

'Claiming Refuge': A Settler's Unsettling History
of Hot Springs Cove

by

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Bachelor of Social Science, University of Ottawa, 2004

Bachelor of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

This thesis surveys the long human history of Hot Springs Cove, British Columbia, a small inlet on the west coast of Vancouver Island (formerly known as Refuge Cove). The study spans the period from the arrival of the earliest indigenous inhabitants, at about 10,000 years ago, to the present day, and draws upon archeological research, archival documents, other local histories, and ethnographic studies of Nuu-chah-nulth society, as well as some original interviews with contemporary users and inhabitants of the area.

Geographically, the study focuses primarily on the immediate vicinity of the Cove, and the territory of its traditional inhabitants, the Manhousaht. However, the lens of analysis is widened very regularly to encompass the larger region of Clayoquot and Nootka Sounds, bringing in the perspectives and experiences of neighbouring groups such as the Hesquiaht, Ahousaht and Tla-o-qui-aht, as well as non-indigenous settlers in communities like Tofino. Periodically, the lens pulls away still further, to examine influential national and global trends.

This thesis has two key objectives. First, it aims to be a comprehensive, academically-sound survey of a place rich in history but only mentioned intermittently in other sources. The hybridization of micro-historical techniques and a local history approach is intended to ensure adequate contextualization and analysis, while also preserving rich and engaging detail. Engagement, it must be said, is the other key goal. From the outset, the author has aimed to create a publicly-accessible work of public history intended to be read by a wide audience who, it is hoped, will learn much about the experiences and impact of colonization on the West Coast.

To maximize this learning, four broad didactic themes are traced throughout the narrative. Exploring ‘perceptions of place’, this thesis illustrates how differing worldviews led the Nuu-chah-nulth and Euro-Canadian settlers to interact very differently with the same landscape. By tracing changes in ‘human-environment interaction’, this study aims to shed light on the destructive pattern of repeated resource-

overexploitation that emerged post-contact. Examination of ‘colonization as a process’ lays bare the steady re-conceptualization and re-shaping of the landscape and its inhabitants set in motion by the arrival of Europeans. At the same time, a consistent emphasis on ‘indigenous agency’ is meant to show how the Nuuchahnulth actively adapted to, resisted and even re-shaped colonial processes. Ultimately, the recent resurgence in Nuuchahnulth political and economic power is interpreted as laying the ground-work for a profound reshaping of local dynamics in the coming years.

Broadly speaking, this thesis argues that the history of human settlement, colonization and interaction that occurred in and around Hot Springs Cove can serve as an informative microcosm of the larger forces, events, and patterns that shaped the entire region. It concludes with the author’s appeal for his neighbours – both indigenous and non – to seek to better understand each other’s history, reckon with the profound impacts of colonization, and work towards reconciliation and co-existence in a way that will preserve the area’s irreplaceable uniqueness.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the many, many wonderful people in my life that have supported me throughout this lengthy process:

My mum, Mary, for putting up with all my stressing.

My sister and niece, Sarah & Sophia, for missing me at so many family occasions without complaint.

My girlfriend, Sarah, for all her support and constant reminders that “hey, honey, you’re writing a whole book!”

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And finally, to Bernard, my best Hesquiaht friend, who was invaluable as a source and inspiration.

Thank you all.

This is for you.

PROLOGUE: The Dock at Hot Springs Cove



Figure 1 - The dock at Hot Springs Cove

(Image by David Lynch)

The rocky, windswept Openit Peninsula juts out into the Pacific swells fifteen miles north of the busy tourist town of Tofino, on Vancouver Island's rugged west coast. Just around from the jagged point is a natural hot spring, which bubbles out of the rock and cascades over a cliff into the crashing surf. The springs also mark the entrance to a narrow, glacier-carved inlet, known for many years as Refuge Cove by the thankful European fishermen and sailors who often sheltered there in the shadow of the tall cedars. On today's charts, however, it appears as Hot Springs Cove, a name perhaps better suited to its growing popularity with tourists eager to escape from the bustle of Tofino and get a taste of true wilderness.

And come they do, by the thousands. On summer days, the tour boats are rafted up, often two or three abreast, on the tiny landing at Maquinna Marine Park. And the peaceful rhythms of forest and ocean are frequently overpowered by the steady stream of floatplanes that dive in and roar out throughout the daylight hours.

It was in this little, remote hub of activity that I found myself several summers ago, sitting at the end of the dock, in the sun, gazing out across the shimmering waves. Another summer in the wilderness was over, and I was waiting for a flight to take me back to Tofino and the real world. At the sound of a bark, I glanced over, across the inlet, at the nearby indigenous village, hoping to catch a glimpse of my Hesquiaht friend, out walking his dogs. Anything, really, to avoid thinking about all the work and study that awaited me back in the city. It was only then that I noticed a bright yellow boat tying up at the other end of the dock. Out jumped two men, in official-looking black uniforms, who shouldered their backpacks and headed up the ramp into the park. Curious, I asked a tour-boat driver and was informed that they were the “Ahousaht Guardians”, here, apparently, to “patrol their traditional territories....”

Such a seemingly simple answer...and yet so laden with meaning. In an instant, my mind was abuzz with a flurry of conflicting ideas and emotions. Amusement, acceptance, indignation, empathy and selfish concern battled for attention...along with thoughts of legality, dispossession and colonialism.

The more I pondered, the more the questions began to multiply. What right did the Ahousahts -- based miles down the coast -- have to this place? Whose place was it, really? What about all these tourists -- or the Hesquiahts, just across the Cove? And what about me, with my little lot by the ocean? Who was here first? And how did we all come to see this place as our own?

In that moment, sitting amidst the bustle of arriving and departing day-trippers, I realized that I needed to know more about what had happened here. I needed to better understand how this place had come to be. And how my own understanding was shaped in the process.

How else, I realized, would I begin to reconcile my own presence with all the other claims around me?

INTRODUCTION: A Wilderness without History?



Figure 2 – Boardwalk past the source of the hot springs near Sharp Point.

(Image by David Lynch)

Same Place, Different Perceptions

On the hour-long boat ride up to Hot Springs Cove, tourists are typically treated to a wealth of interesting facts about the flora and fauna passing all around them. Sea birds and the resurgent otters are everywhere, and the lucky might even catch a glimpse of a grey whale breaching in the distance. Far less is mentioned, however, about the area's rich human history. Opitsaht, the Tla-o-qui-aht community across from Tofino, is identified in passing as one of the oldest sites of continuous inhabitation. Sometimes, questions are asked about the fish-farms that dot the protected inlets. And occasionally, tour-boat drivers will mention traditional Nuuchah-nulth activities like the whale hunt or salmon fishing. But almost nothing is ever said about the place where they disembark and begin their walk through the rainforest to the springs. Only a handful of sentences - and a single historical photo – can be found on the backside of the covered map kiosk. Never is

its Nuu-chah-nulth name, “mok-she-kla-chuck” (smoking waters) uttered.¹ Even the local cabin owners – who consciously chose this place to settle – know little beyond the fact that there was a small European community here sometime in the mid-1900s. But what happened to it, where it came from, or what was there before, is either unknown or only vaguely understood from a collection of simplistic stories.

But maybe this should not surprise us. Maybe it reflects a reality of life on the West Coast - that we are enamoured with its wild beauty but are still largely ignorant of the human experiences that shaped the natural places we have come to love? Or perhaps this ignorance is more willful. Perhaps it is easier for non-indigenous peoples to perceive the wilderness as just that: a wild place unencumbered by human history, uncomplicated by the profound legacy of colonization. The Hesquiaht and Ahousaht, certainly, do not seem to suffer the same sort of historical blindness. To them, this is not a wilderness. It is their home, an area rich in human drama and spiritual meaning. And it has a history that they do not want ignored or forgotten, for it has very real implications for the future.

History is all too often perceived by the public as the purview of ruffled academics, debating esoteric, irrelevant details in dusty archives. The past is *past*, the thinking goes, and the future belongs to forward-looking scientific disciplines. Even many self-proclaimed ‘history buffs’ tend to consider their knowledge gathering as an entertaining hobby with no wider significance. And yet, if the last century has taught us anything, it is that history is *alive*, and all around us, constantly shaping the way we think and act. Rightly or wrongly, correctly or ignorantly, perceptions of past wrongs and previous glories have continued to inspire revolutions, justify occupations and even motivate genocides. History is nothing if not *political* – a constant negotiation of knowledge, perception and action, between those who study it and those who live it and use it on a daily basis. And the history of Hot Springs Cove is no exception. The different peoples who live, work or visit there are profoundly shaped by their own perceptions of the place and its history. These perceptions, in turn, have been shaped over time by powerful, differing narratives.

For many foreign visitors, typically from highly urbanized environments, the place represents a glimpse of the *wilderness*, just beyond the frontier of civilization and

progress. If they notice it at all, the indigenous presence is typically treated as a historical curiosity that is quickly forgotten.

The cabin owners -- most of them members of the dominant European-Canadian culture -- are similarly attracted by the wild nature of the place. Be they teachers, fire-fighters or epidemiologists, many see themselves as modern day pioneers, carving out their own little corner of the wilderness as a sanctuary from the craziness of ordinary life. Others are more speculative, attracted by the offer of cheap land. They are eager to snap up their little piece of waterfront with little interest in the context they are entering. The rich indigenous presence, manifested for instance in nearby burial caves, is quickly forgotten amidst the distractions of barbecues and fishing expeditions. Seldom do questions of indigenous title or historical land-use ever come up. The fact that they do not is very telling. As this book will show, the European Canadian impression that Hot Springs Cove is a wild and untamed place is more a product of their own historical worldview than reality; it largely ignores or downplays the long history of indigenous presence. It's as if colonization is simply a fact of life, one that is almost unconsciously taken for granted, in a pattern arguably typical of settler history. If the old axiom is correct -- that history is typically written by the 'victors' -- then perhaps this Euro-Canadian wilderness narrative is more than just the product of ignorance (Foucault, with his emphasis on the relationship between discourses and the maintenance of power, would certainly seem to agree...).



Figure 3 - A bear and her cubs walk along a beach south of Hesquiat Harbour – an apparent reminder of the area's wild, unsettled nature.

(Image by David Lynch)

A considerably different historical experience has clearly left the Ahousaht with a very distinct perception of the Cove's past and present. For them, the legacy of colonial dispossession is very much front and centre, alive and well in the twenty-first century. This is particularly true of those of Manhousaht origin, who consider the area their traditional homeland, despite the presence of uninvited European settlers and the relocated Hesquiaht. Wilderness it is not. If anything, the growing popularity of eco-tourism in the nearby park would seem to further emphasize these historical grievances, and deepen the desire to seek resolution of their outstanding claims.

Hesquiaht perceptions, for their part, are clearly shaped by a century of physical presence in the area. Unlike the Manhousahts, with their long history of occupation, the Hesquiaht are relative newcomers to the region, beginning their relocation in the early part of the 20th century. And yet, after nearly a century of inhabitation, the Cove has become the only home that many have known. In that time, the community has put down roots that seem increasingly permanent, and the relocation seems to have faded significantly from the collective consciousness. However, a population shift to cities like Port Alberni and Nanaimo has left Hot Springs Cove Village more of a summer retreat and safe place for recovery than full-time base. Still, the growing European-Canadian presence and resurgent Ahousaht claims seems set to challenge evolving Hesquiaht perceptions of their place in the Cove.

History, like the pockets of sedimentary rock that dot the shoreline of the Openit peninsula, is formed over time in layers, one upon the next. Sometimes, the most recent narratives can obscure the truth of what was known before. The more one digs, however, the richer the story that can emerge. This certainly seems the case with Hot Springs Cove. Pushing past the fables and modern-day perceptions, it become increasingly evident that the area has a rich and revealing human history.



Figure 4 - Sharp Point, at the tip of the Openit Peninsula

(Image by David Lynch)

A Case Study in West Coast History

Indeed, the closer one looks, the more obvious the revelation becomes: the story of Hot Springs Cove is the story of the West Coast, writ small. The history of human settlement, colonization and interaction that occurred in and around this one place can serve as an informative microcosm of the larger forces, events, and patterns that shaped the entire region.

Over the centuries and millennia, many different peoples have made their home in Hot Springs Cove. Most of this history pre-dates European arrival, but it was colonization that wrought the massive transformations that are still evident today. Indeed, the arrival of Europeans fundamentally altered indigenous life in and around Hot Springs Cove and created the tangle of claims that is still shaping life there today. This book aims to explore this history and unpack it in an accessible way, in an effort to enrich public understanding of colonization as it played out on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. In

keeping with the Nuu-chah-nulth principle of ‘Tsawalk’, as portrayed by elder Richard Atleo, this study will emphasize the interconnectedness of the many variables – both human and natural, physical and affective – that came together to shape this unique place.²

Perception of place, obviously then, will figure prominently in this story, as different groups came and went over time, each bringing with them different notions of the landscape and their relationship with it. These perceptions will reveal much about contemporary historical trends as well as about the cultures of the peoples that interacted in this place. On a more concrete level, the physical setting of the story will also play a key role, as the *interaction between humans and their environment* profoundly shaped the lives of those who used and inhabited the Cove. We will see how new technologies and changes in resource demands and accessibility fundamentally altered lifestyles and land use over time. From the moment of first contact, the narrative will also emphasize *Colonization as a Process*, exploring the many phases and facets of the process that slowly transformed Hot Springs Cove into a colonial space. And yet, even as it profiles the insidious evolution of colonialism, this study will also emphasize *indigenous agency*, exploring the many ways that the indigenous inhabitants of the area actively adapted to, resisted and even re-shaped colonization. These four broad themes will serve as narrative threads that will be woven throughout the various chapters, binding it together into a (hopefully) more coherent and meaningful narrative.



Figure 5 - A tug tows a barge around Sharp Point, into Hot Springs Cove, 2019.

(Image by David Lynch)

Geographically speaking, this study will focus, as much as possible, on the immediate surroundings of Hot Springs Cove: a limited area stretching south down Sydney Inlet from Stewardson Inlet, south-east down from the Hesquiat Basin, and West from the coast of Flores Island. This was the traditional territory of the Manhousahts, who will factor prominently in the early stages of the story.



Figure 6 – Map of the immediate vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, the primary focus of this history.

(Map by David Lynch)

Still, when necessary, the focus will expand to a wider swath of Vancouver Island's west coast – from Nootka in the North to Barkley Sound in the south -- in order to bring the broader events of the fur trade, colonization and inter-indigenous relations into proper perspective. This expanded space is also appropriate because it encompasses the traditional territories of the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht peoples, whose trajectories converge on the Cove beginning in the 1800s. Finally, at certain points, it will be necessary to temporarily pull back the lens still further, to the national and global levels, to get a sense of the wider political and economic forces at play on this small area. This

will allow the consideration, for instance, of imperial geopolitics, colonial policy, and international economics and environmentalism.

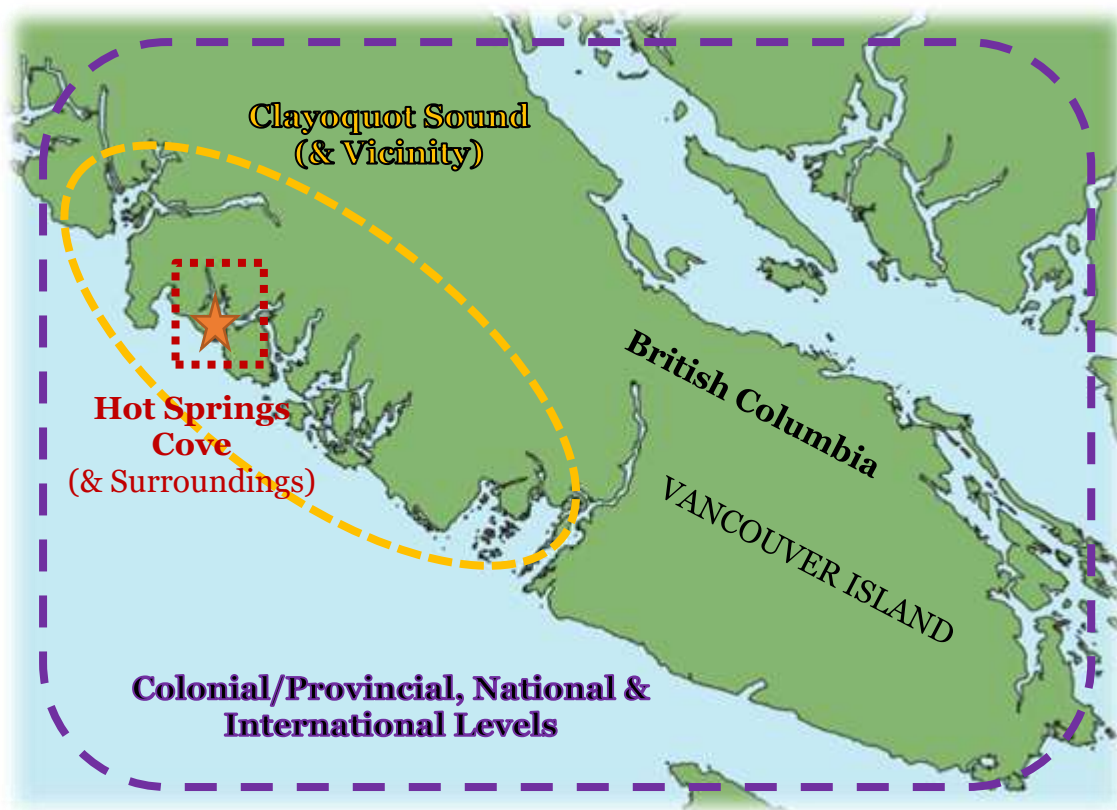


Figure 7 - Map of different analytical lenses.

This work will explore the history of Hot Springs Cove through different lenses of geographic scope, from the local, to the regional, to national and beyond.

(Map by David Lynch)

The body of this work will begin with a section entitled '*Literature Review and Methodology*', which will pull back the curtain on the historiographical aspects of this work, and explore the relevant literature, methods and intellectual challenges involved in creating a such a history.³

The narrative portion of this study will then begin with '*First Peoples*' (12,000BP to late 1700s), an exploration of initial indigenous settlement and life prior to contact It will show how the rich natural environment gave rise to complex, varied, well-adapted

and hierarchical indigenous societies that flourished and interacted with each other for thousands of years before contact.

‘Contact & Trade’ (1700s-1800) will explore the first interactions between Europeans and the Nuu-chah-nulth, to understand the first steps in colonization, and examine how indigenous societies responded to the maritime fur trade.

‘Conflict & Colonization’ (1800-1870s) will explore the deepening of colonization and the inter-tribal conflict that coincided with the decline of the fur trade. As it profiles the spread of Euro-Canadian influence, it will demonstrate how disease and shifting trade profoundly altered indigenous societies, leading to violence, amalgamation and adaptation.

‘Occupation & Marginalization’ (1870s-1945) will explore the impact that the growing influx of Euro-Canadians had on traditionally indigenous spaces like the Cove. It will describe how the colonial authorities used legislation and coercion to facilitate the dispossession of indigenous territory and the development of European industries and settlements. It will also explore how the indigenous peoples of the area responded to colonialism.

‘Resources and Relocations’ (1945-1970s) will explore how the post-war resource boom shaped local development, while also chronicling the long and often-inept process involved in the relocation of the Hesquiaht to Hot Springs Cove.

‘Recreation and Resurgence’ (1970s-Present) will explore how changing economic realities and attitudes led to the emergence of modern eco-tourism and the recreational settlement of the area. It will also examine how the local indigenous communities have, in recent years, more successfully reasserted their claims to the area.

Finally, in ***‘Moving Forward, Looking Back’***, this book will conclude by reflecting back on the history of Cove and explore its implications for the future.

An ‘Unsettling’ History

Every historical study aims to contribute something new to our collective understanding of the past. Some delve deep into a single historical event, concept, time-period or figure. This thesis, however, intends to tell a story – a story that will have genuine relevance and life beyond the academic world, providing the core of an educational book intended for locals interested in learning more about ‘their’ place. As a work of public history, it will endeavour to weave together a wealth of primary and secondary sources, along with some original oral history research, in an effort to improve public understanding of West Coast history in general, and the story of Hot Springs Cove in particular. The adoption of a micro-historical approach and emphasis on clarity and multi-disciplinarity over theory, complexity or analytical profundity is intentional – and hopefully acceptable. It opened up the author, as a learner himself, to the widest possible range of experiences. And it was meant to maximize public accessibility – a worthy goal, the author would contend – for a discipline that has, all too often, struggled to reach the public – despite their crucial role in the formation of social memory. In a multi-ethnic society scarred by the trauma of colonialism, building a bit more collective understanding seems, after all, something worth striving for!



Figure 8 - A floatplane lands in Hot Springs Cove, bringing in tourists eager to soak in the springs.

The park’s growing popularity is one good reason for greater public knowledge of the area and its history.

(Images by David Lynch)

LITERATURE REVIEW & METHODOLOGY

In the succeeding pages, you will find a detailed discussion of my historical methods and sources, as well as a review of relevant literature, and an evaluation of this work's academic strengths and weaknesses.

A Story That Needed to Be Told?: Reflections on My Process

Forced to reflect on my learning at the end of my historiography seminar, I quipped, only half-jokingly, that "History used to be so much simpler". Now, I know better - or at least appreciate how much I have yet to learn.

What I *have* understood is that histories are not written in vacuum, nor are they conjured out of thin air. Rather, they are built upon the foundations provided by generations of earlier works, theories and historiographic developments. They also inevitably reflect the values of the people who created them, as well as the communities and cultures that shaped them. Just like the people we study, as products of a particular time and place, we historians are indelibly shaped by our context. When attempting to tell a story about the past, it is crucial, therefore, for the historian to begin by reflecting on their own motivations and environment.

As a recent "settler" in Hot Springs Cove, with a fascination for history, it was inevitable that I would want to learn more about my new environment. And yet, I was sorely disappointed by the apparent lack of local history. It was only natural, then, for me to focus my research on it. As an educator already deeply engaged in the field of public history, it was also rather predictable of me to want to create a publicly accessible product that could be shared with my neighbours. So too was my desire to write in a way that would promote greater understanding of the impact of colonization. It is a powerful force, one I feel bubbling just below the surface almost every time that I am in the Cove. And yet, somehow, many of my neighbours seem largely oblivious to it.

A small part of this apparent ignorance may be attributable to the fact that the history of the Cove has never been studied in a very comprehensive way. Up to now, the

area has only ever apparently been mentioned in a brief or inconsistent way, usually in works with a different geographic or thematic focus. This lack of specific attention may, in part, reflect the paucity of references in the traditional Euro-Canadian historical record. There is nothing, obviously, prior to contact, and the first traces appear intermittently in the late 1700s. It is only with the coming of European settlement in the mid-to-late-1800s that this traditional archival record really begins to flesh out. The oldest definitive photograph, for instance, appears to be dated to 1882. Even still, the record remains remarkably thin until one arrives in the twentieth century. And what archival evidence does exist has never been compiled together or analysed in any systematic way. At most, the Cove receives brief mentions of no more than a page or two here and there in the work of local historians like those of Guppy, Richardson and Kennedy/Horsfield. It would appear that the only Euro-Canadian history specifically written about the Cove is Michael Kaehn's forthcoming *The Hotsprings Cove Story*, not yet on bookshelves at the time of writing.¹ As the grandson of the first European settler, with access to family stories and artifacts, Kaehn is ideally placed to tell the story of his family's time in the Cove. From discussions with him, it is clear, however, that his story will largely focus on their origins and experiences, rather than delving far back into the pre-European past nor emphasizing the story of the area's non-European inhabitants.

Of course, all of this presupposes that Euro-Canadian records are the only source of information about the area and its past. To assume so, however, is to ignore the area's rich indigenous presence, and the wealth of historical knowledge that has been preserved by these communities. Nuu-chah-nulth oral tradition goes back far beyond the first European records of the area. But this knowledge has all too rarely been properly explored by Euro-Canadian historians, and almost never in the case of the Cove.

Clearly, then, there is a definite gap in the research, and a need for a historical survey focussed specifically on the human history of the area. There is also a need for this study to be more comprehensive and inclusive, in order to better tap into the area's rich indigenous history. Finally, the fact that local settlers seemingly known so little about their surroundings suggests that such a history should also be as publicly accessible

as possible, so that they will be able to learn more about the powerful forces of colonization and indigenous agency that have continued to grapple with each other here over time.

If the “why” is a given, then the key question becomes “how”. How best to structure such a study, and account for the challenges inherent in the historical project? The rest of this section aims to explore this question of “how”. It begins by exploring the strengths and challenges of local history and microhistory, before moving on to review other examples of locally-based studies. It will conclude with discussion of some of the methods adopted and challenges encountered in the process of its development.

‘Too Parochial for its Own Good?’ Evaluating the Strengths and Weaknesses of Local History.

At first glance, one might assume that my intensive study of a single, relatively obscure locality would surely classify it as a work of “local history”. After all, local histories tend to focus on one place (or collection of nearby communities) as they chronicle the experiences and events of everyday life for the peoples who lived there. As a result, they tend to emphasize the memories and stories of average inhabitants, and draw heavily upon family photographs, as well as local records, such as birth, marriage and death registers. With their community-centered focus, local histories satisfy the growing public interest in genealogical studies. It seems likely, too, that they are more frequently consumed by lay-readers, as compared to more traditional, academic forms of history. In that sense, local histories tend to fall under the wide umbrella of so-called “public history”. Local histories are also more likely to be researched and written by those without advanced historiographic training, but a strong personal connection to the place they are profiling. As Magnússon puts it, “much local history lies on the borders of what one would consider ‘academic’, tending to be produced by or with the support of amateur historians”.² According to John Beckett, who profiles the evolution of local history in Britain in his book “Writing Local History”, the “opening of county record offices, local studies libraries and expanding universities” after 1945 facilitated the modern fascination with local history, at least in the UK.³ It would seem likely that North America has benefitted in recent decades from a similar “sources revolution”.

Despite its public popularity, however, local history, as a sub-discipline, has long suffered what Beckett calls an “image problem” in the eyes of other historians.⁴ Ginzburg, for instance, acknowledges that local histories are typically considered an “inferior” form.⁵ The roots of their “long-standing condescension”, Beckett suggests, are partly historical, and can be traced back to the opinions of historians creating “national histories” from archival sources around the dawn of the twentieth century. In his words, these researchers “derogatorily associated local history with an unquestioning antiquarianism devoid of academic purpose unless it could be brought to comment on national issues”.⁶ In other words, they were denigrated for their exclusive focus on micro-level analysis.

Additionally, if Magnússon is to be believed, local histories are “often very dull” and not just because of their “highly restricted audience”.^{7 8} In part, his criticism is stylistic: he contends that local histories “habitually lack the passion to grip and hold on to their readers' attention, to carry them off into the underworld of the past in the way that history can do when at its best”.⁹ However, Magnússon also points to a larger structural problem as well: a lack of proper perspective. Local histories, he argues, also tend to lack “overview”, with authors typically “los[ing] themselves in the fine details without recognizing their significance”.¹⁰ To put it another way, in his review of “Rethinking Home”, Magnússon asserts that the “problem with traditional writings that fall under the heading of 'local history' is precisely that they tend to be rather too local - they lack reference to any greater whole”.¹¹ As Historian George Iggers puts it, “If we only focus on local stories without putting these accounts into broader social and economic contexts we risk the ‘trivialization of history’”.¹² Here again, the lack of macro-level contextualization is clearly an issue for many local histories.

Finally, Beckett suggests that local historians have also been critiqued for their seemingly longstanding “reluctance...to engage with theory and methodology”.¹³ To support his point, he cites the Standing Conference for Local History, which stated, in 1959, that ‘We do not know and do not care what we mean by local history, but we are all determined to get on with it.’¹⁴

Not all historians, however, accept these criticisms without debate. In his appropriately titled *Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History*, Joseph A. Amato passionately advocates on behalf of this somewhat marginalized sub-discipline. Although it does explore the history of his native rural southwestern Minnesota, Amato's book isn't so much an exemplar of local history, as "a powerful defense of the practice of local history", as Magnusson sees it.¹⁵ As part of his argument, Amato suggests that "Every community has stories worthy of telling but few devoted historians worthy of telling them".¹⁶ Using his region as a conceptual sandbox, Amato then introduces the reader to different approaches to analysis, such as by perspective (economic, social, cultural etc) and by sphere (individuals, homes, institutions).¹⁷

Reviewing from his perspective as a microhistorian, Magnusson praises Amato for producing "an unusual and compelling discourse on the past with real power to take its readers by surprise", written "with the passion of a scholar who has woven his subject into the fabric of his own life, in a literal sense."¹⁸ James Kessenides, however, is far more critical. Writing in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, he criticizes Amato for producing more of an essay and less of a history. He also repeats a familiar refrain, suggesting that Amato's "brief for local history remains captive to a certain lack of theory". Kessenides suggests that Amato fails to properly discuss both theoretical and historiographical methods, while also neglecting to offer any "new or scholarly definition of 'local history'".¹⁹ His critique also returns to the necessity of proper contextualization. Kessenides argues that "the search for broader explanation and meaning has always attended the discipline of history's striving after the particular", but wonders if non-professional historians are adequate for this task: would "the same goal... apply to Amato's 'talented amateurs' in their writing?", he asks.²⁰

As much as one might be tempted to want to defend him, Amato does seem to recognize the likely weakness of local history produced by amateur historians. This can be seen in the way that he seems to encourage the same sort of willful blindness advocated by his British predecessors with the Standing Conference for Local History. Recognizing that "complex issues lie outside their doors", he encourages aspiring local historians to "not allow methodical argument and moral disputation to devour home and

its stories. Even when perplexing theory, contradictions, and ambiguity nip at their heels,” Amato continues, local historians “must pursue their own path among the details and particularities”.²¹

From this brief exploration of the local history and its common critiques, several key instructive insights emerge. First, and perhaps most obviously, local histories all too often neglect wider perspectives and the appreciation of significance in the pursuit of rich detail and anecdote. Similarly, local histories are meaningfully diminished when they fail to place the localized experiences of individuals and their communities within their larger, more macro-level context. Local histories can be poorly written and fail to keep the reader’s attention. And even when style is not the issue, the extremely narrow focus can turn off all but the most closely connected reader. Thirdly, local histories typically suffer from a credibility gap when it comes to theory and methodology. Too often, they are not adequately explicit or self-reflexive about either their genesis or source material, to the detriment of both their credibility and depth of understanding. In a sense, then, it could be argued that local histories frequently fall into the trap of “parochialism”, as my supervisor once helpfully termed it. If to be parochial means “having a limited or narrow outlook or scope” or “showing interest only in a narrow range of matters”,²² then local histories suffer from parochialism whenever they fail to adequately contextualize either their subject and/or their historiographic influences.

On a more positive note, however, there seems, anecdotally at least, to be a hunger within the public for histories that more closely connect them with their surroundings. Fortunately, the evidence would suggest that the cause of local history can benefit from the passion of a historian who is intimately connected to the locality and can weave the subject-matter together with their own life story. It also stands to benefit, I will endeavour show, from the methodology of other historical subdisciplines – specifically microhistory.

‘The Power of the Small to Clarify the Large?’: Mining the Methodology of Microhistory

With all of the challenges associated with local history – particularly its tendency towards parochialism – it seemed wise to look elsewhere for additional methodological guidance. The emerging domain of “microhistory” appeared particularly promising. Ultimately, it has proven a veritable goldmine of technique and inspiration.

Despite its seemingly self-evident name, microhistory is surprisingly difficult to define. Thomas Cohen emphasizes that “microhistory is not a school but rather a set of practices.”²³ Thomas Robisheaux contrasts microhistory with the more theory-defined domains of Social and Cultural History. “While having some theoretical foundations,” microhistory, he suggests, “has instead evolved into a flexible bundle of methodological practices.”²⁴ Istvan M. Szijarto, for his part, suggests that “there is no single microhistory that could either challenge something or be challenged. Rather, we have a set of somewhat similar but not identical working practices in history which make up a fluid and adaptive approach that offers itself to different fields in different circumstances.”²⁵ Filippo de Vivo agrees that microhistories “vary in subject matter, sources and aim”.²⁶

Notwithstanding the presence of so many variations, Szijarto does situate “microinvestigation, historical analysis that focuses intensively on something small” at the core of microhistory.²⁷ He goes on to suggest that microhistories tend to share three common characteristics. First, the initial subject of their “intensive investigation” is “a relatively well-defined smaller object, most often a single event, or “a village community, a group of families, even an individual person,” he says, “to quote Ginzburg and Poni”.²⁸ In other words, Szijarto suggests, “Microhistorians hold in their hands a microscope, not a telescope.” Second, the goal of microhistory is to “reach further than mere case study to look for answers to “great historical questions” ...when studying small objects”.²⁹ To support his point, he quotes Charles Joyner, who said microhistorians “search for answers to large questions in small places.” Finally, Szijarto emphasizes the centrality of agency. “For microhistorians,” he proposes, “people who lived in the past are not merely puppets in the hands of great underlying forces of history; they are active individuals, conscious actors.”

While Szijarto's summary is useful, Di Vivo proposes several key additional criteria: "the combination of participation and objectivity, the continuous variation between close-up and long distance, and the explicit insistence on the presence of the author in the work, and on the author's dialogue with the reader".³⁰ These elements of authorial presence, author-reader engagement and macro-micro alternation will be discussed in greater detail shortly. In the meantime, to truly understand what microhistory is, and how it works, it is worth exploring its origins and interesting historiographical trajectory. Carlo Ginzburg, one of the pioneers of this approach, credits an American, George R. Stewart, for first adopting the term in his 1959 book "Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Charge at Gettysburg", which closely examined both the wider context for and specific events of that famous twenty-minute bloodbath.³¹ In 1968, a Mexican, Luis Gonzalez profiled the history of his ancestral village over a four-century period, asserting that his "microhistory" was, as Ginzburg put it, "synonymous" with local history as it was then understood in Britain, France and the UK. Gonzales also went out of his way to distinguish his work from that of a "petite histoire" reliant on anecdote.³² It would be a few years later, though, that microhistory really began to take root through the work of Italian historians Carlo Ginzburg, Giovanni Levi and Edoardo Grendi, who began to produce what soon became known as "microstoria".

Interestingly, Ferdinand Braudel, the famous proponent of the Annales school, had used the term pejoratively in the late 1950s, employing it to represent the traditional political "history of events" that he scorned for overemphasizing the power of elites to drive world events.³³ Ironically, it may have been the sheer dominance of the macro-level, quantitative analysis practiced by Braudel and his associates between the mid-1950s and mid-1970s that gave rise to modern microhistory. If Ginzburg is to be believed, microhistory "originated in opposition to the historiographical model just mentioned".³⁴ Not only did microhistorians want, in Di Vivo's words, "an antidote to the teleology and elitism of traditional political history", but they also sought a viable "alternative to the reductive determinism of social history as it was practiced in the 1950s and 1960s."³⁵

As Boje sees it, the original “Microstorians want[ed] to call into question grand narratives of macrohistory, particularly elite great man histories by collecting ‘little people’ microstories.”³⁶ By focussing on the small-scale, the early Italian microhistorians hoped to interrogate prevailing historiographic theories. Their purpose was, in the words of Muir, to “to elucidate historical causation on the level of small groups where most of real life takes place and to open history to peoples who would be left out by other methods.”³⁷ As Szijarto sees it, by “reveal[ing] factors that otherwise go unobserved”, microhistory “is capable of furnishing a more realistic description of human behavior.”³⁸ In the process, they frequently restore a sense of agency to these long-marginalized peoples.

According to Szijarto, “the original Italian microstoria of the 1970s and 1980s clearly expected that such a concentration on minute detail should uncover some more general truth.”³⁹ Crucial to this effort was their “insistence on context” - placing small-scale events within their larger historical setting.⁴⁰ Di Vivo describes it as “a commitment to the close study of individuals, localities and events in their precise historical context.”⁴¹ In 1980, for instance, Ginzburg published his famous “The Cheese and the Worms”, which closely examined court records in order “to reconstruct the ideas and attitudes of a sixteenth-century Friulian miller who was tried and condemned to death by the Inquisition.”⁴² By examining and contextualizing this apparently anomalous event, Ginzburg not only confirmed some broad prevailing views about the contemporary power of the Catholic church, but also “complicated the religious landscape”, in the words of Di Vivo, adding greater nuance to the collective understanding of the period.⁴³ Microhistoria demonstrated the power of the ‘exceptional’ to both challenge and confirm, that “exceptions illustrate the rule” and that “they can therefore contribute to a study of the predominant doctrines of a given society,” as Di Vivo puts it.⁴⁴ Grendi neatly summed up this concept as the “exceptional normal” (*eccezionale-normale*).⁴⁵ This interrogation of prevailing notions with individual cases also allows microhistory to be, in the words of Jodi Bilinkoff, “potent generalization-slayers.”⁴⁶

Ultimately, it was Levi, Ginzburg argues, who was responsible for the popularization of the term “microhistory”, overtaking “microanalysis”, a wording used by

Grendi.⁴⁷ While the original microhistorians may have generally been Marxists who wished to move social history in “subversive directions”, Dutton and Robisheaux suggests that their methods were soon co-opted by a much wider range of historians, who began to apply them to subjects other than early European history.⁴⁸ As Szijarto sees it, “instead of establishing an orthodoxy, microhistory has always walked several paths, sometimes parallel, sometimes intersecting, but also more and more diverging.”⁴⁹

Robert Darnton’s “Great Cat Massacre” and Natalie Zemon Davis’ “The Return of Martin Guerre” are particularly famous examples of more recent microhistories. Darton’s work explored the class tensions at the root of a seemingly senseless crime in pre-Revolutionary France, revealing the underlying currents that would eventually spark that later cataclysm. For her part, Zemon Davis’ work drew upon a curious case of identity theft to explore the gender dynamics at play in France at the time. While both works were highly praised by some, they were not without their share of critics. Indeed, microhistorical methods have not always been universally welcomed. Historically, Dutton suggests, “microhistorians were accused of being reductionists, who lost sight of the big picture, or antiquarians, who fussed over things few care about.”⁵⁰ While a close reading of, say, Zemon Davis’ work would seem to confirm her willingness to contextualize the particular adequately, the latter criticism has not been helped by the recent trend towards macro-level histories. Indeed, today’s microhistories must contend with a world where “Big History” is, according to Robisheaux, increasingly popular.⁵¹

Given that microhistorians purposefully focus on the “historical testimonies of little people”, as Boje puts, which “the macrohistory analysts disregard as quite insignificant to telling the grand narratives of history,” the stage would seem set for a definitive head-to-head battle between proponents of macro and micro-level analysis.⁵² Even as far back as the 1980s, Robisheaux suggests, debates pitted “the micro-against the macroperspective.”⁵³

The more interesting question today, however, is whether such debates were based on a “false dualism” as Robisheaux contends.⁵⁴ He believes that “the supposed dichotomy between macro and micro has been a disservice to historians.” In order “to do good microhistory”, he argues, microhistorians “really must understand larger

macroproblems.”⁵⁵ This concept is not new. It has long been at the core of good microhistorical work. For instance, DeVivo reminds us that:

to Levi, even apparently simple actions, like buying a loaf of bread, depended on a great deal of interconnected factors working at different levels, such as the seasonality of wheat production, the international marketing of grain, etc.⁵⁶

As Boje sees it, when microhistorians “write the macrostories into the scene,” and provide adequate contextualization, there is a productive “interplay of the macro (political, social and economic) and the microstory (the people and their lives).”⁵⁷ The message, then, seems clear: proper microhistory requires the inclusion of adequate macro-level context. Gebhardt puts it even more bluntly: “The macro should never be absent from the micro.”⁵⁸

Not only that, the reverse may also be true. It may be that macro-analyses need greater use of microhistorical elements as well, to compensate for their own inherent weaknesses. Macrohistorian Tonio Andrade would seem to agree, noting that:

We’ve made great strides building powerful models of global historical structures and processes: global silver flows, strange parallels, divergences great and small. But we’ve tended to neglect the human dramas that make history come alive.⁵⁹

Robisheaux puts it another way:

At such a macrolevel, historical patterns too readily thin out into intellectual abstractions, the forces shaping people appear massive and impersonal, and individuals and their agency get lost.^{60 61}

To support his point, Robisheaux references one of his own studies, where he claims that “by reducing the scale of analysis, [he] saw a dynamic much closer to individuals’ experience. Had [he] followed the historiography,” he argues, he “would never have discovered patterns, behavior, ideas, and influences invisible at larger scales of analysis”.⁶²

Cohen, for his part, boldly suggests that “one of the best ways to write global history may be at the microhistorical level, the scale of life where people actually experience and shape global networks and feel their influences.”⁶³ While not perhaps going as far as Cohen, Andrade nevertheless advocates the “adopt[ion] of microhistorical

and biographical approaches to help populate our models and theories with real people, to write what one might call global microhistory.”⁶⁴ After experimenting himself with a micro-analysis of an obscure story set during a Dutch colony’s capture, Andrade urges his fellow macro-historians “to bring alive, just for a few pages, some of the people who inhabited those structures and lived through those processes.”⁶⁵ There are, he continues, “stories out there waiting to be told, traces in the archives that can provide individual perspectives on the great historiographical issues that are the core concern of our discipline”.

Regardless of whether a historian starts from the macro- or micro-perspective, the message that I take away from this debate neither method can be completely successful without at least some consideration of the other. It is perhaps not surprising, then, to hear that modern microhistorians such as Johnathan Gebhardt are “showing that that the new frontiers of microhistory shrewdly combine the macro with the micro”.⁶⁶

If Robisheaux is to be believed on this point, then perhaps he is equally correct “that the real issue” with modern microhistory is not about the micro-vs-macro, but rather the “effective scaling of a historical study.”⁶⁷ In support of this contention, he argues that:

The challenge of the researcher — regardless of whether one is an economist, a sociologist, a psychologist, or a historian — is to use the scale of analysis best suited to solving the research problem before you.” Good microhistorians answer big questions on a large scale, but it is more a question of skillfully scaling the analysis to different levels, at different points, depending on what is appropriate.⁶⁸

Here Robisheaux is making reference to a central element of good microhistory: what Di Vivo describes as the “strategy of shifting constantly between different scales of observation”.⁶⁹ Both he and Robisheaux cite Jacques Revel’s metaphor of the “ladder game” (‘jeux d’échelles’) to represent the notion of repeatedly scaling one’s analysis in and out, in a telescope-like fashion.^{70 71} The trick, it seems, is to get the timing -- and frequency -- right. For, as Ginzburg reminds us with his own analogy of the painted battle scene, “a close-up look permits us to grasp what eludes a comprehensive viewing, and vice versa.”⁷² Di Vivo draws upon two dichotomous concepts from human geography -- the “refuge” and “prospect” -- to contrast the intimate micro-analysis and big-picture perspectives that work best when used in conjunction.⁷³

From my own perspective, similar to Gebhardt, I am “drawn to microhistory because it offers a way of changing scales — shuttling between the micro and the macro.”⁷⁴ Inspired by this approach, I have attempted throughout my own study to move my analysis back and forth repeatedly between the individual, local, regional, national and even global levels. My hope is simply that I have done so without unduly compromising my analysis or, just as importantly, confusing my readers.

While I am convinced, like Di Vivo, that “combining the magnifying lens with the radar in search of connections” will allow an otherwise traditional “history of events [to] go beyond the old fallacies of *histoire événementielle*”, I am left wanting more help in this regard.⁷⁵ Indeed, I found it very challenging to locate any concrete advice from microhistorians on when – or how – to transition between scales. This left me having to infer my own working guidelines through a re-reading of some of their works.

In addition to borrowing the idea of ‘shuttling scales’ from the microhistorians, I have also been inspired by their self-confident use of narrative. Had this been written a century ago, there might have not been a need to reflect on the concept, such was the confident structure underlying the western historiography of the time. As Ginzburg reminds us, “the affirmation of a national entity, the advent of the bourgeoisie, the civilizing mission of the white race, and economic development furnished to historians a unifying principle of both a conceptual and narrative order”.⁷⁶ During the historiographic upheavals of the latter twentieth century, narrative became, to many historians, an antiquated and suspect tool. In an era of post-modernism, Robisheaux argues, “some philosophers and literary theorists look dismissively at the work of historians writing in narrative form...argu[ing] that narrative is a poor substitute for proper analysis”.⁷⁷ Despite this intellectual resistance, microhistorians have, in his eyes, “been important in bringing narrative back into history writing, though in ways”, he notes, that are “quite different from the classic historical narratives of the early twentieth century.”⁷⁸ Peter Arnade attributes this partly to the wider “revival of narrative” as perceived by Lawrence Stone.⁷⁹ Most important, however, was a recognition of the sheer power of stories to engage the reader. Cohen suggests that, “to bridge the gap between the researcher in the

archive and the audience, story is central.”⁸⁰ A story, he argues, is also “a powerful, compact form of analysis and historians ignore it at their peril.”⁸¹

From my own reading of various microhistories – particularly Tonio Andrade’s riveting exploration of colonial Taiwan, which I could not put down until it was finished – I heartily agree with Szijarto’s claim that “a story makes microhistory appealing.”⁸² His review of Dutton’s microhistory of a Carolignian colophon demonstrates the power of a well-fashioned narrative:

Although the links in the chain of his reasoning are joined more by probability than by certainty, Dutton’s tale convinces the enchanted reader, who willingly follows him and Ellenhart to Pannonia without doubting the veracity of this comprehensive picture.

With so many of my readers likely to be non-academics more accustomed to the conventions of fiction than academic manuscripts, having a recognizable and engaging narrative was a central focus of my own efforts. For I, too, share the challenge faced by microhistorians: how to attract and maintain the reader’s interest in a subject that appears, at first glance at least, to be awfully obscure! Cohen speaks to this challenge well:

The microhistorian, I imagine, is really led into the problem by fascination with the particular, which leads the inquiry to “how do I ever work out these puzzles?” The writer is led by puzzlement. Then comes the second issue: now that I have a puzzle, how do I sell it? I have to sell it to a readership that does not care about my puzzle, as I do, and make it meaningful.⁸³

Convinced as I am that an effective story structure can help me “sell” the “puzzle” of Hot Springs Cove, I have eagerly sought to create one. And yet, I also take heed of Robisheaux’s suggestion that microhistorians should be “even more reflective about selecting a particular narrative form, and what this form achieves that others don’t.”⁸⁴ I will explore the implications of my chosen narrative structure at greater depth a little later.

Speaking of reflection, I have also been particularly impressed by the remarkably open and self-critical approach adopted by the microhistorians whose work I have read. From what I have seen, Robisheaux seems justified in claiming that “microhistorians tend to be self-reflexive about the craft of history that they practice.”⁸⁵ What is most striking,

however, is the way that this reflexivity is highlighted and placed intentionally at the heart of their narratives. Di Vivo borrows a culinary metaphor from Ginzburg and Prosperi to emphasize this point: “if history is a culinary dish, they want to take readers straight into the kitchen.”⁸⁶ Ginzburg suggests that this practice emerged among microhistorians in large part as a natural product of their narrow subjects. Describing the challenge he faced in writing “*The Cheese and the Worm*”, Ginzburg shares how he came to accept – and build upon – the inherent limitations of his source material:

The obstacles interfering with the research were constituent elements of the documentation and thus had to become part of the account; the same for the hesitations and silences of the protagonist in the face of his persecutors' questions- or mine. Thus, the hypotheses, the doubts, the uncertainties became part of the narration; the search for truth became part of the exposition of the (necessarily incomplete) truth attained.⁸⁷

This intellectual openness has continued to feature prominently in microhistorical works, Robisheaux suggests:

Ours was, and remains, an open-ended conversation about archives; the many ways to read a document; the possibilities of story-telling; the nature and limits of historical knowledge; and how best to relate our findings to readers, other scholars, and students, among many other things.⁸⁸

Di Vivo agrees, emphasizing that “it is an essential feature of the microhistorians’ style and practice that they want to make visible their method and research processes, including mistakes and false routes.”⁸⁹ It is no accident, then, that Cohen, for instance, starts his own survey of microhistory’s evolution “in the mode of microhistory...with a story about [him]self, very self-consciously”.⁹⁰

Robisheaux argues that “Good microhistory requires an imaginative leap”, where the historian, as an innovative investigator, has to “think about evidence in new ways.”⁹¹ The reader, then, is intentionally enlisted as an co-detective, receiving briefings on the key developments and challenges of the investigation, while also being expected to evaluate any official conclusions. As Dutton sees, microhistory succeeds by:

bringing the reader to the problem, to the person, or to the puzzle, laying out its essentials and its human and historical interest, and encouraging the engaged reader to make arguments and reach individual conclusions about what it contributes to our understanding of the past.

Cohen agrees that microhistories tend to explicitly highlight, as Szijarto puts it, “an insistence on the historian’s openly confessed ignorance as well as the reader’s involvement in the processes of storytelling and its interpretation.”⁹² Naturally, with such fragmentary source material, many microhistorical conclusions are necessarily tentative, often to the point of remaining conjecture. The key, in all instances, is to remain clear and up-front about the certainty of the evidence and extent of speculation.

Continuing his metaphor of the “imaginative” investigative “leap”, Robisheaux suggests that success as a microhistorian “requires two things: solid evidence and self-reflexiveness, an awareness of where one stands, how solid the ground is, and how far one can go.” The reader, he says, “will pick up how far they want to go with you.”⁹³

Not surprisingly, in many cases, Dutton argues, microhistories “do not come to definite conclusions. Microhistorians connect their work to things, patterns, ideas, but don’t always resolve them.”⁹⁴ For some readers, used to the conventions of fiction or traditional historical narratives, this lack of resolution can be frustrating. As literary critic Jodi Bilinkoff described her own experience reading a microhistory: “it was like reading a novel with the last chapter chopped off.” She goes on to suggest that “to the reading public, and perhaps to nonspecialists in general, this very open-endedness may appeal to some, but certainly not to others.”⁹⁵

Trained as I was in the wake of post-modernism, I am naturally receptive to the reflexivity and methodological openness that features so prominently in the work of microhistorians. Their intellectual honesty has helped to encourage me to be a bit more explicit about my methodology and its challenges within my own work. Having said that, I also recognize that lay-readers may be turned off by too much self-reflexivity or overly-detailed methodological discussions. I have worked, therefore, to achieve an effective balance, erring more often than not, on the side of readability.

I also appreciate the microhistorians’ comfort with uncertainty and their willingness to be explicit about their speculation (while also resisting the urge to be definitive in the face of fragmentary evidence). As I produce my own study of a very narrowly-defined locality, I have frequently encountered glaring gaps in the evidence that have precluded certainty and encouraged conjecture. With microhistory’s inspiration in

mind, I have tried to be as explicit as possible about my speculation, and equally clear about the many gaps in my evidence. While it has been frustrating, at times, knowing that I am unable to provide readers with a complete story, I have tried to reconcile myself with Dutton's recommendation that "even if unresolved, a microhistory must connect to more significant things, and so it is a "connective" rather than "reductionist" enterprise."⁹⁶ In other words, if the story of Hot Springs Cove can help my readers better understand other aspects of, say, Canadian history, then I will have achieved something positive.

I am suitably humbled, though, by another theme that emerges loud and clear from the microhistorical literature: the idea that effective microhistory requires a particularly strong pre-existing grasp of the time-period under study. Since contextualization is so central to the methodology, Szijarto argues "that the deeper the microhistorian's background knowledge, the better the microhistory."⁹⁷ For his part, Robisheaux says he tells his "graduate students not to write a microhistory for the dissertation", because "researching and writing microhistory requires a great deal of knowledge about a small area and its sources. Such familiarity", he argues, "takes time and experience."⁹⁸ With all of that said, I take some consolation in the fact that I am not writing a traditional micro-history, in the sense that I am not relying on a very limited set of evidence. As a result, I have not had to dig so deeply into individual sources, nor parse meaning as deeply as, say, Petter Dutton did in his detailed study of a single sentence-long citation in a Carolingian manuscript.⁹⁹

At the same time, I was also heartened by the admission that microhistories can have educational value beyond what can be directly extracted through analysis of their source material. This became clear from something Szijarto revealed in his review of Dutton's study of a Carolingian colophon. He noted that, sometimes, "the great historical questions" may not be "answered on the basis of, but only apropos of, the microinvestigation."¹⁰⁰ In other words, a microinvestigation can sometimes provide the venue, rather than the necessary evidence, for a compressive and effective exploration of a historical period. From the fragmentary evidence that I was able to amass on Hot Springs Cove, it became clear very early on in my research that there would be many

times during my narrative where I would have to extrapolate and substitute in context for specifics.

Ultimately, my exploration of microhistory has enriched my study of Hot Springs Cove by encouraging me to be more self-reflexive, as well as comfortable with, and open to, uncertainty. It has also reinforced for me the power of story and the necessity of proper contextualization. Finally, it has encouraged me to consistently vary my scale of analysis -- telescoping in and out from the local -- as I move through my narrative.

Having delved into – and been inspired by – the exciting work being done by microhistorians, I have come to recognize that my own study is not a classic microstoria in the vein of Ginzburg or Zemon Davis. While my research is focused quite narrowly, in the sense that it profiles a single locality over time, my source base and chronological scope are far wider. I am not constrained, therefore, by an extremely limited time-period, set of actors, or evidence. Which means I did not have to take the same sort of speculative or analytical “leaps”. My underlying motivations are also different, for I did not set out to actively interrogate or challenge a particular set of prevailing historiographic notions. Nor was my study inspired by an apparent anomaly, Grendi’s “exceptional normal”, that cried out for explanation. My work does, however, share, in a small way, microhistory’s dedication to identifying and exploring individual agency in the face of large forces.

If my historical study of a locality transcends traditionally parochial ‘local history’, and yet does not neatly qualify as a ‘microhistory’, what is it then? Is it best described as a ‘hybrid’ of the two? A micro-historical local history? A ‘local history with micro-historical features’? Or simply ‘contextualized local history’? Whatever the best label is, I am heartened by Iggers’s belief that “there is no reason a history dealing with broad social transformations and one centering on individual existences cannot coexist and supplement each other”.¹⁰¹ It is precisely this kind of history that I have attempted to write.

Other Places Explored – A Review of Similar Literature

Floating somewhere in the historiographical ‘intertidal’ zone between local history and microhistory, my study of Hot Springs Cove does not fit particularly neatly within an existing body of literature. Indeed, its hybridity made it a bit challenging to easily identify appropriate exemplars. This, in turn, precluded me from simply mimicking an existing work, and adopting its structure and style wholesale. Instead, I have developed my own model, which -- though not particularly original -- draws its various features from a relatively diverse collection of inspirations.

At the suggestion of my supervisor, I started my explorations with relatively little known book, *Biography of a Place: Passages through a Central Oregon Meadow*. Published by a county historical society in 2006, one might easily assume that Martin Winch’s *Biography of a Place* fits the mold of a “local history” of the sort advocated by Amato. Certainly Winch’s focus is extremely local: he profiles the history of a single valley, from the arrival of its first indigenous inhabitants all the way through the modern day efforts to preserve it as a park. The fact that Winch’s prose is, in the words of a reviewer, “highly readable” also enhances the accessibility of his narrative, an important quality for a work of public history.¹⁰² It is perhaps indicative of the relative marginalization of “local history” that Winch’s book does not appear to have been widely read or reviewed by the larger historical community. This apparent pre-judgment was, I would argue, both unfortunate and a missed opportunity for inspiration. Indeed, the combination of indigenous oral history and fully referenced archival and secondary research lend Winch’s book genuine academic credibility. So too does his exploration of changing human values and their impact on the landscape over time.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is the way that Winch intentionally widens his lens on a regular basis, to explore the larger forces encouraging the movement of different groups through this particular place. In other words, he not only describes but also contextualizes and analyzes. The result, summarized by fellow historian Ward Tonsfeldt in the preface to the book, is that Winch’s meadow becomes “a microcosm of Central Oregon’s Euro-American history”.¹⁰³ Indeed, Winch uses the meadow as a base, frequently sortieing out to provide background relating to broader trends in Oregon and

American colonial history, but constantly returns to the same place to witness how these forces played out on the ground. Just as importantly, he manages to provide a rich and engaging portrait of the place, throughout its entire human history, in relatively few pages! Clearly, then, *Biography of a Place* is far more than a mere chronicle of a single, obscure place. Rather, it provides an ideal model for an engagingly-written, meticulously-researched and properly-contextualized local history. Winch's use of the telescoping lens, description of multiple settlement waves and emphasis on the link between values and landscape use was continually in my consciousness as I wrote my own study.

While Winch's *Biography of a Place* has consistently remained my most influential exemplar, I also found Richard S. Mackie's 1995 *The Wilderness Profound: Victorian Life on the Gulf of Georgia* another helpful example of a work that attempts to situate its very local analysis within a wider macro-context. Aptly described by a reviewer, Allan Pritchard, as having "a double nature as biography and local history", Mackie's book profiles the life of George Drabble, a prominent surveyor and magistrate in the Comox Valley.¹⁰⁴ Mackie, a trained historian, draws extensively upon Drabble's survey field-books, as well as local court and property records. In the process of following his subject's life, from arrival as an early settler in the 1860s to his death in 1901, Mackie ultimately shows how the local landscape was transformed as a result of European colonization in the latter half of the 19th century.

Although his intention is principally biographical, Mackie manages to make Drabble's life a detailed and insightful window into the colonial values, practices and changing nature of land-use that shaped his region. "So extensive were [Drabble's] activities," notes Pritchard, "that Mackie is able to construct a regional history around them".¹⁰⁵ And he is able to do all of this, the same historian concludes, with "a lively style of presentation" which combines "clarity of outline and argument with abundant interesting social and economic detail."¹⁰⁶ Which is true, from my own experience as a (rather critical) reader. And inspiring, as I, too, attempt to disprove Magnusson's generalization about the 'dullness' of local history. Mackie also deserves credit for explicitly admitting the limits of his evidence, which preclude him from drawing any definitive conclusions about Drabble's motives for emigrating from the UK.¹⁰⁷ My

opinion, however, is not shared by Jon Swainer, who asserts, in his review, that “too often we are confronted with the suggestion that Drabble might have been involved in some activity, but there is no evidence either to confirm or deny his attendance or participation”.¹⁰⁸ Swainer clearly disapproves of Mackie’s strategy of filling in such “lacuna” with “detail from other lives in the region – a technique,” he concludes dismissively, “that may, for a specific audience, be compelling reading.” While it is true that credible histories cannot simply plug evidentiary gaps by constantly ‘mixing and matching’ from different sources, there is still value, I would contend, in providing other contemporary experiences and viewpoints as potential evidence – provided, of course, that their sourcing and potential limitations are explicitly shared with the reader, so that they may draw their own conclusions. This intellectual honesty in the face of inadequate evidence is, as we have seen, a trademark of quality microhistory.

While historiographic thinking has obviously evolved significantly in the two decades since its publication, *The Wilderness Profound* is also noteworthy for its exploration, albeit brief, of the negative implications of Drabble’s survey work on the lives of local indigenous peoples, and the profound marginalization that resulted from the European take-over of the landscape. As Pritchard puts it, the book is not written “in the same triumphal mode that might once have prevailed”, evidence, he argues, that “500 years after Columbus the writing of local history has become increasingly complex and increasingly informed by an awareness of larger issues.”¹⁰⁹ My own hope is to produce a study worthy of such an appraisal – one that properly contextualizes local events in the course of highlighting the true complexity (and often tragic history) of the colonial experience.

Olivia Fletcher’s *Hammerstone: Biography of an Island* provided me, as an aspiring local historian, with another very unique approach to telling the story of a specific place. Originally conceived as a conventional history, Fletcher ultimately opted for a far more lyrical narrative style, that reads more like a storybook than academic study. Her vivid and detailed descriptions immerse the reader in the landscape that is her focus: Hornby Island, and its evolution over millions of years of history. Fletcher’s narrative flashes backward and forwards through time, in an almost-movie-like fashion,

speeding up and slowing down at different points. Woven through the descriptions of geological change and human development is the thread of the hammerstone, a small rock that the narrator finds and wonders about at the outset. The story of the hammerstone's formation and human application becomes, then, the story of Hornby itself.

