

in̓ sii ʔaʔ niš kʷii sii yuk mit kin: The end of one journey is the beginning of another

By

Tommy Happynook
B.A., University of Victoria, 2007

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in the Department of Anthropology

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Abstract

My thesis serves two purposes: First, my research addresses what I have come to recognize as colonial misunderstandings of nuučaañuł haŵiih. My research and writing invoke new ways of thinking about nuučaañuł people, leaders and knowledge. I accomplish this by writing conversationally and by including unedited interviews and poetry. All of which require readers to consider my research outside of their usual perspective. Second, my research responds to a cultural need to archive important family knowledge while providing the opportunity to define, for outsiders, who we are. The interviews archive, in part, the knowledge and teachings of a čaačaasii?asat haŵił. My analysis of this information shows that while my family's knowledge comes from a common source. We all interpret that knowledge in our own way. My research is important academically and politically because of its ability to convey knowledge that has not been simplified, appropriated or colonized for public consumption.

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I want to start by thanking my wife Carly. I could not have completed this thesis without your support, encouragement, understanding and participation, thank you.

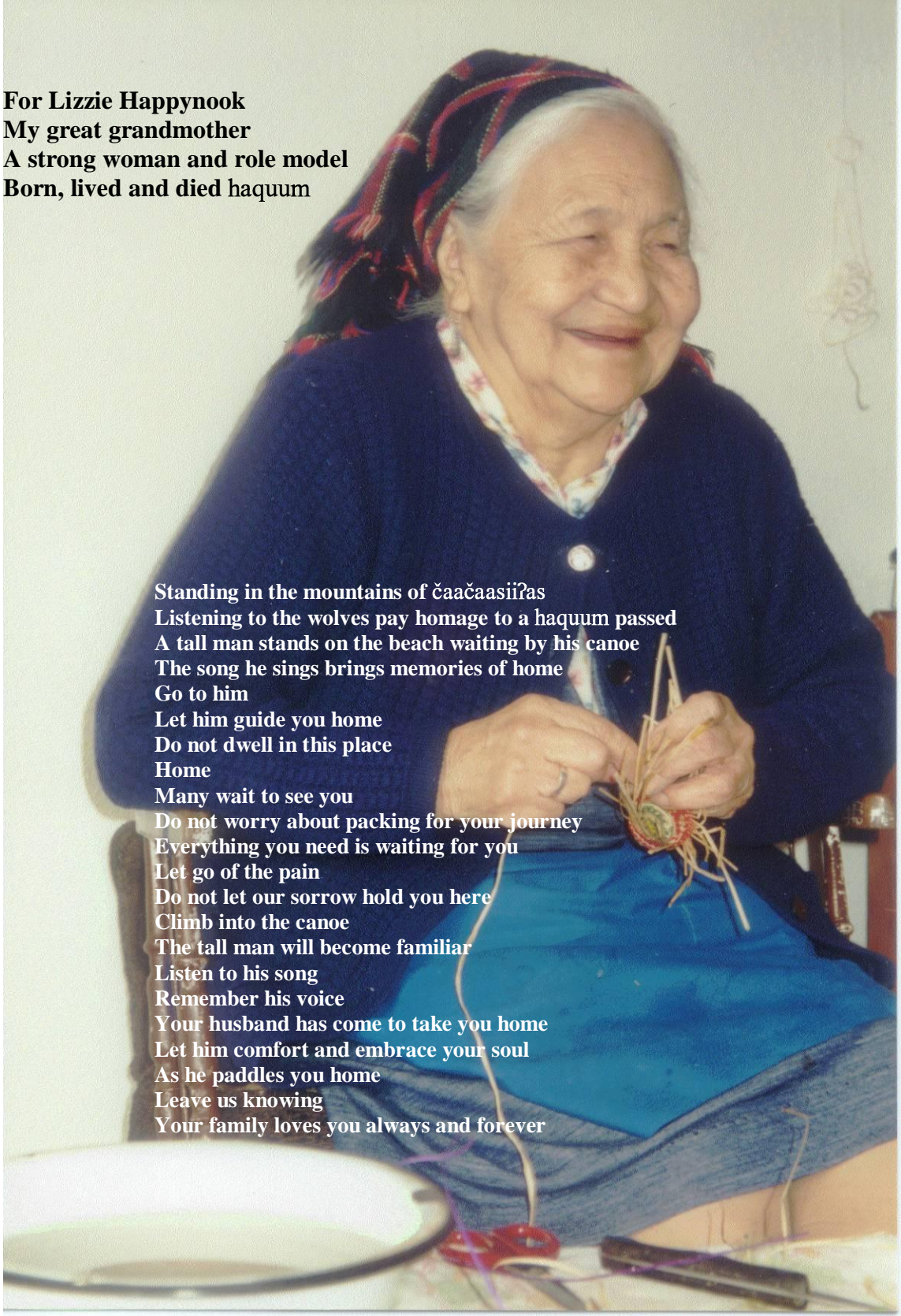
To my mother, father, brother and sister I wish to say thank you for your support, encouragement and participation.

My thanks to Dr. Andrea Walsh, Dr. Jeff Corntassel and Dr. Peter Stephenson whose willingness to let me develop this thesis in my own time and way has produced something that I am very proud of.


I want to convey my appreciation to the following people my Grandmother Elinor Rhynas, Barb Tootchie, Barney Williams, Robert Dennis, ki-ke-in chuuchkamalthnii, Tess Smith, Aunty Hilda and Ella Nicolaye. Thank you for helping me to find the right words. And to Stella Peters, thank you for supporting me throughout my education.

Dedication

**For Lizzie Happynook
My great grandmother
A strong woman and role model
Born, lived and died haquum**



Standing in the mountains of čaačaasiiʔas
Listening to the wolves pay homage to a haquum passed
A tall man stands on the beach waiting by his canoe
The song he sings brings memories of home
Go to him
Let him guide you home
Do not dwell in this place
Home
Many wait to see you
Do not worry about packing for your journey
Everything you need is waiting for you
Let go of the pain
Do not let our sorrow hold you here
Climb into the canoe
The tall man will become familiar
Listen to his song
Remember his voice
Your husband has come to take you home
Let him comfort and embrace your soul
As he paddles you home
Leave us knowing
Your family loves you always and forever

A large, multi-colored woven basket with a wide rim and a sturdy base, set against a light background. The basket is made of natural fibers, possibly bamboo or reed, and features a complex weave pattern with horizontal bands of different colors including red, green, and blue. The rim is finished with a thick, light-colored material, possibly cotton or wool, that is folded over the edge. The basket is shown from a slightly elevated perspective, resting on a wooden surface.

**Step out from the shadows of silence
We are the great orators
Silence our demise
Surrounded by ignorant and angry voices
Telling us lies
Drawing strength from our silence
I will speak out, breaking the silence
One voice turning too many
I speak out in written words
So many have forgotten how to listen**


A Note to Readers

A note on the spelling of nuučaañuť words in this document. We nuučaañuť have a standardized alphabet which can be found on the nuučaañuť website (<http://www.nuuchahnulth.org>). I have chosen to use the nuučaañuť alphabet in my thesis. That said, my choices in the spelling of these words may not be exact as I am still learning how to use some of the characters in this alphabet. See appendix A for the translations and pronunciation guide for the nuučaañuť words. Finally, it should be noted that the written form of the nuučaañuť language does not use capital letters.

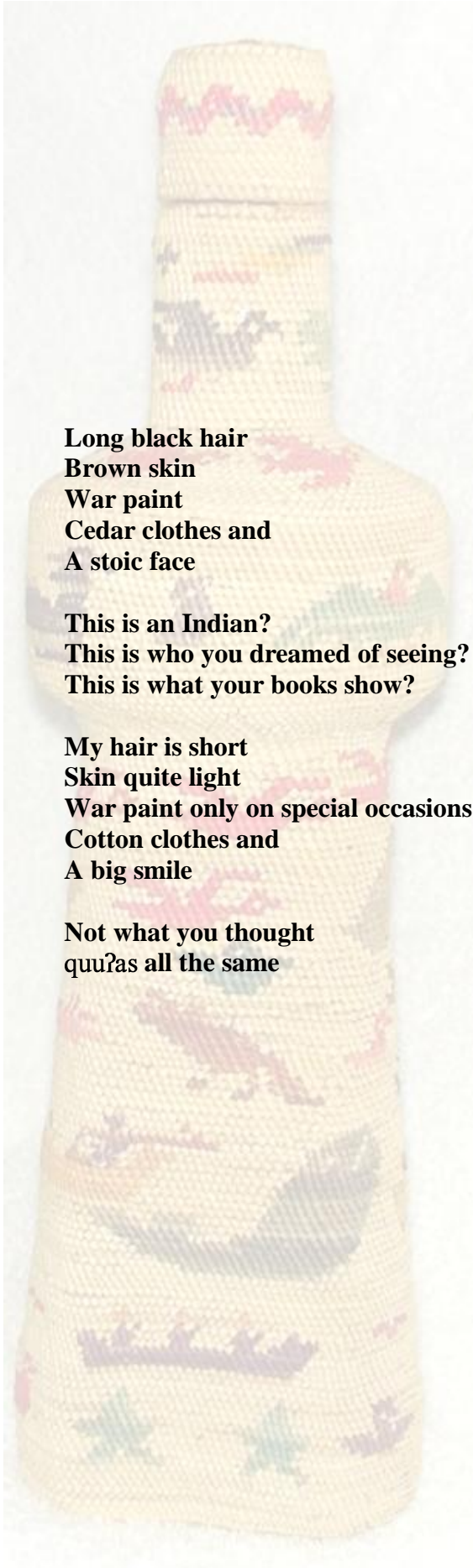
Why talk about the meaning of being a čaačaasii?asat hawit? I am talking about these things because unfortunately we find ourselves in a historic time and place that privileges the written word over the spoken word. Culturally I believe that we are in a situation where we need to share things that are not common knowledge to all of our people and certainly non-nučaañuť people who we encounter every day. I would like to share an experience that sums up the notion more effectively. I was at the potlatch in which Bert Mack passed his hereditary seat and title to his daughter Anne. Cliff Atleo Sr. (the current President of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council) spoke on behalf of the Mack family. He spoke about how everything that was about to take place would be explained in a lot of detail. He talked about how this was not a usual custom but because of the disruption to our cultural common knowledge he was going to explain to the people in attendance everything that was to take place. I am in complete agreement that our cultural knowledge needs to be shared, within reason, so as to again build up the common cultural knowledge among nuučaañuťat. I want there to be something for the future generations of my family as well as something that can perhaps help non-čaačaasii?asat to understand our worldview.

Finally, I want to be very clear that the knowledge found within this thesis comes from and belongs to my family. Please do not generalize what I have chosen to include in my thesis. It would be a mistake to assume that what I have written is common to all nuučaañuť people. To do that is to misunderstand what I am doing with my research. I am speaking only about the things that come from my family. That is not to say that my family are the only ones who think in this way or hold the exclusive rights to speak about the knowledge within this document. Rather it is to say that I only speak on behalf of myself as čaačaasii?asat.

Introduction



**I am,
8 generations from contact
7 generations from sickness and death
6 generations from religious bombardment
5 generations from legislated destruction and genocide
4 generations from anything to survive
3 generations from things burned
2 generations from lost in drugs and alcohol
1 generation from having to leave our home to survive
0 generations from the seeing the renewal of our greatness**



**Long black hair
Brown skin
War paint
Cedar clothes and
A stoic face**

**This is an Indian?
This is who you dreamed of seeing?
This is what your books show?**

**My hair is short
Skin quite light
War paint only on special occasions
Cotton clothes and
A big smile**

**Not what you thought
qu?as all the same**

me. I was caught between resentment and understanding as to why my parents left our community when I was one year old. I do understand the reasons why we left and have reconciled the feelings of resentment I once had. I had a very privileged upbringing. I went to very good schools and received a quality western education. This education allowed me to eventually graduate from the University of Victoria (UVic) with a Bachelor of Arts degree with Distinction. My major was in anthropology and I minored in Indigenous Studies.

In the summer of 2003 my family along with 30 other huuſiiʔat members, representing five of the seven huuſiiʔat haʔiih, went to the small town of Rossland, British Columbia in search of a wife. This was the first time in several generations that my family has gone to ciʔas and ʔučhaa when proposing marriage. After several hours of trying to convince Carly to come out and accept us, we decided to trick her. My great grandmother told Carly that she wanted her to come out, sit down and talk with her.

As Carly descended the stairs of her mother's house two young bears escorted her towards my great grandmother and the many gifts we had piled on the lawn. As Carly passed the pile of gifts she lightly touched them and thus acknowledged to us her acceptance of the marriage proposal. Once our side calmed down, my mother and sister presented her with a shawl and cedar headband. After eagle down was sprinkled in her hair, our speaker for that day, ki-ke-in, explained to Carly's family that she would be given the name ʔaasaawis.

The name ʔaasaawis means "precious on the beach" and refers to someone who is knowledgeable and wise and a person that you want to give knowledge to because they will protect it and pass it on. This name was chosen for her by my father because he felt it describes the kind of woman she is and what she means to our family. The name also represents a connection we have to the tyii haʔiʔ of huuſiiʔat. Carly has been publicly acknowledged as belonging to the čaačaasiiʔasat and huuſiiʔat.

Introduction of Research

I am researching what it means to be a haʔiʔ from čaačaasiiʔas because I want to better understand my place within my family's past and future as well as find a path of understanding between anthropology and my čaačaasiiʔasat, huuſiiʔat and/or nuučaañuʔ knowledge. I have purposefully structured my thesis in such a way that brings the conflicting worlds of anthropology and čaačaasiiʔas together. I am not trying to fit my work into an anthropological space. I am trying to work from a space that runs parallel to anthropology and avoids having my family's knowledge put through a non-Indigenous filter for future appropriation.

The purpose of my research is to help me find a deeper understanding of what is a very specific cultural methodology tailored to this work alone. The specific cultural methodology I am using draws on my lifetime of training and immersion within my čaačaasiiʔasat, huuſiiʔat and nuučaañuʔ culture as well as some of the tools I have learned during my studies in anthropology at UVic. The understanding I have achieved is

most powerfully expressed in my discussions in Chapter Three and the poetry I have included throughout my thesis.

The importance of my research is in its ability to convey meaningful and informative knowledge that has not been simplified, appropriated or colonized solely for non-Indigenous consumption. I am certain that the need for Indigenous knowledge which has not been simplified, filtered or appropriated is crucial politically, academically and in the everyday lives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike. My use of poetry and academic language echoes the historic speeches of my ancestors. For examples of nuučaanuṭ speeches, I would recommend Sapir and Swadesh (1939). Lastly, the structure of my thesis merges a personal and emotional engagement with critical analysis.

The methodology that I have used in my research does not quite fit into the standard definition of typical academic research. My methodology is derived from a čaačasiiʔasat, huuṣiiʔat and nuučaanuṭ understanding of how to live in this world in a good way and as a proper human being. As you will come to realize, I have had to transform the conventional definition of methodology used in academic research to one that privileges my family's customary teachings.

This has been a frustrating process because it is so hard to translate our concepts and principles into the English language. There are many concepts that I understand because of my čaačasiiʔasat, huuṣiiʔat and nuučaanuṭ training and worldview. Unfortunately it would take pages and pages to translate accurately many of our concepts into a worldview that is not cohesive with ours.

In point of fact, there are a number of nuučaanuṭ books written by nuučaanuṭ people who have taken some of the concepts I am talking about and explained them. For example, Atleo (2004), Clutesi (1969; 1990), Ellis & Swan (1981), George (2003), Keitlah, Wilma, and Foxcroft (1995), ki-ke-in (2006), Nookmiis (1964), Sa:ya:ch'apis, Tom, William, Dick La:maho:s, Big Fred and Qwishanishim (2004), Sa:ya:ch'apis, Tom, William, Dick La:maho:s, Captain Bill and Tyee Bob (2000) and Webster (1983).

In my experience many anthropologists have been satisfied with making broad generalizations about my people and our culture. My research is much more localized and specific. My focus will be on a single family from the huuṣiiʔat, my family, the čaačasiiʔasat. To be fair I will say that my family has always been reluctant to talk with outsiders. This stems from a long history of protecting our family's knowledge of whaling.

While this is an academic paper, I have brought in elements of my culture and used methods of creative expression to ground my work in a reality that thrives on human connections. This will be most apparent in the interviews and conversational approach to my writing. It is important to remember the poetry I have integrated into my thesis describes my thinking in a specific time and place. The ideas and concepts may yet change as I learn and experience new things.

Simultaneously, my poems are creative expression and evidence of analysis. At the beginning of each chapter I have included specific poems that draw out the themes that are being discussed. It is in my poetry that readers will come to understand both the discussions and conclusions of my research. This approach is not as direct as a traditional thesis because I am not following a traditional and linear academic style. However, I believe that my thesis it is more affective in its ability to connect with people.

Introduction of Methodology:

In this section of my thesis I want to introduce and discuss the methodology that I have been using for this project. Contrary to more traditional academic projects I came into this process with a topic of great importance to both myself and my family; namely the meaning of being a hawīŕ from čaačaasii?as. After I completed my coursework I began my research by conducting a literature review. Having a good idea of what has been said around the topic of hawīih. I was not surprised to find that the available academic literature was disappointing in both its accuracy and abundance.

My research is a departure from this existing body of anthropological literature which includes such publications as: Ames (1981; 1994), Drucker (1939; 1951; 1955; 1963), Drucker & Fisher (1972), Drucker and Tsuruta (1965), Harkin (1998), Rosman & Rubel (1986), Rousseau (2001), and Wike (1958). These publications are a few examples of research that examine the social stratification and evolution of Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples, an extremely general and broad category that the huuŕii?at have been placed in by scholars.

While this literature has its place and needs to be acknowledged, the limitation of the work makes it difficult to incorporate it into my research. I believe my research will show that the understanding of our hawīih is far more complex than previous research has even considered. Past and present research attempts to fit Indigenous cultures into non-Indigenous theories and models. Non-Indigenous knowledge and values are being privileged while Indigenous knowledge and values are ignored or appropriated.

After completing a literature review I began preparing to conduct interviews. My preparation consisted of gathering the materials I needed to conduct the interviews as well as gathering my family together so that all of the people, at the time, involved with my project could meet and discuss what would be taking place over the next several months.

I would like to acknowledge the fact that while this research was done by me, the participants, who are my family, were an integral part of this entire process. While this acknowledgement parallels anthropological methods of informed consent and more recent ideas about community-based and involved research, my reasons for acknowledging the role of my family are cultural as each participant is the owner of whatever knowledge they chose to share. Without their complete involvement and acknowledgement I would be ignoring important cultural teachings and unable to complete my research ethically.

Upon receiving formal approval from the UVic Human Research Ethics Board I sent out twelve questions to each participant about a month before I started the first interview with my father. It was necessary for the participants to have time to consider whether the questions being asked were the appropriate questions to ask, what they would share and what they are allowed to share.

In all of the interviews but the second with my father, I went to the participant's home. This was for several reasons, foremost because the participants choose this option and I believe that being in their homes allowed them to feel more open and safe during the interview process.

I interviewed five members of my family. Each of whom draws on a common familial knowledge but brings their own personal perspective, knowledge and experiences. The five members of my family who participated in my research are my father, mother, wife, younger brother and younger sister.

The interviews were extremely fluid and organic in nature. For example, some participants read the questions themselves while others preferred me to ask them. In some cases, participants answered the questions quickly and concisely after which I had to engage them further in order to draw out more information. In another case I simply turned on the audio recorder and said nothing as the participant shared what knowledge they believed I needed to know.

Having patience with Indigenous participants is crucial to successful research. From past experiences as well as this one I know that the questions I am asking may not be directly answered. Rather the information sought may be relayed in a story drawn from the participant's lifetime of experiences. This form of relaying information can be tricky if you are not prepared for it because it requires the researcher to listen, learn and understand the meaning of what they are being told.

Once I had finished all of the interviews I personally and very slowly transcribed them. After this, each participant received a copy of the original transcript for review. This allowed each participant the opportunity to review the transcript and make any additions or deletions to the data. My supervisor suggested this approach so as to ensure that any knowledge that was shared but should not be written down was not.

My thesis is a divergence from more typically academic papers both in the structural and visual aspects as well as in how I have chosen to share knowledge. At the beginning of each chapter I have included a number of poems. I want readers to carefully consider each poem and its place within the thesis. The poems directly connect to the ideas and concepts that are being discussed within the chapter they begin. These poems are my understanding, discussion and analysis of what it means to be *hawit*.

The methods by which I write poetry are reminiscent of how my ancestors acquired songs, chants and dances. With all but a couple, the poems that I have written come to me

like a vision, through dreams and lived experiences. Most often the words form in my head and I am responsible for remembering them and eventually writing them down. Even as the words of the poem are coming to me I am hearing a beat and a rhythm that accompanies the words. All of these elements come together so that when it is time to repeat what I have learned I will know how fast and in what way to speak the words.

Why have I included poetry in my thesis? There are several reasons. Foremost, I include poetry because that is how I am best able to articulate my čaačaašiiʔasat knowledge, emotions and worldviews in the English language. Patricia Leavy states that “poems push feelings to the forefront capturing heightened moments of social reality,” (2009:63) which to a degree is what anthropologists do. Anthropologists try to capture, through research and science, glimpses of social reality. While poetry expresses emotion and feeling, science prefers objectivity.

“Poetry as a research strategy challenges the fact-fiction dichotomy and offers a form for the evocative presentation of data.” (Leavy 2009:67). In the same way that my thesis is exploring a new topic in anthropology; my poems are exploring a new way of expressing knowledge within a science-based academic space.

While both Leavy and I are using poetry as a means of expression, there exists a fundamental difference. Leavy uses the data she gathered during her interviews as inspiration for the poetry she writes and provides an excellent example of this on page 80 of her book “Method meets Art: arts-based research practice (2009).

Conversely, my use of poetry is not a response to the data from my interviews. These interviews formalize discussions my family has been having long before I started my research. The poetry I have written is in conversation with the ideas and concepts being discussed. The poetry sutures my knowledge with that of the participants and demonstrates the “congruence between the evocative capabilities of poetry and autoethnography.” (Leavy 2009:71). By bringing together poetry and autoethnography I too am trying to “provide meaning, evoke emotion, and engage in reflexive practice.” (71).

Background Information: nuučaañuʔ, huufiiʔat, čaačaašiiʔasat

I have written the following background information so that people not familiar with the nuučaañuʔ can better understand the complexities of our nations and how such a small area on the west coast of Vancouver Island can be so diverse and yet so closely related. I will also explain why I sometimes will refer to myself as being nuučaañuʔ, huufiiʔat and/or čaačaašiiʔasat.

nuučaañuʔ

The nuučaañuʔ are comprised of sixteen autonomous nations. From north to south they are ka:ʔyu:kʔtʔhʔ / che:k:ʔles7etʔhʔ; ehattesaht; nuchatlaht; mowachaht / muchalaht; hesquiaht; tsesaht; hupacasaht; ahousaht; tla-o-qui-aht; ucluelet; toquaht; uchucklesaht;

hū-ay-aht; ditidaht; pacheedaht; and makah. The nuučaañuṭ have inhabited, fought for and defended, never ceding, the west coast of Vancouver Island since time immemorial (see appendix B).

