

YUQUOT:  
AN ETHNOHISTORY  
OF A NOOTKAN VILLAGE

By

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## YUQUOT

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PREFACE

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# INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1966, the prehistoric territory of the Nootkans on the west coast of Vancouver Island was, as described by Charles E. Borden, "one of the last frontiers of North American archaeology." During the summer of the same year one of the largest, single-season excavations carried out by the Canadian National Historic Sites Service (under the direction of W. J. Folan, assisted by John T. Dewhirst) penetrated the enormous midden at the Moachat, Nootkan village of Yuquot (also known as Nootka and Friendly Cove) and the site of the 18th-century Spanish military post of Santa Cruz, ~~(M.L.C.)~~. The midden was excavated to a depth of 18 feet utilizing a meticulously detailed technique of both horizontal and vertical control. The excavation of approximately 8,400 cubic feet of midden by trowel, produced more than 5,000 prehistoric and historic artifacts and approximately 100 cubic feet of faunal material, all now under analysis by ~~2~~<sup>3</sup> collaborators. This culturally related material -- combined with the wealth of ethnohistoric and ethnographic descriptions and objects of material culture collected from the Nootka Sound area from first contact by the Spanish explorer Juan Pérez in 1774, Captain James Cook in 1778, and many others to the present day -- forms the basis for a multi-disciplined, <sup>and</sup> integrated ~~multidisciplinary~~ analysis of the prehistoric and historic inhabitants of Yuquot from its earliest known occupation to the present. This approach will provide a comprehensive diachronic study of one of the most widely discussed but least

understood prehistoric cultures located in Canada (see Folan and Dewhirst 1970a, b).

*and John H. Johnson (the author) has*  
Philip Drucker (1951: 6-10) ~~has thoroughly~~ described the geography of the West Coast of Vancouver Island so only a few statements, specifically about the Nootka Sound area, will be included here. The Outer Sound is formed by a great "C"-shaped entrance leading to three major inlets: Tahsis, Tlupana and Muchalat. Although the heavily wooded, rocky, and gravel shores of the sound are warmed by the offshore Japanese Current, its waters are fairly frigid year round and they can very rapidly switch from a pattern of gentle rolling swells to one of the roughest areas of ocean on the Pacific Northwest Coast. The forests consist primarily of huge conifers such as red and yellow cedar, Douglas fir, and some deciduous trees, all well watered by the approximately 100 inches of annual rainfall that falls on the outer coast. Among the many bushes common to the area, several produce great quantities of berries. There are numerous edible roots to be found, such as those of the skunk cabbage, clover, fern, and others. Once a person leaves the immediate shores of the Sound he finds it unbelievably difficult to travel through the forest. One of the most memorable features is the incredible slipperyness of each and every step forward and backward.

In contrast to the awesome sights <sup>of</sup> ~~formed by~~ sea, shore, and forest, the lower reaches of the many rivers and streams emptying into the Sound appear as welcoming brooks -- at least during the drier summer months. These rivers are the great trails taken seasonally by the undulating sheets of salmon ascending them to spawn primarily during the fall and early winter months. Chum or "dog" salmon are the commonest, but there are also pinks, coho, and others. Herring school in the lower regions ~~and~~

of the Sound and up the inlets during the late fall and winter months, later spawning in the small coves that dent the lower sound. Offshore waters are noted for liberal quantities of cod, halibut, spring salmon and pilchards, while the beaches are well stocked with pockets of shellfish populations. Hair seal, sea lions, porpoises, whales, and sea otters inhabit the offshore areas in fairly large numbers and fur seal are found further out where they travel back and forth on their yearly migrations.

The forest is rich in animal life. Deer, elk, black bear, mountain lions, wolves, and many more mammals are there to be trapped and hunted. Many ducks and geese consider Nootka Sound an ideal place to light on their journeys up and down the coast, thus pleasing the palates of the Sound's human inhabitants since earliest times.

Although nature provided the inhabitants of the Sound with a potentially rich larder, it required a great deal of knowledge and skill to take advantage of it. Often times, in spite of all the subsistence items available at certain times of the year and the Nootkans' ability to procure and preserve them for future use, they were often unable to tap these resources due to bad weather conditions. The Indians also occasionally miscalculated their stock of provisions against the odds of replacing them from sea, shore, forest, or ~~side~~ kin. They thus suffered periods of want and deprivation usually during the spring and early summer months.

This study <sup>is</sup> ~~represents~~ a <sup>Cultural</sup> backward glance at the development of ~~settlement and subsistence patterns~~ in the Nootka Sound Area in general, and the Nootkan village of Yuquot (yUkwat) specifically, from the beginning of human habitation to 1969. I say a glance because much of what occurred along the shores of the Sound before European contact in the

1770<sup>+</sup> comes down to the ethnohistorian only as a few unique events, some of major and others of minor importance which, however, fortunately combine to form a shadowy image of the pre-, proto-, and historic Nootkans. This picture is, of course, supplemented by archaeological data gleaned from the huge shell midden at the village <sup>site</sup> of Yuquot; a midden <sup>that</sup> which has been forming for the past 4,200 years. In general, the picture provided by the archaeology ~~(which is still in the process of being written up)~~ is that the inhabitants of Yuquot through time have been a rather conservative people, fishing and hunting and collecting the same species of fauna (and probably flora) since their earliest discovered habitation of the site, and all the while utilizing basically the same fishing and hunting equipment and tools (see Folan and Dewhirst 1970a, b). Further, there is no reason to believe that they lived in structures differing much from some of those drawn by John Webber in 1778 during Captain James Cook's third and last voyage of discovery.

On the other hand, much of what occurred during the early historic period remains undocumented. For example, it is usually assumed that the people living in Yuquot during Cook's visit there were the same ones contacted a few years later by such people as Captains Hanna, Strange, Colnett, and others, including George Vancouver. Nevertheless, though both Colnett and Vancouver were with Cook in 1778, neither of them stated categorically on their return to the Sound that they met <sup>with</sup> the same people contacted that year. Adding to this dilemma is that the Nootkan names recorded by Cook in 1778 do not seem to match <sup>with</sup> any of the names recorded for historic Nootkan personages by subsequent journalists or ethnographers. There are, however, several Nootkan traditions describing Cook's arrival in the sound and visits to a few of the villages lining the



shore. Furthermore, there <sup>are</sup> several hints in Vancouver's published description of his voyages of exploration in the 1790's <sup>that</sup> suggest that <sup>he</sup> ~~Vancouver~~ <sup>assumed</sup> that his readers would understand that there had not been any major changes in the inhabitants of Yuquot since initial, recorded contact. So, based on these general statements and a few more specific ones, it is here inferred that, basically, the people who inhabited Nootka Sound and Yuquot <sup>at</sup> during the time of Cook's visit were the same people seven, eight, and ten years later.

Although most journalists listed and described many early historic personages from the Sound, almost all of whom can now be identified as to <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~ affiliation (except those listed <sup>by</sup> Cook), no one even hinted at knowledge of a ~~lineage~~ <sup>household</sup> name. Village names were, <sup>however,</sup> noted regularly (except by Cook), and often names were given of a few of the most important historic Nootkans residing there. However, since high-ranked Nootkans may change names and rank several times in their lifetime (see Drucker 1939), it was often difficult (though not impossible) to ascertain who was who at various times.

For the purpose of this study, I am accepting the assumption that the Nootka Sound people formed a ranked society at contact and that the highest ranking individual in a ~~lineage~~ household was chief (ha'wi?) because of ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> primogenitural rights or through adoption (see Drucker 1951: 243-273; Fried 1968: 109). At contact, chiefs from different ~~households~~ <sup>households</sup> ~~lineages~~ were ranked ~~one~~ <sup>each</sup> in relation to ~~the~~ other while residing in multi-~~household~~ <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~, local alliance villages such as Yuquot or kUpti. It seems fairly clear that chiefs of different local alliances were not ranked in relation to each other (except by outsiders) until what became known as the Moachat Confederacy was formed, here inferred to be a post-contact <sup>xi</sup>

event.

Although the ethnohistoric record indicates that the Yuquot Nootkans formed basically what Sahlins describes (1968: 21) as a segmented tribe rather than chieftainship, they were actually much closer to a chieftainship or to a "hierarchical" society and became increasingly so up to the early years of the 20th century (see Service 1968: 167). The "big-man" as described by Sahlins (1968:22) is barely discernible among the Yuquot Nootkans, in most cases emerging as the second highest ranking member of a community, <sup>a high ranking chief's younger brother or</sup> ~~the Kwakwaka'wakw Confederacy~~ if, indeed, a "big-man" existed at all.

Although Northwest Coast societies are usually considered ~~in the~~ literature to have been the possessors of huge surpluses under the control of chiefs, <sup>who do not</sup> ~~doling out~~ food and riches to the members of their household, this is only a half-truth. It is true that in the Nootka Sound area, there were huge surpluses in or near the sea, ~~in~~ the rivers during salmon runs, and in the forests. This does not mean, however, that the residents of the Sound fished, hunted or collected enough of these commodities to fill their houses to the brim with a never-ending supply of consumables or wealth items such as sea otter hides or dentalium shells. Neither was there a "surplus" under the control of a chief or several chiefs who acquired "a social power; status" as the recipient and distributor of these items during the time of want as Weinberg (1965) claims for the Kwakiutl. Time after time, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic literature from Nootka Sound points out that when the people were out of food, so were the chiefs, much to their chagrin and disadvantage -- rather than advantage -- because, as "bringers" of food, they were held responsible for the situation and at times were even physically threatened because of the lack of subsistence.

Another matter of interest is Suttles's (1960) idea that one could obtain wealth by exchanging food for wealth goods and translating the goods into high status. <sup>The same is not true among</sup> Although this may be true among the historic Coast Salish <sup>studied by him</sup>, I doubt very much if it were true among their prehistoric ancestors or the prehistoric and historic Nootkans except when dealing with foreigners. Status and rank, among the Nootkans were inherited, not earned and no one <sup>even the did not</sup> increased in esteem by hoarding a pile of food to exchange for wealth. Esteem was earned through generosity rather than miserliness, a fact basic to the understanding of Nootkan culture.

Another point of interest ~~that may be mentioned~~ is the oft repeated argument that surplus among the Nootkans made possible the development of specialists. <sup>First of all,</sup> there was no surplus, but <sup>only</sup> an abundance of food (and feasting) at certain times of the year. If a specialist needed time to develop skills, the Nootkans had plenty of time -- but without a surplus. <sup>Further, to aid in putting an end to the "fact"</sup> that the introduction of iron tools to the Northwest Coast by Europeans and Americans increased considerably the amount and the size (some would say quality) of wood carving on the coast, <sup>I categorically state that</sup> ~~this simply is~~ not so. The Nootkans had metals before Pérez and Cook sailed into the Sound and the iron in their possession was formed into cutting edges for "D"-shaped and straight-edged adzes <sup>and</sup> plus half-moon, ulu-shaped knives. Furthermore, there is no indication that carving increased or improved after contact. <sup>With few exceptions,</sup> Actually, in the long run it has deteriorated, incredibly in most areas.

~~At this point I should indicate that I do not say much about the potlatch in this study. Although the reasons are many, the two outstand-~~



At this point it <sup>should</sup> ~~may~~ be noted that ~~there exists~~ <sup>exist</sup> a great many traits/among the people of Nootka Sound that are also described for the Kwakiutl. Although some of these traits, indeed, entire ceremonies, were, in some cases, obtained through marriage with the Kwakiutl, others are probably indigenous to both groups. I have not, however, attempted a detailed comparison between Nootkan and Kwakiutl traits with the idea of determining which group is responsible for either one thing or another, but it is at times mentioned that one ceremonial or another has been described as coming from the Kwakiutl. <sup>It is</sup> One impression I do not wish to give is that Nootkan culture is merely a watered-down version of Kwakiutl culture. It is not in any sense of the word. Both cultures are, ~~in my estimation,~~ <sup>of</sup> equal interest and complexity.

For the purpose of this study, all people living in the Nootka Sound area who are known <sup>to</sup> each <sup>to</sup> the other and who reside together at any site at any time of the year are regarded as forming a community. Any site where they reside at any time of the year is considered <sup>to be</sup> as a community unit and <sup>is</sup> referred to as a village, site, campsite, local group, etc. The manner in which the structures of a particular community unit are distributed over the site, the particular groups residing in these structures, and the activities taking place in them are considered primarily due to socio-cultural causes. The distribution of a community and its units <sup>resource</sup> over their territory is referred to as the settlement pattern of the community. Those forces which govern the distribution or location of the community units are considered primarily due to cultural ecological forces. However, a community, its units and the settlement pattern of an area can only be understood as forming parts of a whole. They are mutually inclusive (see Chang 1958, ~~and~~ <sup>Chang</sup> 1962).

Minimally, a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor form a <sup>house, band</sup> lineage and the union of two or more <sup>house bands</sup> lineages living at a common village with a seriation of their chiefs is referred to as a local alliance. A local alliance does not have to share a common winter village as <sup>is</sup> prescribed by Drucker in his definition of a tribe. It is <sup>very</sup> possible that people sharing the same village on a year-round, spring, summer or fall basis may have also formed a local alliance during prehistoric, early historic or later times in the Nootka Sound area.

The union of two or more local alliances at a common, usually summer, village, seriation of chiefs and a common name is referred to as a

"confederacy" (see Drucker 1951: 220).

The subsistence patterns practiced in the Sound agree with Flannery's suggestion (in Deetz 1971: 345) that people adapted to a ~~series~~ series of plant and animal genera whose ranges crosscut several environments rather than adapting to "micro-environments" within a given zone. Further, in agreement with Coe and Flannery's Mesoamerican data (1964: 50) it would appear that the inhabitants of Nootka Sound did not adapt to whole "environmental zones" but they did adapt to as much of these zones to which they had access with the possible exception of the nearby iron, copper, and gold deposits. As in the Mesoamerican example (Flannery in Deetz 1971: 352-353), seasonality was ~~very~~ important to the inhabitants of the Sound since their first arrival. But of equal importance, once again, was access to seasonal resources and what had to be accomplished to gain access. Scheduling, as viewed from Nootka Sound, operated along the lines of people opting for the most viable alternatives plus the division of labour along sex lines and very importantly, the degree of an individual's or group's expertise in one endeavor<sup>1A</sup> more than in another. Although scheduling did not always prevent "starvation" on the coast, it did help work out a "more effective adaptation." Contrary to what Flannery (in Deetz 1971: 355-356) found for the Southern Mexican Highland area during the latter part of the food collecting era, it is doubtful if the inhabitants of Nootka Sound would have exhausted their food resources if they had not practiced seasonality and scheduling as part of a "deviation - counteracting" feed-back system. What they would have experienced is a greater amount of conflict and hunger. For example, one can picture hundreds ~~and hundreds~~<sup>6-</sup> of people descending on the most productive salmon stream in the Sound to trap and harpoon their winter stock of chum salmon while ignoring less impressive streams supporting similar but smaller runs

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at the same time. I doubt very much if the salmon from the subject stream would be exhausted, but I can well imagine that the people lining its shores would have found it a most unpleasant and unproductive experience.

I do not think that Flannery's deviation - counteracting processes would serve as a preventative to control the expansion of population in the Sound beyond what the flora and fauna would support. The flora and fauna in the Nootka Sound area could have supported an immense population during prehistoric times. The only thing that limited the population of the Sound (aside from armed conflict) was the degree of efficiency demonstrated by its inhabitants in the exploitation of available subsistence resources, the ability to store them and to distribute them efficiently. I am quite certain that the population of the Sound increased through time in direct proportion to the inhabitants' ability to better utilize available resources.

~~Following Willey's (1956: 1) lead that "there is no settlement - pattern approach to archaeology."~~ I have chosen to apply the ethnohistoric and ethnographic approach to develop a model of the socio-cultural development of the Nootka Sound area and particularly the village of Yuquot during the past 4,200 years, ~~stimulated, in part, by Chubb's 1958 and 1962 settlement pattern models.~~ The published and unpublished material drawn on has been treated in the same manner as an ethnographer analyzes his notes. Much of what has been selected for inclusion has been paraphrased so that those Nootkans and explorers, traders, military personnel, missionaries and ethnographers who visited or lived among the Yuquot Nootkans during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries are, <sup>as participant observers</sup> ~~with my sympathetic efforts,~~ retelling our story. <sup>18th, 19th and 20th</sup>

THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE TERMS NOOTKA, YUQUOT  
AND MOACHAT

The origin of the term Nootka and the site to which it refers have been the subject of considerable discussion. Captain Cook first referred to the "inlet" as Nookka; and his lieutenant, King, referred to it as Nook'ka. Later, in the 1785 publication of Cook's report on his voyage, it was given as Nootka. Neither man indicated where or from whom they learned the term. Cook named the sound King George's Sound and, according to Samwell, the sailors informally called it Cheepōes Sound, from the English interpretation of the indigenous term for brass and copper, referring to the Indians' great desire for these metals. However, the name Nootka prevailed (Cook 1785: 288; 1967: 308, 1104, 1401).

Estevan José Martínez, the Spanish commandant at Yuquot in 1789, thought the name Nootka had come from a misunderstanding between Cook's men and the Indians. <sup>When</sup> ~~An~~ English sailor <sup>drew</sup> ~~made a~~ a circle on the ground with his hand and rubbed it while asking the name of the "port" by sign, <sup>an Indian</sup> ~~The Indian (According to Martínez)~~ replied "Nootak," meaning to take away or withdraw. <sup>(but not according to 19th and 20th century Nootka dialect)</sup> The name ~~has~~ became popular with Europeans and the Indians, although puzzled, accepted it (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; Martínez 1964: 124).

Sasvedra believed that the "true Nuca," which the Indians called "Nuctica," was the small anchorage at the southernmost part of the entire archipelago. The "small anchorage" was probably Friendly Cove. Malaspina thought that "Nuctica" meant archipelago in general and that the name of the "confederated tribes" was probably derived from it. Neither Malaspina



nor his men ever heard the Indians use any other term when speaking of themselves (BCA, A/A/10/Sp 13t/v.3/c; BCA, A/A/30/M29).

In his incomplete notes Hewett, who was with Captain Vancouver, stated that "[Nootka] is not the In[dian] name as is ge[nerally] supposed as Nuche . . . Language means la[nding]" (brackets in original) and, in his vocabulary, listed noucha as the Nootkan term for land. It

would seem that, according to Hewett, Nootka was not an indigenous place name, *however, it is not according to 19th and 20th Century dictionaries*, but a variant of a general term for land or, less probably, landing (BCA, A/A/20/V28H; BM, Eth Doc 1126).

In the late 19th century, G. M. Sproat proposed another explanation of how the name Nootka became applied to the area in 1778. Whoever asked the Indians the name of the district during Cook's 1778 visit gesticulated as he did so. The Indians thought he was pointing to the surrounding mountains and replied "Noochee! Noochee!" According to Sproat, Nootka was derived from noochee (nutcī), meaning mountain (Sproat 1868: 315).

*But also* Brabant wrote that "the word Nootka is the frequentative of Nootkshitl: to go around, make a Circuit . . . Nootka-a would be a form of the Imperative . . . go around." He thought that some form of the word Nootka might have been used to refer to circumnavigating the globe or an island *So* ~~and, although he did not know how Nootka was originally~~

~~applied to the sound or the island, the word did exist in the Indians' language.~~ *his manuscript Nootkan dictionary listed mountain as nouchie.*

*Although A.J. Roberts* ~~but~~ Brabant did not comment on the similarity between this word and Nootka. Drucker later stated that Nootka was a "barbarism" and did not occur in the Indians' language (VEA, a; BCA, b; Drucker 1951: 3).

it is of more than passing interest that Brabant lists the term Nootka in his manuscript grammar of the "Hesquiat Language or Nootkan Language on the West Coast of Vancouver Island" giving as its meaning "the incipient action of going around [...] of making a circuit (p23)." Although Brabant did not know how the term Nootka was originally applied to the sound or the island, the word does, however, exist in the language.

Following Brabant in part it seems clear that because the term was recorded shortly after the arrival of the Resolution and the Discovery, the Indians could have, as <sup>5</sup>suggested by Brabant, encouraged the crews to go around Bligh Island, ~~for one unknown reason or another, but~~ possibly to place them within the territorial waters of a particular group of people. When Cook's ship dropped anchor near the tip of Bligh Island rather than continuing around it, it seems highly <sup>1</sup>probable that at least one group of Nootkans (possibly from Yuquot) could have ~~very~~ <sup>4</sup>voiciferously suggested that they continue to sail around the island while repeating the term

"Nootka". Thus, rather than labeling a group of people, the term Nootka <sup>may have been</sup> ~~was actually~~ <sup>to</sup> derived from a set of sailing instructions ~~for~~ <sup>to</sup> Cook and

his men upon their arrival in the sound (USA, a; PCA, b; Drucker 1951:3).

Euhquot. He was also the first to call the cove in front of the village Friendly Harbour, believing he was using Cook's name for the cove, though, in fact, Cook never ~~gave~~<sup>gave</sup> name <sup>to</sup> it. According to Martínez, the Indians' name for the site was Yucust or Yuquat, which meant "therefore." Unfortunately, Martínez did not record how he arrived at this ~~very~~<sup>01</sup> improbable definition. Hewett noted that "the place we anch[or in] Friendly Cove is c[alled] Uquat" (brackets in original). Brabant later detailed the origin of the word Yuquot: "from Yu-e or You-e wind; You Kwitl or Yu Kwitl to blow: and 'at' people village." Yuquot meant windy village or "a village which is struck by the wind from all quarters." (A less wordy translation would be "where the wind blows from all directions.") (Strange 1928: 48; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2: Martínez 1964: 124; BCA, A/A/20/V28H; VSA, B-4).

Even though the correct name of the village was first recorded in 1788, most writers referred to it as Nootka. Official recognition of the name did not come until the 1890<sup>s</sup> when the annual reports of the Canadian Department of the Interior (then responsible for Indian affairs) began to use Yuquot when referring to the village.

How the inhabitants of Yuquot originally referred to themselves as a group is not documented. The misnomer "Nootkans" was applied to them (and other groups in the area) for most of the historic period. Although most 20th-century writers refer to the confederated people whose spring and summer village is Yuquot as the Moachat (People of the Deer), recognizable variations of this term occurred only infrequently in the early literature.

Haswell, who first arrived at Friendly Cove late in 1788, drew a map, "Nootkan and Ahasset Sound's [sic]," on which he gave the name Mowichat Sound to what is now called Cook Channel. Later, Hewett used Mowachut (or Mowacheet) and Nootka interchangeably in reference to the sound and the Indians' language. Heddington referred to a chief (Tlupana<sup>u</sup>), (Lupana<sup>o</sup>) who lived on what is now known as Tlupana Inlet as "Chief of the Deer<sup>u</sup>"; however, Heddington most probably obtained the reference to deer from the name of Tlupana's village, mōwatcā, than from the name of <sup>a</sup>the confederacy (BCA, A/A/20/V28H; BM, Eth Doc 1126; PRO, Adm 55/16).

John Jewitt, who spent <sup>28</sup>~~twenty-eight~~ months (from March<sup>u</sup>, 1803, to July<sup>y</sup>, 1805) as a slave of the highest ranking chief at Yuquot, Maquinna, only referred to the people living at Yuquot as Nootkans and only associated "moawchat" and "Mo-watch-its" with people living north of Yuquot, presumably at <sup>o</sup>mōwatcā on Tlupana Inlet. The next record of the use of Moachat was an 1856 census in which the "Mbachet" were listed as a "Family"



of 576 people. Use of the term Moachat to refer to the confederated people became common by the early 20th Century (Jewitt 1807: 16; 1896: 77; PAC, MG 11, C0305, vol. 7).

In conclusion, the word Nootka or a close variant was ~~very probably~~ in use when Cook visited the area, <sup>but it</sup> ~~but what it referred to and meant is a meet point. The Indians might have been telling the English to go around Bligh Island or Nootka Island as Brabant indirectly suggested, or referring to a mountain as Sproat suggested, or even naming the archipelago as Malaspina thought. ~~was~~~~ was not the name of Friendly Cove as Saavedra suggested, nor was it the name of the people inhabiting the Nootka Sound area.

The extension of Nootka from the name of the Sound to the name of the people inhabiting the area would be a fairly natural error. Although these people did not call themselves Nootkans during the earliest period of European and American contact, they began to do so later as Malaspina noted. The early introduction and widespread use of the term Nootkan to refer to the people of the Nootka Sound area was probably one of the reasons why their own name for themselves was not recorded, if it were ever known.

Although the Moachat Confederacy (the union of the people who used Yuquot as their spring and summer village and those who lived on Tlupana Inlet) was probably formed some time after Cook arrived in Nootka Sound (see Historical Development), when the designation Moachat was first applied to it is less certain.

Ingraham's plan and Hewett's notes suggest that the term was in use in the 1780's and 90's, but Jewitt's references to the "Mo-watch-its" indicate that they were a group of people who were distinct from those at Yuquot. Jewitt's record suggests that the people forming, or about to

form, a confederacy in the Nootka Sound area did not refer to themselves as the Moachat until some time after 1805. As the above mentioned federal census revealed, the term Moachat was in use by 1856.

Nor is it clear why the confederacy took the name Moachat. *mōwatcā* was the principal village of Tlupana, the highest ranking chief of the Tlupana Inlet local alliance that, with the local alliance which seasonally resided at Yuquot, formed the confederacy, but why the name of Tlupana's village should be extended to refer to the confederacy is a matter of speculation. According to Brabant, the "main habitat" of the historic Maquinna's people "was at one time . . . 'Mowach'" (VSA, B-4). This suggests that at least one <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~ residing at Yuquot had a tradition that <sup>this place</sup> ~~there~~ was their original home and may account for the use of Moachat as the confederacy name, but it is quite certain for reasons detailed below that <sup>"Mowach"</sup> ~~there~~ was not the main habitat of Maquinna's <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~, the *yaŭactakamīath*, at least according to the other historic records.

In this study, when dealing with events and circumstances prior to 1850, the people whose spring and summer village was Yuquot are called the Yuquot Nootkans; they are not called the Moachat until 1850, after which date they themselves <sup>are known</sup> ~~began~~ to use the term.

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The Nootkan language is called Wakashan. This is derived from Cook's statement that if he were to name the Indians as a "Nation," he would call them "Wak'ashians" from the word "Wak'ash" which they (especially the women) frequently used in concert to express satisfaction, approval, friendship, and pleasure (Cook 1967: 323).

The following may make Nootkan nomenclature seem less formidable to the novice. The suffix /-āth/ means "one or more persons of . . ."

and is appended to a place name. For example, Lasmasáth, meaning man of Lasmas or people of Lasmas; Lasmas man or Lasmas people. (This is comparable to English language practice of referring to a resident of Redwood as a Redwoodite, etc.) The suffix /takámíath/ means "group of people of . . ." and is appended to an ancestral chief's name. For example, yaíūactakámíath, meaning the people of the place of the chief yaíūa, is roughly comparable to an English speaker referring to a resident of Johnstown as a Johnstownian (see Drucker 1951: 222).

The phonetic systems used in this study have not been standardized. In general, ~~however~~, most Nootkan terms closely follow Drucker's (1951: 5) or Curtis's (1916: VI) phonetic transcriptions. Following Drucker's lead, capitalized Confederacy names and the names of some villages (especially Yuquot) and all inlets are anglicized forms found on contemporary charts. Furthermore, the names of many historic Nootkan

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personages and deities are recorded as they were by journalists in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Any errors are, however, due wholly and solely to this tin-eared <sup>Archaeologist</sup> ~~ethnohistorian~~ who never really mastered Nootkan phonetics.



# HISTORICAL PERIODS AND WRITTEN SOURCES

## HISTORIC PERIODS AND

### WRITTEN SOURCES

An ethnohistory of the Yuquot Nootkans can be divided into six periods -- Protohistoric, Early Explorers, Early Traders, Spanish Occupation, Sporadic Contact, and the Eurocanadian Period -- reflecting the varying types and amounts of contact the Yuquot Nootkans had or did not have with non-indigenous people. Excepting a few instances, each <sup>Section</sup> chapter in this study has been divided into the above sub-<sup>Sections</sup> chapters. The nature of certain <sup>Sections</sup> chapters, such as Historical Development, precluded such divisions and the paucity of information on certain subjects made the combination of two or more sub-<sup>Sections</sup> chapters the most practical manner in which to handle the material. In other instances, sub-<sup>Sections</sup> chapters were deleted because no information was available. For all but the Protohistoric period, the following discussion of the ethnohistoric periods include an historical resume of non-indigenous people's contact with the Yuquot Nootkans as it was their system to which the Nootkans tried to adapt and their writings were the main sources for the bulk of the ethnohistoric material. For a complete account of the history of the Nootka Sound area, centering on European, American, and Canadian activities there, see Bartoli *et al.* ( ).

The Protohistoric period of the Yuquot Nootkans covers an unknown span of time from their misty origins on the coast to their first, indirect contact with the Spaniards in 1774. Since the Nootkans had no written language, the researcher must turn to the legends which have been transcribed after many decades of oral tradition for information about the Protohistoric period. But these legends do not always deal with the commonplace. They include accounts of such things as people's origin, ancestral chiefs, supernatural experiences and warfare. Legends often provide conflicting information. What is evidently the same legend can have several different versions, depending on the respondents' <sup>household</sup> lineage affiliations. However, in spite of their limitations, legends are very valuable sources for a study of the Yuquot Nootkans.

The information found in the protohistoric sub-chapters of this study has been gathered primarily from the legends George Hunt, a Kwakiutl, collected for Franz Boas and those Edward S. Curtis collected. Hunt's Nootkan material is published in Part Two of Boas's "The Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians" in Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology and in Appendix I, "Myths of the Nootka," of Boas's Tsimshian Mythology. Curtis's material appears in Volume 11 of his too frequently ignored work, The North American Indian.

Supplementary material was found in John Meares's Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America . . . , José Moziño's Noticias de Nutka . . . , Alessandro Malaspina's

Viage político-científico alrededor del Mundo . . . ., and Philip Drucker's Nootka Field Notebooks, August 1935 - December 1936. My conversations with Moschat respondents of various <sup>Lineages</sup> ~~lineages~~ also confirmed or supplemented the legends found in the above mentioned sources.

The second period into which the ethnohistory of the Yuquot Nootkans can be divided is that of the early explorers -- Pérez who arrived in 1774, and Cook who arrived in 1778. Juan Pérez, in command of the Santiago, had been sent north in response to Spanish fears that Russian activity in what is now Alaska would jeopardize Spanish claims to the Pacific Coast of North America. On August 8th, 1774, the Santiago anchored off Estevan Point in what is now Hesquiat territory. The Spaniards did not land and an impending storm prompted them to seek the comparative safety of the open ocean the following day. Their only contact with the Nootkans had been limited to the people who paddled out to the ship and exchanged small articles with the crew. Whether or not any Yuquot Nootkans were among the Spaniards' visitors is not known.

The Nootkan material from Pérez's voyage, brief as it is, does contribute to our knowledge of the people of the Nootka Sound area at contact. The main sources were Bolton's Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774, the Diario de Fray Tomás de la Peña Saveria and excerpts of official Spanish reports in Viages en la Costa al Norte de las Californias, 1774-1790. Terhaar's "Romance of the Missions" in the St. Joseph Magazine touched on the indigenous people's reaction to the Spaniards' arrival.

Captain James Cook arrived in Nootka Sound on March 29th, 1778, almost two years out of England on his third voyage of exploration for the British Admiralty, to seek a northern passage between the Pacific and

His ships, the Resolution and Discovery, anchored in "Kagusekai (where driftwood gathers and is to be found" [Brabant MS]), also known as Ship Cove and Resolution Cove, at the southeastern tip of Bligh Island. For four weeks, until they sailed north on 26 April, the British were in almost daily contact with the Indians of the area. The residents of Yuquot must certainly have been frequent visitors to the ships, but can only be singled out as a distinct group in records of the sailors' visits to and Webber's drawings of the "Indian Town" which was Yuquot.

Because Cook's mission was one of exploration with colonization and exploitation of one form or another in the minds of at least his superiors, he and his men, with few exceptions, treated their Nootkan friends with a fairly large measure of kind consideration to assure themselves of friendly allies should they ever return to the sound. On the other hand, during the time that Cook spent in Nootka Sound, the politics of the moment seemed to dictate that various groups of Nootkans living on the shores of the sound had, at one time or another, to compete for Cook's favour so that they would be the recipients of the wealth goods contained within the holds of his ships. So, one may say, that both the British and the Nootkans were, for the most part, on their best behaviour during most of the stay.



The bulk of the information in the Early Explorers sub-chapter is provided by Cook and his men, many of whom, fortunately for the researcher, were observant, perceptive, and prolific writers. The main <sup>compulsively</sup> manuscript sources used were James Burney's Log of the Discovery and Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Sloop The Discovery; Bayly's A Log and Journal kept on board H. M. Sloop Discovery by William Bayly, August 1, 1776 to December 3, 1779; and Ricu's Log of Edward Ricu, midshipman Discovery, later of Resolution.

Unfortunately, James Anderson's journal for this leg of Cook's 1778 journey has been misplaced, but sections of Cook's published description of his stay in Nootka Sound are attributed to Anderson, one of Cook's most able shipmates.

One of the most important sources of information on the people of the Nootka Sound area at this time was the work of John Webber, the artist commissioned by the British Admiralty to accompany Captain Cook. His drawings and sketches provided the first graphic record of the Nootkans, their customs and their material culture, a record no journal could duplicate. Webber's Nootkan material was obtained from the British Museum and the National Maritime Museum in England; the Dixon Library,

yaney, and the National Library of Australia, Canberra, in Australia; the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, and the private collection of Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Berkeley, California; in the United States of America; and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, Canada.

The main published sources included Cook's A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . and two publications generally catalogued under his name: Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, on Discovery; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 . . . (by John Rickman) and The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery (edited by J. C. Beaglehole). Volume Three, "The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780," of the last mentioned publication provided material from the journals of Cook, King, Portlock, Sawwell, Williams, and Williamson. Also used were William Ellis's: An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clarke in His Majesty's Ships Resolution and Discovery during the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 & 1780 . . . and John Ledyard's A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-West Passage, between Asia and America . . . .

Supplementary manuscript sources were Cook's Captain Cook's Log of H. M. S. Resolution, 1776-1779; Volume Two of Trevenen's Notes written in the margins of Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, by James Trevenen, midshipman on board the Resolution, 1777-1790; and C. Gilbert's Journal of Cook's Third Voyage, 1776-1780.

Supplementary published sources on Cook's voyage were Heinrich Zimmerman's Zimmerman's Captain Cook and Cook's The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Charts and Views, drawn by Cook and His Officers and Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts (edited by

R. A. Skeldon). Information on artifacts Cook and his men collected in the Nootka Sound area was provided by Roland W. and Maryanne Force's Art and Artifacts of the 18th Century: Objects in the Leverian Museum As Painted by Sarah Stone; Enrico Hillyer Giglioli's 'Costa Nord-Ouest Dell'America Boreale e Terre Artiche,' chapter five of "Appunti intorno ad una collezione ethnografica fatta durante il terzo viaggio di Cook" in Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia; Karl Henking's Die Südsee- und Alaskasammlung Johann Wäber; and Hans-Georg Bandi's "Einige Gegenstände aus Alaska und Britisch Columbia gesammelt von Johann Wäber (John Weber) Bern/London, während der Dritte Forschungsreise von James Cook, 1776-1780" in International Congress of Americanists Proceedings.

The third period into which the ethnohistory of the Yuquot Nootkans is divided is that of the early traders, from 1785 to 1789. Commerce-oriented men of the 18th century only required that knowledge of the geography of the Northwest Coast of America be added to their knowledge that merchants of Canton and Macao paid high prices for sea otter furs from the North American coast in order to send trading expeditions there. Charts of Cook's voyage were published in the early 1780's and traders soon followed Cook's route. Although representatives of companies whose maneuvers to block or circumvent their rivals brought nominally Portuguese and Austrian ships into Nootka Sound, all the early traders were British.



Whereas the early traders, in contrast to Cook and his men (at least ideally), were on the coast principally for profit rather than the extension of man's knowledge of man, the pattern of relationship between the British and the Nootkans changed. The traders no longer had groups of Nootkans competing for their favour but, on the contrary, the traders now had to compete for the cooperation of the Nootkans to get the furs essential to the success of their voyage. Besides, traders at times had to compete with other traders to get the best and the most furs for the least amount of expenditure. This is not to say that the Nootkans did not at times try to attract (or attack) various traders, but that the sea otter trade had developed a two-way street. Once a fair quantity of European trade goods had been poured into Nootka Sound, they became less and less scarce to the Nootkans but at the same time the Nootkans' supply of sea otter pelts began to diminish due to overhunting. Therefore, because the Nootkans had direct access to the scarcest of the scarce commodities on the coast, the European traders could only obtain them by careful diplomacy coupled with increased reciprocation and variety of trade goods or outright force, both of which were reverted to at one time or another.

James Hanna, captain of the Sea Otter (or Harmon), arrived in Nootka Sound on August 9th, 1785. The length of his stay, like his dealings with the Yuquot Nootkans (said to have begun with a brief skirmish), is unrecorded. James Strange's ships, the Captain Cook and Experiment, anchored in Friendly Cove on July 6th, 1786, and departed with a cargo of furs three weeks later. John McKay, the Experiment's surgeon, remained in Yuquot to

study the Nootkans for information which would be helpful to Strange's proposed, but never executed, future expeditions. Captain Hanna reappeared in August of that year, long enough to ascertain that Strange had obtained all the sea otter skins in the area.

Captain William Barkley's ship, the Imperial Eagle (or London) anchored in Friendly Cove in mid-June, 1787, and took John McKay aboard. With McKay's assistance, Barkley obtained a large number of sea otter skins before he sailed on July 24th. Captain James Colnett and Captain Charles Duncan, on the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal respectively, arrived in Nootka Sound on July 6th of the same year. On finding Barkley ensconced in Friendly Cove, they proceeded up Tlupana Inlet. They returned to Friendly Cove soon after Barkley left, then sailed north on August 5th.

Duncan returned to the Nootka Sound area on March 31st, 1788, and spent more time making repairs than trading before he sailed north on May 10th. Two days later John Meares arrived in Friendly Cove aboard the Felice Adventurer and set up a factory (trading station) in what is now known as Meares' Corner. The factory was his base for two trading expeditions southward that summer. His trading partner, Captain Douglas, arrived at Yuquot on the Iphigenia Nubiana late in August. Meares left to winter in Hawaii on September 23rd and Douglas followed him a month later.

Unfortunately, documentation pertinent to this section of the study is much less than might have been expected. The traders' main concern was the profit to be made by buying and selling sea otter furs; their interest in the Yuquot Nootkans was secondary. Unlike Cook, few traders intended to publish their records for fear of assisting their competition. Also

at least three very important sources -- the journals of Hanna, McKey, and the Barkleys -- were lost or destroyed.

The main sources used were Strange's James Strange's Journal and Narrative of the Commercial Expedition from Bombay to the North-West Coast of America, together with a Chart showing the tract of the Expedition, Colnett's The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal from 16 October 1786 to 7 November 1788, and Meares' Voyages made in the years 1783 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America . . . . Supplementary material was found in Strange's Letter by James Strange to the Honourable Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, 22 February 1788, William Hunter's "Letter from W. Hunter Regarding Voyages of the Vessels Captain Cook and Experiment to the Northwest Coast in the Fur Trade, Nov. 21, 1786" in The White Knight Chapbooks and "'New Fur Trade' an article from the World, London, Oct. 6 and Oct. 13, 1788, describing the earliest voyages to the Northwest Coast of America," also in The White Knight Chapbooks.



The next period is that of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot (which they called Santa Cruz de Nuca), from 1789 to 1795. The sub-chapter title is intended to indicate that the Spaniards were at Yuquot almost continuously, ~~not that they were the only foreigners there~~. Fears of Russian expansion prompted Spain to establish a military post at Yuquot to strengthen its claims to the Pacific coast of America. The ensuing conflict of interest, not between Spain and Russia but between Spain and Britain, had international repercussions which eventually contributed to altering the pattern of contact at Yuquot.

Estevan Josef Martínez, commander of the post he was to establish at Yuquot, arrived in Friendly Cove aboard the Princesa on May 5th. Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, captain of the San Carlos, the second ship of the Spanish expedition, reached Friendly Cove eight days later. Martínez's relations with the American traders were amicable and they provided him with information on the Nootka Sound area and its inhabitants. However, other traders were not to provide or experience the same amount of co-operation.

~~In 1789,~~ Nootka Sound had not been empty of foreigners before the Spanish occupation force arrived in the spring of the year. The first American traders on the Northwest Coast, Captain John Kendrick and Captain Robert Gray, on the Columbia Rediviva and Lady Washington respectively, had arrived in the Nootka Sound area in September, 1788, wintered there and used it as a base from which Gray made several brief trading voyages along the coast. Captain Douglas returned to Friendly Cove on the Iphigenia Nubiana on April 19th, 1789. Captain Robert Funter arrived on April 23rd on the North West America, the ship Meares had had assembled at Yuquot the previous year and the first ship constructed on the west coast of Canada. Funter sailed north a few days later.

On May 13th Martínez seized the Iphigenia Nubiana for violating his interpretation of Spanish rights to the area, but released it under bond on the 25th and Douglas sailed north at the end of the month. Punter returned to Friendly Cove on June 8th and Martínez promptly seized the North West America. Captain Hudson arrived on the Princess Royal on June 16th, the day after the American traders sailed, and remained until July 2nd. Colnett returned to Friendly Cove on the Argonaut on July 3rd and Martínez seized his ship the following day. The Princess Royal sailed into Friendly Cove on July 12th and was seized the same day. Prize crews took the Princess Royal, the Argonaut, and the British prisoners to San



Blas; Lopez de Haro on the San Carlos escorted the Princesa Royal. Martínez kept the smaller North West America for use in the Nootka Sound area and renamed it the Santa Gertrudis.

The Yuquot Nootkans had occupied Yuquot in the spring of 1789 as they customarily did. At some time during the summer they moved to a nearby site on the open Pacific to fish, to avoid the Spaniards, or both. Martínez's relations with the Yuquot Nootkans had been amicable enough until he began harassing the British traders, most of whom the Yuquot Nootkans knew. A major breach in Spanish-Indian relations occurred in mid-July when Martínez had the second highest ranking chief of the Yuquot Nootkans killed because the chief insulted him.

In late July the Spanish supply ship, the Aranzazu, arrived with orders to Martínez to abandon the post. The Spanish viceroy in Mexico had decided that the supply ships necessary to maintain the post could not be spared from other duties. Martínez ordered the dismantling of the gun battery he had had constructed on San Miguel Island, gave the <sup>1: D+</sup> Yuquot Nootkans the few buildings he had had constructed at Yuquot and sailed for San Blas on October 31st, 1789.

The sources of information on Yuquot Nootkan culture and activities during the first phase of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot were found in four manuscripts: Martínez's Diary of the Voyage which I, Ensign of the Royal Navy, Don Estevan Josef Martinez, am going to make to the port of San Lorenzo de Nuca, in command of the frigate Princesa, and the packet San Carlos, by order of his excellency Don Manuel Antonio Florez, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of New Spain, in the present year of 1789; Francisco Miguel Sanchez's Historia compuesta de todo lo acaesido en la expedición al Puerto de Nuca, año de 1789; Severo Patero's Carta de Pray

Severo Patero a Virrey Florez, 13 Julio de 89; and Joseph Ingraham's Letter to Esteban José Martinez, dated May 1789 at Nootka Sound. Robert Haswell's records appear in F. W. Howay's "Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790, and 1790-1793," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

British and Spanish diplomats spent most of 1790 dealing with the crisis in international relations precipitated by Martinez's actions at Nootka Sound. The arguments of Britain and Spain were based on incomplete and often erroneous information, but Meares's complaints prompted Britain's position as an injured party. However, both countries wanted to avoid war and in October, 1790, they signed the Nootka Sound Convention in which Spain agreed to compensate the British traders for their losses and to return possession of the land Meares claimed. Each country appointed commissioners to meet in Friendly Cove to clarify details and carry out the terms of the convention.

While Britain and Spain negotiated, the Spanish occupation of Yuquot was renewed. A new Spanish viceroy in Mexico had decided that a Spanish post at Yuquot was desirable and in late March, 1790, Francisco de Eliza arrived in Friendly Cove aboard the Concepción accompanied by Salvador Fidalgo on the San Carlos. The Princesa Real, captained by Manuel Quimper, arrived in early April. Eliza was to take command of Santa Cruz de Nuca. The fort on San Miguel Island was rebuilt, various buildings were erected on the village site, parties sailed out to explore the coast and, in accordance with the viceroy's special instructions, friendly relations were maintained with the Indians. Other than two Spanish supply ships, no vessels came to Nootka Sound at that time.

In May, 1791, Eliza turned command of the post over to Ramon de

Saavedra, who had arrived that March with the supply ships, so Eliza would be free to lead one of the several coastal exploring voyages that sailed from Friendly Cove that year. When Eliza returned and resumed command, he found that Kendrick had spent some time in Nootka Sound in July and that Alejandro Malaspina, commander of a Spanish scientific expedition, had arrived in Friendly Cove with the Descubierta and Atravida in mid-August. Malaspina sailed on August 28th.

On April 29th, 1792, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commissioner, arrived and, because of his seniority, replaced Eliza as commander of Santa Cruz de Nuca. Eliza later returned to New Spain. Dionisio Galiano on the Sutil and Cayetano Valdes on the Mexicana arrived in mid-May and departed in early June to carry out their orders to explore the coast. Captains Gray and Ingraham, on the Columbia Rediviva and Hope respectively, were at Nootka Sound that summer and Bodega y Quadra consulted them regarding Meares's property claims. The British commissioner, Captain George Vancouver, commanding the Discovery and accompanied by Lieutenant William Broughton on the Chatham, arrived in Friendly Cove on August 28th. Vancouver's storeship, the Daedalus, and a British trading ship, the Three Brothers, were at anchor in the cove when Vancouver's ships arrived. Later, Ingraham's Hope returned and several other British and American trading ships arrived in Friendly Cove.

In spite of mutual respect and goodwill, Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver were unable to carry out the terms of the Nootka Sound Convention. A misinformed Vancouver was unwilling to accept only Meares' Corner as the land the Spaniards were to relinquish. Bodega y Quadra departed on September 22nd and on October 2nd Fidalgo arrived from Nuñez Gaona (Neah Bay) to assume command of Santa Cruz de Nuca. Ten days later



Vancouver and Broughton departed to explore the Northwest Coast.

The following months were quiet ones. The Three Brothers and another British trading ship, the Prince William Henry, wintered there. In the spring of 1793, the Chatham, now commanded by Lieutenant Peter Puget, stayed in Friendly Cove for a month. In mid-May Vancouver spent three days there and Saavedra arrived to replace Fidalgo as commander of the post. Fidalgo left in early June. A few British and American trading ships entered Nootka Sound that summer and the Discovery and Chatham returned briefly in early October.

A Spanish supply ship was the most important arrival in Friendly Cove in 1794 until August 31st when Josef Manuel de Alava arrived to replace Saavedra. In January of that year Spain and Britain had signed the Convention for the Mutual Abandonment of Nootka, and Alava went to the post to represent Spain in the final ceremonies. The convention was not unexpected, for the Spanish viceroy had decided to favour abandoning Santa Cruz de Nuca almost a full year before the convention was signed, and decreased activity at the post reflected decreased Spanish interest in it.

Vancouver returned on September 2nd, but left almost immediately because no further instructions for him had come from the British government. When Alava realized that the new British representative could not reach Friendly Cove before the next spring, he reappointed Saavedra commander of the post and went south for the winter. On March 16th, 1795, Alava and Thomas Pierce, the British representative, arrived in Friendly Cove on the Activa. By March 23rd the formalities of abandoning Santa Cruz de Nuca were completed, the moveable goods had been loaded on the Spanish ships, and the buildings destroyed. The Spanish occupation of Yuquot was over.

Only a few vessels, all of which were American trading ships, entered Nootka Sound during the remainder of 1795. One of the last was the Ruby, captained by Charles Bishop, which spent six days in Friendly Cove in mid-September. Merchants had lost interest in the Nootka Sound area in the past few years; their attention had moved to the north where sea otter furs were still comparatively abundant.

The Spanish occupation of Yuquot brought about several changes among the peoples living in the sound. Instead of just having one or more traders competing for their cooperation, the Nootkans now had the heavily armed and well stocked Spaniards trying to make allies of them in exchange for their recognition of the Spaniards as the discoverers of Nootka Sound and the sole European authority in the area. This, suiting the Nootkans, set off a series of ceremonial exchanges between the Spaniards and the Nootkans and later between the British and the Nootkans and even the Spaniards and the British. Except for one most unfortunate incident involving the shooting of a Nootkan chief during Martínez's stay in the sound, relationships between everyone in the sound including the Nootkans, Spaniards, British and Americans were good thus providing the Nootkans, with few exceptions, with a budding Utopia. Not only did they have direct and long term access to European trade goods, but they received many of these items as gifts. These were received from the European military personnel who were constantly trying to maintain good relations with the Nootkans who besides being their allies, also supplied them with a good



deal of their consumables. This is not to say that the Spaniards did not trade for furs. They did. But this was not the sole purpose of their presence in the sound as it was for the British and American traders whose motive was profit above everything else.

Varying amounts of information were compiled during the second phase of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot. Records made in the early years were fairly extensive. The Spaniards were interested in their most northern post. The missions of Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver, whose role of diplomat was paired with that of explorer, were considered important, and efforts were made to document them fully. Malaspina, as leader of a scientific expedition, was aware that he and his men were responsible for collecting information (unfortunately, some of their writings were confused or erroneous). But toward the mid-1790's, interest in the area waned. As Spanish interest in their post dwindled, so did the scope and number of their records. British explorations did not centre in Nootka Sound, and British interests there were dealt with in European courts. Traders, not often noted for the records they left, were less frequent visitors to the Nootka Sound area.

The main manuscript sources from which information on the Yuquot Nootkans during the second phase of Spanish occupation were drawn were many: Francisco de Eliza's Extracto de la Navegacion, Reconocimientos, y Descubrimientos echos . . . en el Ano 1791; Jacinto Caamaño's "Diario" in Extractos de los Diarios de la Navegaciones y Descubrimientos hechos en la America Septentrional, Carta de Jacinto Caamaño a Bodega y Quadra and Extract of the log of Jacinto Caamaño on the Princesa; Malaspina's

Politico-Scientific Voyage Round the World by the Corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida under the Command of the Naval Captains Don Alejandro Malaspina and Don José de Bustamante y Guerra; Viana's Diario del viaje explorador de las Corbetas españolas Descubierta y Atrevida; Libro de Guardias para la Corbeta Atrevida, to which a number of the crew contributed; "Canto de Alegría" in Virreinte de Mejico and Viage en límpio de las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida realizada por Ceballos e Iriarte por la region de Nootka, both of which were written anonymously; Thomas Manby's Journal of the Voyage of H. M. S. Discovery and Chatham; Edward Bell's Journal kept on board the Armed Tender Chatham during Captain Vancouver's voyage in the Discovery; the Journal kept on board the Armed Tender Chatham during Captain Vancouver's Voyage in the Discovery, 1791-4 and A log of the Proceedings of H. M. S. Chatham, both anonymous; José de Espinosa y Tello's Account of the Voyage Made by the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana; and Ramon Saavedra y Guiralde's Letter to Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra . . . August 27, 1791, Parte de las ocurencias del 15 de junio al 31 de agosto de 1794, Parte de Saavedra de las novedades habidas en Nuca, Carta del commandante de Nuca de 15 de junio de 94, and The Commander of Nuca . . . reports concerning the events in that station.

<sup>Other</sup>  
Secondary manuscript sources were: Salvador Fidalgo's Diario de Navegacion; Josef Tobar y Tamariz's Informe; Quimper's Carta de Manuel Quimper al Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Dec. 3, 1790; Hoskin's The Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America and China on Trade and Discoveries by John Hoskins Performed in the ship Columbia Rediviva, 1790, 1791, 1792 & 1793; Ingraham's Journal of the Voyage of the Brigantine Hope from Boston to the North-West Coast of America, 1790 to 1792;

Bodega y Quadra's Voyage to the N. W. Coast of North America, plus the appendix, A Catalogue of the Animals and Plants; "Noticias de Nutka" in Noticias de Varias Ciudades, by Lorenzo Socies and unidentified others; George Goodman Hewett's Notes in Vancouver's Voyages; Puget's Journal of the proceedings of H. M. Armed Tender Chatham, kept by Peter Puget, January 1794 to September 1795; and Magee's Bernard Magee's voyage on board ship Jefferson, Josiah Roberts, Commander, from Boston, 1791-1794.

The main published sources used were: Malaspina's Viaje politico-cientifico alrededor del Mundo; José Mariano Moziño Suarez de Figueroa's very important work, Noticias de Nutka; Vancouver's A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World; José Espinosa y Tello's A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast of America; and Juan Pantoja's journal in Henry Wagner's Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

*Other*  
Secondary published sources used were: Wagner's "Journal of Tomas de Suria in 1791" in the Pacific Historical Review; Archibald Menzies's Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792; Bishop's The Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop on the Northwest Coast of America, in the Pacific and in New South Wales, 1794-1799; O. M. Dalton's "Notes on an Ethnographic Collection from the West Coast of North America, (most especially California), Hawaii and Tahiti, formed during the voyage of Captain Vancouver, 1790-1795, and now in the British Museum" in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie; F. W. Hodge's "A Nootka Basketry Hat" in Indian Notes; and Charles Clark Willoughby's "Hats from the Nootka Sound Region" in American Naturalist.