As a journalist and author, Fletcher already had significant experience in "translating gobbledygook into clear language," a skill that is clearly evident in the book, particularly in her succinct yet meaningful descriptions of geological processes. "The result of her research," as the Vancouver Sun reviewer accurately asserts, "is a surprisingly pleasurable read, a dry-as-dust subject made lucid and compelling." While Fletcher's story was influenced by the input of geologists, and given to local indigenous sources for feedback, it would not normally be classified as an academic work, in part because she does not adequately source her evidence. Perhaps more importantly, though, there are a number of points in the story -- particular in the latter sections dealing with indigenous inhabitation -- where it is clear that she has evidently taken novelistic license to imagine, in rich detail, how specific individuals might have lived. While the result may not be strictly academic, it is very effective in providing a rich experience for the reader, who is really able to imagine themselves back in time, breathing the air and observing the drama unfolding around them. In this sense, then, *Hammerstone* makes for very effective public history, and inspires me to want to write in way that holds the reader's attention and immerses them effectively.

On the surface, the author's decision to put the narrator front and center, wondering about the origins of the hammerstone, might seem to have been influenced by literary concerns. And yet, in the wake of post-modernism, historians, too, are increasingly allowing themselves to be present in their own narratives, exploring their motivations and acknowledging the subjectivity inherent in their work. I would like to credit Fletcher, in part, for inspiring my own prologue, where I self-consciously introduce the desires and wonder at the heart of my study.

Throughout my writing process, I also found myself consistently thinking of *Tofino and Clayoquot Sound: A History*, a thick 2015 volume by Margaret Horsfield and

Ian Kennedy. While neither Horsfield -- an author and journalist -- nor Kennedy -- a former teacher and author -- appear to have significant historical training,¹¹⁰ the book they produced is anything but amateur. It is thoroughly researched, compiling masses of archival evidence and first-person accounts into a very rich and readable narrative. That said, at times, in their desire to support their analysis, the narrative sometimes bogs down a bit under the weight of too many facts and first-person accounts, leading the book to be a bit over-long. Even so, the authors do make a pointed effort to neatly summarize overall trends on a regular basis and connect individual experiences to wider, sometimes global developments. From the perspective of an academic historian, the book clearly lacks almost any explicit reference to theory or the work of other professional historians. Nor do they really interrogate their sources or discuss the potential limitations of their conclusions. That said, it seems likely that the authors did complete a fair bit of academic background-reading, given that many of their broader conclusions and trend analysis fits with current historiographical thinking. Whatever its theoretical shortcomings, this work provided a comprehensive yet accessible survey of change over time, and served as a great pathfinder for situating major events and identifying valuable specific sources. Ultimately, however, my biggest takeaway from this book was the power of individual experiences and anecdote -- when properly used - to make the imaginative landscape of the local past come vividly alive.

Finally, two other local histories that deserve at least a brief mention are George Nicholson's 1963 *Vancouver Island's West Coast, 1762-1962* and Walter Guppy's 1997 *Clayoquot Soundings: a History of Clayoquot Sound, 1880s-1980s*. Both men write from their perspective as long-time locals, eager to share some of the lively history of their unique region. Guppy's slim volume surveys a century of development that corresponds closely to his own lived experience. Local indigenous individuals and communities are mentioned periodically, but the emphasis is mostly on Euro-Canadian characters and events. Some reference is made to wider economic and political forces at play on the area, but his evidence is not sourced, nor is there any evident awareness of historiographical nuance. Despite these criticism, Guppy's work did prove particularly

useful in proposing certain broad trends, as well as furnishing me with lots of specific dates, names and locations.

Nicholson's work, published significantly early, reaches much further back in time, and comes across more as a collection of local lore than systematic survey. Nicholson features far more indigenous content, in the form of stories and anecdotes, though sourcing, again, is an issue, making it difficult to know whether his various accounts came from direct interviews or were the product of local lore themselves. He clearly did complete some interviews, citing, as he does, his experience with getting indigenous informants to open up: "gain the confidence of these people, have patience, and soon their stories are revealed".¹¹¹

Similar to Guppy, Nicholson's work provides some wider historical context at times, but avoids engaging in any real historiographic reflection. At times, Nicholson's descriptions of indigenous motivations and behaviours also feel quite dated. His statement that the "history of BC begins at Nootka" and admission that "no attempt has been made to delve into Indian history; such is for the anthropologists" make it clear that he was writing before the advent of post-colonial theory.¹¹² Still, his collection of stories did furnish some very useful facts for my own analysis. His indigenous accounts, however, I approached with measured skepticism. While it is perhaps unfair to judge such amateur historians too harshly against the standards of professionally trained academics, these works are worth mentioning for their various shortcomings, which helped to guide and inspire me as I sought to produce my own, more credible and nuanced narrative.

'There's Content in the Form?': Evaluating My Chosen Narrative Structure.

In the wake of the "Cultural Turn", historians cannot avoid a crucial, disconcerting reality: that the way that we understand, organize and present the past to others is not a neutral exercise, but rather a process fraught with pitfalls and the potential for serious misrepresentation. Today, historians operate, in the words of Ginzburg, with:

the definite awareness that all phases through which research unfolds are constructed and not given: the identification of the object and its importance; the elaboration of the categories through which it is analyzed; the criteria of proof; the stylistic and narrative forms by which the results are transmitted to the reader.¹¹³

Indeed, there is broad recognition that, in the words of Hayden White, there is “content in the form”.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the author aims to follow in the footsteps of the microhistorians and be very self-reflective about his narrative choices and their potential implications.

Similar to a teacher, the historian must always grapple with the critical questions of scope and sequence – how best to focus and organize their narrative, to make it not only coherent, but also consistent with the rhythm of past events. Narratives help to sift through what Peter Munz termed “the directionless heap” of facts and events and provide meaning by linking developments together coherently.¹¹⁵ At the same time, the very act of organizing events into a specific narrative or chapter structure introduces the possibility of the author’s own biases leading to the grouping of unrelated events, the obscuring of causal-relationships or the retroactive imposition of patterns where they did not exist. In other words, the act of integrating facts into (or omitting them from) a narrative inevitably interposes the historian between the ‘real past’ and our understanding of it. Louis Mink refers to this as the “artifice” of narrative.¹¹⁶ Inevitably, as Hayden White has shown, any narrative will also feature normative judgements, which will moralize, even unconsciously, about different events and their significance.¹¹⁷

While this reality may seem at odds with Peter Novick’s “noble dream” of objectivity, the practical way forward is, once again, to opt for intellectual honesty. Since lay-readers might be overly disconcerted by such explicit discussions of the limitations of history, it may be best to reserve them for the theoretical sections. Still, the author agrees with Megill that it is the historian’s professional obligation to be explicit about the innate “fictiveness” of narrative history.¹¹⁸ Assuming Munz is correct, and history is the “story” that we “construct” for ourselves, I have tried to be very intentional in the way I have constructed mine.¹¹⁹

Acutely aware of the power of narrative to engage the reader, I have consciously opted for a more macro-level, linear and survey-style story. A narrower time-frame might

have allowed for a more in-depth analysis of a particular historical period, but for the sake of my neighbours, I wanted to paint a wider, more holistic picture. Indeed, I have acted on the assumption, correct-or-not, that this study will be more accessible and attractive to lay-readers if it starts at the beginning, so to speak, and traces a complete trajectory that they can connect with and follow satisfactorily.

Ultimately, the hope is to transform this thesis into a publishable work, intended for a lay-audience, with as little additional effort as possible. Conversely, when it came to geographic scope, I have consciously kept my focus as narrow as possible. This limited the source material to a somewhat more manageable scale. Its often fragmentary nature also had the benefit of forcing me to look beyond the traditional Euro-Canadian archive, to embrace a more multidisciplinary approach, drawing upon fields like archeology, anthropology, and ethnobotany.

My chosen approach inevitably brought me face-to-face with two seemingly contradictory risks: the danger of an overly ambitious, broad and shallow analysis, as well as the need to avoid the sort of myopic parochialism would result in a work with little contextualization or historical value. Indeed, one of the risks of local place-based history is that it can lack proper connection to the wider world. In an effort to weave rich sense of place, facts or anecdotes can easily end up massed together without adequate contextualization, resulting in a sort of parochial story that has little value as a piece of historical analysis.

And yet, as the microhistorians have clearly shown us, unless a place is utterly disconnected from all outside contact, one can only truly make sense of the events, personalities or realities that exist there by linking them to forces in the wider world that surely influenced them. Even if the evidence suggest that local events somehow contradicted these wider trends, that is something historically relevant and worthy of explanation. Indeed, it is this process of connecting, comparing and contrasting between the local and beyond that has hopefully transformed my localized study from mere chronicle to properly contextualized work of history.

As with any work of survey history, there is a trade-off to be made between depth of detail and breadth of coverage. With relatively few pages allocated to each

epoch, there is a distinct risk that this work's core narrative will gloss over key details or provide description that is so shallow or simplified as to seem almost meaningless. Certainly, there was little space for any sort of sustained quoting of sources or sharing of flavourful anecdotes. On the surface, too, any generalizations or conclusions briefly made in the course of the narrative might seem initially unsupported – but this is where footnotes and this analytical discussion will hopefully help.

In at least one crucial way, works of public history differ from purely academic scholarship. Indeed, their audience is more diverse, and demands something more. Public history must satisfy two masters: it must be rich enough in detail and theoretical grounding to satisfy academia, while also being organized and presented in a way that makes it accessible to a non-academic readership. In my case, a certain degree of simplification and generalization felt inevitable from the get-go; the trick was finding just the right balance. With this in mind, I have been guided by two seemingly contradictory impulses: to integrate and separate. With the lay-reader in mind, whenever possible, I have sought to integrate individual terms, concepts and theories as seamlessly as I could within the narrative itself, with the aim of subtly educating and expanding my audience's understanding. And whenever evidentiary gaps arose, or historical interpretations conflicted, I have tried to describe them as simply and clearly as possible, for the readers' sake. In this way, lay-readers will hopefully be able to more easily follow the narrative arc of the story without getting bogged down in overly complex or theoretical discussions.

At the same time, I have intentionally segregated discussions of methodology and related challenges as much as possible from the narrative, focussing them instead here, in this lengthy section, which will not typically be shared with lay-readers in the future. After all, the sheer complexity of academic historiography is -- as the old saying about politics goes -- probably best left to the imagination of the uninitiated. Scholarly reviewers, on the other hand, will be able to focus on this more complex back-end, where the concerns, challenges and methodology that shaped the narrative are examined in greater depth. Theory, after all, is what allows a study to become more than a simple compilation of facts and assertions. It is also, Alan Megill asserts, one of his four key

postulates for good historical practice.¹²⁰ Theory helped me, the author, analyse the evidence, assess its value and potential biases, and offer realistic ways of explaining phenomena.

Still, given the inherent public-history goals of this study, I have, I will readily admit, opted on the whole for narrative and scope rather than deep analysis or theoretical exploration. There is, for instance, very little discourse analysis of the sort that has been common since the “Cultural Turn”. My hope, however, is that my narrative, and this historiographical companion, together serve as adequate evidence of an acceptable level of historiographic skill and awareness to qualify me for the credential of a Master of Arts in History. At the very least, I hope that any shortfall in overt theoretical discussion will not be equated with a lack of theoretical understanding. I would contend that many key insights that I have learned through my coursework -- such as the need to ‘problematize the archives’ in the wake of post-colonial thinking – have been so ingrained that I apply them almost without thinking. Consider George Nicholson’s replication of various Nuuchah-nulth accounts, which he presents very uncritically. My training has taught me to not to simply accept such “told-to” accounts as accurate, without knowing more about the informant, as well as exploring the latent biases of the European recorder. As a result, at a number of points in my narrative, I have, without explaining at great length to the reader, been noticeably more tentative in my conclusions that were local historians who transmitted this ‘evidence’ to me.

Once the decision was made to profile the entire arc of human history in the cove, to make it easier for readers to trace the complete trajectory of colonization, I was faced with the question of how best to delineate my narrative chapters. I wanted not only to make the reading manageable, but also to reflect major transitions in the trajectory itself. The result, inevitably, was artificial, but hopefully serves to emphasize, for the reader, the scale of the change over time. Given my study’s focus on colonization, these epochs were also naturally Eurocentric. This eurocentrism was compounded by my lack of knowledge about Nuuchah-nulth ways of knowing and representing the past. Unable, therefore, to adopt Nuuchah-nulth chronology, I had to settle for highlighting the fact that they did not conceive of past in same way as they Europeans they came to encounter. My lack of

background in pre-contact indigenous history (what Euro-Canadian historiography has traditionally called “pre-history”) also left me feeling ill-equipped to comfortably delineate additional phases pre-contact. Still, I did make a conscious effort within my pre-contact chapter to emphasize the evolutionary nature of Nuuchah-nulth history - that these groups went through major transitions and were far from the static, conservative cultures they were traditionally assumed.

Conscious of the artificial nature of the epochs that I have ‘created’ through my analysis, I also had to constantly remind myself not to dismiss potentially relevant facts simply because they do not fit my chosen (but artificial) epochs. I also altered my epochs at several stages, to account for my evolving understanding. With my efforts, I hope to avoid the sort of criticism that has dogged Fisher’s dichotomous structure in *Contact & Conflict*, which allegedly downplayed the violence of the early fur trade in order to fit a neat, but artificial model.¹²¹

Unlike Fletcher’s *Hammerstone*, which focusses much of its narrative on geological history, and Winch’s *Biography of a Place*, which dedicates an entire chapter to the meadow’s environment and its geological origins, my study also dedicates less time to the landscape, mentioning it only when it is relevant to the lifestyles or actions of the peoples being described.¹²² Rather than focus on the biography of the *place*, my work aims for the latter of Winch’s two achievements: to become a “detailed biography of the peoples that inhabited that place”.¹²³

The decision to highlight and explicitly organize this study’s narrative around four key themes was also deliberate, and motivated by several factors. First, and perhaps most obviously, having a limited number of themes to focus upon helped me to better focus my writing, to know when I was straying too far from my goals in my excitement to share individual examples, anecdotes or local trivia. The alternative was a potentially unmanageable, disjointed collection of random facts and unconnected insights.

Obviously, one could argue that even having four simultaneous themes could still be several too many, raising the risk of a superficial, unfocused or overly complex analysis. Hopefully, though, the effect is positive for the reader. Indeed, it was the lay-reader who was at the front of my mind in adopting such an explicit structure. For one

thing, my teaching experience has taught me that an audience will typically benefit from the presence of an intellectual ‘scaffold’ that they can perceive, fasten onto, and build their own learning and memory-making upon. As a teacher, too, I am constantly reflecting on what the most important take-aways should be for every lesson and learning experience that I facilitate. From my perspective, my chosen themes represent four crucially important topics – topics that I want readers to come away knowing more about (even if they soon forget all the other little, unique local details that I have shared!)

Given the profound changes to human life and resource-use wrought by the coming of Europeans, the lens of ‘Historical Geography’ seemed particularly appropriate for this study. Historical geography, which focuses on the interplay between humans, resources and their environment over time, provided a central organizing anchor: the effect of colonization on the human and natural environments, and how changes in these environments, in turn, interacted and influenced each other. An emphasis on the geographical also seemed ideal for an analysis that inevitably examined human perceptions of place and their role in relation to it. This lens allowed the broader exploration of social, economic, political and environmental factors, while also constantly bringing the focus back to the central question of how human lifestyles, resource-use and perceptions were shaped by both local and wider trends over time.¹²⁴

On the surface, my four chosen themes seem rather obvious when you think about them – yes, of course, different people perceive places differently...and, obviously, human are impacted by their environment...and vice versa – but therein lies the key: You must *actually* think about them. This study is meant to do get readers doing exactly that -- reflecting on the social, political, intellectual and environmental impacts that have resulted from the process of colonization and from the largely unsustainable resource development that has occurred in its wake. Here again, is yet more evidence of this work’s inherently political nature.

My first theme, ‘*human-environment interaction*’, emerged early on in my research as I began to realize that much of what I was learning related to how Europeans and indigenous peoples interacted with -- and were influenced by -- their physical environment. Defined broadly, this theme allowed me to simultaneously explore such

seemingly unrelated topics as the impact of cedar on the material culture of the pre-contact Nuu-chah-nulth, as well as, say, the dynamics behind the shift from resource-extraction to eco-tourist economy that transformed the way people interact with Hot Springs Cove in the 1980s. It helped, as well, that this theme connected so logically with my parallel focus on ‘perception of place’. This theme was largely inspired by my educational background, as a social studies teacher, as it is drawn from the conceptual “Five Themes of Geography” that we teach to junior-high students in an effort to get them to better appreciate our intimate interdependence, as humans, with the physical and ecological world around us.

In an era when the concepts of ‘reconciliation’ and ‘decolonization’ have entered mainstream discussion, there is an obvious need in our society to better grapple with the true scope of European colonization. From my own experience, both as an educator and student myself, I recognize that the level of knowledge that the vast majority of Canadians have about colonization is limited to the point of being almost laughable – if only this ignorance did not have such concerning implications. For most, it appears as if colonization is understood in very literal and simplistic terms: Europeans came, saw, conquered and settled, while the indigenous peoples lost and ended up on reserves. The time-frame is hazy, however, as is the duration of the process. It’s as if once the European characters arrived on the scene, the indigenous ones quickly dropped from sight. Not surprisingly, knowledge of indigenous efforts to resist or reshape colonization is rare. And there is also a definite sense of finality - that colonization is a long-complete, irreversible reality.

And yet, the more one is exposed to the work of modern Canadian historians, and the wider post-colonialist literature, the more it becomes evident that colonization was – and remains - far more profound, pervasive and insidious than traditionally or publicly appreciated. In recent decades, historians and other social scientists have radically expanded our understanding of ‘*colonization as a process*’. No longer can it be neatly summarized as the physical occupation of a new landscape, or even the geographic marginalization of its indigenous occupants. Rather, the definition has expanded to include a huge array of cultural, political, demographic and intellectual facets. Today,

colonization is understood as complex set of actors and processes that work over time, in sometimes unique and localized ways, to impose a different way of living, behaving -- and yes, *even thinking* -- upon a colonized space, and the people who live there. Indeed, colonization takes place not only on the landscape but also in the intellectual atmosphere as well. Histories and the archives, too, can become colonized.

In considering the nature and impact of colonization on the Cove, I have been influenced by the thinking of Daniel Clayton, and his detailed work, *Islands of Truth*. His reservations about the blanket application of post-colonial theory – much of it derived elsewhere – to the west coast context, has provided me food for thought.¹²⁵ The same could be said for Clayton’s emphasis on the imperfection of the colonial project, and how local realities, agendas and reactions on the ground led to unique and inconsistent manifestations of colonialism.¹²⁶ This warning, to avoid consider colonialism as a singular, uniform “machine” remained in mind through the writing process.

From my own professional experience, I have recognized a potential paradox lying in wait for those attempting to teach about colonization: the risk of unintentionally disempowering historical indigenous actors. Indeed, in the course of appreciating the pervasive nature of colonization, learners can easily come to assume that it was a hegemonic force that was entirely uncontrollable and irresistible. This concern helps explain, in part, why I have deliberately chosen *‘indigenous agency’* as another of my key themes. Cohen defines agency quite neatly as: “the capacity to make a difference in the face of considerable constraints — material, social, psychological, or situational.”¹²⁷ This idea, as Szijarto puts it, “that people should be seen not as puppets in the hands of underlying social, cultural, or other forces of history, but as active individuals who have goals and possess options and therefore make choices and decisions”, has long been a central emphasis of microstoria, as we have seen.¹²⁸ I am attracted to it, as a theme, because it reflects my belief that mainstream Euro-Canadian history has traditionally underrepresented indigenous actors and their role in shaping Canada’s evolution. As a result, I have made a conscious effort, wherever appropriate, to emphasize evidence of indigenous agency, and provide a more three-dimensional portrayal of their motivations, actions, and reactions. As much as possible, I have aimed to reflect the importance that

Daniel Clayton attaches to viewing indigenous peoples “as thinking, breathing, historical actors (rather than chastened and silenced ‘others’)”. But like Clayton, too, I am well aware of my all-too-limited grasp of Nuuchah-nulth context, and the resulting risk of misrepresentation.¹²⁹

As perhaps the most abstract and emotive of my chosen themes, *perception of place* is closely related to the other three. The motivations that draw people to a location (or drive them away) obviously shape the way they think and feel about the place, just as their experiences in situ can also alter their perspectives. To the early European maritime fur traders, for example, the waters around Hot Springs Cove were a fearful and exciting landscape of risk and reward, whereas the Nuuchah-nulth they traded with would have perceived their surroundings very differently, through the lens of longtime occupation and spiritual connection. The loggers of the 1970s, for their part, must have seen the lucrative profits to be made from same forests in a way that would seem almost obscene, today, to the hundreds of tourists who daily trek through them, armed not with chainsaws but cellphone cameras. Growing appreciation of historical indigenous agency -- combined with greater awareness of recent Nuuchah-nulth political efforts -- also seems set to challenge longstanding Euro-Canadian perceptions about the ownership and use of the landscape around the Cove. Indeed, the potential for the Ahousaht or Hesquiaht to regain sovereignty over their traditional territories should be more than a little disconcerting to the multitude of non-indigenous peoples who have long taken their use for granted.

‘Necessary Humility’: Evaluating Historiographic Challenges & Potential Weaknesses

Clearly, in our post-modernist era, few historians seem willing to claim that it is possible to recreate the past from a place of complete objectivity. Rather than be paralyzed by this, however, we must instead aim for transparency, and lay bare our own potential biases. Hopefully, in doing so, historians can better contend with them, and signal to others the strength -- and limitations -- of our analysis.

One of the biggest challenges that I encountered was locating enough specific evidence about Hot Springs Cove itself. It appears that the small size, relative obscurity, and ethnically fragmented nature of the place has left a fairly shallow and challenging patchwork of source material. For one thing, the absence of sustained European settlement until the early 1900s limited the number of potential European documentary sources – the typical bread-and-butter of traditional Euro-Canadian history. The tiny size of this community, too, further constricted this source base. By contrast, more extended European settlement to the north at Hesquiaht and to the south, nearer Tofino, seems to have provided richer European source material. The nature of the primary source material may also help to explain why there is a relative lack of secondary coverage, and certainly no sustained or comprehensive research. When the Cove or its history does get mentioned, the reference is usually very fleeting and/or lacking in context. Typically, these secondary works focus either on providing survey coverage of the history of the west coast or Clayoquot Sound as a whole – or centre thematically on topics such as indigenous slavery, colonial dispossession, or the rise of environmentalism. But even then, such works rarely mention the specific location. As a result, the Cove survives mostly in traces, while the surrounding context of Clayoquot Sound, the Hesquiaht and the Ahousaht is much richer.

With so much context and so little specific evidence, the stage was inevitably set for a significant amount of extrapolation, speculation and generalization. Indeed, my solution to my lack of specific evidence was to explicitly compensate with additional contextualization. In many cases, it proved impossible to discover or accurately determine specific details, facts or statistics about Hot Springs Cove as a limited locality. I was unable, for instance, to determine exact death rates among the Manhousahts for the smallpox epidemics of the 1860s. But rather than forgo such topics entirely, I opted, instead, to widen the scope and bring in the experience of neighbouring groups, to offer the reader a likely version of events, based on broader local trends. First contact, for instance, likely followed similar patterns all along the coast, and news of earlier interactions would surely have proceeded the Europeans to many areas. Similarly, details of the fur trading happening to the north in Nootka (and to the south with the Tla-o-qui-

ah) at the start of the 1800s illustrated a number of broad trends and realities that were surely applicable to the indigenous peoples of Hot Springs Cove as well. For instance, despite the lack of any record of a European ship being attacked or robbed in the Cove, the nearby examples of the *Tonquin* and *Boston* in the early 1800s provide useful context to understand the prevailing motivations and thinking of the different groups interacting in this zone of contact. Joshua Reid's study of the Makah, *The Sea is My Country*, provided much context on early Nuu-chah-nulth dynamics and relations with Europeans – a welcome foil to the preponderance of Eurocentric works on this period.¹³⁰ His conceptual theory of the Nuu-chah-nulth world as the “ca•di• borderlands” offered a particularly useful way of understanding the considerations that shaped intra-tribal relations in this period.

Whenever I resorted to such extrapolation – and it was often – I always had to remember to be explicit in describing the assumptions being made, as well as their logical limits. The key, as microhistorian Natalie Zemon Davis has shown us, is to be explicit about the depth of conjecture at any one point, to bring one's foundational assumptions out into the open, and lay out as much as supporting evidence as possible. While perhaps not ideal, this seems to be an inescapable reality of history: that we must fill in the gaps as best we can – because they are inevitable! The key is to be transparent about the what and when. Given this reality, it proved obvious early on that this study would not only serve two masters, but also tell two interrelated stories: the evolution of Hot Springs Cove, as well as the wider story of the West Coast as a whole.

The relative paucity of traditional, Euro-Canadian historical evidence also encouraged me to adopt a more multidisciplinary approach. While practically motivated, this choice was made easy by my own enthusiasm about multi-disciplinarity, a sentiment I seem to share with a growing number of historians today. Now that materialism has been overtaken by post-modernism, acceptance of multiplicity and hybridity has made it easier for historians to embrace new and less orthodox methodological approaches. No longer, William Sewell argues, is a single lens or method claimed to be the *best*, to the exclusion of all others!¹³¹ With that in mind, my approach has been to reach beyond the most traditional forms of Euro-Canadian historical research, to draw upon knowledge

from other disciplines and source-bases, such as archaeology, anthropology, oral history, and indigenous oral tradition. My approach fits, I would argue, with the recommendations of Allan Megill, who, in his *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice*, postulates the importance of disciplinary “hybridity” and methodological “multiplicity”.¹³² It also naturally fits with my own multidisciplinary background as a Social Studies educator. The results, I would argue, have been well worth the effort. Wide-ranging geological history and local archeological research, particularly around Hesquiaht Harbour, were essential in providing me with the information necessary to profile the earliest human engagement with the landscape around Hot Springs Cove. It was similarly a relief to discover that a number of anthropologists have focussed on the traditions, lifestyles and history of the Nuuchah-nulth. The research of Philip Drucker, in particular, was crucial to exploring indigenous pre-contact history, helping to provide a baseline for evaluating the later effects of colonization. This anthropological analysis also helped, to a modest degree, to improve the author’s appreciation for indigenous ways of thinking, knowing and history-keeping. This, in turn, helped to reorient, even subtly, the way I interpreted indigenous evidence and intentions.

While Peter Mandler and Deborah Cohen may be correct that the “diversity of our discipline” gives history its power, it is obvious that that hybridity also comes with its own set of challenges - particularly as it relates to evidence and theory.¹³³ For one thing, I constantly ran the risk of “theory-plucking”. Not being an expert any of these disciplines, borrowing theoretical constructs heightened the risk of misuse, or the propagation of out-dated or incomplete thinking. Such is my relative ignorance that I am unaware of whether, for instance, I have accurately represented the latest thinking on Nuuchah-nulth cultural dynamics.

As much I am personally very enthusiastic about the power of ethnohistory to bring indigenous perspectives to light and unlock culturally-specific insights, the telescoping focus and sheer breadth of this study precluded the widespread application of this particular set of interdisciplinary practices. So too did my relatively weak background in Nuuchah-nulth culture. However, the central theme of seeking to evaluate

people within their own cultural context remained in my mind throughout the writing process. It also helped inspire frank discussions about the Eurocentrism inherent in my work. The liberal use of archeological and anthropological evidence, particularly in the earlier chapters, was also encouraged by the example of ethnohistorians, who have proven particularly willing to draw upon the practices and theories of other disciplines.

Just as I have been inspired by the ethnohistorians, while falling short of producing ethnohistory, I would argue that I have also failed to do adequate justice to another of my inspirations, post-colonial theory. From my exposure to the ideas of Foucault and his emphasis on discourse analysis, I am convinced that good history seeks to identify and account for the effect of deep-seated biases and imbalances of power on the evidence that it uses. Just like indigenous sources, European documents cannot be assumed, as one Canadian jurist infamously claimed, to be “plain on their face”.¹³⁴ Foucault, with his encouragement to “problematize the archives”, encourages us to question what we would otherwise take for granted: the evidence produced by a settler-colonial society about the very peoples and places that we have sought to colonize.¹³⁵

If colonial documents do indeed “speak for themselves”, it is not in the way that Justice MacEachern thought. After all, one of the features of imperial discourse was to effect, often intentionally, the colonization of indigenous minds.¹³⁶ Not surprisingly a number of ethnohistorians and post-colonial scholars have emphasized the need to read the colonial archive “against the grain”.¹³⁷ This analysis is essential for the historian to more accurately understand the motivations and actions of indigenous actors – filtered as they have been through European eyes. Only through careful analysis, the argument goes, will Spivak’s “subaltern” be able to “speak”.

In reflecting on my own study, I am keenly aware of my repeated failure to delve beyond the surface of my source accounts in any systematic attempt at post-colonial discourse analysis. I am aware, for instance, that I should have drawn upon the thinking of Edward Said during my discussions of European perceptions towards indigenous peoples in the post-contact period. Said, after all, has emphasized the active construction of identity by Europeans in their interactions with the “other” – a process which arguably continues to this day.¹³⁸ The reality was that I had to prioritize, in my research and

writing, and deep-analysis would have come at the expense of my efforts at public accessibility. Obviously, this trade-off may fundamentally weaken the credibility of my analysis, allowing it to perpetuate colonial tropes or misperceptions. However, I feel it is worth point out that I have surely been influenced, unconsciously, at the very least, by the powerful messages of post-colonial thinking. My hope is that I have reflected some of these messages, albeit subtly, in the way that I have understood, organized and emphasized particular elements of my narrative. My focus on perception of place, colonization as a process and indigenous agency was, indeed, an intentional effort to imbed basic post-colonial elements in the foundations of my study. Whether I have been successful in doing so remains to be seen.

In the early stages of this project, it became apparent that oral history would be important avenue for enriching the relatively thin traditional Euro-Canadian record that I was encountering. I realized that oral history could help me to create a more well-rounded story, by allowing me better access to indigenous perspectives, which have frequently been ignored or under-represented in earlier works. When it came to the recent past, too, I realized that personal recollections would offer another rich source of evidence. Finally, I was excited by the prospect of getting to learn how to conduct interviews, transcribe responses and integrate spoken evidence into a more traditional narrative.

Eager to put oral accounts at the centre of my narrative, I quickly identified a number of potential informants, and began to work my way through the somewhat laborious ethics process, with high hopes of interviewing a wide range of people. The reality, as it turned out, was that I was only able to interview a handful of willing individuals. Time, distance and logistical issues accounted for some of this discrepancy. But I believe that cultural challenges likely also played a role as well. As a non-indigenous researcher with a largely superficial, acquaintance relationship with members of the local Nuu-chah-nulth communities, I found it quite challenging to secure the cooperation and input of Nuu-chah-nulth sources/informants, particularly among the Hesquiaht and Ahousaht. One potential Ahousaht source, a longtime tourboat driver and acquaintance, politely demurred, saying that he “was already in two books.” My best

contact in the Hesquiaht, a longtime friend, ultimately proved unwilling to be interviewed, though he continued, behind the scenes, to provide me with invaluable written sources. In addition, the sharing of several binders of historical government correspondence -- apparently collected as part of a landclaims process -- by another anonymous Hesquiaht source proved extremely helpful in tracing the relocation of the Hesquiaht.

Just as I was about to resignedly accept my failure to secure truly meaningfully indigenous input into my work, a chance encounter that my girlfriend had during a long and tiring water-taxi trip up to the Cove connected me -- quite unexpectedly -- with two willing informants, Charity and Jaylynn Lucas. It was a real pleasure to interview them and to get their perspectives -- perspectives that were badly needed in my otherwise admittedly Euro-centric work. They both had a lot of very thoughtful things to say, so I have made an effort to include as much of their first-hand perspectives as possible. I just hope that they will feel that I have done their many insightful contributions proper justice.

Overall, I was -- I must admit -- still somewhat disappointed with my inability to successfully connect with indigenous informants, but was not entirely surprised. From the beginning, I had expected that accessing indigenous informants would be an uphill battle. In the case of most of my Euro-Canadian informants, on the other hand, I had existing cultural and friendship ties that evidently facilitated their involvement. Unfortunately, my much more limited ties with my hoped-for indigenous informants precluded me, in the time I had, from building the necessary trust. Most of the more factual, background information I sought did not appear to be particularly sensitive; however, given the ongoing claims expressed by the various users of Hot Springs Cove, I realized that underlying political implication and sensitivities may well have been at play. It is possible, for instance, that the Ahousahts or Hesquiaht may have been hesitant to discuss issues around usage rights or perceptions of each other, given their concurrent claims on the landscape. Perhaps, too, potential indigenous informants were wary of surrendering control of their own stories to a non-indigenous individual. If so, surely the legacy of colonialism is to thank for that - at least in part.

On a more positive note, the fact that I share significant cultural ties with my informants does simplify, I would argue, the process of using their oral accounts, as I am less likely to mistakenly interpret their meaning. And to compensate for my lack of indigenous oral interviews, I made a concerted effort to incorporate other forms of primary indigenous evidence. Ruth Kirk's "Wisdom of the Elders" provided a rich collection of short Nuu-chah-nulth oral accounts to draw upon, such as those of Hesquiaht informant Alice Paul. Another source, *As Far as I Know*, the memoir of Ahousaht elder, Peter S. Webster, shared a range of historical account about the warfare of the 1850s, as well recounting more contemporary experiences growing up in the area in twentieth century.¹³⁹ The records of the McKenna-McBride hearings also contain detailed indigenous statements about their local communities, landscape and resource-use – though they must carefully used, as their testimonials have surely been shaped by the way those hearings were facilitated and recorded.

Speaking of evidence, another natural concern with my primary source material is its inherent emphasis on the male perspective. Indeed, my historical sources were predominantly created by men, and tend, more often than not, to focus on the actions and contributions of male figures. This is not, in and of itself, surprising, given the patriarchal nature of colonial Euro-Canadian society that produced most of these records. All the testimonies at the McKenna-McBride hearings, for instance, involved male indigenous leaders, being questioned by male commissioners. While the early Euro-Canadians who engaged with the west coast of the island were overwhelmingly male, until at least the twentieth century, the indigenous population was anything but. The inclusion of oral history from female indigenous informants like Alice Paul is a deliberate attempt to re-emphasize the female perspective, at least to some degree. Though it was by no means intentional, it also appears that a similar gender imbalance crept into my interviews, with the majority of my subjects ultimately being male.

While there are surely any number of other methodological questions and concerns that could be discussed here, I want to conclude by addressing perhaps the single-most politically-charged of them all: "Who are you to write this thing?"¹⁴⁰ In other words, whose history is this – and who should be telling it? In the post-colonial era,

the idea that a non-indigenous historian is attempting to tell a narrative largely populated by indigenous actors and events should naturally raise questions of permission and appropriation. Indeed, they open themselves up to a range of potential criticisms from the very community they would seek to portray. And rightly so – one of the most insidious aspects of colonialism has long been the domination of marginalized groups through the appropriation of their culture and history, and the imposition of external narratives by mainstream society. As Clayton points out, “one of the most trenchant ideas in colonial and post-colonial studies is that the writing on the past is directly implicated in the processes it describes.”¹⁴¹ This I interpret as a caution to ensure that one’s work must be conscious of its potential to unwittingly advance the very power-dynamics it seeks to describe. Perhaps not surprisingly, some have even gone as far as to argue that non-indigenous authors have no place retelling indigenous history. Such attitudes would seem somewhat justified by the long history of colonial oppression. However, they are perhaps not completely applicable to this case of this work. Firstly, this history is not telling a solely indigenous story. Rather, it attempts to profile the interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous worlds in a nuanced way. And secondly, it is telling this story with the express intention of undermining the very colonial attitudes that still linger to this day. Any progress towards that goal, I would contend, is still progress – even it comes through a non-indigenous medium. Perhaps, then, in this case at least, the ends justify the means? In any case, I have sought, wherever possible, to be both sensitive and explicit about my position as the researcher, who is both observer and interested party. This is why I have consciously chosen to call my study a “Settler’s History of Hot Springs Cove”. In the literal sense, the human story of the Cove is *about* settlers, and the series of settlement waves that have washed over and transformed the place over the span of millennia. But it is also a story being told *by* a settler – a settler-historian whose very presence in the place – and its story – comes with its own, potentially profound implications.

History, it seems, really is *no* simple matter!

CHAPTER 1 – “First Peoples”: Indigenous Settlement & Life prior to Contact

(12,000BP to late 1700s)



Figure 9 - Hot Springs Cove and the Openit Peninsula, seen from the East.

(Image by David Lynch)

Introduction – Twelve Thousand Years of Human History

According to the helpful park sign posted nearby, the waters of “Ramsay Hot Springs”, as it still officially known on many charts, likely begin their journey as far away as Hesquiaht Lake. From there, they apparently seep three kilometres down, flow southward, warming as they go, and then bubble forth only metres from the ocean’s edge, near the top of the Openit Peninsula.^{142 143} When this seemingly-miraculous process first began – and when humans first discovered it – remain shrouded in mystery, however.

The geological origins of Hot Springs Cove as a *physical place* can be traced back millions of years. But the history of the Cove as a *place with people* is far, far shorter. The origin stories of Nuu-chah-nulth groups like the Hesquiaht and Ahousaht root their creation in supernatural events that occurred within their traditional territories, while archeologists theorize that the ancestors of the modern indigenous peoples of the Cove originated elsewhere, presumably Asia. Assuming, for a moment, that the latter occurred, it would have been these waves of initial immigration that would ultimately establish the Cove as a distinctly indigenous space. In either case, though, the early human story of Hot Springs Cove was a dynamic one, filled with change and adaptation. All too often,

Euro-Canadians have assumed that pre-contact life on the West Coast was not only completely idyllic, but also unchanging. The reality, as we shall soon see, was far different – and far more interesting!

Just Passing Through? First Migrations Bring Humans to a Very Different Coastline

Non-indigenous archeologists theorize that the first immigrants from Asia are believed to have begun migrating across at least 12,000 years ago – and possibly as far back as 20,000 or more – by skirting along its edges, resting at spots along the outer coast that were not covered by glacial ice.¹⁴⁴ As recently as 15,000 years ago, most of British Columbia and Alaska were covered by the continental “cordilleran” ice sheet.¹⁴⁵ Small pockets of the coastline, however, were left ice-free, and may have offered “stepping stones” for early migrants, sustaining themselves from the rich marine resources they encountered along this so-called “kelp highway”.¹⁴⁶

As the glaciers retreated, between 12,000 and 7000 years ago, BC’s coastal lands were explored and inhabited by waves of “generalized foragers”, small nomadic groups pushing in from previously de-glaciated areas, and settling temporarily on the landscape, before moving on.¹⁴⁷ The exact timing and migratory route remains a source of great debate.¹⁴⁸ No known sites in BC pre-date about 10,000 years ago, likely because migrating peoples would have left little impact, or because the “edge environments” where they lived have since been covered by rising sea levels.¹⁴⁹ If current models are to be believed, it is possible that Hot Springs Cove could have been directly on the coastal migration. It is likely then, that the first humans to visit the Cove were transients on their way south.¹⁵⁰

Interestingly, the place these first peoples encountered likely bore relatively little resemblance to the Cove we know today. At the time of the last glacial maximum, approximately 22,000 years ago, global sea levels would have been 120m below present, leaving a land connection between Asia and North America that persisted until 13,000-11,000 years ago.¹⁵¹ As the glaciers melted and retreated, sea levels would have risen; however, it would not be until around 5000 years ago that the ocean would reach its

current level.^{152 153} The differences in sea-level may also have masked – or emphasized – the Cove’s unique geothermal qualities. Indeed, it is possible the famous springs were submerged, similar to the ocean vents that dot the ocean floor just off Sharp Point. It’s also possible that lower levels may have revealed the presence of other springs.



Figure 10 - The rugged shoreline north of Hot Springs Cove today.

The first human visitors to the area, however, would likely have encountered a significantly different landscape.

(Image by David Lynch)

The arriving peoples would also have likely encountered a very different ecosystem from the one that we experience today. Much of the vegetation common today would have only likely begun spreading between 11,000-7,000 year ago, while cooler and moister conditions finally allowed the Western Red Cedar to begin spreading up the coast of Vancouver Island between 7500-3500 years ago.¹⁵⁴ By the end of this period, the cedar forests in and around Hot Springs Cove would have been well-established and increasingly recognizable to a modern observer.¹⁵⁵

In relative geographical terms, these changes were extremely significant.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, over the last 12,000 years, coastal locations like Hot Springs Cove saw their climates, landscapes and vegetation largely transformed. Research from the nearby

Hesquiat Peninsula suggests that the forest and vegetation there may have undergone a significant change about 10,000 years ago, though it appears to have stabilized into the current temperate rainforest at least 2,000 years ago.^{157 158}

‘All Along the Mountains’ – Permanent Settlement & Emergence of Nuu-chah-nulth Culture on the West Coast of Vancouver Island

It would be thousands of years after the first human migrations, however, before the unique Nuu-chah-nulth culture would emerge along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Thanks to warm currents, the coastal ecosystems of the Cove and the wider West Coast were a remarkably rich marine environment – one that would have proven very conducive to settlement.¹⁵⁹ “Bountiful” as the west coast environment was, though, Joshua Reid, an expert on the Makah of Washington State, points out that local features and weather variations did make some places – and times – richer than others.¹⁶⁰ Whether the Cove was initially considered a richer location is uncertain. Nor is it clear when exactly the first of these migratory groups decided to stay and begin more permanent use and occupation of the area. While extensive archeological work has been done to the north at Hesquiat and Nootka, it appears that no similar work has yet examined the many ancient indigenous settlement sites that dot the landscape around the Cove. As a result, the evidence for long-term occupation has yet to be fully revealed, making a detailed chronology impossible at this time. Moreover, the fleeting footprint of small migratory groups combined with high acidity of Northwest Coast soils which leave little trace of wood, bone or fibres will make dating the earliest inhabitants a challenge.¹⁶¹

What is certain is that human settlements had spread across the whole of southern BC by 10,000 years

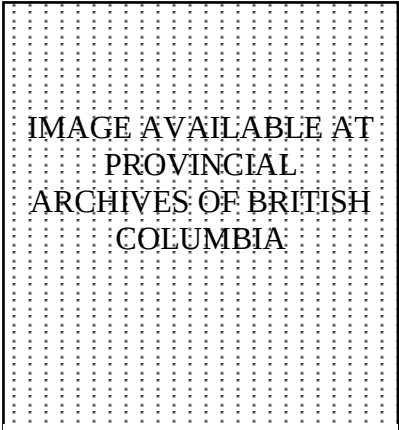


IMAGE AVAILABLE AT
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COLUMBIA

Figure 11 - “The Nootka method of spearing”.

One of the many vivid but controversial images captured by Edward Curtis in 1915. Some scholars allege that Curtis, at times, staged scenes with inauthentic clothes, tools and activities.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-08321)

ago.¹⁶² As groups adapted to their new surroundings, an increasing diversity of lifestyles emerged, and art began to flourish.¹⁶³ We also know that, on the west coast of Vancouver island, big changes were occurring in the lifestyles of those who chose to settle on the landscape. Between 5000 and 3000 years ago, groups along the coast appear to have to have undergone significant cultural change, most likely triggered by improvements in the efficiency and longevity of salmon processing and storage techniques.¹⁶⁴ Though coastal groups had long harvested salmon, Turner argues that “improvements in procurement (canoes, weirs, baskets tarps) and storage (woven basket, cedar boxes and cedar houses)” facilitated their “intensified use”.¹⁶⁵ Combined with the introduction of cedar plank housing,¹⁶⁶ these adaptations enabled settlements to grow in both size and permanence. A corresponding “seasonal round” rotation between a set of fixed resource and inhabitation sites also became increasingly prevalent during this period.¹⁶⁷ Differences between individual groups emerged as each drew on its own unique set of resources and developed slightly different harvesting techniques.¹⁶⁸

While the archeological evidence is still relatively fragmentary, it appears that a “distinctive west coast culture” was likely emerging on the west coast of Vancouver Island as early as 4300 years ago.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, argues archeologist Yvonne Marshall, “the material culture and economy of the people living there was distinctively Nuu-chah-nulth”.

Summarizing the success of the Nuu-chah-nulth and other North West Coast groups, Turner suggests that, “to say that people were flourishing in this rich and developing environment would not be an overstatement”.¹⁷⁰ Certainly, the dietary evidence found by archeologists like Marshall indicates that the local economies had a distinctly “maritime” focus.¹⁷¹ In other words, while they did hunt and collect fruits and vegetables at certain times of the year, the Nuu-chah-nulth were predominantly sea-oriented peoples who harvested marine life.¹⁷²

The region’s abundant salmon population appears to have facilitated the emergence of semi-permanent villages, larger populations, social stratification, long distance trade, expanded warfare, heraldic art and more elaborate ceremonies like the potlatch.¹⁷³ In other words, the rich natural environment and salmon supply served as the

foundation for the permanent, wealthy, complex, populous and hierarchical indigenous societies that Europeans first encountered.

Not surprisingly, the presence of rich salmon streams was perhaps the most crucial determinant for the location, size and organization of indigenous settlements. In Nootka sound, for instance, archeologists have identified a correlation between richer streams and larger settlements.¹⁷⁴ They have also theorized that the Hesquiat area, as a less resource rich area, with no major salmon bearing streams, had been settled later as a result, with nearby groups visiting it periodically before permanent settlement.¹⁷⁵ The earliest surviving archeological evidence of human evidence in Hesquiat dates back to 100CE, with numerous sites occupied from 700CE onwards.^{176 177} It is possible, therefore, that the indigenous groups that would later inhabit the exposed coast in and around Hot Springs Cove may have resided during this earlier period, further up the protected inlets, to the northeast, next to salmon-bearing streams such as at Pretty Girl Cove. If so, they might have periodically visited in and around the Cove as part of their resource gathering, and possibly even established some seasonal resource camps in the area.

Interestingly, archeologists have also identified what appears, along the whole west coast of Vancouver Island, to be an inverse correlation between areas with highly productive salmon streams and complex, aggregated political systems. In other words, smaller, more independent groups appear to have emerged by the richest salmon streams, while larger, more confederated communities tended to be spread across a larger area, with a wider array of different resources.¹⁷⁸ Small groups with insufficient power to secure a more varied resource base were forced to restrict themselves more to a single location. Larger confederated groups, on the other hand, had both the power to secure -- and need to utilize -- multiple resource sites in order to provide for their larger communities.^{179 180}

Settling the Outside – Whaling Innovation Brings the Nuu-chah-nulth to the Outer Coast.

By approximately 3500 years ago, along the North West Coast, populations were distributed much as they were at Contact.¹⁸¹ And yet, while archeologists have noted broad continuities in the artefacts and animal remains found in Nuu-chah-nulth sites dating from the last 4000 years, they have also observed what appears to be a significant shift in the economy and settlement patterns on the west coast beginning between 2000 and 1500 years ago.¹⁸² At this time, groups previously based mostly in the protected inner waters began moving onto the “outside coast” in increasing numbers.¹⁸³ Given that this shift appears to have occurred around the same time as the first definite evidence for systematic whale hunting appears in the archeological record has led archeologists to conclude that whaling was a critical factor, along with “other more refined technologies for exploiting outside coast resources”.¹⁸⁴ By 1000 years ago, people had moved out onto the exposed outer coast all along Vancouver Island, including at Chesterman Beach (near Tofino), Homis (near Hesquiat Harbour), and were consolidating into a pattern of fewer, larger settlements, some of which were occupied year around by at least some of their residents.¹⁸⁵ It was during this period that Hesquiat Harbour, which lacks major salmon streams, was first occupied, along with the future Makah settlement at Ozette, Washington.^{186 187} The preferred location for these outside-coast settlements, given the dispersed nature of the resources, was to be tucked away from rough winter weather on the sheltered southern side of headlands, in spots where there was good boat access.¹⁸⁸ From the archeological record, it appears that the main economic focus of these settlements was on halibut, whales, and other sea mammals.¹⁸⁹

Interestingly, it is believed that the Nuu-chah-nulth are the only North West Coast indigenous

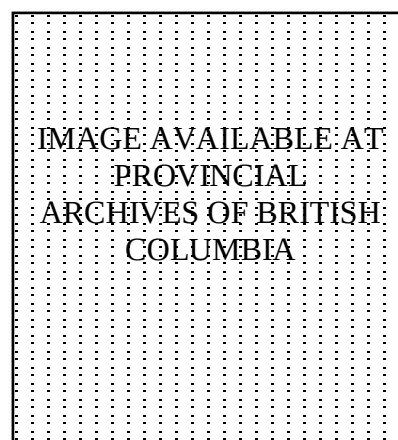


Figure 12 - A Nuu-chah-nulth “Whale Ceremonial Dance” as pictured by Edward Curtis in 1915.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-08444)

grouping that “intensively hunted whales”, despite early ethnographic misconceptions.¹⁹⁰ Misled by early interpretations of Nuu-chah-nulth culture as conservative and unchanging, it was initially assumed by archeologists and ethnographers that the Nuu-chah-nulth must have been taught to whale through diffusion by contact with “Eskimo-Aleut” groups.¹⁹¹ However, there is increasingly a consensus that the skill developed as a “local innovation”, and that it was a “cornerstone” economic activity rather than primarily about “prestige”, as was first assumed.¹⁹² Indeed, evidence from Hesquiat, and from Makah sites, suggests that both groups were, before Contact, producing “significant surplus” of whale products.¹⁹³ Marshall concludes from the combination of archeology, oral tradition and early European accounts that the groups living south of Nootka were more dependent on whaling, both before contact, as well into the 19th Century.¹⁹⁴

Great ritual preparation occurred prior to hunts, which often saw whaling parties paddling far offshore. Sometimes they even had to overnight offshore and tow harpooned whales up to 40km back to their village, where they would be met with great



Figure 13 - A map showing the location of two traditional inhabitation sites, effectively abandoned today, that offered the kind of shelter ideal for Outer Coast hunter-gatherers.

(Map by David Lynch)

ceremony.¹⁹⁵ Given all of the above, it seems very plausible, therefore, that the initial, permanent settlement of the Openit Peninsula and the northern seaward coast of Flores occurred during this period. Certainly, the village site on the Openit #27 Reserve, and that of the Swan #35 Reserve nearby both qualify as suitable locations, with their good boat access, protected beach-front and proximity to the outer coast and its rich resources. “Openit”, after all, is a Nuuchah-nulth word meaning “place of calm waters”.¹⁹⁶ If the Cove was indeed settled from this point forward, then these people were presumably the ancestors of the Manhousaht, who appear to have been present at the time of Contact.

Local Groups, Confederacies & Sovereign Structures: Nuuchah-nulth Political Organization prior to Contact

Certainly, by 400 years ago, on the eve of European contact, the broad settlement patterns and specific indigenous groups that the first European explorers and traders would encounter appear to have been largely in place. Typically, individual settlement sites ranged in size and use from larger, more permanent villages of up to a thousand, to smaller single, seasonal or multi-use resource camps populated by only a handful.¹⁹⁷ Archeologists have suggested that by this point, a number of medium and larger settlements had emerged, mostly on or close to the outer coast in Nootka, Clayoquot Sound and at Hesquiat in between.¹⁹⁸ The largest were Yuquot, Ahousaht, Euchachist and, particularly, Opitsaht.¹⁹⁹ By contrast, they have noted a greater preponderance of small and very small sites in the inner, protected inlets, such as in inner Nootka Sound.²⁰⁰ And even then, centralization appears to have been more common to the south in Clayoquot Sound, compared to a more clustered and dispersed pattern northwards in Nootka.²⁰¹

Considered in combination with ethnographic evidence, these different patterns of settlement size and location have led to the conclusion that somewhat different socio-political arrangements had emerged in different parts of the larger Nuu-chah-nulth region prior to contact. Marshall has argued that both sovereign and confederative models were indigenous to Nuu-chah-nulth and present prior to the arrival of Europeans.²⁰² Specifically, Marshall claims that a more dispersed confederative arrangement evolved in Nootka Sound, while to the south in Clayoquot Sound, a more centralized, sovereign structure emerged. Marshall believes that “unusually complex polities that operated on the basis of confederative principles” had formed among northern Nuu-chah-nulth, particularly the Mowachat, prior to European arrival.²⁰³ In Kyuoquot, for instance, 14 groups converged on 4 winter villages to form tribes that were also part of a larger ‘confederacy’.²⁰⁴ Marshall argues that this confederative approach emerged in the north, in places like Nootka and in Kyuoquot, “as a consequence of marginal economic conditions and the need to establish and maintain a more diverse economy”.²⁰⁵ In other words, in the immediate pre-and-post Contact period, outer coast groups in the north island had worked to politically confederate to diversify their resource base and encourage productive trade to compensate for their less-rich waters.²⁰⁶

By the late 1700s, a confederacy had emerged in Nootka Sound under the leadership of Maquinna and his lineage. Anthropologists believe that, in political arrangements like Maquinna’s Yuquot-Tahsis confederacy, “relations between component groups took the form of ranked hierarchy”.²⁰⁷ In other words, marriages were used to cement political integration between different groups, as different lineages were

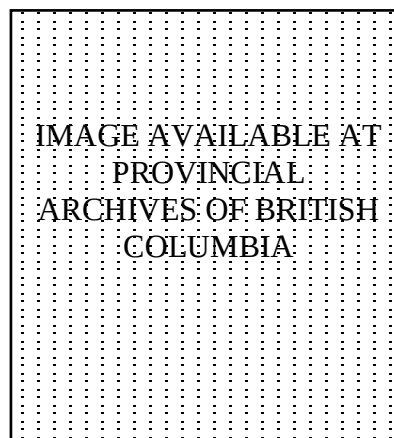


Figure 14 - A European portrait of Maquinna, leader of the Mowachaht and likely the highest-ranking Nuu-chah-nulth leader in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove at the time of European contact.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-02678)

given a rank in the confederation according to their significance, with Maquinna as the highest ranking leader.

By contrast, Marshall argues, south of Nootka, “where whales and salmon were both comparatively more plentiful, the need for groups to cooperate or trade in order to diversify their economy was less intense”.²⁰⁸ As a result, “sovereign groups remained the rule until the 19th Century”, and groups like the Clayoquot and Ahousaht were able to grow very large, gaining access to both inside and outside territories through conquest.²⁰⁹ In the case of the Clayoquot, a “series of recent and exceptionally ruthless wars” had helped to facilitate the formation of a sovereign, centralized system dominated by a single family lineage led by Wickaninnish.²¹⁰ Indeed, sometime about 250 years ago, in the mid 1700s, a few years or decades before contact, the Clayoquot appear to have aggressively expanded outward from the region of Kennedy Lakes to conquer the rich whaling resources of the outside coast near Tofino and Long Beach.²¹¹ Opitsaht then emerged as their central village.²¹² Marshall argues that the success of territorial conquest under Wickaninnish’s family rule had so heavily concentrated political authority in their single lineage that it could be characterized as an “oligarchy”.²¹³ Wickaninnish became, in the words of historian Daniel Clayton, more of a “patriarch” than an “umbrella chief”.²¹⁴ In other words, rather than integrated lineages from multiple different groups into a ranked confederative arrangement, all the most important ranked positions among the Clayoquot ended up being held by members of Wickaninnish’s family.

As a result of these differing political arrangements, it appears that a fascinating political dynamic had emerged on the eve of contact. Thanks to his position at the top of a large confederate hierarchy, Maquinna was formally considered the highest ranking Nuuchah-nulth leader on the west coast of Vancouver Island, even above Wickaninnish.²¹⁵ However, because his position “could be maintained only through the continuing recognition of his associates,” Maquinna was, Marshall argues, “less powerful than Wickaninnish”, whose power at the top of a rich, centralized oligarchy was uncontested.²¹⁶ Despite their apparent rivalry, though, the top ranked Maquinna and Wickaninnish appear to have been consistent allies, avoiding any open conflict between their two major groups.²¹⁷ However, their unique circumstances ultimately appear to have led them to

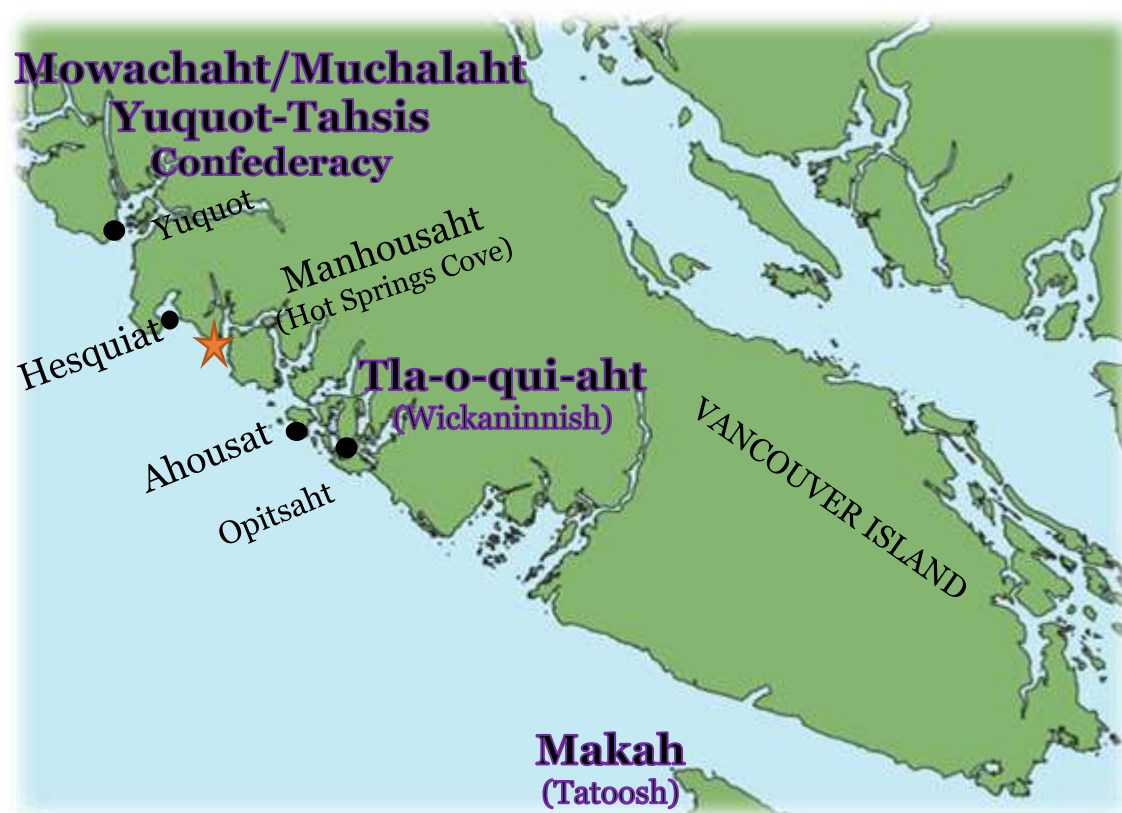


Figure 15 - Particularly influential Nuuchah-nulth groups along the West Coast at the time of contact included Maquinna’s confederacy in Nootka Sound, Wickaninnish’s centralized Tla-o-qui-aht, and Tatoosh’s influential Makah to the south.

(Map by David Lynch)

react in different ways to the arrival of Europeans.²¹⁸ This we shall explore in greater depth in the coming chapter.

