

Chapter Two: HUU-AY-AHT ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Nuu-chah-nulth Political and Social Units

The basic social, political, and economic unit in Nuu-chah-nulth culture was the local group. As Drucker (1951:220) described it: “The fundamental Nootkan political unit was a local group centering in a family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses, and various other privileges. Such a group bore a name, usually that of their “place”...or sometimes that of a chief; and had a tradition, firmly believed, of descent from a common ancestor.” Similarly, Kenyon (1980:84) stated: “The Nootka local group was conceived of as an idealized family, expanded over time, which owned a distinct territory and shared common ceremonial and ritual property.” Each local group was composed of a number of subgroups known as *ushtakimilh*, representing different descent lines from the original founding ancestor. Each *ushtakimilh* had its own chief and its own house or houses within the local group village. The senior line of descent held the highest status and its hereditary leader was the *taayi hawilh* (head chief) of the entire local group (St. Claire 1991:22; McMillan and St. Claire 2005:9).

Head chiefs, who often held high-status titles that stemmed from the original ancestor, were the owners and custodians of all group property, including its territorial holdings (*hahuulhi*). Nuu-chah-nulth chief Richard Atleo (2004:80–81) described the concept of *hahuulhi* as extending to “the traditional territories, mountains, lakes, streams, rivers, and foreshore and offshore fishing grounds owned by *hawilh* (chiefs).” Chiefs also held various *tupaati*, hereditary privileges, that were essential to chiefly status (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:50). These had to be established and maintained through public presentation. Songs, carvings, painted screens, or any other hereditary rights could signify chiefly status during ceremonies (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:3).

Ethnographers have described Nuu-chah-nulth social structure, residence patterns, and seasonal movement in considerable detail. Drucker’s major study, which focuses on the more northerly Nuu-chah-nulth, describes the union of local groups to form tribal units sharing a common winter village, and the joining of several such tribes to form confederacies, which came together at a summer

village (Drucker 1951:220). Such a hierarchical structure, with group composition changing with seasonal moves, was lacking in southern areas, such as Barkley Sound. However, ethnographic studies throughout the Nuu-chah-nulth area describe local group territories of considerable size. These ideally encompassed both “outside” areas, with good access to open coast resources such as sea mammals and halibut, and sheltered “inside” locations near productive salmon rivers (Arima 1983:1; Arima and Dewhirst 1990:394–397; Dewhirst 1978:1–7, 1980:11–15). A fixed pattern of seasonal movement through the group’s *hahuulhi* was necessary to exploit its varied resources. Drucker (1951:59) even expressed doubt that residence in one location could support a Nuu-chah-nulth group.

These ethnographic studies, however, describe a way of life that had been greatly altered through contact with Europeans, beginning in the late 18th century (Inglis and Haggarty 1986; McMillan 1999, 2009; St. Claire 1991, 1998). Archaeological research in Barkley Sound suggests a considerably different pattern for earlier times. An intensive archaeological reconnaissance of the Broken Group Islands in the central sound revealed 15 major village sites, each with deep shell midden deposits (Haggarty and Inglis 1985; Inglis and Haggarty 1986). Such a concentration of major villages in this relatively restricted island cluster is inconsistent with the ethnographic picture of a single political unit following a pattern of seasonal movement. Instead, it suggests that a significant number of independent groups once occupied this archipelago, each holding a relatively small well-defined territory that it managed from a permanent base. The presence of 15 large village locations provides a maximum number of local groups (Haggarty and Inglis 1985:97), although several sites in close proximity can be clustered to give an estimate of perhaps ten such units. Sapir’s extensive ethnographic notes (1910–1914), collected early in the 20th century, provide names and historical details of at least five independent local groups holding territories in these islands, prior to the amalgamations that gave rise to the modern Tseshah First Nation (Inglis and Haggarty 1986; McMillan 1999; McMillan and St. Claire 2005; St. Claire 1991, 1998). At least one additional group, whose name has not survived, also appears to have once

occupied these islands (McMillan and St. Claire 2005:15–16; St. Claire 1998:31). A similar pattern existed at the western edge of Barkley Sound, particularly along the Ucluth Peninsula and within Ucluelet Inlet (St. Claire 1991:56–61).

The eastern shore of Barkley Sound, the traditional territory (*hahūulhi*) of the Huu-ay-aht First Nations, has been only partially surveyed for archaeological sites (see Chapter 1). However, when the physical evidence of the cultural landscape is added to the surviving ethnographic data, there are strong indications of a similar pattern of independent local groups residing year-round in a principal village from which they took their name. Their territories were relatively small and constrained by the presence of neighbouring groups, requiring only limited movement from each group's major village to exploit the resources of their *hahūulhi*. The amalgamation of these local groups, discussed below, gave rise to the modern Huu-ay-aht First Nations and provided a much larger *hahūulhi* than was characteristic of the pre-amalgamation groups.

Huu-ay-aht Component Groups and Territories

Modern Huu-ay-aht traditional territory spans the considerable distance from Coleman Creek (*Yashitkuu7a*) on lower Alberni Inlet to their boundary with the Ditidaht on the open coastline of Vancouver Island's west coast. (In the following discussion, the spelling of Huu-ay-aht is used for the amalgamated unit and modern First Nation, whereas the phonetic rendering of *Huu7ii7ath* is used for the pre-amalgamation local group.) This large territory encompasses what was once land belonging to at least seven autonomous local groups. In 1913, "William," a cultural advisor to Sapir, gave the names of the seven groups and provided details on their original territories (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:60; Inglis and Haggarty 1986:177–179; Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XXIV:7, 7a). Four of these—the *Huu7ii7ath*, *Kiix7in7ath*, *Ch'imaataksu7ath*, and *ʔAanaʔtl'a7ath*—gave rise to the modern Huu-ay-aht through amalgamation, whereas the remaining three went extinct and the Huu-ay-aht acquired their lands. The latter groups, all located in the northern portion of Huu-ay-aht territory, consist of the *Yashitkuu7a7ath* on the lower eastern shore of Alberni Inlet, the *P'up'uma7aa7ath* around San Mateo Bay at the eastern entrance to Alberni Inlet, and the *Anakshitl7ath* at the Sarita River. The four local groups that joined to form the Huu-ay-aht are discussed separately below (Fig. 2-1).

Huu7ii7ath

The *Huu7ii7ath* occupied much of the Deer Group islands as their core territory. Their principal village, from which they derived their name, was *Huu7ii* on Diana Island

According to William, their boundary with the *Kiix7in7ath* began at *Ts'axts'aa7a*, a point just north of the entrance to Bamfield and Grappler Inlets (Figs. 2-1, 2-2) and extended "out to sea," presumably meaning down Trevor Channel to the open ocean as *Huu7ii7ath* territory included the southern Deer Group Islands. At some time prior to amalgamation, the *Huu7ii7ath* local group expanded to the north at the expense of the *Anakshitl7ath*, whose territory included Sarita River, perhaps the most productive salmon river in Barkley Sound. The *Huu7ii7ath* wiped out the *Anakshitl7ath* and seized the land and rich fishery by *his7ukwt* ("obtained by striking"; Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XIII:27a). At that point, *Huu7ii7ath* territory extended north along the coast to border on the *P'up'uma7aa7ath*. As Sapir's notes indicate that the southern extent of *P'up'uma7aa7ath* territory was *Cha7aktlim* (Assits Island), the pre-amalgamation *Huu7ii7ath* lands presumably extended north to that point (Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XXIV:7). To the west, the *Huu7ii7ath* held the eastern half of Tzartus and Fleming Islands, where they bordered on the *Hikwuulh7ath*, a group that joined the Tseshaht early in the 19th century (Blenkinsop 1874; St. Claire 1981, 1991:65; Sapir 1910–1914 notebook XVIII:2a).

