LEARNING MODELS IN THE UMEEK NARRATIVES:
IDENTIFYING AN EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK THROUGH
STORYWORK WITH FIRST NATIONS ELDERs

By

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Abstract

This study uses First Nations storywork to investigate indigenous learning. If cultural strategies were persistent and fundamental to the survival of a people, it would seem that understanding Nuu-chah-nulth learning orientations would provide emancipatory insight for First Nations learning in contemporary educational settings. Understanding what was and what is allows an envisioning of what could be. Therefore narratives about Umeek, the "community provider", the archetypal "go-getter", were read as a conceptual framework in which to identify learning orientations of Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations.

The investigation had three foci. First, a protocol for First Nations cultural work was formulated and elaborated. This protocol was used as an overarching framework for the gathering of the stories, the interview process and the narrative analysis. Second, ethnographic and oral versions of Umeek narratives were gathered. Third, these narratives were read Nuu-chah-nulth elders cultural beliefs about learning for past and present success in a Nuu-chah-nulth life career (i.e. providing/achieving). Narrative deconstruction and metaphorical mapping served to identify and describe aspects of learning salient in the teachings of Umeek narratives.

A full complex of learning archetypes emerged balancing innovation and conservation in an economy of change. Eight archetypal learning models were identified: the innovative transformational learner, the collaborative transformational learner, the directed lineage learner, the developmental learner, the cooperative learner, the resistant observational learner, the collaborative resistant learner, and the opportunistic observational learner. Themes which emerged central to Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations learning ideology and knowledge construction were: grandparents provided the
foundation of learning, *oosumch* (ritual bathing) provided motivational management, partnerships permitted collaboration, ancestor names provided orientation and sacred sites provided frames for experiences. *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning theory was articulated in a storywork framework that provided insight into *Nuu-chah-nulth* pedagogy: hence, it needs to be understood in the context of *Nuu-chah-nulth* education. First Nations educational theory and learning models that are operating in communities need to be understood in the context of current education. Western schooling may not satisfy *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning needs for transformation and strategic knowledge. Storywork is important in de-colonizing First Nations sensibilities in the process of self-determination in education, counseling, life career development, and healing.
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Dedication

I, ?i-?i-naa-tuu-k'iss, Ahousaht-achsup, offer this work with honor and respect as my cuu-chal, the dance to welcome the whales of the knowledge economy that have embraced the harpoon and now feast with the Nuu-chah-nulth People. This work is in recognition of the ancestor Umeek and the many incarnations of those who have made His name great.

Most particularly, this is dedicated to my Umeek, Eugene Richard Atleo, the long-suffering partner in my work, in dedication to his steadfastness and endurance over 35 years of partnership in producing children and hunting whales. This work is produced in hope for our children, Shawn and Nancy, Taras and Lorena, and their children, Tyson, Tara, Alexandria and Kwin, as well as their relatives and generations to come.

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I am grateful to a group of women, steeped in mythology, earthworks, and artistic innovation, who gifted me with their inspirational companionship on a transformational walking tour of official and personal sacred sites during a week in Paris at UNESCO: Maureen Korp (Sacred Art of the Earth), Adrienne Momí (Earth Goddesses of Eastern Europe), and Betsy Damon (Keepers of the Waters).

The many others who pachitl me with their gifts of support, friendship and resources over the years include the always gracious Nancy Turner; the ha?kum, Margaret Anderson; the ever traveling Jean Briggs; the linguist-advocate-editor Victor Golla and Ellen whose collages continue to delight me; the Sointula Rose, Susan; the tenacious John Dewhirst; the poet librarian John Berry and Corsican Midi Berry who is on the move once more. Thank you, Julia Gibson, Mary Haig-Brown and Alan Haig-Brown for keeping me balanced in my story about your stories. I am thankful for the many others the Creator placed in my life that provided solace and encouragement on the more solitary nights of my journey.

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Kleco Hychqa Dankeschön Thank you
The Tlingit story of the origins of basketry takes place after Raven has stolen the Sun and the Moon, so that the day and the night were already divided. He had set the tides in motion and the cycles of fish. In those days, there lived a beautiful woman in the cloud village that was desired by all who heard of her. Then Sun spied her and at the end of the day when he came to earth, he transformed into a man and took her for his wife. They lived together a long time in the Sky where they had many children who were like their Earth mother. As she watched her children, she became anxious about their future. She absent-mindedly picked some roots and began to plait them and they formed a basket. The Sun saw and respected her anxiety for their children. He enlarged the basket until it was large enough for the mother and her eight children who were then lowered to the Earth near Yakutat on the Alsek River in southeastern Alaska (Paul, cited in Samuel, 1987).

This thesis emphasizes the ancient origins and cosmic importance of First Nations storywork. First Nations storywork, like basketwork is a sacred work, the expression of the hands and hearts of people with which to care for their offspring with the blessings of their partners as they tie together the heavens and the earth.
Figure 1. Map of *Nuu-chah-nulth* First Nations on Vancouver Island, British Columbia.
Chapter I - Sorting the Stories in My Qa?uuc

Qa?uuc (pronounced Kaa-oots)\(^1\) is a large open weave Nuu-chah-nulth\(^2\) burden basket made of split cedar roots and withes (See Appendix A for glossary of Nuu-chah-nulth words and an orthography in Appendix B). As with other Northwest Coast First Nations, in the Nuu-chah-nulth traditional ecological system of knowledge, the cedar tree is considered the "tree of life" (Stewart, 1984). Humiis (red cedar) is a wholistic source of spiritual connection and identification with territory, housing, medicine, canoes, paddles, fishing and hunting implements, fabrics, containers such as boxes, baskets, and bowls, cordage, house posts and totem poles, and other life maintaining products. The cedar roots which form the warp\(^3\) of the qa?uuc (utility basket), draw their nourishment from the temperate rainforest along the windward side of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada (See Figure 1), that has been home of Nuu-chah-nulth for more than 4,300 years\(^4\). Withes, air roots, provide strength and flexibility to the weft of the qa?uuc (utility basket). The withes are branchlets or air roots with a cell structure that makes

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\(^1\) See Appendix A for Glossary of Nuu-chah-nulth words used in this study and Appendix B for commentary about the orthographic usage.

\(^2\) Nuu-chah-nulth (living along the mountains [of the West Coast of Vancouver Island]) is the name chosen in 1982 by the 14 aboriginal First Nations (Southern region: Ditidaht, Huu-ay-aht, Ucucklesaht, Hupa-casaht, Tseshah; Central Region: Toquaht, Ucluelet, Tla-o-qui-aht, Ahousaht, Hesquiaht; Northern Region: Mowachaht/ Muchlaht, Nuchatlaht, Ehattesaht, Ka:'yu:'K'yt'h/ Che:k'1tl'as7ets'h) that make up the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. This name was selected to correct the historical error of being labeled Nootka by Captain Cook based on the answer to his request for directions at Friendly Cove. They saw he was lost and told him, muuk-shilth "go around [the island]", and ergo, he called them Nootka.

\(^3\) Warp in basket weaving are the structural elements that run at right angles to each other, typically forming the inner frame of container. The weft is comprised of the structural elements that are twinned over the warp elements to fill in the structural frame.

them stronger than seasoned cedar wood and amazingly pliable when twisted (Stewart, 1984). Between the source and the qa?unc (utility basket) is the cultured person with the knowledge and skill to transform what is in the environment to sustain Nuu-chah-nulth life in its midst. A qa?unc (utility basket) is carried on the back supported by a tumpline over the forehead to balance the load. The distribution of the weight of the burden basket is thus structurally incorporated into the line of the body. This permits the load to be balanced as part of the alignment of the whole body. Incorporating the burden structurally onto the body through the mechanism of the qa?unc (utility basket) allows the accommodation of heavy burdens while permitting the hands to be free to engage in other activities. A qa?unc is a utility basket, a technology which extends the body.

In this study, I am using qa?unc (utility basket) as a tropic device to make salient action principles in a Nuu-chah-nulth field of agency or ma’mook. Ma’mook signifies the purposive action process of the creation of usefulness from the spiritual and material world. The qa?unc (utility basket) signals pragmatic activity involved in traditional ecological knowledge, social relationships and dynamics of Nuu-chah-nulth

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5 The twisted cedar withe was tested and found to have a tensile strength of almost 10,000 lbs. psi (Stewart, 1984: 161). Twisted cedar withe has been translated as "atlyu" or "atleo" or "atl-liu".

6 Trope or figures of speech (e.g., metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony) as they are embedded in fields of cultural meaning and practice (Strauss & Quinn, 1997).

7 According to George Shaw (1909) in “The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It” (p.15) "Ma’mook" is the most common word in use according to the data the linguist Eells collected in Puget Sound. It is the “one word denoting action” as a verb and noun with meanings such as: "to make", "to do", "to work", "labour", "exert", "exercise", "act", "action", "deed", "work", "enact", "appoint", "accomplish", "make", "manage", "operate"; "practice", "resolve", "serve", "use", "toil", "a job", "task", "achieve" (Shaw, 1909). Continuing to quote Eells, Shaw states that it is used generally as a causative verb i.e., ma’mook chako - "to make to come (bring)"; ma’mook liplip - "to make to boil"; ma’mook tumtum - "to think", "reason", "meditate", "reckon", "ponder", "review", "muse", "decide", "determine", "surmise", "plan", "account", "appraise", "elect", "be amazed", "estimate", "decide", "deduce"; etc. Ma’mook as a verb or noun is an important signal of action expected to result in utility.
culture nested in a system of traditional ecological knowledge in a Nuu-chah-nulth world view. The pragmatic activity in the expanded cultural field of post contact becomes the field in which learning is investigated. Therefore, my investigation of Nuu-chah-nulth learning begins with the self-determination of ma'mook and the orienting content of stories in which learning takes place from a Nuu-chah-nulth vantage point. 

Qa'uuc in this instance is not merely a utility basket but as an example of "strategic adaptation of body schema that we project onto our environment" (Turner & Fauconnier, 1998: 385) as a product of the creativity of learning. Beginning with an orientation to qa'uuc (utility basket) is a means to foreground Nuu-chah-nulth approaches to learning to permit the exploration of issues that affect Nuu-chah-nulth learning in non-Nuu-chah-nulth settings today.

While I am working with my Nuu-chah-nulth qa'uuc (utility basket), I nevertheless situate this study in a global indigenous project of de-colonization (with Smith, 1999: 142-161) in which the goal is to understand and emancipate through a process of deconstruction. This study is intent upon celebrating survival through storytelling and testimonies, by drawing on landscapes and tradition, as a means to remembering, connecting and revitalizing. This study is an intervention based on the re-reading of western vantage points by examining the representations of colonization, gender, and class. The study is a site where Nuu-chah-nulth voices can rise to help us protect, name, negotiate, re-discover, re-envision, reframe, restore, return, democratize, re-connect, and share by re-claiming a Nuu-chah-nulth perspective of learning.

**Purpose of this Ma'mook**

The first purpose of this study is to bring together Nuu-chah-nulth narratives from the ethnographic record, and confirm and/or amend and/or elaborate these texts with Nuu-chah-nulth Elders. Bringing together the narratives about the ancestor, Umeek in
one place and testing the ethnographic record through the analysis of the Elders and
cultural knowers is a critical first step in validating the stories and exploring them for
learning theory. The second purpose is to identify and explore models (or) iterations of
life career (including vocational) (re) orientations in these Umeek Narratives. I explored
the thesis that Umeek is a Nuu-chah-nulth conceptual framework in which resource
attributes are identifiable in the context of social expectations in a manner that constitutes
strategic learning. This indigenous conceptual framework has interpretive value for
Nuu-chah-nulth adults in that it is comprised of learning archetypes, models, or iterations
identifiable as strategies for achievement in the life career development of ancient and
contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth. Because these archetypes, models, or iterations have
adaptive, and survival value, they have explanatory power for Nuu-chah-nulth learning
theory, Nuu-chah-nulth education and Nuu-chah-nulth life career counseling.
Explanatory power is needed for Nuu-chah-nulth to reduce the ambivalence of the
colonial experience by a revitalization of a Nuu-chah-nulth perspective that may serve to
bring more balance into social and cultural life through bi-focal vision (Archibald, 1997)
that moves beyond orality and textuality into different ways of perceiving the world.

Consequently, in this chapter, I begin my project by presenting the vision of my
ma’mook by introducing the problem and purpose of my study, providing an overview
and situating myself in a reflective field of cultural meanings. The second chapter
prepares the ground through re-readings of historical and cross-cultural vantage points.
The third chapter explains the development of a methodological framework in which
several approaches are delineated with which to explore the historically and culturally
situated stories about Umeek. The fourth chapter introduces and presents the narratives.
The fifth chapter includes interviews with the Elders in which they comment on Nuu-
chah-nulth beliefs about learning relative to the stories. This chapter also contains an
analysis of the narratives. The final chapter presents a discussion of the findings, conclusions about how understanding First Nations learning models may be useful in achievement motivation, and recommendations intended to illustrate ways and means to incorporate the learning models of First Nations people into existing social, educational, health, and career programming.

**Background to the Problem**

The absence of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning theory in current educational literature is a problem for *Nuu-chah-nulth* educational participation and achievement. The problem of learning by aboriginal people in a formal education setting has historically been framed from a deficiency perspective based on formal school performance in a Euroheritage tradition. The Canadian school system has historically framed the misfit between First Nations students and schooling as a matter of inherent competencies. But the failure goes deeper than assessments of de-legitimation (Goddard, 1997), cognitive style, power relations, community control or lack thereof, or emic curriculum development which have typically been framed as a matter of competence. Cultural learning strategies can only be recognized as "styles" without substance when taken out of cultural contexts.

First Nations achievers speak of wrestling their learning from often hostile and alienating contexts, "word warriors", achieving despite the educational system (Huff, 1997). E. R. Atleo (1993) said that traditional education produced *Nuu-chah-nulth* people who functioned successfully in a changing world because they knew how to get what they needed through cultural means of learning. The problem is that such cultural orientations to means of learning are not systematically acknowledged or considered in the construction of First Nations education that begins with a Euroinstitutional perspective of the world.
"Getting" is a central metaphor in the hunting economy of societies such as Nuu-chah-nulth. This metaphor could then represent a central cultural orientation. As the provider, Umeek, is an archetypal Nuu-chah-nulth "getter"; consequently, stories about Umeek should provide some clues about learning strategies for achievement, "getting". In this investigation, I read the Umeek narratives for ways and means of Nuu-chah-nulth learning. This is introduced in a storytelling context of ma'mook, as an organizing script, and qa?uuc (utility basket), the trope, which suggests the many different contexts in which learning can be apprehended by thinking about the problem through the analogy of story baskets as identified in Archibald (1997).

Qa?uuc (utility basket) were an intimate part of the daily life of women. The utilitarian nature of the basket was intimately tied to instrumental activities, imbuing it with powerful meanings. Nan Margaret Atleo (my husband's paternal grandmother) had a qa?uuc (utility basket) that she kept in her smokehouse. Alt-ma?nuwas (?iy'ikilam?q'a, Ahousaht; ?ihikyun, Mowachaht; ?i?issu?il, Ucluelet), the ogress of Nuu-chah-nulth stories, abducted children who were mystified and strayed because they did not heed their cultural teachings. She easily caught them, glued their eyes shut with pitch and carried them in her giant qa?uuc (utility basket) to captivity in her house where she expected to eat them. Qa?uuc (utility basket) were containers in which to collect food, seafood such as clams, mussels, and fish. Because of the open weave, the water could drain from the foods and they could be washed clean of sand and extraneous debris. The open weave allowed the air to circulate around other gathered material such as reeds, and grasses, or cedar that needed to dry. Qa?uuc (utility basket) were light, yet strong for carrying firewood, cedar bark, grasses, bullrushes, berries, roots, accommodating whatever was required. Into this receptacle would be gathered large quantities of resources from the field or woods or seashore to be brought home for processing into
products useful for cultural life. While materials that were gathered for processing into cultural goods were often material resources, sometimes they were symbolic resources such as the narratives that abound in the storied territories and lives of Nuu-chah-nulth. The technological complex in which the qa?uuc (utility basket) is embedded can thus be best described as including both material and symbolic aspects of living, the "hardware" and "software" of culture.

The qa?uuc (utility basket) was most associated with the gathering work of women and as a container can be seen as a primary material technology of women. Women not only used the basket but also embodied the very form, shape and design for technically specialized baskets. They would produce and animate these containers with the characters of their own sensibilities and stories.

"[W]eaving a basket" is the analogy for the cultural work of storytelling used by Archibald (1997) in her thesis Coyote Learns to Make a Storybasket: The Place of First Nations Stories in Education. In her thesis, she develops the relationship between the intricacies of weaving and the intricacies of storytelling to illustrate the intertwining of the material and symbolic aspects of cultural life. Baskets represent both the material and symbolic realms of culture. Baskets may be seen to represent the earth, art and/or technology. Baskets are of the earth from which their components are harvested. Baskets are borne of technology, art through the hands that process the materials, and weave them. Baskets provide cultural meaning through their utility and their production. Finally, baskets are biodegradable, returning to the earth when their usefulness is over. Baskets can also be seen figuratively. They can be a metaphor for both the cycle of material and spiritual culture. The act of weaving a basket is simultaneously a metaphor and a metonymy, the outcome of which demonstrates material cultural competency. The
act of weaving a story may be seen as an act of symbolic cultural competency. In this work, I draw on Archibald’s trope⁸ and seek to extend it.

While Archibald and I both employ basket tropes, what she and I do may be seen as similar on one hand and different on the other. Archibald (1997) discusses a way to create stories in the Salishan cultural tradition as a means of bringing contemporary Canadian justice issues into the curriculum of a modern classroom shared by both First Nations and non-First Nations children and teachers. In my interrogation of the stories that I have gathered over the years in my qaʔuuc (utility basket) from Nuu-chah-nulth Elders or that have been presented as Nuu-chah-nulth in the ethnographic record, I ask whether the stories carry teachings about learning and whether they would be useful in the classroom to Nuu-chah-nulth and other students. These stories remain in my qaʔuuc (utility basket) after other debris has been accounted for through the research process. The principles of these stories shape the utility basket of my life and cultural work from the standpoint of being an Ahousaht-achtsup (Ahousaht woman). As a woman originating outside Nuu-chah-nulth culture who has been explicitly schooled in cultural expectations through lineage participation, food gathering, marriage, and parenthood, I acknowledge such stories as they have been given to me as learning tools for my living, my Nuu-chah-nulth storywork.

In 1995, while working in Ahousaht as the Director and Program Coordinator of the Ahousaht Holistic Society, I observed a discrepancy between the learning approaches of funded programming and community learning requirements. The discrepancy was between learning approaches prevalent in the social programs based in western models of

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⁸ The anthropological theory of tropes and the conceptualization of polytropes, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony are central to the management of cultural production from spiritual to material product.
behavioral and social learning theory and the construction of learning approaches in traditional stories and teachings that were held up as explanations and examples by the Elders. The Elders who were to provide cultural guidance and legitimacy continued to provide stories with cultural approaches to learning. At that time, I approached four lineage Elders to ask whether they thought it might be useful to investigate issues of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning. They were very encouraging. Moreover, while two of the Elders, Mark Atleo and Roy Haiyupis have since passed on; I comfort myself that they are with me in spirit as I complete the work.

Thus my *basketwork* focuses on weaving an understanding of aspects of *learning* in the context of traditional narratives about acquiring and securing new food resources in the social and material context of *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture in the storied past and asking whether they would be applicable today. Lessons about creating new stories and being able to perceive particular aspects of traditional lineage stories are different but complimentary aspects of both *Salishan* and *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural work. Symbolic aspects of culture manage material dimensions of culture. In turn, material aspects of culture manage symbolic dimensions of culture. The dynamic is mediated by the technology and art of culture. In the process of storywork, the technology and art, the symbolic and the material all need to be considered in the context of a worldview which is overseen by a Creator and a philosophy of *Hishuk-ish-ts'awalk* (Atleo, M. R., 1998), oneness, or the cultural interconnectedness of all things. The material can be simultaneously symbolic or concrete. The social and mythic dimensions of reality interpenetrate each other to the extent that protocol is required to manage their interpenetrations and interactions. Consequently, there is a cultural imperative that this work of managing the sacred and profane, symbolic and material be managed by a protocol of *Esaak* (respect), in which the power of these continua be conserved rather
than dichotomized and disempowered. A protocol of Esaak (respect) aids in exploring Hisuk-ish-ts'awalk as conceptualized by Nuu-chah-nulth but also evidenced in other Northwest Coast cultures such as the multiple realities of the Haida (Boelscher, 1988:7) or the simultaneous realities of the Tsimshian (Seguin, 1984:134) depicted in the uniquely recognizable art forms of the Northwest Coast. A protocol of Esaak (respect) is used to reverently approach the power that exists in the synergistic management of such simultaneous, multiple realities of the worldviews of First Nations people of the Northwest Coast.

Raising the Muyapilum - A Conceptual Map of this Study

Raising the visual metaphor of respect to show ones position is the first order of a formal public feast. The muyapilum is a ceremonial curtain or screen used by Nuu-chah-nulth during public ceremonies to signify the conceptual positioning of the host in the multidimensional contexts in which the ceremonial activities take place. A speaker stands with the host and his or her family to announce the business of the day. Before the potlatch was banned, the muyapilum was a screen visually depicting the history and tupati (privileges) of the hosts that allowed the hosts to situate themselves, combined with seating protocols, relative to all of Nuu-chah-nulth people, history and territory. After the banning of these ceremonies, screens were replaced by readily concealable curtains made of canvas or cotton that was easily transportable. The curtain or screen may be seen as a visual metaphor\(^9\), which stands for the lineage claims and achievements. In Nuu-chah-nulth public ceremonies, the songs, dances and chants reenacting the claims on the curtain support the display on the muyapilum (ritual curtain). The muyapilum

\(^9\) St. Clair (2000) explores the visual metaphors of indigenous cultures with oral traditions as a different way of knowing. Quaternity, with its common theme of the sacred number four fits prominently in depictions of indigenous ways of knowing and may best be understood as a spatiotemporal starting point.
(ritual curtain) provides sort of a conceptual map of the interface of the enduring interaction between mythological and social space that serves as a backdrop before which the host enacts the ritual activity as new evidence of these claims. Consequently, it makes sense that the equivalent to my muyapilum (ritual curtain), an overview of the current study be provided to allow the reader to make conceptual sense of this study and guidelines about the organization of the process by which it is conducted. While this study is anchored in Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives, there will be a liberal use of formal textual sources used to provide conceptual bridging, illustration, and clarification of the subject.

Limitations of the Study

This study examines the learning orientations from the perspective of a small group of First Nations people living on the West Coast of Vancouver Island by examining the Umeek Narratives. As a member of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation of Ahousaht, these narratives have been of particular interest to me because they seemed to contain a Nuu-chah-nulth model of learning and orientation to life career (i.e., Umeek) as well as other models of learning for life. The narratives are also of interest because my family, the Atleos, have the right to use the names of the central character in the story because our members have contributed to the whaling tradition. The manner in which the narrative is interpreted was part of my socialization into the culture of my family of procreation. While these interests may present biases, they may also present a perspective from within the culture that I expect to be valuable for the interrogation of the text for structure, plot, story line, surface themes and patterns of learning.

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10 The tracing of decent from the central character of the legend is flagged by the right to use the name and is associated with attributes passed down through the social capital of the lineage (songs, dances, display rights, names, abilities, etc.).
Cultivating an Ethos of Orality

_Esaak_ or respect, requires me to demonstrate how I have gathered-in the social environment of _Nuu-chah-nulth_ in which to _ha-maa-tsuts_ (formally reveal) - make visible - stories that are otherwise hidden from a non-_Nuu-chah-nulth_ view. Viewed from the seashore, the seasoned eye recognizes the environment in which that which is sought can be found. A special tree or shrub or rock crevice may only be discernable to the seasoned eye. The seasoned eyes of Elders, and those to whom they passed the orientations, guide us to the stories through a process comprised of principles of storywork. Archibald's (1997) close work with the Elders allowed her to become aware of and systematize a protocol for storywork starting with the principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, wholism, inter-relatedness and synergy. She distilled these principles as a conceptual framework for understanding storywork as "cultural work", the creation of cultural products. She used the principles to "weave stories" for purposes of teaching in the public classroom both for a First Nations and non-First Nations audience. As such, the stories are formally transported in the curriculum across both cultural and institutional boundaries.

I reorganize these principles into structural and dynamic aspects as a means to illuminate movement across cultural and institutional boundaries. I then differentiate between the context in which the stories are embedded, historically and contemporarily.

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<sup>11</sup> In _Nuu-chah-nulth, Ha-maa-tsuts_ is the formal revelation of anything that is usually hidden or out of ordinary perview. The _Hamatsa_ has been called the "cannibal dance" in the anthropological literature (Boas, 1897). Since both _Kwakwakawakw_ and _Nuu-chah-nulth_ have Wakashan linguistic roots it may be possible that there is a connection between the ritual of revealing the transformation of the initiant from a "wild" flesh eater that is outside of the culture (i.e., in the woods) into a cultured human in the context of village society. _Hamatsa_ may be seen as a way to _ha-maat-sup_ the reality that as _qu'aas_ we need to understand our relationships with the spirit of the resources and each other if we are to survive.
and the figures that animate the story. In this way, the context of the story may reveal the components, dynamics, assumptions and principles that the story is conveying.

Consequently, to distinguish between the principles that permit the creation, articulation and conservation of structures, I re-systematize Archibald’s principles into the “Four Rs”: Respect, Responsibility, Reverence, and Relations. The latter entails the "Four Ds" or system dynamics of reciprocity, wholism, inter-relatedness and synergy.

Four is a sacred number for Nuu-chah-nulth\textsuperscript{12}; four is an optimal memory byte. Consequently, my reorganization of these principles provides an heuristic, a mnemonic device, for cultural creation or articulation as well as cultural change with transformations. Oral tradition that relies on memory bytes abounds with cultural heuristics as a way of unlocking systems of meaning. When applied to Nuu-chah-nulth social systems, the 4 Rs and 4 Ds provide clues about social protocols in which the “figure of the story” leaps out of the background of the cultural context so that it an be examined for learning strategies.

Reaching into the Past to Find the Future

My understanding of the principles of First Nations storywork stems from my more than thirty year participation in Nuu-chah-nulth culture in my role as "Mrs. Richard", the wife of the third chief of Ahousaht, Eugene Richard Atleo, the mother of his two sons and heir, grandmother, niece, auntie, cousin, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law, relative and friend. As from time immemorial, women who married into Nuu-chah-nulth households were socialized into the rights and responsibilities of the lineages into which they married. Women who were chosen to marry the heirs of whaling chieftainships

\begin{footnote}{Four or \textit{Muu} is a sacred concept of fullness/completeness associated with the fullness of the moon in the peak of the influence of the lunar cycle which was tapped into by ritualists.}
\end{footnote}
were expected to have particular attributes that set them apart from other women. Such women were expected to participate with their husband in his rigorous ritual duties and personal sacrifices, as partners in cultural work for the benefit of the lineage membership (Marshall, 1993)\(^\text{13}\). And while there are stories about the difficulties women had in that role, Nan Margaret and the rest of the women and men of the Atleo lineage readily began to sensitize and orient me through storywork into the ethos and social protocols of that position so that I could fulfill the demands of the role.

This acculturation into Atleo family roles fit well into an ethos of orality that was familiar and comfortable to me because it was framed in the cultivation of identity in a storied family tradition. I was born in the post WWII years into an extended household on the edge of the Düsseldorf, once a salmon river, which enters the Rhine at Düsseldorf. My roots are of Germanic stock. On my paternal side it is Rheinish, deeply entwined with the rootstock of the grape vines in the steep western slopes of the Rhine near the legendary siren rock, Die Lorelei, and the towns of Bacharach and Bingen before the Rhine widens into the moors and floodplains, further north.

On my maternal side, the stock was shallowly rooted in the Eastern most reaches of the Prussian region of Silesia. It was to Silesia that my mother's maternal stock fled from England during the Jacobean era because of their Protestantism. They went into the service of Protestant Germanic landed gentry in successive principalities as managers of forests, households, and in the modern era, as accountants and managers of fabric and steel mills. My mother's paternal stock was from the "melting pot" of that region and carried the dark good looks and almond shaped eyes of the Mongol. Both my maternal

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\(^{13}\) Based on the Moachaht narrative about acquiring an Ahousaht wife, Marshall (1993) suggests that the attributes of the wife were a key aspects of the whaler's success. Jonaitis (1999) includes the story of tòwek and his Ahousaht wife in which a remarkable partnership is founded that produces whales and hairy wolf-children.
and paternal lineages remembered their histories predating the modern nation state of Germany. These families had suffered in the birth pangs of nationalist claims. During centuries of wars, the Rhineland seemed to change hands regularly in distant agreements about their futures. During the First and Second World Wars, their men saw combat action and their women and children became homeless refugees. The Peace of Versailles redrew the boundaries of a post WWI Germany and the boundaries of the homelands of all of my grandparents changed. My maternal grandparents were given a choice to return from Silesia to a German homeland they had never known or become Polish nationals. My paternal grandparents in the Rhineland were relocated by Allied troops, the terror of which never faded for my father who was 2 years old at the time. These are families that the nation state defined, redefined and failed, repeatedly, even though their household heads served dutifully for Kaiser and country. These families depended upon their own remembrances for their lives. This is my inheritance.

My husband's paternal grandmother, uncles and aunts conveyed clear social attitudes about the role they expected me to play as the wife of the lineage heir. The legacy of the whaling tradition carried the responsibility of caring for the resources of the Ahousaht his?o:kt (conquered territory held in common) (Craig, 1998) in a time when colonial oppression tied his hands and denied his birthrights. The cultural expectations for role behavior as a wife and mother were articulated through myth, family stories, their own modeling in tangential roles and behavioral expectations reciprocal to those of my partner. How I would act in the role was, and is, very much an interaction between the cultural expectations for the role and how I bring myself to that role, both my strengths and weaknesses, to make the role rather than merely take the role. As a transcultural person, by the age of eighteen, I had yet not found a social "Home" in which to articulate myself. Consequently, I was ready to become embedded in this position which seemed
so familiar and comfortable, for which there were expectations for role behavior, scripts, plots, themes, in short a story in which I could creatively participate by picking the basket material of a cultural tradition and to weave it into a life.

Moreover, while I had been born into an entirely different culture, here were some strong structural parallels to my earliest experiences, particularly the early socialization by elders. I had had the earliest advantage of being socialized by my paternal grandparents into an extended family household that provided a warm, welcoming emotional gestalt for my Nuu-chah-nulth experience. This household was headed by my paternal grandparents, he, a highly respected retired Master tool and die maker and his ex-shopkeeper wife. Their eldest daughter, her husband and son occupied the upstairs of the duplex in which we lived. Their youngest son, my father, and his wife, my mother, slept on the pullout couch in the kitchen sitting room. I shared my grandparents' bedroom. They occupied my life with their stories and their grandparent sensibilities and unconditional positive regard for me.

Tool and die makers are technicians who create positive and negative moulds for precision instruments for highly specialized tasks. Then retired, my grandfather would conceptually take anything apart, turn it inside out and invent new marvels moment by moment just as he may have done in the glass factory where he worked. The conceptual realm provided none of the structural constraints of the steel and glass with which he had worked. As he wove his thoughts in the air for me, everything was possible. My grandmother came from a glassblowing tradition. She too loved complexity, intricacy and transparency. She was famous in that working class cooperative for her voracious appetite for books. My grandparents had a passion for games and mental challenges which was so constant that the chessboard and cards were never far from the kitchen.
They were always ready to play *grown-up* games with me even when the pediatrician warned them that they were probably emotionally and mentally over stimulating me.

Oma and Opa Fülber knew everyone in the little settlement where we lived next to the bus stop and everyone it seemed knew them and consequently me. Opa took me along to tend the allotment garden and tether the ewe in roadside ditches. I helped Oma chase the chicken hawks away from the newly hatched chicks and pick the ripe red currants in the backyard. Everyone in the family could imitate the twitchy rabbit noses as they nibbled the grass with which we fattened them up. Best of all these grandparents wove my world together with stories, lots and lots of stories. My life was a sweet, active narrative with them for the first year and a half. Then my grandfather died suddenly and the world shrank to include just grandmother and me. Nevertheless, the stories continued. The settlement folk still stopped to talk and wave as they boarded the bus and again as they saw us on their return. Sometimes they stopped long enough to share a story.

"Die Freiheit" was a working class settlement that had started as a socialist cooperative in the land reform period after WWI during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) for veterans and their families (Stadt-Sparkasse Düsseldorf, 1984). These tradesmen settlers were steeped in the oral tradition of storytelling as a remnant of their guild tradition. Their many experiences as journeymen during the itinerant phase of their training before they had acquired a home, family and factory job were important aspects of their occupational learning and teaching. Such remembering was also a way of socializing family members, wives and children, and potential apprenticeships into the situated context of a particular trade. They gathered in a weekly ritual at their local
public house to tell their stories. They told stories of the hardships on the factory floor and the process of unionization. They spoke solemnly about their survival during the depression because of the self-sufficiency ethic of the settlement for which they had planned and struggled. They whispered stories of the terror of the Nazi regime. Stories about how their enclave had not been bombed when the city around them had been flattened were told in wonder. Their stories helped them remember whom they were in a period when their community history had been formally denied under the Nazi regime. I was a witness to the way in which stories provided the foundation of identity, resistance and ideals for the people of the venus of the Rheinland, "Die Freiheit." I was an early witness to the power of the process of storywork.

Then, when I was almost three, I immigrated to Canada with my parents and younger brother. Even though our household grew over the next 10 years by four more siblings, I yearned for the place and people and being that we had left behind. The loss of grandma and grandpa stories, their wisdom, knowledge, curiosity, and sociability, made me feel poor even as my parents were working for better material opportunities for our little nuclear family. The poverty was about a loss of culture, stories, people, place and history. My loss was so poignant that everywhere we moved, I was a three year old searching for parts of that distant place. Each new town was an opportunity to find grandparents because they were the key to past riches. Sometimes I would find older men and women that served as ersatz grandparents. Moreover, while they had stories, there were many other missing aspects, as my heart was looking for its Home.

By the time I was a teenager we had lived in many cities and towns across Canada. My parents had immigrated to Canada to find a new home but could never replicate the financial and social success of their thriving little tobacconist shop in "Die
Freiheit". Both parents had trained in the apprenticeship system that is still prevalent in the highly industrialized Germany of today. My mother had trained as a bookkeeper in a wallpaper factory. My father had trained as a tool and die maker, like his father before him. Both were employment ready for an industrial economy based in manufacturing. In a newly industrializing, post WWII Canada, those opportunities were narrowly defined and linguistically circumscribed. My parents were Germans in a post war Ontario where an Allied British ethos prevailed. I was a 3-year-old "Nazi" on a playground in southern Ontario.

The social and occupational opportunities for our family were very poor compared to that of the Marshall plan boom of the post WWII German economy my parents had left. In Germany, we had to share a place to live but my parents had work and the family a social milieu that gave life meaning. In Canada, we could readily find a place to live but my parents could not find employment opportunities equal to those in their homeland. The family had no local social milieu in which to develop social sensibilities around family and work roles. Consequently, as a family we wove our own stories as we journeyed westward and my parents tried to make a life. We sang a song of the highway, we chorused Esso in six-part harmony on the HWY401 from Toronto to Vancouver. Cochrane's song Life is a Highway\(^{14}\) could have been my parents' theme song and I was a reluctant passenger.

By the time I was in my senior year of high school we had moved more than twenty times and I was still searching for a story in which I could participate. The CBC had done an exemplary job of providing a framework for Canadian culture with

\(^{14}\) "Life is a highway... There's no load I can't hold, Road so rough this I know I'll be there when the light comes in, Tell 'em we're survivors" Tom Cochrane (2001).
classroom programming that introduced continuities all along the highway, but it was an official story, not one in which I could find a touchstone. When I was seventeen, I was introduced to a man who could tell stories that had a familiar underlying appeal. He was a university student. He was dark, with almond eyes like my maternal grandfather. He was lean and quick like my paternal grandfather. He was an outstanding storyteller. We courted, telling each other stories at the University of British Columbia, on the geographical "whale's head" that is formed by the bluffs on which the campus rises. It was the foreshadowing of our story.

We married and had our first son, who inherited the names of the ritual pieces of the saddle of the whale, the *Chakwasi* (fin of the whale). The man took me to his home, his territory on the furthest reaches of the sea-lashed west coast of Vancouver Island. It was a place I recognized, with my heart, across cultural boundaries. He brought me to a place where stories were the foundation of history, identity, resistance and ideals. He was the third chief of *Ahousaht*, who brought me to his territory, which became my Home. Here our two stories became one story. Currently, as Eugene Richard/Umee and *?i ?i naa tuu k"iss* Marlene Renate, we together weave a storybasket that has the diachronic warp and a synchronic weft. Our progression of ritual names situates us in the work of a deep heritage and in contemporary roles whereby we can actively contribute to the heritage by investing in the names of the ancestors in a storybasket of names. It is a storybasket in which the challenges of the bi-cultural heritage of our relationship could be elaborated and differentiated in a plot where meaning making and social action would provide a place in which children, our grandchildren and we can live. We were both rich with stories that could provide guidance for our lives together through the traditions and protocols of storywork. In addition, Nan Margaret was our storytelling Elder, who first showed me how to weave our stories together, to shape a storybasket of our lives.
Thus my life, and hence my perspective, is situated within a legacy of western orality in the Germanic tradition and that of First Nations orality in the Nuu-chah-nulth tradition. Consequently, it behooves me to create a space of respect in this investigation in which both traditions can shed light on each other in a framework of such protocols. This opening chapter provides an introduction of thick description of the space in which this study takes place so that light can penetrate and the sorting of stories can begin.

In the Socio-cultural Territory of the Story

Nuu-chah-nulth narratives have sustained the life careers of Nuu-chah-nulth people since time immemorial. Nuu-chah-nulth (erroneously known as Nootka) are today an indigenous people of approximately 7,000 who have inhabited the windward side of the West Coast of Vancouver Island, in British Columbia, Canada for more than 4,300 years according to the archeological record (Marshall, 1993). Nuu-chah-nulth are classified as Wakashan speakers by linguists, sharing linguistic roots with the Heiltsuk of Bella Bella to the Northeast on the Central Coast, the Kwakwaka'wakw on the East Coast of Vancouver Island, Ditidaht and the Makah to the south flanking the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

The centrality of sacredness to the culture of Nuu-chah-nulth is exemplified by the recognition, even by people outside the culture, of the reverence toward Creation. Cook proposed that Nuu-chah-nulth be called Wak'ashian because they could be recognized by their welcoming shouts of praise and recognition of wákãsh (Arima, 1983: v). Thus, Wakashan has become the language family designation of linguistics that includes Kwakiutl, Heiltsuk, Haisla, Ditidaht, Makah, and T'aat'aaqspaa (Nuu-chah-nulth language). The greeting is associated with recognition of the role of the Creator for the creation and all good things. Reverence and respect of the sacredness and engagement in the expression of that awe gave rise to the rich ceremonial life for which...
the North West Coast is famous. Thus, *Wakashan* cultures such as *Nuu-chah-nulth* are organized by language in which reverence, respect, responsibility, reciprocity weaves the social and ceremonial web of life. Ceremonial expressions of sacredness were and still are central to the cultural lives of *Wakashan* speakers and their descendants. (For a description of the Orthography see Appendix B.)

The *Nuu-chah-nulth* of Clayoquot Sound, in particular the confederated tribes of *Ahousaht* who make their current home at *Maaqtusis* on Flores Island, are the people among which this study is situated. The oneness of *Nuu-chah-nulth* with their homeland is signified by the very name meaning *people living along the mountains of Vancouver Island*. *Ahous-ahts* are people originating in *Ahous*, on the headland of Vargas Island. The *Ahousaht* Confederacy claims a territory between Hesquiaht Point and inland reaches of Sidney Inlet in the North and Meares Island to the South, to the East the west side of the mountain range along the spine of the mountains of Vancouver Island and the ancestral village of *Ahous*, on the headland of Vargas Island and ocean reaches West and South (Lane, 1989). An early version of this confederacy was formed during the *Oots-hous-aht* war to assure certainty of access to "inside" resources, in particular chum salmon from Atleo River, when the dowry system of economic sharing failed. The Atleo lineage was ultimately enlisted to manage the resultant *His-uk*¹⁵ as part of their *hahoothee* (management system based on hereditary rights) responsibility since they were not directly involved in the conflict (See Appendix C and D for Histories and *Ha?w'iih of Ahousaht*).

¹⁵ *His-uk* are the spoils of war that are held in common for the prevailing group.
Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk: Everything is One - Unity of All

One-ness with the territory and its history may be understood as the central organizing philosophy of the Nuu-chah-nulth. Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk may be understood, as a philosophy comprised of the cultural elaboration of the history of a People that have lived in a particular territory minimally for more than four millennia. The philosophy of Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk, Everything is One, was translated, expressing central Nuu-chah-nulth beliefs for the first time in English through the work of the Nuu-chah-nulth members of the Scientific Panel for Forest Management in Clayoquot Sound: Co-chair, Chief Umeek, (Dr. E. Richard Atleo) and Elders, Roy Hayupis (Ahousaht), Larry Paul (Hesquiaht), Stanley Sam (Ahousaht) of the Scientific Panel for Forest Management in Clayoquot Sound (Bunnell & Atleo, 1995). The articulation of Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk in this context was particularly focused on the management of resources in the Clayoquot Sound when government, industry, environmental NGOs and First Nations had reached an impasse. The embodiment of territory and embeddedness of Nuu-chah-nulth in the territory demonstrates how the context and the people are conceptualized as One (Atleo, M. R., 1998). As such, Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk is a philosophical principle that speaks of how the context is central to understanding the moral and spiritual roles and actions of Nuu-chah-nulth individuals and the group, Qu’aas (Nuu-chah-nulth people) in interaction with the environment provided a framework in which dialogue could begin between all interests to find a place in which to live.

4 Rs and 4 Ds of First Nations Storywork

First Nations storywork reflects a lived reality. While Hisuk-ish-t’sawalk, can be transliterated as "in common-us-one" and speaks of "Oneness", it is lived in the very principles of the work that weaves lives and stories into mundane, utilitarian containers which become the meaning in daily living. In a traditional context, the sacred would be
imbued in the process of meaning making. In the contemporary context, these
principles are more likely to sensitize First Nations people to the sacred as they move
through the dynamic systems of social life. These principles are also likely to sensitize
First Nations people to demands of paradigmatic shifts of epistemic transformations
inherent in western developmental logic. Awareness of the sacred, but lack of
embeddedness in the sacred, may be a reason that the exploration of living and working
between oral and textual traditions requires a bi-focal vision.

In a First Nations tradition, the group sensibilities require that the
interconnectedness of all things, Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk (All is One), be central to
understanding the creation and First Nations people in it. Thus, all things start with the
relationship between the Creator and the creations. To the Creator and creations is due
reverence, an awe that is about the wonder of it all, a wonder that requires a mind and
heart which is open and compassionate to be able to be receptive to vision. This One-
ness requires social and moral responsibility which can provide security, predictability,
order and positive expectations about who a person is and what he or she is expected to
do. Respect allows one person to see the other and oneself in the context of the web of
kinships. Relations are critical to understanding how to fit in to the family, group, and
the world. The dynamics of the interrelatedness are continually balanced through the
process of reciprocities in the web of inter-relatedness, which creates a synergy in which
the wholism is again One-ness. Hence, the salutation: all my relations is structured by the
4Rs and animated by the 4 Ds. Storywork, as cultural production in the context of Hisuk-
ish-tsa’walk, continuously elaborates the meaning making of a People.

Impact of Colonial Relations on Storywork

In the last one hundred and fifty years of the incursion of the European social and
educational systems, there has been a serious break in the formal storywork of First
Nations people. This has resulted in a cultural gap in the social technology of theory and practice for Nuu-chah-nulth by the erasure of Nuu-chah-nulth stories and the suppression of storywork as an active dynamic of teaching and learning. The colonial erosion of Nuu-chah-nulth frameworks, cultural theory and practice has been accomplished through the dominance of a western system of cultural logic and educational ideology with the inherent ambivalence of colonialism as described in the postcolonial text of the likes of Bhabha (1994) and the First Nations specific commentary of Battiste (1986). The aftershocks of such “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1994) continue to roll through the culture and lives of Nuu-chah-nulth people. The violence by the dominant culture of denying the “ways of knowing” of indigenous cultures continues to separate contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth from the grounded experiences of their own histories and cultural strategies. This epistemic violence is so insidious that it becomes embodied in the very people whose knowing it denies. For example, high levels of family violence in First Nations communities is framed as an individual developmental problem rather than a problem of sociohistorical epistemic origins and proportions, confounding the source of violence.16

The aftershocks of this epistemic violence may be absorbed by the groundedness found in the re-telling and re-visiting of Nuu-chah-nulth stories. Such re-telling may promote re-discovery of the cultural worldview birthed in Nuu-chah-nulth territory over the millennia. This ambivalence of colonialism begs for an examination of those stories for the promises they held for Nuu-chah-nulth. Such an examination would address the colonization of the mind (Battiste, 1983; 1986), as well as acknowledge afresh the

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16 The violence of colonialism is internalized by First Nations people and becomes articulated through violence with in the group as domestic violence, physical and sexual abuse, etc.
declaration of the "Red Paper" (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970) that the cultural work of education is foremost a moral and a spiritual activity and that traditional stories belong in this context. This cultural gap between theory and practice which seems to be managed by “education” as a social technology in the western sense must hold more for the future for First Nations than currently available.

The dynamic between teaching and learning that existed in the Nuu-chah-nulth traditions was in some measure mediated through stories that carried critical salient “messages” for adaptive Nuu-chah-nulth cultural, spiritual, emotional, and physical development in the context of Nuu-chah-nulth territories. According to conservative archeological records (Marshall, 1993), for more than 4,000 years, Nuu-chah-nulth culture evolved in those territories. Lineage histories tell of Nuu-chah-nulth social structures that were complex with richly elaborated political and ceremonial life. The focus of Nuu-chah-nulth life was strategic and dynamic adaptation to the shifting resources of the territory and their ability to sustain the people. Lineage histories tell of the relationships between the people and the territory through a socio-political organization of “haahootsee” a system of hierarchical and hereditary management rights and obligations that assured re-distribution and re-circulation of resources to assure access to all the relations.

As in every complex socio-cultural system, the life careers of individuals may be understood as predictable social trajectories marked by events signifying the points of transformation to a new stage or phase. Mammaums (vocation) was an important dimension of traditional life that located individuals in formal cultural life according to their social position and personal development therein. The Sayings of our People (Keitlah, 1995) provides an accessible recent rendition of many of the traditional life
career expectations for *Nuu-chah-nulth* by contemporary Elders. George Clutesi (1972, 1988) provides the most comprehensive and authentic exposition of the life of a young *Tseshahlt* boy's journey into manhood and the more formal world of the potlatch system from first hand experience. A more anthropological rendition is provided by Drucker (1951) whose informants included *Nuu-chah-nulth* of the generation of our lineage ancestors, great grandfather Keesta Atleo (1850's - 1950's), and his son, George Shamrock (Atleo) (1893 - 1948). Together these renditions are from informants whose witness spans approximately 150 years, much of the period of active colonization in *Nuu-chah-nulth* territory. Cultural interpretation and elaboration of the biological phases, stages, transitions and transformations in *Nuu-chah-nulth* social life are well documented in both sources. Birth, puberty, induction into social societies, marriage, childbearing, special achievements and death are an abbreviated progression in a generic life career trajectory of *Nuu-chah-nulth*. How these events developed, took place, were celebrated, marked, remembered, and recorded is part of the elaborated culture of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*.

While birth is the starting point for the life course from a biological approach, the starting point for birth in *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture was marriage, the social context for birth. Women of childbearing age were respected for their ability to produce new life. Readiness for marriage was marked by the *aitsol*, the culminating potlatch of the coming of age ceremony for girls. The *aitsol* was a showcase of the rights and privileges to which these young ladies were heir. This highlighting formally and publicly associated the girl with the social capital that she would bring to a marital union and could invest in her children. The marriage of two people, especially those of rank, was the beginning of a new alliance between lineages, a new reason to "go company" by sharing resources because the offspring would be a product of both. Consequently, the children of such
unions were already persons to be respected, with inherited rights and obligations even before birth.

Developing children were treated as persons even while in the womb. Developing children were treated with Esaak (respect) and expectations for the future. The development of children both in utero and after birth was of active interest to parents and members of the extended family with whom the parents resided and of interest to other lineage members. Pregnant women were treated with respect and care because they carried developing persons for whom there already were social expectations and because their social positions were preordained according to where they fit in their respective lineages. Individuals received names to signify transition through changes in status based in culturally significant developmental stages of their life career (e.g., birth, first hair cut, surviving the first year, puberty, first deer or processing of fish, marriage, etc.). Some babies were given names with which expectations were cultivated even as they developed in the womb. When children were born, they received baby names in recognition of their developing attributes. As they developed, they were given lineage names, which endowed them with expectations for lineage role performance and their progression through such roles based on social scripts. The names were often verbalizations of lineage scripts or orientations to lineage interests. For example, my eldest son’s progression through a series of names was related to his hereditary right to parts of the whale to which his lineage is heir. He embodies the rights of his lineage and the names act as a sign. Two of his names contain the morpheme "Caaqua" related to the "saddle of the whale" and the second morpheme, "t'in" for when he was young and "meek" for when he became more personally agentic and occupationally active. Usually people were not addressed by their ceremonial names in everyday life. Individuals often had pet names that were used in informal conversation because ritual names changed and because ritual
names were imbued with a sacred quality. However, during rites, ceremonies, and times when the “office” of the name was contextually salient, the ritual names were used as they formed part of the story being told or enacted. Names then could provide orientation, signaling both how the individual fit into his/her history and how that history was developing in the current era. Since knowing a person was dependant on knowing how one was related, the actual names were not the primary means of identification but rather a means of signaling what ritual space the individual currently occupied.

Unfolding of the Statuses of the Nuu-chah-nulth Life Career

History and the future are always unfolding in the Nuu-chah-nulth present. The opening scene of the Umeek Narratives is the re-telling of the origin of the Kluu-kwana because the induction into social adulthood was marked by a Kluu-kwana. Kluu-kwana has been translated by Richard Atleo (pers. communication) as "we remember reality". The central feature of the Kluu-kwana is the ritual re-enactment of the mythological source of agency for Nuu-chah-nulth.

Adult status and the source of adult agency are found in the Kluu-kwana that in the anthropological literature is known as the "Wolf Ritual". The re-enactment includes the snatching away of young initiants by "wolves" at public meetings. The initiants are then secreted away for several days to receive teachings from previous initiants before they re-enter the everyday society of the village in a public, ritual display of the classic return. Historically, there is feasting and storytelling for days, sometimes weeks on end if there are many initiants, during which time the history of the Nuu-chah-nulth is enacted in songs, dances, plays, and games. Not only is history re-enacted, it is also being shaped by the very activities in which people participate.
In an historical developmental perspective, the expectations for the life career of First Nations people has become an increasing problem at the interface between Western and First Nations development. The problem began with Western contact approximately thirteen generations ago and, in the present, echoes the archetypal models found in traditional stories told at every opportunity between Nuu-chah-nulth Elders and their kin. Some of these stories were recorded and from these oral versions were committed to text in English by the early ethnographers of the West Coast of Vancouver Island (Boas, 1897, 1909; 1921; Curtis, 1916; Drucker, 1951, Sapir & Swadesh, 1939). They were also written in Nuu-chah-nulth by local participants such as Alex Thomas of Tseshaht.

Records of the participation of First Nations in traditional and ensuing cash and social welfare economies provide us with a background against which to understand the orientations of workers as a function of the prevailing conditions that may be manufactured (i.e., legal, socio-economic, etc.) or natural. When the stories of the past of First Nations are silent, there is no baseline against which to understand the present or how to move into the future. For many First Nations, the historic self has been usurped and supplanted by a Euro-centered persona. Consequently, we must engage in “time travel” to move from the sacredness of mythic time, through the social rationality of secular time, to minds fixated on the minutiae of the complexities of postmodern time in a cross-cultural systems analysis.

In the western world, the work of life has historically been understood in the context of the sacred as a vocation or a calling. More contemporarily, in the context of civil, industrial, secular society, occupations dominate the life span as a series of work roles that fulfill the economic needs of individuals and families in the context of economic and technological globalization and change. To understand this development
requires an historical perspective about work in western social development. There has been an ideological progression from viewing work as a sacred calling, to viewing it as a social and personal modality of activity or role in which the means of and meaning for a living are secured (Cochran, 1997; Cochran & Laub, 1994; Cochran, 1990). This changing perspective on work or ma’mook ties the sensibilities of work very closely to the social and economic development of a cultural economy. This changing view of the world has required the re-orientation of the individual and some whole societies from a sacred perspective anchored by religious beliefs to secular ideology and public institutions to a human development perspective of life cycles or life stages or life careers in the life span. Such re-orientations require a profound shift in consciousness from (wo)men as creation to (wo)men as creator of lifestyles from which is distilled cultural knowledge (Austin-Broos, 1987).

This shift has been in some measure facilitated by social science research, which has been the site of much investigation of the habituation into and reorganization of social roles from a behavioral perspective with a typically materialist analysis and a physical focus. Social development literature has been the site of investigation into child, adolescent, and adult development and into the pre-determinants of social and intellectual skills. Sociology has been the site of investigation of the relationship between the pre-determinants of desirable skills and the functioning of society (Coleman, 1989). Education literature has been the site of investigation into how such skills can be expanded, enlarged or remedied. Remedies in the forms of social re-habituation have been more usually discussed in occupational therapy, rehabilitation medicine, or vocational counseling for career change after a life changing mishap. Today, social habituation into roles may itself be a problem when the pace of life in the global village
requires a continuous re-orientation to changing technology, resource limitations, economic trends and personal limitations and transformations.

Summary

In this chapter I have situated my work in a global de-colonization project nested in a bi-cultural framework of an oral tradition in the organizing concept of ma’amook from which to investigate the problem of an absence of Nuu-chah-nulth learning theory in the current educational literature. The purpose of this study is to gather and examine the complex of Nuu-chah-nulth narratives, which I have called the Umeek Narratives as a site from which to understand Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives on learning in social and territorial contexts and what the implications of that understanding may be for education in various guises. This chapter has situated me and the study in the context of a Nuu-chah-nulth worldview in which One-ness includes colonial relations and cultural traditions of life careers organized through the principles and dynamics of storywork.

This work is organized into six chapters. In the first chapter, I have situated the work and myself. The second chapter is a weave of stories and literature which provides the voices of the Elders from both traditions in an evolving container trope symbolized by both Qa?uuc and Tupperware. The third chapter describes the methodology, the elaboration of protocols, the metaphorical mapping and phenomenological orienteering processes as they apply to the interviews and narrative analysis. My re-telling of Curtis' (1916) version of the Rival Whalers, which I have renamed, the Umeek Narratives is foregrounded in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter reports the reflections of the Elders about learning issues in narratives, a narrative analysis of the story. The final chapter includes a discussion of the themes and issues which emerged, conclusions are drawn and recommendations for theory and practice of Nuu-chah-nulth learning proposed in the context of the Nuu-chah-nulth ideal of ?apčii-yuch, going the right way.
In Chapter II, I introduce more of the stories stored in my qa'uuc to make more distinct the dialectics of the ground from which we may be able to begin to examine the Umek Narratives for indications of (re)orientation and learning. I bring many stories to this work since I am concerned with the problem of Nuu-chah-nulth disappearing into the landscapes of non-native psyches to become invisible and negated. Because traditional Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations (hi) stories and learning theory are absent from mainstream educational literature it behooves me demonstrate their living presence in Nuu-chah-nulth stories.

In this chapter, my objective is therefore to construct a ground in which the abductive and the adductive logic, the dialectical aspects of logic can emerge through the pattern of signs in the stories and meanings. Such logic is most self evident currently on the Internet, which is organizing the logic of networks. A second objective is to

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17 Tupperware (Clarke, 1999) is a modern female icon of success based in the sales of containers by women through a hostess system in which luxury gifts are incentives and women are drawn together in social networks that mimic the networks in which they labored before the means and mode of production was controlled through an industrial model at a distance, based on a patent held by a male.

18 Piercian pragmatics identify the two dialectic aspect of logic where in the adductive and abductive are roughly equivalent to inductive and deductive except from a relational (pragmatic) subjective perspective rather than an objective perspective that is logically linear (See Figure 3)

19 Abductive logic is currently being recognized as critical to understanding qualitative research which features thick description. Pierce (1902) defined abduction as "the process of constructing an explanatory hypothesis" (p. 171) wherein one resorts to every day logic grounded in a broad context including both the prerequisites and the possible effects (Moser, 1999). Abductive logic moves back and forth between data and theory/model construction. Abduction and adduction are the back and forth dimensions of the process paralleling induction and deduction in formal logics. Norman Denzin suggests that the principle of "thick description" therefore necessarily "...does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail context, emotion and the webs of social relationships that join persons to
loosen the categorical nature of a formal western logic so that we may "see through" it. Such a ground needs to provide enough bi-cultural information for the reader that the logics of orality and textuality as well as the logics of Nuu-chah-nulth and western perspectives each make their own unique "sense" so that their relationship to each other in the context of learning might become more visible. I invite the reader to listen for the emergent meaning of these stories.

First Nations ideology expressed in the heuristic 4 Rs and 4Ds is also developed further in this chapter. The 4 Rs, reverence, respect, responsibility, and relations serve to stabilize the ground. The 4 Ds, dynamics of wholism, inter-relations, reciprocities, and synergy permit the analysis. Developing an active ground is an attempt to counteract the perceptions of simultaneous absence and presence of First Nations that Visenor (1998) identifies as a problem. He maintains that the figure/ground dialectic, which creates a problem of visibility of the native to the non-native, lies in the "tropics of dominance" (p.106) in which metaphor simultaneously affirms and denies. Fludernik (1999) suggests that this is a psychological legacy of the cross-mirroring of alterity in the colonial legacy. The native is spotted and then disappears in the landscape of the non-native psyche. Visenor (1998) identifies synecdoche as the trope which typifies the dialogic circles of "varionative autobiographies" (p. 107) in which the flesh and blood self is embedded in a web of relations. The flesh and blood self is continuously expressed as synecdochal archetypes in functional relation to relatives in sacred histories and one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience." (1989:83)

Fludernik (1999: 30-31) uses Lucanian and Derridean formulations in her "mapping out of autostereotypes and heterostereotypes in the double bind of colonial and postcolonial displacements that these projections of alterity regularly undergo" (p. 30) which she explains and demonstrates in the cross mirroring process of five image transfers: colony, exoticism/orientalism, exile, globalization/cosmopolitanism and exile.