In the years before contact, a number of smaller Nuu-chah-nulth groups inhabited the political and geographic space between Yuquot and Opitsaht. To the immediate south of Nootka Sound were five independent local groups, which would eventually coalesce into the modern Hesquiaht. By 1200 years ago, they had settled in distinct territories; two on the outside coast, two inside the harbour, and a fifth straddling the two zones.^{219 220} A key factor which helped determine where the different Hesquiaht groups sited their villages was the ability to safely land and pull up canoes on shore.²²¹ The two outer groups were blessed with enough resources that they were able to live in the same location all year round.²²² Unlike their northern neighbours in Nootka Sound, the Hesquiaht local groups do not appear to have formed a confederacy prior to contact.²²³

Archeological evidence suggests that the Hesquiaht were indeed a predominantly marine-focused society; terrestrial resources were never as important to their success.²²⁴ In the pre-contact period, Hesquiaht settlements stretched from Split Cape in the north, to midway between Refuge Cove and Hesquiat Point in south.²²⁵ Neighbouring groups such as the Manhousaht apparently recognized this traditional territory.²²⁶ For their part, the Hesquiaht collectively, it appears, were somewhat ‘caught in the middle’ between their more powerful neighbours to the north and south. Indeed, according to Marshall, the Hesquiaht area appears to have been drawn into the “social and economic orbit” of some Nootka groups,²²⁷ serving as a “political and economic periphery utilized seasonally”.²²⁸ According to Nicholson, at the time of contact, Hesquiaht were considered a “sub-band of the Nootkas”, and suggested they were subject to the authority of Maquina.^{229 230} Yvonne Marshall portrays the Hesquiaht, however, as independent groups.²³¹

To the south of the Hesquiaht -- and adjacent to the Tla-o-qui-aht -- were a number of smaller groups that would one day coalesce into the modern Ahousaht. These included the Kelsemaht, the Otsosaht, and the original Ahousaht. The Kelsemaht and Ahousaht appear to have shared Vargas Island, with the Ahousaht most likely confined on the exposed outer coast.²³² Their location meant the Ahousahts, in particular, were “well situated for whaling and other open-ocean pursuits”. However, “they lacked a

reliable or abundant source of salmon”, a challenge that would set the stage for upheavals to come.²³³

Living to the north of Vargas, on Flores Island and up Sydney Inlet, were the Manhousahts and Otsosahts. Similar to the Hesquiaht, the Manhousahts, based in and around Hot Springs Cove, would likely have occupied a somewhat peripheral political position in relation to their more powerful neighbours to the south. There is debate, however, as to whether they were really a small collection of related groups, or part of a larger, more confederative grouping known as the Otsosahts. Drucker, for one, believed them to have been a subgroup of the Otsosahts.²³⁴ He theorized that the Otsosahts may have been an exception to the general pattern of local group autonomy seen among the Hesquiaht and other central and southern Nuu-chah-nulth such as the Tla-o-qui-aht.²³⁵ Also unclear is the extent to which the Manhousaht controlled both the outer coast near Hot Springs Cove, as well as the protected inlets from which they likely emerged. And if so, whether this allowed them the economic wealth and diversity to support a strong population, similar to the Tla-o-qui-aht.



Figure 16 - The scenic western beaches of Flores Island would have been within the traditional territory of the Otsosahts - possibly shared with the Manhousaht - prior to contact.

(Image by David Lynch)

What is likely, however, is that the Manhousahts, small or large, would have already been plugged into active intra- and intra-group trading networks that would have moved traditional goods up and down the coast. Tools, food surpluses and art all would

have been exchanged with neighbouring groups as part what Reid has called “an efficient and wide ranging indigenous trade network”.²³⁶ Indeed, the whole west coast of the island was also connected to a larger trading network that stretched from Alaska to California, and as far inland as the foothills of the Rockies, with sub-networks focussed in Puget Sound, the Columbia River basin, north of Vancouver Island.²³⁷ This helps explain how a flaked rock head from the Oregon coast could find its way to a pre-Contact site in Hesquiat.²³⁸ It also helps explain how the many of the first goods traded with the Hesquiaht under the first Spanish explorer, Perez, would manage to make their way north to Maquinna’s hands.²³⁹ Whaling, in particular, often produced more food and oil than one group could consume, so this surplus was traded with neighbouring communities.²⁴⁰ In addition to unloading surpluses, trading also opened access to different resources; exotic products, in particular, allowed persons of wealth to distinguish themselves from those of lesser status.²⁴¹ Edible Camus bulbs were acquired through trade from the Coast Salish living on the east coast of Vancouver Island, while bear-grass for basket-weaving came from the Makah at Neah Bay.^{242 243} As part of this inter-tribal trade, a common trading language eventually developed, becoming known after Contact as “Chinook”.²⁴⁴

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There is a tendency to idealize pre-contact Nuu-chah-nulth life as idyllic and conflict-free; however, researchers like Reid have argued that violence on the coast long predates the arrival of Europeans.²⁴⁶ Indeed, intra- and inter-group warfare was “pervasive” in the immediate pre- and post-contact period, and could break out between kinship groups in same village or against those in neighboring villages.²⁴⁷ The reality is that, as coastal populations grew, group boundaries become more demarcated and competition over resources – especially fishing spots – increased.²⁴⁸ Groups tended to respond to scarcity strategically, by either forming alliances with neighboring groups, or by attacking them, to secure new resources and space.²⁴⁹ Surprise dawn raids were common, with male inhabitants often killed, while women and children were typically taken prisoner and enslaved.²⁵⁰

Acquiring slaves was, in fact, was a key motivation for many attacks, as slave labour was central to the Nuu-chah-nulth economy.²⁵¹ Early European documents appear to suggest that approximately 20-25% of Nuu-chah-nulth society were slaves at time of contact, performing many of the important but often menial resource-gathering and processing activities.²⁵² Slave status was permanent and could represent a profound loss of status.^{253 254} Warfare could also be motivated by revenge, a desire to undermine political rivals, seek retribution for an insult or violation of chiefly rights, or even to offset grief from a death in the family through the killing of an equivalently-ranked member of another group.²⁵⁵

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Figure 17 - An early European engraving depicting Nuu-chah-nulth people at Nootka, likely created by one of the artists on Cook's expedition.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP02034)

Cedar, Salmon, Status & Spiritual Landscapes: Pre-Contact Nuu-chah-nulth Culture & Lifestyle



Figure 18 - Ancient trees on the Openit Peninsula.

Even they likely do not predate the arrival of the first permanent indigenous inhabitants of the area.

(Image by David Lynch)

The Nuu-chah-nulth communities that emerged in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove were profoundly shaped by their unique landscape and its abundant resources. As with many other North West Coast groups, life would have been defined, above all else,

by cedar and salmon. Salmon was a key food source, while cedar acted as the most important non-food resource, shaping housing, clothing, transportation and art.²⁵⁶ Despite their cultural similarities, the lifestyle of each group was influenced by the unique location and availability of resources in their immediate vicinity. At Hesquiat, for instance, the different ecology of the exposed coast -- compared with the protected harbour -- meant that “inside” and “outside” groups had different resource focus.²⁵⁷

While individual local groups each had their own unique seasonal pattern, a predictable ‘seasonal round’ migration was typical. Communities began the calendar year in ‘winter villages’, which tended to be located in sheltered waters, at or near the heads of inlets, and were occupied from late October/early November through to the end of January, when outward migration would begin.²⁵⁸ Just as winter storms were tapering off, and supplies running low, the herring arrive, kicking off first part of seasonal round.²⁵⁹ At Hesquiat, for example, late January/early February saw a well-prepared shift to herring fishing stations to take advantage of the spawn, which tended to last 4-5 days.²⁶⁰ Hemlock boughs were dipped in the water to collect the edible spawn, while adult fish were also speared for food.²⁶¹ Soon thereafter, the first Spring salmon would arrive to feed on the herring, occasioning another movement to salmon fishing stations.²⁶² Fall would be marked by the harvesting of returning salmon in August and September, prior to the return to winter villages.²⁶³

Once the community had settled back into their winter village, in the late fall, life tended to become more sedentary, with the focus shifting more to ceremonial -- rather than economic -- activities.²⁶⁴ Groups that were successful at gathering and preserving sufficient food for

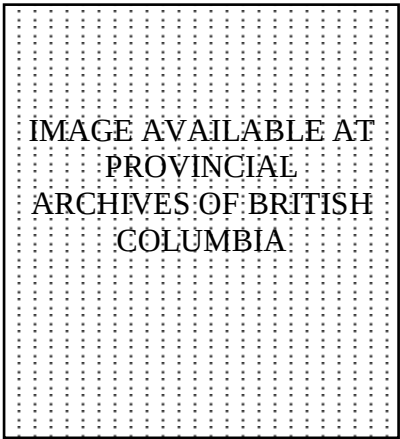


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Figure 19 - “The bark gatherer, Hesquiat”, another of Edward Curtis’ well-known images of the area, taken in the first decade of the 20th century.

Despite the obvious criticisms of Curtis’s methods, some suggest that his photos can nevertheless offer useful hints about traditional clothing and practices.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-08330)

the winter were then able “not only to survive but [also] to take time for elaborate ceremonies and the manufacture of goods to give to neighbouring villagers at potlatches”.²⁶⁵ The seasonal round was not only well-suited to the local environment but also likely very healthy. Anthropologists have theorized that pre-contact societies like the Nuu-chah-nulth were relatively free from high mortality epidemic diseases, likely thanks to the small size of habitation groups for much of year, varied diets, good hygiene and abundance of natural medicines.²⁶⁶

Given the present dearth of archeological research, it is impossible to determine the exact pattern present among the Manhousahts living in and around Hot Springs Cove. The closest evidence we have is from Hesquiat, where, Haggarty has theorized, the distance to resources likely made some groups relocate between villages based on seasons, while others, with resources closer, were able to commute on a daily basis.²⁶⁷ The Hesquiat example appears to reflect a larger trend: that some winter villages offered year round resources and were occupied at all times, while key feature of others was shelter, with people departing to gather in other locations when weather was better.²⁶⁸ Efficient transportation made the seasonal round possible. As Kirk puts it, “without canoes, North West Coast culture could not have developed its complexity and richness”.²⁶⁹

In contrast with the prototypical gabled, vertical-board “long-houses” often associated with the peoples of the North West Coast, the Nuu-chah-nulth lived in cedar structures constructed with overlapping horizontal slats and shed-like roofs (as seen in the drawings made by Cook’s crew in the 1770s).²⁷⁰

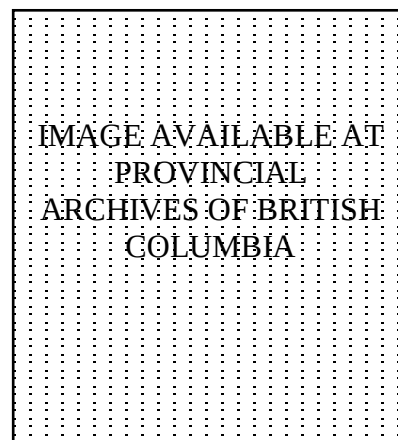


Figure 20 - A sketch of Nuu-chah-nulth dwelling at Nootka made by John Webber, an artist accompanying Cook’s expedition in 1778. One can only assume that the design and appearance likely predates contact significantly.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP02600)

While a separate post and beam structure was erected and left standing at each location, the Nuu-chah-nulth typically carried their “house-board” slats with them in their canoes as they migrated seasonally.²⁷¹ Several immediate families usually lived under the same roof, in separate areas of the structure, each grouped around its own cooking hearth, storage sleeping and working area.²⁷² A larger common hearth was used for ceremonial gatherings.²⁷³ The highest ranking leader typically owned the house and the ancestral crests that adorned it, and directed practically all activities of the household. Commoners lived along the central walls of the house belonging to the leader to whom they claimed kinship. In Nuu-chah-nulth parlance, they lived under “under” the chief’s “arm”.²⁷⁴

Similar to other North West Coast societies, the Nuu-chah-nulth were, at the time of contact, hierarchical, rigidly stratified and based on kinship and hereditary leadership.²⁷⁵ They were organized, as Marshall puts it, into a “nested series of communities”, starting with the immediate family and widening out to include the household, the local group and, ultimately, larger aggregations like the confederacy and/or tribe.²⁷⁶ According to anthropologists like Philip Drucker, though, the basic social unit was the “local group”, which was “center[ed] in a family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses and various other privileges.”²⁷⁷ Each local group was based on one or more family lines (known as “ushtakmhl”), each with its own house(s) containing chiefs ranked according to genealogical proximity to a common ancestor.²⁷⁸ According to Clayton, there were between 11 and 17 local groups of varying size, influence and autonomy present in Clayoquot immediately prior to contact (the most powerful probably being the Tla-o-qui-aht).²⁷⁹ Each was organized according to principles of “rank, hereditary ownership and bonds of kinship, and had specific territories demarcated on landscape”.²⁸⁰

Social status was derived from a combination of prestige and resource ownership, and could be bolstered through marriage, alliances and warfare.²⁸¹ Greater prestige, in turn, could be converted into political influence.²⁸² As Clayton summarizes it, the highest-ranking leader in a given local group controlled their major resource rights and ceremonies.²⁸⁴ Lesser chiefs had some resource and ceremony rights, while commoners, for their part, had none, and slaves were at mercy of their owners. Individual village sites could be populated by a single local-local group; however, there is also ample evidence some local groups shared common winter or summer village, and could unite, either temporarily, or more permanently, through intermarriage, military alliance or mutual consent; however, each group tended to maintain their own histories, village sites and fishing rights.²⁸⁵

In contrast with modern Euro-Canadian assumptions, “the concept of ownership” was actually a central principle of Nuu-chah-nulth society, “developed,” Haggarty suggests, “to an extreme” extending to “economic privileges...such as ‘shelter’, food, wealth, the ownership of habitations, domains for fishing and hunting, salvage rights”.²⁸⁶ He notes that rivers and fishing places, waters miles offshore, land, houses, rights to marry were all privately owned property – a pattern likely in place for centuries before contact. The same was true of ceremonies, names, dances, songs, medicines and rituals.²⁸⁷ “We can’t sing somebody else’s songs”, Ahousaht elder Peter Webster confirmed, “unless they give us permission”.²⁸⁸ Chiefs even owned the salvage rights to anything that washed ashore in their territory, including logs, drift whales and runaway slaves.²⁸⁹ Commoners, on the other hand, rarely owned more than personal items such as clothes, tools and canoes; instead, they were given access to resources controlled by those with high-status – provided they were willing to respect their authority.²⁹⁰

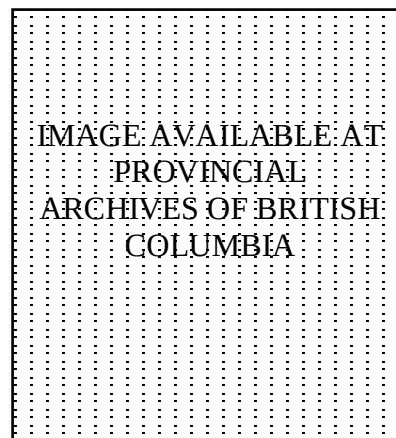


Figure 21 - A European sketch of the interior of a Nuu-chah-nulth dwelling.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-06351)

Although such a structure might seem prone to abuse, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders were far from all-powerful. Their authority, Reid suggests, relied more on influence than coercion; merely belonging to a high-ranking family was insufficient.²⁹¹ Describing the authority of Makah chiefs, Reid claims that the way to maintain status was to provide for the people.²⁹² Chiefs relied on their subjects to defend their community, harvest resources and generate wealth for them.²⁹³ Chiefs, in turn, were expected to lead the defense of the community, provide for extended families, reward hard work and share wealth of food and resources with those of lesser status.²⁹⁴

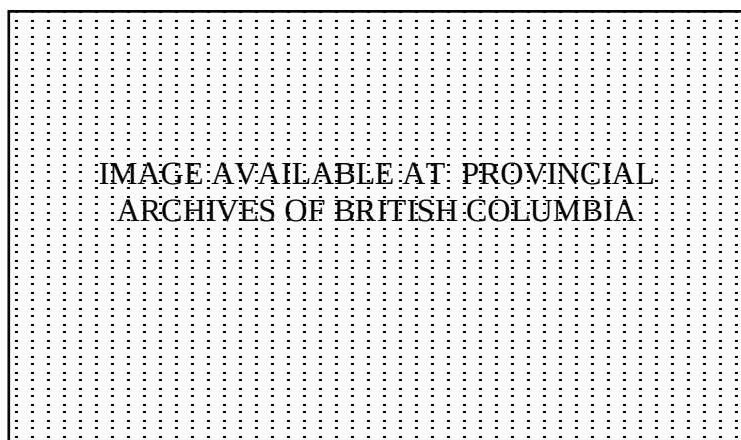


**Figure 22 - A
European engraving
from shortly after
contact depicting Nuu-
chah-nulth domestic
life.**

(See Royal BC
Museum/BC Archives,
Image PDP00230)

While there appears to have been little upward social mobility in pre-contact times, anthropologists like Sapir and Drucker have suggested that the membership of local groups was surprisingly fluid. They believe that high-ranking leaders were linked by resource rights and traditions to certain area, whereas commoners were much freer to come and go.²⁹⁵ Practically speaking this meant that they did not “belong rigidly within the household of any particular chief, but could move fairly readily” in search of “optimum economic prospect”. Those with useful skills “could expect not only a welcome but to be courted”.²⁹⁶ In other words, lower status individuals, in particular, could choose which relative to associate/live with, and would sometimes leave a group decimated by disease or war, or move to live under a more generous leader.²⁹⁷ This has led Clayton to assert that, while “kinship and hereditary rank” were key, life for the Nuu-chah-nulth was “socially and spatially dynamic.”²⁹⁸

Ceremonial feasting, known popularly today as “potlatching”, was a tradition with a number of important cultural, political and economic purposes. It was a crucial vehicle for redistributing wealth and surplus food to lower status inhabitants,²⁹⁹ ensuring their loyalty while also bolstering the host’s prestige, since status was closely associated with material wealth and generosity.³⁰⁰ Feasts could also help forge mutually beneficial alliances with neighbouring groups, who would then be expected to share in times of scarcity.³⁰¹ Atleo notes that big feasts reflected well on host chief’s ability to provide for well-being of community, while overflowing tables indicated he had been favoured with spiritual power.^{302 303}

Despite their cultural similarities, different Nuu-chah-nulth groups on the west coast of the island spoke different dialects of the larger Southern Wakashan, suggesting a shared ancestry with those spoken by many groups on the central coast of BC.³⁰⁴ The two most prominent variations were known as “Nitnat” and “Nootka”, reflecting their geographic origins.^{305 306} Interestingly though, by the time of contact in late 1700s, the Nuu-chah-nulth did not have a collective name for themselves.³⁰⁷ The name ‘Nuu-chah-nulth -- which means “all along the mountains’ – was only adopted in 1978 by what would become the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC).^{308 309}

For the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples living in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove prior to contact, the environment around them was not merely a physical place – it was also a landscape embedded with spiritual meaning. According to Reid, in the Nuu-chah-nulth worldview, the physical dimension was a manifestation of the spiritual realm, and communication and travel between two worlds was not unusual.³¹⁰ In other words, their perception of place was profoundly shaped by the spirits that they believed lived all around them. Their very existence – as well as the resources they depended upon – were perceived as gifts from the spiritual realm. This belief had profound social, political and economic implications. Only chiefs could claim ancestral ties to supernatural beings that pre-dated human occupation. This spiritual legacy meant that top leaders “directly owned the ceremonial and economic resources established by supernatural ancestors” including “offshore and river fishing places, village and camp locations, medicines, rituals, songs, names and crests.” Commoners, by contrast, were unable to claim supernatural ancestry,

could not own property or rank.³¹¹ They were, as a result, arguably less anchored by geography. Reid argues that the spiritual nature of resource tenure also heightened Nuuchah-nulth awareness of the importance of maintaining a balanced relationship with the “non-human peoples” of the region.³¹² Strict protocols and rituals were maintained before, during and after harvesting activities in an effort to respect these spiritual actors.³¹³ Leaders realized that periods of poor harvesting or abnormal scarcity could be interpreted as a loss of spiritual favour, leading to a corresponding loss of prestige and power.³¹⁴

Given the spiritual connections that the Nuuchah-nulth obviously perceived – and practiced – in their everyday interactions with their surrounding environment, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the hot springs on the Openit Peninsula would have been spiritually significant. They are, after all, not only very rare, but also quite awe-inspiring - even to the modern visitor. Interestingly, however, the author was not able to identify any detailed reference to their presence in the significant body of anthropological work that has been done over the years to better understand Nuuchah-nulth culture. When asked, some local Euro-Canadians relate vague suggestions about the springs being a ‘spiritual’,

‘neutral’ space peacefully shared by different indigenous groups. However, the origins of



Figure 23 - Cold sea-water pours into the bottom pool at the hot springs, mixing with the steaming hot waters flowing down between the rocks, and creating a wonderful melange of sensations for those bold enough to soak there.

(Image by David Lynch)

these beliefs are unclear. As a result, more investigation of this question elsewhere – by persons eminently more qualified than this author – is clearly needed!

What we do know is that the Nuuchah-nulth were very thorough in naming the things and places around them. As they lived on and from the landscape, the Nuuchah-nulth, in the words of Reid, “articulated their knowledge and ownership through place naming”.³¹⁵ If, as a Stó:lō scholar, Albert McHalsie suggests, place names “transform our landscape from what others consider a *terra nullius* (‘empty land’) into a place where our ancestors continue to live in spirit”, the Nuuchah-nulth were further connected to their environment and history by their nomenclature.³¹⁶ Often, local group names came from place where their chief’s ancestor had encountered the supernatural.³¹⁷ For their part, chiefs usually bore the name of the place where their fishing rights were rooted, although their title could also come from a predecessor.³¹⁸ In other cases, names had more literal, descriptive or even mundane origins. The name Hesquiaht, for example, appears to derive from “heish-heish-a”, which means “to tear asunder with the teeth”, was supposedly conceived by neighbouring groups to describe the how the plentiful eel grass near their village would be torn to dislodge herring spawn, a tasty delicacy.³¹⁹ Clearly, by the time of contact, the Nuuchah-nulth living in and around Hot Springs Cove had developed a strong sense of place, rooted in supernatural ancestry and the intimate interplay between the physical and spiritual worlds. When the Europeans eventually arrived, they would be sailing into a landscape already rich in names, knowledge and meaning.

Any emphasis on the importance of ancient, supernatural ancestry must not be mistaken, however, as evidence of stagnancy in Nuuchah-nulth society. In contrast with traditional European assumptions about the ‘timeless’ nature of pre-contact indigenous societies, groups like the Nuuchah-nulth continued to adapt and change even as contact loomed. In the final 700 years before contact, for instance, they shifted away from chipped stone to “an array of bone and antler tools” even as they contended with climate fluctuations associated with the “Little Ice Age” prior to 1650CE.³²⁰ Ethnobotanist Nancy Turner theorizes that the peak of woodworking technology among the peoples of the North West Coast occurred within two or three centuries of contact. This evolution was apparently spurred by the introduction of metal, as iron “filtered in” through trade and

Japanese shipwrecks. This, in turn, enabled the emergence of the classic “totem pole” as we know them today.³²¹

Cleary, the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples living in and around Hot Springs Cove in the pre-contact period did not belong to idyllic, simplistic or unchanging cultures. Quite the opposite: they were adaptable, dynamic, hierarchical, sophisticated and – yes – both actively cooperative and conflictual. Though they could not know it yet, their long-standing ability to adapt, respond, and refine would soon prove essential in the wake of contact and the profound upheavals that followed.

CHAPTER SUMMARY: The Long Evolution of a Dynamic, Sophisticated People

The human history of Hot Springs Cove likely began more than 10,000 years ago, with the arrival of its first human inhabitants. Over the many millennia that followed, the landscape continued to evolve, shaping the lifestyle of the early peoples that would eventually emerge as the Nuu-chah-nulth. The rich natural environment encouraged settlement and allowed the development of rich, well-populated complex, hierarchical communities. A wealth of ocean resources fostered a marine-oriented economy, while key terrestrial resources such as cedar shaped the tools they made, how they clothed themselves, and the way they built their homes.

Over time, the development of whaling techniques transformed Nuu-chah-nulth society and facilitated the movement to outer coast locations like Hot Springs Cove, while differences in local resources encouraged the development of unique seasonal harvesting patterns. Unlike the European settlers who would come later, the original indigenous inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove perceived their surroundings through a supernatural lens; the landscape was not merely a physical environment, but also one deeply connected with the spiritual dimension. They lived hand-in-hand with the spirits of their ancestors and the natural world that animated the surrounding landscape, assisted them with daily life, anchored resource ownership, and could profoundly affect their fate.

During this period, European colonization was obviously not yet a factor; even so, a close examination of early Nuu-chah-nulth history reveals a vibrancy at odds with early European assumptions. The more one realizes how dynamic Nuu-chah-nulth society was in the lead up to contact, the more we are able to appreciate the many ways they sought to contend with and push back against European encroachment when it came. Indeed, the first Europeans to visit the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove would encounter politically complex and economically sophisticated peoples who were anything but primitive, helpless or frozen in time.

A new chapter was about to begin in the human story of the Cove.

CHAPTER 2 – ‘Contact & Trade’: First European-Nuu-chah-nulth Interactions

(1700s-1800CE)

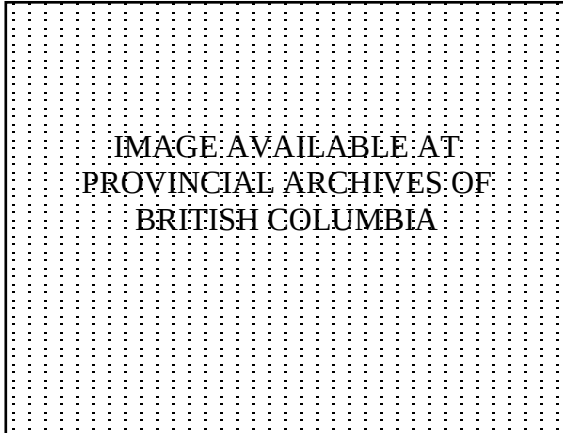


Figure 24 - The outer shoreline of Nootka Sound, which would experience a devastating Tsunami in 1700, and an even more momentous wave of European explorers later in the century.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-07135)

Introduction: Earthquakes on the Coast

In January of 1700, the west coast of Vancouver Island was struck by a powerful tsunami, which obliterated whole villages in places like Pachena Bay.¹ It is uncertain what impact, if any, the tsunami had on the indigenous inhabitants of the Cove, but given its magnitude and effect elsewhere, it likely washed away people, canoes and possibly even houses. It would not be the last time the human story of Cove would be shaped by the very movement of the earth itself.

Little did the inhabitants of the Cove know that other, equally tectonic shifts were taking place in faraway Europe that would soon bring a whole new tide of colonization to their shores. Indeed, the period between 1700 and 1790s saw the first contact with European explorers and the sudden emergence of a lucrative, tumultuous fur trade, which would thrust the whole coastline into the consciousness and geopolitical wranglings of European imperialism. The pursuit of the sea otter and the introduction of European goods began to influence indigenous ways of life and resource use, impacting political and cultural structures. First Contact would also unleash many fascinating reactions

among the Nuu-chah-nulth, who actively worked to shape their interactions with newcomers according to their own needs and desires.

First Encounters: Contact with European Explorers occurs North of Hot Springs Cove

By the middle of the 1700s, the European ‘Age of Discovery’ had been underway for more than two centuries. Inspired by demands for exotic Asian goods, Europeans exploited Enlightenment enthusiasm and advances in navigation technology to ‘discover’, claim and begin colonizing the coastlines of Africa, Asia and elsewhere. In the Americas, the Portuguese continued to expand in Brazil, while the Spanish, who had already conquered Mexico, Peru and large parts of the Caribbean, were busy pushing north into California. And along the Eastern Seaboard, the British were in the midst of battling the French for control of New France and the American Thirteen Colonies. Though the inhabitants of the Cove could not have known it, Spanish galleons were already out there in the Pacific, far beyond the horizon, transporting gold between the Philippines and Mexico.

While other groups like the Polynesians or Chinese might possibly have explored the West Coast at an earlier time, the first non-indigenous explorers to have definitively arrived off the shores of Hot Springs Cove were Spaniards in the 1770s.² Interest in the mythical northwest passage known as ‘Strait of Anian’ had already encouraged the navigator Juan de Fuca to cook up fantastical stories about an expedition to the region, but it was likely news of early Russian expeditions by Bering and Chirikov down the Alaskan coast in 1741 that drove the Spanish to push northwards from California with their own explorations.³ The Spanish Viceroy in New Spain (Mexico) was already worried about a number of threats to Spanish claims over his west coast ‘Alta California’. In particular, the Spanish feared that the British might find a northwest passage. They were also concerned about potential Russian or British interference with Manila treasure galleons, which would come close to the North West Coast on their way south to Acapulco.⁴

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Figure 25 - Nuu-chah-nulth clam-harvesters await low tide at Nootka, captured in one of Edward Curtis' famous images taken in 1915. Gazing out almost a century-and-a-half earlier, their ancestors would have witnessed the arrival of the first Europeans to their coast.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-08313)

On a mid-summer's day in 1774, there is a chance -- had they been looking at just the right moment -- that a particularly far-sighted Manhousaht gazing out from the tip of Sharp Point might have briefly observed a truly astonishing sight. For it was then that the first Spanish ships were drawing close to shore, about to precipitate an encounter, just a few miles to the north, that would change life in Hot Springs Cove forever. A few months earlier, in January, Spanish mariner Juan Perez had been dispatched from San Blas to sail to 60°N in search of evidence of foreign settlement, to convert indigenous peoples, and to claim the area through an 'act of possession.'⁵ Sailing as far the southern tip of the Alaska panhandle, Perez's expedition briefly traded over the water with Haida canoes before sailing cautiously south, eventually coming within sight of the snow-capped peaks of Vancouver Island, near what is now Estevan Point.⁶

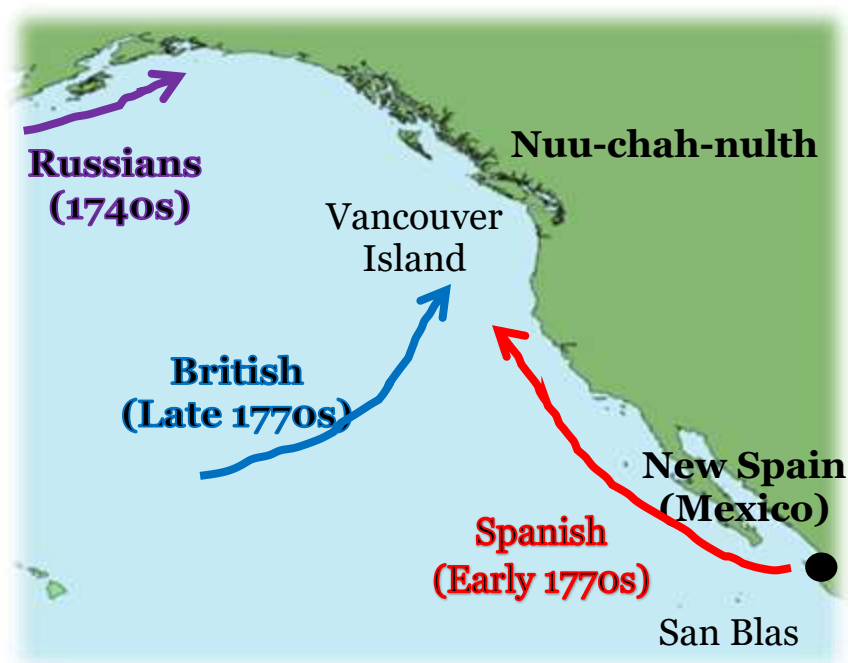


Figure 26 - Inevitable Contact - European explorers converge on Vancouver Island, late 1700s.

(Map by David Lynch)

Eager to replenish his ship's water supplies, Perez's frigate, the *Santiago*, edged to within 6kms of shore.⁷ There, on August 7, 1774, he encountered canoes full of Hesquiaht paddlers, marking the first definitive European "contact" with the Nuu-chah-nulth of Vancouver Island. Observing, at first, warily from afar, the Hesquiaht ultimately paddled out and initiated interaction. Surviving indigenous accounts of this first contact suggest that the Hesquiaht were initially both curious and fearful of the newcomers. In the words of Clayton, such first contact stories generally "relate[d] a mixture of wonder, astonishment, curiosity, and fear at the sight of strange objects and peoples". Given that the Europeans were neither local outsiders, nor recognized outsiders from beyond the Ca•di• Borderlands like the Haida, Reid suggests that the Nuu-chah-nulth likely conceptualized of the Europeans as "powerful nonhuman peoples" belonging to the same supranatural world that they normally interacted with.⁸ As a result, he suggests, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders may have initially "hedge[d] their bets" in case the newcomers were

actually supranatural with formal ceremonies, led by spiritual leaders called forward to interpret their potential spiritual significance.⁹

If not as an island or a giant bird, the *Santiago* could have equally been perceived as a floating home full of returning ancestors and former leaders.¹⁰ According Peter Webster of Ahousat, oral tradition suggests that the Hesquiaht may have taken the ship's blocks for skulls, and assumed, at first, that it was crewed by the dead.¹¹ However, in short order, Reid suggests, the Hesquiaht realized that they were dealing with humans, and began to trade with the Europeans, who became known thereafter as nomadic "mama'ni" ("those living on the water and floating around, like they have no land").¹²

In exchange for metal goods, Perez's crew were provided with fish and animal furs, which the Spanish, ironically, did not consider particularly valuable or impressive.¹³ A set of silver spoons appears also to have changed hands, an act that would later prove rather significant.¹⁴ In the meantime, however, incoming bad weather convinced the cautious Perez to abandon his original plans to land, and head south, instead, away from land.¹⁵ In doing so, he would have sailed right past the mouth of the Cove, but likely too far away for even the keenest-eyed observer to note.

In time, Perez's failure to land and officially lay 'claim' to the local landscape would prove remarkably significant for the region's future. However, his fleeting visit, and the map that it inspired, did profoundly influence the very words we use, today, to describe the landscape in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. Perez named Estevan Point after his second lieutenant.^{16 17} His chart -- the first locally-mapped European representation of BC's coast -- also makes it clear that the Spanish did not yet realize that Vancouver Island was indeed an island, nor that there was a unique hot springs nearby.¹⁸ Still, the production of this map, and the naming associated with it, arguably represented the first steps in the colonization process.¹⁹

While the first Europeans likely did not 'discover' the Cove until many years later, word of the encounter near Hesquiat was already radiating outwards. Connected as they were through trading and kinship, the Manhousahts would have presumably learned of the encounter with the *Santiago* very quickly. Eager to follow up on Perez's 'discovery', the Viceroy dispatched another two ships north in 1775. This expedition,

under the command of an officer named Sonora, supported by a deputy, Bodega y Quadra, approached Vancouver Island in sight of the Mowachat at Nootka, but appears to have stayed too far off shore to encounter the Cove.²⁰

Meanwhile, news of Perez's voyage had filtered back to the British, who decided to extend the mission of one of their most experienced navigators, James Cook, to include a reconnaissance of the area. At this point, it appears the British were not intending to directly challenge their rivals, the Spanish, nor were they eager to upset the French or spark another costly imperial war.^{21 22} Rather, they wanted a better understanding of the region's potential, and hoped to discover a possible northwest passage, as well as many opportunities for trade and resource-exploitation. There was also great Enlightenment excitement, as well, about the new discoveries that the expedition was likely to make.²³ In other words, Clayton suggests, Cook's expedition was not necessarily part of some grand imperial plan, but neither was it a purely a scientific voyage.²⁴ Uncertainty over the northern limits of Spanish claims meant Cook was ordered to explore above 65°N, far north of Vancouver Island; he was further instructed not to offend the Spanish, nor any local inhabitants.²⁵

In March 1778, coming north from Cape Flattery, Cook's two ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, headed inshore north of Estevan Point, running low on water.²⁶ Anchoring near Nootka Island's Friendly Cove, Cook encountered Mowachaht paddlers who urged him to "itchme nutka" (go around) and anchor closer to their community of Yuquot.²⁷ Thereafter, the name "Nootka" came to be associated with both the place and the people who inhabited it, enshrining a linguistic misrepresentation which

would persist for the next two hundred years.²⁸ The people of Hot Springs Cove had become “Nootkans” without even knowing it.



Figure 27 - First Contact – Spanish & British encounters with the Nuu-chah-nulth, 1770s.

(Map by David Lynch)

Figure 28 - A drawing of Cook's ships encountering indigenous people along the coast of Vancouver Island. The (mis)naming of an entire people and region would result from his encounter with the Mowachaht.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-07840)

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When Cook and his crew went ashore on March 31st to interact with the Mowachaht and their leader, Maquinna, they became the first Europeans definitively confirmed to have stepped foot on BC's coast.²⁹ The month they ultimately spent in the area proved to be significant in a number of other ways as well. To begin with, the friendly relations they established with Maquinna and his community helped to set a positive, non-violent tone for later interactions. Clayton suggests that Cook made a conscious effort to foster peaceful relations, as instructed by his superiors, carefully managing his crew to mitigate the potential for violence resulting from any poor behaviour on their part.³⁰ But his actions were motivated by scientific considerations as well. At a time when Enlightenment thinkers like Voltaire and Rousseau believed much could be learned from studying the "noble savage", Clayton suggest that Cook would have seen it as his mission to create opportunities for the artists and ethnographers on board to interact with peoples in less advanced states of development to get better appreciation of their own European civilization.³¹ As a result, Cook allowed his crew to engage in some trading with local indigenous groups, with the blessing and supervision of Maquinna. Initiated by the word "makook" (do you want to trade?) these exchanges netted Cook's crew approximately 1500 sea otters pelts that they planned to use to keep warm with over the coming winter.³² While most of the European goods acquired likely stayed quite local, it is plausible that some may have filtered south to Hot Springs Cove over time. It is even possible that Manhousahts were among those who would have travelled north for the chance to trade with the newcomers at Nootka. Reid suggests that Makah traders likely made the trip to Friendly Cove to meet Cook.³³ Limited as this initial trading was, it would soon establish an economy that would become -- almost overnight -- global in scale.³⁴

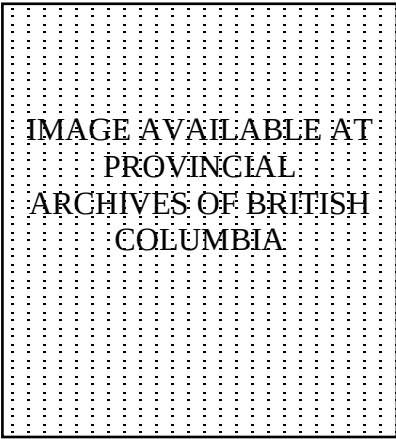


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Figure 29 - A drawing made of a Nuu-chah-nulth inhabitant of Nootka by John Webber, an artist accompanying Cook's expedition.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-06353)

The sketches and observations made by Cook, his officers, and the experts accompanying Cook have emerged as a rich source of history and ethnographic evidence for modern historians, allowing us a valuable window into Contact-era Nuu-chah-nulth culture and politics. In their initial visits onshore, for instance, Cook and his crew did not appear to have noticed significant rank differences between the Mowatchaht leaders and others.³⁵ Modern experts, however, have been able to glean insights from their records, not only about the subtleness of Nootkan social dynamics, but also about the interplay between Maquinna and his rivals, as well about the presence of four distinct Nuu-chah-nulth social classes.³⁶ In any case, the British were noticeably surprised by the sophistication of the business and property practices displayed by the Nuu-chah-nulth. They were, for instance, shocked at how proprietary they were, in insisting for payment whenever local resources were harvested, as well as by how Maquinna was able to benefit so effectively from his position as a middle-man.³⁷ Indeed, Cook was so impressed with their business acumen and determination to eschew beads in favour of metal items that he assumed these habits must have been acquired through previous interactions with Europeans.³⁸

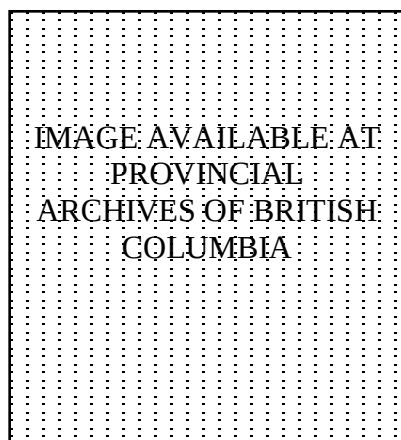


Figure 30 - While Captain James Cook's voyage was motivated primarily by scientific and strategic considerations, the otter pelts acquired by his crew kicked off an explosive maritime fur trade.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-02591)

Cook's time in the area was not entirely free of concerns about violence and insecurity. While his official account generally downplayed fears of an indigenous attack, the journals of others noted times of tension, particularly surrounding the arrival of other Nuu-chah-nulth groups.³⁹ While some Nuu-chah-nulth leaders may have considered attacking the British, it is also possible, Clayton suggests, that Cook's officers were

misinterpreting intra-group tensions created by disagreements over access to the Europeans.

The harvesting of two spar timbers on Bligh Island also, Nicholson suggests, represented the first instance of European logging on Vancouver Island.⁴⁰ And while onshore at Ship Cove, Cook's crew conducted numerous astronomical sights and very accurately calculated their exact location, helped by their cutting-edge chronometer.⁴¹ This achievement was more than simply scientific: what would become Vancouver Island was now more precisely known to the European 'mapping mind'. It would be a crucial, initial step in the process of colonization.

'Furs of Gold': The Early Maritime Fur Trade Begins

Although there is no evidence that Cook's expedition ever learned of the presence of a nearby hot springs, their departure northward in the spring of 1778 would soon initiate a series of profound changes for the whole region. As soon as they learned of Cook's explorations, the Spanish sent another expedition in 1779 as far north as Alaska to identify imperial encroachment, but the two ships returned without any evidence of either a British or Russian presence.⁴² The Russians had established a few trading posts in Alaska in the 1740s, in search of otter pelts after stocks dwindled along the Siberian coast. But it was only in 1784, the same year that Cook's official account was published, that they established a more permanent settlement at Kodiak.⁴³ The French, unwilling to be completely excluded, also dispatched their own scientific mission, armed with a copy of Cook's charts. Reaching Alaska in 1786, La Pérouse mapped southward to Mexico before concluding that further explorations were not worth the risk of angering the Spanish.⁴⁴ The landscape, it seemed, was simply too rugged for the French, whose imperial attention turned elsewhere, even as a revolution loomed on their own soil.

Others, however, were much more convinced of the region's potential, for Cook's voyage had set the stage for an explosive trade that would soon connect localities like Hot Springs Cove to a globalizing world economy. Indeed, Cook's crew had unwittingly kicked off a resource boom when they traded their remaining otter furs in China for huge profits.⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ News of the windfall spread quickly, and European entrepreneurs scrambled to arrange business ventures and send off ships to tap into this newfound trade. Some

sought to operate under authorization of the South Sea Company while others tried to circumvent this monopoly by sailing under Austrian or Portuguese flags of convenience.⁴⁷ Even some of Cook's officers quit the Navy and formed their own company to get in on the action.⁴⁸

As Clayton sees it, the beginning of pre-meditated fur trading signalled that "interactions" with the Nuu-chah-nulth would "now [be] driven by profit rather than science."⁴⁹ It was to be an important turning point. In August 1785, James Hanna likely became the first trader to arrive at Nootka, where he managed to conduct some trading with Maquinna before 20 Mowachaht were killed in deadly disagreement, possibly the result of a theft by one of the indigenous traders.⁵⁰ With this event, a more testy and violent phase of indigenous-European relations had arguably begun.

The following year, another milestone was reached when a different trader convinced Maquinna to allow him to leave his Assistant Surgeon, John MacKay, behind, to live with the Mowachaht, learn their customs and language and facilitate trade.⁵¹ After unwittingly violating Nuu-chah-nulth customs, MacKay was rescued a year later after nearly starving, but not before vainly trying to grow vegetables and raise goats.⁵² The first European attempt at settlement and farming on Vancouver Island was over almost before it had begun. During his stay, however, MacKay had learned one important fact from his hosts: that Vancouver Island was indeed an *island*.⁵³

In the first few years, trading was restricted seasonally, with ships arriving only in the spring and summer, and concentrating largely at Nootka, a familiar place considered relatively safe by the earliest traders.⁵⁴ Initially at least, this meant that those living in the vicinity of the Cove would have had to trade indirectly to have a chance at acquiring any European goods. Soon, however, traders began to push outwards in search of more furs. On his second voyage, Hanna, for instance, headed south after discovering that all the furs at Nootka had already been bought up. Trading with the Ahousaht in the principal village on Vargas, Hanna's crew became the first Europeans to have definitively entered Clayoquot Sound.⁵⁵ In doing so, he would have sailed past Hot Springs Cove, though likely relatively far off shore. In June 1787, another trader, Charles Barkley, sailed his *Imperial Eagle* further into Clayoquot Sound, encountering and trading with

Wickaninnish for 800 pelts, a haul that would ultimately net him a whopping 30,000 Spanish dollars.⁵⁶ In his charts, Barkley named the region “Wiccanninsh Sound”, a name that would persist for almost a century.⁵⁷ His wife, Frances Barkley, likely the first European woman to lay eyes on the west coast, noted the local climate was similar to that of Scotland, with perhaps a little more rain, and a later ripening time for fruit.⁵⁸ A year later, trader Charles Duncan recorded another trade with the Ahousahts, this time along the shores of Flores Island.⁵⁹ That same year, John Meares, was nearby, trading with the Tla-o-qui-aht, who offered him fish, wild onions and berries in exchange for small bits of iron etc.⁶⁰ Ultimately, though, the sort of blankets that he came to exchange would remain a mainstay of west coast trading, Reid suggests, for more than a century afterwards.⁶¹

All of these trading ships would have passed close by the Cove, but no evidence suggests that any of them were aware of its proximity. What is certain is that Meares -- who remains a controversial figure to this day -- pushed forward the process of colonization, symbolically at least, in May 1788 by negotiating with Maquinna for permission to have his Chinese labourers build a storehouse at Nootka.⁶² It appears that Maquinna, though suspicious of Meares’ truthfulness and reliability, consented to this arrangement, enabling Meares to build the first European structure on Vancouver Island.⁶³ Regardless of the specific details of this arrangement -- which Clayton dismisses as an “alleged purchase” -- this development helped create the basis for future British claims to the region.^{64 65}

Another significant development that occurred in September 1788 was the arrival of the first “Boston Men” on the scene. Up to this point, most traders had been British. However, the arrival of Robert Gray’s *Lady*

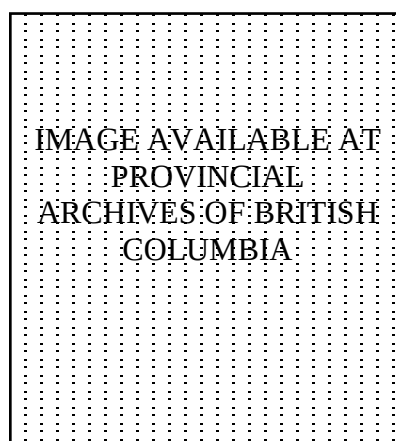


Figure 31 - Meares’ establishment at Nootka, depicted in 1790 as his crews launch the newly built ship, “North West America”, which would later be seized by the Spanish during the Nootka Crisis.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-02688)

Washington and John Kendrick's *Columbia Redidivia* marked the beginning of a shift towards American dominance, by traders based out of Boston.⁶⁶

Shaping the Relationship: The Nuu-chah-nulth Exercise Agency in the Early Maritime Trade

As eager as they were to acquire European trade goods, the Nuu-chah-nulth were far from naïve, awestruck or overwhelmed in their interactions with early traders. Rather, they responded in very sophisticated ways to and attempted to shape the exchanges to serve their own purposes. The Nuu-chah-nulth, Reid argues, immediately proved themselves consummate traders in material goods, and had specific wants that changed over time.⁶⁷ For example, while beads proved satisfactory in the earliest Spanish trading, Reid suggests that, by Cook's arrival, indigenous traders were insisting on metal tools to facilitate their carvings, and metal bits for jewelry.⁶⁸ They surely also saw the military potential of metal blades as well.

Demand, of course, varied greatly between groups: according to Clayton, different indigenous groups wanted different collections of commodities and established different prices for them.⁶⁹ Muskets quickly became highly desired trade items, though whether for their practical or symbolic value is debated; Clayton notes how quick Nuu-chah-nulth became expert marksman, while Reid suggests that the inaccuracy of early muskets was "made up for in cultural significance, signaling connection to spiritual power, and evidence that chief had access "to wider range of trade goods".⁷⁰

Far from creating a new economy, early European traders and explorers soon realized that they and their goods were simply being integrated into the complex web of existing indigenous trading networks.⁷¹ Indeed, the fact that many traders were astonished by the sheer speed and breadth of inter-group exchanges reveals their own naivety and lack of cultural comprehension. Whatever the colonial mind might have thought, as Clayton puts it, "traders crossed Native networks of trade and power; they did not set them in motion".⁷²

Despite the sudden influx of European goods, however, there is debate as to the extent of their initial impact on everyday Nuu-chah-nulth life. As a general pattern, across what would later become BC, the introduction of metal cutting tools and cooking pots did alter indigenous lifestyles.⁷³ Clayton, however, notes that some archeologists have concluded from the lack of European goods in the middens at Yuquot that perhaps the Nuu-chah-nulth did not immediately abandon their traditional products or adopt European ones in a wholesale way.⁷⁴ Marshall herself suggest that, apart from the rapid adoption of some iron tools, there appears to have been relatively “little interest in exotic material culture until late in the nineteenth century”.⁷⁵ Either way, what is clear that European goods were quickly integrated into traditional potlatching culture, becoming part of what Kirk calls an “ever-expanding potlatch flow”.⁷⁶ Without ever saturating demand, these “new goods served old purposes”.

In addition to their obvious practical applications, trade goods offered every freed member of Nuu-chah-nulth the potential to enhance their wealth and status.⁷⁷ This was particularly true for leaders, whose authority depended on their ability to provide benefits to their followers. As they did with other important resources, Reid suggests, Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs moved quickly to establish and maintain control over this new source of wealth.⁷⁸ He offers the analogy of the ‘drift whale’ to explain how leaders likely perceived and reacted to the arrival of the traders. Drift whales were considered a product of chiefly prestige and spiritual power, rather than a chance occurrence, and as such belonged to the chiefs, who would then share the wealth with their followers. In the same way, the chiefs attempted to monopolize, control access to, and benefit most from the trading vessels that arrived on their shores, just as they already brokered access to sea otter hunting grounds.⁷⁹ Some leaders like Wickaninnish even tried to purchase trading ships, recognizing them as a means to improve their own trading options.⁸⁰ Even when they were allowed to participate, commoners, on the other hand, were less likely to profit, because they typically had only fish to trade.⁸¹

In addition to profiting materially from these trades, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders also used them to boost their prestige in other ways. They quickly developed sophisticated protocols that European traders needed to either learn or end up failing in their trading

efforts.⁸² Clayton has concluded that ritualized feasting and gift exchanges between captains and chiefs became crucial precursors to formal trading, and helped to bolster the status of the leaders in the eyes of their own followers.⁸³ Chiefs also emphasized their power and sovereignty by demonstrating local knowledge, displaying the military strength at their disposal, or by limiting or refusing to trade if prices were too low or the right goods not offered in exchange.⁸⁴ As Reid puts it, even as they were enhancing their own positions, Nuuchah-nulth leaders were also “demonstrat[ing] to Natives and non-Natives alike their power to control space and people on their terms.”⁸⁵ Over time, Clayton suggests, chiefly dominance of the early fur trade “exacerbated inequalities of wealth within local groups” with chiefs amassing “disproportionate amount of wealth and influence”.⁸⁶

There is also some debate about whether the sheer profitability of the early fur trade led to any meaningful disruptions in traditional Nuuchah-nulth harvesting and lifestyle patterns.⁸⁷ In some parts of what is now BC, there is evidence that subsistence activities were altered to allow more time for gathering of fur, at expense of other traditional foraging.⁸⁸ Clayton does note one example of a food shortage during the Spanish occupation of Nootka linked, he seems to think, to an over-emphasis on pelt hunting among the Mowachaht.⁸⁹ Whether this sort of disruption was common, or occurred in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, however, is unclear.

What is certain, though, is that the various Nuuchah-nulth groups living along the nearby coast actively competed to take advantage of the strategic opportunities offered by the burgeoning fur trade. As Clayton sees it, the Nuuchah-nulth groups in and around Nootka were already “enmeshed in a complex and shifting set of collaborative and competitive relationships”.⁹⁰ As a result, he suggests, “agendas that predated contact took on new twists because wealth was injected into particular locations and was controlled by certain chiefs.” Marshall appears to agree, suggesting that the leaders of larger Nuuchah-nulth groups, in particular, “actively sought European trade and attempted, successfully, to exercise control over other groups’ interactions with Europeans and to manage the commerce the Europeans brought to the west coast”.⁹¹ For example, more powerful groups like the Mowachaht sometimes attempted to steal trade goods from weaker

groups, or limit their access to muskets.⁹² Leading chiefs also tried to prevent traders from engaging with neighbouring groups by using their superior economic pressure to buy up all of their furs ahead of time. As a result, for those groups that were unable to trade directly with Europeans, copper and (indigenous) slaves continued to serve as a common medium of exchange.⁹³

Maquinna's Mowachaht-led Yuquot-Tahsis confederacy and Wickaninnish's Tla-o-qui-aht were, according to Reid, the two dominant groups on the island's north-central coast, at the outset of the trade.^{94 95} Both appear to have attempted to exploit the trade to their own advantage. And yet, given their different socio-political realities, they ultimately pursued different strategies.⁹⁶ Maquinna, sensitive to his position as an "umbrella chief" at the top of a confederate hierarchy, appears to have opted to "superintend" rather than obstruct trading by constituent or neighbouring groups, boosting his status even as he acquired a portion of the profits through gifting.⁹⁷ In contrast, Wickaninnish and his family had, by the 1790s, come to dominate central Clayoquot Sound through warfare and forced neighbouring groups into a tribute system.⁹⁸ As a result, Wickaninnish monopolized trade with Europeans, working to prevent traders like Meares from knowingly trading with client groups like the Ahousaht.⁹⁹

Strategic considerations also influenced, in turn, how the Nuu-chah-nulth leaders dealt with European traders. Marshall suggests that the richness of the otter population in central Clayoquot Sound allowed Wickaninnish to play a more aggressive game with European traders, since his fur supply was so lucrative that traders could not help but be drawn back.¹⁰⁰ Maquinna, on the other hand,

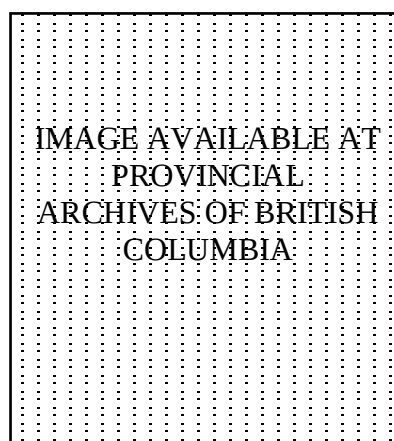


Figure 32 - An engraving depicting Nootka's Friendly Cove in the late 1790s, towards the end of the Spanish presence.

With local fur stocks declining, Maquinna was initially careful to maintain the area's reputation as a safe anchorage for European traders.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP00236)

had fewer and fewer furs as the trade continued, so he increasingly depended on imports from the Nimpkish to the north. He had to treat traders more carefully, to maintain the reputation of Nootka as a safe place to re-provision. As we shall see in the next chapter, when traders began to trade directly with the Nimpkish, Maquinna's economic situation became, in the words of Marshall, "so untenable" that he felt compelled to resort to more "violent measures".¹⁰¹

With larger groups benefitting most from their near-monopolies, it should be little surprise that Clayton has concluded that "in aggregate terms, the maritime fur trade exacerbated inequalities of wealth between the Native groups of central and northern Vancouver Island", although some deprived groups could close this gap by allying with wealthier groups.¹⁰² Nor should it be surprising, with so much wealth and power at stake, that the fur trade appears to have sparked intra-group violence. As Clayton sees it, the

maritime fur trade probably inflamed old grievances and encouraged new conflicts. Indigenous groups were probably fighting over furs, sea otter territories, and access to trade goods. Chiefs also hoped to capture slaves".¹⁰³

And yet, Clayton also makes the point that there were instances where the profitability and structure of the trade may have reduced conflict. For instance, he suggests that having key chiefs as intermediaries likely kept the trade somewhat more orderly.¹⁰⁴ He also cites the example of Maquinna's decision to discourage a retaliatory attack by the Makah on the Spanish in 1792 as a time where economics trumped other considerations.¹⁰⁵ For his part, Reid takes issue with earlier portrayals of the fur trade as a European-driven "looting of coast", noting that violence between competing Nuuchah-nulth groups predated the arrival of European traders. If anything, he concludes, the trade worsened old fault lines, added new sources of conflict, and contributed new tools and strategies to the mix.¹⁰⁶ In other words, the Nuuchah-nulth were also important players in shaping the direction and impact of the trade. As Reid sees it, the rapid and complex way in which Nuuchah-nulth leaders sought to manage the early fur trade for the benefit of themselves and their communities obviously challenges traditional colonial encounter narratives.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the idea that the Nuuchah-nulth were somehow too communitarian to adequately cope with a more property-oriented civilization seems rather misguided, given the evidence just presented.

Clash of Empires: The Spanish & British struggle for Nootka

While traders like Meares were motivated by profit, not grand imperial strategy, it was they who ultimately dragged the west coast of Vancouver Island into the centre of an imperial rivalry that nearly resulted in a world-wide war. Indeed, the sheer success and astounding profits of the maritime fur trade helped spur a showdown between Spain and Britain for control of the newly ‘discovered’ Vancouver Island. In 1788, concerned by reports of British activity and unfounded rumours of a Russian fort being established, Flores, the Viceroy of Mexico, dispatched three naval ships, under the command of a Captain Esteban José Martínez, to assert Spanish sovereignty over Nootka.¹⁰⁸ Martínez was instructed to build relationships with -- and convert -- the local indigenous peoples, while also politely but firmly reminding other Europeans of Spanish claims to the “Port of Santa Cruz de Nuca”, as it was now being called.¹⁰⁹ Anticipating further trouble, the Viceroy also appealed for naval reinforcements from Europe.¹¹⁰ Arriving at Nootka in May 1789 aboard the *Princesa*, Martínez officially claimed the land for Spain and built a small battery overlooking the harbour.

¹¹¹ That he did so without first seeking permission from Maquinna made this arguably the first illegal European seizure of indigenous lands on Vancouver island.

¹¹² It would certainly not be the last.

Martínez then seized three British trading vessels for daring to anchor nearby without seeking official permission.¹¹³ A fourth vessel, dispatched by Meares to build a more permanent trading post at Nootka, was also seized after Martínez rejected its captain’s insistence that they had already acquired the land from the Mowachaht. With these impetuous actions, Martínez sparked an international crisis that would ultimately cement British control over the

Figure 33 - A drawing of the Spanish fortifications at Nootka, c. early 1790s. The Spanish appropriation of Mowachaht land likely represented the first European violation of indigenous title on Vancouver Island.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP00285)

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entire region. The fact that all of the ships seized belonged to Meares' company only made matters worse. Enflaming public opinion with exaggerated reports of what had really occurred, Meares lobbied the British government hard, convincing the Prime

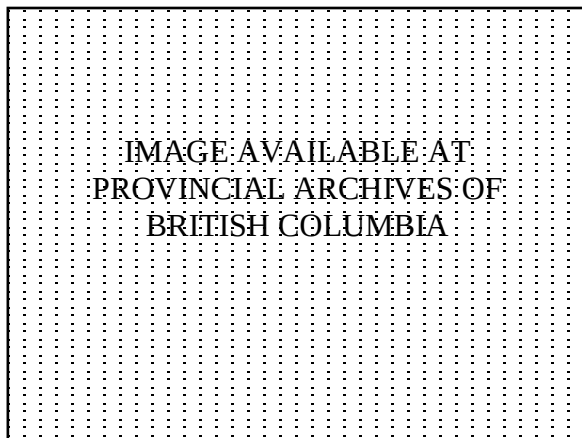


Figure 34 - A British painting from 1791 highlighting “The Spanish Insult To The British Flag At Nootka Sound”. Such images helped to rally the British public behind an imperial showdown over a previously unknown spot on the other side of the world.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP00285)

Minister to stand up for the right of British merchants to trade freely in areas with no pre-existing European settlements.

