emphasize the political importance of haa-huu-pah. Smith, in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, describes this political reality within Indigenous communities.

> Indigenous peoples across the world have other stories to tell which not only question the assumed nature of those [colonial] ideals and the practices they generate, but also serve to tell alternative stories.... These counter-stories are powerful forms of resistance which are repeated and shared across diverse indigenous communities (Smith, p.2).

Counter-stories are both an act of resistance to colonialism and a resurgence of Indigenous ways of knowing and being, or worldviews. They have the ability to educate

peoples globally and internally within families and communities. Smith recognizes twenty-five political projects that Indigenous peoples are engaging with in terms of research and research methodologies that work to challenge dominant Western methods. Those that most closely relate to the kind of Indigenous-centered approach I am taking include: testimonies, storytelling, celebrating survival, remembering, connecting, writing, representing, gendering, reframing, and finally, naming.[7]

Quu'asminaa Family Way as Methodology

Utilizing my Quu'asminaa Family Way, Elder Cha-chin-sun-up and I are re-telling these haa-huu-pah, ensuring the protocols and principles of haa-huu-pah are adhered to. We re-tell chapter five, "School Days: Hishuukitsawalk (Everything is Connected)" creatively, choosing to fictionalize this haa-huu-pah. We decided this would be an appropriate way to both imagine and articulate complex political issues. There are several examples of Indigenous-centered approaches to research that have informed my own research. Despite the colonial silencing of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous-centered approaches to research are growing in numbers.

For example, *Ravensong*, by Lee Maracle, *Slash*, by Jeannette Armstrong, and Maria Campbell's book *Halfbreed*, are all works by Indigenous authors who have carved a role for themselves, and other Indigenous writers. *Ravensong* is written to embody the Sto:lo oral tradition, and invokes characters that derive from these origin stories. Maracle writes about the flu epidemic in an urban native community. Raven is the archetype she uses to present a particular perspective in the book. This is a technique I will employ in re-telling Cha-chin-sun-up's haa-huu-pah, (particularly the one titled School Days in

[7] For further reference please Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples*, chapter 8, page 142.

chapter five). Maracle's use of archetypes like Raven and Wind is in keeping with the integrity of her oral tradition. She does not, for example, dilute Raven's character to fit within Western concepts of Raven. *Slash*, is another excellent example of an Indigenous-centered approach to research. Armstrong maps out the political life of an Okanagan man through the period of the American Indian Movement and the Constitutional Express of 1982. It is similar to haa-huu-pah, which is, for Armstrong, an effective way to reflect on the Indigenous peoples' movement in Canada, particularly intended to target an audience of Indigenous peoples. In her essay, *Land Speaking*, Armstrong writes that storytelling or narrative is always connected to land:

> In this sense, all indigenous peoples' languages are generated by a precise geography and arise from it. Over time and many generations of their people, it is their distinctive interaction with a precise geography which forms the way indigenous language is shaped and subsequently viewed, approached, and verbally expressed by its speakers (Armstrong, p 179).

Our experiences with the land and all life, this interconnectedness, are expressed through haa-huu-pah and is both spiritual and political in how it is rooted in the sacredness of the land.

Halfbreed reflects Campbell's personal experience with the political movements of Indigenous peoples. Through this book, she reveals or exposes a problem, but refuses to offer predetermined solutions. She writes, "I only want to say, this is what it was like, this is what it is still like". In this way, she is honouring the oral tradition of her storytelling method: respecting Indigenous people's right to derive what they may out of her story, and thus creating time and space to re-think the future of Indigenous peoples. All three texts are examples of Indigenous-centered research and approaches to story-telling. Each author employs their particular storytelling method, as the foundation of

their approach. These literary works have provided important guidelines, and serve as models for my own research and methodological approach.

Qwul'sih'yah'maht, Robina Thomas, promotes her own Lyackson (Coast Salish) way as her research process in her article, "Honouring the Oral Traditions of my Ancestors through Storytelling". Thomas' approach to storytelling is an excellent example of an Indigenous-centered approach to research. She writes narratives of her family, committing them to memory to be passed on to her family. In the context of our political reality today as Indigenous peoples, Thomas explains that storytelling means confronting colonialism by re-telling our stories here in so-called Canada.

> As a Coast Salish woman (my grandmother was Snux' ney' muxw, and my grand-father was Sto:lo, and I am Lyackson through marriage, all of Coast Salish territory), understanding the impact of this residential school located on our traditional territory was significant. Another reason why I wanted to research Kuper Island Residential School was because I believed there were stories stemming from that place that needed to be told (Thomas, p.3).

A main purpose of Thomas' research is to provide a more accurate picture of how this country came to be what it is today. She calls these stories, 'counter-stories', explaining that, "many stories from First Nations tell counter-stories to that of the documented histories of Canada" (Thomas, p.6). For Indigenous peoples, storytelling is resistance in action. Further, as Thomas notes, "storytelling has also taught us about resistance to colonialism-our people have resisted even when legislation attempted to assimilate our children" (Thomas, p.6). Although this idea of storytelling as resistance is not a traditional Indigenous way, it is, however, absolutely necessary to counter racist, assimilationist stories and histories. Rooted in her Coast Salish oral tradition, Thomas resists Western methods of storytelling by teaching people how and why it is important to

listen. "All our stories have something to teach us. What is most important is to learn to listen, not simply hear the words that storytellers have to share." (Thomas, p.6).

Gloria Bird reiterates the importance of counter-stories as a way of passing on knowledge within Indigenous communities in order to work towards the deconstruction of our recent colonial histories. She asserts:

> If we consider, for instance, the circumstances of our immediate family; our tribal histories; the dynamics of our individual groups; the "old ways," including the belief systems and values; and lastly the part that education and organized religion have played, we gain an insight into our individual development in the on-going process of colonization (Bird, p.30).

Bird, like Cha-chin-sun-up and other Elders, sees the critical value of writing an autobiography emphasizing that it is "...important to undoing the process of the colonization of our minds" (Bird, p.29).

Joseph M. Marshall author of *The Journey of Crazy Horse,* formats his book using oral histories and divides them into chapters with sections he calls 'reflections'. These reflections give voice to his thoughts as a descendant of Crazy Horse. Marshall's work offers a clear and effective format for me to utilize in terms of adhering to the Quu'asminaa Family Way and creating a book that is clearly a collaborative work between Cha-chin-sun-up and me. This creative format preserves the integrity of the oral histories of his family. I include reflections as part of each haa-huu-pah and researched the concept which best fits this format which is in Quu'asminaa called da da puh da. For this thesis project, the reflections will be included at the conclusion of each chapter and within the final chapter which is entitled, Da da puh da (Reflections).

As Indigenous peoples, we have a responsibility to listen to haa-huu-pah with respect, consideration and action. We must, therefore, actively refuse to consent to

perpetuating colonial myths about our being, and, instead, we need to regenerate our haa-huu-pah, drawing from within our communities the resolve to live rooted in our ways as Indigenous peoples. Haa-huu-pah is transmitted orally across generations. Haa-huu-pah are intended to inspire reflection and action in both young and old; to act in accordance to Quu'asminaa law within our families and on the land. These haa-huu-pah are, therefore, always relevant to the times and to the generations that pass. Haa-huu-pah that are re-told about the times before there were people teach us who we are, which territories we belong to and how to govern ourselves as Quu'asminaa. Our haa-huu-pah were expressed within our families in our homes as well as communally within the maathmyaa system in the form of dances or which are somewhat likened to the modern day plays (theatre). For example, in my mother's territory, Tla-o-qui-aht, there was a maathmyaa in which the people were haa-huu-pah about how two nations came together. This haa-huu-pah was demonstrated through the re-enactment of two qwayaatsiik swimming towards each other. Actually, they were two men wearing qwayaatsiik headdresses who were tied to the beach with long cedar ropes – one of these men died relaying this haa-huu-pah to the Tla-o-qui-aht, but this indicated how important the belief in these haa-huu-pah was to our communities; that they were not mere entertainment or commentary on society as it is in Western society. Often, haa-huu-pah is passed on through grandparents because of their oektek and their many years of experiences. Today, however, we of all ages must tell new haa-huu-pah to keep us rooted in our ways and to clear out the confusion that colonization has settled upon our way of life. Stories may help us to figure out again who we are today in this particular context, to reflect on and to consider the type of action that best fits the current political reality Quu'asminaa face daily. If we do not pass on haa-

huu-pah of older times, as well as modern ones, we are faced with paying the price of participating, or consenting to the assimilation of Quu'asminaa into the Canadian state – in fact, we give up who we are in exchange for the limited and individual rights that is framed in Canada's history – the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Indigenous storytelling and Indigenous-centered approaches to research are necessarily and vitally connected to resistance in communities. Knowledge, ownership, control, and cultural appropriation are part of ongoing discussions on storytelling and require Indigenous peoples to resist colonial constructions of our identities. Haa-huu-pah as resistance is decolonizing, re-educating, and is part of self-determination for Indigenous peoples today. The Quu'asminaa Family Way embodies both resistance to colonialism and demonstrates the resurgence of huupukwanum through haa-huu-pah.

Quu'asminaa resistance to colonial depictions is evident in the writings of a few prominent Quu'asminaa Elders. These Elders and storytellers include the late Tse-shaht Elder George Clutesi, Ahousaht Elders Earl Maquinna George, Stanley Sam and more recently Umeek E. Richard Atleo Sr. Each utilize their Quu'asminaa storytelling or Quu'asminaa Family Way centrally within their work, as a way of conveying a message. George Clutesi's book, *Son of Raven Son of Deer* embraces one of the main purposes of practicing our Quu'asminaa Family Way, by fulfilling his responsibility as grandfather, to pass on what he knows to his grandchildren. Leading into his haa-huu-pah, he reflects:

> The West Coast Indian had many tales of this nature. The following examples will be like a minute drop of sparkling dew that, perchance may have rolled down the stem of swaying reed into the cupped and gnarled hands of "Nan-is," a grandparent, who loved to tell them to his "Kacoots," grandchildren (10).

Passing on knowledge to grandchildren is part of an Indigenous-centered approach, is based in the Quu'asminaa Family Way, and, most importantly, is directed by Quu'asminaa communities themselves.

It is this Quu'asminaa Family Way I will employ and adhere to as a methodology. The purpose of this project is to re-write Cha-chin-sun-up's haa-huu-pah in keeping with this Quu'asminaa Family Way. It will entail making several decisions as a family, which Cha-chin-sun-up is the head of, as well participating in several informal discussions with other members of our family. It is out of these discussions that I offer the following attempt to explain, without reducing meaningfulness, or equating it with some Western concept, our Quu'asminaa Family Way.

Haa-huu-pah Protocols

It is known amongst Quu'asminaa that though the fifteen Nuu-chah-nulth nations are together members of what is now known as the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, each nation is distinct. Recent events concerning the British Columbia Treaty Process, have resulted in another group who identify themselves as the Maa-nulth, separating once again from the monolithic Tribal Council. They include six of the fifteen Nuu-chah-nulth nations. Each nation has their own ways, including specific traditions and languages. We also understand that, within these nations, there are different families, or "houses" called, 'muhdii'. Each family conducted their ways differently, even if only slightly. Our ceremonies, for example, varied from family to family. An example of this is uusmch, or "ceremonial bathing". We all had some form of this, but for each family there is a different place (river or ocean etc.), different prayers, and different purposes for it. It is the same with how knowledge is held. 'Oektek' is Cheklesaht for someone who knows,

or is knowledgeable. Oektek is not a separate entity, something contained, like in a book; it is inside of us, around us, and we are constantly learning and teaching throughout our lives this oektek. Each family has members who hold oektek of different kinds. For example, this one person might know about cedar-weaving, while another is an expert on fishing. Yet another person may know the family tree and all our relatives, and someone else will remember the histories and/or teachings for the family. When I say that a person holds knowledge, I refer to the act of passing on knowledge; a holder of haa-huu-pah must remember them for the purposes of passing them on eventually.

Haa-huu-pah, when put into practice, entails decolonizing, re-educating, and is part of self-determination for Indigenous peoples today. Today within the Nuu-chah-nulth, or amongst Quu'asminaa, colonial attitudes prevail toward haa-huu-pah: haa-huu-pah are relegated to folklore or children's fables. The educated generation does not always see the relevance of haa-huu-pah to the individual and to the collective lives and futures of our peoples. For example, we have what is called 'himwitsa', or teaching stories which were told to everyone, including grandparents, parents, children and great-grandchildren. They were often told in homes at bedtime, when all were present. Within community today, himwitsa are treated as fairytales and folklore or untruths and re-told to children only.

Storytelling is the act of passing on these haa-huu-pah. This begins when a child is first born. The parents choose someone (most likely an older relative) to give the baby their first words as soon as they first arrive, from the inside their mother's womb. They will tell the child whatever it is they think he, or she, needs to be told at the time – sometimes the parents may wish for the child to be a good singer, carver/artist, speaker,

cedar weaver; other times, the first haa-huu-pah there may be the family's teachings or values, so the haa-huu-pah may be about pride, honour, strength, love and respect may be the first haa-huu-pah the child hears. This is their first haa-huu-pah. Haa-huu-pah is the act of re-telling the teachings, laws, histories, ethics and principles of Quu'asminaa and is one of the foundations of huupukwanum. Haa-huu-pah is usually translated in English as 'storytelling'. Storytelling does not define haa-huu-pah, although it is a major aspect of it. It encompasses the teachings and histories, reinforces the principles and philosophies of Quu'asminaa ways of knowing and being. It is a way of communicating the principles and teachings of what it is to be Quu'asminaa. We do this through the re-telling and listening to haa-huu-pah.

Haa-huu-pah is not for sale nor is it intended to be thought of as property and therefore owned by anyone. As Quu'asminaa and as prescribed by the Quu'asminaa Family Way, we have rigorous way or method of haa-huu-pah distribution: who holds certain haa-huu-pah for their family, which often meant others from outside the family could not re-tell that haa-huu-pah without special permission. In Western society there is freedom of speech, intellectual property and individual rights all which motivate its citizens to personal success, neither familial nor national. Western individualism serves normative constructions and institutions of family and state. Haa-huu-pah is meant to be told to its particular community and family – in this way the community made up of families knows how to 'live and work together, socially and politically – each family knows or has heard of another's haa-huu-pah and they will say, "That's their (that family's) haa-huu-pah, we don't tell that one but here is ours". It is with humility a

family or community can say that all community members knew their haa-huu-pah, so that the burden of knowing does not rest on one or two individuals.

Utilizing haa-huu-pah reinforces the way to think and live together collectively, or as communities. Haa-huu-pah is a way of regenerating our communities, to remind us that we are self-determining peoples and to lay the foundation for culturally strong action as such. As Indigenous peoples, we have a responsibility to listen to haa-huu-pah with respect, consideration and action.