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collective experiences in the present occurring in overtures of oneness in which the eternal is continuously expressed. For *Nuu-chah-nulth* this may be expressed in *Hishuk ish ts'awalk*.

To permit the *Umeek Narratives* to come into sharper relief against a background that has sufficient elements to permit their crystallization, I begin by elaborating the storywork ideology of First Nations and providing examples of cultural activities and behavior to illustrate how it works. The ideology of *Nuu-chah-nulth* chieftainship is exemplified by the exploration of the lives and orientations of two notable *Nuu-chah-nulth*, E. M. George (*Chief Maquinna*) and E. R. Atleo (*Chief Umeek*). *Maquinna*/George and *Umeek*/Atleo are simultaneously hereditary chiefs, operating in lineage names and thus representing archetypes in sacred histories as well as being men of flesh and blood living in the landscape of their own colonized territory. The record of their personal histories demonstrates how they accomplish this. What they see and say in their research in education and contexts of changing resource availability is a starting point with which to understand diachronic problems in synchronic space, which, in turn, aids in understanding the utility of the narratives for today. As chiefs, these leaders have hereditary obligations and responsibilities to understand the changing environment in which their people are living that they may more effectively lead them through the morass of cultural expectations distorted by colonialism. Ewart (1991), drawing on Habermas' Theory of the Knowledge of Constitutive Interests, suggests that "...knowledge originates in human interest and means of social organization" (p. 347) which are concerned with the problems of self-preservation which raises important issues for education. Knowledge constitutive interests that are emancipatory for *Nuu-chah-nulth* First Nations could be expected to be in the purview of these hereditary chiefs, consistent with a program for the preservation of a people, of a culture, in a territory.
Knowledge constitutive interests could be expected to be found in the teachings of a grandmother who is assuring her legacy in grandchildren.

Because of the importance of the cultural work of First Nations women, understanding the diachronic issues of the changes in women's relationship to technology and their complimentary roles in cultural production of education and occupations, involves looking at synchronic spaces women occupy. To this end I am using qa'uuc to anchor Nuu-chah-nulth culture through basketry and Tupperware to anchor contemporary popular culture in which Nuu-chah-nulth women find themselves living, a highly blended sociotechnical life. Qa'uuc and Tupperware are used as tropic devices to explore the socioeconomic basis of two distinct and mutually existent socio-technological strategies for cultural socialization. In this way of life, control over social and material production becomes more distanced and complex in the multicultural mix of moral, social and environmental relations. Social solidarity formed through consensus building as a Nuu-chah-nulth social ideal is also brought into this frame to link the individual and social constituents of this multidimensional process.

This exploration requires us to move through several levels of analysis in the development of metaphoric blends so that the synecdochal activity, which weaves the native and non-native worlds together, may become more visible. To this end, I explore the orientations of the hereditary chiefs to western perspectives and use my cross cultural examination of "women's containers" tropes, qa'uuc (utility baskets) and Tupperware, to

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21 Fiske (1990) identifies four modes of social relationships in the context of community development that include vestigial and evolving dimensions of communal (family), authority (traditional cultural), equity (democratizing), and market (economic) modalities. His analysis suggests that there is much pragmatic juggling between these discontinuous models of social relationships because they are simultaneously present in dimensions which include: types of defection and production, parties, advantages enforcement, virtues and vices systems of origins and dependencies.
provide an entry into the understanding of the context of the traditional *Nuu-chah-nulth* and contemporary cultural economies in which the *Umeek Narratives* can be heard. This exploration helps us to move from a seamless, normative social reality of an early modernity through the crucible of critical consciousness and de-colonization of a late reflexive modernity into a postmodernist and postcolonial ethos in which the complexities of pre-modern activities and sensibilities can be compared to embodied presents. It is from this vantage point that the "*Umeek Narratives*" may best be read and their import apprehended in a contemporary *Nuu-chah-nulth* world.

Marshall (1993:339) typifies contemporary *Nuu-chah-nulth* world as a tripartite political organization. This tripartite political organization consisting of 1) vestiges of traditional organization articulated through ceremonies and *hahoothee* (hereditary management system), 2) the dictates of federal and provincial government through policy and law, and 3) the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council's mediational structures which work to consolidate new ground. But seen from a *Nuu-chah-nulth* ideological perspective we might look at the inside/outside strategies that are grinding down the powers of this era in the long run perspective that Marshall (1993) has correctly identified as the most illuminating as even now the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council begins to de-centralize.

To begin to explore the socio-technical context of *qa'uuc* and Tupperware, I situate this discussion in a frame of First Nations ideology by presenting research by and about notable *Nuu-chah-nulth* from *Ahousaht*. In this manner I expect to provide an orientation to what might be salient for hereditary chiefs by looking at the public record and published research of the two *Ahousaht* chiefs, *Maquinna* and *Umeek*.
First Nations Cultural Ideologies

First Nations people have been characterized as being without culture and cultural institutions as late as the Delgamuuqw decision by Judge MacEachen. In 1987, Mr. Justice Addy (Ridington, 1990) denied a claim of the Dunne-za/Cree on the basis that in his opinion, their planning and decision-making seemed spontaneous and instinctive and thus he could not see their point, nor support their claim. Basic human competencies were still being denied the First Nations people. After centuries of colonization, the persistent mechanisms of aboriginal culture were still being de-legitimated by policy and practice. The Supreme Court's overturning of Delgamuuqw suggested that the law was not the forum for defining the aboriginal rights of First Nations people but that the rights needed to be negotiated. Negotiations in forums such as BC Treaty process have gone on for seven years and demonstrate that there is much to talk about and learn. How do the representatives of a settler state that operates in the formal logics of a western legacy negotiate terms with the representatives of indigenous societies that operate in wisdom of the ancients from the perspective of time immemorial?

That there is cultural ideology cannot be denied. That it is not textually codified can also not be denied. Nevertheless, that does not mean that it does not exist. Between 1910 and 1924, Edward Sapir recorded ethnographies among the Nuu-chah-nulth in Port Alberni (Golla, 1988). Golla suggests that these ethnographies are a rich storehouse of Nuu-chah-nulth cultural knowledge that has been inaccessible and hidden from view. In her narratological analysis of War among Aahuus Bands,22 Golla distills an ideology of chieftainship from a text "[f]illed with concrete description and ironic detail …a series of

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22 "The text I have selected was originally published in Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography (Sapir and Swadesh, 1939) under the title "War among Aahuus Bands", although in fact it is about not a war but a coup and a counter-coup over a head chieftainship." (Golla, 1988: 108)
events purportedly historical events couched in a normative context that simultaneously describes and dramatizes appropriate and inappropriate chiefly behavior. It reads like a morality play" (1988:108). It becomes clear from Golla's analysis that the main thread of the story has several components. It presents a negative social model of what a chief and his wife should do. Then there is the process of a social remedy complete with negative outcomes for the oppressors. Finally, there is positive social model in which the rightful heir is restored to a position in which he can fulfill the role of the chiefship in reciprocal cooperation with other nobles and muschoom (commoners). The story is a tidy tale that expresses chiefship ideology with roles for the oppressor and oppressed, with remedies and re-discoveries and a setting right. Aspects of the Nuu-chah-nulth ideology of leadership are encapsulated in the cultural logic of this narrative. Golla's insight into this ideology may have been aided by her field collaboration with Adam Shewish, a socially active, prominent chief of the Tseshaht who participated in her fieldwork.

The 4R's and 4D's: Principles to Live By

Storywork by the Elders provides an entry into the principles and ideology of First Nations culture; elders use their own life experience as a template for inference. Pan-indianism is possibly conveyed cross tribally by recognizable principles of logic and tolerance for diversity as an underlying ideology shaped by the wisdom of the Elders. Such ideology would be consistent over generations and across First Nations cultures. The stories about Chief Earl Maquinna George and Chief Umeek, Richard Atleo have long strands of structure and the flexibility built into their histories. They are also public figures against which the demands of Nuu-chah-nulth ideologies for role incumbents can be measured. The storywork principles that Archibald (1997) identified provide us with the structural strength of the 4 Rs and the dynamic flexibility of the 4 Ds to stabilize and
analyze these narratives. Strong structural strands are reverence for the sacred, the Creator and their sacred histories; *Esaak*, respect for their people, resources and territories; responsibilities in the sense of accountabilities in a gifting economy where there is responsibility to the territory and the people; and relational expectations that extend inward and outward. Change can be embraced when there is a sacred past, a spirituality and trust in the cultural institutions. The 4Ds, the cultural dynamics, permit the flexibility of whole sight that allows the dialectic of looking back and looking forward. The 4Ds signal the rich connections of interrelationships and the synergy of synchronicities that are continuously sought and re-discovered in the logic of the directions, the seasons, the lineage relations, the tides, the myth cycles, the animal cycles, the biological cycles, the planetary cycles, and cycles of time. The 4Ds mark the reciprocities that come with enduring social relationships that stretch back to time immemorial and forward into the future. The 4Rs and 4Ds permit an ongoing unfolding awareness of the deep patterns of *Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk*, a *Nuu-chah-nulth* philosophy, logic of *all is one*, particularly in the context of story telling and learning.

The cross-cultural aspects of this study in a post modern inquiry require us to begin at the philosophical level so we might understand the logics of production and reproduction in which cultural individuals participate. The complexities of post modernity may be the result of the many diverse voices clamoring to be heard in “a world beset by personal, cultural and international conflicts” (Joy, 1997: xxv). Many diverse visions are competing for attention in modern culture such that our senses are over stimulated, making it difficult to assimilate and/or accommodate multiple visions at the same time or even to focus on one at a time. To meet the need to understand such complexities we are required to move beyond strictly rational procedures of reconstituted logic into the realm of *logic-in-use* that seeks to capture the very “operations of human
understanding in pursuit” (Kaplan, 1964: 6-7). This *logic-in-use* is characterized by Kaplan as a process of physiologies (experiences) and histories. Since there are many experiences and histories, there can be many forms of *logic-in-use*, many processes of reasoning based in such organizing patterns. Moreover, while there are many, there is an onus of proof on all. “Not only language and culture affect the logic-in-use, but also the state of knowledge, the stage of inquiry and the special conditions of the particular problem” (1964: 8).

Since there are many *logics-in-use*, there arises a logic of relations, which is concerned with complexity of formal systems of relationships, prompted by formal consideration of paradox (Russell, 1962). Also arising is logic of intuition, a dimension of a use of logic use, which is outside habitual inference for which reconstructed logic exists. Reconstructed logic is a cognitive style that conserves and replicates the *logic-in-use*. For example, in the “hypothetico-deductive” method of science, the scientific method is conserved and replicated. Reconstructive logic has thus been the cognitive style of modernity and may be seen as the prevailing metaphor of the era of science and schooling. Schooling in the form of curriculum may be seen as designed to reproduce a central cognitive style disciplined by testing and psychometrics.

*Logic-in-use* provides a means for experiences and histories to enter into the formal discourse when we understand that reconstructed logic is by its very nature a hypothesis that is still being tested, a metaphor standing in the place of the “Thing”. Although reconstructed logic is in fact a hypothesis, it has been de facto idealized (Kaplan, 1964), cognitized and reproduced as the discourse of modernity. Metaphors become the “Thing”, particularly in text and classroom. To the extent to which such defacto idealization occurs, it may interfere with the progression of understanding. To
the extent this occurs, reconstructed logic becomes a barrier to truth. Consequently, it behooves us to distinguish between the defacto idealized position and the many physiologies, experiences and histories which such an idealization denies or negates or normalizes through statistical validations.

To distinguish between de facto idealized positions and providing an opportunity for a chorus of physiologies/experiences and histories requires the logic of Pierce’s (Dyer, 1986) abductive approach. Abductive logic allows us to stop the action of the reproductive logic and identify the inductive and deductive “halves” of the cycle of logic. This in turn allows us to move the interconnections and relationships of a theoretical perspective to the whole vision or picture and back again, micro to macro and visa versa. Dyer suggests that this approach is similar to Veblen’s “principle of adaptation” (1986:33) in which the search for unity in multiplicity is based on feeling which guides the search for hypotheses, which is then seen to constitute the induction of (scientific) creativity. Oatley (1996) distinguishes between agentive (narrative/human action) and epistemic (paradigmatic/systemic) modes of thinking based on Bruner’s (1996) definition and suggests that the interaction between the two modes is a type of informed “guessing”\(^23\), in which the social component (i.e., social context, Tryphon, & Vonèche, 1996) or position (Harré & Langenhove, 1999)\(^24\) imperceptibly enters into the assumptions in the field of logic in the form of the individual.

Patterned processes of experiences and histories as described by Kaplan as logics-

\(\text{in-use} \) seem to have some affinity with the organizing principles of First Nations

\(^23\) abductive logic is also conceptualized as informed guessing.

\(^24\) Harré & van Langenhove (1999) suggest a positioning theory in which there is a triadic relationship between prevailing social forces, a position and a storyline. “[P]ositioning can be understood as the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within which the members of the conversation have specific locations” (p.16).
theorizing as articulated by Calliou (1995) in her use of the medicine wheel as a pedagogical device for modeling “peacekeeping” education and Hampton (1995) in his use of the pipe ceremony as an organizing principle or pattern that "organizes and clarifies thought" (p. 16). Hampton (1995) is careful to point out that what he is presenting is NOT a model since models "connote a small, imperfect copy of something more real" (p. 16). Indeed Hampton uses the special organizing principles of the six directions of the pipe ceremony and the historical and value or experience-laden definitions of the participants of his study to define Indian education. Thus, Hampton's research data are produced in a process that is *grounded, qualitative and based on participant observation*. By this process, Hampton defines Indian education in the heart of a First Nations view of the universe that is structured, dynamic, and harmonizing.

Themes that emerged from these data were place, identity, spirituality, culture, affiliation, education, freedom and service. Hampton "lets the [six] directions and the interview data evoke meanings and then [he] summarized the meanings in standards"(p. 18). The twelve standards for Indian education that summarize the evoked meanings are spirituality, service, diversity, culture, tradition, respect, history, relentlessness, vitality, conflict, place and transformation. Each of these standards represents meaning evoked on the cusp of western and aboriginal thinking about education. This thinking has historically been dominated by western meanings. Nevertheless, such thinking can be balanced by aboriginal meanings even as Hampton does in discussing the interrelationships between his own and participant observations, history, experiences, culturally organized principles in his enunciation of standards for Indian education. As such, this process sounds like the creativity of reasoning that is being used or *logic-in-use* and suggests how the social assumptions and needs of the participant observers in the
field may be met.\textsuperscript{25} Between the \textit{logics-in-use} formulation by Kaplan and the examples of productive thinking about First Nations patterned thinking by Calliou (1995) and Hampton (1995), I can recognize some aspects of the process of enculturative education I received from the matriarch of my family of consanguinity and the expectations she had for my proformativity. The situated, unique and creative movement of meaning making in cultural patterns in the context of history requires the transformation of creativity rather than the reproduction of form.

Moving through Modernity towards Postcoloniality\textsuperscript{26}. Changing Life Careers

The interrelationships between history, personal experiences and observations, and culturally organizing principles may be key to creative ways of moving from a pattern of life career that suits modernity to one that makes sense in a postcolonial world. Looking at a person's life history provides "information about a person's interests, values, abilities, motives, and character strengths" (Cochran, 1997:55). Life history can bear witness to the meaning a person makes of his or her life. Traditionally, chiefs were looked to as role models, as leaders. Stories about chiefs provided teachings about cultural ideals, standards for living, and achievements, and as such provided expectations for such behavioral enactment in community life. In addition, while colonialism has eroded the cultural value of such models in teachings about social, economic and occupational change, their value should not be underestimated. While these men are beings to be respected, they are watched as role models to see what they are doing and

\textsuperscript{25} Turner & Fauconnier (1998) suggest that creative complexity is a product of metaphorical blending process in which elaboration between metaphorical models is a continuously evolving process.

\textsuperscript{26} Postcolonial is used here as a discourse rather than a fact and is useful for understanding the project of decolonization of First Nations people through the healing process and other proactive initiatives.
how they are doing it. Consequently, examining their lives in the context of sacred and profane time, education and de-colonization, orality and textuality, sheds some light on the meanings of the roles of chiefs such as those in the Umeek narratives. Examining the public history of Tyee haw'il Earl Maquinna George and haw'il Umeek, E. Richard Atleo also sheds some light on their ma'mook, how they have worked, to look after the people and the territory and how they have learned to change.

Maquinna Earl George and E. Richard Atleo are men who live in the sacred history of Ahousaht with roles and responsibilities to the people of Ahousaht as did their forefathers from time immemorial (See Appendix C and D for a more detailed rendition of their sacred histories and life careers). While Chief Maquinna and Chief Umeek are part of a sacred history in which they stand in the positions of their ancestors and mythical archetypes, they are also men living and working in the 20th and 21st century in the Canadian nation state under the colonizing force of the Indian Act. As men, part of the work of their lives, has been to fulfill both their hereditary roles in sacred time Ahousaht and look after the needs of their immediate families in the socioeconomic present reality.

Maquinna began learning his local environment as a fisher and logger. He expanded his range in logging and fishing to much of the west coast. He was employed by the government for many years in the coast guard stationed in Vancouver, Victoria and Tofino. Towards retirement, he became increasingly involved in defense of the

27 See Appendix D. Earl George's oral history and Richard Atleo's life history are appended so that the rich detail of their stories could be included as part of the frame of this story. Story frames are usually obscured but in this case the thread of the story and the collaborative work of the Elders would not make sense without much of the rich detail of Earl and Richard's enactment of the Nuu-chah-nulth ideology of chieftainship. In any case, my storied examples are in their frame.
territory through litigation, negotiation and treaty talks. *Maquinna* continues to secure the territory for the people of *Ahousaht*, thus fulfilling his legacy.

*Umeek* also began learning about his local environment. His first environment was the social expectations of the House of *Klaak-ish-peethl* in which he lived. This first environment was a social environment in which administrative consultation of the chiefs was an early memory. *Umeek*, too, went on to learn about the local environment through fishing and logging. Increasingly however, understanding the socio-political environment of colonization became the focus of *Umeek*'s learning. Understanding of the social environment of the colonizing culture grew in the space between the natural environment and the cultural environment of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*. It was this western cultural environment that Richard learned to understand through his occupational activities. Through his work as social worker, teacher, principal, special assistant to a cabinet minister, bureaucrat within the Department of Indian Affairs which dictated the governance of First Nations communities, as researcher and as instructor in higher learning he found new ways to succeed in the midst of oppression, charted a new way for the micro-dimensions of self governance capacity development. Richard's learning was a means for strategic capacity development and maintenance of cultural ideals in the context of a western cultural environment that was often hostile and exclusive.

*Ha?w'iih Maquinna* and *Umeek* have led and continue to lead remarkable lives. They both exhibit high levels of effective bi-cultural functioning in which they "simultaneously (are) able to know, accept, and practice both mainstream values and the traditional values and beliefs of their cultural heritage" (Garcia, 1999: 32). These men demonstrated that as other "Native American warriors in education" they have persisted through the "influences of family, spirituality, role models and mentors, a desire to
achieve, biculturalism, a belief in giving back, and a pride in their heritage" (Garcia, 1999:115). They have both had full working careers. Earl spent more time on the fishing ground, in the woods and on the water, while Richard spent more time in the bureaucracy and educational system of the colonizing force. Their stories illustrate that "[l]ife history supplies the ground for emplotment 28 as an agent in a career narrative with which a person strongly identifies or that expresses his or her sense of identity...in a way that may be meaningful as it "...emphasizes strengths, motives, interests, values, and aims..." (Cochran, 1997: 79). The life histories of these two chiefs provide evidence of their sense of who they are and their social responsibility as they have negotiated the historical fabric in their time.

Container Logics: Cloudscapes, Cat's Cradles, Baskets and Bodies

Public men write their stories on the public record. According to Nuu-chah-nulth expectations, the women of such public men are near and participate with them.

Margaret Grace (Charlie) Atleo was the wife of Shamrock Atleo, a public man. Nan Margaret (my grandmother-in-law) taught me to be oriented to expectations for my function in a new cultural context, social position and setting, the wife of a public man. In that way, the ideology of chieftainship and the wifely requirements could become clear so that I could become a part of the family, community, lineage, and culture. The means for us to accomplish this were to engage in "play" between her "physiologies and histories" and mine. Such "play" was grounded in our respective experience, histories, and current day to day to day-to-day interactions. These games began with a comparison whereby we could demonstrate to each other the metaphorical models we each held as

28 Cochran's narrative approach to career counseling suggests that individuals can and do act as agents in their own life histories by developing stories in which they are featured. These stories can then be read by career counselors to help individuals in career counseling.
baselines. Then we could progress into a dynamic interaction in which our individual organizing metaphors were deconstructed, stretched, and collapsed to demonstrate the associations of these figures in the current pragmatic context to produce our unique path of cultural situatedness. Durham and Fernandez (1991) have described such activity as the play of tropes or polytropy that includes the pragmatic use of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony in which these are "figurative battles over placement in the social order and the structure of [cultural/ social/ occupational/ etc] production" (p.11). In this way, the predictive quality of metaphor could be transformed vertically within domains of experience and horizontally across domains of experience and we could find each other in this process.

Visual, social role and childrearing examples of this type of activity may help to flesh out a rather technical explanation. Allowing an Elder to lead in an envisioning game in which shapes of concrete objects such as a dog, or a fish, or an eagle were pointed out in the clouds or of pieces of wood or in the landscape was such an exercise. If the other participant could "see" the object then there was reciprocity of perception recognized, a synchronicity of perception established. More difficult examples for me were social situations in which a person's role expectations were not being fulfilled. A woman, for example, might not tend to her fish and it would spoil because she was following her husband around too much or was too preoccupied with other activities. Making sure that the band-use portion of fish that she received was effectively processed for her family was a community expectation. After all, the fish could have been hanging in the smokehouse of someone else and fed the family of the person willing to look after the fish. Was not the teaching that there was to be respect for the salmon that gave its life so that qu'aas (Nuu-chah-nulth people) could eat salmon as a staple? An example of this process in childrearing comes from the teasing games with uncles and aunts, mothers and
fathers, sisters and brothers, cousins, and grandparents whereby children were educated into where and how they fit into the social action. Traditionally, terms of address and reference in the Nuu-chah-nulth language situated individuals socially. Parallel English terms of address such as "elder brother", *tayii*, or "younger brother", *y?uk*iiqsu would be considered an appropriate Nuu-chah-nulth way to structure sibling interaction. English does not have the equivalent structure so that the relationships that these categories signify may be more affectively organized and held by Nuu-chah-nulth because they are labeled.

The "games" that we "played" involved two social entities in a social context in which the elder knew intimately the social and ritual expectations of the role that the younger was to learn. However, since I did not speak the language and had not been early socialized into the same values, the process had to become explicit. Consequently, these "games" would consist of the establishment of a baseline metaphor from which the tropic limits could be explored for "someone like me" (i.e., Richard's wife and Shawn and Taras' mother). For example, one would present a canoe quest as a metaphor for a particular kind of trip in the journey of life and then discuss ways in which a canoe quest is similar to or different from the journey of life generally and relatively. How can a canoe quest be like a journey, a relationship, and any challenge that needed to be met? The way the quest would be talked about would allow the trope to be taken apart and transformed in the dynamic process and situational examples. The process of these games permitted the elder to collaboratively develop with the younger person. This interaction seems to articulate a phenomenon similar to what Turner (1991) has identified as an "operational structure," in which tropes such as metaphors provide the keys in a "pragmatic interactive approach to cultural meaning (p. 155)." This operational structure seems to be logically grounded in a syntax that emulates Pierce's (Dyer, 1986) abductive
logic in which the figure can be separated from the ground in multiple, complex, emergent ways. In the dynamic of interaction, perception can focus either on minor details, major details or the relationships between the details of any given metaphor and the “real life” vehicle to which the inferences are made.

Figures of speech (tropes) such as metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche play an important role in differentiating how or ma’mook in a cultural ground in which everything is related. Figures of speech allow the perceptual focus on aspects of an embedded reality and then a release of that focus to re-create Oneness. Metonymy involves the use of an attribute or an adjunct that is substituted for the thing meant. For example, the tit-thlah-wik-um or seat in a territory can stand for the chief, lineage, rights, etc. Synecdoche involves the naming of a part by which the whole is understood. For example, the chief or the house when referring to the lineage or vice versa when the lineage is referring to the individual or part as in (s) he is an Atleo, a Campbell, a Frank, a George, a John, a Keitlah, a Sam, a Titian, a Thomas or when any of these individuals refer to Ahousahts.” Metaphor involves comparison in which something is named or described by a term or a phrase wherein it is not literally but figuratively applicable, for example, when the traditional Nuu-chah-nulth system of wolves as agents of social control and justice are called “policemen” and compared to RCMP in the Canadian justice system. Finally, a perspective of synergy brings with it an active cultural agency in which the integrative power of the dialectical process powers the creativity of the rationality of cultural work. “Syn” denotes a bringing together of the senses so that “synecdoche” can be understood as a figure of speech that brings sensory aspects into convergence and “synergy” the power of such creative and re-creative activity. The structural and dynamic aspects of the development of an analytic framework in which to understand Umeek narratives are equally important to capture fixed and process elements.
For me, the complexities of this process of acculturation arose as the need developed, but the "operational structure" of the process was readily and eagerly apprehended in interaction with Nan Margaret and practiced with other members of my new community. This emergent "operational structure" had critical consequences for me in as much as it anchored me in the social system into which I married in such a way that my meaning making logic, the construction and elaboration of my self is now within that cultural context. In the process of developing an "operational structure" with Nan Margaret, I mapped my experiences and histories onto her position in a type of orientation. I would be stepping into her social position as the wife of the third chief of Ahousaht and ultimately take on her names in that position; to that extent I could orient myself to our mutual role. She thus bequeathed me the legacy of her interpretation of the social and personal expectations of the position that I occupy.

In this process, Nan Margaret also taught me how to make baskets with ?almapt (red cedar bark), t’unaax (tule), c’itapt (slough sedge), and raffia. She did not have the authoritative textual aids to tell me where to find the plants, how they looked and how they should be harvested (Pojar et al., 1994), nor did she try to cover all the uses of cedar (Stewart, 1984), nor did she approach the work technically from the perspective of basketry and cordage (Bernick, 1998). She embodied the traditional ecological, technical and social knowledge with which to scaffold me in the production of a basket, providing all the necessary materials, tools, patterns, knowledge and attitude. Her approving, patient, expressive interaction with me allowed me to begin weaving in the soft dim light of the living room of her "old" house that first summer.

The first basket she guided me in making was a "candy" or trinket basket. We chose a small round mold from the many wooden molds she had assembled over her
lifetime of basket making. She showed me how to begin the base. The elements of the weave, both the warp and the weft/woof were made of ?alma?pt, the soft inner bark of the tallest, straightest of ancient cedar trees that she could find in the springtime. The individual elements of the warp and the weft, of the base woven at right angles to one another in a "checker weave" (Bernick, 1998: 20), were then split to be turned up to fit the sides of the mold. Both the warp and the weft of the base thus became the warp of the encircling side. The elements of the warp were split to make them narrower, three-strand twining (Bernick, 1998: 21) created a ridge as the elements are turned up the side of the mold. At that point, the carefully bleached, dyed, smoothed and trimmed c'itapt (slough sedge) was used as the weft/woof to interlace over and under the cedar strips of the warp. Plaiting the sedge enclosed the narrow cedar strips, creating a solid weave. Into this solid weave Nan Margaret guided me in the incorporation of the central design of a canoe of hunters and the whale they pursued which we copied from her burlap sampler of designs. As I allowed myself to be guided in the creation of my first basket, I wove the central metaphor of Nuu-chah-nulth life, the relationship between the whaler, his crew and the whale. The body of the basket was removed from the mold and completed by the creation of a little ridge of three strand twining to shape the base for a slightly recessed neck. The neck was stiffened with a circle of cedar embedded in alternating warp elements. The neck was then finished with a neat selvage in which the warps were bent to the right and out to the back, being secured with plain twining of raffia. It was on this little "neck" that the lid would fit snugly. The lid was made with t'unaax (tule), c'itapt (slough sedge) and raffia. Starting from the top with a little knob of t'unaax (tule) and raffia to which more t'unaax (tule) could be added to the warp until it was wide enough for c'itapt (slough sedge) to be used to plait designs of ducks, birds, waves or geometric designs into the sky/lid of the basket. As the master weaver, Nan
Margaret simultaneously taught me to weave a basket made from the resources of the forest, shoreline and riverbanks of the hahoothee of the territory and illustrate it with the dynamic relationships among the elements of the Nuu-chah-nulth sagas. Since it is usual to give one's first work as a gift so that there could be many more, I sent my basket to my parents who were living in Germany.

Nan Margaret was my master teacher of things related to Nuu-chah-nulth lineage roles and responsibilities that became encoded by me as "philosophy in the flesh" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Her lineage role enactments were my living models. Through the process of my interaction in this new, culturally structured environment, I participated in a sensorimotor re-structuring of my physiologies in experience, entering into a new world. She anchored her work with her affective sounds, the ?inaak (having the sound of),29 that culturally modified my nervous system. A world opened up to me in which I began to understand the similarities and differences of my previous experience. I was able to compare it to my new experience and learn how I could move between the two "worlds", understanding that it was I who provided the continuities in the discontinuities between these worlds. The basketwork was a special layered anchor in that it was the substantive, concrete trope, that we constructed together, a "sensorimotor structuring of (my) subjective experience" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; p. 47).

The teachings of basketwork trope were about interconnectedness and embodiment. I learned that even items that seem to be discrete, like a basket, are

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29 ?inaak (having the sound of something) is a very important concept for hunters. It is another example of analogic reasoning in which the sound signifies the "thing". The series of carvings with distinct facial expressions that are part of the whaling shrine are in my opinion visual examples ?inaak, which are common in masking (see: Walens, 1983).
embedded in rich webs of interconnectedness (Capra, 1995, 1982). Through ?inaak\textsuperscript{30} I could feel connections that Nan was making as she wove the basket. I could feel the connections in the stories that she told, the designs that she wove, as she led me into the principles of synchrony with the power of natural laws through the balance and reciprocities of the weaver creating the basket.

**Materializing Logics: Movies, Appliances and Tupperware**

Even as Nan was initiating me into the ways of basketwork in a remote Ahousaht of the late 1960's, Nan Margaret was being thrust into a late modernity. Even as Nan was weaving me into new cultural perspective, she was weaving herself out. Even as she was shaping me with basketwork, she was leaving celluloid traces. Nan made her acting debut. She wove herself into someone else's story. In 1973, Nan became Marta in *I heard the Owl Call My Name*. It was a movie sponsored by General Electric, directed by Daryl Duke, produced by Jacque Hubert. The story was based on the book by Margaret Craven (1967). Ironically, *Ahousaht* band administration agreed to portray the celebration of Northwest Coast culture and oneness with the land in this film in exchange for an electricity generating plant that was the collective payment for the use of the village site and territory. *Sailor's Song* (Kesey, 1994) comes close to describing the chaos of bringing *Hollywood* into an isolated, traditional community. The film crew spent months in the village orchestrating the action of the community. The boundaries of the film production and the community became blurred. Community members became extras and were paid as they went about their daily business. There was opportunity to socialize with famous actors and the film crew right in the village. Nan was "Marta" on

\textsuperscript{30} This non-verbal means of communication is significant part of the interaction in learning situations.
television now saying to the leading man: "You look like an egg, you look just like an egg." Even in the movies, she spoke in similes.

For the village, the movie making was a means to slake the thirst for technology that required electricity. For Nan, it meant that she could buy technological conveniences: a new kitchen chrome set, a washer, a stove and a fridge. She could appreciate the energy saving technologies that her money could buy. For us, it meant that commercial film became a virtual home movie, which could capture the Ahousaht of that summer in endless time.

The legacy of modernity after all was in the logic of reproduction cultivated through science and textuality. We could still cut fish for smoking outside on the huge oak table we had sat around for so many night lunches and stories in the warm glow of the coal oil lamps. And while Tupperware parties were not the norm when I first moved to Ahousaht in the mid 60's, the high value acknowledged to reside in technological goods had been witnessed for years by the decoration of graves with favorite sewing machines, pieces of washing machines, motors, caste iron headboards, prams, etc. The timing of feasts and ceremonies increasingly became adapted to the pace of external demands and regulations (e.g., fish openings, school year, accounting cycle) (Atleo, M. R., 1975). The instrumentality of technology was recognized and valued by men and women who still knew how hard it was to make a container, to row a boat against the tide for fresh water and wring out wash by hand. Thus, increasingly, particularly in more urban centers, Tupperware parties are not an unusual place for Nuu-chah-nulth women to visit with each other and purchase containers. More visiting was possible in fact because women had to work less.
I recall a visit with Nan Margaret to Chinatown in Vancouver where she was animated by the many wonderful containers for sale in one of the stores: enamel ware, porcelain, basketry, cast ironware, rice paper containers, containers large and small. The array of containers was clearly a visual feast for her. She picked up a small, lidded basket from Africa and remarked how similar it was to what we had made. It was clear that making baskets when such a wealth of baskets was available did not make sense to her. She was eager to purchase containers to give away at potlatches and she knew it would take much hard work to create reasonable facsimiles.

That the expressive elements of culture were being disrupted by the technology was not apparent to us at the time. It was about convenience and an aging grandmother who delighted in innovation and novelty. It was not a premeditated move away from oral transmission of modes of production towards products of mass production and commodification of expressiveness as entertainment.

Embodiments of Landscape: Embodiments of Text

One of the issues in the movement between orality and textuality is understanding the difference between landscapes and resources that are embodied to be used and symbol systems written on a page becoming embodied. Moving beyond an either or perspective requires a bi-focal approach in which orality and textuality is balanced. I am using the analogy of baskets and Tupperware to examine the potential for understanding the paradox of living between orality and textuality. The transition from creating custom-made containers out of the tree of life, with one's hands from start to finish to purchasing mass-produced containers at Tupperware parties happened in the space of remembrance among the Nuu-chah-nulth. For Nan, the transition happened in the space of a lifetime. The transition by Nuu-chah-nulth women from wholistic cultural production of
containers to placing written orders at "purchasing parties" required a giant leap from an embodiment of landscape to the embodiment of words. That giant leap was socially facilitated by education and missionization in which the focus shifted from the embodiments of context (land, resources, cultural knowledge) to the embodiment of text (schools, information, technical knowledge). The spirituality of the body and place of orality was being supplanted by the logos, of textuality.

This giant leap between Nuu-chah-nulth container baskets coded with survival motifs and color-coded Tupperware with its burping lids to store goods are lifetimes, technologies and worldviews apart. However, basket making and Tupperware parties are simultaneously alive and well in some communities. Tupperware as an modern icon representing women's containers may be seen as an embodiment of the transition from a moral economy embedded in landscape to a disembodied market economy. The transition maintains a semblance of the earlier order through the social relations of the party format and the gift in the context of a market transaction. Tupper's patenting of the type of container and the sales process effectively controls the whole process from the conception of the idea, the patent, to the delivery of the product. Material reproduction of Tupperware is not only impossible but also illegal.

By the mid-1400, the Catholic Church had effective control over the whole process of Christianity, the container of spirituality, from the homely, to the catechism, to the dispensation of salvation, the sale of dispensations and the main icon, the Word of God in print when large scale colonial exploration began. Luther (b.1483 - d.1546) with the German princes came to see this monopoly as oppression by a foreign power and a monopoly that he sought to disrupt promoting salvation in the vernacular of the people,
bring spirituality into the mother tongue. His translation of the New Testament used the vernacular of the layperson, the graphic German metaphors of the body and landscape. A translation could directly animate the heart and mind of German speakers due to the graphic nature of the language. That his translation coincided with the invention of the printing press, the spread of humanism, and great political unrest, caused the Güttenburg Bible to be a breakthrough (Ryder, 1997). The text connected the people to the animating force of native language. In the case of Luther, the translation of the Bible permitted the word of God to become directly available through textuality and orality. In fact, Luther's version of the Bible is readily sung because he was also a musician and composer. Luther's translation provides an example of a convergence of textuality and orality, a bi-focal vision.

Since textuality usually has permitted one speaker and perspective at a time, this one-way discourse provides a perfect model for reproductive logic in which the dynamic between the inductive and deductive dimensions of the cycle of logic provides the defacto ideal, the seamless ideal reality. Tupperware production is an example of the one-way model. Luther's translation shows that there is room for bi-focality, if the translation makes the material available. The other dimensions of logic (i.e., intuition, relations) suggested by Kaplan (1964) and found in orality become stifled. The self of orality nurtured by logics-of-use, intuition and relations embedded in personal aspects of group narratives become silenced in the logic of reproduction that manufactures the social institutional "I". De facto "I", the objective, institutional self, promoted the logic of reproduction in the textuality of the modern era.

31 See: http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/wittenberg-luther.html for background to Luther, his works, people that participated with him, politics of the historical era in which he lived and discussion of his view on translation.
A critique that uses many narratives and a de-colonizing focus of the institutionalized and colonized self, promotes logic of reproduction that raises a cacophony that is confusing and alienating unless we move with for example, Ricoeur, to seek a poetic/poietic resolution (Joy, 1997). He states that, "[s]uch a resolution entails expressing the dynamics of a productive imagination in a poetic...mode of depiction" (xxv). Consequently, in a growing “society of strangers” no longer fused in an institutionalized and colonized “I”, glued together in a pathology of reproductive logic, a more complex vision is required, an alliance of logics of use. A “society of strangers” based on the logics of use requires a new self based in a reflexivity of relations and intuitions (Dean, 1996). And while this theory comes out of a Habermasian legacy of communicative action, in practice such solidarity was the basis of the confederation of nations encouraged by Tiskin (Maquinna provides some insight into Nuu-chah-nulth ideology of confederacy development in Appendix D), which, according to myth, formed Nuu-chah-nulth confederacies (Appendix C provides lineage histories of these which include Maquinna and Umeek). Sustaining such a society in which “strangers” can become “one” requires a reflexivity in which our own strangeness becomes known to us. It requires a logic that goes beyond a cycle of deductive and inductive inferences that reproduce structure, to abductive logic in the context of the social group through a process of distributed knowledge (Oatley, 1996) that finds new relationships and solutions.

Reflective solidarity (Dean, 1996) is posited as a remedy for a “society of strangers” which rests on accountability. The solidarity of traditional Nuu-chah-nulth life based in and on hahoothee (Bunnell & Atleo, 1995), the law of the chiefs, was based on a social web of accountability that was termed “respect,” recognition of who you are. The currency of respect was fashioned in the formal relationships of the potlatch and the
informal relationships of daily life, each person accountable to the other in mutual aid and recognition.

Respect can be understood in the context of expectations in which organized rights, obligations, and accountability are unique to the social position of every person, a condition of value pluralism. Belonging to a particular culture, having internalized such unique systems of expectations, has traditionally involved being party to symbolic cultural capital. Symbolic cultural capital may be seen as a form of gestalt knowledge that affectively and cognitively orients individuals through a dialectic of knowing and recognizing to appreciate and to exercise competence in decoding relations and artifacts (Bourdieu, 1993; Miller & Branson, 1987). The spiritual aspects of such capital are understood as Creator-bestowed and mediated as teachings. The cultural production and exchange of such capital was and is the stuff of ritual and ceremony.

Such symbolic cultural capital was among the most prized by *Nuu-chah-nulth*. Names as heuristics to mythic sensibilities and principles organizing motivation were the chief *tupati* (treasures) among them. Formal, "political" marriages of high-ranking people of substance between *Nuu-chah-nulth* usually included the exchange of names and the playing of games (Drucker, 1951). The names and the game may still be part of the dowry of brides. The challenge was to the family of the groom to meet the demands of the game. One such game is to "spear" the center of a mock seal with an arrow that has a feather tied to the middle. The technological organization of the game is a spoof on the serious technological capital exchange taking place between the families. The cognitive structuring of the resources of the bride and groom’s lineage were carefully selected for

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32 Van Kirk (1980) provides evidence from women's standpoint that what might be classified as "political" or "economic" marriages from western theoretical perspectives did indeed provide *Many Tender Ties* but from a First Nations perspective it represented relationship networks through which resources could flow.
in marital unions historically (Marshall, 1993). The game can be seen as a ludic touch in a serious socio-political exchange and production by the pair.

The game may also be seen as a test of the goodness of fit between the perceptual strategies of the groom and the bride in the context of the groom's family and territory, reflecting patrilocal residency patterns. I remember the night my boy friend petulantly introduced me to Richard, his nephew, the Nuu-chah-nulth man I would later marry. My distinct recollection of that encounter was the nephew’s acumen in systems analysis. His most inventive and comprehensive comparisons were in developing the parallel outcomes between the human digestive system and the bureaucracy of the Department of Indian Affairs. He was a student majoring in English and Anthropology who fished during summers. He was a nephew, with whom, my friend, his uncle, avoided interaction because of social status contradictions created by the contradictions between traditional Nuu-chah-nulth and contemporary life careers. The uncle was younger than the nephew was. The uncle was two years behind him in university. The older, more traditional nephew was more educated and more fluent in the Nuu-chah-nulth language than the younger, more modern uncle was. I could relate to Richard's intellectual resources, his conceptual agility in cross-cultural communication and his rhetoric, the mark of his orality. He was linguistically adept like the grandfather I had lost as a young child, a man with whom to play chess and other strategic, social "games". He was a man with whom I could "play" in socially and conceptually inventive ways, possibly a man to spend time with, potentially a suitable partner for cultural and other (re) productions (Atleo, M. R., 1989). Such gamesmanship can be seen as a test of intellectual resources as well as a test of moral and spiritual fit between people, material resources, and mating strategies.
Games are a culturally valued ability, a family test that women treasure and in which they delight. I remember sitting in the car in an outdoor mall in Richmond when a young girl and her grandmother were walking by on the red brick sidewalk. The little girl looked up at her grandmother and said referring to the pattern on the sidewalk, "Is it a game, Grandma?" My heart leaped because as I was waiting, I found myself "playing" with the design of the sidewalk, arranging and re-arranging it in my imagination the way Nan would encourage me to "play" with the landscape. "No", said her grandmother, "Its just a design." Then the little girl, holding her grandmother's hand looked at the sidewalk lingeringly as she moved on. I wanted to shout at the grandmother to let the girl play with the sidewalk, that it was not merely a "design" but a place to exercise her imagination and learn to embody her territory. It was a place where the concreteness of bricks could become deconstructed by the playful mind of a girl child to prepare her for powerful cultural creativity. Nevertheless, she was being disempowered in the reproductive logic of technicalities by her grandmother.

A Postcolonial Order: A Better Body/Text Fit

Finding a moral and spiritual fit is critical in all aspects in the life of First Nations people. First Nations people made it clear in the colloquially known “Red Paper” (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970) that control over the education of their children was critical because education is ultimately a moral and spiritual pursuit. After years of moral and spiritual betrayal by a system of residential schooling, First Nations people resisted from the brink of annihilation to regain control of their technologies of survival. The way the non-Native had been brokering these technologies through formal schooling was associated with death and cultural devastation. Native people felt morally justified in
taking over that role to broker value and survival to children who would have to survive
in a non-Native world.

From the earliest times, education had been recognized as a source of symbolic
cultural capital and desired by First Nations people for their children and themselves
(Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970; Miller, 1996). Training and skill development were not
foreign to First Nations child development philosophy (Atleo, M. R., 1989; Kawagley,
1995; McIvor, 1995). Child development is adapted to cultural contexts (Valsiner, 1989).
In the context of the extended family, aboriginal children could learn a repertoire of
complimentary models within a social, technical, and physical context by "looking,
listening and learning" (Miller, 1996:16). Each aboriginal culture had a worldview that
was an educational setting. In such worldviews, children could learn a complex of
attitudes, skills and competencies. Such competence complexes would assure that they
could situate themselves meaningfully in a social, physical and spiritual universe in
which they could participate successfully by contributing to the welfare and defense of
their community. The imported schooling offered by the missionaries was substantively
different in content, context and methodology. It was a schooling not founded on local
knowledge but a set of references from Europe. Such distance between place and
interaction seems to reflect a truly cyborgian philosophy of education (Haraway, 1997).

The schooling offered by missionaries was interestingly Eurocentric in content,
context and methodology (Adams, 1995; Miller, 1996). The educational product
imported into North America was a newly minted commodity reflecting structuralization
and institutionalization of learning in early modernity (Hamilton, 2000). Etymological
evidence suggests that syllabus entered the English language in the early 1500s with class
following shortly thereafter (1519), catechism by 1540, curriculum by 1573, and didaktik
by 1613, signaling a major change in the attention from learning to instruction. Hamilton (2000) calls this an "instructional turn" which signaled a significant change from the old art of teaching to a new methodized art of translating ideas into practice. It marked a shift in the focus of learning to approximate an ideal shifted to a regime of Bildung or political development (Hamilton, 2000). Individualism of early humanism gave way to an ideology of routine, order and above all, method to reproduce civilized community members. Speed and efficiency were hallmarks of modernity, which required a move to questions and answers to test catechumen's knowledge, keep their attention and enhance their comprehension. "[The] instructional turn compromised changes in the relationship between teaching and learning. These activities became bound together - or mediated - by classroom aids, including catechisms. In effect the pedagogic relationship (between teacher and learner), became transformed into the didactic relationship (between learner and curriculum)" (Hamilton, 2000:5). This reified product was imported into the New World for the edification of First Nations people by an ever-increasing number of European settlers.

This educational Eurocentricity meant that European cultural commonsense, "mutant catechisms" (Hamilton, 2000), and methods of delivery, were the mainstays of the educational model applied to aboriginal North Americans. Mission schooling required that Native people accommodate to a Judeo-Christian mytho-logic in order to participate in education, for indeed, the mythos of a people provides the ideological background for cultural action, the logic-in-use. Consequently, European social history was the curricula, the reproductive program that Native children were expected to substitute for their own33. European disease histories that were encoded into the immune

33 Ben Franklin (1706-1790) tells of an offer from "the Commissioners from Virginia" of a scholarship from Williamsburg College for the Six Nations to send "half a dozen" of their young
systems of the settlers and school staff created a health hazard for the Native children
whose immune history was a product of a completely different evolution. Native
Americans were subjected to an education in which reference points were from a
different continent. A different history was substituted for their own. It turned out that
European education for Native children was neither moral nor spiritual.

European culture included low context perspectives (Hall, 1983) encrypted
particularly in the English, German and French languages. Such low context perspectives
included underlying assumptions which were not manifested but lay hidden in a rich
repertoire of psychological extensions developed through a textual literacy, "natural" for
living at a distance (Ong, 1982). The semantic content of language provided few clues
that the reference points for the action and objects, the ground from which the metaphors
sprang, were afar. The Biblical Jerusalem was in the Middle East, far from the North
American territories in which First Nations lived. As people of a diaspora who had lived
for millennia in a de-centered world, Jews, living under duress, developed sensibilities in
which the spiritual and secular homes were distanced from each other. For example, for

men to be "educated" there. "It is one of the Indian Rules of Politeness not to answer a public
Proposition the same day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light manner, and
that they show it Respect by taking time to consider it, as of a Matter important. They therefore
deferr'd their Answer till the Day following; when their Speaker began, by expressing their deep
Sense of the kindness of the Virginia Government, in making them that Offer; 'for we know,'
says he, 'that you highly esteem the kind of Learning taught in those Colleges, and that the
Maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are
convinc'd, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal, and we thank you heartily.
But you, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things;
and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be
the same with yours. We have had some Experience of it; Several of our young People were
formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your
Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of
living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin,
take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for
Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the
less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to our grateful Sense of it, if the
Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their
Education, instruct them in all we know, and make MEN of them.' (Lauter, 1998: 754-755).
religious Jews or Zionists, Jerusalem may have been the spiritual center of the universe but "Any Street" in "Any Country" could become home. The diaspora writings of postcolonialists such as Bhabha (1994), Said (1993) and Spivak (1994) whose homelands as they knew them have disappeared in the political reorganization of modernity exhibit a de-territorialization and de-centration similar to the most textualized diaspora documented in the canon of the west, the Torah or Old Testament of the Bible.

While some members of diaspora that came to settle North America came under duress, many came by choice. Colonists who came by duress or by choice also began to live distanced from their "spiritual" and "cultural" homes in their self designated "new world". While these new people lived in the territory, the European reference points were often always "in the old country". Evidence of such thinking were place names such as "New York", "New Amsterdam," "Durham County" bestowed upon new world settlements with reference to "back home".

First Nations people were attempting to deal with the new people living in their territory by relating to them directly, not understanding that the face-to-face interaction left much un-revealed. First Nations people had expected the education of the missions to be both moral and spiritual because the priests and nuns continuously spoke of God. First Nations leadership listened to these juxtapositions of spirituality, morality, and education. They took the religious at their word by providing land for schools and cooperated by delivering their children (Miller, 1996). However, the reference points of the European missionaries and those of the First Nations were fundamentally different. The missionaries had European reference points complete with a morality, a spirituality informed by reference points at a distance. Colonists were aware that their points of reference were at a distance, that the standards to be applied were their own (Jaenen...
1986; Furness, 1992; Tinker, 1993) These religious educators were very clear that their teachings were to be substitutes for the local knowledge and teachings that were available to First Nations people.

As educators using their own experience as pedagogy, the missionaries seemed to lack the reflexivity to understand implications of the distanced nature of their spirituality, morality, psychology, and educational methodology. The spiritual thinking presented to the children had an abstract quality very different from the earth-bound spirituality so evident at home. The teaching was filled with rules and punishments rather than the moral logic that filled the narratives and stories that the grandparents told. The unconditional positive regard and compassionate minds of grandparents' and the community were replaced with punishments, and restrictions, as incentives to learning. The mission education did not provide training and development in “mythic thinking”, the kind of thinking that could make sense of history and the present at the same time, the kind of thinking that was and is associated with oral traditions in which sensation had not yet been reduced to words (Ong, 1982). First Nations resisted and rejected these teachings and methods. Huron, Iroquoian, and Mohawk children were already dropping

34 In 1688, Mother de l'Incarnation observed that "it is however a very difficult thing, although not impossible, to francize or civilize them. We have had more experience in this than any others. [w]e find docility and intelligence in them, but when we least expect it they climb over our enclosure and go to run the woods with their relatives, where they find more pleasure than all the amenities of our French houses. Savage nature is made that way; they cannot be constrained, and if they are they become melancholy and their melancholy makes them sick. Besides, the Savages love their children extra-ordinarily and when they know that they are sad they will do everything to get them back, and we have to give them back to them (Jaenen, 1986:58)."

35 Furness (1992) reports on the legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School during the early days of the Residential School investigation by the Cariboo Tribal Council.

36 Tinker (1993), a Native American theologian, interrogates the contribution of prominent missionaries to the cultural genocide of Native Americans and concludes that it is ongoing because gospel values have been confused with European cultural values with genocidal results.
out of schools in Quebec in the mid 1600's even with "the Jesuits' conniving, blandishments and pressures " (Miller, 1996:44). There was little hope in the classroom for the First Nations person whose history was denied. Not until aboriginal people like the Brants, in the tradition of Thayendanega (Captain Joseph Brant) at Six Nations got involved was there some systematic success in schooling (Miller, 1996). Because Aboriginal teachers had to reconcile personal sociohistorical and professional development in their educational process, they could mediate the disparate worldviews of their experience in ways that non-aboriginal teachers never could. The construction of instruction, the curriculum alone, could not reflect such since it contained the "instructional turn" constructed of vestiges of hidden culture. The instructional turn is a dimension which well-meaning educators have yet to excavate from the bowels of their practice in an age of postmodernism and postcolonialism, a necessary project if there is to be a politics of hope in education (Giroux, 1997).

Mythic Sensibilities

At a very deep level, mythic thinking is required to appreciate and exercise competence in decoding cultural relations and artifacts. Teaching requires mythic sensibilities (Moore, 1996) that can both create and interpret teachings. This is a sensibility "so deep, so collective in tone, full of memory that goes back so far as to feel antecedent to personal life and even to human life" (p. 20). First Nations people lived steeped in mythic sensibility. Mythic thinking and sensibilities are products of experience and training in oral traditions that can create and re-create teachings.

Some characteristics of logic are suggested by Akan (1992), Lightening, (1992) and Ong (1982) to differentiate between oral and literate styles of thought and expression. Oral logic is considered to be additive rather than subordinate or analytic (Ong, 1982).
Elders are considered to teach in metaphors (Akan, 1992; Lightening, 1992). Oral logic is typified as being redundant, conservative, close to the life world, antagonistically toned ("under distancing situates knowledge within a context of struggle" (Ong, 1982: 44). Oral logic is considered to be empathic (Ong, 1982). Elders are portrayed as teaching with a compassion and gentleness that is not to disturb or antagonize the learner/listener (Akan, 1992; Lightening, 1992). Oral logic is deemed to be homeostatic and situational rather than abstractly identified (Ong, 1982). Orality involves extensive use of listening that can permit the external world to register on the internal world with sound “without violating it” (Ong, 1982: 71). A philosophy of listening then would be central to an oral tradition in which oral histories and mythologies are featured. A philosophy of listening requires the active engagement of the listener with the teller of the story (Akan, 1992; Lightening, 1992; Fiumara, 1992) and their mutually constructed environment.

There are three major ways in which stories are used in Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations learning, informal learning in instructional moments, formal learning during private individual ritual and activities and formal learning during public group rituals and ceremonies. The stories of First Nations people are often told in instructional moments, learning opportunities. The teaching often did not begin until the listener was ready. Nuu-chah-nulth teachings suggest that meals were the best time to “feed” the listener stories because they would be more receptive. Another “best time” is when the individual sought out the teaching and was ready to hear. The reciprocity between the storyteller and the listener was seen as a deeply structured dialectic that required high levels of engagement by both parties. For Nuu-chah-nulth, these may be directly instructional, haa-hunpa (lectures) or himwitsa (entertaining stories often about the mythical past). Evenings were the time for repeated telling of stories complete with songs and noises and riddles and jokes. Stories were performances usually by elders who
had the cultural world and territories inscribed in their bodies to be played back with the words of the story. Stories within stories were performed at the Kluquanna and other ceremonies because the stories were enacted in song and dance and rhetoric. The stories formed the backdrop against which the present made sense in these formal settings. The third setting for formal use of stories was in ritual sites where individuals and sometimes their partners used stories to develop goals and plans of enactment. The informal use of stories is usually emphasized because the formal public setting for education with stories, the Kluquanna, was outlawed with the potlatch laws and the private, personal use of stories may be seen as too intimate, to psychological to consider educational.

Mythic sensibility and thinking is the living individual experience of participating in a larger collective experience of these mythologies through listening and feeling. It is in these mutual sensibilities that symbolic cultural capital is recognized. Over the past several hundred years the symbolic cultural capital of Nuu-chah-nulth and other First Nations has been denied or plundered with impunity but has survived. The stories have been plundered as ethnographies just as the ceremonial artifacts, de-legitimated and hidden away. The discounting of the mythological traditions left First Nations people effectively powerless, in part because of the loss of intimate connections found in oral traditions between bodily cues between the stories and action.

Lightning (1992) and Akan (1992) help us to understand the process of textualization and the understanding of elders in practice. Lightning (1992) traces the process of textualization by citing Cree Elder Louis Sunchild’s principles. The principles of unity include connecting our mental, biological, emotional and spiritual dimensions and cycles of time in which to maintain balance. This allows us to maintain a connectedness between others, and ourselves and cultivate compassion as a discipline so
that we can *create harmony* behaviorally, attitudinally, in our interactional dynamics, within and between our bodies and those of others. Akan (1992) makes twelve observations about understanding Saulteaux elders. Of these, I cite only a central imperative for understanding for each. 1) Cultivate an attitude of gratitude. 2) Cultivate perseverance. 3) Pursue active good thinking. 4) Employ repetition checks that reinforce understanding. 5) Use “good talk”, a prayer, a hope, a model. 6) Wait expectantly for the narrative to make sense. 7) Remember that understanding lies in the reciprocities between teaching and learning. 8) Listen for the multidimensions (i.e., ceremonial, reality, meta-realities, personalities) of elder-speak. 9) Traditionalist Saulteaux teaching (i.e., synchronizing concept and action) crystallizes in metaphor. 10) The multidimensional nature of Saulteaux cosmology is not easily conveyed in text. 11) The teachings are provided and learned embedded in multiple environments, difficult to convey in text form. 12) Value reasoning and a good spirit aids learning for cultural competence. Akan's reflection on the translation of elder teaching into text suggests a progression that combines both procedural and declarative knowledge that is embedded in the practical reasoning of individuals that can be highly personal.

There is a highly intimate tone to Akan's (1992) conversation with Alfred Manitopeyes that makes me uncomfortable in this translation possibly because the sacredness expressed between the Elder and Akan is not usually of a public order. It seems too intimate, too personal. It makes me feel like a "spy". This conversation is within culture and I feel uncomfortable because it is Saulteaux and I do not know Saulteaux culture and I do not feel contextualized enough. Manitopeyes’ distinction is between schooling and Saulteaux teaching, suggesting that the ideal is to be able to balance the two in a bi-focal education. Elders often seem more modern than the young do because they know how to integrate new ideas, technology and social practices into
the culture. Elders possibly have the developmental ability to shift between perspectives whereas younger people do not have the personal or cultural development and hence flexibility to readily transform cultural forms. To me, Manitopeyes is not telling us to incorporate these intimate teachings into schooling but to bring the non-native teachings of formal education into cultural ways of learning (where they can be tested). By validating her version of the conversation with the elder in collaborative interaction, Akan brings us into the cultural context of the interaction. With this enlarged understanding of the dimensions of protocol, I can begin to consider how to treat the *Umeek* narrative in the context of such protocols identified by First Nations (re)searchers as important.