With neighbouring France descending into the chaos of a revolution, the timing, it turned out, was just right. The Spanish, faced with the prospect of a costly war without the support of their traditional ally, decided to negotiate. Spanish diplomats argued their claims based primarily on treaties and papal decrees, though they also noted Cook's report of silver spoons as evidence of prior visitation.¹¹⁴ The British, however, emphasized the importance of occupation, use and development, highlighting Meares' land acquisition, and contrasting it with Perez's failure to land. More generally, the British portrayed themselves as defenders of international commerce, a crucial ingredient in their empire's continuing growth.¹¹⁵

Interestingly, as they haggled over Nootka, the Spanish and British were effectively objectifying the Pacific as a space to be delineated and carved up, Clayton argues.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, neither side, he suggests, seemed to consider the question of prior indigenous ownership when making their own claims to area.¹¹⁷ Nor, it seems, were any Nuu-chah-nulth leaders involved in, nor even consulted during the process.

While negotiations were ongoing, the Spanish garrison at Nootka was attempting to establish a more permanent, settled presence by trying to grow crops. However, these

efforts were doomed by severe conditions and predators, leading to sickness and near-starvation.¹¹⁸ It would not be the last time that European attempts at agriculture would be defeated by the local environment!

In the end, the so-called “Nootka Crisis” began to be diffused when the Spanish backed down, agreeing in the first Nootka Convention of October 1790 to release Meares’ ships and pay his company significant compensation. The Convention also guaranteed the right of both countries to navigate, fish and trade and establish settlements on unoccupied land in the region.¹¹⁹ Many of the specific details of how this would play out on the ground, however, were left to be settled at a later date. Thus, both sides dispatched representatives to Nootka itself.

While the Spanish officers on the ground in Nootka waited for further instructions, they continued to explore the surrounding coast. On May 5th, 1791, under the leadership of First Lieutenant Don Francisco Eliza and Second Pilot Jose Maria Narvaez, two small ships set sail south to explore Clayoquot Sound further.¹²⁰ After meeting Wickaninnish and cautiously navigating through the rocky channels between Meares, Vargas and Flores, a longboat crew was dispatched to explore along the north shore of Flores. On May 19th, they appear to have entered Sydney Inlet (“Bahai de San Rafael”), where they reported seeing large indigenous settlements on both shorelines. Soon dogged by many canoes full of locals, the surveyors got into a shoot-out, muskets against bows, before retreating north and spending an anxious night in the fog near the entrance to Young Bay. The next morning, fearing a further attack, the Spanish withdrew without any further violence back east down Shelter Arm to rejoin their mother-ships, apparently never discovering how close they came to Hot Springs Cove. This unexpected skirmish, Marshall has suggested, likely reflects the fact that small groups living up on the inlets, further from the initial areas of contact, were less familiar with Europeans, and so tended to be more “hostile, and even violent, on the infrequent occasions when European vessels ventured into their territories”.¹²¹ And yet, exactly a year before, it appears that Spanish officer Quimper had been approached in the entrance to Sydney Inlet by six canoes and had an indigenous leader make “great efforts to have me come to his settlement saying that the anchorage was good and that two vessels had been

there.”¹²² In any case, there is a good chance that the anchorage in question was Hot Springs Cove. And it is equally likely that the two previous vessels mentioned had visited in search of furs.

Spanish representative Captain Bodega y Quadra arrived in April 1792 and immediately set about trying to salvage relations with Maquinna and the Mowachaht. At the height of the Crisis, an angry argument between Spanish officers and Mowachaht leaders led to the accidental killing of a local leader, Callicum, who had been openly critical of the Spanish seizure of ships belonging to trading allies.¹²³ This crucial mistake led to near-constant tension between the Spanish and the indigenous inhabitants of Nootka Sound. These were only partially smoothed over by feasting offered by later Spanish commanders, who lavished gifts on Maquinna, boosting his political legitimacy.¹²⁴ This was fortunate for them, Marshall has argued, because it was Maquinna who would, in 1792, help the new Spanish commander, Quadra, diffuse a planned attack by the Makah intended to avenge the unrelated killing of several canoe-loads of his men by trigger-happy Spaniards in the Salish Sea.¹²⁵

In August 1792, Captain George Vancouver arrived to represent British interests, and thus began a series of negotiations with Quadra. While the two were ultimately unable to finalize many details, their amicable discussions helped create mutual respect, and further diffuse the crisis.¹²⁶ They also led to an agreement about an important new name: “The Island of Quadra and Vancouver”. Meanwhile, back in Europe, the mutual threat to their monarchies posed by the escalating French Revolution began to align Britain and Spanish interests, even as prices of otter pelts dropped due to oversupply, and the prospect of finding a viable northwest passage faded.¹²⁷ By 1794, a Third Nootka Convention had

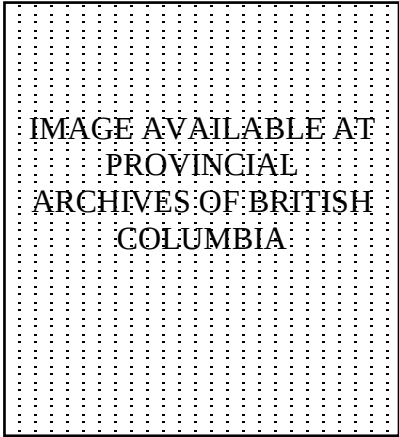


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COLUMBIA

Figure 35 - Captain George Vancouver helped, along with his counter-part, Quadra y Bodega, to diffuse the Nootka Crisis, and was honoured with the (re)naming of the island upon which Hot Springs Cove now sits.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP02252)

been signed in Europe, making Nootka a ‘free port’. Less than a year later, the Spanish abandoned their base at Yuquot, effectively signalling the end of Spanish ambitions in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. In their own minds, the British now considered themselves free to claim the whole of Vancouver Island. That the indigenous peoples of the region might have had other ideas...was not really at top of the European mind.

Mapping, Naming & Imagining: The re-shaping of Vancouver Island as a European ‘Geography of Fear’

While British and Spanish officials were busy settling their differences at Nootka, to the south of Hot Springs cove, the fur trade was entering a more violent phase. Recently released by the Spanish, James Colnett, one of Meares’ ship captains, arrived in Clayoquot Sound in November 1791 only to lose a boat and several crew members in mysterious circumstances.¹²⁸ Suspicious that the Tla-o-qui-aht were somehow involved, Colnett took some of them briefly hostage, which led, in turn, to retaliatory attack by Wickaninnish’s warriors that was driven off by cannon-fire. Into this deteriorating situation sailed American captain Robert Gray in August 1791, back from a circumnavigation of the globe.¹²⁹ With Wickaninnish’s permission, the Americans built a small fortified trading post on Meares Island and proceeded to winter there.

By February 1792, relations had deteriorated to the point that warlike preparations by the neighbouring Tla-o-qui-aht were interpreted as evidence of an imminent attack. After a particular tense night, Gray’s crew abandoned their fort, and left the Sound for good, though not before setting fire to Opitsaht in retaliation.

¹³⁰ ¹³¹ In June, a British trader, William Brown, brutally murdered more than a dozen Tla-o-qui-aht – including a brother of Wickaninnish – when the group refused to trade

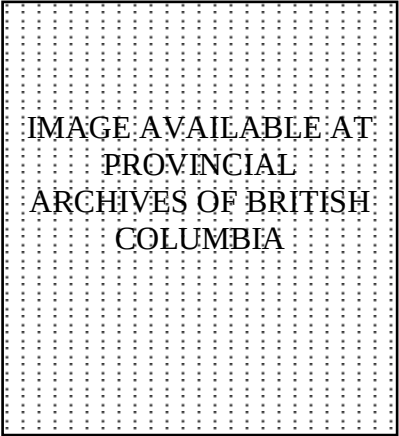


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Figure 36 - Drawing of Gray’s outpost on Meares Island prior to his burning of nearby Opitsaht, c. 1792.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-00349)

with him. By May 1793, Wickaninnish would only assent to trading after an exchange of high-level hostages.¹³² With time, things would get even worse.

Following the conclusion of his negotiations with Quadra, Vancouver moved ahead in 1793 with the other part of his mission: to continue surveying the west coast more deeply, to better determine its potential for trade and settlement, and to definitively rule out the possibility of a northwest passage.¹³³ In the process of his extensive survey-work, Vancouver circumnavigated Vancouver Island, confirming its separation from the mainland. Working their way along the coast near Bella Coola, his survey crews also mapped the same bay where the men of Alexander Mackenzie's expedition, the first Europeans to reach BC's coast overland, would arrive only a few weeks later.¹³⁴ While Europeans like Vancouver were the ones formally mapping the landscape, they were by no means the sole contributors to this process. Layland notes that while maps were not a feature of indigenous culture, there are many examples of how elders realized their significance very quickly and helped contribute info to enrich European maps.¹³⁵ And when European explorers like Mackenzie pushed inland, they often did so using existing trails, and guided by knowledgeable local indigenous peoples.¹³⁶

Many historians have focussed on the remarkable ambition and accuracy of Vancouver's survey work. Clayton points out that his legacy, however, was not merely practical or scientific – it was also very political.¹³⁷ It helped push forward the colonization process and further undermine Spanish claims to the region. Combined with the establishment of the first HBC trading posts on the mainland, Vancouver's circumnavigation provided the British with a strong case for holding onto Vancouver Island as they negotiated the later Nootka Conventions.¹³⁸ As Clayton puts it, Vancouver's survey made Vancouver Island *British* – not Spanish or American – by framing the nearby coast as a distinctly British, scientific domain.¹³⁹

When Vancouver sent of his charts to the British Admiralty, along with supporting Spanish source materials, only 16 of the many Spanish names were ultimately preserved on future British maps.¹⁴⁰ Over time, even the name of the massive island that the Spanish and British had jointly explored, had dropped the word “Quadra” and become

anglicized. Indeed, by 1825, the Hudson's Bay Company was referring to it merely as "Vancouver's Island".¹⁴¹

The fact that Vancouver recorded relatively few indigenous names or settlements on his charts was, Clayton argues, because he was primarily interested in surveying the sea.¹⁴² Another reason that early explorers tended to avoid adopting local names, cartographer Michael Layland argues, was the sheer variety of names for the same locations in different dialects – dialects that the explorers did not have the time to properly learn or distinguish.¹⁴³ Layland suggests that the astonishing variety of spellings for local place names that is evident in European accounts can be attributed to the poor European ear for local language, as well as their very limited ability to understand the complex cultures they were encountering.¹⁴⁴ However, Clayton also notes that the early European reluctance to adopt indigenous names may also have been connected to a desire to assert a sense of 'Britishness' on the landscape.¹⁴⁵ To Clayton, Vancouver's surveys were also a key early step in appropriation of indigenous spaces,¹⁴⁶ shaping what another historian, Brian Harley has called termed a "anticipatory geography of colonialism".¹⁴⁷ In other words, by working hard to label the landscape, the British were beginning the mental shift towards a colonial landscape that belonged, psychologically, to the colonizers, not those who were already there. Indeed, as Clayton and others put it, "to map an area is to appropriate it".¹⁴⁸ In other words, place names serve cultural and historical roles; strip them away and whole layers of knowledge and meaning are threatened.

While the coastline around Hot Springs Cove was steadily becoming an increasingly British space, the local maritime fur trade, by contrast, was becoming increasingly American. Unlike the Russians, handicapped by set prices, and the British, who had to contend with their own monopolies, the Americans, Reid suggests, were able to more flexibly respond to market conditions.¹⁴⁹ As a result, by 1800, Clayton suggests, the trade was dominated by the "Boston Men".¹⁵⁰ Compared with eight American ships operating that year on the coast, there was apparently only one British vessel. The following year, the ratio was twenty to three.^{151 152}

American, British or otherwise, it is evident that these traders were facilitating a wholly unsustainable harvest. Indeed, as British and Spanish were finalizing the fate of Nootka, in the early 1790s, the maritime fur trade in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove was arguably reaching its peak, with tens of thousands of otters being slaughtered to feed demand of the 20 or more vessels visiting the coast annually.¹⁵³ The consequences of this overexploitation were already starting to be felt in Nootka, and would lead, within two decades, to the complete collapse of the trade.

As the local maritime fur trade became increasingly violent in the 1790s, European perceptions of the west coast were also, it seems, undergoing a subtle shift. What had initially been a landscape of scientific wonder and economic opportunity was becoming more sinister. Growing reports of violence increasingly created a “geography of fear” in the minds of traders, as Reid puts it.¹⁵⁴ In part, Clayton suggests, traders fell victim to their own misperceptions. As he sees it, traders tended to generate self-serving stories about the violence and unpredictability of local indigenous peoples.¹⁵⁵ Traders, he argues, often lied to superiors and each other about trade values, profits and the behaviours of indigenous people for competitive advantages.¹⁵⁶ When Meares encountered Gray, for instance, he tried to scare the American trader away from the well-stocked Tla-o-qui-aht with exaggerated stories of their savagery.¹⁵⁷ And even when traders thought they were authentically recounting indigenous behaviour and intentions, these observations, Clayton argues, were often “mediated” by their own deep-seated fears and anxieties.¹⁵⁸

In addition to miscommunication, clashing cultural norms also helped foster mistrust. Differing views on property and theft were a particular source of conflict. Frequent incidents of theft by indigenous traders enraged Europeans, Kirk suggests, often leaving them with a “righteous need to punish [the] Indians who boarded their ships and made off with cutlery or other small items”.¹⁵⁹ While their own societies were highly proprietary, and theft therefore unacceptable, the Nuu-chah-nulth likely considered Europeans as being “outside the native family system and codes of shame and retaliation”. Thus, they may have seen little wrong in taking what the Europeans obviously could not protect.¹⁶⁰ Harsh reactions from European traders, who sometimes

took hostages or even bombarded villages as retaliation (or until items were returned) further eroded trust.¹⁶¹

Some of the violence may be attributed to the fleeting nature of the typical trading relationship. As Clayton points out, few traders came to the coast more than twice, meaning that they did not have the same opportunity to develop lasting relationship as did their land-based counterparts belonging to the HBC.¹⁶² The implication being: they could resort to more coercive or misleading practices in the short-term. Indeed, when violence did erupt, it could often be attributed, at least in part, to impetuous or highly disrespectful behaviour on the part of European traders. As we have seen, this appears to have been the case with Colnett and Brown in the early 1790s, and would again be a factor in the coming attack on the Tonquin in 1811.

And yet, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders also clearly played a role in precipitating some of the violence. Clayton believes that they were already playing “nuanced commercial games” with traders, and suggests that attacks on attack on trading vessels show that the Nuu-chah-nulth “did not shy away from conflict just because traders had greater firepower.”¹⁶³ While traders were quick to point to revenge as the motivation for such attacks, Marshall suggest that this reflect their reliance on a classic colonial trope. Instead, she notes that “revenge was not obligatory in Nuu-chah-nulth society”, and argues that, as a result, any “chief’s response to any attack or insult was always open to negotiation”. If anything, she concludes, revenge may have sometimes been used as a “mere pretext” for an attack motivated by other, more strategic considerations.¹⁶⁴ In other words, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders were willing to undertake pre-meditated violence in cases where they felt their communities could benefit. The result, Clayton suggests, was that traders learned to be on their guard and were often easily

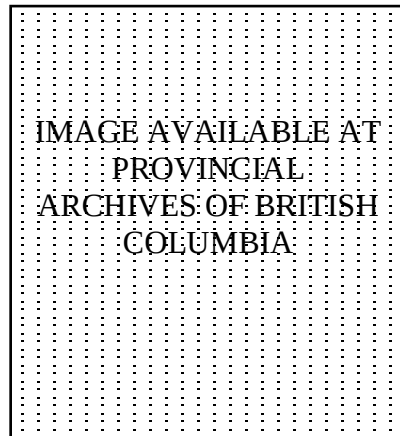


Figure 37 - Contemporary artist’s representation of the Tla-o-qui-aht attack on the Tonquin, c.1811. Words like “massacre” and “savages” helped promote a sense of a “geography of fear” in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-04334)

incited to violence; despite being very well-armed, they grew to believe that they could never really trust their indigenous counterparts.¹⁶⁵ In such an environment of miscommunication, misperception, misrepresentation, misbehaviour, mistrust and strategic acts of violence, it is perhaps little wonder, then that the European mind came increasingly to think of the shores in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove as a landscape of fear and danger, inhabited by a “savage”, “inferior” Other, as Clayton puts it.¹⁶⁶

The events of the early maritime fur trade also arguably contributed to the colonial conceptualization of an indigenous “other” in another way as well. Building upon the Enlightenment trope of the ‘noble’ (but unsophisticated) ‘savage’, European observations of their Nuuchah-nulth trading partners were unwittingly influenced, Clayton suggests, by European notions of capitalism.¹⁶⁷ Traders were therefore, he argues, predisposed to perceiving the Nuuchah-nulth as “fickle savages who were locked into societies characterized by low levels of technological achievement and should naturally desire Western goods”.¹⁶⁸ In an effort to assert their superiority, Clayton suggest that European traders sub-consciously belittled the Nuuchah-nulth for failing, apparently, to grasp the true extent of the global economy, and for selling their furs too cheaply as a result, thus allowing the Europeans to reap inordinate profits.¹⁶⁹ Far from being overwhelmed or dominated by capitalism, however, Clayton points out that the Nuuchah-nulth had effectively incorporated the traders and their goods into their own economic environment and turned them to their own advantage.¹⁷⁰

A similar misinterpretation was likely, he suggests, behind the tendency of traders to perceive the Nuuchah-nulth as both fickle and whimsical in their trading tastes. This, Clayton argues, is a “Western fantasy” that fails to register the context-appropriate logic of indigenous choices.¹⁷¹ Given their European mindsets, Clayton posits that the traders simply did not appreciate that the Nuuchah-nulth were merely operating by their own set of economic, political and social agendas. While Clayton concludes that the individual experiences of some particularly thoughtful traders may have led to question these emerging colonial stereotypes, there is little doubt that they continued to deepen as time went on.¹⁷² Slowly, the groundwork of formal colonization was being laid, piece by piece.

CHAPTER SUMMARY: Contact, Colonizing & Adaptation

Over mere two decades, from the mid-1770s to the mid-1790s, first contact between the European and Nuu-chah-nulth worlds initiated a series of profound changes in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. It went from being an entirely indigenous space, to a place undergoing the first subtle yet insidious phases of colonization.

While the first European forays along the west coast were driven more by enlightenment exploration and imperial strategy, economic considerations soon came to dominate, as a highly lucrative maritime fur trade exploded most unexpectedly. The wealth to be made from trading furs to the Europeans encouraged subtle shifts in Nuu-chah-nulth resource gathering and initiated a pattern of resource over-exploitation on a scale likely never before seen in or around the Cove. The influx of wealth created political opportunities, encouraged violence, and heightened tensions among the Nuu-chah-nulth, even as it initially enriched the artistry and material lifestyles of many.

Far from being overwhelmed or victimized by the arrival of European traders, however, indigenous groups adapted to – or more accurately, integrated – the fur trade in ways that surprised Europeans, challenging their preconceptions of unsophisticated primitives. Their sophisticated trading practices and networks, as well as military strength, allowed them to effectively exploit the trade while attempting to minimize European advantages. They also effectively played European traders off against each other, and even sought to take advantage of the imperial struggle for Nootka between Spanish and British. Particularly powerful Nuu-chah-nulth leaders like Wickaninnish and Maquina sought to manage trade to their own advantage, while more marginal groups, such as the Manhousaht, likely struggled to keep pace with the larger neighbours. The Nuu-chah-nulth also took advantage of new tools and technologies, adapting them into lifestyles and being able to improve traditional activities such as carving or hunting.

Initially, most European explorers appear to have been excited by the potential offered by the landscape and inhabitants of Vancouver Island, who they sought to trade with and study. Over time, however, the violence of the fur trade helped promote a ‘geography of fear’ for Europeans in and around Hot Springs Cove, which they began to conceive of a dangerous place full of lurking threats. And yet, at the same time, the sheer

wealth to be made in the early fur trade made the coast in and around Hot Springs Cove the epicentre of a veritable gold-rush that would attract enterprising and often ruthless traders from around the world.

Spanish moves to claim the land north of Hot Springs Cove, and the subsequent diplomatic wrangling with Britain that led to the Nootka Convention provided the British with the sense of political sovereignty over Vancouver Island, setting the Cove more firmly on path towards actual colonial settlement.

In a pattern typical of British colonization, the first steps in the imperial takeover of Vancouver were more the product of enlightenment curiosity and economic forces than grand imperial strategy. And yet, astounding profits, competition from Spain, and pressure from outspoken traders focussed British attention on the area. After a tense imperial showdown born in the waters just north of Hot Springs Cove, the British came to assume their sovereignty over the entire region, albeit without consulting the people who already lived there. Throughout this period, the European process of mapping and naming the landscaping, begun by the likes of Vancouver and Perez, allowed Europeans to grapple with the scale, potential opportunities and challenges of landscape they had ‘discovered’. It also laid conceptual and intellectual foundations for formal colonization, and began process of marginalizing Nuu-chah-nulth historical and cultural connections with and ownership over place.

First contact and the ensuing fur trade plugged Hot Springs Cove into not just European imperial project, but also worldwide economic system, two interrelated forces that would drive forward the colonization process. Desirous of continuing the flow of European goods, Nuu-chah-nulth now under influence of macro-economic forces that would soon profoundly impact their lives with the eventual decline of trade. Meanwhile, the active, if unwitting colonial construction of an indigenous “other” was also progressing. By imposing their own assumptions and prejudices upon the Nuu-chah-nulth, European traders and explorers began the process of “othering” them, establishing superiority in their own minds, an essential, foundational step in the process of justifying future colonialism.

Although Hot Springs Cove may have remained a wholly indigenous place in the minds of its own inhabitants at the end of the 1700s, the status of the region was already beginning to shift in the European mind. Indeed, the two decades of intense exploration, fur-trading, and geopolitical wrangling by the British, Spanish and Americans that followed contact helped define Vancouver Island in the European mind, and place the coast on the wider world map.¹⁷³ Hot Springs Cove, it seemed, was well on the path to becoming a colonial space.

CHAPTER 3 – ‘Conflict & Colonization’: European Authority & Nuu-chah-nulth Consolidation.

(1800-1870sCE)

“The extent of the catastrophe was apparent even from the landscape itself: surveying the coast, he noted the many green patches where nettles had overtaken abandoned village sites...”

-Summary of observations by Captain Richards, Royal Navy Surveyor, 1861.¹

“The violent shelling of Ahousat communities in response to their killing of an unscrupulous liquor trader left the Ahousaht angry but proud of their “big victory over the man-of-war and big guns...”

-Summary of account by Catholic Missionary Augustus Brabant.²

Introduction: An Era of Profound Change

There can be no doubt that the arrival of Europeans on the west coast signalled the beginning of a profound shift in the economic, political and cultural lives of the indigenous groups who lived in and around Hot Springs Cove. However, the Cove itself would not become a truly contested space until the middle of the 1800s, when the Ahousahts absorbed the Manhousahts, inheriting their claim to the area. It was during this period, as well, that the foundations of later European occupation were further solidifying, from afar, on the chart table, in colonial corridors of power, and in the European mind.

While the early maritime fur trade had connected the coastline around Hot Springs Cove into the global economy and introduced new products and technologies to local indigenous groups, it was actually the decline of this trade that triggered more profound and tumultuous change. Sheer demand had led to overexploitation of sea otter populations, and as the supply dried up in the first decades of the 1800s, so too did European interest in the area. Local indigenous peoples were forced, as a result, to adapt and reorient in search of new economic opportunities, leading to the emergence of a host of new resource activities. The decline of the fur trade also exacerbated competition

between neighbouring groups. With deadly European diseases beginning to appear, some communities began to shrink, while others took advantage of the upheavals to expand their power. This led to an intense period of inter-group conflict and, ultimately, consolidation into the Nuu-chah-nulth groupings that exist today. Although the decline of the trade had also initially weakened British interest in colonizing the coast, the growing American influence in the Pacific North West led to a reorientation, too, of British policy towards Vancouver Island. In an effort to build a more robust and permanent presence, British officials began to develop colonial infrastructure and encourage European settlement, beginning in the south. Treaties, surveys, property laws and gunboats would soon follow, as the colonizers sought to reinforce their sovereignty over the landscape. The European gaze, too, increasingly perceived the diverse resource potential around them, further accelerating colonization.

‘Too Much of a Good Thing?’ – Political & Economic destabilization result from decline of Fur Trade

As explosive and unsettling as the early maritime fur trade might have seemed, it would be a mistake to conclude that it immediately transformed everyday life for the human inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove. New tools were likely integrated into existing ways of living, and traditional economic activities were not completely abandoned in favour of the otter hunt. Rather, it was the decline of this trade, beginning in the late 1790s, that ultimately triggered the most profound changes. The scope of change would be magnified by a wave of epidemics that would eventually sweep along the coast, further weakening local indigenous communities.

The sheer profitability of the otter trade surely guaranteed its unsustainability; with so many European traders vying for their pelts, the animals were inevitably overhunted. In hindsight, the numbers make this plain: between 1790-1818, an estimated 300,000 otter pelts were harvested on the North West Coast and traded to buyers in China.³ As local stocks were hunted to extinction, the geographic focus of the trade began to shift as well. Between 1780s-1790s, most trading continued to focus on the west coast of Vancouver Island. However, as the supply of furs began to dry up between 1800 and

1805, first at Nootka, then in an ever-widening area, traders began to abandon the coastline, preferring to steer south to Neah Bay, or north, to Nawitti on the northern tip of Vancouver Island, and beyond, where the animals were still relatively plentiful.⁴

In the short term, this precipitous decline increased pressure on Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs whose prestige had benefited greatly from the brisk trade. Diminishing profits reduced the resources at their disposal, and raised question about their legitimacy. Maquinna was left in a particularly precarious position; but even in southern Clayoquot, where more otters could still be found, Reid argues that the Tla-o-qui-aht “chiefs would have also worried about their waning influence in the borderlands”.⁵ Indeed, concerns over “chiefly power and prestige”⁶ are likely to have played a role in encouraging opportunistic attacks by the Mowachaht on the American trading vessel *Boston* in 1805, and by the Tla-o-qui-aht on the *Tonquin* in 1811. While the latter attack ended horrifically after the *Tonquin*’s magazine exploded, killing scores of Tla-o-qui-aht, the earlier seizure of the *Boston* had earned Maquinna a shipful of trade goods and muskets, along with two European slaves.⁷ One of those captured, John Jewitt, reported grand celebrations that Reid interprets as “carefully crafted displays [that] illustrated to all that Maquinna and his lineage still held enough power to control space on his own terms”.⁸ While such attacks may have helped Maquinna and others to temporarily shore up their influence, the longer-term impact was likely counterproductive.

News reports about the *Tonquin* and Jewitt’s well-known memoir, published in 1817, popularized the violence in a way that shaped European views of the area for the next two hundred years.⁹ As Reid sees it, the attacks “clarified for a non-natives a geography of fear for the West Coast of Vancouver island, which contributed to reorienting the maritime fur trade away from these coastal villages”, bolstering the position of the Makah and more northerly indigenous groups at the expense of the rest of the Nuu-chah-nulth.¹⁰

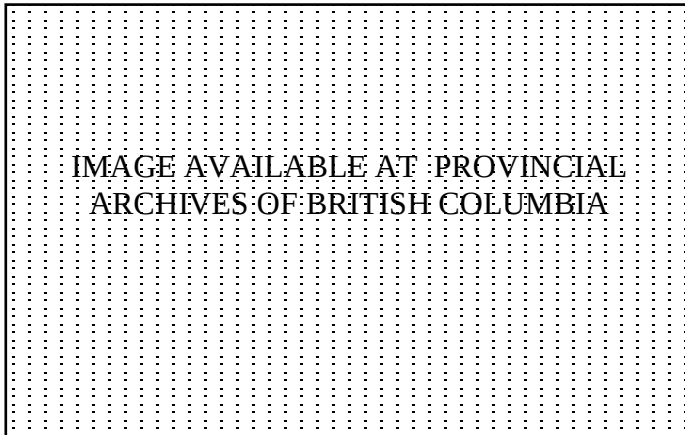


Figure 38 - A contemporary European sketch with a telling name: “The Ship Boston taken by the savages at Nootka Sound.”

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-07638)

The further decline of the fur trade in Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds after 1811 set the stage for a number of other profound economic, social and political upheavals, and ushered in half a century of intense inter-group conflict along the coast of Vancouver Island. In the words of Marshall, it unleashed an “extended period of widespread conflict, territorial displacement and sociopolitical fragmentation.”¹¹ It appears that the delicate political order that had helped maintain relative peace in the region began to break down as Maquinna’s prestige inevitably waned in concert with his ability to provide resources to his followers. Up to this point, Marshall argues, Maquinna had, as the highest ranking leader on the west coast of the island, acted as a stabilizing influence, discouraging conflicts and aggression among his neighbours.¹² Now, however, Wickaninnish and the Tla-o-qui-aht appeared ascendant since they could still hunt otters in Southern Clayoquot, were enjoying greater success with whaling, and had easier access to the new nexus of European trade at Neah Bay.¹³ Marshall argues that Wickaninnish’s enhanced status relative to Maquinna fed his ambition, leading him to embark on a series of destabilising actions in the mid-1800s.¹⁴ More generally, Marshall argues, the growing toll of warfare and European diseases on many top-ranking leaders also allowed the emergence of a younger, and more aggressive generation of Nuuchah-nulth war-leaders to emerge, helping to encourage a wave of conflict to come.¹⁵

Confederation, Amalgamation, Absorption & Annihilation: Different Socio-Political Responses in an Era of Conflict.

With the otter hunt no longer a viable economic foundation, Nuuchah-nulth attention appears to have refocussed, at least for a while, on sealing, whaling and salmon harvesting. Competition over these three traditional resources, in turn, led to a series of aggressive wars, as neighbouring groups fought for control, often after amalgamating or forming alliances. In turn, as the century progressed, the slow decline of sealing and whaling contributed, Marshall believes, to a greater “reliance on resources harvested in the protected waters of the sounds and inlets” during this period.¹⁶ Control of salmon streams, in particular, became increasingly crucial.¹⁷ To the north, for example, in Nootka, declining success with whaling and outer coast resources led Mowachaht leaders to look inshore. Indeed, an elderly Maquinna was killed in the late 1820s as he led a raid intended to wipe out a Muchalat village and capture their nearby salmon river.¹⁸ Sometime after his death, the existing Yuquot-Tahsis Confederacy joined forces with other nearby groups to form the larger Mowachat Confederacy. Between the 1840s and 1870s, they fought to seize rich salmon streams from their independent Muchalat neighbours.^{19 20}

Immediately south of Nootka, major socio-political changes were also afoot among the Hesquiaht. Unlike their more northerly Nootkan neighbours, the five Hesquiaht local groups had continued to function as independent communities for decades after contact.²¹ However, in the mid-1800s, a number of factors led to their collective amalgamation. During this period, the most powerful group, the Kiqinath, well-situated inside Hesquiaht Harbour, appear to have amalgamated and moved in with their weaker neighbours, the Haimai’isath, after killing their chief.²² This combined winter village at Heckwi would eventually become the modern Hesquiaht village site.²³ Around the same time, another inside group, the Ma’apiath, moved into Heckwi after their large and prosperous village was decimated by an Ahousaht raiding party.²⁴ Over

the next few decades, the remaining local groups eventually joined them, as part of what Haggarty argues was a typical tribal formation process.^{25 26}



Figure 39 – Map of the Nuu-chah-nulth local groups that would amalgamate into the modern Hesquiaht after Contact.

(Map by David Lynch)

To the south of the Hesquiaht, the Ahousaht were in the midst of a major shift as well, as they embarked on an ambitious campaign of expansion sometime in the 1840s or 1850s.²⁷ Finding their outer coast location on Vargas insufficient to support their relatively large population, the Ahousahts decided to widen their resource base by conquering territory from their neighbours.²⁸ Their strategy, Drucker suggests, was to “exterminate the inside people so that they could seize their salmon streams”. To this end, he claims, the Ahousahts “undertook a systemic series of wars against groups living in Herbert Inlet, North Arm, Shelter Arm and Sydney Inlet”.²⁹ Initially, it appears that Ahousaht leaders intended to provoke war with the Tla-o-qui-aht to the south, but they

ultimately chose to target the Otsosahts because they controlled more salmon-bearing rivers.³⁰ The Otsosahts were based predominantly on Flores Island, though their territory likely stretched south from Hesquiaht, past Hot Springs Cove, all the way to Catface Point, and included Sydney Inlet and Bedwell Sound.³¹



Figure 40 - Nuuchah-nulth groups in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, just prior to Ahousaht expansion in the mid-1800s.

(Map by David Lynch)

How exactly the fighting began remains a source of debate.³² Marshall suggests that the top ranking Ahousaht leader at the time may have been initially opposed to a conflict, while the second-ranking war leader pushed for one.³³ Webster suggest that the Ahousahts provoked the war by ambushing an Otsosaht hunting party and then played up the torture of one captured Ahousaht to unite the people behind the war.³⁴ Kirk suggests that an initial effort was made to gain fishing rights by seeking a high-level marriage with an Otsosaht noblewoman. When the union failed to produce the desired access, quarrels soon led to its dissolution, and the ramping up of tensions and insults that ultimately descended into warfare.³⁵ The conflict ultimately raged on for 14 years before the Ahousahts were able to triumph over the Otsosahts in a final battle near Rafael Point.^{36 37}

Although the Otsosahts may have initially received support from the Tla-o-qui-aht as part of their strategy of strategic meddling, their allies appear to have later turned on them in retaliation for a murder of one of their own.³⁸ The Ahousahts also likely benefited from the advantage of firearms acquired through trade from Nootka Sound.^{39 40} Defeated, most of the surviving Otsosahts fled rather than be captured, some ending up as far away as Washington and Orgeon, while others may have been absorbed into the Hesquiaht, with whom they had kinship ties.⁴¹ As Drucker understood it, the Otsosahts were “essentially exterminated in a war with Ahousahts, who quickly took over their territory”.⁴² Over time, the Otsosaht village site of Marktosis (Maaqtusiis) would be transformed into the modern-day community of Ahousat.^{43 44}

In the process of conquering the Otsosahts, the Ahousahts appear to have also fundamentally reshaped the indigenous dynamic in Hot Springs Cove. As part of their campaign, the Ahousaht apparently launched a surprise attack on the Manhousaht, effectively decimating them. According to Indian Agent Gilbert Sproat, a census conducted in 1860 reported that the Manhousaht were reduced to five adult males.⁴⁵

In the wake of this conflict, the surviving Manhousahts appear to have been taken in by the Ahousaht, largely abandoning Sydney Inlet and relocating to existing Ahousaht communities to the south. Their traditional territory, as well, was apparently absorbed by the victors.⁴⁶ Webster is uncertain whether Contact or its repercussions precipitated the Ahousaht expansion; however, from the Tla-o-qui-aht example, it seems clear that it was

not unusual for Nuu-chah-nulth groups to attempt such a campaign even before Contact.⁴⁷ Likely, though, the instability caused by the decline of the trade offered a unique opportunity that the Ahousahts sought to exploit.

As the Ahousaht were extending their influence inshore and north-west up to Hot Springs Cove, the Tla-o-qui-aht opted for a different strategy based on their unique situation. At the outset of the 1800s, they were already well situated with what Marshall calls a “suite of resources” from both inner and outer coast territories.⁴⁸ Presumably, this reduced the pressure on them to aggressively expand like their Ahousaht neighbours. As a result, Marshall argues, they mostly “stood ominously on the sidelines” during most of the internecine warfare in the mid-1800s, opting, instead, for “small but strategic interventions [that] contributed to the general instability of their neighbours and created an political environment in which their own power and authority could grow unchallenged”.⁴⁹ In other words, Marshall theorizes that the Tla-o-qui-aht were intentionally trying to destabilize their neighbours in order to increase their own territories.⁵⁰ Certainly, this would help account for their temporary intervention in the Ahousaht/Otsosaht conflict. It could also explain their decision, in 1855, to gather allies and raid the Kyuoquot to the north, in what would be remembered as the last major indigenous battle on the coast.⁵¹

While Nicholson cited revenge as their motivation, Marshall argues that the Tla-o-qui-aht decision to unite with the Mowachaht and Hesquiaht to attack the Kyuoquot was less about territory, however, and more about acquiring further political prestige.⁵² With Maquinna marginalized and other areas in turmoil, the Kyuoquot were their only comparable rivals; this campaign, therefore, was an effort to gain complete domination over entire coast.⁵³ When their first attack failed, and the Kyuoquot strategically refrained from retaliation, the Tla-o-qui-aht were unable to maintain their alliance.⁵⁴ Marshall argues that the Kyuoquot commitment to “consensual, negotiated political policies and actions”, combined with a general Nuu-chah-nulth aversion to authoritarian, autocratic leadership, was enough to erode support for a continuation of the conflict.⁵⁵ It may also have signalled a key turning point in Nuu-chah-nulth relations. Ultimately, it appears that the Tla-o-qui-aht, thanks to their ideal geographic position and non-

intervention, did not experience any major territorial changes, and were thus able to continue their traditional seasonal round patterns throughout the rest of the century.⁵⁶

In hindsight, these patterns described above, of violence by outside groups (such as the Ahousaht) moving in, and the reduction of independent groups through amalgamation (like the Hesquiaht) was not unique; rather, archeologists have noted a similar history in Barkley Sound.⁵⁷ Marshall theorizes that, during this period, smaller, independent groups were more vulnerable than confederacies, both to profound economic changes, and to pressure from powerful neighbours.⁵⁸

Unseen Invaders: European Diseases ravage the Local Indigenous Population

The socio-political and economic instability unleashed in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove by the decline of the fur trade was further exacerbated by a far more insidious threat: European diseases, for which indigenous inhabitants had little immunity and no vaccines. Tuberculosis, scarlet fever, influenza and measles all took their toll, but smallpox ultimately proved most devastating, sweeping through in the early 1860s.⁵⁹⁶⁰ The results were devastating: from its pre-contact figure of 250,000+ in the mid 1700s, BC's indigenous population had declined precipitously to 100,000 by 1835, and would continue to do so for many decades more.⁶¹ Hesquiaht elder Alice Paul, for instance, recalled her mother picking up Measles while hop-picking in Washington early in 20th century.⁶² While there is no evidence of any intentional European efforts to spread these diseases, it could be argued that certain policy decisions – such as the knee-jerk reaction by Colonial authorities to send indigenous people home when smallpox was identified in Victoria in 1862—only worsened the situation.⁶³ Later in the period, some efforts were made to give out smallpox vaccines, such as at Fort Rupert in 1861, but they were localized and appeared to have little effect on larger tragedy.⁶⁴

The extent of the catastrophe was apparent even from the landscape itself: surveying the coast in Barkley Sound in 1861, Captain Richards noted the many green patches where nettles had overtaken abandoned village sites.⁶⁵ And that was before perhaps the most devastating wave of smallpox, in 1862-63, which killed an estimated

32,000 province-wide, amounting to 60% reduction in the indigenous population.⁶⁶ Ultimately, epidemics are estimated to have killed around half of the Nuu-chah-nulth population.⁶⁷ According to Sproat, by 1860, the Hesquiaht had only 30 adult males left, while the Ahousaht were reduced to 115 and the Tla-o-qui-aht, 190.⁶⁸

It is difficult to overstate the devastation that these deaths wrought. Not only did whole villages die off, but so too did many “specialists”, sometimes before they could pass along their specialties, leading to the loss of traditional knowledge; across BC, several languages were lost entirely and much medicinal plant knowledge was gone forever.⁶⁹ Dwindling populations also reduced the labour force, which had a knock-on effect for subsistence patterns, making it impossible for some to continue their seasonal rounds.⁷⁰ The impact on social organization was also profound – once clear hierarchies now blurred.⁷¹ Some surviving family members, in the words of Kirk, “lacked strength to hand down rank” and many communities “faced chaos within own systems of rank”.⁷²



Figure 41 - The thicket of salmonberry bushes that have engulfed the old Manhousaht village site on the Openit Peninsula brings to mind the signs of an emptied landscape that Capt. Richards must have encountered during his survey work in the 1860s.

(Image by David Lynch)

This precipitous population decline also crippled the ability of indigenous groups to push back against growing European encroachment. As Reid puts it: when the Nuu-chah-nulth “confronted settler-colonial power in mid nineteenth century, they did so with fewer people than when they encountered maritime fur traders”.⁷³ Kirk echoes this characterization, concluding that, to “some extent it was a society of broken souls and

minds that missionaries and government officials set about reshaping and administering”.⁷⁴

Life After the Otter: Indigenous Adaptation Reshapes West Coast Economy

From the 1820s through the 1840s, the West Coast of Vancouver Island, once the focal point of a roaring global trade, was largely abandoned by European ships, forcing the people of Clayoquot Sound to either trade through intermediaries, or travel significant distances to the north or south in search of European trade. It was only in the 1850s that small European trading vessels began to return more consistently, doing coastal runs once or twice a year, often in the autumn.⁷⁵ Local indigenous entrepreneurs adapted to this new economic reality by diversifying the products on offer to traders, to include not only furs, but also berries, and various oils made from dogfish, seals and whales, which communities would render over the slower winter months.⁷⁶

Dogfish oil, in particular, emerged as a lucrative new industry in the 1850s, as Europeans began to use the oil as a lubricant for logging skid roads and machinery, mining lamps and even early lighthouses.⁷⁷ It was, Kirk argues, “one of the few instances where traditional skill fit into the new opportunities and realities of the era”.⁷⁸ Initially, Nuu-chah-nulth leaders traded the oil to the visiting schooners, following the same basic protocols, with negotiations conducted by chiefs upon completion of traditional ceremonies.⁷⁹ They soon adapted to the growing demand by harvesting and processing more aggressively, even as more independent European traders rushed to join the profitable trade. According to Governor Douglas, in 1855 alone, traders had purchased an estimated 46,000L.⁸⁰ The trade, which continued well into the early 1900s, was profitable and competitive enough to lead to the murder of a handful of European and indigenous traders and several inter-group skirmishes in the 1850s and 1860s between, among others, the Kyuoquot and Tla-o-qui-aht.⁸¹

By the 1860s, while small trading schooners like John Christensen’s “Surprise” continued to ply the local waters, the establishment of the first permanent European trading posts along the West Coast of Vancouver Island gave indigenous producers new

places to trade for food staples and manufactured goods.⁸² Not all trade was European-indigenous, however. Rather, active trading in the 1850s and 1860s was noted between Ahousahts and Tla-o-qui-aht and groups as far away as the Makah of Washington.⁸³ And similar to their European counterparts, indigenous traders also contributed to the European economy by travelling along the coast, collecting goods like fish, furs and oil and trading them in Victoria, as well as bringing indigenous art to Victoria to be sold to meet the burgeoning demand for ‘curios’.⁸⁴

Around this time, local European traders became increasingly aware of another potentially lucrative harvest: fur seal pelts. Sealing had long been a traditional Nuu-chah-nulth activity, with fur seals particularly prized not only for their utilitarian furs and skins, but also their meat, which was considered a delicacy. For centuries, Nuu-chah-nulth hunters had paddled scores of kilometers off-shore to places like La Pérouse Bank to harvest the animals, who migrated by in the early spring well off-shore on their way north to rookeries in Alaska.⁸⁵ However, after Russians discovered the rookeries in the 1790s and slaughtered millions of the animals over the next few decades, the population had shrunk significantly, to the point where strict conservation measures were imposed. By the 1860s, the stocks had recovered remarkably, swelling the numbers migrating past places like Hot Springs Cove.⁸⁶ In 1868, at the orders of his employer, William Spring, Captain Christensen arranged to take 12 Tla-o-qui-aht hunters off-shore, using his schooner *Surprise* as a mother ship.^{87 88} By the 1870s, this pioneering collaboration had kicked off a lucrative new international trade based out of Victoria which would continue for more than 40 years. It arguably stabilized the struggling colonial economy and transitioned the Nuu-chah-nulth from an economy based on barter towards currency and wage-labour.⁸⁹

Commercial European whaling was another industry that would have come to affect life in Hotsprings by the mid-1800s. As with sealing, the Nuu-chah-nulth had long history of hunting Grey and Humpback whales for their own use and for trading with neighbouring groups.⁹⁰ But it was European whalers, hunting off the coast of Alaska, who ignited a “golden age” of European whaling in the mid-1830s when they took their first Right Whale (so named for its ease of capture and ideal oil content).⁹¹ The American

whaling fleet, based primarily on the Eastern Seaboard, quickly swelled as the textile mills of the Industrial Revolution demanded ever greater quantities of lubricants.⁹² As the decades progressed, the Nuu-chah-nulth began to be impacted by European overhunting; as the population of migrating Humpback whales declined, Nuu-chah-nulth hunters had to increasingly hunt the more ferocious and less desirable Grey Whales.⁹³ It would not be long before the Nuu-chah-nulth, experienced “commercial” whalers in their own right, would integrate themselves into the increasingly lucrative European whaling industry.⁹⁴

‘Making it a British Isle’: International Negotiations, Indigenous Treaties & European Surveys Assert British Sovereignty over Vancouver Island

While the Nuu-chah-nulth were grappling with profound changes unleashed by the decline of the fur trade, key decisions were being made -- hundreds and thousands of miles away -- that would determine the shape of the colonization to come. For a period in the 1810s, however, it appeared as if the British would lose interest in Vancouver Island. Despite the success of the Nootka Convention, explorations by Vancouver and Alexander Mackenzie seemed to disprove, once and for all, the existence of a viable Northwest Passage, eliminating one of the driving interests of early British exploration.⁹⁵ By the start of the 1820s, with the maritime fur trade all but gone from west coast of the Island, British interest seemed set to wane.⁹⁶ However, the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine and the growing cries of “Manifest Destiny” emanating from the United States convinced British strategists that they must either commit meaningfully to colonization, or risk losing their claim to Western North America.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, under the ambitious leadership of George Simpson, the newly merged Hudson’s Bay Company began expanding beyond the Rockies, establishing more than a dozen new trading posts in an effort to access new fur stocks.⁹⁸ The Company also began deploying ships as mobile trading posts, such as the *SS Beaver*, a paddlewheel steamer launched in 1836, and operated out of the company’s regional headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River.⁹⁹ The discovery, later that year, of coal deposits on northern Vancouver Island, followed by additional deposits near Nanaimo, greatly

increased the Island's strategic value for the British, whose commercial and naval fleets were beginning the transition towards steam-power.¹⁰⁰ By the 1840s, increasing numbers of British and American settlers were flooding into the region around Fort Vancouver, establishing saw mills, farms and fishing operation.¹⁰¹ The next stage of European colonization – permanent settlement on the landscape -- had begun. By 1842, European encroachment had convinced the HBC to relocate their headquarters northwards, to Vancouver Island, where they established Fort Victoria the following year, adjacent to a well-sheltered harbour.^{102 103}

Meanwhile, the British government re-engaged with American leaders in an effort to permanently settle their claims to the whole region.¹⁰⁴ Little did the indigenous peoples of Clayoquot Sound know that their space was being carved up, far away, in the halls of Washington and London. As they attempted to hash out a border that would be acceptable to both sides, British and American negotiators considered the landscape in entirely European terms, giving little thought to the claims, title or interests of the indigenous peoples who lived there.¹⁰⁵ While the Americans based their claims on the 'doctrine of discovery', the British argued for Vancouver Island on the basis of 'use and occupation', reminding the Americans about Vancouver's earlier circumnavigation, and the HBC presence in Victoria.¹⁰⁶ Rather than push aggressively for more territory, however, the British ultimately agreed in an 1846 treaty to a border that followed the 49th parallel before skirting south of Vancouver Island. They wanted to strengthen their rapport with the Americans, and were confident that they could integrate Vancouver Island into their existing Pacific trading network.¹⁰⁷ What they did not do was meaningfully discuss or make any provisions for indigenous peoples -- who were not consulted about the treaty, nor mentioned within it.¹⁰⁸

With issues of international sovereignty seemingly settled, the British turned their focus towards securing their allotted part of the North West Coast. Recognizing that settlement had effectively guaranteed the American claim to the Oregon territory, British leaders realized that they would need to settle – not simply operate from – Vancouver Island if they intended to keep possession in the long term.¹⁰⁹ Thus, James Douglas, as head of HBC operations, was now charged with two simultaneous and not necessarily

compatible objectives: expanding the fur trade while also encouraging local settlement. To further formalize the occupation, the Island was designated a Crown Colony in 1849, and leased to the Hudson's Bay Company for a ten-year term, with Douglas becoming governor in 1851.¹¹⁰ What had begun as a business venture had evolved into a formal colonial project.

Once again, it appears, indigenous rights were not at the forefront of British consciousness, as the Colonial Office worked to formalize the transfer of Vancouver Island. In the 1849 Charter of Grant, there was only one vague reference to the “‘welfare’ of the Natives”.¹¹¹ Where it existed, indigenous title and usage rights were, it seems, to be defined quite narrowly. Orders from London instructed the HBC “to consider the natives as the rightful possessors of such lands only as they occupied by cultivation or had houses built on, at the time the island came under the undivided sovereignty of Great Britain in 1846.” “All other land”, the instructions continued, was “to be regarded as waste, and applicable to the purposes of colonization”.¹¹² For colonization had now become the ultimate goal for Vancouver Island.

Following some early conflicts with the indigenous peoples living in the vicinity of Fort Victoria, Governor Douglas saw the need to negotiate a series of treaties with Salish and Kwakiutl groups on the east coast of the Island.¹¹³ As part of these 14 Vancouver Island “Douglas Treaties”, the traditional indigenous inhabitants were granted reserve sites, given small one-time payments of goods, and guaranteed the right to continue fishing and hunting on un-used lands.¹¹⁴ In return, they were expected to cede their title to large swaths of the eastern Island, which could then be sold to incoming European settlers.¹¹⁵ By signing these treaties, Douglas was effectively recognizing the existence of indigenous title.

Considered relatively sympathetic to the plight of the groups he was dealing with, Douglas continued to allocate reserve lands on an ad-hoc basis until his retirement.¹¹⁶ His successors, however, were far less generous. With Douglas' enforced retirement in 1864, Joseph Trutch, in his role as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, began to chip away at these reserves, arbitrarily reducing some existing ones, and establishing a paltry 10-acre/family maximum allotment (Douglas' early policy had been less clear, but seems

to have allocated a *minimum* of 10 acres/family).^{117 118} Active in shaping policy until his retirement in the late 1880s, Trutch also aggressively denied the existence of aboriginal title, helping to effectively end interest in treaty-making in the region for the next hundred years.¹¹⁹ Indeed, from Trutch onwards, provincial officials either denied title altogether, or claimed it was an issue for the Federal government to resolve.¹²⁰

By the 1850s, the British had formalized their colonial sovereignty over all of the Vancouver Island. Practical control over this landscape, however, would require a far more concrete presence. And yet, up to this point, European knowledge of Vancouver Island and its coastal waters remained remarkably cursory. Apart from the broad surveys of Cook and Vancouver, and the localized knowledge of certain traders, very little was known about many of the deep western inlets or central inland areas of the island. Instead, early European settlement was concentrated almost exclusively along the better-explored Eastern coast. With a growing number of British and American settlers and prospectors continuing to arrive, however, demands for more land were increasing.¹²¹

At the orders of George Simpson, Douglas, who had been requesting more surveying resources for years, began to encourage more systematic cross-land exploration of the Island for both trading and settlement purposes.¹²² Explorers were instructed to locate indigenous communities, establish trade routes, identify good farming and settlement lands and locate prospective mineral deposits.¹²³ This led to a wave of overland expeditions in the 1850s, often following existing indigenous trade routes. Over time, in the European mind, these explorations succeeded in connecting fabled places like Nootka, Hesquiaht and Alberni Inlet to the more ‘known’ East Coast.¹²⁴

Efforts were also made by British authorities to conduct more detailed maritime surveys of the Island’s coastline, an essential next step in encouraging maritime trade. Over the span of six summers, between 1857 and 1862, one of the Admiralty’s most skilled surveyors, Captain George H. Richards, was sent to conduct an exhaustive coastal survey of the island and its many coastal features. Working from an anchored mothership, *HMS Plumper* (and later *HMS Hecate*), Richard’s boat crews meticulously surveyed the coast, in the process of producing a definitive set of charts that would serve as the basis for European navigation until well into the twentieth century.¹²⁵

Thus it was in the summer of 1861 that *HMS Hecate*'s boat crews were busy charting and sounding the intricate collection of bays and inlets that make up Clayoquot Sound. In July, Richards anchored near Meares Island and sent boats to explore the channels behind Flores Island, likely as far as Hot Springs Cove.¹²⁶ During their explorations of Flores, his subordinate, John Gowlan noted that Raphael Point was known locally as “Manhousaht”, (though perhaps he was confused by Sharp Point).¹²⁷ Likely referring to Opitsaht, Richard noted a “considerable number of natives” who “quiet, well conducted people”.¹²⁸ When “thick squally” weather forced a temporary suspension of surveying near Hot Springs Cove, Richards visited the Ahousaht, observing them as “very civil” and able to trade large amounts of salmon.¹²⁹ Richard appears to have named Sydney Inlet, though the derivation of the name is unknown.¹³⁰ The decision to name the nearby protected anchorage “Refuge Cove” could logically have reflected pre-existing local knowledge of the inlet.¹³¹ There does not, however, seem to be any direct reference to the Hot Springs in his logs.

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Figure 42 - HMS Plumper in Johnstone Strait the year before Richards' detailed survey of the West Coast in 1861. Much of the detailed surveying would have been done by crews operating out of smaller craft, like those depicted.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP00076)

By August, however, consistent fog forced a suspension of survey in the inlets, so the *Hecate* headed north to Hesquiat where they noted “considerable population here, perhaps 200 – and large village. They had good many skins and dogfish oil”. The crew traded for a small otter pelt before leaving the next day for Victoria.^{132 133} In the end, this summer of surveying produced the bulk of the data that would be transformed into the 1863 Admiralty chart entitled “Clayoquot Sound”.¹³⁴¹³⁵

Thanks in large part to the work of Richards and his crew, Vancouver Island emerged as one of the best mapped coastal sections in the world, vastly expanding European understanding of the landscape.^{136 137} This, of course, also greatly advanced the colonization process. However, Richards’ work was also remarkable for breaking with earlier European practices of imposing Euro-centric names on the landscape. Unlike the earlier Spanish or British surveyors, he avoided simply naming local features after ships, shipmates or superiors.¹³⁸ Indeed, Richards appears to have consulted with local interpreters, in order to adopt indigenous names wherever possible, particularly on the west coast of the Island.¹³⁹ He is responsible, for instance, for enshrining the name “Clayoquot Sound” on British charts, replacing Barkley’s earlier name, Wickaninnish.¹⁴⁰ Richards was also responsible for officially naming Hesquiaht Harbour, as well as preserving the names Kyuquot and Ahousat.¹⁴¹ His surveys also provide more detailed records of indigenous settlements, and their populations, which he sought to record in talks with local leaders.¹⁴²

In addition to greater knowledge, the intensive exploration and surveying efforts of the 1850s and 1860s also brought renewed European attention to the rich lumber resources to be found along the West Coast of the Island. Cook had been among the first

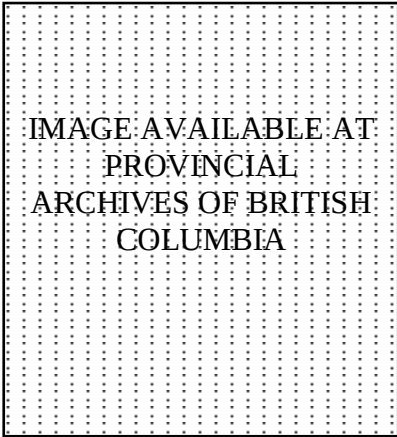


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Figure 43 - Captain G.H. Richards was responsible for (re)naming many of the landmarks in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. However, he did preserve a number of indigenous names.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-03352)

to recognize the potential when he had his crews fashion new spars from the forests of Nootka Sound.¹⁴³ Meares, too, had predicted, in 1788, that the forests of the west coast were “Capable of supplying...all the navies of Europe”.¹⁴⁴ However, it was not until overland explorations of the 1850s, followed by recommendations from Richards’ surveys, that the first sawmill was briefly in operation at Alberni from 1860-64.¹⁴⁵ While large-scale logging would not commence for many more decades, this short-lived mill set another key colonial milestone for the west coast when the first European child was born to a mechanic and his wife living there in 1864.¹⁴⁶

Gold Fever & Gunboat Justice – Cementing British Colonization with Settlement and Coercion

Up until the mid-1850s, the British colonization of Vancouver Island remained remarkably superficial. In 1856, less than 800 Europeans, mostly of British origin, were concentrated primarily in Victoria, Nanaimo and Fort Rupert. The Island’s indigenous population, by contrast, was estimated to exceed 25,000.¹⁴⁷ This demographic imbalance would begin to shift dramatically, however, in the wake of the Fraser River Gold Rush. In short order, more than 30,000 mostly American prospectors flooded into Victoria.¹⁴⁸ Though most quickly departed for the mainland, the miners transformed Victoria from sleepy trading post to bustling port of entry. Within four years, the Island’s permanent European population had more than doubled.¹⁴⁹ On the mainland, the influx had an immediate and profoundly negative impact on the indigenous peoples of the Interior and Central Coast. The miners, many of whom brought violent experiences with them from California, perceived indigenous inhabitants as impediments to their success and aggressively encroached on their traditional territories.¹⁵⁰ Violent skirmishes would soon follow.

While the West Coast was largely spared the same sort of influx, interest in the Island jumped noticeably. Within months, the survey office in Victoria was swamped by European settlers and entrepreneurs, eager for land throughout the island and mainland.¹⁵¹ Colonial officials belatedly scrambled to survey more land and open it to development. By 1862, a pre-emption policy had been introduced that allowed British

citizens to acquire up to 160 acres for a small fee.¹⁵² When gold fever subsided in the 1860s, some miners returned to try their luck at prospecting on the island.¹⁵³ In 1865, interest in the Island's mineral potential convinced the Colonial government to fund an expedition by John Buttle that soon discovered traces of gold in the Bedwell/Bear River basin.¹⁵⁴ News of the discovery brought a rush of miners to Clayoquot for the first time. Most quickly left, disappointed, but some Chinese placer miners remained and found some success upstream, establishing a makeshift community known as "Bear City".¹⁵⁵ The stage was set for miners to spread soon northwards towards Hot Springs Cove.

As the British presence on Vancouver Island and the mainland continued to grow, Colonial authorities increasingly saw the need for a formal military presence, not only to deter foreign ambitions, but also to provide security in case of indigenous resistance or misbehaviour.¹⁵⁶ The move fit with British PM Lord Palmerston's grand pronouncement in 1846 that "Whenever British subjects are placed in danger...thither a British ship of war ought to be...for the protection of British interests".¹⁵⁷ Esquimalt Harbour was identified as a suitable naval base, and in 1848, first Royal Navy ship – the frigate *HMS Constance* – was stationed on the coast.¹⁵⁸ It had taken more than fifty years since the scientific and diplomatic missions of Cook and Vancouver for the gunboat -- that classic symbol of British imperialism – to finally appear in the waters around Vancouver Island.