The last periods into which the ethnohistory of the Yuquot Nootkans has been divided is that of sporadic contact, from 1796 to approximately



1874 and the Eurocanadian period, ending in 1969. Although these periods cover over 150 years and might be expected to comprise the larger portion of the ethnohistory, they do not because for most of this period the Yuquot Nootkans experienced only occasional contact with non-indigenous people, and such contact was not usually sustained for any length of time. The pattern of contact began to alter in the late 19th century, as Euro-canadians made their presence known on the coast and as Eurocanadian influence affected all aspects of Yuquot Nootkan life.

The period of sporadic contact began after the Spanish left Yuquot and when William Broughton arrived off Friendly Cove in mid-March, 1796. The British Admiralty had sent him to do further surveying work in the Pacific to supplement his, Vancouver's, and Cook's earlier efforts. He spent two months in the area refitting his ship, but wrote very little on the Yuquot Nootkans.

By the first years of the 19th century Nootka Sound had become merely a stopping place where traders (now almost exclusively Americans) took on supplies of wood and water. The sea otter population in the area had been seriously depleted before the end of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot and traders were more interested in the northern coast where sea otter pelts were still obtainable in quantities that made their voyages profitable.

The Manchester, commanded by Captain Brice, probably spent the winter of 1801-02 in the Nootka Sound area. Seven of the crew deserted and joined the household of Maquinna (mōqwinā), the highest ranking chief residing at Yuquot, but six of the deserters later changed their minds, attempted to go to Clayoquot, were captured and put to death by the Yuquot Nootkans. The seventh, a boy, soon became ill and died. Unfor-

unately, references to this incident in particular and the Manchester's stay in general are brief and only found in secondary material.

The Boston, commanded by Captain John Salter, anchored about two and one half miles north of Yuquot on March 12th, 1803, to take on wood and water before sailing north to trade. Relations with the Yuquot Nootkans were amicable until Salter insulted Maquinna. After persuading Salter to send a fishing party to Friendly Cove, the Yuquot Nootkans attacked both the ship and the fishing party. Only John Rodgers Jewitt and John Thompson survived to be made Maquinna's slaves.

Several days later, the Juno and the Mary, commanded by Captain Gibbs and Captain William Bowles respectively, appeared off Friendly Cove, but withdrew when the Yuquot Nootkans fired at them. No other ships approached Nootka Sound until Captain Samuel Hill of the Lydia arrived in mid-July, 1805, in response to a letter Jewitt sent through a Makah chief. Jewitt effected his and Thompson's release without antagonizing Maquinna or the Yuquot Nootkans, and this success was demonstrated by the decision of Hill, a cautious man, to return to trade with the Yuquot Nootkans in November, (see ~~Braithwaite and Polan~~).

Knowledge that the Yuquot Nootkans had seized the Boston and killed all but two of the crew halted foreign traffic to Nootka Sound; not even news of Hill's two visits there in 1805 altered the consensus that it was a place to avoid. Had the Yuquot Nootkans still possessed quantities of sea otter pelts, traders would probably have continued to approach them, but would have done so prepared for violence, and the harsh treatment of Indians that occurred further north would probably have been duplicated at Nootka Sound.



It may be said that once the Spaniards left the Nootka Sound area, the Indians felt as though their allies had abandoned them without cause and felt hostile toward the Spaniards in particular and all foreigners in general thus at least explaining part of the reason for the attack on the Boston. Unfortunately for the attackers, however, Indians up and down the coast from Nootka Sound seemingly attributed the subsequent lack of traders on the west coast of Vancouver Island to the Boston affair rather than the relative lack of pelts available in the area. This meant that although the Yuquot Nootkans gained a great deal of wealth goods and esteem when they took the Boston, they also brought upon themselves the animosity of several other Nootkan groups that held them responsible for the comparatively lean times that faced them (see Brathwaite and Folan 1972).

The next known visitor to the Yuquot Nootkans was Camille de

Roquefeuil, in command of Le Bordelais and one of the few Frenchmen to trade on the Northwest Coast. De Roquefeuil arrived in Friendly Cove on September 2nd, 1817, and spent 16 days there. Many of the Yuquot Nootkans, including Maquinna, had moved to tacis before he arrived, but returned to trade and visit with him. At that time a Yuquot Nootkan told de Roquefeuil that an English ship had been there two and one half years before, but no records exist to even suggest which ship it was. De Roquefeuil spent seven days in Friendly Cove the following September, but according to Maquinna, shortly before his arrival an American captain had held Maquinna and his son hostage, and they could only effect their release by giving him the furs they had been holding for de Roquefeuil. Although de Roquefeuil did not obtain as many sea otter furs as he had hoped, he found the Yuquot Nootkans very peaceable and helpful.

In 1825, the William & Ann arrived in Nootka Sound. The ship was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company and was indicative of changes then occurring on the Northwest Coast. In 1811 John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company had founded Fort Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River. Two years later the North West Company had purchased Astor's venture and renamed the post Fort George. The North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had amalgamated in 1821 and four years later Fort Vancouver was established upriver from Fort George, replacing the older post. Although the Hudson's Bay Company and its predecessors in the area were primarily interested in land, not maritime trade and their posts were well south of Yuquot, their presence marked the beginning of a permanent white community on the Northwest Coast which was to grow until it completely dominated Indian life.

The William & Ann, commanded by Captain Hawwell, had been sent to

trade along the coast solely to oppose American vessels engaged in the maritime trade which, by that time, had become generalized. The ship arrived in Nootka Sound on July 20th, 1825, and remained until August 3rd even though the Yuquot Nootkans had few furs to offer.

On October 3rd, 1837, two Royal Navy ships, H. M. S. Sulphur, commanded by Captain Edward Belcher, and its tender H. M. S. Starling, arrived in Friendly Cove. The party spent a week surveying the area and during that time enjoyed good relations with the Indians. Belcher left with a very favourable opinion of the Yuquot Nootkans.

Less than a decade later a series of events began which, although not occurring at Yuquot, brought Eurocanadian influence closer to the village. The Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Victoria on the southern tip of Vancouver Island in 1843 as a response to the probability that the company would lose its Columbia River territory when a British-American boundary was decided. The Oregon Treaty, passed in June, 1846, established the 49th parallel as the boundary and a year later the Hudson's Bay Company made Fort Victoria its headquarters on the west coast.

In 1849, the British government granted Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company on the condition that the Company colonize it. The Colonial Office sent Richard C. Blanshard, a lawyer and one-time colonial administrator in British Honduras, to Vancouver Island as governor. Blanshard arrived at Fort Victoria in March, 1850, and tendered his resignation eight months later, claiming that the Hudson's Bay Company allowed him little more than <sup>a</sup> figurehead role. He left in September, 1851, soon <sup>^</sup> after receiving the Colonial Office's acceptance of his resignation, and James Douglas, then head of Hudson's Bay Company operations on the Pacific Coast, became governor.



Under the terms of the grant, responsibility for Indian affairs was divided between the Hudson's Bay Company and the governor. The Company, as proprietor of the territory, was responsible for arranging the surrender of Indian land. The governor, as representative of the Colonial Office, was responsible for justice and law enforcement.

In his role as Chief Factor, Douglas dealt with the land question. However, he saw no reason for acquiring title to more land than was necessary at that time and only arranged for the Indians to surrender land, excepting their village sites, in the vicinity of Fort Victoria. This was accomplished without incident.

The Royal Navy was the means by which the governor enforced law. Prior to 1840, British warships had visited the Northwest Coast only on exploring or surveying missions, but by 1846 at least one ship per year arrived on the Coast as a sign of British interest in the area. The governor could call upon the Royal Navy to carry out punitive expeditions against Indians. Under Governor Blanshard, they twice destroyed a Kwakiutl village in attempts to arrest the Indians responsible for killing three white men. Douglas, more experienced in dealing with Indians, did not precipitate violent incidents as had his predecessor; however, the gunboats of the Royal Navy laid the foundations of Euro-canadian supremacy on the Coast.

In 1850, the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Rupert on the northeastern end of Vancouver Island, facing Queen Charlotte Strait. This fort was established more to protect the Company's interest in coal deposits there than to function as a trading post; however, a considerable amount of trade (in which the Mooshat participated indirectly) was done there over the years.

In the 1850's, dogfish oil, then used as a lubricant in sawmills, became an important trade item. The Indians caught dogfish, boiled the livers, and sold the oil to traders who sailed the Coast to pick it up.

The 1850's also saw the first smallpox epidemic on the Coast, and many Nootkans succumbed, as they did to later smallpox, measles, and whooping cough epidemics.

In 1858, the British government's reflection of popular antimono-polistic sentiment and its dissatisfaction with the Hudson's Bay Company's colonization policy was expressed in its decision to make Vancouver Island the direct responsibility of the British Colonial Office. British Columbia was established as a separate British colony in the same year, a response to the discovery of gold that had brought thousands of optimists and opportunists rushing to the mainland and making Fort Victoria, the main port of entry, a boomtown en route. Douglas terminated his active association with the Hudson's Bay Company to become governor of both colonies and the Royal Navy assumed responsibility for the protection of the colonies.

In 1860, one of the first tourists arrived in the Nootka Sound area. Captain Charles E. Barrett-Lennard, a member of the Royal Thames Yacht Club, had arrived in Victoria in the spring of 1860 aboard one of the ships now frequently sailing between British and Northwest Coast ports. He brought his private 20-ton yacht and spent the late fall and early winter cruising around Vancouver Island. His party arrived in Friendly Cove in late November and spent approximately one week in the area before continuing the cruise. Barrett-Lennard had visited the Moachat in August of that year, but made only a brief reference to it.

In 1863, Robert Brown, who later edited and annotated The Adventures



of John Jewitt, spent the summer travelling with two traders who sailed the west coast of Vancouver Island obtaining furs and dogfish oil. They stopped at Yuquot, but evidently did not stay much longer than one night.

In August, 1866, Governor Arthur E. Kennedy, who had succeeded Douglas as governor of Vancouver Island in 1864, toured the Vancouver Island coast visiting various Indian villages. The party arrived in Friendly Cove on the morning of August 13<sup>th</sup> and departed the following morning. The visit was a quiet one, marked only by a Moachat chief's disappointment in what he considered to be the governor's poor response to the goods he had offered for trade.

The tour was one of Governor Kennedy's last official duties before his position ceased to exist. A bill to unite the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia became law in late August, 1866. The reason for union was financial; both colonies were close to bankruptcy. Frederick Seymour, who had succeeded Douglas as governor of the separate colony of British Columbia in 1864, became governor of the new, single colony, called British Columbia.

In 1871<sup>63</sup>, British Columbia ceased to be a colony administered by the British Colonial Office. British Columbia had expressed interest in becoming a province in the Dominion of Canada almost as soon as the confederation had been formed in 1867. Its reason was a very pragmatic one: it was again deeply in debt. Certain difficulties, such as Hudson's Bay Company rights to the territory between British Columbia and the province of Manitoba and establishing mutually agreeable terms of entry, took time to resolve, but on July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1871, British Columbia acquired provincial status.

According to the terms of British Columbia's entry into confed-

eration, Canada assumed responsibility for Indian affairs. This charge fell to the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces until 1874, when the Department of the Interior was created. (From 1936 to 1966, departmental reorganizations placed Indian concerns under various federal ministries. Indians now deal with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.) Even though Canada handled Indian administration, the Royal Navy continued to play an important role policing the coastal Indians until the 1880's when civil authorities made other arrangements. (Canada did not acquire its own navy until 1910.)

In October, 1874, the Indian Commissioner, I. W. Powell, made an official visit to the west coast of Vancouver Island aboard the Royal Navy gunboat Boxer, thus ushering in the Eurocanadian period. His purpose was to impress the "savage" Indians with Eurocanadians' ability and readiness to enforce their laws. The party spent less than a day at Yuquot and the best and most lasting results of the visit were R. Maynard's photographs of the Moachat and the village.

In 1875, Augustin J. Brabant, a member of the Roman Catholic order of the Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate, became resident priest at the stage (or a patron didn't visit in the boat) between Eurocanadians and Hesquiat, just south of Nootka Sound. Twice the previous year, in May and September, Brabant and Bishop Charles Seghers had toured the Indian villages on the west coast of Vancouver Island baptizing whoever would let them do so. The Moachat had not been particularly receptive. From that tour had come the decision to establish a mission at Hesquiat where Brabant was to spend 35 years battling paganism and making his own religious forays to other villages including Yuquot.

In July, 1879, H. M. S. Rocket called at Yuquot bringing

I. W. Powell on another official visit to the Coast. Most of the Moachat were absent and Powell's visit was brief, although he did stop to photograph the village. Two years later the local Indian agent, Harry Guilled, visited Yuquot to take the first official census. (The total population was 230 people.) From then on Indian agents made fairly regular visits to the village.

In the fall of 1881, a Captain Jacobsen called at Yuquot briefly. His mission was to collect traditional objects of material culture for the Berlin Museum, but he had little success for the Moachat had few such objects left, or at least only showed him a few. In late December, Jacobsen returned to Yuquot with Captain Frank aboard the Favorite. Frank was a partner in the firm of Spring and Frank, which maintained several trading posts on the west coast of Vancouver Island from its headquarters in Victoria and he intended to establish another post at Yuquot. Two chiefs agreed to provide land for the building (in Meares' Corner) and by the time the Favorite sailed on January 6th, 1882, a post had been established and a man left to tend it. The Moachat were evidently pleased with this arrangement, for it meant that they had a ready outlet for their sealskins and train oil, and access to European goods.

Fur sealing became a very important source of income to the Nootkans in the 1880's. In the early years, schooners took teams of hunters and their canoes aboard and sailed to the open ocean to hunt seals. Later, the voyages became more extensive, and Nootkan hunters worked off the California coast and on the Bering Sea. The sealing industry peaked in 1891, but an international dispute over offshore rights sparked by the United States government resulted in its further decline in 1912, when a Canadian-Russian-Japanese-American treaty prohibited the sealing fleets



from sailing for 15 years. However, the Northwest Coast Indians were permitted to hunt seals offshore in their own canoes.

Brabant did not neglect the Moachat even though they were not his most receptive listeners. He had built a chapel in Meares' Corner in August, 1884, and five years later built a new one on the same site. The former Frank and Spring store was used as the visiting priest's residence at Yuquot; when the store ceased operating is not known.

The year 1900 marked the opening of an institution that was to have a major effect on Nootkan culture. Christie Indian Residential School, a Roman Catholic boarding school at Kakawis on Meares' Island, accepted its first students. Nootkan children left their homes and villages to live at Christie and be instructed in Eurocanadian patterns of living and the Roman Catholic religion. Although the school started with few students, it was the means by which generations of Nootkans were brought closer to acculturation with Eurocanadian society.

The first phase of a local fishing industry began when William R. Lord built a saltry at Nootka, about three miles from Yuquot on a small promontory at the northern end of McKay Passage. It opened in the late 1890's or early 1900's; the exact year is not known. Few Indians worked for the company.

In the summer of 1893, Indian reserve allotments in the Nootka Sound area were surveyed. The Indian Reserve Commission had been formed in 1876 to deal with the Indian land question in British Columbia. Powell had written a letter to the Commission firmly stating that rights to fishing stations and hunting grounds of British Columbia Coast Indians should not be interfered with and the Commission kept it in mind. However, the government moved slowly. The Moachat reserves were not allotted

until 1889, and a surveyor, Devereux, was not sent to Nootka Sound until 1893. When the Mochat reserves were officially confirmed in 1894, the main reserve at Yuquot was 210 acres and all eleven Mochat reserves, including Yuquot, only totalled 527 acres.

In the early summer of 1894, another store opened at Yuquot. It was owned by Thomas Stockham and Walter T. Dawley, general merchants whose headquarters were at Clayoquot, and staffed by John Goss. The company paid the Department of the Interior 25 dollars a year for trading privileges there (the same amount was later called payment of rent) which was credited to the Mochat trust fund.

On July 15th, 1894, Rev. W. W. Bolton and two others, members of the "Province" expedition to explore the interior of Vancouver Island, peddled into Friendly Cove to purchase supplies. They left the same day. A month later all six members of the party, including James Cartmel, stopped at the store at Yuquot and again departed the same day.

The beginning of the 20th century saw the first recognition that Yuquot was an historical and anthropological site worth attention. In August, 1903, Professor Edmond S. Meany, secretary of the Washington University State Historical Society, travelled to Yuquot to erect a monument commemorating the meeting of Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver. He found that almost all the Mochat men were away sealing, and he would have had great difficulty erecting the granite monument had four visiting whites not offered to assist him. Stockham, Walter Dawley's brother Clarence, and two prospectors had arrived in Yuquot on the same ship as Meany to rebuild the Stockham and Dawley store which had been destroyed by fire in the spring of 1902. Together and with the help of an elderly Mochat man named Suter, they set the monument on the rocky outcropping



southeast of the village and facing the entrance to Nootka Sound. Meany left and the other four turned to rebuilding the store.

The following summer, George Hunt spent some time at Yuquot. Hunt, a ~~son~~ <sup>grandson</sup> of a Hudson's Bay Company trader, was a Kwakiutl from Fort Rupert who provided invaluable assistance to Franz Boas of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, by acting as his respondent, photographer and agent for collecting artifacts and information. At Yuquot, besides photographing certain ceremonies and collecting various myths and legends, Hunt was involved in negotiations to purchase, on Boas's behalf, the whaler's shrine located on an island in Jewitt Lake. Not only did he have to contend with two chiefs who both claimed rights to the shrine, but also with Moachat popular opinion which was strongly against selling it. However, the chiefs resolved their dispute and the shrine and contents were sold and shipped east when most of the Moachat were absent sealing or at the New Westminster canneries later that summer.

In November<sup>y</sup>, 1904, Rev. Alois Stern became resident priest at Yuquot at least during the winter, and opened a school there. By 1908 he had ten pupils and the average attendance was five; by March<sup>y</sup>, 1911, his last term at Yuquot, there were 16 pupils and the<sup>av</sup> average attendance <sup>of</sup> was four. Rev. E. Sobry, formerly at Kyuquot, replaced Rev. Stern as priest and teacher and by March<sup>y</sup>, 1912<sup>y</sup>, had 10 pupils and an average attendance of six.

By 1908, Stockham had withdrawn from the partnership and Dawley continued the business alone. His storekeeper at Yuquot at this time was a Mr. H. T. W. (or H. L. W.) Smith who, like his predecessors, was glad to see visitors. Mr. William S. Taylor of the American Museum of Natural History spent an unknown period in Yuquot some time in 1909,

and Smith agreed to act as the museum's agent in buying Louis Howard's "totem pole," shipping it and collecting the associated legend. Smith had two other guests on July 23rd, and from August 2nd to August 11th, 1910. H. S. Swarth and E. Despard stopped at Yuquot while they were engaged in zoological field work for the University of California.

The federal government bought San Raphael Island for a lighthouse site and 100 dollars was duly credited to the Moachat account for the year ending March 31st, 1911.

Volume 11 of Edward S. Curtis's The North American Indian, which discussed Nootkan and Haida culture, was published in 1916. Curtis's introduction did not mention when he did the Nootkan field work, but his introduction to Volume 10, on the Kwakiutl and published in 1915, stated that that research had been done in the 1910 to 1914 field seasons. George Hunt, then in his 60<sup>th</sup>s, was Curtis's interpreter and respondent at that time, and Curtis very likely obtained a considerable amount of Nootkan and, specifically, Moachat data from him. Curtis took a number of photographs of Moachat men and women wearing traditional dress (which he provided for them from his own collection because little, if any, of their own remained) at Yuquot.

In 1917, the Nootka Packing Company purchased Lord's saltry at Nootka and converted it to a cannery. Lord retained an active role in the operation. Other fish processing plants were operating in the area, but this was the closest to Yuquot. Most of the Moachat moved to the cannery site to take advantage of the opportunities for work available for men and women, and Dawley's store followed them about a year later. The plant went through various stages of development, and a reduction plant was added at a later date.

The first Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to visit Yuquot was Walter C. Nichol, who was there on August 10th, 1924. The party, which included such notables as Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. C. S. Newcombe, and Professor Walter N. Sage, arrived at the cannery site late Friday night aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway vessel Princess Maquinna, which had served the west coast of Vancouver Island since 1913. Lord was their host at Nootka and the following day a federal fishing patrol boat, Malaspina, took the party to Yuquot where Nichol was greeted by the Moachat before proceeding to San Miguel Island to unveil a plaque commemorating Cook's voyage and the meeting of Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver. The plaque was the first the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada had erected in British Columbia (or west of the Great Lakes for that matter) and the onlookers at the unveiling, most of them members of the British Columbia Historical Society, were understandably jubilant. The Moachat then performed dances to mark the occasion. The visitors also toured the cannery site, accepted basketwork from the Indian residents there and went sightseeing in <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ area before leaving on the Princess Maquinna the following day. A great number of photographs were taken to record the event.

Five years later ~~the~~ newspapers were noting the first visit by a Governor-General of Canada to Yuquot. Lord Willingdon stopped at the village on April 10th, 1929, while making an official visit to the west coast of Vancouver Island aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway boat Princess Norah which had just come from Scottish boatyards on the Clyde to serve on the west coast. The viceregal party attended ceremonies presented by Chief Napoleon Maquinna, and William Lord again acted as interpreter. Lord Willingdon was given a totem pole, but re-  
by Captain Jack  
acted as interpreter. Lord Willingdon was given a totem pole, but re-  
A

requested that it remain standing in the village to commemorate his visit, a wish inscribed on a plaque attached to the back of the pole.

One of the first of the second generation of anthropologists to work on the Northwest Coast was Philip Drucker, who spent from August, 1935, to December, 1936, collecting data on the northern and central Nootkans. He obtained most of his information about the northern Nootkans, which generally fell within the ethnographic horizon of 1870 to 1900, from Kyuquot, Ehetiset, Moachat, and Muchalat respondents.



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SECTION 1:  
THE PEOPLE

## PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

## PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Explorers rarely seem to tire of describing the physical characteristics of newly contacted peoples, often looking for a resemblance between them and other people whom they have visited or looking for some hint of evidence that the recently contacted people may have had earlier contact with Europeans. Proof of the latter was usually looked for in terms of skin pigmentation and eye colour, with blue eyes being considered positive proof of earlier contact with Europeans. <

## EARLY EXPLORERS

Cook and his men generally described the Nootkans they met as being of small to regular stature (from five feet five inches to six feet tall) with muscular bodies. In general, they had short necks with disproportionately large heads and disproportionately small arms and legs in comparison with the rest of their bodies. They had large knees, thin calves and large feet. Their ankles were said to project because they so often sat on their hams or knees.

Their faces were rather oval, broad and flat with rather high cheekbones, plump cheeks and artificially flattened foreheads which created prominent jaws. Their mouths were round

with large, full, fairly thick lips. Their teeth were fairly even and not remarkably white; some were bad and uneven. Their noses were straight and aquiline, but neither prominent nor flat except at the base; the tip was somewhat rounded and the nostrils somewhat large. Their eyes were small, black and "devoid of sparkling fire," but Bayly described their eyes as sharp and piercing.

Their complexions were swarthy, dull and whitish-brown, at least partially due to the large amounts of smoke and dirt to which they were exposed as well as the oil and colours with which they decorated themselves. Their black or brown hair was straight, thick, strong and long, but their eyebrows were always narrow and seemed scanty. Some of the men, mostly older ones, had rather thick long beards (some of which were white), but others had very little or no beards, possibly due to plucking. They also had hair on other parts of their bodies, possibly referring to the pubic and other regions.

The women were shorter, slighter and fairer than the men and had more uniform facial features. They had round flat faces, high cheekbones, plump cheeks and small noses, mouths and eyes. Their arms and legs were delicate and their hands and feet small. Although the British thought a few of the women were attractive, they found most ugly and undesirable. For example, King thought the women ugly by European standards and their expressions blank. These opinions may be due to the British having greater contact with the older women who



accompanied their husbands visiting the ships to trade then with the "jolly likely wenches" Burney contacted.

King had thought that the women would be as fair as the Portuguese, if not as white as the British if they bathed regularly, but after one of the "fairest" women had been scrubbed she seemed much darker than before. King altered his opinion and suggested that she had seemed white only in contrast to the unwashed parts of her body. The children, who were never painted, had skin as white as Europeans'. The consensus of the crew was that the lightest-skinned Nootkans were about the same colour as southern Europeans (Ellis 1783: 190-2, 211-2; Cook 1781: 236, 245; 1785: 301-3; 1967: 311-2, 1098, 1100, 1323, 1326, 1405-6; ATL; PRO, Adm 51/4528; BCA, a).

#### EARLY TRADERS

Colnett echoed most of the remarks Cook and his men made earlier, but did add that mothers were responsible for artificially flattening their sons' foreheads. The process was applied only to male children. They bound the boys' heads with a "bandage under the Pole and over the Crown" which forced the back of the head out considerably. Colnett inferred that this type of cranial deformation was a very new custom because he saw only one mature person with an "uncommon long head," but he may have seen a visitor to Nootkan Sound, probably from the Koskimokwakiatl area where cranial deformation reached extreme limits.

Meares described the Yuquot Nootkans as a robust and well-proportioned people with large full faces, high prominent cheeks, small black eyes, broad flat noses, thick lips and generally very fine brilliant white teeth. Their bodies were not as symmetrical or as elegant as those of many other Indian groups. Their limbs were stout and athletic, but crooked and badly shaped. When clean, their skin was white. Mothers bound their children's heads with several folds of a type of fillet covering the head as low as the eyes and producing a sugar loaf shape. This practice seemed to cause no pain, even though it pressed and elongated the head and drew up the eyebrows, sometimes causing the people to squint, as well as flattening the nose and distending the nostrils. <

A few women not only had complexions as fair as Europeans', but also delicate and beautiful features "that would have attracted notice...in those parts of the world where the qualities of the human form are best understood." Generally their hair and eyes were black and they greatly resembled the men (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 36-9). <

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

Haswell described the Yuquot Nootkans as being below middle size. The parts of the body they exercised regularly, such as their arms and shoulders, used when paddling, were well proportioned; however, their legs were crooked and poorly shaped because, Haswell said, they sat on their hams in their

canoes and in their houses. They never straightened their knees when they walked but kept them bent, walking "parot towed." Some of the women had pleasant faces, but Haswell generally considered both sexes to be somewhat unattractive because they had high cheekbones, low brows and small, black eyes that appeared drowsy. They had thick lips and their mouths and nostrils were large by European standards (Howay 1941: 60).

The Spaniards described the Yuquot Nootkans as of ordinary size with a swarthy red colour and black hair. According to Martínez and Sanchez, some had blue eyes. Most had flat noses, although some had aquiline ones. Their noses and heads were flattened when they were young and herbs were placed under the wrappings. Most women were of moderate height and rather fleshy, but not bad looking (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; YUL, WAM 415).

Many other visitors to Yuquot merely repeated the above descriptions with few variations. According to Moziño, chiefs were taller than the common people because they applied themselves to various exercizes from childhood. The women walked with more ungainly and awkward steps than the men. The Yuquot Nootkans were not as dark as Mexicans. Their teeth were relatively free of decay. Moziño saw no obese people and only a few who ~~could be called~~ stout<sup>ones</sup>. Young men pulled their beards out one whisker at a time with either their fingers or small shell tweezers, but older men grew beards that



were as dense and long as those of Spanish Belemite or Capuchin monks. He also thought the women plucked their pubic hair (Mozifio 1913).

One Englishman, writing about the Yuquot Nootkans' cranial deformation, ~~described by almost everyone who saw them~~, said that the binding often<sup>50</sup> reduced the width of the head to ~~such~~<sup>91</sup> ~~an extent~~ that it produced a conical skull much higher than what would be normal by European standards. The shape of the skull varied from person to person according to the amount of pressure applied by the wrappings and may have been considered a form of personal ornamentation. Children did not appear to experience any inconvenience from the binding because it began in infancy and was habitual to them. He did not agree with former (unidentified) visitors that the Yuquot Nootkans flattened their noses because people with similar features were seen in Europe and he also doubted that cranial deformation affected their noses at all. Their lips were not as thick as other Indians', but their teeth were continually clogged with food remains. It was said to be easy to trace European features among the Nootkans, even though their faces were obscured by paint, ochre, mica, oil and smoke (PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

Jewitt generally described Yuquot Nootkan men as being from five feet, six inches to five feet, eight inches tall with straight, robust, strong bodies and strong well-proportioned



arms, but poorly formed legs. They had oval faces with fairly regular features: thin lips, even white teeth, rather small black eyes and fairly well-formed noses that were neither flat nor very prominent. When unpainted, their skin was brown with a slightly copper cast. Their hair was long, black and coarse, but they removed their facial and body hair. Maquinna, the one exception, wore a moustache which was considered a mark of dignity (if it were not also a prerogative).

The women, who spent most of their time indoors, were much lighter coloured than the men and some were no darker than women of some areas of southern Europe. Their hair was much softer than the men's because they oiled it frequently. The women's legs and feet were said to be badly formed because they frequently sat on them while cooking and performing other domestic duties. In general, they were not bad looking and some were quite handsome. <

Jewitt saw one deformed person, a 30-year-old man who was only 39 inches tall. Because Jewitt described him as "well made" without other defects, this man was probably a midget, not a dwarf (Jewitt 1896: 112-4).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

Today, most of the people living in Yuquot would fairly well fit the descriptions of their 18th- and 19th-century ancestors. The only major difference is the condition of their teeth which, at least in recent years, literally rot out of many of

the childrens' mouths at an early age to be replaced by dentures in later years when funds to do so are available. Many of these "choppers" are lost while travelling to and from town, prompting one Nootkan to joke that the Tahsis Inlet is the only <sup>inlet</sup> ~~one~~ in the world with a false-tooth lined bottom.

Few Nootkans with congenital physical defects have been noted through time. Although there may be more than one explanation for this, it has been said in at least one case that a badly deformed infant was abandoned in the woods by its parents. However, no data indicate that this practice was common in the Nootka Sound area during either prehistoric or historic times.

## DRESS

## DRESS

The comparatively temperate climate of the Nootka Sound area made little demand on the Nootkans to produce garments providing a great deal of warmth, but the heavy rainfall characteristic of the coast encouraged the production and use of water-resistant <sup>clothing</sup> ~~gear~~ that would keep its wearers relatively dry, especially during the wetter and cooler months of the year.

Although many of the Nootkan garments and hats appear rough and uncomfortable, especially those formed of strands from the inner bark of cedar trees, they were soft and comfortable providing, I am sure, their weavers and wearers with a great sense of pride in workmanship as well as ample <sup>or</sup> protection from the elements. Cloaks formed of various mammal pelts were not only highly prized by high-ranking Nootkans, but also, as they soon learned, by European explorers and traders thus setting the scene for things to come, not only in Nootka Sound but in parts of China, the Eastern United States, and Western Europe as well.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

The men and at least the children of the Nootka Sound area



often went naked in good weather, but men also wore elaborate, generally waterproof garments woven of cedar bark, mammal hair and fur. Cloaks of dressed mammal skins, elaborate hats and headdresses often augmented their costumes, especially on festive and ceremonial occasions. The women were always fully clothed; some often dressed the same as the men. During rainy weather, men and women would throw the mats on which they sat in their canoes over their shoulders on top of whatever other garments they were wearing. They wore nothing to cover or protect their legs and feet (Cook 1967: 314; ATL).

The cedar bark used to form most Nootkan garments was intertwined with plain hair, dog, wild cat, fox or wolf hair and a material resembling wool. They also has "woolen" garments; however, these were comparatively rare (Ellis 1785: 214; Ledyard 1783: 71; Cook 1781: 245; 1785: 304; 1967: 1325, 1411).

The Nootkans' most common dress was a woven cloak five feet wide and three to three and one-half feet long with a curvilinear lower edge, the back hanging lower than the sides. It was generally woven from cedar bark fibres, but might contain a small percentage of hair and wool. The upper edge was decorated with a strip of sea otter fur facing the neck and the lower edge was usually decorated by a fringe formed by tassels or the warp of the garment. The cloak, most often worn over the right shoulder and under the left arm, was tied by a cord. At times, it was worn over both shoulders and tied across the chest or tied under the arm opposite the


shoulder over which it was draped. Apart from the tie, the cloak was left open except when a wide strip of cedar bark cloth or woollen matting was wrapped around it at the wearer's waist. It generally hung to mid-calf.

Both men and women wore ~~the~~ cloaks, but the men used them more often, especially during inclement weather. Men often removed their cloaks during warm dry periods, but women did not. Webber illustrated several men and women wearing these cloaks in his sketches of Yuquot and of the interiors of two houses there (Ellis 1783: 189, 191; Cook 1781: 245; 1785: 304; 1967: 313, 1411-2; ATL; BCU, a; PRO, Adm 51/4528).

Giglioli described a similar garment collected from the Nootka Sound area in 1778. It was a cloak or mantle made of pounded, undyed cedar bark reduced to fibres and woven in much the same manner as Maori fabrics. The upper edge and sides of the cloak were straight, but the lower edge was curvilinear. The neck was hemmed and trimmed with a double cord and narrow leather strips. Trimming, 30 mm. wide, ran down the sides and a single counter stitch trimmed the bottom. The fringe on the bottom was formed by a continuation of the cedar bark warp. The cloak was 1 meter, 450 mm. wide at the top and had a maximum length, measured at the middle, of 820 mm., not including the 260-mm.-long fringe (Giglioli 1895: 104-5).

Only the Nootkan men wore cloaks of bear, sea otter, wolf, fox, "wild cat," martin or seal fur. Several skins would be

neatly sewn together to form a cloak, but a single bearskin was usually large enough to serve this purpose. The fur was usually on the outside, but was sometimes reversed. The head placed over the wearer's head, was still attached to one wolfskin cloak. At times, the bear and wolfskin cloaks, and possibly others, were ornamented with broad fur borders or the "woollen stuff" the Nootkans wove and "ingeniously wrought with various figures." Garments of the "richest skins" were edged with what Ledyard called "wampum" which he said was identical to what he had seen on the eastern coast of the continent; however, his was the only description of this type of decoration in the Nootka Sound area at any time and his "wampum" might have been dentalia or small haliotis shells.

The fur cloaks were the wearer's only garments or were worn over his other clothes. They were worn like the woven cloaks, tied at one shoulder or around the neck with an opening down the front, rear or to one side. Often worn on formal occasions and said to be the "most esteem'd part of [the Nootkans'] dress , " the fur cloaks were not only impressive but also kept the wearers dry and warm, even at night when some used their cloaks as covers. Webber illustrated a Nootkan man wearing what apparently was a sea otter cloak formed by several skins.

The British also saw a few Nootkan men wearing tanned elkhide dancing aprons decorated with horizontal rows of leather thongs covered with quills (probably from eagle feathers) to



which dried deer hooves were attached. When the wearer moved, the hooves made a loud rattling noise like the sound of many small bells. They also noted several examples of elk hide armour described in the chapter on warfare and weapons (Ellis 1783: 189, 191, 215; Ledyard 1783: 72; Cook 1781: 244; 1785: 304, 306, 308, 311; 1967: 1098-100, 1102, 1325, 1394, 1406, 1411; ATL; BCU, a; PRO, Adm 51/4528; Zimmerman 1930: 71).

Both men and women were said to wear conical capes over their cloaks, but the women used a cape much more frequently than the men and wore it with a wrap-around skirt instead of a cloak. The conical cape was two to three feet long with a circular opening in the centre (it was dropped over the wearer's head) and was made of the same material as the cloaks although, at times, it was also made of a mixture of hair and wool. It extended to the wearer's waist, covering the back, the chest and the arms to the elbow. The neckline was often bordered with a strip of sea otter fur facing the neck and the lower edge was sometimes bordered with a fringe, "a narrow strip of their wollen manufactory," or yellow and black chequer work. A few capes were lined with fur. Webber illustrated several men and women wearing capes (Ledyard 1783: 71-2; Ellis 1783: 214; Cook 1781: 245; 1785: 304; 1967: 313, 1099-100, 1325, 1394, 1411-2; ATL; PRO, Adm 51/4528).

Giglioli described a similar garment. It was saucer-shaped with a neck opening reinforced by a hem of leather strips perhaps originally covered with fur. The fringe



decorating the bottom of the cape was formed by loose cords of cedar bark which, as in the cape described above, were probably extensions of the warp. The cape was 350 mm. long, the fringe border was 100 mm. long, the bottom was 1,400 mm. in circumference and the neck opening was 280 mm. in circumference (Giglioli 1895: 105-7).

A garment which usually only women wore in conjunction with the conical cape was a rectangular skirt that wrapped around the waist and hung to the calf. It was generally woven of cedar bark and the lower edge was ornamented by a fringe in basically the same manner as the garments described above. Webber illustrated several women who might be wearing this type of skirt (Ellis 1783: 214-5; Cook 1967: 313, 1099-100, 1325, 1394; ATL).

Giglioli described two "skirts" formed of strips of cedar bark attached to a cord and twined together at the waist, but which hung freely below this narrow band. One garment was 540 mm. wide at the waist and each strip of cedar bark was 450 mm. long; the second was 360 mm. wide and 570 mm. long (Giglioli 1895: 107). Although neither Cook nor his men described these garments, they were probably the same as those Sarah Stone illustrated (Moziño described this garment as being worn under women's skirts [1913]?)

Nootkan men and women generally wore woven hats to protect themselves from rain and in some cases to indicate their rank. Some hats were conical, ornamented with a small bulbous point and occasionally formed with an interior liner

and band. These hats were painted white and decorated in black with scenes depicting files of up to six canoes tied to each other and a man in the act of harpooning a whale. The bulbous points were decorated with alternating black and white bands. The most common variety of hat was flat on top with a bunch of leather tassels attached to the top and used to remove the hat. These hats were usually undecorated, but some had various figures painted on them. Both varieties of hats had chin straps to keep them in place on windy days. According to Rickman, some Nootkans also wore "high fur caps" (Ellis 1783: 191, 214; Ledyard 1783: 71-2; Cook 1781: 244; 1785: 304; 1967: 313-4, 1099, 1325-6, 1411; Zimmerman 1930: 71; ATL; PRO, Adm 51/4528; BCU, a).

Webber illustrated several individuals wearing hats. One, worn by a man who appeared to be a high-ranking person, had a bulbous point at the top and was decorated with alternating bands of diagonal lines on the upper half and two whaling scenes on the front of the lower half. He also drew a woman wearing what appeared to be the same or a very similar hat. One such hat is now in the British Museum. Both Webber and Ellis illustrated people wearing hats with flat tops: both hats had leather tassels and one was decorated with what appeared to be a zoomorphic design topped with a narrow band. Diagonal lines sloped from the top of the latter hat to the brim, but Webber may have intended them to represent the weave.

Giglioli described four hats from the Nootka Sound area. They were conical and finely and tightly woven of steeped and pounded fibres from the roots of a conifer, possibly the Abies. Two hats had bulbous points and the other two had flat tops.

The hats with the bulbous points were sturdier than the flat-topped ones because they were "doubled over" and had an inner lining of a thinner material that did not extend so far as the brim where the hat was reinforced with a braid of the same type of fibre. One of these hats was 400 mm. in diameter at the brim and 240 mm. from the brim to the base of the bulbous point. The point was 80 mm. high, had a maximum diameter of 100 mm. and was made of the same material as the rest of the hat. The hollow interior of the damaged point was filled with sheets of mica. Black lines encircled the top of the outer surface of the hat and the remainder of the outer surface was covered with black figures depicting the pursuit of four large whales (Orca Rectipinna, according to Giglioli) by about ten canoes containing seated paddlers and one standing harpooner.

The other hat with a bulbous point was similar to the one described above. It was 370 mm. wide at the brim a total height of 240 mm. Black parallel lines also encircled the upper part of it; the lowest line wider than the others. On the lower part of the hat was a scene depicting men in ten canoes pursuing whales swimming in two groups of two.



The two flat-topped hats, shaped like truncated cones, were a simpler, smaller and lighter than the pointed hats; however, the weaving was as well done. A leather thong attached to the inside of each hat was placed under the wearer's chin to keep the hat in place.

Although their general shape was the same, the flat-topped hats did differ in details. One had a diameter of about 350 mm. at the brim, a diameter of 110 mm. at the top and a total height of 150 mm. The outside was decorated with drawings of two conventional and two "totemistic" faces painted in red, black and light blue; the two widest faces were on the sides and the two narrowest, on the front and back. The flat crown was painted with red and light blue spots and round red spots, and light blue stripes decorated the underside of the brim. The inside of the hat, halfway between the brim and crown, was lined with the same material as formed the rest of the hat and the ends of the leather chin strap were attached to the lining.

The other flat-topped hat was 350 mm. in diameter at the brim, 100 mm. in diameter at the top and 145 mm. high. It was not painted nor lined, but tightly woven, smoothly finished and very beautiful. Its outside surface was decorated with three bands woven in relief at the top, two where the brim began and two more at the edge of the brim. The ends of the chin strap were still attached to the "inner part" when Giglioli examined it (Giglioli 1895: 107-9).

On "extraordinary occasions" such as making formal visits



or going to war, the Nootkans would wear skin cloaks and headbands. A headband was formed of a quantity of withes or beaten bark wrapped around the wearer's head. They inserted large feathers, particularly those of eagles, into the band or completely covered it with bird down (Cook 1785: 306).

#### EARLY TRADERS

Apart from a few entries in his word list, Strange added little to our knowledge of indigenous clothing in the Nootka Sound area; however, he did record that, in addition to firearms and ammunition, he was urged to leave a red coat and cap with McKay (who remained at Yuquot) because this colour was said to most intimidate the Yuquot Nootkans' enemies. The weapons and clothing undoubtedly passed rather quickly into a Yuquot Nootkan's possession, possibly Maquinna's (Strange 1928: 24).

Colnett noted that the "only difference between the men and women in the dress, the outside covering of the men being an Animals skin with the fur out, but the Women have more of other kinds." During rainy periods, the Nootkans fastened mats around their shoulders. Colnett is the first known to have given grenadiers' caps to various chiefs in the Nootka Sound area (BBM).

Yuquot Nootkan men's principal garment was a woven or fur cloak. The woven cloak formed of cedar bark and nettle filaments was not only warm, but also, when new and clean,

rather elegant, especially when its edges were trimmed with narrow fringes of sea otter fur. Only men wore the graceful sea otter fur cloaks formed of two skins sewn together along one side. It hung from the wearer's neck to his ankles, was draped under his left arm and tied over his right shoulder by a leather thong fastened to the hides. At times, according to personal choice or weather conditions, the men also wore cloaks of bear or raccoon skins (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 39-41).

Women's dress was completely different because it was also designed to prevent exposure of the body. Seldom would more than the lower half of a women's arm be seen as she performed her usual domestic tasks. A sleeveless shift hanging to the ankles formed the basis of a woman's wardrobe. (This garment seems to be a version of the cedar bark cloak Cook and his men described as being worn by both men and women, but the sides were apparently closed at the time Meares was in the area.) Women also wore conical capes, but Meares did not mention wrap-around cedar bark skirts as such, although they may have been the sleeveless shifts he described.

Yuquot Nootkan women never wore fur garments (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 43-4).

Both men and women wore conical hats that were so tightly woven they could hold water. The hats were ornamented by paintings of birds (probably thunderbirds) and other animals and held in place by leather chin straps. One chief's hat had a bulbous point and was ornamented on top by a "small tuft

of feathers," much like a hat Colnett had sketched. Meares suggested that although the hats were functional, they did nothing to add to the wearers' grace or fierceness (Meares 1791 Vol. 1: 179; II:41, 43-4).

Meares returned a young Yatuot Nootkan named Comekela to Yuquot from China where an earlier trader had taken him. On his arrival at Yuquot, Comekela wore what was to become the basic uniform of many Nootkan chiefs: a scarlet regimental coat decorated with many brass buttons, a military hat with a "flaunting cockade," linens and other items of European clothing. He ~~later~~<sup>q</sup> added half a sheet of copper as a breastplate, hung copper ornaments from his ears and suspended so many copper saucepan handles from his queued hair that the weight pulled his head back. He carried an enormous spit taken from the ship's cook as a spear (Meares 1791 Vol. 1: 174-6).

On one occasion, Maquinna received Meares and members of his crew wearing European clothes, including a ruffled shirt, and with his hair powdered and queued. Comekela had supplied part of his outfit. Several other chiefs also wore some form of European dress and all had removed the oil and ochre from their faces. They mimicked the English: tipping their hats, bowing and saying a few English expressions they had memorized, all in high good humour. Since Comekela's return, European clothing was in such demand that a European hat, shoe or stocking could turn the balance of trade in Meares's favour (Meares 1791 Vol. 1: 195-7).



## SPANISH OCCUPATION

Haswell noted that the outer edges of the men's cedar bark cloaks were formed by a strip of "mountain sheep" wool two inches wide. Their "blankets" of mountain sheep wool were so well made they seemed to have been woven in a loom.

(Haswell's definition of the source of the wool was incorrect.) They wore bear, wolf or deer skins during rainy or cold weather (Howay 1941: 60-1).

According to Moziño, the wool in some of the men's garments came from bison or (more correctly) mountain goat. He thought the Yuquot Nootkans obtained it in trade with the Ninkish who might have had contact with inland groups with access to abundant sources of wool-bearing animals (Moziño 1913).

Bell also noted a garment formed of a "Wollen cloth" the Yuquot Nootkans made. Like Haswell, Bell believed the wool was from mountain sheep. Woollen garments were less evident than those made of other materials and the Yuquot Nootkans considered the woollen material more valuable than otter skins; one woollen garment being of greater value than one otter pelt. Fringes on the lower edges of their cedar bark garments were formed by either loose cedar bark warp or a small line of "a species of flax plant" (BCA, A/A/20"C39/Pt. 1).

Only the highest ranking men wore cloaks of three good sea otter skins. Two were used whole and the other was cut into strips of equal length. When the cloak elements were



joined, the ends stood out, creating an elegant bulk, and sea otter tails formed a fringe adding to the cloak's impressive appearance. Nor were the sea otters' heads and paws removed, but were left to hang like lappets. The cloak was painted with red figures. Although Moziño did not state on which side the figures were painted, they were presumably on the fur-less side. The cloak was worn fur-side out in warm weather and fur-side in during cold weather. At times, high-ranking chiefs wore two or three sea otter cloaks, one on top of the other (possibly for distribution at ~~one~~<sup>some</sup> event ~~or another~~<sup>h</sup>) (Moziño 1913; BCA, A/A/20"C39/Pt. 1; AGN, 69/9/a).

Maquinna had a cape of many fine mink skins joined so skillfully that the seams were barely visible. He also had a weaselskin cloak and another of deerskin tanned to an extreme softness. Rabbit skins were also used to form cloaks (Moziño 1913; PAC, MG 12 A/Adm 55/17).

Although Moziño did not see anything he considered to be real war dress, he did describe hide armour formed of two layers of well cured skins, decorated with painted figures and worn under a dancing apron during a war dance. The dancing apron was formed of strips of elkhide hung from the dancer's waist almost to his knees. Many cords were fastened to the elkhide strips in four or six parallel rows and fish bones and eagle feather quills were suspended from them, much like a garment Cook described and an item now in the Bernisches

Historisches Museum, Switzerland. Some deer hooves hung from the ends of the hide strips. Moziño thought the clattering of the hooves would intimidate the enemy as a warrior moved into battle; an incorrect idea he may have taken from Cook's publication. Maquinna wore a similar garment during a dance at tac̓is: a short apron covered with hollow shells and small pieces of copper which jingled on striking each other. Another dancing apron, worn under a sea otter cloak, featured leather straps hanging from it. Six-inch-long cylinders of copper and brass were attached to the leather straps (Moziño 1913: Vancouver 1798 Vol. 2: 389; BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt. 1; BM, Add. Mss. 17548).

Like Meares, Fidalgo observed that although men wore open cedar bark cloaks, women's cloaks were closed so only their arms and the lower parts of their legs were visible. All written descriptions of women's clothing indicated that women closed their cedar bark cloaks, but a Spanish drawing of Maquinna and his wife depicted her wearing an open cedar bark cloak; beneath it was a garment that may have been a wrap-around skirt or another cloak girded by a thin cord. At times women wore conical capes over cedar bark or fur cloaks (BCA, A/A/10/Sp. 13t/v.3/f).

According to Moziño, Yuquot Nootkan women wore conical capes, wrap-around skirts (which went around the wearer's waist twice), cloaks, and hung a "thin veil" with a long fringe under their skirt. For special occasions, women wore garments

made of the finest and most delicate cedar bark fibres and "wools" bordered on all edges by strips of sea otter pelt or a "plush or velvet" made of the softest sea otter hair. A Spanish drawing showed one of Maquinna's wives wearing a cloak with a decorated border (Moziño 1913; Wagner 1933: 159; AGN, 69/7).

Although the Yuquot Nootkans had been in close contact with the Spaniards for several years, they refused to wear European clothing. When they did make garments of trade cloth obtained from Europeans, they in keeping with their conservatism produced the same styles of garments as they had worn at contact (PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

According to Moziño, the Yuquot Nootkans formed their conical woven hats on bulrush or very flexible reed forms; however, what he referred to as forms might actually have been the lining of the hats. They used very thin flakes from feather shafts to form the white background on which they executed scenes of men in canoes pursuing whales. High-ranking people wore hats with bulbous points. These hats were better made than the coarsely woven hats without designs lower ranking people wore. Moziño observed some people wearing caps or conical hats of raccoon or badger skin and thought these protected their wearers from the sun (Moziño 1913).

Willoughby described and illustrated several hats with designs and bulbous points, some of which may have been collected in the Nootka Sound area during the 1790s. All hats



principally formed by twined weaving. Cedar bark, usually stained dark brown or black, and tapering blades of ivory coloured grass were used as the weft and split roots were apparently used as the strong narrow warp. According to Hodge, the warp of a hat collected in 1794 was formed possibly of split spruce roots indicating its use by a high-ranking individual (Curtis 1916: 11). The weft of the hats were used to form both design and background, mainly black on white. Each strand of the weft was formed of a blade of grass and a strip of cedar bark of equal widths placed together to produce a strand that was white on one side and black on the other. The white side usually faced out. To form the designs, the strands were reversed so the black cedar bark was turned outward and concealed the white grass behind it. In most of the hats, a narrow strip immediately below the bulbous point was made of fine cedar roots and in some of the hats, the bulbous point had been formed separately. A small, wooden hoop had been inserted inside the point of at least one hat to preserve its shape, if it were not the form on which the point had been woven.

Linings of the hats were coarsely but neatly woven of cedar bark, but in only one hat was there a point at the top of the lining that matched the bulbous point of the hat proper. Each warp of the liner was doubled about three inches from the brim, forming a loop about three-quarters of an inch long. A strong double cord had been inserted through the



loops and the loops were twined together and edged with cord to form the inner brim of the hat where the chin strap was attached. The liner was attached to the hat at the brim; the last few weft strands of the hat were woven into the ends of the liner warp.

The principal design on all hats but one represented the pursuit of a whale. On the other hat, a thunderbird was illustrated four times: twice by itself, once hovering over a whale and once with a whale in its talons. A "characteristic feature" of the thunderbird was a "life line" from its beak to its heart, represented by a light spot. What Willoughby described as two small wing-like projections were located behind the spot he thought represented the heart (Willoughby 1903: 65-8; Hodge 1929: 254-8).

Besides the woven hats, the Yuquot Nootkans wore headbands formed of a roll of red dyed cedar bark. According to Moziño, they wrapped these around their heads to symbolize a "crown." Only the highest ranking chiefs and other principal men were allowed to wear eagle feathers in their hair. Such feathers were highly esteemed and considered a very welcome gift. Maquinna once visited the Spanish ships wearing a berry-bush headdress with small, crystal stars (hai'na?) sewn to it. At a dance in tac̓is, Maquinna wore a round black hat and mask (Malaspina 1885; Moziño 1913; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt. 1).

## SPORADIC CONTACT

Jewitt described how people of different ranks dressed. Maquinna wore a cloak of sea otter skins and a wide cedar bark belt decorated with figures of several colours. On special occasions, such as <sup>visiting</sup> ~~visiting~~ the Ehetisat during their Lōqwnā, he wore several cloaks. His chiefs wore natural coloured, pale yellow cedar bark cloaks with two armholes and ornamented with broad borders of sea otter fur, a type of grey cloth (made of mammal hair obtained from southern groups) or "their own cloth" skillfully decorated with red or black figures representing men's heads, the sun, the moon, fish or various animals. Chiefs only wore otter skin capes on extraordinary occasions and at feasts. The cloaks were fastened around the wearer's waist with a cedar bark belt four inches wide and generally more highly decorated than the border of the cloak. Such belts were identical to but narrower than the one Maquinna wore. Chiefs may possibly also have worn belts formed of strips or bands of elkhide decorated with figures representing human heads or canoes in pursuit of whales. Knives and daggers were carried in belts. The dress of low-ranking people was similar to that described above, but was of coarser texture and completely coloured with red ochre which helped to make them water resistant. ~~Undoubtedly,~~ <sup>the</sup> the clothing of low-ranking people was not ornamented with sea otter fur (Jewitt 1896: 59-60, 62, 105-6).

Jewitt also described a kind of hood that covered the

wearer's upper chest and back and had fur borders at the top and bottom. It was only worn outdoors during the winter. This garment seems to be the conical cape women were said to have usually worn (Jewitt 1896: 106).

Women's garments were similar to, but much neater and cleaner than the men's. Their cloaks were larger than the men's, almost reaching their feet and completely enveloping them. A woman's cloak was pulled close to her chin, tied around her waist with a girdle of cedar bark cloth or sea otter skin and had loose sleeves hanging to her elbows (Jewitt 1896: 106, 114).

The Yuquot Nootkans wore their flat-topped woven cedar bark hats whenever they went on any excursion, but particularly when they went whaling or fishing. These hats had tassels formed by long strips of elkhide covered with rows of small white shells or beads. The hat Maquinna wore and which identified him from other men, was higher than the others, broader at the base and of finer texture. It had a bulbous point, was braided in black and white stripes and its front was decorated with the figure of a harpooner poised to strike a whale. Chiefs' hats were generally painted different colours; the lower ranking people's hats were painted solid red (Jewitt 1896: 107-8).