Kiix7in7ath

As noted above, William indicated to Sapir that the territorial boundary between the *Huu7ii7ath* and *Kiix7in7ath* was at *Ts'axts'aa7a* Point. However, there are problems with that name. In 1817, Roquefeuil (1823:38) indicated that Grappler Inlet was known by that term. O'Reilly (1883) and Blenkinsop (1874), as well as elders interviewed during the past thirty years, specifically assign that name to the head of Grappler Inlet at Sugsaw Creek (St. Claire 1991:97). Additionally, Sapir recorded that the people of Sugsaw Creek were known as the *Ts'axts'aa7ath*, again tying that name to Grappler Inlet. These people were also known as the *Tl'uutl'uulhswi7ashtakimilb*, the senior *ushtakimilb* (descent group) of the *Kiix7in7ath* (Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XXIV:4a). Thus it is likely that both Bamfield and Grappler Inlets were within *Kiix7in7ath* territory and that William mis-

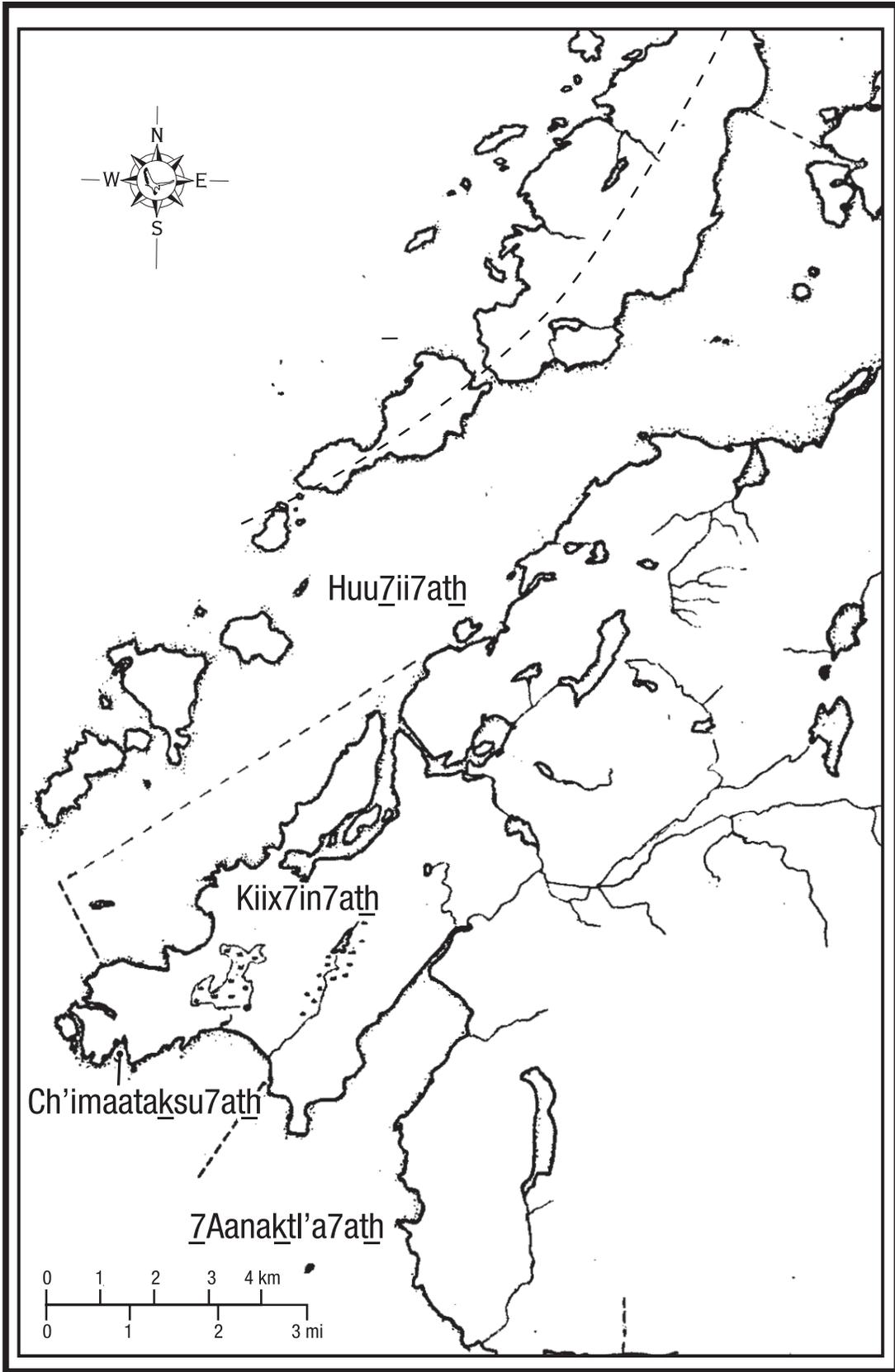


Figure 2-1. Original Huu-ay-aht local group territories.

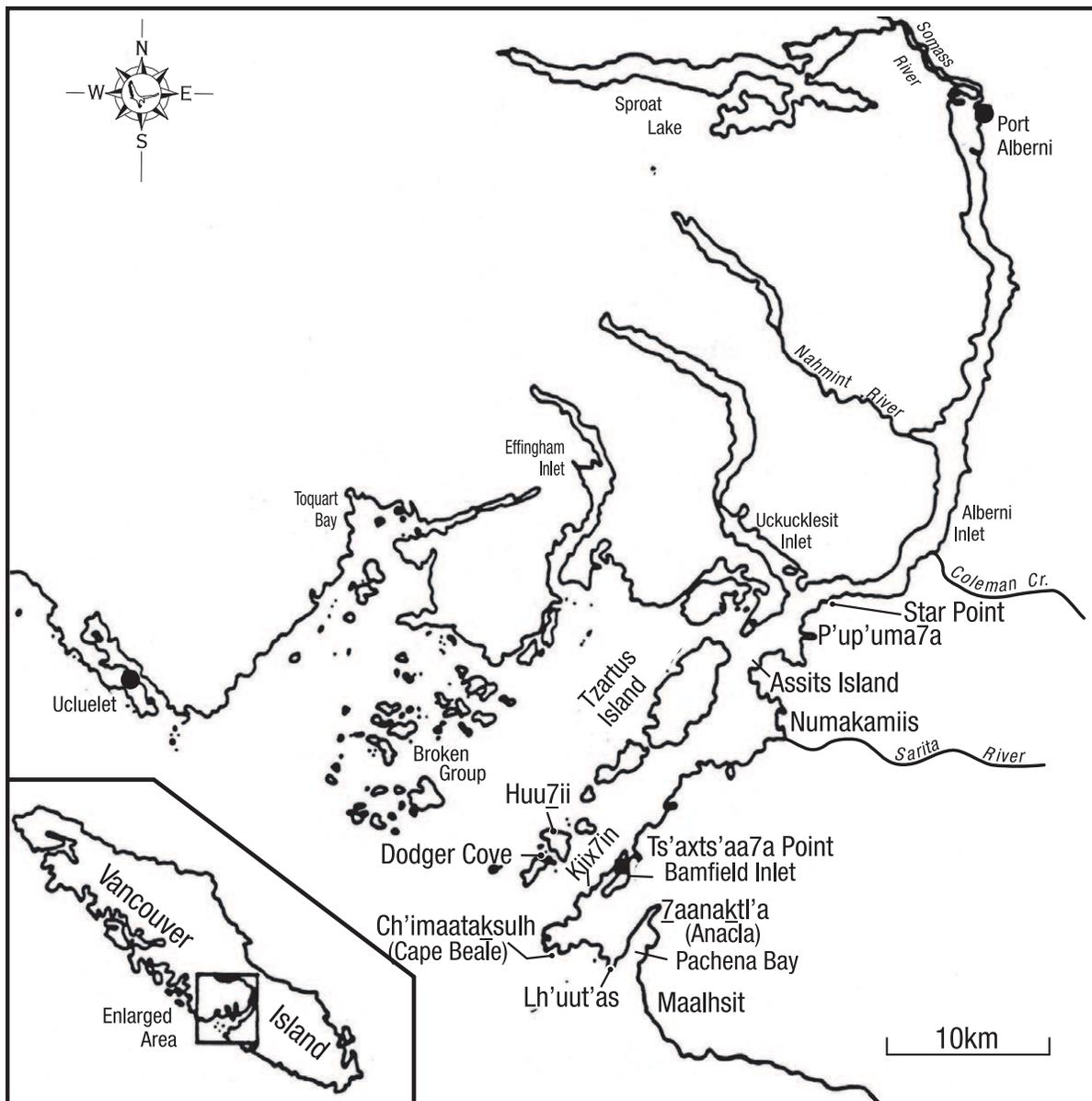


Figure 2-2. Barkley Sound and Alberni Inlet, showing place names mentioned in the text.

named the point just outside the eastern entrance to the two inlets that served as the *Huu7ii7ath*–*Kiix7in7ath* boundary. His description of the *Huu7ii7ath* boundary extending from the point “out to sea” only makes sense in this context. To the south, William stated that *Kiix7in7ath* territory extended along the eastern shore of Barkley Sound to a point called *Tlatstlakish7a*, where they bordered the *Ch'imaataksulh7ath* (Fig. 2-1).