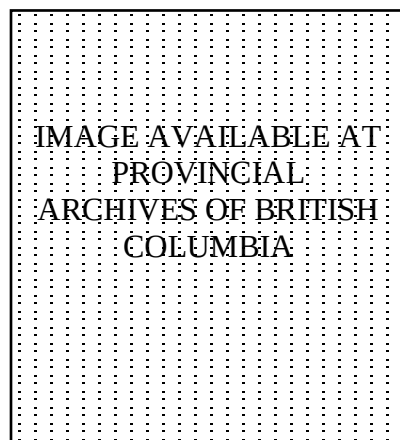


Figure 44 - Once Esquimalt became a key base for the Royal Navy, squadrons of British warships could often be seen at anchor. Pictured here are HMS Malacca, Scylla, Forward and Sparrowhawk, c.1860s.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image F-085388)

In the wake of the Crimean War, the base at Esquimalt was expanded further and became the headquarters of the Royal Navy's Pacific Fleet by 1865.¹⁵⁹ While the threat of Russian invasion continued to concern local public opinion in Victoria for decades

after Crimea, British officials appear to have been more consistently concerned by the potential of a threat from the United States.^{160 161} Tensions over the shared boundary, which had relaxed after the 1846 Treaty, brought British and American forces to the brink of conflict in the San Juan Islands during the 1859 ‘Pig War’ before cooler heads prevailed.^{162 163} In the 1860s, the fear was, first, that the Americans might retaliate over Britain’s lukewarm support for the Confederacy, and later, into the early 1870s, that the radical pro-Irish Fenian movement might launch a raid northwards.¹⁶⁴ Judging from the near-hysterical tone of local media like the *British Colonist*, the American threat loomed large for many years.¹⁶⁵

For places like Hot Springs Cove, though, the most important effect of such tensions was to heighten the already-powerful sense of insecurity felt by Europeans, who were acutely aware that they were still greatly outnumbered by what they considered to be a very unpredictable and uncivilized indigenous population. From the early days of the maritime fur, through the attacks on the *Boston* and *Tonquin*, and onwards through the middle of the 1800s, the west coast of Vancouver Island had remained a ‘geography of fear’ in the European mind, inhabited by particularly fearsome and warlike indigenous groups, who had proven their willingness to attack and plunder European trading ships, and murder shipwrecked crews. More generally, the possibility of a widespread indigenous uprising continued to concern the settler population, particularly in the wake of the disconcerting Indian Mutiny of 1857. Though he was referring specifically to Fort Rupert, the visiting naturalist Lord Keast, reflecting in 1849, could easily have been describing the entire island when he spoke of feeling surrounded by “a sea of savagery”.¹⁶⁶

With gunboats now on station, it would not be long before Colonial officials would turn to the Navy, to exert coercive force and extend the ‘long arm’ of British law to the isolated inlets of Clayoquot Sound. For many in the vicinity, their interactions with the ships of the British Royal Navy provided some of the first exposure to the colonial authority that would ultimately be imposed upon them. In short, British gunboats served as ‘agents of empire’, enforcing British notions of justice and showing force to deter the possibility of future indigenous resistance to colonization.

In 1849, for instance, Governor Blanshard, believing he had a duty to “repress and over-awe the natives” ordered the *HMS Daedalus* to destroy several vacant villages belonging to the Newwitts of Northern Vancouver Island, after members of the band allegedly murdered three deserters from a HBC ship.¹⁶⁷ This was the first of many instances of ‘gunboat justice’ imposed by colonial authorities over the next few decades; however, it was not a radical departure from previous HBC policy, which, Reid argues, had long advocated “keeping the Indians in awe of British power” through military force and collective retribution.¹⁶⁸

Governor Douglas, for his part, lamented his predecessor’s strategy of collective punishment, believing that recent incidents in New Zealand and the USA had shown how counter-productive this approach could be.¹⁶⁹ And yet, he too would ultimately employ the Navy as a coercive force in support of efforts to arrest various indigenous murder suspects in the mid 1850s.¹⁷⁰ The local colonial public, certainly, seems to have wholeheartedly supported these policies. Indeed, in short order, it became almost a reflexive reaction for the citizens of Victoria to immediately demand their leaders ‘send a gunboat’ whenever indigenous misbehaviour was suspected.

Not surprisingly, throughout the remainder of the 1850s and into the 1860s, Navy ships would continue to be dispatched in response to reports of thefts, violence and murder, such as the mysterious killing of trader William Banfield in 1862, which kicked off a storm of sensational speculation in the local media, and led to a fruitless investigation by *HMS Devastation*.¹⁷¹ In 1864, after much public outrage, *HMS Sutlej* and *Devastation* brought military force to bear on the Ahousaht for the first time in response to the plundering and destruction of a trader’s vessel, the *Kingfisher*, at anchor at Matilda Creek, Flores Island. Captain James Stevenson,

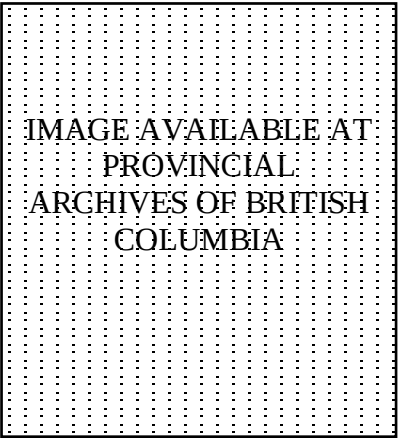


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Figure 45 - Royal Navy ships like HMS Sparrowhawk were deployed along the coast to enforce British colonial authority.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-04104)

previously fined for trading liquor illegally to indigenous peoples, was killed, along with his two crew, during an apparent dispute with the Ahousaht chief Cap-chah. When an armed party of Ahousahts refused demands to turn over suspects and fired at sailors, the two gunboats systematically destroyed nine nearby villages and encampments over course of the next few days, killing between 15-100 Ahousahts and destroying dozens of precious canoes.¹⁷² News of the destruction seemed to placate public opinion in Victoria, but was criticized by some in the London media, who lamented the fact that “the white man is often to blame when the Indian takes the law into his own hands”.¹⁷³ According to Brabant, the local Catholic priest, the incident left the Ahousaht angry but proud of their “big victory over the man-of-war and big guns.”¹⁷⁴

Back in Victoria, the *Kingfisher* incident also seems to have fostered a public perception of the Ahousaht as a particularly ‘warlike’ and aggressive group, a stereotype which seems to linger even today. That same year, clashes between road-builders and Tsilhqot’in warriors during the brief ‘Chilcotin War’ heightened colonial fears of indigenous violence still further. Coming in the wake of the shocking 1857 Indian Mutiny, Tina Loo has argued that such incidents collectively

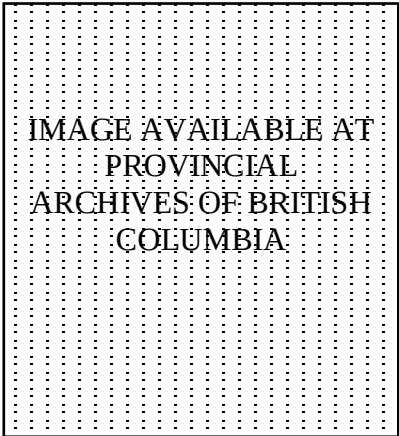


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Figure 46 - One of the cannons aboard HMS Sparrowhawk, which may have been used to bombard Hesquiat during the ‘John Bright Affair’.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-05522)

Figure 47 - Boat crews from HMS Suttlej & Devastation attack Ahousaht positions in 1864. On many occasions, the Royal Navy bombarded indigenous villages around Vancouver Island.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP00084)

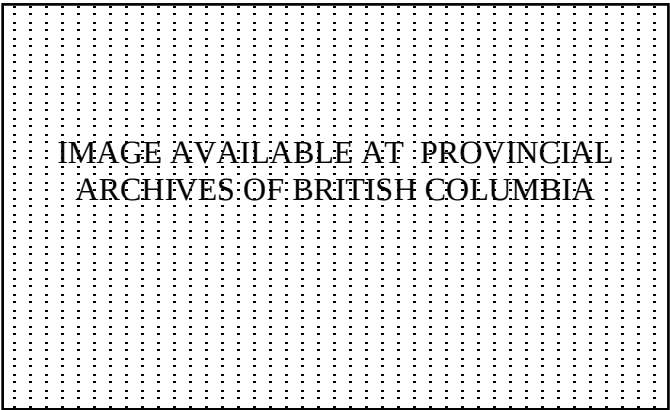


IMAGE AVAILABLE AT PROVINCIAL
ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

contributed to “a hardening of attitudes towards indigenous peoples throughout the empire [that] influenced colonial policy for at least a decade afterwards”.¹⁷⁵

A few years later, in 1869, the Hesquiaht too, would experience the same sort of Colonial ‘justice’. When an American barque, the *John Bright*, ran aground off Estevan Point in February, John Christensen, a local trader, found the crew’s bodies stripped and mangled, above the high-tide mark. Convinced that they had been killed in an act of piracy by the Hesquiahts, he rushed back to Victoria,

where his news soon had colonists demanding immediate action.¹⁷⁶ Accused of “disgraceful and criminal neglect” by the Victoria Evening News for his initial hesitation, Governor Seymour finally dispatched *HMS Sparrowhawk* after it was reported that a posse of fifty armed colonists were prepared to strike back at the Hesquiahts.¹⁷⁷

Arriving under orders to be “active yet friendly, firm yet conciliatory”, the naval commander, Henry Mist, began to systematically shell canoes and houses until the Hesquiaht acceded to his demands to turn over the perpetrators.¹⁷⁸ Eventually, two men – an apparent political rival, as well as an individual described by sources as a “halfwit” - were produced and put on trial back in Victoria, where they were ultimately convicted after five minutes of deliberation by a jury of prominent colonists. Death sentences were imposed and both

condemned men were returned to Hesquiat, where they were hanged in front of their village, to serve, as Gough put it, as a “salutatory warning to the Hesquiats and to others”, and to drive home the power of British justice.¹⁷⁹ These punishments were praised by the *British Colonist*, which suggested that “If we treat with savages, we must act in a manner intelligible to them...it is absurd”, the editorial went on, “to suppose that our views of equity and justice can apply to people ignorant of the commonest sense of humanity, because they do not understand our social laws”.¹⁸⁰

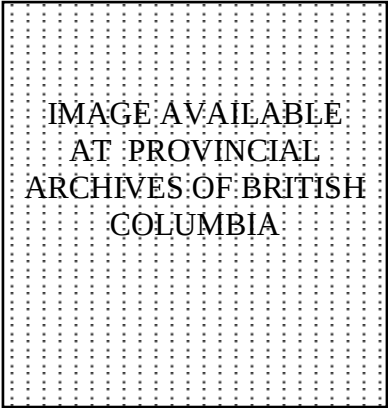


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Figure 48 - Dr. P. Comrie, Surgeon aboard HMS Sparrowhawk, conducted autopsies on the bodies recovered from the John Bright, but refused to confirm they were murdered. This proved inconsequential to the jury.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image G-06180)

In London, however, the Admiralty, reflecting the more humanitarian-minded Gladstone administration, were critical of the “wholesale destruction of the villages and boats of these savages”.¹⁸¹ And Augustin Brabant, the Catholic missionary who ministered in Hesquiat after 1872, remained convinced afterwards, based on local testimonies, that a grave injustice had been done.¹⁸² According to Charity Lucas, who learned the story from her elders, her ancestor, one of the accused, realized there was no easy way out of his predicament:

If [he] did this [he realized that] the Amos family would diminish...if [he] did not do this, [he also realized that] the Andrews family would diminish and the Amos family would flourish. So it comes back to how Hesquiat are...we don't fight something that we don't have control over. He took it in honour and died in honour, and he said 'one day my name will be cleared'...and yes it took a long, long time, but his name and his honour was cleared...that to me is the most beautiful thing. He died for what he knew was right and for what he believed. He believed every human should be buried, not left deserted.¹⁸³

Jaylynn Lucas, for her part, feels that her ancestor ultimately set a powerful example for his descendants: “[we] modern day Hesquiaht, we still live like that...honour, pick your battles...”. In a final twist of irony, the boom-board of the *John Bright* later washed ashore and was salvaged by the Hesquiaht. It read “Fear none, injure none”.¹⁸⁴

The violent actions against the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht are prime examples of the role the Royal Navy played in helping to impose British colonial rule over the region's indigenous majority.¹⁸⁵ In addition to supporting such policing operations, throughout this period patrolling navy ships also served as magistrate courts, actively enforced the ban on the sale of alcohol to indigenous groups, worked to free any remaining indigenous slaves, and doggedly lobbied communities to abandon shamanistic traditions. It is likely not a coincidence that, to Turner, the violent clashes over resources during the 1860s represented the high-water mark of European-indigenous violence in British Columbia.¹⁸⁶ Whether they liked it or not, the indigenous peoples in and around Hot Springs Cove were being coerced into living under colonial authority, as the process of colonization entered its next phase.

CHAPTER SUMMARY: *Nuu-chah-nulth Reorganization in the face of Deepening Colonization.*

At the outset of the 1800s, the European presence in the vicinity of the Cove was limited in size, fleeting and periodic in duration, and narrowly focussed in objective. The indigenous communities in the area had adapted European goods into their cultures, but their lifestyles and populations remained relatively consistent. Although the Nootka Convention had established British claims to the area, these claims, remained in 1800 quite tentative and largely theoretical. The decline of the sea otter trade and interaction with Europeans, however, set in motion a series of profound changes that would begin to transform the human dynamic in and around the Cove.

Ironically, the sheer profitability of the early fur trade sowed the seeds of its own decline, encouraging a pattern of over-exploitation that would be repeated again and again in the future. Reducing otter stocks to the point of extermination, overhunting led to cascade of other effects. Local indigenous peoples were forced to adapt their lifestyles, political arrangements, and economic pursuits as trading profits dried up and Europeans largely lost interest in visiting the vicinity of the Cove. Far from being passive victims, indigenous peoples actively sought out new economic opportunities to fill the void left by the early fur trade. They continued to trade with each other and, as much as possible, with Europeans, while also beginning to engage in wage-labour for European employers. In cooperation with European entrepreneurs, they helped to develop other resource activities, such as sealing, whaling, and the production of dogfish oil. Greater exploration, industrialization and demand for mineral resources also led Europeans to diversify their economic interest in the region as well. The first commercial logging and mining emerged in nearby areas, laying the foundation for later transformations to the landscape of Cove. In certain situations, such as the attack on the *Tonquin* in 1811, and the *Kingfisher* Incident of 1864, indigenous groups in the vicinity of the Cove also resorted to violent means to push back against perceived injustices at the hands of Europeans. Indigenous groups also reacted to increasing competition for scarce resources and the ravages of European diseases by consolidating into larger bodies, like the

Hesquiaht, or by aggressively absorbing their neighbours. The Ahousaht, for instance, took advantage of the opportunities presented by the instability to radically expand their territories at the expense of groups like the Otsosahts.

The conquest of the Manhousahts brought the vicinity of the Cove under Ahousaht control, profoundly shifting indigenous perceptions of the area. Indeed, Hot Springs Cove evolved from Manhousaht homeland to Ahousaht periphery. At the same time, European perceptions of the island and its west coast were also in flux. Extensive overland exploration and coastal surveying helped slowly transform the Island into a British domain through the relentless mapping and renaming of many of its features. The threat of American encroachment also led to a shift in British thinking, encouraging a more committed and intentional effort at permanent colonization. The settlement of lingering boundary issues reinforced, in the European mind at least, that the Cove and rest of the Island belonged to Britain. Indeed, as their infrastructure developed and settlement boomed, the British increasingly perceived the Island as a colonial space over which they had the right to exercise their authority. The arrival of increasing numbers of settlers combined with the discovery of rich farmland, timber and mineral resources to shift European attitudes towards the landscape, which was increasingly valued for its rich development potential. And yet, to the European mind, the isolated West coast still largely remained a 'geography of fear', inhabited by fearsome and threatening tribes, who would need to be cowed before full control of the landscape could be assured.

Already, the process of colonization was well under way. Building on the subtle reconceptualization of the landscape occurring through the mapping and renaming process, the signing of Indian treaties, the surveying of lands, and establishment of colonial property laws were all contributing to the establishment of the legal framework of colonialism. Thanks in part to the Gold Rush, a massive influx of settlers onto the island consolidated the permanent European settlement presence and began to radically shift the demographic balance away from indigenous dominance. Confined though they were, at least initially, to the southern and eastern shores of the island, this growing settler population were extremely vocal in demanding the deployment of the newly arrived naval presence, to project authority over the seemingly lawless west coast.

Through their numerous interventions in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, gunboats imposed British notions of 'justice' upon groups like the Hesquiaht, reducing their sovereignty and freedom of action, bringing a coercive element to the colonial project. All of this occurred, one must remember, just as new waves of European diseases were devastating indigenous communities along the coast, destroying cultural knowledge and undermining traditional social structures. Indeed, it would seem fair to portray events like the smallpox epidemic of 1862-63 as *de facto* (albeit unintentional) agents of colonization, emptying the landscape and further undermining the ability of local indigenous communities to resist European encroachment.

By the end of this tumultuous period of economic reorientation, inter-tribal conflict and consolidation, and resurgent British interest, Vancouver Island had been transformed into a nascent colonial space. Even the isolated west coast of Vancouver Island was not free of the growing influence of British authority, exerted by the patrolling warships of the Royal Navy. Formal European settlement of the Cove had yet to occur, but colonization was already well advanced.

CHAPTER 4 – ‘Occupation & Marginalization’: European Settlement & Colonialism

(1870s-1945CE)

“A young tugboat skipper named Ivan Clarke stormbound in the inlet appropriately known as Refuge Cove [observed] as a fishpacker converted as a sea-going grocery store called in and sold out its entire stock in short order...on his return to Victoria [Clarke] applied for a pre-emption on the peninsula adjoining the cove and returned to establish a business there...”

-Local Historian Walter Guppy.¹

“I want to know if it is right for a whiteman to come along and live in the place where the Indians have been living long years ago...”

- Chief Billy of Ahousaht, at the McKenna-McBride Commission, May 18, 1914.²

INTRODUCTION: Colonial Settlement comes to the Coast

Opportunity and marginalization. These two seemingly antithetical words neatly contrast the experience of local indigenous inhabitants from those of the Euro-Canadians settlers who eagerly converged on the Cove between the 1870s and the 1940s. Over the course of these eighty years, the human reality of Hot Springs Cove was transformed dramatically, from largely indigenous space to fully colonized place. A century before, the explorations of Cook, Quadra and Vancouver had brought the area around Hot Springs Cove into the European consciousness, and the maritime fur trade that followed had connected the region to the increasingly globalized economy. Over the course of the second half of the 19th Century, through treaties, laws and gunboats, the British steadily enveloped the Cove in their colonial authority. But it would take until the last decades of the 1800s – more than a century after contact – for the settlement phase of colonization to begin to meaningfully alter the physical landscape of the area. It was during this period that a mining boom, a sealing craze, and a burgeoning commercial fishery led to an influx of Euro-Canadians and the repeat of the pattern of sea otter overexploitation that was becoming all too familiar on the West Coast. Attracted by a landscape rich in commercial opportunity, settlers like Ivan Clarke would establish homes and businesses,

fundamentally transforming the local human context. With these settlers came an increasingly intrusive government presence, seemingly intent on restricting the cultural and economic lives of local indigenous peoples in ways never before experienced.

By the end of this period, colonialism -- with all of its paternalism, constraints, and inequalities -- was well and truly entrenched in the Cove. Faced with profound cultural, demographic, economic and political changes, the area's indigenous inhabitants continued, nevertheless, to demonstrate remarkable resilience, agency, adaptability. Indeed, their efforts to organize and advocate for their interests would lay a crucial foundation for future progress in regaining the lands and rights stripped from them so systematically during this era.

IMAGE AVAILABLE AT PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Figure 49 - Ahousat, c.1866-1870. Note the houses sporting the traditional 'shed' roofs.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-66561)

“Adjusting to New Realities” – Indigenous Political, Demographic & Economic Evolution in the late 1800s.

Over the first seven decades of the 1800s, economic upheavals, epidemics and violence had devastated the indigenous populations in and around Hot Springs Cove. This trend of population decline continued for several more decades. That the area was still largely an indigenous space had as much to do with the lack of local European settlement as it did with indigenous demographic strength. While European occupation was increasing steadily elsewhere in the province, and settlers were firmly entrenched on the east coast of Vancouver by the early 1860s, no similar settlements had emerged on the more rugged west coast. When Father August Brabant established his mission at

Hesquiat in 1875, he noted that the only other European settlers were the traders manning the four posts scattered along the coast – the closest being Danish immigrant Freddy Thornberg at Clayoquot/Stubbs Island, who operated the post from 1874-1889, before moving to Ahousat and taking over management of that post.³

Within a decade, Brabant would be joined at Hesquiat by Antoine Luckovitch, an Austrian trader who established a small general store, a stone well, and a wooden residence, northwest of Anton's Spit, near the principal Hesquiaht village site. Luckovitch and his family operated their establishment from the 1880s until the 1910s, selling supplies to the Hesquiaht and their indigenous neighbours.⁴

However, apart from their presence, and periodic intrusions from European whalers, sealers or government vessels, northern Clayoquot Sound and the area around Hot Springs Cove remained a distinctly indigenous space as the 1880s drew to a close. It would be another few decades before the area's first *long-term* colonial settlers would arrive.

Even as European settlement in Southern Clayoquot Sound began to boom around the turn of the century, the indigenous population of the region was arguably reaching its lowest ebb. Alcohol and tuberculosis, in particular, ravaged their communities, compounding the devastating social breakdown occurring from the ongoing loss of traditional knowledge, lifestyles and cultural practices.⁵ While the precipitous decline of BC's indigenous population had all but leveled off by the 1920s, by then only 23,000 were left – the lowest point in thousands of years, representing a 75-90% decline from pre-contact times.⁶ On the west coast of Vancouver Island, where an estimated 20,000 people had lived prior to contact, census records from the late 1800s suggested that only approximately had 2,000 survived the epidemics and violence.⁷ If accurate, this represented a 90% decline.

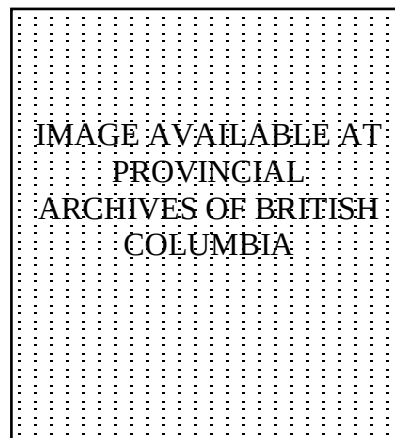


Figure 50 - Antoine Luckovitch's store in Hesquiat Harbour, pictured in August 1894.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image H-05522)

While indigenous populations on the West Coast continued to shrink well into the early 20th century, the 1870s marked a return to relative political stability in the wake of a half-century of “intense internecine warfare”, annihilations, mergers and absorptions that followed the decline of the maritime fur trade.⁸ Ultimately, by the turn of the century, fifteen distinct Nuu-chah-nulth groups would emerge. Within Clayoquot Sound, the Tla-o-qui-aht had reinforced their control in the south, while to the north, the handful of independent Hesquiaht local groups had merged into their modern form, centred on eastern Hesquiat Harbour. And between them, the expanding Ahousahts had emerged as the dominant players in central Clayoquot (though other groups such as the Kelsemaht would persist for a while longer).

Perhaps most importantly, though, this period marked the abandonment of violent warfare as an acceptable political or economic strategy. With overt warfare a risky proposition in the face of Euro-Canadian authority, leaders found other non-violent ways to assert their dominance through economic means; around 1895, Yuquot chief Napoleon Maquinna, for instance, responded to a perceived slight by his Hesquiaht hosts by returning to ritually destroy a number of prime sea otter pelts in front of their village (a feat that the less wealthy Hesquiaht were unable to match).⁹

Reflecting on the period, Nicholson credits the presence of missionaries, police, Indian agents and government officials during this period as “helpful in putting a stop to the barbarism”, “cool[ing] the Indians’ lust for revenge”, and “precluding future battles”.¹⁰ While Nicholson may be correct that the coercive presence of colonial authority, in the form of gunboats and magistrates, played a part in ending the violence, some of this stabilization may also have been a natural by-product of amalgamation, combined with the return of greater economic opportunities offered by European business interests. Marshall, for her part, suggests that the peaceful resolution of the 1855 Tla-o-qui-aht/Kyuoquot war had already helped “turn the tide of Nuu-chah-nulth history”, fostering more conciliatory politics and nascent pan-Nuu-chah-nulth thinking.¹¹ “Confederation and consensus would again,” she suggests, come to “dominate Nuu-chah-nulth politics”.

In the European mind, too, fears of indigenous predations appear to have declined during this period, in keeping not only with the diminishment in actual conflict, but also with the increasingly obvious and powerful presence of colonial authority on the coast. The shipwrecks of the American barques *Edwin*, in 1874, and the *Malleville* in 1882, provide an illustrative example. In both cases, the nearby Hesquiaht sought to rescue the survivors and recover the bodies of those who drowned, leading both the American and Canadian governments to bestow Chief Matlahaw with medals of appreciation and cash rewards.^{12 13} Within a few short years, it seems, the Hesquiaht had been transformed from pirates to rescuers. It leaves one wondering about the contemporary interpretations of the *John Bright* incident, to say the least.

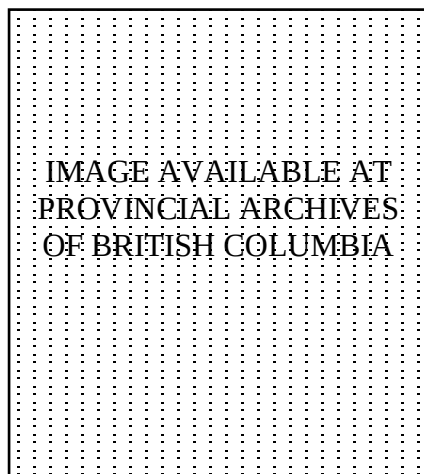


Figure 51 - “A Hesquiat Belle”, another image taken by Edward Curtis in 1915. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the indigenous inhabitants of the West Coast were no longer seen as dangerous, but rather as ‘artifacts’ of a quickly disappearing past – relics that needed to be preserved before they disappeared forever. This helped spawn a boom in ‘salvage ethnography, which helps, in part to explain Curtis’ presence.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images D-08448)

The tumultuous mid-19th century appears to have left Hot Springs Cove itself in a somewhat peripheral position, culturally, politically, and economically. The colonial record, however, only offers a few fragmented clues about the indigenous occupation and use of the area during this period. It appears that some descendants of the now-absorbed Manhousahts may have continued to live in the area.¹⁴ However, this population also appears to have been very small, in comparison to pre-absorption numbers. It is likely that, as the Ahousaht and Manhousaht intermarried, others from the main Ahousaht communities may have extended their harvesting activities to take advantage of the rich resources the area had to offer.

Given the relative distance between Hot Springs Cove and their principal communities to the south, it might be argued that the Cove reverted to the status of peripheral Ahousaht resource area, used predominantly on a seasonal resource-gathering basis. By the 1870s, it also appears that Hot Springs Cove was serving as a seasonal fishing station for some of the Hesquiaht. Father Brabant, on his first visit in 1874, noted that “here [in the Cove] quite a number of Hesquiaht Indians were living”.¹⁵ It is likely that the Cove had long been used as a weather refuge as well.¹⁶ The bulk of the Hesquiaht, however, still appear, at this point, to have been residing in their main village within their traditional territory.

Despite ongoing socio-political and demographic upheavals, the indigenous peoples of the Hot Springs area – and indeed the entire west coast of the island – continued to adapt to the changing economic realities around them. Robust inter-group trade continued, with various Nuu-chah-nulth groups continuing to acquire edible camas bulbs from the Salish to the south, and the basket-weavers among the Hesquiaht and others purchasing tough bear-grass from the Makah of Washington.¹⁷ And just as they had quickly made the most of the explosive sea otter trade almost a century before, the Nuu-chah-nulth now took advantage of the growing European demand for fur seals. Following the success of Spring’s collaborative hunting experiment in the late 1860s, European skippers were flocking to the west coast in search of skilled and willing Nuu-chah-nulth seal hunters to hire.

The fur seal hunt was particularly significant, Kirk notes, because it was “one of the few instances of the white wage economy directly incorporating a traditional [indigenous]

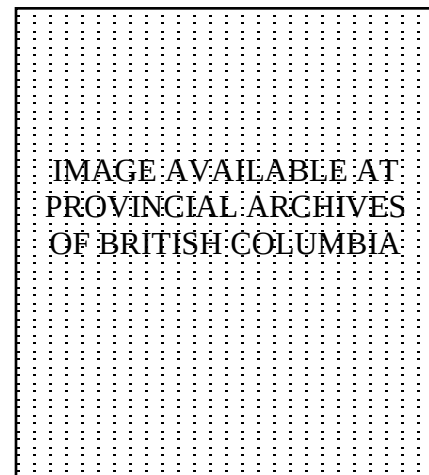


Figure 52 - Hunted for their pelts (below) fur seals became the focus of an intensive harvest and source of well-paid wage-labour for several decades, beginning in the late 1860s.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images C-06046 & F-05169.)

skill”.¹⁸ Reid uses the term “moditional” to describe this unique combination of *mo-dern* and *tra-ditional* economic activity.¹⁹

Like the earlier otter trade, the seal hunt was lucrative and aggressively pursued. In 1876, the year he established his mission at Hesquiaht, Brabant noted a dozen or more sealing schooners visiting the community to recruit hunters.²⁰ Feeling responsible for his ‘flock’s well-being’, Brabant supervised negotiations with sealers to ensure the Hesquiaht were not cheated.²¹ Nevertheless, he encouraged participation in the trade, because he wanted the Hesquiaht to earn cash that they could spend on European goods, in the hopes that this would speed up their assimilation.²² Brabant also actively colluded with traders to use goods as bribery for behaviours that he wanted to reward.²³

In a sense, Brabant got some of what he planned. Their participation in the seal trade brought the Nuuchah-nulth into the European cash economy. The profits to be earned by indigenous hunters were quite attractive: for 1/3 of their catch, schooners would take indigenous hunters miles off shore for weeklong cruises. By 1880s, indigenous hunters could make twice as much in one sealing season as non-indigenous labourers made in other industries, thanks to the high value of the skins.²⁴ This put disposable income, Marshall argues, within reach of many families.²⁵ By the peak of the trade, in the mid 1890s, an estimated 30,000 seals were being caught along the BC coast, and trading posts, such as the one on Stubbs/Clayoquot Island, were reporting noticeable increases in business, as Nuuchah-nulth families traded in furs, obtained advances, and cashed and spent their hard earned wages.²⁶ These new opportunities likely encouraged the establishment of Luckovitch’s trading post in Hesquiat in the 1880s, as well the opening of a new post at Yuquot in 1894.²⁷

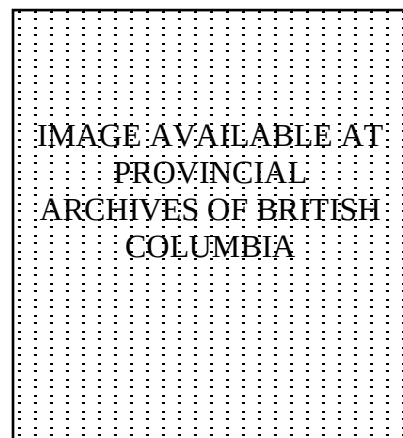


Figure 53 - Schooners like Pathfinder, pictured above, took Nuuchah-nulth hunters for several months a year to seal rookeries in the Bering Sea.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image B-04177)

Profitable as it was, however, sealing was also very dangerous. The 1883 season proved particularly deadly, with 40-50 Nuu-chah-nulth dying from bad weather while hunting far off shore.²⁸ And in April 1887, the sinking of the schooner *Active* off Cape Flattery killed 24 Kelsemaht hunters, nearly wiping out the small group's male population.²⁹ This devastating loss likely encouraged the eventual amalgamation of the Kelsemahts with their larger neighbours the Ahousaht, a process which appears to have occurred in the first few decades of the 20th century.³⁰

Even as the hunt reached its peak in the mid 1890s, signs of looming trouble were beginning to appear. In July of 1893, Captain George Heater of the *Ainoko* was stopped by a Russian patrol boat in the Bering Sea and accused of hunting within the 30-mile conservation exclusion zone. Ordered to Yokohama to face justice, the ship ended up returning, instead, to Victoria, after dropping off its crew of 23 hunters in Hesquiat at their insistence.³¹ It would not be long before fears over declining stocks led Russia, the USA and Canada to begin negotiation for a sealing ban. In 1911, the Pegalic sealing treaty was signed, perhaps not surprisingly without indigenous consultation.³² It dealt a deathblow to the profitable sealing industry, causing sealing schooners to lie idle in Victoria, and the Nuu-chah-nulth to lose a key source of income.³³

As the industry declined, Nuu-chah-nulth hunters and their families, now accustomed to the cash flow from the lucrative sealing contracts, increasingly looked elsewhere for paid work, finding it in canneries, and in the hop fields to the south.³⁴ Fur sealing did not, however, end completely with the Treaty. Limited exemptions allowed the Nuu-chah-nulth to continue hunting for themselves, albeit solely with harpoons from canoes.³⁵ Over the next thirty years, from 1912 through 1942, the trading post at Stubbs Island became one of three buying stations on the west coast, processing an average of 1,000 to 1,500 pelts a year.³⁶

Throughout the 1800s, the Nuu-chah-nulth groups in and around Hot Springs Cove appear to have continued to conduct their own whale hunts, for food, oil, trade and ceremonial purposes.³⁷ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however, employment with the European whaling fleet became a particularly attractive option. European commercial whaling, which began in the 1830s, had evolved significantly by the 1870s.³⁸

A combination of ship losses, overhunting and emergence of cheap petroleum lubricants and lamp oil lead to decline of the original New England whaling fleet, which shifted during the 1880s and 90s to San Francisco, and larger steamers. By then, the whale population on the west coast had been dwindling for decades.³⁹ The local Euro-Canadian whaling harvest peaked in the late 1910s, with thousands of whales being caught and processed each year at whaling stations at Nootka and elsewhere along the coast. With the introduction of factory ships around this time, whale hunts were pushed further and further offshore.⁴⁰ Initially, this meant fewer whales for the Nuuchah-nulth to catch themselves, and later, by the 1920s, as commercial catches continued to decline and populations dwindled still further, the last remaining local whaling stations were soon shuttered.⁴¹ Suddenly, the Nuuchah-nulth found themselves shut out of one of their central activities, one which had helped define their culture since they first moved onto the outer shores more 1500 years ago. Asked by the McKenna-McBride commissioners in 1914, Ahousaht witnesses confirmed that they still had a number of whaling canoes, but that they no longer conducted hunts.⁴² It was same for the Hesquiaht as well.⁴³ Webster, too, recalls his relatives speaking of sealing and whaling expeditions, though he says that they were no longer occurring by the time of his childhood in the 1910s/20s.⁴⁴

Hops picking was another industry in which many indigenous peoples in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove would have sought paid employment around the turn of the century. Many Nuuchah-nulth elders have recalled travelling as kids and young adults with their families to the Fraser Valley and Puget Sound to work the hops harvest. Alice Paul of Hesquiaht, for instance, travelled as a 5-year-old in 1919 to Tacoma to help her mother fill huge funnel boxes at a rate of 75-100 cents per

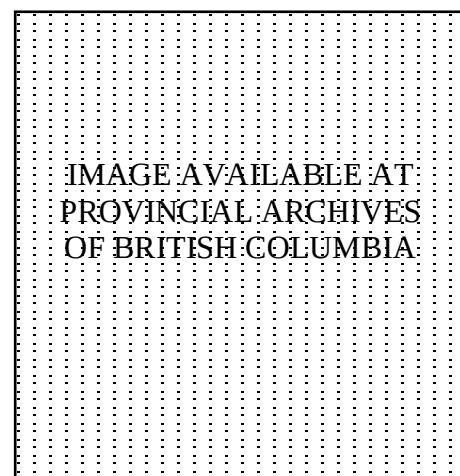


Figure 54 - Indigenous Hops-pickers in the Okanagan, c. 1890s. Seasonal wage-labour as hops-pickers attracted many Nuuchah-nulth south to the Fraser Valley and Puget Sound.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-31583.)

box.⁴⁵ Turner notes that the diverse origins of these indigenous labourers encouraged a sharing of foods and crafts between different groups. And as Reid sees it, the large flows of indigenous labour to and from the seasonal hops harvest illustrates the “*contradiction between the late nineteenth century trope of the vanishing Indian and the native workers participating in modern wage labour*”.⁴⁶

Some enterprising Nuu-chah-nulth also began to produce traditional crafts and products, such as woven baskets, to sell to Europeans, who were proving increasingly interested in indigenous art and ‘curios’. Turner notes how, across the province, indigenous basket weavers began working in European designs to suit the aesthetics of their customers, just as carvers began producing masks specifically for European collectors.⁴⁷ Jessie Sye, of Ahousat, produced baskets, a skill she had learned from her mother, that proved very popular with tourists travelling on the *Princess Maquinna*.⁴⁸ Clearly, when local income-generating opportunities proved insufficient, the Nuu-chah-nulth actively adapted old activities, created new ones, or relocated to where the work was.

Nuu-chah-nulth engagement with the European cash economy by the turn of the century had profound impacts on their culture, politics and social organization. On a very concrete level, newfound wealth from the emergent cash economy led to changes in the material culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth. By the late 1800s, ceramic European soup plates became a desired potlatching item, indicating, Marshall argues,

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Figure 55 - Jessie Sye demonstrating her skill at making a 'Maquinna' hat later in life.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-51968)

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Figure 56 - Two women from Nootka Sound, pictured at the St. Louis Exhibition in 1904, making the sort of baskets popular with early tourists to the West Coast.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image H-04543)

the power of cash.⁴⁹ Webster recalls that, by his childhood in the 1910-20s, much of clothing and utensils that his family used were European, purchased from Stubbs Island and Tofino. He notes, however, that some cedar bark baskets and capes were still made, recalling, for instance, gathering bark with grandmother.⁵⁰ By turn of the century, rough temporary shelters and lean-tos at traditional fishing sites began to be replaced by wood cabins and canvas tents. Similarly, traditional dugout canoes began to give way to wooden rowboats, then to gas-powered craft in the 1910s.^{51 52}

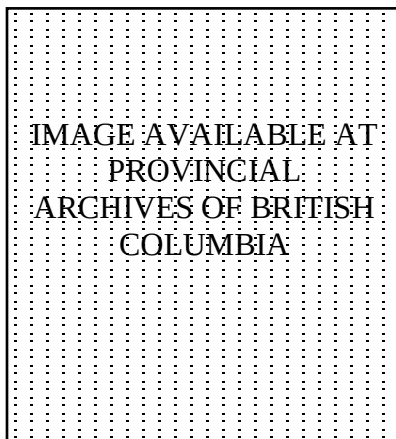


Figure 57 - Nuuchah-nulth paddlers leaving Ahousat in a dugout canoe, c. 1900. As the twentieth century progressed, the use of traditional technology steadily declined.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image a-05373)

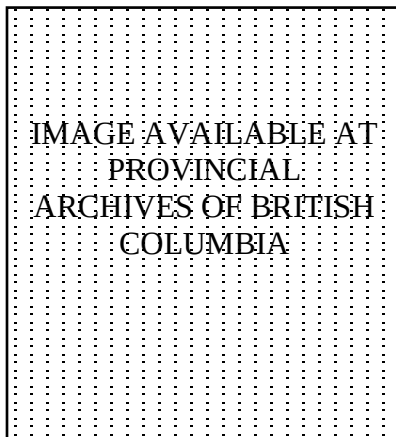


Figure 58 - Sketch of employees at work in the cannery at Nootka Island. At least some would have inevitably been Nuuchah-nulth.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image PDP05585)

Access to European food staples also increased, and dehydration gave way to canning and jamming. Turner has argued that the resulting move away from traditional diet was one of the most profound impacts of colonization.⁵³ Traditional medicine use also declined significantly during this period, under pressure from churches and the proliferation of European remedies.⁵⁴

Patterns of economic life also began to change for the traditionally semi-nomadic Nuu-chah-nulth. Lutz argues that the increasing participation of indigenous peoples in the wage economy of commercial fishing and cannery work in the late 1800s led to a shift in traditional seasonal movements and resource management.⁵⁵ As Kirk puts it, by the end of the century, village economies had “largely shifted from drawing independently on the resources of the land and sea to sending men aboard boats to exploit fish and fur seals as employees of white men” while “clanking, hissing machinery at logging operations and canneries also drew people away from their traditional locations and activities”.⁵⁶

As a child in the late 1910s, Peter Webster of Ahousat recalled seasonal movements between locations on Vargas at Yarksis and Ahous, Meares Island, and up the inlets to places like the Bear River in Bedwell Sound.⁵⁷ However, rather than rotate, as before, between different resource sites, many Nuu-chah-nulth left their traditional territories for significant periods to pursue paid labour. Earl Maquinna George, a hereditary chief of the Ahousaht, recalled travelling north of Vancouver Island to work with his father at a cannery in Rivers Inlet in order to earn 13\$ needed to pay for school clothes.⁵⁸

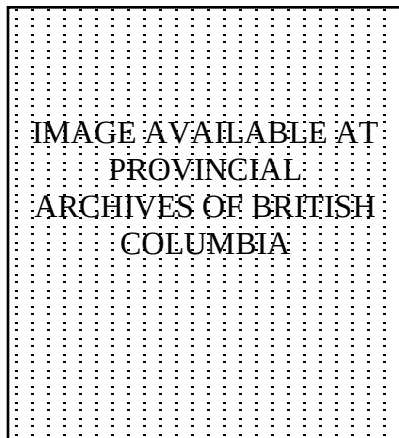


Figure 59 - The cannery at Nootka Island, c. 1940. Nuu-chah-nulth people from in and around Hot Springs Cove likely sought seasonal employment at locations like this.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image E-07909)

By the turn of the century, thanks to these changes, winter had solidified its position as the preferred season for potlatches and ceremonies; it was the season of greatest leisure, when residents were back, as Kirk puts it, “from the hop-fields and canneries, their wages and trade acquisitions in hand”.⁵⁹ It was also the time when children away at residential school were most likely to be able to return home for a visit.

More time away working, and less time spent out on the landscape, in turn, undermined the acquisition of traditional ecological knowledge. Alice Paul of Hesquiat, for example, later lamented the fact that her mother worked so much at a Clayoquot cannery that “she never had much time to teach me things [other than] the ABCs and the counting”.⁶⁰ Over time, Turner argues, this steady loss of traditional ecological knowledge undermined not only indige
environmei

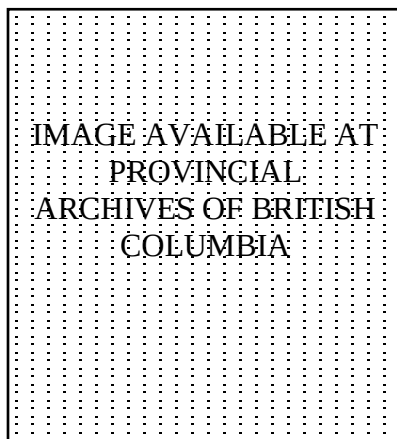


Figure 60 - Indigenous wage-labourers board the Princess Maquinna, c. 1910.

In the summers, many Nuu-chah-nulth would have travelled to work in the many canneries dotted along the coast.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images D-06890 & D-06894)

‘Missionaries & Bureaucrats’: The Slow Imposition of Cultural and Political Colonization.

While the foundations of formal colonization were being laid all throughout the 1800s, the effects on Hot Springs Cove remained somewhat inconsistent until the last few decades of the century. Contact had certainly had a profound demographic, social and economic impacts, such as population decline, conflict and amalgamation, as well as a reorienting of the traditional economy. However, it was only with the deployment of British gunboats that formal colonial control began to be exercised over their lives. Beginning in the 1870s, however, two new powerful colonial forces – religion and bureaucracy – were brought to bear. Within a few short decades, the Nuu-chah-nulth would find their lives being utterly reshaped by churches, residential schools, and paternalistic government policies. Despite their best efforts to push back against these forces, the indigenous peoples in and around Hot Springs Cove would ultimately be

stripped of much of their culture, resources and sovereignty in the process, leading to profound marginalization.

Evangelization often came hand-in-hand with early European colonization, but was remarkable in its initial absence from the west coast of Vancouver Island. Predictably, the Spanish had brought priests with them during their abortive occupation of Nootka between 1789 and 1795, but they had encountered little success in their efforts to convert the local Nuu-chah-nulth.⁶² In the early 1860s, the founding of Metlakatla, an intentional Christian community, by William Duncan in Tsimshian territory appears to have inspired greater interest in missionary efforts along the coast.⁶³ In 1869, the first Catholic priest, a Belgian named Charles Seghers, visited Hesquiat, albeit in rather tragic circumstances, ministering aboard *HMS Sparrowhawk* to the three men condemned to hang for murder in the *John Bright* affair. Seghers was apparently so moved by the experience that he vowed to return and establish a mission in the area.⁶⁴ In April of 1874, he did indeed return with a fellow Belgian, Augustus Brabant, travelling for a month along the coast to select an appropriate site for a mission.⁶⁵ During the voyage, they presided over the baptisms of more than 900 apparently willing Nuu-chah-nulth and also had time to pass through Hot Springs Cove on their way south to Ahousat.

There they encountered *HMS Boxer* at anchor, with many visitors from neighbouring tribes and junior officers on shore.⁶⁶ Not only was the Cove clearly being used as a sheltered anchorage by the Royal Navy at this point, but also likely as a favoured spot for crew recreation. Brabant certainly was very pleased to go for a soak. In his diary, he noted how happy he was to be able to take a “much needed bath, the first for over a month”.⁶⁷

The two priests returned for a second exploratory trip to the area in September 1874.⁶⁸ This time, Brabant found the canoe ride down south from Nootka around Estevan

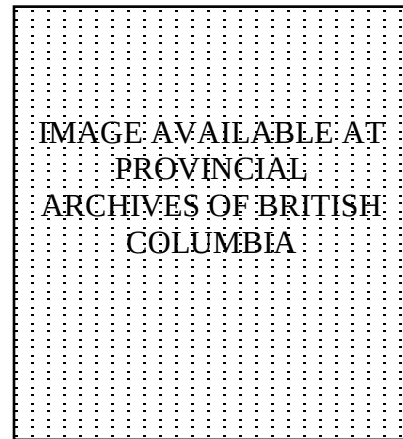


Figure 61 - Belgian missionary Augustus Brabant established the first Catholic mission in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove in 1874.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images A-02020 & A-07343.)

Point particularly harrowing.⁶⁹ Compared with their reception at Ahousat and Opitsat, the priests found the Hesquiaht far more welcoming; they decided to establish their mission there after they were offered whatever land they needed by the local leadership.⁷⁰

When Brabant returned to Hesquiat a third time the following year, he travelled aboard the sealing and trading vessel *Surprise*, bringing building supplies, including some salvaged from a nearby wreck of a few months previous.⁷¹ He also apparently brought along three cattle and a Newfoundlander dog.⁷² Once arrived, he immediately set about arranging the construction of a small wooden church, which was finished that year.⁷³

His arrival coincided with an eventful period at Hesquiat. In late September of 1875, smallpox spread to the area from Nootka; Brabant was a key figure in trying to combat the epidemic.⁷⁴ The next month, in October of 1875, the priest was shot and wounded by a key Hesquiaht leader, Matlahaw, but he was tended to by sympathetic Hesquiaht, who sent word southwards for help. Initially, Freddy Thornberg at the trading post on Clayoquot Island simply sent back a burial shroud, but ultimately a navy ship was dispatched from Victoria to recover him. Brabant survived the ordeal and returned six months later with a second priest, Nicolaye, to continue their ministry from Hesquiat. They would remain the only European priests on the west coast of the Island until the end of the decade.⁷⁵

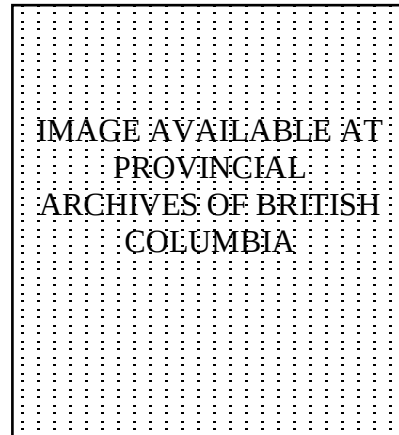


Figure 62 - Arriving in Hot Springs Cove by canoe, Brabant discovered the HMS Boxer, pictured here, already at anchor, her crews interacting with the local indigenous people.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-00215.)

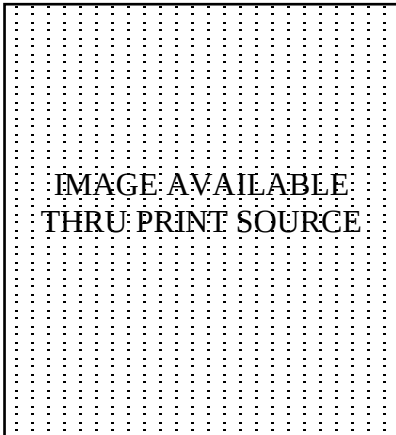


Figure 63 - Manhousaht fisherman interacting with Royal Navy crewmen on the west shore of Hot Springs Cove, in a scene similar to what Brabant would have witnessed in 1874. The Provincial Archives of British Columbia dates the image to that same year, but Moser's diary suggests that it captures the 1882 visit of HMS Kingfisher. Either way, this may represent the first confirmed photograph taken in the Cove.

(See Moser, pg. 27)

While his initial welcome was clearly somewhat rocky, Brabant's forceful personality and sense of determination enabled him to secure a solid foothold over time at Hesquiat. After establishing his mission at Hesquiat, Brabant arranged the construction of two other small churches, one in Barkley Sound in 1877, and another at Ahousat in 1881, complimenting the church already present at Yuquot.⁷⁶ When the church at Hesquiat burnt down about a decade after it was built, it was replaced with a new structure in 1891.⁷⁷

By the early 1890s, then, the Catholic Church had established a religious presence throughout the region surrounding Hot Springs Cove. Eager to expand his reach, Brabant frequently travelled up and down the coast visiting communities from Victoria to Nootka, often aboard local trading and sealing vessels like the *Favourite*.⁷⁸

Compared with the mission at Hesquiat, attempts to maintain a Catholic presence at Ahousat were unsatisfactory in the eyes Brabant, who likely attributed some of the failure to competition with the nearby Protestant mission, established just south of Ahousat in 1896.⁷⁹ In 1910, an aging Brabant was replaced by Charles Moser, who would continue to minister from Hesquiat until 1917.⁸⁰

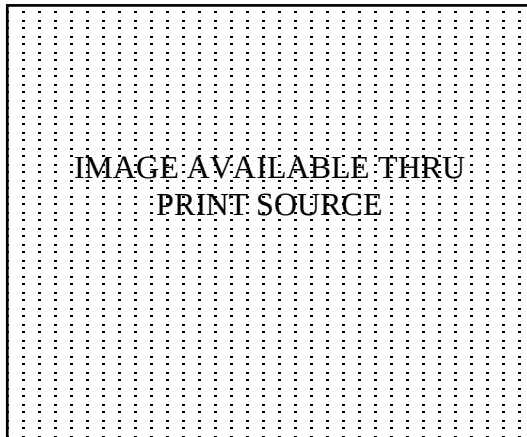


Figure 65 - The original church at Hesquiat, built in 1875.

(From Moser, pg. 97.)

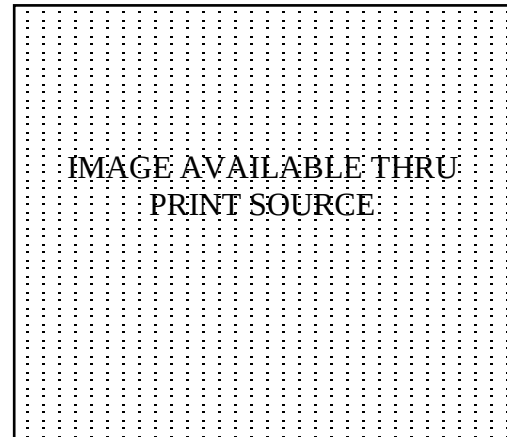


Figure 64 - The Catholic Mission and (rebuilt) Church at Hesquiat, c.1890s. (From Moser, pg. 78)

Ultimately, these missionaries would have a profound impact on indigenous life and the colonization process. For one thing, they were conscious, intentional agents of colonization. Muckle points out that, unlike settlers, missionaries had “deliberate plans to alter the traditional lifeways of First Nations people”, promoting European economic activities, as well as the “abandonment of traditional ceremonies and beliefs”.⁸¹ Their arrival and efforts also happened to coincide with a period of profound social, economic and political change occurring within local Nuuchah-nulth communities as a result of the continuing imposition of colonization and integration into a rapidly changing global economy. Muckle suggests that population loss and severe disruptions to traditional lifeways may have helped encourage indigenous people in BC to adopt European religions.⁸²

On the surface at least, these evangelization efforts had paid off by the early 1900, by which time many indigenous people in British Columbia had adopted at least some Christian practices; Wilson Duff estimated that 90% were nominally converted by 1904.⁸³ *Nomimal* - it must be said - was the *operative* word, because Canada’s indigenous peoples had long shown themselves willing to integrate Christian principles and rituals in their own existing, traditional belief systems – a reality that infuriated many missionaries, who could never be sure just how meaningful their conversions had been. Certainly, by

the early 1910s, traditional Christian marriages were being held in the Church at Hesquiat. But it would not be unreasonable to conclude that at least some of those reaching the altar were choosing to do so for more practical considerations than ‘eternal salvation’.

Around the same time as Brabant and his fellow missionaries were beginning to exert influence over the indigenous communities in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, the settler-dominated governments of British Columbia and Canada also began to increasingly impose their authority on the area. At first, these intrusions were limited, focussed primarily on regulating land-title and use, but they quickly escalated over time to interfere with almost every aspect of traditional indigenous life.

Up until the 1860s, there was virtually no permanent or consistent colonial bureaucratic infrastructure on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. In other words, apart from the occasional forays of gunboats, and the implicit coercive authority that they projected, Euro-Canadian control over the area remained largely theoretical. Not surprisingly, until the end of that decade, few areas of the Island had been set aside specifically for the use of indigenous groups as “reserves”; those that had were almost exclusively on the east coast of the Island, where Euro-Canadian settlement was still concentrated. In the eyes of officials, the lack of Euro-Canadian demand for land on the west coast meant that there was no pressing need to push forward with the effort or expense of reserve creation.

However, as European interest in – and settlement of -- the ‘wild’ west coast of the island began to increase, colonial authorities in Victoria belatedly began to develop a bureaucracy to ‘manage’ the region’s existing indigenous population and lands. In July 1863, the new manager of the sawmill at Alberni, Gilbert Sproat, was sworn in as a Justice of the Peace for Vancouver Island, effectively becoming the government ‘Indian agent’ for the west coast of the island.⁸⁴ In this role, Sproat began to investigate, liaise with and supervise the many groups living on the west coast of the Island. Initially, at least, the influence of Sproat and his successors was limited largely to fact-finding. However, as the decade progressed, monumental decisions were also being made, far away to the east, that would further fundamentally complicate their lives. Whether the

Hesquiaht or Ahousaht were initially aware of the true significance of these distant developments is uncertain.

In July 1867, British parliament created the new federal “Dominion of Canada”, after extensive negotiations between Euro-Canadian politicians in Eastern Canada. BC’s decision to join Confederation in 1871 – without first consulting the indigenous peoples of the west coast – nevertheless brought them under the jurisdiction of the federal government and its increasingly controlling bureaucracy. The creation of the Indian Act in 1876 introduced a range of new regulations that would come to be imposed over the coming decades. For instance, the law gave bureaucrats the power to define Indian ‘status’, stripping it from indigenous women (and their offspring) upon marriage to non-indigenous men – yet another small blow to the passing down of traditional knowledge, as women tended to be key purveyors.⁸⁵

More broadly, the imposition of the Indian Act also marked a fundamental shift in government policy towards a strategy of intentional assimilation and paternalistic micro-management. As part of the effort to integrate them into Euro-Canadian culture, the indigenous peoples in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove would soon find themselves subject to increasingly intrusive government regulation.

Looking back from the perspective of the twenty-first century, the implications of this emphasis on paternalistic regulation and supervision are obvious. It’s “why we have to register...that’s why we have to have a status card and a number,” explains Charity Lucas, a modern-day Hesquiaht. Your “number is always one off from your mother’s. So your mother’s number starts and then yours... in the order of the children.”⁸⁶ The involuntary bureaucratization of Nuuchah’nulth life had begun.

Confederation also gave rise to intergovernmental tensions that would persist for decades. It also pushed forward the surveying of British Columbia, as a detailed geological survey had been one of the conditions of the Confederation deal.⁸⁷ When BC decided to join in 1871, the intention was that the province would retain control over its lands and resources, while transferring lands set aside by the federal government for the “use and benefit of Indians”.⁸⁸ In reality, though, these two levels of government would soon be at loggerheads over these issues. By 1873, BC had decided that the federal policy

of granting eighty acres per indigenous family "was greatly in excess of the grants [they had] considered sufficient", proposing, instead, that "Indian Reserves should not exceed a quantity of twenty acres for each head of a family of five persons." A "Joint Indian Reserve Commission" (JIRC) operated between 1875 and 1878, but it would not be until the late 1880s that reserves were officially allocated in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove.

⁸⁹ This reserve creation was likely delayed because the local land was still not yet in high demand by Euro-Canadians.⁹⁰

Finally, in June 1886, Peter O'Reilly, the Indian Reserves Commissioner, officially allotted the Hesquiaht five reserves, setting aside their main village site, as well as four other halibut, salmon or sealing sites in and around Hesquiaht harbour.⁹¹

Three years later, the Kelsemaht and Ahousaht together were granted a combined fifteen reserves, again by O'Reilly, which included a number of sites associated with salmon, sealing, halibut, cod, and dogfish fishing.⁹² At that time, the "Manhauset" were also allotted three reserves, one at Openit, IR#27 (77 acres), a second directly across on the shore of Flores Island, Tootoowiltena IR #28 (21 acres) and a third, Kishnacous IR #29 (34 acres) in Pretty Girl Cove, the latter unoccupied except for seasonal fishing for dogfish and salmon.⁹³ As part of this process, the parcels in question were formally surveyed.⁹⁴

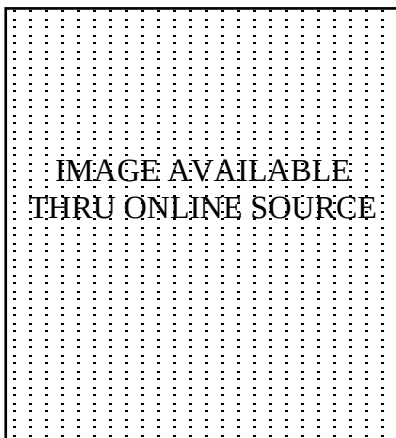


Figure 66 - Sketches by Peter O'Reilly, setting out five reserves for the "Hesquiat" in 1886.

(See "MINUTES OF DECISION, CORRESPONDENCE & SKETCHES Peter O'Reilly - February 1884 to December 1887 - (M.O.D.s February 1884 to September 1887), Binder8 (Box 3)", BC Union of Indian Chiefs. Last modified March 2005. Accessed May 4, 2019. [http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/sites/jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/files/BC MOD%20Binder%2008.pdf](http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/sites/jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/files/BC%20MOD%20Binder%2008.pdf).)

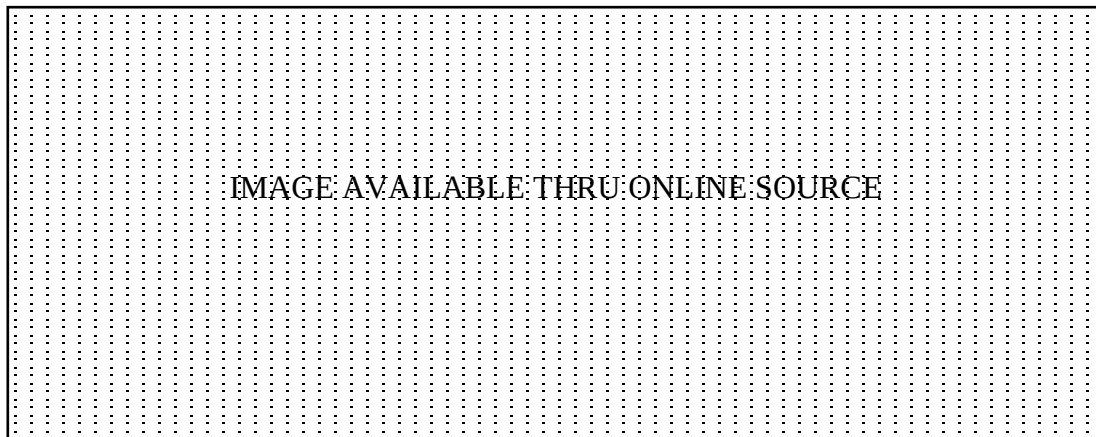


Figure 67 - ABOVE: Sketch of the “Manhauset” reserves as surveyed by Peter O’Reilly in 1889. RIGHT: Enlargement of inset map from bottom-right corner of map above, showing the relative location of the three afore-mentioned reserves.