Geographically the nuučaañuṭ are located on the west side of what is now called Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada. The term nuučaañuṭ means “villages along the mountains and sea” and is a rather new designation for describing the fifteen nations living on the Canadian side of the border. The sixteenth nuučaañuṭ nation is the Makah, who are located on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington, USA. In terms of kinship the Canada and USA border is nothing more than a line on a map.

hūfiiʔat

The hūfiiʔat are one of the sixteen nuučaañuṭ nations. The hūfiiʔat are a confederation of nine nations inhabiting the eastern portion of Barkley Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The hūfiiʔat are an amalgamation of several tribes that came together before and during the Long Wars in Barkley Sound and are now represented as hereditary families within the hūfiiʔat.

Today hūfiiʔat ḥahuuṭhii encompasses the lands, waters, air and natural resources between tsu-si-aht falls in the south, north up the coast to Imperial Eagle Channel, the Chain and Deer Group Islands; between Spencer Mountain inland to the east and west beyond sight into the open ocean (see appendix B).

During the time that my thesis was written only seven of the original nine hūfiiʔat hereditary seats are presently occupied. The currently seated ḥawiih are na-sis-mis (Derek Peters); ya-thlu-ah (Jeff Cook) this seat passed to ya-thlu-ah through his grandmother who was a Moses; hapinyuk (Tom Happynook); emp-tus (Darlene Nookmus); che-chachis-toolth (Andy Clappis); we-hey-uk-chiq (Victor Williams Jr.); and klats-miq (Bill Frank). According to hūfiiʔat elected Chief Councillor Robert Dennis, the two unoccupied seats belong to the thla-ma-hoos family from tluutus and the namilth family from caa-aa-tuus and the Chain Group Islands. It is my understanding that the next of kin for the namilth and thla-ma-hoos families are trying to be located as the direct line has been broken resulting from colonialism.

My family is closely connected through blood or marriage to the other hūfiiʔat ḥawiih families. We are connected to the Moses seat, as mentioned previously, through my great-great grandmother Annie Moses and her marriage to my great-great grandfather Tommy Hapenook. We are connected to the Nookemus seat through my great-great aunt Emptus who married Old Nookemus. Together Emptus and Old Nookemus had a son named Edward. From Edward the seat passed to Benson who in turn passed it to his daughter Darlene. We are connected to the Williams seat through my great-great aunt sheeshah who married Charlie Williams. We are connected to the Peters seat through my great grandmother who is the elder sister of Derek Peters' grandmother. We are connected to the Clappis seat through the Williams family. Annie Williams married Andy Clappis and they had Chester who fathered the present ḥawiiṭ Andy Clappis. We are connected to

the Frank seat through the Williams family. My great-great aunt sheeshah's grandson Leonard married Elsie Robinson and they had Lenora who married hawit Bill Frank.

The huuſii?at have been a strong and determined force in working towards a treaty. In 1993 the huuſii?at officially entered into the BC Treaty Process. In April 2007, the huuſii?at ratified their constitution. In July 2007, the huuſii?at voted in favour of ratifying the Maa-nulth Final Agreement. In November 2007, the provincial government of British Columbia ratified the Maa-nulth Final Agreement. In April 2009, the huuſii?at signed off on the Maa-nulth Final Agreement. In June 2009, the Governor General of Canada signed off on the Maa-nulth Final Agreement, giving it royal ascent. The huuſii?at are patiently waiting for the treaty effective date which is tentatively set for 2011.

čaačaasii?as

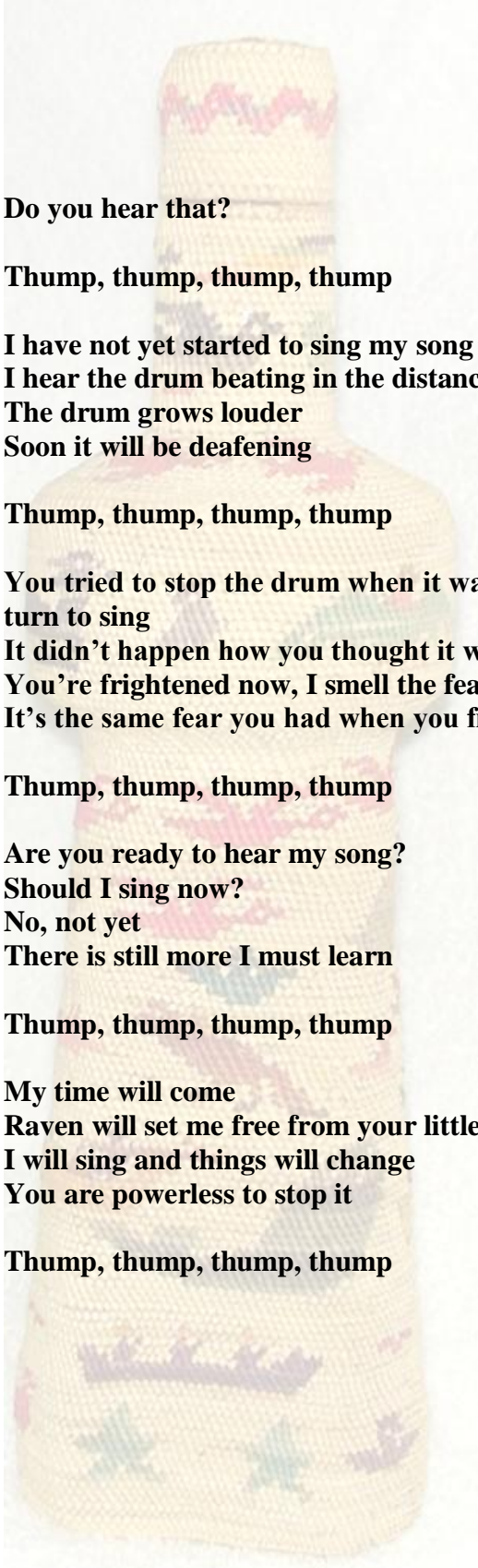
I am čaačaasii?asat. My family comes from čaačaasii?as. The blood, bones and spirits of my ancestors are in the ḥahuuṯhii of čaačaasii?as. čaačaasii?as is found in the northern part of the huuſii?at ḥahuuṯhii and is situated north of the Sarita River and south of San Mateo Bay (see appendix B). čaačaasii?as is a small but very important watershed and is where my family first received our hawitmis and huupuuk^wnam from the creator. Our ḥahuuṯhii provided us with the resources, medicines and sacred ritual places necessary to be successful whalers and we were successful whalers. Today, our ḥahuuṯhii provides us with spiritual sustenance and some of the medicines and resources that we need. The main river of čaačaasii?as has 38 tributaries and is still known for its unique and plentiful Coho salmon run.

The čaačaasii?asat became a part of the huuſii?at during what non-Indigenous scholars call the Long Wars which was a pre-contact period of war in Barkley Sound. According to my family's oral histories we were reluctant and the last of the tribes to join. It was after much negotiating that my family chose to amalgamate. In the end it was negotiated that our family's position within the huuſii?at would be as the head whalers, holding the third seat, of nine, in the hereditary hierarchy. Our seat is to the left of the tyii hawit of huuſii?at. Today, the hereditary hierarchy within our current system of government has more to do with prestige than it does with authority. This is again changing as we move into a time of self governance and re-establishment of our hereditary rights.

There is not much in the written history about the čaačaasii?asat other than a few references to the name. My father explained to me that this is due to the fact that my family are whalers and our whaling knowledge was not to be shared outside of our family. This secrecy stems from the notion that if anyone knew our rituals and medicines then anyone could attempt to do what we do. Sharing ritual knowledge and procedures outside your family can cause that knowledge and its power to weaken. Therefore, the čaačaasii?asat had a distrust of those outsiders seeking knowledge that was not theirs to know.

I would also like to note that čaačaasii?as was not a place where people outside our family went very often. My family was very secretive of our whaling rituals and sacred

places and were somewhat reclusive. čaačaasiiʔas was not considered a good place for people to wander uninvited as one of the many penalties for disturbing sacred whaling places was death.



Do you hear that?

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**I have not yet started to sing my song
I hear the drum beating in the distance
The drum grows louder
Soon it will be deafening**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**You tried to stop the drum when it was my great grandfather's
turn to sing
It didn't happen how you thought it would, did it?
You're frightened now, I smell the fear
It's the same fear you had when you first arrived on our shores**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**Are you ready to hear my song?
Should I sing now?
No, not yet
There is still more I must learn**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


**My time will come
Raven will set me free from your little box
I will sing and things will change
You are powerless to stop it**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


Chapter One: Key Concepts




This is a photo overlooks čaačaaasii?as and the ocean. It was taken from the top of Mt. Blenheim by Tom Happynook Sr.

A round, woven basket with a red and purple pattern. The basket is made of light-colored straw or reeds, woven in a tight, textured pattern. It features a prominent red band near the top and a purple band near the bottom, with a red band at the very bottom. The basket is set against a light, textured background.

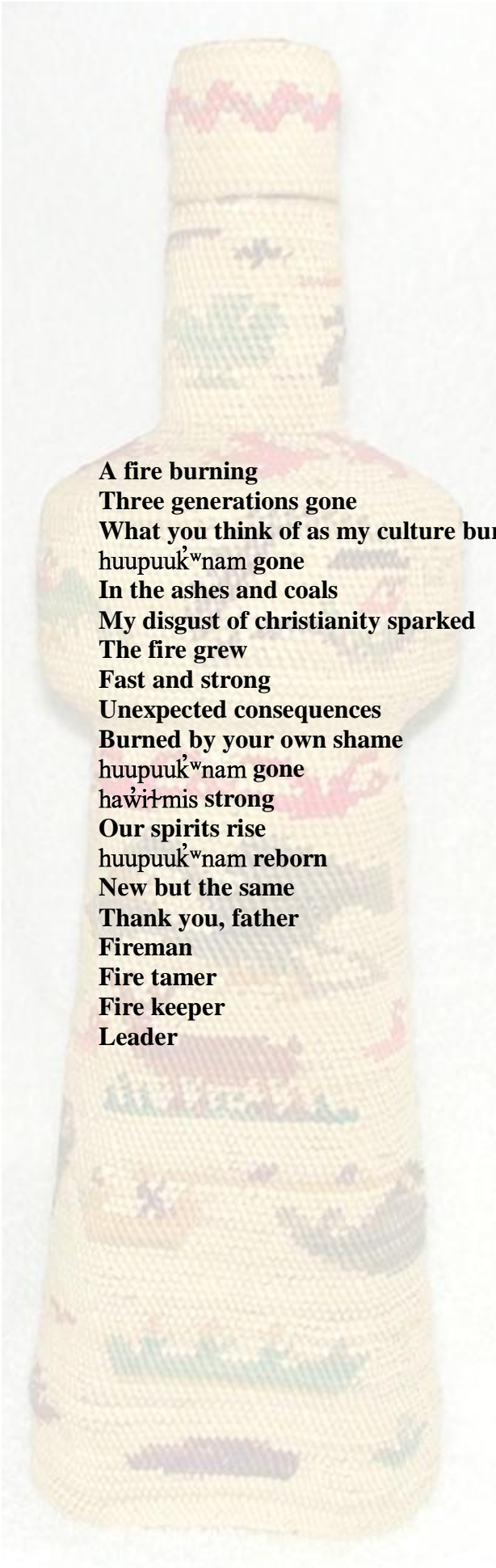
**In the beginning there was...
Do you even know?
You claim ties and rights to a land
Whose history you do not even know
Masquerading as the leaders of a nation
Claiming the land from which we come
Our blood is in the land and the land is in us
You have warred over this land
We have died for this land**



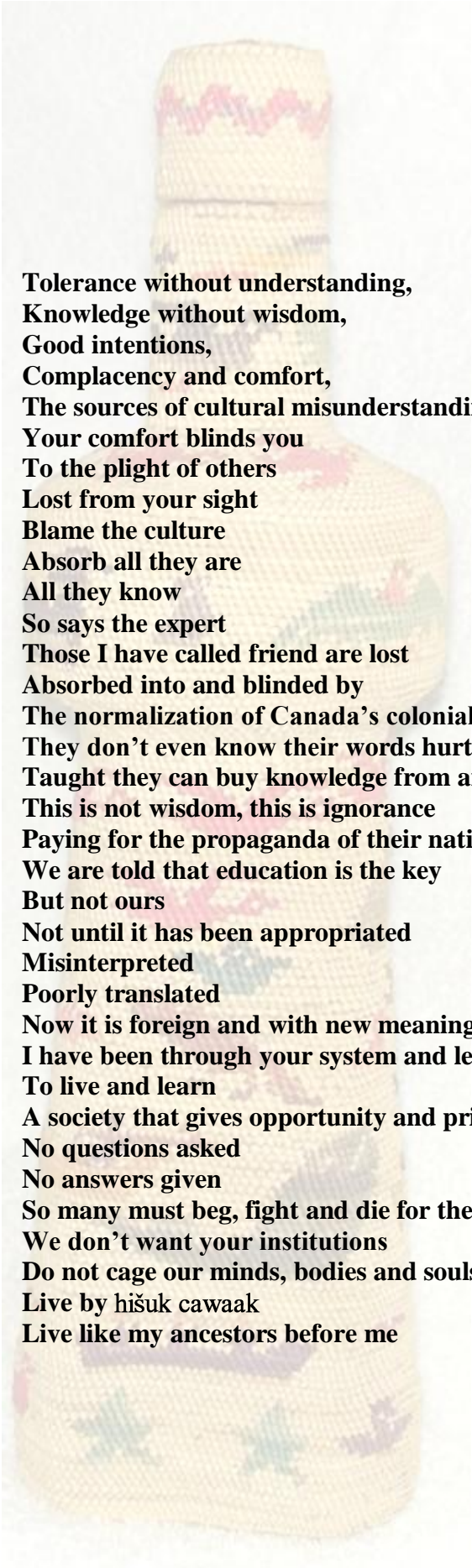
**You come here
Steal our lands, water, air, resources
Knowledge and children
You take everything
Still we resist
I will not grieve the losses of my people anymore
Nor will I not forget
The time for mourning has passed
We are here to stay**



**Trees gone
Mountains moved
Dirty fishless streams
maatmaŋii come and go
Resources all but gone
Where do we go?
This is our home
We have nowhere else to go
What do we do?
What we have always done
We survive**



**A fire burning
Three generations gone
What you think of as my culture burned
huupuuk^wnam gone
In the ashes and coals
My disgust of christianity sparked
The fire grew
Fast and strong
Unexpected consequences
Burned by your own shame
huupuuk^wnam gone
hawit^wmis strong
Our spirits rise
huupuuk^wnam reborn
New but the same
Thank you, father
Fireman
Fire tamer
Fire keeper
Leader**



**Tolerance without understanding,
Knowledge without wisdom,
Good intentions,
Complacency and comfort,
The sources of cultural misunderstanding
Your comfort blinds you
To the plight of others
Lost from your sight
Blame the culture
Absorb all they are
All they know
So says the expert
Those I have called friend are lost
Absorbed into and blinded by
The normalization of Canada's colonialism
They don't even know their words hurt
Taught they can buy knowledge from an institution
This is not wisdom, this is ignorance
Paying for the propaganda of their nation
We are told that education is the key
But not ours
Not until it has been appropriated
Misinterpreted
Poorly translated
Now it is foreign and with new meaning
I have been through your system and left feeling inadequate
To live and learn
A society that gives opportunity and privilege out of hand
No questions asked
No answers given
So many must beg, fight and die for the little they have
We don't want your institutions
Do not cage our minds, bodies and souls
Live by hišuk cawaak
Live like my ancestors before me**

A person cannot fully understand nuučaañuṭ ways of knowing without some understanding of the nuučaañuṭ language. The nuučaañuṭ language is like the nuučaañuṭ people, very diverse. Our language has many words that can mean the same thing or single words that can mean many things. Translation and simplification of the nuučaañuṭ language into English is not enough. Our words need to be understood as they relate to our families, territories, ceremonies, histories and protocols. Understanding the connection between our ways of knowing and our language will be crucial for future nuučaañuṭ generations. In discussing the concepts of haṽiṭmis, ḥahuuṭhii and huupuuk^wnam I will draw on my own family's teachings and history to convey these concepts as key components of my knowledge, worldview and identity.

I have chosen to use the words haṽiṭmis, ḥahuuṭhii and huupuuk^wnam because these words describe important concepts which are integral to understanding what it means to be haṽiṭ. The connections between what it means to be haṽiṭ and haṽiṭmis, ḥahuuṭhii and huupuuk^wnam will become more apparent in the discussions below. I am aware that there are other words that describe what I am talking about. For example, where I would say hišuk cawaak someone from another nuučaañuṭ nation would say hišukiš cawaak. What I want readers to understand is that I am using words and definitions that my family taught me and have used for generations.

Words like ḥahuuṭhii, huupuuk^wnam and haṽiṭmis are what my father calls “big words.” They are words that cannot really be translated into English accurately or easily. Unfortunately, in the last several decades, it appears that these words have been simplified, in both their use and translation, possibly for the purposes of treaty negotiations.

I have had several discussions about these words with nuučaañuṭ elders and have discovered that there are in fact a number of different words for describing these concepts. For example, in a discussion about huupuuk^wnam three out of the four people said they used a different word to describe what I was talking about and only one of the four people said that they had been taught the word huupuuk^wnam. The following words are the one that I have been raised with.

ḥahuuṭhii

I will start with ḥahuuṭhii because it is the ḥahuuṭhii that provides the many places and resources that a haṽiṭ needs in order to serve his people. According to a document in the huufiiṭat archives titled “Haholthe,” written in 1988 by Roy Haiyupis, the literal definition of ḥahuuṭhii is “the rights of the chieftainship”. This definition is important in understanding the way that the huufiiṭat people see the world. This definition implies ownership but not in the same way that ownership is understood in Canada. ḥahuuṭhii in the nuučaañuṭ world refers to exactly what Roy wrote. The haṽiṭ has the rights to the lands, waters, air, natural and supernatural resources within his ḥahuuṭhii. However, there is more to it if you are to truly understand ḥahuuṭhii. Having ḥahuuṭhii means that the haṽiṭ has a responsibility and obligation to respect and take care of his ḥahuuṭhii and provide for his people and family.

In the time before contact we determined our boundaries using geographic markers such as mountains, rivers and islands. Not having maps and written declarations of these boundaries required that our people walked the ḥahuuṯhii to ensure that our boundaries were being maintained and not infringed upon by others. Many wars have been waged over the centuries for the rights to ḥahuuṯhii. Unfortunately, boundaries are now being negotiated, in some cases, by people whose only notion of ḥahuuṯhii comes from Western politically and economically constructed lines on a map. Arguably, walking your ḥahuuṯhii creates a much stronger sense of place and connection than lines on a map.

The translation of ḥahuuṯhii provided by Roy Haiyupis is interesting because of the laws that exist in the nuuṯaaṅurṯ culture with respect to resource rights and ownership. For example, when a whale was being distributed among the people, certain cuts belonged to certain families and you had to be very careful to not cut into another family's piece. In this sense the whale represented the huuṯiiṯat territory and had to be distributed accordingly. In cases of overlapping territory, or if a whale pulled you into another tribe's territory then that whale becomes the property of the haṯiṯ whose ḥahuuṯhii you are in. You must take the whale to that haṯiṯ, who will be obligated to have a feast and distribute the whale among his and your people.

In October of 2009, ki-ke-in chuuchkamalthnii, a good friend and advisor from the hupacasaht tribe, told me a story about a time when a group of people went to pick berries and after a long time of picking they had filled their canoe to the brim. However, they had picked the berries in the ḥahuuṯhii of another haṯiṯ. When they realized this mistake they had to go to him, which they should have done in the first place. Upon arriving and explaining that they had picked berries from his ḥahuuṯhii, they offered him a share. For his share the haṯiṯ took the whole canoe load, as was his right and then distributed them among his people. Afterward the haṯiṯ gave his permission to the pickers to fill another canoe load to take back to their people.

While it is important to understand and respect the fact that ḥahuuṯhii is owned by a haṯiṯ; it is perhaps more important to understand that with having ḥahuuṯhii, a haṯiṯ has the responsibility to manage and share the resources in his ḥahuuṯhii with the muṯṯum. Without the help and support of the muṯṯum it would be impossible to manage, care for and respect ḥahuuṯhii. There exists a relationship of reciprocity between haṯiṯ, muṯṯum and ḥahuuṯhii. One cannot exist to its fullest without the others.

ḥahuuṯhii is the place that provides a haṯiṯ, his family and the muṯṯum he serves with the necessary resources to live. ḥahuuṯhii includes, but is not limited to the land, water, air and resources both natural and supernatural that a haṯiṯ is responsible for. My family's ḥahuuṯhii is čaačaaṯiiṯas, it is where we gather our spiritual and physical materials for everyday life, but also for whaling. Within a ḥahuuṯhii all of the responsibilities, jurisdictions and authorities fall to the haṯiṯ. However, as with all things a haṯiṯ cannot manage his ḥahuuṯhii on his own. Therefore he must rely on the muṯṯum who have come to him. Their expertise must be utilized in order to maintain the balance.

My father once told me that a *hawit* doesn't need to know everything; he just needs to know how to get it done.

The *hahuułhii* that belongs to my family is called *č'aačaasiiʔas*. Our *hahuułhii* has gone through a tremendous period of destruction. In 1970 the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada and the logging company Macmillan Bloedel decided that *č'aačaasiiʔas* would be the site of an experiment that would see the watershed completely clear-cut of trees, including the trees that kept the river from eroding away the river banks.

The almost 40 year experiment has continued and now the watershed is providing crucial data in understanding how a watershed rejuvenates naturally without enhancement or human intervention. During the negotiation of our treaty, interested parties wanted to know what the future of the experiment would be, arguing that the importance of the data on a world scale was too critical to end. After a lot of thought and some negotiating my father decided to allow the research project to continue until its 100th year at which time my family will again decide whether to extend or end the project.

In the meantime, my family is beginning the long journey of returning to our *hahuułhii*.

huupuuk^wnam

I have come to understand *huupuuk^wnam* as being the place where a *hawit* keeps his possessions. This includes tangible items such as masks, drums, medicines, shawls, cedar regalia, headbands, capes and rattles, just to name a few. However, *huupuuk^wnam* also holds intangible things as well, including, but not limited to songs, dances, rituals, prayers, chants, names, teachings, as well as the knowledge and wisdom of the family.