During the festivities following the capture of the Boston many Yuquot Nootkans put on women's smocks and cloaks of blue, red or yellow broadcloth taken from the cargo. They



drew stockings over their heads and hung powder horns, shot bags and cartouche boxes around their necks. Some hung as many as ten muskets from their shoulders and placed five or six daggers in their belts (Jewitt 1896: 78).

Thompson made several garments for Maquinna, one a square cloak made of gaily coloured European vest patterns and trimmed with fur. The bottom of the cloak was decorated with five or six rows of gilt buttons sewn together as closely as possible. Maquinna was pleased with it, describing it as a fine garment and one Yuquot Nootkans could not make (Jewitt 1896: 153-4).

Few traders visited the Yuquot Nootkans in the years following the Boston incident, but the people of Yuquot did have blankets obtained directly and indirectly from the Northwest Company and later from the Hudson's Bay Company and at least some people wore them (Scouler 1905: 192-5).

In 1837 Belcher described only the conical cape edged with sea otter fur, but the contemporary chief "Maquilla" was sketched wearing what apparently was a fur cloak. In 1860 Barrett-Lennard noted that most people in the Nootka Sound area wore cedar bark clothing. Although the then chief of Yuquot refused a pair of European trousers, he did accept their buttons. The wife of the chief's speaker wore gaily coloured blankets ornamented with strips of crimson cloth on a blue background and many small mother-of-pearl buttons (Belcher 1843: 108, 112; Barrett-Lennard 1862: 96, 121).

Although many of the old people of Yuquot dressed in cedar



bark clothing in 1863, most people wore only a blanket and a shirt, the latter usually made of flour sacks. Some men wore a piece of hide around their loins. Moachat women generally dressed the same way as they always had, but they had begun to use blankets. Moachat blanket cloaks were fastened with pins (Jewitt 1896: 41, 78; see also BCA, E/B/D16M).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

Drucker's descriptions of Nootkan men's dress in the late historic period were much the same as the ethnohistoric descriptions: the cedar bark cloak, the short conical cape worn in cold and wet weather and the rain hat woven of red cedar bark or spruce roots. A Muchalat respondent described a raccoon or beaver skin cap as had Rickman and Moziño. Drucker earlier may have added a garment to the list of Nootkan clothing previously described: [a rain cape of double matting that covered the wearer's back with extensions that could be brought forward around the wearer's body and tied or pinned in place; however, this may have been included among some of the mats mentioned earlier.

Chiefs wore bearskin cloaks as ceremonial dress when they went to bathe ritually. Some of these cloaks were formed by cutting a neck hole in the skin of the bear and sewing the sides together. Some respondents spoke of an unseamed bearskin cloak that slipped over the wearer's head. It was formed by <sup>case</sup>skinning the barrel and forequarters of the bear.

Drucker believed that the only differences in everyday dress between high- and low-ranking people were the furs and garments of bark and goats' wool the chiefs wore, but which the lower ranking people did not wear. He thought early writers had unduly stressed the differences in dress they had observed; however, Jewitt's data are compelling arguments to the contrary.

Women also wore the yellow cedar bark cloaks and conical capes and always wore front aprons formed by a band of a few courses of twing placed around the wearer's waist and from which long cedar bark strands hung like a loose fringe. Mozino and Giglioli described very similar articles of clothing. Drucker made no mention of women's wrap-around skirts early historic writers noted so frequently (Drucker 1951: -9-101).

In 1873 Maynard photographed a fairly large number of people, most of whom were presumably residents of Yuquot. Although one photograph showed a group of naked men and another photograph showed men without shirts, most men apparently wore shirts of Eurocanadian manufacture. None wore trousers, a garment that won only grudging acceptance several years later. Several men had dark Hudson's Bay three-point blankets either draped over their right shoulders or tied across their chests as the cedar bark blankets had been worn in earlier times. Some men had blankets wrapped around their waists and thighs as well, possibly as a special gesture of modesty for the photographer. One man, probably Chief haiyū'a', wore a brass-buttoned uniform shirt and his legs were draped

with a light-coloured blanket. Only one other man wore a light-coloured blanket.

Many of the women photographed wore blouses and some, especially the younger ones, apparently wore skirts as well. Several older women wore Hudson's Bay blankets over their shoulders; whatever they wore beneath the blankets was not visible. A young woman, who may have been the wife of haiyu'a', was the only one wearing a striped blanket. All the children were clothed.

Different types of headgear were evident in Maynard's photographs. One old man wore the traditional woven conical hat with a flat top. The hat had a design unfortunately indistinguishable, on the front. A similar hat lay on an upturned canoe. Although these hats resembled many collected from and described at Yuquot since 1778, they were apparently much wider at the brim than those noted previously. Several men and one young boy wore cloth headbands, several men wore Eurocanadian hats, one a floppy fedora, and Chief haiyū'a' held a military cap in his right hand. The only women who wore something on their heads were the wife of haiyū'a' and a young child, possibly her daughter. Both wore head scarves: the woman's was patterned and the child's was plain.

In 1894 the chief of Yuquot was said to wear a bearskin cloak over his shoulders and tied at his throat with a thong "for state occasions." The storekeeper at Yuquot told Bolton that when a group of Quatsino Kwakiutl paid a formal visit



to the Moachat, the latter all dressed alike in black-and-white-striped garments (BCA, G/V27/B63A/c.2).

In 1896 haiyū'a' posed for a photograph wearing the military uniform, including trousers, common to chiefs on the west coast of Vancouver Island around the turn of the century. He also wore a white shirt, a string tie, shoes and a "pillbox" hat. One of the men with him wore a shirt and trousers held up by suspenders. The other man wore a shirt and Mexican serape-like multi-coloured cloak with a fringe on its lower edge. The cloak was tied over his right shoulder and banded around his waist. Both men were shoeless. The wife of haiyū'a' wore a fringed blanket around her shoulders like a shawl and beneath it, what may have been a dress with a high neckline. She too was shoeless.

Within a relatively short period of time during the Eurocanadian Period most Moachat men and women adopted Eurocanadian dress because it was readily available and practical and because religious and civil authorities pressured them to do so. However on certain occasions the Moachat returned to variants of their traditional clothing. A 1924 photograph of Napoleon Maquinna greeting Lieutenant Governor Nichol illustrated the use of indigenous-like dress on a special occasion. Maquinna wore a garment decorated with cedar bark "bows" on its front and a Hudson's Bay three and one-half point blanket. He wore the blanket over his shoulders and secured it under his chin, possibly with a safety pin. He



also wore his thunderbird headdress and had painted the lower part of his face, probably with red ochre. A man standing beside Maquinna, acting as his interpreter, wore a fir sprig headdress like those sometimes worn during Lōqwōná.

Today, fringed cloth cloaks of various types are worn during festive or ceremonial occasions. These cloaks are formed by large pieces of brightly coloured cotton or velvet and are ornamented by various appliqued designs such as thunderbirds, whales and bears. Families with the right to display Kwakiutl-style coppers may also use the coppers as a design on their cloaks. At times, cedar bark headdresses are also worn as masks, many of which are carved to duplicate older masks now in museums. During a recent celebration in Gold River, a predominantly white community near Yuquot, a Moachat man performed a Shaman's Dance wearing basically the same type of costume as George Hunt had photographed in Yuquot in 1904: an apron formed of cedar bark strips.

Although only a few Nootkan women are currently able to produce the traditional cedar bark garments, many still weave conical hats for the tourist market. These hats may or may not bear the traditional designs, but none have inner liners. Some younger women now produce and wear beaded headbands decorated with traditional designs, a sign of the recent increase in Nootkan self-awareness.

Nootkan clothing fully suited the people and climatic conditions of the region to the extent that its use was only

reluctantly and recently abandoned by the Moachat due more to Eurocanadian pressure than preference.

## PERSONAL ADORNMENT

PERSONAL ADORNMENT: FACIAL DECORATION, BODY DECORATION AND  
TATTOOING, HAIR DECORATION, AND NOSE, EAR AND OTHER ORNAMENTS

The great variety of forms with which Nootkan adolescents and adults decorated themselves greatly impressed their British, Spanish and American visitors who wrote a number of descriptions not only of the designs and materials used, but also of the processes by which they were applied. The written descriptions are supplemented by drawings by Webber and Ellis and later drawings and photographs illustrating the various techniques used by the men and women of the Nootka Sound area in 1778 and later to decorate their persons. Early descriptions of Nootkan personal ornamentation are especially complete because virtually every day was literally a holiday during the time that Cook anchored in the sound thus creating an occasion for everyone to put on the finest of their finery.

EARLY EXPLORERS

Nootkan men liberally painted their faces with bright red ochre, soot, a white substance, a blue colour according to Ledyard and, according to Zimmerman, a yellow one. The colours were mixed with oil or, according to one source, bear grease. The men usually formed the various designs with their fingers and sprinkled their faces with powdered white talc or with mica flakes to make the designs glitter.



Sometimes they applied designs with a stamp made of small twigs dipped into a red, black or brown inorganic material and oil. They made scrawls on their faces with the paints and especially on their foreheads where they formed squares of one colour and broad lines of another. Some daubed their foreheads with red ochre and their chins and the lower part of their faces with black "lead," the "scarcest article of their finery" (probably mica). These may have been the colours used when going into battle. Some men used red ochre as a base on which they drew white spiral lines, leaving their noses, part of their cheeks and chins without any decoration other than the ochre base. One type of design was formed by covering the face with tallow mixed with colouring which they "scratched" into a variety of figures resembling "carved work" (Ellis 1783: 189-90, 205, 212-3; Ledyard 1783: 71; Cook 1781: 244; 1785: 305-6; 1967: 311, 314, 1098-9, 1326, 1351, 1393-4, 1406; Zimmerman 1930: 69; BCU,a; ATL; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; BCA, A/A/20.5/D63CR/v.2).

A Nootkan man Webber drew coloured the lower part of his face bright red and decorated his cheeks with horizontal wavy black lines or dashes. His forehead is covered with four groups of asymmetrical lines parallel to his eyebrows and extending to his hairline. An inverted V is painted slightly higher than his eyebrows above the bridge of his nose and above it an undecorated space separates the two central groups of lines. His temples are decorated with a semi-circular

patch of red that continues under the hair. He has a moustache; however, another drawing of apparently the same man shows him without a moustache. Although some of the men had both moustaches and beards, generally their beards seem to have been plucked out. Bayly saw very few men with any hair on their chins and those who did had very little.

Another Webber drawing shows a bearded and moustached man with the same type of decoration at his temples as the man described above, but without wavy lines on the lower half of his ochre-coloured face. His forehead is decorated with several squares, possibly applied with a stamp. Ellis's drawing of a Nootkan man wearing a hat also shows him wearing a patch of colour on his temple. Several straight parallel lines extend from both sides of his mouth and the base of his nose to at least the edge of his jaw and several straight vertical lines decorate his chin.

The <sup>e</sup>man used a piece of polished slate dipped in water as a mirror. If a design were unsatisfactory, they rubbed it off and applied a new one. One man worked on his facial decoration for two hours, peering into a European glass mirror and wiping off one design after another until he produced one that pleased him.

The same people were often seen with different designs on their faces. One man first visited the ships with his face daubed with powdered red ochre which he replaced from a bag as it fell off during his performances. The next day he

visited the ships with his face covered with red ochre with white lines drawn over the ochre making him difficult to identify as the man who had come the day before. Another day, he appeared with his face painted black "in the sooty Semblance of the Devil, his face entirely covered with the tenebrific Element."

Nootkan women apparently did not decorate their faces. Webber's drawing of a Nootkan woman confirms the journal entries; she wore no facial designs. However, the women were covered with quantities of red ochre, grease and dirt. There was no mention of children's faces being decorated (Ellis 1783: 191-2, 213, 215-6; Cook 1785: 303; 1967: 314, 1091-2, 1100, 1406; ATL; BCA, A/A/30/D63CB/v.2).

Men and women rubbed their bodies with oil and covered themselves with red ochre and, sometimes, soot (possibly mica) which gave them what was described as a dirty brown colour. According to Bayly, infants received the same treatment. Although the Nootkans did not tattoo their faces, many men and women were tattooed on their bodies, but not to any great degree on any particular part of the body nor did the tattoo represent any particular type of design. However, Ellis noted tattoos on several persons' arms, generally of a large "fish" resembling the one depicted on their conical hats (this design is usually interpreted to be a whale) (Ellis 1783: 190-205, 215; Cook 1785: 305; 1967: 1099, 1394, 1406; ATL).



Nootkan men usually parted their hair in the centre and wore it loose. When not wearing hats, some tied their hair in a bunch at the top of their heads, sometimes with a string of white shell beads. Or they gathered it and tied it at the nape of their necks like the British, sometimes inserting small branches of "cupressus thyoides" in it. On special occasions some men might separate their hair and tie cords around it at two-inch intervals down its length. Sometimes they twisted their hair into large "locks" or queues, adding so much false hair, oil and ochre that it resembled a "swab." When they finished arranging their hair, they sprinkled or blew down on it which they kept in a bag or box -- even in their canoes. They also braided their hair with sea weed or thin strips of red dyed bark. Some men wore long, loose false hair attached to a skin band wrapped around their foreheads and tied in front. The false hair hung over their backs to their shoulders. Their hair was often said to be full of lice (Cook 1781: 244; 1785: 304-6; 1967: 311-2, 1099, 1326, 1351, 1393, 1405; Ellis 1783: 190, 194; Ledyard 1783: 71; ATL; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; BCA, A/A/20.5/D63CR/v.2).

A Webber drawing of a man from the Nootka Sound area showed his hair parted in the middle, hanging to his shoulders and liberally coated with oil or grease and red ochre. Some hair on both sides of his head had been twisted, giving it the appearance of a narrow rope with a tassel at the end. The twisted hair might have been false, either added to form the



locks Cook described or possibly hung from ear perforations. Another man Webber drew also wore his shoulder-length hair parted in the middle, very like the man described above. In addition to the tassels at the ends of the twisted sections of hair (which also may have been false), at least three ornaments, two flat ones and a rolled one, possibly of shell or copper, hung from the twisted hair on the man's right side.

Nootkan women wore their hair down to their shoulders and hanging over both sides of their faces. Their hair was sometimes clotted with the oil and red ochre they smeared on it, but apparently they did not use down as the men did. A woman Webber illustrated wore her somewhat tangled hair hanging straight down, apparently without any decoration. Although Giglioli illustrated two carved wooden combs from the Nootka Sound area, apparently collected during Cook's stay there, and described them as being used more for combing than for fastening or adorning their hair, King stated that the combs the Nootkans used appeared to be useless because the teeth were widely spaced. However, they were neatly carved and the women supposedly wore them in their hair (Cook 1967: 1100, 1411-2; Giglioli 1895: 110-1; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; ATL).

Some Nootkan men and a few women had pierced septums through which they drew a length of soft cord from which small bones or cylinders of rolled copper hung close to the upper

lip. The Nootkans used rings from European brass buttons (obtained in trade) in the same manner. Whether or not all the people wearing crescent-shaped ornaments had pierced septums is a moot point. Cook, King and Samwell suggested that they did not, that the ornament was kept in place by squeezing the ends together so they pinched the septum.

A group of people from the south (Clayoquot Sound) were mutilated by a gash across their noses slightly below eye level. Their faces were coated with what was thought to be blood from the incision. Some of the British thought that the gash might have been made shortly before the group arrived at the ships, but at least one thought the gashes had been made during adolescence (Ellis 1783: 213-4; Cook 1785: 305; 1967: 314, 1099, 1326-7, 1400, 1406; ATL; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2).

Nootkan men, and women to a lesser extent, had pierced ears from which they hung various ornaments. Many not only had perforated ear lobes, but also two or three or more openings higher up and along the outer edge, or helix, of the ear. From the holes they hung pieces of bone, small shells, quills attached to leather thongs, bunches of "woolen" and cedar bark tassels, teeth, broad thin sheets of copper (sometimes rolled into cylinders), pieces of iron, a horn-like material set with small pieces of bone or other objects, leather thongs, twisted or braided cords and European buttons obtained in trade. At times the leather thongs and attached

ornaments hung as low as the wearer's chest. Some people, thought to be too poor to afford ornaments, tied knots in thongs hanging from their ears (Cook 1785: 305; 1967: 314, 1099, 1326, 1405; ATL; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2).

Webber drew a Nootkan man wearing rolled copper ornaments attached to twisted cords hanging from both ears. What may be squared sections of shell or broad sheets of copper on a twisted cord hang from his right ear. Ascertaining whether the twisted cords hung from the wearers' ears or formed part of their hair arrangements is often difficult because similar ornaments were used in both ways. A Nootkan woman Webber drew wears what appear to be several rolled sheets of copper attached to thongs or cords hanging from both ears.

The only type of neck ornament the inhabitants of Nootka Sound were described as wearing was one made of strung fish bones, but a group of Indians from outside the sound wore necklaces of small, bluish "volute or panamae" shells (Cook 1785: 299; Ellis 1783: 215).

In general, wrist ornaments were bracelets of copper, thick brass wire, iron, cedar bark, braided hair, bunches of conical shells resembling bugle beads (dentalia), bunches of thongs with tassels, or a single piece of black, horn-like material decorated with pieces of bone or shells (probably dentalia). A Nootkan man Webber illustrated wears one or more strings of beads or shells around his wrist. Both men and women wore armbands above their elbows. These were made of some of the same materials as the bracelets (Ellis



1783: 215; Cook 1785: 305; Cook 1967: 1100, 1406; ATL).

Giglioli described and illustrated a bracelet collected during Cook's visit to Nootka Sound that was apparently made from an elk hoof shrunk by being either exposed to fire or placed in boiling water. The bracelet is shaped like an open elliptical circle, higher on one side than the other. The inside and ends of the bracelet are smooth and the smaller end "looks like a greatly thickened human fingernail." Its edges are decorated (as Bayly described) with small, white oblong shells attached to the bracelet with black putty. Only two of the shells (unfortunately unillustrated) remain and, according to Giglioli, are a species of dentalia (Giglioli 1895: 110). Sarah Stone painted a watercolour of one such bracelet with the shells still intact.

Nootkans often decorated their ankles with many layers of leather thongs twisted to a considerable thickness, "rope" of braided hair, withes or small twigs, copper bands, animal sinew and strings of white beads. The Nootkan men of whom Webber drew a full-length view has wrapped his ankles with what appears to be a narrow band of fur or hair (Ellis 1783: 215; Cook 1785: 305; 1967: 1100; ATL).

Although the British seldom saw Nootkan women wearing any type of ornament, some women, whom Bayly thought ranked higher than the others, wore nose ornaments, rolled copper ear ornaments, bracelets of copper and shells, anklets of "bark" or small twigs and armbands worn above the elbow (Cook 1967: 314, 1406; ATL).



## EARLY TRADERS

Strange only noted that the Yuquot Nootkans painted lines or figures on their faces; however, Meares described some of the colours and designs. The Yuquot Nootkans painted their faces with red ochre and sprinkled it with powdered mica, decorated their faces with black streaks on a white background or covered their faces with white. Maquinna's face was also painted red, without mica, when he went whaling. Although Meares thought the black-on-white design was their war paint, he described Maquinna going on a raid with his face painted red and sprinkled with mica. When the war canoes returned to Friendly Cove, a number of warriors had daubed their faces with red ochre and a black substance to form "a shark's jaw" and a type of spiral line.

Wives plucked out their husbands' facial hair with their fingers. Older men let their beards grow freely. Maquinna was illustrated wearing a goatee and moustache (Strange 1928: 47; Meares 1791 Vol. 1: 178-9, 317-8; Vol. 2: 37-8, 41-2, 53).

Strange thought the Yuquot Nootkans used red ochre to paint their bodies when they visited other groups. He was told that this was the colour that most intimidated their enemies. He noted tattooing, but neglected to state on what part of the body it occurred and to describe the form (Strange 1928: 24, 47).

According to Meares, the Yuquot Nootkans painted their bodies with red ochre for ceremonial visits and evidently this

included going to war. A war party left Yuquot with their faces and bodies coated with red ochre and sprinkled with powdered mica, looking "fierce and terrible." Maquinna was smeared with oil and daubed with red ochre prior to whaling. At times, the Yuquot Nootkans apparently painted their bodies black and sprinkled powdered mica on themselves. Mica was obtained in veins from the whitish bedrock bottoms of streams. When it was broken, the shining, gold-like particles vanished and flaky black particles remained. These particles were reduced to powder and the glitter returned. Powdered mica was the Yuquot Nootkans' most highly valued cosmetic (Meares 1971 Vol. 1: 318; Vol. 2: 34-5, 53, 41-2).

Strange was the first to record that Yuquot Nootkan women braided their hair, but Meares wrote that their long hair hung down their backs. The women were only allowed to use red colouring on their hair.

According to Meares, the men were more vain of the hair on their heads than of that on their chins, usually plucking the latter. The hair on their heads was strong, long, black and glossy and they wore it either tied in a knot on top of their heads or hanging down their backs "in flowing negligence." A portrait of Maquinna and Callicum drawn during Meares's stay in Yuquot showed one with loose hair covering the back of his neck and the other with short hair parted in the middle or long hair<sup>st</sup> parted in the middle and tied in a knot on the back of his head (Strange 1928: 51; Meares 1791 Vol. 2:

According to Meares, although the Yuquot Nootkan men sometimes had perforated septums from which they hung pieces of copper, iron or tin shaped in various forms, only a very few women used nose ornaments (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 42-4).

Strange recorded the Nootkan term for leather ear ornaments, but did not describe them further. According to Meares, all Yuquot Nootkan men's ears were perforated and some had several holes through their ears. From these holes they hung small leather thongs strung with porcupine quills, small pieces of copper or any other ornaments they could obtain from European traders. They preferred buttons and hung so many from their ears that the weight drew their ears almost down to their shoulders. A portrait of Maquinna and Callicum shows each man with five ear perforations. Both men seem to have decorated their ears only with some type of thong or cord rather than more elaborate ornaments, even though both were high-ranking men. Only a few women used any type of ear ornaments (Strange 1928: 53; Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 42, 44).

Strange noted leather and braided hair bracelets in his word list, but made no further references to them. Meares noted that the Yuquot Nootkans wore copper "necklaces" and bracelets "of the purest ore" and a portrait of Maquinna and Callicum shows them wearing what appear to be copper bracelets and anklets. Bracelets were also formed of numerous plain leather thongs or, sometimes, leather thongs strung with shells. Anklets were also formed of plain or decorated leather thongs,



but had more thongs and more decoration than the bracelets of the same material. Meares saw several rectangular pieces of rock crystal (perhaps hai'na) worn as neck ornaments, possibly as pendants. The Yuquot Nootkans also wore bead necklaces and generally carried or wore a small piece of "Muscovy glass" (mica) (Strange 1928: 48, 53; Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 34-5, 42-3; Howay 1941: 61).

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

Yuquot Nootkan men painted their faces and sprinkled them with mica when they made and received formal visits. They formed different designs on their faces with red ochre and black and white paint mixed with "Fish Oil." The women used deer oil on their faces and hair. Few Yuquot Nootkan men had beards because facial hair was generally plucked out; however, some men grew moustaches and goatees as illustrated and noted previously (Howay 1941: 61; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; BCA, A/A/20/C39/pt.1; see also PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

Mozziño thought the Yuquot Nootkans did not decorate their faces as often as they had previously, now reserving it for special occasions. He observed several different types of facial decorations, each design apparently determined by individual choice although there were some limitations. Chiefs never painted around their eyes and only the "princes" had the privilege of making figures on their faces. Lower ranking people were the only ones who coloured their entire faces,



including their foreheads and eyelids, but they did not make designs. He saw some Yuquot Nootkans coloured black, red, lead-colour or white and some wearing all the colours. They plucked out their whiskers individually with shell tweezers, but occasionally used their fingers (Moziño 1913).

Adults smeared their bodies with whale grease and red ochre, but, in contrast to Bayly's statement, they did not do the same to their children, at least at this time. A British writer made a general statement that the Yuquot Nootkans' bodies were painted various colours (Moziño 1913; PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

Haswell noted only that the Nootkans sprinkled feathers on their hair when they were receiving or making formal visits and Martínez that women wore their hair loose or in braids. Chiefs' wives were noted for wearing the latter style (Howay 1941: 61; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2).

The Yuquot Nootkans' hair was usually cut evenly and allowed to hang loose. It might also be tied into a single tail with a leather thong decorated with small "cypress" twigs. They fixed white duck, eagle and heron down to their hair with whale grease on "gala days." Small copper cylinders were hung from the ends of the hair (Moziño 1913).

Bell thought men took little care of their hair except when it was long enough to braid the back part into long, separate tails decorated heavily with "Fish oil," powdered red ochre and down when they attended a feast or ceremony.

They never used combs. The women parted their hair in the middle and let it hang straight. They generally coated it with deer oil (which they also applied to their faces). Women's combs, which the women were said to make themselves, were for combing their hair, not to remove vermin; however, Bell did not state if the combs were used to hold the hair in place or to decorate it (BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt. 1).

The chiefs and other high-ranking people used oil obtained from deer entrails on their hair. For feasts, they divided their hair, which at times reached below their backs, into a number of tails into each of which a quantity of false hair was woven. To keep the tails separate, each was bound at equal intervals with small pieces of copper about one-half of an inch long. Sometimes "the whole" was gathered erect on top of the wearer's head. It leaned forward slightly, but was held in place by the stiffness of the copper, grease and dirt on it and some of the side hair bound around it. Women seemed to keep their hair cleaner than the <sup>e</sup>man (PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

By the time Haswell arrived in Nootka Sound, most of the people he saw had pierced septums but nose ornaments were no longer fashionable. In 1792 Moziño noted that the Yuquot Nootkans had their septums perforated in one or two places when they were children. The perforations were used to hold pins, pieces of thread, string or ribbon; they no longer wore rings as they had in Cook's time (Howay 1941: 61; Moziño 1913; AGN 69/9/a).

Nootkan children had three or four perforations through their ears. Threads or leather thongs passed through the holes were tied separately more than an inch below the ear and from the thongs cylinders of rolled copper one-and-a-half to two-inches long were suspended. Some Yuquot Nootkans wore three or four ear ornaments linked together "without order nor proportion," and ornaments on one ear did not necessarily match those on the other ear. Only women hung pyramid-shaped copper ornaments from their ears (Moziño 1913; AGN 69/9/a).

During Vancouver's visit to the sound, one writer noted that men's and women's ears were perforated along the lower part of the ear and some had two or three large openings in their ears. Buttons were still their favourite ear ornaments. In some cases, square sections of *Haliotis* shells, held in particularly high esteem by the Indians to the north, were used instead of copper ear ornaments (PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

The Yuquot Nootkans formed necklaces by stringing fish bones, "venus" shell, quills or glass beads obtained in trade from Europeans. Bracelets were formed of the same materials as necklaces or of doubled sheets of copper curved to fit the wrist. Strings of glass beads were tied around the ankles and small snail shells were pierced and used as ornaments. Moziño noted that blunted venus shell barbs were used as Europeans used mother-of-pearl shell; however, he did not specify the use to which he was referring. A British writer



mentioned neck, arm and leg ornaments of copper "Bracelets" or small white shells (probably dentalia) which were tied in place. Women wore copper anklets (Moziño 1913; AGN 69/9/a; PAC, MG 12 A, Adm -5/17).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

The way the Yuquot Nootkan men painted themselves frequently varied, often depending on individual choice. They, including Maquinna, usually plucked their eyebrows out and replaced them with broad black painted stripes in the shape of a new moon and painted half their faces with small red squares. At times they decorated half their faces in this manner and the other half with black squares. They would dot their faces with red and black spots or paint one half of their faces and bodies red and the other half black. Sometimes (as described during Cook's visit) they covered their faces with a one-eighth-inch thick layer of bear grease formed, using a stick, into ridges like "a small bead in joiner's work" and painted their faces red. In spite of the effort involved in decorating their faces and bodies, the Yuquot Nootkans bathed in fresh water, summer and winter, at least once a day and sometimes more often, scouring themselves with sand or rushes to remove the oil-saturated paint.

Jewitt referred to Maquinna as being smeared with red ochre and stated that only Maquinna and the principal chiefs sprinkled their faces with powdered mica, particularly on



special occasions. Maquinna was said to be the only one to wear a moustache; all other men kept their faces free of hair. Jewitt filed the teeth of Maquinna's elder brother, the only time such an operation is mentioned in the ethno-historic material on the Yuquot Nootkans (Jewitt 1896: 57, 113, 116-8, 207).

Although the women were fond of ornamenting themselves, they did not do so as much as the men. They only painted their eyebrows black and applied a bright red stripe from each corner of their mouths to their ears, decorations not previously described (Jewitt 1896: 114).

Poquefeuil noted that the Yuquot Nootkans kept red, black and white powder, used as a cosmetic, in small bags. An 1837 sketch of a later Maquinna shows him with a prominent, drooping moustache and a rather sparse beard. In 1866, Indians on the west coast were generally noted to slightly tattoo their faces with a blue colour and to use red and black colours on their faces. When Napoleon Maquinna received Lieutenant Governor Nichol at Yuquot in 1924, he wore a modified form of facial decoration: several uneven thick horizontal lines applied on both his cheeks (Roquefeuil 1823b: 34; BCA, E/B/D61M).

Jewitt made scanty reference to body decoration, remarking only that women did not paint themselves as much as the men (Jewitt 1896: 114, 116). There are no other ethno-historic references to the Yuquot Nootkans coating their bodies with oil or ochre. In 1866 Dalley recorded that in general

the Indians of the west coast tattooed both their faces and the front of their legs with a blue colouring (E/B/D16M).

According to Jewitt, the Yuquot Nootkan men oiled their hair "on festival occasions" and gathered it on top of their heads with a piece of pine or spruce bough to which the needles were still attached. Maquinna and the other chiefs sprinkled white down over their hair from a species of large brown eagle common on the coast. They were very particular when arranging these feathers, occasionally wetting their hair to keep them in place. They also glued feathers to the bough, using pitch as an adhesive. The first thing they did on hearing of the arrival of visitors was to decorate their hair in this manner. Warriors tied their hair on top of their heads using a hemlock twig and thrust sharp, bi-pointed bone pins through it. The pins were supposed to prevent their enemies from grasping them by their top knots as a prelude to striking, a manoeuvre Jewitt encountered when he attempted to reach the Boston's deck during the Yuquot Nootkans' attack. Yuquot Nootkan women often oiled and arranged their hair into two broad braids, tying the ends with withes and allowing them to hang on either side of their faces (Jewitt 1896: 114, 118).

During Roquemore's visit to Yuquot, he noted that the cosmetic kit of one of his hosts contained, among other items, a small bag of bird down. An 1837 sketch of the contemporary Maquinna showed him with his hair parted in the middle and hanging just below his ears. Two "tails," which may have been

suspended from his head or ears, were strung with beads and hung on either side of his face. In 1866 Dalley noted that Moachat women painted the parting in their hair red, but did not mention whether or not they coated their hair with oil and red ochre. The women may have painted the parting red in lieu of applying red ochre to all their hair (Roquefeuil 1823b: 34; Belcher 1843: 108; BCA, A/B/D16M).

Maynard's 1873 photographs showed Moachat men with unparted hair reaching their shoulders. Some held it in place with a wrapped headband as described earlier and others let it hang freely. All the women in his photographs had their hair parted in the middle. Some had cut their hair to just above shoulder length and at least one young girl had braids that were apparently looped up.

In 1803 "nose jewels" seemed to be the Yuquot Nootkans' most valued ornaments. The septum was pierced during infancy, bored through with a pin, and the opening was enlarged by a succession of wooden plugs of increasing diameter until it was the size of a pipestem. Some holes were nearly large enough to insert a little finger. Chiefs suspended small pieces of polished copper or brass (many of which Jewitt made for them in the shape of hearts and diamonds) or a twisted bright bluish conical shell about half-an-inch long (brought from the south) from their septums with a small wire or string. Lower ranking people usually used a smooth round stick that might extend as much as eight or nine inches beyond each side of their faces. This type of nose ornament was



secured by small wedges pushed into each side of the septum opening. Only chiefs' wives wore a "nose jewel." It was different from the men's, being a small white shell or bead suspended from a thread. Brown suggested that it may have been the flat nacreous part of alabone shell, but it was most probably a dentalium shell. Feathers were inserted through the septum at a later date (Jewitt 1896: 114, 118-9).

According to Jewitt, men wore copper ear ornaments. The form and material of women's earrings were not described. In 1825 long ear ornaments made of square pieces of a shell with a nacreous lustre (alabone) were used by the Yuquot Nootkans and were very like those used by the Haida. An 1837 portrait of the contemporary Maquinna shows him wearing what appear to be two long strings of beads, either hanging from his ears or forming part of his hair arrangement. What appears to be a shell is visible close to the upper end of the beads near his left ear (Jewitt 1896: 118; Scouler 1905: 195).

Jewitt stated briefly that Yuquot Nootkan men wore bracelets of painted leather or copper. The women wore bracelets, necklaces, anklets and finger rings. The rings, including the bracelets and anklets, were made in various forms and sizes of highly polished copper or brass, many of them probably made by Jewitt. Wives of lower ranking men frequently wore bracelets and anklets of straps of bark cloth or hide (possibly of elk) painted in various figures. Chiefs'



wives wore bracelets and necklaces of several strings of dentalium shells. These shells, which the Yuquot Nootkans valued highly, were collected from the seabed, the points were broken off and the shells were strung on bark threads (Jewitt 1896: 115, 118).

The vanity kit of one of Roquefeuil's hosts at Yuquot contained, among other items, necklaces and earrings. In 1837, a later Maquinna was illustrated wearing several strings or folds of a beaded necklace. His 14- or 15-year-old daughter was said to be heavily ornamented about her neck and wrists, but these areas were covered by a blanket in Belcher's presence. A few ornaments are visible in an 1873 photograph of a group of Moachat: several men are wearing long necklaces, some of which seem to have a single bone or other object hanging from them (Roquefeuil 1823b: 34; Belcher 1843: 112).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

According to Drucker, both men and women practiced non-ritual face painting to protect their complexions. Especially used on sunny days, it was most frequently applied by younger people. A base of deer tallow was smeared evenly over the face and a coat of either hemlock sap, which turned black and had a pleasant odour, or red ochre was applied to the face. Only one of Drucker's respondents knew of the mica so often mentioned in early historic accounts of facial painting.

The application of red ochre and charcoal for ceremonial purposes was distinct from their application for everyday use. Warriors painted their faces black with charcoal and war chiefs used charred wolf or mountain lion bones to blacken themselves. The parents of twins painted horizontal red stripes on their bodies. Women painted their faces to sing tama songs and men painted their faces red at potlatches in which a deceased person's possessions were distributed. Singers honouring the saddle of a whale painted their lower jaws red.

At a Shamans' Dance given by Napoleon Maquinna, some people representing frogs painted their faces white with large black circles around their eyes and large, frog-like mouths around their own mouths. Novices' faces were sprayed with blood spit from the mouths of the dancers' attendants at one stage of the Shamans' Dance (Drucker 1951: 100, 103, 128-9, 148, 180, 334, 403).

Although the Moachat no longer use facial decorations in public, they do apply some lines to the sides of their faces during private feasts and dances. Some women, including younger ones, pluck their eyebrows and use lipstick and face powder in the same fashion as white women. <

During the recent historic period, body painting seems to have been restricted to ritualistic use, such as painting the arms and legs of the "Wild Man Spirit" (tc̄in̄iyath) red during a Shamans' Dance (Drucker 1951: 394). A few of the young

men and women now living in the village tattoo their arms and the backs of their hands with crude designs and initials.

According to Drucker, Nootkan children had their first haircut when they were about one year old. It was singed off close to their heads. Men usually cut their hair when they were old enough to go into the woods where long hair could become tangled in the brush. They hacked it off with a knife to about shoulder length and evened the edges by singing them with live coals. They left it long enough so they could tie it on the tops of their heads during dances. They cut their hair to a point just below their ears when in mourning.

Women did not cut their hair after they were a year old except as an expression of mourning, in which case they cut it off at shoulder length. They usually wore their hair in two braids, tying the ends together and tossing them behind them so the braids would not interfere with their work. Both sexes used stale urine to wash their hair.

Combs were still used during this period. According to a haiyanūw̓tākamlāth respondent, there were two types of combs: one for combing the hair and another for removing vermin.

Girls only wore elaborate hair ornaments in association with their puberty rituals. The eldest daughter of a family wore a single unit suspended at the back of her head and a younger daughter wore ornaments that were similar to but shorter than those worn by her older sister. These ornaments came in pairs. A chief's daughter would wear a very good



ornament formed of dentalis strung on mountain goat wool and the protective pad that hung beneath the shells was also woven of the imported wool, but the daughter of a low-ranking man would wear an ornament formed of trade beads and thimbles strung on nettle or cedar bark\*unless a chief loaned her father a more elaborate ornament (Drucker 1951: 90, 100, 128-9, 139-40, 147).

An 1890 photograph of haiyū'a' and two male companions showed them with relatively short hair worn in a Eurocanadian style. The wife of haiyū'a' had parted her hair in the middle and braided it. A 1924 photograph of several Moachat women showed them with their hair parted in the middle or to the side. Some had shingled or bobbed hair like fashionable Eurocanadians of the time.

Today most Moachat, both young and old, wear their hair like their non-Indian neighbours. A very few of the older men allow their hair to grow rather long and some young men, following current trends, also wear rather long hair, much to the dislike of some of their elders. Old women still part their hair in the middle, cutting it off slightly above shoulder length, but young girls curl and backcomb their hair to be in vogue with contemporary Eurocanadian hair styles.

Only one of the men Maynard photographed at Yuquot in 1873 may have worn a nose ornament. Although Curtis photographed several people wearing crescent-shaped nose ornaments, only one man had a bone or stick through his septum, but he may



not have been from Yuquot. Curtis supplied most of the clothing, hunting gear and probably nose ornaments as well for the people who posed for him so the nose ornaments may not necessarily have been in use during the early part of the 20th century.

According to Drucker, both men and women had pierced septums in recent historic times, but (in contrast to the ethnohistoric period) women wore nose ornaments more commonly than men. The nose ornaments were a crescent-shaped abalone shell or a dentalium shell. The poor did not (in contrast to Jewitt's observation) wear a stick through their noses (Drucker 1951: 101; SIA).

Today, not one Moachat is known to have a pierced septum or use any type of nose ornament.

Virtually all the people Maynard photographed at Yuquot in 1873 had long hair covering their ears and it is impossible to ascertain whether or not they wore ear ornaments. However, an 1896 photograph of haiyu'a' shows him wearing a round ornament on each ear. The two men standing beside him may have had pierced ears, but no ornaments are visible.

Drucker learned that both men and women wore ear ornaments usually of dentalia, copper, abalone shell or, in late historic times, glass beads. People of high rank had their ears perforated in the lobe and helix as writers in early historic times had described (Drucker 1951: 100-1). Today some Moachat women have pierced ears and use costume jewelry earrings, but men no longer pierce their ears or wear ear ornaments.

Drucker noted that women commonly wore bead or dentalia necklaces and bracelets of various materials, such as strips of sea otter fur also used as anklets. Anklets may have served more than ornamental purposes: girls may have used them as bands to constrict their ankles and enlarge their calves, a form considered desirable. Cedar bark, either plain or dyed red with alder bark, was often used to make dancers' neck rings, wrist bands and anklets (Drucker 1951: 97, 100-1). Today, many Nootkans wear religious medals around their necks and women use the same type of rings and costume jewelry as their non-Indian neighbours.

#### DISCUSSION

Like everything else in Nootkan culture, personal adornment was determined by the combination of an individual's age, sex and rank and differences existed in the ways in which particular groups of people living in the Nootka Sound area would decorate themselves. Thus, adolescents, adult low-ranking men and women, and adult high-ranking men and women could be distinguished from each other on the basis of the way <sup>or</sup> ~~that~~ they embellished themselves. After contact, trade items such as glass and ceramic beads, buttons and thimbles also became part of the Nootkan vanity kit, each becoming part of a particular segment of Nootkan culture. After increased contact with a wider, non-Nootkan world, the differentiations between the application of Nootkan cosmetics and the use of

jewelry became established on the basis of age and sex only with the question of rank no longer entering the picture, having been replaced by the degree of an individual's earning power to purchase items of adornment.

Nootkan hair styles changed little through time except for the post-contact use of braiding by women until the late historic period when pressures from church and state, mainly through the Christie Indian Residential school, encouraged Nootkans of both sexes to conform with Eurocanadian hair styles.

CHARACTER  
AND  
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS



## CHARACTER AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Although many of the visitors to Nootka Sound realized that it was difficult if not impossible to describe Yuquot Nootkan character and general day-to-day relationships with each other, most journalists made an effort to commit their observations to paper. Whereas some writers' comments were charged with ethnocentrism regarding Nootkan industry, honesty, and courage, others painted what can be considered a fair portrait of these people and their behaviour as members of a larger group.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

King was perhaps more aware of the problems of describing the character of the Nootkans individually and as a group than other members of Cook's crews. He reflected that many might think a European could easily describe the mores and temperament of a group such as the Nootkans who were thought to be unfamiliar with more culturally advanced people's contrivances to hide their real feelings and many might expect that men who were well acquainted with Europeans' characters would be less likely to err when observing people very different from themselves; however, King accurately pointed out, because the crews had had little experience with less complex cultures than their own, because most were

unable to recognize and differentiate between inborn motivations and the influence of cultural environment and because they were unable to talk with the Nootkans, Nootkan cultural traits could only be interpreted by overt manifestations without knowledge of the underlying causes (Cook 1967: 1406-7).

King's assessment of the difficulties was reflected by the varying comments of his shipmates. Some thought the Nootkans were quarrelsome, insolent and quick to express their displeasure if they felt insulted, although they did not try to involve the entire group in a dispute, generally considering the hiatus solely between the instigator and the recipient. Others described the Nootkans as friendly, brave, resolute and good-natured people who never offered a major affront to any of the crews. Cook was greeted at Yuquot with "civil and social" hospitality, invited into several of the houses, generously offered different kinds of fish and meat and never threatened. Some Nootkans were thought brave because they unhesitatingly defended their rights to be the only ones to trade with the British (whom they did not seem to fear) and unhesitatingly defended themselves against each other. They may have been considered resolute because they were determined to get what they wanted and would go to great lengths to obtain it by exchange or theft. Their efforts to entertain the British both on land and in their canoes and their apparent readiness to overlook any affront from

members of their own group or the British expressed their good naturedness. They responded positively to "courteous behaviour." Rickman believed the Nootkans were the most open and communicative people to "live under the sun...."

Although the Nootkans took objects they thought they would find useful, they were honest in most of their exchanges with the British. They rarely took an article passed around for approval, but seldom released their goods unless they were satisfied with those offered in exchange. The British were also surprised by most of the Nootkans' apparent lack of interest or curiosity, when confronted with something they had never seen before. They seemed interested only in what they wanted to acquire.

Although the men were frightening when they wore their masks, headdresses and other ceremonial or war gear, they did not seem at all ferocious when they removed them. They seemed quiet, phlegmatic, inactive and without the animation and vivacity that would make them social beings at least in European eyes. Although not reserved, they were far from loquacious, but Cook thought their gravity might be more a result of their personality than a conviction of its propriety or a manifestation of their education. When enraged, they seemed unable to express themselves fluently either by words or gestures (Ellis 1783: 212; Ledyard 1783: 72; Cook 1781: 237, 239-40; 1785: 277, 283, 308-10, 319; 1967: 296, 298-9, 310, 312, 1095, 1100-1, 1326-7, 1396-7, 1406-7; ATL; BCU, a; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2).



The Nootkans expressed their friendship for each other by shaking hands and throwing their arms around those they considered special friends, touching the tip of their noses to that of the person being hugged. <sup>9</sup> Most of the relationships between individuals the British described were, except those based on conflict, between a man and a woman. The women did not seem to have wills of their own, were submissive to the men and did whatever the men told them. The women were not treated with any particular respect or tenderness, but neither were they treated harshly. They seemed to be at ease and, comparatively speaking, the men did not seem to control them closely. Although the women were bashful, timid and modest, they conversed as freely as the men. The women brought to the ships as prostitutes were silent and dejected, usually kept their eyes lowered and were totally under the control of the men who brought them to the crews (Ellis 1783: 216-7; Cook 1785: 319; 1967: 312, 1408; ATL).

Although the Nootkans appeared good natured, when a man felt a member of his own group had maligned him in some way, both parties shouted and jumped at each other excitedly, nodding their heads like "Punch and the Devil." One man would voice his opinions of the other for up to half an hour without interruption, then the other man would stand and shout his views. Whether addressing one man or an entire group in this context, the Nootkans seemed to repeat



single words forcibly or shout sentences in a monotone, making a gesture for every phrase and jerking their bodies slightly forward by bending their knees as they arms hung by their sides. The British frequently could not determine who was being berated because the recipient of the tirade would sit quietly in his canoe, not looking at the speaker and appearing indifferent to what was being said. On other occasions the disputants grabbed each other's hair with both hands and held their foreheads close together for as long as half an hour. Or they grasped each other's hands as they shouted at each other until they were exhausted. During this type of conflict the disputants would occasionally break away from each other and exchange blows, generally striking with an open hand. Some disputes went further than exchanging verbiage, hair pulling or an occasional slap. At such times, the two participants would arm themselves with knives and, in one case, paddles. When the disagreement reached this stage, it usually did not end until each man had received one or more cuts or a bloody head from the paddle. In one case, concerning a possible theft, the dispute resulted in one man almost losing a finger.

Sometimes the disputes between two people would include other members of the group. Then other participants, in one case apparently ordered to do so by a chief, would strip themselves and beat the offender. In one instance the offender was beaten, handed his possessions and ordered to

leave the area where the ships were anchored. The dispute was never carried so far that one of the participants was killed; however, this was not so in warfare as apparently proven by the dented skulls the Nootkans offered to the British (Ellis 1783: 195, 200; Cook 1785: 309; 1967: 312, 1327; ATL; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; BCU, a; BCA, a).

#### EARLY TRADERS

Strange thought the people of Yuquot were gentle, strictly adhered to their word and were courteous, gracious hosts. They lived together on amiable terms. Married couples were very loving to each other and to their children (Strange 1928: 20, 25; BCA, A/A/10/G7917).

Colnett thought that the Nootkans frequently scolded and abused each other, but that their anger was superficial. They did not seem to have many ways of expressing their "passions;" only a few circumstances could spark a look of pleasure on their faces and then it was only a faint smile. He thought they seldom or never laughed (BBM).

Meares thought that the Yuquot Nootkans were generally courteous to his crew and affable to each other. They had a sense of right and wrong resembling European values, behaving confidently when doing something acceptable and diffidently when doing something unacceptable. They were ashamed when the British reproached them for some misdeed, but Meares did not know whether this was because they

feared the traders' power or because they wanted to win the traders' favour. However, the Yuquot Nootkans interacted amicably among themselves, convincing Meares of the "amiable qualities" they possessed. Meares also thought the Yuquot Nootkans possessed a sense of gratitude toward those who treated them well, but Comekela, whom Meares had returned to Yuquot from Asia at least partly in the hope that a grateful Comekela would promote Meares's trading interests, "began to prefer the interests of his countrymen [probably his kin]."

Even though the Yuquot Nootkan men were skilled workers and were very active when they were involved in something, they were "of an indolent and lazy disposition," preferring idleness to whaling or hunting sea otters. One of the chiefs was said to have to exert his authority to make the men hunt. Meares thought the women were hard workers and affectionate wives and stated lyrically that their behaviour was marked by "the influence of those sensibilities that form the chief honour of the female character among the most polished nations of the globe."

Meares' only statements about the treatment of children was that their mothers treated them tenderly and that fathers allowed their sons to help them make hunting and fishing equipment and weapons. A boy learned skills by participating in the various activities centring around the production of harpoons, lines, fishhooks, bows and arrows (Meares 1791 Vol. 1: 63-4, 193-4; Vol. 2: 45-6, 57, 62-4).



#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

Haswell considered the Yuquot Nootkans a harmless and inoffensive people. According to Patero, the English and Americans had told the Spaniards the Yuquot Nootkans were destructive, inhuman thieves and cannibals, but he protested that the Yuquot Nootkans had not injured, robbed nor endangered the Spaniards; indeed, they invited the Spaniards to their villages and houses with affection and good intentions and entertained their guests with dances. Sanchez thought that even though they might be in great pain, the Yuquot Nootkans did not show it and he illustrated this by relating how a man with a severely injured foot did not even groan during treatment.

The Yuquot Nootkan women seldom went for walks, but when they did other women or their husbands, a son or a brother accompanied them. Other men never went with them. The women were generally virtuous and Sanchez and Martínez were told that no one would attempt to molest them, even by touching their hands (Howay 1941: 54; YUL/WAM 415; AGN, 65/8; BCU, HR/F58813.1/M3/S2).

Mozíño was amazed to hear criticisms of the Yuquot Nootkans because he could not cite one malign act by them. In the five months he spent at Yuquot, he did not experience a single offense from them even though they filled the commandant's house day and night. Although many Spanish officers visited the Yuquot Nootkans unarmed and in their canoes,



the officers always returned with glowing reports of the hospitality they had experienced. Moziño thought it unfortunate that the Spaniards had not always treated the Yuquot Nootkans with the same affection and gentleness as the Yuquot Nootkans had showed them. At times, some small thefts were noted, but these were few in comparison to the large quantity of objects the Yuquot Nootkans wanted and could have taken but did not (Moziño 1913).

Although Moziño described some of the Yuquot Nootkans as having languid expressions, he <sup>rarely</sup> ~~very seldom~~ saw what he considered a stupid expression. On the contrary, he noted many eloquent expressions and claimed to be able to guess a Yuquot Nootkan's thoughts by his expression alone (Moziño 1913).

Bell thought their faces showed little animation and they generally seemed reserved and dejected and did not laugh much. They were generally indolent and lazy and never appeared "delighted or astonished" when they saw strange or entertaining things. Bell supposed they had suspicious, fearful and vengeful temperaments. According to him, the women were so modest that an "indelicate" word often made them cry. Men were jealous of their wives and "could no more bear an indelicacy offered to their wives" than to themselves (BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt.1).

During Bodega y Quadra's stay in Friendly Cove, he attempted to treat the Yuquot Nootkans "as men should be

treated," not as inferiors. He wrote that he could live among them in complete peace, even though he suspected that some might try to disturb the calm relations. The Yuquot Nootkans were not bitter people; they never took revenge even when crewmen wronged them. However, Bodega y Quadra always punished the Spanish miscreants, partly to demonstrate the concepts of Spanish justice, and felt that both chiefs and low-ranking people had confidence in him (BCU, HR/F5813.1/B61/cp. 1).

Caamaño's opinions of the Yuquot Nootkans was the reverse of Bodega y Quadra's. He thought they were always waiting for the Spaniards to be careless or overconfident "in order to put in effect their perverse ideas." He felt the people (Hesquiat) of Estevan Point had illustrated Nootkan cruelty by killing the crew of a wrecked boat as the sailors crawled ashore exhausted after their long swim. Caamaño thought the Indians were inclined to be thieves and cowards who only fought when they had the advantage, otherwise they rapidly disassembled their houses and escaped into the forest. Pantoja thought they were both docile and cowardly (AGN, 69/9; Wagner 1933: 162).

The writer of the log of the Chatham recorded that the Nootkans had not changed since 1778. They seemed to have no wish to affront their visitors or to profit culturally from their contact with "civilization" and were of a peaceful disposition, especially in their conduct towards one another.

Instead of taking advantage of their weaker neighbours to obtain goods, they seemed to prefer to satisfy their requirements by fair trading. They were also said not to involve people in war merely to satisfy one man's ambitions. However, the Europeans were concerned that the great number of firearms Wickanannish possessed might prompt him to attempt to force the various groups on the coast to acknowledge him as their "sovereign" (PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17).

The Nootkans' love for their children was often observed; however, children were often killed or enslaved during raids. The Europeans thought that, in some cases, children were killed and eaten as part of certain celebrations.

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

Jewitt, who had more opportunity to analyze Yuquot Nootkan personality than anyone else, thought they were generally inoffensive, peaceful and not ill-tempered. He remembered only one violent quarrel during the 28 months he lived with them and that was between a married couple. When the Yuquot Nootkans were even slightly offended, they appeared to go into a violent rage, foaming at the mouth, kicking and spitting furiously, but this was their style of communication, not a manifestation of hatred. The most renowned orator behaved similarly when making a speech: he shouted as loudly as he could, stamped his feet, tossed himself about and spat and foamed at the mouth (as also discussed during Cook's stay).



Nor did the Yuquot Nootkans always react in this manner when offended. Maquinna was able to suppress his feelings when Captain Salter of the Boston insulted him. Maquinna said that he contained his rage by putting his hand to his throat and rubbing his chest to keep his heart down so it would not rise to his throat and choke him.

Although the Yuquot Nootkans might steal, Jewitt had little doubt that "many of the melancholy disasters" involving them and Europeans were mainly due to the rash acts of some traders who had insulted, plundered and even killed the Yuquot Nootkans with little reason. So, because the Yuquot Nootkans held nothing more sacred than revenge and because they were "so impatient under insult," they sometimes vented their anger on the first crew to give them the opportunity. Innocent Europeans often suffered for the wrongdoings of their fellow countrymen because few of the Yuquot Nootkans knew "how to discriminate between persons of the same general appearance, more especially when speaking the same language." Maquinna frequently told Jewitt that he would not have harmed white men if they had not harmed him.

A possibly apocryphal story is that Thompson cut the head off one of Wickanannish's men for insulting him and walking on a blanket he was washing for Maquinna. Maquinna was pleased and commended Thompson's act. If that was because he admired Thompson's act, because the victim was



one of Wickanannish's men or because it was his blanket was not recorded. Thompson's act made both the Yuquot Nootkans and their neighbours show more respect to Thompson and Jewitt and, by extension, Maquinna because it was his blanket that was stepped on and his slave who decapitated the offender.