(See "MINUTES OF DECISION & SKETCHES ~ P. O'REILLY, A.W. VOWELL ~ DECISIONS IRC BOOK No. 2. [inc INDEX - VOLUME 20]", BC Union of Indian Chiefs. Last modified January 2005. Accessed April 6, 2019. <http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/sites/jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/files/Volume%2020.pdf>)

etting out these reserves served two very practical purposes: clarifying land rights and freeing up the surrounding landscape for (European) development. These allotments were not based on a Euro-Canadian belief in – or need to recognize -- indigenous title. Rather, they were an acknowledgement of traditional use, and the importance of fishing to the subsistence of these groups.⁹⁵ Indeed, in the wake of Joseph Trutch’s tenure as BC’s colonial Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, provincial officials consistently rejected any attempt to link reserve creation to the notion of pre-existing indigenous title.^{96 97} In the colonial mind, the indigenous peoples in and around Hot Springs Cove no longer had an inherent right to live on, use or control their traditional landscape. Their continued occupation would now be determined by ‘practical’, Euro-Canadian considerations.

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Figure 69 - Ahousat Village, at Marktosis, near Matilda Inlet, c.1900. In setting aside reserves, early officials on the West Coast largely focussed on immediate inhabitation and fishing sites, rather than considering the wider sweep of traditional territory.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image A-06124)

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Figure 68 - How little the Nuu-chah-nulth of Clayoquot were formally allowed to keep of their traditional territory comes into stark relief when one compares a map of reserves prepared for the McKenna-McBride final report against a modern map showing the many BC Parks in the Sound. Today, less than 0.5% of the area is allocated to reserves.

(See “Our Homes are Bleeding”, BC Union of Indian Chiefs, and “Parks of Clayoquot Sound”, BC Parks, Government of British Columbia, and Horsfield & Kennedy. Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History, pg. 243)

The ban on alcohol sales to indigenous peoples was arguably one of the earliest examples of government regulation affecting indigenous life in and around Hot Springs Cove. First introduced as a colonial law in 1854, the prohibition was more aggressively enforced by the Royal Navy through the 1860s and 70s.⁹⁸ However, despite these efforts, bootlegging continued through the 1890s with sealing captains bribing crews with alcohol and traders selling alcohol to those willing to paddle out to their anchored trading ships by canoes.⁹⁹ Even the trading post on Clayoquot/Stubbs Island sold alcohol surreptitiously in what Guppy has described as a roaring trade.¹⁰⁰

Still, the strength and weight of Euro-Canadian law continued to grow more noticeable and burdensome upon the indigenous inhabitants of the west coast in the late 1880s. Indeed, amendments to the *Indian Act* in the wake of the Northwest Rebellion of 1885 had introduced a number of other intrusive restrictions on indigenous life. Elsewhere in Canada, the introduction of a “pass” system officially required indigenous people who wished to leave their reserve to seek permission from their Indian Agent.¹⁰¹¹⁰² The amended *Act* also imposed, for the first time, a ban on the holding of potlatches, in an attempt to eliminate a range of cultural celebrations considered incompatible with Euro-Canadian values.¹⁰³ As the century progressed, wage labour increased, and more trade goods became available, potlatches had become more elaborate.¹⁰⁴ This concerned Euro-Canadian officials, who, in the words of Turner, had “little understanding of [the] important roles and functions of a potlatch [which they] regarded... as frivolous, lavish and wasteful gift giving”.¹⁰⁵ As Peter Webster of Ahousat put it, “the potlatch was outlawed by white officials to protect us from ourselves.” By contrast, he noted, “the same officials did not seem so protective when it came to making more outlets available for the sale of liquor.”¹⁰⁶

While the pass law and potlatch bans may have been official national policy, it is appears that they were not equally enforced in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. No references were found to passes in any correspondence or testimony; rather, what comes across clearly from the source material is the constant flow of indigenous peoples into, out of, and around the area. It likely that the dispersed geography of Nuuchah-nulth communities, the tiny number of enforcement officials, and the sheer scale of seasonal

movement for resource-gathering all combined to make this pass policy unenforceable. The crackdown on potlatching, by contrast, appears to have been a bit more effective. Webster, for instance, recalls Ahousahts invited to a Clayoquot potlatch being jailed for participation, and criticized officials for their efforts to “punish people and try to banish all what culture we had”.¹⁰⁷

Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, however, have suggested that the relative remoteness of communities like Ahousaht allowed many ceremonies to go undetected.¹⁰⁸ In any case, enforcement appears to have increased in the early part of the twentieth century, at the orders of Duncan Campbell Scott, the new Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.¹⁰⁹ Even then, local officials appear to have been rather inconsistent in – or even reluctant to – aggressively prosecute to the full extent allowed under law. For instance, the first prosecution on the west coast of the island in 1921 saw Cox, the local Indian Agent, helping the local Provincial Constable charge 43 Nuuchahnulth with dancing off reserve. Cole and Chaikin suggest this “lesser charge [was] deliberately chosen to allow [nominal] fines rather than imprisonment”.¹¹⁰ Missionaries Brabant and Moser, too, appear to have been relatively indifferent to the potlatches occurring regularly around them.¹¹¹

Despite the official crackdown, Turner notes, all along the BC coast, potlatches continued, albeit in secret, in remote places, or in modified forms, disguised as Christian weddings and Christmas celebrations.¹¹² Inevitably, though, many ceremonial intricacies and customs were lost over time, and the effectiveness of the potlatch as a traditional wealth redistribution system appears to have diminished as well.¹¹³ Researcher Susan Golla suggests that, by the 1940s, the Nuuchahnulth were experiencing “a real diminution of interest in traditional forms,” with potlatches becoming, in the words of Cole and Chaikin, “smaller, quieter, less well attended and less elaborate”.¹¹⁴ Golla suggests that population decline, marginalization, poverty and decades of residential schooling “were undoubtedly weightier forces for change than any statute on the books”.

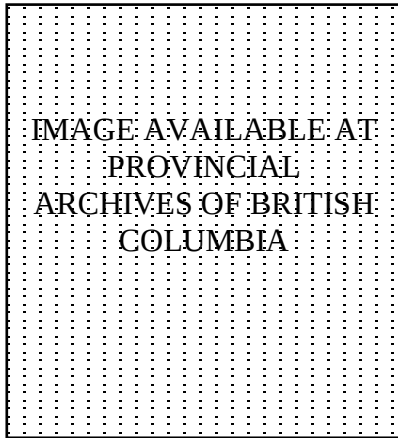


Figure 70 - Two views of Hesquiat Village, in 1894 (upper) and 1913 (lower). By the late 1800s, Euro-Canadian society was increasingly imposing its control over Nuu-chah-nulth society, through regulation, evangelization and residential schooling.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image NA-04463 & H-05538)

Perhaps the most insidious intrusion into local indigenous life came from the intersection of government policy and evangelization in the form of residential schooling, a policy already transforming the lives and cultures of indigenous peoples elsewhere in Canada. Authorized by the government, and implemented by Christian churches, the Indian Residential School system was explicitly intended to further assimilation by removing indigenous children from their cultural context in order to more effectively educate them in Euro-Canadian religion, language and culture.¹¹⁵



Figure 71 - The Christie School, established by the Catholic Church at Kakawis on Meares Island, near Tofino, pictured in 1900 and 1905.

(See Moser, pg. 153-155)

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, sporadic attempts had been made to establish faith-based schooling in Clayoquot Sound, but these efforts had been limited to day-schooling, and initially faltered.¹¹⁶ Brabant had long advocated for the creation of a local residential school, in part because he feared the growing influence of Protestantism, which he believed would “give us trouble and pervert our Indian children”.¹¹⁷ He finally got his wish in 1899-1900, when funding came through from the Catholic Bishop in

Victoria to create a residential school on the west coast of Meares Island at a place called Kakawis (“place of many berries”).¹¹⁸ The facility, near the community of Opitsaht, was named the Christie School, after the Bishop.¹¹⁹

Around the same time, the Presbyterians/Methodists created competition by opening their own school at nearby Ahousat.¹²⁰ Together with their counterpart in Alberni, the Christie and Ahousat schools were part of a wider network of 16 schools that had been established across BC by 1914, and would continue to operate well into the twentieth century.¹²¹

The oblates at Christie were initially disappointed by the first year enrollment, but the school population grew over time.¹²² Missionaries actively recruited children from nominally Catholic villages along the coast – such as Hesquiat, Opitsat and Kyoquot – targeting, in particular, the “semi-orphans” of parents afflicted with tuberculosis as easier to recruit.¹²³

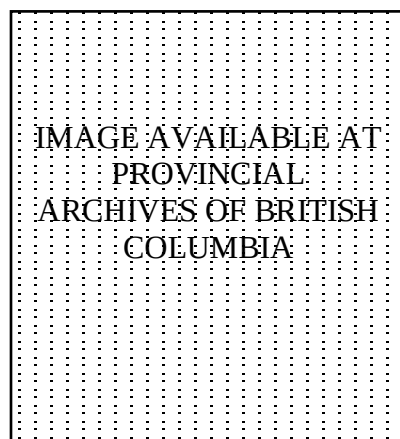


Figure 72 - Ahousat residents, pictured in front of the first Christian church and residence built there.

Through their long-term efforts at residential schooling, both the Catholic and United Churches would profoundly impact the Nuu-chah-nulth.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image B-01077)

While some Christian parents eagerly sent their child to receive a faith-based education, others presumably saw the schooling as a way of learning to be more successful and coexist in a world increasingly dominated by Euro-Canadians.¹²⁴ Many others, however, resisted the idea entirely. Ultimately, local police ended up having to act as truant officers to ensure that children were taken from their parents and forced to attend this schooling, once it became mandatory in the 1920s.¹²⁵ Alice Paul recalls stories

of families tying their children in sacks to hide them when government officials came by boat to pick children up for school.¹²⁶ Moser and Brabant both noted the distress of parents whose children were being taken from them for the first time.¹²⁷ Many parents protested the policy, in writing, and some appeared to have tried to play the two competing religious schools off against each other.¹²⁸ The Ahousahts, in particular, were noted by officials as being eager to challenge authority.¹²⁹ Indian Agent A.W. Neill, for instance, described them as “the most impudent and aggressive on the coast”. The students themselves resisted in other ways as well. In May 1917, for instance, some burnt down the Ahousaht school, while several others were caught and jailed for attempting to do the same to the Christie School.¹³⁰

Not all officials within the bureaucracy were proponents of the system either. For instance, one Department doctor repeatedly raised alarms about the elevated risk of tuberculosis infections but was ignored.¹³¹ And yet, enough children were getting seriously sick at school that school administrators began to discharge them home so that their deaths would be the responsibility of parents, rather than the school. This policy only served to further spread infectious diseases.¹³²

As was common in such schools, discipline was harsh. Alice Paul of Hesquiaht recalls that “I couldn’t speak English...but we weren’t allowed to speak our language. We’d get punished. We’d have to write ‘I must not speak Indian’...a hundred times. Or they would make us kneel down for a certain number of hours”.¹³³ Charity Lucas of Hesquiaht recalls that “the elders that we grew up with [went] to a Catholic school where it was beaten out of them.”¹³⁴ Her own grandmother “never ever spoke [her] language again after 5 years old because they strapped her, they beat her.” The impact, she suggests, was profound: “to be displaced that way...it leaves each person in a nation with a little bit of sorrow in their heart because you don’t really know where they belong...and the division that it has brought in our communities”.

To make matters worse, over the years, a number of teachers and priests were found to have physically and sexually abused the students.¹³⁵ Compounding this was the fact that the students’ home communities were largely empty except for the old and sick,

since many were away fishing seasonally or labouring in hops fields or canneries. This left them with few avenues to receive support for the trauma they were enduring.¹³⁶

Seen in this light, it is hard to claim that much of benefit came from this schooling - though the missionaries tried, showcasing needle work and writing from Christie students at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis as evidence of the system's 'positive' impact.¹³⁷ True, some may appear to have taken some useful skills from the experience. George Sye of the Kelsemat, for instance, applied what he learned about boat building to his later career as a fisherman.¹³⁸ For his part, Benedict Andrews learned to communicate effectively in English, which would later help him in his long campaign in support of Hesquiaht relocation. Ultimately, however, there is no denying that residential schooling had a profoundly negative, intergenerational impact on the lives and culture of indigenous peoples living in and around Hot Springs Cove. Thinking of what her ancestors went through in residential school leaves modern-day Hesquiaht resident Jaylynn Lucas with a "heavy heart":

It's a scary feeling knowing that they went through that, 'cause I have a child of my own. If my child got taken away from me two years from now, I don't know what I would do...if I'm just starting to teach him the language, if I'm just starting to teach him how to dance in our culture, showing him this community, showing him the springs, the *InnChanter*, but all that got taken away from him because he had to go to a different school... it would break my heart... it still breaks my heart thinking about it.¹³⁹

By ripping children from their families, elders and cultural context, residential schooling not only injured, traumatized or decimated entire generations, but also irreparably harmed traditional Nuuchah-nulth culture. For, as Chief James Sewid of the Southern Kwakiutl put it so succinctly, "you have to live with your people to understand your culture".¹⁴⁰

'A Landscape of Opportunity': European Economic Interest Evolves into Mining, Fishing and Homesteading.

By the 1880s, the area around Hot Springs Cove was no longer a landscape of fear, but rather a place brimming with opportunity in the eyes of Euro-Canadians, who

increasingly flocked to the area. This shift was facilitated by improving access. For much of the nineteenth century, European trading and transportation links to Hot Springs Cove and the west coast of Vancouver Island were intermittent, largely dependent on the periodic voyages of small trading ships. These traders, which imported European products and purchased indigenous products like dogfish oil appear to have provided passenger service on a case-by-case basis. Brabant, for instance, had been dependent on trading vessels to transport him and his initial mission supplies to Hesquiaht. Indigenous passengers seeking to travel down the coast, to Victoria and beyond, would have either arranged passage on these vessels or resorted to paddling themselves. Once arrived in larger centres, they could then book passage further afield on coastal steamers or trains.¹⁴¹ As whaling and sealing boomed after 1870, other enterprising captains appear to have supplemented their hunting revenues by offering passenger transportation where appropriate.

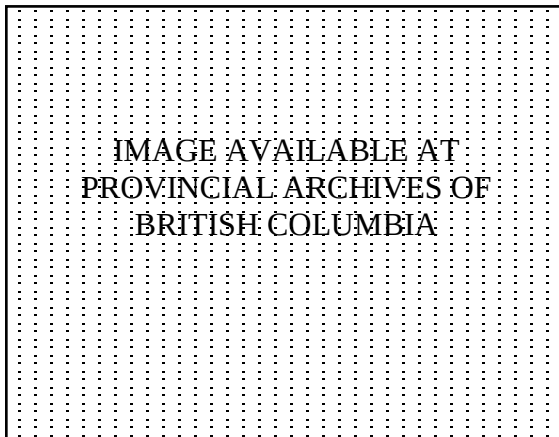


Figure 73 - The Willapa, docked in Victoria, c. 1900.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image F-00245)

Growing European interest in the region (and particularly its mining prospects) appears to have been the principal catalyst for the introduction of more regular cargo and passenger service in the late 1880s, provided by small wooden steam-powered vessels like the *Maude* and *Willapa*, operated by the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company (CPN), which would later be purchased by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1901.¹⁴² Sailing from Victoria, these steamers began a regular route up the west coast of the island, stopping at various locations where there was sufficient demand, such as Stubbs Island, Ahousaht, Bedwell and Sydney Inlet. Their presence brought some

unexpected benefits – in January 1898, for instance, the *Willapa* was able to rescue a disabled British steamer and tow it into Sydney Inlet, from where it was later towed to Victoria.¹⁴³ In 1899, the *Willapa* was replaced by the *Queen City* and the metal hulled *Tees*, known by the nickname “Holy Roller” for its poor handling in rough weather.¹⁴⁴

By 1912, the West Coast steamer route had apparently proved viable enough to convince the CPR to commission the construction of a larger vessel, the *Princess Maquinna*, with a capacity of 400 day passengers and 100 overnight berths.¹⁴⁵ Too large for many makeshift docks and piers, the *Maquinna* would anchor in isolated inlets, where goods and passengers would be hoisted down or passed out side hatches into waiting boats and canoes.¹⁴⁶ It had to reverse its way out of Ahousat’s Matilda Inlet, but presumably could turn around in Sydney Inlet and Hot Springs Cove.¹⁴⁷ As of 1917, the *Maquinna* was operating on a 10-day circuit from Victoria up to Port Alice at the top of the island and back.¹⁴⁸

Regular steamer service further expanded the geographic horizons of the Nuuchah-nulth, connecting them more easily to consumer markets in places like Victoria and employment opportunities in the canneries and hops fields. It was common, therefore, to see large groups of Nuuchah-nulth travelling in “deck-class”, accompanied by all the equipment and supplies they would need for a season away (or returning with goods purchased with their earnings).¹⁴⁹ As Kennedy puts it, the steamers offered indigenous passengers “frequent and reliable transport, especially for those travelling to and from seasonal employment at the canneries”.¹⁵⁰ Commodities like fish and dogfish oil could now also more easily be exported from the area. The opportunity to import more European goods also increased, helping to accelerate the transformation of local indigenous material culture. And from a Euro-Canadian perspective, this improved access also made isolated parts of the coast -- such as Hot Springs Cove -- more attractive to settlers considering the coast as a place to begin homesteading. It also facilitated plans to exploit the region’s mineral potential.

Indeed, some of the first Europeans to begin encroaching on Hot Springs Cove in the 1890s were attracted not by the landscape, but by what was potentially *under* it. To south, a second mini-gold rush on the Bedwell occurred in 1886 in response to finds by

Chinese miners.^{151 152} More reports in the Victoria media led to a broader influx in the late 1890s.¹⁵³ Prospectors begin exploring the coastline around Hesquiat, on Flores Island, and up Sydney Inlet, where they made some particularly promising finds.¹⁵⁴ By 1898, there were 32 claims in the area at various stages of development, with the Indian Chief mine in nearby Stewardson Inlet emerging as the most significant producer in all of Clayoquot Sound.^{155 156} Ore from these mines was transported down the coast by steamer, often loaded at Thornberg's store in Ahousat.¹⁵⁷

The influx of miners and support workers to Sydney Inlet, and the increase in European shipping in local waters, would have encouraged greater contact with the local indigenous peoples, and facilitated the spread of European goods. As trees were cleared, mining camps were established, tunnels were dug, tailings piled up, and roads were carved into the hillsides, the very landscape around Hot Springs Cove had also begun to change.

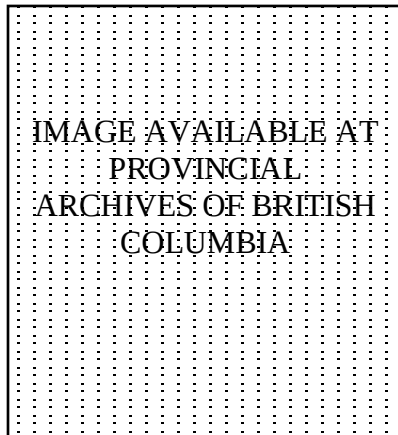


Figure 74 - Bedwell Sound, south of Hot Springs Cove, pictured here in 1926, was the focal point of mining efforts for many decades, beginning the 1880s.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image NA-10680)

While mineral ore was the preoccupation of most prospectors pouring over the local landscape at this time, there were a few enterprising individuals apparently wondering whether the mineral waters of the nearby hot springs might turn out to be a motherlode of their very own. Indeed, in 1898, the Geological Survey of Canada first studied the hot springs, apparently in response to suggestions that Sharp Point might make a suitable location for a resort development.¹⁵⁸ Whatever came of this early plan, however, is unclear.¹⁵⁹

In the 1890s, another development which attracted more and more Europeans to the waters in and around Hot Springs Cove was the emergence of a commercial fishery

for the international market. Indigenous fisherman had already been trading locally-caught fish to European explorers and traders for more than a century, but this trade had been small-scale, and largely for local/immediate consumption.¹⁶⁰ However, many of the earliest European settlers on the coast the north and south of Hot Springs Cove had been Norwegian, according to Guppy, and brought with them the practice of salting fish to preserve the fish they caught. This facilitated not only their own food storage, but also allowed small-scale exports to the Hawaiian Islands and Asia.¹⁶¹ This increased interest among local Europeans in fishing commercially, and also likely attracted some indigenous fisherman as well.

In the late 1890s, and early 1900s the first canneries were opened at Nootka and at Ahousat to serve this emerging industry as the introduction of canning techniques largely replaced salting.¹⁶² These canneries offered attractive employment opportunities for local indigenous people, who worked alongside other labourers, many of whom were Chinese immigrants, on a seasonal basis, starting midsummer with the arrival of fish and ending with the close of the fishing season in the fall.¹⁶³ Nuuchahnulth fisherman were also paid by local canneries to catch fish from their canoes.¹⁶⁴

Over time, a new seasonal fishery pattern emerged, with both indigenous and European fisherman catching fish in the summer, while hunting, cutting firewood, improving their homes or homesteads or finding other part-time employment in the winter off-season. According to Guppy, this pattern continued into the 1930s: “In the summer we fish and in the winter we wear gumboots”.¹⁶⁵

As European miners began crawling over the hillsides around Hot Springs Cove, to the south in Tofino, the arrival of the first European homesteader, John Grice in 1888, signalled the beginning of more systematic and intentional European settlement efforts.¹⁶⁶ This shift was reinforced by the wider immigration policies of the Laurier government, which took power in 1896, and began to offer and aggressively advertise parcels of free land, known as “pre-emptions”. Male Euro-Canadian immigrants were eligible to file for up to 200 acres of available Crown land, at no cost, with the expectation of making ‘improvements’, and beginning to pay taxes.¹⁶⁷ Since there were few Indian Reserves, this meant that the vast majority of Vancouver Island was up for grabs. And since

indigenous groups were apparently not typically consulted about applications for lands that lay beyond their reserve boundaries, many sites of significance to them ultimately became the private property of others. Even when the Nuu-chah-nulth did make requests for reserve expansion, it appears that conflicting pre-emption requests were often favoured by provincial officials.¹⁶⁸ On the west coast of Flores, for instance, a private investor was granted lands that the Ahousaht had previously requested, much to the frustration of Department of Indian Affairs officials.¹⁶⁹

Demand for land in and around Tofino quickly led to a bunch of local pre-emptions by the end of the 1800s. By 1912, the growing townsite had been divided up into present layout of lots and streets.¹⁷⁰ Far fewer pre-emptions, however, had occurred in more remote areas. Indeed, at the beginning of the 20th century, the area around Hot Springs Cove was still a predominantly indigenous landscape, particularly when it came to permanent settlement. European settlement in Clayoquot Sound was still very limited, and concentrated around the emerging community of Tofino/Stubbs-Clayoquot Island. Beyond that, there were some transient mining camps around the Bedwell River and Sydney Inlet, as well as the trading posts at Ahousat and Hesquiat.

In the first two decades of the new century, however, European settlement and occupation increased dramatically. To south, on Vargas Island, by 1912, a loose group of settlers had pre-empted large sections of the island and were trying to establish homesteads and ranches.¹⁷¹ A number chose building sites that were already cleared, much to the frustration of the Ahousaht and Kelsemaht, whose former villages sites they were occupying. However, the sandy, swampy land proved unsuitable, and many soon relocated or found employment in nearby canneries.

To the north, however, new opportunities continued to beckon. While the collapse of the European seal hunt in 1912 cut heavily into the wage earnings of local indigenous communities, it actually helped inspire new European development in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. Eager to find new opportunities to profit, an enterprising former sealing captain, George Heater, decided to get in on the burgeoning herring trade by establishing a herring saltery near the head of nearby Holmes Inlet in 1916.¹⁷² He built his processing plant on a log raft and his employees lived in floating camp alongside, built upon the modified hull of the old schooner *Favourite*,¹⁷³ which had long served as a coastal trading and sealing vessel under Captain Spring.¹⁷⁴ To staff his new business, he recruited a chef of Chinese descent, along with 20 Scottish women from Aberdeen to work in the saltery. In short order, “Pretty Girl Cove” became a popular rendezvous for local halibut and cod fisherman, who began to stop by frequently, at least ostensibly, for bait.¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ Within three years, however, in the winter of 1920, the installation had been destroyed by winter storms, likely smashed by loose logs, though no-one was onboard at the time.¹⁷⁷ In subsequent years, the picturesque grassy estuary was apparently used as a picnic spot by touring Euro-Canadians.

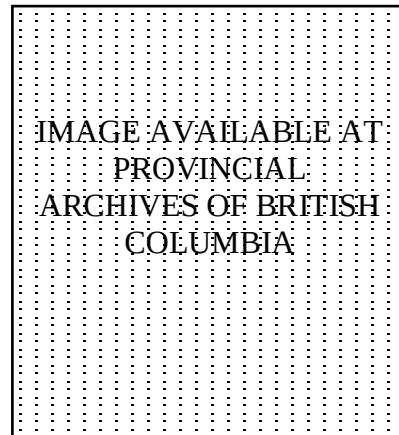


Figure 75 - Sealing schooners at anchor in Victoria. In the wake of the 1911 sealing ban, *Favourite*, second from the left, become staff accommodation for Heater’s saltery in Pretty Girl Cove.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-06120)

Around this time, Reece Riley Sr, an American prospector who had opened the first boat repair shop in Tofino after his arrival in 1898, decided to establish a boat-repair facility to take advantage of the European interest in the area.¹⁷⁸ Based out of what would become Riley Cove on the north-western tip of Flores Island, he hired out little motor launches for prospectors, survey parties and timber cruises.^{179 180}



Figure 76 - Indigenous and European establishments in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, late 1800s/early 1900s.

(Map by David Lynch)

In June 1915, an educated 27-year-old teacher and clerk, Annie Rae-Arthur, preempted 117 acres in Hesquiat and relocated from Vancouver with three kids in attempt to forge a new life and save her husband from drugs and alcohol.¹⁸¹ Over the coming

decades, they would hack a rough muddy homestead out of the forest, building a small house, later replaced by a larger one with running water provided by pipes often dug up by bears.¹⁸² Rae's first husband largely stayed inside and worked with the kids, while Annie did the hard work outside.¹⁸³ While they skirted with starvation in the early days, with Annie nearly dying of exposure when forced to go out hunting, they eventually built up a herd of animals, which included up to 100 goats and numerous chickens.¹⁸⁴

Enterprising Annie maintained a good relationship with her Hesquiaht neighbours, often serving as midwife for difficult births (with payments made in goods).¹⁸⁵ On at least one occasion, the Hesquiaht, in turn, rescued her from death. She opened a small store out of her home to sell fruit and veggies to her indigenous neighbours and local fisherman, sending eggs to be sold in Tofino. Rae's store likely filled some of the void left by the closure of the Luckovitch store at Hesquiat, which appears to have happened sometime after 1910.

More famously, Rae also sold dahlia bulbs, by mail order, all around the world, with customers sometimes writing back with pictures of families.¹⁸⁶ She also managed to outlive four husbands.¹⁸⁷ Her mail orders continued to be sent out by steamer (or by the Catholic mission boat that visited her frequently) until she was into her 80s, when bureaucrats learned of her age and finally cancelled her post office contract.¹⁸⁸ Her nickname, however, came from her habit of staking out her farm animals in the yard, to attract cougars, which she would then shoot, in order to collect the significant bounty paid out for them. A year after the arrival of the Arthurs, the Hamilton brothers, talking inspiration from an earlier attempt by Brabant in 1887, tried to raise cattle on the Hesquiat Peninsula in 1916. However, the herds went wild after the land was found unsuitable.¹⁸⁹ The surviving feral cattle continued to be seen feeding at low tide for years after.

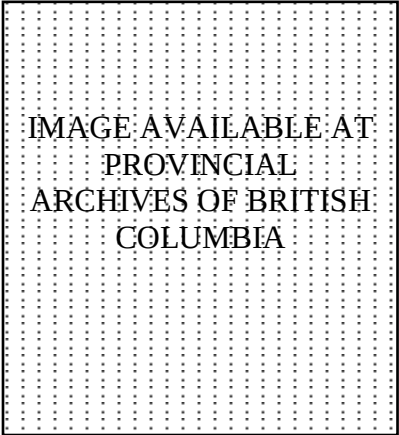


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Figure 77 - Perhaps the most iconic photograph of Annie Rae-Arthur, later in life.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-04904)

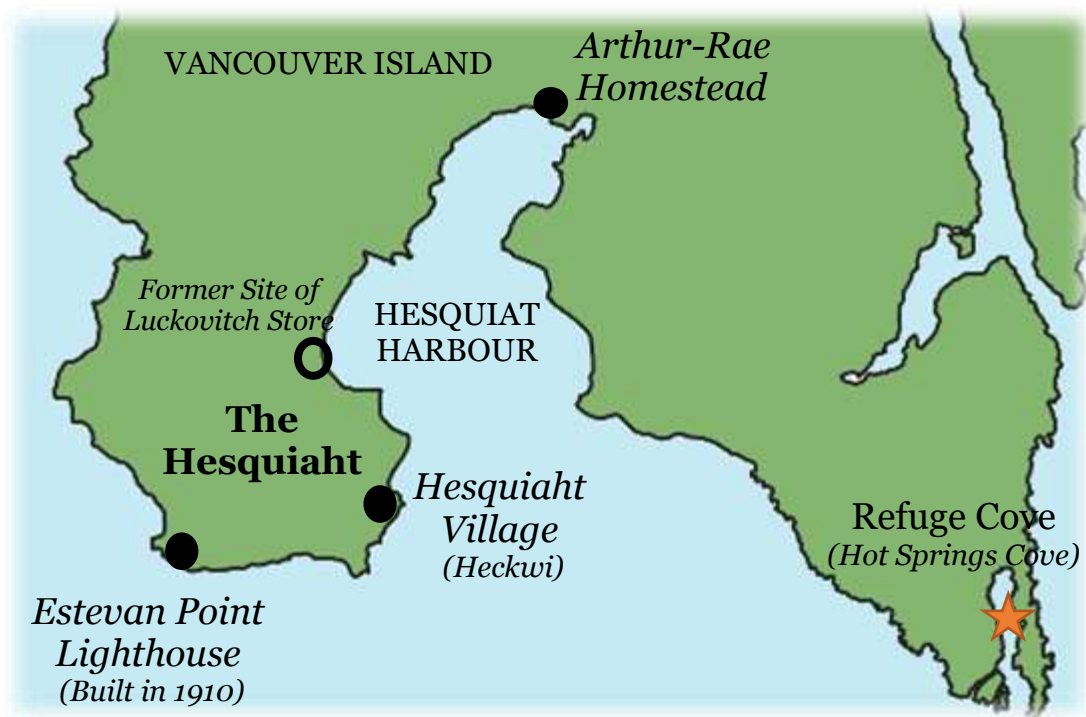


Figure 78 - Annie Rae-Arthur and her family pre-empted land, established a homestead and operated a store on the north shore of Hesquiat Harbour, beginning in 1915.

(Map by David Lynch)

With the construction of a major new sawmill at Mosquito Harbour, south of Hot Springs Cove, in 1905, it seemed that timber was finally about to emerge as a key economic driver in Clayoquot Sound.^{190 191} This kicked off a wave of speculation that would continue until 1909, as the BC government granted thousands of timber licenses throughout the Sound, effectively putting much of land beyond indigenous control.¹⁹² It appears that a number of timber leases were granted around this time to tracts around Hesquiat Harbour, on Flores Island and at the head of Hot Springs Cove.¹⁹³

Encouraged by the many long-term, favourable timber leases that it managed to snap up, the Sutton Lumber and Trading Company exported its first load of shingles and lumber 1907, but they arrived on the American Eastern Seaboard just as the economy tumbled in the 1907 financial crisis, leading to unsustainable losses.¹⁹⁴ With the closing of the Mosquito Harbour mill, little use was made of timber resources for next little while. The exceptions were the Gibson Brothers' small mill at Ahousat/Matilda Creek, which employed one or two local indigenous workers, as well as a mill belonging to the Darville family, which again employed only a handful of labourers.¹⁹⁵ Only small-scale logging supplied these small local sawmills, and none apparently was conducted around this time in the relatively isolated vicinity of the Cove.¹⁹⁶

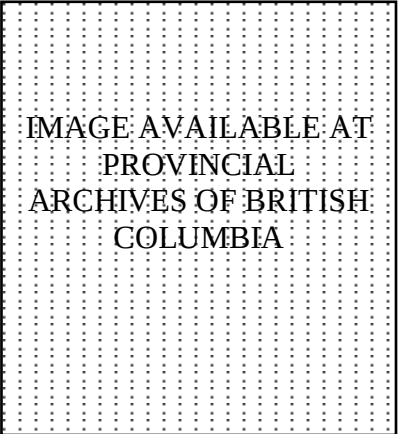


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Figure 79 - Despite the failure of the ambitious Mosquito Harbour mill in the early 1900s, officials were optimistic about the potential for logging in the vicinity of the Cove, carving up the area into a series of timber leases.

(Courtesy of Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image NA-04452)

As the first European settlers were establishing more permanent settlements in the vicinity of the Cove, the mining boom, which had brought renewed European interest to the region was ending. As Guppy described it, the “climate of euphoria that, for a time, had supported and sustained the Clayoquot Sound mining boom” was destroyed by the

financial crisis of 1907.¹⁹⁷ A brief resurgence thanks to investment in a mine at Bedwell was short-lived, and collapsed when crews left to enlist at the start of WWI.¹⁹⁸



Figure 80 - Today almost nothing can be seen of the once extensive and profitable “Indian Chief” copper mine in Stewardson Inlet.

(Image by David Lynch)

While many of the smaller claims were abandoned or relinquished, the Indian Chief mine in Stewardson continued to operate under new ownership after it was sold in 1899 to Edgar Dewdney, a former Lt. Governor, who expanded it.¹⁹⁹ By 1909, 37 men worked on site, and demand for copper during the war reinvigorated the mine in 1916; as a result, it continued to operate into the 1920s.²⁰⁰ In recognition of this European presence, a local post office was established, apparently at one of the mine sites. This Sidney Inlet post office (apparently misspelled for much of its life) appears to have operated until 1927, but was likely abandoned with the decline of the mine.²⁰¹

For the early European settlers in Clayoquot Sound, access to Euro-Canadian medical care remained a major challenge. The closest hospitals were more than a hundred miles away in Port Alice or Port Alberni, heightening the sense that they were living on a

wild frontier.²⁰² Coastal steamers served as the major lifeline to those who were seriously sick or injured. The *Maquinna*, for instance, was known to skip stops in order to rush very ill passengers to hospital, making up them up on the return trip.²⁰³ The situation was somewhat improved with the arrival of the first Euro-Canadian doctor to Tofino in 1912.²⁰⁴ Dixon regularly travelled up the coast to Hesquiat and beyond, visiting mining camps and isolated homestead families, include the Rae-Arthurs.

‘Lighthouses, Patrol Boats & Royal Commissions’: Government presence expands in 1900s while the Nuu-chah-nulth organize.

As more and more Euro-Canadians established themselves in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, it was inevitable that bureaucracy would soon follow. Indeed, it was in the first decades of the 20th century that the presence of the Canadian government first really began to be felt along the coast of Clayoquot Sound.

With the withdrawal of the Royal Navy in 1910, the Canadian military officially took responsibility for defence of the coast, though with only a handful of ships, their presence was minimal.²⁰⁵ However, with more and more cargo ships passing by and through the challenging local waters, the federal government also undertook an expansion of its coastal navigation infrastructure, leading to the construction of lighthouses at Lennard Island, off Tofino, in 1904, and the massive concrete Estevan Light in 1907, which required the construction of a 8km long raised wooden “corduroy” road from Hesquiat harbour to the lighthouse.^{206 207}

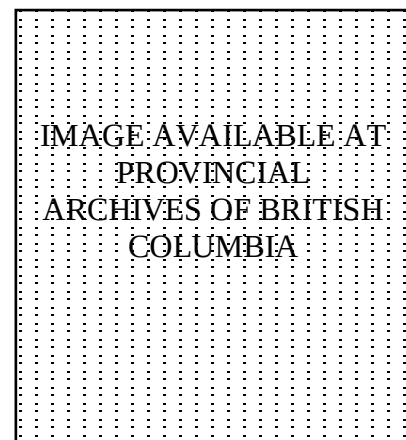


Figure 81 - The new concrete lighthouse at Estevan Point, pictured shortly after its construction, c.1910.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image F-03694)

These lighthouses would be regularly served by government tender-ships like the *Quadra*, which acted in a variety of other capacities as well, transporting bureaucrats, assisting police, and conducting coastal surveying.²⁰⁸

With the growth of Euro-Canadian settlement and government infrastructure in Clayoquot Sound, the decision was made to extend the telegraph network from Port Alberni.²⁰⁹ The line arrived in Clayoquot in 1902, and then went on to connect to Nootka by the end of WWI.²¹⁰ It was also extended to various homesteads and local communities around Tofino, then on to Mosquito Harbour and the mines at Bedwell/Bear River.²¹¹ The section between Ahousaht and Hesquiat appears to have skirted along the north coast of Flores Island, where old poles can still be seen, through Riley Cove, where linesmen like Mike Hamilton would stay in a small cabin as they tended the line.²¹² From there, it appears to have gone under Sydney Inlet, come ashore and crossed just north of the estuary in Hot Springs Cove, where remnants can still be found, continuing west to the ocean and then up to Hesquiat.²¹³

With commercial fishing emerging as an increasingly lucrative industry, federal officials also began developing fishing regulations and investing in conservation measures. In 1910, a



Figure 83 - Remnants of the old wooden corduroy road from Hesquiat to Estevan, c. 1993.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown.)



Figure 82 - The remains of the old coastal telegraph line can still be identified from the regular occurrence of stripped tree trunks along the northern shore of Flores Island.

(Image by David Lynch)

fish hatchery was opened on Kennedy Lake, near Tofino, and fisheries agents began to patrol nearby waters, enforcing newly developed restrictions.²¹⁴ Increasingly, the Nuu-chah-nulth found these new regulations at odds with their traditional resource gathering practices. Peter Webster of Ahousaht, for instance, expressed his frustration over “becom[ing] ‘criminals’ without really knowing the reasons” after he was arrested for fur seal possession and jailed for a month for failing to pay a seine tax.²¹⁵

The bureaucracy of Indian Affairs had also become more elaborate and intrusive by this point, with the whole of the west coast of Vancouver Island organized in 1881 into the “West Coast Agency”, overseen by an appointed “Indian Agent”, who circulated between the many communities from his base in Port Alberni.²¹⁶ As of 1914, for instance, the Indian Act required indigenous peoples in Western Canada to seek official permission before performing in traditional dress at public events. Other amendments soon gave officials the power to reduce, relocate or lease out reserve lands for a variety of public or non-indigenous interests.²¹⁷

Naturally, the growing presence of government officials in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove also facilitated their ability to enforce the growing array of Euro-Canadian laws, regulations and bureaucratic processes on the personal and economic lives of the local, largely indigenous inhabitants. This fact became plainly obvious in the testimony that would soon be heard as part of the pending McKenna-McBride hearings.

With the growth of logging, mining and homesteading in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, in 1890s and 1900s, demand for land grew, and with it, the efforts to survey and divide up the landscape according Euro-Canadian legal principles. Increasingly, the indigenous peoples of the area found lands and resources that they had traditionally used and considered their own circumscribed, regulated and/or alienated. Throughout the wider province, a point had been reached where decisions about indigenous land use could no longer be postponed. Long resistant to federal efforts to expand the reserve system, BC’s decision in 1910 to order its land registry offices to insist on provincial approval before registering further reserves brought this inter-governmental dispute to a head. In an effort to overcome this “administrative entanglement”, the federal government created a new joint commission with the province

to “provide for the final and complete allotment of lands for Indians in British Columbia.”²¹⁸ The “McKenna-McBride Commission”, as it became known, crisscrossed the province on a series of whistle-stop visits, compiling a comprehensive record of all existing reserves and soliciting feedback from local Indian Agents and indigenous leaders.²¹⁹

While many potential indigenous speakers were likely dissuaded from participating by the unfamiliar process, those that did testify used the opportunity to assert their traditional land-use and argue their need for access to traditional food sources.²²⁰ Kelsemaht Chief Charlie Johnnie, for instance, could have been speaking on behalf of any number of groups and locations when he stated that “We want to get that land because it is near the creek, where we can catch salmon, because we live on salmon”.²²¹

In May of 1914, the commissioners visited the Ahousaht, Kelsemaht and Hesquiaht over three days, holding meetings that lasted only a few hours.²²² At Ahousaht and Kelsemaht, leaders spoke of their fears of losing access to resources such as timber due to the influx of Euro-Canadians.²²³ Many Hesquiaht were apparently away fishing on the outer coast when the commissioners arrived; the meeting that followed was reportedly quite brief.²²⁴

Figure 84 - The McKenna-McBride hearing at Ahousat, May 1914.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image H-07174)

As they discussed each existing reserve in turn, the Commissioners probed witnesses to determine whether sites were being used, if they could be put to more profitable use, or if they were no longer needed (being “in excess of the reasonable requirements of the Indians”).²²⁵ Requests for additional lands were assessed for their potential to improve productivity. In course of their questioning, they also enquired about demographics, employment, health and educational realities. And at every stop, the

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Commissioners ended their hearings with a variation of “we will see what we can do for you, with regard to the additional lands [and] the fishing question”.²²⁶

From their repeated inquiries about agricultural potential, the Commissioners’ interest in promoting a shift toward cultivation is clear (and in keeping with the broad government policy of the time).²²⁷ However, the message they received from witnesses seems to have come across equally clearly: in this rugged, marine-oriented environment, fishing – not farming – was and would remain the core economic activity for the foreseeable future. During the hearings, officials learned to assume that earlier reserves in the area were usually allotted based on fishing use. As Agent Cox explained: “the fact of it having been an Indian reservation [meant] it must have been some use to them in the way of a fishing station”.²²⁸ In their final report, the Commissioners concluded that the “Indians of the West Coast Agency depend almost exclusively on fishing for their livelihood, for food supply, and for the canneries, and for this reason their reserves are for the most part of limited area and located at points of special advantage in relation to the fishing industry”.²²⁹

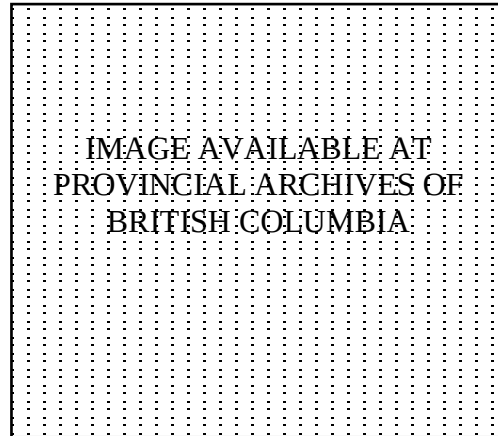


Figure 85 - Indian Agent Gus Cox and Inspector Ditchburn touring the west coast as part of the McKenna-McBride Commission, May 1914.

While Cox was generally supportive of Nuu-chah-nulth requests for more lands, Ditchburn would go on to preside over the reduction of many reserves elsewhere in the province.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image H-07145)

As a result of their testimony, the Ahousaht/Kelsemaht had their existing reserves confirmed. They also applied to enlarge or create eight new reserves south of Hot Springs Cove, and were ultimately granted three based on their use as “fishing station[s]”.²³⁰ One, the traditional Otsosaht village at Kutcous Bay, on Flores Island, required the commission to compensate a settler who had recently pre-empted the land, despite a warning from the Indian Agent.²³¹ Now considered a member of the Ahousaht by officials, Chief Swan of the Manhousaht also requested a small parcel on the coast a few

miles northwest of Hot Springs Cove, based on the premise that it was an old village site and the site of a home where he spent much of the year.²³² With the support of the Agent, the request was ultimately approved, and the 7 acre plot became Hisnet Fishery IR#34.²³³

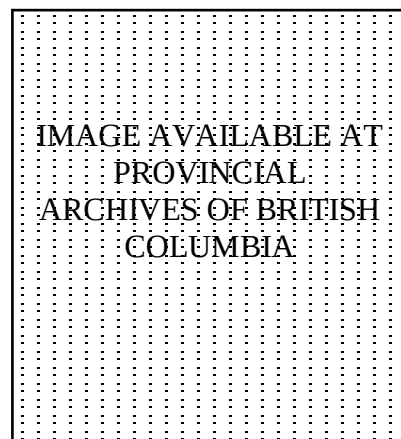
While Agent Cox appears to have been generally supportive of indigenous requests for additional fishing reserves, he never challenged the commission to reclaim any previously alienated lands. Many of his recommendations seemed guided by the assumption that many of the lands being asked for were worthless for European development. Supporting, for instance, an Ahousaht request for a portion of Indian Island, Cox rationalized that the land was “of very little use to anyone else but an Indian”.²³⁴

The Hesquiaht, it appears, were less successful in their self-advocacy. In their testimony, they too enquired about “Hesnoit” (Hisnit), and were given vague assurances that the Department would be acquiring it for the “Manhauset” Swan family.²³⁵ The Hesquiaht also requested three additional parcels adjoining existing reserve sites in Hesquiat Harbour.²³⁶ Two were traditional fishing sites, while officials recorded the third as offering “safer landing” for their watercraft. All three were rejected; two because they had already been “Crown-Granted”, and the third because it had already been sold to a Euro-Canadian. Their five existing reserves were approved, however.²³⁷ Seemingly undeterred, the Hesquiaht applied through their agent a year later for three fishing sites, including Sydney Inlet and Pretty Girl Cove. Again they were rejected, this time on the grounds that the land was already “*alienated*” (typically for a timber license).²³⁸ This move towards sites beyond their traditional territories seems to indicate a desire by the Hesquiaht to secure more sheltered locations.²³⁹

While the McKenna McBride commission was intended to definitively resolve all outstanding issues of reserve size and allotment, its recommendations were not immediately adopted by either participating government.²⁴⁰ Instead, after a number of delays, a joint review was conducted in the early 1920s. After a series of hearings, the resulting “Clark-Ditchburn Report” approved many of the reserves, while also endorsing the trimming others, and rejecting a number of new applications.²⁴¹ Once again, the issue of indigenous title was sidestepped.²⁴² And to get around legal requirements that all adult

male band members approve any modifications or reductions to reserves, both governments passed enabling legislation which led to the removal of more than 36,000 acres across the province, usually for the benefit of non-indigenous interests.²⁴³ While none of these “cut offs” appear to have occurred in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, the Ditchburn Clark process did reject several applications by the Ahousaht for additional lands, including 30 acres at the head of Pretty Girl Cove.^{244 245} The site, which contained “an old village which had three Indian houses, a fishing station and contained arable land” had been proposed by a representative of the Allied Tribes, Andrew Paull, in 1924, but apparently rejected by Ditchburn, a commissioner, on the grounds that the land had already been “alienated”.^{246 247}

Summarizing the Commission’s overall impact on BC, Turner has concluded that, despite allocating more reserves, the process omitted many historical and economic sites, leaving a legacy of mistrust and unresolved claims to this day.²⁴⁸



Although the purpose of the 1914 hearings was to formalize reserves on the west coast, in the course of the testimony, the Commissioners were exposed to a number of grievances which plainly illustrate the increasing interference of government policies in the lives of the indigenous peoples living in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. There was anger, for instance, over interference in their traditional fishing practices by Euro-Canadian fishermen and fisheries officials. The Kelsemaht complained that they “hardly get any fish” because “the cannery people stop us altogether”, preventing them from using traditional cedar traps at stream entrances, as even as the Europeans continued to fish the same waterway.²⁴⁹ They also spoke of pressure from John Grice, the local fisheries official, to refrain from using their traps in order to let fish through to spawn.²⁵⁰ Part of his motivation for requesting a reserve at Hisnit, suggested

Figure 86 - Pretty Girl Cove in 1926, an image attributed to the Forest Service. The modern archival file describes the location, interestingly, as a “Camp site at Pretty Girl Cove; former First Nations reserve.”

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image NA-10683.)

Hesquiaht Jacob Dionis, was that he did not “want to be stopped from fishing there by white-men”.²⁵¹

Even Cox, their Indian Agent, seemed critical of this interference, arguing that local populations “ought to have the privilege of catching fish at any time of the year for their own use”.²⁵² If anything, indigenous witnesses argued, it was the European fisherman causing the stocks to diminish. “Since the cannery has come on that creek,” a Kelsemaht leader observed, “there is no fish there at all”.²⁵³ In their testimony, the Ahousaht also complained about non-indigenous “fishing schooners” fishing right off the reserves.²⁵⁴ Agent Cox, too, agreed that “the cannerymen go a little closer to the mouths of rivers and streams than they ought to”.²⁵⁵ From their questioning, it is evident the Commissioners were somewhat concerned about the state of the fishery. But their concerns were apparently financial: they worried that a decline in fish stocks would leave local indigenous populations completely dependent on government support.²⁵⁶

Indigenous witnesses also complained about how certain traditional territories not included within their reserves were being bought up and used by settlers. Providing the example of a homestead on Vargas, Chief Billy of Ahousaht noted the tendency of Europeans to build on traditional village sites, saying “we used to live over there long ago”, a spot he claimed had been “cleared by the Indians long ago”. He asserted that his desire “to stop the whitemen coming in to the places where we used to go, because the Indians went [sic] to live [there]...they want to keep it”.²⁵⁷ “I want to know if it is right”, he asked, “for a whiteman to come along and live in the place where the Indians have been living long years ago”.²⁵⁸ To the Euro-Canadian commissioners at least, the answer seemed obvious: the recent delineation of the landscape into reserve, crown and private lands had eliminated such uncertainties. When Chief Billy complained about being restricted from gathering wood off a beach in front of a privately-owned lot, he was told by a commissioner that “if a man buys a piece of land the beach on which it front[s] belongs to him.”²⁵⁹ Similarly, indigenous witnesses were discouraged from building off-reserve. Speaking to the Ahousaht, a commissioner warned them that, as Indians, they “should not go and build on other land except the Reserves”, and must wait “until such additional reserves have been laid out for you”.²⁶⁰

While some Nuu-chah-nulth leaders were clearly frustrated with the loss of traditional lands, Marshall believes that they were generally more concerned with protecting logging and fishing rights. In part, this emphasis may have reflected the importance of the marine economy and the centrality of wood to Nuu-chah-nulth life. Up to this point, Marshall suggests, the Nuu-chah-nulth had also experienced relatively little competition for land from outside interests.²⁶¹

In any case, the formalization of the reserve system had also clearly restricted indigenous access to necessary timber resources. The Kelsemaht complained of a lack of suitable timber on their reserves for building dugout canoes. They spoke of trying “to get wood from government land, but” being told “not to do it”, and having to resort to using driftwood and acquiring timber from sawmills.²⁶² Lacking suitable trees on their reserves, Hesquiaht, too, asked for permission to cut down up to six cedars a year for canoe making.²⁶³ Here again, they had the sympathy of their Agent, Cox, who felt it was “absurd that the Indians should not be allowed to cut down the timber on their reserves”. He criticized the fact that “the Department won’t allow them to cut down any timber on their reserves without first getting a permit from the Agent”, noting that, even then, such a “permit only covers two or three trees”.²⁶⁴ Still, when asked if requests for the actual enlargement of reserves, to encompass additional timber, was “reasonable or important”, Cox rejected the need.²⁶⁵

Despite all these increasingly oppressive restrictions, Nuu-chah-nulth people like Peter Webster still felt very connected to their traditional landscape; through his childhood, Webster recalled that he “belonged to Clayoquot Sound...in the same way as did the fish in the sea, the animals, plants and tree of the land, and the birds in the air”.²⁶⁶

While indigenous organizations had already been active in BC prior to this period, the McKenna-McBride/Clark Ditchburn process helped inspire greater activism and directly led to the creation of an umbrella advocacy organization that would eventually evolve into the *BC Union of Indian Chiefs*.²⁶⁷ The Nisga’a, who had been one of the first in the province to officially organize in 1907, brought together leaders from many central and northern groups to form the *Allied Indian Tribes* in 1915. Under the leadership of Andrew Paull and others, this group began its life lobbying actively against many of the

changes proposed in the Commission reports, as well as asserting the concept of indigenous title.²⁶⁸ The Nuu-chah-nulth, however, were not particularly involved at first, Marshall suggests, because they did not yet perceive title as a particularly pressing issue, given the relative lack of competition for their ancestral lands.²⁶⁹

Still, such was the upsurge in indigenous activism in BC and across the country during the 1910s and early 1920s that the Federal government felt compelled to respond by amending the Indian Act in 1927 to prohibit indigenous peoples from raising money or hiring lawyer to pursue land-claims.²⁷⁰ The amended Act also officially maintained the pass system, and actually strengthened the potlatch ban, authorizing punishments of up to six months in prison for those found participating in such traditional celebrations (though the wording of the law was so broad it could have been applied to almost any gathering).²⁷¹

Critics have suggested that these continuing bans impeded the practice and transmission of indigenous cultures, while also restricting the ability of different groups to meet, coordinate and organize their resistance.²⁷² Exactly how much such restrictions affected indigenous life in and around the Cove, however, is less clear. While the focus of the McKenna-McBride Commissioners was obviously on land use, it is interesting that neither passes nor Potlatch restrictions came up in the testimony of the Hesquiaht, Ahousaht or Kelsemaht.

“Boom & Bust” - Economic Evolution & European Colonization in the Post-War Period

While it did provide a boost to some local ventures, the outbreak of WWI in 1914 arguably set back the Euro-Canadian colonization of Clayoquot Sound noticeably. Indeed, the war came at a critical time for many settlement and resource projects, which had been established in heady excitement and speculation of the prior two decades. A significant proportion of the same young men who were crucial to these initiatives ended up enlisting, leading to a shortage of local labour. It also deprived the region of some of the ambitious, entrepreneurial energy that had been driving local development. For

instance, the war spelled the end of the homesteading efforts on Vargas. Guppy suggests that collapse of the Vargas settlements fits a “general trend” towards the abandonment of homesteads around this time, citing re-supply challenges, disillusionment with lack of markets for products, the failure of a road/rail link to materialize, and ultimately, the exodus associated with the war effort.²⁷³

Still, some Euro-Canadians continued to see the economic potential of settling on the rugged coast. For example, William F Gibson, the father of the famous and productive Gibson brothers, decided, at the end of WWI, to pre-empt 120 acres of Flores Island near the traditional village of Ahousat.²⁷⁴ His homestead became the foundation of the small Euro-Canadian community that emerged next to the reserve, and served as the basis for what would become a local entrepreneurial empire.²⁷⁵ By the end of 1920s, the Gibsons were operating a general store at Ahousat, with post office inside; a fish buying station, pilchard reduction plant and various boats were established nearby, though the European community still remained separate from the nearby indigenous community.²⁷⁶ The modern Ahousat General Store would later be built on these lands.

It was around this time that tourism finally emerged as a profitable industry on the West Coast. Tourists had flocked to Alaskan tours since the 1880s, but it was only in the post-war period that the CPR seems to have finally realized the potential for tourism on their steamers.²⁷⁷ By 1922, their promotional materials were mentioning the possibility of sailing as a “round-tripper” up to Port Alice and back. As more and more tourists began to sail, overbooking became a frustration for local residents. Echoing the gripes of modern-day cabin-owners in Hot Springs Cove, Linesman Mike Hamilton complained that “it was a continual nuisance to the coastal residents to find every single cabin and bunk booked up.”²⁷⁸ By

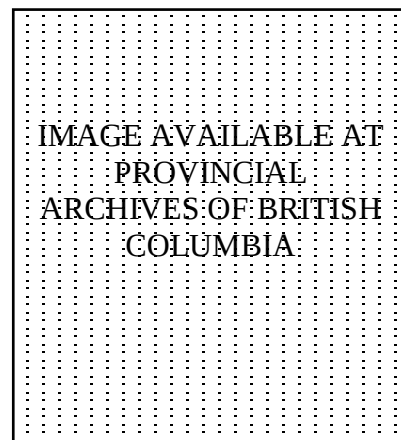


Figure 87 - The first Ahousat General Store, built by the Gibson Brothers, c. late 1910s.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, B-01032)

1929, the route had become so popular that the CPR inaugurated a new and larger ship, the *Princess Norah*, primarily to serve the tourist market.²⁷⁹

According to Guppy, that fateful year marked the pinnacle of steamship tourism, which declined dramatically after the Crash.²⁸⁰ While it is unclear of any of these sailings stopped long enough in Hot Springs Cove to allow tourists to actually visit the springs, it is plausible. The idea, at least, was not unique. At Ahousat, for instance, the Gibson brothers had built a rough plank boardwalk to the warm springs at the head of Matilda Inlet, so that tourists could tour it while the *Maquinna* was tied up, transferring cargo.²⁸¹

In any case, there is no doubt that the indigenous presence along the coast was a highlight for many tourists. Similar to many other stops on the way, it is likely that tourists were able, by the late 1930s, to buy art and “curios” while docked in the Cove, from indigenous vendors who would lay out their wares nearby on “Boat Day”.²⁸² Some also likely eagerly took photos of the vendors, as was common at other stops along the coast.²⁸³ Not surprisingly, by the 1930s, CPR promotional materials were touting the fact that the coast was “rich in Indian colour and the aborigines do much to brighten the way”.²⁸⁴

While they may have enriched tourist experiences, indigenous people were not treated the same as other non-indigenous ship passengers while on board. They were officially segregated, and not allowed to eat or sleep in quarters used by other travellers; rather, they were required either to remain on the open deck or travel in the hold. They would go ashore to cook for themselves wherever possible. While Reverend Moser was sometimes able to book staterooms for children travelling with him to and from residential school, most students from the Christie School, for instance, had to sit on their suitcases in “steerage”, even as late as the early 1940s.²⁸⁵

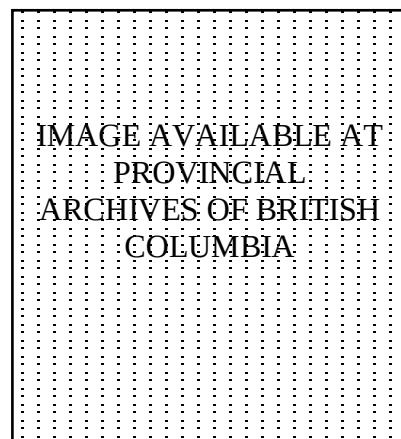


Figure 88 - Passengers from the *Maquinna* on the dock at Ucluelet in 1926, and tourists going ashore at Friendly Cove in the 1930s.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images NA-10673 & NA-41443.)

Even with emergence of tourism, it would be the pursuit of two types of fish that would largely drive European settlement and economic interest in the vicinity of the Cove for much of the interwar period. By the 1920s, as mining continued to decline, commercial fishing emerged as the dominant local industry. The salmon fishery became increasingly viable thanks, in part, to the introduction of trolling boats, as well as the techniques of Japanese-Canadian fisherman, who began working Clayoquot's waters during this period.²⁸⁶ Beginning in 1917, these crews were increasingly visible in local waters, noted by Moser and others; census-takers recorded over 80 Japanese-Canadian boats in 1921. When local insistence led to the establishment of a residency requirement in 1923, many of their families had relocated to Tofino and neighbouring communities within the year.^{287 288}

By the end of the 1920s, according to Guppy, Japanese-Canadian fisherman had come to dominate the local troller-fishery, and their families continued to integrate well into local Euro-Canadian society over the next two decades.²⁸⁹ Growth in local fishing also led to changes in the fish-buying, processing and marketing process. In 1923, organized fish packers began operations out of Kyuquot, an approach that soon spread along the coast.²⁹⁰ Similarly the formation of an independent Japanese-Canadian fish marketing cooperative helped create additional demand and competition.²⁹¹

Enterprising Nuu-chah-nulth fisherman also cashed in on this growing industry. They owned and/or operated a number of fishing vessels operating out of and around Tofino Harbour in the 1920s and 30s.²⁹² For instance, George Sye, a very respected Kelsemaht fisherman, skippered a seiner for the Nootka Packing Company for many years.