Nan Margaret placed me in the center of her action and storied me in my world. Her oral method was to teach me the bodily, visual, social, linguistic and environmental cues as signs of our mutual world. Her string figures, cloudscape analysis, and driftwood animals were all teaching aids to help me see the unseen. She taught me how to anticipate the possible by endlessly straining for signs on the Channel that runs in front of *Maaqtusiis*. I learned to watch and listen diligently, emptying my body of noise to perceive the signs. We processed my perception dialogically. She assisted me in embodying this new-to-me world as she wove me through reading of the signs in the poetics of metonymy and synecdoche. She taught me to weave myself into a new-to-me world that would become my world as I situated myself beside my husband's seat and it became my *niismaa*, my home. She storied me as a legacy for my children, her *kʷaaʔuuq* (grandchild) and *laayacqum* (great grandchild). Nan Margaret indicated very clearly, where I was situated. She wove me and my children into the genealogies of the *Nuuchah-nulth* until it became a solid weave. She provided me a pattern for a present and future self in which I could no longer differentiate myself as a *mamulthnee*, a person who
floats in boat, a person with no territorial connection, a "white person". She had incorporated me into the warp and weft of her weave, into the very fabric of Nuu-chah-nulth past, present, and future even as she wove the whale and the thunderbird onto her baskets. I had become a willing container for her culture.

With Nan Margaret, I participated in an education that transformed me culturally, psychologically, socially, physically, and bodily. How different this was from a textualized education, from a psychologically distanced Eurocentric worldview that demanded that First Nations people leave their bodies and indigenous sensibilities behind to learn. How different from an education in which the metaphorical strategy of modernity dominated consciousness because the "thing" had been lifted out of the "context of signs" to take on a life of its own. Learning a "life world" through schooling is like an out of body experience where the only connections may have been made between the sounds of phonics and the visual letters which connected the word and the body. To achieve the ability to function in a Eurocentric textuality required a distancing from the body and an understanding of the mythological systems of a foreign worldview. This was the case for Nuu-chah-nulth and colonized people all over the world. The social movement of de-colonization has at its center cultural reclamation which brings First Nations people to a place where symbolic and material cultural capital are being "Ha-maat-sup," called home from museums from around the world, out of attics and smokehouses, dusted off, brought out to be shown and heard, felt and experienced.

Nuu-chah-nulth people watch ourselves participating with the story that has been unfolding from time immemorial. Moore's (1996) conceptualization of mythic thinking/sensibility begins to come closest to my experience. Myth can provide salvation in the face of the pragmatics of everyday demands. Mythic thinking liberates me in the
crucible of oppression when the waves are high and the struggle must and will go on. Mythic thinking helps me to be inclusive because its wellspring is natural rationality, which involves me bodily, sensorally. Mythic thinking allows me to acknowledge concrete, secular realities without being earthbound. Mythic sensibility cradles me in the crux of time that provides more than a historical sensibility. The concern of psychology with secular constructions of living has wrung the breath out of the body. The concern of sociology with the construction of right and left angles of society hardens the relationships that are tenuous at best and fleeting at least into bricks to build centers of bureaucracy or to throw through store windows.

Education motivated by moral and spiritual needs is the quest of First Nations people. The "Red Paper" (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970) reflected the stand that First Nations people took demanding the right to meaningfully participate in the educational quest. While there have been some inroads over the past twenty-five years there is a need for greater participation. There needs to be a more meaningful opportunity beyond the constraints of the demands of an as yet un-negotiated social contract between First Nations and the levels of Canadian governments, the vestiges of which are compressed into the classroom, texts, pedagogy, and curriculum.

Adult education has historically been associated with "spreading the word" and advancing social movements and is currently preoccupied with filling the culture gap between technological innovation, global resource restructuring and finite elasticities of human adaptation. For First Nations this gap has been very wide. While adult education began slowly, it is now exploding to address the needs of Native communities. Adaptive capacities often lag behind the uncritical acceptance of technological innovations. As treaties are being negotiated in British Columbia, First Nations communities are
beginning to analyze the nature of their engagement with technological innovations ranging from organizational development in governance and health care to energy use in ecologically sensitive areas. However, for First Nations, some of the biggest gaps are the current lack of value accorded to mythic sensibilities in the educational system and the lack of opportunity for creative expression.

Capacity building in Third World economies and restructuring of capacity in the transforming economies of the Western World are important areas of participation by adult educators. Capacity building in the Fourth World, the indigenous world, has been mainly an uncritical acculturation of self-colonization through upgrading and college transition programs. High levels of public resources are being invested in training and skill development for new work in both First Nations and non-First Nations communities. The economic participation issues, which have long faced First Nations workers, are facing more of the general population. A reorientation to the notion of work is required. While much government supported training and skill development is going on, the new work is still largely undefined. Influenced by the work of French economic and social theorists, Rifkin (1996) predicted a new social contract in which production of information, communications, and intellectual property prevails, giving rise to a predominantly social economy. And while Toffler (1980) predicted information economies, there was little expectation of the extent to which social dimensions would be brought into the foreground.

This change in focus foregrounds the social aspects of the information economy and backgrounds the material aspects. The shift from a materialist perspective, foregrounding concrete resources, to a social perspective, foregrounding social and informational resources, is vital at a time in history where we stand on the threshold of
ecological crisis. Historically, the occupational orientations of Western societies to work has been instrumentally defined as employment, occupation, and career. If we are undergoing a transformation from materially defined production to understanding production as socially constructed, we may need new metaphors for work and the production of knowledge for work. Revisiting vocation as the moral and spiritual orientation to social production may be timely.

To move from a material to a socio-cognitive orientation it may be useful to look to Fay (1987) who suggests that underlying theory are master narratives, stories, myths that have guided western society from antiquity. A postmodern perspective such as that provided by Lyotard (1997) suggests that the consciousness of the global village denies master narratives, instead, the narratives of peoples abound and prevail as a many-layered infrastructure of global society. To tap into these underlying narratives would seem to require mythic sensibilities and mythic thinking rather than mythological production.

As a multicultural nation, Canadian society would theoretically be a product of the ancient teachings of many societies. For government to support the re-orientation of First Nations populations to changing global economic opportunities would seem to require an understanding of how some First Nations narratives become the underlying plot lines in personal narratives. Cochran (1990) maintains that it is such underlying plot lines that motivationally organize vocational interest and direction. It is possible that principles of narrative legacies can be transformed repeatedly in a process of reorientation to resource structures if social organization is fore grounded and mythic sensibilities engaged. Understanding the relationship between career development and narrative (Cochran, 1997) becomes a key aspect of learning and educating for continuity and change. While the concept of instrumental knowledge (Habermas, 1971) has been
translated as technological knowledge, the word vermittlung connotes systems that mediate. This points to the need for an instrumental knowledge base about systems that mediate transformational learning i.e. socially embedded narratives that structure the transformation (Csikzentmihalyi & Beattie, 1979).

Summary

In this second chapter, I have shaken more stories out of my qa?uuc (utility basket). Concerned with the problem of Nuu-chah-nulth disappearing into the landscapes of non-native psyches to become invisible and negated, I introduced two men in the full range of their figurative substance: as chiefs in the sweep of myth, history and constitutive interests as enacted in their life careers. I explained the process whereby Nan Margaret wove me into the basket materially and culturally even as she rewove herself a in new order of self reflexivity in the movies, through access to new technologies and social access and, of course, a plethora of containers. Basketry is gives way to Tupperware in which embodied production knowledge gives way to social production of consumption knowledge. Luther's Bible gives us some insight about spirituality rooted in one's own language that it might be available for ones' own logic-in-use. The alienation of modernity and access to mass market goods are some of the containers from which I have drawn forth the problem, identified the purpose and also illuminated the background for the story in which my study is situated. The central problem is that traditional Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations (hi)stories and learning theory are absent from the current education of Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations. Consequently, the purpose of this study is to gather together a complex of Nuu-chah-nulth narratives that they may be confirmed by Elders and then analyzed for the learning theory encoded in their structure, content, dynamics and situation.
I began chapter one with the concept of "ma'mook" (work) and that of "qa'unč" (utility basket) because cultural tools are required to create cultural utilities that demand deep cultural learning. Universal and particular aspects of basketry and action processes are metaphors that speak to the heart of learning. While Archibald (1997) and I approach cultural work differently, we can use the same principles and processes to provide some standards for this work. *Salishan* and *Wakashan/Nuu-chah-nulth* people live side by side and, over millennia, have come to some similar protocols for cultural activity that are also useful for working cross-culturally.

First Nations cross-cultural protocols have been usurped over a period of active colonization by European powers, replaced by epistemic violence and disrespect for boundaries of cultures, peoples and selves. The cultural work possible here is to re-establish some of these boundaries so that what was, is, and what may be can be tried. In this way, we can possibly measure the gap between non-native teaching and native learning at a level that is greater than the individual. Understanding education as a cultural gap between theory and practice allows us to examine the dynamic between the two as culture specific, mediated by cultural stories that weave the individual into the "storybasket" of the group and its social system. From this perspective we can possibly better understand that within this cultural weave are scripts for life careers that permit expectations and make day-to-day navigation more socially predictable and not just a biological process.

After more than 4000 years of elaboration in the territory, *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture has developed as socially and politically complex. While the lifestyle dominance of western institutions (state work, school, religion) has disrupted the cultural life career of *Nuu-chah-nulth*, to understand the effects we need to go back to understanding the
sacred. Historically, in the western world also, sacredness was central to living. In the context of European development to modern times, that sacredness in, for example, work/occupation/vocation, was seen to have developed from a calling, to a trade/profession and more recently to a stage of the life span. These shifts are made possible through a socio-historical analysis that reflects the demands of a global village requiring continuous re-orientation to change.
Chapter III - Klaaq-ish-peethl - Standards and Sorting Criteria

In the first two chapters, I provided an overview of this investigation and stories that were gathered, both from the oral Nim-chah-mulh and the modern scientific tradition of ethnography. In this chapter, I investigate the manner in which the narratives have been gathered, their thematic authenticity about learning through interviews with the Elders and a narratological analysis of the stories to understand the context. Thus, I begin this section with a detailed description of the methodological rationale to provide a lens that the reader can use in looking for the grounding of the stories of the Umeek Narratives before they are presented in Chapter IV. The criteria and protocol for Elder participation is described and the elders are introduced. The method of the narratological analysis is then described.

Klaaq-ish-peethl, literally means "(liquid) fat poured (on the ground)" which in a traditional economy of sealing and whaling, suggests a bounty and level of success in which the riches are so plentiful that the fat literally runs all over the ground or is thrown on the fire to demonstrate the excess. The methodology then is from a perspective of where plenty or bounty, if appropriately accessed, can be grabbed out of the air requiring an attitude of positive expectation. The connotation of success in this economy is also based in a cultural method for achievement in which appropriate conduct permits the materialization of anything which can be grabbed out of the air or conceptually

37 The blubber or fat of sea mammals when rendered becomes liquefied at room temperature, turning into a golden amber that traditionally could be burned for light and heat in the big houses during feasts. The fat of land mammals is generally hard at room temperature. The re-built Atleo big house had a complimentary name meaning "fat that was hard" or Himix-klaaq. The reciprocal names suggest that it was a house with bountiful land and sea resources in which this bounty could de and re-materialize.

38 During a 1970 birthday feast planning session for Shawn Atleo, when someone asked which songs would be sung, Joe Titian said that there were so many to choose from, such bounty, that they could be "grabbed out of the air".
constructed. Consequently, this chapter discusses the process and rationale of the study: "why this way" as methodology and "how" as method.

Investigating *Nuu-chah-nulth* narratives about *Umeek* as a learning site required that I be sensitive to the place of these narratives from a traditional *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural perspective, understand the role of these narratives from an oral perspective, and apprehend what happens when these narratives are textualized into another language and then again made accessible in English for *Nuu-chah-nulth* and others. Interaction with the Elders during an interview phase shed light on this process.

Being able to analyze the teachings of these narratives to see if they contain useful models of learning requires a deconstruction of the narrative by issues salient to *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural perspectives and an examination of the story by elders for what it says about learning. My approach reflects assumptions of cultural continuities such as outlined by Golla (1988) from her work with the *Tseshaht* and thus employs aspects of culture that can cut through social and economic change and disruption (e.g., aspects of social structure). The 4Rs (reverence, respect, responsibility, and relations) & 4Ds (wholism, interrelatedness, reciprocity, and synergy) guide the process through the levels of investigation.

**Methodology**

Issues of learning and change in socio-economic roles as (re) orientation are best addressed by a qualitative methodology that Trudy Frank, *an Ahousaht elder*, maintains entails, "Just watching until it becomes clear to you" (2000, personal communication). From a western perspective, I look to narrative inquiry using tropic (metaphoric) and narrative analysis to interrogate the narratives and a grounded theory approach to the reflections of the elders.
A subjective phenomenological approach is most suitable to "draw our attention to the always presupposed and actually present background of our actual experience...dispensing with the traditional mystifications..." (Langer, 1989, p. xvi).

Phenomenological psychology can contribute because it seeks to "uncover, ... the behavioral side of the total unvarying structure of phenomena, meaning-oriented behavior's complete 'how'" (Fuller, 1990, p. 33) mediating between physical energies existing outside the organism and the meanings on the inside. Fuller (1990) presents phenomenology as the science of meaning events, which takes us into hermeneutics. A hermeneutic, in which "Verstehen" in the tradition of Dilthey (Rickman, 1979) is used to bridge the gaps between the initial ethnographic production by Boas (1897) and the later versions and (re)interpretations. These (re)interpretations include my synthesis informed by Nuu-chah-nulth teachings and those texts produced by non-Natives (Boas, 1897, 1909, 1921; Curtis, 1916; Sapir & Swadesh, 1939; Drucker, 1951). The oral renditions remembered by contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth fill in the gaps. This research triangulates between the text(s), the perceived meanings of the oral versions and the practice of contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth as understood by the Elders as they reflect back on their history. Bourdieu (1990, 1993) contributes to the time/space components of meaning, perception and experience in this context by his insight on habitus.

Bourdieu (1990, 1993) conceptualizes habitus as a "system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, disposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." (1993:5). Habitus has been described as a feel for an activity or that which constitutes common sense, "a set of dispositions which generates practices and perceptions..."
result of a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood which becomes... second nature" (1993:5). This system of dispositions provides the principles of continuity, regularity and transformations in the context of a field of social relationships to maintain a relational mode of cultural production. Within the field of cultural production, Bourdieu posited that the objective relations between social positions are important to the type of production in the field, which they occupy. Such production is not restricted to material production but may include restricted (small scale 'market') production and include symbolic capital ("the degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity consecration or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge and recognition") (1993:7) and cultural capital. The latter is a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and artifacts...(which) is accumulated through a long process of ...pedagogical action of the family or group members (family education) educated members of the social formation (diffuse education) and social institutions (institutional education). (p. 7)

The concept of habitus in a cultural field may be seen as a "radical contextualization" and is inseparable from Bourdieu's theory of practice in which the systematic unity of social life and the existence of structural and functional homologies among all the fields of social activity permit the transfer of concepts from one field to another that the epistemological tradition recognizes in analogy. He derived his logic of cultural practice through field work with the Kabyle and then turned it inward on his own embodied Frankish habitus to more deeply understand its 'fuzzy logic' or mimesis\textsuperscript{39} that defies the logician (1993). Consequently, we look to the Elders who have embodied

\textsuperscript{39}Mimesis (from the Greek, imitation) is more like representation rather than imitation in the way that a photo represents the physical reality of a flower, a moment, a person. The poet, the painter, the novelist all create a mimesis of reality (Audi, 1999:572).
Nuu-chah-nulth habitus and who are of a developmental age at which they can reflect on their own practice and that of the community in light of history and the present and who have future expectations.

Participant Criteria

I had proposed to ask five Nuu-chah-nulth elders both male and female to participate with me in this project. In the group of participants, I wanted to include at least one pair that had cohabited over much of a complete life career (including a period of child rearing) to confirm the translations and provide additional insights from their developmental perspectives both as individuals and as partners in the process. Consequently, I solicited participants based on several criteria. One was linked to their ability to move between oral and textual ways of thinking because they would have to read the story and relate to the story through a Nuu-chah-nulth way of knowing. This meant that the participants all were textually literate, spoke Nuu-chah-nulth and had demonstrated some belief in the value of educational participation. I spoke with thirteen people and handed out as many information packages that included the *Stories of Umeek*, the questions to be asked in the interviews and the consent forms. Most of these information packages were handed out so that the individuals would know what the study was precisely about on a need to know basis. Five people chose to participate. Three individuals received copies of the *Stories of Umeek* so that they could comment on the use of names only. One of the individuals to whom I had given a package refused because he felt that "women steal knowledge from the families of the men they become involved with". The rest of those who received packages were generally unresponsive when I asked when they would have time for an interview. As I read that as reluctance to participate, I did not pressure them. Several other packages were handed out and
interviews were attempted. Information was exchanged informally. Because potential participants could read the stories first, they had control over whether they wanted to talk about material, which might seem sensitive.

The Interview Procedure

My interview procedure operated at two levels. First, the interview procedure I used was modeled at one level after that developed by Craig and Smith (1997) in the context of academic requirements for First Nations topics developed through the Long Beach Model Forest by the Traditional Ecological Knowledge Group. Craig and Smith sought permission from Chief Umeek (Dr. E. Richard Atleo) to work in the territory of his ha-hoo-thee (rights and obligations of management) and with the people of his ha-hoo-thee (those who had participant roles). Second, at another level, my rights and obligations guided my interview procedure as part of the ha-hoo-thee of the Atleo lineage. My work was done with the permission, encouragement and participation of Chief Umeek (E. Richard Atleo) as a function of my role as his partner in the rights and obligations of this ha-hoo-thee. The procedure within the ha-hoo-thee to which I must adhere is similar to the principles identified and systematized by Archibald (1997) that reflect relationships rather than methodological technicalities. Because of the ha-hoo-thee relationships, I stand as a relative and a co-participant with the interviewees. This second level of procedure has elements of participatory research that requires reflexivity of a high order to meet requirements of disclosure and methodological accountability by myself as researcher and ha-hoo-thee participant.

Because these participants were closely related to me, I found it very awkward to move into an interviewing mode with them. The procedure I employed included understanding and acknowledging social relations of ha-hoo-thee and Nuu-chah-nulth
culture. Consequently, these are not merely "procedures" but "protocols". What are the "protocols" for interviewing relatives when the word "interview" denotes "an official formality and etiquette observance" (Hawkins, 1986)? What was my etiquette with them? A further investigation of the word "etiquette" brought me to the word "protocol" which in turn brought me to the notion of "glue" (Hawkins, 1986) and kolla/collagen which is "connective tissue" (Keeton & Gould, 1986). Collagen is comprised of protein fiber bundles that "are flexible but resist stretching and confer considerable strength on the tissues containing them" (Keeton & Gould, 1986:149). I could see that "protocols" in this instance were a social technology by which to maintain relationships between formal entities. "Protocol" is a word denoting a dynamic space created by individuals in which integrative connectiveness could be negotiated. I recognized that place. Nan Margaret had initiated me into that place as she taught me. I conducted the interviews in a dialogic process in which I actively participated as a participant with cultural knowledge.

The Interviews

One hour taped interviews were conducted with Nelson Keitlah, Gertrude and Edwin Frank, Louie Joseph, and Elsie Robinson. These interviews were conducted between August 18 and November 30, 1999. All of the respondents indicated on their letters of consent that they wanted to be identified especially since they saw the research as important to bring out the stories.

Method

Investigating Nuu-chah-nulth narratives about Umeek as a learning site requires a design that allows me to: 1) be sensitive to the place of these narratives from a traditional Nuu-chah-nulth cultural perspective, 2) understand the role of learning in these narratives from an oral perspective, 3) understand what happens when those narratives are written
(textualized) into another language and then made accessible for Nuu-chah-nulth and cross culturally.

For the teachings of these narratives to be identified as learning models, which can be tested and theorized about, requires a deconstruction of the narrative synthesis. Issues salient to Nuu-chah-nulth cultural perspectives organize this deconstruction. Consequently, I used a perspective that focuses on cultural continuities, and as Golla (1989) outlines, enduring cultural dimensions that can cut through social and economic change and disruption and the voices of the Elders.

My concept of this investigation was to look at the orienting function of the Umeek narratives and their enduring utility in a modern setting. Such continuity of orienting function would be made possible by a process of mapping attributes and qualities of the models in the stories into a modern context. Thus, the narratives remain the same but the personal translations by individuals reflect their own idiosyncratic mapping process. The idiosyncratic mapping process by many provides a pattern of overlapping cultural response to traditional ideology as expressed through such narratives.

A similar mapping process was part of my learning through mentoring into Nuu-chah-nulth culture by the elders in my family of re-orientation. This process began by their recognition of me structurally (as the partner of a seated person in a lineage) and was associated with particular ideological expectations for that position. I was not expected to grow up into a stereotypical Ahousaht-achsup but a particular woman in a particular position with particular roles that included standards of conduct, social obligations and privileges. Consequently, for me, the cultural logic, the logic of metaphoric transformations, became an important dimension of socialization. I recall
that among the earliest exercises was learning how "to frame" by watching Nan create string figures, and together finding "embedded" objects or pictures in the rocks, stands of forest, shells, or configurations of landscapes on our walks or from the window. This early skill training was a game for me that was "fun" as I followed her orientation. I enjoyed it and became good at it, making meaning with the woman who had been my partner's primary care giver when he was a young child. She interacted with me from a "compassionate mind" in which I was the grandchild's spouse that needed teaching and guidance in the right way to go.

Indeed, it was like starting all over again, learning what to pay attention to and how to behave. Sometimes angry stares and sharp comments by maternal uncles curtailed my growing social self-confidence as an Ahousaht but Nan Margaret was always willing to answer my endless barrage of questions. Her cultural cues were never dogmatic or prescriptive but guided me by a poetic logic and a compassionate (inclusive, positively affective, encouraging, forgiving) mind, reminiscent of the experiences described by Lightening (1992) and Akan (1992) of learning from the teachings of Elders. My early immigration experience had been like being thrown into the deep end of the pool and being expected to swim. Nan's facilitation of my entry into Nuu-chah-nulth cultural life was very different and the social refocusing a pleasure rather than a hardship. Marie-Francoise Guedon (1994) similarly reports that she was treated like a child that needed cultural socialization during her fieldwork among the Dene.

This was in fact a much superior experience than my entry into Canadian culture had been where only the schoolteacher provided some orientation to what was required. Recently it occurred to me that one of the issues surrounding a historical record for First Nations is that the historical record is always embodied in the oldest living person as
opposed to being in a textual record. By looking at Elders and hearing about their lives, one can always see the proofs of the philosophy they espouse. We have living evidence of the proof of their philosophy and pragmatics. It is a process that does not require us to read about many dead ends, some of them literally "dead end philosophies", as with writers who commit suicide but whose thoughts live on to possibly ensnare others. When we speak with Elders, we can see how they have embodied history.

Such embodied history presents authentic cultural re-creation as each generation of Elders who engage with cultural issues, attitudes, components, etc. works out traditional myths and stories in their lives. In the 1990-93 British Columbia Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood investigation of First Nations formal education in the province of British Columbia, E. R. Atleo (1993) and a group of First Nations Home School Coordinators from throughout the province devised an interview protocol which included questions about the attitudes of students, parents and teachers to historical perceptions of being "Native". For the First Nations developers of that survey protocol, the issues of attitudes toward their historical selves was a central component in their present day/moment decision making, present motivation and perceptions of future opportunities. The historical self of First Nations people was seen to be a critically important component of the pragmatics of modern identity. Working out issues associated with the historical self was seen to help the development of an integrated working self and to be of particular importance in the context of schooling. Social inclusion through government policy initiatives and international support magnified through mass media over time has provided support for the historical self of aboriginal people that has had some impact on success in the school system (Atleo, E. R., 1990).
While traditional narratives of the order of the Umeek narratives are not containers of history, they are orienting landmarks of the historical record to which the embodied script makes references in the projection of a future trajectory. Historical embodiment as a cultural strategy has some limitations but so does textualization without an embodied history. From one perspective, the Umeek, narratives tell the story about the disembodiment of an old vocation (sealing) and the embodiment of a new vocation (whaling) and the psychosocial disruption and reintegration of such a change occurring in a place, a worldview, and a history. The charge of Eurocentric philosophy and epistemology prevailing in education by First Nations people is very much related to the perceived distinction between an embodied or disembodied sense of history and place as it is pedagogically conveyed. Consequently, First Nations pedagogy must address the issue of embodiment at some level. Using tropic (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony) analysis is one way of exploring the distinctions between embodiments of orality and the figurative language of textuality.

Using metaphor like this creates a state in which things usually thought about become things with which to think. Concepts become conceptual tools and conceptual frameworks. Lakoff (1980) says "that the metaphoric mappings are motivated by the power of the source domain in pre-conceptual bodily (gestural) experience" (p. 105). This process, he maintains, arises from early bodily experiences that are at some level spaciotional extensions of cognitive schema of those experiences.

It might be helpful to remember that I am not talking about all metaphors or figures of speech. Indeed some metaphors and figures of speech map from highly abstracted source domains to very concrete target domains. For example, Calliou's (1995:52-54) use of the pedagogical device of the medicine wheel, the circle and four
directions, to contemplate peacekeeping may be seen as an example of this process in curriculum development. She identifies the levels of associations within the principles of sacredness of the organization, unity and interconnectedness of the medicine wheel. There seem to be rules about how these principles fit together and the relationships between levels of association. She acknowledges that different communities have different associations for more concrete levels of association based on their respective cultures. She then maps her peacekeeping model onto the medicine wheel in the form of four constructs: racism, multiculturalism, anti-racism, and peacekeeping. She animates the discussion of her peacekeeping pedagogy with the power and unity and interconnectedness of the medicine wheel. She expounds on the rationale for each placement and connection. The motivational power of the medicine wheel trope (metaphor) provides a powerful dialectic to fuel such a pedagogical approach. The comparative reflexivity this approach provides requires subjectivities to be justified and objectivities to be rationalized as the comparative logic moves between the two domains for students to apprehend.

**Phenomenological Orienteering: Metaphoric Mapping and Blending**

The method that comes closest to what is of interest to me begins with metaphoric mapping. Alverson (1991: 94-117) harnesses Lakoff's investigation of "over" as an image schema to expound on the many ways in which metaphor is related to experience beginning with Lakoff's definition of metaphor as "an experientially based mapping from an ICM (idealized cognitive model) in one domain to an ICM in another domain" (1987: 40).
The idealized cognitive model is one that is perceptually held by an individual based in experience. Alverson (1991) goes on to maintain that, as such, dictionary definitions are often a history of past metaphoric extensions of prototypical models and can be seen in part as a history of past metaphoric activity comprised of a core schema and variations by which appear instances of prototypical aspects of the metaphor. Further, Alverson cites Lakoff's assertion that "each metaphor has a source domain, a target domain, and a source to target mapping ... [and] is motivated by the structure of our experiences" (p. 103). Consequently, one would expect resonance, possibly at an experiential, pre-conceptual, gestalt level between structures of experience and prototypical aspects of metaphor. If traditional narratives served to conceptually organize the ability to shift between pre-conceptual and conceptual levels of understanding then it would be expected that elders might be able to recognize such shifts and be able to articulate the manner in which they are made.

Matters of Salience

Inasmuch as the structure of experience and the metaphors in the *Umeek Narratives* are salient to the Elders in the collaborative interviews one would expect that there might be overlap of aspects of the tropes of interest namely those associated with *learning*. To prompt potential structures of experience evoked by the narratives, some of the questions that I kept in mind during the interviews were: Were the names of the characters accessible to you? If they were not accessible, then why not? Do you recognize the names of the characters? If so, do you understand the meaning of the names? Can you tell what the relationships between the characters are? Do the characters seem believable or familiar? Can you relate to this story? Can you identify some of the conflicts of the story? Can you identify some of the themes of the story?
Can you identify learning opportunities, methods, and progressions in the story? In what situations do you see learning taking place? What types of learning are involved? I had these questions in mind.

There seem to be several models and methods of learning in this narrative complex. The journeys of Umeek, his son, his rival, his father, the rival's witness, all seem to chart perspectives that have substance and interact in a range of ways to move the group as a whole to a new perspective, a new resource orientation. Each develops his own story in what seems to be hazardous spiritual, social and environmental contexts. Habermas (1971) suggests that our orientations are organized by our interests. It would seem to follow that our interests would also reorganize our reorientation. Each model seems to be reorienting to the need based on principles of its own perceived interests. Understanding the interaction between orientations (Ziller, 1988) and interests could be a useful approach to help adult educators support (re) orientations in programming and career choices.
Figure 2 provides a conceptual map for the discussion of how the narratives served to help the Elders look back into *Nuu-chah-nulth* tradition and make inferences about today and the future in the light of principles they read in the *Umeek Narratives*. The *Umeek Narratives* were the lens with which they viewed the source domain of *Nuu-chah-nulth* tradition and mapped their reading onto the target domain of their contemporary bi-cultural milieu. As the Elders make meaning by moving back and forth between cultural domains, the target/source domains can blend as they do in the center of the diagram. This would lead to metaphoric blending (Fauconnier, 1997) and integrative complexity (Turner & Fauconnier, 1999) of skilled *phenomenological orienteering* (Alverson, 1991:95) that would be a key to maintaining an adaptive orientation but also require the ability to move between phenomenological fields. Phenomenologic orienteering consists of the mapping of salient aspects of metaphors from one domain (e.g., a cultural space) onto another domain (e.g., another social or cultural space). This becomes a highly complex, idiosyncratic activity.
The questions that may shed light on this process are: 1) What determines the structural choices in the source domain; 2) What determines the pairings in the source domain with the target domain; 3) What determines the details of the source to target mappings? (Alverson, 1991:99) Alverson maintains that to function as a source domain for a metaphor, the domain must be understood independent of the metaphor. The ground must be understood. How the individuals doing the mapping position themselves would also seem to be a factor. Consequently, cultural stories such as the Umeek Narratives heard by members of the culture would fit such logical strategies. Associations in daily experience may determine the pragmatics. While not all correlations in experience motivate metaphoric articulation, many do (Alverson, 1991).

It would seem then that the Umeek Narrative must be understood in its own cultural logic to be understood as an independent source domain. Following consultations, elders were asked to participate in this process. Since the ethnographic account was recorded by an individual (George Hunt) whose links to lineage and hence to the story are unknown that was interrogated. If the mapper determines the choices about what the salient aspects are between the source domain and the target domain, I need to engage people to help me minimize my biases and ensure more Nuu-chah-nulth conventions of cultural logic, experience, teaching and patterns of relationships. Consequently, the four Elder participants who responded to my request for feedback would then be considered mappers who use the story to make sense of the questions about learning. Who would be other potential users of this story? How do individuals employ this story? How has the story been used publicly?

One example of modern day materialization complete with rationale about how it works might be Richard Atleo's interview in the Ha-shilth-sa upon his graduation with
his doctorate in education from UBC. In the interview, he states that his three degrees are equivalent to Keesta's whales because they come from the same tradition. This would be an example of a mapping of the metaphor whales onto the metaphor post secondary degrees. Keesta landed two gray whales and a blue whale in his lifetime. Richard landed a B.A. and M.Ed., ordinary degrees. Then he landed a big one. He became the first British Columbian First Nations person to receive a Doctorate in Educational Administration from the University of British Columbia. The ma'mook and discipline for achieving both were seen by Richard to be of a similar order: secretive, hidden, difficult, away from the village, misunderstood, unknowable by others who had not gone through the process, etc. The benefit of these degrees to the First Nations community, Nuu-chah-nulth, Ahousaht, and the Atleo lineage were as valuable as whales. Whales became degrees in a new knowledge and information economy. Richard received the name Umeek at this time.

Using metaphor like this creates a state in which things usually thought about are used to think with. Concepts become conceptual tools. Lakoff (1980) says, “that the metaphoric mappings are motivated by the force of the source domain in pre-conceptual bodily (gestural) experience” (cited by Alverson, 1991:105). This process arises from early bodily experiences and is at some level a cognitive extension of these experiences as we move through time and space (Seitz, 2000).

Limitations of Method

Metaphoric mapping as a methodology has not been found to have a widespread application in educational studies. While the utility and function of metaphor has been described from a wide range of perspectives, and science seems to be rife with metaphor, it is only recently that immaculate perceptions in formal scientific research are being
profoundly questioned (Fernandez, 1991:1). Indeed, the scientific model of inquiry, the Theory-Model-Data Triangle Metaphor by Leik and Meeker (1975) as discussed by White (1991) can be unfolded to demonstrate the metaphoric mapping phenomenon inherent in the model of inquiry itself (Refer to Figure 3).

![Figure 3. Theory-Model-Data Double Triangle Metaphor.](image)

The theory-model-data triangle depicts the dialectic of the inductive and deductive process in the scientific enterprise. The model depicts the process by which theory, model, and data are mapped which is of particular interest as it is related to metaphorical mapping. Inductive modes include moving from theory to model (i.e., mathematical generalizations of theory), from model to theory (i.e. substantive interpretation of mathematical patterns), from data to model (i.e., mathematical generalizations of empirical patterns) and from data to theory (i.e. substantive interpretation of data). The deductive modes include moving from theory to model (i.e., formalization of theory), from model to theory (i.e., derivation of substantive hypothesis from mathematical patterns), from model to data (i.e., mathematical prediction or
extrapolation) and from data to theory (i.e., substantive prediction). The term *
substantive* in this context refers to areas of interest or focus such as (in this study)
learning or archetypal characteristics.

The theory-model-data triangle depicts some of the many formal logical functions
that occur in dialectical thinking. To understand what is occurring, it remains that the
process needs to be disrupted in analysis. The mapping methodology has such intuitive
effortlessness that we need to guard against being seduced by its parsimony when, in fact,
upon analysis, it is complex and challenging. Moreover, while the underlying triangle
metaphor looks precise, the lack of mathematical precision of the mapping process
suggests that it is never precise but an approximation. Metaphor has not previously been
used formally in research as a tool to investigate First Nations stories as source domains
for metaphoric mapping from oral tradition.

**Expectations of Methodological Outcomes**

In addition to the production of knowledge, we could ask, does the test of
relevancy of an oral narratives model or method have application to modern life; does the
process of oral narratives have broader application; do the *messages* of some oral
narratives have broader application; does this examination of the
nature/mythology/existence of *historical selves* have any utility?

**Elements of the Narratological Analysis**

The second major aspect of the methodology is the narratological analysis to
identify the elements of the *Umeek Narratives*. The narratives are a synthesis from both

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41 As it relates to the *Umeek* narratives, the outlined methodology looks more like a
research program than a thesis. For the thesis, it may have been sufficient to demonstrate
the nature of the narratives as a source domain and the nature of that source domain as a
potentially important map to use to find a trajectory into the future as it relates to
learning.
the oral and ethnographic (textual) traditions. The narratives are presented in a Nuu-chah-nulth philosophy of *Hisuk-ish-tsa'walk* comprised of sacred, natural histories and cultural environments. The *action* is situated in the archetypal village, the sacred sites, on the beach and on the *highway* of the whale. The *characters* include: the elder chief, the younger chief, the feast guest, the son of the younger chief, the father of the younger chief, the wife of the elder chief, and the *invisible* wife\(^{42}\) of the younger chief and mother of his son. The *themes* include perceptions of change, engagement with change, learning strategies for such engagement. The *conflicts* are based in perceptions of change, response to change and engagement with change.

**Summary**

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the methodology and the method whereby the *Umeek Narratives* were interrogated. In the context of the cross cultural, bifocal challenges of this study, the process of metaphorical mapping and blending, phenomenological orienteering seemed a potentially productive, if untried, method of inquiry. I have delineated the standards and criteria used in the methodology. The phenomenological approach was used to balance the *just watching until it becomes clear* approach. The participant criteria, the interview process and protocols were accounted for. The limits of and expectations for this method were explored. This methodological chapter provided the conceptual tools with which to strategically employ the *watch until it becomes clear* approach as I move to bring out the stories in the next chapter.

\(^{42}\) Albers & Medicine (1983) suggest that the general neglect of Indian women in the media and ethnography is evident in 20\(^{th}\) century writing, as usual in such writings female perspectives and interests are not usually represented in the writings of male scholars and thus remain hidden.
Chapter IV – Ha?maat-sup – Bringing Out the Stories

In Chapter Four, I continue to *ma-mook tum tum* (work of thinking) by bringing out more stories that I heard over the years from Ahousaht Elders (such as, Margaret Atleo, Teddy George, Mark Atleo, Trudy Frank, Mary Little, Robert Thomas, Alfred Keitlah, and Roy Haiyupis) and weaving them together with other stories recorded in several ethnographic sources to understand their cultural import. These include narratives with a focus on whaling or whalers or *meek* (Boas, 1921; Marshall 1993; Jonaitis, 1999; Golla, 1988; Curtis, 1916; Sapir & Swadesh, 1939) such as George Clutesi’s (1990) story of the activities of the archetypal boys *Meek, Qwin, Cholk-niss* as well as fictionalized re-telling by Roderick Haig-Brown (1962, 1971). (See Appendix E for a discussion of how some of stories and the issues that they raise impinge upon my investigation of the *Umeek Narratives*). As with all gathered raw materials, the value and condition of these stories, their content, meanings and uses must be assessed before adding further cultural value or claiming that they represent something of value. Thus, the validity of these stories is verified by the authority of Nuu-chah-nulth Elders. This verification and validation process allows us to assess whether these stories represent a substantive enough tradition for the purpose of the identification of a repertoire of learning archetypes.

Since these learning archetypes are embedded in the stories, a process of analysis was required to make the archetypes(s) visible against the background of territory and culture, orality and textuality, and present and past. Two types of analysis were possible. The first, is a Nuu-chah-nulth analysis that makes more salient the critical features and principles of these stories by looking at the principles, components, functions, and characters, etc. However, such an analysis may be impossible without the cultural self-
consciousness that arises from a critique external to the culture. Consequently, the Elders and I examined the critical features foregrounded in the stories. In keeping with the blended metaphor approach used in this work, there is also background developed through contributions from textual authorities and theory from both a Native and non-native tradition. This permits enough information to make them separately identifiable domains. These contributions come from multiple discipline areas and levels of analysis as required to illuminate the argument.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The stories of Umeek represent a Nuu-chah-nulth phenomenology, thus it becomes important to provide a strong framework in which to nest the narratives to balance an academic discourse that is strongly Eurocentric and textually biased. A strong framework in which to nest the Umeek Narratives is also required so that we can become sensitive to similarities as well as differences in cross-cultural interpretations (Bennett, 1986). A strong conceptual framework differentiates between the strong objectivity (Harding, 1991) of the narratives, a Nuu-chah-nulth historically and culturally mediated observation (Erkenntnisinterese, Scholte, 1984) and the strong objectivity of the methods, research Erkentnisinteresen, used to examine, analyze and interrogate these narratives. The narratives and the narratological methods used in their analysis are evidence of socially situated knowledge (Haraway, 1991). They came from different traditions and consequently need to be distinguished from one another. This issue becomes critical when the products of this research process are to be interpreted as outcomes of both rather than either culture.

To be faithful to a First Nations perspective, this narrative is examined in a balanced logic of both/and that speaks to the interdependence of all things Hisuk-ish-ts'awalk - "everything is one" (related to ecological issues in, Bunnell & Atleo, 1995).
The logic of both/and embraces rather than solves paradox (Bannet, 1993). The dialectical tensions that seem to give rise to contradictions need to be understood even if they cannot be resolved although a higher level of logic may provide a resolution (Bickhard & Campbell, 1996). The core of this paradox may best be understood in the discourse about orality and literacy.

While everything is seen as "one," the issue of interests is recognized by First Nations in historical and contemporary contexts. Pre-contact First Nations traditions suggest that much social effort was focused on balancing interests within and between groups. Marriages often sealed agreements between groups to assure access to resources, technologies, and labor. The Ahousaht story of the war in which the Ootshousahts were virtually exterminated and their few survivors scattered, finds its rationale in the reneging of access to dog salmon that was part of a marital agreement. Such agreements were to provide legitimate access to potential sources of food resources over as much of the Nuu-chah-nulth and adjacent territories as possible. The history of such agreements in the First Nations community required skilled negotiations, rigorous means of recourse should the agreements fail, and continuities through inheritance of such roles so that the oral tradition of the community may be provided with a back-up system of lineage remembrance. The cost of the failure of such agreements was war. Particularly those wars that came after contact included the devastating use of firepower. Such wars were costly in lives and socio-political networks (personal communication, Archie Frank, Stanley Sam). The Atleo lineage was assigned the role of mediator as part of their hahoothee, or rights and obligations of social participation. Consequently, my remembrance comes from lineage teachings that have often been confirmed by speakers and Elders both privately and at public events, but not necessarily remembered by the community as part of everyday knowledge. Recently, though, this information is
surfacing as part of the research associated with treaty negotiations (Craig, 1998; Smith, 1997).

In the colonial period, negotiations of social relationships including marital relationships between First Nations and non-First Nations were constituted quite differently, reflecting differences in social organization and culture of the waves of settlers that came to North American (Van Kirk, 1980; Harmon, 1996). First Nations people negotiating from an oral tradition often exchanged women, sisters and daughters, the highest form of social and cultural capital, with early traders and trappers so that many tender ties (Van Kirk, 1980) of intimate relationships paved the way for trust and certainty in more formal relationships. From a First Nations perspective, making treaties, or formal agreements between nations, had a long history based on assumptions of reciprocity between Nuu-chah-nulth that possibly reached back over four millennia, as long as the territory had been occupied. Such reciprocities were permitted, vertically integrated means of establishing reciprocal relationships between groups over time and historical periods. As relationships became more formalized during the nation-building period non-First Nations colonialists negotiated from a literate tradition exchanging promises from afar written on paper. The differences between these traditions may provide evidence for one reason that the interests of First Nations were severely neglected and why First Nations appealed to higher authorities such as the English Monarch and in this century, the United Nations, when they felt the terms of the treaties were not being met. The memories and interests of First Nations preceded those of the provinces and Canada as a nation. Consequently, First Nations leaders such as George Manuel, the Nisg’aa, and Squamish chiefs knew they had to raise their issues abroad (McFarlane, 1993; Drucker, 1958) as the "many tender ties" and shared grandchildren
were no longer a basis for certainty with the encroachment of the provincial and federal legislation where there were no treaties.

The theory of knowledge constitutive interests (Habermas, 1971) may be used to explore the elements of this narrative complex from a critical perspective to foreground that which is usually backgrounded. Although individuals may embody "narratives", narrative complexes are to be understood as the legacy of a group rather than individuals, hence they require group-based mythic and cultural sensibilities to plumb their depths and develop understanding with which to handle the interpretations of the story. The structure of social norms, affect, manners, and power relations, all that is a part of the ethos of a culture, usually provides the backdrop of any action because the cultural workers know how to orchestrate their actions in that context. A lack of such a framework in cross cultural textualization can be difficult, although it can be, in part, technically remedied by the provision of a framework of protocols that sensitizes the person from outside the culture to the issues that are important to the cultural insider. Consequently, there is a need for a framework that handles the transformation of oral tradition into text form and maintains the cultural consistency because the translation is, after all, social.

The social web of culture is required to remain fixed in the translated version to convey the whole core, its parts, and its dynamic (Finnegan, 1992). The characters of the narrative all have roles to play in which they enact their own stories and in their interaction also enact a community and an inter-community story. Thus, the web of social relations must be maintained in the translation because translation must be a transfer of situations from one culture to another rather than merely words (Finnegan, 1992:194). Self conscious translation needs to take place that is not only true in word but
in deed, in situation, in social context, in lineage values, in group order. The cultural
curtain against which the story is set must be explained so that it can background the
action of the narrative and bring out the meanings to be interpreted.

*Hisuk-ish-tsa'walk - Keeping the Oral Legacies Alive in the Text*

The wellspring of a First Nations perspective lies in the oral traditions that
developed in the territory of the people. Oral traditions underpinning the textuality of
literate cultures are usually taken for granted because they lie at deeper levels of
assumptions (Ong, 1982). These assumptions may be so deeply embedded that they
become accessible only through psychoanalysis or literary criticism (Ong, 1982). Oral
traditions underpinning English, historically taught as part of a liberal education, are
increasingly obscured by an education system that focuses on technologies of economic
survival (e.g., skills, training, and development strategies and field work). Ironically, the
evolutionary survival skills may lie embedded in the stories a purely technological
education tends to obscure.

Another way in which assumptions of orality may come into common discourse is
in authentic cross-cultural interactions. Assumptions hailing from oral traditions can pop
to the surface in the dissonance of cross-cultural interactions taking place under
conditions of authenticity and equality. This is of special concern, since increasingly,
*Nuu-chah-nulth* and many other First Nations people receive teachings from their own
oral traditions through the auspices of the formal education system, mediated by non-
First Nations teachers. For example, Archibald's (1997) project was designed for use in
public and band schools as a curriculum to mediate justice principles for First Nations
children. The assumptions of First Nations based in a still vibrant oral tradition have
began to emerge out of the social movements that are demanding more equities in de-colonizing societies such as Canada and the United States.

**Bridging Orality and Textuality: A Framework of 4Rs and 4Ds**

To bring equities to a common discourse between First Nations and European narrative traditions requires a leveling of the ground through protocols that provide a framework in which culturally organized inequities can be managed to understand the similarities and differences from a comparative perspective. Protocols that deal with the multiple dimensions of political, social, ethical, technical, economic and moral issues of textualization can be crafted (Finnegan, 1992) in the research process to provide safeguards for the living legacies of orality. Understanding orality requires a framework of protocols that allows a textually sensitized perception to apprehend the communication. Archibald (1997), Lightning (1992), and Akan (1992) provide rich description of different levels of protocols with which to understand the cultural work of activities that create and re-create the cultural matrix through stories while leaving the story intact. These coincide with my own experience with lineage Elders and Elders in public teaching situations.

Ethnographers Boas (1897), Curtis (1916), and Sapir and Swadesh (1939) provide a stark contrast to the *cultural work mode* of research inherent in First Nations protocols and exemplified by the 4Rs and 4Ds. As researchers from outside the First Nations cultures they were investigating, their studies would have been based on *scientific* principles and their own resourcefulness in a newly emergent field of anthropology and linguistics. These ethnographers were interested in capturing cultural universals without explicit critical reflection of their own cultural biases.
There is an interesting thread of alienation in the stories of the origins of these three major ethnographers of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*. The ethnographic record I am using about *Nuu-chah-nulth* stories begins with Boas (1897), a German Jew, alienated in the German academy and military, who found a future in the United States with the help of his American born, German speaking Jewish wife (Cole, 1999). Sapir, Boas' student, was also a German Jew who as a child left Germany with his parents for the promise of a new life in the United States (Mandelbaum, 1985). Sapir's student, Swadesh, was a disenchanted American working class Jew, a socialist, who was black listed in the McCarthy era. He continued advocacy and adult education in Mexico and China. They were all gifted linguists and exceptional and prolific scholars. The thread of alienation lies in the fact that they were Jews in nation states that were winnowing populations with ideals not seen to fit with the objectives of the nation state (i.e., Judaism, socialism). The thread of origins lies in the fact that as Jews they came from a rich oral tradition based on a textuality and alphabet founded in the "flesh of [the] language", the "sensuous reverberations and resonance[s]" that pattern a body, a culture (Abram, 1997:73) and a Talmudic logic that is based on the first hand knowledge of the Torah rather than the instructional logic of catechisms.

Because the distance between an oral and a textual ethos can be great, I look to the work of Archibald (1997), Lightning (1992), Akan (1992), Finnegan (1992) as well as my own experience to understand the need for protocols that helps to bridge this distance. Finnegan (1992) contributes an exposé of the phases of textual processing from oral traditions, cautioning us to understand our own “aims and attitudes” (p.215) and responsibilities to participants. It is in that spirit that I turn to Archibald (1997) who explored this process in her project working with *Salishan* elders.
To construct an analytic framework for looking at the *Umeek Narratives*, I used the 4 Rs and 4 Ds of storywork. *The 4 Rs*: Reverence, Respect, Responsibility, and Relations provided the structure for the development of protocols. *The 4 Ds*: provided the dynamics - wholism, inter-relatedness, reciprocity and synergy. Together they provide the means to both observe the background and foreground when examining the narratives by shifting between them to observe both the structures and the processes.

These principles are operationalized in a perspective of *Hishuk-ish-ts'awalk - Everything is One* through a process of metaphorical mapping and phenomenological orienteering. The 4 Rs and 4 Ds would suggest that there are social system structures and dynamics that may be generalizable as principles but which become articulated particularly in the process of research at more concrete levels of analysis. Since the utility of these principles for the creation of storywork had been established by Archibald (1997), I expected that these same principles would have utility for the analysis of story work, i.e., *Umeek* narratives.

Together, the structural and dynamic principles based on Archibald's (1997) original seven principles create a living methodology in which storywork can be analyzed and re-created. This perspective of *wholism* recognizes the part-whole thinking that epitomizes dialectical thought which manages the foregrounding and backgrounding activity central to cultural meaning making. A perspective of inter-relatedness prompts the question, *how* rather than *whether* something is related.

These principles of cultural work suggest an ideal of cognitive development that may best be described as post formal or dialectical operations in which the play of tropes becomes an important skill in cultural production since cultural understanding underlies metaphorical logic. Strauss and Quinn (1997) acknowledge that "culture" is a concept
that we cannot seem to live with or without in academic analysis. As researchers they engage with the concept and operationalize it by seeking to go beyond to "look at cultural meanings: what they are, where they come from, and why sometimes they are motivating, sometimes not; sometimes enduring (in persons and across generations), sometimes not; sometimes shared, sometimes not; and sometimes thematically unifying, sometimes not" (p. 4).

First Nations people for the most part still function in the logic of their oral traditions. Educational failure and low literacy rates in the First Nations community may be seen as a testament to the strength of oral traditions. It also may be seen as related to a lack of cues in the textuality that may be used in the oral mode. Sarris (1993) emphasizes the difference between the oral and textual versions of the stories, the anonymous, unanchored, "flat" storyteller of text that does not convey the cultural understanding of the story and its transference into the authoritative context of the classroom where it goes from being proscriptive to being prescriptive. Traditional stories are not meant to become objects but remain tools to understand lives lived in culture.

Compared to Euro Canadians who have a long history of literacy, First Nations people can be seen to be very close to the roots of their orality. While First Nations people of the Americas had glyphs (e.g., Mayan and Incan, hieroglyphics) and imagery (e.g., petroglyphs, lineage curtains, totem poles, house posts, Inuksuit, sand paintings, weaving and pottery designs, songs, dances, etc.) that were systematized into sign and symbol systems, but imported textuality is another issue. To some extent, First Nations people have also become literate in English, French or other language traditions. The voices of First Nations authors who write in Canada, such as Jeanette Armstrong (1993), Maria Campbell (1982), Thomas King (1993), Lee Maracle (1992), Shirley Sterling...
(1992), Drew Taylor (1998), and Thomson Highway (1998) are becoming part of the mainstream Canadian literature as literacy among First Nations people becomes more widespread. Notable in the works of First Nations authors is the strong foregrounding of traditional stories as orientational devices in which the play of tropes is often attributed to the machinations of one of the many tricksters in the pantheon of First Nations archetypes, such as Coyote in Archibald (1997) and King (1993), Raven in Maracle (1992) and Robinson (2000). Thus is the ethnographic record of the Umeek Narratives situated on the twin cusps of orality and textuality and cultures at the place where the Trickster sometimes gets stuck in the play of tropes.

Records of the Umeek Narratives

Umeek narratives originate from a body of work initiated by Franz Boas (1897, 1909, 1921) and delivered by George Hunt, his half-Tlingit informant who was married to a Kwakiutl woman. The narratives are situated in Boas' preference for Kwakiutl culture that he sees as a standard against which to compare the cultural products of other Wakashan speakers (Nootkan, Heilsuk). His opinion was largely based on the elaboration of their material culture and his informant's familiarity with the nuances of one over the others (Cole, 1999). Boas (1897, 1909) liberally uses the accounts by Cook, Meares, Jewitt and other explorers as second-hand data sources for the Nootka (Nuu-chah-nulth) while in comparison his Kwakiutl data from George Hunt were based in participatory observer status and his own first hand experience. Consequently, Boas' Nuu-chah-nulth data cannot therefore be assessed for comparable accuracy, detail or faithfulness as the Kwakiutl data because of the inherently different conditions of the data collection.

Boas' field notes about his relationship with George Hunt reveal his reluctant dependency upon Hunt (Bracken, 1997). Hunt was indispensable to Boas for all aspects
of information and artifact gathering. George Hunt lived in Kwakwaka'wakw territory and participated culturally in their potlatch system. Kwakwaka'wakw are related to the Mowachaht (Nuu-chah-nulth) who also participated together in the potlatch system. As a potlatch society member, Hunt could negotiate the cultural barriers or not as he saw fit. For example, Marshall (1993) notes that Hunt was anxious to acquire whaling stories related to the whaling shrine that he had bought for Boas eighteen years before even though, by then, Boas had moved on in his academic career. Hunt gathered whaling stories from a part-Kyuquot, part-Mowachaht woman living in Fort Rupert where Hunt was living at the time (Marshall, 1993). There was no information about who this woman was or her relationship to the stories. While Hunt gathered artifacts and stories about whaling, Boas was busy finding skulls of First Nations people in grave sites to take as empirical evidence for his ongoing project to chart the biometrics of human kind. As a secular Jew, taken with evolutionary theory and socialism (Cole, 1999), Boas' research biases in the process of research on West Coast First Nations have been largely unexamined (Maud, 2000). Certainly there is little evidence of protocol by Boas or Hunt that could constitute informed consent of the Nuu-chah-nulth except for the records of payment that Boas made to Hunt for various purchases and shipments (Jonaitis, 1999). Even that would not constitute informed consent when the colonial pressures of the time were taken into consideration (Atleo, E. R., 1991). The circumstances under which the Yuquot Whalers Shrine was obtained also leads to some recognition of the absence of protocols of acquisition of the day (Jonaitis, 1999), particularly since repatriation issues are being re-visited today by Nuu-chah-nulth.

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43 E.R. Atleo (1991) suggests that the prevailing conditions of society at the time of the purchase of artifacts (including stories) was one in which First Nations peoples were considered to be primitive and savage, vanishing, on the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder with no laws to protect property of any kind much less cultural property.
Nuu-chah-nulth whaling is explained at length by Curtis who says that it is unique, it "does not belong to the Kwakiutl" (1916, p. 16). Curtis explains that the whaling activity is so remarkable that the Indian can only explain it as a product of supernatural assistance. Before introducing the story of Umeek, Curtis contextualizes the narrative. He describes some psycho-social components of the training, special cues for success, the equipment, the organization of the crew, the conditions of the actual hunt, patterns of whale behavior to which orientation is critical to the safety of the crew and success of the hunt, and an example of a song that facilitates the work. In Curtis' version, the origin of the Wolf Ritual follows the story of Umeek, while in my synthesis I situate it at the beginning since it would be a cultural model a Nuu-chah-nulth adult, particularly chiefs would possess. This probably is an indicator that Curtis purloined the story because, while he had a sense of drama, he seemed not to understand the social context in which the story was situated. It appears that Curtis took his information from Boas' existing textual sources to meet his own needs, as backdrop for the pictures he "staged" of the whaling and whaling ritualists (Frank, 2000) and as a script for scenes from his movie, In the Wake of the War Canoe. Marshall (1993) states that Curtis "did not record the names of the people or groups who owned the traditions in 1923 or any details of the circumstances in which he came to acquire them" (p.180). Since we are aware of Curtis' penchant for drama, his descriptions of the psychosocial components of training needed to be verified by lineage elders.

To be true to the progression of Nuu-chah-nulth life career it becomes important to contextualize the stories of Umeek by first presenting the Tloo-quaa'na or Wolf Ritual because this rite marked the initiation of Nuu-chah-nulth individuals into social adulthood. Consequently, the progression of the narrative components here follows the normative cultural life career starting with the rite that initiates youth into the status of an
adult and then progresses through subsequent aspects of such adult status through ritual observances and ceremonies such as those exemplified in the *Umeek* story.

My experience with the complex of stories differs from those in the ethnographies in that I first heard the stories about my role expectations as a part of my socialization into the family, culture and role from family elders. For example, I was told the story of *Ah-up-wah-yeek*’s (Wren, an incarnation of *Umeek*) whaling experiences with particular teachings for the wives of whalers. Then I took a course in anthropology and read Sapir and Swadesh's *Nootkan Text* account of *Umeek*. Finally, I participated in the *Tloo-quaa’na* of my son. My experience is in the contemporary era when progression through a *Nuu-chah-nulth* life career is confounded by non-native institutional dominance in the life careers of *Nuu-chah-nulth* and my status as a non-*Nuu-chah-nulth* who needed to be socialized into *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture and roles. While there seem to be many life career trajectories, what follows might be seen as the archetypal life career trajectory.

I elected to use the Curtis version of the story because George Hunt had already begun the work of gathering elements for a coherent storyline in the ethnographic tradition; it is part of the public record, predates modern more fragmented knowledge of stories and is inaccessible for the average *Nuu-chah-nulth*. From the family stories with which I was familiar, this story rang true; but it needed to be tested by *Nuu-chah-nulth* elders to authenticate and verify the *Nuu-chah-nulth* ethos of the story. Since stories in oral history do not stand alone, bringing out this version permitted a testing of the possible embedded context of the story. Using this version was a way of potentially repatriating a *Nuu-chah-nulth* story and understanding some of the issues of working with the Elders was a way of testing the *Nuu-chah-nulth* ethos of the story.
Telling *Umeek* Stories

This section includes the telling of the *Umeek* story based on the Curtis version. (See Appendix E for discussion of other stories and material based on aspects of *Umeek* and 'Meek narratives). This story is followed by additional endings and perspectives based in my own oral experience and versions from other ethnographers that bring us closer to what may constitute the oral tradition of *Umeek* Narratives.

*Tloo-quaa'na - The Wolf Ritual*

This part of the story of the Wolf Ritual (Curtis, 1916, p. 94-98) is presented so that the story of *Umeek* can be grasped in the context of the Nuu-chah-nulth understanding of getting power or the technology of agency of adult status.

