

DEVELOPING A FRAMEWORK FOR
CULTURAL REVIVAL AND ABORIGINAL TOURISM THROUGH THE
NIS'MAAS CENTRE IN THE LAND OF MAQUINNA

By

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Abstract

This thesis reports on the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations proposed Nis'maas Interpretive Centre in Nootka Sound. A qualitative approach was best suited for the project. The objective was to answer the questions. What protocols and processes did the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nations use for enabling the facility? What are the challenges? What is the purpose of the Nis'maas Centre? The findings indicate that the First Nation have protocols in place. The First Nation has administrative processes and procedures in place for the interpretive centre, heritage, and tourism projects. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht planning team have preliminary plans for Centre and gallery is in place. Participants identified cost and isolation factors as the major challenges for the construction of the facility at Yuquot. The purpose for the Centre is to share Mowachaht and Muchalaht history and culture with visitors from around the world and provide them with an aboriginal perspective.

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Dedication

I am indebted to thesis supervisor Dr. Brian White and David Porter academic advisor for their invaluable support and for having faith in me. Brian is Director of Tourism and Hotel Management at Royal Roads University and David is a Task Group Member of the First Nations Summit. I am especially indebted and grateful to Dr. Kool for his encouragement, assistance and tremendous support.

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Chapter One: Research Context

Introduction

This is a narrative about the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation and their plans for the construction of the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre at Yuquot in Nootka Sound called the 'Land of Maquinna' by the Mowachaht people. The name Maquinna derives from the principle chieftain lineage of the Mowachaht people. In this paper, I will use the name Nootka Sound interchangeably with Land of Maquinna. The First Nation's proposition for the Centre is to enhance and preserve Mowachaht culture and to share their heritage and history with visitors and tourists from around the world. The First Nation, more importantly intends to use the facility as a place for passing on Mowachaht and Muchalaht culture, beliefs and history to the younger generation as well as leaving a legacy. Dr. Richard Atleo, Ahousaht hereditary chief suggests fittingly that "fundamental beliefs about life are transferred from one generation to another" (Jenson & Brooks, 1991, p. 105). Since the story is about the Mowachaht people and their journey from Yuquot to Tsaxana, the paper focuses on the Mowachaht people. In short, the paper tells a story about a people forced to move away from their community and will show how the move affected the overall fabric of the people's life. This narrative will help the reader better understand the history of Nootka Sound from an Aboriginal perspective. Finally, it will help the reader appreciate the people's dreams for the development of the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre in the beautiful setting of Yuquot and their aspirations for cultural and sustainable tourism in Nootka Sound. This is vital for improving the social conditions and rebuilding the health and spirit of the community.

I believe that it is important to have a discourse on the reclamation of Mowachaht

and Muchalaht culture and history because these aspects are significant components of the cultural, heritage and future tourism projects. The expectation for the reclamation is an attempt to balance the history of Nootka Sound. Scholars view Nootka Sound as the birthplace of British Columbia and note that there are volumes of information for this region. Notwithstanding the enormous gap in material from an Aboriginal perspective, there is a vast amount of Euro-western archival material in museums in Madrid, London, New York, and Mexico City and other institutions. The First Nation hopes to rectify this situation by adding a Mowachaht and Muchalaht perspective (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 9, 2006). It is paramount for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes to balance the history of Nootka Sound for the visitor/tourist to appreciate both the Euro-western and Aboriginal perspectives.

The First Nation has three projects in progress: 1) The Nis'maas Interpretive Centre 2) *Balancing History, Reclaiming the Past, Owning the Future, the Mowachaht, and Muchalaht Project* called the 'Heritage project' in this paper and 3) Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Nootka Sound. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation and the University of British Columbia are working collaboratively on the heritage project. The objective is to establish a resource centre at Tsaxana in Gold River and to set up a language program. The project team initiated a series of language workshops in June 2007 and will continue to hold these workshops in Tsaxana over a period of three years. The First Nation intends to develop a language program. The resource centre in Tsaxana will be an inherent link to the Nis'maas Centre and tourism projects. Parks Canada approved funding for the interpretive centre at Yuquot. The First Nation has completed preliminary plans for the interpretive centre and the First Nation is in the early stages of

developing business plans and a tourism strategy. The leaders also recognize that guidelines in Nootka Sound tourism are necessary components. The First Nation is working on tourism protocols and guidelines for increased tourism activities in the region (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 25-26, 2006). The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation elders anticipate sharing their “heritage, history, values, land, lifestyles, customs, and entertainment, as well as arts and crafts” (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p. 3). The Mowachaht and Muchalaht leaders indicated that it is important to have a sense of ownership of the Land of Maquinna as the First Nation proceeds with the development of the interpretive centre and cultural tourism in Nootka Sound (Land of Maquinna Society, September 25-26, 2006). The reclamation process history and culture is an important aspect for the development of heritage and tourism activities in Nootka Sound.

An introduction to the social, political, cultural, and historical background of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes is necessary in order for the reader to understand the struggles and aspirations of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. Moreover, it is pertinent to depict how the leaders and elders are working towards overcoming the extreme stresses and tragedies in order to heal as a community and to begin process of rebuilding our community, culturally, politically, and economically. The three projects mentioned are integral parts of the process in the First Nations community building aspirations and capacity building. These projects are important and essential for the strengthening of Mowachaht and Muchalaht heritage and for the development of Aboriginal tourism in Nootka Sound. A background will also help the reader understand why the journey was such a long and painful struggle for the First Nation. On a personal

level, I share the deep anguish of the people, caused by the tragic relocation. I am amazed and impressed how some of the people in my community are coming to terms with a painful and tumultuous past in a relatively short period. This is not to say that as a community we have overcome the social problems. Unfortunately, drug and alcohol issues remain an ongoing concern. In my early 20s, I lived on the Ahaminaguus reserve for a year and experienced the pain and social chaos within the community. The misery, despair, and pain of my family and relatives living under horrendous living conditions overcame me during the time I lived in the community and stuck with me for many years. My empathy comes from the anguish I experienced living on the reserve. On a social level, this is a story about the Mowachaht people's relocation journeys from Yuquot on the outer coast of the southern tip of Nootka Island to Ahaminaguus at the mouth of Gold River and to Tsaxana in Gold River and about the will to revive and enhance their culture.

The aim of this qualitative research project is to analyze the Mowachaht story and to understand the First Nation protocol in relationship to the development of the projects such as Nis'maas Centre and tourism activities. The objectives focused on the protocol and process, cultural activities, tourism projects and the challenges and purpose of constructing the centre. The primary question focused on what process the First Nation used to initiate the development of the future interpretive facility. The secondary questions centers on what the Centre is about and what the participants perceive as challenges for the construction of the facility. The Nis'maas Interpretive Centre, the Heritage, and tourism projects intertwine with each other. A protocol and consensus process for the projects is in place and the project teams are required to follow the First

Nation's political and administrative process and procedures.

The colonial impacts from the 18th to the 21st century drastically eroded both the Mowachaht culture and language. Euro-colonization and governmental policies nearly destroyed Muchalaht culture. I believe that in every aspect, European contact with the Mowachaht people forever changed the landscape. Arguably, in recent times the most tragic event occurred when the Department of Indian Affairs relocated the Mowachaht people from their original village of Yuquot to Ahaminaguus, an inland reserve in Gold River. The Federal Government of Canada in the mid 1960s severed the funding for the Nootka Indian Day School at Yuquot. With both the fishing and logging industry in decline, the closing of Nootka Indian Day School, and with the urging of the federal government officials otherwise known as Indian Agents, the Mowachaht simply moved away. Given the situation, the Mowachaht people at the time felt that they had no choice but to leave their beautiful picturesque village. Only one family remained and still live at Yuquot. The rest of the Mowachaht families left for the Ahaminaguus Indian Reserve in Gold River, and to towns, and cities on Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland.

These were despairing and troublesome times for many Mowachaht people because they felt they had no choice but to move away from their community. This move led to the Mowachaht people living different lifestyles from that of an outer coastal lifestyle. While I was away attending the Mission Indian Residential School in the Fraser Valley, my own family moved away from home. To this day, I feel a twinge of pain in my heart when I look back and think of the families leaving home. In retrospect, the people from Yuquot did not have much choice because the day school shut down and the fishing economy was in decline. In my family's case there were ten children, with older

ones beginning high school, this along with job opportunities led to my parents moving the family to Port Alberni during the spring of 1967. My family followed my grandfather Ambrose Howard, who had moved his family to Port Alberni the year before. This is a common story for most of the Mowachaht tribe. After living in towns and cities for a few years, a few of the families returned and gradually moved to Gold River. My grandfather's family was among the people who moved back home, which made me glad because we could go home and visit and we could spend time with our relatives. In many cases, no matter how far apart families live; family members stay in touch and go home for cultural, recreation and political events.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people lived next to the pulp mill and lived under deplorable, horrendous living conditions for close to 30 years. The community leaders and elders were heartbroken and overwhelmed by the serious health problems and social chaos. Because healing projects were lacking in the community at the time, the leaders did not have the necessary tools to deal with the social and health problems. The physical health problems ranged from skin rashes and asthmatic problems to life-threatening cancer. The people living at Ahaminaguus not only experienced physical ailments but dealt mental anguish as well. Out of despair one of my young uncles sadly and tragically committed suicide. During this period, the community spirit was lost and shattered and Mowachaht culture was at an all time low. The tragic displacement of the Mowachaht people from their original home of Yuquot had long lasting affects on the entire Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation community. For a number of years the Mowachaht and Muchalaht leaders had to deal with relocation issues. The community leaders and elders are now in a position to address cultural, social, and educational

matters and deal with other issues such fisheries and the treaty negotiation process.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation do not use the elective system and are under the hereditary system under the Indian Act of the Federal Government. This is the closest structure to the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes' hereditary system. In the hereditary system, the position of the chief demonstrates the formality of the chiefs' status. The chief's title is a "real title, used in address in just the fashion of European titles of nobility" (Drucker, 1951, p. 244). For the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people it is common practice to respect and follow protocol, particularly when dealing with cultural and land matters as the chiefs hold the highest authority of governance on land and resource matters with the First Nation.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation aim to strengthen and preserve their culture and language (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 9, 2006) through the Nis'maas Centre and Heritage projects. While English remains the predominant language, the weakening of the Mowachaht language is of major concern. However, the leaders and elders have faith that the Nis'maas Centre and the Heritage project will revitalize both the language and culture. The interpretive and cultural facility will enhance the heritage component and will be a special place for Mowachaht and Muchalaht people to share the stories of their heritage and social and cultural survival.

In the following pages, each chapter tells a different part of the story of my research on the Heritage project and tourism plans, and the story of the Nis'maas Centre's beginnings. Chapter One continues now with an introduction, an overview of the Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council. It gives a rationale and a personal perspective. There is an account of the relocation effects of the Mowachaht. This chapter also includes the

Nis'maas Interpretive Centre and a section on research language and the need for a visitor centre in Gold River.

Chapter Two touches on Mowachaht history and looks at the *ha'wiih* system, *hahoulthee*, and the Mowachaht house system. It considers the spiritual and cultural connection Mowachaht have with *kaka'win* (killer whale), looks at the Mowachaht whalers, the Yuquot Whalers' Shrine, and touches on the *Tsu'xiit* (Luna) story. Place names and naming are included because they are key aspects in the people's relationship to each other and their relationship to their traditional lands and resources.

Chapter Three includes a literature review and provides a background on Nootka Sound, gives a brief account on the Mowachaht and Euro-western relations. It addresses Aboriginal Cultural tourism and the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre at Yuquot and Tourism in Nootka Sound.

Chapter Four includes research methodology, data collection, and analysis. It describes the qualitative method. The data collection and data analysis occurred simultaneously. Chapter Five covers the information on interviews, analysis of findings, significance, results, and recommendations. Chapter Six is the conclusion of my project.

Overview of Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes belong to the Nuu-chah-nulth on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and the First Nation is member of the present day political organization called the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. This section begins with an overview of the political development. The idea is to help the reader develop a basic understanding of Nuu-chah-nulth history, politics, and culture. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht share a common language, culture, and customs with the Nuu-chah-nulth

tribes along the west coast of Vancouver Island and with the Makah of Neah Bay on Washington State's Olympic Peninsula.

Following several years of political and legal battles around the 'land claims and sea question', the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council joined the British Columbia Treaty Making Process in the fall of December 1993. Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations continue to press for a settlement of lands through the British Columbia Treaty Making process. The member First nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council are seeking control and management of their lands, waters, and resources in Nuu-chah-nulth territory. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council through its programs strives for healthy communities and a better quality of life for Nuu-chah-nulth people in the villages and for those living away from home in various towns and cities. The Tribal Council has its origins from the West Coast Allied Tribes, established in 1958, and set up to deal with land claim issues. The West Coast District Society of Indian Chiefs incorporated in 1973. The chiefs formed the Tribal Council in 1979. The Council in their Land Claims Declaration vision highlights the importance of self-government and the promotion of strong and healthy communities under the guidance of *naas* (Creator) and *Ha'wiih*. The Tribal Council mission states:

We will fulfill our vision by providing equitable social, economic, political, and technical support to Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations. We will seek the wisdom and knowledge of our Elders and look upon our Children to give us the desire to succeed. (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, n.d., p.2)

The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council negotiates with the Federal and Provincial governments under the direction of the Nuu-chah-nulth *ha'wiih* in the British Columbia treaty negotiation process. Prior to treaty negotiations, the Nuu-chah-nulth leaders were embroiled in land claim and government policies issues for over 20 years. Throughout the indigenous world "colonialism has reduced indigenous people to making claims and

assertions about our rights and dues...Indigenous peoples, however, have transformed claiming into an interesting and dynamic process” (Smith, 1999, p. 143). The reclamation of Aboriginal land and resources is a continuous challenge of indigenous cultures around the world. Smith (1999) believes that “Indigenous attempts to reclaim land; language and sovereignty have usually involved contested accounts of the past by colonizers and the colonized” (p. 33). This incidentally is the case for the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes. Since the mid 1970s, the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations have fought arduously to settle land, resource, and governance issues. In 1974-75, I worked at the West Coast District Council office in Port Alberni and had the fortuitous opportunity of working and traveling with late George Watts and Simon Lucas to the villages along the west coast to discuss land claims with the community leaders, elders, and members. At these land claims meetings the local leaders and elders spoke at great length about the role of hereditary chiefs, the chiefs’ territories and resources, and the need to settle outstanding land and sea issues. Many elders shared stories and invaluable information on the history and culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes. This experience was invaluable time for me because I had the opportunity to spend time with Nuu-chah-nulth elders and leaders. This led to my interests and land claims, resources, and the environmental issues.

In 1975, Indian Bands from across the province resorted to direct social action, including the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes. Land Claims and resource disputes around the province led to “road blocks, railway blockades, demonstrations, rallies, and other displays of frustration by both native and non-native people who wished to see justice served and the issues resolved” (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, 1991, p. 3). I was involved in these social actions and participated with the elders and leaders in setting up

the Gold River blockade that lasted for a few weeks in the spring and summer of 1975. In Gold River, the issues at the forefront were land claims and the construction of a road over a graveyard site. This issue was close to home for me because my late sister Irene Rosalie lied in this desecrated gravesite. A group formed during the summer of 1975 in the midst of the blockades and sit-ins, to avoid stigmatization association with the American Indian Movement the group identified themselves as 'A Group with No Name'. Aboriginal activists from around the province participated in blockades and sit-ins from Gold River to Mount Currie in Pemberton and from Penticton in the Okanagan to the picturesque village of Tache near Fort St James. The social actions died not too long after with the First Nations returning to the political and legal avenues. The Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council leaders in October 1980 presented a land claims declaration to the Canadian Claims Commission in Ottawa (Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council, 1991).