More and more trollers were soon fishing the waters off Hot Springs Cove, and inevitably, fisherman soon came to appreciate it as a safe anchorage conveniently close to

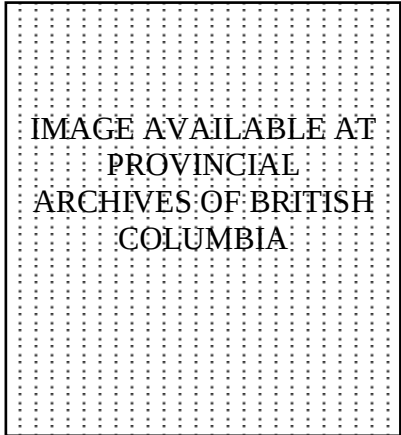


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Figure 89 - Indigenous labourers travelling on the deck of the Maquinna, since staterooms were off limits to them, c.1910.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-06893)

the open ocean. They began to take refuge there regularly during stormy weather, and presumably soaked on occasion in the hot springs.

The 1920s also brought the sudden arrival of significant numbers of pilchards, a herring-like fish, in coastal waters of Clayoquot, the first time in living Euro-Canadian memory.²⁹³ Prior to 1924, the schools of pilchards were apparently quite small, and early efforts at preserving the fish by the cannery in Nootka were abandoned because their high oil content meant they were not favourably received by the market.²⁹⁴ However, in 1925, according to Nicholson, Clayoquot's waters were "*literally alive with them*", reigniting interest in the fishery.²⁹⁵ During the summer months, these fish could be caught in the coastal inlets with same type of seine boats and nets as used for salmon.²⁹⁶ The larger cousin of the herring, which had already spawned a profitable industry in California, the pilchard had a higher oil-content when boiled down, with the dried remains ground up into fertilizer, as well as cattle and poultry feed.²⁹⁷

Boat builders in Victoria rushed to cash in on the "bonanza", and construction crews were in high demand as enterprising Euro-Canadian business people soon established a series of small 'reduction' plants along the west coast.²⁹⁸ By 1927, there were at least 26 plants in operation between Barkley and Kyoquot, with six between Matilda (Ahousaht), Shelter and Sydney inlets.^{299 300} The nearest were in nearby Riley Cove, Young Bay and Sydney Inlet.³⁰¹ Both of the latter met the ideal criteria for a plant location: shelter for boats, lots of water and good shore for piling.³⁰²

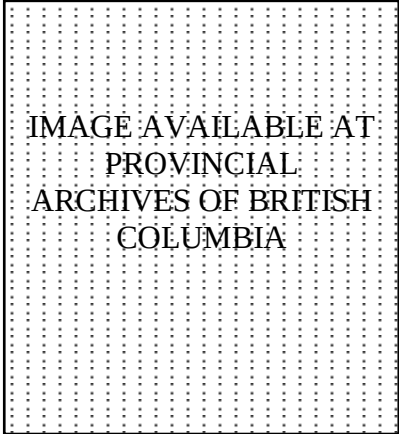


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Figure 90 - Images of fishboats working out of Ahousat, c.1930s

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image B-07071 & B-07084)

And what a bounty there was! As Nicholson recounts it, a single boat's catch in one haul ranged from 50-200 tons, for a total of 2500 tons for season (each ton could produce 45 gallons of oil).³⁰³ By 1928 – during the 4-5 month season, lasting typically from July-September/Oct if weather permitted – these plants were employing 500 men ashore and 500 in boats.³⁰⁴ At the peak of the so-called 'pilchard boom', with all plants running over 100,000 tons of pilchards caught in season along coast,

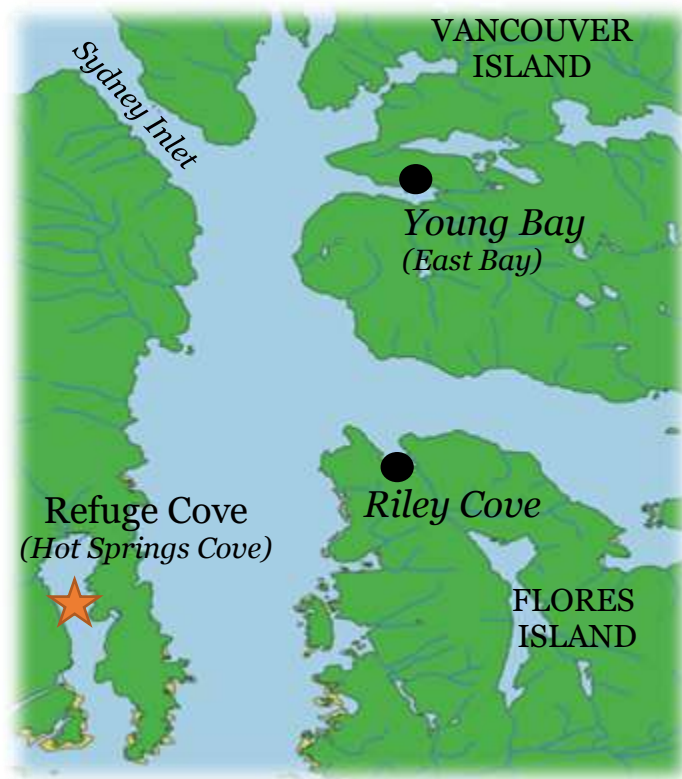


Figure 91 - Pilchard reduction plants in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, c. 1927.

(Map by David Lynch)

and the industry was raking in as much as \$2 million a year.³⁰⁵ In addition to earning remarkable profits for Euro-Canadian entrepreneurs, these plants also offered employment to local indigenous labourers eager for cash wages, while also supporting indigenous fishing boats and crews as well.

Economic and regulatory changes, however, were also changing the nature and implications of indigenous fishing. Traditionally, in Nuu-chah-nulth culture, chiefs had controlled fishing rights, maintaining their prestige by sharing out these rights and allowing others to harvest in return for shares of their catch.³⁰⁶ However, in 1923, the Chief Inspector of Fisheries for BC rules that “salmon and herring and seining licenses similar to those which in the past have been issued to resident whites will in future be available to Canadian Indians in their own names”.³⁰⁷ By allowing individual Nuu-chah-

nulth fishermen direct access to licensing, the government further undermined the weakening political and economic position of the traditional leadership. Canning companies appear to have taken advantage of this liberalization, contracting indigenous fisherman directly, supplying them with equipment but then holding them in long-term debt.³⁰⁸ All this growing flurry of commercial fishing in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove would soon bring a more permanent, settled Euro-Canadian presence in the form of the Clarke family.

Thanks to the Pilchard Boom, the growth in salmon fishing, and the emergence of tourism, the 1920s saw significant European development and use of the landscape around Clayoquot Sound. In the 1930s, however, a combination of natural and macro-economic factors made for more challenging times for some of the area's inhabitants. In the wake of the stock market crash in 1929, fish prices plummeted, cutting into the profits and wages of many local people, both indigenous and non, involved in the fishery.³⁰⁹ As the Great Depression set in, coastal tourism was also reduced significantly, leading, presumably, to a reduction in profits associated with the sale of goods to tourists.³¹⁰ Some local government infrastructure, such as the fish hatchery at Kennedy Lake, was shut down to cut costs, but it appears that many services, such as the lighthouses and post-offices, remained in operation, likely out of necessity.^{311 312} The federal government also briefly operated a local work camp, paying unemployed men to begin developing a road between Tofino and Ucluelet.³¹³

While Guppy suggests that the impact of the Depression was not as severe on the West Coast as it was in Canada's cities, he does admit that even the most self-sufficient people of the area – of which there were many -- were affected to some extent, and some driven into poverty.³¹⁴ Despite the challenging times, however, resources were not so scarce as to preclude the building of a 8-bed “cottage hospital” in Tofino in the mid 1930s, funded by local donations.³¹⁵ No longer, Nicholson suggested, would appendectomies be done on a kitchen table in the Tofino Hotel, nor would most babies, Guppy noted, be delivered by solely by local housewives with or without nursing training!³¹⁶

Even before the onset of the Depression, by the end of the 1920s, mining in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove had largely declined. The Indian Chief mine in Stewardson had been abandoned a few years before, its docks collapsing and buildings razed.³¹⁷ In 1936, it was purchased by a Japanese company that resumed low-profile operations, encouraging local rumours to circulate that they were building a submarine base. By 1939, it lay once again abandoned; whether it was for lack of profit -- or because the government had it shuttered - it remained unclear.³¹⁸ In the 1930s, with the copper market glutted, Guppy reports that there was some prospecting of old stakes and some semi-profitable gold mining in nearby Herbert Inlet in 1930s - but nothing like the glory days of pre-war mining.³¹⁹

During the depths of the Depression, the Sound's rich timber resources still remained a largely unexploited economic resource. Even so, dreams of resuscitating the big Mosquito Harbour mill to the south persisted until the government requested the equipment be sold off to assist the war effort in 1942.³²⁰

Local fortunes took another major hit when the pilchard fishery began to decline in the mid 1930s. In 1932, the massive schools of pilchard simply failed to show up.³²¹ After many years of staying close inshore, the theory was that the fish suddenly started migrating far offshore. With local fishermen finding it impractical to head so far off shore, most reduction plants were closed by 1940.³²² Nicholson suggests that the much-reduced fishery limped on for a few more years, until 1946, when the pilchard stopped showing up entirely on the coast.³²³ The end of the Pilchard Boom evidently cut into local employment for both Nuu-chah-nulth and non-indigenous workers. The resulting closure of the plants in Riley Cove and Young Bay also reduced the Euro-Canadian presences in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove.

Despite the nationwide economic woes, the Canadian Hydrographic Service continued to survey the coast around Hot Springs Cove in the early 1930s from the survey-ship *Lillooet*. During this work, Young Bay, north of Flores was (re)named from East Bay, after the man conducting surveys in Sydney Inlet in 1932.³²⁴ Nearby Holmes Inlet (North Bay) was renamed in a similar way, as was Stewardson Inlet (West Arm)

after a survey in 1933.³²⁵ Yet again, the conceptual colonization of the physical landscape continued.

While the 1930s were obviously a challenging period for many Euro-Canadians on the West Coast, the period marked a particular low-point for the region's indigenous inhabitants. Their populations had bottomed out after more than a century of decline.³²⁶ Government budgets were also stretched to the breaking point, meaning that the Department of Indian Affairs had little help to provide the peoples of the West Coast Agency. The Indian Act was also arguably at its most restrictive, intentionally suppressing indigenous efforts to advocate and address their many justified grievances. The devastating Indian Residential School policy was also arguably at its peak, with 80 schools operating country-wide by 1931.³²⁷

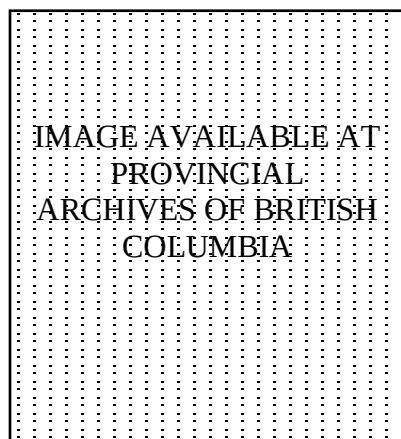


Figure 92 - Nuuchah-nulth football players at Nootka, May 1914, in a picture likely taken during the McKenna McBride hearings.

When formal political activism was further restricted in the 1920s, events like “Nootka Sports Day” provided a pretext for Nuuchah-nulth leaders to congregate and coordinate.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image H- 07181)

And yet, behind the scenes, resistance was continuing to take shape. That same year, indigenous groups in the north of the province formed the *Native Brotherhood of BC* to replace the collapsed *Allied Tribes* (though the involvement of the Nuuchah-nulth, Marshall suggests, again remained relatively limited at first).³²⁸ Perhaps more significantly, as of 1925, northern Nuuchah-nulth groups began to meet annually as part of Nootka Sports Day. While their athletes competed together, the leaders of each were able, Marshall suggests, to meet, coordinate and forge common-ground.³²⁹ The stage was set for even greater cooperation – as soon as it once again became legal.

While the Depression obviously cut into local profits and wages, and generally discouraged investment or expansion, commercial fishing appears to have remained a

relative growth industry during this period. Unlike the collapsed pilchard fishery, commercial salmon fishing continued through the 1930s. By the end of the decade, Japanese-Canadian fishing boats dominated trolling, while a mix of Euro-Canadians and indigenous fisherman continued to seine.³³⁰ In 1932, fishing activity in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove was evidently robust enough to feed the ambitions of Ivan Clarke, a young Victoria-born tugboat skipper, who saw an opportunity.

That year, Clarke found himself taking refuge in the Cove, along with forty other fishing boats during a storm.³³¹ While at anchor, Clarke apparently witnessed an old fish-packer, converted as a sea-going store, arrive in the Cove and quickly sell out its entire stock to the waylaid fisherman.³³² Clearly, he concluded, there was enough fishing activity on the coast by this time that there was a need for a convenient local source of basic supplies like food and fuel. Impressed, Clarke, who had experience in the grocery business, returned to Victoria, applied for and was granted a 120-acre pre-emption for the bulk of the Openit peninsula, on the Cove's eastern shore.³³³ In 1933, Clarke returned aboard the *Maquinna* with 500\$ in supplies.³³⁴ Pitching his tent, Clarke set to building a house, store and floats using timbers salvaged from the Indian Chief copper mine in nearby Stewardson Inlet, which was abandoned at the time.³³⁵

Clarke began by selling his supplies to nearby fishing camps and fishing boats, and within another year, his fiancée had arrived to join him; they were married aboard the *Maquinna* as it passed through on its regular route.³³⁶ Within the decade, the enterprising Clarke also began selling fuel as Standard Oil's local agent and also established a busy fish buying station in Hot Springs Cove, packing, icing and shipping fish out to Victoria.³³⁷ Art Clarke recalled, as an eight year old, how "*we iced fish all night, as much as 30,000 pounds [13,600 kg]*".³³⁸

By 1936, Clarke had secured the right to act as local postmaster, taking over the "Sydney Inlet Post Office", apparently reviving it from dormancy, following the decline of the mines up the inlet. He also opened a machine shop for boat repairs, which included a ways where boats could be pulled out of the water completely.³³⁹

At the peak of the fishery, more than 200 salmon trollers based themselves out of Hot Springs Cove for the fishing season, which typically lasted about eight months.³⁴⁰

Spring Salmon were caught in April, and then Coho, Sockeye and Pinks during the summer, followed by trolling and jigging for cod and other fish in the fall and winter.³⁴¹ Between sorties and during bad weather, the fisherman often soaked in or washed their clothes in the springs.³⁴² Within a few short years, Hot Springs Cove had become a hive of European activity and occupation.

This evolution was facilitated by the continuation of regular steamer service by the CPR's *Princess Maquinna*, which would remain the principal transportation vehicle for the region for decades to come. Indeed, for many of the early European settlers in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, the *Maquinna* and her predecessors "became", in Guppy's words, "their main social contact with the outside world and their only means of getting mail and supplies in the outlying settlements", a pattern which would continue well into the 1950s.³⁴³ As Kennedy puts it, the steamer was, for decades, "not just a link...[but] the link, the only consistent, regular, longstanding means of travel and communications on the coast".³⁴⁴ The ship would depart from Victoria on the 1st, 11th and 21st of every month, reaching Tofino two days later, before proceeding later in the day to Clayoquot Island, Kakawis, Ahousaht and then onto Hot Springs Cove and Hesquiaht, where the local inhabitants would meet her in the harbour and unload cargo and passenger into canoes and gas boats.³⁴⁵ At Hesquiat, Annie Rae-Arthur's two oldest children would sometimes row out to the ship late at night, to offload supplies and mail.³⁴⁶ Along the way, as she sailed up behind Flores Island, the *Maquinna* could make any number of specials stops by isolated homesteads, canneries and reduction plants, as well as mining, fishing and logging camps.³⁴⁷ The arrival of the steamer was greeted with great excitement, and local life was sometimes planned around it. In Tofino, for instance, many weddings were organized for "Boat Day", so that the newlyweds could depart aboard immediately on their honeymoon.³⁴⁸

While the influence of Europeans continued to spread in and around the Cove, a number of trends were setting the stage for a major shift for the Hesquiaht. With more and more economic activity based out of the cove, and the establishment of Clarke's store and fuel dock, the Cove came increasingly to be seen as an attractive alternative location for more permanent Hesquiaht inhabitation. The idea itself was not new; Brabant's

successor, Moser, had mentioned the idea in his diary as early as 1915.³⁴⁹ And the year before that, in his testimony to the McKenna-McBride Commission, Hesquiaht Chief Eustace Andrew had enquired whether “it is possible for us that we can change the town” to another location.³⁵⁰ Indeed, as time and technology progressed, the Hesquiaht were finding their traditional winter village site at Hesquiat Harbour village site less and less suitable. The shoreline there had been great for traditional canoes, but not so viable for the increasing number of motor boats that could not be dragged up on beach. Referring to their traditional principal village at Hesquiat, Andrews noted “that the Reserves we have, and especially this one here, is a pretty bad place in the winter time, and it is a bad place for the boats to call at”.³⁵¹ He pointed out that it was easy for canoes to be swamped trying to come alongside visiting steamers, and that 20 such craft had been damaged or destroyed by winter storms the previous year.³⁵² In his diary, Moser also noted many instances of damages to boats.³⁵³

While it would take decades before discussions about relocation would evolve into formal, concrete action, it appears that some Hesquiaht families began to relocate themselves to Hot Springs Cove in the later 1930s or early 1940s. According to Guppy, they found Hot Springs Cove a more convenient location, with the store, marine service station and fish-buying facility nearby.³⁵⁴ According to Jack Crosson, a hydrological surveyor working in the area in the years before Ivan Clarke’s arrival, there were “no buildings of any kind, not even an Indian shack” in the Cove as of his visit in 1931.³⁵⁵ Given the Cove’s long history as a seasonal fishing station for the Hesquiaht, however, it is possible that Crosson overlooked the subtle evidence of prior, regular, albeit seasonal occupation. In any case, it appears that, by the 1940s, some of the Hesquiaht had built homes alongside some

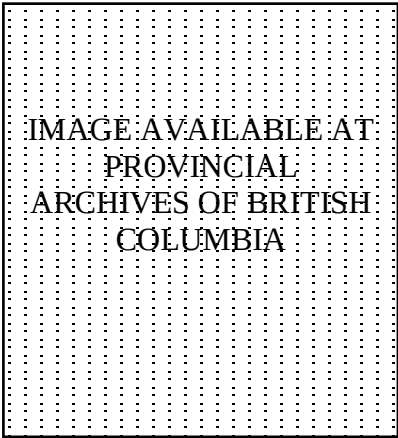


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The *Princess Maquinna* was the key transportation link for the West Coast for decades. Passengers and cargo could be unloaded through the side cargo doors onto waiting boats in isolated inlets. (See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image E-01654)

Manhousaht neighbours, along the pebble beach on the western shore of the Cove, just north of Mate Island.³⁵⁶



Figure 93 - The Manhousaht/Ahousaht, Hesquiaht & Clarke settlements in Hot Springs Cove, c. 1940

(Map by David Lynch)

Now sharing the occupation of Hot Springs Cove between them, Clarke and the Hesquiaht and Manhousaht appear to have maintained a relatively cordial relationship. Writing in the 1940s, Benedict Andrews notes having a “long talk” with Ivan Clarke, who he explained “is helping me to settle thing [sic] with my band and given us lot [sic] help every way” with efforts to relocate.³⁵⁷

While the Clarkes continued to expand their operations in Hot Springs Cove, the discovery of new gold deposits in both Bedwell Sound and to the north near Zeballos in 1938 helped reinvigorate the economy of the West Coast.³⁵⁸ For a few short years, until wartime labour restrictions cut into its profitability, mining, Guppy asserts, remerged as the “mainstay of the Clayoquot economy”³⁵⁹ Guppy claims that the renewed activity of the Zeballos boom helped to boost traffic on the *Maquinna*, taking up some of the slack from lost tourism during the Depression; ironically, however, the boom also encouraged the introduction of commercial aircraft cargo and passenger service, laying the foundations for the end of the steamship era in the decades to come.³⁶⁰ But first, another World War would transform the West Coast yet again.

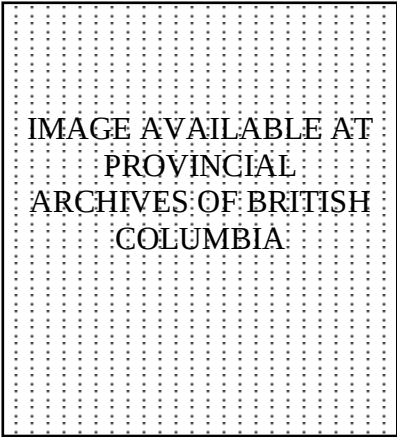


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Figure 94 - Buccaneer Mine, near the Bedwell River, c. 1940.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image B-07288)

CHAPTER SUMMARY: Resistance Even in the Depths of Colonialism & Marginalization

Although ‘Contact’ is often emphasized as the key watershed moment in the colonization process-- the crucial point in time when *everything* changes-- the human story of Hot Springs Cove shows that the reality is rather more gradual and complicated. While the arrival of the first explorers kicked off an explosive trade that brought the West Coast of Vancouver Island into a global economy and ensnared it in the geopolitical wranglings of imperial powers, the region remained a remarkably indigenous space until late into the 1800s. It was not until the 1870s that the presence of Euro-Canadian society began to be felt on a consistent basis, through occupation, regulation and evangelization. Only then did the peoples living in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove to begin to really experience the meaningful loss of sovereignty that we commonly associate with colonialism.

Still, it was during this era – after a massive European influx, a series of devastating epidemics, and equally deadly internecine conflicts – that the balance of power truly began to swing away from the Nuu-chah-nulth. Royal Navy warships began to periodically patrol the local waters, unevenly enforcing British notions of justice and deterring indigenous resistance. And the first European settlers, missionaries and government officials began to meaningfully intrude into the everyday lives and traditional territories of the peoples living in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. For the landscape had become one of exciting opportunity for Europeans, even as the people who had traditionally occupied it found themselves increasingly constricted and marginalized in their own territories.

After several decades of relative disinterest following the collapse of the maritime fur trade, Europeans fundamentally re-engaged in the West Coast of Vancouver Island by the 1870s. With booms in mining, sealing, and fishing, the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove once again became a profitable resource frontier. Land-use moved from an economy dominated by a focussed trade to a diversity of direct resource extraction and, later, to lesser degree, homesteading. These new economic activities required more local bases -- such as canneries, mining camps and pilchard reduction factories -- resulting in an influx of Europeans, who began to establish businesses and homes on traditional Nuu-chah-nulth territory. The colonization of the landscape, which had been largely conceptual up to this point, had now begun in earnest.

Once again, European desires for profit, making use of local indigenous expertise, led to pattern of overexploitation, where one resource after another was harvested unsustainably, often to the point of collapse. This boom and bust pattern was particularly obvious with pilchard, seals, and whales. The first worrying signs of dwindling salmon stocks also appeared. Meanwhile, the economic integration of local indigenous peoples into global capitalist wage economy continued to grow as more and more took on jobs in the fishing boats, sealing ships, canneries, and hops farms.

Building upon the foundations established in previous decades, the period between 1870 and 1940 saw the imposition of ‘meaningful colonialism’, to the point that everyday life in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove was altered significantly for its

traditional indigenous inhabitants. Beginning in the last three decades of the 19th century, a profound change occurred in the relationship between the indigenous peoples of Hot Springs Cove and the Euro-Canadian authorities who would increasingly attempt to regulate their lives and determine how and where they lived.

During this period, colonization shifted from assertion of Euro-Canadian authority and economic integration to actual settlement, occupation and land-use, and the imposition of restrictive cultural and resource policies on indigenous inhabitants. Indigenous life began to be meaningfully altered by intentional European policy efforts that spread to every aspect of life. The application – and further tightening – of Indian Act and accompanying bureaucracy began to meaningfully interfere with indigenous land and resource use, as well as cultural practices. The potlatch was banned for its encouragement of communitarian - rather than individualistic – values, interfering with an ancient and crucial social institution that had long served to redistribute wealth and promote community wellbeing. More insidious was the introduction of residential schooling, which was intended to speed up the assimilation process by separating local indigenous children from traditional sources of knowledge, such as elders and ceremonies.

Euro-Canadian notions of land-ownership were also increasingly imposed as part of the colonization process. The granting of land as pre-emptions and timber licenses effectively put much of indigenous traditional territories beyond their control, “alienating” it for the foreseeable future. This period saw the creation of the first formal reserves, along with later efforts to refine them, ostensibly for the benefit of indigenous peoples. In reality, the delineation of the landscape into reserves and crown lands, with relatively little regard for indigenous use – and no consideration of indigenous title at all – seems to have been motivated as much by a European desire to free up the landscape for development as it was by a genuine desire to give indigenous peoples a resource-base upon which to survive.

New regulatory limits on traditional resource activities such as fishing and timber harvesting limited indigenous economic freedom and interfered with ability to sustain communities and adapt to new economic realities. The sad irony of these first

conservation policies was that those who were imposing them – the Europeans – were the ones whose activities had created need for them, and indigenous peoples were caught up as a result. Ultimately, as Kennedy put it, “in a few decades...outsiders had assumed control of their lands and waters”.³⁶¹ In other words, the Nuu-chah-nulth were increasingly “hemmed in” by “the alienating force of fisheries restrictions in waters they had once freely used, and by timber licenses on land they thought of as theirs”.

To make matters worse, the demographic decline of the previous era continued for much of this period, further weakening the position of indigenous peoples, even as pressure from settlement and a growing government presence grew. At the same time, the European sense of the area as a geography of fear faded dramatically during this period, with reduction in indigenous violence and the increasing government presence. With discovery of new resources like copper, the area around Hot Springs Cove was also increasingly seen as a landscape of opportunity, where enterprising Europeans could exploit the natural bounty and make impressive profits.

It was during this period that the first permanent European settlement began, creating opportunity for a whole new group to begin to see the landscape as their home. Europeans increasingly began to see the land as something to be owned and altered, not just traded upon. By parceling up the land into sellable lots, surveyors fostered a sense of availability in mind of would-be European homesteaders and entrepreneurs. The landscape was now open for the taking, rather than already belonging to someone else. Their physical, long-term presence also allowed them to begin altering the physical landscape, building mines, cutting trees and clearing land.

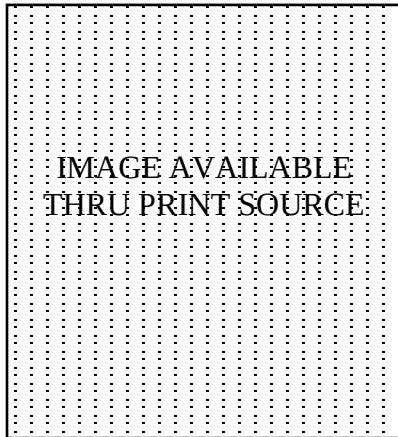


Figure 95 - A rare early aerial photograph of the Clarke establishment in Hot Springs.

Local historian Walter Guppy dates the image to c. 1930, but it may have been somewhat later, given the extent of the docks evident. Cove.

(See Wet Coast Ventures: Mine finding on Vancouver Island. pg.45)

Despite the increasing weight of colonial control, which was brought to bear far more powerfully during this period, indigenous people in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, responded to, pushed back against, and attempted to reshape colonization in a multitude of way. They made wholesale changes to their ways of life, in response to the fundamental economic changes going on around them. They also parlayed existing skills and knowledge into new and crucial roles in the European seal and whale hunts, as well as the nascent commercial fishery. The Nuu-chah-nulth entered European wage economy in less traditional ways, taking up jobs in canneries and picking hops. At the same time, their efforts to reorganize themselves in the face of demographic threats continued, with Ahousaht and Kelsemaht amalgamating, and the *family* group – rather than the *local* group – emerging as the key cultural unit.

Individual citizens and leaders testified at McKenna-McBride in an effort to secure adequate land-base to support the marine economy, while also raising concerns and grievances regarding restrictions on rights and resource use. The Nuu-chah-nulth also allied with fellow groups across the province to form advocacy groups like the Allied Tribes, to begin pushing back against unfair restrictions, specific violations of rights and rules, and general lack of respect for indigenous title. This pressure proved troublesome enough to encourage government officials to impose additional restrictions on indigenous political activism through the *Indian Act*. Even at a time of unprecedented

government oppression and demographic distress, the indigenous peoples of the West Coast were *pushing back*, setting the stage for crucial victories in the coming years.

CHAPTER 5 – ‘Resources & Relocations’: Economic Boom & Nuu-chah-nulth Reorganization (1945-70s)

“The government breakwater [at Hesquiat] doesn’t do much good. When we used canoes, which are really maneuverable, the reserve worked out okay because the men would lift the canoes right up onto the beach. But then they got gas-boats and they had to take them all the way into the boat basin; it’d be a two- or three-hour hike to get back to where the village is. And they had to keep checking their boats, too, so it was hard. A lot of men lost their boats -- and that was when we started finding other places to live”.

-Ruth Tom of Hesquiat.¹

INTRODUCTION: A Period of Post-War Changes

Another place to live. That is what Hot Springs Cove has become today. Not just for the Hesquiaht, but also for a growing number of Euro-Canadian settlers, as well. The bulk of this settlement, however, is remarkably recent, historically speaking. Indeed, at the mid-point of the twentieth century, Hot Springs Cove had yet to undergo many of the profound changes that would transform it into the complex place that it is today. Still a somewhat peripheral indigenous space, the Cove had yet to see the establishment of a formal Hesquiaht village; however, the area was, once again, beginning to attract a more permanent indigenous presence. For Europeans, too, the Cove remained a resource frontier: there was a small but bustling permanent European community centred around Clarke’s establishment, serving the burgeoning fishing industry. While fuel, groceries and postal service were all available, there was almost no recreational use, and certainly no recreational properties. It does not appear that steamers like the *Maquinna* stopped long enough in the Cove to allow intrepid tourists the chance to brave the makeshift trail to the hot springs. They likely remained a treasure enjoyed only by local Nuu-chah-nulth residents and visitors, overnight guests at the Clarke establishment, and sheltering non-indigenous fisherman.

The surrounding landscape, too, looked very different – the shores of the Cove and the looming hills of nearby Flores Island had yet to be scarred by large-scale logging.

And yet, big changes were afoot -- some close and some from afar -- that would utterly transform this place over the course of the next seventy years.

On the Home Front: The Local Impact of the Second World War

The first of these changes was the growing threat posed by militaristic regimes in Europe and Asia. While most eyes were on the alarming rise of fascist Italy and Germany, Canadian military strategists were also concerned by Japan's increasing belligerence in the Pacific. Likely as a result, the Royal Canadian Airforce (RCAF) began building its first airforce base on the West Coast at Uclulet in 1936.² By 1940, several maritime patrol aircraft were flying coastal patrols from there.

Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 led, in turn, to a declaration of war by the Canadian government, setting off a cascade of events. Firstly, it led to a significant militarization of the West Coast and Clayoquot Sound in particular. A massive new airbase – the third largest in Canada – was brought into operation close to Tofino by 1942, leading to presence of upwards of 4000 servicemen and women at the height of the conflict.³ An all-weather gravel road was also built, finally connecting Uclulet and Tofino, complementing the thrice-weekly mailboat already operating from Port Alberni.⁴ A military hospital was also established near the airbase at Longbeach.⁵ Key strategic points along the adjacent coast were also fortified to deter amphibious invasion.⁶ Locals with boats joined together in Ahousaht, Nootka and Tofino to form units of the “Fisherman's Reserve”, and began to regularly patrol local inlets.⁷ While this “gumboot navy” never actually encountered the enemy, they did apparently manage to demolish the entrance to the Indian Head mine, using explosives they found in the site's abandoned magazine.⁸ To provide additional protection for Tofino, a unit of the Pacific Coast Militia rangers was formed by local volunteers, armed with sporting rifles and a handful of machine guns. Local rumours were that the Militia had been instructed to evacuate the town northwards, up the Bedwell River, in the event of an invasion.^{9 10}

Fears of an attack – justified or not – were very real and led to a swift hardening of attitudes towards the many Japanese-Canadian fishermen and families who had made the West Coast home for decades.¹¹ In early 1942, their fishing boats began to be confiscated, on government orders, and in mid-March, the RCMP informed Tofino's entire Japanese-Canadian population that they had 24 hours to pack a suitcase and prepare for departure. All were taken away two days later aboard the *Maquinna* to Vancouver, where, after processing at Hastings Park, they were given the chance to labour on road-building projects or be interned in the Interior.¹² Under government authorization in 1943, much of their property was liquidated, while some was simply looted or over by locals, without any compensation being offered.¹³

Any local criticism of this sudden deportation was likely muted in the wake of June 20, 1942, when a Japanese submarine, I-26, surfaced off Estevan Point, with its diesel engines thrumming in the darkness, and began shelling the lighthouse complex, which was then home to 22 people who manned the important weather station and powerful radio transmitters.¹⁴ After the quick-thinking lightkeeper extinguished the light, 40 minutes of shelling resulted in only fragmentary damage to a few of the buildings. Some overshot shells landed near the main Hesquiaht village,

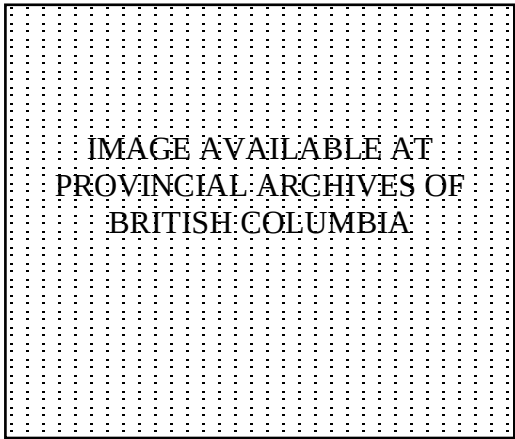


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Figure 96 - The lighthouse complex at Estevan Point, just north of Hot Springs Cove, the only location in Canada directly attacked by the Japanese during WWII, an act that heightened wartime anti-Japanese-Canadian hysteria.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-07859)

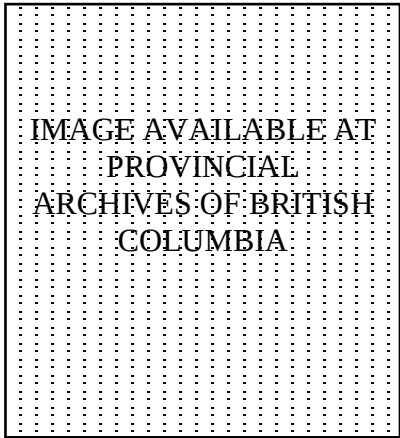


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Figure 97 - One of the unexploded shells from I-26's exasperated but ineffectual shelling of the lighthouse.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image C-07861)

creating panic but no damage.¹⁵ Charity Lucas recalls how her grandfather, as a 7-year old, witnessed the fury of the Japanese attack from his ancestral village, just north of Estevan, hiding in the grass as the submarine's shells whistled overhead. Not someone who "liked to discriminate against people", he nevertheless "had a very hard time trusting Japanese people after that," she remembers.¹⁶ The most significant impact, however, was likely psychological, further heightening fears of invasion, and justifying the expulsion of the once highly-integrated local Japanese-Canadian community.

At the end of the war, the Canadian government initially offered internees the choice of repatriation to Japan or relocation to Eastern Canada.¹⁷ Until April of 1949, they were prohibited from returning to the coast; those who still felt a connection to Clayoquot Sound and might have considered returning were likely discouraged by rumours that Tofino had established a bylaw prohibiting Japanese-Canadian residency.¹⁸ Not everyone, though, saw this as a positive development; some in the fishing industry apparently lamented the loss of such an effective workforce and went as far as to send recruiters to Eastern Canada, promising union membership, for the first time, to any who would return.¹⁹

The end of the war initially led to a significant reduction of the military presence, which detrimentally affected many local businesses, who had been doing a roaring trade.²⁰ However, the conflict had transformed the local infrastructure and re-established Clayoquot Sound as a strategically important area in a way unmatched, perhaps, since the decline of the maritime fur trade. For instance, wartime necessity had led to the establishment of a

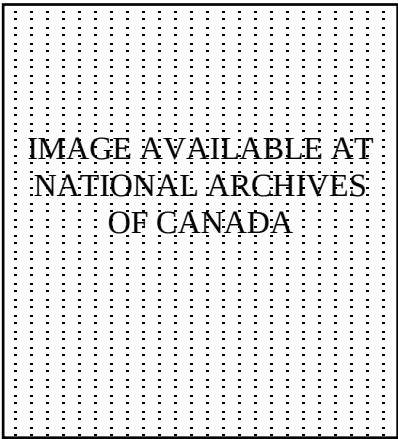


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Figure 98 - Regardless of their citizenship or Canadian-birth, all BC residents of Japanese-descent were interned in rustic camps in the interior, in the wake of the attacks on Pearl Harbour, largely as the result of public hysteria.

The internment shattered the once vibrant Japanese-Canadian community that had been flourishing on the west coast, and fishing in the waters off Hot Springs Cove.

(See Library & Archives of Canada, Images C-046355 and Mikan #5078626)

telephone line which stretched from Kennedy Lake over the Department of Mines trails to Port Alberni.²¹ After the war, this line was extended to Tofino and made permanent, establishing another connection between the West Coast and the rest of the world. Over time, too, telephone lines were installed in place of telegraph wire up the coast, extending phone coverage to places like Hot Springs Cove and Hesquiat.²² The war had also brought electricity to the area; in the early 1950s, the BC government took over the diesel generators at the airbase and Tofino was connected to the power grid, allowing, for the first time, many modern conveniences.²³ Hydro power also meant refrigeration, which would soon transform the fishing industry.

With the heightening of Cold War tensions in the late 1940s, and the emerging threat of strategic nuclear bombers, the Tofino air base was reactivated in the mid-1950s in conjunction with the building of a nearby radar station, one of 33 early warning stations in the “Pine Tree Line”.²⁴ While the installation on Radar Hill was obsolete by 1957, and the airbase closed around the same time, the sites provided materials that would be instrumental in the expansion of Tofino over the coming decade.²⁵ Far though it was from the battlefields, Hot Springs Cove was nevertheless affected by the Second World War and the many changes that it wrought on the West Coast.

Resources without End?: The Post-War Fishing and Logging booms transform Northern Clayoquot

In the sustained economic boom that followed the end of WWII, two economic activities, in particular, drove the local economy and profoundly altered the environment in and around Hot Springs Cove: commercial fishing and logging. Even before the war, in the wake of the pilchard collapse, salmon trolling had emerged as the dominant fishing activity in Clayoquot Sound. This continued in the post-war period, with seining diminishing further. However, the focus began to shift from Spring salmon, as Sockeye and Coho became increasingly important catches.²⁶ By the early 1950s, the industry was profitable enough to begin attracting fishing crews from the Lower Mainland and elsewhere, who began to base themselves seasonally out of Tofino.²⁷ The fishing boom encouraged the town to apply for federal funding for dredging, a breakwater and a dock

expansion, which were all completed by 1960.²⁸ The introduction of hydro power to Tofino allowed for the mass-production of ice, which, in turn, altered fish-processing patterns.²⁹ Equipped with ice, fishing boats could stay out longer, and travel further for processing. The ten local canneries which had emerged in the pre-war period were no longer needed; soon they had entirely disappeared, as processing was centralized in places like Vancouver and Prince Rupert.³⁰

By 1964, perhaps the peak of the trolling era, 400 fishing boats were tying up in Tofino.³¹ And Hot Springs Cove, as a local supply base, was doing a correspondingly roaring trade. Whether the local waters could support such a fishery, however, was a growing question.

As fleets of fishboats trolled the waters in and around Hot Springs Cove, local indigenous peoples, too, took advantage of this fishing boom. Bruce Lucas, who grew up in Hot Springs Cove in the 1950s, noted with pride that “our fisherman did not rely on employment insurance benefits or welfare; they were very hard-working men”.^{32 33} It was perhaps just as well that the salmon fishery was so profitable at this time, since other traditional activities were becoming increasingly proscribed. With seal populations continuing to decline even after the 1911 Pelagic treaty, exemptions for indigenous hunters were eventually eliminated by the 1950s.³⁴ At the same time, according to Peter Webster of Ahousaht, fisheries officials increasingly began to demand that indigenous fisherman produce licenses, and would issue fines when they did not. And as a result of the sealing ban, Webster suggests, “a lot of us became ‘criminals’ without really knowing the reason”.³⁵

As growing numbers of salmon trollers scoured the nearby waterways, the hills in and around Hot Springs Cove was also being transformed by the explosive growth of another industry: logging. The wealth to be made from cutting down the area’s rich old-growth forests brought in a huge influx of activity that would soon scar the landscape in a whole range of ways. By the early 1950s, a number of factors had converged to make large-scale logging more feasible and profitable in the Sound. The introduction of gas-powered chainsaws allowed one logger to cut more than six hand-loggers, accelerating pace of logging. And new sea-going barges made logging in remote areas more feasible.

³⁶ Demand for other species -- beyond Douglas Fir -- also grew.³⁷ Larger outside timber companies like North Coast Timber Ltd and Alaska Pine joined the growing number of smaller local operations.³⁸ Within the decade, logging trucks had replaced steam locomotives, leading to zigzagging logging roads, and the harvesting of steeper slopes.³⁹ A growing export market, the increasing number of mills, and higher demand for pulp and paper all helped to drive up the demand for timber.⁴⁰ The difficulty of obtaining Crown timber leases/cutting rights -- a problem that had led both North Coast and Alaska Pine to pull out -- lessened with the election of the development-minded *Social Credit* government in 1952. ⁴¹Aiming to boost logging and the pulp and paper industry, W.A.C. Bennet's government encouraged replanting and also introduced a system for facilitating large scale tree farm licenses.⁴² The logging of Indian Reserves with the permission of the Department of Indian Affairs also came into vogue at this time. Soon the west side of Lone Cone Mountain on Meares Island had been cut, along with other reserves at fish stream mouths, by independent operators.⁴³

At this time, major logging companies like MacMillan-Blodel and BC Forest Products also became increasingly interested in the potential of Clayoquot, and began to aggressively campaign for cutting licenses. The latter company even lobbied the Chambers of Commerce in Port Alberni and Tofino to support their bids, offering up roads and other economic benefits as incentives. These major corporations, however, faced growing opposition from local and independent operators, who continue to do the bulk of the "gyppo" logging through the 1950s.⁴⁴ Initially, most of the logging was done for local mills, but plans for road access to the rest of the island had the big companies very excited about the export possibilities.⁴⁵ Indeed, change was in the air. In 1955, BC Forest Products secured a massive timber grant from Port Renfrew to Estevan -- 101,214 hectares -- in a scandalous deal that led to the jailing of a minister for bribery.⁴⁶ Over the next two decades, the small independent "gyppo" operations spread north from around Tofino, Kennedy Lake and Ucluelet to Meares, Flores and Hesquiat, but were increasingly sub-contracted by larger companies, who held the tree farm licenses.⁴⁷ For instance, Greenwood Logging began logging in Hot Springs Cove, then worked up towards Hesquiaht, under license from MacMillan-Blodel, which had acquired the license

(#20) for the area (Herbert Inlet).⁴⁸ Greenwood also established a large camp at Stewardson, near the old copper mine, and built roads across to Hesquiat and up to Cougar Annie's.⁴⁹ Ray Grumbach also opened a small operation in Hot Springs Cove, later moving to Bedwell.⁵⁰

The large-scale commercialization of the forests had a decidedly mixed impact on the indigenous peoples living in and around the Cove. It allowed local groups to earn revenues from the sale of timber rights on their reserves and benefit from the access facilitated by the creation of local logging roads. In May of 1965, for instance, the Hesquiaht Council agreed to sell the logging rights to IR #1,3,4 and 5 to C & B Logging Co. Ltd of Ucluelet, and allow a logging road lease across IR #5.⁵¹ The logging boom also provided employment opportunities for Hesquiahts such as Felix Charleson and others, who found work in a mill at Tahsis.⁵² At the same time, however, the large-scale habitat destruction associated with this logging began to interfere with traditional subsistence practices. Peter Webster of Ahousaht, for instance, recalled that "when the loggers moved in, [the] animals we hunted and trapped disappeared".⁵³ In addition to allowing the destruction of salmon creeks and spiritual sites, the government also began to explicitly limit indigenous access to and use of Crown land. Webster recalls how it became illegal when forest companies moved in to get trees for canoes and cedar bark for weaving except from reserves.⁵⁴

Despite the global period of reconstruction, economic prosperity and growing Cold War competition that followed the Second World War, mining never really re-emerged as a potent economic force in and around Hot Springs Cove. Despite growing demand associated with Japanese industrialization, major companies initially showed relatively little interest in expanding mining on the West Coast, discouraged by earlier failures.⁵⁵ A little local gold mining continued, but the known copper and iron deposits were still considered too erratic and small to be profitable.⁵⁶

The fundamental economic shifts affecting Hot Springs Cove in the post-war period coincided with some important changes to the way goods and people were flowing in and out of the area. Commercial floatplanes had first begun operating out of Tofino in the late 1930s, as companies like Canadian Airways and locally-owned Ginger Cootes

Airways began to tap into the mining boom at Zeballos.⁵⁷ Immediately after the war, in 1946, Queen Charlotte Airlines began serving Tofino, connecting it to many local fishing, mining and logging camps.⁵⁸ Increasingly, floatplanes were the way that sick and injured coastal dwellers were evacuated to hospital.⁵⁹ Commercial land-based aircraft also began taking advantage of the runways of the Tofino airbase -- which soon became the Tofino Airport. At first, these flights were sporadic, but they steadily increased over time.⁶⁰ After centuries of maritime-only access, Clayoquot Sound was now connected to the wider world in a whole new way.

The growth of air traffic also likely accelerated the demise of traditional steamer service. The CPR's cargo business had been declining, Nicholson suggests, in part because fish packing vessels had begun to transport freight themselves to the fish-buying camps that they served.⁶¹ Passenger service on the *Maquinna* was down as well, from 11,000 in 1939 to 7,215 by 1951.⁶² The diminishing numbers may also have reflected wider shifts in tourism, with more Canadians opting to take road-trips on the growing highway network. A turning point was reached in 1952 when issues with her old boilers forced the retirement of the aging *Maquinna*.⁶³ Initially, Canadian Pacific Steamships replaced her with smaller vessels, but their service was more restricted, and was ultimately ended, Guppy suggests, when Gold River was connected by road to the rest of the island, allowing passengers and goods to flow out to Nootka and beyond aboard the *Uchuck III* and other smaller commercial operators.⁶⁴ It is likely that aircraft, private barges and other charter and cargo vessels soon took up some of the slack. The reality, however, was that the end of regular steamer service made Hot Springs Cove more isolated, in a sense, and less accessible to tourism than it had been for decades. And this at a time that Tofino was growing in popularity.

With the nearby water ways and hillsides attracting a growing number of fishermen and loggers, Hot Springs Cove continued, in the immediate post-war period, to serve, in the words of Guppy, as an "important service and supply centre".⁶⁵ From his collection of floats and buildings on the eastern shore, Clarke operated a postal agency, which was renamed in 1948 to "Hot Springs Cove Post Office".⁶⁶ This change foreshadowed a more momentous decision, a year later, by the Hydrological Survey of

Canada, to officially rename Refuge Cove as “Hot Springs Cove”, in order to eliminate confusion with the similarly-named cove on West Redonda Island in Desolation Sound.⁶⁷

⁶⁸

Elsewhere in the bureaucracy, someone had obviously taken note of the growing activity in the Cove, and had decided that the location had potential for further growth. As a result, in May 1945, a portion of the western shoreline – north of the modern-day village site – was surveyed. Presumably in anticipation of coming demand for pre-emptions, this area, designated as Lot 1894, was partially subdivided into 14 small oceanfront lots.⁶⁹

Figure 99 - Chart showing Refuge Cove in 1946, just prior to its official renaming.

Note the “Sydney Inlet P.O” located at the Clarke establishment, as well as the ruins of the reduction plant at nearby Riley Cove and the legacy telephone cables.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, CM/C1511.)

IMAGE AVAILABLE AT
PROVINCIAL
ARCHIVES OF BRITISH
COLUMBIA

The expanding size of the Clarke family also prompted some improvements to their small community on the opposite shore. By the mid 1940s, the Clarkes had 8 school-aged children living in Hot Springs Cove, leading to a push for a government-subsidized teacher. A one-room school house was soon built with help from local indigenous people and fisherman with time on their hands during bad weather.⁷⁰ It opened in 1946 to serve 13 students, including the younger Rae-Arthur kids from Hesquiaht.⁷¹ The small community had ultimately managed to qualify for a school by hiring a teacher with two school-aged kids, while also having an additional indigenous

child attend to push them over the minimum requirements.⁷² This child – and some of the help that went into building the school – presumably came from the small community of Hesquiaht and Manhousaht families that had emerged just across the water on the south-western shore of the Cove, south of the newly subdivided provincial lots.

Although Indigenous and Euro-Canadian peoples were now living adjacent to one another in Hot Springs Cove, the worlds that they inhabited were remarkably different. For one thing, only the Clarkes' had legally-recognized title to the land they inhabited. Perhaps more importantly, though, their lives on this resource-frontier were relatively free, and certainly not subject to the crushing weight of a government bureaucracy designed to supervise and control every aspect of their lives. Indeed, at the mid-point of the twentieth century, the Indian Act was

arguably at its most restrictive and paternalistic, imposing a terrible burden on the Nuuchah-nulth peoples who lived in and around Hot Springs Cove.⁷³ To make matters worse, the Nuuchah-nulth were prevented, by law, from voting for change – unless, of course, they were willing to give up their Indian Act 'status', essentially abandoning, in the

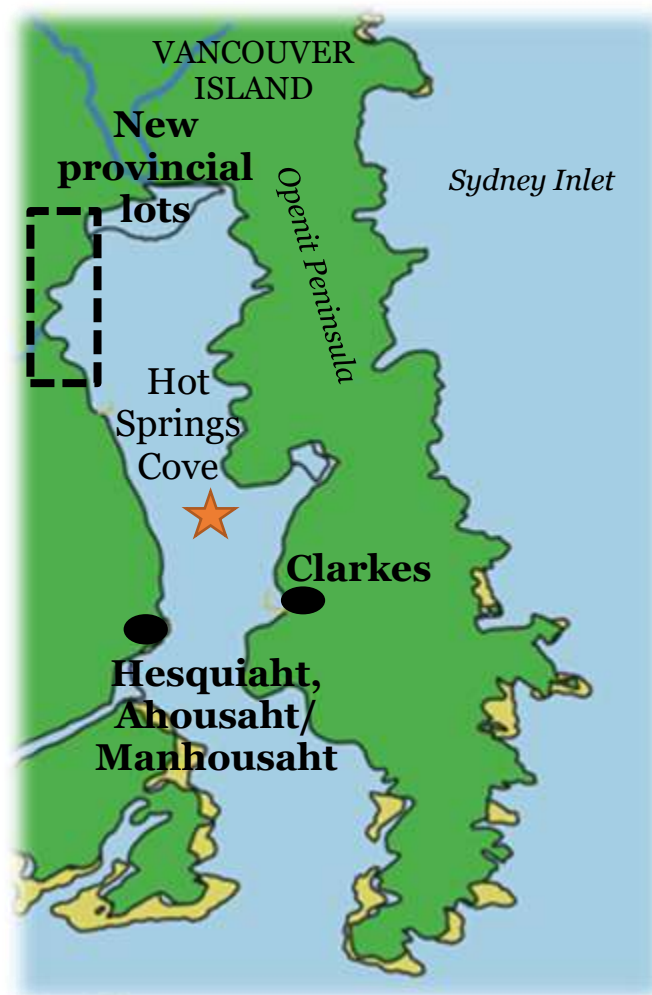


Figure 100 - The Manhousaht/Ahousaht, Hesquiaht & Clarke settlements in Hot Springs Cove, c. 1940

(Map by David Lynch)

process, any associated, traditional usage or habitation rights.⁷⁴ In the words of legal expert William B. Henderson, “For nearly a century,” it had been “effectively illegal to be a First Nations person in a traditional sense, and impossible to interact with non-Indigenous society in any meaningful way without losing status.”⁷⁵

Indeed, it was only in 1951 that the Act -- which applied equally to the Nuuchah-nulth even in the absence of any treaty – was amended to remove some of its most repressive restrictions. That year, thanks to pressure from indigenous groups and shifts in wider Canadian social values, the ban on potlatches and other traditional ceremonies was finally lifted, much political activism and the hiring of lawyers to pursue rights cases was once again allowed, and women were finally given the right to participate in Band council elections.⁷⁶ Attendance at residential school, however, remained mandatory, and “compulsory enfranchisement” remained possible until it was repealed in 1961, a year after regular voting rights were finally extended to all indigenous peoples.⁷⁷ Positive as these changes were, the 1951 amendment also extended provincial laws to reserve communities and maintained the rules that stripped status from women (and their children) who married non-status men, or had a mother or grandmother without status.⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ Just as tellingly, the Department of Indian Affairs continued to paternalistically manage the finances of groups like the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht, forcing them to navigate red-tape just to spend their own funds.

More disturbingly, their children and communities continued to suffer the indignities and trauma of the ongoing residential school system. After the United Church’s school at Ahousat was burnt down by students in 1917, it was shoddily rebuilt, similar to other schools, leading to health issues later on.⁸⁰ It remained in operation until 1940, when it finally closed for good.⁸¹ The nearby Christie school on Meares survived the withdrawal of the Benedictines in 1938, and continued to be run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate until 1971.⁸²



Figure 101 - Indian Residential Schools in the Sound, c. 1940

(Map by David Lynch)

While the founder of the Christie School, Brabant, initially discouraged corporal punishment, the departure of his successor, Moser, allowed it to become an increasingly brutal and oppressive environment, where violent confrontations between students and instructors become common. Some later priests were even charged with assault for administering particularly harsh physical punishments.⁸³ Peter Webster, who attended the Ahousat school, did not remember the experience fondly; instead, he recalled being punished for speaking his own language.⁸⁴ Students also commonly suffered from congenital syphilis and nearly all had experienced at least one case of tuberculosis in their family – the latter a pattern all too common in residential schools nation-wide.⁸⁵ In addition to the physical and emotional toll, the schools also had a profound cultural impact. Peter Webster's wife, Jessie, for instance, was Christianised by her time at the Christie School.⁸⁶ She and her husband were also surely disconnected from their traditions, to some degree, as well. As Nancy Turner sees it, residential schooling created

immense barriers across the generations, such that children no longer appreciated their original languages, foods and culture, ultimately contributing to an

overwhelming loss of ethnobotanical and environmental knowledge that has continued to the present time.⁸⁷

If there was any bright spot to the immense tragedy, Turner notes, it is perhaps, as some have suggested, that the schools helped forge friendships that would help facilitate the later growth of indigenous organizations.⁸⁸ The fact that many non-indigenous locals appear to have had little knowledge of what was going on in these schools may reflect their lack of connection with their indigenous neighbours, as well as the relative isolation of the institutions at Kakawis and Ahousat. And when they did meet students from the schools, it was invariably in the context of a sport game or musical performance, where the children tended to perform impressively.

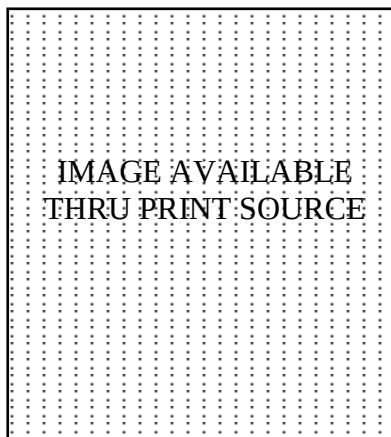


Figure 102 - Violin players from the Christie School, c. early 20th century.

(See Moser, pg. 157)

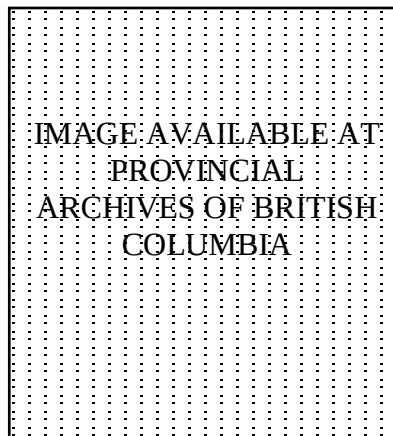
This façade surely helps explain local author Marnie Anderson’s confident assertion: “and so it was that all West Coasters mourned when beloved Christie burned to the ground...”⁸⁹ And burn to the ground it did, but only after it had been closed in 1971 and condemned as a fire hazard.⁹⁰ Prior to that, in 1946, a proposal to relocate the school to the ground of the decommissioned Tofino airbase had been abandoned after fierce opposition by locals, who feared loss of property values.⁹¹ By the 1960s, however, shifting social values and Departmental interest in integration led to discussions about bringing all students to Tofino to be educated together with the town’s children.⁹²

By this time, conditions at Christie were starting to soften, as greater indigenous participation in the school administration helped, in part, to reduce harsh discipline and turn the focus away from religious education.⁹³ With the establishment of a government-funded day-school at Ahousat, the majority of students were now attending from Hesquiat and Hot Springs Cove. Ultimately, when the buildings at Kakawis were condemned in 1971, the decision was made to transfer the students to residences at Tin-Wis, on Mackenzie Beach, from where they were bussed to Tofino’s new public day-

school.⁹⁴ The residences themselves were finally closed in 1984, less than a year after the old school at Kakawis – now serving as a residential treatment centre for substance abuse – burnt down for the final time. After more than 80 years, the indigenous youth of Hot Springs Cove would finally be spared from residential schooling. And yet, its legacy would live on for generations to come - in the form of wrecked lives and historical trauma.

Figure 103 - The United Church's school at Ahousat, c. 1890s, and its students on a picnic, c. 1910s

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Images A-05400 & B-01029)



Another Place to Live: The Long Saga of the Hesquiaht Relocation to Hot Springs Cove

Although the indigenous peoples in and around Hot Springs Cove initially had little control over their childrens' education in the immediate post-war period, they had greater success in pushing for changes to where and how they lived. Indeed, as the war wound to a close, discussions began to be had within the Department of Indian Affairs over the possibility of relocating the Hesquiaht as a whole.⁹⁵ Little did any of those involved suspect that the process would drag on for

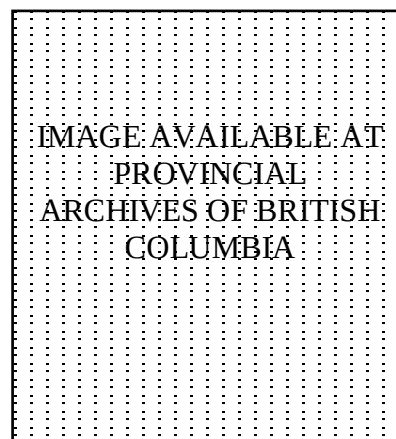


Figure 104 - Refuge Cove, pictured in the 1940s. Note the large number of fishboats, as well as presence of a floatplane on the far left.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image F-02226.)

more than 25 years and become a case study in intergovernmental obstruction and bureaucratic ineptitude that would rightly exasperate the very people it was intended to serve. At times, indeed, the story sadly reads like a farcical tragi-comedy.