The story is of a young man who for two years was seeking power, a vision, or a vocation through *oosumch* (ceremonial washing and purification). Hemlock sprigs were used to wash the human smell away to make the youth more inviting to the spirits. On one occasion, he saw wolves watching him. They seemed to be mimicking him for they also carried hemlock sprigs. Encouraged, he pretended to be dead. But he had not washed with hemlock that day. When the wolves approached, sniffed and began to drag the dead body, they must have been over come by the human smell and dropped him. He learned from that experience and next time he used hemlock and washed harder so that the wolves would take him. Then he could get what he needed from them. The next time the wolves dragged him off to their den through a great cave.

Inside the den, they came through a hole into the land of the wolves. Once there, the wolves took off their fur and were like people. They were preparing to cut the youth up to eat him. They commented on his "fine fur" because the wolves saw humans as animals with fur. As the *q"ayac'iik* was about to cut him, the youth leaped up and seized
the knife. The youth aroused, the wolves became self-conscious and scrambled for their furs for, without their furs, they were powerless in the face of men. The chief of the wolves proposed they exchange their furs for the youth's knife, which they needed. The youth sensed an advantage and held out for the most advantageous bargain possible. For the knife, the wolves exchanged their furs (without which they were powerless) also the power to get seals, sea otters, and whales. They also gave the youth a comb that would create luxurious hair, “water” from the chamber pot (kista i.e., urine) that would raise the dead, and finally a mukwánhł, a stone club, that shown to any living thing would cause it to fall dead.

The story continues with the return of the youth to his village that was mourning his death. The triumphal re-entry of the youth into the village in the Wolf Ritual enactment is still used. When people from other villages heard the story, they came to investigate. There were scoffers among them. The youth used his mukwánhł, stone club, to slay them all and the water (kista) to bring those that had believed back to life.

This quest for (re) visioning, (em) powering, and (trans) forming follows a summary of the story of Umeek as recorded by George Hunt and rendered by Curtis (1916).

Tséihsot and Tsatsotatlme: Hair Seal Spearing Chiefs

In the village of Yahksis on Vargas Island in Clayoquot Sound, lived the Kelsemahts. The village had two chiefs, the younger was Tsatsotatlme and the elder was Tséihsot. Both men were hair seal spearers. They provided for their people through feasting rivalries. After Tséihsot had given a feast of 100 hair seals, Tsatsotatlme felt discouraged being shown up by the elder leader. In his discouragement, he went to sleep. A stranger came to him in his dream telling him that if he would share why he was sad
then the stranger would tell *Tsatsotatlme* something that would make him happy. *Tsatsotatlme* told the stranger how he felt, beaten by *Tséihsot*. The stranger proposed a remedy. *Tsatsotatlme* would no longer compete for hair seals but with a new, larger source of food for the village, whales. Before leaving the sleeping *Tsatsotatlme*, the stranger gave instructions for purification so that he could be shown the new way.

*Tsatsotatlme* awoke and immediately followed the instructions of his dream. As he did, he heard the voice of his guide with more detailed instructions. *Tsatsotatlme* followed the instructions to scourge his body with hemlock until it bled, first the left side and then the right, diving deeply repeatedly until the fourth time when the blood oozed out of his skin and every orifice of his body. It was the Wolf, the *qʷayac’iik* that gave him encouragement and instruction in his discipline and skill development. The Wolf talked *Tsatsotatlme* through the mock pursuit of the whale. This *good friend of hunters and harpooners* (Curtis, 1916, p.21) helped *Tsatsotatlme* to visualize every detail of the pursuit and the spearing of the special token which *Tsatsotatlme* could use, not as a charm but as an heuristic to cue, to evoke his training.

**Umeek: Creator - Getter-Provider**

The *qʷayac’iik* (supernatural wolf) gave *Tsatsotatlme* his new name, *Umeek* (*Umik*, as per Curtis, 1915), to signify his achievement and new orientation. The new name meant enterprising person, “go-getter”, community provider, creator of wealth by discipline, training, and following through (harpooning, fishing, hunting; etc.) (E. R. Atleo, 1997, personal communication) with the assistance of the *qʷayac’iik* (the supernatural wolf). *Umeek* did not share his experience with anyone, not even his father. He hid his model whale and the equipment under the great cedar tree.
When *Umeek* entered the village in late morning, after his ritual work, people sitting outside noticed him returning. They knew what he was doing and began to taunt him. His rival, *Tséihsot*, ridiculed him in front of the people. The elder chief, *Tséihsot* called him friend, yet deriding his ambitions and publicly speculating about their magnitude (i.e., whether *Tsatsotatlme* desired to become a shaman). *Tséihsot* was not aware that all he spoke had already happened. His taunting did not sway *Tsatsotatlme* who was now *Umeek*, already *uu-stuk uu*, a medicine man, and a shaman.

*Umeek* went to his father now and told him of his experience with the *qʷayac'ii*. He asked his father to help him organize a hunt in three days. His father was overjoyed and was eager to organize the whaling expedition. His father was to instruct the seven-man crew in the secret rituals. The bottom of a large new canoe was charred and smoothed to be as swift as possible. On the third day, *Umeek* and the crew set out in the canoe. The crew was prepared but they did not yet know the details of the hunt. They stopped near where *Umeek* had secreted the model whale and the equipment. The men watched as he organized the equipment. All ready, *Umeek* announced his intentions to the anticipating crew. Immediately a whale approached them, sounded and disappeared. The whale drew near. *Umeek* told the paddlers to wait until he had placed his harpoon before they paddled. *Umeek* watched the whale until just the right moment to place the harpoon.

Prayer to a Whale

The whale dove, and *Umeek* fed out the line praying:

*Whale, I have given you what you are wishing to get—my good harpoon. And now you have it. Please hold it with your strong hands, and do not let go. Whale, turn toward the fine beach of Yahksis, and you will be proud to see the young men come down on the fine sandy beach of my village at Yahksis to see you; and the young men will say to one another: 'What a great whale he is! What a fat whale he is! What a strong whale he is!' And you whale, will be proud of all that you will hear them say of your greatness. Whale do not run outward, but hug the*
shore, and tow me to the beach of my village at Yahksis, for when you come
ashore there, young men will cover your great body with bluebill duck feathers
and with the down of the great eagle, the chief of all birds; for this is what you
are wishing, and this is what you are trying to find from one end of the world to
the other, every day you are traveling and spouting. (Curtis, 1916:23).

The great whale turned toward Yahksis. The people of the village came out to
help tow the whale ashore. Meanwhile, Umeek and his crew went to secret the
equipment. The Whaler shared with his crew his intention to harpoon a whale every four
days and called upon them to participate in his disciplines so that they would be
successful.

The first whale was landed on the beach with exceeding great ritual honor as
promised. Umeek and his crew landed to a great meal of meat and blubber. He asked his
father to call the people to his feast at which he would announce his new name, Umeek,
for all to know him by. His father did as he was bid. The people came and feasted. It
was Tséihsot who now felt beaten. He did not participate, instead was thinking about
how to reverse his fortune.

The Death of Umeek

On the fourth day, Umeek repeated the feat. A great whale was landed and the
people feasted. Umeek was the established provider of the community. Confident in his
ability, Umeek shared with his father how he came to be thus. The next time he went out,
he got the whale to land on the very beach of Yahksis. This was entirely too much for
Tséihsot who met him on the beach. "My friend, Umeek, you are doing a great thing, and
you must be a proud man for beating me, and so I will kill you!" (Curtis, 1916: 24)
Tséihsot bludgeoned Umeek with a whale club, killing him on the beach beside the whale.

Umeek's father quickly cut open his son's chest and pushed the little model whale
into the lungs of the dead man. Umeek's father and the crew went to hide the corpse and
the equipment under the great cedar tree where Umeek had previously kept them.

Returning to the village, Umeek's father invited the villagers to come and feast. The whaling canoe became firewood to cook the great whale. Umeek's father expressed pride in his son's accomplishments and no shame in his death because he had died a proud death providing for his people, having beaten the man who challenged him. Tséihsoot was once again the main provider of hair seal for the people.

In the Tradition of Umeek - Öyephl

Twelve years later, Umeek's son became of age and the grandfather began to teach him all that Umeek had told him. As the young man began to assume his father's role, he also heard the qʷayac'iq (supernatural wolf) speak. The qʷayac'iq reassured him, telling him that he would teach him the way he had taught his father. The qʷayac'iq gave him a new name, Öyephl, one who follows in the traditions (of his father) (B. Williams, Jr., 1997, personal communication) of giving feasts (Arlene Paul, 2000, personal communication). The qʷayac'iq instructed the boy to bring the preserved body of his father and place it on a stake on the beach. After the first round of ritual the boy was to go to the corpse and pray, it bestowed the whaling power on him. For the next round of ritual, the qʷayac'iq (supernatural wolf) instructed him to tie the corpse on his back as he dove and to mimic the whale in the bathing ritual. Even as questions arose in the boy's mind as to how some part of the hunt should be carried out, the qʷayac'iq was there with the answer. The boy did as he was instructed. On the fifth morning, Öyephl and his crew went out on a whale hunt and he killed a whale, as had his father. The people came to tow it ashore. The crew carried the canoe ashore with the young whaler sitting high. They wanted the young man to be their head because he had provided for them whereas the head chief had not. Öyephl invited all the people to feast on the whale.
The head chief was unhappy with this turn of events. He was displeased that the people would follow a young man just because he could provide more food. When the men of the village heard his sentiments they were angry at the head chief's condemnation of them and decided to shun him. The men of the village determined to have the young whaler as their chief. The young Óyephl feted the village with great ceremony, as had his father.

Now the head chief determined that there was something to this whaling and determined also to kill the son of Umeeek. First, he needed to find an opportunity. He sent a spy to watch Óyephl in ritual activity. The spy noted all and reported everything he saw faithfully to Tséihsot, to the last detail. The young whaler was easy to spy on because he took no precautions. The spy was able to see everything even down to where Óyephl secreted the corpse of his father and the equipment at the base of the great cedar tree. Having visually gathered all the whaling secrets, the spy went to the village of Yahksis and lay down to sleep in the old chief's house.

Now Óyephl had landed yet another whale and he called the people to feast. The greatly agitated Tséihsot decided that since he was plotting against Óyephl it would be best to participate in the feast feigning good will to throw suspicion off himself. Tséihsot brought some food to his house where he and his spy consulted. The spy wanted to know what Tséihsot intended to do now that he knew all the secrets of whaling that had been gathered with his help. Tséihsot intended to kill Óyephl that evening at the lake. Tséihsot and his spy feigned sickness from over eating as part of the plan. They went out of the house, ostensibly to relieve themselves of the excess food but actually to relieve themselves of Óyephl.
Tséihsot Slays Óyephł

When they got to the lake Tséihsot sent the spy back. He sat hidden, waiting near the staked corpse. The young whaler came with his sprigs of hemlock and began to bathe. As Óyephł dove after washing with the first bunch of hemlock, Tséihsot ran into the water and clubbed him to death as he came up. Tséihsot dragged Óyephł out of the water, hid him in a dry place, and hid the body of Ûmeek who had been staked out on the beach. Tséihsot came home, told his spy what he had done and instructed the spy to hide the harpoon and equipment in another place to secure them. The spy did as he was told and returned to the house of Tséihsot to sleep.

Tséihsot had that night dreamed of Óyephł who had given him more instructions about how he should pray for success: prayers to the moon chief, the south chief, the sea chief and the mountain chief ten times during oosumch, the washing ritual. The old chief went to the lake and it seemed that the young whaler was oosumch with him for his prayers and instructions echoed in Tséihsot's ears. Tséihsot dreamed that Óyephł instructed him in the major aspects of the whale hunt. Tséihsot acted on his dream.

Tséihsot “Transforms” into Tsáhwasip the Whale Harpooner

Tséihsot and the crew went out and harpooned the first whale. However, the whale went down and the Tséihsot had no solution. Crewmembers told him to pray to the whale as had Ûmeek but Tséihsot's whaling knowledge was incomplete. One of the crew knew the prayer from previous trips and Tséihsot ordered him to pray that the whale be more co-operative. The whale turned toward the beach of Yahksis. The old chief landed with great ceremony, carrying the harpoon and line into the house to be put on display. He called for a feast to announce his new name "Tsáhwasip" harpooner that catches it
with one try. He promised his people a whale feast regularly as had Umeek and his son Öyephl.

Tsáhwasip began to wash regularly in the lake. One evening the spy joined him. The spy, lying to Tsáhwasip, explained that Umeek had come to him in a dream to warn that bad fortune would come to them if they did not continue to wash. He convinced the old chief because the spy wanted to know where the body of Umeek was hidden. He watched the old chief dive. The old man did not use the body of Umeek as Öyephl had used the body of his father. The spy asked the old man why not. The old man replied that Öyephl had not told him about that. (Recall that Tséihsot had killed Öyephl prematurely, after only the first of four bundles of hemlock were used, a quarter of the way through the whole ritual.) Tsáhwasip retrieved the corpse and proceeded as instructed by the spy.

The old chief labored under the load of the corpse, staying down with difficulty. Tsáhwasip complained of the degree of difficulty and asked the spy if he was doing it right. The spy laughed saying it was the whale spirit Tsáhwasip was trying to please not him. Not wanting trouble in the hunt, Tsáhwasip became frightened and begged the spy to tell him more particularly, how Öyephl had done the ritual. Tséitlas, the feast guest, complied. Tsáhwasip dove until the blood flowed from his ears, eyes, and nose.

Tsáhwasip broke the surface of the lake in triumph because the whaler on his back had taken him to the land of the spirits of the dead and revealed to him more whaling secrets: towing songs to bring the whale home to Yahksis and how to make floats to keep dead whales from sinking. Tséitlas must have been amazed because he had been lying to Tsáhwasip. However, Tséitlas reasoned that he had found out the location of the corpse and that he could play this game a little longer, so he joined Tsáhwasip in the water.

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Tsáhwasip wondered aloud why the spy was not washing as diligently as he. The spy toyed with the old chief replying that if he was going to harpoon whales he would be working harder but since he had no such ambitions, there was no need to draw blood.

Tsáhwasip, with Tséitlas by his side, entered the village in triumph telling his people everything that had happened to him. He instructed hair-seal speakers to kill fourteen seals and make floats from the skins. He gathered his crew and took them into the woods where the villagers could not hear them to learn the new towing songs and the songs to the Four Great Chiefs. He taught them four of the ninety-six songs that he had received and instructed them that they would be leaving the next morning to catch whales. Instead of sleeping, he went out to wash all night finishing only when the canoe came for him.

Tsáhwasip is Foiled by his Spy Tséitlas

In the dark of the next morning, they were underway. As morning began to break, the crew heard a whale spout beside them. Tsáhwasip fixed his harpoon and then noticed that Tséitlas was not among the crew. Crewmen reported that Tséitlas had failed to join them when called. Tsáhwasip became ambivalent. He wanted to turn back to get him. The crew insisted that the time was now to harpoon the whale or they would not come out with him again. He sank the harpoon into the whale and the whale ran seaward. Tsáhwasip instructed the crew to pray to the Four Great Chiefs and then the four prayers to the whale, but to no avail. The wise old man of the crew suggested that praying to the whale made more sense. Nothing helped. Tsáhwasip blamed the trouble on Tséitlas. Nevertheless, the crew blamed him because he had vacillated when he discovered the spy missing and it was he who had given the wrong instructions about which songs to sing. These mistakes could prove to be fatal mistakes for all of them.
The whale towed them out to sea for two days. Finally, the whale turned back to shore. *Tsáhwasisip* told the wise old man of the crew to place a second harpoon into the whale. The crewman did and then placed a third, which killed the whale not far from the village. Now they sang the towing songs and brought the whale home. Reaching shore, *Tsáhwasisip* leaped onto the beach with his equipment and went directly home. He instructed his wife to butcher his ceremonial portion, the dorsal fin and saddle of the whale and bring it home. He also inquired of her the whereabouts of the spy. She reported that *Tséitlas* had disappeared the day of the whale hunt.

*Tsáhwasisip* Dies of a Broken Spirit/Heart and Loss of Face

*Tsáhwasisip* was desolate. He knew *Tséitlas* had been the source of his problems with the whale. He went to sleep and dreamed that the spy was washing in a lake with the corpse to become a whaler. He regretted not killing the spy once he had been told everything. He told his wife of his tactical error and she wept. He covered himself with sea-otter pelts and died. Some say he died of a broken heart because a feast guest who took advantage of him finally defeated him.

The sad demise of *Tsáhwasisip* was a lesson for those who use/used washing ritual to seek power for whaling, hunting or gambling to keep their strivings secret lest others seek to harm and even kill them for their supernatural knowledge.

Whaling Endures after the Rivalry

*Tséitlas, Tsáhwasisip*’s spy fled to *Ahous* with the corpse of *Umeek*. From the people of *Ahous*, it is said, that all the tribes on the West Coast learned how to kill whales by harpooning. The people of *Yahksis* attempted to whale but encountered fatalities and misfortune because they did not observe the disciplines of the first whaler. Therefore, the people gave up whaling.
Other Umeek Endings

Stories about Umeek are not discrete but living and available for viewing from many perspectives and incarnations. Consequently, that there are other endings should not be surprising. Sapir and Swadesh (1939) who gathered their data in the Alberni Canal provide a different ending:

The grandfather of Ōyephl, the wise old man of the crew, had been a witness to all. Umeek had told his father everything and the old man had taught Ōyephl how to be successful. The wise old man of the crew had lost first his son and then his grandson to the treachery of the old chief. Now that the treacherous braggart Tsāhwāsīp was dead, the wise old man of the crew could teach others to whale in the tradition of Umeek in the village of Yahksis.

In his notes, Curtis (1916) maintains that Hunt's informant was a Clayoquot but does not distinguish between Nootkan (Nuu-chah-nulth) informants when he relates the story of Umik-takūmhl'ul̓a, the origin myth of one of the Mowachaht families (septs), which is clearly told from the perspective of a Mowachaht. In this version, the child who was to become Umeek was born of a man in a virgin birth. The child was named "Ūppihsu" because he had a countenance of dazzling brilliance (Curtis, 1916:183) as if originating from the sun. When this child took over the successful whaling career of his father, he changed his name to Umeek.

The Umeek of this story was on one hunt in which the whale towed them off shore for four days until the mountains disappeared, until they were in the midst of a great school of whales. While the crew slept, Umeek sat watch. The morning after the second day, a tiny migrating bird perched on the harpoon shaft and sang to the whale "Go to the shore, Whale; go toward the shore, Whale" (Curtis, 1916:183). It was an omen. Umeek
roused the men and they began to sing the song of the Wren. First, the whale shuddered and then swam strongly in the direction of Estevan Point and into Nootka Sound landing on the beach at Ītsihta. The Mowachaht were so successful that they were the envy of their neighbors.

**Gendered Participation**

This final story was actually told to me first. It is concerned with the role of the partner of the whaler. I received this story first hand from Nan Margaret Atleo. She told me of the ritual activities in which she had participated with her husband, the restrictive activities they observed out of *respect* based in cultural rationale. The story was about the complimentarity of gender role behavior, the expectations and the activities in which the couple engaged materially, culturally, and spiritually. The woman's role is the central feature of the *aitstol* during which the girl is secluded and her activities restricted in the manner in which she would be if her husband were on a whale hunt. This story, with a role script of partnership, held high levels of salience for me the year I became a status Indian under the Indian Act and an *Ahousaht -achsup.*

The wife of *Umeek* did ritual with him. For eight waxing moons, she bathed with him and accompanied him in the ritual activity that brought whales. They were together, asynchronous with the social life of the village but in complete synchrony with each other, the environment, the river, the ocean, the wind, the air, the sky, the whales and the other inhabitants of the sea and land. The ritual allowed them to blend with the elements until they were indistinguishable from them. Then when *Umeek* set out in the canoe with

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44I heard this story the same summer that I read *The Second Sex* by Simone De Beauviour (1949, reissued in 1989). It was the 60's and the feminist movement was raging in North America. As the eldest daughter in my family of origin, I was used to the responsibility of younger siblings and expected to minimally be a partner to a husband, but nothing less. Those were the sensibilities with which I first heard whaling stories.
his paddlers to meet the whale, she hid the vision in her mind and heart and body. She herself hid under the mat in their house and waited silently until his return with the visitor, the guest, the whale. She could then come out to preside over the festivities. She would greet the respected visitor with dance during the chu-chalth, and help the iiychtump offer himself up to the people, each according to their ritual share, in exchange for the ritual respect and honor they bestowed on him. She sang of the saga of the bravery of the whale, her husband, and the crew, for they were all in this drama of life together. She was the intimate participant who secreted the vision until it became manifest and then dramatized the achievement through performance for all to witness.

While there were constructive partnerships there also seemed to be dysfunctional or unconstructive partnerships based on the report of a Makah whaler's wife to Erna Gunther (1942). This Washington State woman was not Makah herself but her father had sold her to be the wife of a Makah whaler. The woman was unsettled by the whaling activities claiming them to be black magic. As partners, they did not succeed in harpooning a whale and they lost children through miscarriage and in infancy. The woman appears to have had little confidence in the enterprise and revealed to Gunther her lack of belief in the rituals. It is likely her lack of socialization into this unique role left her an unequal and ambivalent partnership contributing to a lack of goal clarity with regard to whaling success.

Marshall’s (1993) account of the founding traditions of the Mowachaht elaborates on the gendered connection. It is deemed a necessity for the sons of whaling chiefs to marry someone not related but someone that is “knowledgeable about, and respectful of, appropriate chiefly behavior [because] the husband’s and wife’s combined knowledge and observances of ritual practices enable them to survive contact with supernatural
beings and acquire from them supernatural power which they use to capture whales” (p. 181). Marshall (1993) notes that the story of *Umeek* and also the *Yalhua* stories, both by Curtis (1916), start with the search for a wife. An appropriate wife who would be willing and able to participate in the rigorous ceremonial practice of whalers upon which the whaler and the people depended for success was seemingly a rare find. In Curtis’ (1916) rendition of the *Yalhua* text he records how the search for the best woman could be an onerous quest because by implication she must live at a distance (not be related), be descended from whaling people (have similar technological capital), and have status (social capital), in short be equal to the suitor. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* coming of age ceremony for girls, *aitstol*, displays the attributes of girls that would make them particularly desirable partners for whalers.

Marshall (1993) cites one instance in which there was a marriage with a particularly ugly woman, the daughter of an *Ahousaht* chief. The father searched for a wife for his son in nine villages yet it is in the tenth (*haiyu*) in which the chief finds a wife who will be “able to sustain her observance of the strict sexual practices required of a whaler’s wife” (p.182). It becomes clear that the role of the wife was complimentary to that of the whaler. The wife who became the mother could thus support her sons or daughters in this creative role. In the story of the Middle Beach massacre (Sapir & Swadesh, 1939), it is the mother who teaches her exiled son to whale after he is reinstated into the chieftainship of his murdered father (Golla, 1988). The role of the wife of the whaler seems to be an important archetype of learning and teaching in the whaling complex.

**Elements of the *Umeek* Narratives**

Using the 4Rs and 4Ds as an investigative framework, the structural and dynamic elements of the *Umeek Narratives* can be identified. The structural elements include
Reverence, which points to the philosophical context, Hisuk-ish-tsa'walk; in which qu'aas (Nuu-chah-nulth people) are part of the Creation that includes the natural environment, the culturally evolved environment and the positions of the characters to each other. Respect allows us to see the structural order of that creation, "natural" environment that has been culturally constructed over thousands of years as part of a system of responsibilities and webs of which relations are encoded in ha-hoo-thee (hereditary management and administration system). The dynamic elements of the story revolve around the relations between the characters and their environments from the perspective of wholism. The inter-relatedness of all things as an assumption that requires us to ask "how" are these parts related to the whole and the whole to the parts in a cultural logic. What are the patterns of reciprocity that are anticipated or violated? What synergies are cultivated and what synergies are unanticipated? To understand the action we must see all the characters and their relations in their environment over time. The action is grounded in four sites: the village, the beach and the ritual site, and on the ocean, the "highway" of the whale. The eight characters include the Elder chief and his Witness, the Younger chief, the father of the Younger chief, the son of the Younger chief, the crew of the canoe and the wives of the Elder and Younger chief.

The various types of learning relationships can be seen in the relationships between the elements of the Umeek Narratives. In the story, the four learning motivators or critical principles (Bickhard, 2000) identified are: 1) perceptual indicators of change (not enough seals, changing social structure); 2) criteria for engagement with change (felt failure, negative or positive challenge to social status, participation with spouse, child,

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45 Bickhard's (2000) concept of critical principles is based on the idea that learning requires an error identification process whereby negative knowledge becomes the skeletal structure on which positive knowledge is built. Error reduction accounts for much of the ritual activity in the Nuu-chah-nulth learning ideology.
grandparent); 3) strategies for engagement with change (oosumch (ritual bathing), violence, loss of face, dying, changing strategies, new participants, etc); and 4) group processing of change (following the leader, changing leadership, revolt of crew, loss of face, returning to own village). The resistance to learning is considered in a perception of change, a response to change, and the engagement or disengagement with change at an individual and group level. These are the elements of the narrative to be considered.

Clues to the Nuu-chah-nulth cultural orientation to this story are read by using the orientation of the tropes given in the names and the themes identified by the elders. The central characters are: the elder ha?w’il, Tséihsot and the younger ha?w’il, Tsatsotatlmé. The name of the elder ha?w’il, Tséihsot, alludes to a house of a great giver/receiver of feasts and gifts, a very successful, established seal hunter who feeds the people well, consistent with the philosophy of being a ha?w’il. The name of the younger ha?w’il, Tsatsotatlmé (the “mé” ending may be a shortened form of “meek”), alludes to "one who is a 'getter' of resources by the 'skin of his teeth' (because he engages with dangerous or difficult conditions)". He is a reasonably successful hunter even in the face of great odds who, upon seeing the odds becoming greater, is concerned with still feeding his people well, consistent with the philosophy of being a ha?w’il. In these ha?w’ih we then have the primary social economy of the community. The Elder ha?w’il is more successful than the Younger is ha?w’il who labors in more difficult, marginal circumstances. The primary sealing grounds may more centrally fall within the ha-hoo-thee of the Elder ha?w’il where as the Younger ha?w’il would work the margins in which resource decline would be more noticeable at an earlier stage.

These central characters each have a constellation of characters associated with them. The tyee ha?w’il has the resources to attract a feast guest, Tséitlas from a
neighboring community. This feast guest and the wife of the tyee ha?w’il are the two main characters in the sphere of Tséíhsot/Tsáhwasis. The characters in the constellation of the Younger ha?w’il, Tsatsotatlme/Umeek are the Friendly Stranger, his father, his son, his crew members and his wife. The Friendly Stranger is the q’ayatsiik, the wolf, and cultural giver of power for transformation that Umeek encounters in his dream. Umeek ultimately confides his knowledge to his father who testifies of Umeek’s power, passes it on to Umeek’s son, and ultimately to the community. Umeek’s son, Òyephil, who succeeds him, receives his primary socialization from his father and mother but his formal training for whaling likely comes from his grandfather. Umeek would have trained Umeek’s crew for their task even though they may have done their own oosumch preparation. Umeek’s wife is not mentioned, she is the invisible ritual partner. Based on known cultural practices, other stories about whaling from my elders and the ethnographic record (Marshall, 1993; Jonaitis, 1999), it is known that wives were necessary (the role of ha?kum, as with all great spiritual activity, was secret but critically important), active partners in the ritual construction of whaling activities and thus a partner in any learning of and socialization into such roles. It may not have been purely oversight that the work of women as culture keepers was obscured in ethnography but purposely withheld.

Summary

The rivalry, the savagery, and the treachery are writ large in the text of this story. This style is typical of the mnemonic demands of orality (Ong, 1982). The story is rich in emotionally evocative details organized in a manner that permits recall by the savage mind (Levi Strauss, 1963), the oral mind without reference to text. When there is no
textual reference, the story is organized in sensorimotor memory, in body memory. Jousse (in Ong, 1982) identified this phenomenon as verbomoteur to describe the oral and word-oriented lifestyle of ancient Hebrew and Aramaic in which the bodily component is dominant. The graphic expressions used in the story help to bypass the “conscious” mind so that the communication between the body of the listener and the body of the speaker is virtually direct in the fullness of their emotive qualities within a common culture. The stories provide their own keys to unlocking their meaning in the context of such qualities. The metaphor of the discipline of the water and washing in the story is a metaphor for the battle required to wrest the underlying dimensions from the story.

For the textual mind, getting beyond the emotionally charged deeds that are committed in the pursuit of power, prestige, and wealth, embedded in knowledge, requires a shift in perspective, a willing suspension of belief. The perspective required is one of an oral person with a collectivist orientation whose reason for living is to humbly provide for his or her people even as that means is organized through social rivalry. The treachery of human beings is a cultural assumption in this story but the work for the good of all must go on despite everything. Understanding this story from the perspective of a ha?w’îl whose very name, identity and survival of his lineage depends on his provisioning for the people may shed some interesting light on some not so obvious issues.

The stories have been presented from a variety of perspectives. Curtis’s story is probably from a Mowachaht perspective. The Sapir and Swadesh story is from a

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46 Memory is facilitated by the textual and ceremonial testimony of culture. Specific ritual acts frame body memory in sacred sites. Such remembrances meet both present needs and cultural identification. While the constructions may be culture specific, "Acts of Memory" (Bal et al, 1998) such as these transcend culture as well as oral/textual boundaries.
Tseshaht perspective. Hunt claimed his story to be from a Clayoquot perspective but possibly, it is from a Kyuquot or Mowachaht perspective. The stories I heard personally were from lineage elders that were Ahousaht, Kelsemaht and Owinismit. Umeek narratives clearly include many perspectives within the Nuu-chah-nulth history of the ancestor Umeek. Umeek narratives are alive. They demonstrate that the multiple perspectives within Nuu-chah-nulth history are usual because the descendants of the ancestors inhabit the territory variously.

First Nations communities are only beginning to analyze the nature of their engagement with technological innovations that range from organizational development in governance and health care to energy used in ecologically sensitive areas. The gap between Nuu-chah-nulth learning and practice and the models of learning and practice in the dominant cultural milieu seems to be a major obstacle. Since this gap is mediated through the formal education system, there may be a barrier to opportunity for creative expression of Nuu-chah-nulth cultural and personal identity.

In the next chapter, based on my interview data, I examine the ways in which the Elders paid attention to the story and identified learning themes. Then using the analytic framework of the 4Rs and 4Ds, I bring together the narratological analysis of the story from this chapter with the themes identified by the elders to reflect on the learning issues in this story. In the final chapter I am going on to examine the results, draw conclusions about the utility and application of these results theory and practice in First Nations education, curriculum development, counseling and career development and strategic learning based on storywork.
Chapter V - Himwic-aqyak ha-ha-sithls-caap: Paying Attention to the Story

How contemporary Nuu-chah-nulth elders pay attention to the stories of previous times and how they apply the meaning making potential of these stories to learning today is explored in this chapter. This chapter introduces the Elders with a short biography and presents the outcomes of the interviews with them (See Appendix F for narrative versions of the interviews) and a summary of the themes associated with learning that they found salient. The chapter includes a narratological analysis based in a framework of 4Rs and 4Ds in which the settings, event structures, action sequences, and dynamic tensions between characters is analyzed based on the learning themes the Elders found salient. The interviews were informed by the Elders' reading of the preceding version of Umeek narratives. The interviews were structured by the following three questions 1) whether they were familiar with these particular stories (i.e., had heard a version of them previously and if not what similar stories had they heard), 2) recognized any traditional ways of learning in these stories, and 3) how they could envision those traditional stories and ways of learning contributing to our understanding of Nuu-chah-nulth learning for schooling from kindergarten to post secondary as well as in retraining programs for jobs today and in the future.

In my interviews, the protocols, 4Rs and 4Ds came alive in a process of "respectful prodding" (Hallendy, 2000)\(^\text{47}\) that comes with cultural knowledge and insight.

\(^{47}\)Hallendy (2000) identifies his method of gaining insight into cultural world as a process of "respectful prodding and patience" (p. 79). He has worked in the Arctic for more than four decades suggesting a dedication to his work and the people. Early on one of the elders gave him the Inuktitut attig, or name, Apirsuqti, the inquisitive one, which signifies to everyone what he is about.
as well as the tolerance and good will of the interviewees. Hampton (1995)\textsuperscript{48} also
mentions the interactive method he used with his participants in eliciting themes about
Indian Education. The transcriptions of the interviews with the Elders illustrate
interactions (See: Appendix F) between them and myself including the pattern of \textit{idea
units} (Fludernik, 1996:62) that take up time (different foci of individual interviewees),
the turn taking (length of time interviewee and interviewer took and held the floor), and
the setting (formal vs. informal settings, interviewee as guest vs. interviewer as guest).
The one-hour time limit I suggested created a restrictive structure for this particular
conversation. However, it was clear in the interviews that the conversation was part of an
ongoing dialogue that I, as an individual, and we, as a group, had been having. This
conversation would be ongoing because of our common group membership and
relatedness.

In the narrativization of the interviews (See Appendix F), I removed many natural
linguistic markers of oral stories to transform them into texts. Such changes were to
exclude some, but not all of the asides, commentary and digressions of the dialogue in the
textual space. Transcriptions included leaving out some, but not all, repetition that
signaled re-entry into plotlines, asides, commentary, and digressions. Instead, I put them
into the structural aspects of the narrative form by commenting on the narrative or in turn
having the interviewee comment. I used several narrative styles in an attempt to maintain
the distinctiveness of each interview. I did not mark pitch levels, intonation, or volume

\textsuperscript{48} Hampton (1995:12-13) discusses his "active listening and co-participation" approach as
he encouraged participants to elaborate on the theme of "What is Indian about Indian
education?" rather that follow the "embarrassing" protocol of his interview schedule.
With the help of an interviewee he found that what he was really after was "reflective
thinking" about the issue rather than strategic questioning based on the interview
schedule. I embrace his example because it indeed helps to make implicit knowledge
held amongst the discussants explicit and accessible.
levels that would provide emphatic or emotional cues that may be used to provide orientations to foreground or background material. In short, I left a lot out of the narrative that could have been made more explicit in moving from an oral into a textual mode. However, I attempted to maintain the oral tone and the voice of the interviewees in the process.

I am clearly not a dispassionate observer but a co-participant with the interviewees in the development of the conversations about learning in these stories. This dialogic technique is probably possible in part because of my longstanding relationship with the interviewees but probably largely based on my ability to position myself in the cultural dynamics of the situation while maintaining a high level of respect for their positions in the interaction. The subsequent interviews demonstrate our combined reflective consensus about the issue of learning in the *Umeek* narratives and how such learning could work for *Nuu-chah-nulth* and others both today and in the future.

**The Consultative Interviews**

One-hour interview sessions were held each with Nelson Keitlah, Trudy and Edwin Frank, Louie Joseph, and Elsie Robinson. The interviewees were then given as much latitude to answer as fully as possible in the one-hour period. The interviewees chose not to remain anonymous and welcomed the opportunity to share their wisdom and knowledge of *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural practices both for future generations of *Nuu-chah-nulth* and the edification of non-Natives. A short biographical sketch of the Elders introduces a summary of each interview.

**Nelson Keitlah**

Nelson Keitlah is currently the Central Region Co-chair of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council. Nelson, the foremost Elder of the *Keitlah* family, is known as
Keitlahmakin from the lineage of the warrior, ha-yu-pimu-l. In his generation, Nelson has been the foremost laborer in the tradition of the second chieftainship through his cultural and political activity. Nelson is a highly respected and renowned Nuu-chah-nulth orator, song leader, and composer. As many First Nations men, Nelson has been a West Coast fisherman. However, he has been foremost a political force in band and tribal affairs for most of his adult life. Nelson has worked to assure First Nations interests through a lifetime of participation in every level of nation building, as a founder of the Tribal Council, a chief negotiator at the British Columbia Treaty Table, to work in fisheries management, and most recently, in negotiations for the repatriation of ritual objects from the museums and collectors around the world. He had six daughters, Rowena, Agnes, Cynthia, Nadine, Janet, Margaret and one son, Nelson Jr., with his first wife, Ida August. Consequently, he has numerous grandchildren and great grandchildren. He is a Hamatsa\textsuperscript{49} initiate through the sponsorship of his current wife, Ruby's family, the Dicks of Kingcome Inlet. Nelson is my uncle by marriage because his grandmother and my husband's great-grandfather Keesta were sister and brother. It has been said that at times his grandmother collaborated with her brother in the whaling ritual.

\textsuperscript{49} Hamatsa initiation signals the acceptance of the person into the formal ranked society of the Kwakiutl with all its inherent social obligations and rights. The Hamatsa ceremony (referred to as Cannibal Dance and discussed in Curtis, [1915-1916] 1978 10:221) is similar to Klunqwana initiation (Wolf Ritual/Dance or Shaman's Dance) in that the ceremony is a graphic reminder that before the Transformers came, everyone was "qu'aas", people. In the Nuu-hah-nulth tradition, the Transformers changed qu'aas into all the life forms that are usual today which means that every day we eat those who were like us before the Transformers. The hamatsa is a dramatic, formal, embodied reminder of how readily a person can forget right relations when living alone in the woods and emphasizes the need for social structure, ritual and relations. Thus when he is brought back into the social circle through the dance ceremony, the hamatsa initiate is expected to bring the ethos of this into his social and political roles and way of life. The hamatsa initiate is expected to be a role model of Kwakiutl civility that is recognized and respected by Nuu-chah-nulth people. (See McDowell (1997) for a more thorough exposition of Hamatsa from a non-native perspective.)
Nelson, Keitlahmakin, had never heard these particular stories, "I have heard some whaling stories, but not, to the full extent on Umeek". Nevertheless, Nelson recognized the stories as being from the Nuu-chah-nulth tradition because they were consistent with his knowledge of his family's historical involvement with whaling, cultural details of the story, family socialization patterns, and parallels he could draw from the whale story he shared. Most notable was his recognition of the learning that was part of the special training of the young chief by his grandfather. His confidence that Nuu-chah-nulth have much to share with their own children in the schools as a part of educational programming and with non-Natives is prominent.

Nelson elaborated on how the lack of continuity of language becomes a barrier to learning, "You see what is happening here is that we have lost some of our deeper meaning language. We speak quite differently now than even my dad. There seemed to be another level, which we could compare to grades or university and high school. That's the difference of language." He sees the use of the ethnographic record is problematic because the use of the language has changed since 1913 when the story was gathered. He gave an example of how the Nuu-chah-nulth language works differently from English in that it builds its words so that a word like Yaa-unck-mis might be used for conveying the painful emotion born or love or of hate. This logically suggests how Tséitlas can be construed to be both a witness and a spy based on his motivational orientation. Nelson observes that the lack of formal institutional use has eroded the Nuu-chah-nulth stock of more sophisticated orators, so that words are understood in their everyday context but not in the more formal or mythical contexts (e.g., the meaning of the stone and chamber pot contents in everyday life vs. their special powers in the mythic context of the story). The lack of formal institutional activities such as specific types of gatherings (e.g., coming of age ceremonies, Kluuquanna, local feasting, name giving, first haircut, brushing away the
badness, etc.) reduces the opportunity for language that is more sophisticated and identity development that would have existed before 1900. Nelson compares the written *Nuu-chah-nulth* stories with artifacts that were stolen and are now stored in museums. While the non-natives may possess the stories as anthropological notes and ethnographies in the written record, Nelson maintains that only *Nuu-chah-nulth* can plumb their meaning and interpret their intellectual value in the context of culture and history.

Recognizing traditional ways of learning, Nelson is encouraged by young people that have gone away to train academically and then return to contribute to the community. "[F]ragmented as it may be, but still, you know, there is an opportunity there to rebuild there in the cultural aspects, the language aspects, and just to [have] younger *Ahousahts* know the kind of history we have come from, so the importance of different objectives." It fits with his view of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning as illustrated by the *Oyephl* character in the story. In the archetype of the *Oyephl* character early socialization and instruction in family living provides the foundation for later grand achievements. "...[T]he very early stages of bringing up a person such as the son of *Umeek* in this story where he had gotten early kind of training and instructions, indicates our way and our traditions of how a young man such as he would be treated very differently because he was of chieftain rank." He noted how such socialization and instruction would vary by rank, family, and lineage and would be guided by grandparents. Such activity would take place in everyday life and in formal settings of ritual and sacred sites.

Cleansing in fresh and saltwater with different procedures and botanicals (i.e. boughs, ferns, etc) was a central feature of preparation for and rehearsal of achievement and varied by family. Reverence for the Creator and creation translated into respect for all things. This attitude that the petitioner was expected to cultivate as he/she humbly
asked for what was requested to aid in the fulfillment of his/her responsibility in relationships of reciprocity. Such cultural safeguards allowed the cultivation of relationships even with whales, which would be a more appropriate interpretation of the nature of the communication that is called *Prayer to a Whale* in the story. "The total misconception of how our people had lived dealing with grief, joy, just the goodness of sharing, this is very important in our history, where people had great respect for *Iyh-tuup* (whales)."

Nelson is most formal and traditional when he offers up a story, "...dealing with our family, Keitlah, the family that I come from...was a song that we now sing in our great potlatches when Keitlah wants to participate and also give whatever he has in mind." The story is about the young *ha?w’iih* set adrift on a whale by his most intimate friend, his triumphant return and victory over the unfavorable circumstances. Nelson seems to have given this story in counterpoint to the *Umeek* story. It highlights the potential treachery of intimates, a lesson that seemed to cost *Umeek* and his son their lives. The story illustrates an alliance with the whale whereby it insulates the young *ha?w’il* from sure death from hypothermia and provides him with a vehicle in which to drift towards safety. Even in death, the spirit of the whale participated in helping him. This testimony of the endurance of this teaching is encoded in a lineage song that is still sung today by extended family (the Greens, *Makah*, from Neah Bay). Nelson's family story is writ on the whole expanse of *Niu-chah-nulth* territory from the far north where the young man drifted ashore to the far south where the song is still sung. The young man returns home in triumph, bringing his rescuers to his home village so he can fete them to repay them for their assistance. Upon his return, his father cautions him to *oosumch* (purify himself through bathing) so that he would be more aware rather than trusting so that this would not happen again. Moreover, in the end, his adversary even
volunteered to seal his own fate so that the young chief did not even have to extract revenge.

Nelson characterized the story of Umeek as challenging rather than frightening. He could envision such stories making a difference for Nuu-chah-nulth and non-natives alike because of the way they capture the imagination with the great exploits of which they testify. Whaling is an epic theme for Nuu-chah-nulth and Europeans. For Nuu-chah-nulth, whaling represents the ability of men to cultivate a relationship with the largest animal on earth that will allow itself to be taken with spears of only mussel shells and pitch. The measure of such men must be great.

Nelson notes that the story of Umeek is uncommon, not a narrative with a romantic or happy ending that is popular, nevertheless he resonates with the story. It "...rang some bells, of my grandpa and my grandma who was a sister of Keesta married to chief Keitlah...and the stories that she had told of evenings...when these stories were very much alive in a young man's imagination." The story challenges him by evoking the need to make changes, to rebuild the nation, which involves the deep soul of the people. A challenge because we are now in a time when culture, practices and the tender care of grandparents seem absent compared to before. Nelson observes that since it took generations to erode culture it will take generations to rebuild. He sees the potential for cultural revival in the young people and the times which are so different from a recent past in which the ha?wil were debased and the people were disrespectful. A recent past where the people were demoralized because of colonial oppression. A people demoralized because the wealth of the chiefs is based on respect, wee-tsee-utskee and there was little respect. However, that has changed and names like Keitlah, Maquinna,
and Atleo are being raised up again as they are able to work for the good of the people in the cultural expectations maintain.

Nelson suggests that surely these changes herald a time for mutual recognition between the qu'aas and the dominant society through better understanding of each other. "You can't underestimate the power of what we are trying to illustrate for public knowledge and for public schools which in itself is in a period of change. Never have we experienced the direct vision we now have by maamulihnee, that culture, that qu'aas, do have something, the larger society is saying." "The substance of what we see and what is important surely is not the hero that we want so much to have in our thoughts but that is not the way things happened. The eventual changing and maybe when you connect this up with the stories from the Good Book where the Creator will do this and will choose what it is he may use in what he has to do in correcting fits in the framework of belief innuh- ha?wil-mistuk which means that the ha?w ‘iih go through the communication and connection with our Creator [that] was always very strong [and dependable]." Nelson's reflections show that stories such as Umeek can become "tools of understanding".

Gertrude (Atleo) and Edwin Frank

Gertrude Trudy (Atleo) and Edwin Lynn Frank were interviewed together. Trudy is the youngest daughter of George Shamrock Atleo and Margaret Grace Charlie. Trudy is my aunt by marriage because she is the youngest sister of my husband's father. Trudy is like an older sister to my husband because he spent his early years in his grandparent's household with his aunts and uncle. Edwin used to joke with me that you and me are the same. He was making that point that he was like me, because he married into the Atleo lineage, i.e., became an Atleo. Atleo is an equal opportunity lineage in which women have the cultural rights (tuu-paati) to ask for and provide dowry for the husband of their
choice. Trudy and Edwin are significant Atleo lineage elders. They were the final caretakers of Keesta Atleo, the last Ahousaht whaler. Trudy and Edwin have nine grown children, many grand and great grand children.

At the time of the interview, Trudy had just retired from a lifetime of working as the Ahousaht Community Health Representative (CHR). Edwin is the son of Jemima Sam and David Frank. Edwin had been a fisherman. With Trudy, he has been the owner and operator of the Ahousaht Freight Services since the early '70s. Trudy and Edwin have played a major role in "parenting" the community of Ahousaht since the late '60s. Both have been active politically serving on band councils and committees but have made their greatest contribution to the health and justice areas of the community. Trudy has integrated traditional and modern medical teachings for the community. Edwin, coming from a qʷa'yac'iik (wolf) lineage, has enacted that peacekeeping role through the policing and justice system after his appointment by the haʔwil in the mid 60's. I interviewed Trudy and Edwin in my livingroom in Nanaimo after they had come for an overnight visit November 29-30, 1999.

Neither Trudy nor Edwin had heard this particular story before although Trudy may have forgotten it since they were told so many stories as children. "I was trying to remember...I probably did but shoved it in the back of my mind. But it sounds like so many others that we heard about, not specifically this story...even with the story of the

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50 Trudy was one of the first CHRIs to be trained in British Columbia in 1969. She served several years past her retirement date of March 1996. CHRIs are First Nations community members that actively advocate and educate at the social and bureaucratic interface between status Indians living on reserve and the health services to which they were eligible through medical services.

51 The Ahousaht Freight Service consists mainly of a two trip per week freight boat service by the MV Solander. This freight service is the major means of bringing goods in and out of Ahousaht from Tofino and other points on the West Coast of Vancouver Island.
sea lion." For Trudy the learning process is the focus of this story, particularly the motivational aspect of learning. "It was a similar story to this, it was like entering their realm to try and find out about them where they take their coats off to come...they're different when they take their coats off. They always had to prove themselves. They had stories like this about the sea lion and bear about if they took their coats off and leaned their ways [they] got their powers through them. Like with the whale, they were trying to empower themselves [through oosumch] to weaken the whale's spirit."

For Edwin the focus is the procedural aspect of learning as the central organizing metaphors he uses as his personal schema are drawn from athletics and sports contests, goals. "...like what Trudy was saying about Dr. Atleo...he could make up his mind and put his whole being into it and when he reached that goal and from that goal he said I can go farther..."meek", that's where it comes from in when he reaches his goal he could go a little farther and made the next goal again." They were able to shed some light on two of the names and elaborated on the meaning of Umeek as an abstract and procedural concept related to learning. They both believed that there is much valuable teaching in these types of stories to share with Nuu-chah-nulth children and that classroom teachers could enhance the ability of Nuu-chah-nulth students to learn in both formal and informal educational settings by using such stories.

Trudy maintains that the story is understood by listening for the critical principles and elements that make the story understandable and interpretable. She was told so many stories as a child that she feels confident about how stories work. Many of the stories refer to the time before the Transformers came when everything was still qu'aas, even the birds. Everything was the same at that time and thus they could all enter into the realm of each other. Now everything is different and those differences need to be understood so
that the important details of the story are heard. She suggests that even when people obtain knowledge through visual learning that they need to prove themselves to others as a demonstration of having obtained the knowledge, of having learned the lessons. Thus, in the story of *Umeek*, his preparation to hunt whales only becomes a problem when he demonstrates that he can successfully make pacts with whales that he may land them repeatedly. *Umeek* demonstrates that he has power to consistently bring in whales.

Edwin evokes sports tropes, which are his personal preference for discussing learning. As a gifted athlete from his youth, Edwin's procedural and motivational sports tropes for learning are highly differentiated and elaborated. Edwin's examples animate him even as he speaks of the power of the mind to become strong in the face of opponents (i.e. other runners, whales, seals, etc.) to rehearse every detail of the preparation for the event (i.e., mental and physical rehearsal) to orchestrate motivation (i.e., spiritual preparation) until it is optimal\(^\text{52}\) for the task. He describes how ritual practices of the family of origin and later socialization both play into the picture for him. "In my family it was the same [as Trudy's], it's exactly what you said [mind power] they become stronger than the [animal they are pursuing] they prepare to go out and they become the stronger one. I managed to catch a whale. Seals were was the highest [of my achievements]. What ever was possible."

\(^{52}\) Rae (in press) suggests that optimal motivation can be cultivated. He conceptualizes optimal motivation as a "flow" experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997, 1990, 1993) whereby individuals become "...absorbed in a task that they lose track of time and their efforts seem "effortless..." under conditions of "...(a) optimal challenge, (b) undivided interest, and (c) optimal arousal". Rae uses reversal theory (Apter, 2001) to demonstrate how the synergy of serious minded/goal oriented balanced by playful minded/experience oriented processes result in "...the optimal motivation of "serious fun...[whereby]...students are able to sustain high levels of talent development without burnout or dropout." (p. 12)
Both Trudy and Edwin agree that anything can be learned through simulation and imitation. "I guess they would sort of copy the way the whales would go about," said Trudy as she recalled Chief Benson showing a group of children how whales moved. She believes that understanding the object or goal that was desired to be achieved could increase self-confidence. She said that Richard was named *Umeek* because he demonstrated that he had learned how to achieve his goals not just once, which might be the product of serendipity but that he could be successful repeatedly. *Umeek* can be about going for anything. It could be what a person is good at "getting", such as getting fish in a fishing economy, getting whales in a whaling economy, or getting any other thing that is worthwhile. *Umeek* is a name that suggests the skill of self-discipline for the achievement of anything one sets ones mind on because they put their whole being into it allowing them to achieve increasingly. *Tsəhwasip* suggests to them a person that is so well prepared and so spiritually favored that he can get the great whale in one try. Of course the "getting" requires the "getter" and the "gotten" to be in synergistic synchronicity in an economy of reciprocity. In addition, while the concept of "getting" this is not limited to any specific context, it is learned specifically in each context. "Hippolite Thomas was called *Tuk-meeck* which was short for *Tuk ook meek* which was about getting sea lions. He was good at getting sea lions," said Trudy.

Trudy and Edwin also agreed that jealousy is the root of the central conflict in the story and that the story is used to draw attention to some of these issues. The story is about the way in which *Umeek* and others learned to whale. Trudy suggested that it might work today without the ritual bathing if people understood how it worked. Using stories such as this one would help to get people thinking about achieving goals. "You could also use it to get them thinking about HOW they would go about it." Stories could help people understand how to achieve. For young people to understand how stories
worked would require that they be familiar with stories from early childhood. Edwin suggested that there needs to be a motivational drawing card such as was used traditionally. Edwin said, "...the way they used to talk on Seal Lion Rock\textsuperscript{53}. They used to talk, similar to a sermon in a church...you need one or two in a group, get half a dozen people in here and listen to something like that and one will catch on right away and from that person it will spread...it will open up like that and other people will start learning from it...taking out words like 'Umeek', 'Ts\'ahwasip', getting one word and working on it [to get at the culture]." In potlatches, old women would be the ones to announce good news. Edwin believed people need to be purposefully attracted to motivate them through curiosity and then the spreading of the knowledge would be contagious as people learn from each other and reflect on what they are doing.

Trudy and Edwin suggested that there need to be different ways to show things, to get the point across such as formal public lessons, plays, stories, songs, and ritual activities to point to what is important. Trudy recalled how the Nuu-chah-nulth women sat in rapt attention as she told stories at a recent conference. The women were eager to learn what had been denied them through the residential school process and cultural shaming. Trudy went on, "I guess that is the way it was for us as kids because we would hear that story over and over again. Sometimes it would take a few nights for my grandmother to tell [the story] because when she's telling the story they sang and [acted out] how [the characters] did it and all that." Edwin agreed that we need to start somewhere to help them get interested so that they may catch the fire of interest that the younger generations may know qu'aas (Nuu-chah-nulth) history, spirituality and how to achieve success. "I feel the same way as Gertrude. It would be profitable. I would say

\textsuperscript{53}Sealion Rock is the highest point in Maaqtuusis above the beach from which announcements are made.
that someone would pick it up in a classroom or somewhere else and say that this is something to learn about, especially a *qu'aas*, ... when they see something like that they will own some part of this because of being *qu'aas*." Trudy added, "And then history will stay." For Trudy and Edwin stories provided understanding, guidance and direction particularly concerning the ancestral preparation of *oosumch* because it allows a recalibration of the person, a re-balancing of self.

Louie Joseph

Louie Joseph's mother, Edna, was my husband's grandfather Shamrock's half sister through their mother, Jessie Titian. That makes Louie my uncle by marriage. Louie's father Simon has privileges from *Oo-in-mit-is*, on the inside of Meares Island, by which he is seated in the *Kelsemaht* confederacy. Louie trained as a cabinet maker. He was fisherman and boat owner. His own recovery from alcoholism led him into training in drug and alcohol counseling and group facilitation training at the Nichii Institute in Alberta. Louie has a Social Service Worker Diploma, and is employed as a family violence worker, clinical counselor and traditional healer in *Ahousaht*. Louie annually attends the Sundance ceremonies in Montana and is one of the sweat masters for *Ahousaht* ceremonies. Louie has been active in the *Ahousaht* Education Authority and was the Chairperson when the First Native Elementary Secondary School was built in *Maaqtusis*. He has been twice married to First Nations women from the Mainland. He has six adult children, Louie, Jr., Heidi, Simon, Arthur, Oscar and Carolyn, and nine grandchildren. He is an elder of both the Joseph and the Louie family. I interviewed Louie in the *Ahousaht* Holistic Center just after the *Ahousaht* Canoe Fest on Wednesday, August 18, 1999, where he was a volunteer at the time and where we had previously worked together.
Louie had not heard this particular story before but was amazed to find that the setting for this story is his ancestral home. It is a territory that he knows well and uses ritually in part as described in the story. "It's ironic that after I came off my fast I read the stories and I was moving towards that lake...and I thought WOW!" Louie particularly related to the ritual aspects of learning beliefs and correlates them readily to western aspects of education and expectations for learning. While Louie was not familiar with the names, he did have some important observations about the positional relationships between the characters. Louie believes that stories such as these have teachings about learning that can be very valuable today.

Louie begins by drawing attention to the themes of variety and diversity that he has detected in the story. While the spirits may have different names he considers that Creator God, Spirit Chief in the Sky are all manifestations of one spirit. He thus sees oosumch as the preparation phase of the vision quest, a means of tapping into the gift and finding through sacrifice, dreams and a vision. While the direction of the gift and the vision precede oosumch, the preparation permits the gift to surface. Since there are many ways to the gift and many gifts, Louie reckons there will be many stories as a reflection of this. He believes that the process of oosumch primarily helps to overcome the fear because some do not make it through the process. "There is a lot of fear involved, going into [the] unknown not knowing what is going to happen, not knowing if you are going to come out of it alive because history has it that there were people dying from this, these kind of experiences."

Louie had heard the core of the story before and makes a distinction between history and tradition based on the fact that the activities of the ancestors could still be used today. "I was very young when I heard this [story] before. My grand grand uncle
used to sit me on a whale bone, sing to me and then he would tell me the stories." The mindset cultivated by the ancestors, the expectations and directions, the means of influencing the whale, and self talk are ways of communicating with the whale that were used traditionally and historically and can still be used today. As long as there is direction in this manner, teaching, preparation and motivating belief, it can still happen today. For example, the Canoe Quest, which occurred in Ahousaht just before our interview, was the culmination of such cultural work. Louie personally developed his motivational resources (initiative, ambitions, convictions, emotional balancing, spiritual strength) by preparation through fasting, paddling, sun dancing, and sweats. "The year and a half of meetings and discussions in preparation for the Canoe Quest was very time consuming and there was a core group of people who benefited from that wholistically, mentally...through preparation and dialogue with people. It's the same with the preparation for whaling."

Louie recognized the differences and similarities of the manner in which the whalers learned. He observed that the original whaler did his own preparation and could remember all the details because it was his initial vision and no one else knew about it. "...because it was being accompanied by the observation from observation there is a danger of forgetting certain steps in the process and when [Tsähwasip] went out whaling, things happened." Louie sees the secrecy as being about taking ownership of, and responsibility for, a project in a manner, which is diffused when it becomes group knowledge. So that while observational learners follow an observed method they do not necessarily own it in the same way and thus are not necessarily as responsible for the outcomes or reasons why it precipitated in the first place. Louie believes that if there is no sacrifice, there is no power. Consequently, in Louie's opinion, Umeek's son could not really claim the experience and the elder chief even less so.
Louie suggests that learning needs to be self directed to be powerful. The elder chief died of shame and regret. He had not taken responsibility for his mistakes and unsuccessful attempts. Umeek's son may have just gone through the motions. Louie said, "I could almost see and hear the second one laughing while he is attempting to prepare and not really connecting to the skeleton and the purpose of diving...just going through the motions." Umeek may have felt that it was evil spirits that beleaguered him rather than the elder chief. Louie sees these chiefs being typically human and their action part of the human condition that was as true in legend as it is today. He speaks of it out of his professional role as counselor in terms of family dynamics (for these chiefs were likely closely related and possibly siblings) in which violence, rage, and desensitization can lead to crime and murder. Family dynamics may dictate that younger siblings need to be more aggressive to get what the older sib takes for granted whereas the older sib may be conditioned to advantage that he may not be willing to relinquish.