The *Kiix7in7ath* “name” village and principal residence was *Kiix7in*, along the Barkley Sound shoreline to the south of Bamfield Inlet. The importance of this major village site, with its

still-standing architectural remains, is discussed at several points elsewhere in this volume. Immediately adjacent to the village is a steep-sided rocky bluff that served as their “fortress” or refuge site. This location features prominently in several war narratives (Arima et al. 1991:209, 224–225; Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:51–53; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:339–341; Sapir et al 2009:325). Accounts indicate that a large log was placed at the top in preparation for rolling down on attackers (Arima et al. 1991:225; Scott 1972:255; Sapir et al. 2009:325). At least three such elevated fortresses existed along the short stretch of shoreline between

Kiix7in and Bamfield Inlet: at Aguilar Point (adjacent to the village of *Zuuts'uu7a*) at the southern entrance to the inlet, at Brady's Beach (a short distance to the south), and at Kiix7in (Arima et al. 1991:224–225; St. Claire 1991:100; Sapir et al. 2009:325).

Ch'imaataksu7ath

The *Ch'imaataksu7ath* were the people of Cape Beale, at the eastern entrance to Barkley Sound. Sapir consultant “William,” who was half Huu-ay-aht, described this group as “a large tribe” that was wealthy as they “always got many whales.” Whaling appears to have been central to their economy, as he added that this “was their only occupation” (Sapir et al. 2004:189). The *Ch'imaataksu7ath* were well placed for such an activity, as Frank Williams told Sapir that the grey whales, in their annual movement along the coast, hugged the shore until they rounded Cape Beale, then went up to Kiix7in and through the outer islands of the Deer Group into Barkley Sound (Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XVIII:11).

Ch'imaataksu7ath territory extended from *Tlatstlakishhsaa7a*, a rocky point just into Barkley Sound from Cape Beale, to a point on the outer coast called *Kwisiiyis7ikixaa*, probably at the eastern end of Keeha (*Kixaa*) Beach, as its name means “the other end of the beach” from *Kixaa* (Fig. 2-1). The summer village of *Kixaa* was occupied while fishing for halibut and hunting seals and whales (St. Claire 1991:105; Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XVII:5). Their main village and “name” site was *Ch'imaataksulh* at Cape Beale.

7Aanaktl'a7ath

From *Kwisiiyis7ikixaa*, *7Aanaktl'a7ath* territory extended eastward along the outer coast around Clutus Point to include all of Pachena Bay. The Pachena River, which flows into the bay, provided a major salmon fishery. *7Aanaktl'a*, their “name” village and the location where most on-reserve Huu-ay-aht members live today, is at the head of Pachena Bay. Their major village during the spring and summer months was *Lhuut'as* (“Clutus”), at the western entrance to the bay, which was well situated for whaling and halibut fishing (St. Claire 1991:106).

According to William, *7Aanaktl'a7ath* territory extended to Pachena Point, on the outer coast east of Pachena Bay. This location was called *Satsnit*, the “place of many tye salmon,” according

to Huu-ay-aht Chief Louie Nookmiis (St. Claire 1991:107). This is also the boundary accepted by modern Ditidaht elders. However, Huu-ay-aht elder Robert Sport in a 1981 interview placed the *7Aanaktl'a7ath*–Ditidaht boundary further east, at the Darling River (St. Claire 1981). Blenkinsop in 1874 placed this boundary even further east, at the Tsusiat River (*Tsusyii7at*). Chief Louie Nookmiis also indicated that his ancestors' lands stretched to the waterfall at Tsusiat River (Arima et al. 1991:208, 231; Sapir et al. 2009:291, 355). These differing boundaries may simply reflect relatively minor territorial shifts over time.

Amalgamation

The relatively precise information on individual territories clearly demonstrates the former existence of several autonomous local groups. The extant ethnographic data and oral traditions are less clear on when and why these groups amalgamated to form the present-day Huu-ay-aht First Nations.

The process of peaceful mergers or at times forcible absorption of neighboring local groups is well documented throughout Nuuchahnulth territory. Such amalgamations particularly characterize the decades immediately following contact with Europeans in the late 18th century. Dramatically declining populations, generally a result of introduced diseases and intensified warfare following contact, were the primary factors driving such political unions. William indicated to Sapir that the amalgamations to form the modern Huu-ay-aht came about because all four groups were “reduced in number” (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:52; Inglis and Haggarty 1986:179; Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XXIV:7a). However, he also indicated that this occurred “long before white people came.” In the Huu-ay-aht case, oral traditions indicate that population loss occurred through both warfare and a natural disaster dating well prior to European arrival, as is discussed below.

Because of their close proximity, the four groups that joined to become the Huu-ay-aht undoubtedly had close social, economic, and perhaps military ties. Some preliminary forms of integration may have occurred at earlier stages. Referring to the *Ch'imaataksu7ath*, Chief Louie Nookmiis stated:

...Cape Beale was their real home, though they and the *HuuZii7ath* would get together at times. They had between them one river and that was the Sarita River. They would

also at times move there, halfway up the river, to a place called Chitlmakis, 'Ferns-on-Beach.' At that place the Ch'imaataksu7ath would dry salmon for food. (Arima et al. 1991:218)

Since the original territories of both the *Huu7ii7ath* and the *Ch'imaataksu7ath* were without salmon rivers, perhaps the forcible takeover of the Sarita River from the *Anakshitl7ath*, mentioned previously, was a cooperative effort. Alternatively, the *Ch'imaataksu7ath* may have acquired rights to the use of the river at a later date through marriage or by some other social or military arrangement, prior to full amalgamation.

Earthquakes and the destructive tsunamis they generate occasionally impacted populations along the coast, resulting in great losses of life that forced political changes. Such catastrophic events affected the people of Barkley Sound, as is reflected in oral narratives of the ground shaking or rapid rushes of water (McMillan and Hutchinson 2002; Sapir 1919; Sapir et al. 2009:305). In 1964, Chief Louie Nookmiis recounted the story of a major earthquake and a subsequent landslide that caused the death of most of the *Ch'imaataksu7ath*, leaving only a small group of survivors (Arima et al. 1991:220; Sapir et al. 2009:318–320). He also described how a tsunami produced by the earthquake destroyed the *ʔAanaktl'a7ath*, who were living on the outer coast at *Lhuut'as* (Arima et al. 1991:230–231; Sapir et al. 2009:330). Although some *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* survived in their outer-coast settlements of *Maalhsit* and *Maalhts'aas*, due to their higher elevation, those living at the principal village of *Lhuut'as* were wiped out in this disaster.