The following chapters entail five chapters (two-six) which are separated by themes. These themes include hawiih (leadership), huupukwanum (Quu'asminaa governance) and Wit Wok (warriorism). The last two chapters (five and six) are called School Days: Hishuukitsawalk (Everything is Connected) and chapter six is called Da-da-puh-duh (Reflections). Each of these chapters contains titles which refer to the Quu'asminaa word or concept which best describes all of the chapters. They are included as titles as well.

Chapter Two

Hawiih (Leadership)

Leadership is the key to re-envisioning Quu'asminaa governance, or huupukwanum. 'Hawiih' represents the Quu'asminaa notion of leadership and is referred to as hawiih, (plural) or, hawilth (singular). Hawiih are the foundation of our governance systems. Their role is carved out for them over their entire lives, starting in the home with their parents, and carrying on through relationships to family, and to the land. Hawiih continue on to this day through the traditional hereditary system. Additionally, there are hawiih who are not born into their roles, but are, rather, chosen for their role to uphold the law. These laws are rooted in the hahuuthlii, the land, sea, mountains, sky and the muschim. Hawiih are respected for their oektek and their ability to pass on oektek for their families and communities. What they have, they give away in the maathmyaa.

Leadership encapsulated many things, including a sense of interdependence. The hawiih could not operate alone, nor move forward without consulting with and obtaining, finally, the consent from the muschim. Not long ago in our histories as Quu'asminaa, the chiefs and their advisors were known to go house to house to discuss current events with the muschim. These hawiih were known to consult with everyone in our communities. They would go so far as to sit down on the ground, to be eye-to-eye level with young people, ensuring that these young people both understood, and had a say in the events of the lives of their families and communities. It is important to understand that, particularly in the past before any settler encroachment, when hawiih made a decision to take any kind of action, it was assumed that this process of consultation and seeking consent from the people had taken place – it was a given. In modern times, with the interference and

enforcement of the Western band council leadership, these processes have all but disappeared, or have resulted in a confusing clash or mixture of colonial legal and political definitions of consultation and consent, with the bare essentials of our own systems, which are inevitably made to fit these Western constructions which continue to dominate our communities.

The following two haa-huu-pah exemplify Quu'asminaa leadership. The first is Cha-chin-sun-up' haa-huu-pah, which shows how he was taught as a child right through his life how to be self-sufficient while caring for the community. Both his parents took part in the education of Cha-chin-sun-up and his brothers and sister. In Cha-chin-sun-up's haa-huu-pah we see that Kaynaiya raises him in the ways of hunting and, as well, the ways, protocols and strategies employed by the hawiih, and many haa-huu-pah relating to the idea of leading by example. His parents would haa-huu-pah about anything they thought might help their children to learn to live by the laws of hahuuthlii. Tsiiwokus taught them about hawiih through her generosity and haa-huu-pah her children about how to live respectfully on the hahuuthlii, and, educating them on how the Cheklesaht used to prepare meals in her parents' time. In this way, Tsiiwokus was regenerating the ways of the Cheklesaht by choosing to engage herself and her children with these ways in the daily lives of their family. Tsiiwokus' haa-huu-pah exemplifies leadership in the home and her determination to pass on to her children strong values of hishuukitsawalk. Being hawiih for Tsiiwokus meant living it, experiencing it and lending experience to her children every day.

These haa-huu-pah demonstrate various aspects of leadership, including interdependence, a lifetime of teachings and lived experience with aspects of leading and

leadership, accountability and responsibility through the passing on of oektek to other family or community members, and, most importantly, respect for all – hishuukitsawalk.

Cha-chin-sun-up and Hawiih

Cha-chin-sun-up was born in 1916, give or take a few years. The church could not register his birth until he was about sixteen, some say nineteen – even then, it took a few of the Elders in Kyuquot and Cheklesaht to get together and discuss the time of year he was born, what food they were harvesting, and what season it was. They decided on April 12, 1916.

Cha-chin-sun-up received this name when he was born. His father Kaynaiya put up a maathmyaa to give him that name. In English, Cha-chin-sun-up means to 'Put the Land in Order'. He received other names over his lifetime. When he was a boy he was learning to carve when he cut himself rather deeply on his hand near his thumb. In those days, when something like that happened to a child their parents would put up a maathmyaa and give the child another name. Kaynaiya put up a maathmyaa for Cha-chin-sun-up and named him Haastasaapii (Bright Star). Moochink is another name that comes from Tla-o-qui-aht and means 'four men together'. Cha-chin-sun-up received 'Moochink' after he married my grandmother, Cecelia Jackson, who was from Tla-o-qui-aht.

Cha-chin-sun-up was welcomed back to Cheklesaht after many years of living amongst the Tla-o-qui-aht. The Cheklesaht held a gathering, or dance it is sometimes referred to, and it was there he was given the name Howiikosh. The name Howiikosh comes from his mother Tsiiwokus' uncle. In the Quu'asminaa family way, Cha-chin-sun-up's great uncle is referred to as grandfather. He was known in English as 'Big Oscar' and came from the Oscar family.

Cha-chin-sun-up also holds the name of his father, Kaynaiya. Cha-chin-sun-up uses Too-tah at certain gatherings to ensure his memory is respected and remembered. Too-tah was passed on to Cha-chin-sun-up's youngest son Pierre. Cha-chin-sun-up's English name is Barney. Part of what he has done in his lifetime, as did his father and grandfathers, is to pass on these names to people, especially within our family, either when a baby is born or formally through maathmyaa.

Cha-chin-sun-up recalls his time growing up on the island Tlisiiwuhdii (Shells on the Beach) as being a happy one. He said that while the family was not rich in a monetary sense, they were rich with all the food they needed, fresh water and a healthy lifestyle without dependency on government funding or welfare. They lived off approximately 200 dollars a year, which was enough for flour and sugar, as well as ammunition for hunting rifles. He knew how to hunt, fish, and trap animals just like his father and grandfathers.

At an early age he understood how to feed himself and his family. He and his brother used to set dohoma for tlii tlay hay oh (martin with red around his neck) and chaastims. Chaastims had fine, soft fur and we Quu'asminaa used it for regalia. By the time the settlers arrived they thought chaastims fur was luxurious and bought their furs from the Quu'asminaa during the trade era.

Cha-chin-sun-up remembers setting a trap for chaastims when he was a young boy, then dreaming about it that night. He dreamt that he had grabbed his brother's wrist and broke it. When he woke the next morning to check his trap, he found that chaastims had broken its wrist trying to escape. Cha-chin-sun-up believes, as he still does, that we

are connected to the world we live in and that the mind is a powerful thing, as shown by his dream as it revealed the reality of the trapped chaastims.

We held strong iisaak (respect) for this way of life. It was common practice to abstain from eating the first catch a hunter or fisherman made. Once a person caught an animal or fish, they could not eat it – they were expected to share it with their family first. This was a Quu'asminaa way of demonstrating gratitude and respect for the life that the animal or fish had given up so that we could live.

The first harbour seal that Cha-chin-sun-up and his older brother, Frank, caught they did not eat. The first aak (salmon) they caught by kowakshitl (gaffing) their parents ate. Before the fish was eaten, it was honoured by leaving it out overnight. The family placed tsiithin (duck feathers) on it and, in this way, honoured it. Tsiithin were also used to honour young women when they came of age in the ayts-tuu-thlaa ceremony. The first Cha-chin-sun-up in the longer version of the Chaastims haa-huu-pah explains how he turned an aak into a young woman and therefore aak is considered female.

Cha-chin-sun-up remembers it was a common practice of the Cheklesaht to not permit hunters to drink aak broth. This broth was made from steaming upsquii (dried or smoked aak) in water. The belief was that drinking it would make them poor shots. Aak broth is good for women when they are pregnant or breastfeeding. When a mother drinks aak broth it is known to be good for her baby as it passes through her maamish (breast milk).

Cha-chin-sun-up saw a man become pookmis when he was young. Pookmis means something like when a person's mind snaps from physical trauma like long exposure to extreme weather conditions. Cha-chin-sun-up's cousin, Alexander George

went fishing by himself one night and his boat capsized. He managed to survive by swimming ashore even though he was way out in the water. They say Alexander was a very strong man. Cha-chin-sun-up says our people were physically strong then, and so Alexander did not drown, even though it was freezing and he was alone. What did happen as the muschim spoke of it then, was he went pookmis. He could not live amongst the muschim anymore so he lived in the bush alone eating off the land and had little interaction with people. He grew stronger out there, Cha-chin-sun-up remembered, and sometimes would come into Cheklesaht and Kyuquot and bang on his relatives' doors. When they answered the door he would take off running faster, with longer strides than anyone had seen. When the RCMP found out about him they wanted to shoot him in the leg and bring him in, thinking he was a menace. The Kyuquot and Cheklesaht told the RCMP to leave him alone and even enlisted the local priest to back their opinion that Alexander was harmless. The RCMP left him alone and Alexander lived there in the bush for the rest of his life.

The boys used to travel to hunt and use a cave as a stop-over on Tlisiiwuhdii, across from Uunaatsuulth (Johnson's Lagoon) where their great grandfather Nuuthlaama used to catch ducks. He would catch them with a nettle mat, codfish oil torches and a stinging nettle net. At night he would throw the stinging nettle mat over the torch and the ducks would fly toward the darkness. Then Nuuthlaama would throw a net over them and catch the ducks. They were good eating, Cha-chin-sun-up says.

The stop-over the boys went to was a cave. Eerie sounds were cast from the cave as the tides moved the sea water through it. The cave was comfortable and the temperature changed only a degree or so all year around. They only needed to make a

small fire to stay warm and dry for the night. Sometimes they would stay there for three weeks at a time.

When it was winter, about October, the boys and their parents would live in their smokehouse for warmth. They had beds like bunks at the back but had to be careful of sparks catching their blankets on fire! The smokehouses were designed with proper ventilation in mind. The roof had a large smoke hole right over the fire so the smoke could escape through the roof. The walls were made of planks and had spaces between them so that smoke could escape through the sides of the smokehouse too.

It was exciting for the boys to move around, and then move back to their little shack in the Spring. They had an outhouse by their house and they had begun to use coal oil lamps instead of the codfish oil ones as they illuminated well and lasted long – especially for trips to the outhouse at night. They carried driftwood from the beach and some bark as it burnt like coal for a long time and didn't spark – especially important when sleeping close to the fire in winter.

Cha-chin-sun-up and his family were self-sufficient, relying on their own ways as Quu'asminaa to survive and they did this well. They maintained only minimal interactions with the settlers and their ways, particularly their monetary system. They only bought flour, sugar, and ammunition as needed.

Cha-chin-sun-up and Frank were kept from residential school until Frank enlisted in the army and took off for England and then the RCMP forcibly removed Cha-chin-sun-up from his father at the age of 16. Avoiding this school meant they avoided getting too immersed in the settler's ways. He and Frank played with and visited Quu'asminaa relatives, only hearing haa-huu-pah about the schools. They were deeply rooted in what

Cha-chin-sun-up calls a 'natural way of life'. They spoke only the Cheklesaht language and the beaches and forests were their sustenance, their place to play, their education, their spiritual foundation. They were not lacking without reading, writing, arithmetic, money, church and other settler ways.

Mr. Amos, the old man who ran the store in Kyuquot, was one of the only settlers he and Frank had any communications with. Mr. Amos did not speak Cheklesaht and Cha-chin-sun-up and his brother did not speak English. When they went to the store to buy flour and sugar about once a month they would point at items and just nod or shake their heads. Cha-chin-sun-up recalls that, during one of his visits to the store, he said 'wic' to Mr. Amos, which means 'no', and ended up with a bunch of candlesticks instead of the flour or sugar they needed. It was after that, Cha-chin-sun-up and his brother learned to nod their head yes, or no when the storekeeper selected items for them.

Cha-chin-sun-up also remembers playing on the island with the natural life around him. He and Frank used to catch sa sinn (hummingbirds). They would put slug slime on a stick with sweet smelling flowers as bait. Then, they would wait patiently for the hummingbirds to smell the flowers and come in for a drink. The sa sinn would get stuck on the slug slime. Cha-chin-sun-up would hold them in his hands for a moment and let them go again, being careful not to injure the tiny birds.

Cha-chin-sun-up saw the last of a few traditions, or ceremonies and has not seen them revived since, including some feast songs and dances. He used to watch the Tsaywaaus dance, (the rainbow dance) and the Thunder bird dance, which has not been revived since he was a boy. He has since seen nothing like these two particular dances. The tsaywaaus mask was carved out of wood and would somehow appear out of the

clouds as the dance carried on. To this day Cha-chin-sun-up does not know how they could craft such as the tsaywaaus mask which could disappear then re-appear without strings. The Thunderbird dance was powerful then too. Cha-chin-up remembers going behind the muuuyupathin (chief's or family curtain) where the dancers would come out of and exit to see how they made the sound of thunder – they witnessed men rolling barrels with large stones which sounded exactly like thunder.

He also saw the last hay-in, which is like a formal debate in the sense that there were no interruptions from anybody as it took place. However, that was the only way it was similar. This hay-in occurred at a bone game that was taking place in Kyuquot. The bone games brought people together from different nations. There were lots of songs, laughter and competition. This hay-in occurred between two men, one of which is our relative through the Tla-o-qui-aht nation Haiyupus. It is likely this hay-in occurred over some speculations as to whether one or both of the players cheated at this particular bone game.

The muschim understood that the hay-in started as soon the two men stood up and one began by saying "Hay!" or "Yo!" This man would say 'his piece', telling him what was bothering him, even calling the other man names. Anything was fair game in a hay-in, you could call the other person anything, tell them everything that bothers you at the moment about that person, as well as the particular event or events which one felt precipitated this hay-in. When the first man said what he needed to and was ready for the other man to respond, he would announce "Hay!" or "Yo!" again. This was the signal for the other man to give his response and again end with 'hay' and so on for hours. Only the hawiih could stop a hay-in. The hawiih of Cheklesaht and Kyuquot were present and did

finally stop this particular hay-in and only after a few hours of the two men going back and forth. The muschim knew to mind their own business and to stay seated, but I am sure they kept 'silent referee'. When it was done, everyone went home and left the men and the issues raised in the hay-in alone – this was to say that gossiping was not permitted during or after the hay-in. The two men knew to not carry on their argument outside of the hay-in and were friendly towards each other when it was over. Hay-in permitted issues to be aired freely within communities, and the guidelines which were understood and agreed to by the muschim were effective in keeping harmony within families and communities, and, in this way, did not permit the debilitating poison of gossip, which unfortunately today, affects harmony within Quu'asminaa communities. Another important aspect of this hay-in is that it could involve a muschim and a hawiih, or hereditary chief. During this hay-in, the muschim could say whatever they wanted to the hawiih and the hawiih had to listen first, and then respond. This was an act of humility for hawiih– an important characteristic of good leadership that currently is not emphasized within modern day band council systems.