Returning to the issue of types of learning, Louie suggests that learning through personal experience is the most relevant, "...taking direction through personal experiential learning, by actual practicing and by being consistent to seasonal changes...." Actual practice in a real context permits the experience of action in seasonal change, moon cycles, ritual and ceremonial cycles, phases of hunting and gathering activities, salmon cycles, plant developmental cycles, by which the relationship between a person, their own development, and the environment become experientially constructed. He sees the content being learned incidentally and transformation expected in the process of learning. "When the grandfather sees the need to come down to the community or individual or families [he usually] decides to come down through a transforming process [and] comes down to the mountain where he takes the form of a wolf and comes to the community to deliver a message. In addition, the wolf stays in that
community, house, or individual until the message is delivered. Once received, the wolf leaves, to go either back up the mountain or into the sea. If into the sea, the wolf transforms into a killer whale and roams the ocean." Models that cross mediums (i.e., water/land, air/water, spiritual/material worlds, animal/human) provide transformational learning templates that permit learners the confidence to submit to the learning process.

Louie acknowledges the mental conflicts between existing beliefs and new information that challenges traditional values and ancestral teachings as barriers to learning. While such conflicts can put individuals in Catch-22 situations, Louie maintains that to reclaim native beliefs, ideology, teachings, values, oral tradition and the old ways, a bigger picture is needed that allows a vision of the old and new ways because the old ways cannot be eliminated. In his experience, there is a need to accept all aspects of the self to be able to live in history and in the present. "Through this kind of experience one learns to live with it, work with it, as each day presents a different demand in a different area of those values and beliefs you have." This requires all the tools possible to maintain integrity and accept one's self that can be achieved by balancing both academic learning and practicing historical traditions and rituals. In this way, there is no loss but gain through learning and self-acceptance. In this way culture can be seen as changed, adapting, rather than lost, and where language remains the key to such change.

Louie foresees that there might be some difficulty with the institutionalized use of stories such as *Umeek* as with the general institutionalization of indigenous knowledge. For example, he sees the conflict between the elder chief and the younger in terms of the suppression/oppression of the government of First Nations people. Maladaptive family dynamics could become institutionalized as in our story between the first and second
chiefs and generations of people may suffer. It could be institutionalized between First
Nations people and non-native people (i.e., Indians as children under the Indian Act of
Canada) and success could continue to be assassinated as in this story whereby First
Nations people are co-opted through education. Louie believes that is why the whole
picture is needed to be free and so that the responsibility not be diffused. He points out
that while this is a family story, individuals can begin to take self-responsibility. "The
whaling story has a very strong element of being family in it. Although they had their
internal conflicts, assassinations, each scene fits in the whole dynamic...which spreads
over years."

Stories provide a long term picture and sometimes there need to be short term
solutions like treatment programs or healing projects. In addition, while these short-term
interventions are helpful they do not take the place of stories that provide long run
strategies for maintaining strength. This leads back to the need to understand the worth
of stories more scientifically so that their power can be legitimately used to help people
in the real world. "This picture (story) has the whole scale, you know the spectrum [of
learning] there are colors you see on either side and there are those you don't see and
those that you don't see they are there...the energies and frequencies are there," was the
caution to me with which Louie ended. Louie's enthusiastic response to the stories
illustrated the deep meaning they evoked for him. He could particularize the lessons of
the ancestors in his daily life and he could find universal themes that allow him to
participate in other traditions without losing himself. With a strong sense of cultural
practice and situatedness, he can readily move between cultural paradigms. He has
doubts about the use of stories in formalized, institutional settings because he sees them
as most relevant at the family or lineage level.
Elsie was born to Mary Hamilton and William Little of Ahousaht. She was married to my husband Richard's father, Eugene, which makes her my mother-in-law. She lived in the Atleo extended household for almost two years before she was widowed when her husband drowned in a seine boat accident during fall fishing in Quatsino Sound. Elsie bore a second son, Richard's brother, Luke, shortly after she was widowed. Several years later she bore another son, Clifford, to Eugene's brother, Mark. During her widowhood, Elsie worked in fish canneries up and down the coast. She then remarried, a fisherman, Luke Robinson from Ditidaht with roots in Ahousaht, who brought two daughters (Evelyn and Amelia) into the marriage. Together they had another twelve children: Louise, Beverly, Russell, Gary, Harvey, Arnold, Vina, Vince, Kathleen, Wayne, Gerald, and Anita.

Elsie was widowed a second time with nine children still living at home. She then moved from Ahousaht to Nanaimo to raise her children. For the next twenty-five years she earned a living by working as a cook, taking in First Nations foster children and boarding many First Nations students from remote communities while they attended Malaspina College in Nanaimo. In total, Elsie has fifteen biological children, two step daughters, and many ex-foster children. Consequently, Elsie has many biologic and fictive grand and great grandchildren who call her Grammy. After retirement, she became active as an Elder in some of the regional drug and alcohol treatment centers through her eldest daughter who works as a counselor at one of them. Elsie is a master weaver whose baskets are highly prized. She still goes out annually to gather her basketry materials with grandchildren so that they too may learn. I interviewed Elsie at my kitchen table in Nanaimo as we were having tea in September, 1999.
Elsie had not heard these particular narratives or most of the names before, yet resonated with oosumch as it relates to learning. Her focus was on the dynamics of oosumch and the gendered participation of providing for the family and community. She typified the dynamics of oosumch as sacred, spiritual and private. She recognized the gendered participation in providing an ongoing reciprocal dynamic in which the spiritual and social construction of the partnership produced the successful provisioning function. She felt that these stories had much to teach about learning, in particular the dynamics between the spiritual and material aspects of providing for the community/family. She could envision teaching situations in which such learning would flourish.

For Elsie, the central feature of oosumch was its secretive quality. "The way they did their oosumch... it was very secretive. You did not ask about it and they did not tell you. They, I think they believed that it was going to lose some of its power or strength if you talked about it so that's why it was just for family and the Great Spirit. That is how I understood oosumch anyway, that it was very sacred." It was conducted in the same secret sacred site, in an attitude, very much like being at church, one's prayer closet or on holy ground. Oosumch was required to prepare before humbly asking for what was needed for one's self and family. "Klaa-klaa-quot (humbly asking)."

While Elsie had not heard this particular story about Umeek, she had heard other stories that included information about and use of oosumch. These stories emphasized that one does not share the process or the expected outcomes with anyone to receive and maintain the power of the activity. For example, she and her husband would focus on their provisioning activities. They were both involved in his fishing and her gathering, food preparation, weaving and caring for the children. She saw herself as a partner in the process that extended into the area of spiritual activity. This secretive activity would
continue even in their thoughts as they went about their daily business, maintaining a purposeful focus on the common objective. She believed that they were rewarded with sufficiency because they worked together putting their mutual commitment to the needs of the family first. She surmised that the conflict in the story arose from the incorrect focus by the Elder chief. "They let pride take over and that’s when things don't go right anymore. [Chiefs] think too much of self instead of [their] people. Because they're chiefs, they are supposed to be thinking of their people but they want their glory for themselves alone. I think there is a lot of teaching and learning here about being too proud. That's when problems start. You don't think of helping each other instead. We had those kind of people I guess too that get too ambitious."

She felt that consistency was required for learning that includes staying in character (i.e., keeping the fur on) otherwise the power could also be lost (i.e., as when the wolves took off their fur and were vulnerable to the youth). She felt that there were telepathic-like aspects involved with talking to the whale and that such an activity could influence the whale. She believed that that is an example of how one can become vulnerable because of self centeredness and pride. She considered ambition to be fine for chiefs as long as it is to supply the needs of the people and not for self-aggrandizement.

She was not familiar with the names in the story nor that wives did ritual with their husbands although she was familiar with the fact that oosunch involved varied periods of sexual abstinence. She spoke about how as a member of his household she witnessed and admired Keesta's strength of character. She also spoke about the degradation of a people. As did Nelson, she suggested that there is currently a revival of this earlier strength through cultural practices and knowledge.
She believes that each child will decide which of the learning archetypes he/she may follow based on their attitudes and level of discipline. "Each child or who ever you are teaching is going to chose. Are they going to be like one of them that's not so good or are they going like the one that does the oosumch, does it right, and brings home the food for his people because that is what he is. He wants to help. That is all he wants to do, help his people. He is not trying to make a name for himself. He just thinks about providing. And helping to keep the teachings and oosumch. Keeping everything the way it should be, not for your own gain. If you have the right attitude and the right way, I think, you'll always get what you need. How you keep your thoughts is just as important as speaking your thoughts."

She suggests that traditional stories like Umeek may counteract the emptiness that aboriginal people are trying to fill with addictive behaviors. Visualization may be a technique parents can teach their children as a strengthening and cleansing strategy. Such teachings may help families to remain humble, maintain perspective, and remember our common humanity. Many stories are needed because no one story will work for everyone and the timing of the telling of stories is important. The right words spoken at the right time or if it is worded differently may be the most suitable for a person. She envisions everyone learning moral principles from the stories so that people can pursue their desires. On that note, she recalled a non-native teacher in her childhood providing teachings similar to those of her family. Elsie could recognize the similarities between the teachings even if the language and cultural context were different at school. At home, the teachings were more indirect, whereas at school, they were direct and authoritarian, often enforced by anger and the threat of the strap.
Elsie concluded that to learn to change one needs to focus and make up one's mind. With oosumch, one could notice new things never noticed before. (One could be led by the synergy and synchrony of what is sometimes called coincidence or serendipity and also by intuition.) Because there are many distractions from the outside, there can be many influences that blind us. She feels that these stories allow individuals to gain insight into their choices and take responsibility for them. She believes that this story can show individuals a range of learning types to choose from for their own journey. Husbands and wives could find a new means to understand their partnership during transition periods that would permit them to work with each other, making their own lives and the lives of their family easier because they would have more insight. "I think it would be really good if this (story) could be taught in schools, like I am talking about my teacher, it stayed with me what she taught. How do we know this might not work like that for some students? This would not be taught in the home anymore. Not enough of us know it. We just about forgot about it. But like I said, there is something to it why it won't go away. It's still here. I think it should be, could be good in schools."

Some of the issues arising from the Umeek narratives that were informed by the verification and interpretation process with Elders are: 1) learning and doing in adulthood (life career), 2) developmental issues in (re) orientation to changing resource and opportunity structures, 3) identity development, 4) the qualities of an authority or teacher, 5) expectations about learning, 6) recognition of allies, team mates, or rivals types of lineage specific knowledge, 7) the influence of contemporary social perspectives. Understanding some of these issues could have implications for understanding Nuu-chah-nulth ways of learning, knowing, development around (re) orientation, and mental health (Willging, 1999) with possible ramifications for adult education and vocational counseling in Nuu-chah-nulth territory. These Nuu-chah-nulth models may provide some
insights into founders and followers, leadership, situational learning, development in contextualized learning, repertoires of learning resident in groups, and have implications for learning and counseling theory generally.

Summary: Themes Salient to the Elders about Nuu-chah-nulth Learning

The four interviews with the five Elders yielded some identifiable themes about the depth and breadth of Nuu-chah-nulth learning based on their reflection of the Umeek Narratives. Since thematicity is a property of culture (Strauss & Quinn, 1997), the identification of learning themes evoked in these Elders by the Umeek Narratives suggests a Nuu-chah-nulth learning ideology both in the narratives and in the culture today. The following themes emerged. The emotional and intellectual maturity of grandparents provided the foundations for learning through loving child care and storywork. The stories and loving care provided pre-socialization for the learning discipline of Oosumch. Oosumch provided the vehicle for individual or collaborated learning in secrecy and reflexivity. Natural and developed (e.g., sealing or whaling shrines) sacred sites provided continuities of structure and practice for oosumch. Once adolescents were participating in oosumch they became involved in self-directed experiential learning. Learning was deemed most successful and easiest when focused on goals with relevance for the learner. Mistake reduction is a major aspect of learning to avoid trial and error as much as possible. Learning is dependant on the social context that provides the orientation to the social relationships (i.e., mother, sister, aunt, brother, father, and birth order) and social roles of the learner. Learning may be enhanced by the discipline of remaining in a role (staying in the fur). Public ritual practices promote formal public group learning. Partnerships and group activities promote cooperative learning. The learning themes the Elders identified from the Umeek narratives suggested
that there is a learning ideology operative in *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture historically and contemporarily.

Learning is clearly seen from an embodied perspective in which the learner is interacting with a highly complex context. The interaction is happening at multiple levels of consciousness (i.e., dreaming, waking, ritual, in interaction partnerships, during work) and different motivational states (Apter, 2001) (i.e., goal, action, or relational orientation.) that present as active aspects of *Nuu-chah-nulth* knowledge about learning as witnessed in the story and identifiable by Elders today. Indeed upon reflecting on the story, the responses of the Elders suggest that the whole body is being used strategically to give form to learning. Form is found through engagement with the environment and movement through consciousnesses always with the goal in sight but also with an open minded, almost playful engagement with the environment in which the goal is to be met/achieved. The learning ideal seems to be that such a process be perfected and streamlined so that an end product be *Umeek*, one who can achieve anything to which he sets his mind.

In this chapter, we have paid attention to the story by asking the elders to consider what the story says about learning. The Elders identified themes of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning in the stories: grandparents provided the foundation for learning, *oosumch* is a learning discipline which took place in sacred sites in secrecy, learning was most effective if self directed based in learner goals and relevance, learning was position and role oriented and enhanced by remaining in position. Public learning was conducted through ritual practices. Collaborative and cooperative learning was an aspect of marital

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54 This process may be seen as a vehicle for cultivating a flow model of the goal, a dynamic plan of the process of getting, in which the synergies are developed that permits the relationship between the seeker and the goal to become dynamic and alive in *Hisuk-ish-t'sawalk*.  

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relations and group activities. Names of the ancestors grant orientations to relevance. Framing effects of sacred sites make available orientation to learning. Choice of sacred site presents an environmental strategy for learning. The continuity of language plays an important role in reclaiming stories from ethnographies. The use of stories as a tool of understanding and learning should be cultivated both in the Nuu-chah-nulth community and in the larger society. A 4R and 4D framework permits an analysis of the elements of the story affords some understanding of the interconnectedness of these elements in the development of events and the progression of learning in the Umeek Narrative. Both the learning themes that the elders found salient and the analysis of the story offer the foundation for what we can learn from Umeek to "go the right way". That is the topic explored in the following chapter.
Chapter VI - Learning from Umeek - ?apsčii-yuch - Going the Right Way

A reading of the Umeek narratives suggests that this complex of stories is an oral account of a shift from a sealing to a whaling economy that resulted in such fundamental changes to Nuu-chah-nulth culture and social relations that it may be called a paradigmatic shift. According to the archeological record (Marshall, 1993), this story may have a lifespan of approximately 2,000 years. And while this fundamental shift occurred, even older cultural strategies such as story telling, oosumch, hilstiisʔaaʔaaʔas, political alliances through marriage, ha-hoo-thee and feasting remained. They assured Nuu-chah-nulth would survive and over time thrive under changing conditions in the territorial home along the westerly slopes of the mountains along the spine of Vancouver Island. This story then provides us with teachings about how learning happens during times of major shifts in resource availability.

Going the right way is a moral, spiritual and pragmatic ideal of Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations ma’mook (work). Much ritual effort and resources were traditionally expended on making sure that all was right, that all was harmonious. Much has been written about the ritual activities of the Nuu-chah-nulth in the ethnographic record, particularly the practice of oosumch as a means of achievement of great things. Ah-up-wah-yeek, Wren, perches on the harpoon in the whale towing the crew out to sea, strategically delivering the right word at the right time in the right place. Tiny, little, Ah-up-wah-yeek, of whom some hunters are contemptuous because of his size, saves the day because he is the messenger who delivers the power to turn the great whale shoreward with a song, a suggestion. Hisuk-ish-tsa’walk requires a synchronicity in which going the right way restores balance and order to the life ways of a people. Weaving a qa’uuc (utility basket) requires such synchrony that brings together elements of the heaven and
of the earth to create a vessel of pragmatic utility, with its own synergy. In this study, I have woven a vessel of pragmatic utility with which to examine the stories about *Umeek*, the archetypal *Nuu-chah-nulth* go-getter and the learning beliefs still residing in the *Nuu-chah-nulth* village/community of members.

In this final chapter, I delineate features of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning ideology and articulate learning archetypes, draw conclusions about principles of storywork and *Nuu-chah-nulth* narratives as learning sites, look at the salient aspects of learning identified by the Elders and provide a discussion of archetypes of learning identified in the narrative analysis. *Nuu-chah-nulth* Elders provide the cultural rationale that links learning in the context of the *Umeek* narratives and learning today in a way that can be understood based on the theory of metaphorical blending which was used as method. The Elders comment on how the *Umeek* Narratives can contribute to understanding the gap between historical and contemporary learning methods. The *Umeek* Narratives can provide a *Nuu-chah-nulth* conceptual framework for learning that is adaptive and has survival value.

**Features of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning ideology**

The *Umeek* narrative suggests a strategic learning ideology in which the social economy of eldership predominates but which is punctuated by the need for insight into new resource niches that assure survival. The elders identified *oosumch*, partnerships, site-situated learning, and names as themes that can provide understanding of the linkages between historical and contemporary learning beliefs.

**Foundations for Learning - *Naniiqsu* (Grandparents)**

Prenatal care and grandparents provide the foundation for learning and personhood in *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning ideology. Prenatal care such as what foods to eat, what behaviors to avoid, etc. have long been seen as superstitions, but increasingly,
the logic of such numaak (taboos) are finding support as western ways of knowing shift. A very strong teaching is that expectant mothers should not experience trauma or shock, that they should not therefore go to funerals and experience grieving because of its effects on the child in utero. Increasingly we know that during pregnancy what the mother ingests and the cascade of hormones that she produces during stress, affect the development of the child (Field, 2000). The effects of ingestion of drugs and alcohol by the mother during pregnancy is known to be related to various developmental defects and delays in children (Warner, 1999). Historically, children were considered usma or precious, expected, anticipated and planned for as members of families and lineages in which considerable social and economic effort was invested to assure their success throughout their Nuu-chah-nulth life career.

Grandparents knew the blueprint for success, could model aspects of flow, and were considered the architects for childrearing. They were the repository of knowledge and care for the child. Often grandparents were the caretakers when the children were very young so that the mother could gather food or produce household goods. Grandparents could provide children with a tender loving regard that parents may have been too busy to bestow. Developmentally, grandparents could be expected to have the knowledge, patience, and insight to provide children with an unconditional regard, which could inspire confidence for children to brave the cold salt water for the first tupswees (morning dip). Grandparents could provide cultural rationale for almost anything because they had been there and done that, had an embodied knowledge about it.

Nelson recalls the care of such grandparents who told stories and bestowed love that inspired courage in their grandchildren. Trudy recalls her granny with much tenderness. She recalls the stories that Queen Mary, Keesta's wife, would recount in
glorious, graphic, and melodic detail for nights on end as Trudy snuggled in bed with her. Trudy remembers the sensations with her body if not the words because there were so many stories. Louie's uncle sat him on a whalebone while he told him whaling stories. Grandparents anchored children in the stories with their expressiveness, their *inaak*, and the non-verbal, emotive dimensions of the story, which would be transferred to the body of the child in the process of active listening. That is how I remember Nan Margaret's teaching. Her approval would be an expressive engagement of her whole body and her disapproval a whole body withdrawal. The communication was complete and unmistakable. Active listening was not only with the ears but also with the whole body of the learner. Active listening required the engagement of the learner in multiple dimensions and with multiple senses at once, synergistic knowing borne in the reciprocity of acceptance and trust.

Grandparents provided *Nuu-chah-nulth* children a rich, complex, grounded, bodily foundation for learning in thick context. The storywork of *Nuu-chah-nulth* grandparents provided children with the most developed cultural models available in every generation. They provided the templates of culture directly to the children through storywork. *Nuu-chah-nulth* children learned how to learn first and then learned the informational content of culture. Transformational learning models in *Nuu-chah-nulth* stories came before the informational content of everyday experience and development.

*Oosumsh*: The Discipline of *Nuu-chah-nulth* Learning

The discipline of *oosumsh* is well documented (Boas, 1904; Curtis, 1915, 1916; Sapir & Swadesh, 1939; Drucker, 1951; Arima, 1983). In the interviews, the Elders recognized the centrality of *oosumsh* in successful achievement. The Elders varied in the dimensions of the discipline with which they were familiar which they emphasized.
Nelson Keitlah recognized children's ability to submit themselves to such a hardship as a product of the teaching and care of grandparents that enabled children to submit themselves to such learning. Nelson further spoke of the traditional cleansing of oosumch as part of the humility of asking for assistance in gaining new knowledge, insight and power. In the story, he provided an example of this when the father suggested to his returned son that oosumch would be a means by which to gain assent over his rival through insight. Trudy and Edwin Frank and Elsie Robinson speak of it as a spiritual activity that was between the individual and his/her Creator, likening it to prayer in which the individual humbles him/herself, making him/herself able to receive insight, knowledge, and power. Elsie characterizes it as sacred, intimate and private. Louie Joseph speaks of the ritual aspects of oosumch as a way to gain power with which to engage in experiential learning and receive insight. He characterizes it as a process for which he finds parallels in rituals across cultures (i.e., the sun dance and sweats vs. oosumch and tupswees) and across disciplines (i.e., clinical psychology vs. ritual activity).

Oosumch is mainly discussed in association with whaling because the ritual was at its most remarkable and extreme in relationship to whaling. However, it may be fair to say that the Nuu-chah-nulth discipline of oosumch organizes goal orientation into action schemas for any endeavor by developing an embodied model of the activity. The discipline is physically conditioned for through a process of tupswees, or daily dipping into the ocean, so that when ritual activity is to take place after puberty, the body would be conditioned to the rigors of such activity.

Oosumch may be best understood as a motivational management model central to Nuu-chah-nulth learning in which synergies are cultivated and transformation is an ideal.
This model is constructed through the pre-socialization process of *tupswees* (daily bathing in fresh or salt water) and a specific achievement orientation towards a goal (i.e., whales, seals, cedar, sea urchin, weaving skill, dancing skill, etc.) with the focus on the process of getting or achieving the goal. The specific orientations for successful achievement of goals would be constructed by the learner independent of gender.

Identification with the goal is a central element. For example, immersion in the ecology of the goal or skill is required to develop an embodied program. The risk structure of *getting* is embodied in the basket design of the thunderbird and the whale, which represents the conflict between qu’aas and thunderbird for the whale, and the eventual triumph of qu’aas (First Nations people) for the right to the resources of the land.

Nevertheless, the getting of resources requires a synergy between the *getter* and the *gotten* that is first ritualistically modeled and practiced before it is actually achieved.

Reverence and respect precede the *getter* in the process. The synergy included face paintings, medicinal plants (constituents of red cedar may have been a neurological help), and other aids by which to model the activity and test it in a sacred site.

There was consensus among the elders in that all suggested that *oosumch* is a practical mental and physical discipline that is key to *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning. The story of the encounter with the *qʷayac’iik* (supernatural wolf) suggests that *oosumch* is a means

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*Ferns and evergreens were used extensively for rubbing in the process of oosumch. Ethnobotanical studies are still needed to understand the contribution of the active ingredients of such plants and their contribution a process of motivational maintenance and embodied reorientation. *Humilis* (red cedar) is known to have strong, antifungal, antibacterial and immunity scavenging properties. "The tincture or tea acts as a stimulus to many smooth muscles, and this can be used to advantage in respiratory, urinary tract, and reproductive problems." (Moore, 1993: 211). Among the constituents are volatile oils, flavonolglycosides, catechins and other organic chemicals "...that stimulate[s] vascular capillary beds (and the subtle musculature that responds to local environmental changes) to expand and contract, heat and cool"..."...small daily does (in the absence of kidney disorders or pregnancy) can increase resistance to chronic respiratory and intestinal infections." (Moore, 1993: 211).
of managing one's humanity so that the "stench" of its natural inclinations (such as, smell) does not disrupt the flow of power or interfere with the cultivation of desirable synergies. Nelson said that each family had its own practices, sacred places, names, medicinal plants, story focus, songs, dances, its own means and ends. If ha-hoo-thee divided the roles and responsibilities, it would make sense that learning would enhance these very roles and responsibilities to the community. These roles and responsibilities could be elaborated and differentiated in the process of learning through oosumch. Each family worked to develop their niche in concert with other families and communities. Trudy said that if young people knew how it worked it might be possible to do without going to sacred sites. Louie in fact used the same sacred sites that his ancestors used. Edwin mentors the grandchildren who will actively listen in the discipline of oosumch. The concept of oosumch (ritual bathing) is clearly central to Nuu-chah-nulth educational philosophy and pedagogy.

Ritual Partnerships

Husbands and wives are active partners in the ritual and social learning and hence Nuu-chah-nulth knowledge construction. While Curtis' (1916) version of the Umeek Narrative is silent about the role of wives except that the wife of Tséthsot (seal feast giver) warns him of danger, it is the norm in a historically male dominated ethnography that the women's role is typically the hidden half or obscured by myth and stereotype (Albers & Medicine, 1983). Clutesi (1990) portrays the learning process of the boys in his story as they move through their social and vocational education. In the process they are portrayed as being explicitly taught by their parents and elders in increasingly public contexts and continue on to learn in interaction with and observation of each other in increasingly more technical and ritual situations.
My earliest enculturation included detailed stories of the role of wives in ritual activities with husbands. Some of these stories were first hand, with Nan Margaret talking about her ritual bathing with Shamrock for special family goals. Some of the stories were like the one Nelson told about his grandmother and Keesta, brother and sister, doing ritual together. Some were like the story of tōwēk (See Appendix E), in which the bride had her own traditions and merged them with those of the whaler for optimal creativity and motivation. There were stories I heard about slaves who became partners because of their courage and skill in the ritual process (i.e. they proved that they could be equals). There was the story Elsie told about her active spiritual and material support of her husband's fishing. There were many models of ritual partnerships in which some worked to the good of the family and community and some did not. Nučak (self absorption, pride) was one of the barriers to a successful partnership whereas being ?aaphii (friendly, accepting, caring, welcoming) could produce unlimited success. Ritual partnerships were a sacred duty because they could bode ill or well for the whole lineage and possibly the village too.

The aitstol (final ceremony of the coming of age celebration for girls) is an institutional story enacted by the community at a critical period in the life career of young women whereby the participatory ideal becomes the ritual model for the pubescent girl. The aitstol is in fact the culminating ritual in which the young woman is put on display to demonstrate that she has learned how to act in the manner becoming an ideal wife. This display comes complete with a show of the tupati (wealth in the form of intellectual capital encoded as games, songs, dances, etc.) that she will bring with her to bestow on offspring of the union. In every case, the wife was seen as an active participant in the creation of new knowledge through learning in the discipline of oosumch. In fact, the wife is the spiritual hedge for the husband in the production of knowledge. The dance
formations in which the beshawled women circle the dance floor signify the spaciotemporal order of the relationships between women and the spiritual world. Women cover themselves when they engage with the spirits to do cultural work. The masked men dance, transformed in the sacred circle that the women create for them in the gathering of the people.

There is of course the example of Trudy and Edwin making meaning together throughout the interview. Trudy moving between the abstractions of culture and Edwin moving through the concrete and the pragmatics of procedure in a dynamic synchronicity that illustrates the process of cultural work even as they discuss the elements of the story. The turn taking they participate in between frame and process is reciprocal and dynamic, respectful and responsible. They take into consideration the whole and its parts and can transport the past into the active present. Nelson's wife's family sponsorship of his hamatsa (publicly recognized member of Hamatsa Society with all commensurate rights and obligations) role is an example of their co-production at the inter-tribal, political and social levels. The words that come from Nelson's mouth and his political work are a testament to the calling of his hamatsa (publicly recognized member of Hamatsa society with all commensurate rights and obligations) role. Elsie and her partner worked to provide for many children. She continued that work herself improvising as required to help her children survive and thrive in an urban setting. Louie cites his partnership with family members to seek success for community events such as the Canoe Quest and the success of the Makah whale hunt. Keesta and Nelson's grandmother collaborated to capture the last whale that was caught in the traditional manner. Edwin too brought home a whale. There are many levels on which to partner and on which to seek success. The key may be to have a partner who will mirror the developing model and pattern of the activity to provide feedback for adjustments and reflection.
Names of Ancestors as Orienting Tropes

The names of ancestors have been found to be orienting features in the narrative context of *Nuu-chah-nulth* knowledge construction. Golla's (1987) insightful dissertation, *He has a Name*, demonstrates the close association between the lives of individuals and the names of ancestors in which they live the "past in the present" in a type of symbolic immortality (Kan, 1989). The potlatching tradition can be seen at one level as maintaining the interests of the ancestors by enacting their scripts in the present but also as presenting these aristocratic ancestors as ideal persons to emulate. Cultural work that made a name great or carried a name was the work of maintaining cultural and social ideals.

*Umeek*, the community provider, or "go-getter" for the community is an important name in the context of maintaining ideals under conditions of resource scarcity and environmental change. The name *Umeek* carries with it a cultural program for learning *how to get* or reach any goal. The constellations of names in the story elaborate the web of relationships that bring meaning to the array of learning models in the community repertoire. *Tséthsot, the giver of many great feasts from sealing*, transforms into *Tsáthwasip*, who is now *catching it* (the whale) *in one try*, only to succumb to a death of shame because his incomplete learning and bungling caused his followers to lose confidence in him during the hunt. *Tsatsotatlme, laboring under dangerous conditions to provide for the people*, by taking the advice of a *friendly stranger* that he meets in a dream, transforms into *Umeek, the community provider*, only to be killed on the beach for violating the status quo by providing out of turn. *Óyeph, who feasts (because he has brought home a whale) the people in the tradition of his father*, is murdered on the beach
by the Elder *ha?wil* who has his reputation as a feast giver to protect. *Oyephil* too has achieved out of turn, violated the status quo, challenging its inertia, disrupting its flow.

While *Tséihsot* wants to achieve what *Oyephil* and his father could do, he does not want to pay the price by completing the learning ritual exactly. He does not observe *Oyephil* carefully or follow his example meticulously. It seems that he does not see what *Oyephil* is doing as *new knowledge* and does not value it enough to take care in learning. It probably looks a lot like the sealing ritual to him. He already has the highest status possible. He is risking his status by pursuing a new goal (whales) and competing in a new arena. This requires him to learn something completely new in which there is the potential of failure and loss of his social position.

The Frame Effects of the Ritual Site

The learning site serves as a contextual frame for knowledge creation. In the Scientific Panel Report (Bunnell & Atleo, 1995), the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Elders identified sacred sites, the type of knowledge they were associated with and how they were used. In the village of *Maaqtusiis*, many of the sacred sites of various *Ahousaht* families are in easy reach or the landmarks of their locations are in view. In family photos these location sites are there as a backdrop to living. Sacred sites used for learning and knowledge production are situated everywhere in *Nuu-chah-nulth* territory. Many or few individuals or families might more or less formally use these sites. Each site would provide a context for particular activities. Louie speaks of using sites that his grandfather used that are alluded to in the narratives. Nelson speaks of the bathing ritual at sites. Trudy suggests that perhaps the *oosumch* could be *reconceptualized* for today, which may suggest that for her, aspects of the process and the context have become separable in
her experience. It may be possible that the process of such sited (situated, Lave & Wenger, 1991) learning will be separable from the content of such learning.

Ritual sites are used from generation to generation in the territory. Ritual sites are also created. The whaling shrine may be seen as an indication of how sites were culturally modified "natural sites". The whaling shrine is most famous and documented but they were "shrines" (for lack of a better expression) that culturally anchored the site and permitted the externalization and systematization that would leave a record of the activities and procedures to be followed to reduce mistakes and assure success. Mistakes were costly and required correction. For chiefs, public mistakes required public acknowledgement, correction, and gifts to the people in apology as a means of learning by both those who made mistakes and as an example for the people of consequences which could be avoided.

The ritual floor of the Nuu-chah-nulth ceremonies provides some clues as to the organization of the sacred sites in which lessons are taught and learning takes place. The ceremonies took place inside the big houses. The standard/curtain of the host would form the backdrop which separated the public foreground from the behind the scenes background. The floor of the house would be ritually cleansed before any ceremonial use. The guests would be seated according to rank based from the seat of the territory in which the activity was taking place to provide a social orientation for the cultural work. The men and women were usually seated on opposite sides of the house. The action came from behind the scenes or through the door of the house that would be at the far

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56 Korp (1997) elaborates on the identification and use of sacred ritual sites. 57 The cleansing ceremony after an accident, is called sweeping away the badness. The ceremony is an act of acknowledgement of the error and a pledge to be more conscious of the problem and avoid the circumstances which led to it in the future. It is a ritual act of acknowledgement and apology, and at the same time a lesson to learn what not to do.
end, opposite the curtain, which gave a rectangular organization to the activities. The business of the day took place against the backdrop of the legitimating standard of the host in a format similar to a lecture. The claims and announcements would be sealed with songs and dances validating the foundation and authority on which they were being made. The frame of the focus was the women in their shawls creating the hedge between the audience and the message. The women provided the hedge between the sacred and the profane.

As the women become the boundary between the spirit world and material worlds so does the ritual site become the boundary between the spirit world and the material world in the production of relationship between the whaling couple and the whale. Sacred sites organize the ritual activity in a real world model. For example, the whaling ritual would be conducted in areas where whales could be heard, observed, mimicked, could become close to, or could find their bones. Getting into the skin/fur of a whale or other animal requires *qu'aas* (people) to become the *same as*, and getting into the environment of the goal/object is a first step in that process.

Rituals in sacred sites and formations provide perceptual organization for the processes contained therein. Ritual sites were seen as places where *oosumch* occurred and in which the power to reach a goal was developed. The environment for learning is then understood as a vital aspect of *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning that had deep significance and organizing qualities on which the movement towards the goal depended.

**Learning Archetypes of the *Umeek* Narrative**

The elements of the narrative, together with the learning themes identified in the discussion with the Elders have provided some insight into the learning ideology of the *Umeek* narratives. Figure 4 provides a diagram of the unity of learning patterns in the
story depicted in a quaternity.\(^{58}\) The intent is to show the learning archetypes and indicate some of the multiple levels of social position and social role whereby their individual archetypes are interrelated and part of a constellation of learning in this story. The learning archetypes that emerged in the analysis can be categorized as tending towards innovation (anchored at the top \textit{Umeek}, the Innovator) or tending towards conservation (anchored at the right by the Conserver, \textit{Tsáhwasip}). The learning archetypes are organized in a quaternity to indicate their interrelatedness in the process of learning in community. Responding to the interaction between his role and ability to fulfill the role, the Innovator, sets off a chain of events that highlights the learning responses by each of the characters.

\(^{58}\) This diagram is a visual metaphor based in a recurring theme of the sacred number four of oral traditions in which embodied knowledge is part of the great circle of life. In the Greek tradition this concept is named "quaternity" and in modern mathematics this concept would be called "modularity". Native American oral traditions have cultural counterparts such as the four directions of the medicine wheel, the sacred mountains of the Navajo, and the four pillars of the Mayans, (St. Clair, 2000). For \textit{Nuu-chah-nulth} four, too, was a sacred number acknowledged in prayers to the four chiefs and four directions. The use of such metaphors provide insight into how individuals view the world and themselves.
Umeeq, the y?ukwiqsu: Innovator and Transformational Learner

Tsatsotatlme came to that place in his life where he found that what he was doing was not enough. He despaired and looked inward for solutions. His solution came in the form of a dream in which the Friendly Stranger advised him how to proceed. Tsatsotatlme followed cultural practices to seek his goal. His fellow villagers perceived
that he was seeking. They heaped scorn on him but that did not deter him. He was able to gather a crew to participate with him. When he demonstrated that he had learned a new skill, the skill of getting whales, the whole community that benefited from his success acknowledged him. However, a higher authority for which the innovation was socially threatening eventually murdered him. While Umeek died, his knowledge and innovation remained to be passed on in his lineage, first to his father who would pass it on to Umeek's son. Then it would pass on to the elder chief, the spy would take it to his home community and finally, the grandfather would teach the villagers from Umeek's home how to whale. Knowledge that provides for the social good is powerful and seemingly cannot be contained by individuals but lives on with a life of its own.

The whaling knowledge that Umeek developed can be seen as an innovation of sealing knowledge. The pattern of oosumch (ritual bathing) changed from a few days for sealing to many months for whaling. The ritual sites and focus were adapted. The habits of the object of interest were different. Whales and seals have different migration habits and patterns. They inhabit different environments that require different tactics and strategies to understand them and gain power over them. The hunting and traveling equipment changed. The crew had to be larger as did the canoe for traveling off shore where the whales were. The number of personnel involved in the whaling canoe brought about a more elaborate hierarchical activity in which the harpooner was the leader and each crewmember had a specialized role. More specialized equipment was required. The ropes needed to be longer and stronger. The harpoon needed to be larger and sharper. Inflated sealskins were used as floats to slow the whale down, tire it out and ultimately help to keep it afloat on the journey home. Thus, the social organization of the hunt changed from a two member crew plus ritual partners to an eight member crew plus ritual partners. A large crew was needed because a distinct and elaborated division of labor.
evolved for a more strenuous and dangerous hunt. With a larger crew, organizational management became more elaborated. Coordination became more vital to success. Cooperation was a means for everyone to contribute to the success of the hunt. Thus, a concentrated effort greatly multiplied the return. Even though the vision belonged to the harpooner and the strike was decisive, the cooperative collaboration of the harpooner and crew were critical to success. The innovations in this movement from sealing to whaling reverberated through the social and technological dimensions of the culture. The vision borne of *Umeek's* search for provisions for his people and personal transformation triggered such changes.

To move from sealing to whaling required that *Tsatsotatlme* (the risk taker who achieves in the margins) participate in the deep cultural process of following the *qʷayac'iik* (the friendly stranger, supernatural wolf) to reorient himself through a culturally prescribed process of learning that demands transformation. In his despair, he looks beyond himself, beyond his consciousness for a solution. The program for transform comes to him in a dream. The friendly stranger provides him with a vision of the solution to his need, a whale. Now it is up to *Tsatsotatlme* to effect his transformation so that it becomes embodied and he can articulate it at every level. In the process, *Tsatsotatlme* becomes *Umeek*. He is a changed man. He is no longer a sealer but a whaler in a process whereby he has met four of the criteria of transformative learning: he elaborates existing frames of reference, he learns new frames of references; his point of view is transformed; and his habits of mind (and body) are transformed (Mezirow, 2000). *Tsatsotatlme* has responded to the environmental change and through the transformation of his structure of consciousness, as *Umeek*, goes on to participate in a transformational impetus that transcends individuals and communities.
Not only does he transform, but also the cyborg (Haraway, 1991) aspects of his self are transformed as the sealing technology gives way to whaling technology. Not only is there greater orchestration of labor required for this enterprise compared to sealing but a greater force is required to actually spear the whale. The atlatl (pronounced AHT.LAHT’L) has been identified as a technological killing device predating bows and arrows. Based on archeological data, diverse versions of this device are found worldwide dating back to Neolithic times. Such atlatls provide a high level of mechanical advantage in the form of thrusting force for hunters who could maneuver close to their prey. This is clearly a Nuu-chah-nulth technological "secret" that goes beyond mere "mussel shells and pitch" in terms of the weapon (Atleo, M. R., 1989). The Nuu-chah-nulth at-liu is described as a three-stranded rope made of twisted branchlets (withes). It is possible that this rope provided an incredibly strong (Stewart, 1984), flexible and long extension of the shaft with which to "shake hands" with the whale since the flex and spring-back action of the launcher were of paramount importance. This device evolved into bow and arrows for some applications but the at-liu, decontextualized and de-cultural may be seen as seen as culminating in the perfected firepower used in the whaling industry. These improvements on the "spear launchers" proved so efficient that many species of whales faced extinction before a moratorium was called for in

59 The Atlatl Story was found at http://users.aol.com/tbprim1/Atlatl.html May 10, 2001.
60 Payne (1995) discusses the escalation of killing power in whaling escalating in 1864 when the Norwegian Svend Foyn developed a "cannon mounted on the bow of a high-speed, steam-powered "catcher boat" that could fire a harpoon into a whale." (pp. 255-256) and the subsequent invention of "a long tube with a sharpened tip that could be plunged into the body cavity of the dead whale so that compressed air could be forced into the corpse, preventing its sinking and making those species that sank [flue, fin, sei, Bryde's and minke whales] suddenly available to the whaling industry." The exploding harpoon was next with the coup de grace being sonar terrorism which left whales hyperventilating in fear at the surface, easy targets for the catcher boats.
1960's\textsuperscript{61}. Such legislation interfered with aboriginal whaling that was more culturally contextualized, storied whaling ethos that was bound in the sacred (Lowenstein, 1993). Such legislation interfered with cultural balance for sustainability (Freeman et al, 1998) and treaty rights in the face of the new colonization of nature by ecologists as demonstrated in the Makah whale hunt in 1999 (Sullivan, 2000)\textsuperscript{62}.

The Nuu-chah-nulth whaling stories are silent about this atlatl innovation but in a technology of knots, the transformation from a shaft to a rope that would give a higher level of advantage seems a logical progression for an increased survival advantage. The at-liu could be seen as a part of a more complex "plastic machine" of spearing technology. The "cyborg self" (Harraway, 1991) produced as extensions of the body for adaptation and survival seem to be part of Umeek's story since the rights to use "Umeek" and "Atliu" are often found in the same families.

As Nelson, said, this story can be seen as a "tool for our understanding" and its message as a challenge. Tsatsotatmé's transformation into Umeek came from a deep need to maintain his integrity as a provider. He was willing to search beyond himself for assistance, follow the directions given, embrace the rigors and reach his goal, time and again to meet the needs of his community. Since, as Louie said, human nature is pretty much the same over time, Umeek provides us with a road map of the potential pitfalls for

\textsuperscript{61}"The International Whaling Commission (IWC) (2001) was set up under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling which was signed in Washington DC on 2 December 1946. The purpose of the Convention is to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry."

\textsuperscript{62}In celebration of the landing of the whale, the Makah whaler, Theron Parker, Chaakwasikmeek, was gifted by Umeek of Ahousaht, with the headdress Mark Atleo, Ah-up-wah-eek, gave to Richard Atleo upon his graduation from UBC. The metaphorical blending and integration of the tropes "whaling" and "education" were ritually fulfilled.
learners on the cutting edge. As Umeek, he weathered the ridicule and scorn of the community, confident and self contained in his vision, motivation, preparation and goal achievement. However, he was ultimately slain because he disturbed the order of things. He did not anticipate the social consequences of his innovation. Once change begins, the networks of social relationships require renegotiation in a ripple effect. Learning that is acquired by transmission usually requires social renegotiation as part of the process. Such transmission seems to require a mentor to make transparent the fullness of their learning model of not only content but also the means whereby to negotiate social networks. For First Nations teachers/mentors, a fully integrated learning model that is socially and academically developed can provide insight about how it works for themselves and may potentially work for their students. This would suggest that a First Nations person could most readily facilitate learning by transmission in a way that would permit full social entry as part of the achievement.

Umeek's Wife: Collaborative Transformational Learner

While there is no mention of Umeek's wife, as a ritual partner she would have intimately participated with Umeek's transformational learning. Umeek would have shared his vision with her. Together they would hold the goal in their minds as Elsie said that she had with her husband. Whatever they did was based on a conscious commitment to a common goal that they could then enact in the minutiae of their everyday activity for the good of their family. Trudy and Edwin talked about goals and the value of being able to achieve goals repeatedly as a proof of the ability to achieve being particularly important for chiefs. The coming of age ceremony provided a public demonstration of what kind of a collaborator a young woman might become and what treasures she could bring to that process of knowledge production for success. The search for a whaler's wife
(Marshall, 1993) was important because it was critical to the success of the pair, the lineage, and the village. A woman from a successful family would have pre-socialization for interactional patterns that had already proven successful in the past and could yield success in the future. She would know how to collaborate with innovation and transformation by being an innovator and transformer in her own spheres of activity and thus in the processes of oosumch herself for success in her own domains of activity.

Thus, she would have participated with her partner in the ritual bathing and observances as if they were one. The ritual partner provided mirroring that permitted learning to be represented in their interpersonal interaction at every level. She would have thus transformed in complimentarity and synergy with him. Synergy was an endless spring of opportunity from which new knowledge, insight, and innovation could emerge. The husband is twinned with the wife, each creating a pattern and mirror of reflection for each other. This co-production is usually acknowledged as the names of wives change, to coincide with the name changes of their husbands.

The ability of Umeek's wife to participate successfully with him suggests that she knew what she was about. Unlike the reluctant wife of the Makah whaler (Gunther, 1942), like the ideal wife of a whaler (Marshall, 1993), she undoubtedly had her own legacy of transformational history to knowingly participate with him. She would have been schooled in the synergies of a background similar to her partner to be able to work with him, to harness their combined efforts for the good of the people.

Intimate partnerships contribute to Nuu-chah-nulth learning. Nuu-chah-nulth marriages were historically arranged for social and political goals that contributed to the welfare of the communities through resource sharing and cultural elaboration. The ritual partnerships of Nuu-chah-nulth marital relationships are expected to contribute to
learning and goal achievement. *Nuu-chah-nulth* marital relationships were harnessed as a work space which includes learning that can facilitate transformation and insight. Both the husband and the wife play a facilitating or limiting role in the process.

Understanding the interconnectedness of the marital roles may suggest that family violence and serial relationships may be frustrated learning attempts in a marital learning ideology that has not been identified. The social contributions of the *ma’mook* of marital partnerships (from intellectual to emotional to material and transformational learning) are recognized as a valuable and sacred contribution to *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural, social and economic life.

**Oyephl: Transformer's Heir, the Directed Learner**

*Oyephl* had been raised in the tradition of his father and even though his father is no longer with him, the legacy lives on in the teaching of his grandfather and mother. *Oyephl* learns his father's teachings through the instruction of his grandfather and probably his mother who would have intimate knowledge of *Umeek's* actions, attitudes, and activities. In his mother, *Oyephl* would have the learning model of a collaborative transformational learner and in his grandfather; he would have the learning model of a developmental learner. These two models of learning would direct his learning. As Louie said, *Oyephl's* model was not borne of vision and personal need. He was working with motivational and operational models that were second hand. He probably had never seen his father actually do the ritual or hunt a whale. Therefore, while he was successful in getting whales, *Oyephl* did not have the insight to analyze the model enough to modify aspects of it. He was not careful in his ritual preparation suggesting that he could not have fully understood the dimensions of rivalry and reason for the murder of his father. Thus, he suffered the same fate. His mother and grandfather seemed to have given him
no warning that the same could happen to him as happened to his father and of course it did. Óyephl learned to reproduce his father’s success but could not alter the model to accommodate the social conflict that it created which proved to be his demise.

While Óyephl learned how to whale, his goal achievement did not include the social lessons he needed to assure his survival. The grandfather could not inoculate his grandson against the social danger to which he would be subjected through his success. Óyephl was naïve about the strong forces with which to be reckoned, leaving himself open to the spy and ultimately to the club of the elder chief. Social forces that create threats to learning potential are real and ever present limitations to learning and the articulation of learning goals. Social skill development is an important component to achievement. Socially embedded learning opportunities need to be a part of academic training. Practicum opportunities are a good example in which the social elaboration of the application of new knowledge can be experienced in a safe, high context environment. In the context of First Nations learning, the social barriers to inclusion may be seen to be limited by the social development opportunities that are consonant with goals valued by First Nations people and the social environments in which the resources for the goals occur. Teaching in communities of origin or finding employment where there are equities for aboriginal workers are two means of social inclusion. In this way, a welcoming, inclusive social context can provide a significant opportunity for First Nations achievement and participation (Atleo, E. R., 1993).

_Umeek’s Father/Óyephl’s Grandfather: Developmental Learner_

The father springs into action upon witnessing the murder of his son, _Umeek_, at the height of his glory. The old man hides the learning aids, new equipment, and his son’s body. The whaling canoe becomes the firewood to cook the whale. He secrets the
knowledge of the whaling complex in his heart and mind that his son had paid for with his life. When his grandson becomes of age, he teaches that which his son had shared with him. However, he clearly does not teach the grandson enough because Tsáhwasip who has learned to whale through observation, too, kills him. The grandfather is coerced by Tsáhwasip to share some of that knowledge with the whaling crew when Tsáhwasip's knowledge is found to be incomplete during the actual hunt. When Umeek's father hears that Tsèitlas has passed on the knowledge to his own people who are successfully whaling, the father shares Umeek's legacy with his own community so they too may benefit.

The development of Umeek's father begins with the tragedy of his son's murder on the beach. Umeek has told him enough so that he knows the equipment, aids and the body of Umeek are central to what has been gained. He knows that whales can be caught time and again with the accoutrements of whaling that include embodied knowledge. He takes on the role of teacher with the grandson, which requires his reflection on the child's learning. He guides the child through the process to success. When Oyephľ is slain he is coerced into whaling with Tsáhwasip because he is the old man of the canoe, who has seen it all. On the other hand, he has almost seen it all until he learns that that Tsèitlas has successfully taught others to whale based on his observations of Oyephľ. Umeek's father then decided to reveal the whaling knowledge to people in his own village so they might also prosper.

Umeek's father learned from his successive changes in life stages, roles and fortunes. Umeek's father did not seem to be self-directed and yet he is not resistant. He is willing to learn as the situation requires and can even teach Umeek's son everything he knows. However, Umeek's father is not self-conscious and thus cannot forewarn Oyephľ
as part of his training. The supernatural, natural and social worlds need to be recognized in the context of learning. The lack of self-consciousness of *Umeek’s* father’s may have cost Òyephil his life. *Umeek’s* father demonstrated he had the whaling knowledge when the Elder chief demanded that he sing. When *Umeek’s* father heard that Tséitlas had successfully taught his village to whale, he too decided that he could teach the people to whale. When the threat and competition were gone, it became logical for *Umeek’s* father to teach the people. As a developmental learner, he rose to meet the obvious challenges but did not rise above them or go beyond the current need. Meeting the normative requirements of the life career may not be enough in times of change. The educational system has been tied to age-grade development as a means of meeting the demands for life career transitions that may increasingly becoming distorted in the rapid change of institutions. *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning could happen quickly over short bursts of effort and activity. Long drawn out programs of learning may not be developmentally appropriate anymore. Institutional adaptation may be required to better meet the needs of learners with opportunities that provide a different rate and pace of learning. Post secondary institutions have been leading this trend and it may be time for elementary and secondary schools to follow suit to facilitate learning that is more need driven in times of rapid change.

*The Whaling Crew: Cooperative Learners*

The whaling crew first adapted to a new "getting" strategy as they accompanied *Umeek* for the first time. Whaling required a larger canoe and crew than did sealing. Whaling thus required cooperative learners who were specialized in their seating positions and roles. These crewmembers would each have their own private *oosumch* practices as it related to their specific position and role but they would also be required to
cooperatively learn their place in the activity and action sequence of the whale hunt. The cooperation would be highly dependant upon motivational leadership that was clear in its goals and expectations. *Umeek*’s success suggests that he was clear and precise in his goals, could articulate his vision, and motivate the crew. *Tsâhwasip*’s name suggested that he was so ritually prepared and favored that he could kill a whale with one blow with little need for cooperation. This would probably create expectations in the crew that the hunt would be easy and quick and their participation effortless. When *Tsâhwasip* faltered in the hunt, the crew lost confidence in him. When *Tsâhwasip* coerced the old man of the crew to sing songs to turn the whale after he had bragged to *Tsétilas* about the additional songs that he had received, he was exposed for what he actually was: a braggart and a bully. He was exposed as a ruthless man who would stop at nothing to maintain his social status. He could not be relied upon to source new provisions for his community nor provide cooperative leadership through the transition.

The men of the village changed from being sealers to crewmembers in whaling canoes. This required a new cooperative participation with someone else’s vision and leadership on a scale that was new but also amply rewarding. Each crewmember would have his own oosumch rituals with which to prepare but each would never have the full vision of the whaler. The division of labor then reflected a new social hierarchy as a product of the change in social and technological requirements for the enterprise of whaling. Cooperative learning and working became an essential ingredient in the development of whaling crews.

Crews that are self-motivated and have clear goals can collaborate effectively and adapt readily. *Umeek* was grounded in his whaling plan. He provided his crew with leadership that was certain, humble, and focused on a valuable group goal. In the
tradition of his father, *Umeek*'s son, used the same methods, techniques, equipment and goals to provide leadership that was facilitative. The Elder chief on the other hand brought ambivalence into the equation, which created uncertainty and ambiguity for the crew and ultimately his downfall. Solid plans permit learning upon which groups of people can agree. Personal motivational management orchestrated through a plan is a means of harnessing the synergies of working groups. Leadership, which is grounded in the vision of the goal, can provide substantive performance criteria and standards while reducing uncertainty and ambiguity. Leadership that is grounded in relevance, humility, sincerity, innovation, and group orientation evokes collaborative learning.

*Tsähwasip*, the Elder Haʔw'il: Resistant Observational Learner

The name of the *tyee* said it all. He is *Tséihسط*, the Great Giver of Feasts. He is a man with a *ha-hoo-thee* (social and economic resource management network) rich in seal resources. He is able to command enough manpower to bring in 100 seals at one time. These seals would probably have been fur seals. The females average near 100 pounds and males around 500 pounds. Since fur seals travel in harems of 40 or more females to every male, 100 seals (3 males at 500 pounds and 97 females at 100 pounds equal approximately 11,200 pounds) approximately 5,100 kg (Nowak, 1999)^63^ Given away at a feast, these seals would represent many bladders of oil, meat, bones, and pelts when the community processed them.

As the Elder Chief, *Tséihsot* was secure in his position and his wealth. *Umeek*’s initial challenge with the public feast of the whale made him take notice. *Tséihsot*’s initial tactic was to publicly humiliate *Umeek* by teasing him about trying to get power by becoming a shaman. When the public humiliation did not stop and *Umeek* again succeeded, *Tséihsot* had to get rid of him. *Tséihsot* could not tolerate such a challenge to his position. Even a female gray whale would be about 14 meters (45 feet) long and weigh about 60,000 pounds or 20,000-37,000 kilograms (Nowak, 1999). One small female gray whale would be the equivalent of several of *Tséihsot*’s seal feasts. A blue whale like the one *Keesta* landed could weigh 100,000 – 136,000 kilograms. *Tséihsot* could not ignore the sheer magnitude of what *Umeek* had brought to the people. *Tséihsot* expressed his anger and outrage at the young upstart with the public murder of *Umeek*, leaving no doubt who was the *tyee* even in the face of undeniable reality of the *?iiychtuup* on the beach.

But knowledge was afoot and *Tséihsot* could not kill the knowledge of whaling even if he did kill the vessel. When *Öyephl* revived the whaling knowledge, *Tséihsot* knew that he could not ignore this new source of power and riches. His tactic was to dispatch his well-feted feast guest, *Tséitlas*, to become a spy for him. *Tséitlas* observed *Öyephl*’s secret ritual practice. He reported the details to *Tséihsot*. When *Tséihsot* believed that he had observed everything that he needed to see, he killed *Öyephl*. But *Tséihsot* had been impatient and had not observed everything. He became unsure of himself during preparation and sought the reassurance of *Tséitlas*. *Tséitlas* knew that *Tséihsot*’s knowledge was incomplete and began to toy with him. *Tséihsot*, now *Tsáhwasip*, bragged to *Tséitlas* claiming to have received more whaling knowledge and that he was consequently ready to go out whaling. Even though *Tséitlas* reassured *Tsáhwasip* of his allegiance and assistance, he turned around and absconded with the
body of Umeek. Tsáhwasip was alone. Tsáhwasip he coerced Umeek’s father to help the deteriorating hunt with songs and they finally landed a whale. Tsáhwasip was disgraced and a socially broken man.

Tséihsot had made public jest of Umeek’s sincere efforts through ritual bathing that allowed the acquisition of whaling knowledge and the provision of whales to the people. He tried to suppress this knowledge and its great benefit to the people for two generations by slaying the carriers, Umeek and Öyeph. He relied on a guest that was beholden to him to look after his interests and that guest stole his most prized possession from him. Finally, he had to compel crewmembers to cooperate. He lost face even though he brought in the whale. His public image and name were the basis of his power. Once they were lost and he was exposed, he knew that he could not regain the confidence of the people.

Tséihsot’s position had been secure, he was comfortable and had no reason to change until first Umeek’s and then Öyeph’s change provoked him to the realization that if he was to keep his position he would need to best them both. Tsáhwasip was arrogant, disrespectful, impatient, and presumptuous in his observation of Öyeph. He was a great sealer and possibly the sealing activities were so similar that he felt he could do it without all the rigmarole that this young man was going through. It seemed beneath him to actively engage in the observation. Tsáhwasip resisted the meticulous model that Öyeph observed and it was his undoing. Whales were not seals. Whaling crews were not sealing crews. Whales needed to be understood to be landed on the beach. Tsáhwasip did not have the right attitude to observe well enough for real success to live up to his name and died of shame.
Tséihsot was at the height of his power and consequently could tolerate only so much change in the world around him that might threaten his position. He fought off the effects of change until he could no longer ignore it and then reluctantly bought in. It was too late however and the price was too high. Avoiding the learning demands of change compounds the problem over time. Killing the messenger did not kill the message of change. Change is an ever-present characteristic of the environment that can be anticipated as a natural pattern. Then the issue becomes how to engage with change rather than how to avoid it. Killing, cheating, lying, and spying were ways Tséihsot tried to avoid change. Avoiding change may be seen to be related to violence and subterfuge.

Tséihsot's reluctant engagement with change seemed in the wrong spirit because as Tsáhwasip he seemed to set himself apart as if he needed no help in the process of whaling. This was clearly not true. Change brings about a need to understand the embedded nature of our knowledge and social development so that it can be faced up to and dealt with proactively in the learning process.

Tsáhwasip's Wife: Collaborative Resistant Learner

Tsáhwasip's wife makes an appearance in this story. She warns her husband, foreshadowing trouble when he and his witness come home to eat. Her ritual role would have been the same as the wife of Umeek. She would have been a well-chosen bride (as per Marshall, 1993) to collaborate with such a successful husband. His goals are her goals. Even though she may see trouble ahead, she participates with her husband, complimenting him in his social position and role. But she is also his mirror and lives in the community so she can foresee his difficulties. She must keep pace with her partner in his learning, matching him in his adaptive change since they have common goals to maintain their position in the community. She must resist change with him therefore to
maintain balance in their relationship. But we can see that she has some objectivity, sees the problem coming and can do little to steer him off his course. It is a common position they occupy in which he is the steersman and in this instance she is in his canoe.

