

Hank Snow and Moving On: Tradition and Modernity in Kwakwaka'wakw 20th Century
Migration

by

Byron King Plant
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Supervisor: Dr. John S. Lutz

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the 20th century settlement and migration history of the Kwakwaka'wakw people of Alert Bay, British Columbia. Through an examination of three key shifts in settlement and migratory patterns, it traces how Aboriginal space and movement has been reconfigured in response to changing social, economic, and cultural landscapes. Each of these three shifts—village relocations, the decline of involvement in the capitalist and traditional food economies, and growing urban migration—reveals how Kwakwaka'wakw settlements and notions of community have changed in recent times. These shifts also indicate how innovative forms of migration have developed in, around, and between aboriginal communities.

In addition to documenting some of the most profound changes in Aboriginal demographics since the early catastrophic disease epidemics, this thesis is also interested in continuity and the role local culture plays in shaping settlement and migratory behaviour. Drawing on Michel De Certeau's notion of "combinatory operations," I suggest that Aboriginal people have interpreted and responded to different types of displacement through operational systems shaped by contemporary reproductions of socio-cultural traditions. The thesis argues that the people of this community have responded to displacement with behaviour reflective of both innovation and cultural continuity.

Until now, most research on aboriginal people has been either community- or urban-based. However, this focus on the terminal "beginning" or "end" of migration has tended to overshadow the role migration itself has played within Aboriginal

Aboriginal society and culture. Rather than a process of suspension occurring between two points of settlement, migration itself is a socio-cultural phenomenon, itself no less important than the settlements upon which the process is anchored and defined. Moreover, movement, as James Clifford notes, “might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings” rather than as displacement or transfer. Building on these insights, this thesis assesses 20th century migration experience of the Alert Bay Kwakwaka’wakw within the broader contexts of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations.

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Introduction	p.1
Theoretical Considerations	p.14
Anchors and Radiances	p.17
Sources	p.20
Ethnohistory	p.28
Note on Census Sources	p.30

CHAPTER TWO – HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Kwakwaka'wakw of Alert Bay	p.33
Pre-contact Migration	p.35
Post-contact Migration	p.39

CHAPTER THREE – POST-WWII MIGRATION

Wage Work in the Post-WWII Era	p.49
Tradition and the Subsistence Economy	p.53
The Relocation of Villages	p.59
Effects of Village Consolidation	p.70
Decline of Subsistence Economy	p.74
Urban Migration	p.80
Effects of Urban Migration	p.93

CHAPTER FOUR - CONCLUSION

Conclusion	p.102
Recommendations for Future Study	p.106

APPENDICES

Figures	p.111
Tables	p.117

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	p.124
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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Map of Pacific Northwest Aboriginal Groups	p.111
Figure 2 Map of Northern Vancouver Island and Mainland	p.112
Figure 3 Kwakwaka'wakw Territories	p.113
Figure 4 Kwakwaka'wakw Tribal Amalgamations, Precontact-1980	p.114
Figure 5 Stages of Development of Urban Aboriginal People in Final Adaptation to Urban Milieu	p.115
Figure 6 Voyage of Captain George Vancouver - Sketch of Nimpkish Village, "Cheslakee's Village in Johnstone's Straits"	p.116

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Seasonal Economic and Subsistence Activities	p.117
Table 2 Rohner Population Estimates, 1939-63	p.118
Table 3 Total Band Populations, 1974-2000	p.119
Table 4 On-Reserve Band Populations	p.120
Table 5 Other- and Off-Reserve Band Percentages, 1974-2000	p.122

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Introduction

That big loud whistle as it blew and blew
Said hello to the southland, we're comin' to you
When we're movin' on, oh hear my song
You had the laugh on me, so I've set you free
And I'm movin' on.¹

Canadian First Nations are on the move. Federal statistical data since the mid 20th century suggest that increasing numbers of Native people are leaving reserves and moving to cities. According to the most recent 2001 census, almost half of all Canadian Aboriginal people now live in urban areas. This compares to the mere fifteen-percent recorded living off-reserve in 1966.² At the beginning of the 21st century, the case in British Columbia is no exception; the province with the second largest Aboriginal population, British Columbia is also home to the second highest off-reserve residency percentages, second only to Ontario in both regards.³

The growth of off-reserve Aboriginal populations has not gone unnoticed by scholars although a surprisingly modest body of literature exists on the subject. Beginning in the mid 1970's anthropologists and sociologists began to examine census data and Native demographics.⁴ The main thrust of these early studies was to document

¹ Hank Snow, "I'm Moving On," Written and Recorded by Hank Snow, 1950. According to W____, who has spent the majority of his life living in Vancouver, the term "Hank Snow" was used as a verb by natives like himself to describe the act of moving around.

² Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Indian Conditions: A Survey* (Ottawa: The Department of Indian Affairs, 1980), 134.

³ Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Basic Departmental Data 2000* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2000), 9, 13.

⁴ See James S. Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Donald Neil McCaskill, *The Urbanization of Canadian Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis* (Ph.D dissertation, Toronto: York University, 1979); W. T. Stanbury, "The Social and Economic Conditions of Indian Families in British Columbia," (Vancouver,

what was seen as a new phenomenon: the occurrence of migration from reserves to urban areas. Basing their analyses on contemporary statistical data, Native mobility was framed as an unprecedented demographic shift, a result of identifiable push/pull factors: mounting social, economic, and housing problems on reserves coupled with the impression of better opportunities in the city, were inducing a booming post-World War II Native population to move. All too often, however, these studies lacked historical analyses and Aboriginal perspectives; migration was framed as an exclusively modern phenomenon, beginning in reserves and ending in cities. In addition to this, these works carried the implicit assumption that movement to urban areas was evidence of the acculturation of Aboriginal people.

This thesis re-evaluates notions of Aboriginal mobility by focusing on the Kwakwaka'wakw people of Alert Bay and northern Vancouver Island. Beginning with an overview of the pre and post contact history of the Kwakwaka'wakw, it traces shifts in Kwakwaka'wakw⁵ settlement and migratory patterns in the post-World War II period. The goal of this thesis is twofold. One aim is to shed light on three important historical events—(1) village relocations, (2) the decline of involvement in the capitalist and traditional food economies, and (3) growing urbanization—which have had a profound effect on Kwakwaka'wakw people. Like other coastal Aboriginal groups in B.C., the Kwakwaka'wakw have been physically, economically, and culturally displaced as a result of changing environments. Drawing on Michel De Certeau's notion of “combinatory operations,” I suggest that Kwakwaka'wakw people have responded to

1974); Edgar J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1972); Mark Nagler, *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Center for Anthropology, 1970); Hugh Brody, *Indians on Skid Row: The Role of Alcohol and Community in the Adaptive Process of Indian Urban Migrants* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971).

⁵ The Kwakwaka'wakw have also been referred to as the Kwakiutl, Kwagiulth, and Kwakewlth.

different types of displacement through operational systems shaped by both contemporary needs and ongoing socio-cultural traditions. Specific examination of Kwakwaka'wakw migratory behaviour in the latter 20th century reveals how Aboriginal mobility reflects both continuity with and divergence from remembered tradition.

Two, in examining migration and its changing meaning to Kwakwaka'wakw people, this thesis attempts to move scholarship on First Nations in new directions. The work of James Clifford proves especially useful to this study. Clifford suggests that historical migration can be examined as a source of cultural meaning, rather than as a mere reaction to changing exigencies; migration itself provides a means by which to assess cultural action and reaction, placement and displacement, motion and stasis, and continuity and discontinuity. Through an examination of not just Aboriginal settlements but also the migratory processes which flow between them, this study assesses 20th century patterns of settlement and migration within the broader history of Native/non-Native relations.

One of many Kwakwaka'wakw settlements scattered throughout Johnstone Strait, Alert Bay provides the main context for this study. Previously uninhabited, Alert Bay emerged in the late 19th century as a center of social, economic, cultural, and political activity for the area's Native populations. Still considered within the traditional lands of the Namgis First Nation, in the latter half of the 20th century Alert Bay became the new home to numerous other Kwakwaka'wakw groups. Village amalgamations, created by both Native volunteerism and Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIA) policies aimed at displacement, saw the coming together of numerous smaller tribal groups for the purposes of education, health services, commercial opportunity, and

social life. Already a waypoint in the migratory routes of members of more remote bands, Alert Bay soon became the permanent home for many former sojourners. By the 1970's, many smaller villages fell abandoned, or nearly so, while Alert Bay swelled in size, becoming home to the third largest Aboriginal population in B.C.

The village amalgamations encouraged by the DIA can be also seen as evidence of the active assimilationist program adopted by the Canadian government at that time. Remote native villages on both Pacific and Atlantic coasts were viewed as backwards, impoverished, unhealthy, and costly; centralizing these communities in semi-urban areas, it was thought, would enable government to provide improved and cheaper services, bring people closer to education and employment opportunities, and, more generally, hasten the assimilation of Aboriginal people into mainstream Canadian society.⁶ Village relocations would have a range of effects for the people involved. As this thesis later argues, these shifts in settlements reorganized Kwakwaka'wakw physical and social space, and played a fundamental role in facilitating state directives aimed at assimilation and the displacement of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw knowledge and epistemologies. Village relocations in the 20th century are one example of how notions of Kwakwaka'wakw geography have undergone rapid shifts. Largely a result of external factors, changes in Kwakwaka'wakw space over time saw communities alternately constructed as "center" or "periphery".

Increased integration into the capitalist economy would also have profound effects on Kwakwaka'wakw life. Employment opportunities around mid-century were readily available and readily undertaken by Natives; entire families took on new roles as

⁶ The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "The Relocation of Aboriginal Communities." *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Vol. 1 Part 2* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1996), <<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca>> (July 12, 2003).

commercial fishermen, loggers, cannery workers, and labourers. Kwakwaka'wakw involvement in the food economy, an important facet of social and cultural life, coexisted with involvement in the capitalist economy into the latter half of the 20th century. Aboriginal participation in commercial industries injected additional cash and resources into Aboriginal economies, facilitating and even expanding the ability of many Kwakwaka'wakw to carry on traditional activities. Gas-powered commercial fishing boats, for example, connected local villages, increased capacities to fish, hunt, and gather goods, and made travel to remote areas and peripheral communities more feasible. When opportunities in capitalist wage work began to gradually disappear in the late 20th century, other aspects of Kwakwaka'wakw life were also affected. Commercial license buy-backs, increased restrictions on fish and game, overall declining job opportunities, and greater dependence on state welfare payments, eventually translated into fewer jobs, fewer boats, and fewer dollars in Native hands. With the decline of commercial industries also came the decline of the traditional food economy and the important meaning that food collection, processing, and sharing has within Kwakwaka'wakw social and cultural life. Pushed out of opportunities in the capitalist economy, the culmination of these changes saw increased tribal amalgamations, overall decline in mobility rates, increases in sedentary lifestyles, and greater dependence on state welfare payments.

These developments lay at the root of the third fundamental shift in the settlement and migratory behaviour of the Kwakwaka'wakw in the 20th century. In addition to changes in Kwakwaka'wakw physical, economic, and cultural landscapes, the movement of many people off reserve has affected Native spatial notions of community and identity. Throughout the early to mid 20th century, seasonal migrations to and from cities or work

sites, such as for cannery work or hop picking was not uncommon. Their labour in high demand, Native families would travel to the Fraser Valley or Washington, returning home at the end of the season. By the latter decades of the century, however, Kwakwaka'wakw migration to cities began to take place for sets of entirely different reasons. With declining opportunities on-reserve for work, housing, and education, cities began to attract Kwakwaka'wakw people in the latter 20th century: those physically displaced from their traditional villages, those socially and culturally displaced through the assimilationist policies of the federal government, and those economically displaced from both the capitalist, or wage-work, and sustenance economies. The Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy—a total economic system with traditional social and cultural underpinnings involving the collection, processing, and distribution of food—also underwent rapid change in this time.⁷ Kwakwaka'wakw practices of transhumance⁸—the seasonal migration of peoples to exploit different resources—evolved to include entirely new areas, resources, and services. Although many of the reasons driving movement to cities have been a result of external factors

⁷ It is important to note that the Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy is not only linked to the maintenance of health and well-being but also inextricably bound up with Kwakwaka'wakw epistemology. For example, the meaning of food and the activities surrounding its collection, processing, and circulation are bound by social and cultural protocols and traditions. Within this economy, food is conceived of as a measure of wealth and its circulation is key to the maintenance of Kwakwaka'wakw physical, social, cultural, and spiritual well-being.

⁸ The characteristics of the Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy distinguish it from other cultural practices of transhumance and nomadism found in other parts of the world, such as those documented in Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Volume One*. The Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy, sea- and land-based and prone to seasonal variations and resource availability, differs from other transhumance economies which involve the migration of specific parts of populations to take advantage of land- and livestock-based resources. The Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy also differs from Braudel's theory of nomadism. Although both involve the migration of entire communities for the obtainment of resources, the Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance economy was characterized by established points of settlement and patterns of fixed residency. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Volume One* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 85-102. For a discussion of this subject set in the Coast Salish context, see Wayne Suttles, *Coast Salish Essays* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987), 45-63.

Kwakwaka'wakw people have had little influence over, when seen over the past five decades important class dimensions appear in patterns of urban migration. For example, not all Kwakwaka'wakw people have the prerequisites and resources required to leave the reserve to obtain a university education.

Today, all tribal groups within the former Kwawkewlth Agency have over fifty percent of their members living off-reserve. In addition to high post-World War II birth rates and the reinstatement of Indian "status" to many members, seasonal and permanent migration to urban areas in the 20th century has helped build large inter-tribal Kwakwaka'wakw populations in cities such as Vancouver, Victoria, and Nanaimo. These populations are supported by urban Native service organizations such as friendship centers and education centers. At last glance, movement away from reserves suggests Aboriginal people are acculturating to Canadian society and moving away from older traditions and affiliations based on geography, kinship, and culture. The post World War II migratory history of Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migration, however, is one characterized by both remarkable change and significant continuity. Although urban migration in the latter 20th century exemplifies the changing pressures facing First Nations and the different strategies Aboriginal people have employed in response to them, these developments have been contoured by what is best described as reproductions of socio-cultural traditions. Examination of the history of migration suggests that into the 21st century, Kwakwaka'wakw people have maintained strong ties to their traditional culture and territories in spite of physical, economic, and cultural displacements. For example, out-migration, whether to other reserves or the city, generally occurs along established routes or closed circuitry; almost always, movement is

circumscribed between poles of Kwakwaka'wakw family and community even though various factors have expanded migratory network to include new locations over time. Today, another example of the importance of tradition to contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw life is further reflected by the strong desire by many people to return "home". This includes not only wishes to move back to Alert Bay despite the depressed local economy, but also the concerted efforts by some bands to repopulate abandoned village sites. As this demonstrates, in many ways, different locations are sources of different degrees of "home". The movement of people, culture, and identity across time and space reflects the networks or webs of affiliation that exist for Kwakwaka'wakw people. Points of settlement within these networks, whether reserves, cities, or work camps, carry varying degrees of importance based on changing circumstances. Over time, different locations were/are able to satisfy needs based on changing social, economic, political, and cultural environments; migration plays a vital role for Kwakwaka'wakw people in the realizations of their well-being. In many ways, the complex and changing nature of Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns suggest that both innovation and tradition combine to shape these ongoing migratory processes.

Focus on migration offers not only a way to gauge the profound changes in the social and physical landscapes of Aboriginal populations in the post contact period; it provides a new means of analyzing the history of Native/non-Native relations. As James Clifford notes, "When borders gain a paradoxical centrality, margins, edges, and lines of communication emerge as complex maps and histories."⁹ This thesis adopts such a theoretical premise by attempting to shed light on an often overlooked dimension of

⁹ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7.

Native history. Considerable need exists for not only new histories of Aboriginal migration, but also new theories and social analyses of these processes. Some notable works of interest to this study are discussed below.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau critiques analytical frameworks premised on individuality, instead suggesting that a plurality of social determinants rather than individualism determines behaviour. “The social atomism which over the past three centuries has served as the historical axiom of social analysis,” he argues, “posits an elementary unit—the individual—on the basis of which groups are supposed to be formed and to which they are supposed to be always reducible.”¹⁰ While taking aim at a broad scholarship, de Certeau’s comments apply to existent works on the subject of Native settlement and migration. In addition to excessive focus on the individual, most scholarship tends to examine migration in particular contexts and periods, with heavy emphasis on its economic underpinnings. Whether seen as the method for collecting foods in a pre-contact sustenance economy, or more contemporarily, as a reaction to a lack of work opportunities in rural reserves, Native mobility has largely been considered a means to an economic end. While such economic explanations are not without some merit, they downplay the normative roles culture and social relations play in shaping Aboriginal demographic behaviour. One example of the weakness of rationalist economic analysis lies in its inability to explain instances of migration that lack clear economic underpinnings. For instance, why do Natives still continue to harvest traditional foods when store-bought food is cheaper and easier to obtain? Or, why are Kwakwaka’wakw people returning to Alert Bay from urban areas despite the lack of opportunity in the local economy? The persistence of high rates of

¹⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xi.

mobility through periods of economic boom, and bust, stability and instability, further suggest that economic analyses are only capable of providing partial explanatory frameworks.

Similarly, most scholarly representations of the Native urban experience also tend to employ sets of assumptions, imagery, and stereotypes at the expense of more local analyses and perspectives from the subaltern or “other”. As Ian McKay has argued in *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, social relations and ways of seeing, not intrinsic properties, have the potential to shape representations of cultural history. Using the example of the invented neo-traditional idea of the “Folk” in Nova Scotia, McKay suggests that notions of local cultural identity and value are, in fact, productions of a deliberate middle-class urban invention of history rather than based on actual “folk” in rural Atlantic Canada. In the B.C. context, Ruth Sandwell has made a similar argument in her study of rural practices in the early settlement of Saltspring Island. Sandwell notes how the supposed hegemony of “official” 19th century discourse of rural—a discourse reflective of colonial, bourgeois, liberal, and agrarian ideals—were different from actual settler land usages, meanings, and values.¹¹

Many historical representations of Native people residing in Canadian urban spaces are susceptible to similar critiques. In representing the Native urban experience as one of destitution, dispossession, welfare, and alcoholism, scholars have shown surprisingly little effort to look beyond popular discourses, many of which propagate

¹¹ Ruth Sandwell, “Negotiating Rural: Policy and Practice in the Settlement of Saltspring Island, 1859-91,” in *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia* ed. by Ruth Sandwell (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 83, 100. The works by McKay and Sandwell are rooted in a larger debate surrounding the invention of tradition in history. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

pejorative images of Native peoples.¹² In selectively defining the nature of Aboriginal urbanization, scholars have, at the same time, relegated the need for Aboriginal perspectives and understandings of these very processes. As McKay suggests, selective representations of the past have the effect of not only denying the subaltern classes and groups their specific histories, “it is one subtle and effective method of preserving their inferior position.”¹³

Social analysis provides another means by which to re-examine Aboriginal settlement and migratory behaviour. De Certeau’s theory of “operational combinations” is of particular interest to this study. De Certeau suggests that a plurality of determinants based on social relations, rather than individuality, interact to produce the operations of everyday life. These systems of operational combinations (*les combinatoires d’opérations*), which in fact can compose a “culture”, constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of socio-cultural production.¹⁴ This thesis is premised on the idea that only through a framework that views action through nexuses of social operations—nexuses possibly characterized by *both* rationality and irrationality, coherence and contradiction, and continuity and disruption—can human behaviour be historicized. In terms of this study, such an approach will help to delineate not just the important social, economic, and political factors at play behind Native behaviour; it will also help to examine the extent to which culture, tradition, identity, and family played, and continue to play, an important

¹² For examples, see Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*; Brody, *Indians on Skid Row*; Heather Robertson, *Reservations are for Indians* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Ltd., 1991); Lynda Shorten, *Without Reserve: Stories from Urban Natives* (Edmonton: Newest Press, 1991).

¹³ Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), xvi, 275.

¹⁴ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiv.

normative role in the shaping of contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migration patterns.

The issues surrounding historical representations of Aboriginal peoples are, of course, far from simple matters. In many ways, as James Clifford suggests, the poetic and the political are inseparable as “Literary processes—metaphor, figuration, narrative—affect the way cultural phenomenon are registered, from the first jotted ‘observations’ to the completed book, to the ways these configurations ‘make sense’ in determined acts of reading.”¹⁵ Historian Elizabeth Povinelli contextualizes this issue when criticizing the historiography of indigenous Australians. She notes:

For historical reasons, the economic activities of Aboriginal Australians have been apprehended and described outside of the cultural (and often the political) fields in which they reside—if they have been described at all. Historical reasons for this theoretical partition include Western models of economics and cultural evolution, colonial disruptions of Aboriginal life which set conditions for ethnographic work, and the legal and political frameworks in which Aboriginal action and ethnographic inquiry are evaluated.¹⁶

In 1977 a similar but more exacting critique of scholarship on the Kwakiutl was made by anthropologist Stanley Walens. He argues that most studies of the Kwakiutl

have used a model of the world which derives from Western concepts of the nature of the world and society—concepts which view the world as a universe of men whose operating systems are the interactions between men—and not in terms which are appropriate to Native ideas, in which the relations between men are not necessarily more important than those relations between men and other inhabitants of the universe.¹⁷

¹⁵ James Clifford, “Introduction: Partial Truths,” in James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 2, 4.

¹⁶ Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *Labour's Lot: The Power, History, and Culture of Aboriginal Action* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3.

¹⁷ Stanley Gerald Walens, “Metaphor and Morality in Nineteenth Century Kwakiutl Culture,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1977), i.

While largely a critique of early ethnographies, Walen's comments play out in contemporary scholarship on Native demographics. Evidence of the application of Western categories and analyses are exemplified in most scholars' fixation on the medium of the settlement. This focus on the terminal "beginning" or "end" of migration, whether the village, community, or city, has tended to overshadow the role migration itself has within Native society and culture. With few exceptions today, migration is still seen as a process of suspension occurring between two points of settlement, rather than as a socio-cultural phenomenon, itself no less important than the settlements upon which the process is anchored and defined. As Walens suggests, we know little about how a traditional cosmology shaped and defined historical Kwakwaka'wakw behaviour. Considering the continuation of forms of tradition in Kwakwaka'wakw society today, this critique is as applicable to much scholarship on the modern period.

A contention of this thesis is that the full range of socio-cultural considerations must be included in analyses of Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migratory processes. This study borrows de Certeau's theoretical premise of the existence of systems of operational combinations, but adds to this a broadened understanding of his definition of "culture", one which considers the normative role tradition still plays in shaping contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw social and cultural behaviour. Only through such a historicized and culturally-informed framework can scholars begin to develop better understandings of Native movement and space. Any hope to circumvent the "theoretical partition" identified by Povinelli depends on such contextualization.

Literary critic and theorist Paula Gunn Allen suggests that migration itself forms the very basis for defining the American Indian people's post-Columbian experience.¹⁸ In some ways, this thesis is a case study attempt to qualify this statement as well as draw long due attention to an often ignored aspect of Aboriginal history. How has the physical and social space of the Kwakwaka'wakw people changed since the mid-20th century? What factors have initiated these changes? What role does tradition play in shaping Native settlement and migratory patterns? Beginning with an overview of current scholarship, and methodological and source considerations, I overview the pre- and post-contact history of Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migration. Particular focus is placed on developments in work and welfare practices leading up to the mid-20th century. Against this backdrop, this thesis then focuses on three notable contexts of Kwakwaka'wakw migration in the post-World War II era and the effects of these processes on identity and community: the village amalgamations of the 1960's, the decline of the commercial and sustenance economies, and the growth of urban migration. The study concludes with suggestions for further research.

Theoretical Considerations

Despite a general paucity of scholarship on Aboriginal migration, the studies that exist have much to offer contemporary analyses. Robert Galois's *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775-1920: A Geographical Analysis and Gazetteer* is the only study of Kwakwaka'wakw demographics to date. Designed to be used as a reference tool, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements* is an impressive collection and synthesis of settlement data.

¹⁸ Paula Gunn Allen, *Off the Reservation: Reflections on Boundary-Busting, Border-crossing, Loose Canons* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1998), 6.

Actual analysis, however, is disappointingly brief and confined to introductory chapters. These, notably Galois's chapter on settlement patterns and Gloria Cranmer-Webster and Jay Powell's chapter on Kwakwaka'wakw perspectives, are particularly interesting as they address some of the theoretical issues surrounding analysis of settlements. One example lies in the gap between Native and non-Native worldviews. Native and non-Native epistemological differences create considerable room for slippage in matters surrounding the interpretation and representation of historical phenomenon. In his introduction to the gazetteer, Galois questions the appropriateness of the term "village" and the problems created by its use in both historical and contemporary accounts. Galois admits that the idea of the settlement carries considerable ideological baggage derived from its sedentary, agricultural origins. He notes, "As such it contains implications of permanence, continuity, and singularity. One consequence of applying this concept to the Kwakwaka'wakw settlement pattern is to empty the landscape: the Native presence is reduced to a single spot for each tribe."¹⁹ Galois prefers to use a more localized understanding of land settlement, that of "resource-procurement sites" and identified "points of origin", the latter of which constitute points in which groups "came down" or "appeared".