Cha-chin-sun-up remembers with the utmost respect the tluu qwa naa. Tluu qwa naa is a broad, encompassing term which, in this case, refers to our medicine people, or as Cha-chin-sun-up says 'Indian doctors'. Cha-chin-sun-up was a young boy when he saw the last tluu qwa naa doctor our relative in Kyuquot. The tluu qwa naa's name was Miiyaa. Miiyaa doctored Cha-chin-sun-up's relative, Bill Oscar, who was very sick. In fact, it was said that Bill was close to death at the time. Miiyaa was consulted with and he agreed to help Bill. When Miiyaa began healing Bill, he brought out a bone, shaped like a straw, like a doctor's implement, and used it to suck out the miaathlii (disease or poison,

literally meaning little germs) that were in Bill's body. All the while, Miiyaa would hold miaathlii he'd sucked into the straw, careful not to swallow it, and spit it out into a bowl. He did this three or four times before he was finished. Very soon after Miiyaa doctored Bill, Cha-chin-sun-up witnessed Bill get up and walk away. Bill was feeling better right away and was fully recovered within a short time. Miiyaa, as many Indian doctors did and still to this day, spent time after the doctoring 'brushing himself off' or ridding himself of the miiaathlii that may have 'stuck' to him during the doctoring ceremony.

Tsiiwokus and Hawiih (Haacuum woman leader)

Kaynaiya, Cha-chin-sun-up' father, was married to Tsiiwokus. Her English name was Marie. She was from Ehattesaht and Chinechint (from the Smith family in Kyuquot). Chinechint amalgamated into Ehattesaht – Chinechint formerly was an independent nation. Together, Tsiiwokus and Kaynaiya made a home at Tlisiiwuhdii. Tlisiiwuhdii is an island which is a part of a group of tiny islands now known as the Bunsby Islands. Though the island was small it was filled with plenty of food, a cave in which they camped for part of the year and fresh water. It was also a great playground for Kaynaiya and Tsiiwokus' children. The oldest was David, then Too-tah or George, Tlupsinuxsup (their sister), Frank (or Kaiser as he was later nicknamed) and Cha-chin-sun-up or Barney. David, Too-tah and Tlupsinuxsup all died of tuberculosis, leaving Frank and Cha-chin-sun-up, the only surviving children.

Tsiiwokus is remembered fondly and is held up as a woman that had an internal strength that matched Kaynaiya. She was quiet and loving. She used to show her sons and daughters how they would prepare food 'in the old days'. She took out the old bentwood boxes and used them to steam clams and cook fish. First, rocks had to be heated over a

fire to boil the water with, and then the seafood would be added. The family used to eat with wooden spoons made of kuhmupt, which gave much more flavour to their food.

Tsiiwokus baked supnin (bread) on the beach. This required finding a spot on the beach with more gravel than sand. She would then dig a hole deep enough to add hot rocks and bread dough and covered until ready.

Tsiiwokus used the same method to cook fish or mowich (deer) on the beach. For this, the pit would be deeper and the rocks would be heating over the fire for a long while to ensure they would stay hot for the long day of cooking that lay ahead. When ready, the rocks were placed at the bottom of the pit and a layer of yamaa (salal) branches would be added. The meat was placed on top of the yamaa branches with another layer of yamaa and homace branches. The meat would cook all day, and Cha-chin-sun-up and his brother Kaiser recall this being one of their favourite ways to eat.

Tsiiwokus used to make waatii-oh, or what later became known as 'Indian cheese'. She took koho (codfish) bladder and blew it up like a balloon. In this balloon she would place fish eggs, usually aak eggs, which were a favourite of the Cheklesaht. Then Tsiiwokus would hang it over a fire to be smoked for several weeks until thoroughly cooked. This kind of cooking had to be watched carefully – there is a haa-huu-pah about a couple who did not wait long enough for the eggs to thoroughly cook and so they died of botulism. When cooked thoroughly, Tsiiwokus would slice it like cheese. Waati-oh was used by hunters who had to watch their food rations carefully while on long hunting excursions. It is said both the smell and flavour of even the tiniest morsel of the cheese was enough to sustain them.

Kaynaiya loved Tsiiwokus very much and depended on her for many things around their home. When the settlers came, they brought with them their things, their ways, including homes and ways of living within those homes. Kaynaiya bought Tsiiwokus a table and some chairs one year thinking she might appreciate them over the homace (cedar) mats on the ground. She took them kindly but always preferred, as did her children, to eat on the homace mats close to the ground – the table and chairs were used only when there was company.

Tsiiwokus kept her hair long and in braids. Her hair was very thick and coarse. When her two sons, Frank and Cha-chin-sun-up wanted to catch sandpipers on the beach she would pluck a strand of her hair so the boys could use it as a rope. They would lasso the sandpipers and hold them for a short time, getting as close as they could to watch them. The boys never harmed the sandpipers – they would capture them and watch them for a bit and then set them free. They were tii chim (taught) to always respect all life around them as is the Quu'asminaa philosophy; hishuukitsawalk (everything is connected/related).

Reflections

Cha-chin-sun-up and Tsiiwokus are haa-huu-pah which exemplify leadership. Cha-chin-sun-up's mother, Tsiiwokus, educated him in the ways of the hawiih through haa-huu-pah that are fundamentally grounded in the Quu'asminaa world-view hishuukitsawalk as the above stories demonstrate. Haa-huu-pah is the practice of teaching and reinforcing this world-view to ensure there is a future for and within our communities; it derives from and represents our world-view and the land from which this world-view derives its meaningfulness.

Upon reading these two haa-huu-pah, the reader can begin to understand that these two parts of Quu'asminaa life – land and hishuukitsawalk – are dependant on each other, and vital to our survival or self-determination as distinct people. As hawiih, Cha-chin-sun-up and Tsiiwokus were raised from birth, from the womb, in fact, to know and experience hishuukitsawalk. We must face honestly the reality that without the hahuuthlii, there is no place from which haa-huu-pah can be brought out, and no visceral experience in which to anchor these haa-huu-pah; in such a context, there is a risk of haa-huu-pah coming to be viewed as relics of the past or as quaint reminiscences. Conversely, without our haa-huu-pah, we will not know how to have a relationship to the hahuuthlii. As can be observed today, we may be coerced by the Canadian state into becoming property-owning citizens, while leaving behind our Quu'asminaa ways as if they were artifacts with no practical value in the present day. What is lost in such a process is the knowledge and understanding of Quu'asminaa being distinct, beautiful peoples who never ceded nor surrendered their hahuuthlii and ways to anyone.

According to capitalist philosophy, the desire for individuals to compete for, obtain, own, and profit from the land is considered natural, normal, and even God-given. These distinctions are important to notice in trying to decipher the great changes we Quu'asminaa have undergone over the past 270 years or more, and particularly, in understanding how our leaders have come to utilize different and at times conflicting strategies toward self-determination today. An instructive example of this is our participation in the current BC Treaty Process (BCTC). This strategy has turned into a surrender of rights and land in exchange for the capitalist's dream of economic development, whether it be the sale or lease of our natural resources, such as timber, fish,

oil and gas or the more tourist-friendly ventures like the development of waterfront homes and hotels with 'eco-friendly' whale watching tours and sport fishing. The BCTC requires Quu'asminaa to agree or give our consent to renounce who we are in exchange for a life of imperialism through citizenship status. The modern day elected leadership of the Quu'asminaa are the people who have the most direct involvement in working with the treaty process. These leaders have either not been taught or have deliberately ignored the haa-huu-pah of hishuukitsawalk, of our hahuuthlii, for the sake of pursuing this capitalist dream. To the extent that we continue to compromise our values and world-view in negotiations and exchanges with colonial governments, we cannot say, therefore, that we are in fact Quu'asminaa but Canadian citizens participating in the state system.

Today we have largely left these haa-huu-pah like those of Cha-chin-sun-up and Tsiiwokus out of our daily living in exchange for stories which take form through imperialism. Cha-chin-sun-up was haa-huu-pah by his mother Tsiiwokus to iisaak the laws of the hahuuthlii and to be mindful every day of our world-view: hishuukitsawalk. Without this daily reinforcement through haa-huu-pah, Cha-chin-sun-up would certainly not have had the same strength and resolve to resist the colonialist program: to assimilate and subjugate Indigenous peoples. Tsiiwokus demonstrated leadership first in the home, this concept of hawiih branching outwards through Cha-chin-sun-up and her other children into the family and the Cheklesaht community. These haa-huu-pah reflect hawiih through these individuals right into today. Cha-chin-sun-up continues to carry on his role as spokesman for the chiefs, head chief wiiuk and beach keeper as was taught to him through Tsiiwokus, and his father Kaynaiya.

Tsiiwokus haa-huu-pah is inspiring for me in her tenacity of spirit to maintain our world-view in a time where colonialism had arrived and was operating in full force. She stubbornly remained Quu'asminaa within and outside of her home through her desire to regenerate our haa-huu-pah and transmit them to her children. She understood the changes colonialism imposed on her family and community, and chose to remain true to her own ways as a Quu'asminaa tluutsma (woman) – even in the face of the assimilationist tactics and religious fear-mongering of the colonialists. Her power lies within the balance of resistance and resurgence. For Tsiiwokus, yaauuk (love), not fear, guided her, generating her strong will to uphold Qu'asminaa values, ethics and principles as a Quu'asminaa woman, yaauuk.

Chapter Three

Huupukwanum (Governance)

Governance is referred to as 'huupukwanum' by Quu'asminaa. It used to be a huge bentwood cedar box which held all things pertaining to governance, which is experienced within the hahuuthlii and includes such things as the songs and dances, tii-chim (teachings of life stages) and haa-huu-pah. Huupukwanum is taught from conception on until death. It is reinforced through haa-huu-pah in our maathmyaa. These maathmyaa were gatherings where communities would solidify alliances through marriages, grieve deaths, ensure the continuations of hawiih and family names, and to remind us all of the laws of the hahuuthlii and to govern ourselves and communities with these laws always at the forefront of our minds and our actions.

The following two haa-huu-pah are examples of haa-huu-pah which exemplify governance. The first haa-huu-pah is called Nuuthlaama and the First Ship at Nasparti Inlet, and is tell us about what happened when the first of the Spanish colonialists arrived. It is an important moment in our histories as it represents a time when we did not yet experience, as Cheklesaht, the massive disruptions and disintegration of our huupukwanum. It encompasses some of how we conducted ourselves and how we saw the first settlers. The second haa-huu-pah is Kaynaiya. Kaynaiya's haa-huu-pah exemplifies governance in the way he adheres to the laws and principles which our huupukwanum were founded on, even when interacting with the Canadian governments and their officials. He fought for the hahuuthlii which was, and still is, being encroached upon by settler society. At the same time, he fulfilled his obligation to his sons by teaching his children our family haa-huu-pah and the ways of Cheklesaht peoples. He

clung tenaciously to the belief that our ways are valuable and can carry us through the coming generations with strength, honour, dignity, freedom and hahuuthlii. Some aspects of huupukwanum which are represented in these two haa-huu-pah are how Quu'asminaa retain a way of conducting huupukwanum through the re-telling and regenerating our haa-huu-pah; how we must first learn our haa-huu-pah in our homes, from our older family members as to how to 'govern ourselves' in our relationships to our families, communities, and to the hahuuthlii.

Nuuthlaama and the First Ship at Nasparti Inlet

There is not much known about the time Too-tah's son, Nuuthlaama, took over his father's roles within the Cheklesaht nation. There is, however, a haa-huu-pah my grandfather was told about the first colonial ship that landed in Nasparti Inlet. There was a Spanish ship that ended up anchored there. It was believed to have arrived on Quu'asminaa shores before the infamous Captain Cook did.

The muschim who first saw the boat told their hawiih about the floating house they had seen. The muschim saw the wooden blocks on the masts of the ships and they looked to them like komathims (skulls) with the three holes appearing like the eyes and mouth of komathims.

The hawiih sent out their tluu qwa naa, escorted by the wit wok (warriors) to see what this apparition was – to see if it was chey-haa (spirits or ghosts) living on this floating house. These tluu qwa naa brought with them their rattles and chants to communicate with the komathims of this floating house. After some time, they realized it was a ship filled with men, just regular men like themselves. They told their hawiih and

he went to greet them shortly after. The Quu'asminaa traded cod fish oil with these Spanish which was used to light torches, for things like mirrors and blankets.

It is believed that this event took place sometime in July because it has been explained that one of the Cheklesaht on the ship was talking about 'chumus' which refers to sweet foods like berries, or today means tastes sweet. The chumus that they were referring to at this time are the salmon berries because they come out in July. This haa-huu-pah also tells us where we get the name for non-Indigenous peoples or settlers: mamaathnii – meaning people 'living on the water'.

Kaynaiya and Huupukwanam

Cha-chin-sun-up's father was Kaynaiya. He, like his father Nuuthlaama and like his grandfather Too-tah, was asked by the next tyee hawiilth (head chief), Hyuushistulth, to become head chief wit wok, beach keeper and spokesman for the chiefs. By then, the colonialists had arrived with their canons, disease, technology, religion and political philosophies: their world-view. Their intent was to spread imperialism and obtain power through the accruing of lands and resources by violent or coercive means. The Cheklesaht were not prepared for this, as our world-view contained a basic or fundamental difference: hishuukitsawalk – everything is connected or related – and so the idea of power over or dominance was outright rejected as a backward way which would only lead to the destruction of the muschim and the hahuuthlii to which we are responsible. Though we had a hawiih system of governance, it was almost a reverse of the hierarchical system of imperialism, in that hawiih were accountable and responsible to Nass, the hahuuthlii and the muschim before and above any self-interest.

Kaynaiya knew the mamaathnii were not leaving and so, as his role required in his day, he began what may be called the first negotiations or discussions of hahuuthlii with the colonizers.

One of the first things he encountered was the religion of the mamaathnii. The Christians arrived in full force and, with the government's collusion, gave Quu'asminaa Christian names. They were not willing to wrap their tongues around our language and were afraid of the power of Quu'asminaa names, calling us savages, heathens, and uncivilized. Kaynaiya was the first in our family to receive the name William. William, by Cha-chin-sun-up's time, became our family's current last name; Williams.

Like his father Nuuthlaama and his grandfather Too-tah, Kaynaiya was asked to take up these three roles within the Cheklesaht community. His initiation ceremony to become the head chief wit wok of the Cheklesaht, of the hawiih and muschim was the first to be remembered by our family, and the last to be conducted.

These initiation ceremonies were conducted to ensure the fearlessness of the wit wok and to have the community formally witness these men agreeing to take on the responsibilities to adhere to and enforce the laws of the community and the hahuuthlii. This ceremony took place at Maatlapiis in Acous.

Kaynaiya was pierced with a spear through the skin that lies close to the back. The spear pierced the skin laterally, piercing through both sides of his spine. At each end of the spear two wit wok grabbed on and held Kaynaiya steady as he danced around both fires of the longhouse. Cha-chin-sun-up remembers his father showing him the scars and hearing about this initiation ceremony. This ceremony was important to demonstrate his unflinching willingness to take on this responsibility as wiiuk – to show that he could be

relied on to fight to the death or endure great physical dangers or situations and continue to abide by the laws of the hahuuthlii and to protect the muschim.