Maquinna treated Jewitt and Thompson fairly well, especially when he felt threatened by "mutinous" Yuquot Nootkans who blamed all public calamities on him. At such times the two white slaves, armed with cutlasses and pistols, guarded Maquinna. Jewitt revealed what may have been a power struggle in his statement that he and Thompson once guarded Maquinna when the latter thought his "elder" brother and two other principal chiefs were conspiring to kill him.

Jewitt said little about the treatment of children other than describing the care, concern and protection shown to Maquinna's son and heir, Sat-sat-sok-sis. All villagers treated the boy permissively (Jewitt 1896: 64, 189-91, 220-1).

The Yuquot Nootkans' conduct during Roquefeuil's visit to Yuquot led him to believe that they were not only one of the weakest and poorest groups he had visited on the coast, but also the least dangerous to visitors. They possessed mild and docile characters and were inclined to be good hearted and to recognize kindness; however, Roquefeuil presumed that their mild manners and moderation were not products of a sense of inferiority. They seemed dirty and idle, but seemed generally rather intelligent and had

lively imaginations. They were not addicted to thievery which he (like many others) considered to be the general vice of "savages." Although the chiefs were not bashful about requesting something they wanted, they were generous themselves. The Yuquot Nootkans were "the best people on the whole north-west coast; they may be dealt with on a more confidential footing [than any other group]" (Roquefeuil 1823B: 104-5).

Roquefeuil also noted animosity between Maquinna and Wickanannish's people even though the two families were linked by marriage. He observed that slight attention and "cold caresses" were the only overt signs of the relationship between a young man and his wife, but was not surprised by the apparent lack of affection because he believed that the men's precarious existence and constant exposure to hostility tended to develop "hateful passions" rather than "mild affections." Yuquot Nootkan mothers were protective of their daughters: in at least one case, a mother violently reprimanded a sailor for having propositioned her daughter (Roquefeuil 1823b: 29, 32, 96, 98).

In 1825 Scouler was impressed by Maquinna's honesty and generosity. In 1837 Belcher noted that "Macquilla," one of Maquinna's sons, was a quiet man whose superiority consisted in his "dignified, unobtrusive mildness of manner and deportment" and his expressive face which conveyed kindness and mildness, but not fierceness. Belcher



qualified this statement when he recorded that he thought Macquilla's reaction to a fireworks display was rather ridiculous: in his excitement Macquilla pulled the hair of his "court fool," though not enough to remove it by the roots. Macquilla's 14- to 15-year-old daughter expressed great affection for her father; she often clung to him, placing her head on his shoulder. On his departure, Belcher stated that the good treatment he had received at Yuquot convinced him that its inhabitants were "superior to any [he] had yet fallen in with...." (Scouler 1905: 194; Belcher 1843: 108-13).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

According to Drucker, the ideal Nootkan personality was characterized by mildness of temper, light heartedness and generosity. Mildness of temper was emphasized and the Nootkans strove to achieve it. They looked down on aggressive, shiftless or stingy people.

During Drucker's six-month association with the Nootkans in the 1930s, he did not see or hear of a single fight in spite of many heated disputes. At times, men and women had disputes about a variety of things, chiefly sexual matters such as adultery, and various types of property rights, but very little fighting occurred in everyday life. Violence was considered unseemly. When two men fought, usually grabbing each other by the hair (as recorded in the early historic period), bystanders usually intervened before any

real harm was done. They said "It's really not right for men to fight." Someone would also intervene if a man seemed to be going too far when beating his wife.

Incidents of abnormal personalities occurred, but the disturbed individual was tolerated as long as his or her behaviour was not insupportable. People tried to avoid as much friction with them as possible (Drucker 1951: 322-31).

Like most American Indians, the Nootkans were fond and indulgent parents, at least by Eurocanadian standards, but neither the education nor the personality formation of their children were left to chance. The Nootkans worked toward forming their children into useful, adjusted members of the community.

The most important form of education was oral instruction, including scoldings when a child misbehaved. Threats had no part in either the lecture or the scolds and children were never slapped nor spanked for any reason. Folk literature was an important teaching aid, although Drucker believed that myths were principally related for amusement. Some myths, like those concerning Raven, could also be used as examples of anti-social behaviour.

Demonstrations accompanied oral instruction in more tangible subjects. Boys were taught the things men were expected to do such as fishing and hunting. Girls learned to perform women's tasks and played with small, cedar bark dolls in anticipation of becoming mothers. In recognition



of a boy's accomplishments, his parents would give a feast to mark the first time he caught a fish or shot a bird. The same kind of feast was given to mark the first time a girl picked berries or dug clams if her parents were of high rank (Drucker 1951: 129-37).

Today the Moachat hold the same ideal of behaviour as Drucker described but, in contrast to Drucker's experience, some men and women do become involved in fights, especially when they have been drinking. Some fights have resulted in the death of one of the participants. Of course, not all men and women are so involved. Many marriages of long duration are said to have never been marred by the husband striking the wife. Moachat married couples generally get along well with each other. Like their Eurocanadian neighbours, their major problems stem from alcohol, infidelity, mishandling of family finances or a combination of these. Abnormal personalities still exist and the Moachat react to such people as tolerantly as possible.

Although many Moachat children are well cared for, for various reasons, the least of which are poverty and increasing numbers of illegitimate births, many children are not treated as children were in the early and late historic periods or when Drucker was on the coast.

Children are no longer as desirable as they once were. Some people regard them as a means of receiving more financial support from government agencies or as burdens,

especially those born to unmarried women, divorcees and widows, to be all but ignored. Some are often slapped and threatened if they misbehave and many do misbehave, for example, severely vandalized unoccupied Nootkan houses and <sup>the</sup> unused schoolhouses<sup>q14</sup> have been ↓.

In contrast to the children living at Yuquot, most of the children residing with their parents in predominately white communities live and are treated like their Eurocanadian counterparts. The one difference is that Moachat parents are often stricter about their children's behaviour both within and outside the home. Many of the influences affecting the young city-dwelling Moachat come from the same sources which influence their Eurocanadian friends: television, movies, True Romance magazines (also popular in Yuquot), and companions.

Parents teach their children less about Nootkan culture than traditionally taught. Many children cannot speak Nootkan although most of them understand the language. Taking advantage of their children's ability to comprehend Nootkan, parents record songs, myths and traditions on tape so they can play the tapes back for their children's education, as well as their own enjoyment.

Although more instances of conflict between individuals may occur at the present than previously, the Yuquot Nootkans still fairly well match many of the descriptions most

frequently made of them by those journalists who seemed to have understood and liked them. Generally speaking, most of the Yuquot Nootkans I have known were intelligent, generous, honest and good natured people with keen senses of humour. Although they possess excellent patterns of relaxation, when they work they work hard without complaining or "goofing off." They are also highly skilled at whatever they do on a regular basis whether it be fishing, logging, or working on archaeological excavations. They will voice their opinions unhesitatingly and can be outspoken about what they consider important, often approaching an individual as they scold him in a rather high voice for a real or imagined wrongdoing. But, although the Yuquot Nootkans are very much the masters in their own homes, they are also the same gracious and friendly hosts that Cook described. Yuquot Nootkan character has not changed considerably through time in spite of 200 years' influence from church and state.

SECTION 2:  
MATERIAL CULTURE  
AND  
SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITY



ARCHITECTURE  
HOUSE POSTS  
AND  
EXTERIOR POLES

## ARCHITECTURE, HOUSE POSTS AND EXTERIOR POLES

### EARLY EXPLORERS

The Englishmen's first impression of Yuquot was a disagreeable odour that could be detected some distance from the village. Their second impression centred on the plank-covered houses. They considered the rectangular shed-roofed multifamily dwellings to be constructed with little care or ingenuity, to afford the least shelter of any houses they had seen during their voyage, and to be the most unkempt houses in the world.

Although there was one general type of structure in Yuquot, there were at least three variations: large structures with three rows of posts and three or four interior compartments; narrower structures with two rows of posts and two interior compartments; and a structure with an unknown number of posts and no interior compartments. A space had to be levelled on the slope of the midden before a building could be constructed. The rear wall of some of the structures partially abutted the dug-out western face of the midden.

The largest structures in Yuquot were described as being approximately <sup>100 feet</sup> ~~one hundred~~ to <sup>140 feet</sup> ~~one hundred and forty~~ or <sup>150</sup> ~~one hundred and fifty~~ feet long, <sup>24 feet</sup> ~~twenty-four~~ to <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ feet wide and <sup>7 feet</sup> ~~seven~~ to <sup>8 feet</sup> ~~eight~~ or <sup>14</sup> ~~fourteen~~ feet high. They were formed by three rows of large posts set firmly in the ground and supporting three longitudinal beams supporting the roof. Some of the posts were carved to represent human forms. The two large carved posts Webber (who referred to them as planks) illustrated (Fig. 6) were probably located at the north end of the largest structure in the village (Cook 1967: 1414). They may have supported a transverse beam which apparently supported the three longitudinal beams supporting the roof planks; However, an additional set of posts located <sup>beyond</sup> ~~behind~~ the end wall of the structure may possibly have provided the main support for the roof beams.

The sides and roofs of the houses were formed by removable, split and adzed planks, many <sup>30</sup> ~~of which were~~ thirty feet long, three to five feet wide, and about one and one-half inches thick. Most of the wall planks were placed edge to edge unevenly, but some were overlapped. Webber's drawing of the village shows at least one structure with wall planks ~~which~~ overlapped both at the edges and at the ends. Withes fastened the wall planks to the posts supporting the roof beams and to slender, upright poles spaced a considerable distance apart on the outside of the wall.

None of the structures in Webber's illustration of the village are shown with these poles on the outside, but one of his interior views shows similar poles supporting the wall planks. The wall planks were further braced on the inside of a structure by larger poles ~~that were~~ apparently propped against the wall. At least some of these larger poles may possibly have been used primarily to shift the roof planks from side to side to let smoke out or to take advantage of pleasant weather conditions.

The longitudinal roof beams had a <sup>one -</sup> foot or a one and <sup>one -</sup> half foot slope "forward," toward the front of the house; however, some of the houses in Webber's drawing of the village seem to have roofs ~~which slope~~ away from the beach. The roof planks, some of which did not run the entire width of the structures, were scored with small grooves or channels and loosely placed transversely on the roof beams. This shed-type roof would facilitate the run-off of rain water, but ~~some leakage could~~ be expected. Even though the roof planks were overlapped during rainy weather, some <sup>leakage could</sup> ~~rain seeped between them and into the room below to form puddles~~. The roof planks extended beyond at least one, if not both sides of a structure to form a crude eave. According to several descriptions, the roof planks were easily moved to admit sunlight and vent smoke, but the planks were not overlapped as Bayly described and Webber illustrated. These descriptions probably did not mention overlapping planks because their authors visited Yuquot during good weather when the Nootkans ~~took advantage of a cloudless day to~~ separated the roof planks to admit sunlight to dry the interiors of their houses and to permit the smoke from their cooking fires to escape (Ellis 1783: 205-206, 217; Cook 1785: 314-315; 1967: 317, 1327-328, 1408-409, 1414; BCA, a; BCA, A/A/20.5/R31CC/v. 5; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v. 2; PRO, Adm 51/4529: ATL).



Although virtually every contemporary observer noted that the roof planks were not tied down, Bayly stated that at least some of them were made fast to the rear or highest wall of a house by a horizontal beam suspended four or five inches above the roof on the forks of two vertical posts. Wedges were placed between the horizontal beam and the roof planks to prevent the planks from sliding off or being blown off on windy days. Three large "sparrs," the middle one large enough to be used as the mainmast of a great ship, were placed lengthwise over one of the houses in the village. The largest spar was supported by an enormous image of a man's head. (Compare with another statement by Burney [1819: 215] that three spars supported the roof planks over a structure.) According to King, a large "tree" was "upon" one of the buildings in the village, but although he observed that a great deal of effort must have been required to raise it onto the two large posts on which it rested, he was unable to discover its purpose (Cook 1967: 1409; Ellis 1783: 217-218; ATL; PRO, Adm 51/4528).

Webber's drawing of Yuquot showed two structures with three or more beams placed above the roofs. The roof of what appears to be the largest structure Webber drew was topped by two transverse beams on which a longitudinal beam apparently rested near the front of the roof. The roof of another house, near the center of the village, supported three transverse beams over the roof. A third structure had an exterior post and lintel feature ~~which~~ <sup>ing</sup> supported two longitudinal roof beams.

<sup>On</sup> ~~After~~ returning to the Nootka Sound area in 1794, Vancouver observed (1798 <sup>Vol. 3</sup> III: 310) that it was "singularly remarkable" that ~~Captain~~ <sup>g</sup> Cook did not describe the immense timbers ~~that were~~ raised and placed horizontally on posts about <sup>18</sup> ~~eighteen~~ inches above the roofs of the largest houses in

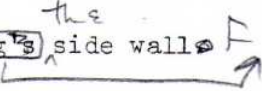
Yuquot. One of these timbers was large enough to serve as the lower mast of a "third-rate" man-of-war. These timbers, as well as the large carved images, were supposed to denote the habitation of the chief or "principal person of the tribe" at the time of Cook's visit, an opinion ~~which was~~ repeatedly confirmed by similar features observed during Vancouver's later travels on the Northwest Coast. It may be inferred that the beam Bayly described as holding roof planks down and the other beams Burney, King and Ellis described were, <sup>actually</sup> ~~in reality~~ display privileges.

Several oval openings of varying sizes had been made through the plank sides of two of the structures facing the beach. In one building the openings were placed at random near the top, in the middle, and close to the base of the wall. The small opening near the base may have served as a means of ventilation, or, ~~perhaps, have been for some other purpose.~~ <sup>unknown</sup> ~~now unknown.~~ In the other building, the arrangement of openings seem to have been planned: a large opening more than halfway up one wall and three smaller ones directly above it. The large opening could have been used as a window, but the smaller, higher ones may not have been practical for this purpose and so have been used only for ventilation. Mats were hung over the openings on the inside to prevent rain from entering.

Although some of these openings were undoubtedly used as windows, a present-day Tsishaath observed that they were also a display privilege held by some of the southern Nootkan chiefs. The chiefs would leave the openings uncovered at night so ~~the~~ fire-light shone through them and onto the water. Only two of the structures illustrated at Yuquot had these openings and it may be inferred that only certain chiefs at Yuquot had the right to <sup>use</sup> ~~display~~ them.

A few of the structures in the village were erected so close to the

uneven<sup>1</sup> seaside edge of the midden that construction of a log extension to the earth floor was necessary. Upright posts were set ~~firmly~~<sup>91</sup> into the ground and decked with logs to provide a level area. An exterior platform about four feet wide, constructed at the same level as the interior floor, fronted one of the houses. It served as a combination "porch" and walkway and was connected to the beach by a series of steps cut into the slope of the midden. Webber's sketch of the village illustrated two exterior platforms. One was an L-shaped platform formed by a series of horizontal logs adjoining the seaward side and one end of a structure. The other, more a walkway than a platform proper, was formed by several horizontal logs adjoining the seaward side of a structure.

Two horizontal logs were placed one on top of the other apparently to form a low retaining wall at the edge of the midden above the beach. This feature may have been used to prevent the midden from eroding in front of the largest structure Webber illustrated so a pathway could be maintained along the building's <sup>the</sup> side wall 

Each structure had as many as three entrances, generally formed by spacing the wall planks to produce an opening in a side, end, or corner of a house. Another entrance-building technique was to overlap two sections of a wall to form a two-foot wide passageway ~~which~~<sup>ing</sup> extended up to half the length of the structure. To enter a dwelling with this type of entrance, it was necessary to first turn to the right, follow the narrow passage parallel to the side of the building and, at the passage end, turn to the left to enter the habitation area (Cook 1785: 315; 1967: 317, 1395, 1409; PRO, Adm 51/4528).

Although the first type of entrance described above would permit direct entry into a structure, it would not protect the interior in poor



weather unless covered by a mat. The second type of entrance would effectively protect the interior during inclement weather and would make the interior easier to defend. Its shape would prevent projectiles from being fired directly into the structure and, more importantly, prevent direct ~~attack~~<sup>try by</sup> enemies. However, the use of these types of entrances may also be determined by the rights of certain chiefs to use one type or another, or all of them. For example, the seaward entrance in the side of the largest structure Webber drew is the only entrance illustrated in this position, suggesting that the chief holding rights to this structure may have had the prerogative of having an entrance so located.

Although Cook stated that the entrances to structures generally faced the sea and Burney that they were formed in a side wall, Webber's drawing of the village seems to refute this. However, their statements may only describe the entrance to the largest house Webber drew and, possibly, the entrances to the narrow<sup>er</sup> two-family houses. According to King, the entrances were located at the corners of structures and according to Bayly, they were generally located at one end. These statements may not be as contradictory as they seem for corner-situated entrances can also be described as end ones.

The interior of the large house (probably the one containing the two carved houseposts) was divided by a passage running the length of the structure; one could see from one end of the interior to the other. ~~Each~~<sup>one</sup> of three of the four corners <sup>were each</sup> ~~was~~ occupied by a rectangular compartment approximately <sup>12</sup>~~twelve~~<sup>9</sup> feet wide and <sup>16</sup>~~sixteen~~<sup>4</sup> to <sup>18</sup>~~eighteen~~<sup>9</sup> feet long. The interior walls of the structure formed two sides of the compartment and low partitions, three to four feet high and supported by and tied to small upright poles, formed the other two sides. One of the partitions extended



from the side wall of the house to the edge of the passage and the other partition separated the passage from the compartment. Although the statement that the general appearance of this type of interior "if they were complete" could best be compared to a long stable with a double range of "stalls" is attributed to Cook, it did not occur in <sup>his journal</sup> ~~the material he~~ <sup>actually wrote</sup>, suggesting that an editor is responsible for it (Cook 1785: 315; 1967: 317, 1409).

Neither Cook nor his men mentioned how the center space in a large house was utilized. Nevertheless, it may be inferred that it housed the lower ranking families and slaves who lived in the structure and, according to Webber's drawings, provided a space where they could fulfill their domestic needs and perform their duties. It also provided an area <sup>here</sup> ~~in which~~ large feasts, potlatches and other activities could be held.

Close to the main walls of each compartment were low platforms covered with mats. The platforms were seven to eight feet long, four to five feet broad, and five to six inches above floor level. In some compartments there were two platforms: a low one and a higher one behind the first. Some of the platforms Webber illustrated were formed by two or three planks placed directly on the earth floor and partly covered by mats. A higher platform behind the floor level platform, also covered with mats, appears to be formed of a thick plank decorated with a single row of <sup>14</sup> ~~fourteen~~ round and oval designs along its edge. The highest platforms Webber illustrated also abutted the main walls of the house and supported numerous chests, boxes, a few burden baskets, hats and sacks; however, these platforms seem to have no obvious means of support. The lower platforms were used for lounging and sleeping and the higher ones for storage (Cook 1785: 315; 1967: 318, 1409; BCA, A/A/20.5/R31CC/v. 5).

A firepit without a hearth or a chimney was located in the center<sup>er</sup> of each compartment. At least one firepit was provided with a smoke vent going through the ground and under the wall; however, this feature may have been a draft shaft. Some firepits were also located in the central area of some buildings (Cook 1785: 315; 1967: 317, 1328, 1409).

Fishing and hunting gear and weapons were kept in the house. Smoke-dried fish and bladders of oil hung from overhead racks. Bales of dried fish and boxes of various items were piled in the driest areas, close to the walls. During rainy periods the earthen floor was ankle-deep in mud and fish entrails. The offal from fish and game cleaned in the house, smoke from the open fires, oil and human waste caused such <sup>an odour</sup> ~~a stench~~ inside <sup>or</sup> ~~and out~~ that the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ could hardly believe the houses were habitable (Cook 1785: 280; 1967: 317, 1328; BCA, a).

The sides and roofs of the smaller buildings were probably formed in the same way as those of larger buildings except that they had only two rows of posts. The smaller buildings may have been those King described as about <sup>50</sup> ~~fifty~~ feet long by <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ feet wide. They housed only two families in compartments along one side of the interior. The passage ran the length of the interior wall opposite the compartments, not between the compartments as in the larger structures. The entrance was located on the same side of the building as the passage (Cook 1967: 317, 1409).

The simplest type of construction used at Yuquot was typified by a building located at the end of the principal row of structures and separated from the rest. Cook, or possibly Anderson, described it as one of the most symmetrical buildings at Yuquot. Its interior was different from those described above because, although platforms were placed in the corners as in the large structures, they were not separated from each other

by partitions and the middle of the structure appeared to be common to all its inhabitants (Cook 1785: 315).

Webber illustrated a similar structure <sup>possibly</sup> ~~which may have been~~ located in Yuquot (Fig. 7). It had no large corner posts to support the two slender roof beams that were apparently placed directly on top of the plank side walls ~~which were~~ lashed to slender, upright interior and probably exterior poles. A center beam, which appears to be badly askew, was supported by a vertical pole near the end of the building and by two notched poles forming an A-frame near the middle of the building. Although another roof beam was located toward the highest side of the structure (to the left of the drawing), the opposite edge of the roof was only supported by the plank walls. Several poles were jammed between the beams and the roof planks above them. In most areas, the roof planks do not seem to overlap. The only visible entrance is a ragged opening through one side.

The interior was not <sup>partitioned.</sup> ~~divided by any~~ partitions. The low wall to one side of the entrance was probably used as a wind deflector. There were two firepits: one near the far end of the building and another almost opposite the entrance. What may be a sleeping platform or the end of a box was located next to the wall opposite the entrance, but it was covered by baskets at the time the drawing was made and precisely determining its use is difficult. Because of the lack of houseposts (carved or otherwise) and large roof beams, the small number of storage boxes visible and the relatively few fish hung over the firepits in comparison to the other house interior Webber drew, the inhabitants of this structure probably ranked lower than those occupying the larger one. Although Cook's 1785 publication stated that this or a similar house was separated from the others by a high, <sup>an</sup> undescribed partition, the statement does not occur in



Cook's unpublished material and may have been made by Anderson.

Webber illustrated another type of structure <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ apparently no member of Cook's crews described: the shed-roofed building on the beach, abutting the base of the midden, <sup>with</sup> ~~in front of which~~ was a drying rack, <sup>in front</sup> supported by two A-frames. Although this type of structure appears, disappears, and reappears through time up to the present, its use and function were not described until the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. ~~As soon as the first~~ <sup>however</sup> they were presumably used to smoke fish.

#### Early Explorers - House Posts and Exterior Poles

The large carved and painted house posts representing human forms captured the attention of early visitors to Yuquot and other villages in the Nootka Sound area. Some of these <sup>9</sup> posts were four or five feet high, carved and painted on the front to represent a "monstrous" human face and on the sides to represent arms and hands. The posts were observed singly or, more commonly, in pairs three to four feet apart at the "upper" end of many of the structures in Yuquot. In the largest building in the village, two of these posts were located at the north end and two in the center.

Although several writers described the carved posts, only Burney stated that one, an enormous image of a man's head, supported a beam over a structure. Rudely carved figures were "lashed up to the walls" in various sections of the house. If these did not support roof beams, the reference is possibly to figures ~~that were~~ smaller than the carved posts.

The Nootkans generally called the carved posts Klumma or Oukkooma (h<sup>o</sup> and frequently also used the term Ackweek (chief). The two carved posts Webber illustrated were named Natchkoa and Matseeta. Some were screened



by a fringed mat like the one Webber illustrated (visible on the left of one of his drawings of a house interior). At times the Nootkans were reluctant to remove the mat from in front of the posts in the presence of the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ and when they did disclose the posts, they spoke to them in a very "mysterious" manner. ~~However,~~ A house post ~~may~~ have been included in the two or three carvings ~~which were~~ given to Cook.

Although ~~several Englishmen~~ thought the carved posts were gods, Cook did not share their opinion. He was offered and could have purchased all the "gods" in the village for a few pieces of iron or brass. Because the people of Yuquot used the term Ackweek (chief) when referring to the carvings, Cook inferred that the posts may have represented some of their ancestors ~~whom they~~ venerated as gods, but he defined his statement as conjectural because neither he nor any of his men were able to speak or understand Nootkan well enough to determine what the carvings did represent.

Bayly admitted that he did not know if carved figures in general were ornaments or objects of a religious nature, but favoured the latter theory because all the carvings were nearly the same and were different from the carved masks the Nootkans wore while dancing or taking part in "other diversions." Nor did he hear of any carved posts being offered for trade although one of the chiefs <sup>Reportedly</sup> gave Cook at least one.

Webber illustrated two carved house posts (which he referred to as planks). The one on the right side of the drawing (Fig. 6) represents an unclothed human figure with its hands cupped to its round mouth as if calling. The narrow nose, the eyes and the eyelids <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ very prominent and the pupils <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ oriented toward the sides. The slightly slanting eyebrows <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ located near the flat top of the post ~~which was~~ marked by

a molding. The neck <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ indicated by a groove extending around the post from each side of the center of the mouth. Below the mouth and between the upraised arms <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ an upright, frog-like figure with very prominent eyes. Although ascertaining the sex of the individual portrayed is difficult, it may be a male because it is unclothed, a trait common only to Nootkan males, and because the features seem more masculine than those of the carving opposite it. <sup>But</sup> According to some present-day inhabitants of Yuquot, <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ figure is called Natchkoa, the ceremonial name of the lookout, usually a girl, who announces the arrival of guests to a feast or potlatch.

The other carved post Webber drew seems smaller. The mouth <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ oval, it ~~was~~ clothed, and its features <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ finer, suggesting that it may represent a woman. Neither the arms nor hands <sup>are</sup> ~~were~~ depicted, but the jaw <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ indicated by a broad, V-shaped groove. As in the case of the other carving, the upper end of the post <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ marked by a molding. Although the garment depicted in the drawing may represent a cape with a border around the neck, its overall form is not described as being worn by either the men or the women of Nootka Sound. This post is called Matseeta. Present-day residents of Yuquot do not know what Matseeta means, only stating that it may be the name of a man or a woman.

To Clerke, the many small images in the village were carved in ~~several~~ whimsical attitudes. He did not consider them despicable. On the contrary, he thought they gave a very good idea of what they were meant to represent; however, he did not state what this was.

A single feature which at first glance appears to have no function is the approximately ten-<sup>00</sup> ~~feet~~ high post in front of a structure near the south end of the village. If it is not a notched ladder used to reach

the roof of the structure it fronts, it may be another display privilege like the beams on top of two houses and the exterior house posts associated with a third structure. It may also be interpreted as a forerunner of the late historic, Nootkan version of an outside free-standing pole signifying the house of the Owner-of-the-Beach. Although it is impossible to ascertain if it were carved, one may assume it was undecorated since there were no specific references to it (Ellis 1783: 218; Cook 1785: 317-318, 334; 1967: 319-320, 1329, 1414; ATL; PRO, Adm 51/4528).

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#### Early Traders' Architecture

Although Strange only went ashore on a few occasions, he had difficulty accepting the Yuquot Nootkans' housekeeping. It was impossible to move inside or outside the houses without being ankle-deep in mud, fish entrails, and maggots. Unfortunately, he was not as impressed with the architecture at Yuquot as Cook and his men had been. In describing the architecture, he only recorded that the house frames were partly constructed of six logs ~~which were~~<sup>74 -</sup> thick enough and large enough to serve as the mainmast of a large, ~~seventy-four~~<sup>gun</sup> ship. Several smaller spars and a considerable number of fine planks were used to complete a dwelling (Strange 1928: 20).

The structures Colnett viewed in the Nootka Sound area were formed of large, carved posts, one or more ~~of which were~~ located at each end of a structure and supported two beams ~~which ran~~<sup>running</sup> the length of the house and ~~which were~~ decorated with paintings resembling human figures. The rest of the structure was formed of small rafters and planks, the latter



being readily removable and transportable.

Meares provided scanty information on the architecture at Yuquot. Possibly with one of the statements attributed to Cook in mind, he noted that the houses were large and were divided into partitions like an English stable. The houses held several families (Meares 1791<sup>Vol. 1</sup>: 177-178).

Funter's sketch showed one structure with an entrance at its north end; all the entrances to the other structures were consistently located facing the beach. His sketch, ~~is also~~<sup>is</sup> the first record of gable-roofed structures at Yuquot, ~~he depicted~~<sup>it depicted</sup> all the structures in Yuquot as having gable roofs. The change from shed to gable roofs in Yuquot may be part of the rapid changes ~~that were~~ taking place in the village during the later part of the 18th century. ~~This is not to suggest that~~ the Yuquot Nootkans <sup>had not</sup> ~~were~~ unfamiliar with gable roof construction in 1778, but ~~that~~ their use of gable roofs at Yuquot was a recent innovation at that site. Drucker learned (SIA) that although shed-roofed structures were built at fishing and hunting sites on the outer coast, the fish-drying houses on the interior salmon streams were gable-roofed structures. Therefore, the architectural innovation at Yuquot would have been the construction of specialized fish-drying structures there in place of the shed-roofed structures Cook saw ~~which were~~ used in connection with offshore fishing and outer coastal hunting sites. ~~However,~~ <sup>Why</sup> the Yuquot Nootkans altered the type of architecture used at Yuquot is not known.

#### Early Traders - House Posts and Exterior Poles

Strange was not overly impressed by the various house posts he saw except for their size. He merely stated that they were referred to locally



as "Klummah" whether or not they were carved. Colnett did not record much more information on them, only that they were carved to represent human faces with "teeth fix'd" in the mouths (Strange 1928: 52; BBM).

According to Meares, the "images" in most of the houses represented the form and perpetuated the memory of an old man (Quauts) who had been paddled into Nootka Sound in a copper canoe. The people of Yuquot had killed him to obtain his canoe and other items of copper. Meares did not observe any Yuquot Nootkan venerating these carvings or even paying them "any mark of common respect" although they occupied a "distinguished and appropriate" place in the houses (Meares 1791<sup>Vol. 2</sup>: 68-69, 71).

#### Spanish Occupation - Architecture

The Spanish<sup>ards</sup> and various British<sup>British</sup> and American traders had sufficient opportunities to view the indigenous structures at Yuquot before the Spanish<sup>ards</sup> established a post there, especially when, for a time, the Yuquot Nootkans and the Spanish<sup>ards</sup> jointly occupied the site according to contemporary accounts and to indigenous traditions.

Ingraham noted that the indigenous structures were shed-roofed, the roofs being higher on one end than the other; however, Haswell contradicted this<sup>writing that</sup> statement. According to Haswell, the roofs were nearly flat but the tops of the side posts of a structure were slightly lower than the "ridge-pole." The ridgepole itself measured almost <sup>100</sup> ~~one hundred~~ feet long and almost <sup>12</sup> ~~twelve~~ feet in circumference (Howay 1941: 61-62; BCA, A/A/20.5/H77a/c. 2).

According to Haswell's dimensions, the structures in Yuquot were somewhat smaller than the ones Cook saw. They were from <sup>20</sup> ~~twenty~~ to <sup>30</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>100</sup> ~~hundred~~ feet long and were generally <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ feet wide. The planks were generally four feet wide and frequently six feet wide. Carved posts sup-

ported both the ridge and side poles. The houses were divided into compartments where single families lived, each with their own fire-pit. The one-piece partitions forming the compartments were only three feet high; a standing person would have an uninterrupted view of the entire house interior. Chiefs lived on the right side of the passage at the fore end of their house (Howay 1941: 61-62).

Martínez and Sanchez noted that some of the houses they saw were approximately <sup>69</sup>sixty-nine feet long and <sup>28</sup>twenty-eight to <sup>33</sup>thirty-three feet wide. They were normally built as a gable-roofed structure utilizing nine posts, six posts of equal height and three slightly higher ones supporting the ridgepole. The two principal posts were carved and painted. As Cook had described, the entrances to some houses were formed by very narrow passages. The interiors of some houses were divided into three or four habitation areas "for heads of families," each with a separate firepit. According to both writers, up to <sup>400</sup>four hundred people of all ages might reside in a single structure (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; YUL, WAM/415).

Several of the architectural descriptions below refer to structures the Yuquot Nootkans built as tacís, kūptī, possibly ka'aki and elsewhere.

Moziñc was the first writer to record that the posts supporting the horizontal beams of Yuquot Nootkan houses were notched at the top. The wall and roof planks overlapped. The loose roof planks were arranged so one plank rested on the edges of the two planks underneath it, much like Mexican roof tiles. This protected the ~~compartments and general~~ interior of the house.

The openings through the wall planks were no longer oval as they had been in 1778, but were square, like European windows. Small stakes were

fixed above the windows on the inside <sup>and</sup> ~~from which~~ a mat was suspended to cover the opening. Maquinna's windows were sealed with pane glass, possibly given to him by the Spaniards <sup>and</sup> as part payment for their use of the site of Yuquot. Entrances to houses were closed only by a piece of matting made to size. Moziño's general impression of the Yuquot Nootkan's houses was that they were sordid, those of the lower ranking people being more unkempt than those of higher ranking people (Moziño 1913).

According to Pantoja and Eliza, the largest houses they saw were <sup>90</sup> ~~ninety~~ to <sup>105</sup> ~~one hundred and five~~ feet long and <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ to <sup>36</sup> ~~thirty-six~~ feet wide, ~~which~~ <sup>ing</sup> agree with the measurements made by Martinez, Sanchez, and some of Cook's crew. A house might have <sup>9</sup> ~~nine~~, <sup>10</sup> ~~ten~~, <sup>12</sup> ~~twelve~~, or up to <sup>15</sup> ~~fifteen~~ posts, some of them carved, supporting the roof beams. This suggests that some houses had more than the often-described three rows of posts (Wagner 1933: 159; AGN, 69/7).

In 1791, <sup>9</sup> part of the Malaspina expedition explored the Nootka Sound area including Tahsis Inlet and described the village of tac̓is. The architecture was plain but symmetrical and the village presented a rather agreeable sight. Almost all the houses had elliptical or square windows, and one house had <sup>a</sup> glass ~~is~~ window. Maquinna's house was the same as the rest of the houses there. It was <sup>64</sup> ~~sixty-four~~ feet long and <sup>46</sup> ~~forty-six~~ feet wide, but its height was said not to conform to these dimensions, possibly meaning that it was low. His house had four glass windows that Kendrick had made for him. Inside, the four corners were occupied by members of his family or perhaps his servants (MN, 181; MN, 755; MN, 892).

On one of the façades of Maquinna's house were two large figures representing human faces. These figures were commonly associated with all the houses in "Nutka," but the Spaniards <sup>and</sup> did not attempt to discover



their significance. This description is the first reference to anthropomorphic figures on Yuquot Nootkan houses. Maquinna might possibly have obtained the prerogative to ornament the front of his house in this way from the Nimkish. Vancouver described and illustrated the Nimkish houses at Cheslakee's village at the mouth of the Nimkish River as having ornamented façades; however, these designs did not represent human forms (Vancouver 1798 II: 346; MN, 181; MN, 755; MN, 892).

In 1792 Bell recorded his impressions of Maquinna's fall dwelling at tac̓is. The frame of the house was amazingly large, but only a <sup>90-</sup>~~ninety~~ foot by <sup>54-</sup>~~fifty-four~~ foot area where Maquinna and his family lived at the far end of the house was roofed. Spanish estimates of the size of Maquinna's house at tac̓is were smaller than Bell's; either the size of the structure changed within a year or the journalists' accuracy varied. The upright posts were approximately the same circumference as the horizontal beams they supported and were carved to resemble human figures. The horizontal beams supporting the <sup>10-</sup>~~ten~~ to <sup>12-</sup>~~twelve~~ foot high roof were of equal length and girth, approximately <sup>96</sup>~~ninety-six~~ feet long and <sup>12</sup>~~twelve~~ feet in circumference.

At the end of the house where Maquinna and his family lived, boxes and chests of personal possessions were stacked. A three-foot-wide bench, raised about one foot above the floor and used for sitting and sleeping, ran along one side of the house and across both ends. One corner of the house was dedicated to food preparation (BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt. 1).

Two years later, Vancouver described Maquinna's house at tac̓is. At approximately <sup>100-</sup>~~one hundred~~ feet long, it was considerably larger than the other buildings there and was not as untidy as the others. It was only half occupied at that time and, for reasons he did not know, was not completely enclosed, a feature Bell had noted earlier. The house was

between <sup>12</sup>~~twelve~~ and <sup>14</sup>~~fourteen~~ feet high and its frame was formed by posts supporting three immense beams. The post supporting the ridgepole at the upper end of the house was approximately <sup>15</sup>~~fifteen~~ feet in circumference and was carved to represent a "gigantic human figure." The ridgepole was the largest beam, measuring nearly five feet at the butt and extending the entire length of the house. Vancouver did not understand the intention or the purpose of the beams, "these singular roof trees," but thought it reasonable to suppose that they served some important function because raising such huge beams and placing them on the supporting posts must have been tedious and laborious work for a people "totally devoid of mechanical powers."

Vancouver observed that in many of the deserted villages he had seen carved posts and horizontal beams placed above the roofs of the largest houses, much like those he had seen at Yuquot when he accompanied Cook there in 1778. Such features indicated the residence of the chief or "principal person" of the "tribe" (Vancouver 1798<sup>V.1.3</sup>~~III~~: 310).

Although the houses at kūptī closely resembled some of the structures seen in Yuquot in 1778, they appeared to be generally smaller and not as long in proportion to their width as the houses at Yuquot and tacī. The illustrations show that the houses at kūptī had shed roofs, not gabled ones. Although shed-roof architecture by 1788 had reportedly fallen into disuse in Yuquot, it was still constructed, at least in kūptī, a few years later. The transverse roof planks were not shown to be overlapped; however, this was probably because the weather was clear at the time the scene was recorded<sup>✓</sup>, and the planks had been shifted to allow smoke to escape and fresh air and sunlight to enter. Several openings through the wall planks were visible, one round or oval and two square ones. The round window may not have contained glass, but the square ones were like

Maquinna's windows and may have had glass panes *in them*.

A high platform was used during a puberty ceremony at kūptī. The platform was as high as the house roofs and supported by four slender, forked posts. A raised, earth-filled platform at ground level jutted out below the higher platform and served both as a base for the higher platform and as a "stage." It was formed on three sides by several horizontal logs ~~which were~~ held in place by several large stakes driven into the ground near two of the corners. Planks enclosed the higher platform on all four sides. The supporting posts and the low walls of the platform were decorated with several large, badly executed drawings of figures and mirrors of various sizes. The outstretched arms and open hands of two human figures at the corners symbolized Maquinna's splendor. The figures on the platform walls and posts were decorated in white, yellow, red, blue, and black (Moziño 1913).

Two drawings illustrate the houses, the raised platform and the "stage" at kūptī (Fig. 11). Although most of Moziño's description of the village and platform agree with the drawings, some details do not. The figures he described only vaguely resemble those in the drawings where the figures were located on the platform walls. The visible figures seem to be stylized, anthropomorphic faces, some with gaping mouths and all with large eyes, which in one drawing appear to be crossed. Although the upper faces were depicted from the hairline to the chin (and possibly lower), the lower faces were cut off level with the mouth. It is difficult to infer what the Yuquot Nootkans intended the figures to represent because the artists' interpretations of the figures may not have followed the Yuquot Nootkans' concept. The supporting posts were decorated in bands. *This* ~~which~~ may have been the actual pattern the Yuquot Nootkans used because



their house beams were known to have been decorated in this fashion. Moziño did not describe the decorated<sup>1</sup> apsidal board (or blanket) suspended between the two rear supporting posts. The design on this feature also appears to be at least partly the product of the artists' imaginations rather than strictly of indigenous pre-contact or post-contact origin.

A feature illustrated in one of the drawings of kūptī but which Moziño did not describe was a short<sup>1</sup> upright post imbedded in the lower platform or "stage." It may have been a smaller version<sup>2</sup> of a display privilege like the post Webber illustrated in front of a house at Yuquot in 1778. Another feature, illustrated in both drawings of kūptī, is rather difficult to interpret. It was located behind the last row of structures and was formed by two or possibly three very large upright posts ~~which~~ apparently supported<sup>3</sup> an equally large but longer beam. A second large beam apparently leaned against the feature at an angle. These posts and beams may have been the structural remains of a much larger building than any shown in the drawings -- the large<sup>1</sup> leaning beam might have been the fallen ridgepole -- or they may have been the remains of the same type of display privilege as Vancouver and some of Cook's men described -- the large beam or beams erected over the house of a high-ranking chief.

#### Spanish Occupation - House Posts and Exterior Poles<sup>1</sup>

Haswell mentioned that carved posts supported both ridge and side poles and that the "frame" poles were usually painted and frequently carved "in a very curious manner." Ingraham was told that the carved house posts represented the dead friends of the owners of the posts and Maquinna told him that the carved post in his house was a memorial for his daughter who had died some time prior to Ingraham's arrival (Howay 1941: 61-62;

AGN, 65/ 18).

According to Martínez, the carved house posts in Yuquot were painted red, black and white and were monstrously grotesque. The Yuquot Nootkans kept strange figures as memorials to dead kin, but whether or not this reference is to carved house posts is not certain. Tovar, referring to what may have been house posts, said they were carved to represent dead chiefs. Although Martínez's men had burned the carved posts left in Yuquot in 1789, the Yuquot Nootkans only complained that some of their planks had been stolen (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; AGN, 65/7; AGN, 31/10).

Mozifño did not concur with the usual interpretations of the carved house posts. He stated that although many people thought the carved posts formed part of a "superstitious" cult, their only function was ornamental. If they had any other significance, it only related to the man who had them erected. Bodega y Quadra's interpretation of the carved posts is similar to Mozifño's in that he considered them to be either objects of the imagination or "hieroglyphics" depicting one of the outstanding virtues of a chief. Eliza and Pantoja thought the carvings represented the features of some dead chief and Caamaño thought the posts represented dead chiefs and were carved to perpetuate their memory. Maquinna's house in tac̓is contained carved house posts <sup>that</sup> which were so large and seemed so preposterous that the Europeans found them frightful (Mozifño 1913; Wagner 1933: 159; BCU, HR/F5813.1/B61/c. 1; AGN, 69/9/a; AGN, 69/7; BCA, A/A/ 20.C39/Pt. 1).

Sporadic Contact - Architecture

Jewitt had one of the best, though least solicited, opportunities of any European to observe and describe the structure<sup>s</sup> of Yuquot, tacī's, and kūptī. Although the size of the dwelling corresponded to the rank of the chief who occupied it, the width of the houses was about the same in all cases, varying between ~~thirty-six~~<sup>36</sup> and ~~forty~~<sup>40</sup> feet, and most of the houses were about ~~ten~~<sup>10</sup> feet high. Maquinna's house was by far the largest: ~~one hundred and fifty~~<sup>150</sup> feet long and ~~fourteen~~<sup>14</sup> feet high in the middle. The smallest structures in the village were no more than ~~forty~~<sup>40</sup> feet long and were inhabited by only two families.

Jewitt also described how the Yuquot Nootkans constructed their houses. From his and earlier descriptions, it may be inferred that the larger houses were built with three rows of posts and the smaller ones with two rows. First, the two upright posts which were to support the ridgepole were notched at the upper end and set into the ground. Although not all houses had carved posts, those in Maquinna's house were carved and painted to represent human heads and the carving and painting was probably done before they were erected. The ridgepole was placed on top of the upright posts (Jewitt did not describe how this was done) and, if a house were to be larger than <sup>a</sup>the single ridgepole, <sup>would permit</sup> more posts were set into the ground to support one or more additional ridgepoles. One



ridgepole in Maquinna's house was <sup>100</sup>~~one hundred~~ feet long, <sup>8</sup>~~eight~~ feet <sup>4</sup>~~four~~ inches in circumference and decorated with alternating red and black bands. The size of this pole suggests that, because Maquinna's house was <sup>150</sup>~~one hundred and fifty~~ feet long, there was another ridgepole <sup>50</sup>~~fifty~~ feet long. Two upright posts were set into the ground on each side of the structure lower than but parallel to the posts supporting the ridgepole. A pole smaller than the ridgepole was laid on these posts, and its upper surface was "hewed" flat except for a narrow ridge on the exterior side that kept the roof planks in place.

The roof was formed by planks with broad, feathered edges laid transversely between the ridgepole and the side poles and presumably overlapped as Moziño had described. The peak of the roof, formed by the upper ends of the roof planks <sup>which</sup> ~~rested~~ <sup>resting</sup> on the ridgepole, was capped by eight-foot-wide planks <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ prevented rain from entering through the spaces left at the upper ends of the roof planks. Because neither the roof planks nor those capping the roof peak were tied down, large stones were placed on them to keep them down. If necessary, the men would strip their clothing off and climb onto the roofs during storms to perform this task in an attempt to prevent the roof planks from being shifted or blown away <sup>and exposing</sup> ~~drenching~~ the house interior <sup>to the rain.</sup>

The wall planks were about ten feet long and four or five feet wide, much shorter than those Cook described. They were placed between two pairs of small, upright posts or stanchions <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ were as high as the level of the side poles. One pair of the posts stood at each end of each section of wall planks. The sides of the structure were not as weatherproof as the roof <sup>and</sup> it was more difficult to adjust the wall planks than the roof planks. Each house had only one entrance, ~~which was~~

usually located at the end of a house although it was occasionally located in the middle as in Maquinna's house.

The interior of Maquinna's house was divided by an eight-~~to~~ nine-foot-wide passage. Several families lived on each side of the passage, each with their own firepit outlined by loose stones. There were no dividing walls between the various habitation areas. After Jewitt married, he separated his living space from the others' by erecting a low partition and built three sleeping platforms on which he, his wife, Thompson (a captured shipmate) and Maquinna's son slept. Jewitt may have built the sleeping platforms so as not to sleep on the floor, something slaves may have done. Maquinna's "apartment" was at the upper end of his house and the next ranking person occupied an area opposite <sup>to</sup> Maquinna's on the other side of the passage. Jewitt's description of the interior of Maquinna's house virtually matches Cook's description of the interiors of the largest houses in Yuquot. The one exception is the apparent lack of low partitions to divide the living areas when Jewitt lived at Yuquot. However, his use of "apartment" to describe Maquinna's quarters suggests <sup>at least</sup> that it was separated from the rest of the interior by a dividing wall.

Jewitt once mentioned that the Yuquot Nootkans were occupied driving seven-~~feet~~<sup>foot</sup>-high pilings into the ground in front of Maquinna's house at Yuquot. Although he did not state how these were to be used, they may have been intended to support a log walkway like the one Cook described and Webber illustrated, or they may have been intended to support some type of platform.

The houses at tac̓is were smaller than those at Yuquot and were not as "well arranged" with the result that they were more crowded and less comfortable, especially since the Yuquot Nootkans spent more time indoors at tac̓is because of the cold weather (Jewitt 1807: 16, 43; 1896: 99-102,

152, 203-204).

When <sup>9</sup>~~de~~ Roquefeuil first visited Yuquot in the fall of 1817, only five or six buildings were enclosed. The wall and roof planks of the remaining structures had been taken to tacis (or possibly elsewhere) where they were used to form the Yuquot Nootkans' fall residences. Like most earlier visitors, ~~de~~ Roquefeuil described Maquinna's house as the largest in the village. He measured the ridgepole, supported by two carved posts, and found it to be <sup>76</sup>~~seventy-six~~ feet long, <sup>39 1/2</sup>~~thirty-nine~~ and ~~one half~~ inches in diameter at the butt and <sup>17</sup>~~seventeen~~ inches in diameter at the narrowest point. However, on his second visit, in the fall of 1818, he measured Maquinna's house when it was enclosed by planks and found it to be <sup>74</sup>~~seventy-four~~ feet long, two feet shorter than his earlier measurement of the ridgepole. The ridgepole may have protruded two feet beyond the end wall, a feature the Yuquot Nootkans considered a display privilege.

<sup>36</sup>~~thirty-six~~ Maquinna's house, <sup>13</sup>~~thirteen~~ feet wide and about ~~thirteen~~ feet high, was higher than any of the other structures in the village. The wall and roof planks were approximately three feet wide, the same size as planks in other houses. The principal entrance to Maquinna's house was located in the middle of the wall facing the beach and a smaller entrance was located at the end facing the forest. Low partitions divided the interior into three compartments occupying nearly half the depth of the interior and separated by a passage. Maquinna occupied the compartment to the left of the entrance and his son the compartment to the right. Each had his own firepit. A mat-covered platform, raised a few inches above the earth floor, ran along three of the interior sides of the dwelling. The section of the interior not occupied by Maquinna or his



son was occupied by slaves and used to store mats, fishing gear and household utensils (De Roquefeuil 1823a <sup>Vol.1</sup> ~~f~~: 183-184; <sup>Vol.2</sup> ~~f~~: 158-160).

In 1837 Belcher noted that the roofs of houses in Yuquot were covered with "bark cloth," the first and only time this was described. According to A. N. Armstrong, Nootkans lived in huts ~~which were~~ mostly made of brush and mud or poles and mud, a somewhat erroneous description. In 1866, Dalley briefly mentioned that two huge carved heads supported the roof beams in Maquinna's house (Belcher 1843: 112; Armstrong 1857: 136; BCA, E/B/D16M).

Maynard's photographs of structures at Yuquot, some with planks and some without, provided an excellent graphic record of the late 19th-century Yuquot Nootkan architecture.

The tūkwittakāmlāth the elder or the tsisa'āth house was a relatively small, gable-roofed structure with a large carved and decorated ridgepole supported at one end by a single carved post and at the other by a post and lintel that may also have formed an entrance (Fig 27). The ridgepole was decorated with many bands and its south end, carved to represent a sea lion's head, protruded beyond the post and lintel feature which may also have been a display privilege. *This Architectural Feature was a Comox and among the Klakuse by Barnett (1955: 46 and 52)*  
The side beams were supported by an uncarved post at each end and

possibly by another post in the middle. The rafters were regularly spaced between the ridgepole and the side beams on both sides of the structure, slightly crossing where they met at the ridgepole. Three slender poles lashed longitudinally on top of the upper end, middle and lower end of the rafters on both sides of the gable roof supported the transverse roof planks.

The remaining walls were a maximum of two or three planks high and were held in position by the side and end posts and thick short stakes

(visible in the interior of the house) set into the earth floor at regular intervals. No interior compartments were visible. The floor level of the structure appeared to be slightly lower than the upper surface of the midden, ~~which~~ <sup>ern</sup> was probably levelled to accomodate the building. The lower wall planks retained the unaltered midden material abutting the base of the building and more midden material was piled against the outside of the wall, serving to restrict the flow of rain-water into the interior and to eliminate drafts. No stone-lined firepits were readily identifiable, but at least one may have been located near the west<sup>ern</sup> interior wall.

A general photograph of Yuquot showed several other relatively plankless house frames (Fig. 14). The large structure immediately north of the one described above was formed by four rows of posts and two parallel ridgepoles. Two post and lintel features and at least one upright post supported the western ridgepole. The other roof beams were supported by three posts, one at each end and one in the middle of the beam. Some of the center~~er~~ posts were narrower than the end posts. This structure is reminiscent of Pantoja's statement that a single structure might be formed with up to <sup>15</sup> ~~fifteen~~ posts supporting the ridge and side beams (Wagner 1933: 159). The tripartite roof that must have covered this structure had slightly sloping sides and a peak roof, much like a ~~and~~ structure in Port Mulgrave, Alaska, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> Cardero ~~drew~~ <sup>drew</sup> in the 1790's.

For the first time since 1778, <sup>that</sup> the small, shed-roofed structures abutting the base of the midden along the beach are evident. Most were enclosed by planks, in contrast to the plankless houses on the midden. The shed roofs, ~~which~~ <sup>they</sup> sloped toward the beach, were formed by numerous, irregularly overlapped planks that in several cases did not extend from

one side of the building to the other. The rear edge of the roof was covered by what appear to be several short sections of planks supposedly to prevent rain from entering the interior, something like the planks placed over roof peaks that Jewitt had described.

One of these structures Maynard photographed was not completely enclosed (Fig. 28). Its frame was formed by several slender, <sup>9</sup>upright, <sup>9</sup>notched posts topped by two visible roof beams and probably by another of similar size. Three transverse beams were visible on one side of what appeared to be a ridge or center pole and another was visible on the opposite side. Assuming two poles were out of sight, this building was constructed much like the larger structures on the midden. A slender horizontal pole, visible along the upper edge of an eave, crossed the ends of the roof planks and was probably lashed to them to hold them in place. A fish drying rack, visible in the interior, indicates the probable use of this structure.

An architectural feature not previously described at Yuquot was the use of a vertical plank to form part of an exterior corner of the small, partly enclosed structure. It was probably intended to cover gaps produced by the uneven ends of the wall planks. Vertical wall planks were soon to become commonly used.

Although the partly enclosed structure may have had a gable roof, the other structures on the beach had shed roofs. Whether these structures had interior posts and roof beams (none were visible) is not known, but presumably they did unless the overlapping planks forming the sides of the structures, lashed to sets of two or three slim vertical exterior poles for support, supported the plank roof much like the structure Webber illustrated. Another set of poles on the interior might also have supported



the walls as Webber also illustrated. One of the small buildings on the beach that Maynard photographed had an open entrance facing the cove.

At least two freestanding platforms were visible in Maynard's photographs. One, in front of a structure near the center of the village, was rectangular with plank sides, slightly slanted outward, set on four horizontal beams ~~that were~~ supported by a stout post at each corner. Although the floor of the platform was not visible, it was presumably formed by one or more planks. The other platform, in front of a structure near the north end of Yuquot, was formed by several thick horizontal beams supported at both ends by a crosspiece that rested on low corner posts set into the ground (Fig. 29). The north and south sides of the platform were bounded by a thick plank abutting the ends of the beams forming the platform floor. A ladder cut from a single log provided access to the platform on the south side. Behind and to one side of the platform were two standing anthropomorphic figures on raised bases, holding a narrow, decorated plank between them. The two platforms appeared to have been better constructed than the one Webber illustrated in 1778.