There is now no one left alive due to what this land does at times. They had practically no way or time to try to save themselves...and they simply had no time to get hold of canoes, no time to get awake. They sank at once, were all drowned; not one survived...I think a big wave smashed into the beach. The Pachena Bay people were lost...Everything then drifted away; everything was lost and gone. (Arima et al. 1991:231)

The only member of the *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* Chief's family to survive was his elder daughter, who had married the son of the *Kiix7in7ath* Chief and was residing at *Kiix7in* (Arima et al. 1991:231; Sapir et al. 2009:330). The leadership of the surviving

ʔAanaktl'a7ath and the possession of their *hahu-ulhi* seems to have transferred to the *Kiix7in7ath* through this marriage alliance. Chief Nookmiis stated:

...it is said that my grandfather's domain reached Tsusyii7at [Tsusiat River]. This was brought about by the Pachena Bay Chief, brought as dowry for his elder daughter to my grandfather's ancestor before the big earthquake, before the big flood. By that my grandfather's land reached Tsusyiat, along with all chiefly rights, songs, tupaatis. (Arima et al. 1991:231)

Sapir's notes also suggest that the *Kiix7in7ath* Chief assumed the *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* leadership and lands. Sapir recorded that the *Lhuut'as7ath* were a junior line of the senior *Kiix7in7ath ushtakimilb* (descent group) called the *Tl'utl'ulhsawi7ashtakimilb* (Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XVII:4a). A *Kiix7in7ath* subgroup in the process of "budding off" from its senior line and residing at the principal *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* village makes sense in the context of the tsunami catastrophe. Given his claim to the *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* territory through his daughter-in-law, the *Kiix7in7ath* Chief presumably sent part of his family to reside with and lead the *ʔAanaktl'a7ath* survivors to consolidate his control over his new territories.

Warfare also played a major role in population loss among the four groups and presumably contributed to the amalgamations. Tom Sayaach'apis, one of Sapir's principal informants, described a series of deadly raids and counter raids between the *Kiix7in7ath* and the Uchucklesaht (*Huuchukwtlis7ath*), resulting in the defeat and near-extermination of the *Kiix7in7ath* (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:339–341). Although the date of this conflict is uncertain, it was pre-amalgamation as the conflict was specifically with the *Kiix7in7ath*; the other groups do not appear in this war narrative. However, there may have been an earlier stage in the hostilities during which the *Huu7ii7ath* were displaced. At the beginning of the narrative the Uchucklesaht were living at a village on northwestern Diana Island (*Husmatkts'us*, "Kelp-in-Bay"; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:339), in what clearly had been *Huu7ii7ath* territory. As this was in close proximity to *Huu7ii*, the major *Huu7ii7ath* village, this area must have been unoccupied at that time. Although only the *Kiix7in7ath* feature in this narrative, William specifically indicated to Sapir that all four local groups became subject to the Uchuck-

lesaht (Haggarty and Inglis 1985:186; St. Claire 1991:75; Sapir 1919-1914, notebook XXIV:7). For a time, the Uchucklesaht held a position of dominance throughout eastern Barkley Sound and the adjacent outer coast, extending as far as *Tsusyii7at* (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:341).

Estimating the time at which the amalgamations took place to produce the modern Huu-ay-aht First Nations is difficult. This was likely a prolonged process, occurring in a number of stages, rather than a single event. Declining populations over time, through warfare and the drastic impact of the earthquake and tsunami described above, created the conditions for gradual unions of neighbouring groups. Some chronological clues, however, are discussed below.

The abandonment of HuuZii as a major village may have been an early step in eventual group amalgamations. Considerable incentive, such as the war with the Uchucklesaht, would have been required for the *HuuZii7ath* to move from their principal village and “name” site, the location they had occupied for many centuries. As there are no traditions of a major subsequent “capital” in their original homeland in the Deer Group islands, they may have relocated to the mainland, perhaps to Sarita River or to join others at Kiix7in. This would indicate that the beginning of the amalgamation process began very early, as HuuZii had ceased to be a residential community by about AD 1600 (see Chapters 3 and 4).

The earthquake and subsequent tsunami that struck this area clearly had a devastating impact, nearly destroying the *Ch'imaataksu7ath* and *Zaanaktl'a7ath* local groups. The last major seismic event known to have affected this area was in AD 1700. Genealogical clues in Chief Nookmiis' oral tradition of the Pachena Bay disaster place this event at about 300 years ago (Ludwin et al. 2005:142-143), strongly indicating that the story refers to the AD 1700 earthquake. Certainly the great loss of life due to this natural disaster would have required political restructuring and joining of survivors from several groups, thus giving a firm date for at least one stage in the Huu-ay-aht amalgamation process.

Other chronological clues come from oral traditions of the war with the Clallam, which is discussed in more detail in the following section. The Huu-ay-aht groups had amalgamated by the time the Clallam launched an attack on Kiix7in, according to Nuuchah-nulth elders Robert Sport (Huu-ay-aht) and Ernie Lauder (Hupacasath) (St. Claire 1981, 1982). In Chief Louie Nookmiis'

narrative of the war (Arima et al. 1991:222-230), the Clallam attacked a number of other villages after Kiix7in, including *Husmakts'us* on Diana Island, in the core territory of the original *HuuZii7ath* local group. This suggests that amalgamation had occurred earlier, as otherwise warfare with the residents of Kiix7in would not have led to attacks on *HuuZii7ath* settlements. In addition, survivors of the Clallam attacks fled to refuge sites up the Sarita River, former *Anakshil7ath* territory taken by the *HuuZii7ath* local group through conquest. If amalgamation had not occurred, the *Kiix7in7ath* presumably would have fled into the hinterland of their own territory, as they had no rights to the Sarita River prior to amalgamation. The absence of firearms from this war narrative suggests that the events occurred prior to European arrival. This is consistent with Chief Nookmiis' 1964 estimate that the war had occurred about 200 years earlier, placing it around the mid-1700s. Another clue comes from the appearance of the *Hach'aa7ath* in the narrative, at a time estimated to be about twenty years after the attack on Kiix7in (Arima et al. 1991:209; Sapir et al. 2009:325-327). As the *Hach'aa7ath* disappeared as an independent local group, with the remnants joining the Tseshaht by the end of the 18th century (McMillan and St. Claire 2005:20), this offers additional support to dating the Clallam attack near the middle of the 18th century. As the Huu-ay-aht seem to have been a single group at that time, the amalgamation process may have been completed not long after the devastating earthquake, tsunami, and landslide led to such a loss of life that survivors were forced to join together in a new political unit.

The War with the Clallam

The war with the Clallam, a Salish group from across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, is a pivotal event in Huu-ay-aht history. In 1964, Chief Louie Nookmiis provided a detailed narrative of the hostilities, which spanned several decades (Arima et al. 1991:208-213, 222-230; Sapir et al. 2009:291-294, 324-328). Tliishin, a direct ancestor of Chief Nookmiis, was the Huu-ay-aht *taayi hawilth* at the time of the war; Tliishin was “chief to all the Huu-ay-aht” (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:51). His territory reached the falls at *Tsusyii7at* on the outer coast, and in the other direction extended to Coleman Creek (*Yashitkuu7a*) on lower Alberni Inlet (Arima et al. 1991:208; Sapir et al. 2009:291). This again indicates that amalgamation was complete

and that the Huu-ay-aht *hahwulhi* had reached its full extent at the time of this war.

The prolonged hostilities with the Clallam began with the slaying of a troublesome young Huu-ay-aht secondary chief, whose mother was a Clallam. Seeking revenge, his Clallam kin organized a large war party and attacked Kiix7in. Chief Tliishin and a few followers escaped this onslaught by hiding in a cavity in the rocks below the Kiix7in fortress, but most of the Huu-ay-aht residing at Kiix7in were killed. The Clallam war party also attacked other Huu-ay-aht villages, such as the defensive locations at *Zuuts'uu7a* (Aguilar Point) and at Brady's Beach. When they attacked the Huu-ay-aht living at *Husmatkts'us* on Diana Island, the survivors fled into the nearby woods around their former major village of *Huu7ii*, again indicating that this once-important site had fallen into disuse by that time. The Clallam stayed "for a long time going about searching whom to kill here and there" (Sapir et al. 2009:325). The Huu-ay-aht survivors retreated far up the Sarita River to several defensive locations. Those who had been living on Diana Island settled on the South Sarita River, while others established the village of *Wihata* at the head of Sarita Lake (St. Claire 1991:94; Sapir et al. 2009:325). There they resided for a long time, perhaps twenty years according to Chief Nookmiis (Arima et al. 1991:209; Sapir et al. 2009:325, 327). This prolonged inland stay allowed their population to grow until they became a large group once more and could return down the river to reclaim their former territory.