I have been taught three ways of understanding *huupuuk^wnam*. The first and most commonly used interpretation of *huupuuk^wnam* is when it is described as a box. This description is meant both literally and metaphorically. Literally, because we do store many of the tangible things like masks, drums, and cedar regalia in cedar boxes; metaphorically, because we also store our songs, dances and prayers in this box too. I believe that this definition is too simple and meant for non-Indigenous understanding.

The second interpretation of *huupuuk^wnam* I learned from *ki-ke-in chuuchkamalhnii*. This interpretation of *huupuuk^wnam* is excellent when connecting *huupuuk^wnam* to *hahuułhii*. Picture a water shed surrounded on three sides by mountains and one side by the ocean. Now imagine this watershed as a bowl in which the mountains and ocean are the edges and everything within the edges of the bowl flow to its base. Therefore everything within that bowl or *hahuułhii* is a part of the *hawit*'s *huupuuk^wnam*.

The third interpretation of *huupuuk^wnam* that I have heard was told to me by Tess Smith, the elected chief of *kyuquot*. She told me that I must also think of *huupuuk^wnam* as our children. This makes a tremendous amount of sense because it is to our children that we pass everything. All of the tangibles and intangibles of *huupuuk^wnam* are passed on to the

children so that future generations can continue with the knowledge and materials needed to be good leaders and providers.

A number of decades ago my family suffered a tremendous loss to our huupuuk^wnam. My great grandfather converted to Christianity during a time when he became deathly ill. He survived and was convinced by missionaries that it was Christ who had saved him and from that point on he became a devout Christian. The missionary who had come to Bamfield to save souls told my great grandfather that to be a good Christian he must burn all of his Indian possessions. This included all of the tangible parts of my family's huupuuk^wnam.

My great grandfather burned all of our masks, drums, rattles and never passed on the many songs, dances, chants and prayers. Nothing from that part of our huupuuk^wnam survived, and to this day my family has only one song which my father and I received when we returned to čaačaasii?as to ground ourselves and prepare for the new paths we were embarking on. Interestingly, when asked, no one from our community remembers any of the songs and dances of our family either.

In the meantime my family is slowly starting to rebuild and recreate that which was lost to us in a fire.

hawitmis

I am reluctantly going to talk about hawitmis. This concept and what it entails is somewhat sacred and secret to a hawit family because it is our hawitmis that gives us the ability to be leaders and if I give away our secrets and sacred knowledge then I give away what makes us valuable to our community. Therefore, what little I do have to say about this concept will be said here.

I have been told that, when translated the word, hawitmis refers to the many possessions or properties owned by a hawit. I have come to understand these things as the tangible and intangible things that belong to a hawit. These include but are not limited to the songs, dances, prayers, chants, rituals, drums, rattles, masks and other regalia, teachings, responsibilities, knowledge, wisdom, supernatural powers and knowledge, knowledge of rituals and ritual places, ceremonies and medicines.

hawitmis and huupuuk^wnam are very closely connected, almost two sides of the same coin, in that huupuuk^wnam stores all of the possessions of a hawit and hawitmis are the possessions or properties of a hawit as translated by ki-ke-in chuuchkamalthnii. All of these properties would have been derived from the hahuu?hii down through the generations. hawitmis guides a hawit in learning to understand his place in the world as well as why and how to perform his duties.

Interviews

It is important to note that you are about to read unedited responses given during the interviews. I have purposefully left the responses unedited so that readers can have the opportunity to really hear what my family has to say in their own voices. Think of these written-down responses not as text but as speeches. Listen to each person as they share with you some of the knowledge of their lives.

Of the twelve questions that I asked each participant, three are very relevant to the discussion of ḥahuuṯhii and huupuuk^wnam. Those questions being: what is ḥahuuṯhii? What is huupuuk^wnam? And, what are the links between ḥahuuṯhii, huupuuk^wnam and the čaačaasii?asat? The following unedited responses are meant to enhance and further expand on some of the themes in the above discussion of ḥahuuṯhii and huupuuk^wnam.

ḥapinyuk

ḥahuuṯhii, that's a big word. ḥahuuṯhii is a word that describes a ḥawit's domain. And I can't think of any other word in English that kind of describes ḥahuuṯhii other than domain. When you have domain over a territory it means that you have full control over everything that's in it, everything that's above it, everything that goes in it, everything that belongs there and so it's a nuučaaṅut word that goes beyond description in English.

The čaačaasii?as ḥahuuṯhii is a small watershed located on the northeast corner of Barkley Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It is a small watershed that encompasses about eleven or twelve square kilometres. So it is not a huge territory but it is a very productive territory and provided for our tribe for generation upon generation upon generation.

The importance of ḥahuuṯhii is it provides the land base, the water, the resources, the air that we breathe and so when you have ḥahuuṯhii it's important to think about all of the things that are in the ḥahuuṯhii, all of the responsibilities, jurisdictions, authorities and the understanding of how the ḥahuuṯhii has to provide for the musčum.

And so all of these things are encompassing and it needs to be understood that with ḥahuuṯhii comes great responsibility. The ḥahuuṯhii is a gift from the creator. It was given to the first čaačaasii?as ḥawit when we became a tribe in the very beginning. It was part of that whole way of thinking that whole way of understanding and so as the creator gave the first hapinyuk man the gift of ḥawit and ḥawitmis he also gave ḥahuuṯhii and its all part and parcel to the whole institution of our hereditary chiefs and the hereditary system.

huupuuk^wnam, this is interesting too because this is another big word, big nuučaaṅut word and as I just described. The creator gave the first hapinyuk, ḥawitmis and ḥahuuṯhii, he also provided huupuuk^wnam. And huupuuk^wnam again is difficult to describe in English. But we will do it this way. It is a big box that holds all of the ḥawit's belongings. It goes beyond western understandings of ownership.

We are sitting on my piece of property in Qualicum Beach and I own this in fee simple. Can put fences up and I can put no trespassing signs up and I can do all sorts of things and make a big fuss if people are doing things on my land. Well that's not our concept of ownership; our concept of ownership is far greater, far more expanded.

It's not about having a piece of paper that says we own the čaačasii?as ḥahuuḥhii. We don't have a piece of paper. What we have is a story that has come from the beginning of time when the creator gave the first hapinyuk the rights and responsibilities to take care of their people and the resources and the land base and the water resources to do that.

And so when we talk about huupuuk^wnam these are the things that hereditary chiefs have. It's their songs, it's their chants, it's their prayer chants. It's their bathing rituals, it's their feasting rituals, and it's their marriage rituals, their coming of age rituals. It's there, it's their physical regalia, their headdresses, their masks, their cedar capes, their sea otter capes, it's just you would have to name everything.

It is all encompassing. It is the bugs, the bears, the berries, the food and the trees. And so you have to take time, you have to take time and give thought to what huupuuk^wnam is so that you understand what it means. Understand that it is jurisdictions, it's laws, its rules, its policies, its authorities, it's all of those things, it's everything, it is everything that the ḥawit needs to govern over his domain and that barely touches the tip of the iceberg when we are talking about huupuuk^wnam.

What are the links between ḥahuuḥhii, huupuuk^wnam and the čaačasii?asat? What are the links? Well the biggest link is the history that goes back to the beginning of time, when the creator gave the first hapinyuk his ḥawitmis, his huupuuk^wnam, his ḥahuuḥhii, all of those things. And that link has been passed down through generation upon generation. Not only through histories, not only through stories, not only through legends, not only through songs and dances. But through blood and that lineage has never been broken in our family. We have always had a male descendant. We have had some pretty close calls, grandpa was an only child and so as we moved down through the generations there have been times when it was pretty close. When he was having children, grandpa would go down to the ocean and pray that he would have a son and that his son would live. That son was your grandfather, my dad. He didn't live very long but he made it through and was able to produce me who was able to produce you. So there is that link, the blood link, the blood lineage that goes from you back to the first hapinyuk that walked this earth.

ooksaa^wahtuk

ḥahuuḥhii is the ḥawit's territory. The Happynook ḥahuuḥhii is in the northern most part of the huuḥii?at territories. Our ḥahuuḥhii is the first one that you would come to when you come out of Tse-shaht and Uchucklesaht territories. It's called čaačasii?as and it means "knocking on the door". So when you come to the territory you have to knock on the door at čaačasii?as first before you come to Sarita, which is the huuḥii?at head chief's territory and right next door.

I think the importance of ḥahuuṯhii is that you got to take care of it and be responsible for it so that it will always be there. And I think that our family has done a rather unique thing with our ḥahuuṯhii. Even though it was damaged by an experiment it was actually saved by the experiment. You know and we are going to get to see what a territory looks like regenerating, rejuvenating naturally. I am excited about the future and this also makes me think about our family and the territory and the regenerating and rejuvenating together.

huupuuk^wnam is, not that nuučaañuṯ is my first language. It's an interesting translation. It's a box in an abstract way, but it is also a box you would keep your curtain, your headdresses and your ceremonial things in. But it is also a place where you keep your songs, and your dances and your prayer chants and stuff like that. So it's where I guess a chief keeps his spiritual things and when you are taking care of your huupuuk^wnam you are taking care of your history and hopefully your future.

Well, the huupuuk^wnam contains the stories and the songs and the curtain and the dances that come from the ḥahuuṯhii and the ḥahuuṯhii is čaačaasii?as. It's just all interconnected; it's all hišuk cawaak.

?aasaawis

Well I kind of interpret ḥahuuṯhii as, I guess it's the territory, it's the family territory, and it's čaačaasii?as. And it's everything that resides within that territory as well. It's really hard to explain the word in a singular way because of its interconnectedness with other terms in the huuṯii?at language.

ḥahuuṯhii is čaačaasii?as for our family and it is the responsibilities to take care of čaačaasii?as and it is also our connection to the ancestors. And our strength and where the resources lay and you can go there. It provides so many things that you're responsible for. But it is also, it's where your resources and spirits and everything lay. It's a place of healing, it's a place you can go cleanse, it's a place of huge importance for the well being of the family, the well being of the huuṯii?at in a sense. There is that interconnection and relationship between where our family comes from and with the huuṯii?at over all. Yeah.

I see huupuuk^wnam as really everything. The songs, the dances, the masks, the spirits, our connection to the spirits, our responsibilities, ways of doing business, it's everything and it's very much connected to the foundation of the family, you know, just like culture and language are the foundation of the huuṯii?at, the huupuuk^wnam is our family's foundation.

It's our foundation, we can go there and that is where our ancestors walked and lived and there is a connection there. It's where you can get in touch with them. You can connect with them, you can find out what our songs are to be and go there for healing and this is where the resources lay, you know. If we were to create a mask that is somewhere that we can go and find out the directions of how to do that and get the wood for that. And, you know, that tree will provide itself in a way that we would know it is what the tree

was meant to be. Having that connection to the land is so important because it is who we are in a way. How we can find a way to live in this world is through that connection and everything that is encompassed in that land and, you know, not just being the physical but the spiritual.

I think that for our family the huupuuk^wnam has been a topic that has been discussed for a long time now. I have been a part of the family now for eight years, and it's a big part of our lives. Not only the huuṣiiʔat are going through a cultural revival and revitalization but we as Happynooks are going through the very same process as a family and that I think stems all around huupuuk^wnam in a lot of ways.

From the stories that I have been told, a lot of the huupuuk^wnam was lost, it was burnt on a beach and destroyed. The masks, a lot of the other regalia and a lot of other items in the huupuuk^wnam were destroyed because grandpa Bill was pretty much manipulated to believe that wasn't the right way of being or to live in this world and he needed to rid himself of that and to be a Christian. That was wrong. I don't think that was Grandpa Bill's fault, you know, I think that we are living in a time that our way of being and knowing isn't welcomed. Today, being in an institution and going to UVic and struggling in these classes, we are the minority and our ways of knowing isn't the norm and isn't accepted unconditionally and back then you can imagine how that was even more so, you know. It was legislated that we were not allowed to practice our culture and language. And so you can think about it in the terms of not blaming, but understanding why that happened.

So I think in the essence of what happened and where we are today and what happened to the huupuuk^wnam. Not all of it is lost, not all of it is lost, it is that we as the Happynooks are in this revival state and its happening, you know. A prime example is when you and your father went just this past spring to spend some time in čaačaasiiʔas and wrote a song and we know that this is so important that this is the foundation of our family and it's what we need to take care of so we can pass on to our children and the next generations. We are rebuilding that and it's a wonderful thing.

I think they are all so interconnected like I was mentioning before like how čaačaasiiʔas is being the place, the land where, where Happynooks are from and the ḥahuułhii being that as well that territory and the resources in it and the ancestors and spirits. It's all so interconnected and interrelated in the huupuuk^wnam, you know. I have talked about this before but they are so interconnected it's almost impossible to describe one without the other. And I am still learning, you know. In a way that is what we will always be doing. It doesn't matter if you are ḥawıł or if you're a musčum, you are always learning and that is another one of the teachings. That you are never at a place where you know everything, it's not possible, and so you are always learning these things. I am still learning the ḥahuułhii and the huupuuk^wnam because I have come into this family. I haven't always been Happynook. I believe that I have always been connected to the Happynooks. I think that I have realized that but these are things that I am continuing to learn. One thing I want to stress though is that you can never describe one without the other.

t'at'upsmiiah

What is ḥahuuṯhii? It's our stuff; no it's where we are from, shit. It's our land, it's our place and it's our home. It's basically everything to us.

What is huupuuk^wnam? That's our stuff. I guess it is our history, basically our family's wealth of knowledge and culture. Our tangible things plus all of our stories and stuff, it's hard to explain but I am sure somebody did it along the way better than me.

What are the links between ḥahuuṯhii, huupuuk^wnam and čaačaasii?as? Well, čaačaasii?as is our ḥahuuṯhii and that's where our huupuuk^wnam resides. If we were to make a drum or something, we would hunt for the deer and get the wood from čaačaasii?as because I guess we would have to ask permission from some other haŵiṯ if we wanted to do it on his land.

?aa?apasnuk

ḥahuuṯhii is our traditional territory, for us it is čaačaasii?as many different families have different ḥahuuṯhii. Yeah. It was the land which dad would be responsible for. In it he would be responsible for the forests; he'd be responsible for whatever water, whatever fish and animals that lived on the land. Our family would help dad take care of that. That's my understanding.

I was told huupuuk^wnam is like a big box that holds everything that belongs to the chief. The chief's songs, the chief's regalia and the chief's, everything that belongs to the chief, yeah, everything the chief needs to be able to do his job would be in that box. Yeah.

Okay, so the links between them is that the čaačaasii?asat, go to the traditional territory, the ḥahuuṯhii and gather trees, bark, all this stuff to make everything like baskets and masks and everything and then that is put into the huupuuk^wnam. So you need one to make the other, they are connected.



Do you hear that?

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**It was silent for a time
The drum is quieter now
More powerful and constant
Less noise**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**I feel the drum more than hear it
My feet start to move to its rhythm
Two pieces found
More yet to know**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**I try to sing
The song holds tight
Screaming soon, not yet, don't rush
Body trembling from the drums powers**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

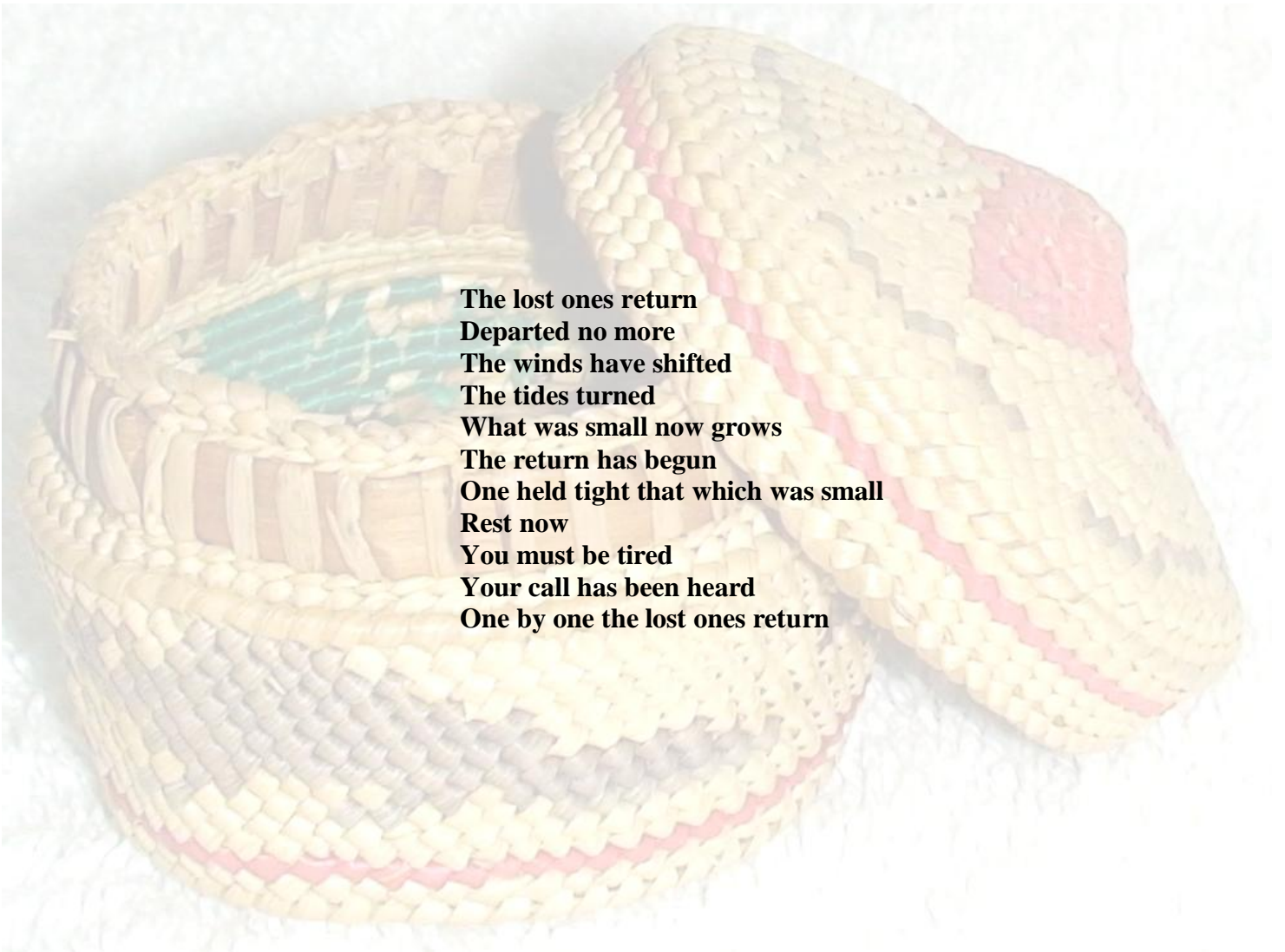
**My song is not ready to be heard
It can't be sung
The drum goes quiet
So I wait**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


Chapter Two: Interviews



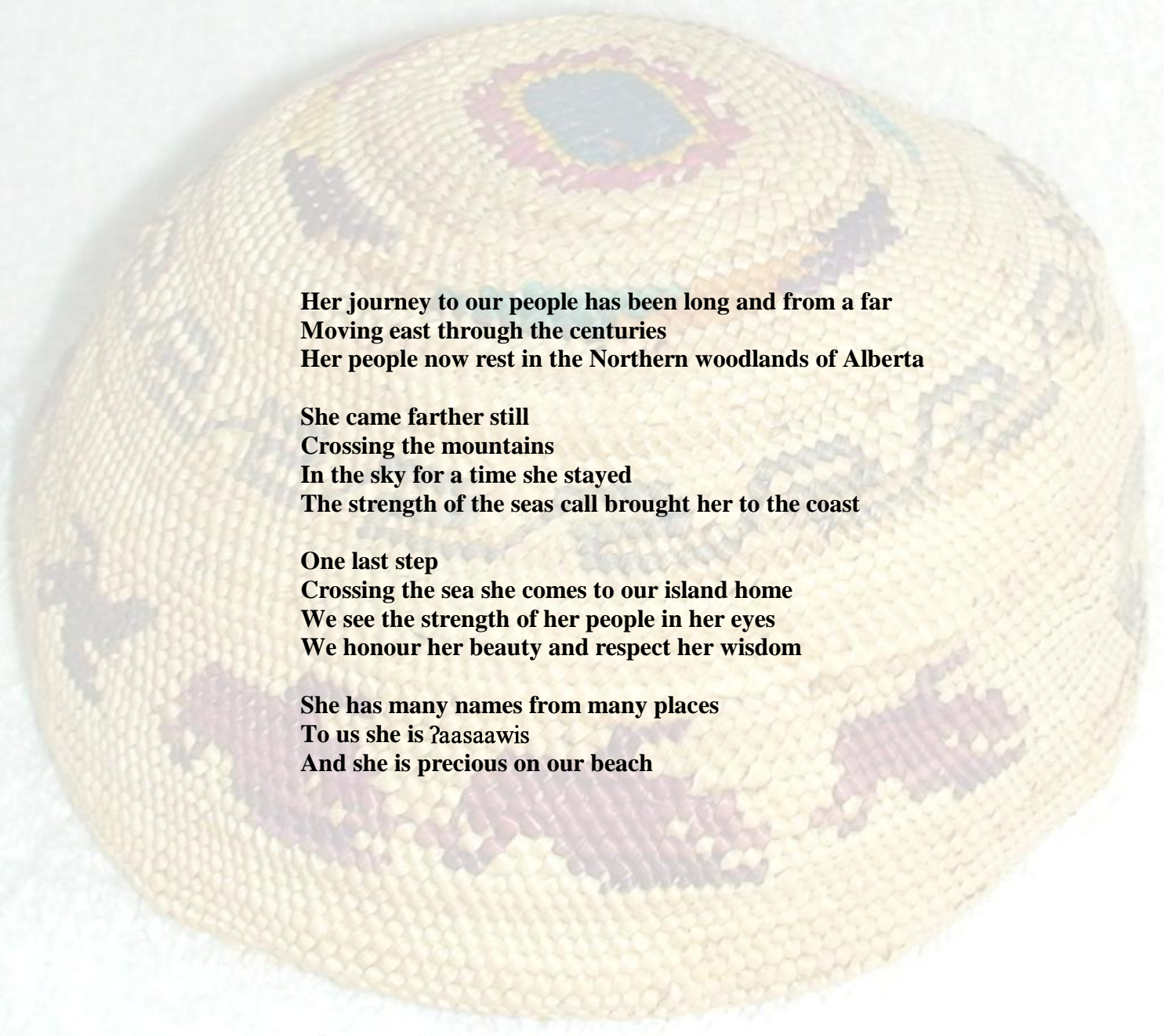
This This is a photo overlooks ɛaʻaʻaasiiʻas and the ocean. It was taken from the top of Mt. Blenheim by Tom Happynook Sr.