Jay Miller's book, *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance*, also notes some of the problems concerning English words in his depictions of the Lushootseed people of Puget Sound. Like Galois, Miller identifies the inherent problematic nature of terms such as "village". Miller notes:

calling any and all winter settlements "villages" hides the complex pattern of interranged communities along a waterway and region, communities

¹⁹ Robert Galois, Jay Powell, and Gloria Cranmer Webster, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements, 1775-1920: A Geographical Analysis and Gazetteer* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 79.

ranging from towns as regional centers through villages and hamlets to temporary seasonal camps and resorts used every year over centuries.²⁰

Miller argues that Native “settlements” require a more varied and suitable lexicon, recommending more precise terms such as resorts, hamlets, havens, and towns.²¹

Miller’s motion for a renewed lexicon is appropriate for studies which acknowledge the “old world” assumptions present in the descriptions applied to “new world” peoples.

While most authors on this subject have identified these issues mostly in context of the 18th and 19th centuries, considerable room for slippage still exists in descriptions of 20th century Aboriginal cultures. Noting the historical roots of cultural misunderstanding between Europeans and Pacific Northwest Native peoples, John Lutz suggests that even with contemporary issues, “Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Canadians use the same words but often with different meanings.”²²

The reserve system set up by the Canadian government the late 19th century has had a profound role in shaping Canadian images of Native peoples. As Daniel Francis notes, from the Native point of view, reserves secured a land base for traditional lifeways; for the Canadian government, reserves were an integral part of the civilizing process, social laboratories where Indians could be educated, Christianized and prepared for assimilation.²³ Keith Carlson provides the most succinct critique of the band-based frameworks and discourse used in descriptions of Native peoples. Based on his work with the Sto:lo Coast Salish, Carlson argues:

²⁰ Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 15, f.n. 2.

²² John Lutz, “Makuk: Work and Welfare in Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Relations,” (Unpublished manuscript, 2003), 8, 9-11.

²³ Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Press, Ltd., 1992), 203.

While Indian Bands and Indian reserves are associated with particular Aboriginal communities, most of which are products of ancient social and geographical affiliations, they privilege a decidedly European notion of what constitutes the proper and legitimate collective social and political unit. That is, they reflect an assumption that the most meaningful collective identity is the one derived from residence proximity.²⁴

Carlson argues that affiliations based on extended family, rather than geography or band, lay at the core of expressions of Coast Salish collective identity. He notes the works by Bruce Miller and Daniel Boxberger who contend that situationally, in addition to familial orientations, other latent identities have come to the fore in response to specific historical circumstances.²⁵ These include notions of shared identity based on the extended family, spirituality, economics, ecology, and materialism. For studies of the Kwakwaka'wakw, this perspective, which includes the operations of variable individual and inter-tribal affiliations, or layered forms of identity, is needed in analyzing settlement and migratory behaviour. From this perspective, the works of Miller and Carlson are important contributions towards developing a more appropriate and culturally-sensitive means of writing Pacific Northwest Aboriginal histories.

Anchors and Radiances

This thesis attempts to move scholarship on Native populations in new directions by framing Kwakwaka'wakw migration and settlement as characterized by complex migratory patterning, or radiances, based on settlement localization, or anchoring. The concepts of anchors and radiances are adapted from Miller, who uses them to model the operations of Lushootseed culture, shamanism, and spirituality. Miller suggests that

²⁴ Keith Carlson, "The Power of Place, The Problem Of Time: A Study Of History And Aboriginal Collective Identity," (Ph.D Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2003), 2.

²⁵ Bruce G. Miller and Daniel L. Boxberger, "Creating Chiefdoms: The Puget Sound Case," in Carlson, "The Power of Place," 23.

Lushootseed spiritual energy radiated outward from anchored sites, conjoining both physical and spiritual cosmos; person, kin, community, and region were linked in a web of spiritual affiliation. This energy projected out from anchored tribal homelands, physically, culturally, and spiritually connecting people from diverse residential groups. Miller further adds that within this model, Lushootseed life was in a state of constant negotiation, flux, and flow. He notes, "Movement was a characteristic of all life, either obviously as with animals, subtly as with plants, or unobtrusively as with thoughts."²⁶ Cross-generational bonds set up channels along recurrent, if not closed, circuitry.

The operations of Kwakwaka'wakw cosmology were likely analogous. Walens notes how metaphor played a central role in Kwakwaka'wakw spiritual and cognitive systems; every living creature in the Kwakiutl universe was linked together in a great chain of being, a total system which provided the basis of Kwakiutl ontology.²⁷ The potlatch, for example, saw both the physical flow of people from periphery to center as well as spiritual movement. Human lives "flowed" through names, roles, and societies, all of which had roots in the spiritual realm.²⁸ Walens suggests that virtually every aspect of Kwakiutl life was characterized by metaphoric exchanges between the physical and spiritual realms. The collection and redistribution of food, for example, "is a complete cycle, mimicking the cycle of reincarnation and its ritual enactment through the garnering

²⁶ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 22.

²⁷ Walens, "Metaphor and Morality," 183-4. Stanley Walens proposes a similar metaphor for ordering Kwakiutl social and physical space. He suggests the entire Kwakiutl cosmology can be seen as a set of similar container/contained relations between objects. For example, the house is a food storage box that contains boxes; the village is a house that contains houses; the universe is a village that contains villages. Similarly, for the social realm, the numaym (namima) is a social box which contains individuals; the tribe is a box which contains numayms; the universe is a box which contains tribes; the tribe is a numaym which contains numayms; the universe is a tribe which contains tribes. See *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁸ Marty Weinstein, "Nimpkish Valley: A History of Resource Management on Vancouver Island Lands of the Nimpkish Indian People, from Aboriginal Times to the 1980s," (Alert Bay, B.C., 1991), 35.

and storing by chiefs of souls that they later distribute at potlatches.”²⁹ From this perspective, the practices of Aboriginal daily life can be seen as a cyclical operation, a constant reflex, renewal, and affirmation of the Kwakwaka’wakw world.

Where Miller uses the metaphor of the radiant/anchor to describe a traditional Native cosmology, this study utilizes the same metaphor to describe Kwakwaka’wakw physical, social, and cultural phenomenon in the twentieth century. Kwakwaka’wakw migratory behaviour in this period can be best explained by a model that deracinates settlement from its agrarian connotations and approaches migrations as ongoing and never-finished series of encounters.³⁰ This model helps to document changes in the locations of settlement anchors, such as that found in the village relocations of the 1960’s, the loci of which saw points in former radiances become new anchors of settlement. This model also helps document shifts in the parameters, ranges, and types of migratory radiances.

Over the last fifty years, the reasons for migration have shifted as have the destinations, meanings, and effects of these movements. Consequently, the concept of the “anchor” needs to be loosely understood as a general model to describe complex and variable phenomenon. Different anchors, whether fishing sites, villages, or city neighbourhoods, represent different degrees of “home” to Kwakwaka’wakw people. Each anchor can thus be seen as the culmination of distinct formulations of factors such as family, economy, education, and culture. Changing circumstances increase or diminish the importance of each factor and, consequently, the importance of each location. For example, the declining availability of unskilled jobs and growing need for

²⁹ Walens, “Metaphor and Morality,” 56.

³⁰ Clifford, *Routes*, 11, 13.

education since the 1980's has forced many Kwakwaka'wakw people to leave the community of Alert Bay and move to cities for advanced education.

Kwakwaka'wakw migration to urban areas, which scarcely occurred before the 20th century, also reveals how changing external factors can push and redefine the parameters of migration. The patterns of urban and return migration quantified by oral sources also suggest that different formulations themselves may be composed of conflicting needs. For example, when talking with Kwakwaka'wakw people visiting Alert Bay from their permanent urban residences, it becomes apparent that one's residence does not always equate with one's sense of identity, belonging, or home. This suggests the coexistence of multiple forms of affiliation and anchoring based on geography, kinship, and culture. As the gap between the actual and desired place of residence for Kwakwaka'wakw people demonstrates, different types of anchors may be characterized by conflicting, if not paradoxical, exigencies.

Sources

While a broad historical analysis of pre- and post-contact B.C. Aboriginal demographics has yet to be undertaken, a wide range of literature varied in scope and context exists on the broader subject of Native urban and reserve communities. One popular form is biographical and autobiographical accounts of urban and reserve Natives. Often written by journalists and aimed at a non-academic readership, these accounts tend to consist of edited oral stories of social and economic problems facing reserve and urban First Nations. Another common body of material is that published by governments and research institutes. These also focus on contemporary issues such as off-reserve

Aboriginal demographics, but instead rely on quantitative sources such as DIA and census data. While these have been examined, the main secondary material used for this study are the works of sociologists, geographers, anthropologists, and historians. These include some often overlooked works by W. T. Stanbury, Paul McCaskill, Kathleen Mooney, and James Frideres, scholars who observed and wrote about changing Aboriginal demographic patterns in the 1970's. Also examined are the important 1966 Hawthorn Report and the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP).

In addition to textual sources, oral narratives play an important role in this study. This thesis is based on fieldwork carried out in Alert Bay over the summer of 2003. Eighteen interviews were conducted in three trips spanning twelve days as part of the national SSHRC- and NSERC-funded Coasts Under Stress interdisciplinary research project.³¹ Oral sources provide invaluable information, both in terms of offering Kwakwaka'wakw perspectives, but also as a historical source; as with many First Nations in British Columbia, a history of 20th century events has yet to be undertaken for the Kwakwaka'wakw.³² While the research carried out for this study was subject to Namgis Tribal Council approval and ethical guidelines of conduct set out by the University of Victoria (UVic) Human Research Ethics Committee, this project ultimately owes its existence to the willingness of Kwakwaka'wakw people to share their history through interviews, films, and educational web pages.³³ The collaborative efforts of Chris Cook

³¹ See <<http://www.coastunderstress.ca>>

³² Some exemptions include Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); Keith Thor Carlson, ed., *You Are Asked to Witness: The Sto:lo in Canada's Pacific Coast History* (Chilliwack: Sto:lo Heritage Trust, 1997); Carlson et al., *A Sto:lo Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001).

³³ The Native community of Alert Bay is divided between two reserves, the Namgis and Whe-la-la-u. Virtually indistinguishable from each other to the outside observer, the Namgis and Whe-la-la-u reserves have their own respective political and administrative structures. Although the research for this project was

III, a UVic alumni and member of the Namgis First Nation, also needs to be recognized as his assistance was instrumental in facilitating and carrying out oral fieldwork in Alert Bay.

Despite their extraordinary value, a perusal of the bibliographies of many of the aforementioned works reveals a general paucity of oral sources. Although the possibilities for oral history have been well documented, for the most part, oral sources have not enjoyed the same status or use by academics as their textual counterparts. Beginning in the 1960's, historians and social scientists began to see the potential for oral histories to open up new areas of inquiry and understanding, break down barriers of class, gender, and race, give voice to the marginalized, and personalize the past in ways not possible through text.³⁴ Beginning in the 1960's, the mode of oral history has been used for studies ranging from feminism to Black history, pop culture to military history. Since then, a wide-ranging body of literature labeling itself "oral history" has been published, as has a substantial body of prescriptive works, covering areas from methodology to interviewing techniques.³⁵

sought and approved solely with the Namgis Tribal Council, this was of minor significance given the considerable overlap and inter-reserve family ties that have developed between these two reserves since the 1960's. Whe-la-la-u land is still considered to be Namgis territory.

³⁴ Paul Thompson, *Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 22, 28.

³⁵ See *Ibid*; Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); Julie Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues," *Canadian Historical Review* LXXV (1994); Gwyn Prins, "Oral History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Pennsylvania: Polity Press, 1991); Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness*, Robert and Alistair Thomson Perks, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998); Wendy Wickwire, "Stories From the Margins: Toward a More Inclusive BC Historiography" (Unpublished Paper Delivered at Worlds In Collision Colloquium, February 2002, Victoria, B.C., 2002); Wendy Wickwire, ed., *Nature Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller*, With Harry Robinson. (Vancouver and Seattle: Douglas and McIntyre and University of Washington Press, 1992). The lack of a recognized set of terms and definitions has made study of orality difficult. This thesis employs the term oral narrative to describe the contents of an oral interview. An oral tradition is the means by which these narratives are culturally transmitted. The term oral history is used to describe a work which incorporates oral narratives into broader historical frameworks.

Although oral narratives have been central to the work of social anthropologists and ethnographers since the late 19th century, in terms of the writing of First Nations history in British Columbia, scholars have been slow to incorporate oral sources into their work. Even the most current historiography suggests old habits die hard. While a handful of works have successfully engaged textual and oral sources,³⁶ most social historians of the Pacific Northwest still base their work on re-readings of “traditional” text-based sources including newspapers, colonial correspondence, trader narratives, company records, Indian agent reports, missionary memoirs, and commission proceedings.³⁷

The absence of oral sources from many works is partly attributable to the unique challenges posed by the collection and use of oral material. Oral research, dependent on fieldwork, is a lengthy and politicized process that often requires the non-Native scholar’s relocation to Native communities. Fieldwork not only costs considerable time and money and is increasingly subject to strict ethical guidelines of research; it is contingent on the researcher’s ability to find and acquaint him or herself with potential interviewees, explain the nature of the work, and hopefully, interest that subject into

³⁶ See Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness*; Richard Price, ed. *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999); Treaty 7 Elders et al., *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty Seven* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996); Michael E. Harkin, *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

³⁷ See Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements*, 22. One of the first, and certainly the most influential, works to undertake this approach was Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 1992). Fisher re-conceptualized the contact experience as a period of negotiated exchange, but more importantly, examined the subsequent settlement period. Fisher’s now-infamous thesis of the mutually beneficial trading relationship that developed in the maritime fur trade has been challenged in more recent years as has his argument that following the fur trade and the beginnings of settlement and the capitalist economy, “Indians became at best irrelevant.” See Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1848-1930* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996); Lutz, “Makuk”; Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada’s Pacific Coast Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Despite the critiques of Fisher’s work, *Contact and Conflict* is still used in the university classroom.

participating.³⁸ Even upon reaching that point, the eventual success or failure of an interview comes down to the will of the participant. Mistrust, suspicion, and lack of interest are not uncommon sentiments held by Natives towards outside scholars. Since the academic enterprise is seen as removed from communities if not in opposition to community interests, many question what they have to gain from the sharing of their history.³⁹ These are but a few of the issues that can frustrate the non-Native scholar's access to oral sources.

Regardless, oral narratives and native perspectives must be sought and included in future studies of Aboriginal history. The onus is on historians to not only invite and engage First Nations in a dialogue, but also formulate new analytic and narrative techniques that integrate the needs and interests of both researcher and subject. As part of this process, fieldwork increasingly needs to be approached less as a short-term act of salvage or collection, and more as part of an ongoing exchange. Future fieldwork in Native communities such as Alert Bay is contingent upon the development of forms of historical writing which balance both historical objectivity with a respect and sensitivity for cultural differences.⁴⁰

In addition to the ethical issues surrounding fieldwork, the actual credibility of oral source material has also been a site of debate, as have the methodological questions surrounding their use for historical writing. Part of the problem, John Tosh notes, is that “[H]istorians are reluctant to see any compromise with the principle that contemporaneity

³⁸ Interviewees who have opted for anonymity in giving consent to be interviewed are referred to below by initial only. i.e. S ____.

³⁹ Rohner describes challenges faced in his fieldwork in Gilford Island, Ronald Preston Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village: Gilford Island Band* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1965), 10-11.

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Sonny McHalsie of the Sto:lo Nation for sharing his insights into this subject.

is the prime requirement of historical sources—and oral sources have an inescapable element of hindsight about them.”⁴¹ The factual reliability of oral sources and the question over representation, namely “whose story are you getting?” is a common one made by some professional historians. Another criticism made of the oral as a historical source lies in the interpretation of oral narratives. One argument is epitomized by Philip Abrams who warns, “The close encounter may make their voices louder, it does not ... make their meaning clearer. To that end we must turn back from ‘their’ meanings to our own and to the things that we know about them which they did not know, or say, about themselves.”⁴² The suggestion that oral sources can be incorporated into existing historical modes of analysis has some merit, as this has been the general *modus operandi* for oral historians; even the best trained oral historians rely on historiographical traditions oriented towards factuality, causation, and objectivity.⁴³ Aboriginal societies with oral traditions, however, pose a set of new interpretive considerations for the oral historian. In such cases, modernist or positivistic historiographical approaches are unable to provide the interpretive means to incorporate non-textual epistemologies and traditions.

Poststructuralist examinations of narrativity in historical writing have had an acute role in challenging some critiques of oral sources. Deconstructive theory and revisionist histories have not only spurred interest in oral sources, but also justified their use by developing new theoretical means by which to assess them. By drawing attention onto narrativity and the literary nature of historical inquiry, the work of theorists such as

⁴¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions for the Study of Modern History* (London: Longman, 1991), 207.

⁴² Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* in *Ibid.*, 214. For further discussion see Ronald J. Grele, “Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History,” in *The Oral History Reader*, 17.

⁴³ Yngve Georg Lithman, *The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1984).

Hayden White have raised interesting implications for the study and uses of oral history. Historians, White suggests, “have transformed narrativity from a manner of speaking into a paradigm of the [written] form that reality itself displays to a ‘realistic’ consciousness.”⁴⁴ White argues that historical narratives are, in fact, verbal fictions, “the content of which are as much *invented as found* as the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences.”⁴⁵ White’s framing of historical discourse as a narrative construction and ultimately, a verbal fiction, discounts the idea that the written text is somehow an inherently objective medium. By drawing together the narrativity found in both oral and textual sources, White is able to identify how all foundations of truth and meaning are created and normalized through social cores. He notes, “Narrativity, ... is intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine.”⁴⁶

Although some historians have viewed postmodernist theories such as this as a threat to the sanctity of the discipline of history itself,⁴⁷ this thesis follows the premise that a narrative component, whether manifested through oral or written, historical or contemporary forms, characterizes all reconstructions of the past. Indeed, study of narrativity has placed limits on the cognitive authority and “truths” contained in written sources. This has led to re-evaluations of the histories and sets of assumptions which are wholly based upon textual sources. These limits have also served to level the “historical

⁴⁴ Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *The Content and the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Re-presentation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989), 24.

⁴⁵ Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. by Hayden White (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 82.

⁴⁶ White, "Value of Narrativity," 14.

⁴⁷ See J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998); Lawrence Stone, "History and Post-Modernism," in *The Postmodern Reader*, edited by Keith Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 1997), 248.

playing field” as other voices and traditions are increasingly being seen as alternate and respectively valid means of creating and transmitting knowledge. Incredulity towards text as an unmediated window for viewing past realities has provided fertile space for new oral histories.

Such a premise, however, is not intended to obscure or downplay the limitations of oral sources, or even suggest that the enterprise of oral history is without serious shortcomings. In many ways, as Ronald J. Grele comments, oral history is a “movement without aim.”⁴⁸ In addition to the debate surrounding what even actually constitutes an oral source or tradition, many works of oral history fail to mention some of the theoretical, interpretive, methodological, and ethical considerations of oral fieldwork. Another common problem results from the general reluctance of scholars to synthesize the oral with other text sources; many oral histories stop at the transcription stage. Just as White notes with literary histories, oral history too suffers from a similar problem in which the form itself has come to constitute the content. As demonstrated by many works, the recorded capture, transcription, and presentation of an oral narrative in print form suggests that an oral narrative is somehow inherently meaningful.⁴⁹

While this thesis does not contest the idea that oral traditions play an important epistemological role in constituting oral narratives, the testimonies examined below are assessed for both their factual content and their insights into Kwakwaka’wakw perspectives. Examination of the meanings embedded in oral narratives help to distinguish and give voice to Kwakwaka’wakw ways of understanding and presenting “reality”.

⁴⁸ Ronald J. Grele, “Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History,” in *The Oral History Reader*, 38-52.

⁴⁹ This raises the debate over whether or not the oral interview is the end product in itself. See *Ibid.*, 43.

Ethnohistory

Ethnohistoric approaches raise interesting and exciting possibilities in bridging the gaps between oral and textual sources and traditions of exchanging knowledge.⁵⁰ Ethnohistory differs from Boasian and acculturationist approaches to the study of Aboriginal peoples as it examines cultural dynamics within broader historical processes. The recent work of Michael Harkin in this area is of particular interest. Harkin calls for theoretical focus on dialogues as the means for ethnohistorians to examine the historical interaction between two distinct cultural traditions, in his case the Euro-Canadian and the Heiltsuk. Dialogues, once set against their constituting cultural traditions, Harkin argues, allow the ethnohistorian to examine “the interplay among action and reaction, event and interpretation, structure and praxis, memory and representation, domination and resistance, that characterizes the postcontact histories of tribal peoples.”⁵¹ Such a theoretical framework that allows for the inclusion of multiple voices and perspectives has much to offer future studies of historical and contemporary Native migration.

A main challenge of ethnohistorical analyses and of particular interest to this study, however, is in historicizing the negotiation of “tradition” over time within larger cultural dialogues. What constitutes “tradition” and how has it changed with Euro-Canadian contact and colonization? How are forms of tradition reproduced and manifested in contemporary Aboriginal behaviour? At what point does innovation of

⁵⁰ For discussion of ethnohistorical approaches, see Raymond J. DeMallie, “‘These Have No Ears’: Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method,” *Ethnohistory* vol. 40 no. 4 (Fall 1993), 515-538; Bruce Trigger, “Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice,” *Ethnohistory* 33:3 (Summer 1986), 253-67; Michael Harkin, “Past Presence: Conceptions of History in Northwest Coast Studies,” *Arctic Anthropology* vol. 33 no. 2 (1996), 1-15.

⁵¹ Michael Harkin, *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), vii, ix.

tradition become acculturation? While difficult questions to answer, they must be addressed in order to facilitate understandings of contemporary Native societies that move beyond the simple economic and sociological analyses that often characterize studies of 20th century Native behaviour. For the Kwakwaka'wakw, the gaps between the contemporary and the traditional are smaller than many non-Native scholars have assumed for the Canadian Aboriginal whole.⁵² Such an approach that polarizes behaviour reflective of tradition with that reflective of innovation, ignores the complex processes that occur between them.

This thesis is interested in this middle ground. Indeed, observable in the community examined in this study is behaviour ascribable as both innovative and traditional. This, of course, creates problems for the historian when using terms such as “traditional” and “modern” to describe Kwakwaka'wakw culture. The continuation of “traditional” activities such as potlatching is one example of this slippery problem of assessing the relationship between the modern and the traditional. Much shorter and characterized by the distribution of both traditional and modern goods, potlatches are considerably different today than in earlier times. Difficulties also arise from the use of chronological frameworks which demand a distinction between past and present through tense usage. For purposes contained in this study, the term “tradition” and “traditional” is loosely used in reference to any reflexive behaviour that assumes continuity with remembered and traditional culture.⁵³ Any errors in inflection or tense used in the description of Kwakwaka'wakw people contained in this thesis are purely unintentional.

⁵² Menno Boldt, *Surviving As Indians: The Challenge of Self Government* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 167-221. Boldt suggests that Indian cultures in Canada are in a state of cultural crisis, as “Traditional values, norms, customs, and social systems have lost their relevance, their legitimacy, and their capacity for maintaining social order within their communities.” *Ibid.*, 168.

⁵³ This definition of tradition is taken from Harkin, *The Heiltsuks*, xi.

They are also indicative of the need for new methods and means for writing about First Nations people.

Note on Census Sources

Before continuing, a brief note on statistical sources deserves mention. In addition to oral interviews, this study also utilizes textual primary sources, including federal and provincial censuses, DIA departmental data, and annual reports. Government statistical data has played a prominent and important role in many of the aforementioned studies and in this regard, this thesis is no different; statistical data provide valuable and exclusive quantitative information on matters such as population, sex, residence, and employment. Statistical data for Canadian First Nations, however, are limited in numerous ways. While modern federal censuses cover a wide range of detailed information, the Department of Indian Affairs only began systematically recording annual registry data for Kwakwaka'wakw bands in 1974.⁵⁴ Even the reliability of these data, especially in earlier years, is suspect given the considerable variations between and among band figures for certain years. For example, registry data taken between 1975 and 1976 show a drastic decline in inter-band residency figures (See Table 5 in Appendix 2). That this pattern is seen repeated across every band within the agency suggests that the issue is likely one of changing data collection rather than actual demographics. Another problem lies in the categories of reference themselves. Natives are classified as residing either on their home reserve, on another reserve, off-reserve, or on crown lands. At the

⁵⁴ Early statistical data collected by the federal government and Indian Affairs is even more difficult to attain. A category for First Nations was not even included in the 1871 federal census and the 1891 census did not distinguish between the different tribal groups within the Kwakwaka'wakw Agency created ten years earlier. Lutz, "Makuk," 41-2; Patrick A. Dunae et al., "Vancouver Island 1891 Census," *viHistory.ca*, n.d., <<http://www.vihistory.ca/content/census/1891/Firstnations91.aspx>> (August 24, 2003).

same time, these categories are poorly defined and qualified—off reserve, literally, could mean anywhere. Registry data such as these are indicative of how ingrained reserve frameworks and band denominations have become to Canadian perceptions of First Nations. As Carlson notes, Indian reserves and municipal-style elected band offices, creations of the British and Canadian governments, have acted to reinforce settlement and tribal-based identities at the expense of more prudent regional and familial expressions.⁵⁵ While census data are structured around distinguishing on- and off-reserve contexts, this thesis attempts to move beyond this dichotomization and approach Aboriginal communities as part of larger networks.