When the Huu-ay-aht reemerged at the mouth of the Sarita River, they found the land occupied by the Tseshaht and the *Hach'aa7ath*. They attacked the village of the newcomers, allowing those who fled in their canoes to escape unharmed but killing those who resisted (Sapir et al. 2009:327–328). The battle was fought with stone clubs, which presumably indicates that this was prior to European arrival and the availability of firearms. The Huu-ay-aht reclaimed their land and river, eventually spreading throughout their former territory. Kiix7in again became their major village.

At a later time, according to the Chief Nookmiis narrative, the Clallam again attacked Kiix7in (Arima et al. 1991:211; Sapir et al. 2009:293). Relatively few Huu-ay-aht were killed as most were living at Sarita River. The Huu-ay-aht, once again a large and powerful tribe, formed an alliance with the Uchucklesaht and Ditidaht to strike at the Clallam in their home territory. Many Clallam died in the attack by this combined force.

Post-Amalgamation Territorial Expansion

The *Huu7ii7ath* local group's forcible acquisition of the Sarita River from the *Anakshitl7ath* has been discussed above. At that point in their history, their territorial boundary with their neighbour to the north, the *P'up'uma7aa7ath*, was at *Cha7aktlim* (Assits Island), just south of San Mateo Bay. After amalgamation of the four groups to form the Huu-ay-aht, their territory continued to expand to the north.

The *P'up'uma7aa7ath* took their name from their village of *P'up'uma7a* in San Mateo Bay, at the eastern entrance to Alberni Inlet. Their up-inlet territorial limit was at *Kakuu7a* (Star Point) on the lower reaches of Alberni Inlet (Fig. 2-2; Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XXIV:7). Huu-ay-aht elder Robert Sport stated that this little-known local group ceased to exist before the arrival of Europeans (St. Claire 1981). The Huu-ay-aht may not have been involved in a conflict that destroyed the *P'up'uma7aa7ath*, but the Uchucklesaht (*Huuchukwtlis7ath*) may have played a role, as Sapir recorded that the latter group assumed control of San Mateo Bay. Later, however, they were in turn replaced by the Huu-ay-aht, who seized the former *P'up'uma7aa7ath* lands by *his7ukwt* or "spoils of war" (Sapir 1910–1914 notebook XXIV:7). Huu-ay-aht elder Robert Sport and Huu-ay-aht–Uchucklesaht elder Ella Jackson also indicated that the *Hikwuulh7ath*, a local group holding territory in northeastern Barkley Sound, shared San Mateo Bay for a period of time with the Huu-ay-aht (St. Claire 1981, 1984a). The *Hikwuulh7ath* may have lost their claim to San Mateo when, due to severe reduction in population, they were forced to seek the protection of the Tseshaht and were absorbed by them, losing their independence.

The final expansion of Huu-ay-aht traditional territory came after the Ucluelet destruction of the *Namint7ath*, an independent local group in the mid-regions of Alberni Inlet, with villages at Nahmint Bay and Coleman Creek. (The people who lived at Coleman Creek, the *Yashitkuu7ath*, were an *ushtakimilh* of the *Namint7ath* [St. Claire 1991:78; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:365].) *Namint7ath* territory encompassed much of the inlet, from the northern limit of the *P'up'uma7aa7ath* (at Star Point) on the east side and the Uchucklesaht (at Handy Creek) on the west (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:366). Sapir's Ucluelet informant Kwishanishim described a series of deadly raids by which the Ucluelet destroyed the *Namint7ath* and seized their territory through *his7ukwt*

(Sapir and Swadesh 1955:362–367). Initially, as is Nuu-chah-nulth custom, the territory of the *Namint7ath* Chiefs was carefully and completely partitioned among the Ucluelet leaders (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:366). However, the Ucluelet appear to have dropped their claim over most of it relatively quickly, retaining only Nahmint Bay and the Nahmint River, as their sole reason for the hostilities was to obtain this important salmon fishery. Blenkinsop, referring to the Ucluelet use of Nahmint Bay, wrote: “their right to this place is acknowledged by the other Indians but they have no claim to the surrounding territory” (Blenkinsop 1874:29). Ucluelet abandonment of much of the former *Namint7ath* territory allowed both the Huu-ay-aht and Tseshah to expand into this area. The Huu-ay-aht extended their up-inlet boundary to Coleman Creek (*Yashitkuu7a*), their newly established border with the Tseshah, who had filled the territorial vacuum by taking control of much of the rest of the inlet.

Post-Amalgamation Huu-ay-aht Social Structure

The process of amalgamation of local groups into new, larger entities, both prior to the arrival of Europeans in the late 18th century and, in an accelerated manner, after that time, caused a certain degree of stress within Nuu-chah-nulth society. Each *ushtakimilh* had a clearly understood ranking within its local group and each possessed its own *tupaatis* (hereditary ceremonial and economic rights). However, once several local groups combined, a whole new set of internal rankings and statuses, for both *ushtakimilh* and individuals within them, had to be created, not the least being the establishment of relationships between the various *taayii hawiih* of the formerly separate local groups. There could be only one *taayii hawiih* in the new political unit and as a result some individuals, and in a sense their entire families, had to accept relegation to secondary status.

The devastating earthquake and tsunami of 1700 caused such loss of life among the *Ch'imaataksu7ath* and the *7Aanaktl'a7ath* that they ceased to exist as independent units and were absorbed within the *Kiix7in7ath*. This would have required an entirely new composition of component groups, ranking, and status. Entire *ushtakimilh* were wiped out or severely depleted. In a situation where the hereditary leadership was destroyed, the survivors of an *ushtakimilh* may have lost the “glue” that held them together, that gave them a tradition and a history. They may have

dispersed to other *ushtakimilh* or to other local groups in which they had kin ties. Alternatively, a dominant group could have imposed new leadership upon the survivors, as when the *Kiix7in7ath* Chief sent a member of his immediate family to the village of *Lhuut'as*. This not only formally affirmed his control over his new territory, but also gave the *7Aanaktl'a7ath* survivors leadership while allowing them to remain at their traditional principal village. If individuals within the Chief's family had survived, the *ushtakimilh* could have continued as a named and socially recognized entity within a different local group.

If the leadership had been wiped out, what happened to their prerogatives, their *tupaatis*? Their *hahuuulhi* automatically passed to the dominant group with whom they merged, but the hereditary rights that individual high status people had to specific ceremonial regalia and activities, as well as the use of hunting, fishing, and collecting sites, had to be reassigned. There were traditional Nuu-chah-nulth ways to pass on rights and privileges, but in the case of significant depopulation the requisite high status holders of those *tupaatis* may not have survived, causing societal stress in the disposition and reallocation of these rights.

Regardless of the specific circumstances, which would have varied among the *ushtakimilh* of the *Ch'imaataksu7ath* and *7Aanaktl'a7ath*, a complex realignment of both their social structures, as well as that of the *Kiix7in7ath*, would have resulted. It may have taken some time for the new set of internal rankings for political and ceremonial purposes to become established and provide a uniformly accepted and acknowledged leadership structure.

Little is known of the internal structure of the four original groups. Other than the *Tl'utl'ulhswi7ashtakimilh* and latterly the *Lhuut'as7ath*, no names of the *ushtakimilh* were recorded in Sapir's field notes. However, various lists of names exist for the post-amalgamation Huu-ay-aht, although their exact status remains uncertain. Table 2-1 presents two lists collected by Sapir and his associates early in the 20th century, plus two more recent lists obtained from Huu-ay-aht elders in the 1980s. In total, 33 individual names appear in the four lists.