Wit wok like Kaynaiya were strong minded and strong physically, were disciplined and rooted in the ways of the hahuuthlii. Kaynaiya was initiated and trained to be wiiuk, though he did not engage in actual warfare with other nations. By his time the Quatsino, Kyuquot and Cheklesaht made a peace agreement, meaning to 'make a light', with each other. When the colonialists arrived, Kaynaiya and the wit wok were required to prepare themselves for a different kind of battle to confront imperialism.

When the colonizers arrived, the kinds of disease and weaponry they inflicted upon the Quu'asminaa wiped out many members of our nations, including our wit wok. The Spanish fought with the English over control of the lands and the English won out and occupied Cheklesaht hahuuthlii from then on. The Spanish had shot Maquinna's son out of their anger at the Quu'asminaa for out-maneuvering them at the trade. The English stepped in and brought the events back to the League of Nations and won right of control in that way, through what is now called International law – meanwhile, Quu'asminaa did not know this League of Nations existed, and therefore had no opportunity to argue about the fate of their hahuuthlii. Indigenous peoples were and continue to be considered a domestic issue under International law. One generation later and by the time Kaynaiya was born and had a family of his own, Quu'asminaa were forced onto small pockets of land called reservations by these English colonialists.

Kaynaiya was asked by the hawiih Hyuushistulth, Taaisum and Nikiyaatsii (our great Uncle Aaythumukt – meaning a stinger from a stinging nettle plant) to attend a meeting the government called on the following day. The government usually gave the

Cheklesaht only a day's notice before a meeting which meant that Kaynaiya had to travel by chupits (canoe) all day to get there, usually leaving the night before. Kaynaiya was asked to speak with them because of his role as spokesman and because he learned to speak Chinook, which was a mix of Cheklesaht and English. Most of the muschim only spoke Cheklesaht at this time. The government assigned an interpreter named Mr. Amos, the local storekeeper in Kyuquot, who spoke Chinook as well as English.

Kaynaiya recited haa-huu-pah which explained where the territories of Cheklesaht peoples were. He told the government interpreter where the boundaries between these Quu'asminaa hahuuthlii lay and about the peace that was made between Cheklesaht and the surrounding nations. He explained that we had main villages but were not limited to living at them year round, as the government was beginning to force the Cheklesaht to do. There were other areas in which we camped or stayed for part of the year to gather seafood, deer and other food. These areas were vital to the Cheklesaht as food sources and equally important as the main village sites. The water, the sea and rivers were part of our hahuuthlii as well. Each family has halibut banks in the ocean and rivers where aak runs that they were responsible for the maintenance of and distribution of fish, but the Canadian government does not consider these bodies of water as part of our hahuuthlii. According to colonial international laws, the open water automatically becomes the property of the state.

Kaynaiya explained that we had portable houses made from homace and cut into planks that could be transported over the breadth of a couple of chupits, which is just one example of how the Quu'asminaa utilize not one part but all parts of the hahuuthlii. Mr. Amos did not convey these important distinctions, and any attempt to clarify them by

Kaynaiya was ignored by the government officials. After that meeting as it was with many other Quu'asminaa nations, the Cheklesaht and Kyuquot were relegated to those small pockets of land called reserves. The island Tlisiiwuhdii ended up designated as reserve land, too.

Kaynaiya left that day for Tlisiiwuhdii thinking his words were taken seriously and interpreted honestly. When he realized that the haa-huu-pah of his people and the hahuuthlii were not taken seriously – that they had been deliberately ignored, he spent the rest of his life working towards correcting this, for the future sake of the Cheklesaht.

To this day Cha-chin-sun-up fights for his father Kaynaiya's words to be taken seriously and to have the hahuuthlii returned to the Cheklesaht. These two men, with the strength of their ancestors backing them – these hawiih, struggle as the hahuuthlii struggles to survive under current political battles and development.

During Kaynaiya's time there were three hawiih (hereditary chiefs). They were tyee hawiilth Hyuushistulth, Taaisum (Cha-chin-sun-up's great Uncle, and nicknamed Aaythumukt [Stinger]), and the third hawiilth, Nikiyaatsi. There are two haa-huu-pah about Taaisum and Nikiyaatsi.

The first haa-huu-pah is about Taaisum, who was Tsiiwokus' uncle from the Oscar family of Cheklesaht. He was known to have had 40 wives in his lifetime. Quu'asminaa composed many songs for various reasons, ceremonial, as well as for yaauuk. Young men used to stand on the beach shore at night, singing to the women they loved, hoping they would hear them. The men would sing these songs until their chumus cheechma (sweetheart) came out to see them. Aaythumukt composed many beautiful

love songs, one in particular that Cha-chin-sun-up remembers. As follows, here is Aaythumukt's love song, called, *Gentle Wind*.

Gentle Wind

A warm wind is coming,

coming for my chumus cheechma,

blowing into every nook and cranny of the bay.

A warm wind is coming,

coming for my chumus cheechma

Through these past years of colonization and its affects, we have found it difficult to love ourselves and one another. In fact today with the staggering rise of violence and internalized oppression within communities it is vital to understand through our haa-huu-pah about yaauuk just how we did feel about each other, how we treated one another as men and women with iisaak and yaauuk. This song is important to reflect the lived experiences of Quu'asminaa whose lives were not, as they are depicted in colonial texts, full of war, mysticism, savagery and lacking human 'souls'.

For Quu'asminaa within a current climate of such internalized oppression, it is important to understand our haa-huu-pah about women and men through such haa-huu-pah as the coming of age ceremonies.

Yaauuk was very much cherished as a value and was expressed without reserve, but in a particular way. Women were held up for their ability to give life, especially during the Ayts-tuu-thlaa (the Coming of Age Ceremony). In fact, young people were taken as soon as they came of age, by the tluu-qwa-naa (Qwayaatsiik Society) to the

'bush' for weeks and were instructed as to what their roles and responsibilities to the community were, including how to treat each other as men and women and how to raise our families. Young people were taught about how to exist together as strong secure family units through studying the way wolves co-existed in packs.

The second haa-huu-pah was about Nikiyaatsi. Nikiyaatsi lost a son and was so filled with grief that he buried him right in the village of Acous, where the Cheklesaht had lived since Too-tah's time. This was not our way to bury our dead so close by as we believed this act would bring more death to the community. At this time, we did not reprimand the chief directly because, as Cha-chin-sun-up explains, we did not argue with him out of respect for his position as hawiih. Instead the community moved immediately to a place called Upsowiis. The people left the village without taking anything with them, cups full of tea and dishes were left – it was eerie, as if people just stepped out for a moment and were going to return soon. This is how strong the belief was. Upsowiis is where the Cheklesaht people are to this day.

Kaynaiya was an excellent provider for his family, aside from his more formal roles within the Cheklesaht community. He was a fisherman, hunter and trapper. He and other Quu'asminaa men used to travel as far away as Alaska and Japan on schooner ships. The schooners had space for the Quu'asminaa to tie their chupits to so they could hunt for the highly sought after fur seals. The men went on these journeys to hunt for fur seal because 'Indians' were the only ones permitted to hunt these animals 'legally' at the time.

Kaynaiya remembered one trip in particular where he and 24 Quu'asminaa men with their 12 chupits travelled with a schooner that crossed into what was now deemed as

US waters. The US officials seized the captain and left the first mate with the Quu'asminaa men and their chupits. Quu'asminaa were considered wards of the state and therefore could not be charged as the captain was.

All of these men were transferred onto a freight ship that went to Japan before heading back to Canada. The first mate and the Quu'asminaa men lived amongst the Japanese for several weeks. Cha-chin-sun-up remembers his father talking about the Japanese people when he came back to his family on Tlisiiwuhdii. Kaynaiya explained how the Japanese cut planks for building houses and things. Later, Cha-chin-sun-up was watching a television program about Japan and saw the Japanese men cutting planks just as his father had described.

Kaynaiya also hunted harbour seal, walrus, otter and mink. There was money to be made from the mink's gorgeous dark and soft pelts. He also hunted seitchpa (cougar) and ka-in (crows) as the government put a bounty on them and eventually qwayaatsiik too. This was because, as the settlers encroached further onto our hahuuthlii and began farming, settling in one spot permanently, they were threatened by the animals coming after them or their animals and interfering with their livelihood.

Anyone hunting qwayaatsiik (wolf) would receive five dollars an ear and five cents per ka-in's beak. Kaynaiya, as were other Quu'asminaa men, was concerned with feeding his family as they grew slightly more dependant on money to get by while their lands became more constricted and occupied by the colonialists. This occupation disrupted the homes and migration of the animals as well.

Kaynaiya shot a tyee qwayaatsiik once, but didn't know it at first. He was about to put the qwayaatsiik into his canoe when he was surrounded by the qwayaatsiik's pack

or family, blocking him from getting into his canoe to head home. They snarled and snapped at him and some were crying, 'wooooo!' That was when he realized he killed their tyee qwayaatsiik. He talked to them in Cheklesaht, explaining that he didn't know this was their tyee qwaayatsiik. He promised he would take care of him properly and would not disrespect his body. He lifted the qwayaatsiik up three times, talking the entire time before the pack moved and let him pass, assured he would do as he promised. Cha-chin-sun-up remembers the tyee qwayaatsiik' skin was kept carefully unharmed in their home.

Kaynaiya was the first of our ancestors to begin using a hunting rifle, but he also continued to use fall traps which were older and used before we had guns – they were called dohomah. He caught seitchpa, chims, and mowich in these. He and his sons would dig a hole and cover it with homace and yamaa branches. It would then be set with a trigger so that when the animal took the bait huge stones would be rigged up to fall on them, crushing or wounding the animals enough to get a clear shot while trapped in the hole.

Every day, before the sun came up and before getting food of any kind, Kaynaiya and his sons would uusmch (ceremonially bathing). All Quu'asminaa families had a different way of going about this daily ceremony. Our family would dukstiis (dunk) into the ocean or river four times, up to our shoulders. We would take kuhmupt branches and rub them on our bodies to cleanse our bodies and minds. On the fourth time, we would dukstiis only right under the water this time. As we come up we would kwith kwitha, hold water in our mouths and then spit it out with our prayers. As Kaynaiya would walk backwards out of the water he would count his footsteps and that would be the same

number of seal, fish or whatever animal he would catch. Cha-chin-sun-up says his father was accurate every time he did this. Uusmch keeps the mind and body strong so that the animals we were hunting could not detect us. It was also a good way of reminding ourselves to be grateful for all that Nass (universe) provided us.

When Kaynaiya was off on his longer hunting trips, he would come back with haa-huu-pah of close encounters with 'mysterious' creatures. He told his family about seeing the Tla tlay uuksuk. It is a giant fish and looks like an enormous version of the bullhead fish. Tla tlay uuksuk was known to live at the mouth of the Oukinsh Inlet.

Kaynaiya recalled he was just at the mouth of the inlet, preparing to hunt some wah-nii (ducks) when he felt a presence in the water. Everything went quiet, including the birds and other animals. Kaynaiya sat very still in his chupits; his eyes searched the depths of the sea water just below him. Underneath him a shadow passed. He counted as it passed; the creature was a fifty foot long dark shadow passing underneath him. Tla tlay uuksuk moved slowly, ignoring the shadow of Kaynaiya and his chupits floating above on the water's surface. Tla tlay uuksuk entered a cave at the mouth of the inlet and there it sat. Kaynaiya pulled his chupits slowly out from the inlet and carried on his way.

Cha nay aht was a creature also known to the Cheklesaht and as well as to many Indigenous peoples on this island and across the way into the US. His name to the Cheklesaht means Big or One Foot. Sometimes he was called Big Man. He has been seen before, usually at night and on the beaches. Kaynaiya was out hunting when he found one of Cha nay aht's footprints on the ground. It made a deep impression in the earth. Kaynaiya, as he was taught by his father, knelt to the ground and grabbed a handful of this dirt footprint and rubbed it on his chest, as it was believed it was good fortune for

anyone who did this. Kaynaiya never actually saw Cha nay aht; this was as close an encounter as he would get.

Reflections

These two haa-huu-pah are examples of Quu'asminaa governance, which is called huupukwanum. Nuuthlaama passed on this haa-huu-pah about the first contact with colonialists as it exists in the memory of my family. It exemplifies a time when our world-view was not dominated by the Western world-view and therefore our laws about the hahuuthlii were strongly adhered to. In this haa-huu-pah we can see how we conducted ourselves in our relationships to outsiders, in this case the Spanish colonialists. We greeted them with caution, only to find that they were just Quu'as, and not the komathims they appeared to be. The way in which this first ship full of Spanish men was received – determining, for example, whether these men were to be welcomed as visitors or not – exemplifies how we governed ourselves as nations. Once we agreed they were no threat, we traded with them, nation to nation or so we thought at the time. Today, I see that we governed ourselves during this historical event as Quu'asminaa, in a peaceful, respectful, and honourable way. We did not yet know the very different notion of power the colonialists lived by. Power for Quu'asminaa lies in the hahuuthlii, in Nass, and teaches us hishuukitsawalk. By contrast, power in the colonialists world view is realized through empire, the imposition of state systems and other acts of domination, and is rooted in Judeo-Christian morality. Nuuthlaama's haa-huu-pah is important to me today because it represents the strength and honour from which Quu'asminaa operated. It also demonstrated how we viewed the colonialists, who today are held up so much by fear in our communities, as just people – other people with a different world-view. This fear we

are inundated with has transformed from a mobilizing force, signaling the need for us to be strong and to fight back against colonialism, to an immobilizing kind of fear leading us to compromise our world-view and our way of life. I believe this haa-huu-pah is necessary to begin to recognize and eliminate the debilitating fear which currently has hold of our people today. If we do the work of learning our haa-huu-pah in our huupukwanum, then we will have a strong place from which to develop strategies for self-determination and we can begin to eradicate the fear that grabs hold of our thoughts and actions, and ultimately holds us hostage in strategies that subordinate us to the state.

Kaynaiya's haa-huu-pah represents huupukwanum as demonstrated in the way he haa-huu-pah his children, particularly to respect always the interdependence of Quu'asminaa and the hahuuthlii. He shared the beliefs, values and spiritual ways of Quu'asminaa, all of which are necessary foundations to huupukwanum. He governed himself as he was taught to by his father in the roles as spokesman for the chiefs, head wiiuk and beachkeeper. He had to earn the respect of the hawiih and the muschim through demonstrating his oektek of huupukwanum and his ability to transmit this into the current context of his community. He remained rooted in huupukwanum always, even as the colonialists were forcing us onto tiny tracts of land through violence and coercive means. He knew the significance of haa-huu-pah and taught his children daily, showing them the importance of remembering, and passing on haa-huu-pah to other family, the community, and to the future generations of Quu'asminaa.

Kayanaiya's haa-huu-pah represents resistance to assimilation through his insistence to maintain Quu'asminaa responsibility for the hahuuthlii. He refuted government claims that we should be forced to remain living on the small tracts of land.