Sporadic Contact - House Posts and Exterior Poles 7

Although Jewitt was in the best position of any recorded to ascertain the meaning of the carved house posts, he did not describe them beyond stating that they represented human heads and were considered ornaments, not objects of adoration.

In Maynard's photograph of the t̄ukvittakam̄āth (the elder) or tsisa'āth house frame, a house post and one end of the ridgepole were carved (Fig. 27). The carved post represented a standing human figure clasped by a standing bear. The eyes of both the human and the bear figures were inlaid, possibly with shell, and certain facial features were accented with paint. The north end of the ridgepole rested on the bear's head. The ridgepole was decorated with regularly spaced bands, probably coloured, and its south end was carved to represent a sea lion's head. The sea lion's eyes were probably inlaid with shell or some other light-coloured material, its teeth may have been formed by inset mammal teeth or small shells and its nostrils were deeply carved.

Two, <sup>↑</sup> almost identical <sup>↑</sup> ~~male~~ <sup>male</sup> standing anthropomorphic figures with a band across each of their chests were raised on pedestals and held a

narrow board between them (Fig. 29). The board was decorated with a round face at each end, possibly representing the sun or moon, and the space between them was occupied by a rectangular design. The two figures were apparently associated with the log platform on the midden in front of or to the side of a plankless structure located near the north end of Yuquot.

An undecorated pole with a carving of a bird perched on a cross-piece at the top of the pole stood to the right of the abovementioned platform. The crosspiece was off-centered, extending further to the right of the pole. Drucker's respondents insisted (1951: 76-<sup>77</sup>) that this type of pole with a small carving of an eagle on top had been in use for a long time. The eagle was given a name and said to be "watching for stranger<sup>s</sup>" to invite to a feast. The only person who could erect such a pole was the Owner-of-the-Beach. (He was usually the first-<sup>or</sup> second-ranking chief in a village and had the right to be the first to invite strangers to his house.) Because the pole Maynard photographed was located toward the north end of Yuquot in the general area of the tsisa'ath house site, the tsisa'ath was the second ranking <sup>household</sup> lineage in Yuquot and the first chief of the tsisa'ath was the Owner-of-the-Beach, the standing pole topped by the carving of the bird probably belonged to the first ranking tsisa'ath chief at that time. ~~WZAN~~ From the description of these poles, Drucker correctly judged that they were similar to ones at Fort Rupert (Boas 1895: Figs. 8, 10, 16). He thought they indicated Kwakiutl influence, but was not certain if the Southern Kwakiutl used them for the same purpose as the Yuquot Nootkans.

Maynard photographed a much taller pole than the one described above. <sup>It</sup> ~~This pole~~ was topped by a flat, oval feature that may have represented a human face. The pole was located behind one of the structures near the centre of the village.



## EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

Drucker ~~has provided~~ supplied excellent descriptions of Nootkan architecture as it was during the last quarter of the 19th century.

<sup>H.S.</sup>  
~~His~~ data largely agree with all ethnohistoric sources.

According to Drucker (1951: 67-77; SIA), the old plank Nootkan houses were said to have lasted almost indefinitely. A post or beam would be changed if rotting were noted, the new post usually being placed into the old post hole. The only time a completely new house was built during the last several generations was when a house was burned in a

raid. The survivors would often band together and rebuild; in some cases, needing only to replace planking.

As ~~de~~ <sup>1</sup>Roquefeuil had earlier noted, levers were the Nootkans' principal tool for raising posts into position. The holes were dug with one vertical side and one sloping side to facilitate ~~the~~ <sup>ing</sup> insertion <sup>of</sup> of the post. The chief sang while the post was being raised, and ~~he~~ <sup>1</sup> would throw some small, <sup>1</sup>valuable objects into the post hole, signalling the workers to make one last, <sup>1</sup>great heave to put the post into position. If a post were carved, the carving was done before it was raised. Beams ~~were~~ also raised with levers while a cribwork was built under them until they reached the height of the supporting posts.

~~It was said by~~ <sup>Said</sup> Drucker's ~~respondents~~ (contrary to ethnohistoric sources) <sup>1</sup>that there were no carved posts at tac̓is. Some of the houses there were built so close together that the doorways had to be located in the sides of the house. The houses at the salmon fishing stations were like those at the winter villages except that the posts and beams were smaller. In the houses at tac̓is and the salmon fishing stations, the firepits followed the long axis of the house, two or three in a row. Above the firepits were the smoking racks, very like those described in ethnohistoric sources, and "smoke spreaders" <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ directed the smoke from a fire to either side. Dwellings at camp sites were smaller and ruder copies of the larger houses, sometimes resembling small huts. At times these were constructed with shed roofs, but gable roofs were more common during the late historic period.

~~In the interior of a house,~~ <sup>1</sup>a large circular fire<sup>1</sup>place, used on ceremonial occasions, was located near the center of the house. Like the ethnohistoric sources, Drucker's respondents described smaller firepits

near the corners and along the sides ~~which the~~ families occupying the house ~~used~~ for cooking. In recent times, after the Nootkans learned to make bread, the firepits were dug out deeply and lined with fine, white sand.

The principal families living in a house were allotted space according to a rigid system. The highest ranking member of the <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~ occupied the right rear corner ~~of~~ the house. (This position was determined by facing the doorway.) The next ranking person, usually a brother or another close relative of the first chief, occupied the corner opposite the first chief's area. The two other corners were also places of honour and were occupied by other important members of the <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage~~. The two central areas on each side of the house were assigned to other branches of the <sup>household</sup> ~~lineage who~~ were considered to own these areas because they did not move from one house to another as much as their lower ranking relatives who squeezed into whatever space they could. <sup>find</sup>

Each family had their own firepit and sleeping platform. The sleeping platform ran along a wall and was six to eight inches high. It was formed by notched stakes driven into the ground supporting a pole frame on which a plank or two were placed. The family had enough space to stack their wooden boxes, dishes, blankets, and other possessions. Although Drucker stated that only Alberni Canal groups built high storage platforms in their Salish-type houses, the Yuquot Nootkans also erected high platforms along the interiors of their houses according to 18th-century sources. ~~Drucker's respondents said~~ <sup>g</sup> planks were set on edge between the families' spaces, or at least around areas occupied by high-ranking families who owned their own spaces, but more often storage boxes were stacked and used to mark the high-ranking families' living areas. Although Drucker thought there was some question as to the



purpose of the partitions, plank partitions undoubtedly defined ranking persons' living areas in the later half of the 19th century, especially if the person were a high-ranking chief such as Maquinna. However, lower ranking people very possibly did not define their living space in this manner.

According to ~~Drucker~~ <sup>Drucker</sup>, ~~Monahat respondents~~ <sup>(SIA)</sup>, the Yuquot Nootkans built and lived in the small structures on the beach while disassembling their residences on the midden preparatory to moving from Yuquot. This was probably true, but there is little doubt that the structures were left standing after the villagers moved and were used as smoke houses ~~as described above~~, especially since Drucker also learned that Yuquot was a general "headquarters" between November and February! (SIA).

~~Some of~~ Drucker's ~~respondents~~ described (1951: 76) outside "seats" along the edge of the water. His interpreters usually called them benches. Some may have had horizontal boards to sit on, but the most important part was a wide plank, supported by stakes driven into the ground at both sides, ~~which was~~ at the proper angle for comfortable back support. Although chiefs had the seats installed, anyone could use them. Men passed the time on them at almost any time of day and even in light rain. None of these seats were mentioned in early descriptions of Yuquot nor were any recognizable in early photographs, but present-day respondents claim that they would lounge, chat, or engage in public verbal battles on platforms (nawasum) jutting out toward the water's edge (Fig. 30). Such platforms were common in Kwakiutl villages.

The outdoor racks, mainly for drying herring roe, were formed of heavy poles about <sup>15</sup>/~~fifteen~~ feet long and set <sup>20</sup>/~~twenty~~ to <sup>30</sup>/~~thirty~~ feet apart at a <sup>50-</sup>/~~fifty~~ to <sup>60-</sup>/~~sixty~~ degree angle. The upper ends were supported by shears. Four or five rods were tied horizontally between each pair of angled poles. The herring roe-laden branches hung from the rods (Drucker 1951: 41).

Some changes in Yuquot Nootkan architecture were evident in the 1879 photograph of Yuquot (Fig. 16). Slim, upright exterior poles were still used to support wall planks and the general appearance of the plank structures was not very different from that of the structures Webber illustrated except for the painted or partly painted walls, the numerous house entrances facing the cove and the large, permanent, Eurocanadian structure near the center of the village.

The Eurocanadian structure was a new item in the Yuquot Nootkan architectural inventory. It had a gable roof, possibly of shakes, and vertical planking ~~which was~~ nailed in place. What appeared to be two openings through the roof near the ridgepole were probably to vent smoke. Little else can be said about the building except that it did not seem to have an entrance or windows facing the cove. A raised platform with enclosed sides was similar to but much larger than the platform in front of the previous house on this site. If this structure ~~was~~ <sup>Ed</sup> belong to the yaŋuactakāmiāth, it housed <sup>12</sup> ~~twelve~~ <sup>9</sup> families in 1879 (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs 1879).

It is difficult to believe that the Yuquot Nootkans went directly from structures enclosed by horizontal, lashed planking to vertical, nailed planking, <sup>9</sup> so it is inferred that the horizontal planks enclosing some of the <sup>indigenous</sup> structures shown in the 1879 photograph were nailed, not lashed, to corner and side posts. The sawmill-produced boards increasingly used around this time were said to have washed up on the beaches from offshore wrecks and only the purchase of a few dollars'

worth of nails would have completed the material requirements for producing permanent structures.

Moachat architecture underwent great changes in the 1890s. The traditional, horizontally planked structures totally disappeared and even the large, vertically planked structure located near the centre of the village only seven years before had been replaced. All structures were now enclosed by vertical, nailed, sawmill-produced boards. Some of the gable roofs were low, others had a medium pitch and two were of the tripartite type, one covered with planks and cedar shakes. Virtually all the structures had entrances facing the cove and, with the exception of the house of haiyū'a' (the structure with a circular design on the façade), all the structures had one or more windows facing the cove. At least one structure was painted bright red.

~~It is worthwhile making mentioning here that~~ although the yaluactakamlath house ~~as~~ described in ~~tacīs~~ <sup>in the 1890s</sup> by the Spaniards in the late 18th century was distinguished, in part, by the inclusion of glass windows, the first-ranking chief of the yaluactakamlath ~~now~~ had the only only façade in the village without windows, possibly representing a form of prerogative in reverse.

According to Devereux's 1893 plan, the house of haiyū'a' was 98 feet long, 76 feet wide and approximately 24 feet high (Figs. 31, 32). But according to Bolton and Cartmen, who visited Yuquot separately in 1894, the chief's house,



presumably the same one Devereux measured, was 120 feet long and 70 feet wide. Cartmel added that the one-piece ridgepole was also 120 feet long. However, Devereux's measurements have been accepted as the most correct because he was a professional surveyor and left a sketch of the structure including his measurements so his data can be checked, whereas those of Bolton and Cartmel cannot (BCLF; BCA, G/V27/B63A/c. 2; BCA, G/V27/C24A).

A partly fenced, weed-filled yard fronted the house of haiyu'a'. Two sets of steps led to a plank stoop in front of the inset, panelled double door (a small door in the centre of a larger one). The basal

moulding of the structure was formed by a large, squared beam and a two-plank-wide cornice bordered the low-pitched gable roof.

The entire entrance was ringed by a design of two different hi'i'Lik facing a symbol that, according to a haiyanūwōctakāmlāth respondent, represented the moon. The double hi'i'Lik, the moon symbol and the white background on which they were painted were enclosed by a wide, circular band extending from the base of the structure to the cornice. According to Bolton, the broad ring represented the sun. A carving of a human face was set a few feet above the base near the north and south sides of the entrance wall. This feature was probably a later version of the two large human faces said to have decorated the façade of Maquinna's house in tacīs in the late 18th century.

In 1894 Bolton recorded that the interior of the house of haiyū'a' was like a great hall with "benches," covered in some places with sleeping mats, along the walls. The use of interior partitions had all but died away.

The walls of one structure in Yuquot had been constructed ~~on the~~ inside, ~~not exterior,~~ of the frame. Another structure, north of the house of haiyū'a', had a two-sided, projecting façade with a <sup>13-</sup>~~thirteen~~ foot-high, carved standing male figure clasping a copper abutting the point of the façade, reminiscent of a ship's prow and figurehead. The carved figure supported the end of the ridgepole <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ protruded beyond the façade of the structure. The end of the ridgepole was carved to represent a sea lion's head. This feature was visible in one of Maynard's 1874 photographs, but was then associated with a structure located south, not north, of what was inferred to be the yaŕūactakāmlāth house. Present-day residents of Yuquot state that the structure north of the house of haiyū'a'

belonged to the tūkwittakāmlāth (the younger).

This structure had an upper moulding and a framed entrance on either side of the projecting façade, close to the standing figure. At least one ~~of the~~ entrances had a hinged door. Two modern, pane-glass windows were located only on the north side of the façade and were covered on the interior. A small opening above and to the south of the windows seems to have had a closed, wooden door; however, its use is not known nor is that of the vertical pole at the center of the roof only a few feet behind the façade, although it may have been used ~~to fly~~<sup>as</sup> a flagpole.

In front of this structure was a fairly wide and long platform with a plank border. It was supported by horizontal beams on stout posts. This feature, reminiscent of Cook's description and Webber's illustration of a log "porch" of a structure south of what was inferred to be the 1778 yaŋuactakāmlāth house, appeared to be covered with earth and weeds. A pole protruded from the south end of the plank border of the platform, but its precise use is not known.

Although no shed-roofed structures stood on the beach, what appeared to be several frames stood in front of the main structures on the midden. Whether or not these were intended to form enclosed structures or to support platforms like the nawasum is not known.

The Eurocanadian structure built on a rocky outcropping toward the northwestern end of Yuquot was a two-storey, hip-roofed frame building that, due to constant buffeting by high winds, had to be reduced to one storey by October, 1911. Another Eurocanadian house, built on the beach where the shed-roofed structures had been previously, was a two-storey, gable-roofed frame house. Another house of this type was a one-and-a-half-storey, gable-roofed frame house ~~that~~ was built in a line with the



main row of structures. Only the roof of another modern building was visible, but the building seemed to have been a one-storey, gable-roofed structure.

The interiors of the Eurocanadian houses were probably divided into rooms. Although at least one <sup>house</sup> ~~of them~~ may have been a single-family dwelling, some may have housed at least an extended family.

Although it may be inferred that the modern, single family, Euro-canadian ~~style~~ houses were built at the insistence of religious and government officials, this is only part of the story. They also represent the slow but definite breakdown of Yuquot Nootkan corporate households which was caused in part by decreased ~~amounts of~~ dependence on ~~kinship~~ household heads and their resources, combined with the availability of multi-purpose money through the sale of dogfish oil and fur seal skins. A man who was an industrious fisherman or good hunter <sup>his own or other households, leave the household and be</sup> could surpass the economic position of higher-ranking members of his own <sup>without additional support</sup> modern, single-family house. The house, with its purchased boards and windows, was an excellent way of announcing at least partial independence of the <sup>household</sup> ~~kinship~~ chief and perhaps other kin as well.

The buildings constructed during the early years of the 20th century were Eurocanadian ~~type~~ single-family structures. Some were raised on post footings. Some were one storey, ~~was~~ others two storeys high. Some had hip roofs, others gable roofs and, for the first time on record, at least three structures had large, triangular dormers. One had a roofed porch. Although most of the houses were painted white, ~~Levan~~ Cullison's painting of Yuquot indicated that at least one building was red. The permanent smokehouse - residences on the beach (also used to store firewood) were also Eurocanadian ~~type~~ structures: small, one-storey,

and usually gable-roofed.

At times, living quarters would be attached to one end of a big house and the major portion of the house would be set aside for house posts and other display privileges, guests' quarters, feasts, potlatches, Shamans' Dances, an indoor basketball court and, after a floor was put in, roller skating. <

Some of the Indians' houses at the cannery site had vertical planking, others had horizontal planking, and still others had cedar shake siding. The roofs, most of which appeared to have been covered with cedar shakes, were low gabled, shed <sup>type</sup> or salt box. These buildings generally resembled the smaller structures on the beach at Yuquot. None of the Yuquot Nootkans' houses at the cannery were of the size or quality of the larger houses they built at Yuquot.

In 1944<sup>†</sup>, the structures in Yuquot were single-family houses; some were older<sup>†</sup>, modified houses and others were new. The new Roman Catholic church built in 1956 had an attached priest's residence at the rear of the building and in recent years the basement of the church has been used for social gatherings, including a graduation banquet, "Indian Dances," < and, occasionally, full-length movies the local priest rented to provide entertainment for the villagers. The school, built in the late 1950<sup>†</sup>s, contains two schoolrooms, students' restrooms, a three-bedroom teacherage, and a large basement ~~which was~~ divided to form a dispensary and temporary living quarters for a visiting Department of Indian Affairs nurse, ~~and~~ an assembly area for students *and a utility area.*

The last of the rectangular structures built in the early part of the 20th century was burned and levelled in 1969 to make way for a prefabricated house <sup>with</sup> ~~which also had~~ a gable roof. <sup>It</sup> ~~and~~ was oriented parallel to the

beach. Most of the new houses at Yuquot and a'amingas have two, three<sup>1</sup> or four bedrooms, a combination kitchen-dining room, a large living room, and a bathroom with a sink, flush toilet and bath tub. The toilet facilities of some of the older houses in Yuquot are located in <sup>1</sup>a separate outhouse<sup>2</sup>. The structures bordering the beach are shed- and gable-roofed buildings ~~that are~~ much smaller than any previously built in this area. They are occasionally used during the summer to store fishing gear and replacement parts for power boats.



~~centre of the village.~~

~~EUROCANADIAN PERIOD -- HOUSE POSTS AND EXTERIOR POLES~~

In 1894, Bolton described two "totem poles" at Yuquot: a large one representing a man and a whale which stood in front of the house where Bolton stayed and another, opposite the first, represented a lifesize "siwash lad" with a broad grin standing on the shoulders of a seated man. The boy was well carved and from a distance seemed like a "living being." Unfortunately, no photographs or drawings of these carvings have been located.

In 1909 H.T.W. Smith collected a house post from the tūkwittakāmīāth (the younger) house and recorded a tradition concerning it from "Toquit an old Indian of the Moachat tribe Nootka" (AMNH, 1090-59/16.1/553): "Sak Wa Winnis" mysteriously lost his only daughter, "Kha Koo Ookah," and mourned for her as if she were dead, but after several years when a man, a woman, a boy and a girl beached their canoe at Yuquot (Nootka Beach) after having made a long voyage, the villagers, to their surprise and delight, recognized the woman as the long-lost Kha Koo Ookah. She related how she had been captured by strange men and taken to a strange land where she married "Kwoo Oots," one of her captors, ~~after~~ <sup>and</sup> <sup>gave</sup> giving birth to two children, <sup>by</sup> Kwoo Oots, ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> eventually agreed to return with his captive wife to Yuquot (~~"Nootka"~~). Following her arrival <sup>she</sup> ~~she~~ was unable to describe the location

of her new home, <sup>simply</sup> ~~She just pointed toward~~ the western horizon, saying that it was in <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ direction. ↘ ↗

Kwoo Oots and his family stayed at Yuquot for some time, while living on the site of what was Meares's establishment in the 18th century and the site of the Roman Catholic church in the late 19th and 20th centuries. However, Kwoo Oots later wanted to return home to his own people so he left Yuquot, taking his Nootkan wife and his children with him. ~~But~~ prior to their departure, Kha Koo Ookah made her father ~~Sak Wa Winnis~~ promise to erect a "totem pole" in memory of her safe return, <sup>but</sup> ~~Sak Wa Winnis was killed in~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~battle~~ during a raid by <sup>a</sup> ~~neighbouring group of people~~ <sup>before</sup> ~~and was~~ <sup>he could</sup> ~~therefore unable to~~ carry out his promise. ~~Nevertheless~~ the tradition was, ~~according to Smith~~, handed down for generations ~~from father to son~~ until Toquit, a direct descendant, at the request of his mother, ~~agreed to carry out~~ <sup>and erected</sup> ~~Sak Wa Winnis's promise~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~Kha Koo Ookah's request~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~thus~~ the post, fronting the prow-shaped tūkwittakāmīāth house.

Flag poles had been erected in front of several houses by 1911, recalling the 18th-century use of pennants by some high-ranking Nootkans. The saiyatca'āth, nisāqāth, yaŕūactakāmīāth, haiyanūwŕctakāmīāth and tsisa'āth chiefs had this prerogative and would fly the Canadian Ensign during a major feast, potlatch, weddings or visits by a dignitary (Fig. 33). About halfway up some of the flagpoles was a crosspiece. It appeared to be a sort of crow's nest, not unlike features on

the masts of some 18th-century sailing ships. A few years before 1920, the first freestanding outdoor totem poles were erected in the village (if the carvings described by Bolton in 1894 are not so considered); the first in front of the nisáqáth house and the other in front of the tsisa'áth house. These poles were probably raised in basically the same way as the carved houseposts.

By the 1920s, if not somewhat earlier, the Yuquot houses of both Napoleon Maquinna, first chief of the ya<sup>h</sup>uactakám<sup>h</sup>áth, and Captain Jack, first chief of the tsisa'áth, were associated with interior, carved and painted, freestanding posts and associated carvings. Between Napoleon Maquinna's house posts was a large thunderbird suspended over a wooden carving of a whale (Fig. 34). The thunderbird had a pulley-operated, moveable wings decorated with hi'i'Lik and a moveable beak. It was said to move with a "shrill squeaking sound." When asked who had made the thunderbird, Maquinna <sup>said</sup> ~~answered that~~ he had ~~it~~ made at his own expense whereas white men would have taken up a collection to have it carved and assembled.



9

Immediately above the thunderbird was a large sun disc painted to represent a human face, similar to the two faces on an exterior board that Maynard photographed in 1873. The heads of two hi'i'lik met above the sun disc and their scaly, snake-like bodies with humanoid arms and hands extended down in an arc as far as the wings of the thunderbird below. According to Terhaar, the thunderbird and whale were the "totems" of tsaxhwāsip, the hereditary name by which, according to tradition, the Maquinna who met Cook and the Spanish, was known. The house posts on either side of the thunderbird and whale represented the ancestral history of Napoleon Maquinna. The bottom figure on the house post to the left of the thunderbird (facing it) represented tsaxhwāsip the whaler and the pole he held represented a whaling harpoon. Unfortunately, nothing more is known or remembered about these house posts (Terhaar July 1940: 20; DC, 12 April 1929).

The interior posts belonging to Captain Jack are better known than Napoleon Maquinna's. The bottom figure on one post was said to represent Natchkoa, and was carved so a man could squat behind it and speak through the open mouth during a potlatch or other ceremonial occasion (see DC, 12 April 1929). It strongly resembled the right figure of the two house posts Webber drew in 1778. The Hesquiat Owner-of-the-Beach had a post named natcōā, "Looking at the point" (SIA). The post called Natchkoa that Webber drew possibly belonged to the Owner-of-the-Beach at Yuquot, possibly the first chief of the tsisa'āth, who had to host all visitors there. Therefore, the house to which Cook and his men were invited and where they were offered food could have been the tsisa'āth house.

Above Natchkoa was a carving of a grizzly bear holding a copper in

its mouth, a display figure probably obtained from the Nimkish by marriage. Above the bear was a diving killer whale and the post was topped by a large <sup>↑</sup> in-the-round carving of a raven.

The base figure on the other post represented wōhqiāxtōā who was depicted holding a football-shaped scramble ball used during wedding feasts and other festivities. Above wōhqiāxtōā were two <sup>↑</sup> intertwined hi'ī'Lik and above them, topping the pole, was a carving of a supernatural salmon, cīcawū, ~~which was~~ <sup>and</sup> supposed to be poisonous ~~but was~~ easily recognizeable because its scales were reversed. This post was presented to Captain Jack as part of a dowry given by his Muchalat father-in-law (Drucker 1951: 154, 268).

In front of the two posts was a long, low board ~~that was~~ <sup>↑</sup> carved. ~~A face was carved and painted in the centre of the board.~~ and painted to represent a double-headed sisiu. <sup>^</sup> The tsisa'ath probably obtained the rights to the board from their Kwakiutl kin. An almost identical board was displayed over the grave of a Chief "Denaxdōx" at Alert Bay or Fort Rupert during the early years of the 20th century (AMNH, 1905-940).

Captain Jack's <sup>is</sup> and Captain George ~~and~~ <sup>were</sup> exterior poles ~~that had been~~ carved some time in the early part of the 20th century (Fig. 35) <sup>see ex 5x copies of Northw poles.</sup> Captain George's pole was topped by a figure wearing a hat <sup>and</sup> representing Nanakius, the Muchalat chief who was said to have been given a hat by Captain Cook at tccēis.

According to Don Huntley (personal <sup>↑</sup> communication), Captain Jack's pole commemorates his marriage to "Klawahē Peters" of the Muchalat. The bottom figure was said to represent "Chief Wahkeeachtok of Muchalat" (the bottom figure of one of Captain Jack's house posts was also said to represent Wahkeeachtok). The rest of the pole was formed by Grizzly

Bear (probably from Captain Jack's Nimkish kin), hi'i'Lik, raven, an unidentified man with a hi'§'Lik, owl, deer, and another unidentified man with a fish on his head, ~~and~~ the pole is topped by a thunderbird.

In 1929 Captain Jack presented the pole to Governor General Willingdon when the latter visited Yuquot. Lord Willingdon accepted the gift, but requested that it be allowed to remain in Yuquot in memory of the first visit made by a governor general of Canada to the west coast of Vancouver Island. According to Nootkan tradition, Lord Willingdon gave Captain Jack a gold pocket watch, ~~which he kept~~. Some people said that Captain Jack was also given a power saw which he left outside because he was unwilling (or unable) to accept it in reciprocation for the pole.

## Discussion

[The architecture at Yuquot was first represented in early historic accounts as being formed by four- and two-compartment structures with at least one structure without ~~any~~ interior divisions. All of the principal structures were formed by heavy, permanent frames covered by removable plank, shed roofs and removable, horizontal plank siding lashed to the frames. Many of the principal structures also included



carved and painted houseposts. It is possible, ~~however~~, that at least one structure did not have heavy, permanent frames. Following this, the structures are described similarly except until they are covered by a gabled rather than a shed roof except for those ~~at~~ kūptī sketched in 1791.

The first major architectural change in Yuquot involved the construction of a Nootkan-like structure using the Eurocanadian technique of nailing vertical planking to the frame and, possibly, ~~the use of a shakes~~ <sup>roofing with</sup> ~~roof~~. Concomitant with the village community pattern shift from a single row of structures to a scattered pattern, the style of architecture changed almost completely to Eurocanadian types, <sup>even</sup> including ~~even~~ the smokehouse-residences ~~built~~ along the beach. From this time on, all of the architecture in Yuquot was ~~heavily~~ <sup>strongly</sup> Eurocanadian, ~~in all of its~~ aspects.

The use of carved inside house posts continued in some of the large Eurocanadian ~~style~~ potlatch houses, some of which also had large, elaborately carved and painted exterior poles <sup>in</sup> fronting them. When the large potlatch houses containing the carved interior posts were modified or torn down, the posts were moved outdoors where they were left to deteriorate until purchased and transported to the Provincial Museum in Victoria, B.C., for preservation. At this writing, only the pole <sup>in</sup> fronting the tsisa'ath house site still stands in Yuquot as a monument to what was once the spring and summer village of the Moachat.

MASKS,  
HEADRESSES,  
ETC.

Among the items that Nootkan carvers have long and skillfully produced are a wide variety of products essential for both their domestic as well as their supernatural well-being. These carvings much admired by early Europeans and avidly ~~collected~~ collected by contemporary visitors to the Nootka Sound ~~area~~ were all designed and developed by master craftsmen whose medium was wood and whose skill was usually passed on from father to son.



~~MASKS, HEADDRESSES, FIGURES, MODELS AND SCREENS~~

Early Explorers

*all caps*

The quantity, great variety and generally high degree of workmanship of the face masks, often larger than life size; headdresses worn on the forehead; miniature figures of humans; figures of birds, fish, land and sea mammals; models of household utensils and canoes, and a screen greatly impressed the Nootkans <sup>British</sup> English visitors. They collected many of these items which have subsequently been preserved and are now on display in several European museums. <

Cook ~~observed that he~~ saw nothing in the Nootka Sound area <sup>but</sup> without some form of "freeze-work" or the figure of <sup>an</sup> some animal on it. The most general subject of the Nootkans' designs was a human face, <sup>It</sup> which was frequently carved into bird headdresses, stone and bone weapons and other "monstrous" figures. Although the <sup>British thought that the</sup> general form of everything the Nootkans carved or painted was somewhat distorted, it was sufficiently realistic to make the subject recognizable, even though the carving was not as finished as a mediocre product of an 18th-century European craftsman. Exceptions to this statement were the carvings of the masks depicting human features <sup>which were</sup> painted as the Nootkans generally decorated their faces and heads, <sup>This type of mask</sup> and which not only

generally duplicated the character of Nootkan features, but also included ~~xx~~ some which were more realistic than others because they were provided with hair (some shoulder length), beards, eyebrows and teeth. <sup>The</sup> Masks and headdress<sup>e:</sup> chiefs wore on ceremonial occasions or during performances were often painted and strewn with flakes of foliaceous mica which made them glitter. (Cook 1785:306, 326; 1967:314-5, 1089, 1396, 1412; ATL; BCU,a)

Although the Nootkans were willing to exchange almost anything they <sup>possibly because they represented portraits of deceased ancestors</sup> possessed, they were reluctant to part with masks representing human faces.

However, several such masks were collected. Giglioli described one. ~~It was~~ carved of a compact wood, hollowed in the back and at the base. It realistically depicted a human face: a furrow representing eyebrows topped half-closed eyes; the nose, carved with nostrils, protruded slightly, and the open mouth had thin lips. The ears were carved in relief and the short lobes were flattened against the sides of the head. Straight lines marked the limit of the forehead above the face and on the sides. The wood had been slightly whittled away behind these lines to form an edge along which long tufts of human hair had been attached, beginning behind the ears, <sup>to</sup> ~~The~~ <sup>hair</sup> framed the face, and gave it a very realistic appearance. The surface of the mask was relatively smooth <sup>and</sup> Some traces of black paint were visible.

The mask was 250 mm. high and the maximum width across the lower part of the cheeks was 160 mm. Anderson listed the term for this mask as hookooma, a mask depicting a human face (PRO, Adm 51/4528; Giglioli 1895:121-2).

Bandi and Henking described and illustrated a mask which depicted human features less realistically than the one Giglioli described. The mask had a full, almost square, human face with bulbous, protruding cheeks. At the base of the large, vaulted forehead a shallow groove marked the slightly arched eyebrows. The eyes were very large and carved in deep relief; the iris was carved in lesser relief. An opening through the round pupil permitted the wearer to see. The nose was carved with a moderately sharp ridge down the center, but whether or not nostrils were present was not mentioned. The small, oval mouth topped a diminutive, slightly protruding chin. Although no remains of hair were visible, Henking assumed that the mask was originally decorated with hair on the head and eyebrows. ~~However~~ <sup>According to</sup> Bandi, the shallow groove representing the eyebrows, the folds around the mouth and nose and the groove at the upper limit of the forehead showed traces ~~not only~~ of a glutinous substance <sup>and</sup> ~~but also of~~ hair that had once been stuck to the mask. The grooves around the mouth and nose Bandi mentioned may have been the bases for facial hair <sup>forming</sup> ~~which formed~~ a beard; ~~like those~~ <sup>beards</sup> Cook mentioned in



association with masks. The wearer used a woven mouth piece attached to the inside of the mouth to help support the 26.5 cm. mask. Although the remains of colouring matter were visible on the mask, Henking did not know <sup>how</sup> ~~if there~~ <sup>many or</sup> ~~was one or more colours nor~~ what colours might have been used. (Bandi 1956: 215; Henking 1957:367-8) •

Some headdresses represented heads of eagles or ospreys. Some ~~of the~~ <sup>bird</sup> headdresses had moveable beaks which could be opened and shut, ~~at will~~. Many headdresses represented heads of land and sea mammals such as wolves, deer and porpoises. At times the Nootkans wore headdresses that resembled <sup>and</sup> ~~a~~ were painted like <sup>cance</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>These</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>It</sup> ~~projected~~ a considerable distance beyond the wearer's <sup>forehead</sup> ~~forehead~~. (Cook 1785:306-7; BCU,a) •

Webber illustrated two bird headdresses from Nootka Sound. According to Miss <sup>of</sup> C.M. Hall, Executive Officer of the British Museum (~~personal~~ <sup>communication</sup>), a pencilled note on the drawing indicated that the masks were "Representations of animals used as decoys by the Mexicans [?] of K.G. <sup><</sup> Sound". The term may possibly have been "Moccasins", ~~not "Mexicans"~~ <sup>but</sup> this possibility is inexplicable.

Present-day inhabitants of Yuquot identified one of the bird headdresses as representing a raven. Like all ravens, the headdress had a very long beak

the lower section of which was apparently moveable like those on some of the bird masks Cook's men described. A cord attached to the lower section of the beak may have been used to manipulate it and ~~what was apparently~~ a cord or <sup>apparently held</sup> thong hinge ~~holding~~ the upper and lower sections of the beak together, ~~was~~ <sup>also visible</sup>. The lenticular eye had a large, rectangular pupil that may have been carved in low relief. The visible side of the headdress was edged by three apsidal designs, possibly representing feathers. A cord, <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ probably lashed the headdress to the wearer's ~~head~~ forehead was tied to a hole near the top of the side. The top of the headdress was marked by a narrow band separated into two sections by an undecorated area in the center of the head. Approximately <sup>22</sup> ~~Twenty-two~~ feathers were set upright in a curved line above the band and the top of the headdress was apparently provided with several holes for more feathers or other decorative material.

The second headdress was about as long as the first, but was more complex. ~~Unfortunately,~~ <sup>present-day</sup> Yuquot Nootkans could not identify it, but because its upturned snout resembled the canoe-prow effect Cook described and because hair, not feathers, was set into the top, <sup>it</sup> ~~this headdress~~ presumably represented a mammal head. A realistic representation of a human face decorated the tip of the upturned snout. The side of the snout was

decorated with a series of regularly spaced chevrons, possibly carved in low relief, <sup>and</sup> ~~which were~~ framed by a border. The large eye was formed by a series of roughly concentric, <sup>or</sup> irregular ovals. A short line, parallel to the lower jaw, extended from both sides of the circular pupil. Apparently the lower jaw was not moveable. The wearer presumably used a cord located near the top rear of the headdress to lash the headdress to his forehead.

Giglioli described and illustrated a headdress that closely resembled the mowatchee <sup>Anderson</sup> described as a "carved wooden visor like the head of a Quebrantahuesos"; however, Giglioli thought it was supposed to represent an eagle. He also thought it was a totemic image or a secret society headdress instead of a decoy as several of the early visitors to Nootka Sound ~~xxx~~ had suggested. Actually, <sup>approximates</sup> mowatchee ~~is~~ the Nootkan term for deer, the name of a Tlupana Inlet village and, later, the name given to the Nootka Sound confederacy. Anderson may have thought he was recording the term for the headdress when his respondent was trying to tell him where it was from. The headdress did not resemble a deer's head.

The headdress was 150 mm. long, 94 mm. high and 40 mm. wide at the back. The back and the under <sup>side</sup> ~~part~~ were hollowed to lighten the headdress and to provide a surface so it could be secured to the wearer's forehead by a wide



leather strap. Because a piece of iron wire through four holes in the rear edge of the headdress connected the strap to the headdress, Giglioli cautioned that the strap might not be the original one. The flat sides of the headdress were carved to represent the beak and eyes of a bird of prey, (Giglioli 1895:122-3) •

Headdresses were also formed by a large quantity of withes ~~which were~~ wrapped around the wearer's head. These were worn in combination with the wolf or ~~brak~~ bearskin cloaks the chiefs usually wore. Large feathers, especially ~~xxx~~ eagle feathers, were stuck into these headdresses or small white feathers were lavishly sprinkled on them. King described a similar headdress on a man he supposed to be a chief. It was wildly ornamented with large feathers tied to a stiff string or sinew that was fastened to the hair in such a manner that the feathers hung in different directions, (Cook 1967:1394) •

The people of Nootka Sound also wore carved combs in their hair. According to King, the Nootkans' combs appeared to be useless because there were wide spaces between the teeth. He described them as neatly carved and "wore in their heads". Actually, the Nootkans had two varieties of combs: one with widely spaced teeth worn for adornment and one with closely spaced

teeth used to remove vermin from the hair, (Cook 1967:1412) .

Giglioli described and illustrated two <sup>wooden</sup> combs ~~which were~~ used more for combing the hair than <sup>for</sup> fastening or ornamenting it. One of the combs was rectangular with a human face with two eyes and a down-turned mouth roughly carved on both sides of the upper part of the comb. The bottom part was divided into <sup>14</sup> ~~fourteen~~ teeth, each 75 mm. long. The total length of the comb was 145 mm., it was 105 mm. wide and had a maximum thickness of 14 mm. The other comb was smaller. The upper part was carved in the form of a bird which Giglioli thought might represent a raven. The <sup>8</sup> ~~eight~~ teeth, each 60 mm long, were carved to represent the bird's tail. The total length of the comb was 130 mm. and its maximum width was 35 mm. (Giglioli 1895:110-1) .

The Nootkans also had small carved figures. Bandi and Henking described what might be one of these figures, ~~saying~~ stating that it was labelled as a figure from Nootka Sound. Although there is some doubt, based primarily on its costuming, that it did come from Nootka Sound, it might possibly have been one of the small figures Cook mentioned and is therefore included here. The figure represented a crouching, dressed person with distinctly female characteristics and a roughly carved head with poorly defined eyes and a broad nose. The mouth was only superficially indented. The arms were only

short stumps. What Henking described as a coronet represented the hair on the figure's head. It was formed of tufts of black hair with red and brown tints that were bound into sections by a length of sinew and set into a groove around the top of the figure's head. Although the costume was badly preserved, enough remained to indicate that it was formed of approximately eight horizontal strips of leather joined to each other by a series of double sinews strung through sections of bird quills. Five vertical sections of six quills strung on some type of cord or thong, each section of quills separated from the other by a thin leather divider, apparently formed an ornamental strip that hung from the figure's neck to its base. A shirt-like or coat-like, seal (?) skin garment was also discernible on the figure as was a hood which hung down the figure's back. (Bandi 1956:215; Henking 1957: 367)

The Nootkans would bring carved heads out to the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ ships, put them in conspicuous places on board and indicate to the crew that they wished the carvings to remain there. They <sup>requested</sup> ~~wanted~~ nothing in exchange for the carvings. These carved heads might have been like the one Anderson referred to as a carved human head decorated with hair, tahooquossim. Present-day Nootkans suggested that the term might have been the ritualistic name of the carving.



On another occasion, a group of people from south of Nootka Sound with ~~xxxxx~~ scarred noses, possibly from Clayoquot Sound (see Drucker 1951:126), boarded Cook's ship and placed four wooden busts in his cabin in a particular order. (probably carved or painted) They set up a carved, folding screen about the height of a ship's fender that extended almost all the way around the cabin. The people arranging the busts and screen acted gravely and, pointing to the images, addressed those present with very harsh words <sup>according to the European ear,</sup> which they uttered with great difficulty. (Cook 1967: 1414),

→ Early Traders

(all caps)

Comparatively little was written about Nootkan masks, headdresses and figures after 1778. Strange only noted a few items in his word list, including a band of braided grass the Nootkans wrapped around their heads like a turban and a wreath of pine branches apparently used in the same fashion. One term identified a carved wooden "Foxes" head as a luneekatee-ham; this was actually a carved wooden wolf head currently called Kowas, (Quaw + z?) xéniq̓itsum. Strange also mentioned a small, deformed figure of a "God" which was worshipped in an enclosure called a Moeapummé. Although Strange did not specifically refer to this god nor to the enclosure in which it was worshipped in the text of his journal, his reference to a ceremony in

Maquinna's house honouring the god Enikitsum was probably an error, the correct term for the "God" being Kowas. Strange collected both the "God" and its sea otter skin screen, but their current location or if they still exist is not known. (Strange 1928:24-5, 46-52; Drucker 1951:103). inlet

An elderly man who was probably a 'speaker' or "caller" of a Tlupana Inlet chief came out to Colnett's ship with a message from the chief and carrying a staff. The staff was <sup>4 ft.</sup> ~~four feet~~ long and was rounded to about the size of Colnett's little finger to within an inch of the top. The top was formed into a square, <sup>1/2 in.</sup> ~~one half inch~~ wide on each side, and ~~this was~~ <sup>as</sup> surmounted by a knob (BBM).

<sup>Yuquot</sup>  
The Nootkans carved wooden masks to represent seals' heads and these were so well executed they were worn as decoys while the <sup>Yuquot</sup> Nootkans hunted seals. Similar masks were carved as decoys for sea cows and, occasionally, sea otters and some land mammals. When preparing for war, the Yuquot Nootkans wore wooden masks representing the <sup>an</sup> ~~head of some~~ maxxi animal ~~which~~ <sup>was</sup> depicted with eyes, teeth and other features. On leaving Nocka Sound, Maquinna honoured Meares by removing the "tiara" of feathers he was wearing and placing it on Meares' head. <sup>1</sup> (Meares 1791, I:349; <sup>2</sup> II:44-5, 56-7) ←

Spanish Occupation

*all. copy*

During Haswell's stay in Nootka Sound, he noted basically the same type of masks and headdresses as earlier visitors had described. One of the masks resembled a human face and was referred to as a Nooclootsaman, however, present-day inhabitants of Yuquot are unable to associate this term with any masks with which they are familiar; <sup>however,</sup> They did say that the name ~~suggested~~ suggests some relationship to a woman.

Only chiefs wore eagle feathers. Sanchez and Martinez observed that Maquinna, his brother and Callicum wore both eagle feathers and smaller duck feathers in their hair while dancing, but other, apparently lower ranking dancers wore only the smaller feathers. Although neither Sanchez nor Martinez described Nootkan masks, they did state that the Yuquot Nootkans sometimes wore masks while performing a dance. (YUL, WAM/415; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2) .

During a performance Maquinna gave in tacis in honour of Boega y Quadra and Vancouver, Maquinna wore a mask and a "round, Black Hat", both of which he used to perform "some dextrous Pantomimical tricks". Other participants were not only dressed and armed, but also masked to represent Europeans, Chinese and Hawaiians <sup>they had met on ships.</sup> At a performance Quicomasia and Tlupana



gave in honour of Bodega y Quadra, the former chief wore masks as he imitated the movements of various animals. One of the imitated animals was a bear and Quicomasia may have worn a mask representing it. Moziño stated that performers sometimes wore bear and deer skins to which the animal's head was still attached or enormous wooden masks representing aquatic birds ~~and~~ Malaspina described an unusual headdress Maquinna wore during a visit to the Spanish ships. It was a red band with small crystal stars (nai'na ?) sewn to it (Menzies 1923:118-9; Espinosa y Tello 1930:17; Malaspina 1885:193; Moziño 1913; BCA, A/A/20/C39/Pt. 1; BCU, HR/F5813.1/B61/Cop.1).

Sporadic Contact <sup>9</sup> all cap-

[ Just before the attack on the Boston, Maquinna wore a very ugly wooden mask representing the head of some "wild beast", possibly a bear (see Hill in Howay 1926:285). After the ship was captured, Maquinna's son, ~~Sat-sat-sok~~ <sup>9</sup> ~~sis~~ performed a dance at Yuquot wearing a cap to which a mask or headdress representing a wolf's head was fastened. During a Lōqwóná in tac̓is, the two men who "captured" Sat-sat-sok-sis wore wolf skins and wolf masks.

Maquinna wore a broad, red bark headband topped by a large branch of green spruce while praying for success whaling and on other occasions. Jewitt thought the headband was a token of humiliation and dejection,

possibly because he once saw a "thoughtful and gloomy" Maquinna wearing it,  
(Jewitt 1896:64, 80, 165, 180).

<sup>or</sup> De Roquefeuil saw some of the carvings in Maquinna's whaling shrine on  
an island in Jewitt Lake. Five rows of rudely carved figures extended from  
one end of the shrine to the other. Several of these, which he thought were  
carved to represent deceased chiefs, had human hair and male genitalia to  
give them a more life-like appearance. Eight large wooden whales were  
placed in a line opposite the entrance to the shrine, (De Roquefeuil 1823b:

102; see also Shrines and Rituals).

*European Period, all caps*

[ According to Drucker (1951:102-3), the Nootkans had numerous varieties  
of masks representing both human and animal forms. One category was the  
masks worn over the face. A device was attached to the interior of these  
masks  
~~masks~~ to form a bit which the wearer held between his teeth to help support  
the mask's weight. A second type was a maskette worn on the forehead. The  
use of maskettes seemed to have diffused southward from the Kwakiutl's  
northern neighbours (~~xxxx~~ apparently reaching Nootka Sound before Cook's  
arrival).

More characteristically Nootkan was a headdress made of a kerfed and  
bent cedar board. The outside of the board was carved to represent the 50

Plumed Serpent, which apparently Colnett was the first to record. These masks were often referred to as ha'İlikhsim. Another very Nootkan ~~mask~~ headdress was one hollowed out of cedar and carved to represent a wolf's head. These were called xenigİtsum. The Lōqwōnā "policemen" of Yuquot wore the "Woods Spirit" or "Wild Man Spirit" masks (tcīnīyath). Large masks were also displayed from behind screens. Drucker also listed a few headdresses or masks the Nootkans obtained from the Kwakiutl that represent large bird heads or grizzly bear heads.

When bathing ceremonially, men wore shredded cedar bark headbands into which they stuck hemlock twigs. Lōqwōnā novices also wore shredded cedar bark headbands ~~which were~~ dyed red with elder bark. A real shaman wore head rings of dyed cedar bark during his novitiate. Some headbands were almost turban-like, others merely small rings.

At times dancers inserted feathers in their headbands or wore special headbands to which feathers were attached. These varied from ones with only one feather on each side to ones encircled by upright feathers. Eagle and hawk feathers were often used. Swan feathers were used when white feathers were desired for a headdress. The Nootkans apparently had no preference for the feathers of a particular bird. Down was taken from beneath eagle wings or



from various species of ducks. Sometimes the down was piled in a circular headdress so, little by little, it floated out as the dancer moved.

War chiefs often wore headdresses of wolf skins or bear "scalps" which were thought to make them "look fierce". They also wore headgear to which long tresses of human hair cut from their female relatives were attached. However, these headdresses were worn at dances, not in battle. (Drucker 1951: 334-5) •

~~Other~~ A set of masks worn when making formal announcements, such as extending invitations to a feast or potlatch, represented "ancestors". The two people who wore the masks would dress and act like a very old man and woman. (Drucker 1951: 369-70) •

The right to own and display masks is generally obtained in marriage. The masks are displayed at feasts and potlatches where, by witnessing the display, the mask owner's kin recognize his right to use the masks and, by extension, that his claims are legitimate. Such displays also contribute toward maintaining the esteem accorded the mask owner.

~~Discussion~~ DISCUSSION  
Unfortunately, although hundreds of masks and other display privileges have been collected over the years since Europeans' first contact with the Nootkans, none of the items were really viewed with the respect they deserved.

They were primarily regarded as art objects, not as material manifestations of complex rights and rituals. Consequently, most masks can now only be grouped into general categories, such as Wolf, Bear or R Plumed Serpent, with little, if any, information on who their owners were, the rituals that once accompanied their display or even the meaning of some of the designs on them.

Use of screens? Display purposes  
Relationship of masks to culture lost. To a certain extent. Few  
known to display masks.  
X - of long hair to Hair-dressing.  
Smithsonian says 4 hair, & not in other section O.K.

Today, only a few carvings remain in the possession of the Yuquot Nootkans, many of the older ones having been either sold or destroyed in the frequent fires that level Nootkan homes. The only remaining item that resembles a screen depicts two ha'I Lik painted on a large canvas sheet in more or less the same form as they were displayed on the facade of a house built by haiyua' during the latter part of the 19th century.

There are, <sup>still</sup> however, a few contemporary people who carve masks, figures, and totem poles on request and for a price. One carver is over 80 years old and still going strong, but he spends most of his time carving small, souvenir totem poles to satisfy the tourist trade. Another Yuquot Nootkan carves small figures of <sup>IN</sup>tciaaiat for profit and a young man with a Moachat mother is beginning to learn carving skills from his Hesquiat father. But, it is not the carving skills that are endangered among the Nootka, it is the desire and need to learn and perpetuate them.

and the knowledge is essential to properly displaying these much-needed decorations.



WEAPONS  
AND  
ARMOUR

10 Apr 75

There is often a fine distinction between the hunting equipment used by any given society and their weapons. <sup>S</sup> ~~If~~ <sup>for example,</sup> a group of people are accustomed to killing their prey <sup>at</sup> <sup>range</sup> close, there is a fair possibility that ~~this is the way that they will probably~~ <sup>in the same way and this was so</sup> dispatch their enemies. ~~So be it~~ for the Nootkans.   
 They <sup>employed</sup> ~~seldom~~ displayed any projectiles during a raid if they could, by any means, approach <sup>to</sup> ~~their enemy~~ <sup>kill</sup> close enough to ~~dispatch~~ or capture <sup>their enemies</sup> ~~him or her~~ while no more than an arms' length ~~or two~~ away. This, of course, would call for an arsenal of weapons designed <sup>for</sup> ~~purposely~~ for face-to-face combat that would not only kill but <sup>also</sup> ~~visually~~ instill a sense of fear in ~~any~~ foe. <

## Early Explorers

(all copy)

— Cook and his men had many opportunities to view <sup>y</sup>the Nootkans' weapons and armour and, in a few instances, <sup>see</sup>saw how these items were used. They listed many weapons: spears, pikes, knives, a small "pick axe", short truncheons, stone weapons, slings, beach cobbles and sharpened sticks or branches. Bows and arrows ~~were noted, but~~ <sup>g</sup>were seldom used in warfare. For protection, the Nootkans wore a garment of a double layer of thick, tanned and dressed hides.

King thought that Nootkan spears were not remarkable for their length. The spears generally had wooden shafts about <sup>6 ft.</sup>~~six feet~~ long and were tipped with a "stout well polished" whale bone point, <sup>3 ft.</sup>~~three~~ or <sup>4 ft.</sup>~~four feet~~ long. Some spears had "hard wood" points; (probably referring to the sharpened and fire-hardened tip of a pike). Others were tipped with iron and copper and on was made entirely of bone.

The spears were used to kill enemies or animals at close range; they were thrust, not thrown. Before using his spear, a Nootkan would wet the shaft to <sup>give himself</sup>~~enable him to get~~ a better grip. (Cook 1781:244; 1785:325; 1967: 299, 320, 1101-2, 1410; Ellis 1783:222-3; Ledyard 1783:76; BCA, A/A/20/



D63CB/v.2; ATL; BCU/a).

Giglioli described what may be a bone spear point (1895:116). It ~~xxx~~ is made of the <sup>6</sup>mandibular ~~bone of a sperm whale~~ and has a total length of 470 mm. The sharpened portion of the point is smooth, slightly squared with rounded edges and curved, <sup>in a</sup> and measures 365 mm. from the tip to a ridge <sup>ing</sup> which separates it from the butt of the point. <sup>25 mm. wide,</sup> The ridge is the thickest part of the entire point. <sup>25 mm. wide.</sup> The butt of the point, 105 mm. long, is thicker than the sharpened portion, roughly finished, <sup>and</sup> quadrangular <sup>and</sup> tapered. It was designed to be set into <sup>the</sup> a socket in a thick shaft.

Knives were fairly common and evidently made and helved locally. They were beaten into shape out of a ~~typical~~ <sup>ad-</sup> soft, white iron, were about as broad and as thick as an iron hoop, <sup>The knives were from 7 or 8 in. to 12.</sup> and from seven or eight to twelve inches long, and were attached to wooden handles. They had a semi-circular shape <sup>with</sup> and the convex side of the blade ~~was~~ used as the cutting edge, not unlike <sup>a</sup> an 18th-century British pruning knives. Unpointed, they were used for slashing rather than stabbing, making "devilish Incisions upon each other's Carcasses". <sup>carried</sup> The knives were tied to the wrist with a cord, <sup>for carrying.</sup> Another <sup>type of</sup> knife was <sup>1/2</sup> S-shaped and the user held it in the middle where it was wrapped with sinew or some type of cord. It was used as a general

cutting instrument and, held backhanded, as a weapon. Cook thought ~~that~~ the shapes of the knives probably ~~were~~ <sup>not</sup> imitations <sup>of</sup> the Nootkans' original (pre-iron) knives. The knives and other metal cutting edges were sharpened and kept shiny on coarse slate whetstones. (Cook 1781:244; 1785:330; 1967:321, 1103, 1327, 1396, 1408, 1411; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; ATL) .

One of the Nootkans' offensive weapons was a small weapon <sup>then the British</sup> referred to as a "Tommahawk" or a "pick axe" <sup>but identified as</sup> ~~and called~~ a titi by present-day Yuquot ~~Nootkans~~ Nootkans. It was formed by a wooden handle ~~which was~~ carved to represent a rather stylized human neck and head to which human hair was attached. A bluish-black <sup>6 in</sup> pointed stone, <sup>9 in</sup> ~~six to nine inches~~ long, projected out of the mouth of the carved head like an enormous tongue. The butt of the handle was often carved to form a knob or to resemble a human head, but in the latter case, <sup>lower</sup> the head was less life-like than the <sup>upper</sup> one ~~at the top~~. There was a hole in the shafts of at least some of these weapons through which a strong cord was passed and fastened to the right arm of the carrier. (Cook 1781:244; 1785:325; 1967:320, 1101, 1410-1; ATL) .