Tsáhwasip's wife indicates to her husband that something is wrong. She reminds me of Raven's wife, Squirrel, who warns him repeatedly but whose warnings go unheeded. She sees her husband in light of their common position but also seems not to be blind to the inherent dangers in what he is doing. As the wife of the head chief, she would understand the need to transform and engage with change and it may be difficult for her to witness her husband's machinations and partnering with an outsider who ultimately betrays him. She watches him make meaning with the invited guest, a stranger, with little stake in the common goal of leadership and economic security for the community. She watches him expose more and more of himself to Tséitlas to the point where he was seeking the stranger's approval in his most intimate oosumch activity. She can probably sense the growing disrespect Tséitlas has for her husband. She watches helplessly as her husband's partnership with this stranger deteriorates into the final treachery. The power differential and the self-importance of her husband creates a power vacuum for Tsáhwasip's wife. She can see what is happening, knows what she is supposed to do, attempts to do it, but cannot break through her husband's need to have a stranger be his witness and partner. Tsáhwasip's denies his wife her role in contributing to the work of their relationship and renders her helpless. While he in death, is the ultimate loser, he betrays his responsibility to her and their children.

Nuu-chah-nulth learning includes the mirroring of wives and husbands based in common interests and goals to reduce personal, social and environmental distortions. It is a system with great potential when adhered to. When other interests are introduced the
distortions become increasingly apparent until people and families may be destroyed in the process. An important source of transformational learning is denied when husbands and wives are out of synchronicity with each other in the pursuit of family goals.

_Tseitlas, The Witness/Spy: Opportunistic Observational Learner_

_Tseitlas_ seems to be a footloose person, not tied to social obligations or ritual seat in his territory and thus can serve as Tsáhwasisp's witness over time. He allows himself to be fed by Tséihsot as he provides a social mirror for him. It is not a major leap for Tsáhwasisp to ask _Tseitlas_ to spy on Óyephl for him since in principle _Tseitlas_ is already "working" for him in the potlatch economy of gifting and respect. And while _Tseitlas_ seems well-traveled and worldly wise, the odds seem to have changed. _Tsáhwasisp_ is no longer in control, which changes their relationship. His role ambivalence possibly permits him insight about how to take advantage of this situation, or provides a temptation too much to avoid and an opportunity for intrigue. A bit like an industrial spy, _Tseitlas_, turns coat and brings the goods back to his own home village, which probably permitted the chiefs to elevate him in position so that he would be a chief for his life.

_Tseitlas'_ role as a witness for _Tséihsot_ was a meal ticket over time. Being a witness meant that _Tséitlas_ would live in _Tséihsot's_ house and be privy to all that was done and said. He was provided a privileged learning opportunity akin to that of a foreign exchange student boarding with a host family. He was able to witness first hand the social dimensions of _Tséihsot's_ roles. First, he witnessed _Tséihsot's_ lies and disrespect as they bowed out of Umeek's feast, then he saw the bravado when _Tséihsot_ killed the whalers, and finally, he witnessed _Tséihsot_' lack of propriety and uncertainty when he had not followed all the ritual practices. _Tséitlas_ had witnessed up close and personally _Tséihsot's_ character flaws (self centeredness, how he treated his wife, the way
he lied to his guests, arrogance), his shortcomings as a chief, to the point where *Tséitlas* could laugh at a chief and then take full advantage of the situation.

*Tséitlas' learning comes from the intimate association in the context of powerful social relations.* He followed *Tséihsot's* lead and then superceded him in understanding the powerful potential of the whaling knowledge. As a stranger, *Tséitlas* was not invested in the local power struggles, but could see beyond them to the potential of the knowledge itself in other contexts, like his own village. Learning in a context in which there is little social interest or investment may permit a learning that readily and effectively replicates knowledge across contexts. Such learning, if proven to be worthy may be readily accepted by others after a period of trial. Such knowledge would have to be re-contextualized in the local environment as a demonstration of how it would operate. For someone that has been privy to the many levels of activity that structure the knowledge, re-contextualization may take time but be highly possibly.

**Discussion**

Storywork as an educational framework suggests that there is much to understand about First Nations beliefs about learning from traditional stories and that these beliefs are still functioning and evolving among community members today. First Nations stories are the encoding of culture in the most effective oral tradition. Orality can be understood and taught as a literacy that is foundational to textuality in an era of postmodernism and multiculturalism in which multiple narratives add to the elaboration of global knowledge. Storywork grounded in the cultural territory of each First Nation links a people to their history, a history hitherto denied by the official histories of nation states. Storywork provides the complex conceptual tools of elder knowledge of ancient societies that are a hallmark of mature development of which wisdom is a highly desired outcome.
Ethnographers such as Boas, Sapir, and Swadesh come from a tradition in which the storywork of the Torah provides clues about the value of stories as a source of knowledge about a people and their ideas but lacked the content of Nuu-chah-nulth culture to make meaning with them for Nuu-chah-nulth adaptation or survival. Having spent time with Chief Adam Shewish and a host of Nuu-chah-nulth living in the Alberni Valley in cultural experience during her dissertation experience, Golla (1987) makes more productive use of the stories previously gathered. Nuu-chah-nulth cultural artifacts are not the Nuu-chah-nulth culture with which people make meaning. Stories embodied and enacted are the artifice with which artifacts are produced. Consequently, storywork as exemplified by the interpretation and analysis by the Elders is a key component of Nuu-chah-nulth learning.

The themes that the Elders found salient in our discussions about learning in the Umeek narratives have yielded a web of knowledge about Nuu-chah-nulth learning. Using this knowledge to interrogate the Umeek narratives as a learning site, we find that it yields a full constellation of learning archetypes that populated the village to facilitate both paradigmatic change and its diffusion that has survival value for Nuu-chah-nulth people in the midst of social disruption.

The richness of these findings in only one story that may have already had a lifespan of 2,000 years is remarkable and promising for the utility of storywork as an educational framework that will provide Nuu-chah-nulth tools for understanding. Consequently, I return to the purpose with which to point us further along the trajectory of Ahup-cii-yuch - going the right way. The Manifesto Indian Education in 1972 asserted that education is understood by First Nations people as a moral and spiritual pursuit and consequently there was the need for local control and participation of community
members rather than external control by Indian Affairs, the churches and other wellmeaning non-native professionals who thought they knew what was best. First Nations people were used to sending their children to sacred sites of the religious orders that they might learn to gain new powers. But the learning sites, the residential and day schools, to which they were sent, in fact created a "dummying down process" in which information and behaviors were substituted for transformational knowledge. The transformational plots of storywork were supplanted by information based on non-native cultural demands for behavior and learning. A Eurocentric philosophy of learning based in the curricular bent of the instructional turn (Hamilton, 2000) required a conformity and methodology in a modernist ideology that precluded transformations, instead required reproduction or replications.

Thirty years later, in the context of phases of Indian Education as delineated by Hampton (1995, 2000), we are clearly approaching the advent of phase five in which Indian control of Indian education by First Nations people with non-native tools and agenda must give way to the next phase whereby indigenous peoples are given the self determination to seek their own way of education. An education where the orientation is not merely a means to a non-native end but where the means and the ends are congruent with First Nations history, rights and aspirations. A First Nations education in which the means and ends constitute a legitimacy of indigenous educational interests and strategies is recognized and honored in the curricula. An education in which "curricular authenticity can be characterized as cultural action that originates from community issues (for example, substance abuse, land claims), uses cultural and local knowledge, values and beliefs (for example, railways, racism), often appears in English on publication, reverses colonial content, perceptions and approaches, involves the community for active guidance, input and feedback and honours the heritage of language" (Calliou, 1999:174).
An opportunity for learning that moves beyond victimizing First Nations learners in the context of psychological theories of deficiency and pathology (Chrisjohn & Peters, 1986), beyond cognitive imperialism and linguistic genocide (Battiste, 1986), beyond the hostile and threatening non-native learning sites (Chrisjohn & Young, 1986) to where First Nations tools of understanding are valued and validated.

_Nuu-chah-nulth_ perspectives on learning have implications about what _Nuu-chah-nulth_ define as learning and with what they might be willing to spend their time in learning. Relevance is usually the way this issue is framed. What is relevant to _Nuu-chah-nulth_ perspectives on learning? Learning is expected to be strategic, a way of gaining power, in the context of a desired goal. Learning is expected to be able to advance one's aspirations in the context in which one lives. Learning is an experiential, direct interaction between the learner and the environment in which the goal may be found. The learner can then unerringly situate him/herself in the context. Correction or error feedback comes from the environment from which the goal can be expected to materialize; it is not a mediated experience. _Nuu-chah-nulth_ learning can be hard or harder, hard with a direct engagement or harder when the lessons have to be learned over and over again.

_Ha?maat-sup_ (making public) the expectations for _Nuu-chah-nulth_ learning may help to satisfy some of the needs for understanding First Nations education, counseling, career and curriculum development and teaching. We need to understand how _Nuu-chah-nulth_ learning beliefs are different from the learning concepts, which underpin curriculum development and teacher training to provide some synchronicity between the two and to produce more efficiencies in First Nations education. Atleo, E. R. (1990) suggested that First Nations children graduate out of and into contexts. While the systems of beliefs and
values of these contexts may differ historically and substantially there is an onus on professional systems to work to harmonize them. This requires the direct input of the local community as the rate and pace of historical change is rapid and formal knowledge production increasingly lags for pragmatic utility for practice and system adaptation.

The Umeek narratives suggest that adaptation to change, while resisted, was expected as inevitable even if it took generations. Change could be welcomed or resisted with various outcomes but the inevitable was that over generations, positive innovations such as whaling became means for the survival and thriving of a distinct people. Proactive engagement with change could avoid some of the interim pain and long-term inevitability. In many ways the cultural assumptions of the Indian Act outlawed the adaptive aspects of Nuu-chah-nulth learning by denying transformational learning. Adaptation as civilization was the goal that stifled the strategic learning opportunities for First Nations of the West Coast for over one hundred years now. Healing can begin through understanding learning that is balanced through transformation. Learning in the legacy of Nuu-chah-nulth his/her story may possibly be translatable into motivational power for today in the face of unprecedented and accelerating change at a global level.

This study is an investigation of Nuu-chah-nulth narratives by Nuu-chah-nulth Elders for concepts (i.e., learning) that are derived from a non-Nuu-chah-nulth perspective. The protocol for story work that was extended to cultural work in general, the 4Rs and 4Ds, was a newly extended frame for examining indigenous interests. Phenomenological orienteering as a method was novel and unproven. Operationalized as a metaphorical mapping and blending process that the Elders used to engage with the

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64 Steering a boat strategically is a good metaphor for this activity. A wave needs to be sized up and understood in terms of wind, level and activity of the tide, direction of travel etc. to be harnessed productively. To misunderstand wave action can be fatal.
story and the questions provided a means to understand their use of the story. Metaphorical mapping and blending provided a framework in which to track the variety of ways the Elders wove cultural meaning that brought the past alive in the present. The number of interviewees was small, the interviews were limited to one hour each, and oriented by basically only three questions. The methodology was qualitative and thus cannot be used to make generalizations. The investigator bias was accounted for to the greatest extent possible through a process of situating and disclosure of interactional activity with the interviewees. Nevertheless the study proved to be rich and productive.

Storywork as an Educational Framework for Teaching and Learning

Investigating the Umeek narratives with the Nuu-chah-nulth Elders has yielded what I would identify as a learning trope active in Nuu-chah-nulth educational ideology. This Nuu-chah-nulth learning trope begins with prenatal development and culminates in predictable success because the individual is ?ap-ci yuuk, going in the right direction toward a goal which may be personal, social, developmental or innovative as in the case of Umeek. The trope is built on levels of learning that begin with the treatment of the developing pre-natal child, the grandparents providing a foundation of learning through tender loving care and storywork that culturally and physically pre-socializes children into the discipline of oosunm which can become the personal vehicle of achievement. Oosunm (ritual bathing) conducted in sacred sites associated with the desired goals are mobilized as frames of understanding in partnerships that promote a reflexivity in a mirroring process that permits critique and correction of developing models and action plans. Using this learning trope constructed from the Elder's themes to interrogate the Umeek narratives as a learning site, we find that it yields a full constellation of learning archetypes that populate the village to facilitate paradigmatic change and its diffusion that has survival value for Nuu-chah-nulth people.
The archetypal learners, Tsatsotatlmé, the one who provides under marginal conditions of high risk, becomes Umeek because he has learned to achieve his goal time and again albeit in a socially naïve manner which seals his fate at the hands of his rival. Tséihsot, the great feast giver's position is challenged socially by the feats of his rival and then his rival's son and so on. To meet the challenges of Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives on learning requires a re-conceptualization of indigenous learning that permits us to move from a colonized to a de-colonized vision of First Nations learning.

Nuu-chah-nulth learning beliefs begin with strategic learning that is about self-determination at the most fundamental level of living. Such self-determination flows naturally into aspirations of self-government, healthy communities, families, and individuals that are empowered to lead balanced lives. Self-determination may, at some level, be understood as strategic learning in which the aspirations of First Nations individuals and communities can be seen as a logical progression that flows from cultural functioning that should be welcomed in a global era of plurality as contributing to diversity and elaboration of survival strategies and adaptations.

Decolonization is a necessary first step in the process of reclaiming self-determination or strategic learning. According to Memmi (1965) both the colonizer and the colonized are in a dance of colonialism from which they both need to be disabused. The bi-focality of orality and textuality need development both in the First Nations and non-First Nations communities. Understanding textuality as a continuance of orality (Fludernik, 1996) rather than a dichotomy (Ong, 1982) helps to bring the past into the present where it belongs for we cannot separate ourselves from our histories but only work through understanding them. Seeing through the lens of studied ambivalence (Lather, 1991), cultivated and represented through the artwork of the northwest coast that
honors transformation of levels of consciousness and spirituality that articulates in
physical form (e.g., chiefs robes that evoke perceptual synergies (Samuel, 1987), totems
that depict progressions through transformations of animals and humans, masked dances
that evoke synergies in the dancer and audience (Walens, 1983). Pursuing the practice of
studied ambivalence (Lather, 1991) may help guide us through the limerance of self-
other, body-territory, body-text as ways of knowing and learning. Ways of knowing and
learning in which we do not throw away the lens of orality but indeed, as Archibald
(1997) enjoins us, to cultivate bi-focality in which orality and textuality bring the present
into focus.

Smith (1999) provides an agenda for indigenous research that may take place in
communities as well as the academy. Smith (1999) suggests such an agenda includes
projects by which indigenous people may afford a proactive and direct response to the
effects of colonization in which indigenous history has been supplanted or denied,
cultural institutions outlawed, cultural understandings demeaned and denounced because
"While the language of imperialism and colonialism has changed, the sites of struggle
remain." (1999:104). As co-constructors of colonization both those inside and outside
the indigenous community may participate in these projects and indigenous researchers
can thereby gain experience and understanding that will not destroy their indigenous
identities, values, languages and practices and help non-indigenous individuals to
interrogate the issues for themselves.

Such a research agenda (Smith, 1999: 117), centered on self-determination,
requires decolonization, mobilization, healing, and transformation to bridge the survival,

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65 Limerance signifies the space of perceptual threshold as we move between states of
being and knowing. As we move from orality to textuality and back again in storywork
limerance is an important feature since there is no one to one fit but requires a translation
between states.

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recovery and development phases of the project. Mobilization is necessary at the local, regional, national and international levels because of the scope of the colonization program. To counter the effects of the depth of the colonization project, decolonization should be political, social, spiritual and psychological. To reclaim the inner spaces that the colonization project violated, healing that is physical, spiritual, psychological, social, collective and restorative is vital. Transformation that is proactive, collective, psychological, social political, and economic is essential. Protocols are required to be in place to provide a respectful frame in which this agenda can be carried forward. Protocols such as the 4Rs and 4Ds are of the type that can move such an agenda forward to provide a strong framework in which to conduct the business of research on these sacred sites. This research agenda needs to be anchored in a post positivist frame of inquiry (Smith, 1999:167) in which understanding is the focus rather than prediction, where emancipation is the aim rather than oppression and where deconstruction of the structures of oppression is the program. Research is an extension of knowledge and thus indigenous research must extend indigenous knowledge rather than merely add to non-indigenous scholarship. Extension of indigenous knowledge about learning that this study has found is then recommended through the process of indigenous projects.

Claiming

Claiming the stories about Umeek in the context of family and tribal histories richly contextualizes the legitimacy of the nature of the learning project that fuels this process. Storywork, which entails claiming the legitimacy of tribal and family histories and documenting them, may be seen as a first step in decolonization. The findings

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Smith's (1999) commentary here follows from or piggy-backs on Lather (1991) and Habermas' (1971) categories of "human interests that underscore knowledge claims: prediction, understanding, emancipation" to which Lather has added deconstruction as a post positivist way of claiming knowledge (Lather, 1991:6-7).
question the notion that there are a limited range or types of learning in the First Nations community and suggestions that there may be possible interaction effects between First Nations students and non-native orientations, materials, personnel, expectations.

Chrisjohn & Peters (1986) suggest that the hostile environment of the school precludes a normative learning atmosphere for First Nations students. More (1987) began the investigation of learning styles of First Nations students that grew into an industry in which aboriginal students were pathologized in the Euroheritage classroom. Aboriginal students are required to "dummy down" culturally to achieve in a standard classroom with a standard didactic curriculum. The keyhole through which aboriginal learning must be threaded to be recognized is keyed by the legacy of the instructional turn (Hamilton, 2000) with all of its inherent assumptions. Elder thinking, post formal and metacognitive strategies required for using stories as tools for understanding, demands a new curriculum strategy in which stories are the means for learning indigenous objectives. As Trudy Frank suggested, the children will need to be taught to understand narratives by earlier, more systematic and authentic story telling possibly even in school settings based in the dialectical logic of elderhood. When I asked my eight year old son what he wanted to be when he grew up, he replied, "wise". He had learned well from his elders.

Celebrating survival and teaching through storywork

Elder teachings may be seen as a formal, safe means through which oral evidences can be presented to a particular type of audience and provides a "ritual" means of speaking about events or series of events such as those presented in the interviews and generously shared, documentations of personal histories such as Maquinna's oral history and the history of Umeek's occupational and personal journey, the record of indigenous voices chorusing internationally must be foregrounded in the search for knowledge.
Elders work in post secondary programs such as at the First Nations House of Learning and Malaspina University College, help students manage the transformational discontinuities they may encounter. Even as the Supreme Court over-turning of Delgamuuqw (Delgamuuqw v. Regina, 1997) eventually recognized the testimony of the elders, demanded negotiation rather than litigation, so too the world has an obligation to recognize testimonials of indigenous sensibilities and aspirations in this United Nations Declaration of the Decade of the Indigenous Peoples of the World to provide equality of opportunity, respect for diversity and value of differences.

Storywork provides a means of educating by passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the positive expectation that the next generation will treasure them and pass them on. Beliefs and values encoded in stories orient learning in a variety of ways. Cultural orientation is fundamental to the survival of indigenous peoples. Supplanting these stories with the master narratives of Euroheritage creates a dis-orientation that denies survival of indigenous peoples. Story telling thus provides a pool of knowledge about learning, which has deep cultural survival strategies that have sustained a People for millennia. The revival of story telling as cultural work in the context of the 4Rs and 4Ds could be considered life giving. Celebrating survival allows a stock taking of cultural and spiritual values that form the foundation of the community and provides the bedrock on which a future can be envisioned. Celebrating survival allows the accentuation of the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have retained their cultural and spiritual values intact to provide a foundation to move beyond mere survival. Celebrating the survival of Nuu-chah-nulth learning strategies becomes an

important starting point that indicates that there are indigenous learning strategies that may be central to this project and must be acknowledged, valued and understood. Such learning needs to be celebrated.

**Remembering**

Remembering the past of a people and its response to the pain and the glory of the past marked the opening of every *Nuu-chah-nulth* potlatch by the historians. *Nuu-chah-nulth* learning is founded on such remembrances of the cultural and territorial history of the people. The *Kluquanna* was a celebration in which the remembrance of reality was achieved through weeks of songs, dances, feasting, visiting, and the initiation of young men and women into adult rights and responsibilities of the community. This suggests that *Nuu-chah-nulth* education might also be founded on the cultural and territorial history of the people rather than the culture and history of others.

**Re-centering**

Re-centering of landscapes, images, language, themes, metaphors and stories in the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and other indigenous worlds and disconnecting many of the cultural ties between the settler society and its metropolitan homeland is what indigenizing requires. Centering on the politics of indigenous identity and cultural action is a means of re-orientation of learning that radiates from the inside out rather than from the outside in, reducing the alienation and disenfranchisement in ones homeland. In this study, the metaphor of *ʔiychtup* (whale), the names of the characters in the story, the *hilsisis/kla-aa* (inside/outside) dimensions of *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural resources strategy, *ha-hoo-thee* (hereditary governance system), the significance of different types of sacred sites, the language of *ma’mook* (many dimensions of work), *qa’unc* (utility) basket work, and the cultural storywork of *him-wic-aa* (stories) and *haa-huupa* (lectures) are significant.
indigenous orientation devices that cannot be learned by looking outside the culture. They need to be embraced as central to being Nuu-chah-nulth.

Proactive Involvement

Proactive involvement requires knowledge and orientation and goals that are consistent with a learning based on indigenous strategies for survival. Intervening entails becoming proactively involved as an interested worker for change rather than maintaining a reactive, *deer caught in the headlights*, stance. The reactivity is probably to a large part, the legacy of mystification of the colonization project that extends into the institutional, social, psychological and spiritual dimensions of a people. These need to be de-colonized and healed at the local, community level during mobilization, for it is in embodied learning in social, economic, spiritual and ritual context that transformational learning is accomplished. Such intervention requires an emancipator program of inquiry such as critical analysis action research with communities, Freirian (1970; 1973) and Fals-Bordasian (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991) participatory action research. All of these are practice oriented and transparent to permit understanding.

Revitalization

Revitalizing indigenous languages, arts and cultural practices becomes central to understanding indigenous cultural aspirations. The models of Nuu-chah-nulth survival are embedded in the stories and in the language. Learning that is based in a cultural milieu has extensions that flow from the values and beliefs that provide orientations for individuals which are culturally coordinated. While cultural artifacts may be seen as distortions that should be worked through via psychotherapy (Mezirow, 2000) there is little acknowledgement that a cultural program of Euroheritage with a secular humanist agenda underpins such theoretical assumptions. While First Nations storywork
traditionally provided means for working through issues and models for transformations and transitions, today such activity is the purview of the counseling profession that is regulated and certified to broker "healing stories" (Roberts & Holmes, 1999). Storywork migrates from the community into the professional repertoire of non-indigenous and the tools for self-determination become distanced and lost. Cultural strategies, which have been adaptive for First Nations for millennia, have become impoverished and maladaptive with the penetration of European history (Duran & Duran, 1995) far from the homeland.

**Naming**

Names too need to be repatriated as they provide orientation to ancestors and the historical legacies of culture. The story of *Umeek* demonstrates the culturally orienting and organizing power of names. Names connect a child to culture, provide a script for living, positions them in networks of relationships in their history and present and future. When transformations are required, names help individuals move through the transitions and take on new roles and responsibilities, reap new rewards. Indigenous place names provide orientation. *Chitapi*, a point at the foot of Catface Mountain where it *cuts the weather and waves like a knife*, is a significant point in the landscape where the wind and the tide are cut by the trajectory of land. The name is a description and a warning about the probability of wind and wave activity for paddling seafarers. Learning the names of individuals and places permits an orientation in the social and natural ecology of the territory. Each ritual identified the goal or quarry the activity prepared for, so that the ritual training organized the natural and the spiritual worlds for efficacy and success.

These strategies need to be understood and valued so that they might be protected for their sacred life giving value. The chief's learned to embody the concepts of *ha-hoo-*
thee as children through their family teachings, songs, dances, tupati, meals and community activities. Ha-hoo-thee orders the life of the people in reciprocal relations with the resources and each other over time. The order of ha-hoo-thee can only be truly understood in the Nuu-chah-nulth language by one who has embodied it through positional teachings. It has been the role of chiefs to protect such knowledge. In a treaty process such protection could become encoded in law and policy as an outcome of storywork.

Charting the return of First Nations knowing

It is up to indigenous people to chart the way through the wilderness journey of the catastrophic learning legacy begun five hundred years ago. It is for future generations that the Elders have made such an effort to move between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Euroheritage aspects of the discussion of the story of Umeek and its implications for learning. For them the space between cultures was not yet mystified to the extent that they couldn't discriminate between the dimensions of culture and articulate the differences in learning perspectives so that there may be a more informed negotiation and hence positive transition between cultural strategies and ways of knowing.

Ways of knowing that work through connectedness which positions individuals in sets of relationships with other people and with the environment, positional relationality of social activity (Bourdieu, 1990, 1993), is the foundation of Nuu-chah-nulth or any culture. The basis for orientation to learning starts with a need. The situatedness of learning in such connectedness suggests that there is a deep ecology in which knowledge is embedded. Harré and Van Langenhove (1999) offer the concept of positioning as a "dynamic alternative to the more static concept of role" whereby a position is a metaphorical concept through reference to which a person's 'moral' and personal
attributes as a speaker are compendiously collected" (p. 17). In this perspective, the position, social forces, and the storyline are mutually emergent. Thus to conceive oneself spaciotemporally in a web of relationships is to be connected in and through relationships, simultaneously a part and the whole, in the past, present and future. This also involves connecting people to their traditional lands through the restoration of specific rituals and practices to regain Hisuk-ish-tsa'walk. Nan Margaret taught me who I was by positioning me in history so that I could chart the present and possible futures of our lives much like steering a canoe through the dynamic waves of change.

Re-reading and re-writing the stories of peoples

Reading dynamic waves of change requires re-reading of European and settler history through the lens of postcolonial and cultural studies that there be a more critical and comparative approach to history than was previously acceptable. Re-reading modernity enables the neo-modernity of indigenous life worlds to be understood in their own syntax rather than merely as a counterpoint to modernity and progress. Re-reading means re-learning what is fact and what is mythology of modernity. The content and context of learning become points of interrogation and negotiation. The facts of schooling require interrogation (Hamilton, 2000), the construction of the spaces, which they occupy, and the means with which they convey learning. A new means recommended to explore a post structural world is to tentatively keep the structures in sight and yet allow the loosening of their grip (Lather, 1991). This strategy sounds amazingly like the studied ambivalence of the Nuu-chah-nulth learning which requires the watching until it becomes clear approach. But ambivalence as a perceptual strategy is nothing new to indigenous people for whom the multiple phases of reality creates a unity of Hisuk-ish-tsa'walk rather than categorical realities that are discrete one from another.
Learning is understood as occurring across the multiple phases of living over the life career.

Sherman Alexie (2000) sings his "One Stick Song" providing us with the messages, nuances and flavour of indigenous lives. What is known about the lahla game he is using as a metaphor for living? Do we know that much preparation has traditionally gone into the game? Do we know that many others are singing with him, taking turns making decisions about where the game pieces might be? Do we know how often the fortunes have changed or when there was intrigue or deception? Do we know how many women have feigned baring their breasts to distract the opposing team or what the stakes might be? The odds of the game are 50/50 but in a supernatural and social ecology those odds are squeezed for all they worth relationally. How can the kids who never went to a lahla game and slept through the night as their parents played know the rhythm of the back and forth now that the welfare worker looks for them in the bleachers? How can they understand the social work of working the 50/50 odds? How can the sweet taste of smoked oolicans fill my senses, playing a wonderful game of rememberance in my mouth, on my tongue and teeth and in my nostrils lie on a page an convey more than just dead fish. How can we use a word like "learning" and have it convey the deep cultural ideology and sense of Nuu-chah-nulth learning? How can we use learning and convey the deep learning that comes through oosumch as a way of conveying the messages and nuances of indigenous learning, which includes processing not just the mind or the emotions, but synergistically processing with the whole body.

Summary

This final chapter has presented a discussion of the principles, dynamics and themes in the learning archetypes identified in the "Umeek Narratives". The adaptive and survival value of these models as practice was a central feature of the discussion. The
explanatory power of these models and their practice for First Nations education were discussed. Implications are woven into the conclusions about the use of traditional narratives to inform education, counseling, strategic learning, teaching, curriculum development, counseling, career development. Recommendations were made in which the findings of this study could be used to begin the work of decolonization of both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the area of learning for indigenous peoples, in particular Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations people related to storywork.

Umeek worked hard to re-frame himself and take greater control over his life issues. He acted and through oosumch got in touch with a new resource, the whale, which he moved into the foreground of his vision. By bringing whales to his people; he began to restore the well being of his people spiritually, emotionally, physically, and materially. Such meaning making requires the territories and sacred sites be restored to be used as a starting point of knowing and story. Artifacts are being repatriated, as Nelson, indicated that provide mnemonic cultural clues to a wealth of remembering. And finally, storywork is seen by the Elders, especially Elsie, as a means to enhance mental health in a chaotic world. Storywork can bring things into right order and restore meaning to indigenous people for whom meaning is a way of being.

In the narrative, Umeek transcends the basic survival mode with an innovative, creative solution to his problem of failing to meet his personal ideals and social expectations for performance. Umeek has learned his culture well. He knows that to be true to himself must reach beyond himself, envisions the wolf, the transformational ancestor and dreams a new way. He risks moving beyond the survival mode to fatness, a level of achievement and excellence that is above and beyond the greatest expectations of the community. And even when his creation is clearly superior to anything that has been
known the creator is slain to suppress the plenty that the people could have in exchange for the retention of social status of the elder ha?w'il. Impoverishing the people to maintain power positions is amoral in a Nuu-chah-nulth ethos (Golla, 1992).

_Umeek_ achieves his goal by negotiating with the whale. Nelson said that the relationships between the beings that were considered sacred and the people were misunderstood, as demonstrated by the "prayer to the whale". _Umeek_ was negotiating with the whale, he was reasoning with the whale. Such reasoning requires strategic thinking and acting with power towards large or long-term goals. Engagement in the treaty process by Nuu-chah-nulth has permitted an initial negotiation process there seems to be an opportunity to think and act strategically for the first time, perhaps since the fur trade. The colonial usurpation of the strategic realm of First Nations lives over generations through the machinations of the Indian Act has dampened the continued development of strategic acting and thinking, of the metacognitive strategies that were thought by some to be natural indicators of incompetence (Atleo, E. R., 1993). Trudy indicates that the children will need to be taught how to listen to stories, how to exercise the metacognitive, strategic means of self understanding and cultural competence. Constructivist theory recognizes power imbalances in the process of negotiated understandings. Phenomenological theory permits the recognition of the perceptual basis of learning. Hermeneutic theory permits the recognition of the importance of the context of action and position. Such theoretical approaches provide frames in which indigenous theory can be legitimately recognized, valued and understood as contributions to universal knowledge rather than a means of universalizing knowledge.

In this manner, science and indigenous knowledge can be complimentary. Traditional indigenous knowledge has been the first frontier wherein non-indigenous
people have begun to understand the validity of traditional knowledge, strategies of acquisition and elaboration, theory and principles (Bunnell & Atleo, 1995). The story of *Umeek* provides us with an archetype of knowledge acquisition, diffusion, resource reorientation, social restructuring, infrastructure reorganization, timeframes of change, players in change, and types of learning in change. Investigation of *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural ways and means cannot be interpreted with outside theory and means but must come from within the community so that the cultural weave not be violated. The impact of research from within the First Nations community has come haltingly over the last 30 years as First Nations people have become educated in the western perspective and more recently when that education has been with a studied ambivalence that is increasingly allowing indigenous voices to present indigenous visions (Battiste, 2000) with passion and power. Research is also needed in the area of health, which requires indigenous researchers to train and participate with indigenous people in this forum. Researchers like Smith (1999) who can participate in demystifying knowledge and information by speaking in plain terms to the communities through indigenous peoples networks and across the worlds of indigenous peoples.

The Elders involved in this study were adamant about sharing their knowledge with *Nuu-chah-nulth* and others. Whereas secrecy about knowledge was central to the story of *Umeek*, there has been a period of colonialization where knowledge of the colonizer was privileged over the knowledge of *Nuu-chah-nulth* and other indigenous peoples. The willingness of the Elders to share suggests that there needs to be an open knowledge economy if there is to be equity and democracy. Learning strategies need to be de-mystified as part of that knowledge creation and acquisition process. *Nuu-chah-nulth* Elders have made the first move to share, at this level of disclosure, about deep cultural secrets because they see their future generations depending on it.
Democratizing in indigenous terms, extending participation outwards through reinstating indigenous principles of collectivity and public debate, can be greatly enhanced through storywork that maintains the integrity of cultural strategies in new contexts and relationships. Elders wanted knowledge that was traditionally only available to a select few to become more openly available and accessible while maintaining reverence and respect, acknowledging responsibility and relations. Global participation by indigenous peoples needs to be on terms which assure First Peoples survive and thrive. Storywork provides strategies that have served indigenous peoples adaptively for millennia. The utility of storywork needs to be better understood in the context of democratization. The strategies of learning discovered in Nuu-chah-nulth storywork may provide important understanding for the process of democratization in the future program of self-government.

Conclusion

There is much work to do, beginning with the inclusion of indigenous peoples in decision making and accurately expressing an indigenous spirit, experience or worldview. This requires a movement beyond superficial representation of indigenous people by tokenism. The representation of the experience, worldview or spirit of indigenous people as it is enacted through embodied knowing and becoming needs to be represented. Such representation requires gendered experiences to counter the detrimental effects of colonization on gender relations of indigenous societies. The heart of the whaling ritual is the creation between the partners of a dynamic model of each encounter with the whale. The mirroring of the whaling ritual is Nuu-chah-nulth learning activity of a high order, secret, sacred, highly ritualized cultural work. This coming together of equals is most desirable in the process of envisioning the goal. The future dreaming liberates the spirit to new visions even as it did for Umeek.
Epilogue

Nan Margaret started me off on this basketwork story and it is only fitting that she should help me weave the edge of the storybasket of this study to reinforce its edge. When I first began cutting fish with my husband's kinwomen, I was instructed by Nan, who stood across the table from me. Her partner Teddy (Chief Teddy George of Kelsemaht), helped me to make my own chit-ulth (cutting edge/fish knife) out of a piece of saw blade and a block of scrap wood. While we worked, Nan and the other women told one of the stories about how, before the Transforms came, the dog salmon we were cutting, were once people. The social contract with these people was that they would come back, time and again, to provide to offer themselves to us as food if we treated them and their homes with respect and care. I cut fish with care, thankful for each that would become the flesh and blood of my husband, children, guests, and myself. The women were very encouraging as I cut many large dog salmon for hanging in the smokehouse. When we hung them up for the first time, Nan exclaimed as she hung mine onto the rafters that they were all hanging the wrong way. I had cut my fish in mirror image to Nan who was standing across from me. The following time, I stood next to her and observed closely as she explained how to cut the fish;
males and females, differently for half smoked or fully dried products. This time my fish hung indistinguishable from the rest.

Nan was proud of me as I became more competent at doing fish, not just mimicking in a mirroring, objectifying fashion but identifying with and embodying the process to produce acceptable cultural products from my own place and perspective.

Kleco; Nan, Trudy, Flossie, and Evelyn; kleco; kleco; kleco!
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Appendix A - Glossary

?almapt - red cedar bark for making textiles and baskets
?i ?i naa tuu k"iss - a person who says the same thing in different ways
??i?isuu?i (Ucluelet) - ogress, child snatcher
?iihiyuu (Mowachaht) - ogress; child snatcher
?ihtuuup - whale
?iy'ikilamo?qwa (Ahousaht) - ogress, child snatcher
??ooq?ooqhiip (Kyuquot) - Transformer
7a-hu-s7ath -Ahousaht
Ahous - ancestral village site on the outside of Vargas Island
Ahousaht - ?aahuus'ath
Ahousaht-achsup - Ahousaht woman
Ah-up-waa-eek - Wren, the tiny wise bird
atlyu, atl-liu, or atleo - three stranded rope of cedar withes used as part of whaling equipment, translated as "twisted branch".
čaaqua related to the "saddle of the whale": ~ "t'in" (made of) (name for a younger boy) and ~ "meek" (getter of) (name for an older boy).
čak"aasi - dorsal fin area of a whale that includes the fatty deposit underneath
čitapt - slough sedge
cuu-chal – dance by whaler’s wife to welcome the whale ashore as a guest to the feast
Dididaht - diitiid?aa?tx
Ehattisaht - ?iihatis?ath
eh-tsuc-tup-tsup - Transformer (Trudy)
esaak - respect in a Nuu-chah-nulth cultural perspective
haay'ištuup - black chitons
hahuulhi/ha-hoo-thee: a system of hierarchical and hereditary management rights and obligations that assured re-distribution and re-circulation of resources to assure access to all the relations
ha?kum – wife of a chief, a woman born with high rank that is skilled
ha-maat-sup - to make visible publicly, to reveal
hamatsa - an initiated member of the Hamatsa Society of the Kwakwakawakw.
ha?w'iithmis - chiefly interests, practices and concerns
ha?w'īl - chief
ha?w'īh - chiefs

68 An upsidedown question mark is used for a backward question mark.

69 The spelling of these words is of a mixed orthography. See orthography for an explanation.
haiyu - ten
Hesquiaht - hiškwii?ath
his-uk – land won with the war club
hisuk-ish-tsa'walk - the Nuu-chah-nulth philosophy of the unity of all things
humis - red cedar tree
hychqa – Coast Salish “thank you”
ínuh-ha?wil-mistuk - the ha?wiih go through the communication and connection
with our creator was always very strong
kakaw’in - killer whale
k’i’lanus (Ktlunoos) - fur seal
kleco – Nuu-chah-nulth “thank you”
kluu-kwana – winter ceremonies in which all village business was conducted and
validated with feasting, singing, dancing, witnessing, and games.
kuukuwu'is’a - hair seal/harbour seal
kʷwaa?uuc - grandchild
kʷatyaat (Nuuchatlaht) - Transformer
kʷwiikʷitupsap (Ahousaht) - Transformer
Kyuquot - Qaa'u'ukʷath
maa?ak - grey whale
Maaqtsiis – village site of modern day Ahousaht
maamulthnee – persons floating in boats with no territory, non-native people,
white people
mammuums – vocation or role with responsibilities
ma-mook - "work" in the broadest sense
maÁluuhas (Nuuchahlth) - ogress, child snatcher
mook-wah-nulth - stone
Mowachaht - Muwač'ath
muschoom - commoners
muu – four
mu-wa-kwin - a desirable supernatural stone club that can kill people with one
blow
naa'sQa?itkquisHicit -the changing landscape,
neen - grandmother (address by child)
niismaa - my home
Nuchatlaht - Nučaal?ath
numaak – taboo
Ohiat - Huu?ii?ath
Ootshoosaht - ?uču-s?ath
oo-oo-tuh - preparation for hunting
pachitl – goods that are given at feasts/potlatches
qa’uuc - utility basket
qu'aas - person/people
qʷayac'iik - wolf
Sheshaht - c'išaa?ath
tayii - elder brother
Tiskin - the Thunderbird
tit-thlah-wik-um or seat in a territory can stand for the chief, lineage, rights, etc.
Tlaoquiaht/Clayoquot - λʔuukʷiʔath
tukuukʷ - sea lion
t'unaax - tule
tupswees – morning dip in the salt water
Tuquaht - T'ukʷaaʔath
tyee – elder brother (chief)
Uchukleash - huucuq³îis?ath
Ucluelet - Yuuluʔilʔath
wákâsh - welcoming with praise and recognition of
yʔukʷiʔqsu - younger brother
yaa-uuck - means affection and love towards [a] person...and pain
λaa-maah-mit – red lightening bird
λ'aaq-îsh-peethl - house of getting/giving whale blubber (riches) where the
standard is an abundance that overflows onto the ground
λaayacqum - great grandchild
Appendix B - Orthography

The orthographies used for *Nuu-chah-nulth*/Nootka are numerous and have not achieved standardized use which is usual with languages which lack a textual tradition. Textualization of *Nuu-chah-nulth* has developed over the last 100 plus years through formal ethnographies, linguistic studies and cultural maintenance projects. Formal ethnographies (Curtis, 1915; Boas, 1930; Sapir & Swadesh, 1939, 1955; Drucker, 1951; Thomas & Arima, 1970; Kenyon, 1980; Golla, 1987; Jonaitis, 1999) have used a variety of different orthographies ranging from the highly technical with linguistic notation to the practical. Technical linguistic notation follows current evolving formal systems of specialized notation to permit the differentiation of the thirty-three (33) consonant sounds. More practical approaches attempt to follow English notations in which phonetic spellings or letter combinations are used to convey the minimal units of sound that can indicate a difference of meaning (phonemes). For example, (after Golla, 1987; p. 20) a single phoneme such as the middle letter in "pit" and "pet" which distinguish the meaning of the word would have its functional equivalent in *Nuu-chah-nulth* chaʔa?ak (island) and ch'aʔa?ak (water) in which the /ch/ in the first would be unglottalized and the /ch/ in the second glottalized (hard sounds produced by a catch in breath before the letter is pronounced).

Language maintenance by the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council (1991) and the *Hahopayuk* Cultural Society has produced efforts to standardize textual *Nuu-chah-nulth* as part of a program of language revitalization. Initiation of such programs by Elders (John Thomas and Adam Shewish) and participation with linguist consultations played a major role in this effort. *Our World, Our Ways: Taat'aagsapa Cultural Dictionary* (Powell, J. (Ed.) 1991), produced by the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council in 1991 was
widely distributed among the *Nuu-chah-nulth* people. There was however no concerted effort at the level of the tribal council to promote uniform language programming among the fourteen First Nations. While most of the early work on the *Nuu-chah-nulth* language was focused on Tsesaht (Swadesh, 1933), and some on Kyuquot (Rose, 1980), language programming was instituted in the school in *Ahousaht* as a local initiative with local resources both in terms of language teachers, art teachers, and curriculum development by community members with training in linguistics.

The *Taat'aagsapa Cultural Dictionary* was an initial effort to involve all of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* First Nations. A Committee of Elders was established and coordinated by Andrew Callicum to work with anthropologist Jay Powell of the University of British Columbia over a three-year period. The provisional writing system agreed upon the Elders Committee used a modified form of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to correspond with that by the *Hahopayuk* School for their language program and materials.

*Nuu-chah-nulth* is linguistically classified as a Wakashan Language with historical relations to Ditidaht and Makah, Kwakiutl, Heiltsuk and Haisla. *Nuu-chah-nulth* has two major linguistic divisions: Taat'aagsapa and Diitiid'a?tx-. Taat'aagsapa has thirteen different dialects which correspond with the thirteen First Nations that make up the *Nuu-chah-nulth* north of Ditidaht. The dictionary provides a pronunciation guide from English to *Nuu-chah-nulth* that includes vowels and consonants (thirty-three in which the consonants are divided into those that are written and pronounced the same as in English, those that have "explosive sounds", those that have "whispered sounds", "back sounds", "hard sounds", "back throat" and "stop signs" which vary from the English). The dictionary was designed to attempt to meet the language needs identified by the Elders. What is essentially a word list is divided into three parts: things, qualities
and characteristics, and actions and states of being. The dictionary is in a legal letter size format and each page is organized by columns of English, Diitiid?aa?tx and the other dialects. The effect of this layout is that all versions of a word can be seen at a glance across the width of two legal sized pages in a landscape format. An English finder list or index at the back of the dictionary covers all three parts. As a word list and pronunciation guide, I have found this dictionary very functional.

The purpose of this dictionary was to make actual words available to Nuu-chah-nulth people and others. While Nuu-chah-nulth words equivalent to English words to have been made accessible, the sophisticated and dynamic morphosyntax (Nakayama, 1997) that provides access to the grammatical patterns with which the language makes sense is not considered in this effort. Linguistic research by Swadesh (1933) into the principles of the semantic economy of the Nootkan word used ethnographies collected by Sapir (1911, 1915, 1924, 1929) among the Tseshahat. Swadesh (1933) was cataloguing the lexical data for Sapir at the time and concluded that understanding the morphology of the words and the development of a dictionary and classificatory system were so interconnected that they seemed to be the same problem and that progress in understanding this problem could only be made by increments of tentative results.

How the Elders Committee dealt with concerns about the textualization of Nuu-chah-nulth oral traditions are not part of the public record of the project. There is statement which acknowledges the suggestion by some people that the dictionary include both real pronunciation (i.e., an Anglicized form for outsiders - Nuu-chah-nulth) and "in our own writing system" (Nuučaan'ul) as a means to explain the use of a more complicated system that can more authentically accommodate the pronunciations. Hahopayuk School on the Tseshahat First Nation reserve in Port Alberni continues to have
a language program and periodically offers an immersion program for adults. 

*Maaqutusis* First Nations Elementary Secondary School in *Ahousaht* offers locally developed language programming in the *Ahousaht* dialect. Language curriculum has been developed for use in the Alberni School District. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council newspaper, the Ha-shilth-sa, uses the official language for uniquely *Nuu-chah-nulth* concepts and place names. In each edition there is a vocabulary lesson.

Increasingly, *Nuu-chah-nulth* concepts are brought into English use in the treaty making process to counterbalance the acculturation of language that has historically occurred.

Efrat (1978) in concert with Peter Webster, an *Ahousaht* speaker, and Winnifred David, an Opetchesat speaker, note the acculturative flexibility of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* language founded on a phonemic base. Sapir (Mandelbaum, 1985) discusses the psychological reality of phonemes, "a functionally significant unit in the rigidly defined pattern or configuration of sounds peculiar to a language" (p. 46) based on physical properties that provide a sign for "the identification of the given entity as a functionally significant point in a complex system of relatedness" (p.46). For example, a *mamalni* is a person living on the water, a person with no visible territory, a European on shipboard. Because territory is central to definition of where a person belongs, having no territory, being adrift, was the foremost feature defining a non-*Nuu-chah-nulth*. This term latterly became racialized into *white person* as the younger generation no longer spoke the language and became more urbanized, less in touch with territorial aspects of identity.

From this discussion of orthographies used for *Nuu-chah-nulth*, we can see that textualization of an oral tradition brings with it complex issues of a socio-technical nature. "Natural" historical development from an oral to a textual tradition is in compressed time and based in committee decisions that are not the least organic, for which there is no public accountability or necessarily representative of the range of use
and sophistication in whole language pool. Selecting a working orthography that will be accepted and used by native Nuu-chah-nulth speakers is especially challenging for those who are not involved in decision-making about language program development. Natural, subjective, oral modes of native knowledge of the language is challenged by unnatural, objectifying, textual modes of native knowledge of language that can be perceived as self-conscious, foreign and forced. These issues present special challenges to First Nations language revitalization that impinges on the use of traditional narratives for Nuu-chah-nulth learning. For the purposes of this thesis, spellings used from the various orthographies will be used as they occur in the original with the effect of juxtapositions of words and names that may be spelled differently but be the same. For my own use, I have chosen spellings of words with which I am most familiar, I reproduced names based on the ethnographic record that reflect current use in the literature and employed symbols that can be readily accommodated by a standard word processing program.
Appendix C - Histories of Ahousaht

This appendix provides the lineage histories of the chiefs of Ahowis, from the House of Kumsulmeek. The public histories of two of the lineage heirs of Kumsulmeek, tyee ha?w'il Maquinna and ha?w'il Umeek are then presented.

Sacred histories

In a letter to a foremost anthropologist, the late Ahousaht historian, John Jacobson, provides a geneology for tyee haw'il Maquinna/Earl George and haw'il Umeek/E. Richard Atleo, situating them both as originating from the House of Kumsulmeek of Ahowis (place of whaling: Jacobson, 1966) 7a-hu-s (facing away from mountains: Sam, 1993) on the outside beach of Vargas Island in Clayoquot Sound (letter: J. Jacobson to Wilson Duff, August 29, 1966). Jacobson recounts the story of how this eldest of the nine brothers was slain because of his whaling success. According to the story of the "War among Ahouset Bands" as told by Tom Saa-yaa-chapis in 1916 and recorded by Alex Thomas of Tseshaht for Sapir (1955:342-349), Kumsulmeek's father and younger brothers moved to the Longbeach area near what is today Wickinninish Bay near Ucluelet. A sister from this "taqiml" "bunch from same root" married a Makah and moved to Neah Bay with the whaling knowledge and technology as dowry. Jacobson goes on to say that the modern lineages of the Ahousahits consist of three of the remaining lines coming from Kumsulmeek.

The modern lineage starts with λi-śin (Cle-shin) from Puneel (Mesquito Harbor) (Jacobson, 1966). Next was λi-hλi-ha (Clae-cleha: red lightening), the chief slain by Kaa-na-kim who was according to Tom (Sapir, 1955) the father of k'akalmis (Grimaces on the Beach). λi-hλi-ha (Clae-cleha) was the Ahousaht chief that was slain by ka-naqam (Kaa-na-kim) as he tried to wipe out the Mid-Beach Pole family (Taa'win'ismštaqiml)
that was also the 7uumiiktaqiml, the chief band of whalers. k'akal'mis (Grimaces on the beach) survived by being taken to his mother's family the 'u'uu7atl or Water Bay people. When the Kaanaqimštaqiml is defeated, k'akal'mis, Grimaces, now a young man returned. He is trained in the whaling ritual by his mother who had participated in the strict training with her husband, ḣi-ḥła-ha (Clae-cleha). For many years, the young man lived with his grandparents for many years is called aʔikʷuwašin as he takes his rightful place becoming a legendary whaler. He also became a composer of songs that are still sung as part of the cuu-chat. The eldest sons of 7uumiiktaqiml still carry names such as č'ukʷ aa šuk'tin (when young); č'ukʷ aa šuk'meek (when older), the little dorsal fin of the ?iifthuup he had asked for: the č'ukʷ aasi.

In the next generation the lineage splits into two with hašiyaqmis, the ancestor of Earl George, and ta 'win?isim (Tawinism who stood strongly by his older brother and received all his holdings) (see: Craig, 1998:50), the ancestor of the Benson Keitlah and the Atleo families. With ta 'win?isim (Tawinism) (holding a pole and poking it right into the back) the line splits again: wasuʔap (Wispohapi), becomes the ancestor of the Benson Keitlah family and Kwat-sits-mak-neel-aʔap-waʔi-k (Ah-up-wah-eek: always has the right words) becomes the ancestor of the Atleo family. In the line of wa-suʔap (Wispohapi) there is ha-yu-pimuł (Hyupinol) from the time of the Ahousaht-Ootshoosaht war, kapća (Cupcha), from the time of the British Naval punitive expedition of 1864, Keitlah's children were Fanny, Richard, John, Elizabeth, and Alfred. Richard Benson (haw'il Keitlah) had five living children: Jack, Donald, Edgar, Gilbert, and Helen. Jack succeeded his father as chief but had no children. He passed his seat on to his sister

70 The dorsal fin of a blue whale tends to be only around 35 cm. (American Cetacean Society, 2001). The portion he requested was almost negligible in sharp contrast to the whole and the extortion of the previous chief.
http://www.acsonline.org/factpack/bluewhl.htm
Helen's (Mrs. Earl George) second son, Billy George. Billy George changed his name to Billy Keitlah. Like his father before him, he works with the Coast Guard in Tofino. Billy Keitlah, Sr. passed on his seat to his son Billy Keitlah, Jr.

Next in the line of Kwat-sits-mak-nee (Sam in Craig, 1998:51)/a?ap-wa?i-k (Ah-up-wah-eek)(Jacobson, 1966) is a?-inêat (Ah-inchat: a person who is always being depended upon) who with his wife was slain at Atleo River for which there was massive retribution by his Tla-o-qui-aht wife's relatives. Ikiyas (Icatius: making a continuous sound, saying the same thing) provided his son, wi-kinaniš (Wickiminish) with motivation to become a great whaler. wi-kinaniš dies in an explosion without a male descendant when he and others were removing powder from an unexploded British Navy shell. N'uk"mis (Nook-mis) becomes chief after his brother's death. His son, Atliu, becomes is the last of the Ahousaht whalers in the traditional manner. He also works as a sealer on American schooners (possibly the Sapphire according to John Jacobson, 1966) sailing to Japan, the Bering Sea and down the coast of South American. 7ałyu (Atleo) becomes known as ki-sta (Keesta) in his later years. His son, šamakʷul (George Shamrock) drowns in Port Alberni in 1947. He is predeceased by his son, Eugene, who is lost with his seine boat in the fall of 1940 near Fair Harbor near Kyuquot. Eugene's brother Mark Atleo actively manages the seat for Eugene's son, E. Richard Atleo, as Richard pursues a career as an educator and educational administrator at the local, provincial and federal levels of government. In 1990, upon Richard's completion of a doctoral degree in educational administration, Mark hosted a potlatch in June of 1990 to officially recognize Richard's achievement. Richard was given the name, Umeek (Provider for the Community through the new technology of education). The elder son Shawn at that time received the name, Quees-i-hai-cheetl (Kwi'sa'Hichi'l - "Transforming
at Intervals" as per Golla, 2000:169) and Shawn's 14-year-old son is Tyson, C'ukʷ aa suktin. The younger son is Taras Quinn, N'in'iikʷiih (Hawk), whose infant son is Kʷin.

In December 2000, Umeek hosted a celebration at which three ceremonies were combined. The celebration begins on Friday night with the opening act of the Xukʷaana. The evening began with a light meal of soups and breads. Next the males and females were seated across from each other. The ritual activity then began in the Thunderbird Hall at which the qʷayac'iik threatened and the initiants disappeared. The following morning at day break the spiritual search for the initiants began with prayers and songs overlooking the beach. Qʷayac'iik became visible playing with what looked like skins, taunting the families. The families chose champions to wrestle with qʷayac'iik to get their children back. The dramatic scene took place on the beach when the tide was out. The champions defeated the qʷayac'iik and returned the lost ones to the families. The people who had been abducted were both of Umeek's sons, his grandson, his grand daughter and three other young women who were coming of age. The families were reunited in the hall at which the community made the announcement that it was time to rejoice since the children were back thanks to a concerted effort. That following all night celebration included Umeek's passing his seat to his son Shawn whose name was changed from Qʷees-i-hai-cheetl (transforming at intervals), to Aʔinčat (one on whom the people depend) to reflect his new roles and responsibilities. Other family members received who received names to mark the occasion were Tyson (C'akʷ aa suk'meeq), Taras (laa-maah-mit), Taras' wife Lorena (Suu-milth-uksa), Taras's son Kwin (Tsi-hati-is). Because the completion of the ictuula was included the girls sat on display to demonstrate their refined manners and then have their feet washed by the chiefs. Three of these young

71 Celebration is used here instead of potlatch to shift the focus onto the spiritual and social activity and away from the material aspects of the events.
women received names: Trudy Lynn Paul (Haiyu-peet-let), Alanda Atleo (Kee-yuuk-kin-ulth), and Courtenay Louie (Na-na-huum-yees). Tara Atleo, laa-laa-ik-nuk (generous hands), elected to keep her name because she felt that she was not finished achieving in that name. The families showed off their girls and with the chiefs participated in the festivities with songs, dances and special presentations. The celebrations concluded with the final a-give-away to remaining witnesses just before sunrise.

This provides an up to date summary of the three 7a-hu-s7ath (Ahousaht) lineages based on material provided by John Jacobson (1966), Sapir (1939), Sam (1993), family elders and my own records.

History of the Ahousaht Hisuk (spoil of war)

A defining event of 7a-hu-s7ath (Ahousaht) history was the ?ucu-s?ath (Ootshoosaht) war which lasted between 13 (Sam, 1993) and 15 years (Webster, 1983) years and took place in the early 1800's which created the configuration of Ahousaht territory and pattern of ha-hoo-thee that is referred to today. There are several written versions of this story by Earl George (1997), Stanley Sam (1993), Peter Webster (1983), Drucker (1951) and Arima (1983). The informants for the Drucker and the Arima version were Keesta Atleo and George Shamrock (Atleo), the great-grandfather and grandfather of Eugene Richard Atleo. The Ahousaht leadership recognized that they

72 Arima (1983) suggests that the informants, the head of the third Ahousaht lineage, Keesta Atleo and George Shamrock (Atleo) should have given more credit to the tactical efforts of Hayupinul, Quamina and the reluctant Moquinna, when they identify the root of the success as the advantage of muskets and steel knives. Keesta and Shamrock probably assumed the superior strategic skill of Ahousaht warriors which Arima would probably not. They identified that it was the new technology of war, the muskets and steel knives, that made the difference in this war against odds that included being outnumbered and having to take the fight into the enemy's territory. The Ahousahts were skilled at making alliances and optimizing situations in which alliances failed. The Ootshoosahats were geographically "sandwiched" between the Ahousahts to the south and seaward and the Moachahts to the north and landward. I would suggest that Keesta and Shamrock took the high caliber of the Ahousaht war ethnic for granted and merely noted
lacked sufficient access to salmon rivers to meet the needs of current populations. Consequently, they began the diplomatic process to gain access to "inside" resources by looking to their relatives through marriage, the 7uçu-s7ath (Ootshoosaht), who owned many salmon rivers. The second chief, ha-yu-pimu-I was married to the daughter of one of the chief's of 7uçu-s7ath (Ootshoosaht) so that there were expectations for reciprocities. Consequently, Ahousahts first looked to their relationships through marriage to access to these resources. As 7uçu-s7ath (Ootshoosahts) steadfastly refused to share inside resources with their relatives and after lengthy negotiations and escalating skirmishes, the Ahousahts began a war of attrition. The war lasted more than a decade (13-15 years). Because guns were now available, many people were killed and some Ootshoosahts fled the territory. Eventually, were destroyed as a political group. The territory gained extended from the beach just north of Catface Point (Che-taa-pee) north to Manhousaht Territory. The territory had been secured by the work of the war chiefs. According to Sam (1993) haw'il ha-yu-pimu-l and qamin-na were the leaders of this war. The spoils were initially distributed among those who participated (see Sam, 1993 for details).