As might be expected, the greatest correlation among the four lists is between the two earliest. All 15 names given by Dick Thlamaahuus also appear in Sapir's list, although the latter contains three additional names. Fourteen of the 24 names given by Ella Jackson also appear on Sapir's list. Mary Moses' list is the most divergent, with only eight of

Table 2-1. Huu-ay-aht post-amalgamation group names.

Source	Group Names	
Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XVII:4a	1. <u>Kiix7in7ath</u> 2. <u>Kwi7ikts'ilhu7as7ath</u> 3. <u>Tuxwulh7ath</u> 4. <u>Chachaahtsii7as7ath</u> 5. <u>Ch'u7mat'ath</u> 6. <u>Malhts'as7ath</u> 7. <u>7Ap'win7as7ath</u> 8. <u>T'ukw'aa7athtakimilh</u> 9. <u>Lhuut'as7ath</u>	10. <u>7Ap'win7as7ath</u> 11. <u>Kwintinuxw</u> 12. <u>Tuxwiitlakimilh</u> 13. <u>7Aanaktl'a7ath</u> 14. <u>Xaya7ath</u> 15. <u>Kixaa7ath</u> 16. <u>Tsaxts'aa7ath</u> 17. <u>Tl'isnashis7ath</u> 18. <u>Tl'ihaskaapu7is7ath</u>
Alex Thomas interview with Dick Thlamaahuus 1922 (Thomas 1922; also Sapir et al. 2009:249)	1. <u>7Ap'win7as7ath</u> 2. <u>Chachaahtsii7as7ath</u> 3. <u>Tuxwulh7ath</u> 4. <u>Ch'u7mat'ath</u> 5. <u>T'ukw'aa7athtakimilh</u> 6. <u>Malhts'as7ath</u> 7. <u>Tuxwiitstakimilh</u> 8. <u>Xaya7ath</u>	9. <u>7Aanaktl'a7ath</u> 10. <u>Maalhsit7ath</u> 11. <u>Lhuut'as7ath</u> 12. <u>Kixaa7ath</u> 13. <u>Tsaxts'aa7ath</u> 14. <u>Tl'isnashis7ath</u> 15. <u>Tl'ihaskaapu7is7ath</u>
Ella Jackson interview with D. St. Claire 1984 (St. Claire 1984a)	1. <u>Chachaahtsii7as7ath</u> 2. <u>Maalhts'aas7ath</u> 3. <u>Ts'a7akwa7ath</u> 4. <u>Ch'imaataksu7ath</u> 5. <u>Hitaaktlas7ath</u> 6. <u>7Ap'win7as7ath</u> 7. <u>Amiihtaa7ath</u> 8. <u>Maalhsit7ath</u> 9. <u>Lhuut'as7ath</u> 10. <u>7Aanaktl'a7ath</u> 11. <u>Kiix7in7ath</u> 12. <u>Xaya7ath</u>	13. <u>Huu7ii7ath</u> 14. <u>Tsaxts'aa7ath</u> 15. <u>Kixaa7ath</u> 16. <u>7Uts'uu7a7ath</u> 17. <u>7Aa7ikis7ath</u> 18. <u>Tuup'alhsit7ath</u> 19. <u>Tuxuulh7ath</u> 20. <u>Chu'umaat'aa7ath</u> 21. <u>7Ukchii7ath</u> 22. <u>T'ukwaa7athtakimilh</u> 23. <u>Tl'isnach'is7ath</u> 24. <u>Hilhstu7as7ath</u>
Mary Moses interview with D. St. Claire 1984 (St. Claire 1984b)	1. <u>Maalhts'a7asath</u> 2. <u>Ts'a7akwa7ath</u> 3. <u>Ch'uumaata7ath</u> 4. <u>T'ak'ak'ts7a7ath</u> 5. <u>Ustu7as7ath</u> 6. <u>7Apswin7as7ath</u> 7. <u>Chachaahtsii7as7ath</u> 8. <u>7Apswas7ath</u>	9. <u>Kwisp'a7as7ath</u> 10. <u>Hilhstu7as7ath</u> 11. <u>Kiix7in7ath</u> 12. <u>Kixaa7ath</u> 13. <u>7Aanaktl'a7ath</u> 14. <u>Chachaahtsii7as7ath</u> 15. <u>Tl'inhapis7ath</u> 16. <u>Lhuut'as7ath</u>

her 16 names included by Sapir and 11 matching Ella Jackson's. This, however, is probably a function of her focus upon later period names used primarily within the village of *Numakamiis* at the mouth of the Sarita River.

Not all names appearing in the four lists correspond to the traditional Nuu-chah-nulth social units of *ushtakimilh* and local groups. As part of the process of amalgamation due to severe population loss and the consequent blurring of descent lineages, a new nomenclature seems to have developed. In addition to the tradition-based names referring to or derived from descent lines, new names came into use. Many of these names simply indicated specific residence locations within villages or at

resource camps. Kin groups might have several names, which changed as they shifted residences. These names did not have the socio-cultural significance embedded in the previous, traditional naming system. The great loss of population and the collapse, possible merger, and disappearance of many *ushtakimilh* of the four original local groups likely led to the development of the new nomenclature.

Mary Moses' list of group names provides an example of this late period usage. She stated that the *7Ap'win7as7ath* (also rendered as *7Apswin7as7ath*) of *Numakamiis* village were comprised of the *Kiix7in7ath*, *Kixaa7ath* and *7Aanaktl'a7ath*, who went to their "name places"—*Kiix7in*, *Kixaa*

and *ʔAanaktl'a*—during the summer. She also indicated that the *Kwisp'a7as7ath* went to *Lhuut'as* in the summer, where they became the *Lhuut'as7ath* (St. Claire 1984b). The *Maalhts'a7as7ath* moved to Dodger Cove (the adjacent villages of *ʔAa7at'suw7is* and *Chap7is*) on Diana Island (St. Claire 1984b). The *Chachaahtsi7as7ath* (also transcribed as *Ch'ich'abchi7as7ath*) took their name from and had a house at *Chachaahtsi7as*, at Carnation Creek (just north of Sarita River), where they resided for a portion of the year (St. Claire 1991:91).

Three of the names on Sapir's list are of particular interest as they indicate close relations with the Toquaht (*T'ukw'aa7ath*) First Nation of western Barkley Sound. Tom Sayaach'apis told Sapir that the *Kwi7ikt's'ilhu7as7ath*, *Ch'umaat'aa7ath* and *T'ukw'aa7athtakimilh* groups all acquired their names from the Toquaht through high status marriages (Sapir 1910–1914, notebook XVII:4a–5). The dates for these unions are uncertain but may have occurred around the 1840s during the “Long War” among the Barkley Sound groups, when a number of such alliances were made.

Each of the four original local groups had one principal village. Territories were sufficiently compact to enable people to harvest resources from various locations in the *hahwulbi* and return to the village within a single day. Undoubtedly, some short-duration resource encampments existed but the primary focus of everyday life was on one year-round village. After amalgamation, four major villages were no longer required and the remnants of the former local groups could congregate at a single location. The abandonment of *HuuZii*, *Ch'imaataksulh* and *Lhuut'as* as major villages probably resulted from this amalgamation process. *Kiix7in* emerged as the dominant post-amalgamation centre.

The merger of the four local group territories, plus the acquisition of additional lands described earlier, meant that the amalgamated *Huu-ay-aht* had access to a much larger *hahwulbi*. A far wider choice of residence and resource locations became available. To efficiently exploit their extensive territory and the broad array of resources it contained, the *Huu-ay-aht* developed a seasonal pattern of movement throughout their lands. *Kiix7in* was occupied mainly during the spring and summer, while *Numakamiis* at the Sartia River became the primary fall and winter residence. In addition, smaller social groups would disperse to live at various resource locations for shorter periods throughout the year.