In addition to recording only particular moments in particular places, statistical data are contingent on definitions and registries of status “Indians”. This is complicated by the fact that who and what constitutes an “Indian” has changed over time. Up until the passing of Bill C-31 in 1985, inter-racial marriage under the Indian Act could result in a loss or acquisition of Indian status.⁵⁶ Literally overnight, the Canadian government’s definition of “Indian” changed to include people who admit to having Aboriginal identity or ancestry.⁵⁷ This resulted in nearly the quadrupling of the registered Indian population in 1986. Today, the number of registered Indians has almost returned to its pre-amendment figure, although, as Alan Cairns suggests, a dramatic discrepancy now exists between those who report an Aboriginal ancestry and those who report an Aboriginal

⁵⁵ Carlson, “The Power of Place,” 2.

⁵⁶ Bill C-31, which amended the Indian Act and removed gender discrimination based on marriage, allowed people of Aboriginal ancestry to become “Indian” and apply for status.

⁵⁷ The 1991 Canadian Census reported figures based on a question that determined cultural origins or ancestry while the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, also recorded by Statistics Canada, focused on those who identified with their Aboriginal ancestry. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, “From Time Immemorial: A Demographic Profile,” in *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1996) < http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgm2_e.html > (August 2, 2003).

identity.⁵⁸ Despite these issues, census data remain the only quantitative source for determining rates of Kwakwaka'wakw population, migration, and commutability.

Tentativeness and comparative balancing with oral and local accounts, where applicable, have been attempted where claims based on census data are used.

⁵⁸ Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal People and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 126-7; Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Basic Departmental Data 2001* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2001), 11-12.

CHAPTER TWO – HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Kwakwaka'wakw of Alert Bay

The Kwakwaka'wakw are the “Kwakwala-speaking people”. Part of the larger Wakashan language family and still spoken today, Kwakwala has five regional dialects which distinguish communities within the Kwakwaka'wakw. In addition to dialect, further distinctions can be found in geography, culture, and local biodiversity.⁵⁹ The collective traditional territories of the Kwakwaka'wakw stretch from northern Vancouver Island, including islands in Johnstone and Queen Charlotte Straits, to the adjacent mainland of British Columbia. These lands and waters include the Nimpkish Valley, Bonanza River, the Pearce and Plumper Island Groups, and the adjacent straits and sea areas (See Figure 2 in Appendix 1).⁶⁰ Kwakwaka'wakw territories are situated between those claimed by the Oweekeno and Heiltsuk to the coastal north, the Nuu-cha-nulth on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and the Halq'emeylem, Shíshálh, and Sliammon of the southern Straits (See Figure 1 in Appendix 1).⁶¹

Alert Bay today serves as the geographical, political, administrative, and social center of the Kwakwaka'wakw. Fittingly, Cormorant Island, where Alert Bay is located, sits near the nexus of the four main regional tribes: Gilford Island to the north, Knight Inlet to the east, Namgis (Nimpkish) to the south, and Kwagu'l (Kwakiutl) to the west (See Figure 3 in Appendix 1). Cormorant Island is the site of the main community of the

⁵⁹ The five dialects are Gutsala, Kwakwala, Likwala, 'Nakwala, and Tlatlasikwala. The Umista Cultural Center, Juanita Pasco, and Brian D. Compton, *The Living World: Plants and Animals of the Kwakwaka'wakw* (Alert Bay, B.C.: Umista Cultural Society, 1998), 4.

⁶⁰ Weinstein, “Nimpkish Valley,” 15; The Umista Cultural Center, Pasco, and Compton, *The Living World*, 4. See Appendix 1, Figure 3.

⁶¹ See Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*; Cheryl Coull, *A Traveller's Guide to Aboriginal B.C.* (North Vancouver, B.C.: Whitecap Books, 1996).

Namgis, also known as the Nimpkish people. In addition to the considerable inter-tribal kinship networks that exist within the Namgis Nation, Alert Bay is also home to the Whe-la-la-u reserve. Meaning “everyone is welcome”, the Whe-la-la-u is an aggregate of numerous other Kwakwaka’wakw tribal groups, created in the 1960’s to house people who were then migrating to Alert Bay. The two reserves on the island, the Namgis and the Whe-la-la-u, each have their own elected council and administrative bodies.

The Kwakwaka’wakw have been a favorite subject for study by ethnographers and anthropologists since “discovered” by Franz Boas in 1886. Known for their rich cultural traditions, ceremonial life, and potlatch history, the Native inhabitants of Alert Bay have one of the most recognizable indigenous cultures in the world. Despite the historical images of longhouses and totem poles found on local postcards, Alert Bay was not a site of sustained Native settlement when the explorer Captain George Vancouver arrived in 1792. Used by the Nimpkish as a burial ground and travel stop between Vancouver Island and the mainland, Cormorant Island served as a waypoint in the “grease trail”, or trade route that connected the west coast of Vancouver Island with the mainland interior. This was part of a larger trading network between Nuuchahnulth, Kwakwaka’wakw, and interior groups, in which eulachon grease was exchanged for other goods.

Cormorant Island emerged as a community with permanent infrastructure in the latter half of the 19th century when cannery operations came to the island. Attracted by wage work, modern goods and amenities, and missions, family groups began to migrate to Alert Bay. Native populations increased into the twentieth century with the establishment of a residential school, hospital, and lucrative commercial fishery. Today,

however, Alert Bay is but a shadow of its former self in more prosperous times. Few local commercial fishing licenses remain in the community and high rates of unemployment and welfare dependency, and lack of local opportunity are endemic to the island into the 21st century. This section provides a historical background to this modern period through a brief overview of pre- and post-contact settlement and migration.

Pre-Contact Migration

Pacific Northwest Aboriginal migration, while generally examined within twentieth-century frameworks, is hardly absent from the historical record. Evident in many early written records and oral accounts, First Nations in the Pacific Northwest have had traditions of mobility and high physical and social fluidity in both contemporary and historic times. In the pre-contact era, Kwakwaka'wakw migrations took place for a number of reasons. The early sustenance or traditional food economy, for example, saw routine and prolonged migrations for various resources. Most commonly revolving around sustenance, social, cultural, and spiritual exigencies, migrations collectively shaped and defined Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns. Activities such as potlatching, trade, warfare, and ceremonial activity fuelled a local indigenous culture of high mobility and spatial dynamism that spanned and connected distant geographies.

Socio-cultural protocols such as those surrounding marriage also played an important role in shaping migration and identity. Carlson notes how high-status Coast Salish women moved to their husband's villages following marriage yet important signifiers of women's status and identity remained located in the immediate vicinity of

their parents' homes or traveled with their sisters to their new husbands' locales.⁶²

Carlson further adds that traditional marriage practices not only determined residency patterns, they also reveal how geographical stasis and movement has gender and class dimensions. Given the similar protocols surrounding marriage, Kwakwaka'wakw settlement patterns were also largely based on social networks established through wedlock. While traditions such as inter-tribal and arranged marriage were maintained as late as the mid-20th century, little evidence suggests these practices are still followed today.

In addition to marriage protocols, Kwakwaka'wakw cosmology played an important role in shaping movement. Rather than being seen as simple responses to extant social, economic, or political conditions, anthropologists Stanley Walens, Irving Goldman, and Jay Miller argue that the high rates of movement common to this period were bound up within the operations of Aboriginal cosmology. Within this cosmos, humans, animals, and spirits collectively formed a ritual congregation, or community, itself part of a larger universe. Writing specifically on the Kwakwaka'wakw, Goldman notes, "No part, no person, no tribe, no species, no body of supernatural beings is self-sufficient. Each possesses a portion of the sum of all the powers and properties of the cosmos."⁶³ Causality within this structure can be seen as a combination of human and spirit power, the former depending on the temporary influence of the greater power of the latter. In turn, the ability of an individual to ally with spiritual power could have beneficial or detrimental effects for the entire community. In other words, traditional

⁶² Carlson, "The Power of Place," 25.

⁶³ Irving Goldman, *The Mouth of Heaven: An Introduction to Kwakiutl Religious Thought* (New York: Wiley, 1975), 177; Walens, "Metaphor and Morality," 5-7.

Kwakwaka'wakw society was founded on a system of collective welfare based on the actions and interactions of individuals with the spirit realm.

Activities such as potlatching, feasting, sharing, and trade can be seen as manifestations of these social and spiritual combinatory operations. Potlatches were highly important and complex processes which occasioned the coming together of communities for brief-to-extended periods. The redistribution of foods, wealth, and social status were only part of these processes; inter-tribal communications also witnessed the movement of "spiritual capital" including songs, dances, stories, and names. The structure of the potlatch was not only the means by which social, economic, or spiritual responsibilities could be fulfilled. As Walens notes, "The purpose of the potlatch is not just the validation of an individual's social status, it is a reaffirmation of the entire system of social and religious inter-relationships upon which Kwakiutl society is founded."⁶⁴ Current Namgis chief Bill Cranmer puts it in plainly, "The potlatch was a way of passing down our history, of keeping our history alive."⁶⁵

The sustenance economy and the protocols surrounding its management were inextricably linked to Kwakwaka'wakw cosmological beliefs. Within this structure, the various Kwakwaka'wakw groups had complex seasonal migratory patterns, many of which were characterized by the collection and processing of foodstuffs. Based on traditional knowledge adapted to the local environment and ecology, these patterns took advantage of seasonally-available ocean resources including salmon, halibut, seals, sea lions, whales, porpoises, octopus, clams, crabs, abalone, and seaweed. Harvested land-based goods included cedar roots and bark, pitch, berries, game, birds, and fur-bearing

⁶⁴ Walens, "Metaphor and Morality," 35.

⁶⁵ Bill Cranmer in Barb Cranmer, director, *I'tusto: To Rise Again*, 2000.

animals.⁶⁶ These activities extended Kwakwaka'wakw territory to peripheral sea, river, and land locations, both for resource collection and processing.

The use and management of resources were subject to socio-cultural protocols. Namimas, best defined as corporate household groups which composed the basic unit of Kwakwaka'wakw society, held rights over resource usage.⁶⁷ Namimas played a central role in setting the operations of the sustenance economy. As Powell and Webster summarize, "For the Kwakwaka'wakw, thinking about land involves knowing what group or family claims and has the right to use it, knowing its resources, and, finally, knowing how to use those resources."⁶⁸

Despite protocols around proprietorship, sharing was a prominent and important quality of Kwakwaka'wakw life. Walens notes how the geographical basis for Kwakwaka'wakw social organization laid in the sharing of space, both food-collecting space and residential space.⁶⁹ The eulachon fishery in Knight's Inlet, for example, brought the Mamalilikala, Kwagu'l, Ma'amtagila, Lawi'sisi, and Namgis together in the spring months for the common purpose of making grease. The village of Da'naxda'xw, located at the mouth of the river was populated year round with over one thousand residents.⁷⁰ Sharing within and between tribal groups was an important part of larger subsistence patterns. Contemporary oral sources unanimously corroborate the continued importance of sharing. George Alfred notes "it's part of our culture and our customs for

⁶⁶ The brief list here hardly is a comprehensive one of Kwakwaka'wakw resource usage. For a better cataloguing of traditional resources, see The Umista Cultural Center, Pasco, and Compton. Details of the sustenance economy are further discussed below.

⁶⁷ Namimas have also been referred to by other scholars as numinas, numinots, and numayms. The spelling and definition used in this thesis are taken from Weinstein, "Nimpkish Valley," 20.

⁶⁸ Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 11.

⁶⁹ Walens, "Metaphor and Morality," 59.

⁷⁰ *T'lina: The Rendering of Wealth*, Barb Cranmer, dir. Nimpkish Wind Productions and The National Film Board of Canada, 1999.

people to help each other out.”⁷¹ Arnie Wadhams also adds, “When you talk about First Nations people and the traditional way of life, one of the greatest things we have as First Nations people is to be able to share and not accept anything for it. That’s one of the greatest things *I* know, personally.”⁷² Although instances of sharing are less common today than in the past, the fact that most people lament the loss reflects the continued important cultural meaning sharing has to Kwakwaka’wakw people.

Post-Contact Migration

The post contact period introduced a long series of shifts in Kwakwaka’wakw settlement and migratory behaviour which saw the confluence of existent and new patterns of travel. The fur trade, capitalism, colonization, and missionary activity are but a few of the factors that triggered rapid and profound changes to Kwakwaka’wakw migratory and settlement patterns. The most dramatic colonial incursion, however, preceded actual contact with Europeans. Beginning in the 1770’s, waves of “virgin soil” epidemics swept through Pacific Northwest Native communities, drastically altering social and physical landscapes.⁷³ Disease was a highly effective force, in part due to the existent lines of Aboriginal communication that existed in the pre-and post-contact

⁷¹ Interview with George Alfred, Alert Bay, B.C., May 19, 2003. Rohner also notes the common act of sharing food. Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 36.

⁷² Interview with Arnie Wadhams.

⁷³ The term “virgin soil” is commonly used to describe the occurrence of introduced pathogens among populations with little to no resistance. These included influenza, measles, venereal diseases, malaria, and smallpox. See Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia: Volume 1 The Impact of the White Man* (Victoria: Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1964); R. Cole Harris, “Voices of Smallpox around the Strait of Georgia,” in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 3-30; Alfred W. Jr. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972).

period.⁷⁴ As seen in the case of the 1862 smallpox epidemic, high rates of inter-tribal migration and contact had an instrumental role in facilitating the spread of disease into Aboriginal communities.⁷⁵ The ravages of smallpox and other epidemics opened up Aboriginal physical, social, and cognitive space to outside influence. Although little is known of the actual effects of early epidemics, the immediate social and political vacuums created by massive depopulation are difficult to deny. Faced with reduced capabilities to collect food, reproduce, and defend against attacks, tribal amalgamation, whether through peaceful or aggressive means, often were the only way for groups to survive.⁷⁶

Robert Galois's *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements* provides the most comprehensive treatment of post-contact Kwakwaka'wakw residency to date. Using ethnographies, anthropological studies, Hudson Bay Company and colonial records, and oral sources, Galois maps the various types and reasons for migration over one and a half centuries. The result is an impressive cataloguing of the widespread changes to Kwakwaka'wakw social and physical space resulting from contact. Galois admits adopting a similar strategy as that employed by Wilson Duff, whose stated purpose was to "give the basic facts about Kwakiutl history: who they are, how many, what their territories were and

⁷⁴ Fraser noted seeing pock-marked faces in his 1808 voyage down the river that was to later bear his name. This suggests that interior Nlaka'pamux people contracted smallpox from downriver coastal groups. See W. Kaye Lamb, ed. *The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser: 1806-1808* (Toronto: Pioneer Books, 1960), 94.

⁷⁵ The smallpox virus, introduced into Victoria by a passenger from San Francisco, was quickly transported by traveling natives throughout coastal and interior regions of B.C.. Aboriginal groups with little knowledge of the clinical characteristics of introduced diseases were little able to control the spread, although evidence suggests natives were quick to "experiment" with inoculation and vaccination in hopes of stymieing infection. See Byron Plant, "The Most Dreadful Scourge to Which the Human Race is Subject: The 1862-3 Smallpox Epidemic and Aboriginal People in British Columbia," (BA honours thesis, The University of Victoria, 2000).

⁷⁶ Galois has attempted to document these tribal shifts in the early period. Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 50-7.

are, and what their history has been.”⁷⁷ While undoubtedly useful in terms of collecting and arranging the information contained in early accounts, the extent to which these sources convey “the basic facts” is by no means clear. Elizabeth Vibert’s study of trader narratives on the Columbian Plateau, *Trader’s Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbian Plateau, 1807-1846* demonstrates how trader narratives were informed by a cultural logic reflective of their own cultural dispositions. Indeed, missing from *Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements* is a critical analysis which contextualizes the imagery, assumptions, and motivations contained within trader, colonial, and ethnographic narratives.

Although some critiques of Galois’s work such as this may be unfair given his professed aim of creating a reference tool for future studies, the reluctance of Galois to analyze his sources leaves his work open to the analytical criticisms leveled by Povinelli and Walens: Western concepts and assumptions have obscured if not misconstrued understandings of Native societies. Indeed, *Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements* makes disappointingly little attempt to move beyond the content of the source material and, for example, explore how settlement patterns were bound up within Kwakwaka’wakw operational systems. This is exemplified by the general orientation of the gazetteer, which focuses on points of settlement rather than the processes occurring between them. The sets of reasons most commonly contained in the sources ascribed as motivating Kwakwaka’wakw migration also leave much to be desired; migratory exigencies are described in unitary terms as having some social, economic, or political impetuses or functions. Such analyses, of course, reduce complex migratory processes and traditions to simple causal responses to extant conditions, again reflecting a Westernized

⁷⁷ Wilson Duff, “Duff papers, file 130,” in Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements*, 21.

conceptualization of Aboriginal history.⁷⁸ Despite these criticisms, *Kwakwaka 'wakw Settlements* will undoubtedly prove invaluable for future studies of post-contact Native migration.

The effects of early contact on the traditional settlement and migratory patterns of indigenous populations in the Pacific Northwest are just beginning to be studied. In addition to Galois's *Kwakwaka 'wakw Settlements*, Richard Inglis and James C. Haggarty have written on the early impact of contact and maritime trade. Their brief chapter "Cook to Jewitt: Three Decades of Change in Nootka Sound" suggests that existing Yuquot Nuuchahnulth settlement and economic patterns were significantly disrupted by early contact. As resource procurement strategies adjusted towards the collection and movement of furs, more traditional activities such as food collection were abandoned. This had the effect of increasing activities aligned towards the fur trade, such as trading for, instead of harvesting food, inter-tribal competition, and warfare. This pattern, Inglis and Haggarty claim, was soon adopted by all west coast groups as a strategy for economic survival.⁷⁹ Such an argument contrasts that made by Robin Fisher. Fisher's famous depiction of the fur trade as a "mutually beneficial trading relationship", argued that the demands of the fur trade, "could be handled by existing Indian social patterns ... There was no reason for the Indians to believe that such a small number of transitory visitors would seriously dislocate their culture."⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The early historiography of the potlatch is another example of scholars imposing Western analyses onto complex Aboriginal traditions. See Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁷⁹ Richard Inglis and James C. Haggarty, "Cook to Jewitt: Three Decades of Change in Nootka Sound," in *Nuuchahnulth Voices, Histories, Objects and Journeys*, ed. by Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000). 92-106.

⁸⁰ Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 23.

Separated by many years, the works of Fisher and Inglis and Haggerty demonstrate that these issues are still being debated by scholars. While Fisher's argument has been challenged by many, the theories forwarded by Inglis and Haggerty can be criticized as being exaggerated and lacking sufficient corroborative evidence; that food and goods were "exchanged" between tribal groups does not mean it was trade or that such protocols were actually new, marked a disruption with sustenance economies, or resided outside existing socio-cultural traditions.⁸¹ For the Kwakwaka'wakw, the most likely scenario is that the maritime and subsequent land-based fur trades invigorated and aligned existing trade networks between tribal groups around the movement of furs, rather than generated them at the total expense of traditional activities. However, as Galois notes, this gradual realignment of everyday Kwakwaka'wakw social and economic operations also catalyzed broader processes of change.

Having little direct contact with European traders during the early fur trade, the Kwakwaka'wakw initially acted as fur suppliers for Nuuchahnulth traders. Both Fisher and Galois note the pre-existence of social and economic relations between these tribal groups.⁸² However, as European and American traders moved into Kwakwaka'wakw territories in search of furs, the Kwakwaka'wakw began taking on roles as principal traders, directly interacting with white merchants and drawing on their own peripheral fur suppliers. This brought about changes in inter-tribal relations based on their proximity to

⁸¹ Part of the problem lies in Inglis and Haggerty's almost exclusive reliance on the narratives of traders. As Vibert notes on the Columbian Plateau, European traders were interested agents in matters of Aboriginal migration and settlement thus trader narratives deserve special caution when used as sources for such a study. Seasonal sojourners, Europeans were also only privy to glimpses of native life around forts and trading vessels.

⁸² Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 27-8; Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 11-12. John Jewitt's capture narrative also notes contact between Kwakiutl and the Nootka Nu-chah-nulth. John R. Jewitt, *The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt: A Captive of Maquinna*, Annotated and illustrated by Hilary Stewart (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), 98-9.

the locales of fur exchange; “Newwitty”, or Shushartie Bay, emerged as the new primary trading center on the Island, benefiting the local groups who were able to control trade.⁸³ This lasted until the collapse of sea-otter stocks in the 1830’s and decline of the fur trade. Additionally, around this time the S.S. Beaver began actively trading up and down the coast directly with groups, multiplying the trading centers and effectively removing the need for Aboriginal middlemen on the coast.

The establishment of the Hudson Bay Company Fort Rupert in 1849 did have observable effects on Kwakwaka’wakw settlement and migratory patterns. Built to capitalize on trade in both fur and supplies such as local surface coal deposits, the creation of Fort Rupert established a permanent company presence on Kwakwaka’wakw territory. Attracted by the ability to acquire trade goods, money, and prestige in local circles, Fort Rupert attracted local Kwakiutl interested in monopolizing all economic activity. The Kwakiutl, inveterate traders already, even demanded a monopoly over the hiring for surface coal mining.⁸⁴

The fort had the effect of altering existing Kwakwaka’wakw settlement and migratory patterns. Kwakiutl, Komkiutis, Walas Kwakiutl, and Kweecha groups consolidated around Fort Rupert in an adjacent village. This, in turn, created vacuums in the sites abandoned by these tribes. The Tlawitsis, for example, occupied the old

⁸³ Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka’wakw Settlements*, 28. See f.n. 33 for accounts of Newwitty’s usage.

⁸⁴ Helen Codere, *Fighting With Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare in Knight, Indians at Work*, 254; Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 29-30. The fort continued to collect furs from Kwakwaka’wakw trappers well after the decline of the maritime fur trade. In 1859 the H.B.C. took in 5,000 mink skins, 2,000 marten, 5,000 rabbit, 1,000 raccoon, 600 beaver, 250 otter, 250 bear, and 500 other, including 50 sea otter pelts. R.C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* in Weinstein, “Nimpkish Valley,” 60.

Kwakiutl village of Qalogwis on Turnour Island.⁸⁵ Consequently, virtually all Kwakwaka'wakw groups, even those in distant villages, felt the influence of the fort. While the fort's prominence diminished with the decline of the fur trade and discovery of richer coal deposits near Nanaimo, the creation of Fort Rupert had lasting effects on local indigenous groups. Not only were settlement anchors and migratory radiances reorganized to take advantage of the fort's resources, existing Kwakwaka'wakw tribal power balances were disrupted. Instability, violence, and tribal conflicts were some of the observable effects.⁸⁶

Alert Bay emerged as the new center of non-Native economic interest in the area in the mid 1870's, a development that initiated further changes for local Aboriginal communities. In 1878 a commercial saltery was established on Cormorant Island by settler A.W. Huson. In 1881, B.C. Packers bought the operation and converted it to a cannery, intent on taking advantage of the Nimpkish River sockeye runs.⁸⁷ With the encouragement of cannery operators and the local Native leaders they employed to recruit Native workers, wage work in and around the cannery attracted local Nimpkish and other groups.⁸⁸ Soon, Alert Bay replaced Fort Rupert as the region's economic and social

⁸⁵ Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 58, 201-3. See also Bill Holm, *Smokey-Top: The Art and Times of Willie Seaweed* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 22. For a history of amalgamations of other Kwakwaka'wakw groups see Appendix 1 Figure 4.

⁸⁶ Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 202, 290.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 310; Weinstein, "Nimpkish Valley," 72. For 1881-85 estimates of the commercial harvest of Nimpkish sockeye, see Appendix 2 Table 2 in *Ibid.*, 308.

⁸⁸ The hiring of natives to drum up workers appears to have been a common practice. The River's Inlet cannery employed southern Kwakiutl leader Charles Nowell from 1905 to the 1920's for the purposes of the recruitment of local native labour. Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 53, 79-80. As late as World War II the practice was still in effect. Ethel Alfred remembers her father hiring Alert Bay labour for work in the Richmond B.C. Packers Steveston Cannery. Interview with Ethel Alfred, Alert Bay, B.C., July 7, 2003. This is further confirmed by Agnes Alfred. Agnes Alfred, "Fifty Years of Cannery Life," Taped interview with Agnes Alfred by Daisy Smith in Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 110.

center.⁸⁹ The growth of a permanent Native settlement on Cormorant Island was followed by the allotment of reserves in 1879, 1884, and 1886. Permanent resident Native populations were further induced by the construction of missions, schools, stores, and even the establishment of the DIAND Kwakiutl Agency headquarters in Alert Bay in 1890.⁹⁰

Many Natives in this period treated cannery work much like a traditional sustenance-based activity. Both the capitalist and traditional food economies were seasonal and both saw entire families and communities move to temporary residences to fish and process salmon. Some groups even worked at more than one cannery and migrated along routes that spanned hundreds of kilometers.⁹¹ Most families, however, retained residences in their home villages, returning home once work concluded. These residences continued to inform most people's sense of identity, representing not just physical anchoring of home but also cultural anchoring; these residences were the sites from which sustenance and socio-cultural activities took place. For other groups, wage work affected more profound changes in settlement. The Namgis, for example, moved from their village on the Nimpkish River to Alert Bay to work in the cannery, but still maintained their traditional river fishery. For these people Cormorant Island took on a

⁸⁹ Weinstein, "Nimpkish Valley," 72-3. See Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*, 310-311. Unlike reserves elsewhere created elsewhere in Canada, those created for B.C. coastal groups were supposedly tailored for existing Aboriginal maritime subsistence economies and migratory lifestyles. Wilson Duff notes, "British Columbia's [reserve] system was better suited to the coast Indian way of life: each local band was allotted several small reserves which it used intermittently in the course of its migratory activities." Duff, *The Indian History*, 67.