**The lost ones return
Departed no more
The winds have shifted
The tides turned
What was small now grows
The return has begun
One held tight that which was small
Rest now
You must be tired
Your call has been heard
One by one the lost ones return**



**Family trees and ties that bind
Bound by blood the roots grow deep
Family trees can have broken branches
Bonds broken and brittle with lies
Lies left to fester, the truth hurts
Cut out the rot, the pain is purging
Forgiveness can come
When deceit dies**

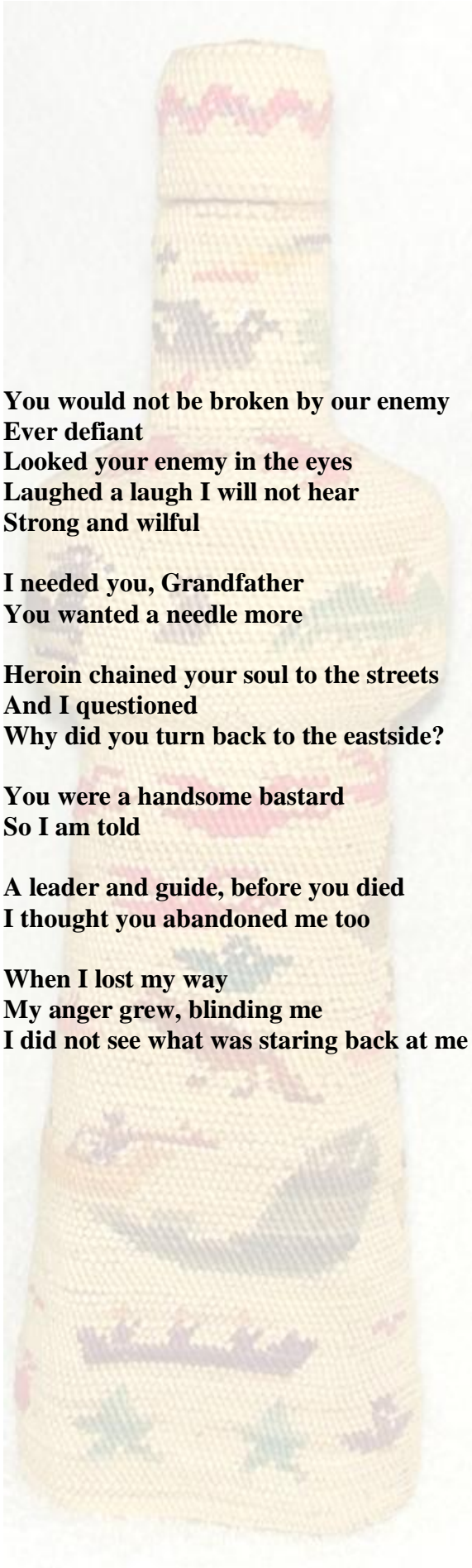


**Her journey to our people has been long and from a far
Moving east through the centuries
Her people now rest in the Northern woodlands of Alberta**

**She came farther still
Crossing the mountains
In the sky for a time she stayed
The strength of the seas call brought her to the coast**

**One last step
Crossing the sea she comes to our island home
We see the strength of her people in her eyes
We honour her beauty and respect her wisdom**

**She has many names from many places
To us she is ?aasaawis
And she is precious on our beach**



**You would not be broken by our enemy
Ever defiant
Looked your enemy in the eyes
Laughed a laugh I will not hear
Strong and wilful**

**I needed you, Grandfather
You wanted a needle more**

**Heroin chained your soul to the streets
And I questioned
Why did you turn back to the eastside?**

**You were a handsome bastard
So I am told**

**A leader and guide, before you died
I thought you abandoned me too**

**When I lost my way
My anger grew, blinding me
I did not see what was staring back at me in the mirror**

I have arranged this chapter so that each participant will have their own voice heard. What you will be reading is unedited. As discussed in the introduction, I have chosen to present the material this way because I believe that it is important that readers of this thesis hear the voices of my family in their own words and not an interpretation. So often the voices and knowledge of my people have been stolen or lost in the translations and interpretations of others.

I see this thesis as a starting point for sharing knowledge. In accordance with how I was raised I will not be providing any analysis of these interviews. I do not feel as though it is my place to analyze what is being shared by the participants. Rather, it is my responsibility to be the vessel by which this information is shared; my role in this is to act as cik ci, a speaker of sorts, sharing only what I am told.

By reading these words it becomes the responsibility of the reader to accept what is shared, deny it or seek additional information. By leaving out my own personal analysis I am leaving room for the reader to think about and understand what is being shared. This decision stems from my čaačaasiiʔas, huuʔiiʔat and nuučaañuʔ teachings as well as from the methodology that I have been employing throughout my research.

As you read each of these interviews, remember that the participants come from one family. This will be a key point because the knowledge being shared in this chapter flows from one source and yet is open to different perceptions and ideas. If the members of my family can differ somewhat in how they perceive knowledge, think about how the perception of knowledge extends as we move outwardly from čaačaasiiʔas to huuʔiiʔat to nuučaañuʔ and beyond.

Three questions were asked of the participants during their interview. How did you learn to be haʔiʔ? What does it mean to be haʔiʔ? And, has the meaning of being haʔiʔ changed? Of all the questions asked during the interviews these are the three questions that are most important to understanding what it means to be a haʔiʔ from čaačaasiiʔasat. The following are unedited responses.

hapinyuk

hapinyuk (Tom Happynook Sr.) is my father and the current tyii haʔiʔ of čaačaasiiʔas. He lives his life in accordance with the teachings of our family, making him a valuable and necessary participant to my research.

My whole life my father has been talking to me and teaching me about the things that he discussed in his interview. We met on three separate days to discuss my thesis and answer some questions. As I think back on those days I remember how much pride I saw in my father's eyes as he was talking about our family, our nation and our culture.

How did you learn to be haʔiʔ?

This is a, that's a great question. I was raised from birth to be who I am today. I was raised by my grandfather, Billy Happynook, William Happynook, my grandmother,

Lizzie Happynook, Lizzie Jack. I was raised by my grandma's aunty Ella Jackson who was my grandma's father's sister. I was raised by my grandpa's mother Annie Moses, Annie Happynook. I was raised by Annie Moses younger sister Mary Moses.

And all of these people would on a daily basis sit me down on their knee and talk to me in our language and teach me and tell me how to behave, tell me how to do things, tell me how things are to be done.

They were the ones who taught me all of the virtues that I described at the beginning. To be kind, to be caring, to be loving, to be generous, all of those things were taught to me by those people. And so I was taught from birth how to be a hawit. How they are supposed to behave, how they are supposed to treat people, all of those things.

But I also truly believe that the genetics from the beginning of time and the blood from the beginning of time, there is a, no a genetic imprint a memory that is passed down from generation to generation.

Being a hawit is in you. It's in your blood. It's in your genetics. The teachings that have been accumulated over all of these generations is transferred through genetics and through blood and I truly believe this because there are times when thoughts come to my head and I know them to be true but I don't know where they came from. And when I was young growing up it would confuse me sometimes and as I grew older I began to get a better understanding of what was going on. And so I truly believe that, you know, these imprints, these memories from way back when are transferred through the lineage.

And same with you there were times when you would come to me and say dad you need to teach me how to be a hawit and I would tell you, it's in you, listen to your inner voice. Listen to that inner voice that is inside you. That's your hawitmis. That's your huupuuk^wnam. That's your hahuut^hhii. It's inside you and it talks to you, you have to practice to be able to hear it; to be able to listen to what it's saying. And it can speak to you in either English or huufii[?]at. It can speak to you in any language that it wants to. It could just be a feeling. It could be a thought. It could be a dream.

It is all of those things. That is where your teachings come from. It's the things you know to be true and you don't know why you know this but it is true and you need to accept that.

It's also that the teachings are passed on by example. The teachings are passed on by what we are doing now, the teachings were passed on by being told over and over and over and over and over and over and over again. So there's lots of ways that teachings are passed on but I think that the main part of it is passed on through genetics. I feel that. I feel strongly that that's part of it too.

My great grandmothers talked to me about that a lot. Listen to your inner voice, understand what they are saying. Practice so that you can hear them. And I can hear

them. Just like you and I are talking today. I can hear my inner voice. It guides me, it talks to me, it tells me things, it tells me, you know, what to do, how to do things.

They taught me to practice; you have to practice hearing it. And it, it took some time but I can hear it clear as you and I are talking. They also said a lot, that the ancestors are here. They are with you. You have your guides; your guides are there and don't be afraid to ask them for help because we are just humans. We are not supernatural beings, we are just humans and we need help and we need to ask for help from our guides, from the creator, from our ancestors, from our nananiqsu, hałpii haŵiŵ. We need to be able to ask for help.

The haŵiŵ teachings were different than the haŵiŵmis teachings. The teachings of a haŵiŵ were kept within the family. The teachings around governing respectfully; the teachings around making sure the people were taken care of; the teachings around the use of resources; the teachings around taking care of the beach; the teachings around taking care of rivers; the teachings around our spiritual practices; the teachings around our cultural practices were all different for the haŵiŵ families. They were personalized to the haŵiŵ families. Our family's practices are different than another haŵiŵ family's practices.

And so the teachings and the way we passed on those teachings and the way we learn those teachings are different than the way that things are done with the musčum. It was done this way for, well practical reasons; it was done this way for important reasons. In that those teachings were what the foundation for the haŵiŵ to govern over his domain and to take care of his people.

What does it mean to be a haŵiŵ from čaačaasiiŵas?

Well. The roles, responsibilities, authorities and jurisdictions that a haŵiŵ holds throughout his domain are a huge, huge responsibility and it started at creation and our story of creation talks about a time when the humans and the čaačaasiiŵas and the animals could go back between the human world and the animal world which in my mind ironically supports Darwin's theory of evolution where we had the salmon people, we had the deer people, we had the raven people, we had these various families that could transform between the animal world and the human world and our story of creation is really about the decision that, the decisions that were made by some of these people, some decided to stay in the human world and some of them decided to stay in the animal world and thus the čaačaasiiŵas were created and our story of creation talks about how families were given various responsibilities from the creator.

We believe in the creator and during this time our family, the hapinyuk family was given the responsibility by the creator in the human world to be the haŵiŵ of čaačaasiiŵas, so that is a short summary of how we became the hereditary family of čaačaasiiŵas of the English name is Carnation Creek and čaačaasiiŵas is located on the north eastern side of Barkley Sound which is located around the middle of the west coast of Vancouver Island maybe a little bit further to the south but around the middle of Vancouver Island. So with this responsibility given to our family and specifically to the eldest son of the eldest son of the eldest son going back hundreds of generations we have held the huge responsibility to govern over our domain the čaačaasiiŵas area territory. So with this comes a vast

amount of teachings, an understanding of our place within our homelands čaačasiiʔas and the huge responsibility to take care of, uu aʔook, which means taking care of all of the things that are in the domain of the čaačasiiʔas haʔiʔ. Now obviously the čaačasiiʔas haʔiʔ and his family cannot take care of the domain on their own, they have to turn to other families to help him take care of the čaačasiiʔas domain.

And therefore each tribe had its own beach keepers who were responsible for various activities, one of which was to make sure that the beaches, the beach environment was taken care of, we had river keepers who walked the rivers to make sure the rivers were being taken care of. We had medicine people, medicine families who were our doctors, who knew the plants that produced medicines to keep us healthy. And in our families case we were the whalers and the whalers not just in our tribe but in nuučaaḥuʔ land were held up in the highest esteem because of their power and ability to dispatch, hunt down and kill the largest mammal on earth. To provide food and trading goods and to keep our economy going and strong, so as the current tyii, which means head haʔiʔ, head hereditary chief of čaačasiiʔas, I have a great responsibility to all that resides all that lives and all of the people who come from čaačasiiʔas it is my role and responsibility to take care of them.

In my life time this has been very difficult because our hereditary institution has been pushed aside by the Indian Act and has hidden in the shadows of western philosophy, governance and occupation. We have never gone away, we have always been here. I was raised by my grandfather and grandmother. My grandfather always reminded me of who I was and always talked to me of the responsibilities of being the haʔiʔ of čaačasiiʔas and my responsibilities to the čaačasiiʔasat. This is a time, I believe that we can now re-establish our haʔiʔmis and huupuukʷnam, our principle of hišuk cawaak and in čaačasiiʔasat land begin to re-establish our roles and responsibilities and jurisdictions over our domain once again. So I feel like we are coming full circle, that we are, I won't say lucky, but fortunate that our čaačasiiʔas haʔiʔmis, huupuukʷnam, hereditary governance institution was able to maintain itself over the last hundred and fifty years of occupation. The teachings and the knowledge has continued to be passed down to the family members. We now have the opportunity to re-establish ourselves in our homeland by physically by being there, re-establish our governance institution our hereditary institution and also help in the restoration of our homelands.

Ironically for some reason the government of the day in 1970, the governments of the day in 1970 and the logging company Macmillan Bloedel decided to use our watershed as a test. An experiment to see how detrimental clear-cut logging was to a watershed and its fisheries and this experiment has been going on now since 1970. So for 39 years, it's been going on and I as the tyii haʔiʔ for čaačasiiʔas, in our treaty negotiations, have agreed to allow the experiment to go on for another 60 years, or 65 years. I can't remember which one it is 60 or 65 years so that we as a family and a small tribe can contribute to the knowledge base of extreme resource extraction and the impacts that it has on the resources within a watershed. That was important to me and it will be a couple of generations before we have the final results from the experiment and our watershed has grown back natural to what it could be or will be in the future.

So what does it mean to be ha'wít? It is a great responsibility, a responsibility that never stops. "You can't just say no, you're not going to be responsible." It is a position that comes from blood lineage because I was the eldest son of my grandfather's eldest son the responsibility came to me. I accepted and have been trying to implement and live by all of the teachings that were passed on to me by my grandfather. So it's a big responsibility and a very serious responsibility. I think it's going to become more serious and more difficult as we move into the future because as I said earlier I believe that we are going to have an opportunity to re-establish our hereditary governance system over čaačaašii?as.

It's a position that, "as one of my friends, my dear friends has said," it is a position that gives and gives and gives and it is a responsibility and a position that has an impact on the family, in that, all of the family members have to understand that being a ha'wít can and will take you away from home a lot." And will in a modern society where we are going to have to try and re-establish ourselves in the economy in some fashion. We end up having a lot of meetings and talking with a lot of people. I am really optimistic about the future of čaačaašii?as I think we are going to have an opportunity to recreate our place in this world. We're going to have to plug into modern society and still maintain the values, virtues, principles and teachings that make us who we are as čaačaašii?asat. It's interesting for me because over my 50 years of life I have observed many things. Hereditary families are taught, well, they have different teachings than the families we call musćum. Which is not a derogatory remark; it is our word for the people. And I have noticed in my life time that families have different values, virtues and principles that guide them in their lives.

The values, virtues and principles that guide our family have been passed down for hundreds of generations and we still today try to live by those values, virtues, principles, and teachings. It's interesting to note as you observe the different families, not just in čaačaašii?as but throughout nuučaañuł you can see, through their behaviours, the values and principles that they were taught and as they try to live up to the teachings that are in their families and I think that's important, an important distinction for čaačaašii?as. My upbringing by my grandparents and my great grandmothers and my great grandaunts strenuously taught me over and over and over and over, sitting on their knees as they spoke to me in our language telling me that a ha'wít needs to be generous, a ha'wít needs to be kind, a ha'wít needs to be caring, a ha'wít needs to be gentle to be calm to be consistent in their decision making, a ha'wít needs to think about the people before he thinks about himself and his family.

You know all of these teachings have been passed down in our family and as a family we try to live by those teachings. Even within a western society that is quite adversarial in dispute resolution and all of those things. I think that in western society kindness and gentleness and caring and loving and all of those virtues are looked upon as a weakness. The teachings that have been passed down through hundreds of generations in our families, these are strengths, the teachings that provide us the strength to be a hereditary family and the ha'wít to be a true and proper hereditary chief.

Has this meaning changed in your lifetime?

I would say definitely yes. And I would say that in the huuḡiiʔat, which we are a part of, the haḡiḡ are being acknowledged more by our elected chief and council and also by the community members. So in my lifetime, I remember growing up as a kid that the haḡiih, the hereditary chiefs, weren't too involved when we switched from our hereditary system to the elected system under the Indian Act. I know that when we had decided to transition from strictly being a hereditary system to the Indian Act election system, at that meeting we were only going to try it out for a while. The decision by the community was to just try it and see what would happen. We haven't been under the election system that long maybe forty or fifty years that we have been under the Indian Act elected system prior to that we were under the hereditary system.

So I have seen it go from the hereditary system to the elected system. Now our community not only through our constitution and the treaty, our community is opening up their arms and acknowledging the hereditary chiefs, the haḡiih and embracing that government institution slowly. It was interesting because in the huuḡiiʔat constitution discussions the people wanted the hereditary institution to be part of our governing but they also wanted to make sure the hereditary chiefs were healthy and in a good governing state of mind and health.

So right now, we will have, under the treaty, a council of hereditary chiefs. Amongst ourselves we will appoint one hereditary chief to sit on the government as a voting member of the government. But the door is there and as our young chiefs grow up and become educated and become healthier, you know, the opportunity is there for our people to decide how much more they want our hereditary institution to be a part of the governing system.

So a lot has changed in my lifetime regarding the hereditary chiefs. It went from being fully governed by hereditary chiefs to the Indian Act election system and not much participation or acknowledgement of the hereditary chiefs. To where we are now working with the elected chief and council on a daily basis and helping to make those important decisions that we have to make every day.

ooksaak^wahtuk

ooksaak^wahtuk (Kathy Happynook nee Rhynas) is my mother, a non-Indigenous woman who grew up living alongside the huuḡiiʔat in Bamfield, BC. She learned the many things she needs to know about being haquum from the late Lizzie Happynook, my great grandmother. Lizzie was born in 1914 and passed on in 2007 at the age of 93; she was taught by her grandmother, kaakaačaa, who was born prior to contact and lived to be 108 years old. My mother carries a lot of knowledge that comes from the women in my family.

How do you learn to be haḡiḡ?

I think to some degree, if I can use you (referring to the researcher) as an example. You were born knowing what you were supposed to do. I believe that because we were just so

lucky to have this young man who was a little sponge who decided to only pick up good behaviours that he should have and cast aside things he shouldn't do.

I don't mean to embarrass you. But, you know, you have been a wonderful son to teach and I feel you have learned just by osmosis. I can't believe I have used osmosis twice in an hour. It's the subject matter. But it's like you have decided on your own, this is how I want to be and this is how I want to behave and so we have just nurtured that. So DNA, I don't know.

What does it mean to be a haw'it from čaačaasii?as?

I think it means someone who carries a great responsibility. It means to be a chief, a nuučaanuł chief in a hereditary way and someone who is responsible for a territory and the resources in that territory and maybe other things like our family, the whale family. So we have our own čaačaasii?as territory but we also the whaling family. So what does it mean to be haw'ih? It means to be responsible for a lot, to carry responsibility.

Has this meaning changed in your lifetime?

Yeah, and yet the first thing that popped into my head was grandpa Happynook. I could hear his words; he used to laugh like he was joking. He would say that "yeah I am the chief of Carnation Creek", just as though what does that mean, you know, because it really held no power outside of his own people knowing this. He laughed every time he said it, "yep I am the chief of Carnation Creek". He would laugh about it because he knew that this was a funny thing to say.

So yeah things have changed that I have seen. Thinking about when I was growing up there, I knew who the chiefs were but, it's my belief that they were not consulted in the same formal way they were and are now. But definitely there have been changes. You know because I think that a lot of the ones a generation older than your dad and I went through a terrible time. It was not even legal to potlatch so their ability to carry on their duties was completely outlawed. Basically their ability to be respectful chiefs and be chiefly and to pass on those teachings to their children was broken but I guess they could sneak it. You know that's an interesting question, but the first thing that popped into my head was grandpa.

?aasaawis

?aasaawis (Carly Cunningham) is Nehiyow-Métis (Cree-Métis) through her father and of Scottish ancestry through her mother. However, she often identifies herself as half-hippie and half-Cree, as her mother's practiced day-to-day culture is that of a hippie. ?aasaawis's Indigenous family comes from Peavine Métis Settlement and Sucker Creek in Northern Alberta while her mother currently lives in Rossland, BC which is where ?aasaawis was predominately raised. She has many fond memories spending summers in Peavine at her Mooshum's (grandfather) house.

?aasaawis and I were married in a customary way and like my mother she has had to learn what it means to be haquum. She was able to spend a lot of time listening to and

learning from my great grandmother Lizzie Happynook. ʔaasaawis has a strong Indigenous consciousness which has made learning and adopting the hawitʔmis of čaačaasiiʔas a less shocking transition.

How did you learn to be haquum?

It's a hard question. I think that since coming into the family. I came into the family through; I actually walked over to the family in a customary way in 2003 and so even though I have only been part of the family for eight years. I was acknowledged by the huuʔiiʔat, by the hawitʔih, and walked over to the Happynook family six years ago.

When it comes to teachings to be a haquum I think that it's complex. I think that I started learning right away eight years ago. I think I took initiative to always listen and absorb what people are telling me and to pay witness to what was being said. Not always paying attention to things that were directly said to me, but things that were going on. Like when you go to a potlatch. Listening and learning and how protocols and how things are done and how people treat one another and so I learnt in that way, you know.

Just always observing and listening to everyone. It's not about just paying attention to other haquum. It's paying attention to the culture and to the people and really understanding who the huuʔiiʔat are and who the Happynooks are. As well as paying attention to what our roles are and what our responsibilities are. And what is my role in this and I think that I will always continue to learn what it means to be haquum and what it means to be a part of a hawitʔ family.

I think that one of the, this is very difficult to talk about, is that, grandma Happynook, I need to pause.

So like I was saying, I think learning to be haquum, I learned a lot from grandma Happynook and just watching the way grandma does things and just visiting with her and sitting with her and talking with her and asking her for advice. She, she taught me so much. And even when we were at a potlatch the way she held on to me and talked. So just watching how, how grandma just carried herself in the community is something that I want to strive to be. I know that I won't be, because it's grandma. But grandma always carried herself in such a humble way and she was so caring and kind. She really just walked in a certain way and was really well respected in how she was.

I learnt a lot of things from grandma. What it means to be haquum and certain teachings that I will always hold really high. To be kind, I think is really huge and no matter what not to judge. It's, you know, well, I am not going to lie, it's a difficult teaching and it is something that I think a lot of us have a difficult time with. But we need to be kind and we need to be kind to one another and to be there for one another.

I think that is really, really important for a haquum and that's what grandma really taught me. That I need to be kind and also to use those teachings and all these teachings that I have been privileged to be given; including just learning about cedar and learning about

the importance of some of the cultural practices of the huuḡiiʔat and of the Happynooks. Grandma has really taught me that we need to keep these things strong.