The European Contact Period

The first significant contact between Europeans and Nuuchahnulth peoples began with the Cook expedition of 1778. Within a few years of Cook's favorable report upon the trading opportunities existing along the west coast of what later became known as Vancouver Island, a thriving maritime fur trade was established with the annual arrival of trading vessels of mainly English and American origin. These traders focused initially upon Nootka Sound and soon after Clayoquot Sound to the south. The dominant groups in these areas not only quickly established control over their neighbours, but also spread their hegemony over others in more distant portions of the coast. Barkley Sound soon became part of the Tla-o-qui-aht (*Tla7uukwi7ath*) sphere of influence, and Chief Wickaninish of that group controlled much of the trade that far to the south. Wickaninish's greater access to firearms through the American traders in Clayoquot Sound enabled his military domination of this wider region.

The earliest historic accounts from Barkley Sound provide little specific information on the *Huu-ay-aht* and their territory. Captain William Barkley sailed into the sound in 1787, naming the sound after himself and prominent landmarks such as Cape Beale after members of his ship's company (Hill 1978:37). John Meares arrived the following year and noted the “large and populous villages” in the sound (Meares 1790:172), but gave no details on their location. In 1789, the American traders aboard the *Columbia* briefly entered the sound to trade but found that Wickaninish had recently arrived from Clayoquot Sound and few furs were available (Howay 1990:79). Spanish expeditions also reached Barkley Sound, reporting in 1791 that the population of this area “contained more Indians than Nuca [Nootka] and Clayocuat [Clayoquot]” (Wagner 1933:149). When the crew of the *Jefferson* explored Barkley Sound in 1793, they specifically noted the “large and very populous villages” on the eastern shore, presumably referring to *Huu-ay-aht* territory (Magee 1794). Bishop, trading in western Barkley Sound in 1795, stated that his ship was “visited by two Chiefs from the East shore,” quite possibly referring to the arrival of *Huu-ay-aht* leaders. He noted that these Chiefs, whom he named as “Yapasuet” and “Annathat,” were independent of Wickaninish, unlike their neighbours of the western sound (Roe 1967:108).

The first specific European account of *Huu-ay-aht* territory comes from Camille de Roquefeuil,

Captain of *Le Bordelais*, in 1817. Roquefeuil's ship traversed Trevor Channel and entered Bamfield and Grappler Inlets ("two arms of the sea near each other"), where the local people told him that his was the first ship to enter these protected waters (Roquefeuil 1823:36–38). He records the name for the "grand chief" as "Nanat" (Roquefeuil 1823:37). He also provides the names "Anachtchitl" (*7Anaks-bitl*, the Sarita River area) and "Oheia" (*HuuZii*) for the surrounding district, as well as "Tchatactza" (*Ts'axts'aa7a*) for Grappler Inlet, where he anchored during his relatively short stay (Roquefeuil 1823:38). He also mentioned a "steep hillock" with what appeared to be a "ruined fortification," presumably the defensive site at Aguilar Point, at the entrance to Bamfield and Grappler Inlets, or perhaps Kiiix7in. By this time, over-hunting in the maritime trade had almost eliminated the sea otters from Barkley Sound. Finding that there were few or no furs available, Roquefeuil set sail, continuing his round-the-world voyage. Throughout Nuu-chah-nulth territory, sea otter populations were so seriously depleted by the second decade of the 19th century that the annual arrival of trading ships ceased and for several decades there was little, if any, contact with outsiders.

The next phase of Nuu-chah-nulth contact with Euro-Americans began with the establishment of Fort Victoria in 1843. Intended as a trading centre, the fort gave local First Nations, as well as those more distant on the coast, an opportunity to access manufactured goods, but differed from the former period in that the Native traders had to travel to a European settlement. In the following decades trading schooners and eventually small stores began to appear along the western coast of Vancouver Island. The first such occurrence in Huu-ay-aht territory came with the arrival of William Banfield in 1858. Banfield was a partner in a trading company that had three stores along the length of Nuu-chah-nulth territory. In a letter to Governor Douglas in 1855, he described the Huu-ay-aht as a tribe of 500 people, the largest group in Barkley Sound (Banfield and Francis 1855). In 1858 Banfield chose Huu-ay-aht territory, specifically what is now Bamfield Inlet, as his centre of operations. He purchased an island in the inlet, which he identified as "Osmetticey," from the Huu-ay-aht chief "Cleeshin" (*Tliishin*) and resided there until his death several years later (Inglis and Haggarty 1986:61). He was appointed government agent in 1859 and began sending a series of reports to Victoria regarding the Nuu-chah-nulth and the

prospects for economic development along the west coast of Vancouver Island.

Banfield's choice of the heart of Huu-ay-aht territory as the base of his private and public activities, along with the construction of a saw mill at the head of Alberni Inlet in 1860 and the subsequent establishment of a mission there, began a new period that would see profound changes for the Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth. Although some of these events did not particularly affect the Huu-ay-aht, they ushered in a new era of frequent contact with Euro-Canadians. This period differed from the previous in that it entailed more or less permanent Euro-Canadian settlement, encroaching on traditional Nuu-chah-nulth lands, as opposed to the short-term seasonal contact that characterized the maritime fur trade.

By the 1860s, a number of small trading stores were established within Barkley Sound. Banfield's former quarters in Bamfield Inlet were taken over by Captain Stamp in 1861 for a temporary trading post (Inglis and Haggarty 1986:63). Around 1868, the Spring and Company store was established in Dodger Cove (*Aa7atsuw7is*), at the southern end of Diana Island (Inglis and Haggarty 1986:97). The Huu-ay-aht also had easy access to goods from the store at Ecoole (*Hiikwuulh*), in northwestern Barkley Sound. In 1878, a Catholic church was constructed at Dodger Cove, which, along with the store, brought about a change in the seasonal residence pattern of the Huu-ay-aht.

Despite slow and gradual increments in the frequency of contact between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Euro-Canadians, for much of the 19th century the Huu-ay-aht and other Barkley Sound groups continued to carry on much of their traditional lifeways, as they had for countless generations. However, with the entry of British Columbia into Canadian confederation in 1871, resulting in the establishment of federal jurisdiction over Native issues, mounting regulations, particularly concerning fishing and hunting, began to encroach upon Nuu-chah-nulth culture and independence.

In 1874, George Blenkinsop was sent by federal Indian Commissioner I.R. Powell to contact the Barkley Sound First Nations, to ascertain their populations, territories, and culture, and to assess their needs. This information was intended to prepare for the establishment of reserves, which would have a dramatic impact on the relationship of the Nuu-chah-nulth people with their traditional territories. The Huu-ay-aht chief "Haht.sik" (*Hat7sik*) particularly sought to ensure that land was allotted at each of the "two permanent villages," "Keh.ahk.

in” (Kiix7in) and “Noo.muk.em.e.is” (*Numakamiis*, at the mouth of the Sarita River) (Blenkinsop 1874:48). Swadesh (1949), whose field notes describe approximately the same time as Blenkinsop, drew a map showing the positions of 19 houses at *Numakamiis*; he also listed 14 houses for Kiix7in. Not all the Huu-ay-aht would have lived at these two sites, which served as “headquarters” for the scattered smaller villages and camps where some people seasonally resided. Blenkinsop (1874:51) also commented on the “numerous old village sites” throughout Huu-ay-aht territory. The Huu-ay-aht population at this time, Blenkinsop reports, was 262 people.

At the time of Blenkinsop’s visit, the Huu-ay-aht were moving seasonally between their two major villages and a number of smaller short-term resource locations. Chief *Hat7sik* stated that *Numakamiis* was occupied from September to January (Blenkinsop 1874:49). Swadesh (1949) listed the following as the principal economic activities at *Numakamiis*: fishing for salmon, dogfish, and rock cod; collecting little neck clams, butter clams, cinquefoil root, and huckleberries; and hunting seals, sea lions, harbour porpoises, and whales. During February and March people moved to various encampments in the Deer Group islands to fish for dogfish and extract the valuable oil (Blenkinsop 1874:49). *Hat7sik* indicated that Kiix7in was occupied from April to September, making it the main summer residence. Blenkinsop (1874:49) described the major resource activities during that period, including offshore commercial fur sealing, collecting and drying herring spawn, and fishing for salmon, halibut, and cod. Swadesh’s (1949) informants listed the following as important economic resources while at Kiix7in: halibut, red snapper, lingcod, sablefish, kelp greenling, perch, dogfish, various rockfish, octopus, several species of chitons, and licorice rhizomes and leather ferns.