⁹⁰ Kelly Vodden, "Alert Bay: A Community Profile," (Alert Bay, B.C.: Inner Coast Natural Resource Centre, 1999), 22. The Namgis people are spread between eight reserves totaling 388.7 total hectares. Three, amounting to 185.6 hectares, are located on Cormorant Island including the largest, the 161.6-hectare Alert Bay No. 1A reserve. Over half of the Namgis reserves and reserve areas lie on the mainland of Vancouver Island. Five reserves totaling 203.1 hectares exist on Vancouver Island. 155.3 hectares of reserve areas lie on the banks of the Nimpkish River. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Community Profiles: Alert Bay," 2003. <<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca>> (April 22, 2003).

⁹¹ The Kitka'ata from Hartley Bay to the north worked between three canneries, including as far south as the Wadhams cannery in River's Inlet. Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 79.

new role as an anchor of settlement from which older radiances based on traditional practices were traveled and renewed. This example demonstrates how a shift in settlement anchoring did not necessarily incur breaks with traditional activities. Furthermore, the relocation of the Namgis took place entirely within their traditional territories and between poles of Kwakwaka'wakw community. Indeed, early Kwakwaka'wakw participation in the capitalist economy largely served to complement the traditional economy rather than displace it.⁹² Not only did the Kwakwaka'wakw during this time continue to uphold radiances based on the harvesting and processing of sea and country foods, these traditions likely flourished as a result of the injection of new wealth from participation in the capitalist economy. As most scholars now agree, Natives initially joined the labour force to acquire money and trade goods to benefit their own family prestige, not to become "white".⁹³

Aboriginal participation in the capitalist economy also was a complex experience, one which introduced dynamics of change that transcended Aboriginal intent or control. Cannery life, for example, exposed Natives to new concepts of class, gender, and race as well as capitalist notions of economy, thrift, and labour. Consequently, Native involvement in the early resource industries cannot be totalized as either an enriching or destructive force for participating First Nations. Life and work around canneries, logging camps, and mines was a dialogic encounter between cultures, characterized by both common and divergent interests and understandings. Wage work had a range of effects for the First Nations involved. For instance, capitalist involvement in the fisheries simultaneously affirmed and superceded sets of Aboriginal social relations along lines of

⁹² D. Culhane Speck, *An Error in Judgement* in Vodden, "Alert Bay," 20-1.

⁹³ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 39, Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 23; Lutz, "Makuk," 359-62.

class, gender, and race, further differentiating home and workplace and gender roles surrounding work.⁹⁴ It also introduced a different relationship with land and resources based on commercial exploitation, realigning terrain around the taking of economical advantage rather than on considerations of tradition or ancestral place.⁹⁵ Furthermore, however brief or seasonal, work in the cannery meant time and space away from traditional activities and locales. In sum, even though the coexistence of sustenance and capitalist economies in this period suggests continuity between modern and traditional Kwakwaka'wakw practices, it should be noted that long before the mid 20th century, fundamental changes had already occurred in Kwakwaka'wakw physical, social, and cognitive realms.⁹⁶ Changes brought about by involvement in wage work were one of several other forces facing Aboriginal communities. Missionization, residential schooling, and growing state capacities to administer, regulate, and assimilate Aboriginals had the gradual but profound effect of fragmenting families, disrupting the education of children by kin, erasing cultural knowledge, and realigning Kwakwaka'wakw values around new ideas based on colonialism, capitalism, and Christianity.

⁹⁴ Rohner notes, "The division of labour among the Kwakiutl is neither sharp nor crystallized, although certain jobs are customarily assigned to men and other allotted to women." Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 19.

⁹⁵ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 45.

⁹⁶ For instance, well before the 1960's nuclear family residences replaced the more traditional village residency structures based on namimas and multi-family big houses. Wolcott noted in 1962 that, "The notion of numinots is carried about today only in the minds of a few old people. Younger people are unaware of these social units and have been raised in single-family dwellings," Harry F. Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village and School* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 13. Rohner makes a similar comment, suggesting that traditional fishing rights were no longer carefully guarded despite the existence of a strong tendency to persist to fish at traditional sites. Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 29. Contrarily, evidence of vestiges of the protocols of the numima system were documented as existing as late as the 1960's. Ruth Cook, raised in Village Island, however, noted the existence of her family's territorial halibut fishing rights to White Beach, about a half hour's run from Alert Bay. Ruth Cook in Dorothy Haegert, *Children of the First People* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1989), 23.

CHAPTER THREE – POST-WWII MIGRATION

Wage Work in the Post-WWII era

The full range of effects of Native engagement in the capitalist economy came gradually. After sixty years of exchanging their work for wages, by World War II, Kwakwaka'wakw people had, and perhaps unknowingly, become deeply integrated within the global capitalist economy. One example can be found in the emergence of hop farming around the 1890's in the lower mainland and Washington. Hop picking for Canadian and American breweries created a demand for field workers and brought thousands of First Nations, including Kwakwaka'wakw, hundreds of kilometers south.⁹⁷ The extent to which Kwakwaka'wakw labour had become integrated within greater markets was further evident by the mid-twentieth century when developments around World War II saw many Kwakwaka'wakw workers move south for employment.

The new demands created by the war, combined with record Fraser River sockeye salmon returns in 1942, induced a boom period for the remaining canneries. Although Japanese labour by that time had become prominent in the commercial fishing industry, replacing many former Aboriginal positions, the forced Japanese evacuation exacerbated industry work shortages, creating labour vacuums in both fishing and fish-processing arenas. First Nations labour throughout coastal B.C. was suddenly in high demand. Natives throughout the coast were encouraged to move south to work in the B.C. Packers Imperial Cannery in Steveston, just south of Vancouver. Many Kwakwaka'wakw

⁹⁷ As late as the 1960's Wolcott noted the seasonal migration of some Gilford Islanders to Washington State to pick hops and berries, and suggesting that the decision to migrate may have been assisted by the prospects of having easier access to alcohol. Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 4. For a brief discussion of hops picking among the Sto:lo, see Rob Hancock, "The Hops Yards: Workplace and Social Space," in Carlson et al., 70-71.

families relocated, often occupying vacated Japanese residences.⁹⁸ Much like the previous cannery work of the late 19th and early 20th century, employment in Steveston was seasonal, taking place in the summers. Entire families boarded a B.C. Packers steamboat headed for the cannery camp, returning home once the salmon season ended.

Although Kwakwaka'wakw involvement in the canning industry had taken place since the first establishment of canneries in Alert Bay, Knight's Inlet, and River's Inlet, work in the Fraser River canneries was unprecedented. Over four hundred kilometers from Alert Bay, work in Steveston brought families far outside the borders of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw territories. In addition to the effect this work had on re-routing existing Kwakwaka'wakw seasonal migratory patterns, it also transplanted Aboriginal families into a semi-urban context within close proximity of the burgeoning metropolis of Vancouver. While most families returned to Alert Bay following the closure of the salmon fishing season, some families such as Ethel Alfred's, stayed to take part in the subsequent herring season. Other families did not return to Alert Bay at all.⁹⁹

Early urban migration in this time, however, was unlikely a response to the availability of work back in Alert Bay. Although the Alert Bay cannery had closed in 1933, after over fifty years of operation, it re-opened in 1939 as a fish meal and oil rendering plant, employing more than fifty people.¹⁰⁰ The Glendale Cannery in Knight's Inlet also continued to operate well into the second half of the 20th century. Jack Nolie notes his first jobs came in and around the cannery. He states:

⁹⁸ Interview with Ethel Alfred; Interview with Elizabeth Alfred, Alert Bay, B.C., July 6, 2003; Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster, Alert Bay, B.C., July 8, 2003; Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 106.

⁹⁹ Interview with Ethel Alfred; Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster.

¹⁰⁰ Miriam Wright, "Native Peoples and the Commercial Salmon Fishery of Alert Bay, British Columbia, 1945-68," (Paper presented at the Canadian Network for Economic History, University of Montréal, 5-7, April 5-7, 2002), 6.

First, I went—my uncle, George Glendale, made me a little net, for the river, for humpies [sockeye]. We caught all the humps we want, and he sells it for us the next day. Ten cents a fish. That's how much it was worth them days. 1942. Ten cents. For them humpbacks. That's how much it was worth. We were doing that for awhile. And then I went and asked the Chinaman in the [Glendale] cannery for a job. [He said] "Come on, start right now." He was a good boss. "You start off with twenty-five cents an hour." ... A lot of ladies from the village were working there, at that time. That was my first pay, that I, well, I was going on, probably thirteen, twelve, probably thirteen years old at that time. You worked there till the end. You worked eight, right to ten, twelve hours a day, all night, for twenty-five cents an hour. No overtime pay at that time.¹⁰¹

Ethel Alfred also remembers coming across her first job near Kingcome Inlet while living in Village Island:

I remember, I went [to]—it used to be called Charles Creek, mouth of Kingcome. I went and washed fish when I was 14. I went to visit my sisters for one week. And they [the cannery operators] were just getting anybody. I was 14! Washing fish. (laughs) I don't know how much I was getting.¹⁰²

Demand for labour was so high during this period that the employment of children as young as eleven years old for work such as washing fish was common.

These labour-favourable conditions were symptomatic of the unstable and fluctuating operations of the resource and allied industries in B.C. during this time. As Rolf Knight notes, prone to seasonal variation, organizational factors, and shifting leases, contracts, and markets, early resource industries underwent recurrent boom/bust cycles.¹⁰³ For people such as the Kwakwaka'wakw, boom periods saw the value of their labour skyrocket. Cheap, low-skilled labour was in such high demand that men, women, or children could readily find work. Boom/bust patterns characterized not only fish

¹⁰¹ Interview with Jack and Dot Nolie, Alert Bay, B.C. May 21, 2003. James Sewid also notes the various tribal groups employed at the Knight's Inlet Cannery. James Sewid and James P. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry; the Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 8.

¹⁰² Interview with Ethel Alfred.

¹⁰³ Knight, *Indians at Work*, 124-5.

processing but also the logging and commercial fishing industries. Occupational pluralism—having multiple jobs in several industries—was a common means for many Kwakwaka'wakw men to avoid unemployment in this period. Pete Cook, for example, worked between logging, fishing, and cannery industries. Cook notes:

Fishing time comes along, I hang the cork boots up and put the gum boots on and go fishing. When fishing's over I go straight to Bones [Bay Cannery]. Us Indians don't believe in holidays or vacations. Never took that in my life. Work all year round. ... I'd just go straight to Bones. I never even used to have to apply for my job. It's open. Because we never ever quit a job when working.¹⁰⁴

Seasonal work in multiple industries had the effect of creating a diverse and highly mobile workforce. Chris Cook Jr., for example, noted working at various times as a commercial fisherman, a logger in Port Hardy and Turnour Island, and a boom operator and longshoreman at the Port Alice pulp mill. Occupational pluralism and seasonal migration for work also appears to have been common for many other Aboriginal groups in Canada during this time, such as the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia.¹⁰⁵

The exigencies of wage work in this period not only mirrored existing migratory patterns but also placed Aboriginals in positions of some control. When their labour was in high demand, Native workers could accept or decline work at their leisure.¹⁰⁶ The ready availability of work also induced high rates of school drop outs. With ample jobs and money to be had, few saw reason to pursue education. Chris Cook Jr. notes:

When we were younger the majority of us dropped out of school by the time we were in grade 7, grade 6-7. Pretty well every village, I'm talking about every village in the Kwakwaka'wakw Nation had licenses. They

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Pete Cook, Alert Bay, B.C., July 8, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ See "The Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia," in *The Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal People*, 1996. < http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg37_e.html > (October 27, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ This is perhaps demonstrated by numerous references found in oral and written sources of native workers not showing up for work. Often a result of a drinking and a previous night's festivities, some individuals had histories of being fired for not showing up for work, only to be later rehired by the same employer.

had boats, they had gillnet boats, they had seine boats and when you came out of school you were going fishing. I don't think there was a part of us [wondering] "geez, I hope I can find a job." It was just wondering who you could go out with!¹⁰⁷

The common occurrence of school dropping out would have future repercussions for Kwakwaka'wakw people. Following the decline of the logging and commercial fishing industries, low levels of education would be one factor among many exacerbating declining opportunities in the capitalist economy.¹⁰⁸

Tradition and the Sustenance Economy

In addition to increasing involvement in the capitalist economy, the traditional food economy continued to operate into the latter half of the 20th century. Kwakwaka'wakw people, whether living in Alert Bay or the outlying villages, continued to undertake seasonal migrations for resource collection regardless of the availability of store-bought foods. The relationship that developed between the traditional food and wage work economy during this period was one of symbiosis and coexistence rather than conflict or displacement. Involvement in the capitalist economy did not preclude traditional sustenance activities as much as it facilitated and even expanded them. The sustenance economy also functioned as a system of social welfare, providing an alternative mode of work and activity for unemployed people during bust cycles.

Helen Codere's 1950 book, *Fighting With Property: A Re-examination of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare* suggests that the income and goods acquired from

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Chris Cook Jr., Alert Bay, B.C., May 18, 2003.

¹⁰⁸ In their study of British Columbia Natives in the 1950's, H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, and S. M. Jamieson noted that in a survey of 1,165 Natives, the overall median level of education was 5.0 grades. H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw, and S. M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment* in Stanbury, 107.

Kwakwaka'wakw participation in the fur trade, coupled with high rates of mortality from disease, fuelled a period of more extravagant potlatches. A similar argument can be made for the mid-20th century period; the income and resources gained by involvement in the capitalist economy, coupled with booming birth rates and growing populations, facilitated greater participation in the traditional economy, including potlatching and food harvesting. Commercial fishing, which provided many families with boats and the resources and money required to run them, facilitated travel to outlying areas to fish, hunt, trade, and share sea and country foods. Gloria Cranmer-Webster suggests that sustenance activities increased with the advent of welfare and unemployment benefits on reserves. She writes, "Whereas in the past many Kwakiutls worked off-reserve in logging, construction, canneries, and mining, the onset of comprehensive welfare and unemployment benefits in the 1960's allowed Natives to pursue traditional seasonal economic patterns."¹⁰⁹

Despite the modernization of many of the means required to obtain traditional foods, the sustenance economy persisted with surprisingly continuity. For example, while gas powered seine and gillnet boats replaced human-powered ones for the collection of food fish, traditional protocols around collection, preservation, sharing, and ceremonial usage appear to have changed little. Similar to pre-contact times, 20th century food collection activities occupied different parts of the year, requiring varying migrations to take advantage of available sea- and land-based resources. Eulachon grease making in Knight Inlet and seaweed collection on Numas Island were spring activities; the commercial salmon fishery occupied the summer and fall parts of the yearly cycle;

¹⁰⁹ Gloria Cranmer-Webster, "Kwakiutl Since 1980," in *Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 7 Indians of the Northwest Pacific Coast*, vol ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-), 387.

winter trolling and gillnetting in Johnstone Strait, clam digging on Gilford Island, hunting, trapping, and duck hunting on Vancouver Island, all took place in the winter months. A table reconstruction of this cycle by Rohner illustrates how every month of the year was matched by the availability and collection of different resources (See Table 1 in Appendix 2). Quite often, sea- and land-based collection activities were combined during trips, whether for food or commercial purposes. Sara Hunt's family, for example, picked eel grass in May when they went to Deserter's Island to catch halibut.¹¹⁰

Traditional Kwakwaka'wakw foods include a wide range of plants and animals found throughout Kwakwaka'wakw territories. Sea foods, a central component of Kwakwaka'wakw diets, include salmon, halibut, herring, cods, seals, clams, oysters, abalone, sea urchins, and seaweed. Country foods include clover rhizomes, thimbleberry shoots, silverweed roots, ferns, trailing blackberries, salmonberries, stink currants, red huckleberries, and cranberries. While some goods were available locally, most required travel to outlying areas. Examples include the collection of blackberries in clear-cut areas and logging camps such as Village Island, bog cranberries in Coho Bay near Blunden Harbour, and Labrador tea around Port McNeil. Different activities also demanded different degrees of relocation. Clam harvesting could take place within hours on local shores while eulachon fishing required weeks of time spent in remote locations such as Kingcome River and Knight's Inlet. Betty Walkus provides a fascinating description of migratory life around the mid-20th century:

We moved around quite a bit. I was just talking about that with my sister and Dorey. All the traveling we did. We used to pack everything. We started packing days ahead of time. And we packed it all into this little boat. I don't know how everything fit. There were thirteen kids on the

¹¹⁰ All references to traditional foods and harvest locations are from *The Living World*, unless otherwise noted. The Umista Cultural Center, Pasco, and Compton, *The Living World*, 39, 22-7, 32-3, 34-7.

boat plus the whole house. I can't imagine how we did that. Then we traveled from place to place. We'd go to Deserters Island to dry seaweed or to dry halibut. We'd go to Blunden Harbour to do clams. Since my mother was from Blunden Harbour we had a house up there. I have good memories of that time, probably the best times of my life.¹¹¹

Migratory radiances up to a month-long appear to have been common practices well into the post-World War II period.

The relationship that developed between the sustenance and wage labour economies was not only reciprocal, but indistinguishable at times. Involvement in the commercial fisheries was an easy transition for Aboriginals with expert skills fishing for food.¹¹² In some instances, activities vacillated between being sustenance- and commercially-based. Clam digging for food, for example, could easily be turned into extra cash in order to buy other items. Pete Cook notes:

My mother used to tell me when I was young, I think the clams were 50 cents a box. That's a big box. Clam buyer buys it for 50 cents. And my mother used to send me out and said, "You go out to dig clams. We're running out of butter." Things like that. We'd go out and dig clams, that's it. We need something else, we go out and dig clams.¹¹³

Other resource collections operated in a similar manner. For example, shore hunting for deer was often conducted from fishing boat decks by crews during the commercial fishing season.¹¹⁴

The similarities between capitalist and sustenance economies helped to stabilize and offset the boom and bust cycles that characterized these early resource industries. In this earlier period, the bust, or down side of an economic cycle was less disastrous for

¹¹¹ Betty Walkus, "Voice of Betty Walkus," in *Voices of the Kwakwa'wakw*, n.d. <<http://www.lafete.org/new/totem>> (August 13, 2003). See also "Voices of Janet and Vivian Paul," in *Ibid.* For an insightful documentary of contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw grease making, see *T'lina: The Rendering of Wealth*.

¹¹² Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 52-3.

¹¹³ Interview with Pete Cook.

¹¹⁴ Wolcott notes the practice of shore hunting by seine boat crews. Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 16.

Natives than non-Native workers as the food economy provided employment for people in times when the capitalist economy couldn't. Furthermore, the sustenance economy did not just entail the collection and preservation of food; it epitomized an entire system of collective welfare. The collection, processing, and sharing of food, whether through token gesture or ceremony, helped to reaffirm social norms and values revolving around family and community well-being.¹¹⁵ In many ways, the sustenance economy and its socio-cultural underpinnings functioned as a safety buffer for the Kwakwaka'wakw people. Indeed, the boom/bust cycles endemic to resource-based economies in this period clearly affected Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals differently.

Much like the traditional food economy, commercial involvement in fisheries was not marked by a sharp separation of public and private spheres. Not only did work vacillate between being "paid" through wages, or "unpaid" through food, both modes of economy did not necessarily entail a separation of work and family. In addition to cannery work, which saw entire families working in and around a cannery, another example can be found in how the extended family structure carried into commercial fishing. Seine boats, operated by family heads, employed crews composed of immediate or extended family members. Adolescent crew-work on family-run seine boats provided the first paid work for most of the men interviewed for this study. As in the traditional food economy, women also provided their labour, albeit often unpaid, to commercial activity. While deck-hand work was largely considered a man's job, women often were employed as ship cooks. Both E_____ and Gloria Cranmer-Webster had histories of

¹¹⁵ Extended family cohabitation is a common feature in Kwakwaka'wakw residency patterns. For a discussion of this set in a Salish context, see Kathleen A. Mooney, "Ethnicity, Economics, the Family Cycle, and Household Composition," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 16 (1979), 387-403. This subject is discussed below.

working on family boats.¹¹⁶ Women and children also engaged in the extensive maintenance work required for seining vessels, such as net repairs, cleaning, painting, and other odd jobs throughout the on- and off-seasons.

In sum, Kwakwaka'wakw involvement in the capitalist economy did not require or trigger significant breaks in traditional activities and migratory patterns. Rather, the injection of wealth and resources to be had from wage work may have actually reinforced socio-cultural Kwakwaka'wakw traditions. This would have been evident in the continuation and even growth of activities such as food collection, processing, sharing, visiting, and feasting. Most evidence suggests that Native participation in commercial fishing, logging, and other jobs did not entail an abandonment of traditional activities nor immediately overtake them in importance. For most Kwakwaka'wakw, the acquisition of money was not a primary end in itself in that time. Chris Cook Jr. suggests this was common for the time, noting, "The guys that fished halibut, for instance, like S_____, went out and he fished halibut and he got enough money to do the work on his boat and so forth. He didn't go out there and just go upsteady and try and try and make money; he went out to survive."¹¹⁷ This last comment is a suggestive one as it reveals how dependent Kwakwaka'wakw people had become on wage work and the cash economy by the 1960's. Moreover, it also suggests that work, whether to fish, log, dry clams, chop firewood, or help a neighbour build a house, whether paid or unpaid, was still

¹¹⁶ Women generally worked as cooks and received half-pay although Gloria Cranmer-Webster remembered receiving full pay for her duties as a deckhand. Interview with E_____, Alert Bay, B.C. May 18, 2003; Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster. Women also were actively employed in other jobs, the income of which often went towards the family. Ethel Alfred, for example remember having a wide range of jobs, working in a cannery, store, hospital, school, in addition to her homemaking and childraising duties. Interview with Ethel Alfred.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Chris Cook Jr.

comprehended within a set of Kwakwaka'wakw non-capitalist values not necessarily akin to those espoused by non-Native Canadians.

The Relocation of Villages

Beginning in the 1960's, the villages considered home to various groups within the Kwakwaka'wakw Nation began to undergo series of changes in settlement anchoring. Individuals, families, and entire communities moved from outlying reserves to large reserves in proximity to urbanized areas. These changes came as a result of both voluntary actions on the part Kwakwaka'wakw, as well as coercive steps taken by the Department of Indian Affairs. As a result of these developments, migratory radiances also underwent change as they moved to include new points, drawing together more distant reserves, communities, and cities. These changes to migratory and settlement patterns were not only symptomatic of the rapidly shifting social, political, and economic contexts of the time; they had profound effects on future operations of Kwakwaka'wakw life. Although largely occurring between poles of Kwakwaka'wakw family and community and along established lines of travel and communication, village relocations would reorganize social space and introduce changing notions of Kwakwaka'wakw identity. This next section consists of a brief overview of statistical data followed an ethnohistorical analysis of the Kwakwaka'wakw village relocations beginning in the 1960's.

Although statistical data suggest that out-migration between most villages was uneven and variant, three models appear to characterize the settlement patterns of the central Kwakwaka'wakw bands examined in this study (See Tables 4 and 5 in Appendix

2).¹¹⁸ The first is the model of the abandoned/reviving periphery village (Type A). These tend to consist of smaller villages located farthest away from urban areas, with limited access, services, and employment opportunities. The villages at Tlowitsis-Mumtagila (Turnour Island), Mamalilikulla (Village Island), Da'naxda'xw (New Vancouver), Tlatlasikwala (Nuwitti), and Kwiakah (Longborough Inlet) saw massive out-migration reduce their populations to zero or near zero figures. In part due to their small populations, these villages have the most unstable residency patterns, with high rates of out- and return-migration as well as off- and other-reserve residency. Although statistical evidence such as that from Turnour Island and New Vancouver in 2000 suggests some families have moved back, most Kwakwaka'wakw people still refer to these as the "abandoned villages". Many former residents of these villages now live in Alert Bay and can remember growing up in these outlying reserves.

The second model is that of the withering/reviving periphery village (Type B). Gwawaenuk (Hopetown), Kwicksutaineuk (Gilford Island), and Tsawataineuk (Kingcome Inlet) all fit into this category. Similar in location as abandoned/reviving villages, these withering/reviving villages, despite having significantly reduced populations, have never reached the stage of being considered abandoned. These bands appear to have medium-sized populations compared to the other two village types and are also characterized by high fluidity and movement. Rohner's description of Gilford Island corroborates this:

The population at Gilford (about 100 people), as well as most of the other, small, isolated villages throughout the region, changes constantly.

¹¹⁸ These models are loosely based on the stage-development model of Canadian Chinatowns developed by David Chuenyan Lai in his book, *Chinatowns: Towns Within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988).

Individuals and sometimes whole families migrate easily from place to place among the local Reserves throughout the area.¹¹⁹

As this demonstrates, early out-migration had the capacity to create vacuums in communities which could have the effect of attracting new immigrants. For example, at Gilford, Rohner noted how vacated homes were re-occupied by other Native families.¹²⁰ An attempt is made below to explain why Type B villages have survived amidst the abandonment of others with almost identical characteristics.