By the early 1990s, a number of First Nations and Tribal Councils in British Columbia adopted the British Columbia Treaty Making Process. The British Columbia Treaty Commission oversees the negotiation process. The BC Treaty Commission is an independent and neutral body, responsible for facilitating treaty negotiations between the First Nations and Canada and British Columbia. Commissioner Steven Point reported that 58 First Nations and Tribal Councils are in treaty negotiations with BC and Canada (First Nations Summit, personal communication, March 15, 2007). The Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council entered the BC Treaty Making Process in December 1993. The hereditary chiefs of the Nuuchah-nulth tribes endorsed the treaty negotiations with the governments of Canada and British Columbia at a Special Assembly of the Nuuchah-nulth *ha'wiih* in 1995. I became one of three co-chairs of the Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council at the

November 1993 election and had the honor and fortunate experience of working with the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations in our political and BC Treaty making processes.

Under the Nuu-chah-nulth custom and law, the *ha'wiih* holds the authority to manage and control their resources, and the endorsement of the Nuu-chah-nulth *ha'wiih* was crucial for the treaty negotiation. The Nuu-chah-nulth hereditary chiefs have a process of ownership where declarations of the hereditary chief's take place at formal events such as feasts and potlatches. Many Nuu-chah-nulth people understand that the hereditary chiefs own their respective territories and are responsible for the care and management of the lands and resources. The Tribal Council is the administrative body and operates under the guidance of the hereditary chiefs. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council fisheries management operates from an integrated ecosystem approach in management and resource use governed by the principles of *ishukish tsawalk* which means everything is interconnected (Uu-a-thluk, n.d.).

Nuu-chah-nulth people are generally aware about the hereditary chiefs and their territories through processes such feasts, ceremonies, and potlatches, the Ha-Shilth-Sa newsletter, and *hahupa* (teachings). The following is a description of the meaning of these principles. *Ishukish tsa'walk* means everything is connected and nothing is isolated. *Isaak* means respect with caring. For the Nuu-chah-nulth people these principles are the basic respect of ourselves, others, and nature. The tenets contribute to a value system that promotes the need to be conscious of actual needs, not to be wasteful, and to be respectful and mindful of the animal world. These values encourage respect for the oneness between humans and the environment and respect for all life forms (Uu-a-ulthuk, 2005).

Under the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, the Nuu-chah-nulth leaders and people

developed a strong and well-organized socio-political infrastructure. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in the 1980s negotiated with the Department of Indian Affairs for a block funding arrangement and took over its own funding. The Tribal Council manages its own programs that include Financial Administrative Support, Employment, Education and Training, Health and Social Development, Child Welfare, Nuu-chah-nulth Membership, Infrastructure Development, and the Ha Shilth Sa Newspaper (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, n.d.).

The Tribal Council established the Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation in 1984. The corporation is a non-profit organization that promotes, fosters, and supports entrepreneurs and business development. The Economic Development Corporation aims to assist Nuu-chah-nulth people towards “achieving economy and social independence through the contribution of financial assistance and advisory services to the individual and tribal business development” (Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation, n.d., p. 1). The Nuu-chah-nulth Fisheries Department is led by *Hu-a-thulk* (to care for) which consists of the Council of Nuu-chah-nulth *ha'wiih*. The *Hu-a-thulk* Fisheries Department has a joint technical working group and a secretariat (Uu-a-thluk, n.d.), guided by the Nuu-chah-nulth hereditary chiefs under *Uu-a-thulk*. The Tribal Council Fisheries Department works collaboratively with the West Coast Vancouver Island Aquatic Management Board. The Board has representatives from the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, the Federal and Provincial and local governments with representatives from the non-governmental representation from various sectors on the west coast. The Management Board facilitates the integrated management of aquatic ecosystems and resources on the west coast of Vancouver Island. To emphasize the

importance of responsible sustainability of lands, waters, and resources the Aquatic Management Board adopted the Nuuchah-nulth principles of *ishukish sta'walk* and *isaak* (West Coast Vancouver Island Aquatic Management Board, 2006).

Nuuchah-nulth traditional lands cover approximately 300 kilometers along the Pacific Coast of Vancouver Island. The territory stretches from Brooks Peninsula north of Kyuquot to Point-no-Point on the southern tip of Vancouver Island (Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council, n.d., p. 1). For thousands of years the Nuuchah-nulth people have lived continuously along the west coast in their villages and continue to have a special relationship with the land in their territories. The Nuuchah-nulth hereditary chiefs held ownership in their traditional territories with rights lands and resources. A hereditary system of chiefs and advisors were in place to oversee the management of the territories and resources. The Nuuchah-nulth socio-economic political structure went through a breakdown after European contact. The Tribal Council and First Nation communities are aspiring for the self-sufficiency they once had and aim to be a part of the management of land, water and resource management on the West Coast of Vancouver Island.

Today the Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council recognize that under Nuuchah-nulth custom the *Ha'wiih* are responsible for the overseeing the management of lands and resources. The tenets of *ishukish sta'walk* and *isaak* guide the *Ha'wiih* (Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council, n.d.); these laws are the over-arching principles for the First Nations. First Nations people have a deep sense of responsibility to their traditional lands and continue to have a commitment towards the protection of their lands and resources. Important teachings for the Nuuchah-nulth people are *ishukish tsawalk*, *isaak*, and the importance of balancing life and ecosystems. *Hahuupa* is an essential teaching method in

family systems, family roots, and connections. Origin stories are integral components for the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes, Atleo (2005) explains that sources of information come from origin stories and nature:

Origin stories teach that the primary requirement for effective communication with the spiritual realm is humility... My ancestors had two primary sources of information, origin stories, and nature. (p. 1)

It is from this rich Nuu-chah-nulth cultural heritage that the Mowachaht emerge with a renewed determination to keep Mowachaht culture alive. The First Nation aims to strengthen their culture, and to take their rightful place in Nootka Sound.

Rationale

For 30 years, the Mowachaht dreamt of building a centre and the leaders and elders are excited about it becoming a reality (M. Savey, personal communication, September 26, 2006). The cultural and tourism projects are opportunities for First Nation to strengthen their voice and take their rightful place in Nootka Sound. The Nis'maas Centre will provide the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation a forum for expression of their history and culture. The First Nations leaders are now "speaking for themselves and [have begun] shaping their own version of history" (Jonaitis, 1999, p. 15). In 2004, the First Nation initiated the interpretive centre project with Parks Canada. The First Nation leaders directed the Land of Maquinna Society to act as the steering body for the various cultural and tourism projects in Nootka Sound (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 9, 2006). Through the Land of Maquinna Society, the elders guide the project teams and are the driving force behind Nis'maas Centre and Heritage Projects. While Parks Canada is a partner on the Nis'maas project, the Parks department is not actively involved in the project at this time.

The old village site of Yuqout has national and Aboriginal heritage status and is

an ideal setting for authentic cultural, cultural and environment interpretive activities and cultural tourism. Having grown up in Nootka Sound in the 1950s and 1960s, I witnessed the destruction of the land by forest companies and saw how inadequate logging practices affected landscape. The logging industry ruined the spectacular landscape for years by stripping the forests on Nootka Island and nearby mountain ranges. With the second growth, and the beauty of the land has returned and the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation now have opportunities to diversify the economy in the Nootka Sound Region.

Researcher Perspective and Limitations

Euro-western perspectives dominate literature on Mowachaht culture and history in Nootka Sound. As mentioned previously the First Nation is working on repatriation of their, intellectual property, culture, and artifacts. For the Mowachaht and Muchalaht it is import to balance the history and at the voice of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people of Nootka Sound. The First Nation plans to have both the Euro-western and Mowachaht perspectives reflected in the interpretive centre. The tribes have experienced over two hundred years of Euro-contact and Euro-colonialism and imperialism, which is now a part of the First Nation story. Smith suggests “Imperialism frames the indigenous experience” (p. 19). The Mowachaht/Muchalaht has experienced colonialism for over 200 years. Smith believes “Writing about our experiences under imperialism and its more specific expression of colonialism has become a significant project of the indigenous world” (p. 19). European colonization started in the mid-eighteenth century and has had long lasting affects on the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes. The First Nation leaders recognize that in order to move on they need to acknowledge the affects of Euro colonization. The First Nation has begun this process through various initiatives such as

the Nis'maas Centre and heritage project in particular which includes writing about the Mowachaht and Muchalaht experiences.

More specifically the centre will enable the First Nation to celebrate their survival, implement their plans for cultural enhancement, and develop a legacy for future generations. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation through the projects have begun the process of examining their past and are beginning to come to terms with their historical and cultural realities. The repatriation of archival material and artifacts is an empowering course of action for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes. I agree with Smith on her notion that "reclaiming the past, sharing stories from the past, and giving testimony about past injustices are strategies commonly employed by indigenous peoples struggling for justice" (1999). Sharing stories of the past and sharing culture will certainly be a critical part of the healing process for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. For the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people it will be important for the First Nation to give their perspectives about population decrease caused by major epidemics such as smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis fever (Clayton, 2000) that occurred during European contact. Furthermore, the First Nation community will have the opportunity to speak about the people's experiences about the missionary posts, relocation experiences, and experiences surrounding government policies such the residential school system and the banning of the potlatch in the early 1920s. The Nis'maas Centre will also be a place to share their rich and colorful culture and history.

My view is that Euro-western accounts on the First Nation of Nootka Sound tend to be narrow and slanted and rarely reflect the Mowachaht and Muchalaht perspectives. Writers with European cultures and mindsets wrote the accounts and studies of Nootka

Sound and the Mowachaht people. In contemporary times, there is excellent research projects conducted and there are several good scholarly writings about the Mowachaht and the Nootka Sound region. As a Mowachaht reviewing the early accounts of the early explorers certainly was not a pleasant reading experience. The early Euro-western authors wrote about Indians as primitive, filthy savages, and I think that this type of writing perpetuates negative images of First Nation and Aboriginal people. For example, Mozino (1991) writes, "The appearance of their houses indicates misery, disorder, abandonment, and filth everywhere" (p. 17). The following is another example:

Further, it has been observed that some unknown circumstances of their habitual contact with a superior people render the bodily system of savages especially subject to disease, particularly as it appears to sexual disease, when resulting from the cohabitation of civilized men with native women (Sproat, 1987, p. 191).

I was resentful about having to review the written material on the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes from Euro-western perspectives. Initially I could not help feeling anger, thus delaying the literature review process for as long as I possibly could. Of course, it was not possible to conduct my research without delving into the literature review. In retrospect, it was negligent and immature of me to avoid reading the material that I needed for my project. Following this experience, I realized that it is important to get past the resentments in order to read the material with an open mind and heart in order to capture what the social and political life of the day was. Letting go of the resentments about my views on Euro-western culture was an important step for me to take in order to move on with my research and the writing of this paper. I recognize now and appreciate that the documentation and the scholarly papers will help provide valuable information for the interpretive centre. There are excellent accounts and writings on Nootka Sound, with Drucker (1951) presenting excellent accounts of the socio-political organization and

the lifestyle of the Mowachaht people. I believe now that it is essential to review data on Aboriginal and European relations no matter how painful a process it is.

The literature review process and data collection turned out to be interesting and quite fruitful for me because it helped me shape the framework for this thesis. The academic material in various institutions lacks First Nation views; I believe that it is essential for Aboriginal scholars to write about First Nation histories and to add this collection to Canadian history. This information is pertinent for institutions such as universities, the school system, and government agencies. Rather than bemoan about the lack of material on Aboriginal people it is important for Aboriginal scholars to share their papers with various institutions. It is imperative it is for Aboriginal scholars to add indigenous perspectives historical and cultural to academic literature in order to balance the history of British Columbia and Canada with Aboriginal and First Nation perspectives.

There are volumes of academic and archival material on the historical, ethnographical, and anthropological accounts of the Mowachaht such as the works of Drucker (1951), Jonaitis (1999), Marshall (1992), and Mozino (1991). The information from the above will be invaluable for the First Nations in setting up the Resource Centre in Tsaxana and the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre. Unfortunately, the information on the Muchalaht history is scant. The proposed site for the Nis'maas Centre is at the original village site of the Mowachaht and as a result, the concentration is on Yuquot and the Mowachaht people. The lack of material on Muchalaht culture and history has created an imbalance in this paper and I do not have the knowledge or the research material to have a conversation about Muchalaht culture. Due to unforeseen circumstances, I could not

carry out the focus groups and this affected my field research. Another limitation is that the literature review lacks information on interpretive centres and focuses on historical material on Nootka Sound and Aboriginal tourism. At first, I had intended it to use the grounded theory method; however, as my research continued the paper evolved, in essence, to a qualitative narrative.

Personal Experience

I come from the beautiful village of Yuquot. In the Mowachaht language, Yuquot means ‘the place where the winds blow from all directions’ or it could mean ‘windy place’. During the stormy winter months, Yuquot is windy, wet, foggy, and cold. Around the age of 11, through the Pacific Ocean storms, I became aware of just how small we are as human beings are in this vast universe. At times during severe storms in the winter at Yuquot, for me it felt like we were the only people on the planet, especially at the height of winter. Sometimes, for days the heavy storms and rains pounded mercilessly and endlessly on the window roofs and windowpanes. The rough winds whistled through patched up cracked walls and knotholes of the small-dilapidated one-room shacks we lived in during the late 50s. Yuquot was a place of refuge, and during these times, I felt connected to family and my surroundings at Yuquot. During the winter months, the community leaders held movies at the school and dances in the basement of the old church. With the help of elementary school teacher late Robert Marchand, our school had its own local radio teen station and the station was on air three times a week, this was a big event for the whole community. The weather was quite the opposite during the summer months with the scenery in Nootka Sound exquisite and breathtaking, less wind, lighter rain, calm, glistening waters, and azure skies with scattered puffy white clouds.

The scenery in Nootka Sound is breathtaking during the summer months, especially on clear sunny days.

Yuquot sits between land and sea, with mighty and powerful Pacific surfs on the western shores of Nootka Island and the mountain ranges and forests on the eastern side. Nootka Sound was plentiful with ocean and forest wildlife. The land and environment was and continues to be alive and filled with mystery. Along the misty shores and lands the Land of Maquinna has a magical quality Spanish botanist Jose Mariano Mozino aptly described Yuquot on his arrival to Nootka Sound in the 18th century “When seen from the sea, the island presents at first glance a most picturesque view” (Mozino, 1991, p. 4). The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation believe that Yuquot is the centre of the world and the place has “unsurpassed beauty with natural wonders” (Hoover, 2000, p. 17).

Today visitors and tourists continue to travel from around the world to visit Nootka Sound for its beauty and for its historical interest. The spring and summer months were very busy times for the community. There were many sports activities, bake sales, canoeing, traveling Nootka Sound in skiffs, canoes, and speedboats, fishing, and berry picking and seafood gathering such as sea prunes, sea urchin, and abalone. The families spend a lot of time at the lake or on the beach facing the magnificent Pacific Ocean.

As young girls my sisters Arlene, Julie, Mary and I spent many summer months with our great-grandparents Sophie and Frank Savey either at Yuquot or at Nuchatlitz. My family spent time with our great-grandparents, my uncle Max, aunt Evelyn and their families at Nuchatlitz, and of course my extended Howard family at Yuquot. The elders were wonderful teachers. My great-grandmother taught us girls how to jig fish, gather various types of seafood, strip cedar bark, plant carrots and potatoes, pick berries, and

weave baskets. My sisters and I learned from our parents and grandparents that that family is important in all aspects of our lives. Our mother Irene patiently explained our family roots from Kyuquot. We learned about our Mowachaht, Ehattesaht, Nuchatlaht, and Sitka, Alaska roots from our parents Irene and Barney Howard and our great-grandparents Sophie and Frank Savey. It is from my great-grandparents that I first heard the terms *ishuckish tsawalk*, *iisaak*, and *hahuupa*. As a young girl, I was aware of whom our hereditary chiefs were. For example, I learned at an early age that Chief Ambrose Maquinna was our *tyee ha 'wilth* and that Benedict Jack was the second chief. I was aware of Mowachaht, Muchalaht, Ehattesaht, and Nuchatlaht territories as my grandparents showed me the boundaries when we went fishing, cedar bark gathering, and berry picking. In a dug out canoe named *yayuctch 'uum*, we traveled the inlets, coves, and ocean during the spring and summer months. During our annual canoe treks for fish, seafood, berries, and cedar bark, my grandparents talked to me about family, culture, and tribal relations. My great-grandparents shared wonderful stories and myths about such animals as *koo 'uhshin* (raven), and other animals. I truly appreciate my parents Irene and Barney encouraging us to spend as much time with our great-grandparents. I have many memories of joy and laughter with family. There was a strong sense of place for me at Yuquot; I enjoyed sitting on the beach at *Quispiis* in silence and blending in with my surroundings and the environment reflecting on the joys of being home with family and friends at Yuquot. To this day, it is a habit for me to travel home in my mind and take my spot at my favorite place on the beach and to pick my spirits up or to reflect on my life. We spent many summer days enjoying the serenity of the forests and the magnificent Pacific Ocean shorelines. The ocean animal life and forest wildlife were fascinating to

watch from the dugout canoe and campsites we stayed at on the beach in various village sites. The times with my family and grandparents were magical and filled with activities, stories, and adventure.