The war had been costly for the Ahousahts. The war chiefs that were involved in the bloodshed wanted to distance themselves because of their relatives. The care taking of the Hisuk became the ha-hoo-thee of the lineage of a-?inčat who had died on the beach of Situkis (Atleo River). The Ahousahts settled at the Ootshoosaht village site, ma-qtusi-s (Maaqtusiis). At Maaqtusiis the people could live on the "outside" in the summer sheltered from the prevailing westerly winds. In the winter, the people moved what had tipped the scales strategically since they were fewer in number displaying their technical tactical focus, typical of the X'aa-?aas whaling tradition from which they stemmed.
"inside", into the natural harbor, sheltered from the southeastern storms of winter. 

*Maaqtusius* was a site where the people moved back and forth, inside and outside with the seasons. *Ahousahts* had acquired a strategic location that where the resource access strategy of moving inside and outside (*hilstiis/ħ'aa-ʔaas*) was embedded in the very geography of the place they occupied. They were positioned to maximize seasonally fluctuating resources and develop a more adaptive economic fit (see Dewhirst, 1982: archaeological evidence for "two-part geographical unit"). *Ahousaht* now had access to twenty-four salmon rivers, harvesting areas for camas, sedge, cedar bark, cedar trees, medicines, etc. as well as access to outside open ocean and beaches to harvest *ʔiihtuup*, seals, shellfish, herring, etc. The leadership of *Ahousaht* had secured resources for the people and a strategy to sustain its common utility it through the concept of *Hisuk* (territory gained with the war club).
Appendix D – Ha?w'iih: Securing, Creating and Sustaining

Ha?w'iih are charged to lead, provide, and look after their people. Using the Umeek narratives, Nelson Keitlah recalled that chiefs existed in a framework of belief...
inuh-ha?w'il-mistuk [which] means that the ha?w'iih go through the communication and connection with our creator was always very strong." In communion with the mind of the Creator, ha?w'iih are expected to have their fingers on the pulse of the people and the events of the day in the process of their provisioning. For major insights like whaling the process took months at a time, each time since the conditions changed. The process was labor intensive, difficult, solitary, required much self-sacrifice and was invisible until it was brought back to the community. Through this type of activity ha?w'iih were seen as mediators between the Creator and the provisioning of the community. Ha?w'iih were and still are expected to find solutions and model them in their lives, through their provisioning.

The Sacred Histories recount how Ahousaht ha?w'iih come from one origin in which the three houses work together to secure, create and sustain the membership. In this appendix the life careers of Tyee Earl Maquinna George and Umeek, Richard Atleo demonstrate in the ways that they have pursued this cultural task in contemporary times. Nelson Keitlah's biography and interview give some indication of another major public model in the line of Keitlah, the second Ahousaht seat that young Billy Keitlah Jr. now occupies.

Tyee Ha?w'il Earl Maquinna George.

In his autobiographical thesis Living on the edge: Nuu-chah-nulth history from an Ahousaht chief's perspective", the tyee ha?w'il, of Ahousaht, Chief Maquinna, Earl George, B.A., MA., provides us with a unique, situated Nuu-chah-nulth voice.
Maquinna's voice is clearly positioned, moving between sacred/historical and contemporary time in a typically Nuu-chah-nulth manner. Earl's story celebrates Nuu-chah-nulth culture, Ahousaht history and makes meaning of the many seemingly disparate aspects of the life of a First Nations person in contemporary society by continuous reference to history and tradition. Earl recounts the events of his life contextualized in the rich landscape of Nuu-chah-nulth myth, spirituality, ecological knowledge, history, work, social relations, changes in native/non-native relations, development of treaty and expectations for the future. At 72 years of age, Earl says, "Although there is no discipline in a university in living as a First Nation person, what I have is done some inquiry into my life to try and present something that will help others understand what it is like to be a native person, at this time, and what kind of things at least one of us thinks about" (George, 1997:43).

Earl was born in 1926, at Ahousaht/Maaqtusiis, on Flores Island, to MacPherson George and Mabel Davis of Ucluelet. His parents were Ahousaht Boarding School graduates and strong Christians. Although his parents still followed the seasonal round and lived in a big house, he did not. His mother died when he was two years old. Subsequently, he and his younger brother went to live at the residential school while his father worked in the fishing industry. While he stayed at residential school most of the time he had occasion to explore the beaches of the territory in the summer time and accompanied his father to Rivers Inlet to fish. When it came time to marry, his father and close relatives chose, Helen Benson, the daughter of the second chief, Keitlah to be his wife, to complement his high hereditary status. They had nine children. Helen passed away from muscular-dystrophy and pneumonia in the late 1970's.
In his master's thesis, Earl reflects on the changing economic activities in the Nuu-chah-nulth region beginning with the sealing and the manner in which the industry changed the Nuu-chah-nulth people. Nuu-chah-nulth people participated fully in international sealing until treaties curtailed them, limiting them to the local shorelines and with traditional methods. He uses sealing as an example of the government infringement on aboriginal rights to access resources in their own territories. The Kingfisher incident and the retaliation by the warship Sutledge with hostage taking of the young chief, Keitlah Mukum, are thus remarkable to Earl in the context of colonial encroachment Nuu-chah-nulth territory and rights. He compares the lack of respect to that continuing today through the corporations and governments. He is however heartened that through the Central Region Board and the Interim Measures agreement there is some recognition and some respect by which some authority over resources and land may be regained.

Earl provides rich, detailed recollections of the Ootshoosaht war based on his teachings from Peter Webster and John Jacobson to demonstrate how Ahousaht gained control if its territory. He describes Ootshoosaht as "unfriendly", keeping tight control over their territory that reached from the southern part of Catface Mountain to halfway between Hot Springs Cove and Hesquiaht. He describes the ambiguous start, escalation, and ensuing guerrilla warfare that lasted fifteen years. He describes the social conflict that taxed family loyalties for those that were intermarried with citing the decision of Maquinna at that time to stay neutral. But eventually, when Maquinna's younger brother was slain he could not hold back. For the remainder of the war he slew his share of the enemy. "The river and streams were divided among the victors. A large part of it was given to Maquinna as ha-hoo-thee. Maquinna took Megin Lake, Megin River, Shelter Inlet. I don't know when Atleo River became the ha-hoo-thee of Atliu, representing the Chief Richard Atleo now. But somehow that is how the division of property and land
were given including water rights, the foreshore rights, and offshore rights." (George, 1997:11).

*Oo-oo-tuh* (preparation for hunting) is an important theme for Earl. Hunting for *?iihtuup* and hunting for seals. While he never hunted *?iihtuup* he tells about his grandfather *Kista Atleo* as the third chief, a skilled spearer, and focuses on stories of *Kista's* and *Ahousaht Amos'* preparation for whaling and bringing home whales. He describes the preparation of the whalers, the whale that was hunted (*ma&ak*), the carving of and outfitting of an appropriate canoe, how the whales were killed, where they were towed, the place reception they received by the people and the great feast that was held when a whale was brought home. "Kista Atleo, my grandfather, become (sic) very wealthy, a famous, successful hunter and title holder to Bartlett Island, his place of preparing for the hunt of the giant whale" (George, 1997:15). He cites the names that came from this activity: *Atlieu* (cedar root rope), and *Chaquosoikmik* (the one that catches the whale) which were used by his good friend Mark Atleo. While he and Mark did not whale they hunted fur seal for food.

*Nuu-chah-nulth* were great hunters of *Ktlunoos*, fur seals. Earl recounts the sealing life of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* as they followed seal herds. The maritime fur seal economy changed the face of *Nuu-chah-nulth* society from Earl's perspective. Many young men went sealing. They were gone from the villages for long periods. Some made their fortune. Others never returned. Sealers brought wonderful new goods from far away. The killing methods were much more efficient that in the traditional manner of killing seals. And suddenly they were the subjects of an international treaty that saw their endangerment and closed down the sealing industry. Earl comments ironically that the
conservation of First Nations never became such a priority although their numbers were
doing down. Today young people could possibly not imagine such a life.

The changing landscape, Naa'sQa?itquisHicit, during the changing cycles of the
seasons speaks of changes in food availability, temperature fluctuations, wind patterns
and animal development. Tiskin, the Thunderbird, would be asked about the weather.
Understanding the weather was critical to life on the coast. He holds life in His hands.
The teachings about Tiskin are very sacred and fundamental to Nuu-chah-nulth spiritual
welfare.

Francis Charlie from the Kelsomaht who had no great streams of their own taught
Earl about the ice age that came to Ahousaht territory. It was a time where people
gathered together to fight the cold. Even enemies came together to try to survive. The
Thunderbird said: "Gather together and form nations so that you can help each other as in
times such as this." It was during this time that the Ahousaht confederacies were formed.
The song of Tiskin, the thunderbird, which is sung in the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council
is from that time.

In his oral history, Earl goes on to report his logging and fishing days in vivid
detail. Particularly the kindness of Adam Shewish, Tseshaht, who was a union
representative that helped Nuu-chah-nulth find work in the logging and pulp and paper
industry around Port Alberni. Earl worked as a whistle punk at Great Central Lake, on
the rigging on the American side and then after a stint in the army logged along the west
coast from Tahsis to Flores Island. He saw the logging techniques first hand, which is
why he rose to the protest of the logging of Atleo [River] and Shark Creek. He laments
the lot of Nuu-chah-nulth who went from being independent in their land to being
employees for large companies.
The final part of Earl's story begins with the Song of Tiskin who met with the two warriors (Betokamai and Totohsata) who prepared for two years at Bartlett Island to defeat Canakum (ka-naqam). It was the song that spelled defeat for the dictator. It is used by the Tribal Council in the fight with the colonizers today. The highlight of the last several years has been Earl's involvement with the treaty process. He finds that he can contribute because of his knowledge and experience. He comments on the changing face of the Framework Agreement (Treaty Process), the struggle for the Interim Measures Agreement in the face of continued encroachment, roadblocks over environmental issues, changes in the negotiation process to speed things up, and reflections as a hereditary chief sitting at the treaty table. And while there are many substantial issues to resolve he feels confident that the strong relationships within the Nuu-chah-nulth nations will serve well to complete the task in which he has participated. He feels that through his story he has revealed the interconnectedness of the reasons for his opinions that lie in the way we are all "on all sides of the same island." (p.43).

_Umeek, Richard Atleo._

_Umeek, E. R. Atleo, B.A, M.Ed., Ed.D, is the third ha?w'il of Ahousaht. He is the eldest of the youngest lineage of Ahousaht hereditary chiefs. While Richard Atleo has been interviewed for a variety of projects and directed the research of others, he has not written an oral history, as did Earl. Richard has maintained that hereditary chiefs historically did not speak of themselves but had speakers that spoke for them. Historically, the lives of chiefs were lived largely in the territory and the village. Today, lives are lived in the vast territory beyond the village and consequently the record of the activities and achievements of people are relatively inaccessible to official speakers who have little of the same experience and knowledge. Most of the information contained in this section is part of Richard's public record. With his authorization, I have included_
some personal information based on my knowledge of his activities and experience as his partner.

Eugene Richard was known as "Richard" since his father drowned and was not called Eugene. Anyone with the same name as the deceased gives up that name for another until the memorial ritual. The big house and Eugene Sr.'s worldly goods was left unused as the family mourned the loss of the young haʔwil who disappeared in the fall of 1940 near Fair Harbor during the fishing season. Shortly after the drowning, Luke, Richard's brother was born to their mother Elsie Little Atleo. Richard lived with his grandparents after his father died. As a child he ran from the porch of the house next to Sealion Rock to tupswees (morning dip in the salt water) in the mornings in anticipation of a life of preparation for the "hunt". Grandfather Shamrock, running the supply boat, M.V. Moyaha for the Gibson Bros. Logging Company, took the family, including Richard, up and down the west and east coast of the island and to the Mainland. A picture of Richard, Shamrock and Nan Margaret taken by Mark in Stanley Park in 1943 survives as a touching momento of the refitting of the Moyaha at Coal Harbor in Vancouver, British Columbia. It was on the same trip that they received a shot across the bow from the Royal Canadian Navy as they passed Victoria, British Columbia. They had no radio and thus could not respond to the command to halt as they came into the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The war was on after all. It was a memorable trip.

Richard has often talked about sitting with his grandfather Shamrock Atleo, Jack Benson, John Keitlah, Alfred Keitlah and others as they talked seriously about council business. As he grew older, his residence alternated between his mother's and his grandfather's house. When he was very young Shamrock took him out trolling for salmon and later on it was his paternal uncle, Mark, who took him fishing. Luke
Robinson, his stepfather, would take him hunting for mink when they lived on Nettle Island in Barclay Sound. When he was eight years old he was enrolled at Alberni Indian Residential School (AIRS) in Port Alberni. He spent twelve years attending AIRS under the guardianship of A.E. Caldwell, the principal. During the summers, Richard trolled and seined with either Luke Robinson or Mark Atleo. In 1959 he completed Grade Twelve at Alberni District High School in Port Alberni and entered the University of British Columbia that fall.

In the early 60's, as a university student, Richard traveled and become politically active in the Canadian Indian Youth Council (CYC). The CYC of the time included such notables as Harold Cardinal, Duke Redbird, Jeannette Corbiere, and Phil Fontaine. During the summers, Richard continued to troll or seine for salmon on the West Coast, in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, the Central Coast, and Johnson Straits. He logged at Lone Cone and Taylor River. Almost finished university, in 1966, he trained as a social worker and briefly practiced. Upon marrying Marilyn (Marlene) Fulber from Vancouver in the fall of 1966 and becoming a father to son, Shawn, in 1967, Richard returned to Ahousaht with his family for the summer fishing. The following year, he returned to UBC to complete his B.A. in English. Then he completed his professional year to qualify for his teaching certification. The Elders at the time said "Teachers" were needed. Had not the Ahousaht chiefs welcomed the missionary teachers into their big house and then later provided land for the Ahousaht Boarding School. Did not (Aunt) Flossie go all the way to Three Hills, Alberta for a "higher education"? By 1969, Richard was teaching in Bella Bella. In May, 1970, a son, Taras Quinn was born there in Waglisla.

In the spring of 1970, Richard and Marilyn billeted one of the superintendents attending a conference and celebrating the completion of the new gym in Bella Bella.
The DIAND official let slip that there were already plans with the band council to fade out the elementary school in *Ahousaht* in anticipation of the abandonment of the Maaqtusiis village site as part of the federal government relocation policy of remote First Nations. This policy was a response to the Hawthorne Report (1966), which suggested that day schools on reserve should be shut down, and children removed to attend provincial schools. Richard was outraged. He had not been consulted. He had not even heard about the plan. In *Ahousaht*, removing the children would eventually close down the reserve as a service and administrative center. Based on this policy, removal of First Nations people from traditional territories for more expedient servicing by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) was occurring all across Canada.\(^{73}\)

Amid much ado among the superintendents, Richard applied for the position of principal of the *Ahousaht* Indian Day school and was transferred. We were moved "Home" to *Maaqtusiis, Ahousaht*. Building on a legacy of educational support by the hereditary chiefs of *Ahousaht*, during his four-year tenure as principal, the school again became the heart of a re-vitalized community. Whole families returned with their children to repopulate the village. Ahousaht singers played the Victory Song as the first group graduated from grade seven. The *Parent Teacher Association* became a thriving organization that grew into the *Ahousaht Education Authority*. There was no further thought of relocating the people of *Ahousaht*.

In 1974, Richard returned to UBC to begin an unqualified year towards his Masters in Educational Administration. These studies included a practicum at Carson Graham High School where some of the students were from Squamish Nation. That fall, Shawn was *Kluu-kwana*, stepping into the name of his ancestor, *C'akw aa šuk'tin*, with

\(^{73}\) The legacy of this removal policy can be seen in the headlines of today with stories such as Davis Inlet and generations who are lost in a strange environment.

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promises of things to come. Richard's master's paper, *Indian Education*, was based in a Freirian (1970, 1973) perspective. Freire's perspectives fit well with Richard's own recognition of the oppressive political context, the need for political reform and consciousness raising required by First Nations people before meaningful change, before transcendence, could take place. He had not even been convocated but he moved the family to Ottawa where he became the Special Assistant to the Minister of Indian Affairs, Warren Allmand. As a government employee rather than political appointment, when the cabinet was shuffled and Allmand was no longer head of DIAND, Richard was on his way back to British Columbia. From 1978, Richard worked for DIAND at the BC regional level as an educational project officer specializing in curriculum development initiatives and building on reserve schools throughout the province. As the Assistant Superintendent of Education for B.C. Region he traveled the province extensively. In his work he could support the policy initiatives that promoted band controlled schools with local control of curriculum and administration.

By 1986, he returned to the University of British Columbia to take a Doctorate in Education which he completed in 1990. The dissertation: *Grade 12 Enrolments of Status Indians in British Columbia: 1949-1985*, combined historiography and a sophisticated statistical methodology to assess the progress that had been made in the grade twelve rates of First Nations graduation. The findings suggested a *Theory of Context* for Richard. First Nations students did not merely graduate "out of" high school but needed to be able to graduate "into" a socio-economic context that would receive them. Under conditions that were favorable socially and economically in which there was a lifting of oppression, advancement in First Nations graduation seemed assured. The solution again seemed to point to "the system", educational, societal, and economic. In the newspaper interview with the *Ha-shilth-sa* (June 10, 1990:3), the first aboriginal person from British
Columbia to graduate with a doctorate in educational administration, attributed his success to the teachings of his great-grandfather, Keesta, the whaler. Richard equated his educational achievements of three degrees with Keesta's whaling record of three whales.

After graduation, Richard worked for the Museum of Anthropology as a curator and taught as a sessional lecturer in anthropology. That spring, he was approached by the Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood of British Columbia (NBSBC) to develop a major educational research project. The three-year project was an opportunity to develop research capacity in the Brother and Sisterhood and also in the First Nations communities across the province. It was an opportunity to look at the "half full" glass of successes rather than the usual research about the "half empty" glass representing the "the drop outs". Richard's doctoral research had provided the background for understanding the many reasons that First Nations student drop in and out. It was time to see why they might be successful and stay in school so persistence could be supported and enhanced.

The province-wide NBSBC project trained home school coordinators from throughout the province to participate in this research. The research, using an interview method, examined the relationships between the child, the parents and the teachers as well as the child's self image in the context of First Nations and colonial history. The findings were optimistic, First Nations children were doing relatively well and those who were doing best were secure in their history and their families.

While participating with the NBSBC research, Richard also participated in an advisory capacity to work on the educational aspects of an urban First Nations Women's health initiative on cervical cancer (Hislop, et al., 1996) and then as co-chair on the Scientific Panel for Forestry Management in the Clayoquot Sound (Bunnell & Atleo, 1995). The Scientific Panel was a three-year project in which the participation of Nuu-
*chah-nulth* elders was a benchmark. *Hisuk-ish-tesa'walk* was articulated for the first time in English and the hereditary *Nuu-chah-nulth* management system of *ha-hoo-thee* was articulated in the context of watershed management. It was a landmark report that was acceptable to the scientific community, the environmentalists, the governments, the First Nations and industry. It was also time to bring *Ha?w'iiłmis* (chiefly interests, practices and concerns) into the Treaty Process rather than just providing a ritual frame for the process. At the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Tribal Council Annual General Meeting in Gold River, Richard suggested that the chiefs have a real interest in the outcome of this process as a moral right and duty. Subsequently an office that established such protocols was developed as part of the Tribal Council and treaty process. This office could oversee the protocol to *Ha-maat-sup* (formally reveal) the *Ha?w'iiłmis* (chiefly interests, practices and concerns) which would imbue the process with cultural meaning and legitimacy. By the time the Science Panel and the NBSBC were drawing to a close, Richard participated in a community consultative conference at Malaspina University College that involved significant participation by leadership from the Coastal communities about creating a First Nations degree program. In 1994, Richard moved to Nanaimo to become a founding instructor in the *First Nations Arts One* program at Malaspina University College. For the ensuing 5 years, Richard worked to develop the third year and fourth year courses of the First Nations BA program. He currently team-teaches the fourth year program: *Family and Community* and *Research Methods*. He is very proud of his graduates, many of them who serve in their communities and some who have gone on to graduate studies.

Since 1994, Richard has been a director in *Umeek* Human Resource Development Inc., a family business that develops and provides programming for capacity development in the First Nations community and to create aboriginal awareness for non-
native professionals. Richard delights in his immediate and extended family and their accomplishments. Grandson Tyson and granddaughter Tara are accomplished musicians, artists, craftspersons, academics and athletes as well as being personable, friendly and kind. Shawn has represented Richard at the Nuu-chah-nulth Treaty Table for five years. In 1999, when Shawn ran 400 km from Surrey to Ahousaht to raise money for the Ahousaht Canoe Quest, Richard ran with him for 17 km. In the winter of 2000, Richard passed his hereditary seat on to him. Son Taras completed his training as an electrician in the summer of 2000 and became a qualified journeyman by the end of the year to become the first Ahousaht electrician certified Canada wide. Richard has encouraged me and supported me through my undergraduate and graduate work. Richard is very aware of the many brothers and sisters, cousins, nieces, nephews and grandchildren that have taken the "harder way" and submitted themselves to the rigors of education as a means for Nuu-chah-nulth to continue to take their stand in history. Richard's publications in the areas of education, ecology, forestry and administration also express his perspective of a Nuu-chah-nulth ha?w'iih in this modern era.
Appendix E - More Stories about Umeek

In 1995, I, with my partner, Umeek, attended an inaugural gathering of Nuu-chah-nulth hereditary chiefs that was part of the official entry of the chiefs into the B.C. Treaty Process. We camped on the ancient village site at Yuquot that summer for several days of talks. Along the beach walk to the lake I picked evergreen huckleberries that were amazingly large, an indication that these bushes had been in production for many years. With ha?kum, I prepare wonderfully fresh sockeye salmon and picked blackberries for the dessert along the old village boardwalk. During that week the replica house posts were installed in the old church that had been converted to a tourism center. The MV Uchuck brought a boatload of visitors for the occasion. We fed the tourists that came for the filming of the dedication. Later we swam in the lake Curtis photographed (Curtis, 1916, p.10), the lake that had been home to the Whaler's Shrine of Yuquot (Jonaitis, 1999). I had heard stories of whalers and Umeek from Elders told in Nuu-chah-nulth communities from the 1960's to the present. Before I encountered the "ethnographic record" of these stories in the mid 70's. Consequently, reflecting on and understanding the orientations of individuals who have handled these narratives as ethnographers and researchers/interpreters is a part of the process of locating these narratives in socio-historical space.

The Ethnographers

"The Provider - Umeek" is a Nuu-chah-nulth narrative complex that has previously been identified as being stories wherein the ethnographic focus was on rivalry (Boas, 1921; Golla, 1988; Curtis, 1916; Sapir & Swadesh, 1939) between the major principals of the story. While "rivalry" may be a pervasive theme, the focus of this investigation entails looking at the story as a "device" of and about learning.
Consequently, of interest are the principles of learning by which the principals (re)orient themselves to new environmental resource structures to provide economic continuities for the community in the context of rivalry. Making features culturally salient in teaching stories or providing cues in story telling (Sarris, 1993) create heuristics that can be understood as orienting features or, as described in a cognitive developmental approach, features that point back to critical principles (Bickhard, 2000). These orienting features are from within cultural perspectives and reflect cultural ideologies. These orienting features then become critical principles that orient individual agency culturally.

Various versions of the story of "rivals who were whalers", told here as "Umeek Narratives", have been recorded during anthropological field trips to the Pacific Northwest in the first half of this century. Since "whaling" is a central Nuu-chah-nulth trope, stories about whaling are expected to yield ideological features of Nuu-chah-nulth culture. Understanding the interest of non-natives in the mythology and the material culture of Nuu-chah-nulth provides a glimpse into the movement between worldviews and ways of knowing.

Initially, the Umeek/Umiq stories came to light incidentally as part of the rush to collect the artifacts of the "dying" Northwest Coast culture and capture an understanding of the lifeways of disappearing inhabitants. The "phantasmagoric" Northwest Coast artifacts gathered by J. Adrian and Phillip Jacobsen and the Bella Coola Indians they brought to Berlin in 1885, captured the interest of Franz Boas (Cole, 1999). The effects of this on a young man, an educated, assimilated Jew, socioeconomically and intellectually alienated in a Bismarckian Germany of the late 1800's, who was already fascinated with Kulturegeschichte, (cultural history) are not to be underestimated. His imagination had already been captured by a German polar exploration when he was a
child (Cole, 1999). "[B]y a particular blend of opportunities and enticements, Boas was drawn to the Northwest Coast at the same time as he was concentrating increasingly upon anthropological problems." (Cole, 1999:97). When Boas set out to research his "Habilitation" thesis on the Eskimo he not only was freed from military service but found the opportunity to pursue Marie Krackowizer (the Jewish American woman he had met on a Harz mountain holiday) and career potential in the United States.

Between September, 1886 and January, 1887, Boas traveled the Northwest Coast collecting artifacts, linguistic and mythological materials from Victoria to Alert Bay, from Newetti to Quamichan, Comox and Nanaimo, then from the Salish and Squamish Salish. He focused on myths because he saw them as the key to distinguish and judge the relationships between the groups. He collected as many stories as he could...because they contributed useful information about religion and society...moreover, were often related to the masks, rattles, and other artifacts...and as a means of prompting some of his informants into storytelling." (Cole, 1999: 101). He was astute enough to establish his credibility in a reciprocal potlatch a Newitti. Boas knew how to please his hosts publicly even as he pilfered the skulls of their relatives on his 1886 trip to British Columbia (Cole, 1999:111).

Between 1889 and 1891, Boas was deeply involved in the anthropological investigation of the Northwest Coast. Under pressure from his funder, he reluctantly studied the Nootkan, in which he was not interested. He made his third trip to Alert Bay and the Kwakiutl from which he believed other First Nations cultures were derivative. It was at this time his working relationship began with George Hunt, the son of an English father and high-born Tlingit wife and the brother-in-law of Boas' old friend, Stephen A. Spencer, Alert Bay trader and cannery owner. This relationship was to prove
exceptionally rich and productive over the years as he found Hunt to be an excellent research assistant. Hunt was at that time 43 years old and well experienced as an interpreter having served government officials, missionaries and anthropological collectors since interpreting for the Royal Navy in 1877". (Cole, 1999:200). It was George Hunt who delivered many ethnographic riches to Boas, including narratives about whaling and the Mowachaht whaling shrine. Boas' search for "pure" Nuu-chah-nulth, untouched by Kwakwa'wakw or Euro-American influences ironically produced material from Yoquot/Friendly Cove, probably the village on the west coast most visited and settled by the Spanish and the English from Perez' 1774 visit onward and which had a flourishing history of trade and marital alliances with the Kwakwa'wakw over the oolican grease trail from Nimpkish Lake to the inlets at Tahsis. In this hybridy who but Hunt could translate these riches from the local into the global economy?

George Hunt was instrumental in gathering stories for Franz Boas from 1891 onwards that included stories of whalers (Cole, 1999). Hunt purchased Nuu-chah-nulth cultural material for Boas, including the whaling shrine in 1904 (Jonaitis, 1999). This whaling shrine was secretly purchased from the first and second Mowachaht chiefs and shipped by Hunt to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City when the Mowachaht were away sealing in the Bering Sea. (Jonaitis, 1999). The inventory of the shrine included both physical and narrative artifacts since the purchase came complete with three narratives: the History of töwek; Who Married plespiatsEgWEM, the Wolf-Mother (see: Appendix C: Jonaitis, 1999: 172-179; Hunt manuscript, Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 393-419); the History of the Ts'laqwen Tribe of Motslat (see: Appendix D: Jonaitis, 1999:180-187; Hunt manuscript, Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 419-38); and Whalers' Prayers to the Four Chiefs (see: Appendix E: Jonaitis, 1999:188-195; Hunt manuscript, Franz Boas
Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 439-55). The story provides a cultural context in which to make sense of the origin and the method by which power was crystallized in the *university* of the whaling shrine. The story provides a sort of *curriculum* for whaling in which hunting and sexuality are ritually framed in the creation of knowledge and power. Based on the stories a summary procedure would be: find an unlovely, focused, disciplined woman with her own refined upbringing (including the ability to be sexually continent) and personal power who is proficient in whaling ritual as well as producing and rearing special sons.

The next story describes the procedure of how to *ooosunch*. And the final story describes the organization and sources of power: as he is washing systematically with eight batches of hemlock branches, cedar branches, fern-stems and flag-grass, he moves into the house to call upon those who manage the world he seeks whales from: the Chief of Heaven, the Great Chief of the Sea, the Chief of the Wolves and Mountains, the Chief of the North and the South. He then speaks to the models of the whales and sends them out as spiritual "decoys". He next calls upon his grandfathers who went before him for their strength, and then his father's spirit as he uses his mummified body to take him through the ritual. Likewise, he asks his mother for breath, enacts the capturing of the whale and then finishes by singing his grandfather's secret songs. These stories maybe seen as the "software" or heuristics to accompany the "hardware" of the whaling shrine. Hunt had purchased a very complete package that Boas envisioned putting on display.

Boas had enthusiastically purchased the whaling shrine in 1904 for the American Museum of Natural History in New York City to become a showcase for research and education about Northwest Coast culture. His resignation entombed the shrine in the institutional walls of the museum since it did not pique the interest of his successor
In 1909, the shrine was assembled and photographed in a non-public display. Then in 1941, a model of the shrine was made to display in the Nootka section. In 1960, 1970-72, figures from the whaler's shrine were displayed against a pictoral background of the whaling shrine in the American Museum and the Whitney Museum. In 1988, at the Smithsonian Institution, some of the figures and a whale were displayed in an exhibition of Alaska and Siberia, Crossroads of Continents (Jonaitis, 1999:11). Bill Holm had selected the figures which were to be included based on the premise that the Nootkan (Nuu-chah-nulth) whaling complex (according to Lantis, 1938) was similar to Alaskan whaling complexes (Jonaitis, 1999: 14).

The 1988 display was significant because it situated Nuu-chah-nulth whaling in the context of North American whaling based on Lantis' theory (1938). She suggested that there were many parallels in ritual whaling practices from northern Washington State across the Arctic to Greenland. She categorized thirty-two cultural elements from twenty-six groups which she classified into four major categories: 1) "prerogatives and honors accorded the whalers and to their secret knowledge and appurtenances which contributed to their power and honor" (1938:438); 2) "special behavior with a magical basis carried out just before and during the hunt, with the intention of facilitation of a successful hunt" (1938: 438); 3) "dancing, singing, feasting and solemn rituals following the bringing in of the whale, which were apparently intended to honor the whale as well as the whalers" (1938:438), and 4) belief in the transformation of animals across elemental domains (e.g., wolf into whale). The Whaling Shrine fit into Lantis' categories of whaling and consequently fit into the whaling exhibit.

However, after 1904, the Whaling Shrine, Hunt's self-proclaimed "most important purchase" essentially disappeared. While Boas had a clear vision for the shrine, once he
moved from that position, there was a deafening silence. He did not publish anything about it until 1930. It is no wonder that Hunt probably accommodates Curtis by 1914, providing him with an English version of a story of Umeek/Umiq about a Clayoquot chief and insight into the Nuu-chah-nulth whaling shrine which Curtis uses as a spectacular if out of place element in his Kwakwaka'wakw commercial film: *In the Land of the Head-Hunters*. This film was re-released as *In the Land of the War Canoes* in 1973. Curtis' (1916) version of the Umeek Narrative is attributed to the Kwakwaka'wakw and English speaking Hunt whose work is critiqued by Sapir to Boas (Cole, 1999).

Boas' (1858-1942) account reflects his chief interest in issues about human perception (Darcy, 1987) and ear for nuances of language (Cole, 1999). By 1939, Edward Sapir, Morris Swadesh and Alec Thomas had also recorded a version of a story of Umeek/Umiq in English and Tseshah, a southern dialect of Nuu-chah-nulth. Boas started the work, then came his student, Sapir, a linguist, and next Swadesh, Sapir's student, also a linguist (Cole, 1999). Boas, Sapir and Swadesh, were all of German-Jewish descent, minimally trilingual, who brought a wealth of cultural history to their study of Nuu-chah-nulth cultural and language. Consistent with Boas' belief in the centrality of stories and Sapir’s philosophy that a large body of cultural narratives must be gathered as data, they began the work of finding the systems and patterns that the culture hid (Mandelbaum, 1985). Sapir and Swadesh produced the “Nootkan texts” based on their work in the Alberni Canal, a small part of the Nuu-chah-nulth territory which in whole ranges from Cape Flattery on the American side where the Makah live to Cape Scott on northern Vancouver Island were the Kyoquot live.

The version that Curtis (1916) wrote, illustrated and published, served to popularize the story which is used as the central core of the Umeek Narratives. Curtis
was in the main a photographer who captured the visual images of Native peoples of America with his camera. Curtis (1916) situates his work historically and internationally by citing the events surrounding the "Nootka Treaty" of 1795 whereby Spain ceded her claims to Nootka to the British Crown after 21 years of international controversy and intrigue. Curtis was not averse to "staging" his productions to make them look more authentic because he was trying to portray Native American people the way they "were" before rather than in the state in which he found them. For example, Nuu-chah-nulth people in Curtis' photographs were clearly posing since it is not likely that the whalers would allow him to photograph them in "secret" ritual. The technology of photography at that time was cumbersome and time consuming and thus required high levels of cooperation of the subjects which was usually achieved by the purchase of their time. 

Ahousaht Gloria Jean Frank (2000) notes that in local oral history some of the people recall stories about their relatives posing for Curtis because he was offering more than the going rate at the local cannery.

The Novel and Study Guide

In 1962, Curtis' story was once again popularized, this time by Roderick Haig-Brown who wrote the book, The Whale People for which he received a Canadian Literature Award in 1964. Haig-Brown was a writer, naturalist, and magistrate living in Campbell River. The area in which he lived is the traditional territory of several major Kwakwakawakw villages. Haig-Brown's children had gone to school with aboriginal children. At the time of Haig-Brown's writing, his son Alan had married the daughter of

74 Drucker (1965) produced his own synthetic story "based on several accounts of whale hunts by various Nootkan informants, not a single verbatim account." (p. 132-144) The narrative, Mokwina and the Noble Lady, while seemingly accurate technically is, like Haig-Brown's, confounded by geography and storylines so that the thread is very linear and textual in its outcome and culturally de-contextualized.

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the prominent Chief Assu, a successful fisherman from Cape Mudge. As with his understanding of environmental issues, Roderick Haig-Brown's experience with First Nations people was expressed through his writing. A book permitted an intimate, fictional exploration of the lives and culture of aboriginal people based in the authority of the works of Curtis (1916), Drucker (1951), Densmore, 1939), and Waterman (1955) as well as his own personal experience.

While Haig-Brown's story is a splendid animation of the natural surroundings, the substance of the cultural text is transformed into a "Bildungs roman" about the young chief becoming a whaler. In the process, Haig-Brown fictionalizes the names and confounds the social structure so that they are unrecognizable as Nuu-chah-nulth. It becomes the case of generic "Indians" living on the west coast doing "generic" Indian things. The book was promoted in schools during a time when there were very few books written about the aboriginal people of the West Coast.

By 1971, the Haig-Brown's book had been picked up by Learning Concepts Ltd., as part of the *Encounter Series* edited by Donald G. Rutledge, M.A., Director, of the Language Study Center of the Toronto Board of Education. This series was a collection of novels set in Canada and the biographies of famous Canadians. The series was based on the "...belief that Canadian culture, history and personalities have not been made sufficiently vivid and compelling to young Canadians." (1971:1)

This series included study materials for the classroom designed by "leading Canadian educators". (1972:1). In this case the educator was Julia Gibson, a young

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woman from the West Coast teaching in Toronto. In her "Note about the Author" (1972:185), Gibson indicates that she had met Roderick Haig-Brown during a visit to his home and that she enjoyed his other books, *Saltwater Summer* and *Starbuck Valley Winter* because the stories allowed her glimpses into the world of the male activities of trapping and fishing in which she could not participate (because she was a girl) but which fascinated her. *The Whale People* held the same fascination for her because it was about "what it is to grow up, to test oneself and to become a man" (1972:185).

The twenty-two chapters of the story organize Gibson's study guide. The progression of the novel is a very episodic sequence of the adventures of "two West Coast Indian boys", a chief-in-training and his slave. It recounts their adventures through the early part of their life career from fishing for salmon as part of socialization into hunting roles, to an elaborate plan to win the hand of the daughter of a highly respected chief to be his partner. Although most chapters have several questions, the seventeenth chapter, *The New Whaling Chief*, has none. The forty-nine questions are designed to probe the story in a deductive analysis of questions and answers. Additionally, there are eight questions requiring more extensive analysis or projects.

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76 In a telephone interview with me Julia explained that she had completed her teaching certification at the University of London and then a Masters degree in linguistics at the University of Michigan. After teaching in Winnipeg she had moved to Ontario to teach in Toronto. Julia spent her early childhood in the Ahousaht and Tofino area in Clayoquot Sound where the story was to have taken place and where she had spent time among the people which the story was suppose to portray. Julia's father, Jack Gibson, was the MP from Comox-Alberni, British Columbia which included the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Julia's paternal grandparents were the Gibsons who had the General Store and a mill at Ahousaht near Maaqtusiis between 1918 – 1938 (Gibson, 1980). Her mother, Patricia, was the daughter of A.E. Caldwell, who was first the principal, of the *Ahousaht* Boarding School and then principal of the Alberni Residential School in Port Alberni. (The property on which the Ahousaht Boarding School was located had been a sockeye lake that was drained for its agricultural potential. It is now referred to by its legal description, Lot 363, and has been recently returned to the *Ahousaht* First Nation (Earl George, personal communication).)
Gibson frames the story as being about "the education of Atlin" in the first questions and asks students to compare their experience with his. Next, the students are asked to examine what has produced Atlin's success, and distinguish between types of "spirit" helpers. Exploring the world and ways of whales is a project suggestion. Burial and marital customs are the topic of the fourth and fifth questions. Learning about rituals, particularly the Cannibal Society is the sixth recommended activity. Learning about canoes is the seventh suggested activity. Learning about the annual activities of the Hotsath Indians by constructing a mobile is the final recommendation. Further recommendations include contacting the governmental associations (DIAND), friendship center associations or directly contacting the elected chief of a nearby reserve. Films about and by aboriginal people are recommended as well as some documentaries that might aid in classroom discussions.

Roderick Haig-Brown turns the traditional story of The First Whaler, stripped of its cultural logic, into the story of The First Whale in The Whale People. A story of cultural transformation was turned into the education of an individual in the form of a Bildungs roman. The study guide provides standard literary analytic cues. Haig-Brown's novel, the rationale for the Encounter Series and Gibson's study guide situate this book squarely in the pre-multiculturalism, pre-Red Paper, assimilationist educational space of its day. While both Haig-Brown and Gibson seem to bring some experience and sensitivity to their subject, their sensibilities are oriented to bringing the story into a non-native cultural space, they can do nothing else. That this is achieved can be seen by the way the action of the story is moved across cultural boundaries to where the distinguishing cultural features of the Nootkan are stripped away that he might be recognizable as Canadian and yet remain sufficiently vivid and compelling to appeal to
young Canadians. The appeal is achieved through exotification by such suggestions as researching the "Cannibal Society".

Understanding the social re-construction of Roderick Haig-Brown's work and the curriculum niche that it fills is problematic from a Nuu-chah-nulth perspective because the story is central to a Nuu-chah-nulth construction of learning. It is possible that this narrative complex includes a portion of mythology that may include aspects of the origin myth of a Mnuachat lineage from Nootka Sound (Marshall, 1993). The traditional narratives are alive and situated. There are people who today animate the names of the story from a range of sensibilities. Some of these people animate the names using mythic thinking. Nuu-chah-nulth names are the sum total of the people who have lived in those names and made them great. To confound them disempowers them. Nuu-chah-nulth ritual names empower and are in turn empowered by symbolic cultural capital in a cycle of production in which symbols mirror themselves in people, places, stories, material production and process over time in a continuous dialectic. This dialectic is possibly made manifest most dramatically in the art of the Northwest Coast. The transformational process is made manifest in stories, masks, dances, songs, names, curtains, and shawls.

The power of symbols are used in everyday life it may be in the name of a fish boat which is about the “process of providing”. Therefore capturing mythic sensibilities, Nuu-chah-nulth applications of symbolic cultural capital is so concretizing that it immobilizes the transformational process. Conceptualizing perceptions takes them out of the body, out of the listening/hearing/feeling mode and into the abstractions of "thinking" and then into the written form of the text. And while contrary to Ong (1982), both textual and oral sensibilities can co-exist, reframing such stories in a Canadian Encounter Series framework, culturally negates and subverts the possibility of transformation because the dialectic has been disrupted.
Appendix F - Interviews with Nuu-chah-nulth Elders.

The collaborative interviews with Nelson Keitlah, Trudy and Edwin Frank, Elsie Robinson and Louie Joseph are presented here in narrative form. These four collaborative interviews vary in style to more accurately provide the unique interactional nature of each and a textual record of the oral interviews.

Nelson Keitlah

My conversation with Nelson Keitlah took place on October 28, 1999, in his office in the administration building of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, Port Alberni, B.C. where he is currently Central Region Co-chair of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council.77

In response to the question have you ever heard these stories before, Nelson confirmed that he had read the stories I had given him, but that while "I have heard some whaling stories, but not, not too the full extent on Omeek (Umik, Umeek)". I explained that I was calling them "Umeek Narratives" because I was interested in the learning that took place, first with Umeek and then with the rest of the characters in the enterprise of whaling. This flagged the issue of names in the story for Nelson. It particularly flagged the problem of written Nuu-chah-nulth words, how they were pronounced, the fact that I couldn't pronounce them accurately or match them with the spelling used by Curtis.

77I told Nelson that I was nervous about the interview because I was not confident about the recording equipment. We began by talking about family and health. He was interrupted by a page and then asked the switchboard to hold calls so that we would be uninterrupted.
Nelson raised the example of *mukwánhl*\(^78\). I attempt a pronunciation, *muk-waahnhl*, promptly providing another word that I could pronounce and we both knew, *kista*, for a comparative example of my take on the pronunciation. Nelson came back by recognizing *Mook-wah-nulth* as a stone. *Stone* being the explicit aspect of the implicit context or meaning of this implement. Our combined tentativeness about the pronunciation of Curtis' orthography led us into a discussion about the names. Nelson asked about the pronunciations but we were not able to clarify the pronunciations.

Nelson and I labored to make sense of the names: *Tséihwot...Tsatsotatlmé...*

*Oyephl*. We both tried to pronounce the names. I mention that I had asked Barney Williams about the name *Oyephl* to which Barney had replied that it had something to do with "with following in the footsteps of the ancestor or the one before you...its like doing what the person did before you" Nelson thinks of a possible connection if *Oyephl*...has to do with *catching* (a whale). I provide a rationale that combines Barney's and Nelson's elaboration of the concept of the name and why it could be associated with *catching it like his father*. We move into a discussion of words, specifically *ma-mook* as I tell him of my studies of the word. He agrees that the word is "...its much broader than the English".

We continue to discuss the names that have meanings or messages that say something about the individual. I note that *Tséitlas* is called a *spy* by Curtis but that Barney (Williams) said that those words are contextualized and so as a potlatch guest called by the chief he could be called a *spy* or a *witness* depending upon ones perspective.

\(^{78}\)This difficulty in understanding the pronunciation could additionally be a dialect problem since the Curtis story came from the northern *Nuu-chah-nulth* region or it could have been a problem of translation problem since Hunt did not speak *Nuu-chah-nulth* fluently and the stories came were from the *Moachaht/Muchlaht* dialect of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*.
and possibly his motivation. The name that was most familiar to Nelson was *Tsäh-wa-sip*. Nelson said, "I understood *Tsäh-wa-sip*. *Tsäh-walk* is of course ...of course "one"... meaning that "he does it one at a time"... *Tsäh-wa-sip*. When I asked if it was associated with *catching* something he replied, "...this is again... *Tsa-wa-dom-up*... where you catch one at a time".

Understanding *Tséihsot* was more of a problem. In Nelson's opinion, "...since it was recorded in 1913, what's happening here is that we have lost some of our deeper meaning language, we speak quite differently... now then even my dad, there seemed to be another level, where we could compare to grades or university... and high school... that's the difference of the language... where some people can speak part and capture [in part] but in large, you know, that we have lost that high degree of where, where orators had so obviously [excelled] and in our culture... there is one that constantly fascinated me... the word *Yaa-uuck*... *Yaa-uuck*, means affection and love towards [a] person... and *Yaa-uuck* again is hurt... you hear all these songs today about love and hurt... and yet we, *Nuu-chah-nulth* have the same word... [for both] and I think that a relative of this is that they knew that it was separated by a hair".

I concurred with him about his observations of the loss of language speakers because I was familiar with the Elders to whom he was referring. Their cultural confidence and complexity was also my experience. This fits with Nelson's observation that, "...to throw ourselves back to the time that this man had been writing this... the times and the... he just put it down the way he heard it and we are just trying to decipher it now and to read meaning into [it]... that is very much like what we are going through with artifacts and museum negotiations that are presently being carried on by *Nuu-chah-nulth* that the *maamulthnee* have the objects and what they call the artifacts, and, eh, but we
have the history, we have the stories... so we're trying to negotiate, ... when are elders say 'Get that back for us.' ... some of it is stolen objects... unfortunately, and some have been bought at the time that these became objects of very little value when the issue of outlawing potlatch and what not, that's unfortunately the aftermath of what it had done to people... that, again, they put very little... maybe sell it... this guy's offering me... you know, a couple hundred bucks and, and I can't do it any more anyway and my people do not recognize me anyway, anymore... so there was a very demoralizing kind of part of our history where that was done... and so what we now have... the federal people have over a thousand pieces in Ottawa, and over here there is the same amount, in Victoria, and collectors all around the world.

Nelson, who is actively involved in treaty negotiations, talks about repatriation as "just gathering the destruction, the whole social crumbling, disintegrating that held together for thousands of years...". He was pleased with the way two young people from Ahousaht came to interview him as part of gathering in the information to promote the interests of Ahousaht for the treaty negotiations. He feels that the history of Ahousaht needs to be rebuilt, gathering in the culture and language so that the younger people know what a proud history they come from. He feels that since we know how important it is to have a documented historical record, we need to put it together which means the stories that are being gathered.

79 Atleo, E. R. (1991) examines the historical roots of museology in the context of colonial pressures and expounds standards based in modern consumer law for "a reasonable, verifiable repatriation claim" to promote respect and opportunity for healing. (p. 58)

80 Nelson is deeply involved in the negotiations for the repatriation for Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts in museums all over the world. He had heard that Richard and I had been to Berlin to look at the pieces that had been returned from the USSR recently and suggested that we work on the repatriation of artifacts from our lineage.
Nelson confirmed that in his view the stories that had been gathered in ethnographies, like the artifacts sitting in the museums, must be repatriated and brought back to *Nuu-chah-nulth* who alone could breathe life into them. The question about *learning* naturally followed when I asked him if he had any observations about traditional ways of learning. His observation was quickly directed to the aspect of the story about, *Oyephl*, who was socialized into the traditions of his father.

Nelson points to the early socialization of the son of *Umeek*, *Oyephl*, "...the part about the young man, the son...there is a story we are bringing up...that is illustrated...because the very early stages of bringing up a person such as the son of *Umeek* in this story where he had gotten [an] early kind of training and instructions, if I may term it that way, he indicates our ways and our traditions of how a young man such as he would be treated very differently because he was of chieftain rank...that there was always this greatness of our culture of recognizing and depending upon our grandparents a great deal to do that...you see the training of him at the lake to use boughs what ever he needed...some families had entirely a different mix in how they prepared...in dealing with what their objectives where...and the power of cleansing...in all our great stories that is connected to great people in whaling...the connection with rivers...strong connection with salt water...the ritual of being clean in your body and in your soul...is of utmost importance in these stories...never have we heard...'its alright to be dirty', 'its alright to be uncaring', absolute opposite, in great stories of people of great stature...its always implied the recognition, of preparedness...respect, *essak*, towards others, the training that way...the great training of grandparents of prevention...you know, the whole cultural structure of this is prevention...right from the [time]...when a baby was just...and also we hear about prior [to] being born...the prevention in this is through the loving care, the feeling of secureness, in the grandparents...that's why they were of such
great importance to the issue of elders...that the training and the loving care that they put onto the young ones...for us to try and understand where people were preparing for such [a] huge undertaking...[a] whale was the issue of the day...and when we see a story illustrated...saying...‘Praying to the whale’...maamulthnee may immediately say...‘I heard about these people...praying to trees, praying to different (things), praying to the southwind and the moon’...even the Kwaa-yaat-tseek...which is a total misunderstanding...the total misconception, of how cultures, how our people had lived, dealing with grief, joy, just the goodness of sharing...this is very important in our history...where people had...great respect for ?iiychtup ...and I will tend to tell a little story as short as I can that’s dealing with our family, Keitlah, the family that I come from...was a song, that we know sing in our great potlatches, when Keitlah wants to participate and also give whatever he has in mind”.

In a most traditional manner, Nelson expresses himself on the topic of life and learning by telling a story that is a product of his history, celebrated through the songs that he sings and dances of his family which he uses as a teaching for us so that we might learn.

"[T]he story starts out with two young men that had married the same woman...(not a profound thing...by any stretch of the imagination...but that is the way things were)...so one day they [the men] went out...they liked to be together...they went out, they went out in a canoe...and they saw this whale...[it was] what we call hoo-mee, dead in the water...just outside of Ahousaht...and they went near it...and as soon as the principal person in this story, got on, (he was going to climb on the whale and identify it that it was found [to claim it for food for the village])...but as soon as he stepped on the whale, his partner pushed out...he [his partner] pushed out and he went home...he never
said a word, he never looked back once... the man [on the whale] wondered what he was going to do... so in the end, he had a knife with him, [he had a sharp object with him, made out of shell, and] he cut a spot in there... right at the hump of the whale where it is highest coming out of the water, he was able to cut it... he was able to cut it so that he could put himself inside... and just his head was showing, and he was on there for some time and at night he could hear... he could hear the spirit of the whale singing... singing this song that we now sing and shared with the Makah... the Green family... I've heard them, [sounding] quite different but you could hear the foundation of the song was there... so that was one area of what happened, where the song was gotten from... and how it was gotten...

"[And] the conclusion of this little story... [is] that they [the man that drifted in the whale] was found in a place called Quinn-yuu-chus, just on this side of Cape Scott... at the end of the island, Quinn-yuu-chus, and there was [a] people living there... the whale drifted ashore... they were afraid of him for a while because all he had was his head showing\(^1\), pretty well, and finally they did come to him and they communicated and they had a great feast... [He told them] why he was on the whale... he was there at [Quinn-yuu-chus] a year... amongst those people, amongst the people that rescued him... finally he went back to Ahousaht where he was a principal chief there... and he seen that his wife was there still, still waiting for him... she hadn't done anything about [officially] getting with another man"

"So his father told him... (this story is quite long... but I'll pick out where we can take short cuts and put meaning into this)... his father advised him and he said 'you know,

\(^1\) Jonaitis (1999) cites a story among the northern Nuu-chah-nulth about a whale with a man's head sticking out of it which caused great consternation. This might refer to Nelson's story form the perspective of those from Quinn-yuu-chus.
son, you know, one day that man that had done you wrong and had left you on the whale for you to die, he is going to come back, you go start preparing yourself…go to where you went, you know, when I used to bring you, you seen what your dad, was his spot, place of ritual, again connected with having your body clean… and he used to go up there and pray to Hawith, that’s who we pray to, our Hawith, that’s a daily ritual for our people… in our, in what we do to ask for guidance from our creator, so we may thank him for life first, for what he has given you, that’s the first part of what you do, appreciation of life… never demanding, never demanding and say why did you do this to me or why don’t you give me this… I surely deserve it… that is not within us… what we do when we are seriously praying for an event in our life that will mark something significant, such as catching a whale, what this young boy was preparing himself to do."

Well, "…the end of that story was that eventually that man [who had set him adrift on the whale] did befriend him, they became friends again, but he [the returned] always had it in his heart that there was this between him, but it seems that the other guy became quite trusting towards him again… and they did go out one day again, same thing… and the man wanted to get off to see an island to see if there were any haay’istuup [black chitons]… got off and looked… and he said, ‘Well, you [are] do[ing] the same I did…… at least you survived.’ … so he [the survivor] left him and that’s the last time they seen him."

Nelson goes on to say that "… even though our ways are not vengeful… even though we come from a history of turmoil and conflicts, we were always in existence, fighting for territories… and what was very much part of our people also… but they were also very, very generous. and god fearing people that we come from… the whale has always been an epic, I am sure in the stories of Nuu-chah-nulth… not to mention why its
I asked if these were such great histories, why does the fellow (Umeek) that gets this new way of bringing plenty to the people have to get killed? Nelson agreed that "it's not a common story...[compared to] what we read today [where] the hero ends up holding and capturing the young lady or capturing the respect of the entire nation...it's not...it seems to be gruesome reason in this...it doesn't always happen the way you want it to happen...in the usual romanticism that we involve ourselves in when we are reading something in a book...where the ending is of both of these in spite of their goodness, in spite of that they're both stand on goodness and where that way and still their demise was still the same."

As we ruminate on who stays alive and who dies, Nelson says, "but, the story in there [Umeek Narratives]...I could hear [it]...[it] rang some bells, of my grandpa and my grandma...who was a sister of Keesta...[who was] married [to] chief Keitlah...and that's all his name...Chief Keitlah...that was his what you would call, Christian name...and the stories that she had of evening...was when these stories were very much alive...very much alive in a young man's imagination."

I comment that the story seems to illustrate a dangerous time. To which he replied "or it could be [a] very exciting, challenging time[s]...you know what you said when you first came in here about nobody seems to really care about health...but you must not forget what you say now about the transition...where the dependency on our natural medicines, natural people that knew, and were knowledgeable and knew how to

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82 Prior to the interview we had been talking about the lack of health programming that reflected Nuu-chah-nulth values and culture.
use these is...you can count them on one hand...the ones that know some of the answers that we seek in life...and again the unfortunate [thing is], what I earlier implied about the change taking place, but perhaps...the questions of...why did this happen to us...maybe the idea would be,[of] where could we now start to make the necessary changes that has to take place so that again we can build ourselves...nation building is not easy when we come from where we were...and where it affects the very deep soul of a person, where that culture and the practices and the tender care is no longer, unfortunately...its far and between now and some don't even feel it when they are growing up...our Quaa-goots...so these are things that we need to recognize that any meaningful change within a nation is going to take generations...of people...even what I see, Anne Atleo, academically trained and the other young person that was with her (on a recent visit to interview him about traditional territory)...to recognize what I am seeing in potential and what I see in the people that also respect [of] what we are...there was a time when this was so vague and obscure now about ownership about a chieftain's seat...even ha?w'iih became terrible....horrible...which was our own doing...it cannot be blamed on anyone, absolutely...and, but the parts of where we can now rebuild...what we can rebuild...and what it is that is capturing, the important issue of the day...we immediately talk about economics...and, we call its wee-tsee-utskee when we talk about the wealth, and meaning two very different things...where wealth could be totally materialistic, wealth of a person, kind of westernized way of looking at a successful person, where wee-tsee-utskee in Ahousaht, means a person that is also wealthy in a very different way of having respect and essak, having that from the people...the recognition of that was one of the things in our culture, illustrated and indicated by the great feasts that the chiefs held and called other nations together...simply basing the whole thing on either naming my oldest son, but the whole purpose of this was the name, Keitlah, Atleo, Maquinna...so
[that] the name again would be in a respectful place where it should be, but that's the way it was done."

I ask him about what it is that we could come away with from this story. Nelson replies that "...the substance of what we see and what is important surely isn't the hero that we want so much to have in our thoughts...its something...that the unexpected...you would think that in the normal course of stories that young Umeek's philosophy would be...the hero of the day and revenge...but its not the way things happened...but the eventual changing and maybe when you connect this up with the stories from the Good Book where the Creator will do this and will choose, what it is that he may use in what he has to do in correcting...because this also exists within the framework of belief...inuh-hawiih-mistuk means that the ha?w’iih go through the communication and connection with our creator was always very strong."

This brought us to my final question about how those stories and ways of learning that we find here and some of the knowledge we get when we look at these stories, how can that be used in Nuu-chah-nulth learning in schools, see usually we got these learnings/teachings at home...with relatives and very often they were confined to a circle of relatives...they are often not stories that everybody knows...can they be useful in the public...because that is what we are talking about when we talk public education...

Nelson sounds very confident when he replies, "...you can't underestimate the power of what we are trying to illustrate...for public knowledge and for public schools, which is in itself in a period of change...never have we experienced the direct vision we now have...that culture, the Qu'aas, they do have something, maamulthnee (non-natives), the larger society is saying, even though the transition is, what is it two hundred years ago since...so the passage of time and also the degree of understanding that we have received
from *mamulthnee* is also recognizable now, is starting to take shape and also our understanding... the educational sense is... the whole idea of giving... *Kleet-zu*... all has to be put into a wall of understanding... and *Nuu-chithl* is another meaning... they are all different levels of what we did in our times... and why it was done... the way grief was handled... that there was in a way a public kind of announcement... even though you would never forget a loved one... but its still recognizing that person, maybe perhaps... and, so I think you know... for one to, which you had earlier mentioned, that it may be something of where we can grab it and make it a tool of understanding... an unusual way of how time advances the senses of time towards *Qu'aas*... because we don't share the sense of time as... the clock kind of controls us in some way now... we have of course, names for the time of the day but not a controlling factor."

Technical difficulties ended the recording at this point as I attempted to probe more specifically into his vision of how stories could be a part of learning. However, based on notes, Nelson continues in the same vein that bringing these stories out as teachings in the schools can make an important contribution to the learning of *Nuu-chah-nulth* children and their development as a People.