He disputed the imposed reservation system both through education and action. He fought without the full use of his wit wok and without weapons, knowing that the Quu'asminaa could not afford to risk more death as their numbers waned and the wars the colonialists fought were not honourable wars – they did not have the same agreements as the Quu'asminaa did in war times. He valiantly poured all his effort into transforming relations between the communities and the colonizers. He instilled iisaak for self and others through haa-huu-pah to his children, so that they could participate in, and truly value huupukwanum as their foundation. This regeneration of haa-huu-pah accomplishes both strong resistance to colonialism and eradicates the fear that is generated by the state. Kaynaiya believed in our haa-huu-pah and yaauuk our families and communities enough to pass them, to ensure their persistence into the future.

Chapter Four

Wit Wok (Warriorism)

Wit Wok were an integral part of our communities. There were no debates as there are today regarding the relevance and purpose of the wit wok in our societies. They worked with the hawiih to ensure the hahuuthlii and its peoples were secure and could live on it for generations. At its roots wiiuk (singular of wit wok) meant to be brave or courageous; it meant facing your fears. This required that the wit wok always be prepared and ready, for whatever state the world is in, whether it is at peace or at war. The haa-huu-pah which best exemplifies this is Too-tah, who was our head chief warrior (as well as other roles). This haa-huu-pah shows us how the wit wok carried themselves by demonstrating the love, courage, strength, discipline, and honour, as well as always showing sensitivity to be willing to adjust their battle strategies to the present needs of the hahuuthlii and the muschim.

Today, remembering warrior haa-huu-pah helps to regenerate haa-huu-pah because it influences or motivates us to carry ourselves in this honourable way. Instead of the colonial images of savages, reactionaries and blood-thirsty war mongers, we hear haa-huu-pah of pride, strength, honour, dignity and a fierce love that is acted upon by both the protection of the land and the muschim, as well as the participation in community through daily action and self-discipline. Even small gestures, such as chopping wood for the Elders, to larger actions like mentoring with youth and a demonstrative respect for the women, or as we refer to them, 'the givers of life'. These haa-huu-pah inspire us and so are things to look forward to the future.

Too-Tah and Wit Wok

Too-tah's Song

(tsackshitl)

Peace and war,
I'm all for peace,
Peace and quiet
When the world is calm,
I am for the world
When it gets ugly
I'm prepared for War,
I am for the world
I'm all for Peace and War[8]

Too-tah was my great, great, great, grandfather. His name means Thunder and refers to the Thunder Being that lives in the sky. Too-tah is our family linkage to the past, our hero and an image of strength, humility and honour. His life offers us a haa-huu-pah that is rooted in strong leadership, in our original hawiih. Too-tah was wiiuk, warrior, which refers to a specific role in Quu'asminaa communities and means 'no fear', or to be brave and courageous. This, however, does not mean that wit wok did not experience fear, but rather that they pushed through their fears by facing them daily (through rigorous training, including physical and spiritual) and in battle.

Too-tah originally came from a place called Quoniiukus, near Cape Cook on northern Vancouver Island. He lived there with his ten brothers. Cha-chin-sun-up explains that Too-tah's parents may have been captured and killed during a war with

[8] A tsackshitl is a chant, accompanied by a rattle. Tsackshitl belongs to a particular family or muhdii (house, longhouse family). Before he began any business, Too-tah' tsackshitl was sung to start things off in a good way, like a prayer. I chose to begin with this as it holds meaning for our family by reminding us to be strong and clear-minded at all times; either amidst chaos or more peaceful times. It reminds us to be prepared, no matter what.

some neighbouring nation. Too-tah and his ten brothers escaped and ended up living at Quoniiukus.

Too-tah and his ten brothers were excellent fishermen, trappers and hunters. They caught whale, seal and fish and shared them with their neighbours, the Cheklesaht. After some years, the hawiilth (respected person, in this case the head chief) Hyuushistulth invited Too-tah and his brothers to join their nation, the Cheklesaht nation. They were a small community of about 65 men, women and children. Cheklesaht was actually one of the longest standing independent nations of Quu'asminaa along the west coast, along with Quatsino. They did not amalgamate into Kyuquot until much later and only did so a result of pressure from the Canadian government to make it easier for them to administer their monies to the bands, claiming it was for administrative purposes. The Cheklesaht see themselves to this day as an independent nation with relatives who are part of the Kyuquot nation.

Too-tah, the oldest of his brothers, earned the respect of the Cheklesaht muschim (people) and so Hyuushistulth invited Too-tah to take up three positions within the hawiih system. He was asked to become Head Chief Warrior, or wiiuk, spokesman for the chiefs and to take on the role of beach keeper. Each of these roles is earned, and is not a birth entitlement, as is the case with hereditary hawiih. This is an important difference to understand, especially as younger people are starting to get this particular issue mixed up in our attempts to understand our original huupukwanum system and how it worked.

Too-tah and his brothers were proficient in making chupits as their wit wok and hunting/fishing lifestyle required. They would go way up the mountain to find an appropriate homace (cedar tree). If they got them too close to the water the wood would

contain too much salt and the canoes would be structurally unsound. The homace log would be taken down and carved right on the mountain. The chupits would then be carved out with different kinds of adze tools. Tools were not to be left inside the chupits as it was thought to be disrespectful – it was thought that, if left unattended, they might 'hurt the chupits'.

They would burn out the inside of the chupits by burning pitch from trees to shape it properly and make it smooth. To check the thickness of the sides of the chupits they would 'eyeball' it, feeling along the sides with both hands to be sure it was not uneven and therefore unbalanced. To check the bottom they would drill a tiny hole and get a small homace stick to measure the thickness or depth of the bottom of the chupits. When the chupits was finished the men would roll it down the hill on logs towards the water and launched it into the open ocean from there. After some use, a good chupits could be patched by using another log to lengthen the life of it.

There were three kinds of chupits at this time. Penowaath are nuupuu (6 fathoms or 60 feet long), and were used for maathmyaa as they could transport whole families and their supplies. Penowaath were also used as war canoes to both transport the wit wok and to use in battle out in the open ocean.

The whaling canoes Too-tah and other Quu'asminaa used were called paatspenowaath and were muu, (four fathoms or 24 ft. long). It took four or five of the paatspenowaath, filled with ten men, plus one who was the tsuh-yuk (harpoon) man, to catch iietup (whale). The chupits were lined up and angled to meet iietuup at the centre of its body. It is important to remember iietuup were wild then and fought back, not like

today. If they met the iietuup head-on after throwing the tsuh-yuk and spears they would all be dragged under water and likely drowned.

Before iron was introduced they made tsuh-yuk out of kuhmupt and they were four inches in diameter and 6 feet long. They would use branches twisted together and tied at the back of the rope. The rope was fastened to the whole tsu-yuk so it would not get lost. They used animal innards (tendons and intestines) and pitch to make the tsuh-yuk solid because pitch gets hard like glue.

The last size of chupits was not introduced until later, when Too-tah's grandson, Kaynaiya was alive. They were called yushmuksits and were cussiathl, 18 fathoms. These were designed to fit on schooner ships so the men could travel to catch fur seal. Quu'asminaa were the only ones allowed under the Canadian state's laws to catch fur seal, so the men on the schooners would hire them and pay them per fur seal pelt.

As Head Chief Wit Wok, Too-tah was responsible for the training of wit-wok. He participated in the Cheklesaht community as wiiuk by continuing to provide iietuup, seal and other food sources for the Cheklesaht, as well as ensuring the safety and continuance of the Cheklesaht muschim and lands through engaging in actual warfare with other tribes.

Our family still has the stones Too-tah used to train with for close-contact fighting. They vary in size from a child's hand, to that of man's palm, indicating that as a young boy he and other boys would practice/play niklaak (war) games with each other.

Too-tah and his ten brothers moved to Acous, in Cheklesaht after Hyuushistulth's generous invitation. Too-tah married a Cheklesaht woman (our family does not know her

name anymore), and they had children—we are unsure as to the number and gender of children, except for Nuuthlaama, his son.

Hyuushistulth built a longhouse for Too-tah and his family to live in. Maatlapiis means 'hanging beam' and refers to the long homace beam which was hoisted to the roof with homace rope. People say it was hung there strategically. The Cheklesaht would invite their only allies the Tla-o-qui-aht, to feast with them, seating them under this beam – a reminder that there would be no funny business or that beam would be cut and crush them while they ate.

Too-tah's strength of mind, body and spirit led the Cheklesaht through many niklaak (tribal wars, war, meaning 'poor' (hungry, homeless) people getting together to fight for the land), mostly with the Quatsino and Kyuquot nations. Wars were fought based on the needs of a nation. If the muschim of a nation were in need of food then the hawiih needed to expand the boundaries of the hahuuthlii; more land and rivers meant more food.

It is important to understand that the first attempts to expand the hahuuthlii were made through marriage agreements between nations. Ideally, after these marriages, nations would be joined and thus share fish, iietuup, seal, mowich and other food with each other. In the case of marriage agreements between tribes, war was unnecessary. In the instances where marriage agreements could not be made, or there were violations to them, the hawiih would deem it necessary to declare war on another nation.

War was not about obtaining an excess of power and wealth as it is in Western society, or holding absolute power as in imperialism. Rather, it was a last resort and sought only when muschim were hungry and homeless. Quu'asminaa knew about greed

and power-hungry individuals as our haa-huu-pah tell us – we have our share of haa-huu-pah about greedy chiefs. According to these haa-huu-pah, people faced harsh consequences and sometimes death for breaking the laws of the hahuuthlii.

There are also humorous haa-huu-pah of wartime. There was a place called Waii where the women would take cover bringing with them the children and Elders while the wars ensued. This small hill or mountain, Waii, was a great look-out as well. There were usually two wit wok stationed at Huupucklii (island behind one island) in case the Kyuquot broke through their front line of Cheklesaht wit wok. The two wit wok had strategically placed a homace log with large stones on Waii and tied them down with homace rope. If the enemy broke through the idea was that each warrior would cut their end of the rope and the homace log and stones would go tumbling downhill, crushing their enemies as they approached. The two men waited and eventually fell asleep. One of the men woke later to what he thought was the sound of an alarm and frantically cut free his side of the rope. The other man did not awaken and the log and stones went swinging down the hill harmlessly. This false alarm did not last for long as the real war took place hours later, with the Cheklesaht wit wok fully awake and prepared to fight at Upsuuwiis, which is known today as Little Hollywood, and they were victorious.

The last wars Too-tah fought was between the Cheklesaht and the Quatsino. Too-tah died in that war. As his wit wok were falling down around him, Too-tah drifted deeper into Quatsino waters in his chupits (canoe). A Quatsino wiiuk's spear came slicing through the air and cut straight through Too-tah's chest. He keeled over silently and it was there he died in battle with the Quatsino. He didn't make a sound, a grunt or even say ouch! He was wiiuk. Today we still joke around and say the Quatsino owe us one life.

Sometime after Too-tah's death, in around 1918, the Cheklesaht, Kyuquot and Quatsino made an agreement to become allies, and to uphold the peace between the nations. This agreement when translated to English refers to 'making a light' and there would be no more warring between these nations.

Today, boundary disputes are the catalysts of what are now bureaucratic wars between Indigenous nations as a result of the state forcibly changing original boundaries and literally taking over, including control of and jurisdiction over land; the result being in-house fighting amongst Quu'asminaa – not whether boundaries existed or not, but the details of where they lay. The British Columbia Treaty Process of the past 12 years has been particularly threatening to the original boundary agreements between nations, resulting in this bickering and lack of unity amongst the nations.

There are many different ways a Quu'asminaa concept of war is different from Western warfare, which is difficult to conceptualize as a young and colonized person today, but I attempt to by listening to the oral histories of my family, particularly Too-tah and the Cheklesaht. For instance, we did not have the same concept when it came to consequences during war. A kohthl (a captive of warfare) was not tortured and or interrogated as in Western warfare, although there were consequences and harsh ones at times. They were not mistreated or abused as it was thought to be nuumaak, (would bring hardship on the family or nation). For instance, the Cheklesaht had a shack where captives could be held in, locked and guarded. The Cheklesaht would not starve their captives; they would feed them and feed them, without allowing them out. They would become heavy and lazy – two things you cannot be when you are a wiiuk!

The stones Too-tah trained and fought with represent remnants of a Quu'asminaa reality in which war and peace was inextricably intertwined: where conflict was necessary to create change. In order to call ourselves wit wok, in Too-tah's time, and in our present day, we must earn the support of the muschim and receive the endorsement from our hawiih to take this role on. As in Too-tah's tsackshitl, we must always be prepared for whatever state the world is in, be it at war or peaceful.

Reflections

Wit wok are the law keepers and law enforcers of the Quu'asminaa. Their place within our communities has been disempowered through the imposition of colonial political systems, laws and attitudes. In fact, warriors and warriorism have been under attack since the arrival of the first colonialists. This pertinent part of our societies has been distorted through colonial texts and media as savagery or militancy. Media and colonial minds interpreting what warriors and warriorism represents through Eurocentric lenses has meant the near loss of these societies. Further, as a result of the suppression of our haa-huu-pah about wit wok combined with the widespread publishing and media white wash of colonial history, many of the modern warrior societies that have emerged are often misdirected. Western machismo has infected the mind-set of young warriors displacing women and others in this modern warrior movement. Despite these struggles, our families, have hung on to the haa-huu-pah of wit wok through Too-tah, Kaynaiya and Cha-chin-sun-up. Today, Cha-chin-sun-up carries this role until another is prepared to take it on within the Cheklesaht community.

At its core, wit wok represents facing your fears daily and purposefully. Daily and ongoing preparation through the careful adherence to spiritual, physical and mental

training resulted in self-disciplined members of our law keeping societies. These law keepers were responsible for upholding and enforcing laws to ensure justice thrived within Quu'asminaa communities. They were responsible to the muschim and could even take the hereditary chiefs out of their position if they disobeyed these laws and did not put the hahuuthlii and the muschim first. Today, Too-tah's haa-huu-pah inspires me to prepare myself for the current challenges that lay before me as a younger person. This battle includes decolonizing myself and my community and to struggle towards self-determination for Quu'asminaa. Wit wok will be re-empowered and visions of warriorism ought to be re-directed through the regeneration of haa-huu-pah, revitalizing their role within Quu'asminaa huupukwanum.

Chapter Five

School Days: Hishuukitsawalk (Everything is Connected)

The following haa-huu-pah, "School Days" is written creatively in an attempt to articulate the complexity of the issues Quu'asminaa faced during era of the Indian residential school system. It is also meant to link up the other themes of the previous chapters and, in this way, demonstrate the interconnectivity of these themes. As a younger person, I can look backwards at the past 80 years with a particular kind of understanding of past events. This perception comes from three main sources:

1. First, re-learning our family haa-huu-pah;
2. Second, from the unraveling of our histories as Quu'asminaa through my formal education;
3. Finally, through broadening my vocabulary in English to articulate what Cha-chin-sun-up could not in English.