My great-grandmother had a keen interest in what was happening on land and environment. She believed in learning about our roots and staying connected to the land. She often talked about the affects of logging on the streams. Nan, as we called her, often talked to me about streams clogged by logging. She was concerned about the affect it might have on fish runs. One day, I remember sitting with my grandmother at *Quispiis*, the outside beach at Yuquot, gently and quietly she sat me down, pointing towards the ocean she asked me about the big cargo hauling sawdust and timber, I told her what I could. She asked me who gave the *mamalthnee* (non-native) permission to take the chiefs' *hahoulthee* (resources) away. I was 11 years old at the time and could not discern where she was coming from and I remember feeling uncomfortable because I could not answer her. In our language, she proceeded to tell that the white man had no business taking the trees and sawdust because the resources that belong to the chiefs. She was upset because she felt that the logging activities destroying the land and environment. I believe that my grandmother laid the foundation for my interest in environment and resources issues while my grandfather laid the foundation for my interest in land claims and politics. My great-grandfather Frank Savey was of full Mowachaht ancestry, became the principal chief of Ehattesaht, and lived in Nuchatlitz. He was one of Drucker's advisors in the research Drucker conducted on the Mowachaht in the 1930s and 1940s (Drucker, 1951). My great-grandparents taught me a lot about our people, lands, and territories. They helped me shape my interest in culture and history, environment, and the

larger society. Both of my great-grandparents Frank and Sophie Savey played a significant role in building the foundation for my lifelong interest in Aboriginal, social, and environmental matters.

In the mid 1950s, I attended the Christie Indian Residential School. After my parents moved home to Yuquot from Gold River, my sisters and I attended the Nootka Day School at Friendly Cove (Yuquot). In the mid 1960s, I attended Mission Indian Residential School. Attending the Residential School had a traumatic affect on me. I learned to cry silently. For the longest time, I felt deeply saddened about losing the ability to speak my Mowachaht language. I have accepted the idea that dealing with issues arising from the residential school system is a life long healing journey. My fondest memories are of attending the Nootka Indian Day School at Yuquot. I was happy to return home and go to school with relatives and friends. Two people influenced my interests in attending university. My great-grandfather Frank encouraged me to go to university one day, to help native people, travel and never to forget my roots. During my last year of work with the Union of BC Indian Chiefs in the early 1980s, Grand Chief Edward John encouraged me to return school for academic studies.

My academic journey has been challenging, rewarding and truly a blessing. At the Alberni District Secondary High school, I had a run in with my social studies teacher over racism towards Indian people and dropped out of high school, I realize now that I had made a rash decision. In 1982, I was successful in application to the University of British Columbia and majored in Canadian History, and took a minor in Canadian Political Science. I attended the University of British Columbia for four years without receiving a Bachelor of Arts Degree because I did not complete the requirements for a

BA; I needed a second language and a science requirement. In retrospect, I did not have the support system and made rash decisions. I recognize now that I created my own obstacles and gave up without giving myself a chance to complete the requirements for a degree. A major problem during my academic studies was that I lacked writing. It was not until my graduate studies that I gradually developed my confidence in writing. Setting up a support system during my writing journey was also critical in order to deal with old skeletons that popped up during my studies. Reaching out to co learners, family and friends made a tremendous difference. I can attest it is worth the pain and effort to keep working at writing skills. Finding an area of study or field that one is passionate about is as important as developing writing, research tools, and other skills in academic studies.

After many years of being involved in Aboriginal politics, I felt the need to advance my studies and my older daughter Celeste encouraged me to go into graduate studies. I took that big step and applied to the Royal Roads University. In 2004, my application in the Masters of Arts in Environmental Education and Communication program was accepted. My decision to advance my studies in something I felt passionate for was an important factor. For several years, I had been involved with environmental organizations. My involvement and activities led me to being a board director with organizations such as the Environmental Aboriginal Guardianship through Law and Education, BC Environmental Network, Canadian Environmental Network, and BC Spaces for Nature. David Cadman, Vancouver City Councilor and mentor, successfully urged me to attend the Hollyhock Institute Environmental Leadership Initiative Training Seminars on Cortes Island. Attending the leadership seminars played a significant role in my decision to take the Masters of Arts in Environmental Education and Communication

at the Royal Roads University.

On the personal level, I wanted to be a role model for my family. My oldest daughter has received a Master's Degree in Applied Communications. A niece is in a Master's Degree in Psychology program at the University of Victoria, another niece is working on her undergraduate studies at Malaspina College/University. My younger daughter and my oldest granddaughter are now preparing themselves for undergraduate studies. This information is relevant for two reasons; one, it depicts one of the key challenges for First Nation students, and, two, it is important to send a message out to the community that education and training is important for the various First Nation projects and for employment opportunities. Academic and vocational studies are essential for governance building and First Nation projects such as the Nis'maas Center, Heritage and possible tourism projects. It is essential for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation to strongly urge and encourage students to take further studies appropriate to their own interests and ambitions and the needs of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation.

Relocation Effects

In the early 1950s, the Federal Government's Department of Indian Affairs nearly convinced the Muchalaht Chief to sell Ahaminaguus Indian reserve. After much debate and discussion, the Mowachaht leaders agreed to intervene and thought it would be in the best interests for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes to merge. In May 1950, the Muchalaht and Mowachaht tribes convened a meeting to discuss their territories and to formalize an amalgamation of the two tribes. The intent was to promote and to create a better understanding and relationship between the tribes. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes agreed to share the resources and territories to have equal rights in each other's

territory. The resolution cites “The chiefs will have equal rights as to power and dignity, and coordinate future businesses pertaining to any villages in their different territories, and for the betterment of social and economic conditions for the members” (Muchalaht Indian Band, 1950, p.1).

Under the auspices of Department of Indian Affairs, East Asiatic Company and the Canadian International Pulp and Paper Company signed a 99-year land lease with the First Nation in the early 1960s and started operations in 1965. Government Indian Affairs officials successively urged the Mowachaht people to move away from Yuquot because according to the government it was no longer feasible to provide services. Indian Affairs agents encouraged the people to move to Gold River for employment opportunities and for its amenities. In 1951, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes formally amalgamated becoming the Nootka Indian Band. In the early 1960s, some of the Mowachaht families left Yuquot and moved to the Ahaminaguus Reserve (Savey, Johnson, Neary, & Young, 2002, p. 24). The families moved to this small reserve containing only 3.6 hectares at the mouth of Gold River in the Muchalaht community. The people living at Ahaminaguus were subject to living with loud pulp mill machinery and whistle noises, vehicle traffic and pulp mill emissions, all of which created environmental and health hazards for the people and contributed to social upheaval in the community. Only a few men worked at the Gold River boom grounds. Not surprisingly, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people were unable to find work at the mill as promised by Indian Affairs. Closer amenities brought the people not only to the plaza but also close to the liquor store at the new town site of Gold River. Alcoholism became a major factor for the community and has been an ongoing issue for many years. The community leaders were not equipped to deal with the

serious pollution, social, and health problems. The result of living so close to the Gold River pulp mill for 25 years was devastating and heart wrenching.

In the early 1970s, I lived on the Ahaminaguus Reserve and worked as a Band Manager for the then Nootka Indian Band, which was under the second year of operation. It is my view that the Department of Indian Affairs did a tremendously shabby job in the relocation of the Mowachaht people from Yuquot to Ahaminaguus in Gold River. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people experienced severe dysfunction. It was depressing and disheartening to witness the devastating social breakdown. At the time, it seemed like there was no hope. Those of us such as late Chief Jerry Jack, Mary Johnson, Michael Maquinna, Louis Howard, and I made an effort to improve life in the community. The community was in the depth of despair. We lost many relatives because of alcohol abuse. My family experienced extreme tragedy. A group of young Mowachaht boys died in tragic car accident and one of my younger uncles was among them. Two of my aunts were murdered; the young girls were hitchhiking home from Campbell River in July 1977. A young man picked them up west of Campbell River and brutally murdered them at an abandoned logging road a few miles north of Gold River. During these terribly sad and trying times in Ahaminaguus, my grandfather Ambrose died of cancer. This is an example of what many of the community experienced; these were dark, tragic, lugubrious times. Some of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people still feel the devastating impacts of the pulp mill and the social chaos during the years of live living in a dreadful situation. Several Mowachaht and Muchalaht families have dealt with intense loss, grief, and pain; yet over the past ten years, the social situation has improved considerably. Individuals and families are beginning to deal with personal issues such as drug and alcohol abuse.

The First Nation community has reached a point now where the leaders and elders can focus energies on the strengthening of culture and continue building a healthy community. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people survived hard and bleak times. The First Nation is looking forward good opportunities and a bright future.

In comparison to the first relocation in the 1960s, the second relocation in the 1990s went considerably smoother. The parties involved consulted the First Nation and the people throughout the process. It took years of negotiations for second relocation. In the late 1970s, the First Nation then called the Nootka Indian Band requested assistance from the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, then under the leadership of late Chief George Manuel, to assist in dealing with legal, land, and relocation issues. Lawyer Rick Salter, my first mentor, then director of lands and resources, responded to the First Nation request. During this time, I was a part of the research team and worked with the team and the Nootka Indian Band. The law firm Rosenberg, Rosenberg, and Woodward took over the file in the early 1980s and worked on the files. Eventually the First Nation requested Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council to take over the relocation project under the leadership of George Watts. It took over 20 years of meetings and negotiations before the people moved away from Ahaminaguus to Tsaxana. Living next to the Gold River pulp mill affected the social, cultural, and political fabric of the community. After the move to the new village of Tsaxana, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people started focusing on rebuilding their community and strengthening their community. The second project involved two relocation phases. The first phase included moving the people who lived on the reserve near the mill and the second phase includes the move back home for those people living away from home. It is another long process and several Mowachaht and

Muchalaht families living away from home are waiting for the second phase of the relocation project to move home. My entire family remains on the waiting list for the second phase. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation population is over 600, with less than 200 living in the new village of Tsaxana. The rest of the members live in the Town of Gold River or away from home in Campbell River, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, Victoria, Vancouver, and Seattle.

In early 1995, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht finally moved away from the pulp mill site. It was a painful move for the people who grew up at Yuquot because they were moving further inland and further away from the ocean. Some of the Mowachaht families are still adjusting to a land without the ocean touching the shores of their village, and miss the sound of the river flowing nearby. Nonetheless, the people of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes now live in a bigger village with no pulp mill effluents spewing into the air and seeping into the water and there is no longer the mill stench, dust, or car traffic to deal with. The move was an overwhelming experience after living in rundown prefabricated houses and crowded living conditions for so many years. The people moved from overcrowded living conditions on a small reserve to new homes in a spacious village on 120 hectares of land approximately a mile from Gold River. Today the people are happier living in a clean environment in the pretty place of Tsaxana. The First Nation now have paved streets, a new administration building, and the Wameesh Centre, named for the late George Watts, with a gymnasium, daycare and preschool facilities, and adult education classes. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people are happier in their new village. When the people moved, I was a Co-chair of the Nuuchahnulth Tribal Council and having been involved with the relocation project it was very moving for me when I

learned that the people from my community were relocating to a new village. The move from the old reserve was a positive one, the beginning of a new era with many possibilities and opportunities for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people.

The social, cultural breakdown and the psychological affects of the relocations took a tremendous toll on the Mowachaht and Muchalaht and affected the people in all aspects. The people experienced a cultural breakdown. Social change is slowly taking place. Young people are beginning to turn to their culture to learn about their roots and identity and as a part of their healing journey. Many of the adults are returning to their cultural roots and the young people are eager to learn about Mowachaht culture and tradition. Chiefs and heads of houses are holding potlatches. Drucker (1951) recorded that “The potlatch (*nucil*) was one of the more spectacular aspects of Nootkan socioceremonial life. The general principle was the same as that of the feasts: when a chief accumulated a quantity of property, he gave it away” (p. 376). There is a revival of culture through feasts and potlatches held by chiefs and various families, with many youth involved, participating, and thus learning about their culture. Today the Mowachaht chiefs and families still have their songs and dances and the young people are creating new songs and dances. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nations leaders states “We’ve had to look inside ourselves and rekindle our strength, first as individuals and then as a community” (Hoover, 2000, p. 23). The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation acknowledged filmmaker/writer Hugh Brody for his brilliant documentary *Washing of Tears*, a film about Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. The Mowachaht leaders state the documentary “clearly portrays the process of how we are taking responsibility for what happened in the past and we understand we must gain control of the past to move

successively into the future” (Hoover, 2000, p. 21). This film is about the changes of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht lifestyle as because of the relocation of the Mowachaht from Yuquot on the outer coast to an inland reserve. As a consultant for Hugh Brody’s documentary *Washing of Tears*, I felt this film captured the story of the Mowachaht people and their social upheaval and renewal of culture. It addresses the near loss of the traditional ways of life of the Mowachaht people and the strengthening of Mowachaht culture. The film highlights the people’s sentiments on the importance of Mowachaht native culture and tradition. The First Nation is determined become self-sufficient and are determined to rebuild the social, cultural, economic aspects of their lives through various projects and initiatives the leaders have planned for Nootka Sound.

Late Chief Jerry Jack was an advocate for the protection of culture. Chief Jack started a cultural group after the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people relocated to Tsaxana in 1996. William Howard and his sons Cory and Steven have taken over leading the weekly cultural activity. William and his family are concerned about further loss of culture and are concerned about the growing trend in the teenage abuse of alcohol and drugs. It is for this reason that William Howard and his family continue volunteering their time for the weekly cultural evenings with the young people (A. Howard & S. Howard, personal communication, April 5, 2007). The purpose is to keep the culture alive, and to practice songs and dances in preparation for ceremonies, feasts, and potlatches. These are places where the young people learn about their culture and histories as well as developing an understanding of the Nuuchahnulth culture. The number of feasts, parties, and potlatches held by the families at Tsaxana the number of cultural events far exceeds the number of feasts and potlatches held at the old reserve of

Ahaminaguus. The Heritage project's language workshops and programs will help encourage the young people and the people who are involved culturally to maintain their interests in strengthening Mowachaht culture and reviving the Mowachaht language.

Research and Language

The research conducted on Nootka Sound has primarily focused on the European history and archaeological and ethnographical studies without a First Nation perspective. Many studies do not reflect the realities or essence of the Aboriginal people, and do not provide an accurate picture of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation. At a presentation to Historic Sites and Monument Board in 1997, the Mowachaht leaders assert that the written accounts of the Mowachaht are "limited to direct observations on appearance, dress, technology, houses and customs" (Hoover, 2000, p. 11). They further state, "Many scholars who have never visited our shores have attempted to describe and analyze our people and culture" (p. 15). In the fall of 2006, Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation and the University of BC submitted a joint Heritage project proposal to the Social Science and Research Council of Canada. Sheila Savey confirmed in May of 2007 that the Research Council approved the funding proposal (S. Savey, personal communication, June 11, 2007). The First Nation plans to focus on language, research, and repatriation in the Heritage project. This is an important step for reclaiming ownership of artifacts and archival materials. History is important for understanding the present and that reclaiming history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization (Smith, 1999).