**Trudy (Atleo) and Edwin Frank**

We began the interview by my asking them if the had ever heard the story before they read the version I provided. And while Trudy had not heard this particular version of the story before, she was quick to recognize principles and elements of the story. Trudy said: "I... was trying to remember... if I'd heard anything about it... I probably did but I shoved it in the back of my mind... but it sounds... like so many others that we heard about... like... it wasn't specifically this story... it seems similar to others that I'd heard, even [similar to ] the story of sea lion... it was as if he was doing the same thing... he was having his swim and he came across this XXXX... it was a similar story to this... it
was like entering into their realm... to try and find out about them... he was taken to
where ever they were... like they take their coats off to come... they're different when they
take their coats off... they said that [in the beginning] everyone was Qu'aas, even the
birds... in a lot of the stories... until a guy came along and he... *eh-tsuc-tup-
tsut*... (*k'iw'itupsap, Ahousaht; *k'atyaat, Nuuchatlaht; *qooq'ooqhiip, Kyuquot*) the
Transformer.³³

I suggest that it may be like the English expression "getting in their skin"..., but
she maintains her thread about the transformers. "I guess that is where that story of
*linthinmit* is... it ends with when he came back and changed everything to what they are
today." I suggest that "it may not be so much the details of the story... but... you can
recognize the principles...?" (i.e., While the principles of stories are recognizable, the
details were also important because it said "how" it needed to be done, a proof of sorts).
Trudy picked up on this and said that "... then it seems like they always had to prove
themselves... as to what they found... and maybe certain people believed them but a lot of
them [didn't]... it's the same today... like you believe what you are being told... and some
don't believe it, they have to see it to believe it... sort of thing... but there is even... you
know there are other stories... there is the one about the sea lion, the one about the
bear... they had all kinds of stories relating to how they... took their coat off and learned
their ways and got their powers through them."

I ask her how the whaling story was different than this model, to which she
replied, "Oh, right, I guess that's like they were trying to empower themselves to weaken
the whale's spirit, so that [when] they went out for them, they would be the strong

³³ Mcmillan (1999:31) cites this story from Boas' (1974:159-160) ethnographic work in
Alberni at the turn of the century. In the story, birds and other animals lived on the earth
at first but then transformers (*kwe'kustEpsEp*) came from the sky and turned them into
animals in the forms that exist today.
one...isn't that right (to Edwin) so that when they *ooosumch.* At this point, Edwin joins in by replying, "Yah, right, that's how they killed the whale because they over powered the whale. What do you call this...when they started praying...what do you call this?"

Trudy suggests it is called, "Mindpower." Edwin continues, "My family (the Frank family from which he originates) is the same...its exactly what you said...they become stronger ...they prepare to go out...and they become the stronger one. I managed to catch a whale. Seals was their (Frank family's) highest [achievement]. [People tried to get] what ever was possible."

Edwin raises the ritual practices of his family of origin as an explanation and a comparison between his own achievements through secondary socialization by Keesta and his primary socialization in his family of origin. But because he was a well-known athlete, coached many of his relatives, and it is his custom to use sports metaphors, I asked him if he could talk about it in those terms. How would the coordination of purposeful activity during athletic training apply to training for whaling? As Edwin pondered that question, Trudy ventured an answer based in her experience, "I guess they would sort of copy the way the whales would go about/at. I remember Naa'quu (Chief Benson) used to show us how the whales dive. And then they copy them doing that and maybe just in a sense trying to get the feel of what the whale feels like what they are doing and how they would over power them." I wondered aloud that if they "copied" the activities of the whale, could anything be copied. Both Trudy and Edwin replied that it could. If anything could be copied, I prodded to understand to what extremes this could be taken. To which Trudy replied, "Probably to really become more confident in themselves...and to know that they're able to do that...that they can use that kind of power for whatever they were going to do...I guess it was similar to when they say 'your
mind can bend a metal piece... just by thinking about it or that sort of thing
[mindpower].

Next I asked about the names, whether they were recognizable or familiar. As with Nelson, the names were not readily understandable. I explained that I had asked several people to help interpret the names but had not gotten far. We again started to sound out the names to try to make sense of them. We started off with *Umeek* which is being translated as *community provider*. It was a place to anchor the discussion about the names in the story and the transformation of the individuals as they learned new ways. I ventured that: we know what *Umeek* means but its like all of those other words, it has so many meanings [depending on the context]. I was thinking about what Edwin had said that it could be anything you're going after. So that *the going after* part, the process or method is the same. Well, in one way it's the same. In principle it's the same." Trudy indicated that she agreed with my statement. I continue, "But then all of the other stuff can be totally different." Edwin indicates that he can agree with that statement. From which I conclude that "Getting ready for something, can look totally different but the principles then would be the same." To which they both agreed. To which I replied that "This is what in some ways is so confusing that I think when people are trying to see something because they don't think by principles and that it that means you have to learn each situation. Do you have to learn each situation separately then?" Trudy affirms that this is so.

Our conversation has become very abstract and I try to bring it back to a more concrete place by asking about an *Omeek* that I remember. This *Omeek* was a troller a fish boat which had belonged to the deceased Moachaht Pat Murphy and now belonged to his widow, Dora (Louie) Murphy and run by her son Francis Louie. I remember catching
rides home to Ahousaht on that boat from Tofino. It was the first place I saw that name.

I asked what the name meant under those circumstances.

Trudy replied, "It's a fish boat so that it would be about catching fish. It could relate to whatever you were out getting." I suggest that in fishing might be the predominant association connected with that name in the contemporary era because source of "riches" had been the cash economy dominated on the west coast by the fishing industry. Trudy agrees and goes on to say that it is not only about fishing but, "That it depends on what your good at getting. You can be a hunter, you can be a fisherman but you are always catching something specific." "Like a goal?" I ask. She says "Yes."

Edwin piped up, "Like Tuk-meek84" [the name of Hypolite Thomas of Ahousaht].

Trudy explains, - Tukmeek...that's another...saying...Tuk-ook, Tuk-ook is a sealion, Tuk-meek." I asked by they called it Tuk-meek, to which Trudy replied that they shorten it to Tuk-meek.

"So U-meek...or U must be an old, old beginning of a word?", I said excitedly. Trudy replied, "U-meek, now it can relate to anything...different categories...different species of things we get." I could see that while it was about "community providing" it was about "how to get what the community needed". Trudy went on to explain that, "When Richard graduated from UBC...he reached his goal there...and then he went further on...so what ever he was after he got." Trudy commented that, "When Richard is finished with what he is doing he might get a bigger name...he might get to the stage

84 Tuk-meek was usually pronounced Duk-meek by many Ahousahts whose English accents tended to follow after the German Catholic sisters that had taught English at Christie Residential School. I would have never made the connection between Duk-meek and Tuk(uuk)meek if Trudy and Edwin had not had this conversation.

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where he has gone the limit [of getting and get a name that is about being in a completed state].

A discussion follows about how traditional names seem to have a life of their own in the culture as people move in and out of them. I raise the concept of "memes" as an example of a similar way of talking about how ideas seem to have a life of their own and wonder aloud if the names in this narrative are like that, if they have a life of their own, if they culturally organize people. For example, *Umeek* is a name but it is also an idea. The name organizes how traditional *Nuu-chah-nulth* speakers would think about achieving goals. Such names could indeed be powerful motivators.

We continue to conjecture about the names by breaking them down into the phonemes (basic units of words). I share with them how Nelson and I tried to get at the meaning of the names in this way by breaking them down. Nelson figured that the older chief whose second name was *Tsähwasip* meant that caught it on the first try. And that Nelson said *ip* was about catching. Trudy responds to this with, "*Tsähwasip*...is like he speared it once and got it...which could be interpreted differently too but that would be speaking a language and not a name... *Tsähwasip* ....would have that meaning." Edwin

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85 Richard had received the name *Umeek* in recognition of achieving his doctorate in educational administration from the University of British Columbia. When Richard was interviewed by the news media he made the parallel between the three whales that his great grandfather had caught three whales and the three degrees he had achieved. He had demonstrated that time and again he knew how to achieve the major goals he set for himself and thereby provide by example for the community. The late Mark Atleo had chosen the name *Umeek* as appropriate formal name for Richard at that time. While it was not a well known name, it is a spiritually powerful name.

86 Csikszentmihalyi (1993:119-146) defines meme as a unit of cultural information patterned by acts of human intentionality feeding on the minds of individuals. He suggests that memes instruct us to act and that much of our desire is taken up by selecting among them and reproducing them. In the case of colonization there would be a systematic substitution of memes from the colonizing culture to the colonized culture. The memes from the colonized culture disappearing depending upon how pervasive the meme. For example the feasting system, the potlatch, a central cultural organizing meme of west coast culture was outlawed for almost a century.
agrees that it is related to catching with one try. Trudy goes on to explain, "Tsáhwasi is related to the name of what he did... he may have speared it once and got it... like if it was spoken... if it was related in the language, Nuu -pit-yaach -up, he did it once,... when you use it as a name it becomes Tsáhwasi." Edwin explains further, "When you sit and talk about it... like [for example]. I am always in sport... when you are boxing... you punch him once... Nuu -pit-yaach -up... and he is down... that's it... the other word is broader than the first one that you had (i.e., can refer to more than just catching)." So I ask, "Does that mean it may take him only once to get whatever it is?" They both agree that is more in the spirit of the word. In point of fact while the name may focus on the outcome the meaning behind it is that the person was so well prepared and consequently so spiritually favored that that it takes only one try to get it because the getting is highly dependant on the synchronicity of both the hunter and the hunted in this process.

I begin to see that Trudy is making the point that it could be but because we usually think in a very specific context that it would be understood in very concrete terms. I ask her what she thinks about this for examples, "Fishermen may only think of it in fishing terms or if for example, Edwin as an athlete is more likely to think about this in sporting terms... do you have something [terms in which] you (Trudy) think about it in? Like when you relate to something... if somebody said this to you what would you immediately think of if they didn't tell you what it was in... that they were thinking of?"

She said, "I guess that's how it hit me when you said the name Tsáhwasi... I naturally thought of he did it in one, Nuu -pit-yaach -up, not necessarily... thinking what it was [specifically or concretely] about catching fish or whales." She was thinking about the action and not the context in which the action took place or who the participants were. I replied that it was "Very interesting [that she thought about it as an abstract process because] if you think about it more abstractly that means you don't get stuck in thinking
about it in one way." Trudy agrees that this would be the case. I wonder aloud if that is part of the way the language worked. Trudy said, "That is why they used to tell us to listen...like if the story was being told and we knew what track to stay on." I muse that such listening would require active participation with the story teller, active listening (in which I am deeply engaged in this interview)." Trudy agreed that such would be the case.

I moved on to one of the other names in the story, Tseitlas, the Ahousaht. I explained to Trudy and Edwin that I had asked Barney Williams from Optisaht about this name before and he had offered a suggestion about what the name might mean. He recognized that it was the word for the spy and suggested that while it could be translated as "spy" it had to do with being an official witness at feasts or other events for a chief. The name was not familiar to either Trudy or Edwin. They ask me to pronounce the name again and I do pronounce it phonetically but it does not sound familiar. I reiterate what the role of this person is in the story (i.e., that he gets called by the chief to lean about how this whaling is being achieved). Edwin asks again how Barney had interpreted the name. I offer that in the Curtis version the elder chief for whom this man was a spy/witness had a name with what may be a similar phoneme at the beginning, Tséi--. So the elder chief was called Tséihsoot and his feast guest was called Tseitlas. I talked about how different parts of the word contributed different parts to the meaning. They then both tried a new tactic by thinking of other words that might have similar meanings. Edwin suggested his one word...they...in the line of witness they say Tey-uch-tah, Gertie? Is that it...when they used to call other people in to witness what happened...they called it Tey-uck-tah....am I right or am I wrong?" Trudy answers, "Yah, I suppose that's what it was...lych-tah...not necessarily people that had seats they got invited in to witness and they became iy-ch-tah...can you (Edwin) find a word for
spy?" Edwin is thinking aloud to and "...getting it mixed up with... Naa-chuch-nuuk."

"Naa-chuch-nuuk is guarding" says Trudy. Guarding is an activity of the qʷayac'íik that Edwin, who comes from a family with qʷayac'íik obligations and privileges might be more familiar with and about which he might remember more expressions.

Since this line of questioning seemed to be at a stand still, I go back to the story to ask about the interplay between characters. I reminded them how it started when Tsatsotatmé (Umeek) saw that he wasn't getting as many hair seals as he used to. Then how he prepared to find a new source of food for his people and how he was killed in the midst of his success. How his son was killed and then when the elder chief looked like he had succeeded he also died. And while the spy ran away with the protocol for getting whales and it took the grandfather a while he told the people what he knew so they too could be successful. So many people died and it took such a long time for the word to spread. It was accepted and acknowledged in another community rather than in the originating community. I wondered aloud if there was any significance to the three men who tried this new protocol why they ended up either getting killed or dying.

Unhesitatingly, Trudy said that the cause was jealousy. I asked if there was a lot of rivalry at that time. Again, Trudy replied that there was. Edwin suggested that jealousy has "...really got to be pretty high on the list [of causes for such killing and spying]."

They agreed that it was important that no one get to where the elder chief was in achievements and that bloodshed was the result if things got out of line even under conditions where there is a need for new resources during scarcity. I hypothesize about current conditions in which fishing is in decline and wonder what if they can't think of themselves as anything but fishermen, how will they find new resources to support their families when they couldn't think about themselves any other way. This story has a plot that shows how to navigate such change it seemed to me. Trudy and Edwin both agree...
that such is the case. But I lament that that plot is not very accessible in the story...

"...the way it is written because...like what you guys (Trudy and Edwin) are saying its in the language...you can't hear, you can't see that part...its like English gets you stuck...it can get you stuck being a fisherman... its like Tuk-meek, Umeek....are there other "meek"s...because George Clutesi\(^{87}\) uses that word in...he calls the person Meek...so you could Meek apply to anything?"

Edwin now becomes animated, "[Lets] back track a little bit here...its like what you (Trudy) was saying about Dr. Atleo...that he, Umeek, could...you know...make up his mind and put his whole being into it and when he reached that goal and from that goal he said I can go farther...meek that’s where it comes in when he reached his goal he could go a little bit further and he made that (next) goal again." Trudy adds, "And it doesn't just relate to one thing...it could relate to a lot of things."

Edwin recalls, "What did I say, how did I put it...[it could be] anything." I concurred with that, "You said "anything" it could be anything...if it was in their diet...seals...but whatever it was it could be anything...I guess what I am asking here...we've got...about ...this story in a lot of ways gives us clues about...traditional ways of learning and what was...how to do it...and the language also tells you how it works...in your thinking...like what you (Edwin) were saying about sports, eh...that there is some physical stuff about it but its in the language how do you think about it...these

\(^{87}\) Nuu-chah-nulth Kwayatseek, George Clutesi (1990) wrote three pals, Meek, Qwin(eets-\(hi\)) and Cholk-niss. The boy, Meek, is the ranked individual whose development is central to the story. Qwin and Cholk-niss feature in his development as a hunter who will be expected to be highly successful because he will be expected to share his catches with the people. Clutesi's previous books of mythology (Son of Raven, Son of Deer) and the central Nuu-chah-nulth institution (Potlatch) suggests that the themes in "Walk Tall, My Son" are equally substantive. The experiences of Meek, Qwin, and Cholk-niss seem to include those tasks critical for the development of ideal Nuu-chah-nulth characters attributes. Those of Meek, the hunter, being central. Those of Qwin, desirability, being second and those of Cholk-niss, another state of being, third.
words are not words that are connected to anything in particular...your not saying that you have to be a sealer, or that you have to be a whaler...you have to be...it leaves it open....its incredible how it does that, eh...and I guess that I am saying that is there some way that...the heart of this stuff can be brought to our kids....???? Because its not just oosumch...you (Trudy) say that the kids want you to tell them stuff...how to do stuff...but then if we tell them a story like this they'll think that they have to go out and spear a whale...but that's not really what this story is about is it?"

Trudy says, "No, its mainly saying how he went about it...his way of becoming...a whaler...a sealer...whatever you want to describe him as...it could mean a number of things...like what you're saying is that ..today, you could say....you could do it in which ever way you want to do it...like some people don't believe in going bathing...all that ...they could probably do it...once they make up their-mind as to how they want to get there...I don't know how else to describe it."

I ask, "So, if we told these stories to the kids when the meaning is in the language, when the meaning is really somewhere else...the cultural meaning of it...and English does this to the stories...it makes you get stuck in one place...how can we get around that....because we are not trying to say...OK, guys this is a story that tells you about whaling...lets go whaling."

To which Trudy replies, "You could also use it to get them thinking about HOW they would go about it...you know what does it...what is it saying to you...what would you do if you go out and do this...ah, how would you go about it...and sort of get them thinking about it."

I suggest that this "how" is a different level of thinking and Trudy agrees. I suggest that Edwin uses sports as a way of explaining all those kinds of hows and you
Trudy don't think of it in a specific way but go to a different level and think of how in a particular situation, like 'how does it work here, how does it work here, how does it work here?" She agrees that this is more like how she situates this type of problem.

I suggest that these different ways of thinking maybe very significant and ask them to picture how they could be used in an educational setting. For example, if somebody came to talk to you...say they were on the education committee and what could we do...could we use these kind of stories to bring people to see what we have just talked about?

Trudy thinks that "...probably we could try it...its going to be difficult because kids haven't been brought up the way we were...I mean...they are altogether on a different thing these days...and it would require a lot of work to get them to really start thinking about this...they haven't had the stories told to them."

Are you saying that they don't understand how stories work?" I asked. She said that "it was probably so and that it would probably require starting them at a very young age to really start them thinking about it and as they go this would really get them thinking about how they were doing, how they did it and what would they do today."

Edwin provides an example to make his point. "I'll go back, oh, maybe 50-60 years...they ah, the way they used to talk on Seal lion Rock...they used to talk, similar to a sermon in a church...talk about that and they ...its like...what Marilyn (Marlene) did yesterday...she started a fire in the fireplace...they would say...ok...what that fire does...attracts people, individuals...as an example...like today...its chilly, you go towards the fire, close to the fire...to get warm and that's getting something out of the fire...the heat...what you were saying...its going to be hard...but there is always...you need one or two in a group...get half a dozen people in here and listen to something like
that and one will catch on right away...and from that person it will spread...it will open up like that and other people will start learning from it....that's the way I look at that personally....I remember an old gentleman that used to say...you listen to a speech for maybe half an hour (old Jacobsen's speeches used to be at least half an hour if it was a short one). [If] you get two three words out of it you're doing good. And [then] you work on that and from those two three words, you go on and again it opens up. It starts off [and] you learn a lot of things from what you're doing. Taking out words like Umeek, Tsâhwasip, and I get that's what he meant. You get one word and work on that word and from that word you learn a lot." Trudy adds that, "you get the broader picture."

I recalled the conversation that we had the day before when Richard (Umeeek) was present when he said that that the whole culture is in one word and I wondered if something like this is made into a play...how do you think that would work. Trudy said, "I think it would be good as a visual aid...and it would probably have more meaning like...some kids like aren't into reading...they would rather see things and learn from that...like today...TV seems to be the thing." I remarked on Edwin's analogy of the use of fire as an example of a motivational incentive and applied it to idea of a play as a cultural vehicle citing Richard again in how the Kluuquaana contained formal public lessons for the whole community.

Trudy reminisces about one of the Kluuquaana teachings that she remembered. "They used to have...all kinds of things going...I remember vividly when one specific thing...they had the late Phillip Louie in a canoe...they had him as a baby...although he was an adult...I was trying to remember though what the story was related to because it...whether it was just a comedy thing...it probably had a meaning to it...they just acted it out." When I asked if anyone explained it Edwin said that there would be a few
clarificatory words here and there but they were expected to know the story to which it referred. It sounded like there was a narrator that provided clues to the action but that the audience was again required to be active participants in the meaning making process. We discussed the logistics of explaining what was taking place during the action but that it would be a viable way to teach these stories.

I went on to the final question of the interview by summarizing what we had talked about and concluding that "...that what we sort of discovered as we talked about this...that really this is not about becoming a sealer or a whaler but its about learning...maybe you already said this...that...having talked about this...what we learned from talking about this...can contribute to all kinds of learning...any kind of learning from kindergarten, to school, to anything else you want to learn...now you (Edwin) have been a learner all of your life...and your always trying something new within limits...as long as it doesn't require things like flying...but you know...it needs a pretty open mind...and this story seems to be about an open mind and while other things are going on these people are looking for avenues through which to get resources...So do you think that's something that could be brought to the teachers?"

Trudy believes it would, "I think it would be profitable...for some kids...you know when we had that women's conference in Port [Alberni] last year...I told the story about ¿inhitinmit [Mucous-made/Snot-Boy]...a very short version of it but I had their attention and you could just feel that they [the Nuu-chah-nulth women] were just waiting for it to go on and on and on...I guess that's the way it was us as kids...because I could hear that story over and over again...sometimes it would take a few nights for my grandmother to tell...because everything was included in there because she would
Edwin wonders whether we are talking about doing this in class. I suggest that it could be or not. Edwin says, "I feel the same way as Gertrude, it would be profitable...like...I keep going back to the one or two words and fire [as a way of]...and drawing a crowd...after a while it would be a bunch of plants it would be...I would say that someone would pick it up in...whether its in the classroom and say that this is something to learn about...especially...now a Qu'aas...what am I about from way back when...when they see something like...that they own...some part of this because I am Qu'aas...so that they...the saying goes that you can never be 100%...but a few people can get very interested in that and there again I say...it'll open up again." Trudy adds, "And then the history will stay...will continue on.

Edwin continues, "What I am saying is that more people will learn about what Marilyn [Marlene] is putting on black and white...because a lot of us just have it up here...eh, I am one of them that have to read this two or three times to really get it up here...I keep digging into my tape deck back here...I am having a hard time right now...the thing is if I keep reading it...things like this...more and more...[it] will come back."

Trudy continues, "Like Richard was saying...the words [have the whole culture in them (i.e., you need to know the culture to interpret them)]...I never heard that before...I probably did but I forgot about it...but when you start digging in there then it starts coming together. And you hear lot of the people like Eddy [her eldest son] and his age group saying, 'We learned about mamulthnee history and what good was it for us? We need to learn our own'. So that's why I say it would be so much more profitable for our
people if they learned about our history. It would give them sort of a general idea of how they did it. Like this is where spirituality comes in. So many of us are without that now. We are not guided by that anymore."

I suggest that there are a lot of people wanting to direct others and wanting to be the guides (a reference to Christianity and other programs that suggest that "they" have answers Nuu-chah-nulth need). I begin to wind down the interview and express my appreciation of their sharing their ideas about this story with me. I explain that I have a feeling about the story and a need to hear what it might mean. To be able to put it into words that can be shared with children and others elders are indispensable. We discuss how bringing out teachings through some of the ideas we have discussed can be used in the celebration Umeek is planning for December 2000 in which he would pass the chieftainship to our son, Shawn. Trudy and Edwin abound with suggestions.

Trudy says, that "..they would throw in stuff like Tlaa-ee-chum when they would come in they would bring some news...that's how they brought it out...like...you got curious as soon as you saw the two old women come in...they were dressed like old people...they always wore the blankets so that you couldn't see their face...walking like old women...and wondering what kind of news they were bringing this time....and it was always that excitement of wanting to know what they were going to bring...when they showed up at a party." I asked if they were usually humorous.

Trudy says, "Sometimes...and then sometimes...it was always good news though, eh...now they hardly ever use that." Edwin wants to know if what she is talking about distinguishes between Ee-chum and the Ee-ee-kochin. Trudy confirms that he is on the right track and he recalls an instance of that at Maht mabs in Port Alberni where Doug Robinson's daughter took part:
"They did a play. They come out and she was at the mike. She didn't talk very much. Just a few words saying that this is going to be a welcome dance. When they finished the welcome dance she went to the mike again and she said, 'This welcome dance is for a couple of our Ee-chum'. They danced them in then and called them by name four times. They called them by name. They came through the door. They were at the door. Then they started (to call them) four times again. The Ee-chum take four steps. Then they got in[to] the middle of the stage there. She went and said that the dancers are going to dance for the Ee-chum. They danced around them. After they did that they said that they were going to ask them...[there was eight, eight dancers]...they would ask them what news they had....that's all she said...when they were bringing them in...so they start dancing again...and during the dance they broke up into four ...and one went there and the other one went there and they covered her up...four times they did that and then they went back to where they were kneeling...she went over to one of the dancers and asked what the news was...and then she went back to the mike she said. 'It was good news for everybody'...I guess that's the way they practiced it...because it wasn't a Kluquanna or anything...it was just a play...that's why she ended it like that, 'Good news for everybody'." Trudy said that it was usually an announcement of some sort that was brought to the people that way [in which the old ladies got the attention of the assembly]. I smilingly thanked them, the Ee-chum, for the "good news" that we had as a result of their sharing with me in this interview.

Louie Joseph

Louie Joseph identified himself as Maht Mahtla and that he comes from Quartsweeaht which on the inside of Meares Island. He started by stating that he had read the stories and was ready to reflect on them with me. His first observation was of the synchronicity between the stories, the current events in his life and our interview.
The village of Yarksis in the narrative is in the same vicinity on Vargas Island as Kelsemaht.

"After I come off my fast, I read the stories. I was moving towards that lake, actually a couple of hundred yards away from that lake and I knew that my grandfather had used that lake a great deal. And when I came home after the fast and I picked the stories up and read it and though WOW! I want to say that you know its...my prayers for directions, guidance to the grandfather, there is very strong messages for me to share to those who those who want to hear, to learn, the experiences of our grandfathers as well as my own personal [experiences]...things that I do [and] I share with my family, my oldest son, my younger brother, my daughter, my granddaughters, my grandnephew, my nephews, we're a strong family who practices spiritual experiences, ah, in terms of labels: oosumch, bathing, sweats, fasting, sun dancing. I relate that very well to our ancestral preparation to whether it was whale hunting or seal hunting. Its that oosumch is to unload the issues that brings the person to an unbalanced situation. I am looking forward to the questions."

Louie is encouraged by the way the narratives fit with his experience. I briefly review the structural aspects of the story to refresh our common understanding. And then explained that I tried to bring as much information about the story to him as part of the exercise. He recognizes this provides a rationale for various differences in narratives.

"[Y]a, these are varying stories, varying methods, and learned to take a look at the time it was done, different times it was done it changed, so that, I believe, that is the reason why I believe we hear different story versions, it was done at different times, even individual who is doing research in preparation to go whale hunting..."
Not only does he acknowledge the variation in story, method, timing, individual proclivity, he also recognizes that the spirits called upon during ritual times may have different names but he sees them as the same spirits.

"...they my say for example, I might go say tomorrow, go for an 8 day fast, I would , my directions would come from what we call grandfathers, there are other terms for it, Creator, God, the Spirit, the Chief in the Sky, take the right each time."

Louie identifies the preparation phase as a preliminary step to finding a vision.

"Its even going to oosumch or fast or bathing there is preparation prior to and there is where the directions come from. Uu, what it, it can be in the modern world, we can identify it as dreams or visions, ah, it is, this has a very strong connection for us in spirituality...dreams and visions because we believe that each individual is born with a gift and that gift is not, that gift is only recognized through sacrifice and visions...visions including dreams, recurring dreams...and I have come to believe that the way an individual did their preparation, say oosumch, that direction came just prior came to going oosumch, pray for guidance and direction....and that is the reason I believe that there is difference of stories or endings...say I finished that 8 day fast, come home for a while, come down round, and there is another preparation period, like if I was to go back up again let say 8 day would be preparation for a longer one say up to 8 months. There is a lot of fear involved, going into unknown not knowing what is going to happen, not knowing if you are going to come out of it alive, because history has it that there were people dying from this, these kind of experiences."

Louie sees this process as incremental but not necessarily continuous.
"...the prior preparation, the directions, guidance may be similar to the first one or may be totally different all together, what I am saying is that each time you do it its different..."

The aspects of the story that Louie had previously heard was the core of the story which were told to him, "...when I was very young when I heard this before, my great grand uncle used to sit me on a whale bone, sing to me, then he would tell me the stories."

Since he recognized the stories, I continued by asking about the traditional ways of learning that might be identifiable in these stories. Louie took exception to the word "traditional".

"Ok, I was confronted to think about the word 'traditional', tradition that was being practiced today, things that you do on a consistent regular basis, and they had suggested using historical, history, historical traditions, would go back to what our ancestors did...especially one when the whale is harpooned and the canoe and its crew is towed about by the whale, and the songs and prayers, whether it was said out loud or prayed quietly, the 'mindset', expectations, directions, mental thought of their prayer would be saying "go to the beach", "go to the beach", "go to the beach", "go to the beach", repeated messages, and they repeat and repeat until it becomes a reality and it actually happens......how did they know what to say in their prayers and to say "go to the beach" and eventually ending up at the beach... there are a number of things that come to my mind...when I think of the teaching of communication...these prayers may have been handed down from another generation but there is also the possibility of the directions and guidance of how to pray and what to say may have come from the spirit world....grandfathers, and also the possibilities coming from both because our people had
a consistent pattern of spiritual preparation for anything so there is all those possibilities....there is no doubt in my mind that it would have come from both. The living and the spiritual world...directions, traditional teachings, preparation, preparation part, to believe that one needs to be ready to do something....to go hunting to gather material for a major event to happen, and in relation to today...these teachings are very, very light...they are not emphasized enough to take hold....

Like this last week (during the *Ahousaht Canoe Quest*). The year and a half of meetings and discussions in preparation for the Canoe Quest, its very time consuming, there was a core group of people who benefited from that wholistically, mentally, mental part would be ok, they know what to do next time. Through preparation and dialoguing with people. And it’s the same with the preparation for whaling, about 8 days moving on to 8 months. If they failed they would come back, regroup, think, then go and pray through other rituals and ceremonies to find other guidance and direction and strength to continue. I know in today's world, with the resistance to change it can be very discouraging, want to give up. There were many times I wanted to give up. I always got strength through going fasting, paddling sun dancing, especially, sun dancing, to continue on and to reaffirm the commitment. So those teaching of ways like that traditional, how to mobilize self, to maintain initiatives, and ambitions, and creating that conviction that "Yea, I am going to succeed!". If I don't succeed this time I will find other ways through guidance, through prayer, wholistically, you know in the mental thought, mindsetting, physical conditioning, emotional balancing, and spirituality, encompassing all those three areas, spirituality, to me encompasses everything...we do in life....

And while Louie resonated with the story, he was unfamiliar with the names in the story even though he believes that one of the characters may have been his
grandfather. I confessed that I don't know either but that there are five characters including the elder chief, a younger chief, the father of the younger chief, the son of the younger chief, the witness. Since he had brought up the issue of variations at the onset, I then asked about whether he perceived differences in learning between these characters.

"Yes, they, because it was being accompanied by the observation from observation, there is a danger of forgetting certain steps in the process, when they went out whaling, things happened, it didn't go the way it was supposed to go. Because that person did not do his own preparation, the way the original whaler went out in this story"

"Where the original one did everything on his own...prayed, prepared and had his own method...and no one else knew about it...but once his method was exposed the strong belief that that once that is shared, whether it is taken or given...there is a certain amount of power lost...and that there is that belief...I can relate that very well to group in social psychology...there is a group of people...somebody gets hurt and falls down and everybody walks by...just stares because his responsibility is diffused...amongst the rest of the people...around him...and this, I relate that to what had happened there where the observer had taken that method and not taken it seriously...because the responsibility wasn't totally his...

I ask him how this might relate to what he said earlier about learning things by sacrificing. That is something taken without being valued or having worth. To which he replied:

"Yes, they haven't sacrificed that so that the gift was not enhanced or empowered. [T]he meaning to the second one, the person (Oyephli), is lessened a great deal, like you say, taken for granted, because...they do not fully experience themselves (i.e., their directions)...the belief is not fully...set for themselves...I could almost see and hear the
second one laughing...while he is attempting to prepare...and not really connecting to
the skeleton and the purpose of diving...just going through the motions."

It seems that Louie thinks that if the search is not self directed no real learning is
taking place, which he confirms when I suggest that "... we don't really learn...by just
going through the motions..." and ask, "...when we talk about the "original" whaler" why
do you think he ended up getting killed...?". Louie replies that the second chief died
because of "...regret, shame, guilt, and not being able to take full responsibility for the
mistakes in the unsuccessful attempts..." Louie frames the issues psychologically, "...
what I am leading up to [is], the second one....because of all
those...transference....trying to deal with all those feelings of transference...who at the
day may believe that it was about evil spirits guiding him....we all term as negative....but
I like to think of it as the other side of the scale...because we have happiness, joy and all
those things on the other side....which is a strong pull...and in the cultural dynamics this
took place naturally.... It [still] happens today..."

I wonder out loud why Umeek was slain when he had learned a new thing and
brought it to the people who saw that what he had done was good for them. Why would
anyone use him as an example seeing that he did not reap any personal benefits from it.
Louie readily relates my query to contemporary social issues saying essentially that it is a
function of our humanity,

"... why do we have crime, why do we have murder, people killing people, and
its, in my studies and working with people who are violent, some my clients are on the
verge of going over the edge with rage...and talking about killing and the emotional state
of these people...some of them are not able to feel and those that are, are driven in a way
that they will do everything against the system, against a person, against things, they
become very destructive...they behave in a way that is totally unpermissible to cultural norms...therefore the crimes, the murders, the killings, slaughtering, harming is all done...in relation to that...understanding the second whaler killing the first whaler and parts of the family...its natural when you understand family dynamics for the younger of the siblings to be much more aggressive and wanting what the older one has when the older one doesn't have to try that hard just because he has his or her personality, attitude, ambition, its just instilled in him...they are socially conditioned and the younger one wanting to be in that place of the older...they try harder...they are much more vocal...

I summarize the story, recapping some of the points we have covered in our discussion and as "Do you recognize the learning style...if we think about it as learning style...of these characters in the story...we have 5 and also another at the end we have the whaler's wife or partner...funny, I never thought of her...so we have...6 characters...and in some ways...all of these then are part of...have ways of looking at what they do...we can we see different styles, ways of learning." Louie replies,

"I place myself here...because of what I am seeing when I am experiencing, when I am doing these...I have a taken a look at how these first five people have done it...but also taken a look at where the first and second had taken direction and that is where I am at with my beliefs and faith...and taking the directions through personal experiential learning, by actual practicing and by being consistent to seasonal changes, moon cycles, and repeating rituals or ceremonies according to an enhancing moon which means its growing new to full moon, and the tides coming in...all this stuff, spring where new life begins, where the plants start to grow...the evergreen trees begin to have their sap forming because there is new generation of life...all those things, understanding that knowledge, and seeing that...for me to connect with all those elements, I feel that I need
to experience it myself....personally, which I have done and its confirmed my belief and what it has done for me its developed a stronger faith...in that belief...not only the belief but the Creator....or however we may see it....grandfathers...chief in the sky....and not only that its....it has painted the picture of the legend...with the grandfather being in the sky watching over us....when the grandfather sees the need to come down to the community or individual or families....decides to come down through a transforming process....comes down to the mountain where he takes the form of a wolves and comes down to the community to deliver a message and the q"ayac'iik stays in that community or house or individual until the message is delivered....once received....the q"ayac'iik leaves either back up the mountain or into the sea....if q"ayac'iik goes to sea....transforms into killer whale....and roams the ocean....and depending upon the purpose of the message, the thing that I understand about the killer whale....there are many teachings about killer whales, for instance, marriage....when killer whales mate they mate for life....when one dies the other stays by itself....until they die....there are other roles of the killer whale....I always use the analogy of the sheep dog....you know how they look after the flock and keep them together and if they were to be moved or corralled the dogs bring them in....my experience, not only fishing, but observing what happens when the killer whale comes around off shore here....I'd be fishing sockeye....for days and just pulling them in by the hundreds and all of a sudden the killer whale comes through and the sockeye is gone....BOOM! They are on the way to the river....its like herding the fish to the river where their destiny is....that is only a couple of examples of the killer whale that I see and relate to....and this comes from actual experiential learning....fasting, bathing, sweating....sundancing...

I return the focus to Nuu-chah-nulth cultural expectations and suggest that they would be paramount otherwise attention would not be paid to the whales.
Louie explains, "So that's where I'm at here, experiencing what I think the first
whaler [did]. And I know, because when I was up Macintosh mountain (I am
comfortable sharing this with you because of the purpose of my fast was not only to
prepare for the sundance but also to be fasting while the Makah nation was out
whaling)....and I was praying, singing and chanting that morning, I knew exactly what
time they got that whale...and how they got it. Because the day before I was preparing
[for] what do we do with these opposing groups, like Greenpeace [or] what ever they call
themselves. And the visions [that] I was having that night [was] that these people were
celebrating. Like [in] the old Calvary (biblical) days, they'd celebrate some small fig tree
and paying for it off guard. [T]his is exactly what happened. I could see the whale, just
very strong. My daughter saw it too because she was there on the mountain [as was] my
brother [and] my nephew. There was four of us up the mountain. I just knew. So my
strength and belief and faith is in that [way of being and knowing and learning]."

I asked him if he found the story useful in thinking about what he already knew
and about learning. To which Louie replied that, "Yes, [the story] reaffirmed, it
strengthened my commitment to what I am doing and how I am doing it." Finally, I
asked him how these stories and ways of learning contribute to our understanding of Nuu-
chah-nulth learning in the schools from K - post secondary as well as in the retraining
programs for jobs. I point out that his insight is particularly valuable because he has gone
through both an apprenticeship training process and also kindergarten to post secondary.

Louie replied that the key is, "...experiential learning, personal experiential
learning....and the retention of knowledge learned is strengthened by bringing self to
balance through spirituality...it brings the mental part of the person to balance...I say this
because understanding what mind noise is...its mental conflicts between beliefs that's in
our memory stacks that come to the surface by triggers in the environment and getting caught up in modern day values and beliefs and the old values and beliefs...ancestral teachings...of values and beliefs...into what I know is catch-22 situation...you don't know which way to go...but through this kind of experience, one learns to live with it...work with it, as each day presents a different demand...in a different area of those values and beliefs you have...in attempting to reclaim our native identity we look at values, teachings of values and beliefs and traditions, and the old ways...and today's ways...when we attempt to go what today is known as our culture which is very...you know it's a real big picture once you begin to understand its elements...is that when attempting to get back to our traditional cultures as we understand it today....for the academia...we'd say historical/cultural teachings we attempt to discard the other...and you can spend a life time doing that it never goes away....it's like the old Australian, he went to town and bought a new boomerang...went home and tried to throw the old one away...and it just about drove him nuts and that analogy reflects well to when we get caught in that where do I belong...where do I fit."

"I some years ago I heard a comment about bridging the gap...was a lady named Mary from Tulalip in Washington and I was referred to her and I went to see her...to talk to her about how she preached "the gap"...and it was very simple...acceptance...of the old me, acceptance of the new me...and by accepting both these are not discard...and I began to understand how I can live with it...and once I did that I gained a very strong sense of freedom because I made the shift...either way depending on the daily (needs) and demands and I could pull the tools out...I call them tools...either from here and put them back...now...or if I am over here...understanding to accept every that comes to us...
By going to university......and practicing historical traditions and rituals...I began to see that I didn't lose anything, its always there, the acceptance. And for me to come to a level of acceptance where its at today, where its based on the resolution work that I've done on unresolved grief issues. And by doing that coming to realize that, no, I didn't lose my culture cause there was just a change in life. I still speak my language. I still practice my historical traditions. Not only that but I bridge the gap by accepting both. And you know the freedom that is gained...I usually just end up saying your going to have to try it if you really want to feel the essence of that spirituality.

To the question about whether what he describes could be instituted through curriculum or formal schooling, he replies:

"Yes, taking a look at the experience of the whalers, old man, the elder, the first chief, second chief. Taking a look at what had happened where the successful one was killed. The two first levels were both killed and the third one left. It's a reality in everything we do here, looking at the political attitudes. Yes, such is humanity, you know. Understanding the flow of energy in the dynamics of family (because family is a micro of the macro system), what happens in the family system also happens in the national dynamics. The experience we are having with the federal government through programs [such as] education, all this its suppression/oppression. The advancement of things that work for us (if it works too well) they either slow it down of stop it all together. Its an assassination, just about an assassination of success with our people. Our people allow it too. They are partly responsible for the things that happen to us. Only through this type of teachings [will we be able ] to understand that this, ok, this is the picture, the total picture. This is what vision quests bring about. You actually don't only see one part of it, you see a wider spectrum and are able to reflect on [how] we can use it
in understanding how the diffusion happens, the ownership, the responsibilities. To attempt to incorporate and implement it into the mainstream or provincial core curriculum there would be a certain amount of diffusion. There would be meaning lost. You hear so much about translation from native to English [and] losing [the] sense of meaning. Even today I would be hard pressed to gaining acceptance from our community members to start a private institution to bring this back."

"People that would be successful in bringing this about would be people who understand the preparation and the teachings from all areas, not only the historical knowledge, but also today, the contemporary and [are] able to bridge those. And to believe the individual in native communities, not only the individual but [the] families because as they learn they change their attitudes, their mindsets. Soon, as they learn, they heal. As they walk through the grieving process, then they begin to understand that it is a continuing process. It happens on a daily basis. When you wake up in the morning you pray for guidance and direction. At the end of the day you pray for forgiveness, if need be, and pray for safety and comfort throughout the night. Those kind of things, to be successful. There are studies and articles, experiments that have been done, in groups (specifically groups) that stay together, learn together. [Things] take a strong hold. This is really important, this story. The whaling story has a very strong element of that, (being family) although they had their internal conflicts, assassinations, [they prevailed as a group]."

I ask about the issue of individually themed western programming that focuses on the needs of the individual as a means of changing the group and about where that fits into the teachings.
Louie replies that in his opinion programs with an individual focus may be a way "...to get started to gain insight of self. With variations between such programming and the learning program in this story varying by, the length of time to reach change brought about, the whaling story spans over years, whereas [some program may be] five days. There is a tremendous amount of danger in a five day process. One is left wounded. There are certain elements left out, certain considerations left out. Just like the second and third whaler who copied and did not succeed in their whaling endeavors. To be successful in bringing it and using it in an institution needs to be in a dynamic. Where there is just the family or clan or tribe which means a private school, private institution, with their own teachers, elders. That's it to begin with. These people who have gone to [programs as individuals] have run through the novelty period. I see a lot of them relapsing, going back to their own way of thinking and being. There are a small number who have chosen to move on to different areas. Those will be the people who are very strong. I can say this because I went through that. That is where I started [in a program for individuals], it opened me up."

I suggest that, "We had this conversation sort of before. I was just interested in the differences between transformational learning that is ...where the philosophy is about [how] you need to break through culture because culture is a hindrance and that some programming is in fact a transpersonal sort of teaching. Whereas the other side, where we see culture as a strength as opposed to culture as a limitation. So that culture is freeing rather than limiting. So it's a different perspective. I think it is important what you said about in the context of the need to understand the dynamic in which this contextualized, the family frame in which it operates. In that I guess that's part of this when I say Nuu-chah-nulth learning, I am making an assumption about a Nuu-chah-nulth frame that is very conscious, a very conscious frame. As opposed to just a wide open,
'This is a School District 70 kind of thing'. So is that what I am hearing correctly?? that is I think very important....

Louie replies, "And I see teaching and education in other institutions, colleges, universities at the academically level, unfortunate to understand...knowing how to bring them about...bring to them an understanding of what we are about....especially, native spirituality Identifying with similarities in their sciences, in their scientific way of thinking and using facts that they accept, beliefs that they accept, stuff they can measure. [Whereas] I identify with similarities and using what they believe in to explain, you know, what they see is different and different for us. Things that they have accepted and cannot argue with. But [there are] differences [which can be seen if we] look at where does it go from there, where is it headed. Look at the end results, (make a prediction) and its like the scientific process. You need to come up with a hypothesis. And only through experimenting (that the hypothesis or prediction is tested) [can one] find ways of actually substantiating the hypothesis or prediction. And our differences is OK. Hypothesis: I'm going to catch this whale and this is the time. Then we develop a list of methods."

"[T]he differences [is that it] may be focused on the real world. The scientific world would be focused on things that they can see and measure, not counting the spiritual aspects: the preparations, the connections with the spirits, grandfather, creator....mother earth...being everything about it....the air, the land, the sea, the water. They do not go beyond that but we do. So we have more than they [have]. We have more than the material things. Everything that is connected: ceremonies, prayers, every little teaching."

The interview has lasted and hour and I promised not to keep him longer. I ask him how he felt about participating and whether he had any advice for me. Louie replied,
"Oh, yes, [I am] happy to participate, something I was going towards earlier......this picture has got the whole scale ...you know the spectrum, using the [whole] spectrum for example...there are the colors you see on either side and there are those you don't see....and those that you don't see...they are there...the energies are there, the frequencies are there."

I thanked him for his kind participation and advice.

Elsie Little (Atleo) Robinson

Elsie Robinson talked about her impressions of the stories of Umeek. She had begun our interview by saying that she recognized Uusumch as a central feature in learning to do anything and needed to talk about the difficulties associated with speaking of the sacred.

Elsie began, "...the way they did their, oosumch,...it was very secretive, you didn't ask about it and they didn't tell you...they, I think they believed that it was going to lose some of its power or strength if you talked about it so that's why its was just for family and, and the Great Spirit. That’s how I understood oosumch anyway. That it was very sacred, like going into your closet [to pray] by yourself. But, they had their own special place where they went each time. You know it’s a special place and they don't tell anyone where it is either. Its their place, its like their, maybe like their holy ground....I think, like we have the church, we always go to the church same place, same thing....go to the same place, I know that much...and its like a holy place, its special...you have made it special because that is where you go each time...and its like holy ground or whatever you call it...something like that....because that is where you do your praying...and your asking...for this great whatever it is you are going to hunt....
She went on to explain the conditions of this search. "...but you don't ask until you think you're clean enough or pure enough or whatever enough to speak for it...that's why it's *oosumch*... your cleansing yourself of whatever negative or bad... you want to get rid of you and your family that is why you work together... you and your family...

I asked, "So is some of that [meaning] in that word?"

Elsie said, "your really asking for something... it could be special because its special to you... you want that thing... its *oosumch*."

I probed, "Does that mean its really not the bathing it's the "asking for it" part?"

Elsie responded, "Yes, it's the asking part... just that you want to be clean enough outside and inside to get it... to get what you're asking for... that's oosumch... you just sort of humble yourself so much... you know... you want it... we say *klaa-klaa-quot, klaa-klaa quot Naas, we humbly ask for this. Its just you and Naas, God. So you don't talk about it."

I realize what she is telling me and try to explain my dilemma in talking about stories that have these sacred practices as content. "So that's one of the problems... I'm asking this about these stories. They haven't been brought out [made public]... so that's one of the things that I was very reluctant to do... its been a long, long time that I have been interested in these stories... so knowing that its hard to bring them out and talk about them... that's why I had to bring the story rather than ask people for the story. I talked to Richard about it so its like that we are trying to make the first move about it. So one of the things we are doing is telling our family stories. The story that we are familiar with. We are not asking people to tell their story. We are not trying to get it off them. We are

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88 While the ethnographic record contains this story and it is public, the story is not publicly known to *Nuuchahmulth* of this era.
trying to share some of what we have. So I can understand why that's a difficult thing [to talk about]. So, then have you heard any of these versions of these stories before?"

Elsie focuses in on what she was familiar with, "You know why I'm saying what I am saying, I must have heard, I must have heard about oosumch but its not particularly a whale it could be anything...so I guess I could say 'yes' I heard stories [like this]about oosumch. But not particularly that story. I think oosumch is the same. No matter what it is your asking for, its got the same, for it to work you have to do it that way....they knew that, even with their medicines...it was very secretive too because if they really wanted it to work, just like oosumch for an animal, what ever it is you want to get."

I needed to confirm what she was saying about the secrecy of this process by asking her, about the secrecy of Oosumch that you don't share with people what it is that you are after.

She confirms that that is right, "...after a person goes out. [For example] I knew when my husband went out fishing that I do my part at home and well, I must have heard that too. I thought of what he is doing. So we were never in want. We always had enough. We didn't have lots. But we had enough. If you do it the right way, work together with your provider as well as your "Provider" up there [pointing up] I think you will always have enough."

I wanted to confirm that she saw herself as a partner in providing. "So you are a partner in "providing"...?" Which she confirmed by explaining, "I think its very important....that you do...and I think that's why we never really wanted for anything even though we didn't have much we had enough because you worked together...because your not one your separate people but you have to work together."
I continued to ask, "So, if we think about what's in the stories, what's in this
version of the stories...that are put together...then in those traditional ways of
learning...do we see traditional ways...can you see traditional ways of learning in these
stories...like for instance in this Kluuquana...one...it's about things that they did. Can
you relate it to traditional learning? How would you think about it in terms of learning?"

Elsie replies, "I think it would...they had no power if they took their furs off. If
we really believed in the Great Power so if they give it up...like taking their fur off then
they weren't going to be strong. I think that's what it refers to. You keep that fur on.
Keep believing. [Keep] being connected to the Great Power so you will be strong no
matter what happens. I think it does [say something about traditional learning]. You
know, what it says there, they lost their strength when they took their fur off, the wolves,
you could connect it up to that."

I asked her about whether she was familiar with the names in the story. She was
not familiar with them. She offered that there were names for "...certain names for
certain ages...I know that...you didn't get an old lady's name when you weren't an old
lady, you got a child's name...or middle age, or young...each house or whatever,
clan...had their own names...unless they took a name with them to another...they knew
their names."

I redirected our conversation back to the issue of learning and asked if she
recognized parts of the story and whether it was meaningful to her.

Elsie replied, "...there is a lot of stuff. Like when they're talking to the
whale...you know to turn the right way...I think...it's more telepathic...if you wish to
with animals I think it can work...and because they're so jealous of each other that he
does kill...yah, I know that does happen..."
I respond that of course one of the major teachings is that one should not be jealous of others because bad things will happen to you and she concedes that this is so.

She continues to enumerate issues that were salient for her. "[They] took their fur off...they forgot [who they were]...just like pride they let it take over and that's when things don't go right any more. [They] think too much of self instead of your people...cause their chiefs...their supposed to be thinking of their people but they want their glory for themselves alone. I think there is a lot of teaching and learning here...if you put it that way....about being too proud, that's when problems start, you don't think of helping each other instead...we had those kind of people, I guess, too. That get too ambitious. *Umeek* - whatever he went out for he got....I know they called one man *Umeek* because he was always catching big spring salmon. He gets, but he gets for his people. Not just for himself."

I press on and ask, "When you see somebody with goods...then what do you immediately think of what he is doing? So its not just about getting it but getting has to do with what you do to get it. So is *Umeek* more about what they do to get it than what they get?"

She agrees "I think so yes, that's really good. You know, even though they were very secretive about their *oosunch*, I think they kept on in their thoughts as they went about whatever they were doing, they kept...focusing on what they were....that's what I'm going to get, that's what I'm going to get...*Kleeco, kleeco*...that's what I'm going to get...you're going to give it to me. Me and Richard were talking about how we really drifted away from it but it cannot be done away with. Its got something. We're still wanting it and wanting to use it. And its quiet something. Like the Bible. [You] can't do away with the Bible, 'cause it has power. I think its something like that. Now we're
looking into it again. It has something. Its something that we can still use and maybe help who knows, anybody that wants help, no matter what nationality they are."

I raise the graphic, gory nature of the story and ask if it would create a barrier to understanding and learning. Elsie replies that its because of pride, that they want to be best [not to look after the people]...they aren't focused anymore. Even when you're not doing it...keep it in your thoughts...keep it in your thoughts...say Gnaa-nah-niq-sup ask him to show you...they're close by."

I ask her how she sees the learning issues in the details and the basic underlying aspects of the story by recounting some of the events. She has identified that there were problems with envy and who one does things for. I want to refocus on the learning aspects and ask about the learning of the chiefs. She was not familiar with the wife doing the whaling ritual with her husband as she had read in the story. I told her how I had heard about it and the ethnographic record of it. She had heard about the sexual abstinence during the ritual period and knew that it was a long time. I went on to tell her the story about Middle Beach where the mother had taught her son how to whale.

Elsie replied, "You know Keesta, he was really strong...then they started to slip...with too much drinking...now you're coming up again...you and Richard...you're getting strong again the way it should have always stayed. I thought Keesta was really strong...I was very young when I knew him and I respected him. I thought he was a very strong man."

I try to refocus back on the story, the three main characters, the elder head chief, the younger chief that turns into Umeek, there's the son, Øyeph, the progression of events and the outcomes and since stories were used for teaching, what can we learn about learning in this story.
Elsie replies, "[I]ts just that each person, each child or whoever your teaching, is going to chose, are they going to be like one of them that’s not so good or are they going like that does the oosumch, does it right and brings home the food for his people, because that’s what he is, he wants to help...that’s all he wants to do, help his people...he's not trying to make a name for himself, he just thinks about providing...and helping and keeping the teachings and oosumch, and everything the way it should be, not for your own gain you know, your doing it for your people...if you have the right attitude and the right way I think you'll always get what you need...you won't be in want...when you go ....it does have a lot in it...when you do think about it...how you keep your thoughts...its just as important as speaking your thoughts...what you're thinking about."

I ask how she thinks these traditional stories and ways of learning could contribute to our understanding of Nuu-chah-nulth learning, how we would use them or how they could be useful.

Elsie states, "I think that because we have such a lot of drugs around and things like that, I think that oosumch would be really good...to keep them away from those things...our young people....I think their starting now at the centers...you know, they have a lot of sweats and ponds, they encourage to keep using that."

I ask her about the treatment center focus because when I worked at the Ahousaht Holistic Center the vision there was to have community programming that would integrate good practices into the local environment to support those that had come out of treatment and those who did not attend or if it could be available to families.

She comments that, "I don't know if this would work, not as doing it but as thinking about it...visualize...thinking about it...visualize that you are trying to strengthen yourself, cleanse yourself. [For example] in the family if a mom or a dad took
time to just say those things... visualize that your going to better today if they did
something bad the day before... were not going to do that today... cause we are going to
ask the Great Power to help us because we're just people. We make mistakes. We don't
do that enough to start off a day. And if we would somehow have parents take time. Just
a few minutes to talk like that to their children. We get so busy. But that's important.

We all need help and we don't want prayer or anything like that in school anymore. I
think that [prayer] was good in school. I still talk about one teacher I had that said 'live
each day like it's your last'. Today is the important day. Don't think about tomorrow or
can't change what happened. It's gone. It's today. She always said. I never forget that. I
was very young when she said it to us. 'Live today like its your last'."

I ask if she sees a place for these stories to be used and if so where and how.

Elsie says, "I think so, because what works for one doesn't work for another.
What I thought of really, working at the treatment center, if I would please say something
right so that I can trigger somebody that can't get something out. Give me the right
words to say at the right time, because its tim[ing] that's important. To sort ...spirit
walk. Timing really is important. So somebody could say something and somebody
[else] could say it, but word it different, the same thing and it'll work. Things like that."

I suggest that timing such as she is speaking about might be an issue in the
classroom when individuals require their needs be more individually met and ask if she
would say that a basic underlying idea in Nuu-chah-nulth culture is that everybody is
very different and learns quite differently, so then what would that say to classroom
learning... then... would that make classroom learning a problem?

She says, "I don't think it matters what the student is striving for, what he wants to
be, they all have to have that basic. [To] know right from wrong... to really [be able to]
go the way we want to go. So all those stories are about getting stronger to the right things. [Those stories would allow you to] learn what ever you want. You could have [anything you want]. But if you don't have those [you wouldn't know right from wrong] and I think is very important to what ever you're going to do in life."

She continues, "Talking about that teacher again. She didn't allow lying or anything like that. In your schoolwork [you] couldn't cheat. You were really taught that by her. I'll never forget that teacher. She wasn't young. Seems she was gray haired. That really stayed with me all my life. I think of her yet. I even use her sometimes. The things that she said that really left an impression on me."

I ask how what she said was different from the way things were brought out at home. Elise thinks its mainly that the teacher articulated it in English whereas it was articulated in Nuu-chah-nulth in her home life. But she saw them as similar teachings except that the teacher at the boarding school was more direct in telling her what to do. I ask about this difference in ways of learning in childhood.

Elsie conceded that she had a problem with being told what to do and was sensitive to the difference in ways of learning. "...[W]hen I became older...I must have resented that always being told what to do, when to do it, I had it. at school, at the school, at the residential school, it gave me a phobia...always, I didn't like someone to...I'd get my back up when someone said...I should do this...I wanted to make the decision myself...but I am over that ...when I once realized what it was it was gone."

I ask how that was different from the way she was asked to help with the older people when she was at home with her family. How was that done that was different or was it about by who it was done that was different. She felt that it was because it wasn't done in her own language. She didn't realize until she was older that someone was
always saying that she couldn't do this couldn't do that...couldn't talk to this person, couldn't talk to that person. It had not been her experience growing up in her family of orientation and when it had it was done with love and caring, without anger. At school there had been a lot of anger.

Elsie explains, "[There was anger] especially at meals. If you didn't like what you were eating, you had to eat it or you got that stick that [the] lady was carrying around. I always picture that stick. [I] see that stick. It looked like a big stick [though] it probably wasn't because I was small. It looked huge to me."

I asked whether she could imagine using stories like this or the kinds of differences in learning. Could she picture using them in say, training programs. Would they be useful in training programs, when people have to retrain to do something. For example, if they are fishermen and now there is no more fishing and they say, 'Well, I need to do something else and then I'm going to have to look for something else to do.' Do these stories have anything to say to people like that?

Elsie replies, "Well, if you have to learn something else, I think the only way you can learn something else is to focus and make your mind up. You're going to learn something else...[based on the stories] if you start to oosumch. You start to see things you didn't notice before. You're always led like [by your] coincidence. Then you are shown what you should do next. Then you've got the right thoughts. You have the right guardian. Whatever you want to say [he] eventually shows you. I think it all comes down to that. I really do. You gotta keep on that right track." "Its hard, I know and most people won't believe it anymore today...because we have so many other things that blind us. We don't see those important things anymore that kept our people alive and will keep us alive today too if we keep our thoughts the right way we'll be shown. Coincidence
will happen [which] will show us. That’s what we were able to do. That’s what we’re going to do.”

What about how the different characters went about learning how to whale I ask her? She replies that those are choices they made. And if our choices are wrong, I ask? She replies that its our responsibility to know what we are doing is right. She would be comfortable telling this story as a means for helping individuals learn how to go about finding a way. She agrees that speaking about the partnership between husbands and wives would be helpful in a school setting and particularly during this time of transition in Nuu-chah-nulth families. Because this type of thing is no longer taught at home, a school setting may be the place for such teachings. She feels that since the Bible is no longer allowed in schools, cultural teachings would be valuable and useful as a means to help children and adults learn.