It's not as though grandma sat down and said this is what needs to be done, it's that she did it and you observed that. So I think it is not grandma saying this is the way things are but it's how she was and it's something that not only I, but all of us in the family need to strive to do. Practice our culture, practice the way grandma did, you know, speak the language, learn the language, be kind and pass these traditions on to future generations and to our children. It's hard to describe exactly what grandma has taught me but it is really like striving to be how she was.

I have learned a lot of things from your mother as well. Some of the teachings that she taught me were received not only from other huuḡiiʔat, particularly huuḡiiʔat women but from grandma as well. Even just simple things like canning fish. You think that it is not, you know, it's just something. It's important, it's important to know, it's important to know how to do these things and to pass it onto our future children. It's my responsibility to take in these things, to take in this knowledge, to listen, to learn and to make sure that I retain this, witness it, understand it and pass it on.

It's my responsibility and so when it comes to it; it is like when working with cedar, understanding the importance of cedar, the sacredness of cedar. Understanding what we have used cedar for. For baskets, you know, and not as something that is now an art form and it is art, it is beautiful. But to understand what we used it for, connect it to our way of life, to fishing, to how we kept warm, to the environment you are living in and why, why we are using cedar. It being a very sacred medicine within the huuḡiiʔat, within the Happynook family and understanding all of it.

Learning how to working with cedar isn't just about learning how to work with cedar. It's about connecting us to all of those elements and connecting us to our ancestors. Grandma did that and I learnt that from her and I am learning these things from your mom and, you know, from us canning fish this summer and the other summer. It's not only a process of canning fish; it is a process of connecting us to the fish, of connecting us to the food that the ancestors have eaten for thousands and thousands of years and connecting us to the land. And if we don't understand that then we are disconnected, we are disconnected from the land, we are disconnected from the culture, we are disconnected from the language and although things aren't said outright. Those are the teachings, they might not be straight in front of your face but it is your job to understand those connections and, you know, it's not only about understanding.

There is something that is innate in all Indigenous people. Where they come from and who they are and what their future will be is connected. Now I am part of the Happynook family. There is innateness within us, that our ancestors, the spirits and the land make us interconnected. There is something inside of us and you just need to be reminded of that. That's who you are and I think those things may seem simple. If you look at the overall picture, those are really important.

One of the things that I have learned is that most of the time within the nuučaañuł and huufii?at arranged marriages were pretty common. If you were a haʷił and there was a need for a wife often these marriages were arranged either by other haʷiih or by the tyii haʷił. This was done because the woman, which would be taking on this role, would have been raised with these teachings and knowing the responsibilities that they were going to be taking on for the rest of their lives and ensuring that these teachings were going to be passed on.

I truly believe that you are not only learning these teachings from the womb, you know, a little haʷił or whatever role you are going to be. But you are also being reminded of these teachings; you already know these teachings and you're being reminded of them.

There are always going to be new teachings that are going to come along because culture isn't static, it's never the same, it's always going to change, but the foundation will stay the same, it will. The meaning of haʷił will always be the same. How you are operating within a historical time changes. Who you are operating with and how you are doing it changes. But the foundations of the meaning of being haʷił or being haquum will always stay the same. You will always be responsible for, you know, taking on knowledge and learning and witnessing and passing that on, making sure that you are guarding that knowledge and you are transferring that knowledge. That will always stay the same. Being kind, being responsible and not being angry. Learning the teaching of not being angry and learning to listen will always stay the same. So you have things that will always stay the same but, there are other things that will change.

I think that, just going back to the arranged marriage and how you were kind of brought up that way, is different from me in the sense that I am not nuučaañuł and these teachings are new to me. I didn't know that I was going to be a Happynook when I was a little girl. In my family it was different, I mean my mom was a hippie and I guess you could say feminist and very outspoken in a lot of ways. And my father, we're Cree and Métis and our culture is, well, our culture is strong and I think that we are suffering from the same things many nations are suffering from. The affects of poverty and the affects of colonialism and poverty and violence and all these symptoms of colonialism and the lateral violence and everything like that.

As I was growing older, you know, with my identity getting stronger and my teachings too. I have always been very connected to who I am and have always really felt connected to my ancestors and so no matter what, when things are kind of falling apart and dysfunctional in my family on my father's side. I was still very much connected to my ancestors and who I am and I can feel it. I can strongly feel where I come from and my beliefs.

So I did know who I was and my teachings have become stronger over the years and I have been reminded of them and even though I have come into the Happynook family. As you know I was not born nuučaañuł or huufii?at. I do feel as though in some way I was meant to come here. That there is a connection there and that I am now connected to

the ancestors of the Happynook's and the ancestors of huuḥiiʔat because there's just certain things I know that in a lot of ways I cannot share in this interview.

An example is just, you know, the whaling. This is not something that I grew up with. I didn't grow up in a whaling family but I just have these dreams and this feeling of knowing that if the time ever comes that we will, that the family will whale again and those responsibilities will be revitalized. I know the roles that I am supposed to be doing. I can't really explain the roles here in this interview. But there is this innate feeling within me that somehow I am being guided and if that were to happen I know what to do. I know what to do.

So although I was not raised with the teachings as, you know, a young woman would have who was going to marry into a haʔiih family in the past. I do feel as though I have been welcomed in that; not only by your grandma and your mom and other huuḥiiʔat and other huuḥiiʔat women in particular. I do feel connected to the ancestors and that I have been privileged and honoured to learn.

There was one time I was thinking, you know, being a person that has come into the huuḥiiʔat, who has come into the Happynook family. There is a lot of new teachings and cultural protocols that are different from where I come from in the sense that and I don't again, the term patriarchy does not in the least describe what the huuḥiiʔat are. Patriarchy in a sense is power over, man over women and although that is happening today I believe within the huuḥiiʔat and Indigenous nations across Canada. That is something that has come into play because of colonialism. This is a learned behaviour; this is not something that is innate within huuḥiiʔat.

What I am trying to say is there has been this pattern of male haʔiʔ. This is not something that is a negative thing or something like that but it is new to me in a sense of it was just one of the things that I was wondering, you know.

I went to grandma one day and there has always been this kind of talk and, you know, just in a very casual sense and I really believe in this innateness and I was thinking when we have children what would happen, you know. Customarily it would be a son and the first son would be passed on the seat. Of course that son would have to be a certain way. He would have to have that innateness within him, you know, you have to see that haʔiʔmis. He would have to show that, demonstrate that, that would have to be within him.

However, I have always wondered what would happen if, and I wasn't trying to make trouble but maybe that's the bit of rebellion in me and I am not trying to do that. But it was a question that I had, you know. What if we did have a daughter first and what if, just what if she demonstrated the haʔiʔmis

I went to grandma and I just asked her, you know, this has always come up in topic and I guess because of me learning and being new to the family, you know, I had a lot of

questions and so I just went to grandma and I asked her “grandma what if I have a daughter first what is going to happen, can she be haʔiʔ?”.

And grandma said “of course she said, she would not be chief alone.” And I think that kind of shows what, you know, how grandma was as a haquum. She demonstrated that you’re not haʔiʔ by yourself. You need the community. It’s a balanced relationship and you’re not better than anyone else, you’re not, you don’t make all the decisions. It’s the community that makes the decisions, it’s your job to articulate that and she really showed something to me. Where you are not chief alone, you’re not, you need the help of others, you can’t do it by yourself and what she said has so many more meanings.

There could be so much more to be said about what grandma said. The wisdom that she shared in that moment and how a particular sensitivity to who we are and what our family represents. The responsibility of being a whaling haʔiʔ is very important, is very sacred and is very serious and how, you know, you can interpret what she said in so many different ways. You know, just take it as she said, “you’re not haʔiʔ alone you need the help of others.” So if there was, you know, this daughter that had this innate haʔiʔmis in her. She wouldn’t be able to fulfill some of the roles of being whaling chief because of the sacredness that she holds. She holds other roles within her that are very sacred as the givers of life, something that is held highest in the huʔiʔat. You know, givers of life are well respected and you can’t have that associated with taking life.

But you can interpret what grandma says in ways that go around that as well and this is not about changing the culture. This is just inquiring about what grandma said, taking the meaning of what grandma said and really interpreting that. Using what she said not as a tool to change or have women as haʔiʔ. But to take what she said as a teaching and to interpret the way that would be in whatever way that would help us and guide us in making future decisions.

I think that is really important and grandma had that about her, she didn’t really say things outright. I have learned a lot from her. I think I probably could go on forever about how I will learn to be haquum. I think just listening and learning not only from Kathy and grandma’s teachings but also listening to other haquum, listening to other women, listening to the community and really paying attention and really absorbing that information as part of me. Taking it all in and making sure I transfer it. It’s my responsibility to transfer it and be kind. I could say a lot more about this so let’s go on to the next question.

What does it mean to be a haʔiʔ from čaačaasiiʔas?

Okay, when I first saw this question I was kind of confused. For one thing I kind of see the meaning of haʔiʔ being, as always being the same, it hasn’t changed. I think that, for example, there’s just certain things about being haʔiʔ that have stayed the same in the sense of being responsible for the territory, the resources, responsible for the people, responsible for your family.

All these teachings have remained the same. As a haw̓iṭ growing up you receive those teachings, you know, from the moment you are in the womb. These teachings can change over time in slight ways given the historical time you are in. But the basic principles of being haw̓iṭ are really innate. You are almost being reminded of them from growing up in life and your experiences and stuff like that.

When it comes to talking about pre-treaty or pre-Indian Act, post-Indian Act, the Treaty and whether the meaning of haw̓iṭ will change with those? I don't think so. I think that the treaty, for example, will provide an opportunity for the meaning of being haw̓iṭ to be more, to reclaim more of a role within the community. It will provide an opportunity for that, but when it comes to the meaning I don't think it has changed.

Has this meaning changed in your lifetime?

I think I touched on this before so it is kind of a continuation of question number one. I don't think the meaning has changed. I think it's really impossible because it is innate. It's something that has been carried on throughout generations and that it is just kind of within you and the teachings, which me, myself, I am still learning and I guess will continue to learn forever. I think that that will stay the same. When it comes to the effects of the Indian Act, you know, particularly the residential schools and the overall umbrella of colonialism. I don't think that has affected the overall meaning of being haw̓iṭ. That's not what it has affected. I think that an introduction and an enforcement of a new way of being and a new way of knowing have blinded us.

This new way of being has been enforced and taught as being the right way of being. A prime example is residential school as a major assimilation tactic by the government and in partnership with church, the church; the Christian run churches. They were trying to strip who you are out of that individual. They were trying to take away the self and put a new self in there, a self that was constructed as the norm, a self constructed as the acceptable way of being.

I think that that has really affected the haw̓iṭ and I think that has really affected the huuṣiiʔat. You almost start learning a new way of being; I think you can describe it as a western way of thinking and being. Patriarchy is one thing, I think that coming in from outside the huuṣiiʔat and from my own teachings where it wasn't so patriarchal in a sense.

I think it is hard to use this term, patriarchy because it is a Eurocentric term, it's hard to use a term like that, to describe the huuṣiiʔat. That essentially doesn't describe the huuṣiiʔat, it can't, it can't grasp exactly is going on or who we are as a people. However, I do find the huuṣiiʔat to be more patriarchal in the sense of using that term in that way. But I think that with the Indian Act and the policies attached to that and with residential school that there has been this teaching of western patriarchy put onto the huuṣiiʔat. So you kind of learn, the huuṣiiʔat learn, a new sense of being that is not respectful to women, that is not balanced, for example, the prevalence of violence against aboriginal women.

So you can see this influx or this introduction of behaviours that is being introduced and there are all sorts, it's so complex. Self hate, you know, not being proud of who you are. Being told that you can't speak your language, you are not allowed to speak your language. You cannot practice any of your ceremonies, dances and you can't practice any of these things anymore and it really affects you in a sense that you push that away.

ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ

My brother, ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ (Brian Happynook) is my younger brother and second born. ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ has also been raised to be ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ and should something ever happen to me before I have children then our family's responsibilities would be taken up by him. This does not preclude him from having responsibilities to our family and nation, of which he has always been willing to do what needs to be done.

How did you learn to be ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ?

Watching dad and grandma and even mom and I think we were surrounded by really good people and nobody had to tell us what to do. We just had to sort of observe and learn. I remember when I was little I tried to be not the best person. Later in life it just sort of clicked in and I started acting like my parents. No matter how hard I tried not to.

A big thing I think was having grandma in the house. And you know what. She never specifically taught me anything or forced anything on me. All I ever did with her was just sit there quietly and, you know, sometimes we would talk but never about anything important. You know, I never really came up with any important conversation and grandma just wanted to hang out. But just seeing her and seeing her interact with other people, you know, it just sort of rubs off on you. It never felt like lessons it was just sort of hanging out and we watched a lot of "Murder She Wrote." She loved that show.

How am I passing on the teachings? I don't really have anyone to pass them on to yet. We have a couple of nephews, or a nephew and a niece, coming up so that will be kind of cool. I think I am just going to do it the same way. I am just going to behave in a way that I want them to behave. I just try to, you know, behave myself. I try to anyways; you just have to be who you want other people to be. It's like that old, what's that saying, treat other's how you want to be treated. That's where I am at with that question.

What does it mean to be a ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ from ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ?

What does it mean to be ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ, pre-Indian Act? I guess from what I heard, pre-Indian Act the ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ. I don't know. You hear about princes and kings and stuff like that and chiefs and how they just sort of collected taxes and protected people. But I think it was more than that for us. It was like a responsibility to the people and the lands and so you know we were sort of the first ones to maybe go hungry instead of the last.

Ah, post-Indian Act, I think, it's our, you have to, you know, step it up and put on a brave face for the people and try and bring them together no matter what happened, cause a lot of shitty stuff happened. Well, I guess nowadays it's the same kind of thing, you just got to sort of be a role model for the people. Give them someone to look up to. You know,

we make important decisions in their lives, or not we, but whoever, the ha'wił. You just have to be a good person and a role model. That's what I have been led to believe.

With a treaty, I don't think much changes, you know, it's all about acting the way you want all our people to act sort of setting the standards. I guess that's all I have to say about that.

Has this meaning changed in your lifetime?

I don't really think so. I didn't really think about it too much when I was a kid. I guess slowly over time I have come to realize that we are in fact ha'wił and I have to behave myself in a certain manner. I guess from growing up with dad and grandma who are really responsible good people and my mom too. I just sort of became that over time, you know you are a product of your experiences.

ʔaaʔapasnuk

ʔaaʔapasnuk is the youngest of the participants and of my siblings. She was adopted into our family at the age of seven. She comes from Tsil-qotin people around Williams Lake, BC. Her experiences in the Canadian Foster Care system, what she knows from her Tsil-qotin background combined with her čaačaasiiʔasat upbringing have provided an interesting perspective from which these questions were answered. Her answers were always very short and to the point.

How did you learn to be haquum?

Well I spent a lot of time with grandma Happynook, Lizzie Happynook. I spent almost every week day with her in high school. And she taught me how to make baskets. And just spending time with her and listening to her and just watching her and mom too. Yeah.

What does it mean to be a ha'wił from čaačaasiiʔas?

Probably that dad was born into that role, and that a long, long time ago our family lived in čaačaasiiʔas and our family was, I don't know that right word, a hereditary family. And that the chief was responsible for the land and its resources and that it gets passed down through the family, from father to son, and that's why grandpa is a chief (grandpa, being our father, when her kids are around). But I'm not sure.

It means he needs to be very, very thoughtful, very thoughtful of his responses. Of what he is going to do, how he is going to solve whatever problem is in front of him. You need to be patient and I think you need to be mindful of all people and how everything affects the other. Yep.

Has this meaning changed in your lifetime?

Yes, I think it has changed because it has become, I would assume, a lot harder considering residential schools and it sort of wiped out the teachings. So I think it was a lot harder for the younger generations to learn and the traditional teachings aren't the main teachings anymore, if that makes any sense.

No I don't think the people understand, well, I think some do and some don't. The families that were lucky enough to have elders who still remember are able to have a better understanding than those that didn't.



Do you hear that?

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**The drum has returned to me
Feel it; hear it; embrace its power
Pumping, thumping
I can feel it in my veins**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**My body convulses with the memory
The drum beats strong in the blood
The calm before the storm
This song is old and cannot be forgotten**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**Change will come
It grows around us
All consuming, but not consuming all
My song is forming**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


**My senses know it true
Suddenly I understand
My heart beats with the drum
Another lesson learned**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


Chapter Three: Teachings



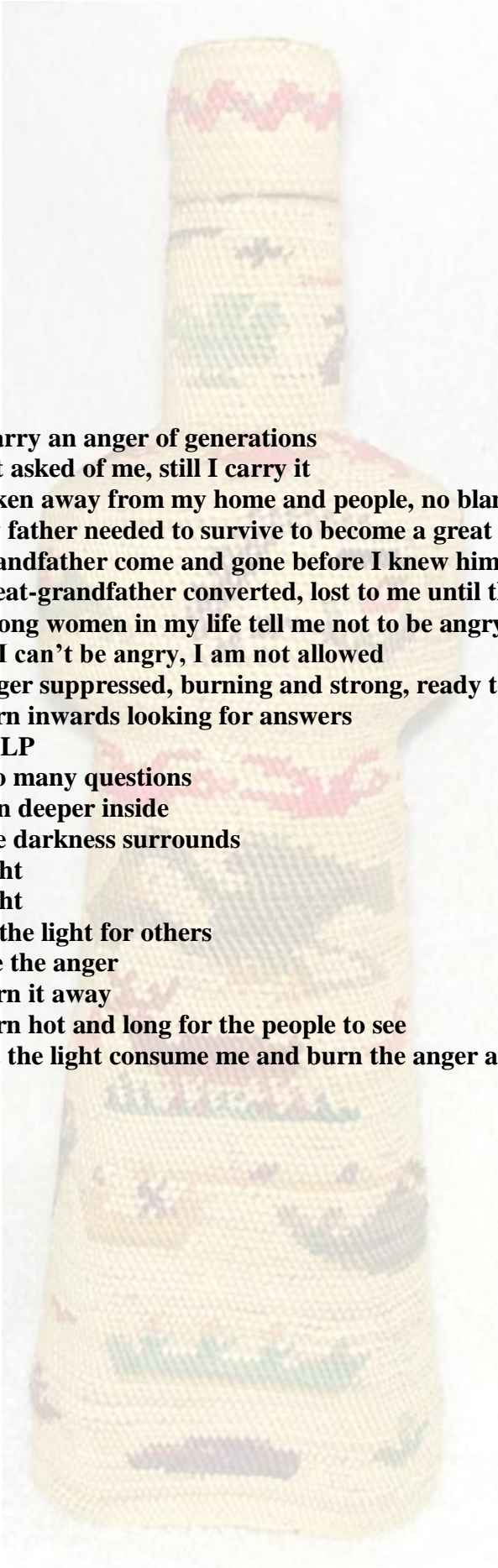
This is a photo overlooks čaačaasiiʔas and the ocean. It was taken from the top of Mt. Blenheim by Tom Happynook Sr.



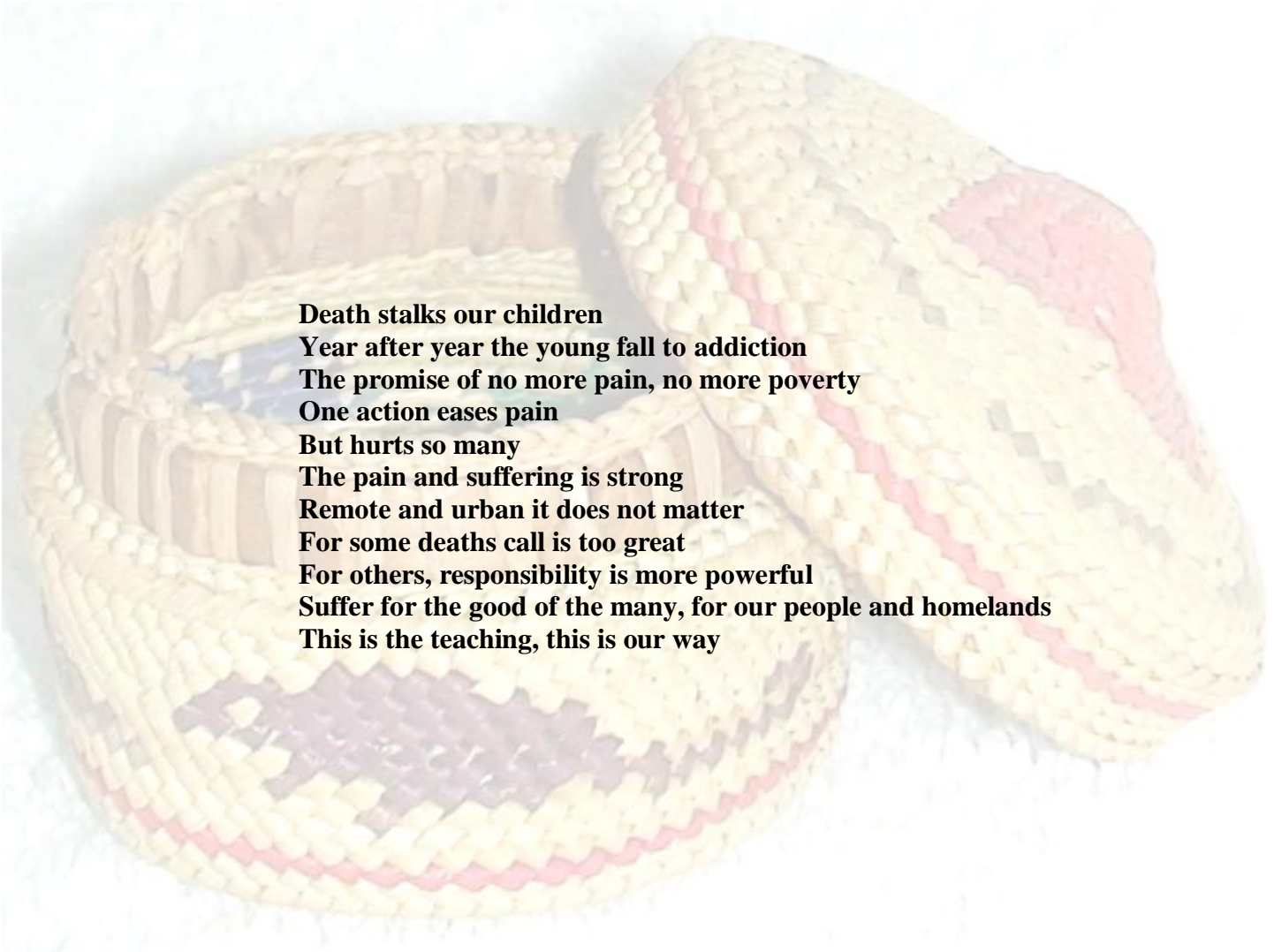
**Five generations were raised with her wisdom
Daughter, sister, aunt
Grandmother, great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother
A true source of wisdom and knowledge
Raised, lived and died as haquum
Her legacy lives on
Her teachings were strong
Passed down through actions and voice
Her story guides our days
Night brings us closer
As dreams bring the teachings out from the soul
No regrets, no remorse, our relationship was strong**

A round, woven basket with a red and purple pattern. The basket is made of light-colored straw or reeds, woven in a tight, textured pattern. It features a prominent red band across the top and a purple band near the bottom, with a red band at the very bottom. The basket is set against a light, textured background.