Giglioli described (1895:118-9) one of <sup>such</sup> ~~these~~ weapons <sup>as</sup> ~~which was~~ collected <sup>Cook</sup> during ~~Cook's stay in Nootka Sound~~. It is 135 mm. long, weighs 1248 grams and is carved from a compact, <sup>by</sup> reddish wood, which Giglioli supposed to be

from ~~some~~<sup>a</sup> type of conifer, to form a large<sup>ly</sup> anthropomorphic head, neck and small head. The large head is the widest part of the weapon, 90 mm. from cheek to cheek, and ~~the weapon~~<sup>has</sup> a regular series of circular holes on the top and sides from which long tufts of human hair protrude. A large<sup>y</sup> square opening at the back of the head is at the same level as the mouth and the unpolished butt of the stone projecting from the mouth is visible through this opening. The stone, possibly "porphyry", is quadrangular with a slight downward curve and ~~the is~~<sup>is</sup> fairly well polished. It protrudes 164 mm. from the dilated mouth of the large head, is 48 mm. wide and 28 mm. thick at the base and 30 mm. wide at the blunt tip. The neck, where the weapon was grasped, is 65 mm. long and is well worn from use. The small anthropomorphic head at the butt is not as well carved as the larger head. Its tongue is visible in the circular<sup>y</sup> protruding mouth.

Henking described and illustrated (1957:368) a similar weapon from John Webber's Nootka Sound collection. Like the one Giglioli described, the large anthropomorphic head is decorated with long tufts of black hair and has a small nose, but the eyes are long, slanting and puffed at the rims, not perpendicular to the shaft. A rectangular grey stone, 10.5 cm. long and 6.6 cm. wide, is set into the large<sup>y</sup> oval mouth and held in place by a



resinous substance. The stone is tapered from its broad base to form a wide striking edge. This weapon is terminated by an undecorated knob and its overall length is 32 cm.

Bayly briefly noted (ATL ) what may be another variety of this weapon or an incomplete description of a similar one: a stone set into a wooden handle like half of a pick axe. ~~He also noted weapons that were made of stones, round at one end, pointed at the other and with a handle in the middle.~~

*file but not*

Short truncheons of various shapes but resembling a New Zealand "patoo patoo" were made of whale bone, stone or wood. One ~~of these weapons~~ was broad and flat near the end, but round and tapering toward the handle, (Cook 1785:325; 1967:320, 1410; Ellis 1783:194, 222; BCA, A/A/20/D63CB/v.2; ATL) •

Giglioli described and illustrated (1895:116-8) two of these weapons. Both were probably made of <sup>a</sup> sperm whale's <sup>mandible</sup>, an inference he based on the weight and compactness of the weapons and on Cook's reference to whale bone being the basic material the Nootkans used to form their weapons and implements.

One of the clubs is 580 mm. long, weighs 850 grams, <sup>and</sup> has a maximum width

of 80 mm. and a maximum thickness of about 25 mm, at its narrowest part. Both sides of the blade are decorated with the same, <sup>1</sup> central design: a longitudinal groove <sup>1</sup> flanked on both sides by a zig-zag or wavy design which terminates in a conical incision. The cutting edges of the blade extend from the spatulate end of the club two-thirds of the distance toward the butt. Both sides of the butt are carved in deep relief to represent a stylized <sup>1</sup> eagle <sup>1</sup> head with greatly emphasized eyes. A hole through the base of the eagle head was presumably where a thong could be attached to facilitate carrying the club and to minimize the possibility of losing it, especially if the user wrapped the thong around his wrist during combat.

The roughly worked second club is 590 mm. long, weighs 750 grams, <sup>and</sup> has a maximum width of 88 mm. and a maximum thickness of 15 mm. Giglioli thought it resembled a fish--<sup>1</sup> possibly the pleuronettide (Hippoglossus)<sup>1</sup>--and suggested that the handle represents the tail and the blade, the flat body and head. Several longitudinal grooves on one side of the blade might represent the fish's median lateral line, fins and branchial slit; the other ~~side~~ side of the blade is apparently unmarked. The handle is carved differently on each side. The carved areas are only slightly polished, the uncarved areas barely rubbed and the entire club is stained with <sup>an</sup> oily <sup>1</sup>

exudate which is difficult to remove from whale bones. Giglioli inferred that the club was unfinished when it was collected and therefore the carving of the eyes and mouth of the fish had not been started. An oblong wooden club about two feet long, noted in Anderson's word list, may be a wooden version of the above-described whale bone club.

A "square" pointed weapon (tsitsiqiváq) was made entirely of stone and measured from <sup>9 in.</sup> ~~nine~~ to <sup>12 in.</sup> ~~twelve inches~~ long. It was gripped in one hand with the point down and was used to strike downward blows. Giglioli described and illustrated (1895:119-21) a similar weapon. Made from one piece of <sup>white-spotted</sup> greenish porphyry, ~~with white spots~~, it is 300 mm. long, weighs 1,650 grams and is well formed and polished. The 130 mm. long "blade" is quadrangular and gradually tapers to a squared tip, much like the stone in the tītīs describe above, but with more of a cutting edge. The blade is 24 mm. wide at the tip and 45 mm. wide and 35 mm. thick at the base. An irregular, circular guard, approximately 90 mm. in diameter, separates the blade from the grip. The round grip is 170 mm. long and is terminated by an irregular, oval knob. Giglioli thought the knob represented a human face with large eyes, rather protruding nose and an open mouth. A hole through the mouth was probably used to attach a cord so that the weapon could be tied to the user's wrist.



Giglioli stated that the "skull cracker" was used to kill sleeping enemies, but also suggested that it might have been used in hand-to-hand combat.

While visiting Cook's ships, some Nootkans were caught unprepared for combat by a group of people who entered the cove. The Nootkans armed themselves by filling their canoes with beach stones and sharpening branches from nearby trees in lieu of their spears which they had traded to the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~. The following day, the two parties met again and threw stones at each other. (Ellis 1783:197, 199; Cook 1785:274; 1967:299, 1327, 1350; PRO, Adm 51/4528; ATL) •

Cook is the only one to mention slings, but he did not describe them nor state how or against whom or what they were used. Pointed paddles were considered "no contemptible" defensive weapons and may have been used offensively as well. (Cook 1785:325; 1967:1102, 1410) •

The Nootkans' armour was a cloak formed by a double layer of tanned and well dressed elk, buffalo or mouse deer hide. Samwell's remarks to the contrary, the armour was reasonably effective against arrows and spears; however, it was not proof against musket shot as Williamson demonstrated to the Nootkans by firing a musket ball through six or eight folds of it <sup>from</sup> ~~at~~ about <sup>20</sup> ~~twenty~~ yards. The cloak covered a warrior from his neck almost to his

feet. It was basically a sleeveless shift, sewn together at the sides with separate openings for the head and each arm. Sometimes the armour was ornamented: designs of men's faces or other figures were ingeniously paint on various parts of it, or wooden slates<sup>2</sup> of varying lengths were sewn across it, conforming to the shape of the wearer's body. (Ledyard 1783:76; Cook 1785:307-8; 1967:320, 1102, 1350-1; PRO, Adm 51/4528) .

A dancing cape, covered with quills and horizontal lines of deer hooves attached with leather thongs<sup>1</sup>, was sometimes worn with the hide armour. The hooves made a loud rattling noise as the wearer moved, sounding like the clatter of many small bells. Cook was not certain whether the cape were designed to frighten enemies or (more probably) only to be used ceremonially as he had seen at <sup>a</sup>one of the Nootkan performances. (Cook 1785:308) .

Early Traders, all cap

Strange noted a number of weapons in his word list. A large spear had a dual purpose; it was used for combat and fishing. He identified a carved wooden spear with virtually the same Nootkan term Bayly had applied to a sword and gave a Nootkan term for sword that is ver<sup>y</sup> like the term Burney used for an apparently similar weapon; however, both ~~xxxxxx~~ terms referred to knives used for domestic purposes. The <sup>Yugent</sup> Nootkans <sup>were said to</sup> rubbed a

poisonous root on ~~the~~ points of their arrows and had head protectors made of leather and hair (Strange 1928:46-52) .

When ~~John~~<sup>Y</sup> McKay was preparing to stay in Yuquot, Maquinna insisted that McKay be supplied with a musket, pistols and a quantity of powder and shot for his protection. To demonstrate the power of these weapons, by this time hardly novelties to the <sup>Yuquot</sup> Nootkans, and to discourage the <sup>Yuquot</sup> Nootkans from attempting to use the weapons, Strange <sup>shot</sup> ~~put~~ a ball through both sides of a nearby canoe and gave Maquinna a purposely overloaded musket to fire. Firing the booby-trapped musket almost knocked Maquinna over and he complained bitterly of his pain and shock and promised never to touch ~~firearms~~ firearms again (Strange 1928:23-4).

<sup>noted</sup> Meares ~~stated~~ that Nootkan armour was definitely formed of elk hide, adding that it was decorated with various figures and leather tassels and that the sides and <sup>the</sup> neck of the armour were cut to form a fringe. The wearer of the armour also wore a wooden mask representing an animal head. The armour stopped arrows and spears because it hung loosely and gave on contact. The large bear skins and sea otter skins that the Yuquot Nootkans wore on their war expeditions may also have functioned as armour. (Meares 1791, <sup>N2:</sup> 20-21)



## SPANISH OCCUPATION

By the time Ingraham and Haswell arrived in Nootka Sound, the Yuquot Nootkans were using both firearms and indigenous weapons. Their spears, pointed with bone and <sup>8 ft.</sup>~~eight~~ to <sup>10 ft.</sup>~~ten feet~~ long, were one of their most general weapons. Although the spears were usually thrust, they were occasionally thrown. The Yuquot Nootkans also had bone daggers which, like their spears, were decorated with the teeth of defeated enemies. They had large copper and iron knives, one of which may be the war knife Ingraham illustrated. This knife resembles one of the <sup>STONE and</sup> whale bone clubs Giglioli illustrated and may be a metal copy of such a club. Haswell listed, but did not describe, another knife which may have been a weapon or a domestic implement. There were two types of stone weapons, both used to kill sleeping enemies. One was virtually identical to the *tītīs* described above and the other was a *tsitsiqiyáq*, also described above, (AGN 65/18; Howay 1941:62).

Only the chiefs were sufficiently skilled with firearms to be able to <sup>at this time.</sup> use them. They continuously requested powder and shot and were <sup>also</sup> very anxious that the Europeans not trade firearms to other groups, apparently to protect their superior fire power. However, it is possible that the Yuquot Nootkans, wanted to control the trade of these prestige items, (AGN 65/18).

The Yuquot Nootkans were not good marksmen, closing their eyes when they fired their pistols and muskets, and they had frequent accidents because of their unfamiliarity with the effects of gunpowder. They possess some small cannons, obtained from the British, and were able to use them with a reasonable amount of skill. The chiefs carried spears with <sup>8-ft.</sup> ~~eight feet~~ long shafts and tips of bone, probably whale bone (AGN 65/7; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; YUL/WAM/415).

<sup>U</sup>  
~~Captain~~ Vancouver collected several items during his visit to Nootka Sound. Dalton described and illustrated (1897: ~~Plate~~ <sup>6</sup> 15, No. 11) one which closely resembles stone weapons described earlier.

The Yuquot Nootkans' increased use of firearms is reflected in Bell's statement that at one time one musket would have been exchanged for six or seven sea otter skins, but that now the rate of exchange had lowered to a one to one ratio -- one musket, one skin. So many firearms had been traded that Wickanannish of Clayoquot had <sup>400</sup> ~~four hundred~~ of them and at Yuquot, indigenous weapons had generally been discarded because almost every villager had a musket which they used not only for warfare, (and probably hunting), but also <sup>for</sup> ~~as an integral part of~~ their ceremonial <sup>use</sup>.

According to Moziño, the Yuquot Nootkans could handle all European firearms, sabers and swords with dexterity and they had a considerable amount of European weapons: ~~For example,~~ Maquinna had <sup>15</sup>~~fifteen~~ muskets in his house at tac̓is. However, they had not completely abandoned their indigenous weapons. Clubs were used as offensive weapons as were stones, bows and arrows, and "stone daggers" (probably the tsitsiq̓iyáq). They used a <sup>14-ft</sup>~~fourteen feet~~ long spear with a "pine" or "cypress" shaft and a copper, shell or iron "dagger" point. Bows were small and not very flexible and arrows were badly made. Pointed paddles were still used as weapons during "naval battles". Nootkan armour had been increased to three or four thicknesses of hide and was now capable of withstanding a musket ball ~~if it~~ <sup>if</sup> were fired from "a fair distance". Although muskets were carried during raids, they did little more than frighten the enemy because the Yuquot Nootkans still closed their eyes and turned their heads when they fired (Malaspina 1885:193; Moziño 1913; PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17; AGN 69/9a).

#### Sporadic Contact

Although Jewitt mentioned swords and knives being used as weapons, the lower ranking people usually armed themselves with a dagger which they wore <sup>either</sup> on their backs suspended by a band of elk hide around their necks or thrust

into their "girdles". Jewitt may have made many of these daggers. He made an <sup>18-in.</sup> ~~eighteen-inch~~ long well-polished dagger for Maquinna and engraved what may be another dagger.

For Maquinna's sole use, Jewitt made a special weapon that was designed to kill a sleeping enemy with one blow to the head. This highly polished weapon was formed by a very sharp dagger or spike about <sup>6 in.</sup> ~~six inches~~ long set into a <sup>15-in.</sup> ~~fifteen-inch~~ long handle at a right angle. At the upper end of the handle was a round knob to which the spike was fixed. Jewitt carved a man's head at the back of the knob and gave it an open mouth and black bead eyes held in place by red sealing wax. At the butt of the handle was a "crook or turn" so that only with great difficulty could it be pulled out of the user's hand. It pleased Maquinna and intrigued his chiefs, but Maquinna refused to <sup>permit</sup> ~~let~~ Jewitt <sup>to</sup> make similar ones for ~~any~~ other chiefs in spite of their ~~many~~ requests. The weapon closely resembles a ~~tītīs~~ <sup>titis</sup> which faded from use around the mid-19th century.

Chiefs also carried whale <sup>(</sup>bone clubs which they hung under their capes. These clubs could be formidable weapons in the hands of strong men and some of the chiefs were said to wield it with great dexterity. One such club was the badge of office of the master of ceremonies at an Ehetisat Lōqwóná. The



clubs, much like those Giglioli described, were about <sup>18 in.</sup> ~~eighteen inches~~ long and <sup>4 in.</sup> ~~four inches~~ wide near the tip, tapering to <sup>3 in.</sup> ~~three inches~~ in width. The blade of the club was usually covered with figures of the sun or moon or of a man's head; the hilt was carved to represent the head of a man or an animal and decorated with small, <sup>v</sup> white shells. A band of elk hide was fastened to the hilt so that the user could sling it over his shoulder.

Some of the spears Jewitt saw, not necessarily those of the Yuquot Nootkans, were pointed with copper or sting ray spines. Although spears were lethal weapons, they were uncommon and only chiefs carried them. Only a few Yuquot Nootkans used bows, strung with whale sinew, and arrows since the introduction of firearms. Among their firearms were "six pieces" of cannon mounted on a kind of rampart in front of Yuquot; however, it is possible that Hill (in Howay 1926:282-3) mistook the village midden for a man-made rampart.

Chiefs wore the "great war dress" of tanned and dressed elk hide brought from the south by Wickanannish's people and people from Classet. The armour was decorated with figures representing human heads and canoes pursuing whales, executed in the same type of paint as the Yuquot Nootkans used to decorate their faces and bodies. The Yuquot Nootkans prized <sup>these</sup> ~~this~~

garments, highly and wore <sup>them</sup> ~~it~~ only when they wished to display themselves in the best possible manner, (Jewitt 1807:14, 16; 1896:106-7, 140-1, 169, 192-3).

~~European Period~~ <sup>all cap</sup>  
According to Drucker (1951:334-5), a war chief's badge of office and weapon was either a whale bone club or a skull crusher, ~~Hesquiat~~. Ordinary warriors carried wooden pikes with sharp, fire-hardened points, bows and arrows, and slings. Drucker inferred that the most important weapons were those used at close range and thought that buckshot and powder-crammed guns ~~had become~~ were the ~~Yusquat~~ Nootkans' favorite weapons since the days of the fur traders. The elk hide armour so frequently described in the early historic period was said to have been used only by the war chiefs. A Hesquiat respondent described a type of rod armour formed of ~~rods~~ <sup>twigs</sup> of hard wood, the first recorded ~~instance~~ of such armour since ~~bedyard~~ described it in 1778.

Apart from the acquisition of firearms, Nootkan weapons and armour changed little through time except for the possible disappearance of the ~~titis~~ <sup>the common use of</sup> and metal and bone spear points.

It is doubtful if firearms ever became very popular weapons among Nootkans, <sup>who</sup> ~~intent on doing more than terrifying their enemies~~ because they are of little use to ~~a group of~~ <sup>a</sup> people <sup>who</sup> specialized in raids rather than <sup>formal</sup> ~~pitched~~ <sup>a</sup> battles.

← Today, Nootkans seem to fight only with their fists and feet. I only recall a few isolated instances from the Nootka Sound area where anyone killed anyone else while using a firearm. <

LOGGING  
AND  
WOODWORKING



## LOGGING AND WOODWORKING

The Northwest Coast is graced by an enormous quantity of large, easily worked timber that was fully utilized by the inhabitants of the Nootka Sound area to form many of the various items essential for their survival. Since earliest times the Nootkan's ability to produce masks, bowls and other small items in addition to their ability to wedge off the large planks used to roof and enclose their house frames formed of enormous posts and beams, never ceased to impress <sup>their foreign visitors</sup>. It is therefore sad to realize that most of these items have since burned or rotted, leaving behind in some cases only a post hole, a memory, a drawing or a photograph as the sole witness to the past glory of the Nootkan carpenter-sculptor and his products.

### EARLY EXPLORERS

Cook and his men recorded little about the techniques the Nootkans used to form house planks, canoes, wooden containers or ritual paraphernalia although they were said to use iron chisels and knives in "their various wooden works." Cook simply stated that they formed house planks by splitting large trees, but he did not describe how they accomplished

this except stating that the planks were adzed before being used. The outside of a canoe was formed first and then the inside was chipped out with iron chisels. Ledyard supposed that fire was also employed in some stage of the process. Nootkan boxes were generally square and made of a single plank bent at right angles to form the sides. The two ends were lashed together. A bottom was fitted and lashed to the body of the box and another box, large enough to be inverted over the first, was made and used as a cover (Cook 1785: 329-30; 1967: 317; Ledyard 1783: 71; ATL).

#### EARLY TRADERS

<sup>in 1788</sup>  
~~Meares observed that~~ the saw was the only labour-saving European tool the Yuquot Nootkans readily accepted. They did form blades, resembling cooper's adzes, of iron they obtained in trade with Europeans and used these to "hollow out large trees" supposedly to form canoes. (Meares 1791, 2: 58-9).

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

<sup>just Nootkans</sup>  
They used only a chisel, a wooden wedge and a round stone mallet to form their canoes, fell trees, split planks and cut firewood (Howay 1941: 64). According to Moziño and Caamaño, Yuquot Nootkan carpenters used fire and shell and "flint" tools. To fell a tree, they set it on fire around the base and stripped off the bark. If they wanted to make planks, they skillfully inserted wedges parallel to the tree's axis with the same skill as the Mexicans produced slender boards; however, Moziño did not

state categorically that the planks were formed from larger sections wedged off a standing tree. He did observe that beams were the size of a whole tree minus its bark.

The Yuquot Nootkans had a system of measurements, but whether or not these measurements were used specifically for carpentry is not known, nor whether or not they learned it from the Spaniards who used a similar system. One unit of measurement was the distance between the thumb and little finger of an extended hand; smaller measurements were gauged by the width of one or more fingers (Mozino 1913; AGN 69/9/a).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

Cutting around a tree and felling it required the labour of three men using chisels and was a slow and tedious process, often taking two days. Although the Yuquot Nootkans saw Thompson felling trees with an axe in less time than they could, they would not use the axes they had obtained, at least in part, from the Boston. They also used adzes and chisels to fell trees for fuel or other purposes such as building and making their various household utensils. Planks were split off logs with hard wooden wedges, then smoothed with chisels (Jewitt 1896: 101, 124, 126-7).

As the tree he had had his carpenters fell was being moved from the forest to the beach, Roquefeuil noted that the Yuquot Nootkans accompanying him understood the principle and use of the lever and were able to manage it very well. A man named

"Eachtel" told Roquefeuil that levers were used to raise the great beams of Maquinna's house (Roquefeuil 1823b: 33).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

A logging technique not described during the early historic period and recorded by Drucker (1951: 77-81) involved splitting a large slab off a standing tree. Two long horizontal cuts were made in the side of a tree, one above the other. The distance between the cuts was the desired length of planks or a canoe hull blank and both cuts were made almost to the centre of the tree. Wedges were driven downward in the upper cut until a good-sized pole could be inserted into the split. After some time, wind action and the weight of the pole combined to widen and extend the split until it reached the bottom cut and the slab fell off.

Although the Nootkans seldom felled whole trees to obtain material for house planks and canoe hulls, they did cut trees down to obtain house posts and beams. Trees standing close to the water were felled using the white man's "under cut and back cut" technique. Contrary to Moziño, Drucker noted that they did not use burning techniques to fell trees. The limbs were cut off the tree and the stick was towed to the village where the bark and outer layers of sap wood were removed with adzes.

Whole trees were not felled to make planks or canoes because, according to Drucker, tall cedars with knotless trunks grew back in the woods where felling a single tree would



be nearly impossible because it would become tangled with surrounding trees. Ordinarily, only trees growing at the water's edge or in bushy clearings can be felled easily, but these trees are characterized by low branches which make them unsuitable for splitting into boards or carving canoes; however, trees destined to be used as house posts or beams did not have to be free of knots so trees located near the water served these purposes well.

To make planks, a slab was turned so the split side was up and a line was chiseled across one end three finger widths below the split face. Eight to 12 small wedges were hammered, a little at a time, into the slab along the chiseled line. As the split started, larger wedges were inserted until the plank dropped off. The rough plank was taken to or near a village to be finished. About one finger width of the plank was lost when it was adzed (not chiseled) to remove irregularities.

Drucker described another plank-splitting technique which he considered virtually the same as "Tangential" splitting described by Boas (1909) among the Kwakiutl. This technique was often used with whole logs and the Nootkans were said to have used it only during recent times after axes, saws and peavies simplified the work of felling and handling large logs; however, the Yuquot Nootkans may have used this technique at contact.

It is difficult to believe that not even one writer would have noted the unusual technique of splitting slabs off

standing trees, yet the only Yuquot Nootkan logging technique mentioned during the late 18th and early 19th centuries is felling trees. The Yuquot Nootkans may possibly have cut whole trees down to form planks and canoe hulls prior to using the splitting technique which they may have learned some time in the early 19th century, possibly after Jewitt left in 1805, or they may have been aware of both techniques at an early date, but preferred to fell trees. They were accustomed to removing branches when depositing burial boxes in trees and would have been able to remove branches from trees in mid-forest for they could be felled without becoming tangled with nearby trees. Considering that the widest planks were between 3 ft. and 4 ft. wide and that most canoes were not overly wide, comparatively small trees would be required and these would be relatively easy to fell in the forest once the branches were removed. Felling a tree or even obtaining a slab large enough to form the canoes the British saw and described in 1778 as being up to 7 ft. wide would have presented a great but not unsolvable problem.

Drucker listed ten linear measurements used not only for carpentry but also for lines and other objects. The measurements ranged in a series from a fathom to a finger width and were based on divisions of the body as Moziño described earlier.

During the latter part of the 19th century the Yuquot Nootkans began to emulate their Eurocanadian models by adapting

modern sculpturing tools to form totem poles, masks, and other wooden artifacts such as feasting bowls. They began to build permanent houses by nailing cedar planks to their old house frames, roofing them with additional planks in some cases and shingles in others. After the cargo of a few lumber transporting ships washed upon the shores of the sound, the Nootkans quickly learned to prefer cut boards to hand-hewn planks for house construction, finally switching their architectural style from classic Nootkan to mid-Victorian in a matter of a few years. This, of course, necessitated learning a whole new bag of carpentry tricks and the tools necessary to plan, prepare, and build a Eurocanadian house. Skills learned from neighboring whites and at the residential schools enabled the Nootkans to build furniture for their houses and, finally and more importantly, to design and build motor-driven fishing boats suitable for exploiting their territorial waters.

METALS  
AND  
METAL TECHNOLOGY



## METALS AND METAL TECHNOLOGY

Both Perez and Cook expressed a certain amount of surprise on viewing the fair amounts of iron and copper among the peoples of Nootka Sound. Not only did the Nootkans possess these metals, but they had also adapted them to several different uses, indicating that they were fairly knowledgeable concerning its qualities. Unfortunately, however, none of the travellers determined the source of the Nootkans' metal,

### PROTOHISTORIC

The introduction of copper to the people of Nootka Sound is mentioned in a tradition recorded by Meares (1791, 2: 69-72) and Moziño (1913). The two versions of what is inferred to be the same tradition differ considerably, possibly because they were obtained from respondents from different households. The two versions do agree that copper was introduced by Quauts who arrived in Nootka Sound in a copper canoe with copper paddles. Everything in the canoe was made of copper. To ensure their possession of this metal, the Nootkans killed Quauts and took his canoe. The Yuquot Nootkans reportedly told Meares that the "images" in their houses represented the old man from the sky who brought them copper.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

In 1774 Pérez's crew traded with the people who paddled out to the ship from pa'tsista and noted that they possessed iron, copper and what were described as pieces of knives

According to Martinez, who was with Pérez, the Indians had very little iron and copper until Pérez and the crew gave them large quantities of metal objects in trade and as gifts. In 1778 Cook and his men were impressed by the fair amount of iron, copper and brass tools and ornaments the Nootkans had. Cook inferred that, although the Spaniards had been on the coast in 1774, iron was too common and its use too well known to have been first obtained from the Santiago or an earlier vessel that might have accidentally touched on the coast. The general use of metals strongly suggested that they came from a constant source, probably passing in small quantities through several indigenous groups from one which had contact with a European source. The Nootkans indicated that they obtained iron from the north, and copper from the north and an inland source. Cook thought that the European source of the metals might have been as far away as Hudsons Bay and Canada or northwestern Mexico; however, the Spaniards in Mexico might not have supplied the indigenous groups there with sufficiently large quantities of iron to trade.

The British believed that the Nootkans' neatly made brass nose ornaments must have been of European manufacture because no North American group was capable of producing brass; however, copper was common to the Americas and could be easily formed

and polished by the indigenous people because of its malleability. The Nootkans' iron objects were a very white type of iron and, according to one source, apparently of their own manufacture. Any crack or flaw in the iron lowered its value considerably. Burney inferred that the cracks or flaws could have been caused by shaping the iron while it was cold. Iron tools such as chisels and knives were sharpened on a coarse slate whetstone also used to keep the tools bright (Ellis 1783: 223; Ledyard 1783: 77; Cook 1781: 243; 1785: 271, 300, 329-30, 333; 1967: 296, 321-2, 1103, 1408-9; Bolton 1927: 350; BCA, A/A/20.5/R31CC/v.5; PRO, Adm 51/4528.

#### EARLY TRADERS

Colnett had no reason to think that any metal he saw in the villages around Nootka Sound came from that area. Although the Nootkans had a small quantity of copper, he thought their eagerness to obtain it convincing proof that they obtained it by "way of Barter thro' the same channel as the Iron" (BBM).

A pure malleable lump of copper Meares saw in the possession of the Yuquot Nootkans convinced him that there were copper mines near Nootka Sound. ~~On one occasion,~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~he~~ saw <sup>a</sup> ~~a~~ one piece of copper with a hole through it weighing approximately one pound. When Meares asked its owner where he had obtained it, the man indicated that he had received it in exchange from people living north of Nootka Sound.

Meares noted that the Yuquot Nootkans formed a tool

resembling a cooper's adze from the iron they obtained from the Europeans. In contrast to Burney, he said that they forged it by heating the iron, placing it on a flat stone anvil and beating it into shape with a round stone. The Yuquot Nootkans also forged the metals they obtained from European sources into variously shaped ornaments for their wives or mistresses. Occasionally Meares noticed necklaces and some types of bracelets that he described as being of the purest ore which did not seem to have come from a European source (Meares 1791, 2: 33-4, 57-9).

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

Martinez thought the iron the Yuquot Nootkans used was obtained from other indigenous groups, but did not indicate which ones or their location. Moziño observed very little metal work during his stay in the Nootka Sound area. Because there were no whetstones (Moziño was mistaken, there were whetstones), the Yuquot Nootkans had to sharpen iron tools by hammering the edges. They formed copper ornaments by cutting the copper into narrow strips that they folded and curved to form bracelets or folded and made into small cylinders which they hung from their ears or the ends of their hair (Moziño 1913; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

When Jewitt first arrived in Nootka Sound, the Yuquot Nootkans gathered around his forge, eager to watch Jewitt work metal,



much as they had watched Cook's smith. After Jewitt was enslaved, he spent much of his time forming bracelets, fishhooks, daggers and whaling equipment of copper, brass or steel and repairing firearms. He used a large stone as an anvil and heated the metal in a fire fueled with green wood. Thompson made an axletree for a grindstone so Jewitt could polish the daggers he made and Jewitt used pieces of old file to engrave the daggers (Jewitt 1807: passim; 1896: 62, 8506, 153).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

Today, Nootkans purchase whatever metal objects they need and if any of their metal equipment requires the services of a welder, they travel a short distance to a nearby shop where a few dollars will usually solve their problem.

#### DISCUSSION

Although it is not possible to ascertain the source of the copper and iron the Nootkans were noted to have, it seems fairly reasonable to infer that much of it was imported from an indigenous source or sources. Deposits of copper and iron near Yuquot on Vancouver Island, but there is no indication that the protohistoric Nootkans ever mined or smelted either metal. They merely formed the various metals they obtained into objects. This is not to say that no metals were obtained from beached wrecks, but that the major supply of metals was not obtained in this way (see Rickard 1939: 25-50).

How long the Nootkans had been obtaining, forming and using metal objects is not known because no prehistoric examples were recovered during excavation at Yuquot, but it is relatively certain that metal objects came into use a fairly long time before Pérez arrived in the area in 1774 in that copper dates back to A.D. and iron finds date back to at least A.D. 1000 in Alaska.

Rough dates can be suggested for the first use of metals obtained from beached wrecks. Disabled vessels would drift on the Japanese current from the orient to the Northwest Coast of America and the use of metal in oriental shipbuilding is well documented. Joseph Needham writes that "In view of the great antiquity of the iron and steel industry in China, I should be surprised if iron nails were not used in the ships of the Sung (+10th to +13th centuries) and Thang (+7th to +9th centuries) and...think that travellers like Ibn Battutah refer to them in the +14th." The use of iron in Chinese ocean-going junks certainly goes back as far as the 15th century when the great fleet of Chêng Ho covered the seas from Kamchatka to Madagascar. (pers. com. 1967; see also Pan Tsen-Peng, On the Ships of Cheng-Ho, n.d.). According to H.L. Lo (pers. com. 1967), who basically agrees with Mr. Needham, the use of nails and dowels in the construction of Chinese sailing vessels dates back to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

Concerning Japanese use of nails, Professor Matsutaro Namba wrote (pers. com. 1967) that iron nails were used in

wooden coffins in about the 3rd century and in large wooden irrigation troughs in the 5th or 6th centuries. A type of primitive frame boat ("stitched boat") which appeared during the same periods was also associated with nails. As Japanese shipbuilding developed, the variety of iron nails increased in the Yedo Period (A.D. 1603-1867) Japanese sailing vessels (Sengoku-bune) had specific nail types for the stern, keel, outside planking, etc. Although hardwood dowels were used in ships in ancient times, slightly curved iron nails were used later.

It would not be surprising if some oriental vessels did drift ashore in the Nootka Sound area prior to the 17th century or earlier as some did later and as the glass floats of Japanese fishermen still do today. The inhabitants of the sound would remove the ship's contents, goods and equipment of iron, steel, brass and copper as well as non-metallic objects, and later on in time would also remove the metal used in the ship's construction, much as they did with the small European boats they dismantled in the late 18th century.

## TOOLS



## TOOLS

One only has to watch a Nootkan craftsman carve a wooden mask or a miniature totam pole to quickly realize that he not only does not require a great deal of time to do so, but that he does not need a great variety of tools to produce a first-rate product. At contact, contents of the Nootkan tool kit hardly matched in numbers that of the carpenters aboard the ships visiting Nootka Sound, but their ability to make do with what they had at their disposal drew the praise of many of their European observers.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

Most of the tools the Nootkans used were specifically designed for woodworking. Although Cook thought that the Nootkans must have originally had tools made of materials other than iron, he considered it probable that they had made many improvements in their tools since acquiring knowledge of iron. Furthermore, the Nootkans' great dexterity in woodworking could, at least in part, be attributed to the benefits derived from possessing a fair number of iron tools. Cook noted various tools: iron chisels, a bone chisel, knives, hardwood wedges, stone and wood mallets, fishskins for finishing wooden surfaces,

whetstones and a grooved bark beater. The whetstones, used to sharpen and polish iron tools, included a greyish whetstone, "the common oilstone of our carpenters in coarser and finer pieces" and some small black bits somewhat inferior to a "hone-stone."

The iron chisels formed of a long flat piece of metal were fitted into a wooden handle. They were of varying sizes; some 8 in. to 10 in. long and 3 in. or 4 in. wide, but most generally smaller. The metal portion was beaten flat at one end and sharpened on a coarse "slate" whetstone. The other end was lashed with sinews to a wooden handle. These chisels, seemingly of indigenous manufacture, were exactly like the broad chisels European carpenters used. (The metal knives may have been used both as tools and weapons, but have been described in the latter section because most references to them suggest that they were used primarily as weapons.)

There is no reference to adzes used by the Nootkans in any of the texts of the journals of Cook's voyage, but Anderson's word list contains a Nootkan term, Chakeuk, translated as a hatchet or "hacking tool." This term is similar to Drucker's term for a D-shaped adze, *tcahayák*, a term according to a present-day Tsishā<sup>y</sup>ā<sup>h</sup> source, also applied to a plane and, according to a present-day respondent living in the Nootka Sound area, to a chisel. D-shaped adzes undoubtedly did exist in the Nootka Sound area in 1778. One such tool, apparently collected then, was on deposit in~~the~~ the Leverian Museum where

Sarah Stone painted it in 1783 (Cook 1785: 329-30; 1967: 296, 321, 1103, 1408; Drucker 1951: 78; Force and Force 1968; ATL).

Bandi (1956: 215) and Henking (1957: 368-9) illustrated and described a chisel (or possibly a straight edge) collected in the Nootka Sound area during Cook's visit. The iron blade, 2.5 cm. wide, is imbedded in a groove in a roughly hewn, almost round wooden handle and lashed with a thong made from some part of a mammal. According to Henking, the iron blade was possibly formed from a re-modelled plane. The tool has a total length of 21 cm. and a maximum diameter of 2 cm.

Bandi and Henking also described and illustrated a whale-bone bark beater. The butt of the cylindrical handle is marked by a V-shaped notch and approximately 10 ridges and grooves are carved on the rectangular striking face. Its overall length is 29.5 cm., the handle is 13 cm. long and 2.6 cm. in diameter, and the striking face is 16.6 cm. long and 4.8 cm. wide.

#### EARLY TRADERS

Strange <sup>compiled</sup> ~~formed~~ an extensive word list to supplement Anderson's vocabulary. Among the terms Strange listed (1928: 46-54) are names of several tools, often woefully described. He listed a chisel, possibly similar to the hafted iron chisels Cook described, and a plane or the frame of a plane. The chisel, and possibly other tools, was driven with several different types of mallets. One mallet was formed of a stone of any

type. A stone hammer, apparently in the shape of a pestle, was the same tool Anderson listed earlier. Strange also listed a wooden hammer and another mallet, but did not describe these further.

Strange recognized two different types of abrasive stones. One was used for sharpening metal cutting edges and another, a fine black hard stone, for polishing metal surfaces. He did not record a term for the fishskin Cook mentioned earlier, but did record a term describing the act of polishing with it.

Among the items Strange listed that may or may not have been used as tools is one described as a small folding knife. Mussel shells were used as cutting tools; they were probably sharpened shell knives principally used for domestic purposes. Strange also mentioned a gimlet, but again did not describe its form or its use; however, present-day inhabitants of Yuquot translate the term he gave for it as a drill.

During his first visit to Nootka Sound, Colnett observed that a black stone, like the oil stone carpenters used, and a dirty pea-green stone were "polished" by the Nootkans for working tools as well as weapons (BBM).

The Yuquot Nootkans manufactured metal tools after 1778 from iron obtained in trade with Europeans, preferring their own tools to those of Europeans. The only exception to this was the saw (first obtained from Cook) which they considered a great labour-saving device. Meares described what may possibly be a tool as a piece of native copper imported



from the north weighing about one pound. A hole large enough to insert a handle had been made through the piece of copper making it possible to form a European type of hammer if the hole was not used to insert a line through it to facilitate its transportation from place to place.

Although stone tools were used to form canoes, the Yuquot Nootkans also shaped an iron tool, resembling a cooper's adze (probably a D-shaped adze) considered suitable for this task. To form this tool, the Yuquot Nootkans, who had observed forge work during Cook's visit, heated the iron and, using a flat stone as an anvil, beat it into shape with a round stone. The finished adze blade was fastened to a wooden handle with sinew cords. It was considered a highly efficient tool (Meares 1791, 2: 22, 58-9).

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION AND SPORADIC CONTACT

According to Moziño, fire, wedges, shell and flint tools were the only items Yuquot Nootkan carpenters used. He noted that fire and shell knives were used to form canoes and Jewitt observed stone chisels used for the same task. These chisels were formed of "flint" or a very hard stone, about 3 in. wide and 6 in. long, ground to a sharp edge and set into very hard wooden handles.

Stone chisels were being replaced by more desirable iron tools; Jewitt forged some to make canoes just a few days before he left Yuquot. Chisels were used to form canoes and

wooden "trays," smooth house planks, and cut down trees for building material, firewood or other purposes. A smooth round stone held in the palm of the hand was used to strike the chisel rather than a mallet. Sharp mussel shells were used to scrape the hair and flesh from water-soaked elkhides probably destined to form armour (Mozino 1913, Jewitt 1807: 46; 1896: 101, 106, 124, 127).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

According to Drucker, a Nootkan carpenter's kit consisted of a maul, chisels, wedges, a D-shaped adze, a straight adze, simple drills, sandstone grinding stones and sharkskin. Some of these tools had however, been given up quite early in historic times and existed mainly in memories or as personal keepsakes of the past. The latter category particularly included chisels and adzes. Axes and saws were said to have become commonly used within the memories of people still living during Drucker's stay on the coast, but only a few "old-timers" knew how to use the ancient Nootkan tools.

Drucker described many tools. The maul, mentioned by many visitors to Nootka Sound, was unhafted and pedestal shaped. A chisel, ga'yahwas<sup>n</sup>, was hafted in the open bed of a yew wood handle. The D-shaped adze, tcahayak<sup>n</sup>, had yew wood or whale bone handles. The blade was lashed to an open bed in the lower side of the handle and kept tightly in place by flat wedges driven between the blade and the handle. The

straight adze, which went out of use during early historic times, was apparently shaped somewhat like a chisel with a short, slightly curved handle. A drill was formed of a compact bone from the leg of a deer or bear and the tip was sharpened to an abrupt square point according to some respondents or a narrow notched point according to others. The other end of the bone was flattened to prevent it from rotating in the shaft. There were yew wood wedges of different sizes and the National Museum of Man has a bone wedge included in its collection from Nootka Sound. Small flattish flabs of sandstone were used for finishing items and strips of sharkskin were dried and used for fine polishing as during earlier times.

These relatively uncomplex tools, carried in a checker work "wedge-basket," were used to fell trees, wedge off planks or blocks of wood and form the many objects of wood, both simple and complex, the Yuquot Nootkans used from early prehistoric to late historic times.

A few Nootkan carvers still producing on the coast use a wide variety of tools ranging from power-driven band saws to small gouges. Large knives and D-shaped adzes are used to produce masks, totam poles and, in some cases, carvings that are barely distinguishable from 19th-century examples. Other more commercially oriented products are not as well done, even those produced by carvers who are capable of doing good work. This attitude is, of course, fostered by

Eurocanadian buyers reluctant to be more selective in their purchases and looking for anything produced by an Indian regardless of the quality of workmanship.

Nootkan carpenters currently use the same tools as their Eurocanadian neighbors to build and repair boats and houses. Not only do the Nootkans have all of these tools in their possession but several also use them with a great deal of skill and dexterity having learned their trade at the Christie Indian School which was dedicated in great part toward teaching Indians to perform Eurocanadian trades.

#### DISCUSSION

As Cook noted, most tools in the possession of the Nootka Sound people were designed specifically for wood and, ostensibly, bone working. The Nootkans did not seem to have any special tools in their possession for forming the many iron tools used by them but as later described by Meares, these tools may have consisted only of a few stones for beating heated iron into shape on a stone anvil before sharpening and polishing it on wet stones.



TEXTILES  
AND  
HIDES

## TEXTILES AND HIDES

The Nootkans' source of supply for most everything they used to wear, live in, sleep on, eat out of, or travel in, <sup>came</sup> from the virtually inexhaustable forest ~~lining the shores and filling the interior~~<sup>on</sup> of Vancouver Island. Although the innermost layers of red and yellow cedar bark formed the basic materials from which Nootkan weavers formed many of their textiles, these were often combined with other fibres or wool, some from nearby sources and others a fair distance away. Whatever their material, the Nootkans were highly skilled not only at preparing it for weaving but also working it into the form of Nootkan garments, hats and mats, with a great deal of dexterity <sup>even</sup> although their implements for doing so were of the simplest types.

Every society that hunts land and sea mammals makes some effort to clean and preserve their preys' pelts ~~either~~<sup>to</sup> clothe <sup>or</sup> themselves, provide shelter, or some form of transportation such as the Eskimo kayak. The Nootkans' prepared a great variety of pelts with a fair degree of skill using them in several different activities. But the activity most important to their European visitors was the one involving the exchange of these pelts, especially the sea otter, for what the Europeans considered mere trifles.

## EARLY EXPLORERS

Cook and members of his crews were able to observe how the Nootkans' garments were made. "Flaxen" garments were woven from cedar bark soaked in water, dried, and softened by beating it first with a stone and then <sup>with</sup> ~~using~~ a grooved bone bark beater until the fibres were sufficiently separated <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ use. The fibres were not spun before weaving. The twisted warp was laid over the horizontal crosspiece of a simple frame supported by two upright posts set into the house floor. The weaver squatted in front of the frame and knotted the braided weft threads to the warp one-quarter of an inch to one-half of an inch apart, depending on how fine a finished product was desired. Weft fibres were finer and better twisted than warp fibres. The cloth produced in this manner was not as tightly woven as that from European looms, but the "bunches" between the knots filled the spaces between the warp and weft, making the cloth impervious to air. The material was superior to loom-woven cloth because it was softer and more pliable (Ellis 1783: 219; Cook 1785: 280, 325-6; 1967: 303, 312-3; ATL).

Another type of cloth was made solely of wool or hair. The woollen material, strongly resembling loom-woven cloth, was probably made in the same way as the cedar barkcloth--Cook did not consider the Nootkans capable of using a loom to form the various designs woven into such cloth. The wool or hair cloth was woven in varying degrees of fineness: some resembled the coarsest European rugs or blankets, others resembled the

finest European textiles and some were even softer and warmer. Cook thought the "wool" used to produce this cloth was taken from foxes and brown lynxes -- the wool of the former being coarser than the latter which was very like the colour of coarse (domestic Sheep's) wool. The hair of the "white bair" and wolves might also have been used and Ledyard suggested that hair of the mostly white, domesticated Nootkan dogs was used to make some cloth. King observed that the Nootkans' "Yarn," which exhibited varying degrees of "Woolliness," must have come from sheep or some similar mammal (probably mountain goat), but the Nootkans often indicated that wild cats, foxes and wolves were the sources of their raw material. The colours of the designs woven into the wool or hair cloth were produced by dyes of different colours such as deep brown or yellow. The Nootkans' yellow dye was thought to be as bright as that in the best European carpets.

A third type of woven material was made of a mixture of cedar bark and wool or hair. According to Bayly, clock,at,sque was a fine kind of wool or fur twisted with bark to form designs on cloaks. Sometimes the wool and bark mixture was used to form an entire cloak (Ledyard 1783: 71; Cook 1785: 325-6; 1967: 312-3, 1411; ATL).

The Nootkans were not interested in obtaining cloth from the British by trade or any other method. The sailors found this very convenient because they could hand their washing out without fear of losing it (Cook 1785: 312).



The Nootkans brought large numbers of dressed mammal skins to Cook's ships, either wearing them as garments or bringing them as exchange items. Although most of the hides were without heads, tails or paws, at times making identification difficult, the hair had been left on all of them except for the elkhide armour and dancing aprons. The Nootkans also dried the birds' skins and took these and portions of birds to the ships. Among the fragments of birds or dried bird skins Cook noted were the Hawk, heron and the large crested American kingfisher (Cook 1785: 293, 296-7).

#### EARLY TRADERS

The cedar bark and "filaments of nettle" used to produce some garments were soaked in urine for a time before being beaten and separated into fibres. The fibres were joined together until they twice as long as the intended garment, then were laid over a horizontal pole to form the warp of the material (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 39-40).

Yuquot Nootkan women cleaned sea otter skins and stretched them on frames "with habitual ingenuity" (Meares 1791 Vol. 2: 63).

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

According to Haswell, the women soaked the cedar bark, beat it and wove it. Eliza added that the cedar bark was soaked for at least five days until it was soft, taken out and beaten to

separate the fibres, washed well and given to the women to weave. Eliza's suggestion that the men may have beaten and washed the cedar bark is contrary to Haswell's statement (Howay 1941: 63-4; AGN, 69/7; see also Wagner 1933: 159). Moziño observed that only women did the spinning and weaving. It was part of their daily activities. Using only their fingers and thighs, they rolled and joined bark fibres, wool and sea otter hair into a thick cord, probably to form the warp. The cord was made thinner and longer by being rolled on a foot-long stick, turned on a small board, with the same dexterity as Mexican Indians used a spindle or spindlewhorl. The looms were simple cross-sticks supported four and one-half feet above the floor. The women, using only their fingers, worked rapidly and skillfully (Moziño 1913).

They used forms or patterns when they made hats and conical capes. They began weaving hats and capes at the centre, tucking the ends of the fibres in along the edges. Mats were not made on looms, but woven by hand (probably while flat on the ground) in much the same way as they were (and still are) by the Indians of Xochimilco, Mexico. The Yuquot Nootkan mats were considered very rough either because the cattail reeds from which they were made were not as pliable as cedar bark or because they were carelessly woven (Moziño 1913).

The Yuquot Nootkans tanned all kinds of leather so well that it was very soft and pliable, similar to the products of

the most skilled tanners of Mexico and elsewhere (Moziño 1913).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

Jewitt's description of preparing cedar bark was more complete than previous writers' descriptions. Women soaked the cedar bark in fresh water for 14 days, then took it out and beat it on a plank using a grooved bone or hardwood beater, keeping the material wet to facilitate the separation of the wood from the soft fibrous parts of the bark. When this process was completed, they coiled the fibres, exposed it to the sun to bleach, then dyed it red or black. Before weaving a garment, the women took a number of fibres and twisted them together by rolling them on their knees and then connected them with a strong thread especially made for this purpose (Jewitt 1896: 104-5).

Elkhide was dressed by soaking it in warm water before carefully using sharp mussel shells to scrape off the hair and whatever flesh still adhered to it. The dressed hide was then spread on a wooden frame to preserve its shape and placed in the sun to dry (Jewitt 1896: 106).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

According to Drucker, the main materials the Nootkans used to weave textiles were yellow and red cedar bark, spruce roots and wild cherry bark. Yellow cedar bark was stripped from trees and soaked in salt water. After several days the bark was

removed from the water and pounded with a grooved beater until the inner layers of fibre could be pulled off. The inner layers were pounded with the grooved beater until they were well separated, then were soaked in a box of fresh water for a few days to remove the unpleasant odour. No mention was made of soaking the cedar in urine as Meares had described. The fibres were wrung out and spread on the beach to dry so the short broken fibres could be taken out and the rest used for weaving.

Red cedar bark was also stripped from trees, but the coarse outer bark was separated from the inner bark before both types of bark were taken home in bolts and spread out to dry for a few days. Women used a bone knife, usually made of a deer ulna or a seal rib, to start a split so a portion of bark could be taken off the bolts as it was required.

The highly esteemed mountain goat wool (which many early writers called mountain sheep wool) was obtained in exchange with the Southern Kwakiutl. Only chiefs could afford to have cloaks in which most or all of the weft was formed of this material. Contrary to Ledyard's statement, dog wool was not used in weaving, nor were feathers mixed with cedar bark fibres; these were features of Coast Salish weaving.

A variety of weaving techniques were used: simple and twilled checker-work with some variations; simple and twilled twining; and wrapped twining, also referred to as "bird cage" weave. Open work was used. A common variety of open work



consisted of bands of simple checker-work with the warps crossed at regular intervals. In another variety of open work the warp was alternately pulled to the right or the left so they crossed diagonally. Horizontal elements were inserted at the interstices to produce three-element open work.

Some of the yellow cedar bark fibres were made into thin cord for weaving cloaks, rain capes and women's aprons. As described earlier, all spinning was done by hand on the bare thigh. Drucker's respondents did not remember spindles being used. The innermost layers of red cedar bark were used to weave fine mats and baskets and the outer layers were used for coarse work. Cloaks and capes were woven almost exactly as described in the early historic period, using what Drucker described as a "half-loom." Sometimes, as was also noted in the early historic period, strips of sea otter or mink fur were added to the edge of a cloak. Rain capes of bark were woven like cloaks and conical capes, but wool was not used in the weft. Women's front aprons were started like cloaks and capes, but the weft was long so the ends could be twisted or braided into a belt. The daughter of a chief might have had an apron with strands of goat wool in it, but such garments were not common.

All mats were woven flat on the ground, not suspended from a loom as Moziño described. Simple checker-work, either straight or diagonal, was the most common technique for weaving mats, but twilling was said to have been used occasionally. The most

common technique for weaving finer mats was diagonal checker-work, particularly for long feast mats. Designs were woven into the borders of the better mats and a few mats had overall designs of zigzag and diagonal lines that crossed and re-crossed the mats.

Many types of baskets, perhaps better described as bags, were woven of red cedar bark. The rectangular bottom was very frequently coarsely woven of wide strips of bark and bound with a row of twining in which a fine cord served as the weft. Diagonal checker-work, twilled work or any of the several varieties of open work might be used for the basket sides made of finely split cedar bark.

In the late historic period, as in the 18th century, simple twining was used to form Nootkan rain hats. According to Drucker, the late historic hats resembled the "inner hats" Willoughby described and illustrated except that the curvature of the sides was convex, not concave.

In the 1930s the Moachat, in imitation of the Makah, began to produce tourist-oriented curios such as basketry-covered bottles and vials. During Drucker's stay on the coast, the white and dyed grasses used to decorate these items were purchased from the Makah (Drucker 1951: 92-9).

During the late historic period Nootkans usually removed the skin from a mammal by making a cut down the mammal's underside and along the limbs and peeling the skin off the back, although some of the bearskin "vests" men wore during training rituals were case skinned. Once the mammal was skinned, the pelt was

laced to a fixed, rectangular form of four poles lashed together. Although the flesh side of the skin was formerly scraped with a large mussel shell, in recent times end scrapers formed of iron blades lashed to handles were used. After a hide was scraped, usually by two men, any slack was taken up by tightening the continuous lacing fastening it to the frame. The hide was allowed to dry a <sup>few</sup> short while, sprinkled with warmed stale urine and re-scraped. The process was repeated until the hide was soft. Drucker could not learn how hide was prepared to make armour, but the hair was removed from deerskins used on the recently introduced hide drums: the skins were rolled up tightly and buried for a while before being scraped. Burying them caused the hair to slip off easily (Drucker 1951: 103-4).

Today, only one elderly woman who occasionally lives in Yuquot is still able to weave cedar bark cloaks and conical capes, but she rarely does so. She and a few other women are able to weave both the bulbous-pointed rain hats chiefs wore and the flat-topped variety. Several women weave baskets for the tourist trade, but these are generally limited to rectangular containers with handles, locally called "shopping baskets," and small round baskets with lids, some of which are very finely woven. All baskets are woven on forms and decorated with designs, the patterns of which at least one weaver records by embroidering them on a piece of burlap. Several women also weave over bottles, Japanese glass fishing floats and shells. Bead work is also commonly done, at times over the glass fishing floats or in the form of necklaces and headbands.

Although weavers' dyed material comes from Seattle they collect cedar bark and natural grasses near Yuquot, encountering an awkward problem in procuring the necessary cedar bark. According to the Moachat, forestry service personnel will penalize them for stripping bark off a tree not on Indian-owned land because such stripping endangers the tree. Therefore their sources of raw material are limited unless they go to distant unoccupied reserves or chance being caught stripping bark on non-reserve<sup>1</sup>land.

All evidence indicates that the Yuquot Nootkans were very skilled tanners and furriers. They had to be to produce the soft, pliable skins so skillfully joined to form the impressive garments so often described throughout the historic period (see Dress) .