It also takes time and distance to re-tell this haa-huu-pah respectfully. In the haa-huu-pah, School Days, one can see the interconnectiveness of the themes of leadership, governance and warriorism and how these themes continue with subsequent generations of Quu'asminaa. Hishuukitsawalk is a Quu'asminaa philosophy which entails a visceral understanding that 'everything is connected'. Hishuukitsawalk is a concept which has through western scrutiny and Eurocentric analysis, become distant and unimaginative from the every day reality of Quu'asminaa. This is an attempt to make it real. For the purposes of this project, School Days embody these aspects leadership, governance and warriorism and how they are hishuukitsawalk.

School Days

A young boy sits at the top of Upkowa. Its craggy slope has intervals of soft green moss, a cushion covering cold grey stone underneath. This boy of 13 sits as if under a spell gazing out at the rough sea below. The boy' name is Cha-chin-sun-up, or Barney. Barney was the name an elder woman gave him, cheekily saying to his mother, "Boy he's sure handsome, just like Barney!" Barney actually was an old man from Hesquiaht and was not, by any stretch of the imagination, handsome. So, out of a good laugh, Barney received this English name. Cha-chin-sun-up's Cheklesaht and Tla-o-qui-aht names accumulated over time. Cha-chin-sun-up is the first name he was given and means 'Putting the Land in Order'. Upkowa is a place Cha-chin-sun-up goes to this time every year. He watches as waves collide, creating whitecaps where bullwhips and sea grass become inextricably entwined.

It is fall season here on the west coast. This season produces a definite chill. Mist and south wind stir up a concoction of cold that seeps into your bones. If you aren't careful to keep moving you become cold without realizing it—your body stiffens and complains until you get your blood flowing again through movement.

It is school time for the rest of the children of Cheklesaht and Kyuquot. Children were corralled from these neighbouring nations and put on a fishing vessel headed for Christie Residential School. The site the government and the Catholic Church chose for this school is at Kakawis, or Opitsaht, also named Meares Island after Captain John Meares arrived on our shores. This small island is part of the hahuuthlii belonging to the Tla-o-qui-aht nation. Nevertheless, this school was situated away from the majority of the children's communities and family members. The ten months of the year that the children

attended these schools made it nearly impossible for the children to visit home. The people running the schools, more often than not, prevented children from visiting home at all.

Cha-chin-sun-up's eyes reflect the grey in the water below as he searches for the fishing vessel. To him, this was a terribly sad time of the year, one in which he and his brother Frank said goodbye to their cousins and friends, watching them as they floated away for most of the year. Sometimes their relatives did not return from that school at all.

As Cha-chin-sun-up sits waiting for the children to pass by, he feels that familiar ache seep slowly into his belly. His heart pounds as erratically as the waves that crash against the rocks below. He will face another year without these friends and relatives, his father his only companion.

By this time, Frank had gone to fight in World War II. He took off to fight at the age of 16, knowing he was too young yet to enlist. He lied about his age to the military and was sent to England right away. They say he must have had Too-tah's wiiuk spirit in him, why he'd consider fighting in the mamaathnii war. Frank's leaving meant Cha-chin-sun-up had no one around his age left to play with. He loved his father but began to grow resentful of him for keeping him and his brother from attending the Christie residential school. His loneliness grew each year and clouded his understanding of his father's reasoning for keeping him back home and away from the people who worked in the schools.

As the vessel came into full view, Cha-chin-sun-up waved furiously, hoping for one last connection to savour over the long months that lay ahead. He waves without stopping, even as streams of saltwater tears run down his mist soaked face.

Cha-chin-sun-up cannot see the children's faces clearly, nor their expressions; only their forms. They stand rigid in clusters across the deck. Close by, the black robed priest surveys the children, hands behind his back as he stands stiff and in grim determination. Cha-chin-sun-up is reminded of pictures he'd seen of generals prepared for battle. It seemed from their expressions that they knew that no matter what victories may wait, death was imminent.

The rough sea compounds the reality that these children were not going to see mothers, fathers, aunts, uncles, grandparents or Cha-chin-sun-up for a very long time.

The young ones, the first timers, nervously sense the loneliness ahead and stay as close to brothers and sisters as the priest would allow. The odd whimper escapes these ones, barely audible.

As for the older children, they quieted their siblings' voices. They did not have time for tears, bearing their minds and bodies for the months and labour they knew awaited them.

The sad spell Cha-chin-sun-up is under breaks as he blows his nose, gets up and makes his way back down to their little shack. As he walks, his thinking returns and he remembers the first time the grimacing face of the priest, father Victor, who appeared on Tlisiiwuhdii.

The priest made several attempts to convert Kaynaiya and Cheklesaht to the Christian religion and his almighty reasoning of the necessity of residential schools. He refused to call him Kaynaiya, calling him William, as it is a good Christian name and partly because their tongues could not wrap themselves around the guttural sounds of the

Cheklesaht language. As the priest's mast bobbed into view of their little shack on Tlisiiwuhdii, Kaynaiya told the boys quietly, "Go!"

The two boys knew what to do; they ran and hid, camouflaged behind some rocks. They were experts at hiding; they knew every nook and cranny of the island. When the priest boarded their little dock and began to walk towards Kaynaiya's little shack, the boys were nowhere to be found.

Kaynaiya did not move to put tea and pilot biscuits as he normally did when guests arrived. Instead, he inspected the hatchet that rested against a pile of driftwood which had been steadily growing in preparation for colder winter nights. Their little shack had a dirt floor and walls that whistled eerie tunes as south wind blew forcibly. It was very plain, with little else than a woodstove to cook on. Kaynaiya bought his wife Tsiiwokus a table with chairs some years ago. She liked them fine enough but preferred to eat on the tightly woven homace mats that covered their dirt floor. She and her sons claimed the homace made the food taste better. The table and chairs were left for company.

Kaynaiya chuckled to himself remembering this strong-natured woman. Tsiiwokus died a few years ago from tuberculosis and now Kaynaiya savours her memory when he gets a few precious moments alone.

He pulls up a homace stump to sit on, ignoring the priest making his way up the beach to his home. He pulls out the hatchet and begins to sharpen it. The constant rhythm of the blade sharpening matched the methodical steps of the priest as he approached Kaynaiya. The priest pauses a moment out of breath and irritated with what had for him become a yearly trek and ordeal. Kaynaiya paused too, feigning a somber mood he

nodded at the priest. His nod was directed at the heavy black robes the priest wore. If he looked directly eye to eye with the priest, he might have given away his amusement.

The priest sighed heavily at this uncivilized man who dared sit sharpening a hatchet when such an important man, a man of god no less, came to see him.

"William, school has begun." The priest proclaimed, doing away with civilities. Again, Kaynaiya nodded, while continuing to sharpen the hatchet. *"Do these people deliberately ignore me...the nerve,"* the priest thought to himself indignantly. He continued out loud, "Where are your sons William? I have come to take them to Christie school."

Kaynaiya shook his head, slowly as his lips clenched slightly at the mention of his sons. He told the priest firmly, "I have no sons."

Persistent still, the priest switched his tone to the one he used at Sunday Mass – ominous with warnings of unleashing the mighty wrath of their Catholic God. "William, your sons need an education – they need to learn to speak English, to read and write. The old days and old ways are done and these boys' souls need saving. Think not of yourself but of your sons!"

Kaynaiya continued to sharpen the hatchet, pausing to let the priests words sit for a moment in the salty air. For an instant, all the two men could hear was the sound of the hatchet sharpening. Without pausing, Kaynaiya's eyes met the priest's eyes, each reflecting the other in their determination. In an even, calculated voice, Kaynaiya spoke, "If you come near my family again, I will chop your penis off."

They both fell silent, with only the sound of two kingfishers looking for food on the beach and the steady rhythm of Kaynaiya's hatchet. Seeing that further negotiation

with Kaynaiya was impossible and believing him to be a man of his word, the priest left in search of more amicable clients.

Kaynaiya's eyes smiled at the figure of the man exiting his island, assured he would not return. He laughed out loud at the disbelief the priest's face gave way to in response to his threat. Kaynaiya was man of his word and people knew it. That priest, father Victor, wouldn't be back anytime soon.

The boys watched their father from their hiding spot, waiting until the priest was out of sight before they came out to join him. Cha-chin-sun-up quietly acknowledged the war within him, it was a mixture of respect and love, and anger and resentment towards his father – he did not yet understand why he was not allowed to go to the school with the other children. For a few years after that, the church decided that Kaynaiya was a force immovable and left Kaynaiya and his sons alone.

Cha-chin-sun-up snaps his mind from this memory and made his way from Upkowa to the dohoma he had set the night before. He had seen a buck around lately and knew he'd provide some good eating for his father and himself.

Kaynaiya knew many things and was respected as spokesman for the chiefs. He was trained, as was his father and his grandfather before him, to listen to the hawiih and the muschim so he could articulate their wishes, thoughts and concerns between them and at times to other nations. He was taught to carefully weigh out the issues and to consider, or measure the implications of particular actions on the community and hahuuthlii. Cha-chin-sun-up knew well that his father chose to keep his brother and him out of residential school for a reason – though this reason seemed elusive to the boys.

Kaynaiya was usually open with his family about everything as their family's very survival depended on it. They knew of some church-going people who preached to the people about what was not appropriate to speak of to their children. Their fear seemed to be around things that were 'impure' and somehow were thought to encourage their children to pursue sin. It seemed that most things were sinful and would surely lead people down a path toward hell.

Kaynaiya never understood how these children would become men, women, mothers and fathers. Who would be equipped to make decisions? He was increasingly concerned about this given the surmounting attack on Quu'asminaa through the settlers' ways that were starting to infect the thinking, and the ways of Quu'asminaa.

The settlers' laws and ways restrict choices and freedom of movement for Quu'asminaa. The church seeped into the minds of even the great thinkers and hawiih of their community and the confusion that followed trickled down into the minds and hearts of the young people.

Cha-chin-sun-up remembers Kaynaiya sitting both Frank and himself down to explain something to them. He tried with great effort to explain to his sons the reasons why he would not allow them to attend the residential school.

Kaynaiya paced their dirt floor, a sense of urgency and anxiousness clouding his thoughts. The boys had never seen their father pace quite in this way before and it created a general feeling of being unsure.

Kaynaiya explained, "They take our children away from us – how can the children learn the things they need to learn, like how to provide for their family and ensuring the land is in order?"

He was not against education, we did this every day as Quu'asminaa but we did this within our hahuuthlii, within our communities and families. He did not understand the need to remove the children from their families to attend school.

The boys knew to listen, and that their father's question was not really a question, but a request to get the boys' minds warmed up to start thinking.

"You are expected to learn English, even though in our dealings with them, learning is inevitable. Yet most of these people will not even learn Chinook, because that would interfere with his plans to get rich from the Quu'asminaa".

He continues as his pacing increases, as if searching their dirt floor for some unseen answer. "He claims we do not know the ways of trade the way we should. We have managed to learn some Japanese because of our trade with them. The need to learn English does not justify removing our young minds from our communities." Kaynaiya pauses a moment, searching his sons eyes for signs of understanding. Cha-chin-sun-up is moving toward the dohoma, barely aware and lost in his memory of his brother and him listening to his father's talk. He passes a cluster of cedars that are heavy with this morning's mist. He remembers his father speaking about the kind of labour the children had to endure at those schools.

"The children at those schools must dig ditches, farm and build things – for what purpose and for whom? They work for someone else, not for the benefit of the Cheklesaht or even our family. I have seen the children's backs bent from the weight of the labour they are forced to do. This kind of labour will break their tliimuxdii, their center (the place in the belly from which human beings derive their sense of self)," Kaynaiya exclaimed.

Cha-chin-sun-up continues walking deeper into the woods and past a pool in which he and his brother uusmch often.

Cha-chin-sun-up and Frank continued listening to their father, committing to memory their father's words. To Kaynaiya, religion was not a problem, as he thought it did not go against our own ways as Quu'asminaa. We pray every day to Nass (universe), to Hinyuulth Hawiih; we thank them for our lives, we ask for strength to do the right thing, to take the right action in adherence to our laws, striving everyday to be Quu'asminaa.

Kaynaiya spoke openly and honestly to his sons. Things he did not yet comprehend fully were not to be burdened upon young people's minds—things like tuberculosis, and other foreign diseases that came from Europe and were devastating our communities. Our medicine people did not understand the origin of this disease, or how it worked on the body and therefore could not 'talk to it' or cure it. The number of deaths and suffering from this disease caused fear and sent shock waves through the muschim. Many women, children and Elders particularly were susceptible to succumbing to this disease. Tsiiwokus, Tlupsinuxsup and his eldest brother David died from TB. The pain Kaynaiya felt deepened at the powerlessness he experienced while combating this foreign disease. He would not speak of it too much with his sons, as he only understood that it brought untimely death. He dared not let his boys be exposed to this disease anymore than they had already been. Losing their mother and siblings was difficult enough.

Kaynaiya had also heard of the appalling and inexcusable treatment of the children in Christie School. He shook his head in disbelief when he'd heard from a relative in Kyuquot about it. Children, both boys and girls, were molested in the school

by priests and sometimes nuns. This was something the people could not fathom. How hypocritical the church was with their religious piety, living and preaching fear of sinning, when they were themselves committing inexcusable acts, using children. These haa-huu-pah were unfathomable to Kaynaiya and he could not begin to put it into words for his sons when he did not understand himself.

Between the pacing and the closed line of discussions, the boys had no way to understand where their father was coming from. The boys felt there was something behind Kaynaiya pacing, a spiral movement that showed frustration and anxiety. They were puzzled and hurt. It was the first time they felt their father was keeping something from them.

We find our way to truth through being honest first. We are taught as Quu'asminaa, being dishonest brings nuumaak (strife and unnecessary struggle) to the family and coming generations. The settlers brought with them uncertainty and death upon our people. Alienated from our lands by a foreign power, alienated from our families and communities through residential schools, we became chronically depressed and lonely. Struggling with the shock of the enormous death and loss of our hahuuthlii and the ability to move without restriction on it, we were ill- equipped and under-resourced to deal with this barrage of loneliness and violence.

Cha-chin-sun-up contemplates these changes for a moment then returns to his task and approaches the dohoma he'd set with caution, readying his rifle. He let go the memory of his father and the talk had given Frank and himself; he had to concentrate now. This dohoma that was set was a means of first baiting animals. They'd dig a hole in

the ground, deep enough so that neither mowich (deer) nor chims (bear) could climb out of it. On the odd occasion they caught seitchpa (cougar) too.

The top of the dohoma was covered with branches to hide the pit. On these branches were rigged different kinds of bait, fish or meat, depending on what they were trapping. This bait was rigged so that as the animal fell into the pit a pile of large stones would come crashing down on its head, wounding it (hopefully making it unconscious).

Cha-chin-sun-up approached cautiously, feeling a mixture of fear and excitement anticipating what kind of animal fell into the dohoma. There was something there definitely, he could smell it. From short distance above he saw it was mowich, the buck he'd been hoping to get the past couple of days. Mowich sensed him coming, and merely twitched his ears and rolled his eyes back into his skull from the pain a large stone had incurred. His left flank was raw with pain, deeply bruised.