**Who will I be when I wake
Calm or anger
Patience or disdain
Understanding or frustration
Will I awaken warm and caring
Or cold and distant
As each new day rises with the sun
The many that make me whole battle for control
Will I be filled with a passion for life
Will I be filled with anger from ages past
Who will I be when I wake**



**I carry an anger of generations
Not asked of me, still I carry it
Taken away from my home and people, no blame
My father needed to survive to become a great leader
Grandfather come and gone before I knew him
Great-grandfather converted, lost to me until the very end
Strong women in my life tell me not to be angry
So I can't be angry, I am not allowed
Anger suppressed, burning and strong, ready to explode
Turn inwards looking for answers
HELP
Too many questions
Run deeper inside
The darkness surrounds
Fight
Fight
Be the light for others
Use the anger
Burn it away
Burn hot and long for the people to see
Let the light consume me and burn the anger away**



**Death stalks our children
Year after year the young fall to addiction
The promise of no more pain, no more poverty
One action eases pain
But hurts so many
The pain and suffering is strong
Remote and urban it does not matter
For some deaths call is too great
For others, responsibility is more powerful
Suffer for the good of the many, for our people and homelands
This is the teaching, this is our way**



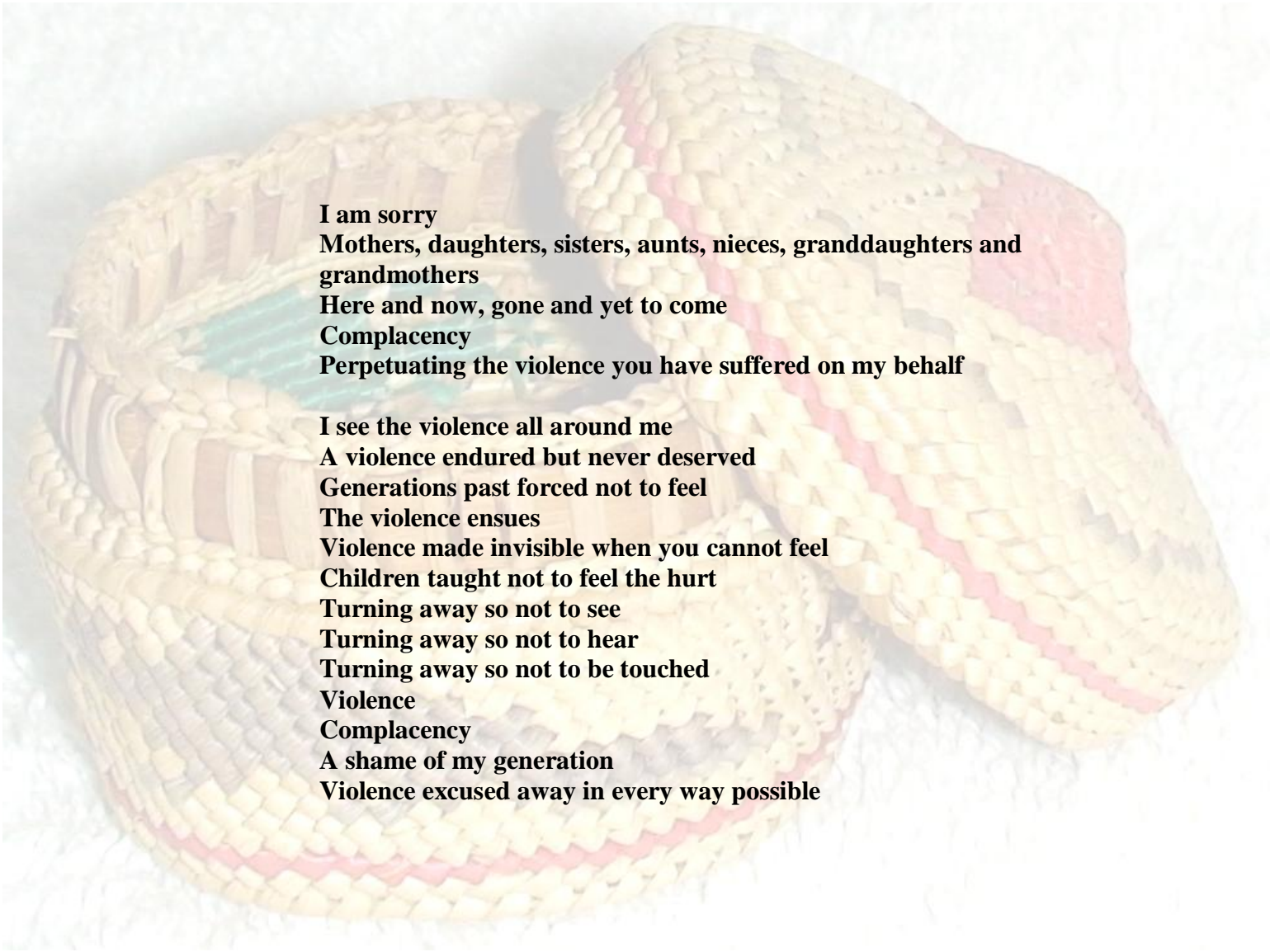
**Dark clouds form,
calm flees quickly.**

**My voice blows like the wind,
coming at you in gales.**

**My body moves like the waves,
forceful and intimidating.**

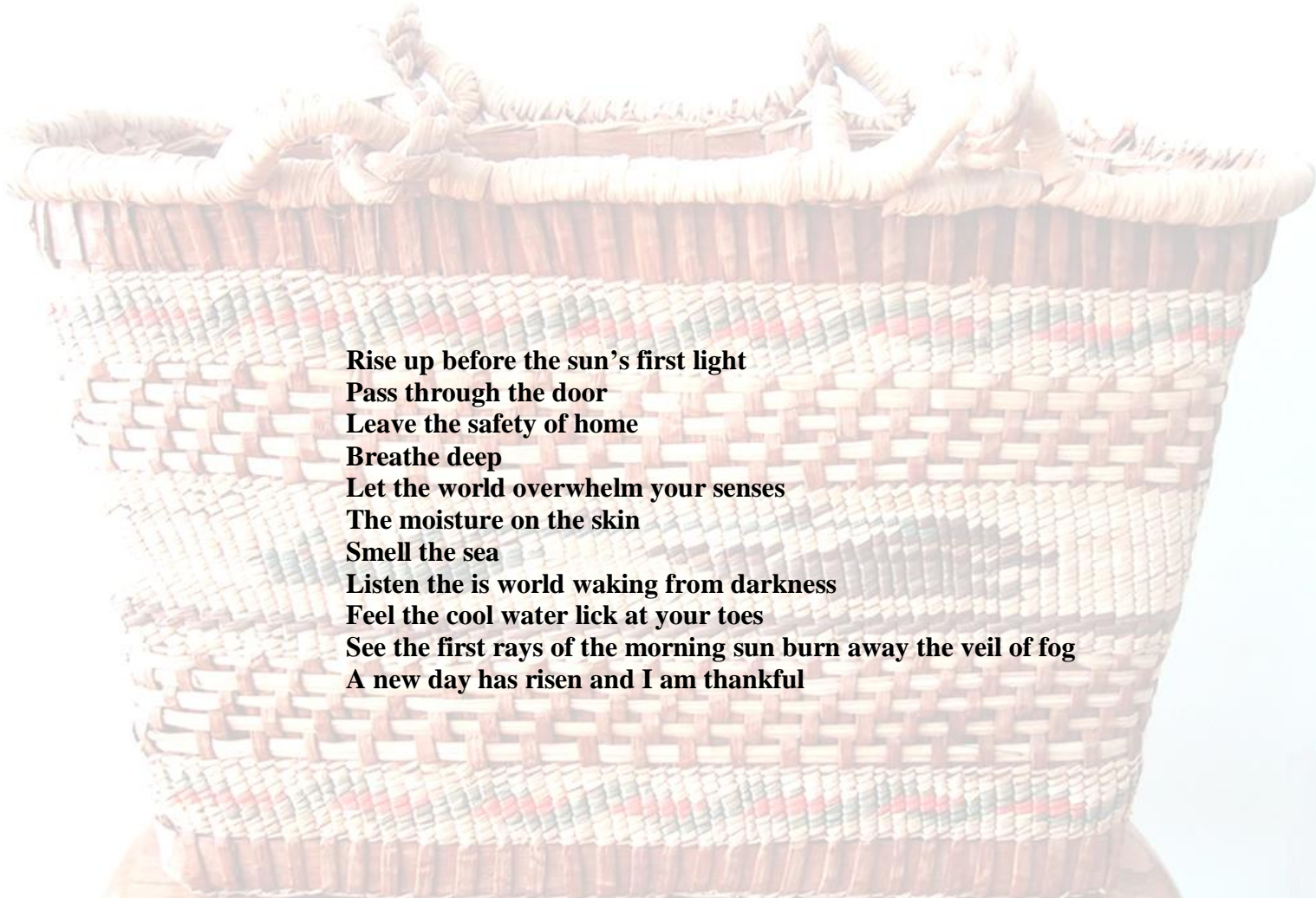
**Anger flashes in my eyes,
striking like lightning and loud as thunder.**

**Your tears run free,
rain always accompanies a storm.**

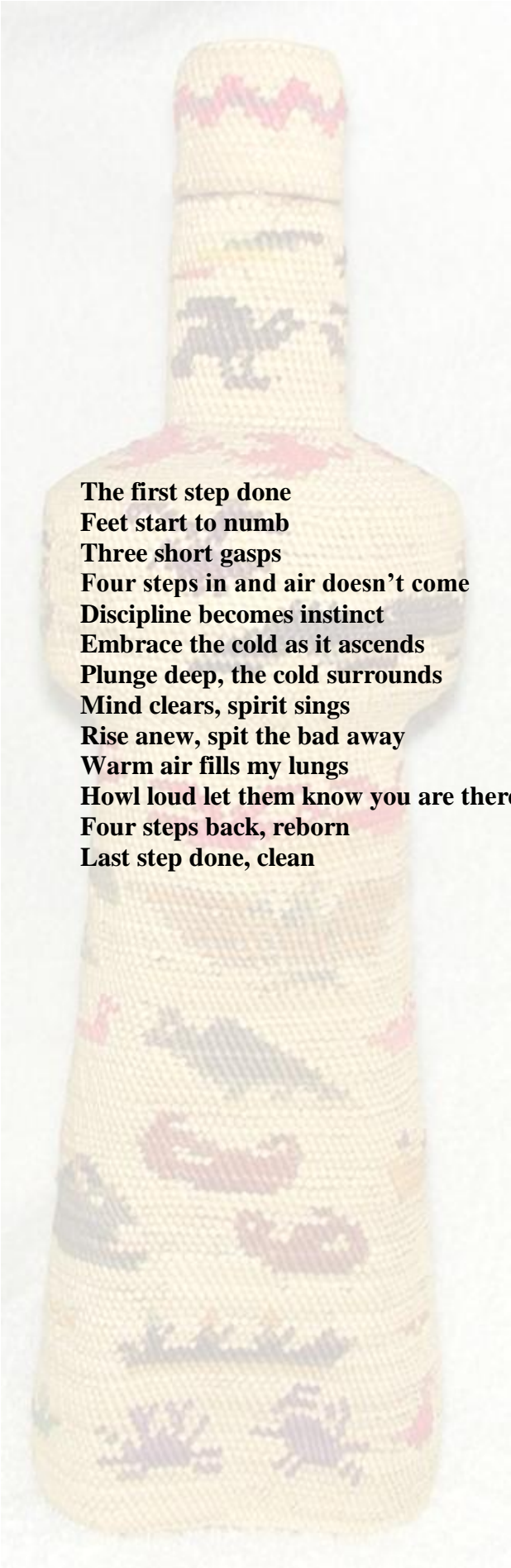


**I am sorry
Mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, nieces, granddaughters and
grandmothers
Here and now, gone and yet to come
Complacency
Perpetuating the violence you have suffered on my behalf**

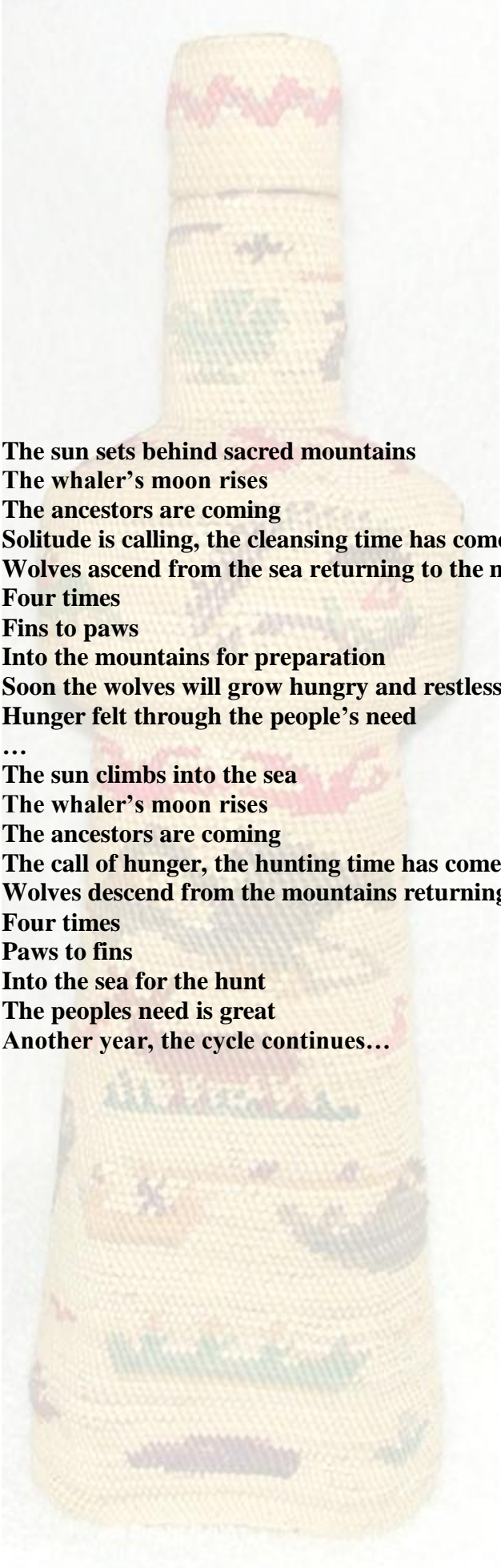
**I see the violence all around me
A violence endured but never deserved
Generations past forced not to feel
The violence ensues
Violence made invisible when you cannot feel
Children taught not to feel the hurt
Turning away so not to see
Turning away so not to hear
Turning away so not to be touched
Violence
Complacency
A shame of my generation
Violence excused away in every way possible**



**Rise up before the sun's first light
Pass through the door
Leave the safety of home
Breathe deep
Let the world overwhelm your senses
The moisture on the skin
Smell the sea
Listen the is world waking from darkness
Feel the cool water lick at your toes
See the first rays of the morning sun burn away the veil of fog
A new day has risen and I am thankful**

A tall, narrow, woven basket, likely made of straw or a similar natural fiber, featuring a repeating pattern of a bear and a boat. The basket is positioned vertically in the center of the page. The pattern consists of a bear in the upper half and a boat in the lower half, both rendered in a simple, stylized manner. The colors used in the pattern are muted, including shades of brown, grey, and red. The basket has a slightly flared top and bottom, with a narrow neck in the middle. The background is a plain, light-colored surface.

**The first step done
Feet start to numb
Three short gasps
Four steps in and air doesn't come
Discipline becomes instinct
Embrace the cold as it ascends
Plunge deep, the cold surrounds
Mind clears, spirit sings
Rise anew, spit the bad away
Warm air fills my lungs
Howl loud let them know you are there
Four steps back, reborn
Last step done, clean**



**The sun sets behind sacred mountains
The whaler's moon rises
The ancestors are coming
Solitude is calling, the cleansing time has come
Wolves ascend from the sea returning to the mountains
Four times
Fins to paws
Into the mountains for preparation
Soon the wolves will grow hungry and restless
Hunger felt through the people's need
...
The sun climbs into the sea
The whaler's moon rises
The ancestors are coming
The call of hunger, the hunting time has come
Wolves descend from the mountains returning to the sea
Four times
Paws to fins
Into the sea for the hunt
The peoples need is great
Another year, the cycle continues...**

In this chapter I will discuss some of the extensive and ancient čaačaasiiʔasat teachings that have been passed down through countless generations of my family. My family's teachings begin at conception. As a child I was taught many things through observation, conversation and by doing. I was taught that I needed to not only know my teachings but to understand them and be capable of using them throughout my life. I was taught that to be a good leader a person must know their teachings, understand their teachings and have the ability to use the teachings in whatever time and place they find themselves. The teachings I will discuss are evident in my family's interviews as well as my poetry. The following discussion demonstrates how these principles are transmitted through the generations of my family; how we relate to each other as members of the čaačaasiiʔasat; and how the teachings guide our roles and responsibilities to the čaačaasiiʔasat, the huuʔsiiʔat and the nuučaañuʔ.

The value and importance of čaačaasiiʔasat teachings to my family will be obvious beyond measure. The value and importance of the čaačaasiiʔasat teachings to people outside our family is less apparent. I believe that sharing some of our knowledge, teachings and guiding principles with outsiders can only strength the relationships that we have formed, in our personal and business lives. There is great value for outsiders to learn where our particular perspectives come from and why we engage with them in the way we do.

Some of the most important teachings, which my father outlined in his interviews include **respect**; **generosity** and putting others first; **patience** and being calm; **caring**; **kindness**; **compassion**; empathy; **confidence**, **humility** and learning to remain humble; **accountability**; simplicity; consistency in decision making; reverence for the creator; honour for the ancestors; and protecting and appreciating our culture.

The subsequent teachings are derived from the interviews, key concepts and my own personal interpretation. The teachings that I am going to speak about come from my family and may be different from the teachings of other nuučaañuʔ families. I am not claiming that similarities do not exist between nuučaañuʔ families. I do not want any confusion about where the teachings I am talking about come from. I feel that it is not my place to make such comparisons. At this point I will expand on the teachings above that are in bold print.

Generosity

“We were sort of the first ones to maybe go hungry instead of the last”

(taʔupsmiiah, 2009)

The teaching of generosity is important because the position of a haʔiʔ is one that gives and gives and gives. It is a position that requires great sacrifice and has immense impact on your family.

A haʼwił that is not generous will lose the respect of the people, who will leave him and not help in the management of his ʰahuułhii. The teaching of generosity is closely linked to our potlatch system. The potlatch is our means of doing business. It is the time in which a haʼwił invites others to pay witness to his business. It is also an event in which the wealth of a haʼwił is distributed to those in attendance. The act of giving away your possessions, tangible and occasionally intangible, is one of the greatest acts of generosity a haʼwił is required to perform.

In distributing his family's wealth he ensures that the people that he is responsible to share in the wealth that they have helped to accumulate. By keeping people happy, wealthy and prosperous a haʼwił gains notoriety. More importantly, and less discussed, is how generosity guarantee that he has people to help him manage, protect and utilize his ʰahuułhii.

By giving away all of your possessions you also acquire debts. Debts from others who will invite you to witness their business at their potlatches thereby ensuring that the wealth you gave away will come back to you many times over. This is a good way to make certain your people are happy and taken care of. It also makes sure that you maintain ties to current allies and perhaps gain new ones. Generosity is a powerful tool in nuučaañuł politics.

When looking back on my life I do not have to look very far to find examples of true generosity. In her interview, my mother and I talked about the generosity that we experienced at the passing of my great grandmother. Two haʼwił and their families stand out in my mind. The first are the Cook family who came to our home the morning after my great grandmother's passing and took care of every need that we might have during the planning of the funeral. They brought food, support and love. The second act of generosity that stands out in my mind is when haʼwił Bill Frank came to us at the hospital and told us that when the time came we need not worry about making any arrangements for having the burial site prepared. He would see that everything was taken care of and he did.

Our system of wealth distribution is well studied but perhaps is not well understood by non-Indigenous peoples. To exemplify this point I will share with you a story that my father has often talked about. Many years ago he read a letter that an Indian agent wrote and mailed back to England.

Eddy Banfield, the first non-Indigenous person to arrive in Bamfield, wrote a letter back to England. In this letter Banfield proclaims his lack of understanding of the nuučaañuł potlatch. He could not fathom the reasons that a haʼwił would gather so much only to give it away once or twice a year. My father remembered reading that Banfield was shocked that the haʼwił even gave away his kitchen sink. From Banfield's point of view the haʼwił was now impoverished. The story concludes with Eddy Banfield going upstairs to his attic where he has all of the artifacts that he has collected from the various tribes in Barkley Sound. He writes about how much he covets them, hoarding and hanging on to

them and how he does not understand why these people gather so much only to give it all away.

After telling me this story my father always says that reading that letter was a profound moment in his life because of the completely opposite understanding of generosity and governmental responsibility between our system and the non-Indigenous system of governance. My father tells this story as a reminder that we are not to hoard and collect resources for our own individual benefit, as can be the case in the non-Indigenous society. We are responsible for making sure that all of the people we serve are benefitting from the wealth found within our ḥahuułhii. Or as my brother likes to put it, a ḥawıł is taught to be the first to go hungry instead of the last.

Patience

“You need to be patient and I think you need to be mindful of all people and how everything affects the other”

(Ḥaaʔapasnuk, 2009)

This is a difficult teaching to learn nowadays, especially with the speed in which Canadian society moves. With fast food, drive thrus, email and the many other technological conveniences that make our lives “easier” we can become lost in a frenzy of things to do and places to be.

Patience is important because we have to be able to listen and talk to people. Having patience and learning to be patient are important because a ḥawıł cannot be hasty in making decisions when there is so much to consider. Learning to have patience is crucial and the four pillars are one way that ensures that hasty decisions are not made lightly.

Ever since I was a young boy my father talked about the four pillars of society. This concept is one that my family has used for generations. It was passed to my father by his grandfather, who learned it from his father and so on back through the generations. While this concept, as it appears in my thesis, comes directly from my family, it can however be found throughout other nuučaañuł nations.

What are the four pillars and what do they mean? My father taught me that the four pillars concept is one of the tools used by our family when making decisions, big or small. I have come to think about this concept as the four pillars that hold up our house and make the čaačaasiiʔasat strong. They are a part of the čaačaasiiʔasat foundation.