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## HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

## HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

A Nootkan house was not considered a home without a firepit where people could warm themselves, prepare their daily meals, and light their way during the long night. In addition to this immediate source of energy, the Nootkans also possessed the household items essential to make life more than bearable for them while living on the outer or inner shores of Nootka Sound.

### EARLY EXPLORERS

Of the various household utensils and equipment the British saw during their visits to Yuquot, the items they referred to most frequently were the great numbers of boxes and chests of various sizes. The Nootkans formed the four sides of a container from one continuous length of plank: three notches were made at regular intervals across the width of the plank, the plank was bent at a right angle at each notch to form a corner and the two ends were lashed together to form the fourth corner. A bottom and a top were added and tied to the body of the box. On some boxes the bottom extended an inch or more beyond the sides and another box just large enough to fit over the first box and rest on the projecting

bottom served as a cover. These containers were often painted black, studded with bones, human and animal teeth and elegantly carved with a kind of frieze work of figures of birds or mammals.

Some boxes had lids fastened to them with thongs and very large boxes were provided with a square opening or "scuttle" in the top through which items could be put into or taken out of the box. Another box Webber illustrated had a sloping lid and although none of the ethnohistoric literature describes the container, a present-day Ehetisat thought it might have been what the Nootkans used as a head rest that also contained ancestral skulls.

Many of the chests and boxes were stacked close to the relatively dry sides and ends of the Nootkans' houses. The terms Anderson recorded for these boxes are interpreted by present-day Nootkans as a box used to store clothing and blankets and a box in which wolf ritual paraphernalia was kept. These translations virtually match the Englishmen's statements that the boxes they say contained spare clothing, skins, masks, "fishing tackle" and other items the Nootkans considered valuable. Another type of box was said to have been a large container for storing fish. Nootkan <sup>e</sup>man kept the white down they used to decorate their hair in a box or bag. The container was said to resemble a "machine like a powder puff" such as the Europeans used to powder their hair.

A firepit, a saucer-shaped hole in the ground lined with stones, was located in each of the divisions within the houses.

Round beach pebbles piled nearby were placed in the fire and when hot removed with tongs formed by a cleft stick. The hot stones were placed in a rectangular wooden cooking box containing water and food. Repeatedly heating and quenching the stones caused the water to boil and cook the contents of the <sup>b</sup>box. Wood or horn spoons were used to remove the cooked food from the box and place it in the <sup>2-ft.</sup>~~two-foot~~ long wooden containers from which the Nootkans ate. The Nootkans used square and rectangular wooden vessels to store water and a similar but smaller vessels for carrying water. Several of these may be illustrated in Webber's drawings, including some with a strap handle in the middle. Cook and his men also mentioned square and round wooden cups and what may have been a feast dish.

Webber illustrated skewers being used to hold small fish, such as herring and chunks of meat near a fire for roasting. Single poles and lattice-like drying racks supported by the longitudinal roof beams above the firepits were used to hold fish and whale meat for smoke drying. The Nootkans did not discard their old greasy capes and mats, but used them to cover food being roasted or, possibly, steamed.

The British listed bone knives probably used to clean fish and iron knives quite possibly used to butcher sea and land mammal carcasses as well as being used as weapons and wood carving tools.

The Nootkans had mats for sitting and sleeping that



were cleaner and finer than those used in canoes. They had various types of bags and baskets: a burden basket formed of split cedar woven with dried wild cherry bark; a bag or basket woven of cedar bark and used to store dried fish; a basket made of grass for which no use was listed, and leather bags to keep their belongings dry in canoes. The various baskets <sup>webber</sup> illustrated were mainly the conoidal woven cherry bark burden baskets with wide openings at the top and bluntly pointed bottoms. He also illustrated a large woven bag, about the size of a modern gunny sack, tied at the top. Four containers hanging from a pole supporting a low partition appeared to be either the leather bags the British described or, more probably, bladders containing fish roe or oil.

Although no specific mention was made of Nootkan houses being lit by lamps or torches, the British recorded terms for the light from a lamp or candle and for the smoke from a lamp; this however, does not mean that the Nootkans had either lamps or candles before Cook anchored in Nootka Sound (Ellis 1783: 206, 217, 219; Cook 1785: 316; 1967: 303, 311-2, 318, 1097, 1102-3, 1328, 1409-10, 1412; ATL).

#### EARLY TRADERS

Strange's word list (1928: 46-54) included the Nootkan terms and English equivalents for several types of domestic equipment. He noted and recorded several large and small boxes, including a large chest that, according to the Nootkan term for it, must

have been decorated with sea otter teeth, a box that may have been a woman's trinket box, and a wooden urinal.

There were two varieties of mats. One was the mat on which the Yuquot Nootkans sat and slept and the other was a long narrow mat for which no use was specified although it may have been a feast mat. The only other woven object Strange mentioned was a small basket woven of cedar bark and used to store and transport dried salmon.

What Strange described as a bladder or skin in which oil was stored and preserved was, according to a Tsishaat source, a dogfish bladder in which fine oil, such as that derived from rat fish, was stored. Present-day Nootkans recognized the term Strange gave for another bladder used as a container as referring to a cod fish bladder in which any kind of oil or water--even home brew in recent years--was stored. Strange also mentioned terms for the horse-clam spoons the Yuquot Nootkans used, lamps, a cradle and the component parts of weaving frames.

#### SPANISH OCCUPATION

According to Martinez, the Yuquot Nootkans did not use iron knives to clean or butcher fish because they believed that contact with iron would cause the fish to leave or stay away from the area; they used the edges of mussel shells to prepare fish for cooking or preservation. Sanchez observed that "cockle shells" were used for drinking fish bouillon. One of the Yuquot Nootkans' most coveted household receptacles was abalone shells from Monterey.

According to Mozino, the lids of the Yuquot Nootkans' boxes were formed by a board that ran through two "open grooves" at the upper interior part of the box. When the boxes were made of separate pieces, each piece was firmly inserted into the other in the same way as European carpenters did it. The boxes' exteriors were decorated with mouldings inlaid with teeth of different animals. Sanchez listed the Yuquot Nootkan terms for an oven and what must have been a sleeping mat made of rushes, but did not describe them further. Martinez and Mozino were the first to record how the Yuquot Nootkans lit their fires, but merely stated that fire was generated by rubbing two pieces of wood together (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2; YUL, WAM/415; Mozino 1913: AGN, 69/9/a).

According to Caamano (AGN, 69/9/a), the sides and bottom of cradles were lined with skins and most, but not all, infants were lashed or sewn into them four or six days after birth and stayed there until they were 18 months old. Only their feet and heads were uncovered. He thought the time infants spent lashed in such cradles was responsible for their straight bodies as adults.

On a festive occasion in tac̓is, an innovation appeared among the Yuquot Nootkans' household equipment. A table and benches were assembled in Maquinna's house for the use of his European guests. One of Maquinna's wide house planks was utilized for the table and smaller planks provided seating (Menzies 1923: 119; BCA, A/A/20/C39/pt. 1).

#### SPORADIC CONTACT

Jewitt observed a cooking box 6 ft. long, 4 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep, large enough to hold up to 120 full grown salmon. What must have been a feast dish from which several people ate was 7 ft. long, 1 ft. wide and 6 in. to 8 in. deep. These dishes (which Jewitt referred to as trays) were chiseled out of a solid block of wood. Their boxes, made without nails or pegs and fastened only with flexible twigs, were extremely smooth, highly polished and, at times, ornamented with rows of very small white shells. They used "tubs" to keep their provisions of roe and blubber. Oil extracted from whale blubber was stored in whale bladders so large that five or six men were required to carry a full one.

By or during the time Jewitt lived with the Yuquot Nootkans, Maquinna had substituted what were probably European oil lamps for the pine torches previously used to light his house. The Yuquot Nootkans' fuel consisted of "dry leaves," probably a reference to fallen boughs. At tacís, Jewitt had to walk five miles for firewood, quite a distance considering the great amount of timber and driftwood at the site today; however, it must be remembered that there was not nearly as much driftwood in the days before commercial logging operations as there is now (Jewitt 1807: 16, 31; 1896: 90, 102, 179).

A child's bark cradle or "hammock" was as long as the child was tall and the sides were about <sup>6 in.</sup>~~six inches~~ high. A leather band was inserted through loops on the edges of the cradle so it could be suspended from the mother's shoulders. Children



were transported from place to place in this manner and were kept in the cradles at home so their bodies would remain straight. Like Caamano, Jewitt thought the cradles were the reason why so few Yuquot Nootkans were deformed (Jewitt 1896: 146).

Roquefeuil observed that the enormous containers the Yuquot Nootkans used to store oil were formed of seal skins and were ornamented with "strange paintings." His description of the containers would also fit Nootkan whaling floats because the floats were painted so a whaler could identify a whale he had harpooned and lost when it floated ashore in someone else's territory.

Among the European items in Maquinna's house were a "goblet" and a bottle of brandy that some Europeans had given him (Roquefeuil 1823b: 94-5).

The Yuquot Nootkans kept their oil in large bags<sup>s</sup>, some formed by the intestines of large quadrupeds and others by the bulbous stems of a species of seaweed common to the coast (Scouler 1905: 194).

#### EUROCANADIAN PERIOD

According to Drucker (1951: 71-2, 75), a large shallow depression near the centre of a house served as a fireplace on ceremonial occasions and smaller firepits, located in the corners and along the sides of the houses, were used by the families occupying the houses to prepare their daily food as often times mentioned in early historic sources. Firepits

in the houses at salmon fishing stations like tac̄is were, however, situated along the long axis of a house. When Nootkans learned to bake bread, deep firepits were dug and filled with fine white sand. Although Drucker thought the rectangular firepits some of his Central Nootkan respondents described may have been a recent modification, excavations at Yuquot uncovered at least one formed during prehistoric times.

At salmon fishing stations, interior drying racks were formed by two parallel sets of poles placed across the interior of the house. (These were probably suspended from the roof beams.) The first set of poles was 5 ft. or 6 ft. high and the second, 3 ft. or 4 ft. above the first. Longitudinal poles were placed the length of the house on the lower set of poles in pairs about 3 ft. or 4 ft. apart. Squared cross poles between 1 in. and 2 in. thick were laid close together across each pair of longitudinals. The upper rack was formed by one pair of longitudinal poles on which cross sticks, extending all the way across the roof, were placed. The space between the two racks permitted more smoke to reach the upper rack. The Moachat used lengths of green fir poles about 6 in. through set on racks a few feet above each fire. These were "smoke spreaders" used to divert the smoke to either side (Drucker 1951: 75).

The tongs described from earliest times were usually made of a split piece of seasoned cedar tightly bound with withes at the handle end to prevent further splitting. They were

primarily used to pick hot stones out of a fire to put them into cooking boxes, but were also used to poke fires, stir food, transfer chunks of meat from cooking boxes to wooden serving dishes and keep hungry and inquisitive dogs away from the cooking area. Special roasting tongs were said to have been used, being improvised as required. Boiled fish, or any food that would fall apart if tongs were used to handle it, was served with a dipper of sticks bound with twining (Drucker 1951: 91-2)

The Nootkans were said not to have made either wooden ladles or spoons, but a few chiefs in the north (including some in Yuquot) had such <sup>utensils</sup> ~~implements~~ from Kwakiutl dowries; however, these were more for display than for use, at least during the late historic period. The only spoons the late historic Nootkans were said to have used were large horse clam shells as Mozino mentioned. The lips of these shells were often ground, suggesting that they may have served more as knives than as spoons.

A mussel shell knife was an important domestic item in a <sup>a</sup> ~~women~~'s life. The hinge side of a shell half served as a grip and the lip as a cutting edge, ground sharp on a slab of sandstone. An awl-like bone blade, usually made of a deer ulna ground to a long, slim point, was a type of woman's knife used for slitting herring. A bone knife, usually made of a deer ulna or a seal rib, was used to start strips being split off cedar bark. Deer and bear bone was generally preferred

to other types of bone for making awls and similar tools. Drucker's respondents were not familiar with chipped stone or ground slate cutting edges. Although Drucker thought it probable that the Nootkans used ground slate blades in prehistoric times, this, with one exception, was not the case at Yuquot (Drucker 1951: 91-2, 95).

Food was usually served in vessels formed of hollowed blocks of alder wood. Cedar was said to give food an unpleasant taste, but this was mentioned in connection with the cedar cooking boxes. Serving vessels were elongated and usually had ends slanted upward and higher than the sides. Their size varied from the everyday, family size vessels for two or three people to the chiefs' large feast dishes that held more food than six men could eat at one sitting. At times the dishes were decorated like storage boxes with rows of fluting. Some chiefs had hereditary rights to use dishes ornamented with representative sculptures on the ends, or, in some cases, the entire form of the vessel was modified to give it a representative shape. At some feasts, small canoes were substituted for the usual food containers, especially during the late 1800s when a thin soupy mixture of raw flour, water and molasses was served.

Small cylindrical alder wood vessels were used for drinking water or oil. Water buckets for household use were made like other boxes except that they were square, as Webber illustrated in one of his views of a Nootkan house interior. Suck buckets had handles of cedar with rope for carrying.



Water buckets used in canoes had covers which were pegged in place and a drinking hole cut in the cover, usually in one corner rather than in the centre. A hollow bird bone or a stem was used to drink from this type of bucket at sea -- a person would be less likely to spill the water in this way than by trying to pour it from the bucket into a receptacle. The urinal was a small bent box kept near the family living area.

The kerfed storage boxes Drucker described were usually rather narrow and high and had a rabbeted lid with a wide flange extending up along one side. The face of the flange was often decorated with an inlay of gastropod opercula, considered an imitation of Kwakiutl practice. These boxes were never painted or carved with realistic designs. Chiefs' chests were ornamented by delicate fluting on the front or sometimes on all sides, and of the latter, some were entirely covered with vertical fluting and others had four rows of vertical fluting at each end of each side with horizontal fluting in between. Although all the old boxes looked as though they had been blackened, Drucker's respondents insisted that this came from long periods of exposure to smoke and grease and that they were not painted intentionally. A few Northern Nootkan chiefs related to the Kwakiutl by marriage did have painted and even carved boxes, but these were said to be imported and not of local manufacture.

The Nootkans had no stools; boxes seem to have served the same function as stools, but only during ceremonies when it

was desirable to place someone, usually a child, in a prominent position so he could be seen by all the spectators who sat on mats on the floor (Drucker 1951: 76).

Hunters had small sturdy boxes to carry their odds and ends such as spare harpoon heads. These boxes were narrower at the base than at the top so they could easily be stored in the bow or stern of a canoe. The lids were heavy and were often slightly raised in the centre. Women's trinket boxes were similar to the hunters' boxes except that they had vertical sides and were said to have been given a dark reddish colour by rubbing with crushed hemlock bark. Women kept their beads, paint and other small possessions in these boxes (Drucker 1951: 88-90).

The late historic Nootkans, like their early historic predecessors, used several different types of containers for storing oil and other foodstuffs. Boxes for storing whale oil were more squat than ordinary storage boxes and had flat lids that made them easier to stack. As described historically, the Nootkans also used containers made of fish or animal viscera that were filled and hung from the walls and roofs of the houses. Some part of the sea lion formed a quite large container. The cod fish "stomachs" often mentioned historically as serving as containers and fish floats were probably actually the fish's air bladders. Kelp bulbs were not used to store oil except when the Southern Kwakiutl brought them to the Nootkans already filled with oil (Drucker 1951: 92).

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work, as a ditty bag, especially during their trips into the forest, to carry shredded cedar bark, a strike-a-light, shot, caps and a ration of dried salmon. Some of these wallets had telescoping covers that slipped over the container bag (Drucker 1951: 92, 96, 113).

The Nootkans had many uses for cedar bark mats. Some covered the sleeping platforms, but in recent times, they were said to have been supplemented by tule mats. According to Drucker, the history of the tule mats was not clear. Nootkans seasonally employed in the Fraser River and Puget Sound hop fields had purchased sewn tule mats from Coast Salish co-workers, but before long started to make the mats themselves using long-eyed yew wood needles and "creasers" of wood or bone in the Salish style. However, a few of Drucker's respondents believed that before the introduction of sewn Salish mats, Nootkans had made tule mats using a twining technique, the stalks being bound together in pairs with a selvage made of the leaves of the tule plant. Drucker thought that this information, obtained from Muchalat and Alberni Canal groups, might, if it were correct, indicate an older strain of Salish influence (Drucker 1951: 75, 99). Although his data were correct according to Sanchez's description of tule mats, whether or not this reflects Salish influence is a moot point.

Gifts a chief received at a potlatch and other items were baled in cedar bark mats. A bride received gifts of mats from her husband's people and some participants in a Shamans' Dance were given mats. Mats were also used to set off a section



of a house for menstruating women during dog salmon runs and for the whaler returning from performing rituals at his shrine on an island in Jewitt Lake. Infants were kept in mat cradles for the first four days after birth. Old mats were used under spring salmon during butchering, to cover food being steamed and to close house entrances (Drucker 1951: 62-3, 70, 105, 122, 144, 298, 407).

Shredded cedar bark was also a common household item. It was used to form cradle mattresses, infants' headpressers, wash cloths, menstrual towels, bandages, feast napkins, tinder and gun wadding until breach-loading guns became common (Drucker 1951: 97).

The sleeping platforms were provided with a headrest made of a bent board as long as the bed was wide. In recent historic times, the headrests were formed of two boards nailed together at right angles and placed open side down. Remarks several of Drucker's respondents made suggested that these may have been used as back rests, but the edge of a sleeping mat was pulled against them in a way that indicates that sleeping people rested their heads rather than their backs against them (Drucker 1951: 71, 75-6).

The ancient method of kindling fire was to place a simple drill against a wooden hearth and rotate the drill between the palms. Both the drill and the heart were made of dry red cedar. The need to kindle fires frequently was reduced in several ways. A women could borrow a burning brand from a neighbour

if her fire went out overnight. When the Nootkans shifted residences, a slow burning, tightly twisted cedar bark rope carried fire to the new residence. Strike-a-lights were said to have been introduced by early traders. Kindling fire with a bow drill was introduced in the later part of the 19th century, possibly because of Nootkan sealers' contacts with the Eskimo or Aleut. This device had to compete with progressively better matches and it was not greatly favoured. In the late historic period both men and women gathered firewood. This was easier after commercial logging operations started on the coast because the logging activities produced much larger quantities of driftwood than were available previously (Drucker 1951: 106-7).

At one time the only lighting in a house was provided by household fires and torches usually formed of long splits of dry cedar lashed together tightly or seasoned resinous knots. The torches were often used outside at night. A few of Drucker's respondents had heard of a clamshell lamp (hahatmaq) that appeared to have been used, but not extensively, around the 1850s or slightly later. The hahatmaq was formed of the shell of a large, deep sea clam filled with dogfish oil with a shredded cedar bark wick. The people describing the lamp considered it very ancient and had no idea that it was an historic introduction. Drucker inferred that because this type of lamp, which first seemed to suggest an Eskimo-Aleut connection, had not been mentioned in the early historic period, its introduction or invention must have been made in historic times (1951: 107-8).

Strange however, mentioned a lamp in 1786 which would mean that lamps were introduced to the Yuquot Nootkans by either Cook or Hanna if they were not already indigenous.

Later, coal oil lamps were commonly used. The Yuquot Nootkans usually added charcoal to the oil. In recent years, some families installed generators to provide electricity in their homes, but when a generator large enough to serve the entire community was installed, the smaller power units were abandoned. With the introduction of a dependable power source, a number of electrical appliances were introduced into Yuquot. One of the most important types of appliances were freezers used to preserve perishable foods. Washing machines and irons also became popular. Radios, record players and tape recorders became increasingly common. A radio-telephone was installed in the elected chief's house and "street" lights were placed along the main path fronting the first row of houses.

The Nootkans were fairly slow to accept European household goods for several reasons. First, they did not need most of the items Europeans used in their homes because comparable Nootkan products were just as serviceable and more readily obtained, repaired and replaced. Secondly, the use of certain European items would have changed the flavour of Nootkan foods when for example, substituting the use of European pots for wooden cooking boxes, thus eliminating the need for stone boiling. It can be readily imagined that cooking something in an iron

pot rather than boiling it by dropping ash-covered hot stones into the contents of a cooking box would cause a considerable change in the flavour. Therefore, it required a period of adjustment before the Nootkans could begin to relish smoked salmon boiled in a metal pot rather than a well-seasoned cedar box made by one of their favourite grandfathers. Another thing that prevented the Nootkans from adapting to some European utensils was their belief that evil things would occur if they butchered or cooked their fish using an iron implement or container. This in itself automatically eliminated many European items from the Nootkan inventory of household tools.

Tables, chairs, and beds were some of the last of the European derived furnishings the Nootkans used mainly because many of these items would have been difficult to move from place to place during seasonal shifts and besides that, they were really not considered necessary until their absence may possibly have proved embarrassing to Nootkan hosts whose Eurocanadian guests were not accustomed to eating without a table and sitting on a mat-covered floor. As more and more Nootkans had more and more contact with Eurocanadians aboard ship, at the local mission and later in boarding school they felt a greater need to duplicate the furnishings with which Eurocanadians surrounded themselves. In this way they too could feel themselves to be more a part of the greater Canadian reality as they also learned to become dependent on these things through frequent usage.



CANOES,  
PADDLES  
AND  
CANOE EQUIPMENT

Canoes, Paddles, and Canoe Equipment

all caps 10 Apr

Any group of people living on the shores of a large enough body of water like Nootka Sound are most dependent on water craft not only to exploit offshore resources but <sup>also</sup> to travel from place to place for socialization of one form or another. Since first described by Europeans, Nootkan canoes have always been considered among the finest in the world not only due to their sleek appearance but more importantly, their seaworthiness. Furthermore, Nootkan paddlers have always been considered an indefatigable lot whose skill with the paddle matched their reputation as marine architects.

Early Explorers

*all copy*

The more than <sup>100</sup>~~one hundred~~ canoes Cook and his men observed resembled Norway yawls, but were longer in proportion to breadth and had higher prows and sterns. The canoes were hollowed out of a single log to the thickness of <sup>1 in. 1 1/2 in.</sup>~~one or one and a half inches~~ at the sides. After the outside of the canoe was formed, it was turned over and the inside chipped out with iron chisels. Ledyard supposed fire was used during part of the process. The canoes were flat bottomed and were wider at the middle than at the bow and stern where separate sections were often added and fastened to the hull with cords. Thus the bow was lengthened and raised to end in a notched point or prow ~~which was~~ considerably higher than the sides of the canoe. Here the occupants laid their spears, "darts", harpoons and other items. A few canoes had added prows that resembled large <sup>decorated</sup> "cutwaters" ~~and which were decorated~~. Cook states that the stern was blunted and had a small knob on the top, but whether he was referring to an actual knob or to the piece usually added to the stern is not clear.

According to King, not all canoes were formed of one log. In a few canoes, <sup>in</sup> only the bottom was hollowed out of a single log; the sides were made

of planks ~~which were~~ pegged and lashed to the bottom and to each other.

~~Whether~~ <sup>but</sup> whether King was describing a raised gunwale or the added bow and stern pieces is difficult to infer from his statement, <sup>but</sup> his description does fit the former feature better than the latter.


The smallest canoes were <sup>10 ft.</sup> ~~ten feet~~ long and held <sup>2</sup> ~~two~~ people. The middle sized canoes were from <sup>20 ft.</sup> ~~twenty~~ to <sup>35 ft.</sup> ~~thirty-five feet~~ long, <sup>6 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~six and one half feet~~ broad and almost <sup>3 ft.</sup> ~~three feet~~ deep. The largest canoes, capable of holding as many as <sup>40</sup> ~~forty~~ or <sup>50</sup> ~~fifty~~ people, were <sup>40 ft.</sup> ~~forty~~ or more <sup>9</sup> ~~feet~~ long, about <sup>7 ft.</sup> ~~seven feet~~ wide and <sup>3 ft.</sup> ~~three feet~~ deep on the inside. The interior was divided into sections by several round sticks a little thicker than a cane, <sup>that</sup> ~~These~~ were placed just below the gunwale to preserve the shape of the canoe and strengthen it. There were no seats; the occupants sat on mats similar to, but coarser than <sup>the sleeping mats</sup> ~~these~~ they used ~~in their houses, for sleeping.~~

The canoes were generally undecorated, but a few large canoes did have painted decorations, at times done in white. <sup>was painted</sup> ~~from the bow to the middle on~~ the outside of the canoe, <sup>Crude</sup> ~~were painted~~ distorted shapes of birds, animals in general, or fish that did not resemble any known species. At times a combination of figures was used. One canoe, apparently occupied by a chi was decorated with an enormous head on which the eye and beak of a bird were



^  
painted. Some canoes had broad, wavy white lines painted along the gunwales very ~~much~~ like fishing boats from Greenland. Others had a little carving and were painted with figures of the sun, moon and stars. Seals' teeth were set into some canoes like studs in the same way as the Nootkans ornamented their masks and weapons. Human teeth "placed in various forms" ornamented the bows and sterns of the principal canoes.

The Nootkans did not use sails. Their canoes were propelled by paddlers who sat on their heels on a piece of mat on the bottom of the canoe or knelt on a board. The paddlers, positioned two by two, often worked in unison and sang. The paddlers functioned as a form of ballast in the canoes which, unlike those of the South Pacific, had no outriggers. On one occasion, the Nootkans placed planks across two canoes to form a platform on which they stood.

Nootkan paddles were light in weight. They were about <sup>5 ft.</sup> ~~five feet~~ long and the <sup>lanceolate</sup> ~~lanceolate~~ blade extended up to two-thirds the length of the paddle, was broadest in the middle and gradually tapered toward the shaft. Although the journalists did not mention cross pieces fixed to the top of the paddle shafts, several paddles were visible in a house Webber illustrated and all were topped with cross pieces,  or *gradely* ~~downward~~ *downward* on to the shaft.

Giglioli described, but did not illustrate, a paddle that was apparently collected from the Nootka Sound area and was made of the same light hardwood as was used for Nootkan bows (yew). It had an elegant form and was reddish-brown, smooth and remarkably well balanced. It had a lance-like blade and a long point. Although the center<sup>(a)</sup> of the shaft was round, it became broader and flatter toward the handle ~~which was~~ formed by a cylindrical cross piece. The total length of the paddle was 1,680 mm.; the maximum width of the blade was 103 mm.; the round point of the shaft had a diameter of from 30 mm. to 45 mm.; and the cylindrical crosspiece, longer on one side than the other, had a total length of 72 mm. (Giglioli 1895:111-2).

The Nootkans carried boxes, some of which were carved and ornamented, and leather bags in their canoes to keep their various possessions dry. They spent a great deal of time in their canoes when they visited the ships, not only eating in them, but also basking in the sun after removing their garments. They also slept in their canoes, sometimes throughout the entire night. The large canoes were fairly dry and comfortable when the occupants were "under shelter of a skin" and, except in rainy weather, <sup>the canoes</sup> were more comfortable habitations than the Nootkans' houses. (Cook 1781:245; 1785:266-7, 316, 319-20, 327-8; 1791:314, 318, 1102, 1394, 1396, 1409-10, 1413;

Ellis 1783: 191, 219-20; Ledyard 1783: 71; ATL; BCU, a).

### Early Traders

*all caps*

Strange recorded the Yuquot Nootkan terms for various parts of the canoes dotting the beach. The carvings on the canoes were referred to a Klawhitseem; however, according to a present-day respondent from the Alberni area, this term refers to a piece added to the gunwale edge to protect it from paddle wear. It may have been this type of protective piece that King described as a raised gunwale. Strange also described the floating platforms formed by the Nootkans <sup>to</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>move</sup> moving from one habitation site to another. ~~He said they~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>assembled</sup> ~~using~~ <sup>them by placing</sup> the planks and small timbers from the Nootkans' dwellings, ~~placing them~~ <sup>across</sup> as many as four or six canoes to form a single platform on which they ~~Nootkans~~ placed the household effects <sup>to be</sup> ~~being~~ transported, ~~by them~~ <sup>by them</sup> (Strange 1928: 37, 46-54).

Colnett noted that the sterns and gunwales of some canoes were carved and painted and the inside was cut in grooves, making them look like timbers from a distance (BBM).

Neares observed that the Yuquot Nootkans' most laborious and "curious" activity was canoe construction and that it required more than common skill and ability. The canoes had flaired sides and, in contrast to earlier reports, round bottoms, ~~instead of flat ones~~. They were elegantly moulded and highly finished. Sticks <sup>3 in.</sup> ~~three inches~~ thick were fixed

between the sides of the canoe to keep the sides firm and prevent warping. Although the paddlers usually sat on their heels, they occasionally sat on a kind of small stool considered by Meares to be more comfortable. When paddling, each man took the position in the canoe to which he was most accustomed. .

A large war canoe was generally completed at the spot where the tree ~~which~~ <sup>of</sup> it was formed had been cut down. Stone tools made locally were used.

The canoe was then dragged to the water. Some ~~of the~~ large war canoes were 53 ft. <sup>4</sup> ~~fifty-three feet~~ long, <sup>8 ft.</sup> ~~eight feet~~ wide and held up to <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ men; however,

Meares also described <sup>12</sup> ~~twelve~~ war canoes which only held <sup>15</sup> ~~eighteen~~ men: <sup>8</sup> ~~eight~~ paddlers on each side, one man in the bow and a chief sitting in the middle.

The canoes used to hunt sea otters were much smaller than the war canoes.

The whaling canoes were between the size of the war canoes and those used on "ordinary occasions". They were extremely well adapted for their use and were capable of holding <sup>18</sup> ~~eighteen~~ or <sup>20</sup> ~~twenty~~ men.

Some ~~of the~~ canoes were polished and painted or studded with human teeth, especially at the sterns and prows. The sides of some canoes were "adorned with the figure of a dragon with a long tail, of much the same form as we see on the porcelain of China, and in the fanciful paintings of our own country". Meares tried to learn the history of this particular design (hai'I'Lik), but was unsuccessful.

The Yuquot Nootkans began to make and use sails formed of mats in imitation of European sails while Meares was staying at Yuquot. One of



Chief Hanna's larger canoes was even rigged with a pennant <sup>which</sup> the chief <sup>raised</sup> ~~never failed to raise~~ whenever he approached Meares' ship. (Meares 1791, 1:178; 2:53, 58-61) <sup>^</sup>

#### Spanish Occupation

[According to Haswell, the canoes the Yuquot Nootkans generally used during <sup>Haswell's</sup> stay in the area were about <sup>10 ft.</sup> ~~ten feet~~ long, contained two occupant and were mainly <sup>used</sup> for fishing. They also had larger canoes ~~which were~~ up to <sup>30 ft.</sup> ~~thirty feet~~ long and used for <sup>r</sup> ~~w~~ and whaling excursions. The larger canoes frequently carried <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ people, but the "whalers" never had more than <sup>6</sup> ~~six~~ occupants. The maximum width of the canoes was forward of the beam. Although Haswell considered the canoes "prittle titlish", they moved through the water swiftly, were well designed for every purpose and the Yuquot Nootkans managed them with great dexterity. To make the canoes, the Yuquot Nootkans used a chisel, a wooden wedge and a round stone for a mallet, basically the same tools as they used to fell trees, split planks and cut firewood. (Howay 1941:63) <sup>^</sup>

While off Nootka Sound, Sanchez observed a canoe containing <sup>18</sup> ~~six~~ eighteen men. Its sides were of one piece; however, he also stated that some boards had been added to the canoe, but whether he was referring to bow and stern

pieces or raised gunwales is not certain. The canoes used for fishing generally measured about <sup>16 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~sixteen and one-half feet~~ long, <sup>5 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~five and one-half~~ feet wide and <sup>2 ft. 9 in.</sup> ~~two feet, nine inches~~ deep and held <sup>6 or 7</sup> ~~six or seven~~ people

(the number of people said to occupy a whaling canoe). According to Martinez, the fishing canoes were <sup>16 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~sixteen and one-half feet~~ long, <sup>2 ft. 9 in.</sup> ~~two feet, nine inches~~ wide and <sup>1 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~one and one-half feet~~ deep. Others were larger, made in several pieces, painted and capable of holding <sup>30 or 40</sup> ~~thirty to forty~~ men. These were used for warfare. Occasionally races were held and men in canoes <sup>of the Tsalishan groups.</sup> competed with entries from other villages (YUL, WAM/415; BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2).

Tlupana's canoe was approximately <sup>44 ft.</sup> ~~forty-four feet~~ from stem to stern, <sup>5 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~five and one-half feet~~ wide and apparently <sup>26 in.</sup> ~~twenty-six inches~~ deep between the center cross piece and the bottom of the canoe. Moziño recorded the size of only one canoe, a whaling canoe that was barely <sup>14 ft.</sup> ~~fourteen feet~~ at the keel, and barely <sup>2 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~two and one-half feet~~ wide. It held only <sup>2 or 3</sup> ~~two or three~~ men. The extreme beam of the largest Nootkan canoes, which were about <sup>35 ft.</sup> ~~thirty-five~~ feet long, was located about <sup>13 ft.</sup> ~~thirteen~~ or <sup>14 ft.</sup> ~~fourteen feet~~ from the stern. The <sup>8 or 9</sup> ~~eight or nine~~ sticks that formed the cross supports were set into holes in the gunwales.

According to Eliza, Nootkan canoes were formed by fire and iron tools  
~~scribed~~  
~~and~~ Pantoja <sup>as being formed</sup> added that the iron tools were like chisels. Moziño explained  
how fire was used to form canoes. First one side of a log was burned and the  
burned <sup>th</sup> area was dug out with a shell knife to form the interior. Then the  
log was turned over and the keel was formed in the same way. ~~Casiano~~ <sup>Casiano</sup> noted  
~~is noting~~ <sup>Casiano said that</sup> that fire was used to form canoes, and that stones were ~~also~~ used to smooth  
and polish them. Although the canoes were decorated like ~~the~~ paddles, the  
designs were more carefully executed on the canoes than on the paddles.

Men's paddles were painted with red ochre to represent the heads of fish  
and other animals. They were so sharp they could be used ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ like  
swords for defense and offense and Fidalgo was shown several scars <sup>that</sup> the  
sharpened tips had caused. Women's paddles differed from the men's in  
length and width and were rounded, not pointed, at the tip. Women were said  
never to be allowed to use a man's paddle. Maquinna was asked why the  
women's paddles were different, but only answered that they were made that  
way on purpose. When the Nootkans paddled their canoes during a formal  
presentation, they first pointed the paddle toward the sky like a gun, then  
held it straight above their heads and then, as all the paddlers took a  
breath, stroked it through the water.

Although paddlers were seen sitting on mats and boughs, the stools Meares referred to earlier were not observed. Although the use of sails had become common in the Nootka Sound area by this time, the Yuquot Nootkans used them cautiously, only doing so when they were travelling with the wind because their canoes did not have keels nor sufficient ballast to tack, <sup>allow them to</sup> (Wagner 1933:159; Moziño 1913; AGN, 69/7; AGN, 69/9; AGN, 65/7; MN, 755; MN, 567; PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17; BCA, A/A/10/Sp. 13t/v. 3/f) <sup>e</sup>

#### Sporadic Contact <sup>alt copy</sup>

Jewitt described how the Yuquot Nootkans formed their canoes. After hollowing out the interior (at times using metal chisels, <sup>Jewitt</sup> ~~newly-made~~), they formed the exterior which they burned slightly to remove any splinters or small points which would impede the progress of the canoe through the water. Following this, <sup>process</sup> the exterior was rubbed with rushes or coarse mats to polish the bottom. The burning and rubbing process was repeated as often as necessary to make the bottom as smooth as glass and to better protect the canoe from the elements. The bottom and sides of the canoe became black. The interior of the canoe was painted bright red with ochre or a similar material. The separate bow and stern pieces were attached to the hull by small, flexible twigs or cedar bark cords and were almost always ornamented



with figures of ducks or some other kind of bird. The bow was designed to represent the head of the bird and the stern, the tail.

~~The~~ War canoes were the largest canoes the Yuquot Nootkans <sup>made.</sup> They were very light and held up to <sup>40</sup> ~~forty~~ men. Maquinna's war canoe was the largest: <sup>46 ft.</sup> ~~forty-six feet~~ from stem to stern and <sup>9</sup> ~~forty-two feet, six inches~~ along the keel. It was about the same length as Tlupana's canoe described a few years earlier. However, in his 1807 publication, Jewitt gave the measurements of what was presumably the same canoe: <sup>24 ft. 6 in.</sup> ~~twenty-four feet, six inches~~ at the keel, a considerable discrepancy. The ~~war~~ outside of the war canoes were ornamented with white chalk paintings of figures representing eagles, whales, human heads and other figures.

~~Whaling~~ canoes held about ten men and were ornamented about two inches below the gunwale by two parallel lines of very small <sup>or</sup> white shells that ran the entire length of the canoe on both sides. The effect was very ~~fast and~~ <sup>pretty</sup>. Jewitt also referred to a one-man canoe, but gave no details.

~~the~~ Paddles were about <sup>5 ft.</sup> ~~five feet~~ long with a short shaft and a blade ~~the~~ <sup>7 in.</sup> ~~seven inches~~ broad in the middle and tapered to a sharp point at the end. No mention was made of any difference between men's and women's paddles. When Thompson was brought to Maquinna after the Boston had been

taken, the chief immediately recognized him as the ship's sailmaker and was very pleased, stating that ~~XXXX~~ Thompson could make sails for his canoe. Thompson made at least seven sails during the time he spent as Maquinna's slave. Wickanannish's canoes, using sail power and paddles and having a fair breeze, could travel from Clayoquot Sound to Nootka Sound, a distance of approximately 50 miles in 24 hours.

Jewitt observed that although some of the finest canoes made were those of the Yuquot Nootkans, those Wickanannish's people and the Classets brought to Nootka Sound were very finely made and more highly ornamented. After a feast in Yuquot, the guests were not allowed to remain in the villagers' houses, but had to sleep in their canoes on the beach. (Jewitt 1807:29, 46; 1896:75, 78, 124, 127-8).

~~Eurocanadian~~ ~~canoe~~ ~~ab cap~~  
The next description of Yuquot Nootkan canoes was provided by Bolton in 1894. Unfortunately, he only stated that the chief's canoe was enormous and elaborately painted. (BCA, G/V27/B63A/c.2)

Drucker collected (1951:82-8) a great deal of information about Nootkan canoes and how they were formed. Contrary to Mozino's and Jewitt's descriptions of canoe making, his respondents <sup>told him</sup> stated that the exterior of a canoe was formed before the interior was hollowed out. <sup>and</sup> Drucker's respondent

also maintained that fire was not used to excavate the canoe interior. After a canoe was carved, the prow and stern pieces were lashed on and if the canoes were to be spread, it was partially filled with water and hot stones were thrown in to heat it. The canoe exterior was blackened by oiling and light scorching before it was rubbed down with fir twigs and old mats. The ~~interiors~~ interiors of large canoes were painted with a mixture of red ochre and salmon eggs; more recently, oil paint was used as a substitute. Although <sup>the Nootkans</sup> Drucker's respondents did not consciously consider the prow of a canoe to represent anything definite, the names they assigned to its component parts, such as "ears", "tongue sticking out" and "throat", suggests that it was thought of as some type of mammal, not a bird as Jewitt had suggested.

Drucker's respondents recognized six different varieties of canoes. The first variety was that of "freight canoe". These were <sup>36 ft.</sup> thirty-six feet to <sup>42 ft.</sup> forty-two feet long at the keel, but a few exceeded <sup>48 ft.</sup> <sup>4</sup> forty-eight feet in length. They were the only canoes said to have had four narrow rows of fluting around the inside just below the gunwale and an <sup>inlay</sup> ~~inlay~~ of gastropod opercula along the outer sides just below the gunwale strips. An important chief might have a design painted on the bow as was so often described in the early historic period. Every chief had to have at least one freight canoe

for formal affairs and ceremonies (and probably warfare).

Whaling canoes were <sup>30 ft.</sup> ~~thirty feet~~ or <sup>36 ft.</sup> ~~thirty-six feet~~ long and were slightly heavier than the freight canoes. They were much larger craft than the one Moziño described. Other respondents told Mucker that freight canoes were used for whaling, possibly during the years when whaling activity <sup>had</sup> declined. Those who stated that the canoes used for whaling were a special variety always added, unlike Jewitt, that they were never painted or decorated like freight canoes.

The <sup>24-ft.</sup> ~~twenty-four feet~~ long fur seal canoes were thought to be <sup>2</sup> recently developed variety related to the commercialized sealing of the late 19th century. Although they could carry three men, they were usually handled by two. The <sup>18 ft.</sup> ~~eighteen feet~~ to <sup>21 ft.</sup> ~~twenty-one feet~~ long hunting canoes were the older variety of seal and sea otter hunting canoes. They were usually manned by two men. They were also used for fishing and general work during the off season.

The fishing canoe was from <sup>12 ft.</sup> ~~twelve feet~~ to <sup>18 ft.</sup> ~~eighteen feet~~ long and was handled by one or two people. Small, <sup>1</sup>roughly formed canoes, usually without added bow and stern pieces, were used by one person to transport firewood or a load of clams. Children also used them for play and practice.



Besides the canoes included in the six varieties, there was another type of canoe. It had a short, vertical stern post and the wide prow piece rose vertically from the forefoot. It resembled what may have been an ancient Kwakiutl type of canoe and it was also recorded among the Comox. Some canoes resembling this description may have been observed in the Nootka Sound area during the 18th century, but insufficient data do not permit a categorical statement that such canoes were present there.

Drucker's respondents did not recognize pointed paddles as a special type nor did they state that there was any difference between men's and women's paddles. None of the paddles were carved or painted during the memory of his respondents. More recently, oars had occasionally been used to propel canoes. The bailers Drucker described were not specifically mentioned in the early historic period.

Sails were made of strong, specially ~~made~~ woven cedar bark mats or canvas obtained from traders. The Nootkans had three rather simplified methods of rigging canoe sails. When moving from one site to another, they lashed two freight canoes about <sup>12</sup>twelve feet apart and laid planks over them to form a platform. If a fair wind were blowing, they propped several wide planks on edge along the forward edge of the platform to function as a sail.

However, whether or not this was a pre-contact trait is not known.

According to Mills (1955: 111), the smallest single "seater" canoe he saw at Yuquot in the 1950s was <sup>9 ft.</sup> ~~nine feet~~ long and <sup>3 ft.</sup> ~~three feet~~ wide at the beam. The one canoe remaining at Yuquot in 1966 was very crudely carved and resembled those Drucker's respondents described as being used by one person or children. By 1967 this canoe had disappeared and no others were noted on the beach. The villagers owned practically no boats of any type by the summer of 1969, having to depend on kin from other villages, float planes or commercial ships for transportation from place to place. A few Nootkans living in Gold River and Victoria no longer depend on the above forms of transportation having little need for anything but their own automobiles to get them from place to place.

#### > DISCUSSION

Basically, Nootkan canoe design changed little, if at all, from first contact to the late historic period. The only apparent differences were the historic use of sails and a few variations in ornamentation. Round-tipped paddles for women may possibly have come into use during the post-1778 period (neither Cook nor his men described them), but were used for only a few years, being phased out some time prior to Jewitt's arrival in 1803.

~~All in all, it may be said that there were~~ a great variety of canoes <sup>were</sup> recognized by the Nootkans, ~~But, this is~~

~~not to say that~~<sup>g</sup> a particular function was<sup>no<sup>t</sup></sup> limited to only one  
variety of canoe ~~or that~~<sup>and</sup>, for example, a particular canoe ~~did~~<sup>might</sup>  
~~not at times~~ measure more or less than other canoes  
recognized as pertaining to the same variety. Thus, there  
seems to be little doubt that the Nootkans would, when  
necessary, consider a freight canoe to be a war canoe or a  
sealing canoe to be a fishing canoe if no other canoes more  
appropriate to the task were available. The major idea was  
to do battle and fish rather than to risk conquest or hunger  
for lack of the proper watercraft to transport them.

HUNTING  
AND  
HUNTING EQUIPMENT



Hunting & Hunting Equipment

all caps

10 Apr 75

☐ The Nootkans were basically a sea-oriented people who not only did their best to fill their <sup>cooking</sup> ~~cooking~~ boxes with fish, but they also pursued ~~other land~~ <sup>marine</sup> and land animal life with equal energy and skill while utilizing a varied inventory of <sup>projectiles</sup> ~~properties~~ and stationary devices to kill or trap their prey.

Early Explorers

*all caps*

Although the Nootkans accompanied members of Cook's party on hunting excursions, the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ probably obtained most of their descriptions of the Nootkans' hunting equipment and hunting techniques from the Nootkans' ~~elaborate~~ demonstrations on board ship or at Yuquot.

Cook supposed that the Nootkans' principal hunting equipment was bows and arrows with which they shot small game and birds such as quail, sea fowl and possibly ravens, crows and fish. The Nootkans' bows were strong, well to <sup>3 1/2 ft. to 4 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~indifferently~~ made of yew wood and ~~three and one half feet long and one half feet~~ long. They were rather round in the middle at the grips and became increasingly wide and flat before gradually tapering to a point at the notched tips. The rounded hand grip of the bow was wrapped with a ~~type~~ <sup>type</sup> of sinew and the bowstring was formed of twisted gut. Gilman, who may or may not have been describing bows he had seen further north, stated that the bows were reinforced by a number of whale sinews along a groove on the back of the bow and he agreed with Zimmerman that they were also wrapped with the same material from tip to tip. The bows were nearly horizontally when in use. (Ellis 1783:222-2; Cook 1781:237; 1785:322-329; 1967:309.

320-1; Zimmerman 1930:71-2; ATL; BCU, a; BCA, a; PRO, Adm 51/4529).

Istituto di dell'Università  
Giglioli described a bow in the Museo Nazionale di Antropologia in

Florence, Italy, that was apparently collected during Cook's visit to Nootka

<sup>like a bow</sup>  
~~Sound~~ <sup>DARK wood</sup> The bow was flat, elegantly shaped ~~of dark wood~~ and measured 1135 mm. in length, <sup>and</sup> 22 mm. wide at the grip <sup>with</sup> ~~and~~ had a maximum width of 50 mm.

A thin, flat piece of wood, 80 mm. long and 25 mm. wide, was lashed to the belly of the grip with some type of bark binding, apparently to reinforce

the bow when ~~it was~~ in use. The belly of the bow was concave with two

raised ridges separated by a central longitudinal depression. The back of

the bow was convex, smooth and undecorated; however, it showed signs of

<sup>but there are marks</sup>  
binding on both its upper and lower widest parts ~~which~~ were not visible on

the belly. These signs may have been traces of the somewhat similar

bindings Gilbert and Zimmerman mentioned. The tips of the bow were rounded

and the nocks ~~were~~ formed by a transverse furrow where the bowstring had once been tied. (Giglioli 1895:115).

<sup>wooden</sup>  
The Nootkans' arrows were made of a shaft ~~of wood~~ <sup>2 ft. 3 1/2 ft.</sup> ~~from two to three~~ and <sup>one half</sup> ~~feet~~ long, feathered at the butt and generally pointed with a long barbed bone, a sharp, barbed mussel shell or, less often, an iron or a flattened copper point. According to King, some of the arrows were tipped

with "a sharp muscle shell, Copper or Iron, fixed to a barbed piece of bone, which takes up 1/3 of its length". Gilbert noted that the arrows had ~~hardwood~~ hardwood and flint tips and Zimmerman added agate and slate tips; however, ~~as in archaeological and ethnographic information,~~ flint, agate and slate points were apparently not actually part of the ~~archaeological record~~ Nootkan projectile inventory. The arrows were said to be capable of inflicting a fatal wound if shot from <sup>15</sup>~~fifteen~~ to <sup>40</sup>~~forty~~ yards from <sup>a</sup>~~the~~ target (if the intended victim were not wearing armour). The Nootkans usually kept their arrows in wooden quivers, but carried them in a mammal skin quiver when travelling. (Ellis 1783:223; Cook 1781:233, 244; 1735:25; 1967:320, 1101-2, 1410; Zimmerman 1930:72; ATL; BCU, a; PRO, Adm 51/4523).

Cook supposed that the Nootkans used spears, some reportedly from <sup>30</sup>~~twenty~~ to <sup>30 ft.</sup>~~thirty feet~~ long, to hunt large land mammals such as bears, wolves and foxes. The Nootkans hunted seals with two types of hunting gear, one ~~which~~ <sup>with</sup> had a plain bone point and the other ~~which~~ <sup>with</sup> had a barbed bone point. The Nootkan term recorded in 1778 for the plain bone point is currently applied by present-day Nootkans to a composite harpoon point with a sharp mussel shell cutting edge. The term for the barbed bone point is currently applied to the harpoon point described below.

Giglioli described and illustrated a harpoon point, probably made of



whale bone, that had been collected in the Nootka Sound area in 1778. The large, deeply barbed harpoon point was 280 mm. long <sup>with</sup> ~~and~~ had a maximum width of 30 mm. and a maximum thickness of 10 mm. A tendon line secured a single bone barb to the base of the harpoon point so it and the base of the harpoon point formed two divergent barbs with a deep socket between them into which the tip of a wooden harpoon shaft had been inserted. A very solid line made of transversely wrapped tendons, 10 mm. in diameter, 1600 mm. long and ending in a loop, was attached to the harpoon point with the same binding that secured the barb to the base of the harpoon point, (Giglioli 1895: 112-3).

Ellis described a similar bone-pointed harpoon which he said was one of two types used for whaling (the other was shell pointed). The harpoon point was formed of bone, <sup>6 in.</sup> ~~six inches~~ long, with a sharp tip and two barbs on one side. The butt of the harpoon point had a socket into which a <sup>10-ft.</sup> ~~ten-foot~~ long wooden shaft was set. The end of ~~the~~ shaft was forked so <sup>of the</sup> "two ~~pieces~~ of bone are to be fixed on at the same time", probably referring to the two scarfed foreshafts forming a sealing harpoon (Drucker 1951:26-7, Fig. 8). A very strong, long line was attached to the harpoon head and an inflated seal skin was tied to the end of the line. When the harpoon struck an animal, the

shaft detached from the head imbedded in the animal, but the line remained attached and the seal skin bladder prevented the animal from submerging for lengthy periods. <sup>(which may have been a Seal or sea lion)</sup> The Nootkans pursued the animal and killed it by repeated spearing. (Ellis 1783:221).

What was described as a similar device with two "sticks" <sup>and</sup> ~~with~~ barbed tips separated from each other may have also been a sealing harpoon if it were not a salmon harpoon. According to Clerke, porpoises and, in at least one case, sea otters were hunted with a harpoon ~~that was~~ smaller than, but similar to the one for whales.

Cook inferred that nets were used to trap animals <sup>other? NO</sup> ~~(probably sea cows)~~ because visitors to his ships frequently threw ~~the~~ nets over their heads <sup>for</sup> apparently <sup>long</sup> demonstrating <sup>of</sup> their use. Trevenen inferred that pitfalls were also used to trap large land mammals and Ellis and Bayly stated that the <sup>base of snare</sup> Nootkans used whale bone and sinew <sup>in snares and traps</sup> ~~(sp. lines)~~, resembling those Europeans used to catch snipe, to catch birds and small animals. The <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ thought that several birds, such as humming birds and a type of snipe, had been caught in this manner. (Ellis 1783:220-1; Ledyard 1783:76; Cook 1781:437, 243; 1785:329; ATL; BCA, a),

Many contemporary accounts inferred that the Nootkans used masks, cured

mammal skins, wooden bird decoys and other devices such as bird and mammal calls to attract their prey within shooting range or to lure them to a spot where they would be trapped. These inferences were based on the Nootkans' behaviour as visitors to the ships. They covered themselves with masks, carved headdresses and the heads and skins of different species of animals. <sup>and</sup> They ~~nimbly~~ ran about on all fours imitating the animals whose skins they wore <sup>while</sup> ~~and~~ making noises or neighing sounds, (Ellis 1783:220; Cook 1785:329; 1967:1091; ATL; BCA, a; BCU, a; PRO, Adm 51/4528) .

→ Early Traders , all copy

did not  
[ Although Strange described ~~neither~~ the Yuquot Nootkans hunting ~~xxxxxxxx~~ techniques nor their hunting equipment in the body of his text, his word list contained some pertinent references. He mentioned a net which, according to present-day Nootkans, was used to catch ducks and geese and a snare for catching birds. They were said to have a poisonous root with which they rubbed the points of their arrows, (Strange 1928:46-54) .

The Nootkans told Colnett that they caught land mammals in snares ~~which~~ were placed in their "Haunts" and then killed them with spears and dogs. Probably influenced by Cook's book, Colnett believed that the Nootkans often decoyed land <sup>in</sup> mammals by dressing in animal skins and masks, running on all

fours and making noises like the animal they were trying to decoy. Colnett, <sup>g</sup>  
~~judging from~~ the Nootkans' demonstrations, <sup>g</sup> thought <sup>g</sup> their imitations of these  
animals were excellent. (BBM) <sup>^</sup>

During Meares' ~~stay in Yuquot and his travels along the coast,~~ <sup>g</sup> he had  
many opportunities to observe the Nootkans hunting, principally in pursuit  
of sea mammals. The Nootkans hunted the sea lion and the sea cow not only  
because they were considered easy to kill, but also because they were  
considered "peculiar delicacies" ~~and~~ <sup>g</sup> even preferred to whale. These mammals  
were scarce to the south, but <sup>more plentiful</sup> ~~found in greater plenty~~ <sup>g</sup> to the north. The  
large numbers of seals everywhere were easy prey for the ~~Xxxxxx~~ Nootkans  
who highly prized them as food. The Nootkans must have killed considerable  
numbers of these animals, but the grampus and porpoise had apparently, to a  
certain extent, escaped heavy losses because the Nootkans considered them  
inferior to other sea mammals both as a "luxury" item and as a utility <sup>good</sup> ~~good~~. <sup>g</sup>

The harpoons used to hunt whales and other sea mammals, except sea  
otters, had an <sup>18-ft</sup> ~~eighteen~~ to <sup>28-ft</sup> ~~twenty-eight feet~~ long shaft with a large piece  
of "notched bone" spliced to the shaft and fastened to it with thongs.  
Meares described what is inferred to be a mussel shell-pointed harpoon head  
~~and~~ that ~~it~~ <sup>g</sup> was "fixed into another piece of bone" about <sup>3 in.</sup> ~~three inches~~ <sup>g</sup>



long to which a sinew line several fathoms long was attached. After the ~~sha~~  
shaft withdrew from the harpoon head on striking <sup>a sea mammal</sup> ~~an animal~~, it floated with  
the aid of attached air-filled seal skins or fish bladders (unlike most  
accounts which state that floats were attached to the line secured to the  
harpoon head).