The First Nation is in the process of repatriating archival material and artifacts to set up community access to these materials. As mentioned before the purpose is to create a cultural heritage resource centre at Tsaxana, and to build economic opportunities and

capacity for the First Nation. The project includes language revitalization, genealogy, mapping, traditional use studies, industry impact studies, creation of Mowachaht and Muchalaht historical narratives, research into Mowachaht and Muchalaht artifacts held by museums, and/or website development (P. Raibmon, personal communication, June 11, 2007). The priority for the Heritage project is the revitalization of language. Professor Paige Raibmon set up an initial meeting between elder Barney Howard and a linguist. The purpose for meeting was for the linguist to begin working on the Mowachaht language project (P. Raibmon, personal communication, June 11, 2007). The Mowachaht language is not dead; over a dozen people speak the Mowachaht language fluently and have the ability to assist in the revitalization of the language. Many people have a memory of the Mowachaht language and understand the language, which is promising for this age generation to relearn the language. Aboriginal languages are essential for the transmission of cultural, traditional, and ecological knowledge to the young people. Aboriginal traditional knowledge includes tradition-based literary, performances, designs, culture, and symbols. Categories of traditional knowledge include ecological and medicinal knowledge, biodiversity related to knowledge, arts and crafts, and folklore such as music, dance and story telling and artwork (First Nations Summit, personal communication 2005). The Heritage project, cultural and historical resources will provide a foundation for the resource centre, Nis`maas Centre and the cultural tourism projects.

Nis`maas Centre at Yuquot

The concept of an interpretive centre originated from the First Nation elders. After the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people moved to Tsaxana, the elders held several discussions and debates over what the best approach would be to preserve Mowachaht

culture, language, and custom. The elders opted for an interpretive facility at Yuquot and approached the chiefs about building a facility at Yuquot (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 25-26, 2006). The Chiefs' approval permitted the elders to put into action the plans for the Nis'maas Centre. With *tyee ha'wilth* (head chief), Michael Maquinna's *Yahlua* (blessing), the elders of the community named the proposed facility Nis'maas Centre after the Maquinna House. In the Mowachaht language *nis'ma* means 'land' and *nis'maas* means 'deeply rooted and always there' (B. Howard & M. Savey, personal communication, September 26, 2006). The elders initiated the Nis'maas Centre, an interpretive centre that will be an educational facility and will display Mowachaht cultural artifacts. It is intended that the centre will present both an Aboriginal and European perspective on the history of Nootka Sound. There is a great emphasis on providing the visitor with an unforgettable experience. The First Nation is in a position to develop such activities as hiking, nature walks, canoeing, and fishing allowing visitors to interact with the environment. The Mowachaht have a powerful story to share through the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre with the visitors who travel to visit Yuquot in Nootka Sound. There is a gradual emergence of interpretive centres in the province. For example, there is a successful centre in the Fraser Valley, which resulted from the 1990 finding of several stone tools within the traditional territory of the Stó: lo, Nation (Xa:ytem, 2006). The Stó: lo interpretive centre combines oral tradition and science, and one can observe and explore archaeology (Xa:ytem, 2006).

Moscardo (1999) identifies four definitions for the meaning of interpretation and the most suited of the four for the Nis'maas Centre is an "educational act that aims to reveal the meaning and relationships with original objects, by first-hand experience, and

by illustrating media, rather than simply to communicate factual information” (p. 3).

Based on meeting notes and general discussions the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people are interested in sharing stories, values, oral history, and historical and contemporary displays and exhibits. Other possible activities include traditional cultural presentations, traditional food preparation of such foods as salmon, and historical reenactments. Over the past few years, the First Nation developed four interpretive themes for the Nis’maas Centre:

1. **Balancing History:** The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation are not demanding a rewrite of the history of Nootka Sound. The First Nation intends to write the history of Nootka Sound from an Aboriginal perspective. Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation believes “it is crucial for scholars and the public to recognize that our view of history must be balanced with that of the written record” (Hoover, 2000, p. 16). It is important for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht to reclaim their history.

2. **Yuquot, the Centre of the World:** The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation feels that “To outsiders, Yuquot appears to be at the edge of the world. For us, it is the centre of the world. It is a place of unsurpassed beauty and natural wonders we wish all to witness...Yuquot is also the centre of our history a place of many stories, some of which we will share with you” (Hoover, 2000, p. 17).

3. **Recapturing the Past:** The Mowachaht/Muchalaht want to “gain control of our past to move forward into the future” (Hoover, 2000, p. 21). Smith (1999) states “Coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization” (p. 34). The First Nations would like to recount some of the past and to share this history from the Mowachaht and Muchalaht understanding and worldview.

4. Controlling Our Future: The Mowachaht/Muchalaht plans are to develop the economic development slowly and carefully at Yuquot “ensuring always that the integrity of the site is retained” (Hoover, 2000).

The leaders are interested in “economic diversification, employment, entrepreneurship, training, and education” (Aboriginal Tourism BC. 2005, p. 12). The proposed interpretive centre and cultural tourism activities will raise “awareness of land ownership, governance, wildlife and environmental management and resource sharing issues central to treaty negotiations” (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p. 30) in Nootka Sound. The Mowachaht culture is alive with song and dance and the First Nation can show case their Aboriginal culture, history, and artefacts at the Nis’maas Centre and proposed art gallery through exhibits, showcases, and performances. The projects are about the First Nation creating opportunities for understanding the Mowachaht and Muchalaht cultural history and for appreciating both the an Aboriginal and Euro-western perspective on Nootka Sound. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation has a great opportunity for interpreting their culture and the history of Nootka Sound. I believe that the Nis’maas Interpretive Centre will make a significant contribution to society.

The following is a summary for the Nis’maas Centre. The First Nations has identified their objectives, themes, messages, and the major components of the interpretive centre and gallery. As an established heritage and aboriginal site has a significant amount to offer culturally and historically. Yuquot is also home to the Whaler’s Shrine. The messages that the elders have agreed to focus on Yuquot as the ancestral home of the Mowachaht and the history of Nootka Sound. Another key message is that the Mowachaht are a people of the ocean and relied extensively on whaling and

other fishery activities. Historically, the Mowachaht tribe played a significant role in international affairs in the 18th century during the European expeditions to the North Pacific coast and it is essential to incorporate this information into the interpretive centre. Components of the interpretive centre encompass a traditional Mowachaht style house reflecting the portability and seasonal rounds of activity of the Mowachaht people. Another component will feature a modern facility, which will include a gallery (Land of Maquinna Society, personal communication, September 9, 2006). The preliminary plans are in place and are ready for implementation.

Need for a Visitor Centre in Gold River: 'Gateway' to Nootka Sound

Questions for consideration include what types of cultural experience the First Nation will deliver to the visitors/tourists. Another question is how the First Nation will deal with communication in the promotion of the Nis'maas Centre and with the visitors. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation has a target audience that includes an array of visitors and tourists such as kayakers, hikers experiencing the Nootka Trail, school groups, tour groups, cabin renters, and campers (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., personal communication, September 2006). The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation have a small-scale tourism operation. One of the attractions at Yuquot is a church built in 1956 by the Roman Catholic Church. The First Nation renovated the old Friendly Cover church and turned the facility into the Yuquot Tourism Centre for the tourism season. Inside the church there are two stained window glasses donated by the Spanish Government to commemorate the first Spanish explorers who landed in Yuquot in the mid 18th century. The church houses replicas of the house posts of the Maquinna and Jack families. The First Nation leaders highlight that the carvings add a new dimension to the

former church (Hoover, 2000), interestingly they have become the centerpieces in the old church. The above is an example of the diversity of culture and history in Nootka Sound.

Tourism activities in Yuquot include the *Yatz-mahs* trail weaving along pebbled beaches through the rainforest on the west side of Yuquot and the Nootka Lighthouse, built in 1911. The Nootka Island Trail is fast becoming a popular trail but is not under First Nation jurisdiction at this time. The trail crosses exquisite beaches and tidal shelves, as well as leading inland to bypass rocky headlands and deep river mouths (Regions & Towns, 2006). A local tourism operation promotes tourism in Nootka Sound:

It is truly a paddler's paradise. So many places in the sound can only be explored and truly appreciated by kayak; small islands, sheltered coves, rocky coastlines, remote sandy beaches, and dense forest. The waters are rich with wildlife, including gray whales and orca whales, sea otters, seals and sea lions, eagles, wolves, cougars, and bears... (Regions & Towns, 2006, p. 1)

As seen in the above description of Nootka Sound, the landscape is rich and diverse and has high potential for cultural, adventure, and sustainable tourism activities and outdoor recreation. The First Nation and local communities in Nootka Sound need to consider the diversity of visitors and recognize the need to manage tourism impacts (Moscardo, 1999). It is in the interest of local communities to work together. Fortunately, tourism activity is not heavy in the Nootka Sound because the local communities do not have the capacity to provide tourism services for large crowds. The landscape is rugged. Yuquot and other tourism sites in Nootka Sound are remote and only accessible by boat or plane. In order to prevent large influxes of tourists and visitors, the First Nation and local non-native communities need to develop protocols and guidelines. The ideal situation seems to be to encourage small groups as opposed to large groups because the smaller groups are less intrusive (Moscardo, 1999). The First Nation is interested in cultural tourism and understands that environmental and cultural protection is essential

component towards the development of Aboriginal cultural or sustainable tourism in Nootka Sound.

Aboriginal cultural tourism benefits include job opportunities and income for the First Nation and local people. According to members of the community, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht are in the process of developing educational material and are interested in the preservation and cultural enhancement for the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre (Land of Maquinna Society, September 1996). Authenticity is an important component in the interpreting culture, aspects of the land such as plants and the importance of caves. The Mowachaht leaders recognizes that the First Nation is in a good position to develop high quality outdoor tourism activities with spin offs from the Nis'maas centre at Yuquot. For example, besides highlighting walks along on the beach, the *Yahtzmahs* and Nootka trail, the First Nation can feature whale watching, hiking, kayaking, fishing, bird watching, and the Whalers Shrine.

The First Nation tourism centre could provide information on the proposed Nis'maas centre and tourism in Nootka Sound. Brochures and pamphlets could show what the proposed centre and gallery offers. The material can describe the special relationship the Mowachaht have with their territory. Messages from the First Nation includes First Nation culture and history through art, stories, ceremonies, drawings, photographs, and other suitable means (Traditions Consulting Services, personal communication, September 25, 2005). Plans include Mowachaht houses, the Yuquot exhibit that includes the history of the Mowachaht, and the Whalers Washing House (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., personal communication, September 25, 2006).

The First Nation Council appointed the Land of Maquinna Society to oversee the

Nis'maas Centre project in September of 2006. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation is interested in attracting visitors to Nootka Sound for enhancement of economic development and community renewal through cultural tourism opportunities (White, 1999). In September 2006, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation Council met with Community Visions Consulting Ltd. and discussed the development of a tourism business plan for economic opportunities and enhancing visitor experience in Nootka Sound. At this September 26 meeting, the First Nation signed Community Visions on to work on the tourism aspects of the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre project. In a letter to the Mowachaht and Muchalaht Council, a Community Visions Consulting expressed gratitude for the privilege of working with the Mowachaht and Muchalaht on such a significant project that contributes to not only the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation, but also enriches BC and beyond (Community Visions Consulting Ltd., personal communication, October 6, 2006). In the initial phase, the First Nation worked with Traditions Consultants in developing themes, objectives, for the Nis'maas Centre.

The Nis'maas interpretive exhibits will include a story line section with a welcome sign at Yuquot:

We, the Mowachaht welcome you as honored guest to Yuquot, the centre of our world and a great place of history. Our Beach keeper is here to welcome you to our territory. His inheritance demands that he greet all visitors before conducting them to Nis'maas, the great house of our tay'yi Ha'wilt (head chief) Maquinna. (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., personal communication, September 2006)

Another aspect of the Nis'maas Center is the 'grease trail', running from Tahsis to Nimpkish Lake on the east side of Vancouver Island near Alert Bay. The trail is an old trading route for the Mowachaht and Namgis people from Alert Bay, where goods including whale oil could move east and oolichan oil could move west. Marshall noted that the trail on the Nimpkish side had for the most part disappeared (Marshall, 1992).

This is no longer the case. A group of Nam'gis relatives who have Mowachaht ancestry began refurbishing in 1999 (R. Bell, personal communication, October 12, 1999). In 2001, the Namgis:

Initiated a process to re-open and utilize the Woss Lake-Tahsis Grease trail for cultural and eco-tourism purposes. A cabin was constructed mid-way up Woss Lake to act as a staging base. An informal campsite was then developed at the top end of Woss Lake (Namgis First Nation Treaty & Natural Resources, n.d.)

The grease trail has great potential for interpretive and cultural activities, for example, there are two interesting carvings in two trees at the summit of the grease trail. The carved mask in the tree facing the south is in Namgis style and the opposite one facing the north is west coast style. Mowachaht and Namgis leaders believe the carved trees represent the boundary mark between the Namgis and the Mowachaht First Nations (R. Bell, personal communication, October 12, 1999). White suggests

Landscapes authorship defines what is to be valued in the landscape by relating landscape resource values to contemporary or emerging societal and economic values. Before the decline in the hereditary rights to landscape resources of the chiefly families and mythic and totemic representations gave meaning and definition to landscape. (1999, p. 268)

The Mowachaht people have both a strong sense of place and a spiritual connection to Yuquot, their home village. Yuquot, in the hearts of the Mowachaht people represents the spirit of the Mowachaht people. The beat of the drum comes from the land and from the spirit of Mowachaht ancestors. This is why Yuquot truly is a special place to the people of Nootka Sound known to the Mowachaht as the Land of Maquinna. Euro-western contact certainly had an impact on the First Nation ownership and access to lands and resources. The First Nation believes that the Mowachaht Tribe owns the land and continues to have a special relationship to the land. This is evident in the Mowachaht people naming Nootka Sound the Land of Maquinna. The ancient village of Yuquot is in

the heart of the Land of Maquinna and it is still home to the Mowachaht people and has been for thousands of years. Nootka Sound is culturally rich with a colorful history of Mowachaht and western relations in the late 18th century. According to White (1999) “landscapes embody social, political, and economic values, and the process of landscape evolution reflects changed expressions of these values over time” (p. 1).

It is evident that Euro-western colonization changed the landscape and land tenure in Nootka Sound. The name Land of Maquinna depicts how much the Mowachaht people value their lineage and traditional territory and tells the story of the Mowachaht people. The First Nation is in a position to offer rich historical interpretations and to their rich heritage through the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre and tourism activities. White suggests that “A landscape may have value because it is someone's ancestral home, or because there are ancient forests, beautiful seashores, or picturesque farms and villages” (White, 1999, p. 1). The First Nation not only value Nootka Sound for its high visual quality and aesthetics, but also for its historical and cultural richness. Yuquot is impressionable and leaves a lasting image with its stunning scenic beauty, the rich heritage of the Mowachaht tribe, and its colorful history.