The final model is the stable/growing central village (Type C). These tend to consist of large tribally-diverse villages in proximity to non-Native urban or semi-rural settlements. Namgis (Alert Bay), Kwakiutl (Fort Rupert), Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw (Port Hardy), Cape Mudge, and Campbell River fit into this model. These reserves have modern infrastructure, amenities and services, easy access by both car and boat, and developed band political and administrative structures. Unlike the previously noted villages, these reservations also have relatively stable populations and the lowest rates of other- and off-reserve residency.

Most early out migration from Type A and B reserves appears to have been directed towards the closest, or most frequently visited stable/growing central village. Once in Alert Bay, immigrating people either joined the Namgis band or moved onto the adjacent Whe-la-la-u reserve, a reserve created in the 1960's to house the many local Tlowitsis-Mumtagila, Mamalilikulla, Da'naxda'xw, Kwicksutaineuk, and Tsawataineuk families then migrating to Alert Bay. The movement of these groups to Alert Bay suggests that the parameters of migration out of peripheral villages in this period were circumscribed within the local area and conducted along established migratory routes.

¹¹⁹ Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 6, 8.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

Alert Bay, a former point of contact in existing migratory radiances, became the new anchor of settlement for many groups. Some instances of migration to other areas are also probable considering the existence of established radiances to other locations such as Campbell River, Victoria, and Vancouver.¹²¹ The generic ambiguity of the statistical category “other” and “off reserve”, however, reveals the limitations of statistical sources in documenting details of these processes.

Oral and ethnographic sources are better capable of documenting the driving reasons behind these migrations. From these sources, several reasons for Type A and B migration to Type C villages emerge. Opportunities for social advancement, employment and entrepreneurship, schooling, and health service provision appear to have been the primary reasons behind voluntary efforts to move. The existence of kinship ties between communities also likely helped facilitate and ease transitions. The extent to which this movement was voluntary, however, is not clear. Concerted DIA efforts at village amalgamation involved the encouraged relocation of smaller villages. While Native groups had their own interests in mind when seeking education and employment, the DIA was able to meet its goals by understanding and taking advantage of these interests through the adoption of local-level policies that either satisfied, enticed, convinced, or misled Natives into moving. Although some individual motivating factors are discussed below, Kwakwaka'wakw village relocations need to be understood as motivated by operational combinations of both voluntary and coercive impetuses. As the considerable variances that exist between villages suggest, each village did not face or respond to events in the same manner.

¹²¹ Wolcott, for example, noted the frequent travel by many Village Islanders to Cape Mudge near Campbell River, and Nanaimo.

In this period, Kwakwaka'wakw space began to be redefined in response to changing physical, social, and political landscapes. The concept of isolation, previously a sheltering force if not unknown altogether, began to be felt in outlying villages. In their RCAP report on the Gwa'Sala and 'Nakwaxda'xw relocation, Cliff Emery and Douglas Grainger noted that many people:

were beginning to feel that their remoteness was no longer the source of strength it had once been. In fact, some of them were reluctantly admitting that a move closer to education and health services, and to a community that had sewer, water and electricity, might be best for their children.¹²²

The availability of work opportunities in Alert Bay not found in smaller villages induced many to leave peripheral communities. A base for fishing companies and home to a large commercial fleet, fish processing plant, and support community, Alert Bay was the hub of commercial activity north of Campbell River, a position it held until the completion of the North Island Highway in 1977. Rita Barnes, for example, cites employment as the main motive behind her move out of Kingcome:

It was very isolated and my people were fishermen. Sometimes they did well and sometimes they did not. There were no jobs for women in this little village. Naturally, it was not a place where I could stay when was at an age where I needed a job, and Alert Bay was the next little town so that was where I went.¹²³

The economic pull of Alert Bay would have been felt throughout the region. Rohner and Wolcott, for example, identified a strong desire amongst both Gilford and Village Islanders to relocate in Alert Bay. Seen as having social and economic advantages over outlying reserves, many Kwakwaka'wakw people living in peripheral villages considered

¹²² Cliff Emery and Douglas Grainger "You Moved Us Here: A Narrative Account of the Amalgamation and Relocation of the Gwa'Sala and 'Nakwaxda'xw Peoples," in *The Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal People*, 1996. <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg37_e.html> (August 1, 2003).

¹²³ Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, "Issue 9 - Evidence - Morning session" (Vancouver, Wednesday March 19, 2003) <<http://www.parl.gc.ca>> (July 19, 2003).

moving to “The Bay” an act of becoming more “progressive”.¹²⁴ This, of course, could have meant many things, from being more socially active to having electricity and reliable running water.

Disease and access to medical resources and services also appears to have been a prominent factor driving emigration from remote villages, even before DIA attempts at relocation. Epidemic disease was not confined to the early contact period as new diseases including influenza, tuberculosis, diabetes, and drug and alcohol addiction swept through Native communities well into the 20th century. These diseases, coupled with increasing First Nations reliance on Canadian health services, exacerbated the isolation of outlying communities. Infant sickness and poor provision of medical service appears to have induced many to move to areas with improved access to hospitals. Jack and Dot Nolie cited this as the reason for their move from Sea Salt, a MacMillan and Bloedel logging camp, to Alert Bay:

Jack: There was nobody there, no boat, radiophone, nothing. Our little daughter got sick. In the village they got nobody to call, and she died.
Dot: So they sent someone to our lake, that logging camp. Came for awhile, taxied for us. Took awhile. All my kids were sick. One died. And that's the reason why we left.¹²⁵

James Sewid cited the illness of his stepfather Johnny as reason for his family's move from River's Inlet cannery to Village Island, where Johnny could receive care from Sewid's grandparents. Alcohol abuse was another disease noted by Sewid as inducing people to move. Sewid describes the high instances of drunkenness around the cannery,

¹²⁴ Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 9; Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 4-5, 59.

¹²⁵ Interview with Jack and Dot Nolie. To the north, Clayton Mack describes his wife's affliction with tuberculosis and the poor treatment at the hands of a traveling doctor as the reasons for moving his wife and child from Anahim Lake to Bella Coola. Following the death of his wife from the disease, and subsequent discovery of the illness in his child Eliza, Mack sent the infant to home school in Alert Bay. Clayton Mack and Harvey Victor Thommasen, *Grizzlies & White Guys: The Stories of Clayton Mack*, Compiled and edited by Harvey Thommasen (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 1993), 37-8.

in particular, one fight that led to a murder/suicide, causing considerable distress in the community.¹²⁶ It should be noted that while some people moved to escape areas of abuse, others moved to get easier access to alcohol and the drinking culture that existed around Alert Bay bars.¹²⁷ Getting alcohol in remote areas such as Village Island, for example, required a trip to Alert Bay.

The desire for education, however, appears to have been the most prominent motivating factor for the relocation of villages as many Kwakwaka'wakw people saw a need to educate their children to cope with changing times. This is the most often cited oral response to questions about reasons for relocation. For instance, Ruth Cook recalled her mother sending her to St. Michael's in Alert Bay, noting, "she explained, 'I can see the days are changing. I'm not going to bother teaching you any of our old Indian ways. ... You're going to have to get a job. It's time.' So she was open enough to see that we were going to be living in different days."¹²⁸ While most of the smaller villages had day schools for younger children to attend, the only residential schooling available in the area was at St. Michael's in Alert Bay. As Stevie Beans argues, the insufficiencies of the day schools forced many to move. He notes, "That's what killed all the villages. They had little day schools there, grade one to seven I think. And after that was over they sent them to residential schools."¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Sewid and Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 19-20. Both Rohner and Wolcott devote considerable space to documenting the culture surrounding the routine consumption of alcohol in their descriptions of village life.

¹²⁷ Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 56-8. The Indian Act revision of 1951 granted Canadian natives the right to possess alcohol although intoxication was still considered illegal.

¹²⁸ Ruth Cook in Haegert, *Children of the First People*, 21.

¹²⁹ Interview with Stevie Beans, Alert Bay, B.C., July 8, 2003. Rohner also notes the desire by many Gilford Island parents to send their children off to receive a better education than that available on the smaller island reserves. Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 9.

As this last comment implies, the Department of Indian Affairs was instrumental in encouraging the relocation of Aboriginal communities to urban or suburban areas. In many ways, village relocations can be seen within the context of the long history of non-Native displacement of Native peoples since first contacts. Unlike early encounters, however, the relocations of the 1960's were government directives made under the federal authority of the Indian Act.¹³⁰ These directives had a pervasive range of effects on Native groups across Canada. In many ways, mid-20th century policies involving mandatory residential schooling and village relocations can be seen as the most concerted efforts undertaken to fulfill the Indian Act's mandate of the "protection, civilization, and assimilation" of Canadian Native peoples. The RCAP identifies two types of common village relocations for this period, both of which were different from previous resettlement examples in Canada: developmental relocations and administrative relocations. Developmental relocations were population transfers designed to displace Native communities and free up land for development. Administrative relocations, the description that best fits Kwakwaka'wakw village amalgamations, were attempts at centralization for the purposes of cheapening and improving Indian administration and services such as education, health, and welfare. Centralization of Kwakwaka'wakw schooling, for example, reduced the costs of administering education as well as helped alleviate problems over recruiting teachers willing to work in remote native villages.

¹³⁰ By the 1960's, the Indian Act had already undergone several revisions since its first creation in 1876. The 1951 revision of the Indian Act introduced sweeping changes, including the elimination of the ban on potlatch and prohibition on alcohol consumption. Scholars, however, debate whether the 1951 Act marked the coming of a new era of Indian policy, or a return to the earlier philosophy of a gradual encouraged assimilation. See J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heaven* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 221-2; J. L. Tobias, "Protection, Assimilation, Civilization: An Outline of Canada's Indian Policy," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* vol. 6 no. 2 (1976), 13-30.

Government directives aimed at relocation were carried out at the Agency level, with Indian agents negotiating terms of resettlement with Native leaders. Promises of improved housing, schooling, and facilities appear to have been made to entice groups to move. Similar to Stevie Beans, Pete Cook argues that the DIA induced relocations through their administering of schooling:

I would say it's part of the government's fault. School, everything. They wouldn't support the school [at Turnour]... the schools in the villages, they had a brand new school in Village Island, where they come from. New Vancouver, they had a brand new one. And it just rotted away, after the people had to move.¹³¹

The DIA appears to have taken advantage of the desire of many parents to send their children to school by confining all such resources to Alert Bay, forcing relocation. Without doubt, circuitous if not devious means were employed by the DIA in the various villages to incur migration. This included the cancellation of engineering plans for development in outlying reserves, threats to cut of benefits to uncooperative bands, and possibly even warnings of jail terms for non-compliance.¹³² The most effective means of all perhaps was the threat of children being removed. Betty Walkus states, "We did not have a choice. It wasn't a choice. It wasn't a choice to our parents either. It was a threat. 'If you don't go, we will take your children away.'"¹³³ Others, such as John Henderson, were taken away. Henderson remembers how he was moved from Blunden Harbour to St. Michael's:

I was nothing short of kidnapped from my parents when they took me to residential school [T]his plane came down to the dock. A guy came

¹³¹ Interview with Pete Cook. Elizabeth Alfred also notes the lack of a school in Fort Rupert induced many Kwakiutl to move to Alert Bay.

¹³² Don Svanick, "Voice of Don Svanick," in *Voices of the Kwakwaka'wakw*, n.d. <<http://www.lafete.org/new/totem>> (August 2, 2003). See also Emery and Grainger "You Moved Us Here."

¹³³ Walkus, "Voice of Betty Walkus."

out of the plane and tried to entice me into the plane but I wouldn't go. So they got an elder who was walking around the dock and he got me into the plane. They took me to Alert Bay, then took the old man back here and he let my parents know.”¹³⁴

To make matters worse, once relocated, promises were often unfulfilled. Not only did many families encounter a complete lack of housing once moved, either having to cohabitate in crowded houses or live on their boats, others discovered a waitlist for their children's entry into St. Michael's. The option of return migration to periphery villages was also often precluded when the DIA ordered the burning or demolition of vacated houses following their initial abandonment. This was documented in Gwa'Sala and 'Nakwaxda'xw¹³⁵ and the Nolie's experiences on New Vancouver suggest the practice was exercised elsewhere. The Nolies were surprised to discover on a return trip to New Vancouver that their house was torn down:

Jack: We just left our house there and it was torn down without even taking anything out of it.

Dot: It happened to us. They never even asked us if we wanted anything.¹³⁶

Only now are the instrumental actions of the DIA in this period being documented.

Not all villages followed the same migratory patterns in this time or responded to circumstances in the same manner. For example, where Type A settlements such as Village and Turnour Island were abandoned, Type B settlements, Gilford Island, Hopetown, and Kingcome Inlet, maintained a resident community. For some villages, individual out-migration likely had a domino effect and occurred rapidly. Betty Walkus

¹³⁴ John Henderson, "Voice of John Henderson," in *Voices of the Kwakwaka'wakw*.

<<http://www.lafete.org/new/totem>> (August 2, 2003).

¹³⁵ Emery and Grainger note, "To keep people from leaving the depressed and unhealthy conditions and moving back to Smiths Inlet and Blunden Harbour, the government ordered the two abandoned communities burned down." Emery and Grainger, "You Moved Us Here," in the Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal People, 1996.

¹³⁶ Interview with Jack and Dot Nolie,

notes that for the Gwa'sala of Smiths Inlet, "Our people kept saying "No, no, no". And finally somebody agreed to go. Sometimes when one family member goes, other members follow."¹³⁷ In other villages, such as Gilford Island, there was a driving force to stay. As Verna Ambers suggests:

They had a need and a want to stay there despite the overwhelming odds of them surviving there. ... I worked for that band for a long, long time, because that's part of the [Namgis] tribal council. They never gave up fighting with Indian Affairs, for programs, for services. They refused to leave. I think they had powerful leaders.¹³⁸

Gloria Cranmer-Webster also notes the powerful leadership present in both Kingcome and Gilford:

I think that they simply didn't want to go along with any of the—I think the pitch was as long as you move to Alert Bay, the hospital's there, the bigger school, and all the rest of it—and I think that people from Kingcome just said no. And I had to think it had to do with the kind of leadership they had. The Dawsons were pretty strong up there as were the Smiths at Gilford.¹³⁹

Ambers also suggests that fear of change also played a role in thwarting attempts at relocation. Rohner corroborates this idea, noting how villages symbolized fundamental security and identity for many of the villagers as well as "a firm articulation with the fading image of a passing tradition."¹⁴⁰ While Rohner does not define what he means by "passing tradition", he does note that Gilford Island was a center for the commercial clam economy which provided a source of employment for local Natives.¹⁴¹ Stevie Beans furthers this point noting that at Gilford, "up to the 60's and early 70's it was a big clam

¹³⁷ Walkus, "Voice of Betty Walkus."

¹³⁸ Interview with Verna Ambers, Alert Bay, B.C., July 7, 2003.

¹³⁹ Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster.

¹⁴⁰ Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 9.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

outfit. There was a buying station and everybody made a decent living out of clam digging.”¹⁴²

Effects of Village Consolidation

Although migration between different Kwakwaka'wakw communities was commonplace well before the 1960's, considering the long history of permanent settlement in Kwakwaka'wakw villages, the migration of entire communities was, in many regards, an unprecedented event. The effects of the resettlement of Aboriginal communities in Canada in the mid-20th century, however, are not well understood. Tracing the effects of relocations for the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia, the Labrador Inuit of Hebron, Labrador, the Mushuau Innu of Davis Inlet, and the The Gwa'Sala and 'Nakwaxda'xw of Smiths Inlet and Blunder Harbour, the RCAP suggests that DIA policies of relocation for administrative purposes had significant parallel effects for different Native communities on both east and west coasts. For the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia, the RCAP notes that “Relocation affected life more than any other post-Confederation event, and its social, economic and political effects are still felt today.”¹⁴³

Accordingly, village relocations had profound effects for the Kwakwaka'wakw. Not only did this migration alter the physical landscape for groups in both old and new locations; it reshaped Kwakwaka'wakw social and political spaces. In addition to the growth of a resident inter-tribal population, Type C reservations such as Alert Bay reorganized Aboriginal space along racial lines; Cormorant Island juxtaposes the Namgis and Whe-la-la-u reservations with the non-Native community of Alert Bay. Alert Bay

¹⁴² Interview with Stevie Beans.

¹⁴³ “The Relocation of Aboriginal Communities,” in The Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal People, 1996. < http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg37_e.html > (October 27, 2003).

also provided the backdrop for the introduction of new forms of state and social regulation. Home to the Kwawkwalth Indian Agency Headquarters, a permanent police presence, and a jail, Alert Bay contrasted with outlying villages where behaviour was governed by local social sanctions and control with only occasional visits from Indian agents or police.¹⁴⁴

The findings of the RCAP report state that, “relocations must be seen as part of a broader process of dispossession and displacement, a process with lingering effects on the cultural, spiritual, social, economic and political aspects of people's lives.”¹⁴⁵ Indeed, village amalgamations had the effect of taking power and control out of the hands of Kwakwaka’wakw communities. Increased social problems, unemployment, welfare dependency, prejudice, child abuse and neglect, and alcoholism are noted by Emery and Grainger as evident in the Kwakwaka’wakw reserve of Tsulquate for the Gwa’Sala and ‘Nakwaxda’xw following amalgamations. Emery and Grainger conclude that, “the people affected were not properly consulted about the move or given any indication of the kinds of problems they might encounter after moving from an isolated location to a more urban setting.”¹⁴⁶ Considering the traumatic effects of relocations documented by the RCAP in numerous Native communities across Canada, developments in Alert Bay were likely similar.

The full range of social effects of village consolidation in the 1960’s is difficult to determine. Like the RCAP suggests with the Mi’kmaq, the economic, social, and

¹⁴⁴ Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 5. Wolcott notes how gossip was an important form of village social control. He even suggests that gossip and the existence of indigenous informal values were more effective in regulating behaviour than the formal band council. *Ibid.*, 65-6.

¹⁴⁵ The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, “The Relocation of Aboriginal Communities.”

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

political effects of relocations for the Kwakwaka'wakw are still being played out. For example, while seen as a means of attaining better health care services, mortality rates in amalgamated villages may have actually temporarily increased following relocations. Dara Culhane shows that in the Tsulquate Reserve, infant and elderly mortality rates climbed in 1964-5 while national mortality rates fell, likely as a result of the lack of adequate health services provided for the new reserve members.¹⁴⁷ Only later, following gradual improvements in health care delivery and community infrastructure on reserve, did the booming post-World War II Native birth rates begin to equate with actual population growth.¹⁴⁸ Without doubt, village relocations and residential schooling had a profound effect on Kwakwaka'wakw children and subsequent generations. For example, many children from periphery villages, fluent in only Kwakwala, suddenly found themselves in a school where English was not only the spoken norm, but enforced with severe punishment.

The effects of geographical shifts on Kwakwaka'wakw notions of identify require further study, and for now can only be estimated. Writing around the time of the main relocations, Rohner and Wolcott do note the persistence of band affiliations despite a person's move away from their respective village. In Village Island in 1962, Wolcott noted, "in the social and traditional sense a man's band never changes regardless of where he resides. In the 'Indian way' the band has never lost those members who moved

¹⁴⁷ Dara Culhane, "Tsulquate: The Demographic Story", unpublished report for the Tsulquate Band Council (Port Hardy, B.C.: 1984) in Emery and Grainger in *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*.

¹⁴⁸ Aboriginal rates still are above the Canadian average in this regard. The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, "From Time Immemorial: A Demographic Profile."

to Alert Bay and their social obligations, like their kin obligations, persist.”¹⁴⁹ An outsider’s observation and one poorly substantiated, even less is known about the effects permanent changes in residence over the long term have had to Kwakwaka’wakw identity. While many of the people interviewed for this study who are now living on Namgis land or are part of the Namgis band still consider themselves affiliated by their reserve of origin, they also were among the last generation raised in Type A villages. With the abandonment of these settlement anchors and the decline of the migratory radiances that once encapsulated them, identities based on these outlying villages today have no physical relationship to these locations and appear to be symbolic.

To conclude, as resident life in Alert Bay gained in permanency, an identifiable shift occurred in existing anchoring and migratory patterns. Alert Bay, a point within former radiances, became the anchor from which new radiances flowed. Already the hub of commercial activity for the area, by the 1970’s Alert Bay became the new consolidated home of many Kwakwala-speaking people increasingly dependent on wage work and the cash economy. Already the location of the previous DIAND Kwakiutl Agency headquarters, Alert Bay continued to develop as an administrative center, becoming home to the Kwakiutl District Council in 1974. Centralization also had implications in terms of identity and culture. A big house was built in Alert Bay in 1965-6 to replace those left in abandoned villages and bring all the different tribes together under one roof. The Umista cultural center was also constructed in 1974 to preserve cultural heritage of the Kwakwaka’wakw and house the repatriated potlatch collection confiscated at Dan

¹⁴⁹ Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 14. Rohner also noted a similar thing in his stay on Gilford. “an individual’s strongest attachments are usually maintained with his home Reserve.” Rohner, *Ethnography of a Contemporary Kwakiutl Village*, 6.

Cranmer's famous 1921 potlatch in Village Island.¹⁵⁰ This is also the time in which the term "Kwakwaka'wakw" emerged as the broader national label by which Kwakwaka-speaking people defined themselves. An identity based on common language and residence began to overtake more local and specific affiliations based on history, geography, and mythology.

Decline of Sustenance Economy

As noted with cannery work, Kwakwaka'wakw participation in the wage labour economy had a range of effects, the consequences of which were not immediately felt or known. Into the latter half of the 20th century, however, the extent to which the capitalist and traditional food economies had become interdependent became evident when decreasing opportunities in the capitalist economy began to in turn affect subsistence practices. Beginning in the late 1960's, greater regulation of the commercial and food economies resulted in fewer job opportunities and incomes, a decline in the traditional food economy, and growing reliance on social assistance. These developments, combined with greater consumption of modern goods and foods and the general growing acculturation to mainstream Canadian society, all combined to influence changes in Kwakwaka'wakw migration and residency patterns. This section examines how the declining commercial opportunities adversely affected sustenance activities and the migratory processes based upon them. Where village relocations saw shifts in settlement anchoring, changes in these economies brought about changes in migratory patterns, many of which, such as those surrounding the food fishery, had remained constant

¹⁵⁰ *Itusto: To Rise Again*, Barb Cranmer, dir., Nimpkish Wind Productions and the National Film Board of Canada, 2000.

through relocations. In addition to limiting the ability of Kwakwaka'wakw people to move around, whether for food or commercial reasons, the decline of opportunities in the capitalist and sustenance economies had implications for future settlement patterns, as seen in the analysis later in the thesis of the growth of off-reserve residency and urbanization.

Cannery operations along the B.C. coast continued into the 20th century, although by World War II the industry was already in widespread decline. Most canneries along the coast had closed with the exception of consolidated operations along the lower Fraser River, which continued until the mid-1960's.¹⁵¹ Commercial fishing, however, whether on family or company-owned boats, continued into the second half of the 20th century. Many of those who were fishermen then, will today note the record catches, high prices fetched for salmon, and earnings made in this period, such as the boom year of 1958. Increased regulation, however, in the form of commercial license buy back programs and changes to licensing would have a fundamental impact on the commercial and food fishery from this period on. The first and most disastrous federal policy, the 1968 Davis Plan, or Salmon Vessel License Control Plan, was a program intended to keep the Pacific Coast salmon industry profitable for full-time, mobile fishers and large-scale, centrally-located processors operating year-round.¹⁵² This goal was to be met by eliminating smaller older boats such as gillnetters from the commercial fleet through voluntary

¹⁵¹ The River's Inlet and Knight's Inlet Glendale canneries continued to operate, both finally closing in the late 1960's. Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 103, 105, 152. For a narrative of time spent in the Knight's Inlet cannery, see Sewid and Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 19-20, 79,

¹⁵² Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 148. The actual results of buy-back programs for fishing communities in B.C. have also been questioned. Dan Edwards and Terry Glavin note how fleet reductions and industry technologization have led to job losses and fleet overcapacity, and served to consolidate the fishing fleet into select corporate hands. For example, in 1999 Jimmy Pattison controlled 37% of the commercial seine fleet in B.C.. This is about twice the number of fish allocated to all ninety-seven Indian bands located the Fraser Basin alone. Dan Edwards and Terry Glavin, "Set Adrift: The Plight of British Columbia's Fishing Communities" (Vancouver: David Suzuki Foundation, 1999), 9-11.

license buy-backs and restricted license entry. Native fishermen, the majority of whom were small-scale operators with older boats, were particularly affected by the Davis Plan, and subsequent buy back programs in the 1990's established by federal Fisheries ministers Jack Mifflin and David Anderson.