Meares believed that sea otters inhabited the entire northwestern coast  
of North America from 30° North to 60° North. He thought its fur was the  
finest in the world and that its very beautiful "jetty blackness" could, at  
times, rival royal ermine. Besides having these aesthetic qualities, its  
warmth made ~~it~~ the fur very valuable in cold climates.

#### Sea otter

~~The~~ hunters carried bows, arrows and small harpoons. The arrows were small  
and tipped with a single, barbed-bone point. Although the small harpoons  
had a bone pointed shaft similar to those used <sup>while</sup> hunting whales, the harpoon  
head was longer and notched and barbed so dislodging it would almost be  
impossible after the sea otter had been struck. The harpoon was attached to  
the shaft by several fathoms of line ~~which was~~ strong enough to pull the sea  
otter to the canoe.

A considerable amount of danger and trouble accompanied hunting sea  
otters. Two parties, each composed of two expert hunters in a very small

canoe, paddled among the rocks near the shore to locate the sea otters.

Sometimes they might find one sleeping <sup>while</sup> floating on its back. A sea otter in this state and position was easily harpooned and dragged to the canoe; however, getting it inside the canoe was not as simple because the animal struggled fiercely, frequently clawing and biting the hunters.

The most common technique employed to hunt sea otters was chasing the animal even though this could last for several hours. The hunters tried to guess in which direction the sea otter was swimming underwater and manoeuvred their canoes according to the line they thought the otter had taken. They positioned their canoes some distance apart because the otter could swim underwater faster than they could paddle and hoped it would be within arrow range when it broke surface. In spite of all their precautions the sea otter often escaped.

Both male and female sea otters with young would defend their pups to the death rather than deserting them, often tearing harpoons and arrows from their bodies with their teeth and even attacking canoes. But their protective attitude toward their young almost invariably meant that when adult and pup were found together, both were killed. Generally, however, sea otters were difficult to catch and the Nootkans were able to procure

large numbers of pelts only because great numbers of hunters went out almost every day.

In contradiction of his earlier statement, Meares wrote that seals were also very difficult to take because, like the sea otter, they could swim underwater. According to him, the Nootkans solved this problem by wearing wooden masks made to look so like the seal that the mammal mistook it for a member of its own species and was decoyed within hunting range. The Nootkan practised this at sea and on shore, but added extra details to their stalking on shore. They would wear the masks, hide the rest of their bodies with branches and lie among the rocks until a seal was decoyed close enough so they could shoot it with an arrow. Similar techniques were employed to decoy sea cows, sea otters and other sea mammals. In fact, Meares believed <sup>probably incorrectly</sup> that the Nootkans only used their masks representing the heads of sea mammals when they were hunting. Meares also believed that occasionally land mammals were also hunted in this manner. (Meares 1791, <sup>2</sup>II:22-4, 45, 52-7).

#### Spanish Occupation

— Much of the information on hunting <sup>techniques</sup> ~~and equipment~~ and equipment recorded during the period of Spanish occupation was fragmentary. Although Haswell

described the gear the Yuquot Nootkans used to hunt whales, he listed only one other hunting device, a snare to trap geese. Sanchez inferred that the arrows with well-sharpened wooden points he had seen in a canoe far out to sea were used to hunt any sort of bird. Tovar thought that Yuquot Nootkan harpoons were formed of whale bone, (Howay 1941:106; YUL, WAM/415; AGN, 65/7)

According to Moziño, although the Yuquot Nootkans had formerly hunted land mammals and aquatic birds with bows and arrows, by the time Moziño arrived in the Nootka Sound area they only wanted to hunt them with firearms. However, bows and arrows were still in use. The Yuquot Nootkans carried their arrows in a bear skin quiver ~~attached~~ suspended from a shoulder and over the back, like the one Webber illustrated and Samwell described. Sea otters had become so scarce in Nootka Sound that Moziño was unable to observe how they were caught, but, because the skins he examined had no holes, he inferred (probably incorrectly) that hunters had clubbed them on finding ~~them asleep on rocks, or had caught them with lassoes which are usually~~ <sup>just as dangerous to the behavior of Nootkan Sea Otters</sup> ~~called snares.~~ <sup>as did Cook & Sullivan.</sup> Because Yuquot Nootkan dances often demonstrated hunting with a net and animals being caught in a pit covered with slender reeds through which the animal fell, Moziño inferred that some animals were trapped ~~in~~ by these techniques. The Yuquot Nootkans possession of complete deer and bear



heads which were well fitted for placing over their own heads led Moziño to infer, like many before him, that they dressed like their prey and decoyed it close enough to ensure <sup>the accuracy of</sup> their projectiles' accuracy. (Moziño 1913),

According to Canby, the Yuquot Nootkans shot and killed deer with arrows or musket balls. Another <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ writer stated that in some instances deer were ~~now~~ hunted with firearms, but the original deer hunting technique had been quite different. Hunters in canoes ~~had~~ clubbed the deer to death with their paddles when ~~the~~ deer were drinking (or, more probably, swimming). He also stated that hunters netted deer at night and killed them with paddles. The deer the Indians brought to the ships had such bruised loins ~~that~~ much of the meat was considered inedible. The bruising probably indicated that these deer had been caught in deadfalls or snares. Saavedra wrote of a deer hunt at Tacis in which Maquinna and three Spaniards participated. Three deer were taken, mainly because of the dogs Maquinna had taken on the hunt.

<sup>Since the time the Spaniards were in the area</sup>  
<sup>after contact</sup>  
The mammal the Yuquot Nootkans hunted most was the sea otter, the best skins being taken in the winter. The Yuquot Nootkans fixed "hair springs" around flowers to catch humming birds and watched flights of geese to determine where they would land and go there to catch them on the water;

however, the specific manner in which the geese were taken was not

described. (YUL, PM/14823; PAC, MG 12 A, Adm 55/17; AGN, 71/10) .

<sup>described</sup>  
Natzapi ~~was~~ <sup>to Malaspina</sup> the Nimkish technique for hunting sea otters,  
which ~~was~~ in lagoons. Two men occupied a canoe, one paddling and  
steering and the other spearing sea otters whenever he had the opportunity.

This type of hunting was apparently practised all year, but sea otters were

reportedly easier to take in the winter when they had lost much of their

<sup>ability to see.</sup>

~~vision.~~ Even the best hunters never took more than four sea otters a day

and many returned with only one or none. (BCA, A/A/30/M29).

Sporadic Contact <sup>all copies</sup>

Jewitt thought that although the Yuquot Nootkans were expert marksmen,  
they had little inclination for the hunt. Their major <sup>hunting</sup> efforts were directed  
toward taking seals and, especially, sea otters. Seal flesh was <sup>a</sup> highly

praised food. Jewitt hunted seals twice, once in October, 1804, and again

in May, 1805, but was unsuccessful <sup>on</sup> both <sup>occasions.</sup> times. The Yuquot Nootkans hunted

sea otters only with bows and arrows. Sea otters could be easily approached

<sup>in</sup> a canoe, but had become much shyer since the introduction of firearms.

Dead sea otters were skinned and the tails removed and sold separately. The

tail was in great demand because the fur was finer and thicker there than on

the body. The value of a sea otter pelt was determined by its size---<sup>19</sup>a prime pelt stretched from a man's chin to his feet. The flesh of the sea otter was not wasted; it was boiled and eaten and thought to be even preferable to seal meat.

Although only one deer was taken during Jewitt's stay with the Yuquot Nootkans, two bears were trapped while <sup>the Nootkans were</sup> ~~they were~~ living in tatis. Jewitt saw the trap in which one of the bears had been caught. It was set on the edge of a small salmon stream where tracks indicated that bears caught fish going upstream. The trap was the height of a man, formed of posts and planks and the flat top was covered with a large pile of stones. The top and sides of the trap were covered with sod so it looked like a small mound. The interior was rather dark because it had only one narrow entrance ~~which~~ <sup>was</sup> as high as the trap, but only wide enough for the bear's head and shoulders. Salmon bait was attached to a strong cord tied to a loose, overhead plank. When the bear entered the trap and tugged at the salmon, the plank and stones <sup>above</sup> ~~overhead~~ fell on his head. The bear was almost always crushed to death or so badly injured that he was unable to escape. The Yuquot Nootkans inspected the traps daily because they would not eat tainted land mammal meat even though they preferred "putrid" fish and whale flesh

to fresh.

The Yuquot Nootkans shot ducks and geese and Jewitt was permitted to hunt wild ducks and teal with a gun at tacs. These birds were numerous but rather shy; however, Jewitt was successful. Ducks were also caught with cedar bark nets. On dark and rainy nights the Yuquot Nootkans would silently paddle their canoes to which lighted torches were attached into an area where ducks and geese were resting. The birds became "dazzled" and allowed the canoes to approach close enough so the occupants could throw a net over the birds. According to Jewitt, <sup>30</sup>~~fifty~~, <sup>60</sup>~~sixty~~ or even greater numbers of birds might be taken with a single cast of the net, (Jewitt 1807:11, 13, 25, 43; 1806:119-21, 152, 164-5, 208).

~~Drucker's responses~~ <sup>all cap</sup> noted that the same type of bow was used for all purposes. Although ~~these~~ descriptions of bows used during the late historic period were very like the <sup>5</sup>~~descriptions~~ of those Cook and his men saw and collected, Drucker's ~~responses~~ made no mention of late historic bows being wrapped at any place except the grip. Nor were any said to have been backed as early historic bows may have been, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ <sup>According to Gilbert & Legend</sup>

Several types of arrow points were used. Basically agreeing with early historic accounts, Drucker's ~~responses~~ stated that long, <sup>h</sup>cylindrical bone



points, unilaterally or bilaterally barbed, were used anciently for taking sea otter and wide<sup>9</sup> thin shell or bone points for hunting land game and fighting. The two types of quivers ~~two~~ described were formed of wood. The mammal skin quivers described and illustrated in the early historic period were not mentioned.

More recently, arrows used in hunting sea otters had metal<sup>points</sup>, often<sup>of</sup> copper ~~XXXX~~ These were sharpened<sup>5</sup>, triangular barbed blades on long stems. Sea otters were also hunted with spears and harpoons. Because of the historic demand for sea otter hides and the subsequent depletion of the sea otter population, the hunt became highly systematized. A chief led a party of hunters in as many as <sup>that there were as many as 20</sup> twenty canoes. They formed a line perpendicular to the beach stretching as much as a mile or more out to sea. When a sea otter was sighted, the ends of the line of canoes swung in to encircle the animal and the hunters prepared to fire their arrows when it surfaced. (Drucker 1951:31-2, 47)

Sealing harpoons were used to hunt hair seals, sea lions, porpoises and later, <sup>for</sup> hair seals and large sharks. Some of Drucker's respondents believed it was also used to kill and recover wounded sea otters. For as long as Drucker's respondents could remember, the head of a sealing harpoon was a

sharp, double barbed metal blade with a long stem and two bone barbs;  
however, my respondents also described the large, <sup>l</sup>unilaterally barbed point  
Ellis and Giglioli noted, <sup>(1951, 2)</sup>as being used on sealing harpoons. Drucker added  
that neither the three-piece, composite Northwest Coast harpoon nor the one-  
piece <sup>n</sup>barbed head turned, but, once imbedded in the animal's flesh, pulled  
straight back against the spreading barbs. The sealing harpoon had a trident  
butt piece which served as a finger grip for the thrower, a feature Colnett  
~~was the first to record,~~ <sup>Ed.</sup> A heavy, <sup>u</sup>undecorated wooden club about the size  
and shape of a baseball bat and often having a wrist loop completed the seal  
hunter's equipment.

Hair seals could be hunted at almost any time of year, but the hunters' favourite season was late spring when groups of people assembled at the outside villages. Hunters in canoes went after hair seals at sea or harpooned the animals as they tried to escape from the rocks on which they had been caught sleeping. Or, the hunters left their canoes and pursued the seals on foot along the rocky shores, sometimes using clubs instead of harpoons. No mention was made of the decoys described during the early historic period. Sea lions, less valued than hair seals, were hunted with a sealing harpoon and a seal skin float. Porpoises were taken at night with a sealing

harpoon with the line attached to a light codfish bladder.

The Nootkans were said not to have hunted fur seals aboriginally although stragglers from the migration route were probably taken infrequently.

However, when ~~the~~ sealing schooners began to exploit fur seals in the second half of the 19th century, the Nootkans were introduced to large-scale hunting of fur seals and usually composed a large part of the hunters taken on the schooners. They used the same technique and harpoons for fur seals as for hair seals. (Drucker 1951:26-7, 45-6).

Deadfalls designed to trap deer were placed across a trail and were formed of a suspended log ~~which was~~ released by trip lines when a deer passed under the deadfall and kicked a line attached to the trigger. Poles and rocks were piled on the lower end of the fall log to increase the force of its fall and the entire deadfall was screened with brush. If men in canoes encountered a deer swimming across a channel, they clubbed it or pushed its head underwater with a paddle until it drowned. The description of the latter technique may explain why the writer of the Log of the Chatham thought deer were killed with paddles while ~~they were~~ drinking. One of Drucker's Ehetisa respondents maintained that dogs were sometimes used to drive deer from islands into the water. This corroborates in part Saavedra's mention of

Maquinna using dogs to hunt deer at tacis.

A heavier version of the deadfall was used for trapping black bears, <sup>as described by Jewitt</sup> but this type of deadfall was placed at the side of <sup>a</sup> the trail and bait was <sup>In part, it resembled the bear deadfall Jewitt described.</sup> tied to the trip line. Mink, marten, beaver, marmot, raccoons and other fur bearing animals were caught in smaller versions of the bear deadfall. (Drucker 1951:32-3, 59) .

Various types of duck traps were set during salmon spawning season. On was a rectangular <sup>h</sup> lattice frame held underwater by anchor stones. A row of nooses was suspended under the margins of the frame. The nooses were <sup>held</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ open by baleen or feather quill splints and bunches of salmon eggs were placed under the trap as bait. When ducks tried to reach the eggs, the put their heads through the nooses and drowned.

Another kind of diving duck trap employed baited, <sup>h</sup> sharp, <sup>h</sup> bi-pointed bone gorge hooks ~~which were~~ tied to a pole or rope ~~which was~~ submerged a foot or two below the surface of the water. When the ducks took the bait, the gorges caught in their throats, held them underwater and they drowned. Nets were used to catch ducks and other birds such as geese and sea gulls at night by firelight, <sup>as described by Jewitt</sup> The nets were rectangular, had a fair size mesh of nettle fiber and were attached to basically the same type of frame as the



herring dipnet. Eagles were caught for their feathers, but their flesh was eaten when they were fat from eating salmon. They were usually shot or caught with simple loop snares. Hummingbirds were ~~xxxx~~ caught by smearing slug slime on twigs near flowering plants (instead of being taken in <sup>a snare</sup> ~~spring~~ as ~~was~~ mentioned at contact). (Drucker 1951:33-4, 451).

In 1890, Yuquot was described as one of the best "stations" on the west coast of Vancouver Island because it was conveniently situated for taking sea mammals as well as fish of all kinds. For examples, <sup>g</sup> the <sup>Hoachiat</sup> ~~Yuquot Nootkas~~ obtained <sup>17</sup> <sup>a</sup> ~~seventeen~~ sea otter skins in 1892 even though very few had been taken on the entire west coast of the island for several years. Bolton noted numerous deadfalls for bear along the Tahsis River valley and triggered one to observe how it worked. After watching the many stones and heavy timbers fall, he wondered whether or not there would be anything ~~worth~~ <sup>worth preserving</sup> left of the animal. At Yuquot a man showed Bolton some steel "spearsheads" used to hunt sea otter <sup>that</sup> he was working on. Bolton thought they were very well made. Later, a government report noted that the Indians of Nootka Sound were improving as sealers and were, therefore, earning more money, (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs <sup>Annual</sup> Report for 1892:235; Canada. Department of Indian Affairs <sup>Annual</sup> Report for 1895:191; BCA, G/V27/R63A/c.2; PAC, R G.10,

Vol. 1277).

In the late summer of 1896 a group of Kitkahtla hunters took <sup>45</sup>~~forty-five~~ sea otters off the outer coast of Nootka Island, giving Chief naiyū'a' only one skin even though they reportedly sold their catch for \$4,500.00. The Kitkahtlas returned to the Nootka Sound area in July, 1897. When naiyū'a' learned that they were camped on the outer coast (probably at ɛ'as), he invited them to his house, probably intending to allow them to hunt if they would "pay ~~for~~ him for the privilege<sup>10</sup>. However, this time Yuquot was fully occupied and the Moachat decided that they did not want the Kitkahtlas to hunt sea otter and that the Kitkahtlas should return to their own territory if they did not want trouble. The Moachat argued that the area the Kitkahtlas wanted to hunt had belonged to them from time immemorial, that the queen had also given it to them and that the offshore hunting rights belonged to them. They never went to Kitkahtla to hunt and it was not fair that Indians from another area hunt and "steal" the skins they themselves needed. The Moachat raised another objection too. The Kitkahtlas hunted with firearms instead of bows and arrows like the Moachat and this would not only be more destructive of the sea otter population, but also, according to the Moachat, frighten the sea otters away permanently. The Moachat told

haiyū'a' that if he took one skin from the Kitkahtlas as a present, they <sup>✓</sup> would break his box open and return the skin, thereby negating his permission to the Kitkahtlas to hunt sea otter in what they considered to be Moachat territory.

The Kitkahtlas responded that they recognized that the Moachat owned whatever was on <sup>the</sup> land, but salt water was open to everyone to use as they wished. Salmon going upriver belonged to the Indians to whom the land belonged, but anyone, Indian or white, could fish in salt water. They supported their argument by stating that the Moachat hunted seals in the Bering Sea which was not their territory so why were the Kitkahtlas wrong to hunt in Moachat waters?

Harry Guillod, then Indian Agent, decided in favour of the Moachat. He told the Kitkahtlas that "they had no business to hunt along the Nootkan shore against the wishes of the [Moachat]" and that they would have to leave. The disgruntled Kitkahtlas said they would appeal to the government and if they won they would return and hunt sea otters in spite of Moachat objections. The Moachat told the Kitkahtlas to leave their territory the next morning, but the Kitkahtlas packed their belongings in their canoes and left at once.

According to Guillod, sea otters roamed close to shore along the outside

beaches of Nootka Island, but no west coast group would think of hunting on a part of the coast <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ did not belong to them. They observed the "old laws" regarding hunting and fishing including hunting fur seals at sea opposite their territory and were opposed to strange ~~xx~~ people who "hunt off their land". The Moachat were successful sea otter hunters, taking <sup>12</sup> ~~twelve~~ skins in 1897 and of the <sup>16</sup> ~~sixteen~~ sea otters taken off the west coast in 1899 the Moachat were responsible for <sup>9</sup> ~~nine~~. (PAC, R.G. 10, Indian Affairs, Black Series, Vol. 3981/b; Canada. Department of Indian Affairs <sup>Annual</sup> Report for 1897: 239; Canada. Department of Indian Affairs <sup>Annual Report</sup> for 1899:266) <sup>o</sup>

The Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1910 gave a brief sketch of the sealing industry on the west coast of North America in which the Moachat were actively engaged until recently. As far as the Indians were concerned, the sealing industry was divided into two branches: one was hunting fur seals offshore on their own and the other was hunting fur seals <sup>also based on</sup> ~~from~~ company or privately owned schooners. If they hunted from schooners, they would be taken for a cruise down the California coast early in the year <sup>which</sup> ~~which would~~ end in May when the season closed. Later, they would leave in July on a voyage to the Bering Sea <sup>and</sup> ~~from which they would~~ return in October. While on these cruises, the owners of the sealing schooners fed the hunters.



paid all their expenses and gave them an "agreed" price for each skin they obtained. The hunters' canoes were taken on board the schooners for use on the California coast and in the Bering Sea. When hunting, two men manned each canoe and paddled off in a different direction from the schooner and the other canoes, hoping to approach an unwary, sleeping seal. At this time, international agreements prohibited the use of firearms in the Bering Sea so the hunters used "the old-fashioned spear", an instrument with which they were considered to be highly adept. However, before the <sup>international</sup> agreement was signed, some hunters preferred to use shotguns, ~~hitting~~ aiming for the seal's head so its pelt would not be ruined.

If the hunters were successful in a particular area, the schooner would remain there. ~~xxx~~ for some time, but if the hunt were unsuccessful, the schooner would shift its position by <sup>40</sup> ~~forty~~ or <sup>50</sup> ~~fifty~~ miles in search of a seal herd. Seals were not usually found single, but in herds of considerable size. The canoes returned to the schooner each nightfall, but the violent storms and sudden fogs common in the Bering Sea area often made ~~it~~ locating the schooner difficult, especially since the schooner might have drifted some distance from the spot where the hunters had left it in the morning.

(Canada. Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1910:247-8; Drucker

1951:46)

In the early 1890s an Indian seal hunter would have agreed to a price as low as \$2.00 per skin, but seals were so plentiful then that some hunters were known to have returned from the Bering Sea with as much as \$800.00 to \$1,000.00. By 1906 the seal herds had decreased and the price per skin had risen to \$4.50 or \$8.00. However, even at this price a hunter was fortunate if he returned home with \$200.00 for a season's work. According to J.H. Mitchell (<sup>pers. com.</sup> personal communication), the sealing fleets ceased operation in 1911. (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1906:255)

Hunting seals offshore without a schooner was a simpler matter according to a government source. When the fur seal herds came north from California in April and May on their way to the Bering Sea, they would occasionally travel within <sup>20</sup> twenty or <sup>30</sup> thirty miles of the west coast of Vancouver Island. Indians could legally hunt during the closed season in May, June and July and they set out in small canoes to intercept the seal herds. If they did contact the herd, they were likely to get quite a few seals. Any skins they obtained working on their own during this season could be sold for <sup>\$15</sup> fifteen <sup>\$20 & Each</sup> to twenty dollars; one good day's hunting might net them a large sum of

money. For example, on one very exceptional day the Hesquiat brought home almost <sup>150</sup> ~~one hundred and fifty~~ skins worth over <sup>\$2,000.</sup> ~~two thousand dollars~~. However, the bulk of the seal herds generally travelled too far offshore for hunters to contact them because sudden storms were liable to occur at any moment during this season and endangered the hunters. By 1912 the price of a good skin was as high as <sup>\$30</sup> ~~thirty~~ or <sup>\$40</sup> ~~forty~~ dollars, but many hunters might hunt offshore for a week or more without sighting a seal. <sup>Simple</sup> (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1912:265)

According to <sup>one of</sup> Dawley's storekeeper, who worked at Tofino for many years, worked a relief shift at Dawley's store in Yuquot and later was ~~at the store~~ at the Nootka cannery <sup>store</sup> for part of the summer, <sup>96</sup> ~~ninety-six~~ seal skins were obtained at Nootka, Tofino and Ahousat in 1913. In 1925 the Nootka and Tofino store took in <sup>1,114</sup> ~~one thousand, one hundred and fourteen~~ skins. The Indians also traded mink, raccoon and land otter skins to Dawley. According <sup>one informant</sup> to ~~Blair~~ <sup>Blair</sup> Perlock, who worked at Dawley's store at Nootka, seals were never shot but were always ~~harpoon~~ "speared" (harpooned) from canoes. The seal skins were salted, packed in barrels and <sup>shipped</sup> ~~sent~~ to London, England, for tanning, drying and plucking. All the other skins were sent to the Hudson's Bay Company or to a furrier in St. Louis, Missouri.

## DISCUSSION

The Yuquot Nootkans' hunting techniques and equipment were well suited to the environment in which they lived as evinced by the records of the sizeable quantities of sea mammals they ~~procured~~<sup>hunted</sup> and of the amounts of land game, ~~which were~~<sup>also procured; the latter was</sup> considerable in view of the fact that they were basically a water oriented people. Changes in hunting techniques and equipment occurred through time. One of <sup>the earliest</sup> these may have been the rapid abandonment of the decoys so frequently described during the early historic period. The need for decoys ~~was~~<sup>may have been</sup> possibly eliminated by the ~~the~~ introduction of firearms in the 18th century. However, the skins and zoomorphic headdresses the early visitors to the Nootka Sound area thought were used to decoy animals ~~were probably~~<sup>in some instances better described as</sup> dance costumes.

Although the introduction of firearms may have led to the partial abandonment of indigenous land mammal and sea fowl hunting equipment, when the supplies of firearms and powder decreased, the Yuquot Nootkans returned to their aboriginal methods without delay. Firearms were actually more effective as items of exchange and weapons than as additions to the Yuquot Nootkan hunting equipment inventory. Bows and arrows and harpoons were the preferred gear for sea otter hunting and sealing even as late as relatively recent times. In recent years, the Moachat completely abandoned the use of



the types of hunting equipment described throughout the historic period in  
favour of rifles and <sup>12-</sup>~~twelve~~ gauge shotguns ~~which they~~ used to obtain deer,  
<sup>beaver</sup>  
elk, seals, fowl and other game.

One certain effect European contact had was the intensification of  
hunting activities. The sea otter population was threatened and finally

eliminated and <sup>later</sup> the seal herds were gravely depleted. <sup>mostly for the</sup>  
<sup>sake of furs to bring with goods to be used</sup>  
<sup>Interpretation</sup> mainly for potlatching and feasting.  
<sup>Hunting patterns changed by contact</sup>  
<sup>See A 1, p. 27</sup>

FISHING  
AND  
FISHING EQUIPMENT

If there is a single activity with which all Nootkas can be immediately and inseparably associated, it is fishing in one form or another. Since earliest times, the peoples of the Nootka Sound area have been intimately associated with the sea and its inhabitants, a relationship which has enabled the Nootkas to develop seasonal fishing techniques sufficient to classify them among the world's greatest fishermen.

### Early Explorers

Cook described the hooks, lines, harpoons, fish spears, nets and herring rakes the Nootkans used as "ingeniously contrived, and well made" or <sup>or built</sup> however, he later added that the fishhooks were rather "inartificially" made of bone and wood. The Nootkans' largest hooks were called cheemaine, a term some present-day Nootkans apply to halibut hooks. The very sharp, barbed points of some fishhooks were baited with mussels.

Harpoons were used to catch small fish and Gilbert described this as the "principal mode of fishing here and all along the Coast". The harpoons: were <sup>4-ft. or 5-ft. c.</sup> ~~four or five feet~~ long "darts" tipped with a bone or <sup>4 in. or 5 in. long</sup> ~~a~~ hardwood point.

~~Four or five inches long.~~ The points were generally barbed "all the way up". The harpoons usually had only one "prong", but some had three. A long, thin sinew line was attached to the harpoon "ready to veer out" as soon as ~~the~~ a fish (or possibly, also <sup>a</sup> seal) was struck.

The herring rakes resembled an oar about <sup>15 ft. or 20 ft.</sup> ~~fifteen to twenty feet~~ long, <sup>4 in. or 5 in. a</sup> ~~four or five inches~~ wide and about <sup>1/2 in.</sup> ~~half an inch~~ thick. It was studded with sharp bone points about <sup>2 in.</sup> ~~two inches~~ long on both edges for about two-thirds of its length. This instrument was used to catch herrings, "sardines" and

other schooling fish. It was passed through the water into the school so the fish were caught upon or between the points.

Barbed bone and shell-tipped arrows were also used to catch fish and Rickman mentioned decoys. Although the <sup>British</sup> ~~English~~ gave no details of the nets the Nootkans used to catch fish, the term applied to them, see eema, strongly suggests a dip net (see Curtis 1916:201). Another item that may have been used for fishing was a "skin bladder or buoy" mentioned in Cook's word list. Although a present-day resident of Yuquot recognized the ~~18th-century~~ term, ~~for this float~~, kēēhlwahmōōt, he could only state that <sup>the buoy</sup> ~~it~~ was not used for whaling.

Extended

All the streams King saw emptying into Nootka Sound had weirs <sup>1</sup> across them. ~~On his exploration of the sound~~ Cook observed large <sup>Y</sup> unattended fishing weirs near a deserted village that must have been ō'wīs. The weirs were <sup>by</sup> ~~formed~~ of "wicker work" of small rods <sup>fish</sup> and some were woven more tightly than others, depending on the size of ~~the~~ <sup>fish</sup> sought. Some weirs, <sup>14 ft. by 12 ft.</sup> at least <sup>20 ft. 12 ft.</sup> twenty by twelve feet, were <sup>Set</sup> placed vertically in <sup>3 ft. 4 ft.</sup> three or four feet of water at low tide and attached to poles <sup>Anchored</sup> set firmly <sup>bottom</sup> into the ground. (Ellis 1783: 222; Cook 1781:243; 1785:328; 1967:304, 320-1, 1404; BCU, a).



Early Traders - all caps

[ Strange listed some of the gear the Yuquot Nootkans used to catch fish: various types of hooks, lines, bladders, spears, nets and "baskets". One hook was dressed like a European fly hook and another was ~~one that a present-day Nisga'a fisher and~~ <sup>by a present-day Nisga'a fisher and</sup> identified as a gaff hook. A third was simply called a fly hook; however, the term given for it, ta attee, is similar to a Makah term for a trolling hook (see Curtis 1916:201). Strange noted the use of a fishing lure probably similar to the decoy Rickman mentioned earlier. He also listed a small fishing line that may have been made of some type of ~~xxx~~ seaweed, ~~xxx~~ another ~~that was~~ definitely made of kelp, and a bladder used in fishing. An item Strange merely described as a large spear used for fishing may also, according to present-day Nootkans, have been used for sealing by changing its points. A device used as a "trap basket" is recognized today as a round or rectangular fish trap. (Strange 1928:46-54) .

Colnett noted that Nootkan fishing gear was well made except their nets which he considered very "Indifferent". Their most common fishing lines were a type of seaweed which grew to a great length and which was about the size of a whip cord. When moist, these lines were very strong. Other lines, with undescribed uses, were made of cedar bark or animal skin and sinews. ~~probab~~

whales whose bones the Nootkans used to form <sup>many</sup> implements. Bladder floats were used in fishing: Lines were attached to the bladders and let down. When a fish was hooked the bladder ~~would~~ <sup>or</sup> move erratically and signal the fisherman. (BBM) -

According to Meares, Yuquot Nootkan fishhooks were made of fish bones and shells and the Yuquot Nootkans much preferred them to European metal fishhooks. However the Yuquot Nootkans did recognize that their lines of whale sinew or split, boiled and dried seaweed were inferior to those produced in Europe. ~~Salmon~~ Salmon were taken at Yuquot during July, August and September, but in no greater quantities than other types of fish.

The herring rakes Meares described were about the same size as those Cook saw except that the blades Meares noted were <sup>12 in.</sup> ~~twelve~~ or <sup>14 in.</sup> ~~fourteen~~ inches wide instead of <sup>4 in.</sup> ~~four~~ or <sup>5 in.</sup> ~~five~~ inches wide and the bone points were about <sup>3 in.</sup> ~~three~~, not <sup>2 in.</sup> ~~two~~, inches long. Meares and his men often watched as a Yuquot Nootkan used his herring rake to fill his canoe with herrings and other small fish in a very short time.

Besides herrings, "vast shoals" of "sardines" like those from Portugal frequented the coast in the spring; however, Meares later contradicted himself by stating that the Yuquot Nootkans took vast quantities of sardines in July

and possibly ~~returning~~ to pilchards.

August, The Yuquot Nootkans stationed lookouts on high points of ground to alert the villagers when a "particular motion of the sea" indicated the arrival of the schools of sardines, <sup>(possibly pilchards).</sup> The Yuquot Nootkans then ~~left the villa~~ and paddled toward the fish. The schools were driven into shallow coves by men who struck the water while other men lowered pine branches weighted with stones into the water. ~~The function of the weighted branches was to herd~~ the fish and enclose the area in which they had been trapped. Once ~~the fish~~ <sup>the fish</sup> were contained in a shallow area, ~~they~~ were easily taken with "wooden trough (canoe bailers?) or "wicker" baskets. So many sardines were caught in this way that many rotted because the villagers were unable to clean and smoke them fast enough. A roe, probably herring, was collected on branches lowered into the water at the heads of sounds and bays at the beginning of summer. Salmon roe was taken directly from the fish in the autumn, (Meares 1791, 2: 30-1, 61-2, 65-6).

#### Spanish Occupation <sup>(all caps)</sup>

According to Haswell and Caamaño, herrings were caught during the first ten days of February. Saavedra reported "sardine" fishing on ~~the 25th of~~ February, 1794. Two men would go out in a canoe, one paddling in the stern and the other in the bow using a <sup>20-</sup> ~~twenty~~ or <sup>30-</sup> ~~thirty~~ point herring rake. Takin

herring from areas around Yuquot during March was forbidden because herring roe was collected at this time. Eliza stated that herring roe was collected in February, but Saavedra corroborated Haswell's date of March. Possibly in Friendly Cove and certainly further up the sound, probably at mawun, hemlock branches were suspended in the water and the herring deposited ~~their~~<sup>the</sup> roe on them. The branches <sup>^</sup>were weighted with two or three stones and tied to long wooden poles that served as floats and kept the branches together, ~~The~~<sup>the</sup> branches were left in the water for three or four days (Haswell said a month but ~~he~~<sup>^</sup> was probably referring to the total amount of time spent collecting the roe). During this time about an inch of roe accumulated and the weight of the branches increased so much that three canoes of men were required to collect the branches that men in one canoe had deposited. The Yuquot Nootkans collected "several thousand wate" of roe in one season, (Howay 1941:64; AGN, 69/9; AGN, 69/7; AGN, 71/10/c; see also Wagner 1933:100) \*

Martinez noted that if a Yuquot Nootkan found a stick floating in the water while ~~he was~~<sup>^</sup> fishing, he thought it was a sign that ~~he would~~<sup>of</sup> have good luck. He also mentioned that Yuquot Nootkan hunting and fishing gear was made of bear bones and that ~~the~~<sup>^</sup> small harpoons he saw in the Yuquot Nootkans houses were used for fishing, (BCU, HR/F5813.1/M3/S2) \*



According to Moziño, the necessity of obtaining fish ~~in order to survive~~ had forced the Yuquot Nootkans to know during what seasons a particular species of fish was available and what techniques to employ to catch them. Formerly <sup>well</sup> the Yuquot Nootkans used fishhooks made of shell, but now used iron fishhooks almost exclusively. Like Neares, Moziño noted that the Yuquot Nootkans caught herring by forming a <sup>semi</sup>half-circle of canoes across the mouth of a cove. The men agitated long poles underwater to drive the fish further into the cove as they decreased the size of the <sup>semicircle</sup>half-circle. The trapped fish were collected with nets, small baskets, rakes with teeth ~~that~~ were more than <sup>2 in.</sup>two inches long and, <sup>at times</sup>when the fish were swarming in large numbers, hands. (Moziño 1913).

Moziño and Caamaño observed fish traps erected in shallow channels, much like those Cook and his men described earlier. The traps were made of long stakes set into the bottom of the channel between which were woven red mat leaves which had been obtained in the same channels as the traps were located. Salmon traps had an entrance that would be closed at low tide to trap the fish inside. (Moziño 1913; AGN, 69/9).

Like Clonett, Caamaño described a form of jig fishing <sup>practiced by</sup> the Yuquot Nootkans. ~~Wood~~ Wooden hooks were tied to a line ~~that~~ was attached to a

whale gut float and the float bobbed up and down whenever a large fish was hooked. Not all hooks were made of wood; <sup>Some, according to Pantoja</sup> ~~Pantoja stated that the~~ Yuquot Nootkans' fishhooks were made of deer bone.

Caamaño also described Yuquot Nootkan dip nets. Two poles were lashed across a long handle, one at the end of the handle and the other at the middle, and a well-made cedar bark net was attached to the four ends of the cross poles. One man held the net and lowered it into the water while another man beat the water with a paddle or pole to drive a school of small fish toward the net. When the fish were more or less above the net, the man handling it slowly lifted it from the water. The scoop formed by the sagging bottom of the net usually contained a fairly large quantity of fish, (AGN, 69/9; Wagner 1933:159) •

#### Sporadic Contact <sup>all cap</sup>

—According to Jewitt, if the Yuquot Nootkans were not great hunters, few people were more expert fishermen. Their hooks were usually made of straight pieces of hardwood that had a sharp, pointed and barbed bone lashed to the bottom with "thread" or whale sinew; however, they <sup>Yuquot Nootkans</sup> preferred the iron hooks Jewitt made for them because such hooks were less likely to break and <sup>could be</sup> ~~therefore~~ the user was more certain of ~~being~~ success. Cod,

halibut and salmon were caught on hooks <sup>that were</sup> ~~that were~~ generally tied to an extremely strong whale sinew line.

To catch salmon on a hook and line, a man would go out in a small canoe, bait his hook with a fresh "sprat", fasten his line to the handle of a paddle and keep the paddle in constant motion to give the bait a life-like appearance. When a salmon struck the bait, it was instantly hooked and the seated fisherman deftly pulled the fish out of the water and into the canoe with <sup>a single</sup> ~~one~~ movement of his paddle. Some Yuquot Nootkans could catch as many as eight or ten salmon in a morning <sup>with</sup> ~~using~~ this technique and Jewitt had seen from <sup>20</sup> ~~twenty~~ to <sup>30</sup> ~~thirty~~ canoes of men using this technique fishing in Friendly Cove at the same time. Jewitt was seldom successful himself.

At tacIs, salmon were principally taken in "pots" or "wears". A trap was formed <sup>of</sup> ~~by~~ many pine splints placed <sup>1 1/2 in.</sup> ~~one and one-half inches~~ apart and secured to flexible twig hoops <sup>8 in.</sup> ~~which were~~ about <sup>eight inches</sup> apart. The <sup>20-ft.</sup> ~~twenty-foot~~ long trap tapered from a mouth that was <sup>4 ft.</sup> ~~four~~ to <sup>5 ft.</sup> ~~five feet~~ in diameter almost to a point near which a small wicker door was located so the fish could be removed from the interior. This device was placed where the water was not very deep at the foot of a fall or rapid <sup>then</sup> ~~when~~ using long poles drove fish downstream where they were caught in the trap, then removed and

placed <sup>into</sup> canoes. Jewitt estimated that he had seen more than ~~seven hundred~~ <sup>100</sup> salmon caught in this manner within ~~ten~~ <sup>10</sup> or ~~fifteen~~ <sup>15</sup> minutes. On another occasion, ~~fifty~~ <sup>50</sup> salmon were caught with a "scene". At the end of a fishing season, the fish snares were taken up to preserve them for the following season. Men also speared salmon at tacis using a slender "rod" ~~eighteen feet~~ <sup>18 ft.</sup> long and pointed with a sharp bone. Immense quantities of salmon were obtained with the above-mentioned techniques. On one occasion more than ~~two and one half thousand~~ <sup>2,500</sup> salmon were brought into Maquinna's house and ~~once~~ <sup>on another</sup> ~~one hundred~~ <sup>100</sup> or more salmon were boiled in a cooking vat in preparation for a great feast.

The Yuquot Nootkans fished for herring while they were living in tacis and kupti during November, December, January and February. November and January were apparently the months when most herring fishing occurred. Although Jewitt's general description of a herring rake was very like that of earlier writers -- it was <sup>7 ft.</sup> about seven-feet long, <sup>2 in.</sup> two-inches wide and <sup>1/2 in.</sup> one-half inch thick -- unlike Cook, Jewitt stated that only one edge of the rake was set with sharp whale bone points placed about <sup>1/2 in.</sup> half-an-inch apart. A man using a rake would stand in the bow of a canoe, hold the rake with both hands, pass it through a school of herring (or "sprats") and follow through



by turning the rake up, bringing it over the side of the canoe and dumping his catch of as many as <sup>10</sup> ten or <sup>12</sup> twelve herrings into the canoe. <sup>To see this technique</sup> A canoe <sup>see</sup> could be filled in a very short time.

The herring spawning season occurred during early spring and late August. Jewitt recorded that the Yuquot Nootkans were collecting herring roe in April, 1805, and ~~stated~~ that they always collected herring roe at Yuquot before they moved to tacIs in the autumn. To collect the roe, the Yuquot Nootkans would <sup>6</sup> place great numbers of pine branches about <sup>10 ft.</sup> ten feet deep in different parts of the cove. After two days, the branches were covered with roe and were taken up, and the roe ~~was~~ "washed and freed from the pine leaves by the women", ~~and~~ <sup>it</sup> was either eaten raw or dried for future use.

Jewitt recorded a description someone had given him of how dentalium shells were obtained. A plank into which a considerable number of sharpened <sup>the ends of the poles were sharpened and attached to the plank</sup> pine pegs had been inserted was fastened to the end of a long pole. A stone or some weight was tied to the plank and a long line was attached to the butt of the pole to lower and raise it to and from the sea bed. <sup>device</sup> the ~~plank~~ <sup>device</sup> was lowered to the sea bed in places where dentalia were known to exist, usually <sup>50</sup> fifty to <sup>60</sup> sixty fathoms below the surface. When the <sup>peg-studded</sup> plank <sup>reached</sup> bottom, it was repeatedly raised a few feet and allowed to drop befo

being <sup>that</sup> ~~was~~ raised to the canoe so whatever shells had been wedged between the <sup>points</sup> could be removed. Collecting dentalia was arduous, tiring work because each attempt never <sup>produced</sup> garnered more than two or three shells and frequently, none at all. (Jewitt 1807:9-11, 16, 33, 41; 1896:116, 121-2, 147-8, 150-2, 170-1).

Eurasian Period <sup>all say</sup> <sup>used during the distant past</sup>  
During the late historic period, the same type of hook <sup>was used</sup> for fishing cod, trolling for spring salmon and, more recently, for catching dogfish. The shank was formed of spruce root and the barb was a hardwood ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>a</sup> bone splinter. A double-pointed, <sup>bone</sup> gorge hook was used to fish kelp cod from shore. The so-often described, <sup>large</sup> U-shaped hooks used to fish halibut and, at times, red snapper, were made of spruce root and had a short bone barb. (Drucker 1951:22).

Several types of harpoons were used to spear ~~sl~~ salmon. The basic type was <sup>5 ft.</sup> <sup>10 ft.</sup> ~~eight~~ to ~~ten~~ feet long with two diverging foreshafts, one longer than the other. The composite harpoon heads were wrapped with a nettle fiber cord and covered with pitch. There were several variations of this harpoon. One with a single foreshaft and point, was used in small streams. The a'aminqâs Muchalat, who fished in rivers noted for rapids, used a harpoon with three foreshafts; a haivanūwactakāmġáth respondent did not recognize this type of

harpoon as one ~~xxxx~~ the Moachnat used. The Moachnat did use a type <sup>with</sup> which had two foreshafts, one on each side of the pole which protruded beyond the tips of the foreshafts. A light throwing harpoon, sometimes used in open water, was virtually a copy of the sealing harpoon. A leister harpoon was used in rivers, but has been almost replaced by a gaff formed of a heavy steel cod hook mounted on the end of a pole. Recently, <sup>u</sup> old seal harpoon heads with barbed, iron points have begun to ~~be~~ ~~replaced~~ replace the composite bone harpoon heads, but this occurs only occasionally. (Drucker 1951:19-21)

Herring rakes were formed basically as they had been ever since early <sup>if not before</sup> historic times; the one difference was that sharpened nails were used as

teeth in the late historic period. Nor had the construction of the herring <sup>Drucker noted that the Uothians only took herring during January and February, actually they also took herring in the inlet during the autumn.</sup> dip nets altered. A small, oval scoop net, which had a maximum length of

<sup>2 ft.</sup> about ~~two feet~~ and <sup>16 in. to 20 in.</sup> ~~was~~ from ~~sixteen to twenty inches~~ wide, was used to scoop <sup>may be</sup> up small black cod lured to the surface by a spinner. <sup>T. C. H. man - 1773</sup> Sea urchins were x

collected with an <sup>8-ft.</sup> ~~eight~~ to <sup>10-ft.</sup> ~~ten~~ feet long pole about <sup>2 in.</sup> ~~two inches~~ in diameter to which two slim, bluntly pointed wooden prongs, <sup>5 in. 6 in.</sup> ~~five or six inches~~ long,

had been lashed on either side of the tip. Two long, <sup>u</sup> sharpened poles, one with a backward projecting barb, were used to spear devilfish. (Drucker

1951:23-5, <sup>40,</sup> 35, 43).

Herring roe "fences" were formed and used like those described in the historic record: branches hung from floating frames. ~~The~~ Herring did not spawn simultaneously, but first in one cove and then in another. The last place they spawned in the Nootka Sound area was Friendly Cove, (Drucker 1951:35, 41-2; SIA) .

To catch kelpfish and perch, mainly for bait, globular<sup>u</sup> woven traps with floats and ballast were baited and floated across kelp beds. Rectangular, woven tidewater traps were set for perch and visited at low tide to remove<sup>4</sup> catch. Shiners and other small fish were trapped behind low stone weirs ~~xx~~ ~~which were~~ built in shallow areas that dried at ebb tide. The Nootkans did not build large stone tidewater traps like those the Awakiuti used for salmon, but placed woven tidewater traps at the mouths of rivers where salmon congregated before going upstream. This type of trap was the one early visitors to Nootka Sound mentioned most<sup>frequently</sup>. (Drucker 1951:16, 19, 7-8) .

The Nootkans formed several types of riverine traps to collect salmon headed upstream. The most common <sup>such</sup> ~~of this type of~~ trap was the conical variety Jewitt described. Some of these were set up with weirs oriented upstream. At times<sup>4</sup>, the Nootkans also used a rectangular trap ~~with~~ an inverted<sup>61</sup>, U-shaped entryway.



During the later part of the 19th century, besides their normal fishing activities, the Nootkans, like most other groups living on the west coast of Vancouver Island, spent much time catching dogfish and rendering the livers to oil. According to a government report, ~~the virtually inexhaustible~~ dogfish were found during all seasons of the year, but were most abundant during March, August and December. An undetermined number of men (probably two) would man a canoe and take an average of about <sup>200</sup> ~~two hundred~~ dogfish per day during the peak months. Because the livers were said to produce as much as a quart of oil each and the traders paid <sup>20</sup> ~~twenty~~ or <sup>25</sup> ~~twenty-five~~ cents per gallon of oil, a man could earn from <sup>\$4</sup> ~~four~~ to <sup>\$6</sup> ~~six~~ dollars a day. The traders travelled the coast buying the oil which was mainly used to lubricate the machinery of the budding logging industry. (Canada. Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1875) .

According to Drucker, the growth of the dogfish oil trade meant that Nootkan men spent much of the late spring and summer catching dogfish or "mud sharks (sand sharks?)". The dogfish were taken with sharply angled cod hooks. The sharks were harpooned, using sealing harpoons with one or two seal skin floats (of the type used for whaling) attached to the line. (Drucker 1951:45) .

According to Drucker (1951:144), the first cannery was built in Nootka Sound in 1895; however, according to the information Dewhirst collected from old timers who had worked at the later Nootka cannery, the fishing industry in Nootka Sound apparently started with a sal<sup>e</sup>try owned by W.R. Lord. The Moachat lived in Yuquot during the time Lord owned the sal<sup>e</sup>try, <sup>but</sup> ~~as far as at the time between it and Yuquot~~. Lord hired only a few Indians, ~~fishermen~~, relying primarily on Japanese fishermen. (Dewhirst 1967).

In 1917<sup>or</sup> the Nootka Packing Company purchased the sal<sup>e</sup>try from Lord, interested the Everett Packing Company of Bellingham, Washington, in establishing a B.C. branch and converted the sal<sup>e</sup>try to a cannery. The Moach moved to the cannery site at Nootka when the Nootka Packing Company bought the sal<sup>e</sup>try and Walter T. Dawley, who had been in partnership with Thomas Stockham for <sup>18</sup> ~~eighteen~~ years until 1906, moved his store from Yuquot to Nootka in 1916 or 1917. The new company brought in several Chinese <sup>and</sup> ~~from~~ then on, Chinese workers, mainly labourers, were present at the cannery until the operation closed. (Dewhirst 1967).

Dewhirst obtained <sup>(1967)</sup> the best information on the cannery from ~~J.C. Pollock~~, <sup>2 man</sup> who lived and worked as a store manager there from 1920 to the spring of 1929<sup>or</sup> and <sup>another man</sup> ~~Harvissen~~, who was the postmaster and accountant at the

cannery from 1933 to 1947. The following is a composite description of the cannery operation from 1920 to 1947.

The Nootka cannery canned salmon exclusively before 1925 when pilchards <sup>the date</sup> moved into the Nootka Sound area <sup>at least during the 20th century.</sup> After this date, both salmon and pilchard were canned. The reduction plant, <sup>it</sup> was built in 1925, <sup>it</sup> employed <sup>15</sup> fifteen men and <sup>40</sup> ~~forty~~ women. Eleven men, Indians and non-Indians, worked in the plant and four men on contract unloaded herrings and pilchards from the boats. The reduction plant processed the pilchards and herrings into oil and meal used as fertilizer. ~~Some~~ Pilchards were also canned at the reduction plant during World War II, <sup>and</sup> herring were also canned there.

Work at Nootka continued <sup>round</sup> ~~all~~ year even when no fish were being taken. <sup>as did the early historic Nootkans</sup> During November, December and January the fleet fished herring. From February to April when there was no fishing the boat and cannery equipment <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ repaired and readied for the May to August pilchard, coho and sockeye season. The chum season was during October and November.

From 1933 to approximately 1940, the year the pilchards stopped coming <sup>034-29,514</sup> to Nootka Sound, about <sup>100</sup> ~~one hundred~~ men were engaged fishing pilchards and herring. About <sup>60</sup> ~~sixty~~ men, all Indians and most of whom came from Yuquot, fished salmon. In 1934, the company-owned fishing fleet consisted of <sup>7</sup> ~~seven~~ <sup>9</sup>

seine boats, each with a tender. A seiner carried a crew of <sup>7</sup>seven or <sup>8</sup>eight men and a tender, <sup>4</sup>four men. The crews were paid by shares of the catch.

The cannery and its associated reduction plant employed between <sup>75</sup>seventy-five to <sup>100</sup>one hundred people, mostly Indians, Chinese and Japanese. All the top positions were occupied by Caucasians: a foreman, a line man, a retort man (to steam fish) and a reform lineman. Approximately <sup>40</sup>forty Chinese and <sup>15</sup>fifteen Indian men unloaded the fish from the boats into bins, washed the fish, prepared them for canning and kept the cannery clean. There were at least <sup>40</sup>forty fillers, depending on the size and freshness of the catch. These were Japanese, Chinese and Indian women. All the Japanese women were moved from the coast during World War II (no Japanese men worked at Nootka) <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>were</sup> ~~were~~ replaced by Caucasian women.

Pollock thought the largest number of people living at Nootka were there from 1926 to 1935, but the number <sup>of people exceeded 300,</sup> ~~never went over three hundred people.~~ Most of these were transients who only stayed at the site during the summer fishing season.

*a woman*  
According to ~~Miss Lyons~~ <sup>^</sup> who worked for B.C. Packers, the Canadian Fishing Company Limited bought out the Nootka Packing Company in 1945. The cannery was still fully operative at this time and the Canadian Fishing

Company <sup>stated</sup> ~~stated~~ that the Nootka operation <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ the single largest Pacific Coast producer of canned pilchards and of ~~mm~~ fish meal and oil from pilchard and herrings. <sup>It</sup> No other plant could claim a larger total tonnage output, <sup>which</sup> The plant <sup>also</sup> ~~also~~ canned salmon. The above statement <sup>which</sup> apparently indicates that not all pilchards had left the coast by 1940, (Canadian Fishing Company Ltd 1947:71) .

The Canadian Fishing Company was not certain when the Nootka cannery and reduction plant was closed. The reduction plant apparently operated about every second or third year throughout the 1950s, but the cannery was closed during this period. The reduction plant machinery was removed in 1961.

<sup>In 1969</sup> Today the government wharf at Nootka <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ still in use, but the site <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ home to only one Indian family who lived in the old church there. A fish-buying ~~stake~~ station on a barge usually ties up at Nootka during the summer months. It provides a small store, showers and a washing machine for fishermen.

The Nootka operation was not the only processing plant or fish-buying station in the Nootka Sound area. Others were in use at one time or another. <sup>↓</sup> According to Richard ~~Wilson Sr.~~ <sup>Fisheries Limited</sup> Nelson Brothers operated a fish-buying station in Nootka Sound from March to October <sup>of</sup> 1919 <sup>and</sup> in subsequent years. They bought the Cee Pee Cee cannery located on the Hecate Channel in 1930;





A quantitative analysis of Jewitt's journal <sup>shows</sup> ~~indicates~~ <sup>on</sup> strongly that the Nootkans major subsistence activity involved fishing in one form or another, indicating the Nootkans great dependence ~~on~~ this source of subsistence. Contrary to Drucker's impression that the Nootkans didn't <sup>not</sup> fish pilchard (indicating to him that they did not fully exploit their environment), <sup>e</sup> ~~A~~ ethnohistoric sources make several mentions of pilchards being caught in great quantities during the summer ~~months of the year~~. This does not mean, however, that the Nootkans caught as many as they could of all edible fish in the Nootka Sound area, but that they did not leave any such source pass them by during times of need.