As the name implies there are four pillars and they are: cultural, economic, spiritual and social. Each pillar represents a different aspect of our world. All four pillars are needed in order to maintain stability and balance.

The cultural pillar holds up our customs and traditions. Examples are our potlatch system, our hereditary governance, our songs, dances, regalia and ḥawıłmis.

The economic pillar encompasses things like resources, trading, bartering and the responsibility to maintain those things for the future generations. For my family this involves our responsibility to whales and whaling. It is well known and well documented that whales were the foundation of the nuučaanuṭ economy and as such whalers were held in high regard.

The spiritual pillar includes, but is not limited to, such things as praying, reverence for the creator, our ancestors and haṽiṭmis. I will not expand further on this pillar as it is in the realm of secret and sacred things that belong to and are known only by my family.

The social pillar consists of maintaining access to resources, trade allies, supporting and protecting the people in your care and responsibility to your family, extended family, tribe and nation.

The four pillars are very closely linked to our haṽiṭmis, ḥahuuṭhii and huupuuk^wnam. For that reason the four pillars must be considered during the decision making process. In order to be successful the four pillars must be in balance and as my sister so carefully articulated, they have been somewhat out of balance since contact.

Thinking back to my childhood I believe that a good place to learn patience is at a potlatch. I can remember sitting next to my great grandmother and trying to behave myself all the while learning to have patience. My great grandmother was an outstanding woman and had the patience of stone. Even a month before she passed away she had the patience to sit at a potlatch all day and be witness to the business at hand. When I am feeling impatient I try to visualize my ninety three year old great grandmother sitting in her chair at a potlatch.

Caring, Kindness and Compassion

“A haṽiṭ needs to be kind; a haṽiṭ needs to be caring; a haṽiṭ needs to be gentle; to be calm; to be consistent in their decision making; a haṽiṭ needs to think about the people before he thinks about himself and his family”

(hapinyuk 2009a)

These particular teachings are linked for obvious reasons. They are important because a haṽiṭ must be a good leader for his people. I have been taught that it is my responsibility to help people in need and to show caring, kindness and compassion towards others. These are qualities that a haṽiṭ must have.

I am inclined to believe that for my family the teachings of caring, kindness and compassion are critical to our ability to hunt whales. Without caring, kindness and compassion I do not believe that we would be able to make the supernatural connection to the spirit of the whale so that it will give itself up to the whaling chief. If we are not able to care for, be kind to or have compassion for the people that we are born to serve.

How then can we have caring, kindness and compassion for other spiritual beings? I am certain that if we are unable to be caring, kind and compassionate towards others we would be unable to hunt the largest mammals on Earth.

Confidence

“Be confident in yourself, knowing that you are able to do things, knowing that what you know to be true is true”

(hapinyuk, 2009a)

The teaching of confidence has been slow in coming to me. I have always been a very shy person. I do not like to have attention focused on me. Strangely enough it was my experiences in the classrooms at university that really brought out my confidence.

My entire life I have been drawn into debates about Indigenous issues. I did not know that I would spend more time discussing ignorance of this sort in university, a place of higher learning and educated people. Needless to say that having to confront complete ignorance to the situations that Indigenous people face on a daily basis forced my confidence levels to rise. I believe that because of my training I could not just sit by and allow such ignorance about Indigenous people to go unchallenged.

Humility

“Grandma always carried herself in such a humble way and she was so caring and kind. She really just walked in a certain way and was really well respected in how she was”

(ʔaasaawis, 2009)

Humility is a teaching that is taught so that future haw̓i̓ih learn they are not better than anyone else. Humility teaches that you have let your deeds speak for themselves. I feel that this teaching is closely linked to the teaching of confidence and is a counterbalance to confidence.

So how can a haw̓i̓t gain prestige among other tribes and families that are not present to witness his deeds? We have speakers and these speakers were called cik ci. These people were raised from birth to be speakers, families held that role for generation upon generation. When young people were being trained to be cik ci they had special caves that they would go to and were they would practice speaking for hours and hours. They would go into these caves for the echo. The echoing allowed them to listen to themselves and they could practice with their oration.

Among the nuučaa̓nu̓t we had incredible orators. Orators, who would be identified and trained from a very young age to become speakers for the haw̓i̓t. Speakers would be able to recite for hours upon hours. A haw̓i̓t gains prestige, respect, credibility and reputation through his speaker as it is considered extremely taboo for a haw̓i̓t to speak about himself

in public. Speakers would be able to speak about the history, lineage, ḥahuuṯhii, huupuuk^wnam, roles, responsibilities, authorities, jurisdictions, ownership and kinship both within the nation and connections to other nations.

I would also like to point out something that I have always found interesting. Often the names that are given to ḥawit are boastful. For example my father's name is hapinyuk which means that he will capture a whale before completing a full circuit of his hunting territory. This name alludes to his powers, abilities and medicine as a whaler.

Anger

"I was also taught that when you are angry your ears are closed and you have to wait until the person's anger has subsided so their ears will open again"

(hapinyuk, 2009a)

This teaching is not so much about having anger as it is about learning to control it and eventually not have it. This has been the most difficult teaching for me to learn. This is a teaching that I am still learning. I can become very angry and learning to control this has been extremely difficult.

For me the anger comes from the generational abuse that so many Indigenous people have had to suffer. A story about my father is perhaps the best way to explain the reason that a ḥawit cannot be angry.

When my father was a young boy he got into trouble for doing something; as he tells it this happened on numerous occasions. He was very mad and upset. So my great grandfather took him up to the house and sat him down in a chair. My father was left in the chair and my great grandfather would check in every now and then. Eventually my father would forget why he was in trouble and forget why he was mad. At this point my great grandfather would sit my father down on his knee and explain that now that he was not angry anymore his ears would be open and my great grandfather would now be able to talk with him about his behaviour.

This was important for a couple of reasons. The first being that when a child is misbehaving we do not blame the child rather we look at the parents and grandparents for not teaching the child about that behaviour. The second reason being that when a person is angry they cannot or will not listen. So you must wait for them to calm down before you can discuss the problem.

As a child I can remember going through similar experiences of being put somewhere to calm down. To this day when I am mad or upset, I often will go for a walk or separate myself so that I can have time to calm down. I am getting better at controlling myself to the point that I do not get angry. Again this is because I have many excellent role models to look up to in this regard, foremost my father who displays great calmness.

Accountability

“Someone who is responsible for a territory and the resources in that territory... [is] responsible for a lot”

(ooksaaḱ^wahtuk, 2009)

This is a very important teaching for a ḥawīḥ. I have been taught on countless occasions that if you are to be a leader you must make decisions and be accountable for the outcome, good or bad.

I have been taught that it is okay to make a mistake but it is not okay to make that same mistake again. I also know that if I make a mistake I must be accountable for it, if the choice was mine to make then I must be willing to accept the consequences good or bad. This teaching is a quality that does not seem to be high on the priority of the leaders of Canada. Often we see and hear about how “leaders” make bad decisions and then try to pass the blame off to those who work under them or take credit for good decisions that they had no part in.

Respect

“You can’t just have respect, you have to earn it... and you earn that respect over time by being humble, by being compassionate, by being generous... All of those wonderful things that help the people that surround you in your lifetime”

(hapinyuk, 2009a)

iisaak in my language, is the most important of our teachings because all other teachings require a ḥawīḥ to have iisaak. I was taught to have respect for myself because if you cannot respect yourself then you will not be able to respect others. I was taught that all things have a spirit and therefore must be respected. This includes, but is not limited to all humans and non-humans, men and women but especially women because it is women who must carry the burden of life. It is also women who have had to bear the burden of an enforced colonial patriarchy where their roles in our society have been badly displaced or disregarded.

I have been taught to respect the lands, waters, air, resources, animals, spirits and all other physical and spiritual beings that reside within my ḥahuuḥhii. In learning to respect ḥahuuḥhii we learn to respect other’s ḥahuuḥhii. By respecting our ḥahuuḥhii we learn to respect our huupuuk^wnam because it is from our ḥahuuḥhii that our huupuuk^wnam is derived and or created.

To explain the teaching of iisaak, my father likes to tell a story about his experience of learning about iisaak. One day when he was about five or six my father decided he would go fishing for perch off the wharf that their fishing boats were tied up to. Perch love to hang around floats and eat the mussels that grow on the logs and the pile worms that live there. Perch also love to eat the tiny little green crabs that are easy to find during low tide.

So my father grabbed an empty little can of Campbell's vegetable soup and went down to the beach to collect crabs for perch fishing.

As he was down on the beach turning over rocks and collecting crabs his grandfather came by and asked him what he was doing. My father said that he was going perch fishing. Grandpa called him over and looked in his soup can and asked how many perch he was planning on catching. My father answered that he did not know. Then grandpa said well you don't need that many crabs to catch a few perch, you go and put those crabs back. My father said okay because he wanted to be a good boy and listen to his grandfather. So he walked over and turned the can upside down releasing most of the crabs. Upon seeing this grandpa said no, no, no you pick those crabs back up and you put them back exactly where you found them. I can see that you have left the rocks over turned and you haven't put them back either. You go and put those crabs back under the rocks and return the rocks to the original position because that is where they live, that is there home. So my father did, he gathered up the crabs and put them back under their rocks and turned the rocks back over.

This was an important lesson that never left my father. He can still close his eyes and see back to when he was taught this lesson. In the end he caught a half dozen perch and it was a lot of fun. Afterwards he filleted them up and shared some with the cats.

It is lessons like this one that teach our young children to respect the environment which sustains us. In learning to respect the relationship to the things around us we are able to learn to respect ourselves and others.

Interestingly many teachings from the huuṣiiʔat haʷiih have been included in our constitution. Within section B of the preamble to the huuṣiiʔat Constitution there is a Declaration of Rights and Values (Appendix C) which outlines many of the teachings that the haʷiih from huuṣiiʔat have been taught (huuṣiiʔat Constitution pages 2-4).

Within that document you will find many similarities to the teachings that I have talked about within this thesis. I believe that by entrenching the teachings of our haʷiih into a document that is legally recognized by and binding to British Columbia and Canada, we as members of the huuṣiiʔat are making a clear statement and acknowledgment of the importance of our haʷiih.



Do you hear that?

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**I didn't drop from the sky
Or spring from the ground
I am born of the wolf
A hunter of whales**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

**All my life I have listened for the drum
Trying to take in its power
I hear the beat growing
I feel the rhythm rising**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


**I returned home and felt the drum clear
In the earth where I sleep
In the water that I drink
In the air that I breathe**

Thump, thump, thump, thump


**In my time of need
I found my song
Now I will sing
Sing, until I die**

Thump, thump, thump, thump

Conclusion



**No more
No more shrinking away
No more hiding in the corners
No more head down cast
No more addictions
No more living up to stereotypes
No more being small
No more insecurity
No more dependency
No more shame
No more darkness
Step out of the shadow
Stand in the light
Stand tall
Head held high
Pride**



**Threaten us
With what
Poverty, addiction and lies
These are a part of our lives
We die everyday**

**Suffering and pain
Not for the brave
Blood and death
Not for the strong**

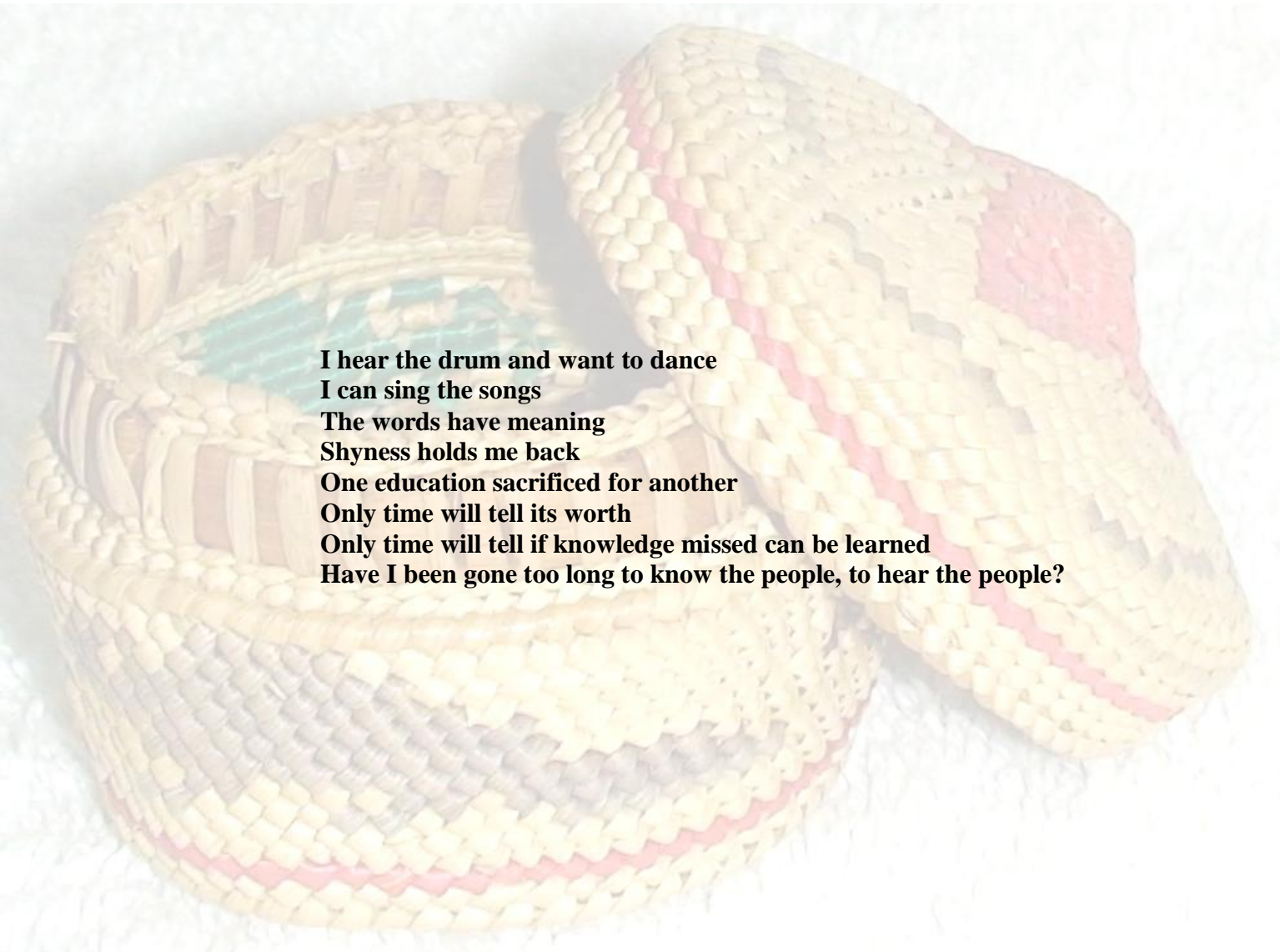
**Red stain
White collar
Black mark of ignorance**

**Long shadow cast
Stand up
Step out**

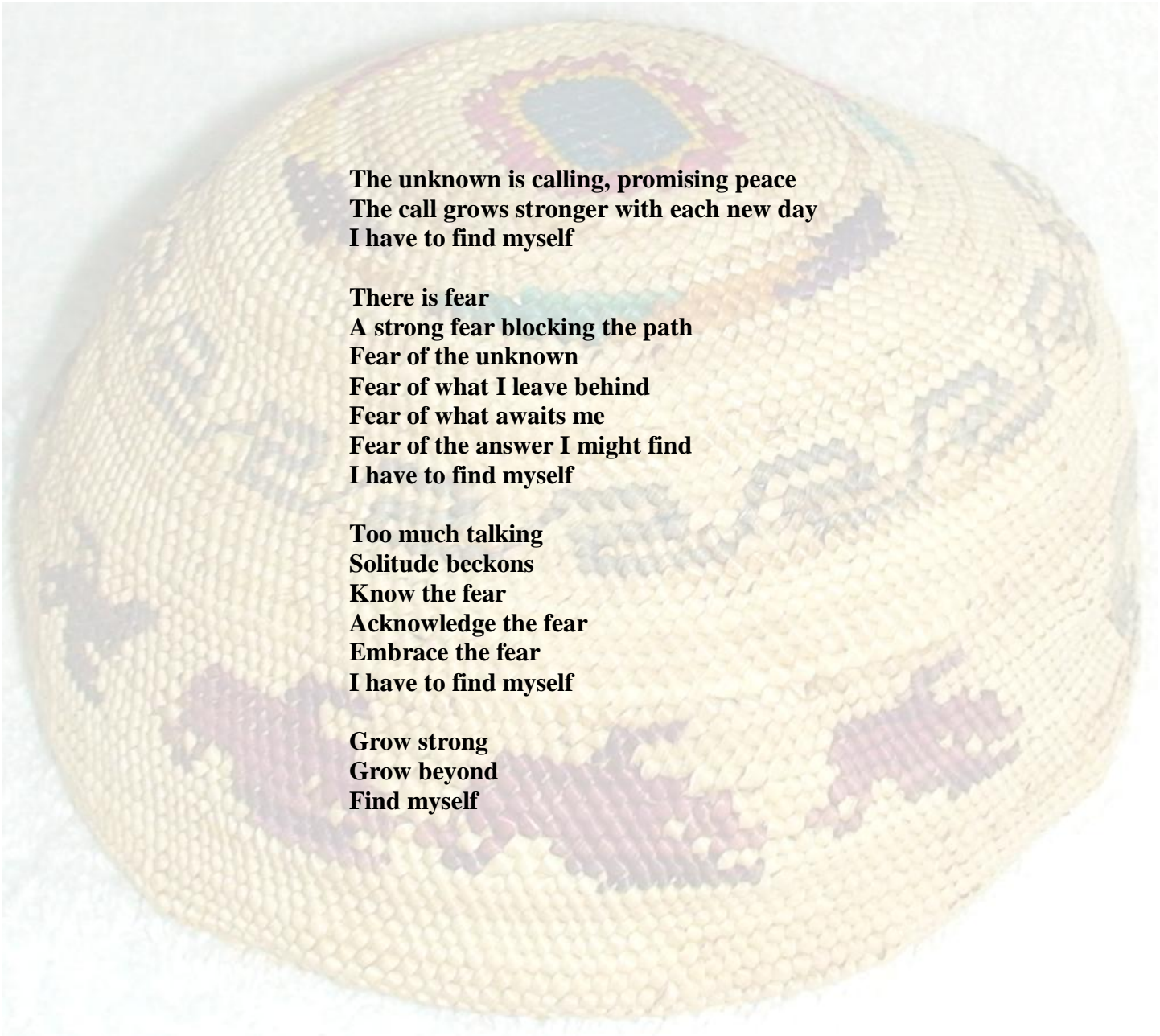
**We stand
Until you are broken
Or we are gone**

**Death scares us not
Kill us
We return to that which gives life**

**Your end is not our end
Our blood is of this land
To this land it will return**



**I hear the drum and want to dance
I can sing the songs
The words have meaning
Shyness holds me back
One education sacrificed for another
Only time will tell its worth
Only time will tell if knowledge missed can be learned
Have I been gone too long to know the people, to hear the people?**

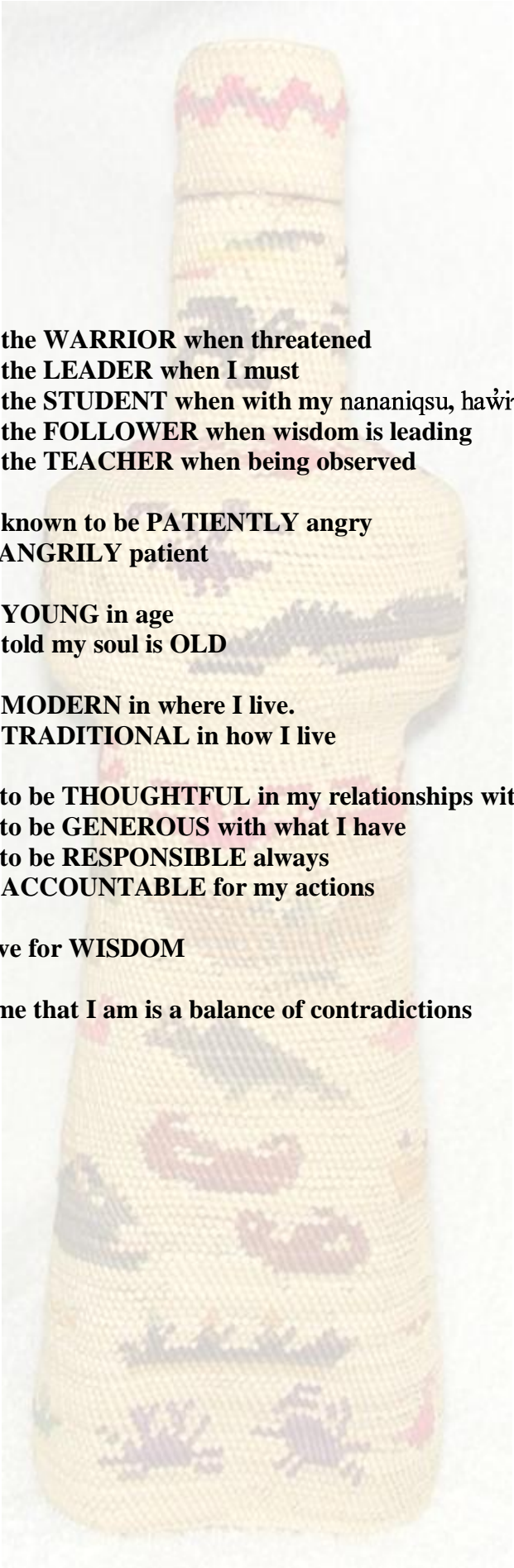


**The unknown is calling, promising peace
The call grows stronger with each new day
I have to find myself**

**There is fear
A strong fear blocking the path
Fear of the unknown
Fear of what I leave behind
Fear of what awaits me
Fear of the answer I might find
I have to find myself**

**Too much talking
Solitude beckons
Know the fear
Acknowledge the fear
Embrace the fear
I have to find myself**

**Grow strong
Grow beyond
Find myself**



I am the WARRIOR when threatened
I am the LEADER when I must
I am the STUDENT when with my nananiqsu, hawit and ancestors
I am the FOLLOWER when wisdom is leading
I am the TEACHER when being observed