The effects of buy-backs such as the Davis Plan touched upon numerous aspects of Kwakwaka'wakw life. As Verna Ambers notes, for people in smaller villages such as Gilford Island, the effects were acute:

Every single person in that village had a gillnet boat ... so of course they could roam wherever they wanted to. They'd go to Charles Creek, or Echo Bay, or Knight's Inlet, or Kingcome Inlet, or come out here [Alert Bay], anywhere. But when the Davis Plan came into place ... everyone in Gilford Island soon lost the ability to eek out a living, to travel, to collect their own food, and go to places they used to go to. It's like that there today. There's not one boat there.¹⁵³

Pete Cook furthers this point:

Things get pretty hard when you got no boat. Like, I had a boat, my uncle had a boat, all my uncles had a boat, my cousins had boats, and, we're never ever stuck. It's like owning a car in the city. You got no car in the city you can't get around. You got no boat in the villages, you can't get around.¹⁵⁴

As these comments demonstrate, the buy-backs had a pervasive effect on the ability to travel, visit, and gather foods. Chris Cook Jr. notes that these broader repercussions of the buy-backs were not known at the time:

[W]hen the buy back program came in and a lot of the fishermen who sold their licenses didn't realize that they were selling their livelihood away for their sons, their daughters, you know, whole family. They were selling a way of life, never to be bought back again into the family.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Interview with Verna Ambers.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Pete Cook.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Chris Cook Jr.

Once monies received from buy-backs were inevitably spent, Kwakwaka'wakw fishermen, crews, and their families were left with few options.

Increasing mechanization and centralization of logging industries meant that logging was less of an option for alternate employment. Billy Wasden notes that more efficient logging practices, combined with the transfer of union offices and job postings to Vancouver, effectively ended all local hiring of Kwakwaka'wakw people.¹⁵⁶ In addition to this, new industry employment prerequisites for education excluded Native men without sufficient high school achievement. As Pete Cook notes, "When I first started logging you didn't even have to have education to go logging. Now just to be a chokerman in the woods you have to have a grade eight education. I don't know why. I find it kind of weird."¹⁵⁷ Many men, who had previously dropped out of school to work, now found themselves a victim of changing circumstances.

Licensing for game and food fish also hurt the ability of many Natives to acquire traditional foods. Although licensing and regulations on fish and game were already in place by the turn of the 20th century, such policies were often ignored by the Kwakwaka'wakw.¹⁵⁸ By the 1960's, however, village relocations and increased state capacities of surveillance and regulation began to have an effect on Kwakwaka'wakw sustenance activities. George Alfred notes how in previous times:

There was a lot of hunting. Lots of people used to hunt but now not everybody hunts. There was always a few people that were hunting and they provided for their family. It was like that a long time ago too. ...

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Billy Wasden, Alert Bay, B.C., May 19, 2003.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Pete Cook.

¹⁵⁸ For a history of legislative developments in B.C. and their effect on Aboriginal access to resources see John Lutz, "Work, Wages and Welfare in Aboriginal-Non-Aboriginal Relations in British Columbia, 1849-1970," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1995), 255-7.

Because you gotta have a permit now not everybody's able to go, or has access to hunting, because you need that gun. ... It's not fair that only a handful of guys can get elk tags and not everybody has got an F.A.C. [Firearms Acquisition Certificate].¹⁵⁹

Arnie Wadhams furthers this point, stating, "You got to have your gun certificate now and that's taking away my right as a provider for not only my family but the community. I see these restrictions as really having an impact on First Nations people."¹⁶⁰ With a reduced capacity to participate in the sustenance economy, which had acted as an alternative to commercial activity and as a buffer for down cycles, Kwakwaka'wakw people increasingly turned to state welfare payments in the form of social assistance, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions, as a means of survival.

The decline of the traditional food economy also marked a shift away from independent food production to consumerism. Decreased traditional food consumption created a nutritive vacuum that was filled with store-bought foods. Greg Wadhams notes the changes found in contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw subsistence habits and their effect on migratory behaviour. He states:

Just about everything we did in the old days we still try to carry on but it's a little different in method today. They used to go from place to place to gather their food. Some days out of the month they'd be in a certain area and in other days they would be in another area. Ours is different now. We have a delivery truck that comes in on Friday for all our fruit and stuff.¹⁶¹

Considering the importance of the consumption of traditional foods to Kwakwaka'wakw cultural life, the significance of the decline of the sustenance economy has been largely overlooked by scholars. The traditional food economy was bound up within overlapping social, cultural, and spiritual systems. As the Umista Cultural Society, Pasco, and

¹⁵⁹ Interview with George Alfred, Alert Bay, B.C., May 19, 2003.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Arnie Wadhams, Alert Bay, B.C., July 7, 2003.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Greg Wadhams, Alert Bay, B.C., May 19, 2003.

Compton, note, “The Living World of the Kwakwaka’wakw has provided for generations the physical and spiritual foundations of the Kwakwaka’wakw culture—the foods, medicines and materials that have supported and are cherished by the Kwakwaka’wakw.”¹⁶²

The importance of the traditional sustenance economy is perhaps best epitomized by the continued annual tradition of eulachon grease making at Knight’s Inlet. Directed by Barb Cranmer, the documentary short film *T’Lina: The Rendering of Wealth* traces the annual sojourn for Kwakwaka’wakw families to Dzawadi (Knight’s Inlet) for t’lina (grease) making. The film reveals not only the continuation of this millennium-long process, but its special function and meaning to Kwakwaka’wakw culture. As Stevie Beans notes in the film, “It’s the anchor of our culture and society.” Once a widespread activity drawing numerous communities together, grease making today is only practiced by a few. Gloria Cranmer Webster describes how only a very small number of people now go to Knight’s Inlet every spring to make grease. She adds, “Many more people used to go. The fact that there’s so few now I guess is the reason why grease is so expensive now. I don’t know, it’s like \$125-150 a gallon.”¹⁶³

The decline of traditional food collection, sharing, and consumption has had an adverse effect on the physical, spiritual, and cultural health of the Kwakwaka’wakw. As Ethel Alfred laments to Chris Cook III:

E: Nowadays, too many sicknesses now. It seems like on account of these fast foods. We never used to be sick.

C: So the people when you were younger were really healthy?

E: Healthy, they were healthy people.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² The Umista Cultural Center, Pasco, and Compton, *The Living World*, 4.

¹⁶³ Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Ethel Alfred. High instances of malnutrition, obesity, and diabetes are a few of the observable physical effects of poor dietary practices.

This is corroborated by the fact that every Kwakwaka'wakw person interviewed for this study noted how common food collection was well into the 1980's, regardless of income or the availability, affordability, and conveniences of store-bought goods.

Urban Migration

The physical displacement of Kwakwaka'wakw people in village relocations, the decline of opportunities for wage work, and the effects of cultural change incurred by residential schooling, missionization, and state control such as the potlatch ban, are some of the contributing factors behind the third fundamental shift in settlement and migration. Throughout Canada, the period from the 1950's to the present has seen remarkable growth of Aboriginal urbanization. From 1966 to 2001, the national average of registered status Indian off-reserve residence almost tripled from 15% to 42.5%. In B.C. the numbers are even more striking: 20.5% lived off reserve in 1966; 51% in 1996. In recent years the numbers of off reserve residence have stabilized with some bands even reporting decreases in off-reserve residency. The available data for the Kwakwaka'wakw appear to reflect these broader trends towards urbanization although considerable variation exists between the available data for bands, a consequence of the small population of some reserves and the inadequacies of the Indian Registry to account for off-reserve Natives. Regardless, the data for most bands of the former Kwakwewlth Agency show increases in both total population and off-reserve population, two determinants of higher urbanization (See Tables 4 and 6 in Appendix 2). Without doubt, for many Kwakwaka'wakw people, urban settings such as Vancouver and Victoria have emerged as anchors of settlement.

Kwakwaka'wakw movement to urban areas in the 20th century stands as one of the most profound demographic shifts in the history of Aboriginal settlement the Pacific Northwest. Unlike many of the previously-examined forms of migration which tended to be local, seasonal, or temporary, movement to cities was sustained and often permanent. Urbanization also marked a change in the actual parameters of migration. Where village relocations and sustenance- and commercially-driven practices took place in local areas and around Kwakwaka'wakw communities, life in cities transplanted Kwakwaka'wakw people in non-native spaces far-removed from traditional areas. The causes, meanings, and effects of urban migration on Aboriginal populations are not well known or understood. Considering the importance of this demographic shift to federal and provincial governments in a number of areas, from treaty negotiation to welfare administration to education, the lack of scholarship on this subject is surprising. Part of the problem lies in the challenges of conducting fieldwork and finding subjects in an urban setting, as well as the difficulty of obtaining accurate statistical data for off-reserve Natives. As James Frideres notes, because urban Aboriginals are highly transient and tend to blend into the population of the urban poor, census and statistical data are of limited reliability.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, statistical data are structured around differentiation between reserve and off-reserve, a demarcation that is unable to account for movement between them. Despite these problems, most scholarship on the subject of Native urbanization tends to rely heavily on statistical data, with little corroboration from oral sources or historical perspectives. Examination of oral sources and historical

¹⁶⁵ James Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2001), 143.

perspectives, however, raises interesting implications for studies of urbanization as they help draw together the reserve and city within a larger community network.

Oral sources deserve the same cautious treatment as statistical data, especially when being used to assign motive to Native urban migration. The extent to which behaviour is shaped by social contexts, values, economics, minority status, or traditional culture is not exactly easy to elicit or measure from oral interviews. Interviewees may choose to mention one reason among many for migrating, some reasons possibly being of a personal or sensitive nature. For example, the requirements of the welfare system rather than perceptions of actual employment often drive many to cities in search of work.¹⁶⁶ Band administration of services such as welfare, health, counseling, and education are also only available to on-reserve members; status entails no special provisions for off-reserve Indians. Given the stigma surrounding socially-sensitive issues such as welfare, some interviewees may be reluctant to disclose this sort of information or mention all the reasons behind their actions, opting rather to suggest the most common or favourable reasons.

This question of possible slippage between the declared, intended, and actual reasons ascribed to behaviour in an oral narrative is a ubiquitous one. The arguments forwarded by most scholars of Native urbanization tend to carry the assumption that the driving motives behind migratory action can be observed and discerned; urban migration itself is a rational and conscientious process in which impetuses can be reducible to unitary terms. A combination of factors variable over time, however, may be a better explanatory model. For example, some migration to the city is not always seen by Natives with permanency, or even of much significance in light of longer term goals. For

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 155.

people such as this, residence in the city would be better characterized as an extended migratory radiance rather than as a shift in settlement anchoring.

Growing Native migration to urban areas was predicted in the 1960's by H. B. Hawthorn et al. in their government-commissioned study, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, also commonly referred to as the Hawthorn Report. Hawthorn et al. noted the correlation between mobility and economic well-being. Pointing out the dwindling possibilities for economic development on reserves, Hawthorn et al. recommended either concerted efforts towards education on reserves or the entire relocation of isolated and semi-isolated bands to areas closer to employment opportunities. Migration, Hawthorn et al. argued, would both facilitate economic opportunities for individuals as well as alleviate some of the problems created by overpopulation on reserve.¹⁶⁷ While the recommendations of the Hawthorn Report were poorly implemented¹⁶⁸, many of its predictions were realized in subsequent years following the report. In reserve communities such as Alert Bay, this included both a decline of economic opportunities and growth in out-migration.

Accordingly, most scholarship on the urbanization of Canadian Aboriginals tends to suggest that Natives across Canada began moving to cities as a result of declining economic opportunities on reserves. W. T. Stanbury's 1975 *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society* is the most comprehensive work in this subject. Based largely on results from a questionnaire distributed to 1,095 Indians living off-reserve in 1971, Stanbury's book is a rich survey of urban Aboriginal demographics and conditions at that time. While *Success and Failure* helps to distinguish the various contemporary issues at

¹⁶⁷ H. B. Hawthorn et al. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Volume One* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), 112.

¹⁶⁸ Cairns, *Citizens Plus*, 12, 165.

play for urban Aboriginals, it leaves many questions unanswered. In part due to the generic types of questions asked in the questionnaire and the impersonal nature of its telephone implementation, it is less capable of providing qualitative analysis of the social, political, and cultural factors at play in migratory processes.¹⁶⁹ Using sets of economic determinants, the Native urban experience, as Stanbury's title suggests, is seen as one of either success or failure.

The most common means of assessing the causes of urban migration has been the push/pull model. Push factors, such as unemployment, housing shortages, alcohol and drug abuse, and ill-health, induce many Natives to leave their home reserves. Pull factors, such as opportunities for employment, education, and improved services and amenities, attract many to the city. While useful in isolating some of the factors that are at play in urban migration, the push/pull model needs to be employed cautiously. The most common determinants scholars have chosen to study, such as unemployment and housing on reserve, suggest that these are the main attributes in shaping migration. This had led some, such as Frideres, to conclude that:

Migration away from the reserve is much more the result of push factors than of pull factors. The urban setting is attractive only to those who are qualified to participate actively in it; few Aboriginals are able to do so. Most Aboriginals decide to leave the reserve only when they are forced to by an absence of housing and employment opportunities.¹⁷⁰

The push/pull model divides and isolates reasons for migration as residing either within the reserve or urban context when the more likely scenario is that simultaneous circumstances in both over time, whether real or perceived, determines behaviour. For

¹⁶⁹ One example lies in Stanbury's own statistical evidence. While 28% of interviewed respondents noted lack of employment as the principle cause for moving, almost as many, 23% gave the nebulous response that they "generally prefer life off reserve," Stanbury, 307.

¹⁷⁰ Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, 152.

instance, unemployment on reserve only becomes cause for emigration when employment opportunities are seen to exist in the city. More generally, the importance and priority assigned to push or pull criteria tends to privilege select determinants over others and overshadows how Aboriginals themselves perceive of migration. The questions rarely asked by scholars of Native urbanization are those surrounding intent and meaning: does migration to the city imply a desire to never return to the reserve? What does moving to the city mean in terms of identity and culture? This next section suggests that high return migration to reserves from cities and the continuation of cultural ties to reserve communities indicate that cities and reserves need to be seen as networked points in a single system. Amidst the changes incurred by 20th century urbanization, many Kwakwaka'wakw people in both cities and reserves struggle to uphold traditional practices, values, and affiliations through the adoption of mobility patterns that connect urban areas to reserve communities. The existence of a reserve-urban network based on movement suggests that Kwakwaka'wakw people have found innovative ways to balance modern exigencies, such the need for employment and housing, with more traditional values such as collectivity, sharing, and strong connections to family and community.

Although the reasons driving Kwakwaka'wakw migrations to urban areas since the mid-20th century are complex and more numerous than those assessed as driving village relocations, many of the same reasons for migrating to Alert Bay in the 1960's are cited by oral sources as driving movement to urban areas. Concerns over employment, education, and health, for example, appear to have not only been unsatisfied by village relocations, they persisted as reasons for further "relocation". Greg Wadhams, for example, cites economic reasons as driving his family's move to Richmond for four years

before returning to Alert Bay. Wadhams stated he would leave Alert Bay again if the opportunity and income allowed it. He adds, "Although I love it here for the fishing, I love the surroundings, and we're ocean-going people and have always maintained our way of life on the ocean, I'm skeptical about any opportunities now regarding our way of life."¹⁷¹

Growing needs for education and health services that exceeded those provided by local structures also appear to have emerged as major motivating factors for some to move. One of few Kwakwaka'wakw people to have left for a city education in the 1950's, Gloria Cranmer-Webster attended secondary school in Victoria. Later moving to Vancouver to attend the University of British Columbia, Cranmer-Webster later found employment there working at Okalla women's prison and the non-profit John Howard Society. Regarding her return to Alert Bay, she notes, "I always knew I was coming back but there had to be a reason. There had to be a job there or something I could do. That was when negotiations about the repatriation of the potlatch collection became fairly serious."¹⁷² From the 1980's to today, upper and post secondary schooling has become increasingly necessary for employment, and a prime cause for out-migration. The recent closing of North Island College Centers in Alert Bay and Sointula in June 2003, former options for local education, has exacerbated this situation.¹⁷³ The unavailability of acute health services also has consistently forced many to leave Alert Bay. Ethel Alfred notes moving to Nanaimo in the 1950's when her daughter needed hospitalization, during which Alfred gained employment working as a practical nurse. Pete Cook also cites

¹⁷¹ Interview with Greg Wadhams.

¹⁷² Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster.

¹⁷³ ABCnet Alert Bay E-zine Newsletter, Volume 3 Number 4. April 2002.<http://www.alertbay.net/newsletter/Apr2002/04_2002txt.htm> (March 12, 2003).

health reasons as motivating his fifteen years of living in Victoria, although he prefers life in Alert Bay and visits family there regularly.¹⁷⁴

Movement off-reserve for education reasons suggests that migration in recent decades has developed along class lines. For instance, where early migration to canneries and cities for work was undertaken by anyone seeking employment, regardless of skill, not all Kwakwaka'wakw people have the prerequisites and resources required for post-secondary education. Patterns of movement to cities since the 1980's, whether for education, health, or employment reasons, have increasingly differentiated Kwakwaka'wakw people with varying incomes, kinship connections, social skills, and education. A notable example of increasing class divisions can be seen in the growth of Natives attaining university educations. While the number of Kwakwaka'wakw people in universities is still proportionately small, the effects of their university attendance are significant in terms of shaping identities and further differentiating classes within Kwakwaka'wakw society.¹⁷⁵

In addition to class, the emergence of other factors motivating migration off-reserve since the 1960's also suggests that Kwakwaka'wakw communities are becoming divided between cities and reserves in response to changing social and political environments. Drug and alcohol abuse, poverty, inter-family conflicts, discrimination, and upset over band administration and leadership in Alert Bay are cited by oral sources as common problems in Alert Bay. Social and political conditions on reserve, perhaps the most difficult determinants to gauge from short term fieldwork and formal interviews, play a subtle but present role in residency behaviour and influencing peoples' decisions

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Ethel Alfred; Interview with Pete Cook.

¹⁷⁵ For a discussion of First Nations adult education see Celia Haig-Brown, *Taking Control: Power and Contradiction in First Nations Education* (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1995).

to leave.¹⁷⁶ Frideres suggests employment and housing shortages on reserves are common causes for Native communities throughout Canada to move to urban areas. Accordingly, these two factors appear as prominent reasons for Kwakwaka'wakw movement off-reserve. Housing shortages in Alert Bay which began in the 1960's with village relocations have grown worse with increasing birth rates and ongoing immigration to Alert Bay. While the current Namgis band council is working towards providing improved housing to members of all incomes, namely in the form of subsidized housing and construction loans, shortages still exist in rental and on-reserve housing.¹⁷⁷

While migration to Alert Bay created immediate strains on local housing, it did not incur massive out-movement to urban areas. Increases in urban migration emerged later, following the growth of populations in the Namgis and Whe-la-la-u reserves. This is evident in the nature of out-migration from Type B bands in the 1970's and 80's. Emigration from these villages, which occurred later and more gradually than Type A ones, appears to have been directed towards urban centers rather than Type C reserves such as Alert Bay. Table 5 in Appendix 2 demonstrates that all Type B bands have consistently lower other-reserve percentages than Type A bands. This, coupled with increasing total off-reserve percentages, suggests that out-migration from Type B bands increasingly ended up in cities as neither housing nor employment opportunities could be

¹⁷⁶ Discrimination based on gender, family, and education are noted in the 2003 Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples. In proceedings, Rita Barnes states that gender discrimination is structured within the elected council system which gives exclusive power to men unlike more traditional governance based on equality. Governing power is further consolidated through the considerable voting power held by large families. Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples. "Issue 9." Another source of controversy lies in changes made to potlatching protocols. Women, formerly forbidden to speak during ceremonies, are now moving away from such traditional practices which they see as now discriminatory.

¹⁷⁷ Kelly Vodden, "Nanwakola: Co-management and sustainable community economic development in a B.C. Fishing Village," (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1999), 219. Currently, a five thousand dollar down payment is needed for band members to qualify for housing construction.

had in Alert Bay. Stevie Beans confirms the statistical evidence, noting that following the decline of gillnet and clam digging operations, most Gilford Islanders are now living in Vancouver.¹⁷⁸

Despite the urbanization of many Kwakwaka'wakw, even to the extent to which the city develops as an anchor of settlement, the research conducted for this thesis revealed high rates of return migration as well as the existence of a strong desire to uphold Kwakwaka'wakw identity and culture. The high rate of return common to Aboriginal urban migration was noted as early as 1974 in Frideres's first edition of *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts*. In this national study, Frideres suggests that Natives are migrating to the city very fast, "but because they are unable to cope with middle class industrial culture (and discrimination) they return to the reserve."¹⁷⁹ Donald McCaskill's doctoral dissertation, *The Urbanization of Canadian Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver*, however, was the first specific and in-depth treatment of the subject of Native migration in particular areas. Relying heavily on statistical data and Stanbury's research, McCaskill's study compares the migratory patterns of Natives around four Canadian cities. Almost twenty five years old, McCaskill's study is still a valuable and often overlooked contribution to the subject of Aboriginal migration.

McCaskill identifies the existence of urban Native communities as well as high rates of return migration to reserves. This "commuter" model or reserve-city network, he argues, indicates that Canadian Aboriginals are not assimilating into mainstream Canadian culture. Rather, they are:

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Stevie Beans.

¹⁷⁹ Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, 100.

developing a distinctive ethnic identity in the city through a variety of mechanisms including frequent trips to their community of origin, retention of their Native language, formation of elaborate kinship and friendship networks, participation in cultural events, and, to a lesser extent, developing Indian urban ethnic associations.¹⁸⁰

The relationship between return migration and ethnicity, McCaskill concludes, reveals a pattern in which migrants may split their identity-making activities between the reserve and the city. He adds that the decision to return to the reserve, lies less in economic necessity than it does in avoidance of occupying a “minority situation”; return migration can be seen as avoidance of the competing realities of the dominant society back to home reserves which act as important sources of Aboriginal ideology, cultural identity, and social ties.¹⁸¹ Pete Cook’s comments serve to corroborate this theory. Cook states, “I know the reason they [are] moving back is because they [are] having too hard a time getting what we want when we’re on the white reserve. Like a town, city, whatever.”¹⁸² Considering these factors, McCaskill’s theory of the existence of an urban network model, which treats the reserve community of origin and the city as a single system, seems more appropriate than an “acculturation/assimilation” model to explain Native peoples’ urban accommodation in this period.

Frideres, like McCaskill, notes the high instances of mobility and return migration to reserves in his updated sixth edition of *Contemporary Conflicts*, re-titled *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts*, behaviour which Frideres calls migratory transience, or “hyper-mobility”. Frideres, however, adopts a different framework and explanatory model than McCaskill in analyzing urban migration. An adaptation to his earlier argument which accounts for developments since the 1980’s, Frideres argues that

¹⁸⁰ McCaskill, *The Urbanization of Canadian Indians*, 293.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 288, 335-6.

¹⁸² Interview with Pete Cook.

over time, patterns of urban migration can actually be seen as stages within a larger model of urban acculturation (See Figure 5 in Appendix 1). Into the 21st century, Frideres suggests that urban Natives can now be categorized as either transients or residents based on their mobility, skills, and involvement with Native service organizations. The degree to which Natives retain traditional Aboriginal values also indicates stages of acculturation. The adherence or abandonment of such values, which include an emphasis on community rather than individual, cooperation rather than competition, giving instead of saving, and harmony with nature rather than conquest of it, Frideres argues, is related to one's degree of permanent residence in the city.¹⁸³

While Frideres' model of stages of acculturation is useful in terms of explaining the emergence of permanent urban Native residency, McCaskill's theory of the commuter or reserve-urban network model better helps to illustrate the important role reserves play in migratory processes. The existence of "cultural anchoring" provides a means of explaining rates of Kwakwaka'wakw return migration to reserves. The profundity of anchored affiliations to many Kwakwaka'wakw people is also important to consider when assessing the social and cultural effects of urban migration. Anthropologist Yngve Georg Lithman, in his study of a Manitoba reserve community, goes so far as to suggest that some migrations from reserves to urban areas may not even be of any significant consequence given the strong connection members have to their reserve communities. Some decisions about whether to migrate or not, Lithman argues, "reflect no mental orientation away from reserve community living, no search for new lifestyles, and they are seldom the result of prolonged and serious pondering."¹⁸⁴ Rather, migrations are the

¹⁸³ A. Tanner, ed. *The Politics of Indianness in Frideres, Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, 153.

¹⁸⁴ Lithman, *The Community Apart*, 57

result of particular combinations of factors affecting the individual in the reserve community, circumstances from which temporary relief is sought.

Much Kwakwaka'wakw off-reserve migration appears to be characterized by the dynamics of similar combinatory operations. For example, while Alert Bay may offer fewer favourable economic opportunities than the city, it continues to serve as a source of social, cultural, and kinship affiliations. Migration back to Alert Bay can be seen as an affirmation of these associations. Indeed, high rates of return migration suggest that the meaning of home reserves to Kwakwaka'wakw people is profound although few people are able to qualify this when asked why. Asked to describe what Alert Bay meant to her, Gloria Cranmer-Webster stated, "This is where I belong is what I mean. You know, there was always that feeling that living in Vancouver or working, was kind of, temporary. It lasted awhile. ... There was just a time when you had to come home."¹⁸⁵ Originally from Bella Bella but now living in Alert Bay, Ed Newman also notes, "I lived in the city for 5 years. The worst 5 years of my life. ... It's a different way of life. It's not the way of life I'm accustomed to."¹⁸⁶ Pete Cook perhaps provides the best description of the relationship Kwakwaka'wakw people have with home settlements. He states:

Everybody's got a special relationship with their villages, where they were born and all that. We're just like a fish eh? The fish go up Alaska. They know where to go when they come back home, to lay their eggs. I used to quite often wonder how they know where to travel, because they're underwater. Same thing with birds and all that. I would have never moved out of here if I didn't have to go have surgeries.¹⁸⁷

Marty Weinstein also notes the continued existence of a spiritual connection to the land that extends beyond material proprietorship; Kwakwaka'wakw origin mythology does

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Gloria Cranmer-Webster.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Ed Newman, Alert Bay, B.C., May 20, 2003.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Pete Cook.

not distinguish between individuals and environment, but rather links people to nature, stressing life in accord with it.¹⁸⁸ From this perspective, migration plays a central role in either attenuating or facilitating this relationship.