Chapter Two: A Brief History of the Mowachaht Tribe

Mowachaht Ha'wiih, Hahoulthee, and Houses

Archeological evidence indicates that the Mowachaht people have occupied Nootka Sound area for millennia (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 16). According to the Mowachaht, Captain Cook did not ‘discover’ Nootka Sound. The Mowachaht have thousands of years of history in Nootka Sound (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005). The Mowachaht and Muchalaht territory includes “waters off the

west coast of Nootka Island, Tahsis Inlet, Tlupana Inlet, Blight Island, and as far south as Split Cape, fall within the territory of the Mowachaht/ Muchalaht First Nation”

(Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 2). Settling the land and sea question is a major aim for control and development in Nuuchah-nulth territory. The Mowachaht along with the rest of the First Nations has been embroiled in land issues since the time of European contact. Aboriginal groups also believe that their nations hold title to their respective territories. According to the Mowachaht in the *Aboriginal Title Paper*, the chiefs hold title to their traditional territories that includes:

all the land, water, air and other resources within those territories. Title also includes right of the chiefs, as owner to manage these territories and the resource within them. Title to something of territory and resources is firmly embedded in the Mowachaht traditional and customary laws. These laws have developed over time, and have been handed down from generation to generation since the time of the first ancestors. (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 6)

Several local groups in Nootka Sound amalgamated to form the Mowachaht tribe “Each of these local groups owned, occupied, and used a distinct territory. These territories had defined boundaries on land and waters and were known, and are still known, to other groups of the region” (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. ii). The Mowachaht appears to have a complex social and political structure based on a house system. Many Nuuchah-nulth elders understand how the house system and the social and political structures work within their communities. The inter-tribal marriages, family relations, and the hereditary system are “basic organizing principal in Nuuchah-nulth societies, and Native life along the west coast of Vancouver Island was socially and spatially dynamic” (Clayton, 2000, p. 103). The following is a brief description of the Nuuchah-nulth political unit:

The fundamental Nootkan [Nuuchah-nulth] 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 “place” a site at their fishing ground where they “belonged”, or sometimes that of a chief; and had a tradition, firmly believed, of descent from common ancestors. (Drucker, 1951, p. 220)

Aboriginal title according to the Mowachaht First Nation is a part of their identity because it is about their “ownership of and relationship to their territories” (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 12). The Mowachaht hereditary chiefs own the houses and these properties connect to the chiefs’ territory and resources. The Mowachaht Tribe consists of 13 *ha’wiih* or heads of houses with Chief Michael Maquinna as the principal chief. Today the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations councils consist of both *ha’wiih* and the Federal Governments Department of Indian Affairs system of elected chiefs, but the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation are not under the elective system and are under the hereditary system. The Mowachaht chiefs are Chiefs Michael Maquinna, Leander (Jerry) Jack, and Max Savey, respectively. Chief Norman George is the head chief of the Muchalaht. The socio-political structure is an important aspect for the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations as the potlatch system.

The potlatch structure includes Nuu-chah-nulth traditions, *ha’wiih* rights, and privileges in their *hahoulthee*. In the *Mowachaht Aboriginal Title* paper, the authors note:

According to Nuu-chah-nulth customary law, each tribe and each of its component “local groups” and “houses” led by a chief (*Ha’wiih*), who, amongst other rights of nobility, holds the *hahuuti*, rights (territory and associated privileges) of his group, including land, water, air, and the resources on and within the land, water and air. (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 153)

The Nuu-chah-nulth custom of the *ha’wiih* and *hahoulthee* system remains strong in the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nations. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation state, “We have never ceased to believe in the ownership of the land, the sea and all their resources; our chiefs continue to host potlatches to celebrate their rights,

privileges, and title” (Hoover, 2000, p. 14). The feasts and potlatches held by chiefs and family heads are an integral part of Nuu-chah-nulth society. There is a glimpse of the past through the feasts and potlatches, and the Nuu-chah-nulth celebrates and embraces their traditions, passing on Nuu-chah-nulth teachings to younger generations.

In Mowachaht society, ‘Houses’ are significant for maintaining family roots. Many of the young people today are not aware of family roots and which house they come from. For example, in my own family, some of my siblings have limited knowledge of family and Mowachaht history. Through family meetings in preparation for a future Howard potlatch, the younger family members are learning their roots and the house of *Tukwittakamalth*. Families in the Mowachaht and Muchalaht community have roots from different villages. For instance on my maternal side, my extended family comes from Hesquiaht and Kyuquot. On my paternal side, my family is Mowachaht with roots in Ehatesaht, Nuchatlaht, and Sitka, Alaska. My great-grandfather Louis Howard came from the Tlingit Raven clan in Sitka. Louis married my great-grandmother, who was a sister of Captain Jack, late Chief Jerry Jack’s grandfather. When my great-grandmother married Louis, Captain Jack passed the junior House of *Tukwittakamalth* to Louis Howard. The *Ha’wilth* of this house is *Klumakamah* (Barney Howard). According to Drucker (1951), this house ranks sixth in the Mowachaht potlatch seating order (p. 263). As an example of the house and resources connection, the *hahoulthee* of the *Tukwittakamalth* House is *Heeholth* (Blow Hole Bay) in Tahsis Inlet. The junior House of *Tukwittakamalth* shares *hahoulthee* with the senior *Tukwittakamalth* House. The territories of these houses are in the south of Tahsis narrows and north of Skuna Bay (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 48-50) on the outer coast of Nootka Sound.

It is important for the Mowachaht families to learn about the Mowachaht, to understand the house system and most importantly to share this knowledge with the young people because these systems and lineages are essential to Mowachaht identity.

The house system and the ancestral lineages are the essence of who we are as Mowachaht people. Although the ranking system of hereditary chiefs is significant in Mowachaht society, the hereditary chiefs held the same status with respect to their territory and resources and position. The ranking comes into play most notably in ceremonies and potlatches. The highest-ranking positions, determined according to descent from the founding ancestor, were the *ha'wiih* (chiefs). In the Mowachaht *Aboriginal Title Paper* it is noted that the "*ha'wiih* are viewed as the current leaders of these old and noble lines of descent" (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 16). The "Nootkans were noteworthy for the emphasis they placed on rank" (Drucker, 1951, p. 243). In my readings, I observed that there is little or no mention of the term *hakum* (a woman chief or a woman of high-ranking status). Drucker (1951) suggests that the *hakum* was the wife of the chief (p. 244). The general description today of *hakum* is a chief's wife, a chief, or the highest-ranking woman of a tribe or house. For example, today Marsha Maquinna, eldest daughter of Chief Michael Maquinna is the *hakum* of the Mowachaht tribe. In the Mowachaht houses, each house has a *ha'wilth* and *hakum*. Late Chief Jerry Jack states in the *Aboriginal Title Paper*:

We have to recognize the rest of the *ha'wiih* of our nation. We just seem to tend to recognize the four-principle *ha'wiih*, but we have to recognize the rest of the *ha'wiih* because they have title and ownership of territories within the nation (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 47).

It is important to keep in mind that some of the seats remain in question because of the cultural, social, and political breakdown. The Mowachaht generally accepts the

first three ranking seats.

Yaluactakamlath: Tyee *Ha'wilth* Michael Maquinna

Tsisa'ath: *Ha'wilth* Leader (Jerry) Jack

Saiyatca'ath: *Ha'wilth* Max Savey

Tsawunath: *Ha'wilth* Calvin Hunt.

Tukwittakamalth: *Ha'wilth* Mark Jack

Tukwittakamalth: *Ha'wilth* Barney Howard

Caxmactakamlath: *Ha'wilth* Wilfred Andrew

Na'itspatakamlath: Principle chiefs oversee this property

Hayanuwoctakamlath: *Ha'wilth* Ray Williams

Lasmasath: *Ha'wilth* Gideon Smith

Nisquath: *Hakum* Violet Johnson

Umiqtakamlath: *Ha'wilth* Andrew Murphy

Maltsasath: *Ha'wilth* Leo Jack (Drucker, 1951)

In the old village of Yuquot, there “stood permanent house frames. Roofing and siding were movable, but ridge poles, side plates, and their supporting posts were left fixed” (Drucker, 1951, p. 69). The houses at Yuquot were the summer homes of the families. The housing sites at Yuquot remain the property of each of the *ha'wiih* from the Mowachaht tribe. The Mowachaht house properties are in Yuquot and associated with *ha'wiih* rights and resources:

The Nootkans carried the concept of ownership to an incredible extreme. Not only rivers and fishing places close at hand, but the waters of the sea for miles offshore, the land, houses, carvings on a house post, the right to marry in a certain way or the right to omit part of an ordinary marriage ceremony, names, songs, dances, medicines, and rituals, all were privately owned property. (Drucker, 1951, p. 247)

The Cultural Significance of Kaka 'win (Killer Whale)

I believe that the spiritual connection many indigenous peoples around the world have with Mother Earth is phenomenal and quite powerful and that everything in life is interconnected or that all is one. Many indigenous peoples believe that everything has spirit or energy. The spiritual energy continues to produce strong, vibrant cultures woven into an intricate way of life in aboriginal communities throughout British Columbia. One can see it in the Kwakwaka'wakw big houses and animal kingdom dances, the Nuu-chah-nulth *hinkiits*, and shawl dances. It is in the Ktunaxa sun dances and teepees, as well as the Salish long house and 'masks' dances and the Tsimshian feasts and 'chilkit' robe dances. The spirit is in the intricate wool and cedar bark weavings; and in carved sea-going dugout canoes and bark canoes in the interior. This 'force' is strong in the songs, dances, and stories shared at feasts and potlatches in village halls and big houses around the province. This spiritual energy is what keeps our traditions and cultures diverse, vibrant, and alive in Aboriginal communities around the province of British Columbia.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people have strong ties with *naas* (Creator) and the animal world. For instance, the Mowachaht have a cultural significance with the *kaka 'win* (killer whale). In the Tlupana Cultural Heritage Assessment, the report states "The Mowachaht and Muchalaht view all land, sea and resources as essentially sacred, this view is based on beliefs about spiritual relationships centered on the earth, sky and mountains, and perceptions of spiritual power and place" (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 35).

Transformation stories and myths are common among the Nuu-chah-nulth among tribes. The following is an interesting account of an Ehattesaht experience of the spiritual

relationship the people have with wildlife and the environment through the story of sayatcapis and a killer whale:

The Killerwhales line up along the beach, and all made their sound at once. Both the men fainted. Saiyatcapis fell in a small stream, which revived him, so that he was able to hear the Killerwhales howl four times like wolves, and a White Killerwhale in the midst of the school rose upright in the water to sing a spirit song. Then the Killerwhales turned into Wolves and emerged from the water. Saiyatcapis gave a ritual cry. They did not disappear, but simply ran off into the woods. (Drucker, 1951, p. 158)

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people consider land, sea, and resources as sacred. This view “is based on the beliefs about spiritual relationships that are centered on the earth, sea, sky, and mountains and on perceptions of spiritual power and place” (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 35). A recent phenomenon or experience occurred in Nootka Sound with Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Fisheries Biologist and Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations Fisheries Officer Jamie James. During the spring of 2005, Roger and Jamie told the Mowachaht and Muchalaht chiefs that they saw a killer whale approach the shoreline and transform into a wolf as it landed on shore (R. Dunlop, personal communication, April 7, 2007). The sighting took place near Estevan Point on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Roger and Jamie reported the incident to the people of the community at Chief Maquinna’s potlatch in November 1995. According to the older generation of the community, they learned from their elders that sightings such as these were common in many spiritual places on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. The leaders and people in the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation community accepted the reporting of the incident.

Tsu’xiit (Luna)

This brief account of Tsu’xiit (Luna) is an attempt to show the spiritual relationship of the Mowachaht and animal world in contemporary times. Highly

respected Chief Ambrose Maquinna died at the age of 74 in July 2001. A few days before his death Chief Maquinna told a gathering of people that he wanted to return as a *kaka' win*, (killer whale). The Nuu-chah-nulth believe that “chiefs come back as either wolves or killer whales, which are believed to be the same animal, the only difference is one lives on land, and the other in the sea” (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, 2005, p. 1). Approximately a week after Chief Maquinna’s death the killer whale L98 (Tsu’xiit) arrived in Mooyah Bay. Chief Michael Maquinna the oldest son of Ambrose states, “Certainly the spirit of my father is in that whale as it is in other things within his *hahoulthee*” (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, 2005, p. 1). Jamie James, a young Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation fisheries officer further explains the phenomena:

Chiefs believe that when they die they shape-shift into other animals that walk this earth. In the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation culture the *Kaka' win* is the enforcer of the Sea, the Wolf is the enforcer of land, and the Eagle is the enforcer of the Air. All living creatures have a significant purpose in their lives in relation to the water, land, and air. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation has always been the protector of their land and resources for thousands of years and continues to this day (Petterson, 2005, p.1)

Tsu’xiit died in March 2006. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people had a strong relationship with Tsu’xiit. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation held a ceremony for Tsu’xiit in July 2007 and is planning to erect a bronze whale in memory of Tsu’xiit in Mooyah Bay. A feast and celebration at Yuquot or Tsaxana will follow the event (B. Howard, personal communication, June 17, 2007).

Mowachaht Whaling and Whaler’s Shrine

A significant feature of Mowachaht culture and spirituality is the Whalers Shrine also called a Washing House. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation identifies the “area where Nuu-chah-nulth whaling originated and developed and the site of Whalers’ Washing House, the most significant monument associated with Nuu-chah-nulth whaling

(Hoover, 2000). The purpose of whaling and the shrines (*tciyasam*):

were made and used to “bring” a variety of products of economic importance; the same shrine and its ritual served to bring heavy runs of salmon, herring, and to cause dead whales to drift to shore. Most frequently, the chief who owned the territory where these commodities were obtained was expected to see to that the supply did not fail by carrying out his rituals meticulously. (Drucker, 1951, pp. 170-171)

The preparations for whale hunts were arduous; the whalers’ prepared for months through *osoomch* (bathing ritual). Bathing rituals for the Mowachaht generally took place in the ocean, streams, creeks, or rivers or in the mountain. Nuu-chah-nulth people today practice the bathing ritual to some extent, however, in the days of the whalers these rites were intensive spiritual quests that took place usually in November (Drucker, 1951). The Mowachaht felt it was important not to bathe during the wane of the moon otherwise it would bring ill fortune. The whaling bathing rituals took place in secret as described by Drucker:

A man performed his rites, often arduous and painful, with stolid determination, he approached situations of actual contact with spirits not with awe or ecstasy but with physical fear that he grimly overcame, bolstered by the knowledge that if he performed his ritual acts properly he would receive no harm, but rather sure success. (Drucker, 1951, p. 163)

The purpose of these rituals was for the whaler “to acquire spiritual strength and power” (Jonaitis, 1999, p. 83). The Mowachaht whale hunt rituals involved cleansing, fasting, and extended periods of preparation:

The actual hunt involved the use of large dugout canoes. The harpoon consisted of a shaft of yew wood, which attached to the composite harpoon made up of a sharpened mussel shell and two elk antler barbs. The entire harpoon head attached to a rope six to seven meters long made of sinew and nettle fiber. Inflated sealskin floats were used to track the harpooned whale to impede its ability to swim and keep the dead whale afloat. (Kool, 1982, p. 32)

The *Yuquot Whaler’s Shrine* provides a detailed description of the shrine and its removal from its home in the backwoods of Yuquot. The Mowachaht invented elaborate

shrines at Yuquot. The structures of the shrines “According to archeological evidence gleaned from excavations at Yuquot, a site measuring 1,200 feet long and 240 feet wide and dating to 2330 BC” (Jonaitis, 1999, p. 4). Drucker (1951) is more specific about where whaling started in Nootka Sound. Most of the tribes agree “that the art of whaling originated at the old village of *Tsaxsis*, on the outside of Nootka Island, and at *Tatcu* outside of Esperanza Inlet, where it was an indispensable part of the food quest” (p. 1). In Nootka Sound, *Tsaxsis* was the primary site for whaling activity in Mowachaht territory. This whaling site is located on the northwest side of the village of Yuquot. Chief Michael Maquinna is the principal chief for the Land of Maquinna and holds the territorial rights to the area and the whaling resources on behalf of the Mowachaht tribe. In *Tsaxsis*, *Ka'ta* was a Mowachaht whale hunter who harpooned 22-23 whales in his lifetime in the late 1700's. His harpoon is stored at the University of BC. The Mowachaht whalers following *Ka'ta* harpooned seven or eight, two or three, two and one respectively. The Savey family comes from this particular lineage (B. Howard, personal communication, June 10, 2007).