Cha-chin-sun-up spoke softly, adhering to the law of the hahuuthlii by thanking the animal for giving up his life to feed his family. Mowich twitched his ears in acknowledgement. Cha-chin-sun-up cocked his rifle and with a blast that rang throughout the forest he shot mowich.

Cha-chin-sun-up was only 11 years old when he received his first gun. Hunting was made much easier with the arrival of this new weapon. No time to run, no time to reconsider, and with a much smaller chance to merely wound an animal. Guns meant certain death and therefore hunting became easier. Cha-chin-sun-up still utilized the older ways of hunting with dohoma, boois, 'pit lamping' and kowokshitl, especially when ammunition cost money. Money could be used for other things like, sugar, flour, and ammunition.

In contrast, a bow and arrow slices through the air almost silent. When a gun blasts, the entire forest quiets. Somehow this silence seemed to be acknowledging death somewhere in its midst. Though guns were loud, they also made things less risky with the dohoma, especially if what was captured was a seitchpa, chims or qwayaatsiik. Some animals become ferocious as they become aware of their predicament, which is compounded by the realization that the hole was dug deep enough to make climbing out impossible. The rifle provided Cha-chin-sun-up with enough distance form the animal and only marginal room for error, decreasing the risk factor for the hunter while increasing the speed with which death visited these animals.

This day was not unusual for the west coast. Clouds rolled in grey then black, alluding to an impending storm. The earth quiets for a time then, too, as if reading the skies for indications of the place and time the storm would begin. The storm will erupt, cascading salt water rain and whipping winds. Cha-chin-sun-up usually relished in this kind of weather. It usually inspires movement and change.

Today Cha-chin-sun-up did not feel inspired. The impending storm merely reflected the bubbling loneliness and resentments he kept inside his belly. Cha-chin-sun-up held the image of his cousins leaving for Christie school. He could hear his late mother's warnings, "Choose what memories govern you son."

She knew that memory can shift and change over time, losing truth if the bearer becomes less honest. The fog weighed heavy in the sky now and Cha-chin-sun up gave in to the image of his cousins, his young body still unable to handle strong emotions without guidance.

The image held stronger in its strong emotion than the words of his father.

Cha-chin-sun-up was too young and unsure of what lay ahead, while still immersed in their life on the island.

At the crux of this lonely feeling, his father appeared across the trees moving methodically a few hundred yards ahead. They both were in the midst of checking traps, gathering seafood and searching for salt laden driftwood to flavour their meals.

Kaynaiya was not aware of his son's presence, at least he gave no indication of this. Lately, he had been concerned about his son's listlessness. He tried to engage him at times, unsuccessfully. Without Tsiiwokus, Kaynaiya was at a loss in dealing with his sons' fast changing worlds. She breathed meaning into words, easing each family member into the most difficult of discussions and finding ways to resolve disharmony. She knew the way the mind and body connected and, that if the body was tense, then the mind could not relax enough to think clearly. Clear thinking was a matter of survival on the coast and a matter of keeping peace amongst family. Tsiiwokus, like most Quu'asminaa women was taught what being a woman and having a family meant since she became a young woman and had her ayts tuu thlaa (Coming of Age Ceremony). Kaynaiya relied on her in life and could now rely only on her memory. He was unable to unravel his rational tongue to emulate her soft tones to their two sons. Kaynaiya carried on with the task of checking the dohoma, puzzling away to himself.

Cha-chin-sun-up felt the same heightened awareness he felt at the dohoma he just caught mowich in. Kaynaiya's steady pace was predictable and his body within range. Cha-chin-sun-up lifted his gun; his father now in his sites. As he looked at Kaynaiya through his rifle site he imagined him as an animal caught unawares. His breath came out heavy, like cold grey smoke and loaded with emotion. His finger rested on the trigger for

a moment. His muscles remembered this movement and pulled the trigger. The rifle burst forth a bullet that embedded in Kaynaiya's side. Shock fell over Cha-chin-sun-up and he fell to his knees on the ground. The storm cracked thunder, then blackness…

Thunderbird flew out; leaving his cave that was ensconced in the mountain. His attempt to capture whale to feed his family and brother Qwayaatsiik was interrupted. His wings beat furiously as he sensed once more imminent death for Quu'asminaa.

Cha-chin-sun-up woke, his vision tunnelled from shock. He could hear men's voices speaking quietly around the smell of a cook stove. Coffee and supnin did not provide the usual anticipation today. The odd "Ha-a" (agreement, acknowledgement) came from an elderly woman in the room. As he heard snippets of the conversation another wave of shock enveloped Cha-chin-sun-up as he tried to look around him. His eyes fell on his father sitting up and bandaged. He sat with the hawiih, mostly Elders.

They acknowledged Cha-chin-sun-up as he awoke from his shock, not yet engaging him in their discussion. They were discussing what to do next; the thing had been done, and it was time to focus on where they would go from there. After patching up Kaynaiya' belly, the local tluu qwaa naa left. He suggested Kaynaiya seek the mamaathnii doctor as a pre-caution. Kaynaiya did not want him or any other mamaathnii to come near him or his son.

Kaynaiya knew under the mamaathnii laws, as did the others, that Cha-chin-sun-up would be hung for this act. They'd heard recently of four men in Ahousaht who were accused of raping a mamaathnii woman. There were witnesses who vouched for their whereabouts of these young men, but to no avail. All four were publicly hung like meat

displayed in the window at a butcher shop. Kaynaiya would not risk his son's life by bringing in the mamaathnii doctor.

As Cha-chin-sun-up's mind flooded with the memory of shooting his father that day he felt sick and yet it did not feel real. His own belly ached as he saw the blood-drenched cloth wrapped around his father midsection.

A young woman moved to check on Cha-chin-sun-up, wordlessly reserving judgment, with no comment or other indication of sympathy or disdain. She was bewildered though, and for that reason could not meet Cha-chin-sun-up's eyes. From across the room she saw his shock – his spirit dangling on the periphery of his body, waiting until the body righted itself.

As he fell deep into this state the grandmother ancestors blew wisdom into him… "See how easy it is?" they told him, as they sucked breath from his lungs. "See how vulnerable you are?" He could remember them now skeleton shapes, their bones made of cloud vapour. Their hollow eyes were fierce. He remembers shaking in this state.

"Are you breathing?" someone said.

He awoke with a start to a firm shake of his shoulder. His relative, an older man, was shaking him awake. Concern was written all over his face. "Yes, yes."
Cha-chin-sun-up murmured, not wanting to burden these people further as his father sat injured in front of him.

Thunderbird surveyed the scene; his great wings spread across the sky as it cleared. The sun emerged only overcast by white clouds overhead.

The muschim gathered at Maatlapiis. It contained four poles and the roof rose above the ground several feet. A smoke hole was cut into the roof to let out the smoke

that coiled and rose above, wafting into the sky. Cha-chain-sun-up accompanied his father through the doors of Maatlapiis. They were greeted by a man who spoke softly to them, indicating where they were to be seated.

The dirt floor was swept clean early that day, free from debris and stones. It seemed to take ages to cross the floor to their seats. Several people had gathered there already and were quietly busying themselves with organizing the gathering. Nobody was rude enough to stare at them, they only moved aside to let them pass. An elderly man was seated near them and prepared to instruct Cha-chin-sun-up and Kaynaiya as the gathering began to take course.

The muschim from the community slowly filtered into the longhouse. Each family had a section in which they were to sit and therefore left no room for chaotic movement or noise in the house. As each family entered the house their focus changed, grew stronger and chatter was left outside. Everybody was getting their mind together, preparing for whatever work needed to be done.

Cha-chin-sun-up and Kaynaiya sat off to the side of the hawiih who sat still with the discipline they were taught to have from an early age. They watched the cedar fire burning. The old man passed Kaynaiya to move to the middle of the dirt floor by the fire. He was speaker of the house that day. The people recognized this as a signal to settle in and be still, the old man spoke.

"You have heard what has happened today. As we are taught, we cannot change what has occurred today and we are gathered here to move forward from this, to deal with this as a community, as relatives of this man and his son."

Cha-chin-sun-up was prepared to face any consequences today, as nothing could compare to the suffering he knew he'd endure for shooting at his own father. He knew his father would have to live with the shame of his reactionary response. He was prepared to be tried under these mamaathnii laws and hung if need be. But there was something different here today. He tried to recall the voices of the Elders' discussion today. They only sounded blurred and far away. He realized the decision of what was to be done was being dealt with here. The old man continued.

"Kaynaiya consulted with the Elders and the hawiih and has decided what needs to be done. What you are about to witness today are the wishes of Kaynaiya and he wants you to respect this by leaving this business here when you leave Maatlapiis today." The old man surveyed all the people as he spoke, ensuring that his voice carried to every ear and into the minds and hearts of every person in the longhouse. Satisfied he was heard, he made his way back to Kaynaiya across the room. He motioned to the young men who were warming their drums over the fire. They gathered to assist Kaynaiya in his presentation to the people.

Kaynaiya began chanting/announcing and the drummers fell into rhythm within a minute or two. He chanted,

"I was shot today, my son shot me today. It was an accident, deep fog and black clouds blurred his vision today as we were out checking dohoma. No one will send for the mamaathnii doctor. No one will consult the RCMP. What happened was an accident. Let us leave this here today and carry on. These are my instructions."

He repeated these words three more times as he moved around the longhouse floor and stopped in the middle again. He paused then spoke one last time, "I want the

muschim to respect this and to leave this here today and from now on." Cha-chin-sun-up realized with a deep humility how great his father's love was for him. The muschim echoed this with sadness in their eyes.

Life had changed rapidly for Quu'asminaa with the arrival of these people, their schools, their religion and ways. Their laws sucked energy from the people and were not relevant to this land. It changed their sacred ceremonies, inviting secrecy and cloaking their minds with fear and mis-trust.

Kaynaiya eventually recovered from his wound. He and Cha-chin-sun-up made their peace with each other, though Cha-chin-sun-up has had to live with this all his life and it has weighed heavy on his heart as a result.

Cha-chin-sun-up stayed on Tlisiiwuhdii with his father for about four more years before the RCMP were called in to forcibly take him to Christie school. It was Kaynaiya' heart that broke then.

When the RCMP took Cha-chin-sun-up, Kaynaiya felt as if he'd lost a battle and Cha-chin-sun-up explains that to be separated from his children was too painful for his father to bear, especially without Tsiiwokus. This act of forcible removal was devastating for Kaynaiya after he fought so hard to keep his sons safe from that school and their ways – in the end, he drove a nail into the jugular vein of his neck. Cha-chin-sun-up was told too late (the school staff kept it from him) and by the time he made it back home, the funeral was over and his father had been buried. He visited his grave on the Tlisiiwuhdii and does to this day. Cha-chin-sun-up explains that there was no word for suicide – there was no such concept in Cheklesaht. It was simply, his father's choice. The thing he always explains is how much his father loved his family; he could not bear to be without

them. He also knew the weight of fighting alone these new ways of colonialism and saw the infectious nature spread throughout our small community. Like Too-tah, Kaynaiya fought for the hahuuthlii, the muschim, and for their ways to be upheld in the hearts, minds and actions of the muschim – not pushed aside to become someone else. He was restricted from engaging any physical battle as he and the wit wok would have been outnumbered, and the colonialists also had a larger cache of weapons (canons, guns and their laws). These people did not understand and were not interested, or motivated in trying to comprehend that we Quu'asminaa had our own political philosophy, our own, hawiih, huupukwanum, and wit wok.

Chapter Six

Da-da-puh-da (Reflections)

Da da puh da is a Quu'asminaa concept which means to reflect on recent or past events, or to think about and then provide some analysis or discussion to engage with reflect on the turn of the events. In this chapter, I am able to da da puh da, or reflect on School Days and the interconnectedness with all three themes of hawiih, huupukwanum and wit wok Chapter six also includes a discussion of the ongoing struggle today for self-determination within Quu'asminaa communities through engaging in a recent example of one of our haa-huu-pah called the ayts tuu thlaa (Coming of Age Ceremony for Young Women).

The haa-huu-pah, School Days, reflects the Quu'asminaa world-view that 'hishuukitsawalk', everything is connected through the intricate weaving of social, political, spiritual and cultural ramifications of the Indian residential school system. School Days is a haa-huu-pah which demonstrates how all the aspects of hawiih, huupukwanum, and wit wok are interconnected. In the haa-huu-pah, School Days, we saw how Kaynaiya was faced with the difficult decision to keep his children from attending the Christie Residential School. This da puh shitl (decision, to make a decision) was a difficult one as it meant the separation of Cha-chin-sun-up and Frank from their family (their father and other extended family). This was a difficult da puh shitl for Kaynaiya, knowing that the family system is the structure by which Quu'asminaa survived and thrived for generations – one can imagine it must have been a very difficult decision where the choices were not free of harsh consequences, either way. Kaynaiya,

listened to the parents and grandparents of the children and community and heard their disillusionment, their terror and pain and, as such, understood the devastating effects the residential school system had on the Quu'asminaa way of thinking and being (world-view). He led, in this case by example, by keeping his own children away, while preventing himself from interfering in the lives of his other relatives. His attempt to articulate to his children the reasons for not allowing them to attend the school was not an easy task. He bore the burden of the Quu'asminaa value of not passing on fear of something he did not understand himself, to his children. He did not want to terrorize them further with the sexual violence and death by foreign disease which their tluu qwaa naa could not rid their communities of.

Leading by example resonates with our concept of hawiih which entails governing oneself in an honourable way and always keeping in your mind the interests of the muschim and the land. In the end, the people that Kaynaiya were most concerned about were the young people, and the kinds of negative ramifications the residential school was having on their minds and within our communities. He could not control what other parents did, and, in fact, he could see that some parents and grandparents were not in a position, yet, to fight this onslaught of religion and Western education – it was that completely overwhelming. Kaynaiya made a difficult choice based on his ethics and principles, hoping, even at that time, to regenerate a rapidly changing Quu'asminaa world-view.