Effects of Urban Migration

Although rates of Kwakwaka'wakw urbanization have stabilized in recent years, urban and return migration have had a wide range of lasting effects for governments and administrators, as well as individuals, families, and communities. For band governments, the out-movement of members has created problems in deciding membership criteria, off-reserve member rights, input into treaty negotiations, and the distribution of treaty compensations. For urban Native service organizations such as Native Friendship and Education Centers, the reluctance of federal and provincial governments to adequately fund Native-affiliated social services in cities has helped create chronic troubles surrounding management, direction, and service provision. Part of the greater problem lies in the jurisdictional complications created by Native urbanization. By attempting to push Natives off-reserve into spheres of provincial jurisdiction, the federal government has attempted to reduce its fiscal, treaty and constitutional obligations.¹⁸⁹ These are some of many problems created by urbanization, many of which in turn perpetuate cycles of return migration.

Less is known about the effects of urbanization on Native people and communities. As noted, Native people "disappear" from sources once they leave their

¹⁸⁸ Weinstein, "Nimkish Valley," 21-22.

¹⁸⁹ Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, 2000, 152, 155, 160-2. Further problems also arise as a result of the large aggregate tribal councils many bands now fall under. The Sto:lo Nation of the lower Fraser River, for example, is a collective of smaller bands, some of which have decided to opt out of the political arm of the Nation. All bands, however, continue to receive administrative services.

reserve. Few scholars have examined what urbanization means to individuals, families, and communities. Michael Asch and Kathleen Mooney have studied and documented the existence of an ethic of collectivity among Natives residing in Canadian cities. Asch, for example, notes how principles of reciprocity have been used to create cultural networks among urban Native peoples as well as between urban and reserve communities. The reproduction of traditional values and cultural practice among urban Natives, Asch argues, “act to bind individuals together more tightly than is usual among members of the Canadian mainstream, and this network often allows the transmission of cultural information that traditionally took place in different settings.”¹⁹⁰ Kathleen Mooney makes a similar argument in her study of the Coast Salish of Vancouver Island. Basing her study on qualitative fieldwork, she notes how the geographical distance between on- and off-reserve members created by urbanization does not precipitate a break with sharing and exchange. Rather, the existence of a strong Native collective ethic, Mooney argues, has the effect of compressing distances between reserve- and off-reserve members.¹⁹¹

While an ethic of native collectivism can be seen as a response to unfavourable economic conditions in the city, it also is evidence of deliberate attempts to uphold traditional values through the innovation of cultural practice in non-reserve spaces. Native experiences and operations in cities can be characterized as productions of varying strategies and tactics of survival. De Certeau suggests that cultural productions, or modalities of action and formalities of practices, traverse the frontiers dividing time,

¹⁹⁰ Michael Asch, *Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution* (Ontario: Methuen Publications, 1984), 22.

¹⁹¹ Kathleen Mooney, “Social Distance and Exchange: The Coast Salish Case,” in *Ethnology* vol. 15 no. 4 (October 1976), 324, 343-4.

space, and type of action.¹⁹² Differentiating types of operations between that of *strategies*, which produce, tabulate, and impose spaces, and *tactics*, which can only use, manipulate, and divert spaces, De Certeau suggests that both reflect non-conformity with laws of place. The forms of resistance found in strategies and tactics, however, are differentiated by power relationships, the types of operations, and the role of spaces. Strategies, similar to diasporas, are interested in the establishment of spaces within place; the space of a tactic, however, is the space of the “other”. The art of the weak, tactics are incapable of such an appropriation of space and are oriented towards sojourning and the utilization of time.¹⁹³

Kwakwaka’wakw experiences in the city since the 1950’s can be framed as largely characterized as reflective of these tactics of survival, although some signs of the adoption of strategies have emerged in recent decades. During the 1960’s and 70’s, for example, high return migration and patterns of sojourning, combined with the lack of support from service organizations indicate that Natives maneuvered in cities with behaviour reflective of tactics. In this period, reserve communities such as Alert Bay, continued to inform Kwakwaka’wakw anchored senses of identity and culture. As McCaskill suggests, reserves provided important physical spaces where Natives could escape urban minority situations. In more recent decades, however, Aboriginal people in British Columbia are now adopting roles with behaviour reflective of strategies. The growth of permanent Aboriginal populations in urban areas, coupled with the establishment of permanent service and education organizations, indicate that into the 21st century, Native people are increasingly appropriating urban spaces, asserting their rights,

¹⁹² De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 29.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 36-7.

and engaging in mainstream Canadian social, economic, and political spheres. The employment of either practices of tactics and strategies by different groups of Native people further suggests that class lines are developing in and between Native communities. The growth of numbers of Aboriginal professionals such as politicians, academics, and administrators with different urban experiences, skills, and aspirations exemplify the growing gaps between how different groups of Aboriginal people operate within both mainstream Canadian society *and* Native communities.

The adoption of varying tactics and strategies of survival, as well as changing notions of social distance and exchange, is evidence of the fundamentally-shifting spatial notions occurring in, among, and between Native communities. In the past half-century powerful geographical ideas of center/periphery have emerged and changed. These shifting spatial notions also lay at the root of subsidiary concepts such as “isolation”, “remoteness”, “backwardness”, and “underdevelopment”. As demonstrated in the oral narratives surrounding some of the voluntary reasons for village relocations, these ideas have increasingly become internalized and incorporated into Kwakwaka’wakw discourses. Despite being largely results of exogenous factors, these changing spatial concepts of center and periphery have had weighty implications for Kwakwaka’wakw identity formation, social regulation, and policy making. In the latter 20th century, Kwakwaka’wakw people, like many other First Nations groups across Canada, have seen a general increase in movements between the centers of Native community networks (reserve communities) and their peripheries (cities, work camps, etc.). In addition to this, the Kwakwaka’wakw have also seen geographies themselves change in terms of being constructed as center- or peripherally-located. For example, in the past one hundred and

twenty years, Alert Bay has gone from being uninhabited to being a local center of economic activity to being an economically-peripheral community. Although these changes have had major impacts on Native communities, Kwakwaka'wakw people have had little control over such developments.

Oral narratives contain qualitative insights into how Kwakwaka'wakw people have perceived and responded to the rapidly-changing social, economic, and cultural contexts of the past half-century. Oral testimonies not only document the specific movement of individuals, they are possible sources of embedded cultural meanings for these processes. The oral narratives examined for this thesis, however, reveal that Kwakwaka'wakw behaviour and perspectives surrounding urban migration are not unanimous. Some Kwakwaka'wakw boast about having never left Alert Bay while others lament the fact they do not have the resources to leave. Some are proud to admit having lived in the city the majority of their lives. W_____, one such person, who happened to be temporarily living in Fort Rupert and visiting Alert Bay during the course of the fieldwork for this thesis, noted how it was normal practice for people to move from city to city in earlier years. So common was this that the term "Hank Snow" was used by off-reserve Kwakwaka'wakw people as a verb to describe the act of moving from place to place. "Hank Snow" referred to Snow's famous 1950 country song "I'm Moving On" which tells a story of lost love and transience.

Chris Cook Jr. presents a different view of urban life. Noting how life in Vancouver marked a disruption for both himself as an individual as well as and his community of origin, Cook states:

1953 I moved to Vancouver, and my mom and my dad, we moved there, my way of life changed, started to change. Drastically. Just overnight that

things started to change. Because from here, we went away from the community that I believe depended on each other. People worked together, people built houses together, they worked together, they were more community-minded I believe, than they are today. There was more closeness, they were more close-knitted. I believe survival meant a lot more for the people by coming together. That was really important. But that changed when we went to Vancouver. All of a sudden we're in a town that's a city. And we had to adapt to corner stores, fast foods, tram, major, major change for us here overnight. Where there was movies, and people didn't know your next door neighbour. All things like that.¹⁹⁴

As this narrative suggests, Kwakwaka'wakw movement to and within the city can be seen as an uprooting of one's origins and an attempt to replace them through an invention of space and community in the city; movement back to the reserve can be seen as evidence of the existence of cultural anchoring as well as the failure of the realization of this attempt to recreate this space. As de Certeau suggests, walking in the city can be seen as an "indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place."¹⁹⁵ From this perspective, movement back to Alert Bay or other origin reserves, whether for family visits or permanent residence, represents a process in which Kwakwaka'wakw people find and renew their sense of identity.

Additional perspectives on urban migration can be found on reserves.

Kwakwaka'wakw people living on- or off-reserve may ascribe different meanings to out-migration. This conversation with George Alfred reveals not only the high rates of return migration back to Alert Bay, it also demonstrates how off-reserve mobility may be perceived differently by the reservation community:

B: Do you think the lack of jobs and opportunity in Alert Bay is causing a lot of people to leave?

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Chris Cook Jr..

¹⁹⁵ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 103.

G: Could be. Yeah. I think most of them usually end up back here though.

B: Why is that?

G: Because they're home. Because it's home. I mean, when you move to the city you become a gregarious loner. You know? It's different than here. It's not too bad in Victoria but once you get to Vancouver it's like that.

B: Do you think that people leaving affects the community here that much?

G: Yeah, it does in a way. The people leaving, though, always ended up coming home. I think we have ways of dealing with it in the old days. That's why we have stories of Baxbakwalanuxsiwe [Hamatsa spirit] and Dzunukwa [giant female sasquatch] and things like that. You see, those ones that moved away and lived in the urban societies, now are what we call Hatl'an. You know, in the old days? Because the old people didn't want them to move too far away from the village or wander too far away. They had stories to keep them home as kids.

B: What does that word mean?

G: Hatl'an? It means they've got no ears. They're rambunctious. They're renegades.

This conversation offers a unique Kwakwaka'wakw perspective on urban migration. The term "Hatl'an", which Alfred notes was used in earlier times to describe wandering children, now is used to describe Kwakwaka'wakw people living in urban areas. The use of a Kwakwala term to describe Kwakwaka'wakw urban movement suggests that traditional epistemology may still inform the meaning ascribed to contemporary phenomenon. Traditional words may take on new innovative meanings to describe extant phenomenon.

As these different narratives demonstrate, not all Kwakwaka'wakw people have the same ideas regarding the meaning of urban migration, nor have they all faced or responded to the same sets of social, economic, or political exigencies. In the past forty years, perceptions of city life and the meaning of "Moving On" to urban areas would also likely have changed. In the early 1960's, Wolcott noted how migration to communities as far south as Nanaimo was accepted by Village Islanders as normal. Migration to the

“big city” of Vancouver, however, was seen as a rejection of village life.¹⁹⁶ Today, however, the “big city” offers the only alternative for people of all ages pushed out of the local sustenance and capitalist economy. In many ways, Kwakwaka’wakw practices of sustenance and transhumance have evolved away from local territories and into urban areas. Facing new and increasing demands for education, employment, and health services, all but a few of the Kwakwaka’wakw people currently living in Alert Bay interviewed for this research had, at one time in their lives, lived off-reserve for several years.

Furthermore, many Kwakwaka’wakw people who left Alert Bay to go to the city in earlier times later returned home to a very different place. Some Kwakwaka’wakw people feel that with the changes of the last half century, there is little left to reject in village life by moving to the city. Pete Cook summarizes one such view from the city of the prospects of life back on the reserve:

[I]t doesn’t make any difference if we come back because everything’s taken away from us. The government’s taken everything. And I [don’t] really like to talk about the government like that but it just really bothers me. You know, how our people, how we’re living our lives.¹⁹⁷

Despite these factors, however, people are moving back. In addition to suggestive statistics from individual bands in recent years, the observations of Pete Cook, Gloria Cranmer-Webster, and Verna Ambers all suggest that growing numbers of Kwakwaka’wakw people are returning to Alert Bay. This can be seen as further evidence of the continued social, familial, and cultural connections Kwakwaka’wakw people have to their traditional territories.

¹⁹⁶ Wolcott, *A Kwakiutl Village*, 4.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Pete Cook.

The possibilities for return migration in the future will be shaped by the same issues and factors that induced early out-migration. Menno Boldt summarizes the dilemma facing many Native communities in Canada. He notes:

If Indians are to participate in the mainstream economy, then reserve communities need to construe off-reserve employment in such a way that leaving, even for personal improvement and advancement, is not regarded as contrary to community interests but, rather, as advancing those interests.¹⁹⁸

The negotiation between community interests, traditional values, and contemporary political and economic exigencies, in both urban and reserve settings, are ongoing processes. These processes are also not without conflicting elements. Mooney notes, “the Indian ethic advocates communitarian spirit and cooperation—in conflict with Protestant ethic and government individualism which in turn conflicts with corporate collectivism.”¹⁹⁹ Native communities such as Alert Bay face considerable challenges in the future as they work towards solutions that fulfill both traditional and contemporary needs. Issues surrounding employment opportunities, housing, education, health, and social and cultural life will undoubtedly continue to play a prominent role in shaping future Kwakwaka’wakw settlement and migration.

¹⁹⁸ Boldt, *Surviving As Indians*, 240.

¹⁹⁹ Mooney, “Urban and Reserve Indian Economics and Domestic Organization,” (Ph.D dissertation, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1976), 32.

CHAPTER FOUR – CONCLUSION

Conclusion

In 1792, Captain Vancouver circumnavigated the island which was to later bear his name, recording his meetings with local indigenous peoples who he, like his predecessor, James Cook, called “Indians”. The people that Vancouver “discovered” were immediately identified and categorized alongside the other indigenous people of North and South America. Without even knowing it, they became enmeshed in a colonial discourse that existed before physical contact in the Pacific Northwest.²⁰⁰ As Mary Louise Pratt has convincingly argued, explorers were part of the larger European enterprise of “knowing” the world, engaged in a process of planetary consciousness through the scientific systematization of nature. As she notes, “the naming, the representing, and the claiming are all one; the naming brings the reality of order into being.”²⁰¹

These processes of naming, recording, and mapping people and places begun by explorers in the 18th century have had a profound effect on how Aboriginal people have been understood in the post-contact era. The famous sketch image of the Namgis village that Vancouver recorded near the mouth of the Nimpkish River speaks of these processes.²⁰² Just as this image of tiny shanties covered with Inca-like artwork distorted the reality of the time, so too have non-Native historical representations of Kwakwaka’wakw settlement constructed a distorted view of history. The concept of the

²⁰⁰ Lutz, “Makuk,” 32-33.

²⁰¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 29, 33.

²⁰² George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1801), 268-9. See Figure 6 in Appendix 1.

semi-sedentary coastal Indian settlement has been a pervasive and lasting one for writers of Aboriginal history. However, in focusing exclusively on the inherently static concept of the settlement, scholars have overlooked not only the complex traditions of mobility so central to Kwakwaka'wakw physical, social, and cultural life, but also the profound changes that have occurred to all of these facets in the 20th century.

This thesis has attempted to explore some alternate means of examining the history of Pacific Northwest Native peoples. Migration as a means of ethnohistorical analysis offers new and insightful ways of examining Aboriginal cultures and histories. As Clifford notes, scholars need to rethink cultures as sites of dwelling *and* travel. He adds, "Practices of displacement might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension."²⁰³ Through such an analysis that draws together place and displacement, stasis and motion, scholars can better understand the dynamics of both continuity and change catalyzed through the earliest Native/non-Native relations. In examining three fundamental shifts in Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migratory behaviour in the latter 20th century, this thesis has attempted to employ such an approach. The intent here was to offer up both new directions in ethnohistory as well as draw attention onto an often ignored aspect of Kwakwaka'wakw history. Further study in all of these areas is sorely needed.

The ongoing nature of Kwakwaka'wakw migration and settlement precludes a full understanding of their full social, political, and economic effects. As Clifford suggests, "travels and contacts are crucial sites for an unfinished modernity."²⁰⁴ Kwakwaka'wakw physical and social space continues to operate in a constant state of negotiation, being

²⁰³ Clifford, *Routes*, 3, 31.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

shaped and re-defined, from outside as well as within. Kwakwaka'wakw behaviour today contains qualities reflective of both ongoing tradition and acculturation with mainstream Canadian society. The operations of this dialogue are by no means simple, linear, or without elements of contradiction. The paradigm of the anchor with variable radiances, however, is a useful means of understanding the history of Kwakwaka'wakw migration. This thesis has used the model mostly to explain the changing geographical backdrops of settlement and migration. Historical examination of village relocations, the decline of movement for sustenance purposes, and urbanization all reveal the changing rates, patterns, and parameters of Kwakwaka'wakw migration in the 20th century.

This thesis has also attempted to show how Kwakwaka'wakw social and cultural systems may be characterized by a structure based on anchors and radiances. Study of patterns of return migration from cities to reserves reveals that despite being separated by physical distance, networks of social and cultural anchoring with home communities continue to exist for many Kwakwaka'wakw. This suggests that multiple forms of anchoring may exist based on social, familial, cultural, and possibly spiritual landscapes. The combinatory operations of these layered systems of affiliation and the exigencies that typify each of them provide a model by which to trace how changing social, economic, and political contexts have shaped, or, in turn been shaped by, the operations of these different systems of affiliation. From this perspective, events such as village relocations, a rise in sedentary lifestyles, and movement to cities can be seen as not only reflecting changes in different forms of anchors and radiances, but also the fragmenting of these different modes of identity.

This thesis has examined late 20th Century practices of Kwakwaka'wakw migration with particular interest in the relationship between mobility and economics, culture, and identity. Appropriately, it should be noted that the relatively narrow temporal framework adopted as part of this study is not meant to obscure important considerations of broader historical change. Indeed, the discussions of identity and cultural change/continuity contained within this thesis need to be properly contextualized with the broader contact history between natives and newcomers in Canada. As in Native communities across Canada, the Kwakwaka'wakw have survived a long history of colonial, discriminatory, and assimilationist policies. The continuation of Aboriginal values and traditions revolving around collectivity, sharing, and social welfare have played an important role in contouring Aboriginal responses to displacement. Indeed, scholars have much to learn in better understanding how tradition and modernity combine to inform the everyday actions of First Nations people. Aside from some of the aforementioned works by McCaskill, Asch, and Mooney, few scholars have examined the processes by which "old" and "new" needs are interpreted, negotiated, and satisfied. Although the challenges of undertaking this project lie ahead, this thesis has attempted to provide some insights into towards moving to this end.

As scholars of First Nations societies attempt to move towards more culturally-relative and sensitive frameworks, future studies of 20th century change in Native communities will depend on the development of new theoretical approaches. Drawing on De Certeau's notion of "combinatory operations," I have suggested that Aboriginal people have responded to different types of physical, economical, and cultural displacement through operational systems shaped by traditional and modern exigencies.

In response to the rapidly-changing economic, social, political, and cultural landscapes of the 20th century, the Kwakwaka'wakw have adopted strategies of mobility which attempt to reconcile, balance, and satisfy both modern and traditional needs. Much like the experiences of other indigenous people throughout the world, Aboriginal cultures in Canada are constantly being reinterpreted and renegotiated as Native peoples struggle to find solutions and meaning in their contemporary everyday lives.

Elizabeth Povinelli has argued in the Australian context that Aboriginal economic action is “part of an ongoing production of the group—its economic, cultural, and political well-being—drawn from the multiplicity of cultural and political-economic discourses and resources that Aboriginal people find in their lives.”²⁰⁵ As the history of the latter half of the 20th century demonstrates, shifting economic, social, and cultural landscapes have had a fundamental influence on Kwakwaka'wakw settlement and migratory behaviour. Changing notions of Kwakwaka'wakw space and movement have, whether directly or indirectly, affected the ability of Kwakwaka'wakw people to sustain their social, cultural, communal, and spiritual well-being.

Recommendations for future study

As noted, Canadian scholars are only beginning to turn to studies of 20th century Native history. Further study of this more recent period, however, is vital to improved understandings of Aboriginal cultures and societies, as some of the most significant social, economic, and demographic changes in Aboriginal societies have taken place in this century. The urbanization of Canadian Native peoples, for example, represents what

²⁰⁵ Povinelli, *Labour's Lot*, 5.

is possibly the most significant Aboriginal demographic shift in Canada since the early catastrophic disease epidemics.

As has been the case with this thesis, oral sources will undoubtedly play a key role in future works. Oral narratives and traditions have much to offer, both in terms of providing factual information as well as in providing Aboriginal perspectives of historical events. Keith Carlson notes, "Indigenous epistemology needs to be taken seriously if researchers are to benefit from the knowledge that indigenous people are willing to share."²⁰⁶ This statement applies to both contemporary as historical frameworks. The greater use of oral history for studies of contemporary Native cultures may even provide new analytical techniques for the historical studies of early periods which have preoccupied so many historians and anthropologists to date. Postmodernist critiques of the content and objectivity of "primary" textual sources such as trader narratives will play a role in this process. Historians need to move beyond the idea earlier addressed by John Tosh, that contemporaneity is the prime requirement of historical sources, towards a more balanced view that approaches all sources, whether textual and oral, as subjectively nuanced. Once this is taken as granted, scholars can begin to move beyond the confines imposed by more conventional historiographical traditions fixated with linearity, chronology, and causation. Rather than attempting to find and identify tradition in modernity, an approach that examines cultural continuity as much as discontinuity allows the scholar to work "against the grain" and examine how the contemporary may actually be a source for understanding the traditional. In the historical period and no less today, Aboriginal "tradition" is constantly being renegotiated and recast by the current generations which inherit them. Consequently, considerable room still exists for new

²⁰⁶ Carlson, "The Power of Place," 3.

theories that examine how contemporary exigencies are negotiated within the reproductions of established socio-cultural traditions.

Ethnohistory provides a means of reconciling the gaps between Native and non-Native histories and traditions of exchanging knowledge. Not only do ethnohistorical approaches facilitate the inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives, they help to assess change within larger historical frameworks. A chronic problem in contemporary studies of urbanization, for instance, has been in imposing a starting point in which their history “begins”; rarely do these studies contextualize the modern with the historical period. While admittedly necessary for any study in history, the imposition of a “beginning” point need not preclude examination of earlier events which may help to frame phenomenon within broader historical perspectives. In terms of future studies of urban migration, Aboriginal movement needs to be examined as a tradition itself. As the brief overview of pre- and post-contact migration in this thesis demonstrates, Kwakwaka’wakw traditions of high mobility existed long before those manifested in the 20th century.

In addition to works of theory and methodology, some specific areas deserve further study. Aside from the RCAP and the reports commissioned by it, the relocation of Native villages, and specifically, the actions of the DIA in this period are largely unstudied. Examination of DIA reports and directives, Indian agent reports, journals, and handbooks, band surveys, and oral sources would help provide valuable insights into fundamental shifts in Native settlement and administration in this time. New studies of Native urbanization are also needed. The majority of works examined in this thesis are over twenty years old as few works since then have been undertaken. Comparative

studies between different communities would illuminate how different social, economic, political, geographical, and cultural factors shape migratory behaviour. National frameworks, the most popular means by which urban migration has been studied, need to be replaced by specific microhistorical frameworks which recognize the differences and similarities between tribal communities.

Surprisingly little is known about Aboriginals dwelling in urban areas. How do Native people appropriate and maneuver in urban space? The work of Kathleen Mooney, now thirty years old, still raises interesting implications for future work as she studies the extent to which a Coast Salish Aboriginal collective ethic shapes household structure patterns. By pointing out the high rates of cohabitation of kinship and sharing found in Native households, Mooney suggests that, "Indian and inter-household organization is understandable most immediately in terms not of economics but of Indian collective ethic, which in turn may be viewed partially as a response to unfavourable economic conditions."²⁰⁷ Further study is needed of how Native space might be transplanted, replicated, and reworked in urban contexts in response to external conditions. While Mooney mainly frames urban cohabitation and collectivity as borne out of economic necessity, comparative study of this subject in both urban and reserve contexts such as Alert Bay may in fact enrich such an understanding.