Jonaitis (1999) notes that in the late 19th century, the anthropologist Franz Boas was interested in the whaler's shrine and hired George Hunt to purchase it for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York City. The sacred whalers' shrine objects remain at the Museum and viewing of the collection is not open to the public. The viewing of the whaler's shrine in New York by our leaders and elders had an affect some of the (M. Savey, personal communication, September 26, 2006). Their visit to the shrine served as a major turning point for elders; leaders moved toward further strengthening and protecting Mowachaht culture. “The shrine has been mentioned

numerous times in publications and has appeared in a silent movie, a television adventure story, and a news report about repatriation and a full length document on the Mowachaht” (Jonaitis, 1999, p. 20). The repatriating process of the shrine began in the 1980s. Three First Nation delegations traveled to New York City to view the Whaler’s Shrine stored at the American Museum of Natural History. The delegation consisted mainly of elders from the community. The Mowachaht people want to see the return of the Whaler’s Shrine or Washing House. For the time being and the Yuquot, repatriation of the Whaler’s Shrine is on hold and remains at the Museum of Natural History in New York City. The Mowachaht leaders, elders and the appropriate families have not yet decided where the sacred objects eventually will rest. More discussion and further consultation and consensus are required within the Mowachaht community.

Place Names

From Kyuquot, north of Vancouver Island to Neah Bay on the Olympic Peninsula, place names reflect Nuu-chah-nulth people’s use and knowledge of their traditional territories. The villages Yuquot, Tsaxsis, Ahaminaguus, Tsaxana and hundreds of other villages and sites “echo the mythic past” (White, 1999, p. 81) and the rich heritage of the local Aboriginal people. The Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations are in the process of changing the places that have English names back to their original Nuu-chah-nulth names. In First Nation communities, traditional teachings and narratives are methods for recording locations of “sacred sites, history sites, resource sites, settlement sites and other places of importance within their territory” (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 35). Many of the Nuu-chah-nulth geographical names in Nootka Sound remain intact such as Yuquot, Ahaminaguus, and Tsowwin and the names of the

Mowachaht and Muchalaht villages and archeological and sacred sites. Names of people, places, and things are an essential among the Nuu-chah-nulth. Names of rivers, lakes, rocks, and many other things are important, especially to the elders. On the significance of naming, Smith suggests that by naming “people name their realities” (Smith, 1999, p. 157). Collectively Nuu-chah-nulth people know every corner of their territory. It is noted in the *Mowachaht Aboriginal Title* paper that “every mountain, point, river, and fishing bank has a name” (Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 2005, p. 15) and we know cycles, animal habitat, fishery resources, plants, trees, and birds.

In early November 2006, the Watts family held a three-day memorial potlatch for George Watts who was a highly respected Nuu-chah-nulth leader from the Tseshah First Nation. During a break at the potlatch, I had a discussion with elder Hugh Watts of the Opetchesaht tribe and we discussed the emergence of Nuu-chah-nulth culture, the importance of naming and place names. He shared the following story. In the late 1970s, Hugh met with the Mowachaht and Muchalaht elders about the Nootka Indian Band, now the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation, hosting a District Council annual general assembly in Gold River. Hugh took his usual walk down to the government dock with late elders Morris Mclean, Abel John, Ambrose Howard, Sam Johnson, and August Dick. During their discussion on the general assembly, Abel John emphatically told Hugh that the West Coast District Council was not an appropriate name for *quu'as* (Nuu-chah-nulth people). As Mr. John was talking, he looked out at Muchalaht Inlet and pondered over place names and thought of the name Nuu-chah-nulth and its meaning. Elder Abel discussed his thoughts with the assembled group and spoke in detail about how all the tribes along the West Coast come from inlets and sounds such as Kyuquot Sound, Nootka

Sound, Clayoquot Sound, and Barclay Sound. Drucker also makes this observation “Native tribal territories on the west coast of Vancouver Island correspond more or less to these natural geographical units of sounds and inlets (Drucker, 1951, p. 6). According to the Able John, Nuu-chah-nulth means people looking inward towards land through the waterways, or people of the ocean, waterways and mountains. Abel suggested that the Chiefs rename their organization and call it Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (H. Watts, personal communication, 2006). The Chiefs officially renamed their tribal organization to Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in 1979. The general characterization for Nuu-chah-nulth is people who come from along the coast and mountains of Vancouver Island.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Background

In reviewing the literature on Nootka Sound, there is a vast amount of information on Captain James Cook and other 18th century European explorers. Based on the literature there continues to be a fascination with Captain Cook's explorations and his 'discoveries' of lands that belong to various indigenous peoples' around the world. I will touch on Captain Cook's landing in the Land of Maquinna. My interest is primarily on Mowachaht people, and their history and culture. This literature review encompasses published and unpublished documents and material on the Mowachaht culture, social organization, history, and ownership of the Mowachaht territory in Nootka Sound. This literature focuses on the works of Drucker (1951), Clayton (2000), Marshall, (1992), and Mozino (1991) and Hoover (2000) largely because the authors focus on the Mowachaht people and the traditional territories of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes.

Prior to the arrival of Juan Perez and James Cook, the Mowachaht people lived at Yuquot during the summer months and other village sites Nootka Sound in the winter months. Captain James Cook named the Mowachaht Nootkans in 1778. There are variations in the story of how the name "Nootka" came about. "Cook does not seem to have known that the west coast Indians formed a nation, and he probably misnamed the people 'Nootka' (Sproat, 1987, p. 10). Sproat (1987) further suggests that the "Natives, imagining he referred to the mountains which appeared on every side, would answer according to their habit of frequent repetition, '*Noochee, Noochee*' which is the word for mountain" (p. 10). There is another interpretation closer to a Mowachaht version about the name Nootka "A possible explanation is that Cook asked for the inlet's name but the

natives, thinking he wanted to know if it continued around the island, answered “notka” meaning to circle about” (Arima, 1983, p. v). In Mowachaht, *nuu'tka shilth* means ‘to go around’ (B. Howard, personal communication, June 17, 2007) and in this case to go around the point to enter the cove of Yuquot.

European explorers in the 18th century observed the sense of Mowachaht ownership of land and resources (Clayton, 2000, p. 34). In the *Aboriginal Title Paper* it suggests that the title of the Mowachaht chiefs to their territories was recognized and described by explorers and fur traders during the period of contact and before the assertion of British sovereignty in 1846 (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005). The “Mowachaht ownership of land, water and resources within their territory was a common observation by European explorers and European and American traders” (Traditions Consulting Services Inc., 2005, p. 6). For the Mowachaht, it is a blessing that there is plenty of written material on anthropological, social, and political aspects of the Mowachaht.

In Clayton (2000) and Mozino (1991) there are detailed written accounts by early explorers about the Mowachaht Chiefs and their ownership of territories and resources and the relationship they have with their people. First Nations often take issue with the notion that Aboriginal history and Euro-western writers write culture and that the authors do not properly recognize First Nation participants for their contribution in the studies. In Hoover (2000), Inglis, Haggerty & Neary state:

Public knowledge of the history of First Nations generally comes from writings by individuals who are not of First Nations ancestry and who typically view First Nations communities and their histories from an “outside” perspective. These histories are written in words that reflect the values and principles of the non-Aboriginal society, and are perceived by many First Nations people as foreign, at best interesting, or simply wrong. (p. 7)

The above statement reflects the sentiments of many First Nation students, leaders, and elders. For instance, I did not want to read the about the Mowachaht or Nootka Sound from a western perspective and took issue with the majority of writings based on Euro-western viewpoints. Out of frustration, I sought the advice of someone I trusted, my thesis supervisor Dr. White, who happened to know my great-grandparents. He suggested that I start with Mozino (1991) and Drucker (1951). The readings led me to reading Clayton (2000), Fisher (1992), and Marshall (1992). I developed a genuine interest and I learned not to be a reactive reader and patiently conducted the research with different lenses. This approach proved useful for the merging of two different worldviews on the Mowachaht people and the Land of Maquinna in Nootka Sound.

Mowachaht Tribe and European Contact

Yuquot “an historic meeting place for Old and New World cultures remains a stunning West Coast destination today” (Jackson, 2004, p. 1). In 1778, Nootka Sound was the first place for trading activity in British Columbia between Europeans and the First Nations (Fisher, 1992, p. 2). The ancient village of Yuquot and the Mowachaht ancestors is an interesting story about Aboriginal and European contact. For Euro-westerners, Yuquot represented a land of opportunity and for the Mowachaht Tribe contact with the “old world” represents the breakdown in the Mowachaht political socio-economic structure and has led to ongoing land claim issues.

Spanish pilot Don Juan Perez sighted Nootka Sound in 1774 (Mozino, 1991) and British “explorer James Cook visited Nootka Sound in 1778” (Clayton, 2000, p. xi).

There was plenty of European activity in the area with Europeans and Americans:

seeking the prized and valuable sea otter pelt for trade in Asia. The trade began with James Cook in 1778, after he anchored his ship in Nootka Sound at

Resolution Cove on Blight Island near Friendly Cove, for a month. (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 10)

According to Drucker (1951), Perez caused “little pain or strain” (p. 10) on the Mowachaht and he believes that contact was minimal. This notion is supported by Fisher (1992) who writes “Indians had considerable control over both the trade and the power relationship between themselves and the European; they experienced little cultural disruption during the period of the maritime fur trade” (p. 17). Given the negative impacts on the Mowachaht and Muchalaht history and culture since the time of Euro-western contact, I do not agree with Drucker and Fisher on this notion. During their stay at Yuquot, the Spanish set up what they thought were permanent settlements and when the Spanish left Nootka Sound “the Indians tore down the buildings, rebuilt their own summer houses, and Friendly Cove became Yuquot again” (Fisher, 1992, p. 23). The Mowachaht chiefs monopolized the maritime fur trade activities and maintained control in Nootka Sound. Fisher (1992) notes “Whenever strangers were allowed to trade with the ships, the transactions were managed by the people of Yuquot and in such a way as to increase their own prices while lowering the value of the English commodities” (p. 11). The English and Spanish fur trade in Nootka Sound eventually led to the so-called Nootka crisis from 1789 to 1794. The “Nootka Convention granted Britain and Spain the right to navigate, trade, and settlement on the Northwest coast, which ended the Spanish claim in Nootka Sound” (Clayton, 2000, p. 173).

During the fur trade era between the 1770s and 1840s, Spain, England, and France were in trade and commerce with Chief Maquinna. According to Clayton (2000) there were three sets of forces in Nuuchah-nulth territory: “the West’s scientific exploration of the world in the Age of Enlightenment, capitalist practices of exchange and the

geopolitics of nation-state rivalry” (p. xi). Explorer “James Cook visited Nootka Sound in 1778, George Vancouver mapped Vancouver Island for the British in 1792,” (Clayton, 2000, p. xi). European contact had an impact on Mowachaht culture, socio-economic, and political landscape. The Land of Maquinna landscape and the Mowachaht way of life changed. Vancouver Island is a product of the west through Euro-westerners colonization the island (Clayton, 2000). When British Columbia joined confederation in 1871, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht experienced dramatic changes when miniscule parts of their territories were reverted to Indian Reserves, today the Mowachaht and Muchalaht continue to address outstanding land issues.

Drucker (1951) offers an in-depth study and invaluable account of the Mowachaht people and history. His work has contributed substantially to the historical background of Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. Clayton (2000) provides an interesting and a detailed account of the European arrival on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and contact with the Nuuchahnulth tribes. Marshall (1992) did extensive archeological work in Nootka Sound. The Marshall report (1992) gives an excellent overview on Mowachaht and Muchalaht archaeological sites that depicts “changes in native political organization in Nootka Sound” (p. 1). Marshall’s (1992) report gives excellent and detailed information on the cultural significance of land and water use by the First Nations. With respect to the rich information on Nootka Sound, Marshall (1992) notes “early historic sources are preserved because Nootka Sound was the focus of so many international activities and events during the late eighteenth century.” (p. 2). The First Nation has conducted in-depth research on heritage sites. In the Mowachaht cultural heritage assessment, 131 cultural heritage sites are identified (Savey, Johnson, Neary & Young, 2002, p. 49). There is

limited information on the Muchalaht heritage assessment sites. A report for the First Nation states that:

The archeological investigations evidence in the Study Area reveal only scant physical evidence of Muchalaht history, occupation, and use of the region. The oral histories have been diminished by the effects of depopulation, Residential Schools, missionary activity, imposition of an alien system of jurisdiction and governance, and a variety of other factors. (Traditions Consulting Services, Inc., 2004, p. 71)

In the Cultural Heritage Assessment report for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht Nations report, the authors reported that several anthropologists and researchers conducted extensive research in Nootka Sound gathering information. Aside from Drucker (1951), Mozino (1991), and Marshall (1992), some of the names mentioned were George Hunt, who conducted research in 1904 and 1905 for Franz Boas. Photographer Edward Curtis recorded history of the First Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1915. John Mills conducted ethnographical research. In 1957 August Murphy, a Mowachaht elder provided a brief but rich description of the Mowachaht lifestyle (Savey, Johnson, Neary, & Young, 2002).

Aboriginal Cultural Tourism

The province of British Columbia is stunning in landscape with a diversity of people and culture. The Aboriginal cultural traditions are diverse, strong, and vibrant. There is an active provincial tourism organization called Aboriginal Tourism BC with several First Nation members from around the province. First Nations in BC are developing more of an interest in mainstream tourism for employment opportunities and for revenue generation in their respective communities. Globally, tourism is one of the largest growing industries. Canada is one of the most appealing tourism destinations with tourists spending \$50 billion (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006). Tourism is now the world's

largest industry, the environment is taking center stage in tourism development” (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006, p. 462). In British Columbia, tourism is becoming a powerful economic factor. BC First Nations believe it is an opportune time to become actively involved in tourism, particularly with the upcoming 2010 Winter Olympics. According to a national study, Aboriginal tourism is “one of the hottest international tourism trends” (Aboriginal Tourism Canada, 2003, p. 11) around the world. In the province of British Columbia, Aboriginal cultures are becoming a significant feature in global tourism. The diversity in the Aboriginal community “has provided BC with an opportunity to capitalize on growing worldwide demand for cultural tourism, nature tourism, educational tourism, and responsible tourism” (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p. 18). The National Aboriginal Tourism reports “There is a tremendous untapped potential for the cultural and outdoor experiences Canada’s Aboriginal communities can offer” (Aboriginal Tourism Canada, 2003, p. 1). The Aboriginal Tourism BC summary blueprint strategy reports “Several travel market studies undertaken in the past few years suggest the potentially strong interest that exists for Aboriginal tourism opportunities in Canada” (p. 1). Aboriginal leader David Porter of the BC First Nations Summit notes that 27% of the tourism industry has an interest in cultural exchange with Indigenous peoples (D. Porter, personal communication, June 5, 2005). Aboriginal Tourism BC documented two-thirds (63%) of Aboriginal-interested cultural tourists tend to be well-educated North American and European visitors who have an interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism.

There are challenges for First Nations in mainstream tourism along with constraints and limitations in the tourism industry. This is the case for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes. Funding issues and the lack of skills marketing and promoting the

tourism products in the tourism industry limits the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation. The market trend is leaning towards interest in interest in Aboriginal tourism products and cultural experiences (Aboriginal Tourism Canada, 2003, p. 149). On tourism constraints in the Aboriginal community, the report indicates that three are major issues in market-ready products. There are issues around “market awareness, business skills, product development and marketing expertise to successfully compete in the marketplace” (Aboriginal Tourism Canada, 2003, p. 149). With the growing tourism market demand for authentic cultural experiences, it is thus crucial for First Nations to set up clear standards for achieving market ready Aboriginal tourism product status.

It is imperative for First Nations to organize and set out clear plans for participation mainstream tourism market in BC. The “supporting agencies will be better prepared to coordinate and distribute the resources available for Aboriginal cultural tourism in a more effective fashion, thereby supporting and strengthening all of BC and Canada’s tourism industry” (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p .x). Goeldner and Ritchie (2006) point out that tourism business “require knowledgeable business managers” (p.75) for visitor activities such as adventure, culture, sports and recreation, and history, but there are few First Nations involved in the mainstream tourism industry. There is a need for capacity building in First Nation communities, particularly at the management level. The Federal Government states that there is a “need to better understand the relationship between culture/heritage and tourism to research and develop the necessary tools that would strengthen the relationship between the Aboriginal culture and heritage sectors and other tourism stakeholders” (Aboriginal Tourism Canada, 2003. p. 1). According to Heritage Canada (n.d.), there is little information on Aboriginal tourism in Canada; the

primary focus of aboriginal culture tourism worldwide is on New Zealand and Australia.