In 1882, Peter O’Reilly, the federal Reserve Commissioner, arrived at Dodger Cove and established 13 reserves for the Huu-ay-aht. In all, 2,250 acres were set aside for their use, comprising a very small portion of their widespread traditional territory (*habuulhi*). *Numakamiis* (Reserve #1) was by far the largest of those allocated, followed by Kiix7in (Reserve #9). O’Reilly (1883:94-96) briefly commented on the nature of each reserve and the major economic activities that took place there (Table 2-2). In addition to Kiix7in and *Numakamiis*, three reserves are located along the eastern shoreline of Barkley Sound, including a salmon fishing station at the head of Grappler Inlet (#4). Five reserves are in the Deer Group islands, including two on Diana Island. *7Aa7at’suw7is* (#7), at the southern end of the island, along with *Chap7is* (#8) on adjacent Haines Island, together formed the community of Dodger Cove. *Huu7ii*, which had fallen into disuse centuries earlier, was not included in O’Reilly’s list. The remaining four reserves are on the outer coast, at Keeha Bay and around Pachena Bay. Three, according to O’Reilly, were occupied while halibut fishing, while *Anacla* (*7Aanakil’a*; #12), at the head of Pachena Bay, was prized for its major salmon fishery at the Pachena River.

O’Reilly (1883:95) noted that Kiix7in “was the principal summer residence of the Ohiet [Huu-ay-aht] tribe.” At that time, Dodger Cove contained only the Catholic church and a small cluster of houses that were inhabited “during the sealing season.” That location, however, provided “a small harbor frequented by the sealing schooners” (O’Reilly 1883:95), while Kiix7in’s linear shoreline, exposed to prevailing winds and storms, was a hazard for ship’s captains to avoid. The growing importance of the commercial fur seal industry, plus the presence of a trading store, led many Huu-ay-aht to relocate to Dodger Cove. Before the end of the

Table 2-2. Huu-ay-aht reserves established by O’Reilly in 1882.

Reserve no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Major village	X								X				
Size (acres)	1,275	30	22	12	11	38	80	35	375	12	80	200	80
Salmon	X		X	X	X	X						X	
Halibut										X	X		X
Sealing							X	X					
Dogfish	X	X			X								
No. of houses*	6	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	6	3	4	0	2

*as shown on maps of reserves created by O’Reilly.

19th century, Kiix7in, the HUU-ay-aht “capital” for centuries, was unoccupied. People returned to this location to plant their vegetable gardens (HUU-ay-aht First Nations 2000:53), but the forest began to grow over what remained of the large traditional wooden houses.

Despite the growth of the Dodger Cove community, many HUU-ay-aht continued to reside at the Sarita River, in Bamfield and Grappler Inlets, and elsewhere. It was not until the 1960s that the HUU-ay-aht coalesced at Anacla on Pachena Bay, which is today their primary residential community (HUU-ay-aht First Nations 2000:34).

Effects of the Contact Era on the HUU-ay-aht First Nations

Initial contact with Euro-Americans during the maritime fur trade introduced many new items and raw materials into Nuu-chah-nulth life. These were easily integrated within traditional socio-economic structures, which continued without major disruption. Although more power seems to have been concentrated in the hands of the Chiefs than previously, allowing some to extend their power and influence far beyond their traditional territories, the essential relationship between Chiefs and members of their local groups remained largely unchanged. Trading goods, such as food and furs, were gathered by members of the community and turned over to their Chiefs, who then conducted the actual trade with Euro-Americans. This retained the traditional pattern of descent lineages working cooperatively for group benefit and the enhancement of the Chief’s status.

Epidemic diseases, intensified warfare, and the consequent amalgamations of local groups as populations dropped, forced major changes in the social structure and general lifeways of the Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth. The new devastating diseases, particularly smallpox, arrived with the ships of the maritime fur traders. As early as 1791, the American traders on the *Columbia* reported smallpox among the Ditidaht, the neighbours of the HUU-ay-aht to the east (Howay 1990:371). Competition over access to furs and control of the trade also stimulated warfare and led to population decline. The late-18th century Euro-American explorers and traders in Barkley Sound frequently remarked on the “large and populous” villages. Yet, by the time Bamfield arrived in the 1850s, the population of the sound had been greatly reduced and the HUU-ay-aht numbered only about 500 people. Renewed outbreaks of contagious diseases

throughout the latter half of the 19th century continued to affect the Nuu-chah-nulth, placing great stress on their cultural, economic, and spiritual practices. Henry Guillod, catechist at the Alberni Mission and later the regional Indian Agent, reported a deadly outbreak of smallpox among the HUU-ay-aht in 1868: “40 Ohy-ahts had died of the disease, which was fast spreading... Those who were affected by it were so terrified that they were neglecting to lay in their winter’s stores of salmon, so that starvation would probably ensue” (Guillod 1870:51). In addition to smallpox, diseases such as measles, influenza, and tuberculosis took a dreadful toll in this later stage. By 1914, when the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs met with the Barkley Sound groups, the HUU-ay-aht population was a mere 129 people (British Columbia 1916:877).

The establishment of reserves in 1882 was a major intrusion into HUU-ay-aht control over their daily lives. It officially limited where they could reside and where they could harvest their resources. As long as Euro-Canadian settlement remained low, the establishment of the reserves probably little affected HUU-ay-aht movement throughout their *hahuulhi* or the use of its many resources. But as more settlers arrived and more Crown land was alienated into private hands, limitations on traditional use became more evident and restrictive. Various aspects of provincial and federal legislation also affected their ability to continue with traditional economic and social activities and progressively limited use of their *hahuulhi*.

As the influence of the church and government officials grew, these individuals were able to effect major changes in Nuu-chah-nulth culture. Aided by the social disruption created by deadly epidemics and the resultant population decline, these institutions used their authority to make changes that altered residence patterns and aspects of the traditional relationship between Chiefs and their kinsmen, as well as to suppress Nuu-chah-nulth language and culture in the newly created schools. Increasingly, the traditional “big house” occupied by an extended family, often comprising a distinct descent lineage (*ushtakimilh*), was abandoned in favour of European-style dwellings, each housing a nuclear family. As involvement in the Euro-Canadian cash economy grew, it was no longer essential for groups of related people to work cooperatively under the leadership of their Chief. The traditional pattern of joint residence and economic effort increasingly broke down as more individuals, both male and female, acquired employment, even if only seasonally, in the Canadian economy. As a

result, the traditional position of the *hawilb* as the leader of a distinct, well-defined group and his role as the director or coordinator of their economic activities began to diminish.

Initially, HUU-ay-aht participation in the new commercial and industrial ventures involved primarily the production of dogfish oil and work on the sealing schooners. Later, employment in canneries, some at a considerable distance from HUU-ay-aht territory, as well as picking hops on the mainland, became common. By the early 20th century, the commercial fishing and logging industries offered employment for many. Individuals were able to support themselves by earning wages to buy the commodities they could no longer ob-

tain through traditional activities. Because their wages were earned outside the limits of their tribal *hahuulbi*, they were under no obligation to share with their Chief or *ushtakimilb*. This accelerated the disappearance, already occurring as a result of severe population decline, of numerous *ushtakimilb* and the traditional social structure based on ranked lineages. Although Chiefs retained an important role in ceremonial activities, some political influence, and the respect of their community members for their connection to an honoured and cherished past, the events and resultant changes of this later historic period significantly altered traditional roles developed over millennia of Nuu-chah-nulth culture.