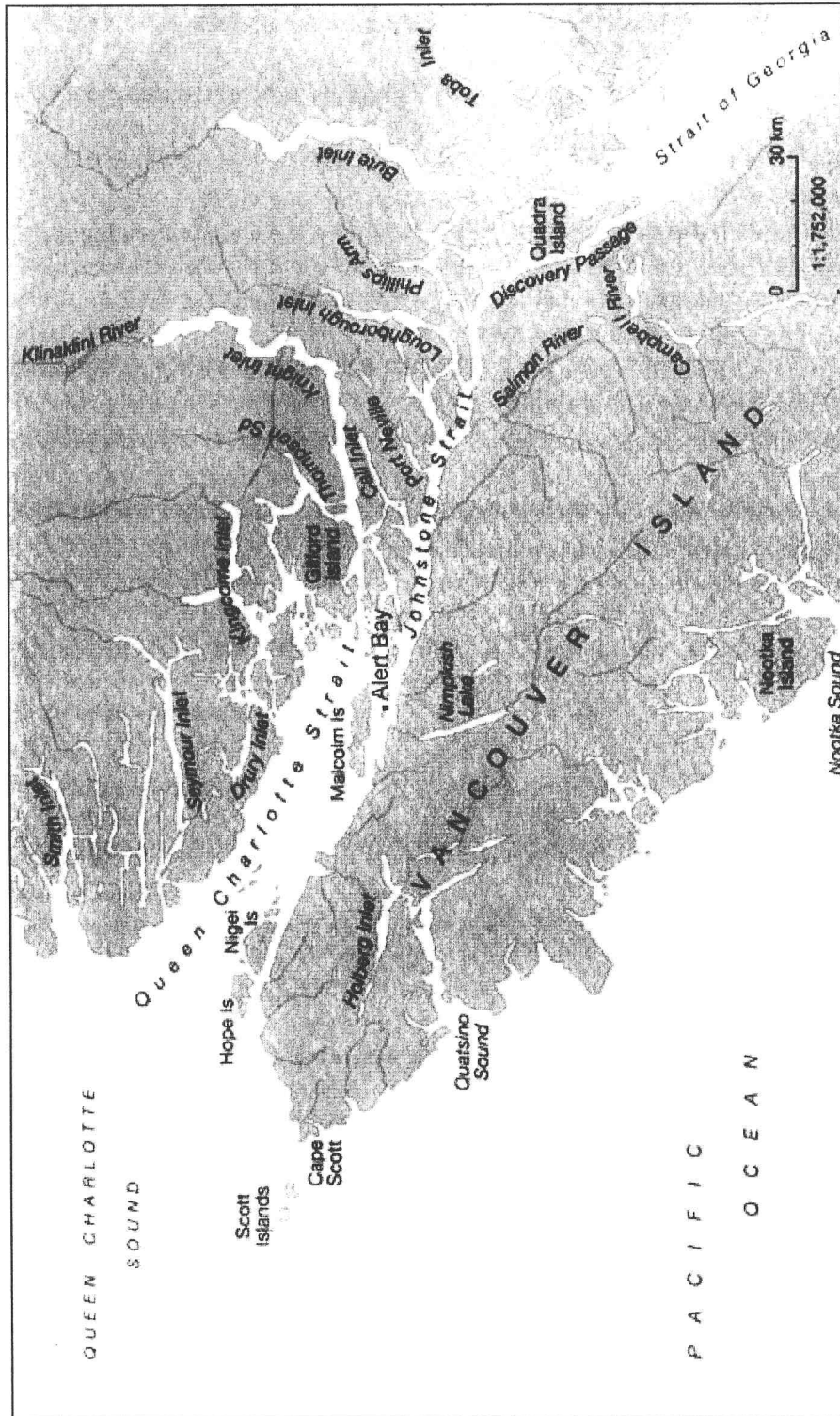
Future studies, of which only a few are listed here, will be crucial to the development of better understandings of how Aboriginal space and movement have been reconfigured in response to changing historical contexts. Indeed, analysis of processes of displacement and mobility provides a better understanding of the comprehensive effects of both historical and ongoing "contact" between Kwakwaka'wakw people and non-

²⁰⁷ Mooney, "Urban and Reserve Indian Economics," 2.

Native British Columbians. The concepts of “Hatl’an” and “Hank Snow” that Kwakwaka’wakw people have used to describe their mobility in the 20th century speak of these processes. Used by different Kwakwaka’wakw people to describe the same phenomenon, these concepts offer two perspectives on off-reserve migration: the first rooted in the context of the reserve community, the other located off-reserve and reflective of how Kwakwaka’wakw people have adopted different survival strategies based on mobility. Even for those who “Hank Snow” and say “hello to the southland” and non-traditional territories, migration may not necessarily precipitate breaks with the social, familial, and cultural networks that exist between Kwakwaka’wakw people and communities such as Alert Bay.

Figure 2

Map of Northern Vancouver Island and Mainland



Source: Galois, Powell, and Cranmer, *Kwakwaka'wakw Settlements*.

Figure 4

Kwakwaka'wakw Tribal Amalgamations, Precontact-1980

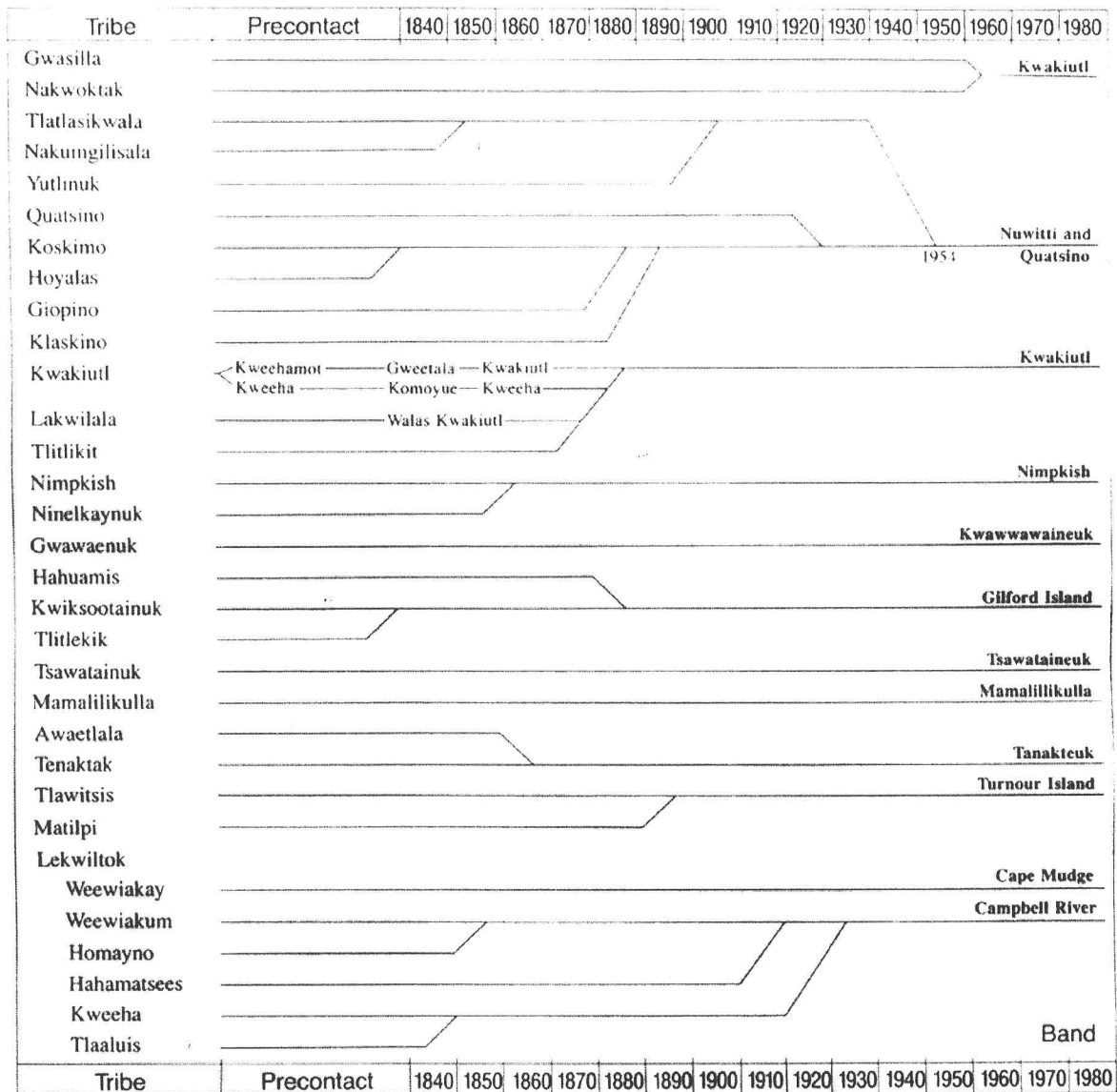
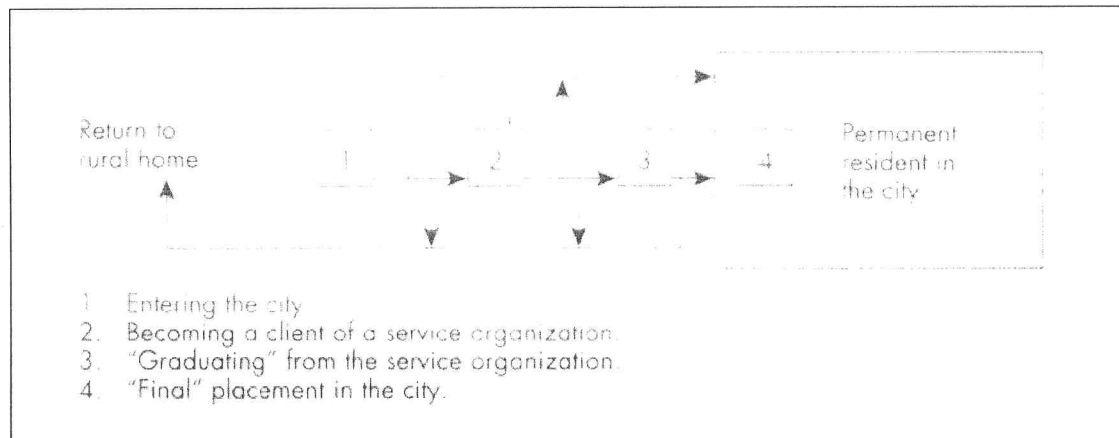


Fig. 2. Historical merging of Kwakiutl tribes into modern bands. The Comox band does not appear because it was originally a Northern Coast Salish group.

Source: Helen Codere, "Kwakiutl: Traditional Culture," In *Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 7 Indians of the Northwest Pacific Coast*, vol ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-), 359-77.

Figure 5

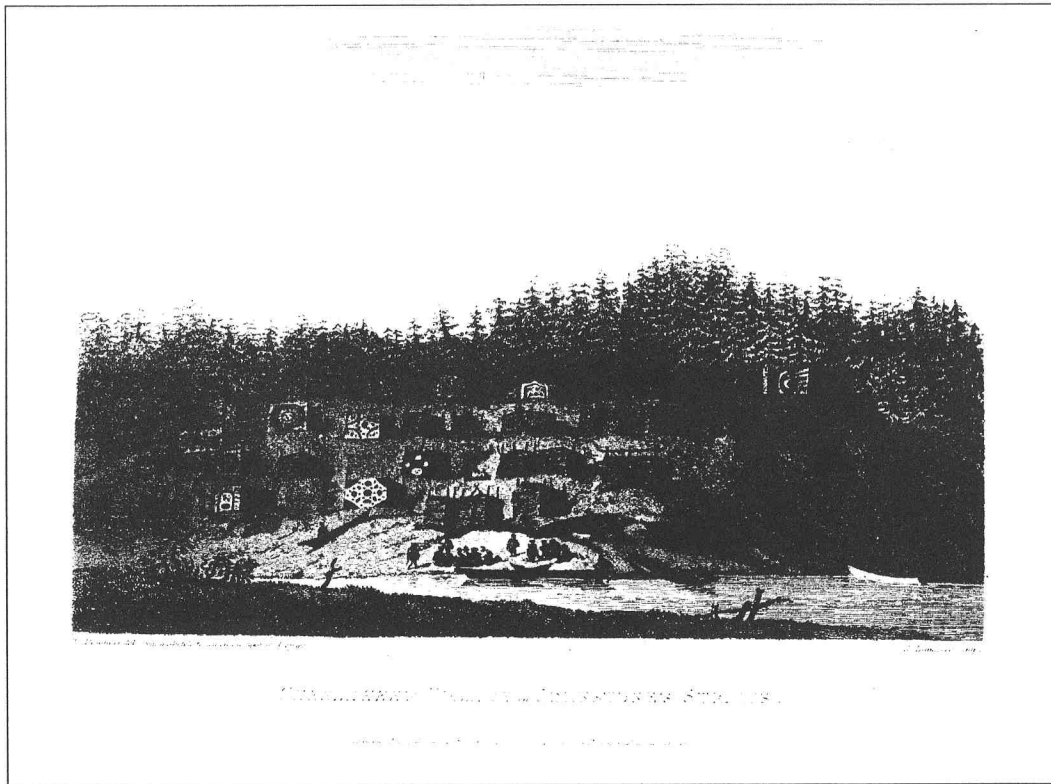
Stages of Development of Urban Aboriginal People in Final Adaptation to Urban Milieu



Source: Frideres, *Aboriginal People in Canada*.

Figure 6

Captain George Vancouver Sketch of Nimpkish Village:
“Cheslakee’s Village in Johnstone’s Straits.”



Source: George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1801).

APPENDIX 2

Table 1

Seasonal Economic and Subsistence Activities*

Activity	Length of Activity by Month											
	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct
Summer Salmon Fishing												
Clam Season												
Halibut Fishing												
Winter Trolling												
Winter Gillnetting												
Trapping												
Oulachon												
Deer Season												
Duck Season												
UIC												
Seaweed Collecting												
Family Allowance												

* Grey areas in the table indicate areas of possible activity, variable by seasonal availability, commercial regulation, and the particular preferences of individual tribal groups. For example, the summer commercial salmon season opens in May, but the Kwakiutl at Gilford do not begin intensive fishing operations until the latter part of June. The clam season also formally opens in November and closes in May but villagers usually quit digging commercially in the middle of March.

Source: Ronald P. Rohner, *The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia* (Toronto: Holt, Rineheart and Winston, 1970), 29.

Table 2

Rohner Population Estimates, 1939-63

Rohner Population Estimates, 1939-1963*

	1939	1945	1948	1954	1955	1956	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Kwicksutaineuk (Gifford Island)	47	60	57	153	155	165	174	179	197	193	188
Hahuamis** (Gifford Island)		62	61								
Kwa-wa-aineuk (Hopetown)	24	17			11	12	14	15	15	15	14
Tlowitsis-Mumtagila (Turnour Island)											
Mamallikulla (Village Island)	107					137	145		140	140	
Tsawataineuk (Kingcome Inlet)	183			198	196	204	231	246	237	250	264

* Rohner's figures are largely based on syntheses of population estimates contained in secondary historical and anthropological accounts.

**In 1948 the Huhamis began to be recorded as part of the Kwaiksutaineuk.

Source: Ronald Preston Rohner, *The People of Gifford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village* (Vancouver: Queen's Printer, 1967), 39

Table 3

Total Band Populations, 1974-2000

Total Band Populations, 1974-2000

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000
Kwicksutaineuk (Gifford Island)	203	194	194	199	200	193	219	233	232	244	251	244	244	248
Kwakiuti (Kwawkewith)	521	558	577	595	308	294	339	354	427	511	536	564	588	596
Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw					328	349	386	428	440	467	502	571	596	646
Gwawaenuk (Hopetown)	21	25	27	27	26	20	22	22	23	25	28	25	27	33
Tlowitsis-Mumtagila (Turnour Island)	139	145	151	159	163	171	188	206	249	272	296	301	317	335
Mamallikulla (Village Island)	151	154	166	193	201	199	248	256	264	280	295	306	328	347
Namgis (Alert Bay)	835	862	896	898	923	947	1150	1242	1235	1299	1346	1377	1413	1477
Da'naxda'xw (New Vancouver)	106	107	108	115	120	115	124	140	149	147	150	158	163	168
Tsawataineuk (Kingcome Inlet)	278	277	288	297	304	307	333	353	382	416	447	449	473	477
Tlatasikwala (Nuwitti)	15	13	12	19	20	22	32	29	29	33	37	39	41	44
Campbell River	190	203	213	215	223	243	337	383	438	497	495	520	560	584
Kwiakah (Near Campbell River)	7	7	7	6	8	14	13	15	15	16	17	18	18	20
Cape Mudge	335	359	369	389	400	433	565	620	679	728	762	796	804	806
Total	2801	2904	3008	3112	3224	3307	3956	4281	4562	4935	5162	5368	5572	5781
Average annual % increase		3.55	3.46	3.34	3.47	2.51	16.4	7.59	6.16	7.56	4.4	3.84	3.66	3.62

Note: In 1964, the Quawaheiah, Nakwakto and Kwawkewith Bands merged to form the Kwawkewith Band; in 1981 the Kwawkewith Band divided into the Kwakiuti and the Tsulquate Band, which later was renamed Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw in 1985; Tanakteuk changed to the Da'naxda'xw in 1998; The Kwa-wa-aineuk Band changed to the Gwawaenuk Band in 1999.

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Register by Sex and Residence* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1974-2000).

Table 4

On-Reserve Band Populations, 1974-2000
(page 1 of 2)

On-Reserve Band Populations, 1974-2002*

Abandoned/Reviving Periphery Villages (Type A)	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002
Tiowitsis-Mumtaglia (Turnour Island)	41	42	39	40	39	50	36	39	8	13	3	4	7	10	11
Mamallikulia (Village Island)	15	16	17	40	43	46	21	21	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Da'naxda'xw (New Vancouver)	5	14	12	13	13	15	11	10	5	6	2	7	9	15	16
Tiatlasikwala (Nuwitti)	8	6	4	8	8	9	7	1	0	2	0	2	3	6	** (8)
Kwiakah (Near Campbell River)	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	** (0)
Total	69	78	72	101	103	126	75	71	13	21	22	14	19	32	35
% change	13	-8.33	28.7	1.94	18.3	-68	5.63	-44.6	38	4.55	-57.1	26.3	40.6	8.57	

Withering/Reviving Periphery Villages (Type B)	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002
Gwawaenuk (Hopetown)	16	24	26	36	16	20	22	22	18	20	19	19	18	19	** (19)
Kwicksutaineuk (Gliford Island)	66	68	66	67	69	68	66	54	41	40	44	42	39	38	37
Tsawataineuk (Kingcome Inlet)	103	99	96	103	103	116	117	129	135	108	113	107	112	96	96
Total	185	191	188	206	188	204	205	205	194	168	176	168	169	153	152
% change	3.14	-1.6	8.74	-9.57	7.84	0.49	0	-5.67	-15.5	5.11	-5.11	0.59	-10.5	-0.66	

On-Reserve Band Populations, 1974-2000
(page 2 of 2)

On-Reserve Band Populations, 1974-2002*

Stable/Growing Central Villages (Type C)	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2000	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022	
Kwakiutl (Kwawkweth)	349	344	348	362	138	141	144	147	206	263	279	292	325	397	320
Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw						357	374	371	350	374	419	435	398	464	
Namgis (Alert Bay)	470	523	559	573	595	617	666	721	702	722	714	709	718	735	881
Cape Mudge	247	261	264	283	291	307	316	274	278	311	314	326	322	302	315
Campbell River	89	94	99	97	99	113	113	115	122	167	176	166	200	217	227
Total	1155	1222	1270	1315	1123	1178	1596	1631	1679	1813	1857	1912	2000	2049	2207
% change		5.48	3.78	3.42	-17.1	4.67	26.2	1.04	-2.86	7.39	2.37	2.88	4.4	2.39	7.16

Note: In 1964, the Quawahelah, Nakwakto and Kwawkweth Bands merged to form the Kwawkweth Band; in 1981 the Kwawkweth Band divided into the Kwakiutl and the Tsulquate Band, which later was renamed Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw in 1985; Tanakteuk changed to the Da'naxda'xw in 1998; The Kwa-wa-ameuk Band changed to the Gwawaenuk Band in 1999.

* Figures include populations on band crown lands

** Data suppressed by Indian and Northern Affairs as total population less than 100. Figures in parentheses are estimates

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Register by Sex and Residence* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1974-2002).

Table 5

Other- and Off-Reserve Band Percentages, 1974-2000
(page 1 of 2)

Other- and Off-Reserve Band Population Percentages, 1974-2000*

Type	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000
Type A														
other	15.8	0	0	0	0	0	6.86	8.25	26	26.8	34.1	32.2	30.9	29
off	54.7	71	74.2	74.8	76	70.8	72.6	72.8	70.3	68.4	64.9	66.5	66.9	68
total	70.5	71	74.2	74.8	76	70.8	81.1	81.1	96.3	95.2	99	98.7	97.8	97
other	9.27	1.3	0.6	0	1	1	14.3	13.3	18.2	17.1	7.8	20.3	11.3	11.2
off	80.8	88.3	89.2	79.3	77.6	75.9	76.6	78.5	81.8	82.9	83.1	79.4	88.7	88.5
total	90.1	89.6	89.8	79.3	78.6	76.9	90.9	91.8	100	100	100	99.7	100	99.7
other	5.66	2.89	0	0	0	0	0.88	1.43	11.4	9.52	17.3	17	18.4	18.5
off	89.6	86.9	88.9	88.7	89.2	87	89.4	91.4	85.2	86.4	81.3	78.5	76	72.6
total	95.3	89.8	88.9	88.7	89.2	87	90.3	92.9	96.6	95.9	98.7	95.5	94.4	91.1
other	6.67	0	0	0	0	0	16.1	0	48.3	42.4	59.5	71.8	68.3	54.5
off	40	53.9	66.7	57.9	60	59	61.3	55.2	51.7	51.5	40.5	23.1	24.4	31.8
total	46.7	53.9	66.7	57.9	60	59	77.4	55.2	100	93.9	100	94.9	92.7	86.4
other	28.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	35.3	38.9	38.9	35
off	71.4	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	75	64.7	61.1	61.1	65
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
other	13.2	0.84	0.12	0	0.2	0.2	7.63	4.6	20.8	24.2	30.8	36	33.6	29.6
off	67.3	80	83.8	80.1	80.6	78.5	80	79.6	77.8	72.8	66.9	61.7	63.4	65.2
total	80.5	80.9	83.9	80.1	80.8	78.7	87.6	84.2	98.6	97	97.7	97.8	97	94.8
Type B														
other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
off	23.8	65	3.7	3.7	3.85	0	0	0	21.7	20	32.1	40	33.3	42.4
total	23.8	65	3.7	3.7	3.85	0	0	0	21.7	20	32.1	40	33.3	42.4
other	4.43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.86	8.19	7.79	7.17	7.38	7.38	6.85
off	63.5	66	66	66.6	65.5	64.8	67	76	74.1	75.8	75.3	75.4	76.6	77.8
total	67.9	66	66	66.3	65.5	64.8	67	76.9	82.3	83.6	82.5	82.8	84	84.7
other	14.8	1.8	0	0.34	0	0	0.32	0.85	1.05	0.24	2.68	3.34	7.82	8.39
off	48.2	61.4	66.7	65	66.1	62.2	62	62.6	63.6	73.8	72	72.8	65.5	71.5
total	63	63.2	66.7	65.3	66.1	62.2	62.3	63.5	64.7	74	74.7	76.2	73.3	79.9
other	6.41	0.6	0	0.11	0	0	0.83	0.57	3.08	2.68	3.28	3.57	5.07	5.08
off	45.2	64.1	45.5	45.1	45.2	42.3	43	46.2	53.1	56.5	59.8	62.7	58.5	63.9
total	51.6	64.7	45.5	45.2	45.2	42.3	43.8	46.8	56.2	59.2	63.1	66.3	63.6	69

Other- and Off-Reserve Band Percentages, 1974-2000
(page 2 of 2)

Other- and Off-Reserve Band Population Percentages, 1974-2000*

Type C	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000
Kwakiutl (Kwawkw'ith)	other	4.22	1.43	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.79	0.93	1.77	1.87	1.85
	off	28.8	36.9	39.7	39.2	54.9	52	56.1	51.8	75.8	47	46.5	42.9	43.3
	total	33	38.4	39.7	39.2	54.9	52	56.1	51.8	83.6	47.9	48.2	44.7	45.1
Gwa'sala-nakwaxda'xw	other					0	1.54	4.28	0.68	0	0	0.53	0.5	1.08
	off					1.83	5.96	10.3	15	25.1	25.5	26.1	26.5	37.3
	total					1.83	7.5	14.6	15.7	25.1	25.5	26.6	27	38.4
Namgis (Nimpkish)	other	2.99	0.93	0	0.45	0.98	1.04	0.89	0.32	0.46	1.19	1.74	0.07	1.9
	off	40.7	38.4	37.6	35.8	34.6	33.9	35.8	41.1	42.8	44	45.8	46.8	47.4
	total	43.7	39.3	37.6	36.2	35.5	34.9	36.9	42	43.2	44.4	47	48.5	50.2
Cape Mudge	other	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	2.58	3.53	3.16	3.54	3.14	3.11	3.47
	off	26	27.3	28.5	27.3	27.3	29	36.3	53.2	55.5	54.1	55.3	55.9	59.1
	total	26.3	27.3	28.5	27.3	27.3	29	36.3	55.8	59.1	57.3	58.8	59	62.5
Campbell River	other	2.63	0	0	0	0.9	0.83	0.7	3.13	3.2	4.59	5.25	5.96	6.07
	off	50.5	53.7	53.5	54.9	54.7	52.7	59.8	66.8	69	60.5	59.5	62.1	58.2
	total	53.2	53.7	53.5	54.9	52.7	53.5	60.5	70	72.2	65.1	64.4	68.1	64.3
Aggregate Average	other	2.54	0.59	0	0.11	0.47	0.36	0.66	2.18	1.55	3.2	2.18	2.63	2.86
	off	36.5	39.1	39.8	39.3	42.9	33.9	38.8	46	46.8	51.9	46.6	47.5	46.4
	total	39	39.7	39.8	39.4	43.3	34.2	39.4	48.2	48.4	55.1	48.8	50.1	48.7

* Category of "other" includes all "other" and "no band" crown lands

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Register by Sex and Residence* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1974-2000).

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