With growing interest in aboriginal tourism, First Nations in BC are concerned about the protection of Aboriginal culture, intellectual property rights, and indigenous knowledge. Presently there are no formal structures or processes in place for the protection Aboriginal culture and intellectual property. The First Nation Summit Task Group is in the process of negotiating protocol mechanisms and guidelines with the Provincial Government on the above issues. With the high volume of visitors and tourists in British Columbia, it is essential to have a mechanism in place to avoid exploitation of artifacts and aboriginal culture. Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation is a member of the First Nations Summit and Aboriginal Tourism BC. Chief Michael Maquinna is interested in the diversification of economy in Nootka Sound and he would like to see sustainable tourism practiced in Nootka Sound (M. Maquinna, personal communication, November 19, 2005).

Based on the information the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation have the potential to create a vibrant and significant cultural tourism in Nootka Sound (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p. 46). The First Nation intends to provide authentic cultural experience and aim to help the visitor best understand the local history and culture. For example, there are 177 archeological sites in Nootka Sound, including old villages and habitation sites, fish traps and fish weirs, burial sites, rock paintings, modifier trees, and resources areas. Weavers extract cedar bark from the forests that provides material for weaving hats, capes, ornaments, and canoe making. Rock cairns, trails, and European sites are also interesting sites (Marshall, 1992 p. 15). One major tourism feature that the *Nis'maas* Centre will display is a replica of the Whalers Shrine.

Goeldner and Ritchie (2006) emphasize that tourism requires a good process that includes “planning, development, promotion, and catalyst organizations” (p.19). An aspect the First Nation needs to consider is the development of a Nootka Sound tourism policy to “ensure that visitors are hosted in a way that maximizes the benefits to stakeholder while minimizing the negative effects, cost, and impacts associated with ensuring the success of the destination” (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006, p. 405).

Chapter Four: Methodology

Research Design and Rationale

The literature review and collected data provided the framework for the paper. A qualitative approach was best suited for this study. The research was context specific with a focus on Mowachaht, the Nis'maas Centre, the Heritage Project, and cultural tourism in Nootka Sound. Simultaneous data collection and data analysis shaped both the data collection and the emerging analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Interviews took place in a relaxed environment where the participants expressed their views openly about the Nis'maas Centre. The participants were knowledgeable about Mowachaht history and culture, the Land of Maquinna Society, and the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre. The interviews included First Nation members living at Tsaxana, Vancouver, and Seattle.

This research focused on examining and identifying the Mowachaht and Muchalaht protocols for the building an interpretive centre at Yuquot. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) "techniques and analyzing data" (p.3) procedures were applied to determine the level of participation in the process. After getting a sense of the story behind the Nis'maas Centre, I focused on emerging themes derived from the data. The discovery that there were several underlying themes led me to go back to the literature review. The intent here was to discover insight to enhance my understanding on the emerging themes and theories. I had to practice caution every step of the way and constantly reflect on my assumptions and biases to avoid any kind of impingement.

Data Collection

I used a semi-structured approach using nine open-ended questions (found in

Appendix B). For the participant from Seattle I used a questionnaire, conducted through email and followed up by telephone using Yow's (1994) interview guideline. The data gathered came from the literature review, meetings, interviews, and telephone and email conversations. The interviews provided an opportunity for participants to present their perspectives and ideas on the Nis'maas Centre (Yow, pp. 136-137). Instead of tape recording the interviews, I took extensive notes and wrote memos on the interviews and the meetings. Preparation of memos and comparative analysis were essential for this process. Cross-referencing the material from the participants with research and literature information strengthened consistency and credibility. I kept a paper trail of notes of meetings, telephone conversations, emails, and interviews. This strengthened validity and reliability and addressed conformability issues. In the triangulation process, I used cross-reference notes, memos, interviews, focus groups, and the literature review.

Data Analysis

During the data collection on the Nis'maas Centre and Mowachaht and Muchalaht tourism and the Heritage project from the participants and the Land of Maquinna Society meetings and Council meetings I worked concurrently in the process of micro analyzing. I carefully weeded through words, phrases, sentences, memos, and extensive notes from interviews for information and meaning. Triangulation strengthened the research study through combining methods to determine how the social process for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation included the community in protocols and processes (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2004). During the data collection process, I conducted a comparative analysis to make meaning of the data, particularly the emerging data from the literature review process. For data analysis, I implemented Strauss's procedure in

open coding where concepts are “identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in the data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 101). Throughout the process, I took notes and wrote memos on central concepts and relationships discovered in the research. It was crucial to reread material from notes and memos from the meetings and interviews for thoughts, ideas, and meanings. Axial coding was an essential part of the process, which entailed “the process of relating categories to their subcategories” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 123) along with elective coding. This is important for integrating and refining theory (Strauss & Corbin). Berg (2004) suggests four basic guidelines: 1) Ask a specific set of questions, 2) Analyze data minutely, 3) Write theoretical notes, and, 4) Do not assume the analytic relevance of variables.

In a content analysis methodology, coding is significant for labeling categories and the development of labels and themes for meaningful patterns it are necessary to “carefully read the document line by line, and word by word to determine the concepts and categories that fit the data” (Berg, 2004, p. 281). Following the interviews, a preliminary analysis process took place with the open coding of interview data. The preliminary interviews influenced the process and were useful for identifying emerging theories. Open and selective coding of the focus group data advanced the analysis toward the identification of emerging themes. It was important during the process to look for core themes, to integrate core themes in the categorizing and thematic analysis, and to explain the relationship among these codes.

Ethical Standard

The study adhered to Royal Roads University Ethical Standards (Royal Roads University, 2000). I advised the participants about the research project at an early stage. I

also advised the interviewees that they could withdraw at any time during interview without prejudice consent.

Chapter Five: Interviews

Interviews with Mowachaht and Muchalaht Tribe Members

I interviewed people from the community and interviewed people who live away from home. Due to budget restraints, I was unable to travel to Campbell River, Port Alberni, or Victoria for interviews and I did not have the budget to travel back and forth to Gold River. The following includes a summary of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht members I interviewed: Sheila Savey my cousin; my grand aunt Violet Johnson; my distant cousins Jack Johnson Sr., and Wayne Lord; my eldest daughter Celeste Howard who lives in Seattle, and my youngest daughter Chéleah Howard-Barnes who lives in Vancouver. For the most part the participants in the interviews and various meetings are aware of protocol that the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation follow in cultural or land and resource related activities. The members were also aware that the First Nation establishes processes for the different projects but could not specifically describe the process for the Nis`maas Centre, Heritage project. Generally, the participants were excited about the First Nation initiatives and look forward to going to grand openings.

Sheila Savey

Sheila Savey is of Mowachaht and Muchalaht descent and a daughter of Chief Max Savey, who holds the third seat of the Mowachaht tribe. She is a researcher, curator, and GIS technician and worked with Traditions Consultants and Nootka Forestry on several research projects. Sheila worked with Margarita James in 2001 in seeking funds for the development of an interpretive centre. She helped set up Land of Maquinna Society. Sheila is an active member Land of Maquinna Society. Sheila is currently the coordinator for the Heritage project. She believes that the project is important because

this is where much of the discussion takes place on culture and various projects. The Nis'maas Centre and other tourism and research projects are high on her priority list, and she is really anxious and excited about seeing the projects up and running. Sheila believes that:

1. The Nis'maas Centre project will create many opportunities culturally and economically, particularly through the cultural presentations local tourism initiatives.
2. The Nis'maas Centre is a 'learning process' because the people in the community are learning about what is required to operate a full scale interpretive centre. For example, the elders and leaders through the Heritage project are beginning to realize how important capacity building is in preparing for the cultural, research and tourism projects.
3. It is important for the community leaders to encourage the young people to go for further education and training in preparation for the building of the interpretive centre, the resource centre and the tourism projects. These projects are intended to create cultural and employment opportunities.

Violet Johnson

Violet Johnson is a Muchalaht elder and has Mowachaht roots. Her nephew Norman George is the principal Chief of the Muchalaht Tribe. Her family has a House and property in the Mowachaht Confederacy. Violet believes that:

1. The Chief and Council need to ensure that there is wheel chair access from the wharf to the facility centre at Yuquot. The leaders have to remember to keep the elders in mind in anything that they do for the community, especially when it comes to land and cultural activities.

2. Stressed it is important for the elders and leaders to focus on developing activities for the youth. She emphasized the importance of passing Mowachaht and Muchalaht history, culture, and knowledge on to the youth. Violet believes that this is possible through any project related to culture, recreation and education.

3. Tourists tend to have an interest in the church and historic sites at Yuquot. She believes that it will be important to have information and books about the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people, history and culture at the Nis'maas gallery.

4. Believes culture helps to strengthen the people and the community. She noted that the tribes need a museum for artefacts.

5. That language has to be a priority only a few people speak the native language and a need to have language projects and activities for the community.

Jack Johnson Sr.

Jack Johnson is Muchalaht and Hesquiaht and is a member of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation. Jack was a logger and worked at the Gold River boom yard for several years. He is on the Land of Maquinna Society, is active with the elders committee, and is an elder involved with the Nis'maas Centre project. Jack believes that:

1. That isolation and transportation are the biggest challenges for the construction of the Nis'maas Centre and added that although it will be expensive the First Nation needs to go ahead with so that it will help keep the culture alive.

2. Jack believes that the Mowachaht and Muchalaht community has to come together and work together for the Nis'maas Centre and Heritage project to work.

3. The Nis'maas Centre and related projects will help the culture to become stronger and this will help bring the people together and share the culture with the tourists

and visitors who come to Yuquot.

4. The projects will be good for job opportunities. He believes that the people need to encourage the young people to go out and get training and education. In closing, he stated that need a language projects is needed.

Wayne Lord

Wayne Lord is of both Mowachaht and Muchalaht ancestry and comes from the Dick family. Historically, the Dick family were Mowachaht historians and warriors.

Wayne is a member of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation, and is the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation Housing Coordinator. He is actively involved in the community and sits on the Housing, Education, Governance, and Yuquot events committees. Wayne believes:

1. The process for the projects are community based and community driven and is led by the Mowachaht and Muchalaht leaders and elders.

2. Aspects of construction processes are in still in progress and that the consultation protocols have been in place from the outset.

3. The project challenges are isolation and infrastructure factors. Transportation and high costs of construction and labour are project constraints. The project cannot be too large to handle otherwise maintenance and operation will be a problem.

3. There is a strong need for capacity building and training people for the Nis'maas Centre, tourism initiatives and the resource centre project.

4. In the development of the Nis'maas Centre and tourism projects, it is important to take steps rather than a build and huge project from the outset and mentions that Nis'maas Centre has to blend in with the nature and the environment. Wayne likes the

idea of the Nis'maas Centre and how much potential it has for enriching culture and tying in with the tourism opportunities in Nootka Sound.

5. The First Nation have started repatriating artefacts and written material. There is an opportunity for the First Nation to offer a variety of activities such as cross cultural projects, language projects, ceremonies and potlatches, a chance to relearn identity.

Celeste April Howard

Celeste is of Mowachaht and Opetchesaht ancestry and a member of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation and has Master's degree in Applied Communications from Royal Roads University. She works at Triumph Expo and Events and lives in the Seattle area with her family. Celeste is aware of the First Nation projects and hopes the First Nation will establish a newsletter. She also believes that funding, safety issues around protection, and preservation of artifacts challenges for First Nation. Celeste believes that:

1. Believes the Nis'maas Centre will have a positive influence on the community and the centre will be a pleasant reminder that Mowachaht culture is alive and vibrant. She envisions the Nis'maas Centre will be a beautiful facility, a warm place where the one the First Nation can welcome visitors with dignity.

2. Thinks that the Nis'maas Centre projects is a positive step for cultural activities and economic development growth and will certainly create new employment for community.

3. The First Nation will have an opportunity to hold workshops on the culture and history of the not only for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people but for visitors as well. For example, it would be a wonderful place to offer art classes to students for them to

learn the art and culture of Mowachaht ancestors' and believes that it would be a good educational centre for both the Mowachaht and the visitors.

4. The Nis'maas Centre should be a place of honor and a facility that Mowachaht and Muchalaht should appreciate. The Nis'maas Centre will bring a sense of pride to and prove that we are capable of preserving our art, artifacts, and history.

5. The Nis'maas project will show other communities and institutions what First Nations are capable of doing so that they too can build their own centers to house, display their artifacts, and share their culture.

Chéleah Howard-Barnes

Chéleah Howard-Barnes is of Mowachaht and Tsawutainek (Kingcome Inlet) ancestry of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation. She graduated from King George Secondary High School in Vancouver in June 2007. Chéleah believes that:

1. The challenge for the First Nation in developing the Nis'maas Centre will be making sure it stays true to the Mowachaht culture, meaning to keep culture and language a high priority rather than focusing only on tourism attractions.

2. With respect to the complexity of history and culture, it will be a challenge to make sure the historical and cultural material easy to understand and appreciate.

3. It is important for the planners to build in storytelling and to share Mowachaht and Muchalaht history as well as sharing Mowachaht myths and legends.

4. The Nis'maas Centre will be a place where the visitor can observe the art and scenery and enjoy the activities at their own pace.

5. The Centre will not only strengthen the culture but will also strengthen the community. The culture will not fade away because Nis'maas Centre will be a place for

the elders and leaders to teach the young about Mowachaht history and culture. The Nis'maas Centre will be a constant reminder to the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people of who they are and where they come from. The culture will be alive and not hidden or ignored and will carry on. The culture and activities will help the youth and give them a chance to stay away from bad influences.

The Meaning of the Nis'maas Centre to the Community Members

The participants believe that the Nis'maas Centre will have a positive influence on the community. The information collected primarily comes from interviews, Land of Maquinna Society meetings and band council meetings. Participants indicated that the Nis'maas Centre would reflect that Mowachaht culture is alive and vibrant. Community members envision a beautiful building set in a natural environment. Informants and participants at the Land of Maquinna Society hope that the Nis'maas Centre will be open year round 1) for the tourists and 2) for the community. They indicated that during the winter months cultural and educational workshops could take place. Over 20 people indicated a need for a healing centre at Yuquot and suggested that the First Nation use the facility for his purpose in the tourism off-season. The elders and community members who have participated view the interpretive centre as a positive step for economic development: they are excited and hope that the projects will bring home some of the people who live away from home. Many of the community members hope that the First Nation will offer workshops and art classes to the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation members as well as to visitors who are interested in the region. I admit that the interview section does not produce as much data as I would have like to receive, I believe that the information from this paper will help the planners as the teams proceed with the

various First Nation initiatives. During the preparation of this paper, the projects were on hold. Now that the First Nation has a full time Band Administrator, the projects, I believe will begin to move ahead. The new Administrator is interested in revisiting the Interpretive Centre Plan and the Marina Development Plan and is anxious to start working with the project teams (S. Savey, personal communication, Thursday, September 13, 2007). The First Nation leaders are keen on moving ahead with the projects, particularly the Marina Development Plan which is associated with the tourism plans for Nootka Sound. He also indicated that the Gold River Village Council is interested in working with the Mowachaht and Muchalaht community (Mel Orecklin, personal communication, September 14, 2007).

Challenges and Constraints of Tourism in Nootka Sound and Nis'maas Centre

The following issues mentioned during the interviews and various meetings included the following. Nearly all the participants interviewed identified funding as the main obstacle for getting the Nis'maas Centre project started. The younger people brought up safety issues around the protection and preservation of artefacts. Other challenges included the lack of sanitary facilities, limited accommodation, and the lack of a store for food and fuel supplies. Constraints also include remoteness and distance from the hospital and access and transportation and services are constraints. Other challenges include tourism promoting and marketing, and governmental policy and regulation. Community members are also concerned about environmental sensitivity and degradation. Participants did mention capacity building and training for the resource centre, tourism projects and the future interpretive centre in any detail. The leaders are confident that the First Nation will overcome the challenges of cost and dealing with the

issues of constructing a major facility in a remote area. The First Nations anticipate that the interpretive centre will enhance tourism in Nootka Sound by creating a unique cultural experience for the visitor and through setting up various interpretive activities at the Nis'maas Centre. Designs for interpretive displays of art and photographs are in place and ready for final approval from the First Nation membership.