I am known to be PATIENTLY angry
And ANGRILY patient


I am YOUNG in age
I am told my soul is OLD

I am MODERN in where I live.
I am TRADITIONAL in how I live

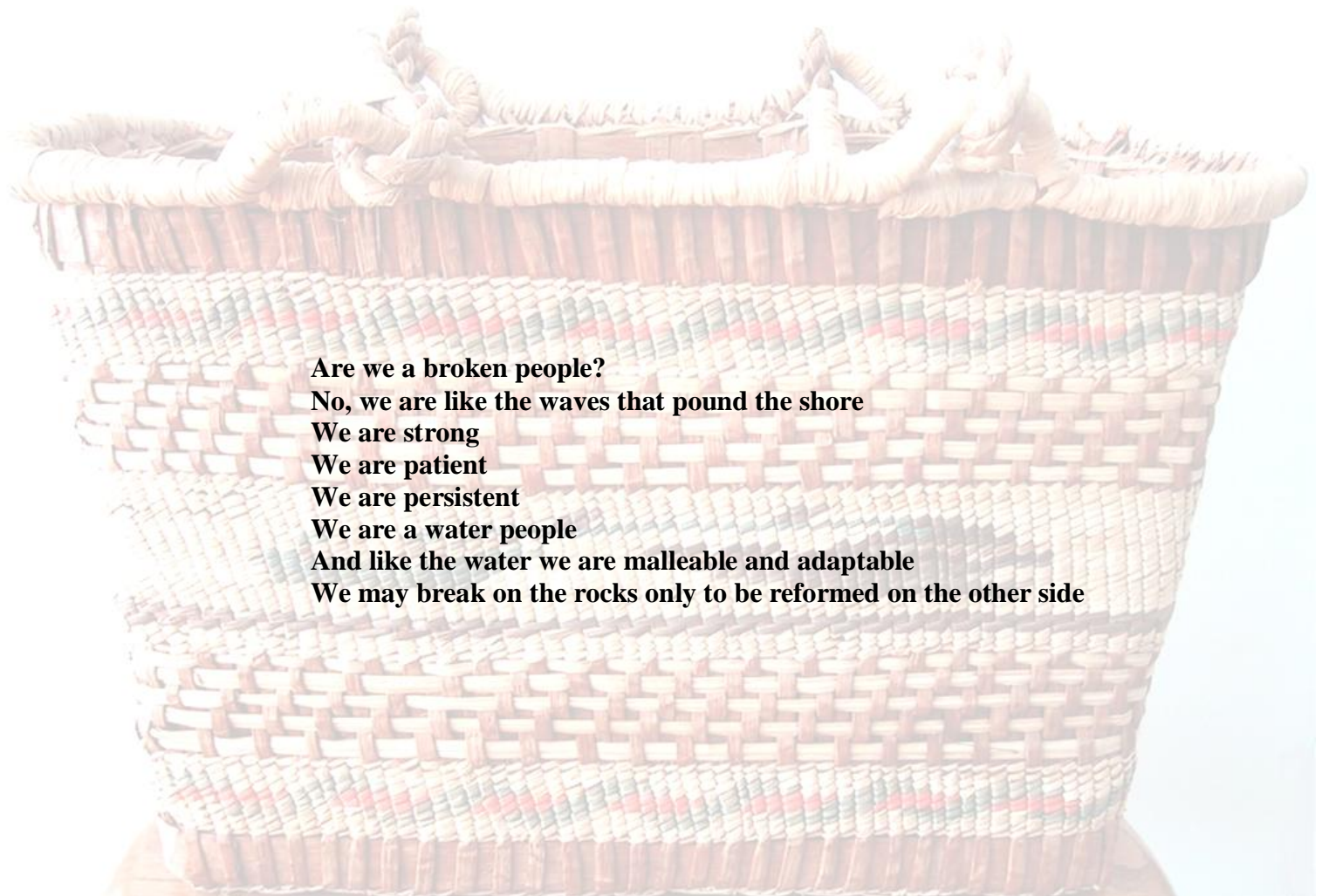
I try to be THOUGHTFUL in my relationships with others
I try to be GENEROUS with what I have
I try to be RESPONSIBLE always
I am ACCOUNTABLE for my actions

I strive for WISDOM

The me that I am is a balance of contradictions



**Surrounding darkness fades
Rays of light break through the night
The innocent and uninitiated wait
Wait...
Wait...
What comes next is older than memory
Howls break the silence
Four to two, four times come
Mystery revealed
Face hidden in time and ritual
Two to four, four times gone
Awake to your rebirth**



**Are we a broken people?
No, we are like the waves that pound the shore
We are strong
We are patient
We are persistent
We are a water people
And like the water we are malleable and adaptable
We may break on the rocks only to be reformed on the other side**



**Preserve the culture!
Build up our walls
Let nothing in and nothing out**

**Preserve our culture?
No, wait
What are we thinking?
We aren't thinking as ourselves
Too much forced influence from the outside
We must remember
Listen to the ancestors
Don't be fooled by what you are taught in western institutions**

**Preserve the culture?
We are not dead or dying
Do not fall into the trap
I will not preserve, I will continue**

**I exist as a testament to the strength and survival of my people
I will continue my culture
Accept change as my ancestors did before me
My culture will never die so long as one of us remains
Change may occur, old ways become new
Different but the same
Our culture is what we make of it**

To this point in my thesis I have purposefully avoided discussing theory because I did not want readers to make assumptions about my work based on a theory or type of methodologies. I wanted to complete my research without being boxed into a particular category or having to follow a predetermined set of guidelines based solely on a chosen theory and methodology. I will admit that my research strongly parallels methods used by anthropologists to conduct ethnographic research; namely participant observation. However, I am reluctant to attach non-Indigenous methods and theories to my research for reasons I discuss below.

I have tried to write a thesis that is outside the categories of anthropology and conventional academic scholarship. I am not an anthropologist, I study anthropology. I do not write as an anthropologist because I do not come from anthropology. I come from the čaačaašiiʔasat, huušiiʔat and nuučaañuʔ and it is from these perspectives that I theorize about my reality.

Very slowly, the place for what I know and how I see the world is expanding and gaining acceptance within foreign institutions like university. However, I will continue to strive for a balance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies within non-Indigenous institutions and disciplines.

In her groundbreaking work on decolonizing methodologies Linda Tuhiwai Smith boldly states that:

Indigenous peoples have been, in many ways, oppressed by theory. Any consideration of the ways our origins have been examined, our histories recounted, our arts analyzed, our culture dissected, measured, torn apart and distorted back to us will suggest that theories have not looked sympathetically or ethically at us... For indigenous peoples, most of the theory has been driven by anthropological approaches. These approaches have shown enormous concern for our origins as peoples and for aspects of our linguistic and material culture (1999:38).

Current approaches within nuučaañuʔ country are mostly concerned with land claims and issues of Rights and Title. Many anthropologists have been brought into these discussions, on both sides, as experts and research consultants. Unfortunately, the focus of research continues to be our origins, languages and material culture. I believe this continued focus exists because we have to work within non-Indigenous institutions and processes, such as the BC Treaty Process. The upside is that we have much more involvement and control over the flow of knowledge. As I have noted, this kind of situation can be problematic because our knowledge must go through a non-Indigenous filter and can potentially lose its meaning or become oversimplified.

So what is theory and how have I tried to use it? Again I will rely on Linda Tuhiwai Smith for a definition of theory:

[T]heory at its most simple level is important for indigenous peoples. At the very least it helps make sense of reality. It enables us to make assumptions and predictions about the world in which we live. It contains within it a method or methods for selecting and arranging, for prioritizing and legitimating what we see and do... Theory can also protect us because it contains within it a way of putting reality into perspective. If it is a good theory it also allows for new ideas and ways of looking at things to be incorporated constantly without the need to search constantly for new theories. (1999:38)

I agree that theory is important for Indigenous peoples. It is important because until we bring forward our own theories to explain our reality and epistemologies we will continually have to turn to outsiders to have our knowledge legitimized. In which case, we will always have to risk having our knowledge and ways misinterpreted, misunderstood or appropriated. Theory allows us as Indigenous people to think about, discuss and share our knowledge and epistemologies with non-Indigenous peoples reducing misinterpretation, misunderstanding or appropriation. The poetry I have included in my thesis is my way of theorizing about my world and reality in a manner that attempts to perform a balance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous epistemologies at a human level.

While my work shares some similarities with the research and production of ethnography, the differences between my work and that of traditional anthropological research are too large to ignore. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes:

“it is more typical (with the exception of feminist research) to write about research within the framing of a specific scientific or disciplinary approach, it is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *indigenous peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices.” (1999:2).

This statement sums up my own feelings about bringing my research and my family’s knowledge into the realm of anthropology. From the beginning my research has had to be carefully navigated, as Smith put it, “through multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices” (1999:2). One of the layers or obstacles that have I had to overcome was the completion of an ethics form. The ethics form was difficult to complete because my nuučaanuḷ, huuḥiiḡat and čaačaasiiḡasat worldviews are not easily put into a standardized form that was created for non-Indigenous researchers doing research on the “other.” This was demonstrated on several occasions when I had to include pages of contextual information so that the ethics board would be able to understand a particular word or phrase that I had used.

As discussed by Leedy and Ormrod, ethnography is best conducted in site-based fieldwork in which the ethnographer is a “stranger” with no “vested interest in the

outcome of the study” (2001:151). Malinowski and Boas pioneered this type of fieldwork; fieldwork whereby the researcher would study a community or cultural activity through participation. Typically this participation would only last the length of the study (Edgar & Sedgwick 2004:268). For Clifford Geertz, using this kind of approach allows for the researcher to recognize “the difference between a twitch and a wink.” (Edgar & Sedgwick 2004:133). Geertz’s understand was that someone, even a “stranger” who has been around the culture long enough will be able to pick up on the cultural nuances that determine the difference between a twitch and a wink.

While I agree that in theory this approach can offer a unique perspective to the study of cultures, I am less inclined to want readers to associate my work with this type of fieldwork. I am completely vested in my research and in no way a “stranger”. My involvement is so deep that I am researcher, gatekeeper and to a lesser degree a participant. My inclusion in the community and participation in the cultural is not for the duration of my research. When my research is at an end I will continue to be nuučaañuł, huufii?at and čaačaasii?asat. I can never be on the outside pretending to be on the inside for the sake of research. It is quite possible that I would have an easier time pretending to be on the outside collecting data. Fortunately, my culture allows humans, such as myself, who are adequately prepared to move between multiple physical and spiritual worlds safely.

My approach is open to criticism for its apparent lack of objectivity, but I argue that it is necessary if I am to decolonize my work in any meaningful way. Having to confront my place within this research has in a very real way forced me to consider the hegemonic bargain I have made as an Indigenous student studying anthropology at a Canadian university. Dr. Corntassel more thoroughly addresses the many trials that Indigenous people are confronted with in academia in his article “An Activist Posing as an Academic” (2003).

In attempting to build a methodology for my research I have drawn on my years of training and immersion within the nuučaañuł, huufii?at and čaačaasii?asat culture; my studies in anthropology at UVic; and the use of creative writing and poetry. From this I have tried to conduct meaningful and informative research that does not appropriate and further colonize the knowledge that has been shared but lends itself to a process of decolonization; a decolonization of both my work and the discipline of anthropology.

“Poetry is an *engaged* method of writing that evokes emotion, promotes human connection and understanding, and may be politically charged... this method of representation can capture a unique aspect of the human condition, thereby expanding our understanding of social reality.” (Leavy 2009:63). This statement summarizes completely why I have used poetry throughout my thesis. I have tried to write with emotion so that I can connect to readers through my words and in doing so expand outsider’s understanding of my social reality and worldviews.

There are a number of Indigenous scholars who incorporate less traditional academic methods of sharing knowledge. Thomas (2005) and Corntassel, Chaw-win-is &

T'lakwadzi (2010) are Indigenous scholars who want non-Indigenous peoples to accept not just what we say but how we say it. Whether we share our knowledge through written words, songs, stories or poetry, how we say things is as important as what we are saying.

Discovering and articulating in the English language the nuučaanuł, huuŋii?at and čaačaasii?asat methodology that I am using has been a complex experience. I believe that the complexities arise in part because of my own involvement and central location within nuučaanuł, huuŋii?at and čaačaasii?asat culture. For example, issues surrounding the protection or sharing of knowledge were a major factor that needed to be considered within my research. The participants of my research were given many opportunities to protect knowledge that they shared through a process described in Chapter One. Nevertheless, in the end, it is my responsibility to my family to act as a gatekeeper and protector for our knowledge.

It has been my experience in life and within the university that trying to express the čaačaasii?asat part of myself in the English language is difficult. By using creative writing and poetry my work can bring forward čaačaasii?asat knowledge without simply providing a new take on an old theme. I am bringing to bear a new way of thinking about Indigenous peoples and our knowledge to anthropology and through anthropology to a larger public audience.

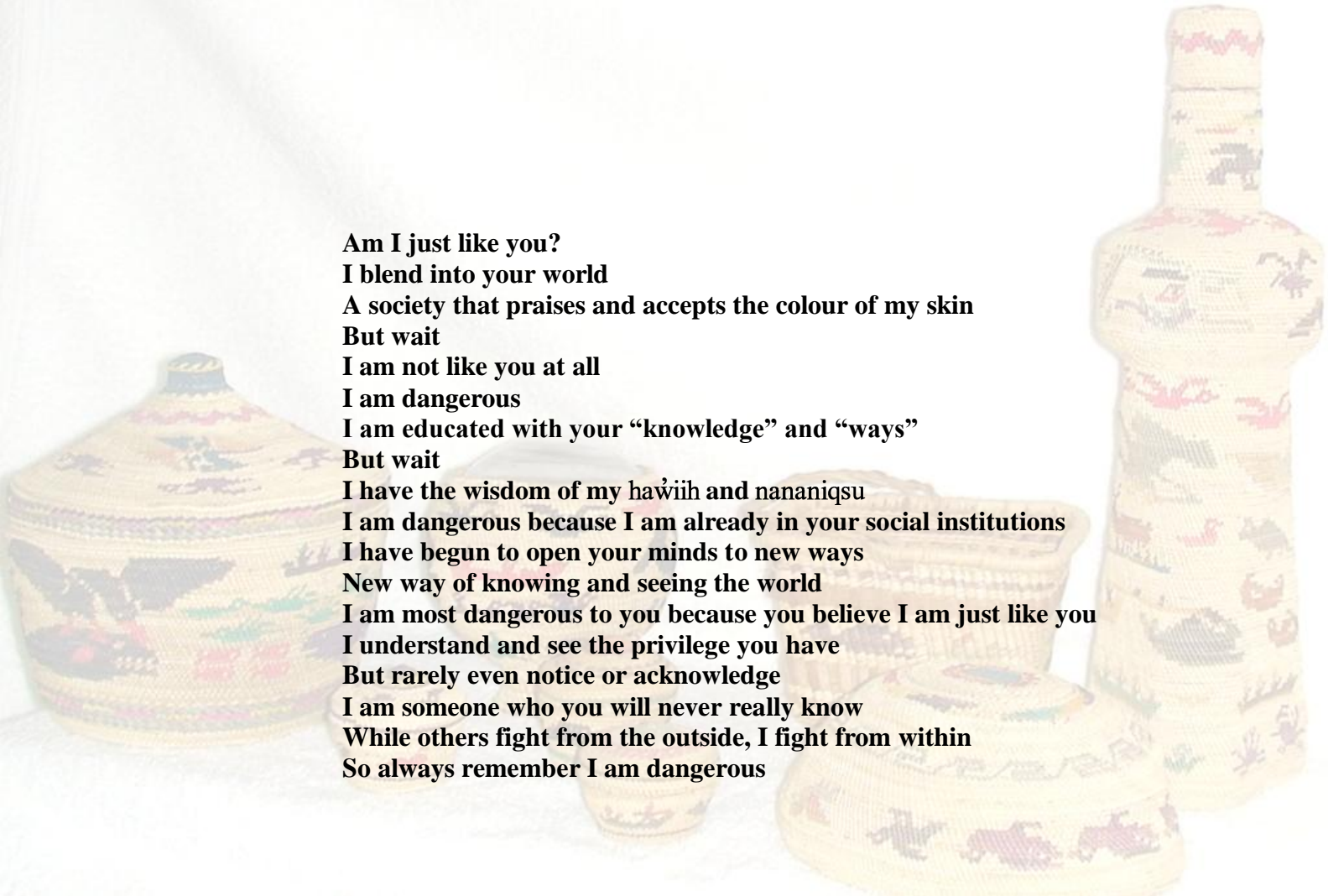
To come full circle and bring my thesis back to the original question of what it means to be a haŋił from čaačaasii?as? I have this to say. What it means to be a haŋił from čaačaasii?as is a very complex and difficult question to answer. Especially in a foreign language that has time and time again proven itself incapable of properly expressing ideas and concepts from my culture.

Contact, the Indian Act, residential schools and the even the Maa-nulth Treaty have affected what a haŋił is required to do and has created new situations for a haŋił to have to understand. However, we have not remained stagnant in our understanding of what it means to be a čaačaasii?asat haŋił. Rather we have been very effective at being able to adapt to new problems and situations put before us.

Ironically, there is no conclusion to this thesis. What I have tried to do is include you in an ongoing conversation that my family and I have been talking about for generations and will continue to talk about for generations to come. It is important to remember that this account is not about the words that are written on each page, rather it is about the story being told and the conversation that is taking place.

This thesis is my attempt to break down barriers and to share with you a small part of my story. I have said that there is no conclusion to this thesis. This is because I am in a constant state of change and with each new day I expand, adapt and change my understanding of the world so that I can try to be a good haŋił for my people. Confronting these questions has, in a sense, been a rite of passage for me; a rite of passage that will perhaps show my ability to fulfill my duties and responsibilities to my family, my people and my nation.

Truthfully I wish that I could leave you with some profound thought or statement about what it means to be a haŵiŵ from čaačaasiŵas. I can't and that is okay. Maybe the answer to this question is found in the emotions and experiences of my poems. For it is in my poetry that I am perhaps most clear and honest about what I believe.



**Am I just like you?
I blend into your world
A society that praises and accepts the colour of my skin
But wait
I am not like you at all
I am dangerous
I am educated with your “knowledge” and “ways”
But wait
I have the wisdom of my haḡiik and nananiqsu
I am dangerous because I am already in your social institutions
I have begun to open your minds to new ways
New way of knowing and seeing the world
I am most dangerous to you because you believe I am just like you
I understand and see the privilege you have
But rarely even notice or acknowledge
I am someone who you will never really know
While others fight from the outside, I fight from within
So always remember I am dangerous**

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Appendix A: huuḡiiʔat translations

| huuḡiiʔat word | Pronunciation | Translation |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---|
| at | aht | The people from. ie: huuḡiiʔat are the people from huuḡiiʔ |
| ʔaasaawis | ah-sah-wis | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| ʔaaʔapasnuk | uh-up-us-nook | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| ʔayaasat | aya-saht | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| ḡaaḡaasiiʔas | cha-cha-tsi-us | The nuuḡaaḡuʔ name for my family's ḡahuuʔḡii. It is commonly translated as meaning “knocking on the door” |
| ciʔas | tsi-us | The first of three stages to a customary nuuḡaaḡuʔ marriage. It is the stage in which a ḡawitʔ declares his intent to a family that he wishes to marry |
| cik ci | tsik-see | The word for a ḡawitʔ speaker |
| ḡahuuʔḡii | ha-hoolth-hee | See chapter one for explanation |
| ḡapinyuk | hup-in-yuk | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| haquum | ha-quum | The nuuḡaaḡuʔ word for a woman from a hereditary family. |
| ḡawiih | ha-wiih | Hereditary leaders, plural |
| ḡawitʔ | ha-wilth | Hereditary leader, singular |
| ḡawitʔmis | ha-wilth-mis | See chapter one for explanation |
| hiḡuk cawaak | hish-uk tsa-walk | A prominent nuuḡaaḡuʔ teaching that loosely translates as “everything is one, all things are connected” |
| ḡaʔpii ḡawitʔ | ha-tla-pee ḡawilth | One of the four spiritual ḡawiih. |
| huuḡiiʔat | huu-ay-aht | The huuḡiiʔat are one of sixteen nuuḡaaḡuʔ nations, they inhabit the eastern portion of Barkley Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island |
| huupuuk ^w nam | huu-pu-kwan-um | See chapter one for explanation |
| iisaak | ee-sack | Translates to mean respect |
| mamaʔḡii | maa-multh-nee | Commonly used term to describe non-Indigenous peoples. The translation refers to “a people who come from a house that drifts or floats on the surface of the water”. Referring to how the first outsiders came in very large boats that they lived in |
| maatmaʔḡii | maat-ma-multh-nee | The plural form of mamaʔḡii |
| musḡum | mus-chum | A word describing the people who are not ḡawitʔ |
| naniqsu | na-neck-su | Grandmother, Grandfather or Grandparent |
| nananiqsu | na-na-neck-su | Grandparents |
| nuuḡaaḡuʔ | nuu-chah-nulth | Refers to the geographical location of the nuuḡaaḡuʔ people and translates as “villages along the mountains and sea” |
| ooksaaḡ ^w ahtuk | ooks-yah-kwa-ah-tuk | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| quuʔas | kuu-as | Translates to mean the “people”. Referring to nuuḡaaḡuʔ people. |
| ʔatʔupsmiih | da-dup-smii-ah | A nuuḡaaḡuʔ name |
| ʔuḡḡaa | thluch-ha | The nuuḡaaḡuʔ word for marriage and the ceremony for getting married |
| tyii | tyee | When used before the word ḡawitʔ it refers to the person being the head or number one. IE: the tyii ḡawitʔ is the head hereditary leader |
| uu aʔook | uu-a-thlook | Translates to mean “taking care of” |

Appendix C: huuſiiʔat Declaration of Rights and Values

The Huu-ay-aht have existed from time immemorial, owned and occupied the lands and waters within our traditional territory, governed these lands and waters, abided by our laws and shared our language and culture.

From this historic foundation we have shaped fundamental values that unite us, define us and upon which this Constitution is based. As Huu-ay-aht, we commit ourselves to the values of our Nation, which values include:

- a. reverence for the Creator (Naas);
- b. honour for our ancestors;
- c. respect for our elders, our children, our families, our future generations and our kinship system;
- d. recognition of an internal order based on our Ha'wiih and Ha-houlthee;
- e. a deep pride in our identity;
- f. our unique language;
- g. appreciation of our unique and vibrant culture, a culture that embraces our myths, stories, ceremonies and traditions;
- h. a profound respect for nature, our lands and waters, and all living things within our territory;
- i. an acceptance and reverence for a spiritual basis to life;
- j. a common and mutually supportive economic foundation; and
- k. acceptance of our obligations to safeguard our special relationship with the Creator, the spirit world and the earth for future generations.

From our historic existence, our value system and our membership in the community of man, we possess certain fundamental and inalienable human rights which have never been extinguished, ceded or surrendered. These include:

- a. the right to our traditional territory including the waters and beds of water;
- b. the right to the resources of our traditional territory;
- c. the right to govern within our traditional territory;
- d. the right to utilize and protect our language;
- e. the right to practice, protect and enhance our culture;
- f. the right to the wealth of our traditional territory and a sound economic foundation;
- g. the right to protect our spiritual sites;
- h. the right to preserve our family and kinship systems; and
- i. the right to define ourselves and the criteria for the identification of our citizens.