School days also represents huupukwanum in the ways that the community dealt with Cha-chin-sun-up's actions – when he shot his father. School days demonstrates how our haa-huu-pah describes and teaches Quu'asminaa how to deal with difficulties – the

beginning of which was to accept that an event took place, good or bad, so the effort was put towards deciding 'where to go from here', without belabouring as to why and how the events took place. This prevented quick judgments and judgmental attitudes from impacting actions or decision making, especially when concerning issues of justice. The focus, then, was on how we govern ourselves today, and, how do we, as communities, both hold people accountable, and support them through these difficult or trying events so that we as families and communities can move forward into the future in a positive or effective way. Before a da puh shitl (a decision) was made, the Elders of the community were called on to assist or guide Kaynaiya and Cha-chin-sun-up, as well as other people from the larger communities of Cheklesaht and Kyuquot to deal with the issue. The community talked it out, weighed out the events that took to determine were there any injustices and if so, where did that responsibility lie. There were things to be decided immediately, to lessen the chance of rumour and gossip dominating the issues and causing real disharmony amongst families and communities. There was a gathering at Maatlapiis Longhouse, where the community was told of the shooting and what Kaynaiya's wishes were. At the gathering Cha-chin-sun-up faced the enormity of the impact of his actions – another way of understanding hishuukitsawalk – that this act had an effect on the community as a whole. Kaynaiya had to deal with this publicly as he held the positions within the Cheklesaht community of spokesman for the chiefs, head chief wit wok and beach keeper, within our huupukwanum – he was one of our hawiih. His views and thoughts were cherished and the muschim reciprocated this demonstration of yaauuk and iisaak. This way of dealing with these events, particularly at this time in our Quu'asminaa histories, was an act of resistance to colonial laws which would have

insisted that Cha-chin-sun-up to be hung for murder. The Quu'asminaa understood the issue to be much more complex than simply a case of innocence or guilt in a murder case. This was due to the imposition of the settlers' fundamentally different views on justice, law and governance. In fact, this act of engaging with our own huupukwanum became at one and the same time, an act of resistance and regeneration. The regeneration of our ways began with Tsiiwokus who, in her time, began to see the changes the Quu'asminaa were forced to make and later began to make without much coercion. This regeneration of haa-huu-pah, especially as it pertains to huupukwanum carried on through her husband Kaynaiya who, steadfastly lived by our huupukwanum, and abided by Quu'asminaa laws despite being forced to 'negotiate' with the settlers under the terms and conditions which the settler governments created. Kaynaiya understood implicitly the responsibility to the hahuuthlii and that his son's would need especially to carry this belief and this struggle with them as more and more settlers arrived and intended to stay. He bestowed on our family a desire and firm resolve to uphold and enforce our laws, as the wit wok do and to abide by the laws of the hahuuthlii.

School Days also demonstrates the principles of the wit wok; the ability to fight to the death for the hahuuthlii and the muschim. Kaynaiya threatened to kill the priest who kept trying to coerce him into sending Cha-chin-sun-up and Frank to residential school. This act of resistance was rare in our communities because at this point in time, our warrior societies along with how they engaged in warfare had been suppressed. There are many reasons for this – peace agreements had been made between the Cheklesaht, Kyuquot and Quatsino by that time and, furthermore, by the time the settlers arrived, our warriors were demonized on every imaginable level; spiritually and psychologically

through Christian ethics which claimed we were violent and savage godless heathens and were murdered for fear of uprisings. We eventually stopped engaging in physical warfare with settlers as we soon found we were outnumbered and outgunned. Despite this, we hung on tenaciously to the wit wok, to the principles and ethics which told them to keep fighting for the hahuuthlii and the people, through physical and intellectual battles. The wit wok, especially at this time, continued to instill fear amongst the settlers and for good reason; the priest understood Kaynaiya would follow through with threat to kill or injure the priest in self-defense under pressure to 'give up' his children to the church and the school – that is how strongly he felt about what he saw as the disintegration of his family and community. This willingness to fight physically, to defend the land and the muschim is also evidence of the desire to continue Quu'asminaa on the land to which we belong, Cheklesaht land.

The overall significance of this project is to contribute to the self-determination of Quu'asminaa communities through the regeneration of haa-huu-pah. This is an important and fundamental aspect to regenerating our huupukwanum. Through researching and re-telling our haa-huu-pah, we Quu'asminaa can derive the principles and ethics, which are the foundation of our social, political and spiritual philosophies. For our hawiih, our haa-huu-pah is a reminder of our basic and fundamental obligation to both the hahuuthlii and the muschim – to uphold Quu'asminaa laws, before any band council or any other government or state system.

Haa-huu-pah reminds us, who we are, where we come from, of the land to which we belong, and gives us direction and guidance each day, moving us through towards our collective futures. Haa-huu-pah is an excellent place to begin to understand the way we

think and feel as Quu'asminaa about leadership, governance, wit wok, as well as, education, spirituality, family, community so that we may develop further, what our political philosophies are, and could be, in today's context.

Today, we find amongst Quu'asminaa evidence of a traditional system of government, Quu'asminaa call huupukwanum, though it is disempowered by the imposition of colonialism through the Indian Act and its band council systems. The designation of band council leadership as the 'legitimate' site of governance in the eyes of provincial and federal governments – for example, through the granting of decision-making powers, as well as control over financial matters and the distribution of information – has been particularly disempowering for hawiih. The persistence of this hawiih system, despite such challenges, however, is evidence of the peoples' belief in its original spirit and power. The reality today within Indigenous communities is that there exists a complex state of being, which is referred to as 'two-worlds colliding'. This concept describes how the collision or interaction of colonial and Indigenous world-views creates a fractured or double-consciousness – what Blackfoot scholar Leroy Little Bear calls, a "jagged worldview" (Battiste, p77-75). The consequent de-culturing of Indigenous peoples has had devastating effects on our communities, including the ongoing political, socio-economic challenges we continue to face in today's context.

The hawiih system has been infected with a colonial mentality which is enforced through state-sponsored violence. These colonial or colonized ways continue to play out internally within communities through rage, hatred, oppression and violence. Some hawiih are getting away with rape, domestic abuse, verbal, mental and emotional abuse because of their 'seat' or position within the hereditary traditional system. Even if they

are punished through colonial laws and imprisoned, they are often set free of that system after a short period and communities open their doors to them upon their return, perhaps out of loyalty to this traditional system and the fear of contradicting it. It is not that violence never occurred before colonization; rather it is that our ways of dealing with injustices, with violations of Quu'asminaa laws have been de-legitimized and silenced through colonial institutions and policy, and through outright military and police force. In previous times, we dealt with injustice according to the foundations of haa-huu-pah, as some families still do today. Today, 15 young Quu'asminaa, me included, have begun to discuss the issue of what to do about the rampant sexualized violence within our communities. My friends Na cha u aht and Hawilthup suggested we organize a march demanding the stop of this debilitating force which infects all of our communities. We felt important to politicize our communities to demonstrate how important it is to take action on these kinds of issues we face in our communities. We also believed that our haa-huu-pah about women held the key to counteracting the issue of violence. During this march we passed on these haa-huu-pah to our communities to both resist colonial attitudes and beliefs which have been destroying Indigenous peoples everywhere, while at the same time regenerating our own values which are vital to the self-determination of Indigenous peoples.

The Stop the Violence March that took place in all of the 15 Nuu-chah-nulth nations in May 2006 was a living example of haa-huu-pah or, as Dovie Thomason Sickles, Lakota storyteller, and I have coined it 'storying'. Storying refers to the act of participating and engaging with haa-huu-pah in a reciprocal way from teller to listener and vice versa. The march evolved from political organizing by the women of Tla-o-qui-

aht. A young woman from Tla-o-qui-aht had just participated in her Coming of Age Ceremony, known as the 'ayts tuu thlaa', and, tragically, two weeks later was severely beaten by a man from her own community. The women of Tla-o-qui-aht were outraged and da puh shitl to hold a march within their community to demand the stop of violence. As young people, each from different Nuu-chah-nulth communities, we took up our responsibility to carry this message throughout all of our nations. My cousin Ron advised that we needed to not only demand the stop of violence, but to make an effort to restore balance in our communities. Ron suggested we do this through our original haa-huu-pah about what it is to demonstrate respect for the women and children in our communities, as well as for ourselves. He explained that the haa-huu-pah which best demonstrates this respect is the ayts tuu thlaa, where young women were held up as life-givers – to be supported throughout their life by their families and communities. This ceremony reminded women to hold themselves up, to carry themselves with dignity and self-respect. In this way, we engaged in a haa-huu-pah that breathed hope and possibility for the future grounded in our own Quu'asminaa haa-huu-pah. During our time on the march, we heard community members saying over and over, that violence is tearing us apart, that 'this is not who we are as Quu'asminaa' and that further 'this is not how we are supposed to live'. We are reminded of who we are as Quu'asminaa, as men and women, through this living haa-huu-pah, this act of resistance and love, called ayts tuu thlaa.

As a young woman, a Quu'asa, I am inspired by the haa-huu-pah of my family. These haa-huu-pah were passed on to me for the most part by my grandfather Cha-chin-sun-up and to him from our ancestors; Kaynaiya, Tsiiwokus, Nuuthlaama and Too-tah. They inspired me to take the kind of action that would, in turn, become a new or modern

haa-huu-pah for the next generation to learn from and perhaps, be inspired to take action too. In partaking in the Stop the Violence March, this demonstration of love and respect for ourselves as Quu'asminaa, and an honest desire to face our internalized oppression, I learned to comprehend on a much deeper and visceral level the teachings behind our haa-huu-pah. I learned about leadership, how to act as hawilth, and to encourage younger people to aspire to, in turn, be proud of being Quu'asminaa or to become a hawilth. Each day I participated in the march, in discussions and through pain and through an outflow of pain and tears, I learned to struggle through the mistakes and embrace the small victories, just like my ancestors. I learned more about our huupukwanum, our protocols and how they come to life when combined with a need for action within our communities. I learned an inkling of the strength it takes to face fears, as the wit wok had done for thousands of generations before me – which today means to begin to face the denial, the internalized anger, the violence, and debilitating silence that occurs when we choose to face these difficult issues within our communities. Our haa-huu-pah inspire me to take further action, as they guide me in their wisdom through the sharing of experience. Haa-huu-pah is both re-telling and taking action so that the next generation may be inspired to do the same, in their own way and in their own political contexts. In this way, haa-huu-pah becomes regenerated today, by listening and acting. Haa-huu-pah, when utilized by family and community is the foundation of our huupukwanum, which is the backbone of our struggle for self-determination as Quu'asminaa.

Some suggested strategies for regenerating haa-huu-pah within communities include Vine Deloria Jr.'s suggestion to have potluck dinners or small informal gatherings in which community and or family members share their stories with each other

and participate in re-telling them. These gatherings could happen regularly and include the haa-huu-pah which are traditional, sacred histories as well as modern stories which deal with Quu'asminaa current reality. For example, re-establishing the maathmyaa system which entailed re-enactments of haa-huu-pah would be both plausible and pertinent to the regeneration of huupukwanum through haa-huu-pah. Modern haa-huu-pah that describes our current political, spiritual and social reality is vital to countering the myths of colonialism as well as relevant to the regeneration of haa-huu-pah. There are a growing number of books and texts by Indigenous writers, poets and activists. They need to be studied in schools and read within communities to keep ourselves relevant and informed so we can make informed political decisions to create the fundamental changes necessary to the self-determination of Indigenous peoples.

I also encourage the regeneration of haa-huu-pah through direct action that is grounded both in our Indigenous ethics and principles and our current political reality. The Stop the Violence March of May 2006 is one such example of the regeneration of our haa-huu-pah through political action, as well as the Dakota march called, In the Footsteps of Our Ancestors: the Dakota Marches of the 21st Century which began in 2002. By taking action we are participating in the transmission of haa-huu-pah to future generations and are keeping haa-huu-pah relevant.

Glossary of Cheklesaht Words

Aak- salmon

Aauuk- island

Ayts tuu thlaa- a young woman's Coming of Age Ceremony

Boois- cone shaped fish trap

Chaastims- mink (animal)

Cha nay aht- Big Foot or One Foot, others know them has Sasquatch

Chey-haa- spirits, or ghosts

Chims- bear

Chumus- berries, tastes sweet

Chumus cheechma-sweetheart

Chupits-canoe

Cussiathl- 18

Da da puh da- to think about or reflect on something

Da da puh shitl- to make a decision

Dohoma- fall trap, used by hunters to trap animals

Dukstiis- to dunk in the water during uusmch

Ha a- yes

Haacuum- woman leader or respected woman

Haa-huu-pah- teaching stories, sacred histories

Hahuuthlii- territories, land, sea, mountain, sky and all non-human life

Hay-in- formalized debate or argument

Hawiih- respected people who hold knowledge, leadership

Hawilth- respected person who is knowledgeable, a leader

Himwitsa- stories or haa-huu-pah told at bedtime

Hishuukitsawalk- Quu'asminaa philosophy or world-view meaning 'everything is Connected'

Homace- cedar

Huupukwanum- Indigenous or Quu'asminaa Governance – represented by an actual bentwood box which holds Quu'asminaa ways and all things pertaining to the hahuuthlii.

Iietuup- whale

Iisaak- respect

Ka-in- crow

Koho- king Codfish

Kohthl- captive of war

Komathims- skulls

Kowakshitl- gaffing, spear fishing

Kwith kwitha- to spit out your prayers with water as you uusmch

Kuhmupt- yew wood

Mamaathnii- people living on the water, settlers

Maamish- breast milk

Maathmyaa- what is known today as the potlatch system which refers to the gathering and feasting of Quu'asminaa communities for a multitude of purposes including marriages, memorials, namings, ayts tuu thlaa, etc.

Miaathlii-little germs, as in disease

Mowich-deer

Muhdii- longhouse family

Muschim- the people of the communities

Muu- four

Muuyaapathim- curtain belonging to a hawiih and displays their family history; an abstract form of haa-huu-pah

Nass- all creation

Niklaak- war, poor people getting together to fight for land or hahuuthlii

Nuumaak- a 'bad omen'- being dishonest meant hardship for the future of your family

Nuupuu- six

Oektek- knowledge

Penowaath- canoe that is 60 feet long and used for transporting families and war

Paatspenowaath- 24 foot long canoes used for whaling

Pookmis- refers to the mind; a person going 'wild' after long term exposure to cold weather

Quu'as- any human beings from anywhere

Quu'asa- Real Person (Indigenous person, referring to the west coast people, singular)

Quu-asminaa- Real People (Indigenous Peoples, referring to west coast people, plural)

Qwayaatsiik- wolf

Sa sinn- humming bird

Supnin- bread, bannok

Seitchpa- cougar

Tii-chim- to teach

Tla tlay uuk suk- sea creature, up to fifty feet long; like a giant size version of a bullhead fish

Tlii tlayoh- martin with red around its neck

Tluu qwaa naa- broad term referring to ceremony, as well as referring to Quu'asminaa doctors

Tluutsmaa- woman

Tsakshitl- chant, accompanied by a rattle, each with its own meaning according to the family's haa-huu-pah

Tsaywaaus- rainbow

Tsiithin- duck feathers

Tsuhyuk- whale harpoon

Tliimuxdii- the place behind the belly button; 'who we are'

Tyee- head of something (chief or qwayaatsiik)

Upsquii- dried and smoked fish

Uusmch- ceremonial bathing, in rivers or ocean

Waatii-oh- Indian cheese

Wah-nii- ducks

Wic- to say 'no'

Wii uk- warrior, to be brave or courageous; to face your fears (warrior, singular)

Wit Wok- warriors, plural

Yaama- salal berries, bushes

Yaauuk- love, meaning a 'physical pain stemming from the'

Yushmuksits- 18 feet long canoe used for fur seal hunting

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