Analysis of Findings

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes clearly have protocols and processes in place, which tribal members and leaders follow when dealing with land and cultural matters. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht elders played a significant role in the development of the Nis'maas Centre from the outset and they continue to take the lead role in all aspects of cultural, heritage and tourism projects. The elders addressed the need for training for the younger people tourism. They noted that it is difficult to for the young people to leave the community for job opportunities or education. They are hoping that the teams will find means and ways of arranging training in the community.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht community are very interested in the Nis'maas Centre project. The interview participants remain optimistic that the cultural and tourism projects will create economic opportunities and enhance Mowachaht and Muchalaht culture; however, they recognize that there are and will be obstacles and challenges that the First Nation will face during the preparation and the construction of Nis'maas Centre. Despite the concerns about possible constraints, the participants expressed enthusiasm and hope and are looking forward to the building of the Nis'maas Centre.

Currently the First Nation does not have a community newsletter. Based on information from meetings and interviews; there is a need for a newsletter for the

membership. The only current mode of communication is through word of mouth from family members and relatives who live in the community, hence any detailed information about the projects mentioned in this paper is not widely known in the community. I found that the level of awareness was much higher in the families who have elders active in the Land of Maquinna Society. A regular paper would keep members in the community and those who live away from home updated on the Nis'maas project, Heritage project and tourism activities.

The joint University of BC and Mowachaht/Muchalaht language workshop in the last week of June 2007 at Gold River was successful. Elder Barney Howard expressed his feelings that the workshop was very interesting and a whole lot of fun with a great amount of laughter (Barney Howard, personal communication, June 29, 2007). In fact, he enjoyed it so much that he started teaching his granddaughter Chéleah the night he arrived home from Tsaxana, Gold River on June 29th. Chéleah has joined the project on her own with her grandfather and is learning how to speak and write the Mowachaht language. This project is an important one because there is an opportunity here to build a strong records management system and a resources centre which will not only provide services to the community but will be of services for the future interpretive centre and tourism projects.

Significance/Results/Recommendations

The most significant aspect of this paper is that it will benefit the Mowachaht Tribe because the paper is about the Mowachaht people and written from a Mowachaht perspective. A key finding was the keen interest of the elders for the revival and preservation of Mowachaht language. The First Nation leaders and elders are excited

about the opportunity to build a first class interpretive centre and the Land of Maquinna has the potential for becoming an excellent tourism destination. Smith sums up what I hope to achieve in this research project: “it is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (1999, p. 39). The elders of the First Nation believe that the Nis’maas Centre and the development of cultural tourism projects will not only contribute to the enhancement of Mowachaht culture and language but will contribute to the local economy. The most significant aspect is that First Nations intend to reclaim their history and culture and to share the history of Nootka Sound from both an Aboriginal and European perspective. Reclamation of lands, property and archival material will be a daunting task; however, I believe that it is essential for First Nations to reclaim their own cultures and histories. It is also imperative for Aboriginal scholars to break ground in building academic literature on First Nation history. As for the significant results of the findings, the participants were enthusiastic about the development of a facility at Yuquot for interpretive and cultural activities. The interview participants highlighted culture, economic opportunities, teaching the youth about Mowachaht culture, and language. Participants and members of the community through the Land of Maquinna Society identified the following key messages as social, cultural, and economic aspects of the Mowachaht; the importance of the ocean and whaling in Nootka Sound; and the past, present, and future. Control over the Nis’maas Centre as well as Aboriginal tourism in Nootka Sound is an important concern for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation leaders. A United Nation document states:

The head of the United Nations agency that protects ownership of intellectual property today welcomed the creation of a fund to boost the involvement of

indigenous and other local communities in efforts to protect their cultural knowledge and arts from misuse in the world market. (United Nations, 2006, p. 1)

First Nations and Aboriginal groups have the potential to provide “A vibrant and sustainable Aboriginal cultural industry that contributes to Aboriginal community health and well-being, respects First Nations languages and culture, and ensures that the originators of the culture enjoy the benefits from Aboriginal tourism” (Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2005, p. 46). There is a need for the First Nation to conduct an inventory of employment needs as they embark upon the interpretive, heritage and tourism projects.

The result of the paper is that Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation clearly has protocols in place for the interpretive centre, heritage and tourism projects. Nootka Sound generally has great potential for the First Nation to develop a first class centre and cultural tourism in Nootka Sound. For the First Nation it helps considerably that Yuquot has national and aboriginal heritage site status. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation is at an advantage because the region is rich with numerous archeological sites in Nootka Sound and has a rich reservoir of material in museums and various institutions. The First Nation has the power of both the Mowachaht and Muchalaht stories to use as the link to the past, present and future within the interpretive centre. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people have the core knowledge of their rich culture and history in Nootka Sound, with large volumes of supporting documents from museums and other institutions. The Mowachaht also have their culture to help create a unique experience for the tourist/visitor at the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre. There is one key aspect that I did not delve into and that is the existing social condition of the community. Unfortunately, the social ills are on the rise, particularly among the young people. If the social issues are not addressed and training and capacity building are not dealt with, it will be very difficult

move the projects along.

The following are recommendations for the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation's consideration:

1. Conduct further research on Aboriginal interpretive and cultural centres.
2. Conduct analysis on the tourism and outdoor recreation services.
3. Market and promote the results of the tourism analysis.
4. Conduct further research on the services, planning, and marketing.
5. Develop a Nis'maas Centre newsletter.
6. Educate the youth about traditional and ecological knowledge.
7. Develop evaluation processes for the Nootka Sound projects.
8. Set up a Steering Committee or body to manage and oversee tourism projects.
9. Build in the community building in the cultural and tourism projects.

The above recommendations are for the First Nation. This paper focused on the protocol and processes of the First Nation. Further work is required on Aboriginal interpretive and cultural centres and Aboriginal or Cultural tourism in Nootka Sound.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The qualitative study Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation plans for cultural and tourism development in Nootka Sound with a narrative focus on the Mowachaht people. The literature review concentrates on the historical, archeological, and social aspects of the Mowachaht people in Nootka Sound. It contains a limited review of Aboriginal tourism in BC. It lacks material on interpretive centres. I had the opportunity of being an observer and a participant. It was truly an experience to be on the inside as a community member and on the outside as an academic researcher because I understood the stories, the history, the culture and the aspirations of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. The paper turned out to be very personal because I experienced much of what the Mowachaht members experienced since we moved away from Yuquot in the mid 1960s. My personal story provides the background about what life was like living at Yuquot and in Nootka Sound in the late 1950s up to the mid 1960's. Given the long history of the First Nation's turmoil, I felt that it was important to provide introduce the social, political, cultural, and historical background of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes is in order for the reader to understand the struggles and aspirations of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people. It is interesting to see how we are coming to terms politically with colonialism, negative government, and resource and environmental impacts. The First Nation wants to use the proposed Nis'maas Centre, the Heritage project and cultural tourism for healing, cultural enhancement and revitalization of the Mowachaht language and economic purposes. I could not isolate the projects because the three projects mentioned intertwine and are a part of the process in the First Nations community building and economic aspirations. It is however disheartening that as leaders and elders we have not addressed the situation of

teenage drug and alcohol abuse and violence as a community and needs to be done in order to begin the training that is necessary for the various community projects.

The Nis'maas Centre, heritage project and tourism plans are spearheaded and run primarily by the elders through the Land of Maquinna Society. Upon completion of the project teams' work, the Land of Maquinna Society then presented it to the First Nation. In the case that the project needs further work, it goes back to the project team under the leadership and direction of the Society. The Mowachaht elders are the key players in the revitalization of culture and language within the community. For the leaders of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribe it is essential for the First Nation to take control of their history and culture and to prepare material for the interpretive centre that includes both an Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian perspective in order for the visitor/tourist to appreciate fully the history of Nootka Sound.

This thesis is a story about the Mowachaht tribe's experience and touches little on the experience of the Muchalaht tribe's history and culture because of lack of written material. Although the Muchalaht do not actively practice their culture, the Muchalaht tribe partakes in Mowachaht cultural activities. This paper turned out to be a circular account of the Mowachaht history, and the relocation issues and the how the First Nation dealing with their past. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people remain very connected to the land and environment. The paper touches on Mowachaht and Muchalaht people's relationship to the land in various sections of the paper. It was a challenging task to narrow down the scope of the experience of the Mowachaht people and it was necessary to consider the root causes of the tumultuous events such as the arduous social, cultural, political, and economic struggles. The journey of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people

was a stark one, particularly in the 1970s and 1980's and again in the early 1990s when they lived on the Ahaminaguus reserve next to the pulp mill at the beach in Gold River. Remarkably, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people have made tremendous progress in a relatively short time and are becoming more active in cultural, recreational, health and education activities. For example, there are more cultural activities, the community participates actively in the Regional games, and many of the members are attending health, education, and elders meetings and conferences. Unfortunately and sadly, the social situation remains on the grim side among the youth. One major issue that we as leaders and elders and junior elders of the community appear to be afraid to deal with is the issue of the high teenage drug and alcohol abuse and violence. These issues need addressing as a whole by the community. We need the young people to become an important part of the community building process and we need their involvement and we need to encourage them to seek further training and education.

As mentioned, the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation are working on three significant projects. The Nis'maas Centre will focus on cultural displays, gallery displays, and cultural tourism. The Heritage Partnership Project focuses on the development of a language program and repatriation of archival material and artifacts. The Aboriginal Cultural Tourism is still in the early stages. From the outset protocol, consultation, and consensus were important aspects in the planning of the cultural, heritage and tourism projects. When dealing with culture, land, and resources, the Mowachaht people are strict about following protocol with their hereditary chiefs. Without the knowledge or approval of the hereditary chiefs, projects related to land or resource matters generally do not move forward, particularly in the treaty negotiation process.

Authenticity is important in cultural tourism and the First Nation recognizes its importance, and is committed to providing authenticity in cultural interaction. Sharing Nootka Sound history is an important component in the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation planning and preparation for the interpretive centre and tourism projects. The Mowachaht leaders recognize that it is in a good position to develop high quality outdoor tourism activities with spin-offs from the Nis'maas centre at Yuquot.

With the growing interest in aboriginal tourism, First Nations are concerned about intellectual property rights, and indigenous knowledge as it relates to Aboriginal culture and traditional ecological knowledge. Although cultural tourism in Nootka Sound is in its infancy, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation have the potential to create a vibrant and significant sustainable tourism in Nootka Sound through cultural tourism initiatives and the Nis'maas Interpretive Centre. The interpretive centre will be a cultural and educational facility and will display Mowachaht cultural artifacts. It is intended that the centre will also present both an Aboriginal and European perspective on the history of Nootka Sound. There is a great emphasis on providing the visitor with an unforgettable experience: The Nis'maas Centre will be about connecting the past with the present and future of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people.

The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation is interested in sharing their stories, history, and culture through contemporary displays, exhibits, and educational material. The First Nation wants to share their culture, land and natural resources through various interpretive activities through the Nis'maas Centre. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht intent to provide information on First Nation protocols with respect to land, territory and tourism and resource activities. The First Nation is optimistic about the projects and

believes it will create economic opportunities and enhance cultural activities. Leaders, elders, and community members believe that the Nis'maas Centre and tourism projects will have a positive influence on the community and the region.

The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation leaders and elders are committed rebuilding the social, cultural, and economic aspects of their lives through the Nis'maas Centre and through other projects. For example, the elders hope that the Heritage project's language and cultural workshops will help encourage the young people and the people who are involved culturally to maintain their interests in strengthening Mowachaht culture and reviving the language. The First Nation has begun their language project with a team of people from the University of British Columbia. The team successively held a language workshop in June 2007 with a highly enthusiastic group of people under the leadership of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht elders.

With the initiation of the Heritage project, the tourism project team hopes to expedite the Nis'maas Centre project and tourism plans. Mowachaht leaders have pointed out to the project teams and to me as a researcher that it is important not to rush the community and that projects will evolve when the community is ready. The First Nations are still in the process of developing a strategic Aboriginal cultural tourism plan for Nootka Sound and the development of an interpretive facility at Yuquot. The leaders anticipate that the interpretive centre will enhance tourism in Nootka Sound by creating a unique cultural experience for the visitor and through setting up various interpretive activities at the Nis'maas Centre. Visitors will learn about Mowachaht people through the local people interpreting the culture, landscape and history of Nootka Sound.

The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation have the required protocol, processes,

and administrative procedures in place for the interpretive centre, heritage projects, and future tourism plans. The First Nation's objectives and goals are to enhance and protect the Mowachaht language and culture through the above projects. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht tribes are in the process of reclaiming their history and culture with the aim of developing material for the interpretive centre and presenting the information from both an Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian perspective. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation look forward to sharing their heritage, history, values, land, and stories with visitors and tourists from around the world.

Yuquot is an ideal setting for the Nis'maas Centre and Nootka Sound has the potential for an excellent tourism destination. The Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation recognizes that it will be a challenging task to reclaim their history and culture and equally challenging in repatriation of artifacts and taking ownership of research, intellectual property, and archival material. The objective of the Nis'maas Centre is to communicate both the Mowachaht and European history of Nootka Sound to community members and visitors. The First Nation is committed to building a healthier community and are working towards economic self-sufficiency through the various cultural and tourism. The First Nation has an opportunity to expand and develop an excellent tourism operation in Nootka Sound. I think that the Nis'maas Centre and the heritage and tourism projects will make a major contribution to not only the people of Nootka Sound but to larger society as well. The benefits of the Nis'maas Centre, the Heritage project, and cultural tourism will contribute significantly to the local Nootka Sound economy. As a Mowachaht and member of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation, I believe the Nis'maas Centre and tourism activities are worth pursuing.

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Appendix A: Interview Guidelines - Yow's Checklist

I. Positives

1. Indicated empathy when appropriate
2. Showed appreciation for narrator's help
3. Listened carefully
5. Explained reason for change in topic
6. Used two-sentence format when introducing line of questions
7. Probed when appropriate.
8. Used follow-up question when more information was needed
9. Asked a challenge question in a sensitive manner
10. Requested clarification when needed

II. Negatives

1. Interrupted the narrative
2. Kept repeating what the narrator had just said.
3. Inferred something the narrator had not said.
4. Failed to notice a topic the narrator indicated was important.
5. Made irrelevant, distracting comments
6. ignored narrator's feelings and failed to give empathetic response.
7. Failed to check the sound on the recorder
8. Let the narrator sidetrack the conversation with a long monologue on an irrelevant
9. Asked a leading question
10. Asked several questions at the same time (p. 79)

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. Do you identify yourself as Mowachaht or Muchalaht?
2. What is your occupation?
3. In your community, what activities are you involved in?
4. Are you involved with the Nis'maas Centre project?
5. What process is the First Nation using in building the facility at Yuquot?
6. What do you think the challenges are?
7. How do you envision the Nis'maas Centre?
8. What kind of activities do you see happening at the Nis'maas Centre?
9. What do you hope will come out of building the Nis'maas Centre?

Appendix C: Glossary

<i>Ha'hupah</i>	teachings
<i>Ha'wiih</i>	hereditary chiefs
<i>Ha'wilth</i>	hereditary chief
<i>Hahoulthee</i>	territory and rights
<i>Ha Shilth Sa</i>	interesting news
<i>Ishukish Tsawalk</i>	all is one/everything is interconnected
<i>Iisaak</i>	respect
<i>Ka'kawin</i>	whale
<i>Ku'ushisn</i>	raven
<i>Mowachaht</i>	people of the deer
<i>Muchalaht</i>	people of the river
<i>Naas</i>	earth
<i>Nucil</i>	potlatch
<i>Nis'maas</i>	deeply rooted, always there
<i>Nu'tka shilth</i>	to go around
<i>Nuu-chah-nulth</i>	people from along the coast
<i>Yahtzmahs</i>	walking trail