In the spring of 1946, however, a solution seemed easily within reach. Responding to an enquiry by the local Indian Agent, P.B. Ashbridge, the Indian Commissioner for BC, D.M. MacKay, proposed acquiring a small five-acre property, Lot 1895, located on the shoreline between the modern Hot Springs Village site and Mate Island. Admitting that the proposed lot was “considerably smaller” than requested, MacKay concluded, nevertheless, that it would be “sufficient to provide accommodation and safe anchorage for the Indians’ boats”.⁹⁶ Best of all, the price was right, at only \$25.⁹⁷

What MacKay did not realize was that Lot 1895 already contained a “village” of upwards of ten small houses belonging to various Hesquiaht, Ahousaht and Manhousaht fishing families, who anchored their boats out-front in fair weather.⁹⁸ In stormy conditions, however, they would moor them at the government dock across the bay, which would be at capacity whenever other local fishing boats sought shelter in the Cove.⁹⁹ Hesquiaht Chief Benedict Andrews rejected the lot upon inspection, noting the “very poor anchorage for boats and poor water supply for the village” as well as a lack of space for new houses. “Nearly all of my Band [want to] mov[e] in for fishing and shelter and anchorage for our gas boats”, Andrews reminded the Agent, as the Hesquiaht had already lost upwards of 15 boats to stormy conditions in the past.¹⁰⁰



Figure 105 - The beachfront of ‘Lot 1895’, now Swan IR #35, looking north-east back towards the Park dock. This photo was taken in the same location as the earliest known image of the area, c. 1882.

(Image by David Lynch)

At Ivan Clarke's suggestion, Andrews proposed, instead, the acquisition of Lot 1894 the newly sub-divided provincial crown land immediately to the north, which he felt was "very suitable for us and just the right land we wanted...if the land commissioner will let us have it. And water rights." The new acting Agent N.W. Garrard, who visited the site soon after, concurred that Lot 1894 would "solve the difficulty of the Hesquiat Band with their boats and would put them in a more suitable place for fishing operations."¹⁰¹ Others clearly agreed, as a Hesquiaht named Stephen Jackson was reportedly already in residence on the most northerly subdivided lot, and Andy Thornburg, a local mixed-race man was rumoured to be applying to pre-empt two others, which were "the choice of the property" and "a suitable place for boats to be hauled up for repairs".¹⁰²

Presumably catching word of Hesquiaht interest in Lot 1895, in April of 1946, five leading non-Hesquiaht men in the existing village met with Agent Garrard, presented him with \$25 and requested the Department purchase the property for them. Their plan was to have it designated a Manhousat reserve, to be governed by Luke Swan, a resident and one of two remaining band members, as chief.¹⁰³ They also committed to allowing the existing Hesquiaht residents to continue living in the village until they could be safely relocated.¹⁰⁴ Chief Andrews, nevertheless, was confused and disappointed by this development.¹⁰⁵ Even so, the plan to purchase Lot 1895 as a Mahousaht reserve satisfied Garrard's superiors, and received Privy Council approval in October 1946.¹⁰⁶ The next question was whether the residents of Lot 1895 should be constituted as an independent band – and, if so, under what name – given that "difficulties" had arisen in the past in administering reserves owned by several bands.¹⁰⁷¹⁰⁸

Figure 106 - Rough sketch of Hot Springs Cove by Indian Agent, 1946.

Note the "Indian Houses" along the pebble beach adjacent to Mate Island, and the Clarke establishment immediately across the water.

Finding a new home for the Hesquiaht, however, would prove far more challenging. The newly subdivided nature of Lot 1894 deterred Department officials,

who did not think it “feasible” to try to buy the lots at auction – though they notified Chief Andrews that individual Hesquiaht were most welcome to buy individual lots if they wanted to become ordinary tax paying citizens.^{109 110} No evidence could be found that any Hesquiaht bought a lot in the auction that took place on July 25, 1946.

Though the subdivided Lot 1894 proved a dead-end, discussions with the Provincial Superintendent of Lands soon revealed that two other adjacent large properties – Lots 1474 (330 acres) and Lot 1475 (277 acres) were available for purchase by the Department.¹¹¹ On the day of the auction, after inspecting the western shore immediately to the south of the subdivision with Chief Andrews, Garrard concluded that a 1000ft stretch of the shoreline comprising 2.3 acres of Lot 1474 would be a good village site as it had good moorage, suited the construction of a slipway and had ample freshwater for a well (judging from ground seepage).¹¹² Ironically, this would eventually become the north end of the village site – but not without several more decades of frustration.

As an alternative plan, Garrard also opened negotiations with Ivan Clarke, who offered, in August 1949, to sell the Department 5 acres at the north-eastern head of the Cove belonging to Lot 1371 for \$80 an acre.¹¹³ By June of the following year, Clarke had dropped his price to \$30/acre, with the condition that the Department allow a right-of-away for a pipeline and an access road.¹¹⁴

In December 1951, the plan to purchase a portion of Lot 1474 hit another snag, with the Province suddenly announcing they would rather lease than sell lands to the Department, which was, in turn, unacceptable to the Department, who wanted to secure permanent title to its reserves.¹¹⁵

As the negotiations dragged on, the Hesquiaht were getting impatient. That Christmas, George Amos wrote Garrard from Nootka, where many of the Hesquiaht were apparently living. He sought permission to relocate to the Cove and build a 20x30 two-story house. He also asked if the Department would be able to provide any assistance (such as some shiplap or help with the cost of shipping lumber in).¹¹⁶ Garrard struggled initially to secure any funding, but did get permission from Ivan Clarke for Amos to build a house on the north-western corner of his Lot 1371 property, where the river enters the head of the Cove.¹¹⁷ Amos’ move seems to have triggered several other relocations,

which the Indian Agent seems to have encouraged. Indeed, working with Amos, Garrard ultimately managed to secure Departmental permission, by July of 1951, to help subsidize some costs for at least seven different households, including the Amos'.¹¹⁸ It seemed that, in the absence of official progress, the Hesquiaht were taking the initiative to effectively relocate themselves, and create a whole community of households at the head of the Cove. Throughout the 1950s, Garrard continued to receive "a tremendous amount of [such] applications" and was "unable to supply even a quarter of them", given that his annual funding only permitted the construction of approximately 10 houses across the whole West Coast Agency.¹¹⁹

In the mid-1950s, while the Hesquiaht continued to press for more Departmental support, their neighbour Ivan Clarke and his wife were making a decision that would profoundly complicate the future land-use dynamics in Hot Springs Cove. In 1955, the Clarkes decided to donate 14 hectares (35 acres) of their holdings to the province, so that they could be made into a park.¹²⁰ This property served as the core of what would eventually become the modern Maquinna Marine Park. Situated at the foot of the dock, a plaque today commemorates the generosity of the Clarkes' donation. Certainly, those of us who have visited the park in the years since would seem to owe them both a debt of gratitude for preserving it for our enjoyment. Whether, however, there were other motives at work behind their decision is an issue that will hopefully be explored in greater depth by his grandson Michael Kaehn, in his upcoming book on the origins of the park and his family's central role in its creation.

While a nascent park was taking shape nearby, the Hesquiaht were still living in limbo. By September 1959, the Hesquiaht were so eager for a permanent solution to their relocation that their Council authorized the Department to spend \$900 to purchase 10 acres of Lot 1474 from the province and an additional \$300 to purchase the 5 acres of 1371 offered by Clarke.¹²¹ By this point, however, the Department had apparently settled on a land-swap strategy and convinced the Province to accept the uninhabited Hesquiaht I.R. #5, on the coast north west of Hot Springs Cove, near Hesquiat Point in return for an equivalent acreage of Lot 1474.¹²² In December, all 43 members of the Band present at a

meeting ratified the “surrender” and the appropriate forms were signed and provided to the Department.¹²³

The steady influx of Hesquiaht into Hot Springs Cove after the war appears to have encouraged the construction of a small church. Until the 1950s, Christian inhabitants of the Cove would have had to travel either a day north to Nootka or south to Ahousaht to attend a service.¹²⁴ However, in the 1950s, construction began on the Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception, intended to serve not just the small Euro-Canadian population but also the growing number of local indigenous Christians. Situated next to Ivan Clarke’s site on the East shore of the Cove, on land presumably donated, the building was finally completed in 1963, with the opening led by Hesquiaht Chief Benedict Andrews.¹²⁵

With the church under construction, and the small community at the head of the Cove growing, it must have seemed like the plan to purchase the land from Clarke was the final piece of the puzzle. Only then did Departmental officials discover that most of the existing houses had been built on Lot 1474 – not Clarke’s property. As a result, they convinced the Hesquiaht that it was best to abandon negotiations with Clarke, and focus instead on purchasing a portion of Lot 1474 from the province. By March 1961, the terms of the property exchange had been finally been agreed upon, with the Department throwing in an additional \$900 and covering the cost of a new survey. As the surveying dragged on for the next two years, there was flurry of correspondence between the Hesquiaht and various officials over the question of whether to encourage subdivision of the land to be purchased. Also at issue was whether Band members would still qualify for Departmental housing and infrastructure funding if their lots were not incorporated as a formal reserve.¹²⁶ The consensus seemed to be that only a reserve would guarantee the desired funding.¹²⁷

The completion of the survey in the Spring of 1963 only complicated matters by revealing that several of the existing Hesquiaht houses were in fact situated north of Lot 1474, on a Timber Lease belonging to Van-West Logging Co.¹²⁸ This kicked off yet more correspondence - this time between the company, the Department and the province (who appeared happy to require the Department to do all the work). It would take almost another year and the promise of a road right-of-way to secure Van-West's permission to "quit" their lease to the extra 2 acres desired.¹²⁹ Finally a resolution, it seemed, was imminent. But so, too, was a very unexpected natural disaster.

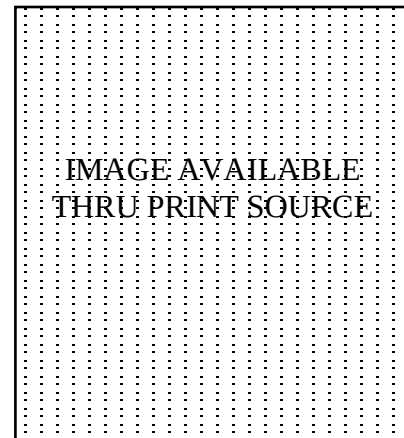


Figure 107 - A photo of Hot Springs Cove, likely from just before the 1964 tsunami devastated the area.

(See George Nicholson's "Vancouver Island's West Coast, 1762-1962)

"A Tidal Wave of Trouble" – The impact of the Tsunami of 64' on the Hesquiaht and Hot Springs Cove

The unexpected destruction caused by a tsunami in the spring of 1964 devastated the little indigenous community that had developed at the head of Hot Springs Cove, but it was arguably bureaucratic wrangling that nearly spelled the end of Hesquiaht occupation in the area. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove has experienced a number of smaller tsunami events; however, the events of March 28, 1964 were without parallel.¹³⁰ Triggered by a massive earthquake near Anchorage, Alaska, two successive waves struck Hot Springs Cove in the early hours of morning, without warning, laying waste to the Hesquiaht community that had taken root on the edge of Ivan Clarke's land.¹³¹ The first, smaller wave washed away their smaller boats from the shoreline, making it impossible to ride out the second, larger wave in their larger boats, anchored out on the water.¹³²

Recognizing the danger from an earlier earthquake experience, most quickly took refuge on a piece of nearby high ground, where they waited out the rest of the night.¹³³ One couple spent the “entire time on top of a large stump”, while another was washed out into the cove with their house, before being carried back in on the subsequent wave. Miraculously, though, no-one was lost, and the next day, the survivors made their way “on their own” to Ahousaht for shelter. The community they left behind, however, was in ruins. Nearly all of their personal effects had washed out to sea. Only two of the 18 houses were left standing in their original location, and four were “gone completely”, carried away out into the Cove, where they sank.¹³⁴ Others were dumped into the stumps and trees at the back of the village site.¹³⁵ Several homes also burnt when the coal lamps inside were knocked over.¹³⁶ A visiting official estimated that only 4 or 5 were salvageable and noted that the community’s electrical generator had also been knocked out.¹³⁷ These losses, he concluded rather obviously, “combined with the nightmare experience, places this event in the category of a disaster.” The only good news, it seemed, was that the fuel released when the waves ruptured Ivan Clarke’s pipelines had not ignited.¹³⁸

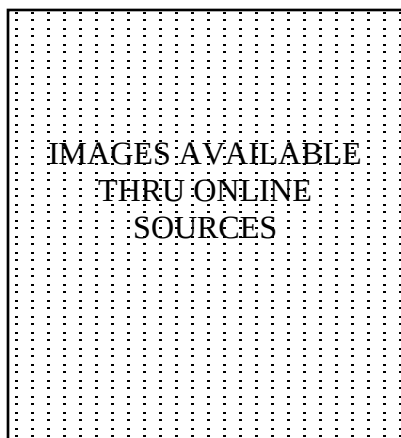


Figure 108 - Two aerial photos of the tsunami damage, apparently taken by Dr. Charles Ford, just a few days after the event in 1964.

(See “Sharing Hesquiaht Culture - SBC SURF: HESQUIAHT TSUNAMI STORY”, Hesquiaht Place of Learning. Created 2012, Accessed May 3, 2019, <https://hesquiahtplaceoflearning.wordpress.com/sharing-hesquiaht-culture/>, and “Figure 11 - uploaded by John J. Clague”, ResearchGate, Accessed May 3, 2019, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-village-of-Hot-Springs-Cove-on-Vancouver-Island-shortly-after-the-tsunami-of-the_fig11_225567967).

The disaster, though tragic, should not have been unexpected. Indeed, Hot Springs Cove falls within what is considered Canada’s most active seismic zone. In Hesquiaht

Harbour, for instance, more than 1,700 earthquakes were recorded in the 75 years between 1899-1976.¹³⁹

Despite the extensive damage to his operations, Clarke was able to access government compensation and rebuild. The Gibsons, based out of Ahousat, were awarded a contract to install new floats and mooring facilities in the Cove.¹⁴⁰

For their part, their evident losses qualified 27 Hesquiaht survivors for government compensation, which was provided to the Department to hold in trust for them.¹⁴¹ In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, officials released some money to individuals to help them replace clothes and other personal effects; however, they convinced most of the survivors to hold back the bulk of their funds to put towards replacement housing, which they presumed would be coming soon. In the wake of the devastating tsunami, it seemed as if the Hesquiaht were back at square one – without suitable housing or even a village site to call their own.

The disaster seems to have ended any further effort to secure a portion of Lot 1474 from the Province, though officials briefly toyed with offering them Lot 1895 again.¹⁴² Ultimately, though, officials concluded that the Hesquiaht were unanimous in their desire to relocate to a different site, rather than rebuild at the head of the Cove, due to fears of another “tidal wave”.¹⁴³ A letter from Felix Charleson in late April expressing his desire to relocate to the vicinity of Tahsis seems to have started a conversation with the Band that ultimately led the new Agent, Homan, to enquire with the Tahsis Company Ltd on their behalf about the possibility of identifying a 20 acre site within 4-5 miles of Gold River – more than 50 miles to the north-east -- that might serve as a new village site.¹⁴⁴ Describing the Hesquiaht as a “very good group of people, for the most part fisherman”, he noted that “other members are employed at your Tahsis operation” and that they “feel that being settled near a logging area and also near a potential industrial development, that they would possible [sic] be able to fit in and their children, now in high school, would be able to find and hold steady employment”.¹⁴⁵ Chief Andrews visited the area soon thereafter and identified a number of sites with potential, all of which were situated within lands controlled by the Tahsis Company.¹⁴⁶ He assured the Department that his Band was “100% willing to move up” to any site that offered a

“better location and employment”, (providing a list of families in support of his claims.¹⁴⁷ Clearly, two months on from the tsunami, the homeless Hesquiaht were eager for any resolution!¹⁴⁸ To his credit, Homan, too, recognised that it was imperative that “we have the Hesquiat Band settled in a new area before winter”.¹⁴⁹

Homan’s well-intentioned efforts appear to have kicked off yet another ultimately fruitless and time-consuming effort. Matters quickly became complex when the Tahsis Company proposed not just a 75-year lease, but also extending their logging rights onto a Reserve belonging to the Nootka.¹⁵⁰ While Department officials debated whether the law would allow them to sever a small portion of the Tahsis Timber Leases without their permission, Homan also investigated the possibility of a 53 acre plot belonging to the Nelson Bros, the operators of the old Nootka cannery, though this possibility was apparently never seriously pursued.¹⁵¹ When word reached the Nootkans of the Tahsis proposal, they were unimpressed with the Tahsis company, but decided to back the Hesquiaht, making their agreement to the lease of their reserve contingent on the willingness of the Tahsis Company to grant the Hesquiaht a village site.¹⁵² In July of 1964, it appeared that a deal had been reached with the Tahsis company to purchase 40 acres at Jacklah Creek at \$10/acre and that nine families were ready to relocate, with 4 more likely soon thereafter.¹⁵³ However, by August, the Company’s unwillingness to guarantee foreshore access or allowance for floats had all but killed the deal.¹⁵⁴

As September 1964 rolled around, the Department was still assessing the other proposed sites in Nootka but by late-month, the decision had apparently been made to return to the original plan of finding a lot in Refuge Cove; only this time, the focus was on the southern portion of Lot 1474, adjacent to the subdivision– the same plot that Garrard had identified way back in 1946!¹⁵⁵ Once again, the Department offered to swap another Hesquiaht reserve for the land desired.¹⁵⁶ This plan appeared to be on the right track when a brief survey by the Department’s Sanitation officer, Krutz, found lake water behind the proposed site safe, though “not an ideal source” due to taste, turbidity and odor.¹⁵⁷

As the months passed since the tsunami, and their lives still in limbo, many Hequiaht began to enquire about accessing the remainder of their disaster compensation. As much as possible, departmental officials tried to convince both the recipients and Chief Andrews to save at least 50% of their funds to contribute towards relocation and redevelopment costs.¹⁵⁸ Looking back, years later, officials noted the understandable “feeling[s] of exasperation that the relocation was not going to happen and that [the survivors] better get what they could and relocate themselves”.¹⁵⁹ Most had ultimately withdrawn their share by November 1966, when the final 5 recipients asked for the fund to be liquidated.¹⁶⁰

In November 1964, the Hesquiaht once again demonstrated their collective agency. Likely impatient with the Department’s inability to secure them a permanent site, they decided at a community meeting to relocate to Tofino, and took the initiative to secure the blessing of the town leadership on their own.¹⁶¹ Their plan was to buy several lots just off Campbell Street near Third Street and subdivide into 15 lots for around \$8800.¹⁶² Tofino Village Council supported the move, provided the Hesquiaht homes would be “dispersed among the community to avoid any ghetto-type development”.¹⁶³

Aware that it was not typical Departmental policy to support off-reserve housing, Homan nevertheless supported the Hesquiaht plan, pointing out that it would cost “considerably less than developing a new reserve with all the required services”.¹⁶⁴ Once settled in Tofino, Homan claimed, responsibility for the Hesquiaht would be between them as “rate-payer[s] and the Village of Tofino”. A flurry of correspondence followed. Seeking advice from Ottawa, the Indian Commissioner noted that the Hesquiaht “have lost all they owned and they desperately need to re-establish themselves where they can be decently housed, where they can make a worthwhile living, and where they can send their children to good schools. Tofino,” he concluded, “appears to offer them all of these advantages...”.¹⁶⁵ He also admitted that “to the best of our knowledge, this is the first time any band in Canada have expressed a desire to settle ‘en-masse’ in a non-Indian community, knowing that they will be expected to accept the same responsibilities as the non-Indians”.¹⁶⁶ Still, the move was consistent with what officials noted was “a strong

and growing trend by Indians in this region to move off reserve in order to accept employment". It also seemed to address the "serious problem" all too often presented by the "lack of proper accommodation in the non-Indian community for the Indian employee and his family...which we must face and solve if the Indian is to take full advantage of the burgeoning economy of this Province".¹⁶⁷ Recognizing the employment possibilities in Tofino, and potential for accelerated assimilation, officials appeared guardedly optimistic, though it was noted, somewhat disingenuously, that "the Band has changed their minds before".¹⁶⁸

Discussions soon turned to the question of how to fund the relocation, and once again, bureaucratic roadblocks emerged. As off-reserve residents, the Hesquiaht would not qualify for the Department's subsidy programme, so they were told, instead, to apply for assisted CMHC mortgages under the National Housing Act.¹⁶⁹ Band members, however, expressed concerns about being overextended when their incomes from fishing were so inconsistent.¹⁷⁰ They also sought commitments that their children could continue at the Christie school until the new Tofino day school could be completed.¹⁷¹ To complicate matters further, officials realized that the Hesquiaht would only qualify for NHA subsidies if there was sewer service – which Tofino did not yet have.¹⁷² In March 1965, the plan got a boost when the Treasury Board approved additional money to support those relocating off reserve for the purpose of employment.¹⁷³ But the following month, after Tofino residents voted down another sewage proposal, the Hesquiaht requested officials to begin investigating alternatives if no resolution had been reached by July 1st.¹⁷⁴ The Department also had to reassure a now "extremely upset" Tofino Village Council, which had recently discovered that the Hesquiaht wanted to be concentrated in a single block of lots.¹⁷⁵ By September 1965, officials were still optimistic about the plan, awaiting the result of another sewage referendum.¹⁷⁶ The Hesquiaht, however, had had enough. In October, Homan informed his superiors "with regret but without surprise" that the Hesquiaht Council "had no further desire to relocate to Tofino, BC".¹⁷⁷ Instead, they once again wished the Department to acquire a part of Lot 1474 in Hot Springs Cove for them.¹⁷⁸ Bureaucratic inflexibility, jurisdictional complications and financially short-sighted decision-making had triumphed once again. Future events – and skyrocketing

costs - makes one wonder, in hindsight, whether the Department had just missed out on their best chance for a cost-effective resolution to the Hesquiaht relocation.

The idea of a land-swap had remained on the back-burner while the Tofino option was explored, the delay helpfully explained away as a result of Hesquiaht indecision.¹⁷⁹ Fortunately for the Hesquiaht, by June 1966, the province had confirmed that it was still willing to deal.¹⁸⁰ Even as the bureaucracy continued to grind slowly forward, some officials expressed scepticism that the three or four families now living in the Cove justified such an expense.¹⁸¹ They also questioned the suitability of the location, which one summed up as “strictly an isolated situation without a future”. As this official saw it, Clarke’s “the Fish camp [was] the only attraction in the area and if the camp moved the four families would also move.”¹⁸²

It would take until June of 1968 for the swap to become official, and the Department to formally set aside the 24-acre plot “for the use and benefit of the Hesquiaht Band of Indians as Refuge Cove Indian Reservation Number Six”.¹⁸³ The Hesquiaht finally had their new location/reserve. But clearing it, installing basic services and actually building a village would take many more years. Though at least part of the new proposed village site had been logged previously, it had been left a mess of stumps, logs and slash piles.¹⁸⁴

The initial plan called for clearing to begin for ten homes in January 1969, and in March, Felix Charleson secured Department assistance to order the first prefabricated home (a model known as “Indian Residence No. 7) for a cost of \$6,105 in March 1969.¹⁸⁵ The order, however, was postponed when it became clear that clearing efforts would consume the band’s entire housing budget for the year.¹⁸⁶ And the news kept getting worse. As departmental officials stepped up their preparations and began to inspect the reserve more closely, their list of concerns grew. While its proximity to the fishing grounds and invulnerability to tsunami damage were seen as advantages, the lack of outside access, local services, potable water and proper drainage for sewage had several officials warning about cost, and arguing that “better results could be obtained at less cost elsewhere”.¹⁸⁷

The Hesquiaht were understandably frustrated to learn of these conclusions in the fall of 1969, and discussed hiring outside experts.¹⁸⁸ By March of 1971, they were accusing the Department of allowing a “an unfair exchange”, and demanding that officials secure them a more suitable part of Lot 1474 and/or the Timber Licence to the north.^{189 190} Closer inspection of the new proposed location – just to the south of where the Hesquiahts had settled before the Tsunami -- found “a more accessible site somewhat more suited for development” but still plagued by “Isolation, deprivation and site problems”. Estimates suggested that constructing a village of 15 homes with power, water and sewage would cost about \$300,000.¹⁹¹

Even as officials lamented that they were “once again confronting the province with hat in hand with the request of another exchange”, many were questioning whether the project was still warranted.¹⁹² For one thing, no-one could be sure how many Hesquiaht would actually relocate there permanently: “[If] we are merely providing them with something of a summer camp for three or four months occupation per year”, one official concluded”, “such a large investment would be ridiculous to say the least”.¹⁹³ Another questioned whether the plan was “serving the best interests of the Band by artificially creating an attractive physical infrastructure for the seducement of Indians to an environment characterized by its comparative lack of employment opportunities”.¹⁹⁴

In contrast with the early post war-days -- when the local Indian Agents like Garrard had exercised significant responsibility in making major decisions -- the impression that emerges from the correspondence, by this period, is one of an increasingly byzantine Departmental bureaucracy. While these engineers, economic development officers and community planners evidently brought more expertise to bear, their participation also seems to have further bogged down decision-making, much to the frustration of the Hesquiaht.

In October, an attempt was made to survey the intentions of the wider Hesquiaht Band, but it appears not to have produced any useful data.¹⁹⁵ Under increasing pressure from the Band and their local MP, Departmental officials conducted an internal review, which concluded that the “department has done the Hesquiaht Band a great disservice

through our poor communications, ineptitude, and just plain insensitivity”, and suggested that “surely there is some moral obligation to deliver the goods after eight years”. This triggered an internal spat between the District and Regional offices, involving some colourful language.¹⁹⁶

By this point, the Hesquiaht were fed up to the point that they accused the Department and its “supposed experts” of “Cultural Genocide”.¹⁹⁷ Having “seen and witnessed too many of their blunders”, the Hesquiaht rebuked officials, reminding them that “you cannot tell us what is best for the Hesquiaht people. Only we can determine what is best for ourselves.” Shortly thereafter, the Band rejected a final Departmental suggestion that they settle closer to Port Alberni, and resolved that any further talk of “relocation” be abandoned, requesting that the Department instead respect the “the final decision of the Hesquiaht Band to develop Hesquiaht I.R. No. 6”.¹⁹⁸ Recognizing that the Hesquiaht were prepared to push forward “with or without the department’s help”, top officials met in late February 1972 and agreed to move forward, beginning with the construction of five homes later that year. At the time, the Band claimed that two more families would relocate within the year, and 10 more within five years, ultimately foreseeing a community of 20-30 families in the future. That summer, eight Hesquiaht high-schoolers spent a month clearing land for the first few homes, which were barged over in the fall.¹⁹⁹

The Hesquiaht finally had a workable home-base again. But at what cost? Eight years had passed since the Tsunami – and more than twenty-five had elapsed since officials had begun discussing a relocation in earnest. There can be little doubt that these repeated, jarring dislocation and delays had an effect on the Hesquiaht as a community. As Charity Lucas sees it, “that displacement, I think, still sits within our community very strongly...because, even though this is our home, its different than our home.”²⁰⁰

From a historian’s perspective, as well, the long saga of the Hesquiaht relocation appears significant. Indeed, it provides a classic case-study in the counterproductive paternalism, mismanagement and bureaucratic absurdity that unfortunately typified the experience of so many indigenous groups in this country.

The more forceful tone adopted by the Hesquiaht in their dealings with departmental officials by the early 1970s were not unique – rather, they reflected the growing confidence of the Nuuchah-nulth as a whole. More than a decade before, once political activism and litigation were legalized in the Indian Act reforms of 1951, the Nuuchah-nulth had taken their political organization to the next level. In 1958, they had established the Allied Tribes of the West Coast, an organization that evolved, by 1978, into the modern-day Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC).^{201 202} The decision to adopt the name “Nuuch’cha’nulth” on the bicentennial anniversary of Cook’s arrival at Nootka was significant in several ways.²⁰³ After two hundred years of living with a rather ironic European-imposed name, the Nuuchah-nulth were not only retaking control of their identity, but also reinforcing a growing sense of collective unity. Nor was it a simple coincidence that this development occurred while the different communities were meeting in Port Alberni for a provincially-funded sports festival!²⁰⁴ Initially, Marshall suggests, the NTC was dominated by southern and central groups.²⁰⁵ In time, however, the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht would come to enjoy greater influence.

The political resurgence of the Nuuchah-nulth echoed the wider growth of indigenous organization and resistance in the 1970s. The federal government’s ill-timed proposal in 1969 to do away with ‘Indian Status’ altogether galvanized a nascent political movement into action.²⁰⁶ Under the leadership of George Manuel and others, organizations like the National Indian Brotherhood were so vocal in their opposition to Trudeau’s “White Paper” that the idea was ultimately shelved.^{207 208} Increasingly organized and empowered, Canada’s indigenous advocacy groups were well-positioned to begin to take greater advantage of subtle but significant social changes that left mainstream Canadian society increasingly receptive to their grievances.²⁰⁹

Like other First Nations groups across the country, the Nuuchah-nulth also benefited significantly from the pioneering legal action launched in the 1960s by the Nisga’a in an effort to assert their unextinguished title to their traditional lands in northwestern BC. In its landmark 1973 *Calder* decision, the first ever to deal directly with issues of indigenous title, the Supreme Court ruled that indigenous title had indeed existed at the time of contact, a decision that convinced the federal government to

abandon its traditional policy of “non-negotiation”. The door was now open for negotiation to begin in earnest, not just for the Nisga’a, but the Nuu-chah-nulth as well.²¹⁰

In addition to their growing political activism, the Nuu-chah-nulth also began to devote greater efforts to cultural preservation. With the number of fluent speakers dwindling, Nuu-chah-nulth groups launched initiatives aimed at preserving their traditional language. The Hesquiaht Cultural Committee, for instance, hired a linguist and began recording elders in 1972.²¹¹ Others took a more informal, personal approach to cultural preservation. Peter Webster of Ahousaht, for instance, learned his language phonetically later in life and began teaching it to young students, while also collecting traditional potlatch songs.²¹² Eager to preserve and better understand their history, the Hesquiaht Cultural Committee also collaborated with archeologists such as Haggarty to excavate key sites in and around Hesquiat Harbour.^{213 214}

“Driving Development”: Road access for Tofino Boosts Logging and Fishing, while Setting the Stage for a Tourist-Economy.

As the Hesquiaht relocation continued to encounter bureaucratic roadblocks throughout the 1950s and 1960s, much greater progress was being made, to the south, in the effort to connect Clayoquot Sound by a road to the rest of the province. Indeed, the opening in the 1960s, of a public highway connecting Tofino to the rest of Vancouver Island ultimately led to a boom in tourism -- and a cascade of other changes -- that would reshape the very nature of the human presence in the Cove.

Connecting Tofino and Clayoquot Sound to the rest of the island by road had been a dream of local homesteaders and entrepreneurs since the turn of the century. Indeed, rumours of a pending road connection between Tofino and Alberni led to a rush of land-speculation in Tofino before WWI, but only a little surveying had been done when the war put these plans on the back burner.²¹⁵ For the next several decades, various societies and clubs periodically attempted, without success, to push for a road, but failed even to get Ucluelet connected to Tofino.²¹⁶ By the end of WWII, however, real progress began to be made. Thanks to military concerns and mining development, a rough chain of roads and tracks almost connected the Alberni valley with Kennedy Lake, Tofino and Ucluelet.²¹⁷

Ultimately, though, it was the success of modern logging that provided Clayoquot with a permanent land-route, kicking off a tourism boom that would later, ironically, hasten the end of these same large-scale timber operations. After decades of fruitless local campaigning and broken political promises, success came in October 1954 as a result of negotiations with two major logging companies, MacMillan-Blodel and BC Forest Products.²¹⁸ In return for lucrative logging concessions, they agreed to connect their existing logging roads into a continuous route from the Alberni Valley to the coast – a road that would be transferred to the province at the end of ten years of commercial use.²¹⁹ Great excitement greeted the dusty cavalcade of 74 cars that took part in the inaugural drive in 1959.²²⁰ Known as “Adventure Road” by locals, due to its many dangerous switchbacks, the new road remained locked during working hours until it became a public highway in 1964.²²¹ The first bus service, though, had already begun in

1960, using the road on evenings and weekends.²²² Inexperienced visitors continued to get stuck between Tofino and Ucluelet, on sections where the road made use of the beaches, until 1973, when provincial engineers completed major improvements and paved the entire length from Port Alberni to Tofino.²²³

This paving led to a massive influx of temporary visitors; it is probably no coincidence that the May long-weekend of that year saw an estimated 10,000 visitors partying riotously on the beaches.²²⁴ Things got so out of hand that Parks Canada soon banned camping and driving on local beaches.²²⁵ But there was no going back: now anyone with a car could visit Tofino, and from there, Hot Springs Cove was only a simple boat or plane ride away. Not surprisingly, the transformation of Tofino and Hot Springs Cove into eco-tourism destinations really accelerated by the late 1970s. The implications for land-use --and indeed the entire ethos of the region—would be profound.

Just as the long drawn-out Hesquiaht relocation process was drawing to a conclusion, key decisions were being made across the Cove that would further complicate

the human dynamics in the area. With the Clarke and Rae-Arthur children grown up, the small school in Hot Springs Cove had closed its doors back in 1960.²²⁶ After rebuilding much of their tsunami-damaged infrastructure, an aging Ivan Clarke and his wife had reached the conclusion that it was time to move on as well. In 1968, after almost 35 years



Figure 109 - Ivan Clarke's son, Huey, who had grown up in the Cove, eventually relocated to the European community in Mathilda Inlet, near Ahousat, where he acquired the old General store, pictured here in 2000, continuing in family business.

(Images courtesy of Roly Brown)

in Hot Springs Cove, Clarke sold his remaining property in Hot Springs Cove and retired elsewhere.²²⁷

Clarke's holdings – approximately 34.5 hectares in total - stretched from the south of the dock, across the peninsula to the Openit Reserve and then north to the root of the peninsula. This land, along with the buildings upon it, appears to have been sold in separate parcels to several buyers.

As routine as they might have appeared at the time, these sales were significant in the sense that they entrenched Euro-Canadian title over the bulk of the Openit peninsula, which was transformed from pre-empted land into private, fee-simple property. In hindsight, it is also clear that these sales set Hot Springs Cove further on a path from resource space to recreational destination.

A similar pattern would soon be repeated to the north, in Hesquiat Harbour, a decade later, as Clarke's contemporary, Annie Rae-Arthur, reached a point where she could no longer take care of herself. In her later years, local loggers had enjoyed looking out for Annie, calling her 'Granny', and the lightkeeper at Estevan and the Catholic mission boat often visited her for dinner (the latter offering her communion). In 1983, at the age of 95, she was moved to a nursing home in Port Alberni, where she died two years later.²²⁸ Her original pre-emption was purchased by her long-time friend, Peter Buckland, a surveyor, who began, thereafter, to slowly restore the gardens to their former glory through "chainsaw gardening".²²⁹

Although Clarke's departure appears to have been motivated primarily by personal considerations, it did coincide with signs of trouble in the fisheries that had sustained his operations for so many decades. The herring reduction fishery, growing since the 1940s, reached a peak of 286,000 tons in 1963, then dropped off precipitously, leading to a government-ordered closure in 1967.²³⁰ Optimistic about a rebound in the stocks, officials allowed an experimental opening in 1971 in response to growing demand for herring roe. Overfishing had already depleted herring stocks in Russian and Japanese waters, so the tiny fish eggs, considered a delicacy in Japan, became the most valuable commodity on the coast almost overnight.²³¹ This led to a chaotic "bonanza" arguably bigger than the Pilchard boom of the 1920s and 30s, with boats landing million-dollar

catches and crews resorting to fist-fights and ramming each other as they jockeyed for the best locations.²³² By 1973, officials were allowing 60,000 tons to be caught annually, establish herring, temporarily, as the cornerstone of the local fishing economy.²³³ And then, just like that, the boom was over. Only this time, it was the demand that collapsed: the death of the Japanese emperor at the end of the 1970s had, Guppy suggests, led to the discouragement of luxuries like roe.²³⁴

At the same time as officials were attempting to manage the ups and downs of the herring fishery, there was growing concern at the federal *Department of Fisheries and Oceans* (DFO) that salmon stocks – the traditional staple of west coast fishing -- were in serious trouble as well. In response, beginning in the late 1960s, DFO had started reducing the number of licenses issued, restricting certain catches and initiating the construction of new hatcheries.²³⁵ By the 1970s, officials were trying to reduce the trolling fleet by upping licensing fees and launching a voluntary license ‘buy back’ scheme.²³⁶ Eventually, by the end of the decade, “limited entry” schemes were being adopted for individual fisheries, permanently capping the number of available commercial licenses.²³⁷ This vastly reduced the number of fisherman, while also greatly increasing the value of licenses, which were increasingly being auctioned off above market value.²³⁸ Meanwhile, strict yearly quotas began to allocate specific catch volumes to individual license-holders. While these measures may have had some positive impact on fish-stocks, their effect on Nuuchah-nulth fisherman and their communities, as we shall soon see, was quite simply “devastating”.²³⁹ They also encouraged more diversification in the exploitation of the region’s marine resources. Indeed, the growing restrictions on salmon and halibut fishing encouraged many local fisherman to branch out and begin more aggressively harvesting shrimp, crab, oysters, abalone, urchins, other bottom fish and, by the end of the 1970s, geoducks as well.²⁴⁰ And a paved highway meant that harvesters could now efficiently ship these shellfish to market! Despite the changes, instability, and ominous warning signs, however, fishing continued to be the major industry in Clayoquot Sound, at least until the end of the 1970s, and the supremacy of logging.²⁴¹

As various fisheries began to show signs of weakness in the 1970s, mining – once the driving force behind the local Euro-Canadian economy – continued its post-war slump. According to Guppy, the discovery of a major copper vein on Meares' Catface Mountain led to millions of dollars of new investment in exploration, and some renewed prospecting on Meares and Flores, but no new mines were established after various deals fell through.²⁴² By the mid 1970s, Guppy suggests, “unfavourable economic conditions” and an “adverse political climate” (read: the new NDP government) had led to a general slump in mining.²⁴³ In the 1980s, the high price of gold did spur more prospecting between Bedwell and Herbert inlet, but in the challenging political climate, no new mines were opened, and the Bedwell claims were eventually expropriated and returned to provincial park.²⁴⁴ The era of mining, it seemed, was well and truly over.

By the 1970s, and the slump in mining, logging was rivalling fishing as the major industry in the Sound, though most logging operations “continued to be on a comparatively small scale”.²⁴⁵ Beginning in 1976, however, the big companies started bringing in their own crews, which changed the nature of logging by introducing a much more industrial scale.²⁴⁶ The implications would be more than just economic. Up to this point, logging had remained largely distant from Tofino. Indeed, apart from a cut on Catface and a partnership with the Tla-o-qui-aht to log Lone Cone in 1954-55, most of the early logging was not immediately visible to the residents or visitors there, meaning that it was largely out of sight and out of mind.²⁴⁷ However, by the 1980s, this reality would change, precipitating a whole new phase in Clayoquot's history.

During this period, the landscape around Hot Springs Cove, too, continued to be affected by logging. Just to the north, a logging camp with booming and barge-loading facilities was established near the head of Stewardson inlet in the early 1970s, creating a base of operations that would facilitate logging in the hills behind the Cove, and up the coast to Hesquiaht.²⁴⁸ Within Hot Springs Cove itself, a “fully functioning logging camp” was operating in the early 1970s at the back of the bay, near the mouth of Ahtaapq Creek (Refuge Creek), where barges now land supplies for the village. On site, there were at least fifty employees, spread between a floating commissary and cookhouse, bunkhouses on shore, as well as other outbuildings.

Cherryl McLeod, the daughter of a logging truck operator, fondly recalls the year that her whole family spent living in the camp, beginning in the summer of 1972. Her father “always drove a truck. If it had wheels,” she says, “and could move, that was his passion, his love. So we moved a lot in our childhood...for lots of different jobs”.²⁴⁹ Cherryl recalls her parents having “a very tumultuous relationship”; their move to the Cove corresponded with one of those “getting back together times”. Her father, who had been living in Port Alberni, purchased a brand-new mobile home and was excited, she recalls, by the chance to “try this next new adventure, which was living in a logging camp.”

The adventure began almost immediately. As she and her mother flew in by floatplane, their trailer – loaded with everything they owned -- was being towed up on a barge. Much to her father’s horror, the captain in charge, with the suitably nautical name of Hornblower, nearly lost the barge when the tow-rope broke in rough conditions that he had chosen to downplay. Then there was the mud that greeted them as the barge was slowly dragged ashore. “I just remember the muck,” she recalls, “and thinking ‘good god, where are we?!’ Safely ashore in Hot Springs, Cherryl, aged ten, and her three younger siblings immediately discovered that they were the only family in an almost entirely male camp. It turned out to be an ideal situation for the four children. They were treated like “royalty”, McLeod recalls. “There was no other way to put it...we were a novelty...as the only family that lived in this logging camp full time and these guys just thought we were the best thing ever.” Most of the loggers, she notes, “lead pretty nomadic lives, camp job lives...so Easter, Christmas, Valentine’s Day, all of those days, we were just showered with gifts. It was incredible. It truly was.”

While the typical working arrangement was supposed to be “in for ten days and then out for four”, her family usually ended up staying in for a month and then taking a week out. “My dad never thought that anyone could do the job quite like he could”, she says, “so we didn’t leave often, and really...we were pretty self-contained”. Her mother worked part of the time as a relief cook, making sure the crews were happily well-fed. Cherryl recalls that:

those guys ate well, or you didn't keep them, obviously... so you'd make t-bone steaks and they'd eat the good part, the tender part, and the rest of it got fed to the camp dog, that was like a 400lbs dog that got so fat that it couldn't get up the gang plank to get into the barge/cookshack.

During the average work day, as their father ferried logs down from cut-blocks on the surrounding hillsides, the kids either helped their mother out in the camp kitchen, explored the local area, or attempted to keep up with their school work -- attempted being the operative word. "School was a disaster", she recalls. "We all failed that year, actually." Her mother was:

great at lots of things, but truly, by the time she got my sister going, doing something, and then my brother, and then it got to trying to teach me something, then it was -- we did ok, we were holding our own probably until after Christmas...the mail was erratic...there was a person in Victoria, who was basically our "teacher"...we could write her a letter and ask her a question and hope like hell that the mail would connect and we'd get it while we still remembered what the question was...but we were pretty much on our own....

[But by] March or April...this woman had written to us and basically told us that none of us were going to pass, and my mum was so pissed off, so we basically gathered up all the books in a cardboard box and took them to Victoria on one of our outs...and walked up to the woman and dropped them on her desk and said, you know, pretty much 'thanks for nothing!' and then we didn't do any school from that point on because mom said, like, 'what's the point?'... Let's just have fun and experience things, but we all knew that we were going to be repeating that grade when we got out...

Still, "there are so many great memories", she says. For instance, while the loggers were away at work, the kids spent time socializing with the young tree-planters who were being housed aboard a massive yacht chartered by the logging company. Able to sew, McLeod also recalls being paid to modify the glove of an older faller who had previously lost some fingers on the job. Like all their spare change, the proceeds were soon spent in the camp commissary, buying chocolate bars. With the Clarke establishment no longer in operation, any other supplies had to be ordered over the phone and shipped in periodically aboard a barge. The North Island Prince would also stop regularly at the mouth of the Cove and unload supplies into waiting boats. Sometimes the family would also travel by boat down to General Store at Ahousat.

The McLeod kids would also occasionally catch a ride up into the hills and spend time watching the logging in action. But, “at this point, at our age,” she recalls, “the novelty had kinda worn off.” The work was not without its hazards, however. Cherryl laughs as she recounts one of her father’s favourite stories from the time, about a logging inspector who had hitched a ride in his truck. As they were returning downhill towards camp, her father had noticed in the rear-view mirror that his brakes were on fire. When the experienced driver casually mentioned this to his rather less experienced passenger, the inspector impulsively jumped right out of the truck. He fortunately suffered no injuries – except, perhaps, to his pride!

Relations with the nascent Hesquiaht community next door were cordial, as far as she can remember. They got to meet a few kids their age, and “got to be really good friends with a lady named Gertie, who taught us how to bead. She could thread that beading needle from a foot and a half”, Cherryl remembers. “I still can’t do it!”. Such visits were restricted to the day-time however, as her mother was too nervous to let Cherryl or siblings wander about at night. Mostly, though, as she remembers it, the two communities – indigenous and Euro-Canadian –stuck to themselves.

Periodically, when the log-booms had filled with cut logs, barges would arrive, and the timber would be loaded up, usually at night, under the bright glare of flood-lights. On those nights, Cherryl and her siblings would usually stay up and watch, since the glare made it difficult to sleep. And on those rare occasions when their father took a day off, Cherryl recalls him rowing the family across the bay, and leading them along the makeshift trail of cedar blocks and ladders to the springs, where they would clamber over the rocks, soak in the hot water and get splashed by the incoming waves as they braved the lowest pools. Or they would go out with a local named ‘Captain Ed’ crabbing, prawning or cod jigging with makeshift plywood fishing reels.

Looking back, Cherryl recognizes that she and her family had a great time during their year in the Cove, much as her father had hoped when he dragged them along on the ‘adventure’. But she also admits that she was rather “choked” later, in high school, realizing that it had “cost us a year of school”. The experience, she concludes, “made me who I am...but I would never do that to my kids!”

CHAPTER SUMMARY: A Period of Arrivals, Departures, Profits and Over-exploitation of the Landscape.

The immediate post-war period in Hot Springs Cove was a time marked by resource-extraction and relocations. After decades of occupation, the departure of the Clarkes and Annie Rae-Arthur seemed to signify the end of an era of local European settlement. They did not, however, leave behind an empty landscape. After a self-initiated relocation to the head of the Cove, the Hesquiaht had survived not just a traumatic tsunami, but also a storm of bureaucratic bumbling, to finally persevere in establishing a more permanent village site on the western shore. Hot Springs Village had come into being.

That part of this new village site had already been commercially logged reveals another key truth about this period: that it featured the explosive expansion of commercial logging. Indeed, it was during these years that the very forests that blanketed the hillsides in and around Hot Springs Cove became a sought-after resource, leading to an influx of Euro-Canadian logging companies, and the scarring of the local landscape by massive clear-cuts.

While efforts to resuscitate the once lucrative local mining industry continued to sputter, another intensive resource activity -- commercial fishing -- arguably reached its peak during this period. Already, however, ominous signs of over-exploitation were emerging. But in the minds of Euro-Canadians, at least, optimism continued to rule the day, as officials and entrepreneurs eagerly sought to maximise profits and capitalize on the region's rich natural environment. Not surprisingly, profit and industry were both driving forces behind the long-awaited finalization of a paved road connecting Tofino to the rest of Vancouver Island. Initially, this development helpfully fueled local resource-extraction. Soon, though, the massive influx of tourists who could now more readily access the wonders of the west coast would transform the economy in unexpected ways.

For the region's indigenous Nuuchahnulth inhabitants, however this was still a time of regulation, trauma, and dislocation. Residential schooling continued to take its

toll, and government regulation of indigenous land- and resource-use increasingly interfered with traditional activities. That said, with the relaxing of the *Indian Act* in 1951, a crucial turning-point had, it seemed, been reached. Already organized and experienced in advocacy, the Nuu-chah-nulth and fellow indigenous groups would soon make significance progress, both politically and legally. It was during this period that ground-breaking litigation first began to force an official rethinking of the government's traditional rejection of indigenous title and traditional rights. Meanwhile, the human dynamic in Hot Springs Cove was further complicated by the demonstrated agency of the Hesquiaht, who succeeded in lobbying a reluctant and inert bureaucracy into supporting their efforts to establish a viable reserve community there.

The stage, it seemed, had been set for some exciting new developments in the final decades of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 6 – ‘Recreation & Resurgence’: Eco-Tourism & Nuuchah-nulth Sovereignty

(1970s to Present)



Figure 110 - A pleasure boat moored amidst the remains of the once-thriving Clarke family establishment, 1973. (Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

Eager to find a new home and set down roots after years of travelling the world, Shelongosky had come up with three criteria that he wanted to meet: he wanted to be in the wilderness, close to the ocean, and have a hot springs nearby. Hot Spring Cove fit the bill perfectly.

-Summary of interview, Shaun Shelongosky, 2019.

INTRODUCTION: Dawning of the Age of Tourism

Despite the departure of the Clarke family, Hot Springs Cove was by no means deserted during the 1970s. As logging continued in the surrounding hills, the Hesquiaht village began to take shape on the opposite shore. Fishboats also continued to use the Cove as a place to rest and take refuge during storms, and a new type of visitor became increasing common: the recreational boater. With steamer service no more, and the

modern tour-boat companies yet to establish themselves, most of those who visited during this period did so aboard their own vessels, which were often tied up to the docks and floats left over from Clarke's operation. Soon, however, mass-tourism would transform the way the Cove – and indeed all of Clayoquot Sound – was used and perceived by mainstream Euro-Canadian society.

Yachters, a Village, and a Wilderness Café: Hot Springs Cove after the departure of the Clarkes

Long-time visitor and current cabin owner Mark Nielsen was one such recreational boater. In 1973, he arrived with his family aboard a friend's yacht, the *Windbird*, as part of the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club's NorPac circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. The tour brought upwards of 40 sailboats and motor craft into the Cove, joining the many fishboats already at anchor. He vividly recalls the "scramble" along the makeshift trail out to the hot springs, where two porcelain bathtubs had been rigged up to fill with water through pipes laid by enterprising local fisherman. Not surprisingly, to the twelve-year-old Nielsen, the Cove was "heaven". Less heavenly, however, was the lack of outhouses near the springs; which lead the nearby logs, grass and forest to be littered with human waste.¹



Figure 111 - The 'old' makeshift trail to the Springs in 1973.

(Image courtesy of Mark Nielsen)



Figure 112 - Roly Brown aboard Capricorn, 1973.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

Another avid boater, retired engineer Roly Brown, first visited the Cove on Canada Day the following year, aboard his sailboat, *Capricorn*. Arriving from an exploration of Barclay Sound, Brown noted the presence of a handful of other sailboats in his detailed log. At this time, he recalls, there were two floats attached to the dock, with fuel tanks still in place, and the water tap from shore still functioning.

Ashore, Clarke's store was still in relatively pristine condition, though Brown recalls it being defaced with humorous graffiti when he returned in 1974. The boardwalk to the springs, for its part, was muddy and heavily overgrown in spots, reaching its worst state, Brown suggests, in the late 1970s.²



Figure 114 - “The Only Hot Bath in Town”. The Nielsen family in the Springs, 1973.

(Image courtesy of Mark Nielsen)



Figure 113 - Mark Nielsen and his mother enjoy the old bathtubs at the Springs in 1973.

(Image courtesy of Mark Nielsen)

From the mid-1970s until the mid-1980s, Brown returned every few years to spend a few days – or weeks – enjoying the area. And he was not alone. Looking back, he is convinced that there were as many – if not more – yachts visiting the Cove in the 1980s

then there are today.³ In his early logs, Brown also recorded two other significant events: the arrival of the first commercial tourboat traffic in 1981, and the establishment of Norma Bailey's store in 1983.



Figure 115 - The remains of the Clarke establishment ashore, 1973. Note what appears to be fuel tanks behind the store.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

Figure 116 - The ramp down to the outside 'fuel' float. This float is no longer in place today.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

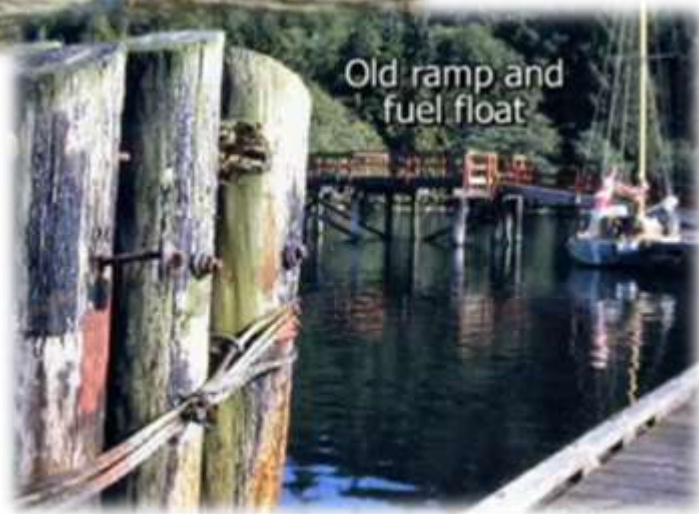


Figure 117 - The 'inside float', which still exists today.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

Figure 118 - A structure that could be the old Church, immediately north of the Dock.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

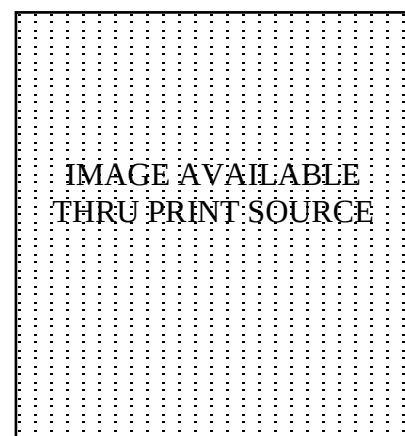


In the early 1970s, as Mark Nielsen and Roly Brown explored the Cove, and the first homes were being built in the new Hesquiaht community across the water, provincial officials had evidently concluded that the park in Hot Springs Cove was worth expanding upon. Making use of the Green Belt Fund, the province acquired the two lots (486 and 697) that made up the remainder of the southern tip of Openit Peninsula.⁴ This purchase, in 1975, expanded the park acreage significantly, from 14 to 39 hectares.⁵

It is possible that this move reflected a trend towards growing interest in hot springs, country-wide. In 1983, for instance, Parks Canada commissioned a national survey of 119 thermal and mineral springs, and developed a rating system, based on a combination of “water temperature and quality”, as well as “the degree of naturalness”.⁶ The springs on Openit Peninsula, as it turned out, scored 14th overall, ranking them, in the words of BC Parks, “among the most significant in Canada”.⁷

Figure 119 - A map contained within a draft background briefing prepared by BC Parks in 1993 shows the “regional context” of adjoining lots at the time. Note that the park – at this point – is restricted to the three southerly parcels on the Openit Peninsula.

(See “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report”, BC Parks, June 1993, pg.3)



One might assume that the departure of the Clarkes signalled the end of permanent, year-round European settlement of Hot Springs Cove. For a few years, it certainly seemed so. Then Norma Bailey's floating store arrived. Bailey, from Washington State, had emigrated to Canada in 1957 and relocated to the west coast of the island ten years later, where she decided that she wanted to open a store "where she could sell candles, antiques, and artwork".⁸ She hired a local builder in Tofino, Bruno Atkey, who constructed a 16x40' barge out of steel plate and built a small wooden house to put on top of it.⁹ Norma had the houseboat towed up to Hot Springs Cove in 1983, where she lived in it, and operated a small general store and cafe out of it for the next ten years.¹⁰



Figure 120 - Norma Bailey's floating store on the dock in Hot Springs Cove, c. 1983

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Bailey served the many local fisherman who continued to use the Cove as a refuge. She also did a brisk trade with the many yachts passing through in the 1980s, Roly Brown recalls.¹¹ And she had Hesquiaht customers as well. Charity Lucas recalls her grandfather rowing her over to the store, which, in her memory, "just kind of grew and grew".¹²

From her little establishment, Bailey sold "emergency supplies, esoteric items, and Wild Coast history books", as well as handmade baskets, and her baking was particularly desired.¹³ When boater Mark Nielsen returned to the Cove for a second time in 1986, as part of a college trip aboard his own sailboat, he too enjoyed Norma Bailey's delicious baked goods and recalls her spinning wool.¹⁴

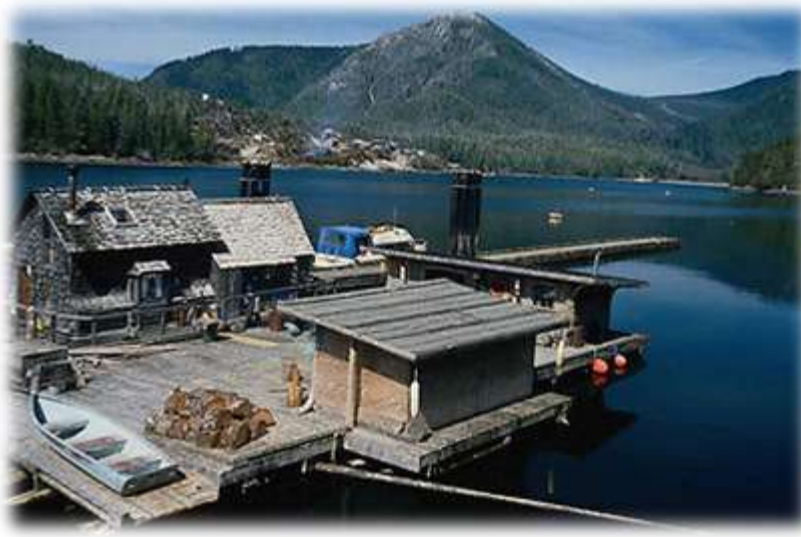


Figure 121 - Norma Bailey's Store in Hot Springs Cove c. mid-1980s

(Image Courtesy of Scotty McCormick)

The trail, though, remained as rough as ever – a combination of makeshift pole-and-cedar-shake ladders and treacherous “cookies” (tree rounds, sometimes topped with scraps of asphalt roofing).¹⁵ Still, as far as Roly Brown was concerned, the original boardwalk was preferable; with fewer steps, he claims, one could look around more on the walk to and from the springs.¹⁶

It was during this period, Brown recalls, that groups of kayakers began to visit the Cove in greater numbers as well.¹⁷ In part, this influx may have reflected both the growing popularity of the activity and greater public awareness of the hot springs themselves. The introduction of regular water-taxi and tour-boat service also surely made it easier for kayakers to boat in and out, using Hot Springs Cove as a base, terminus or jumping off point for their local explorations.

In the late 1980s, finding the Cove getting too busy, Norma Bailey relocated her float-house to a nearby inlet on the north-west corner of Flores Island, known locally as “Baseball Bay”, as it was where fisherman would go to find the best radio reception to listen to baseball broadcasts.¹⁸¹⁹ But after a year or two in her new location, Bailey’s son helped her tow the floathouse back to Uclulet, where it was hauled up on land to become her residence as she opened another store known as “The Wreckage”.²⁰ It would only be

a few years before another enterprising Euro-Canadian would follow in her footsteps and open another floating café – this time with sleeping accommodations.



Figure 122 - Images of the ‘old’ boardwalk in the 1980s, before it was replaced with a professionally built path by BC Parks.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 123 - “Fewer Clothes in Those Days”, reads the caption in Roly Brown’s home video from the 1980s, when nude bathing was arguably more common. Even today, though, locals still occasionally wash their hair or shave in the lowest pools.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 125 - Kayakers depart from park-side dock in Hot Springs Cove, aboard the Clayoquot Whaler, c. 1991

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 124 - Norma Bailey's relocated store in Baseball/Hootla-Kootla Bay on Flores, c. 1990

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

Across the Cove from Norma Bailey's original location, the Hesquiaht community of Hot Springs Cove was continuing to take shape on the Refuge Cove #6 reserve. Rather than bear out the earlier concerns of DIAND officials, many of the long-dispersed Hesquiaht began to relocate to their new village site, driving demand for the construction of new homes and supporting infrastructure. In the first decade or so after the site was formally set aside, census records suggest that approximately 10 houses were built, a figure more than doubled by 1990.²¹ Along with this development came the eventual establishment of a small school, administrative offices, and a clinic.

To support the community, a water collection system was officially established in 1986 to pipe water from an intake a few hundred metres up the Cove's principal watercourse, Ahtaapq Creek, through a submarine pipe across the western part of the Cove, to the new village.²² A diesel-fueled power plant was also installed on Crown land just west of the village, along with a network of street lights and a wired telephone exchange system. Finally, a sewer line was laid across the bottom of the Cove, up and over the Openit Peninsula, ending in an outfall in Sydney Inlet.

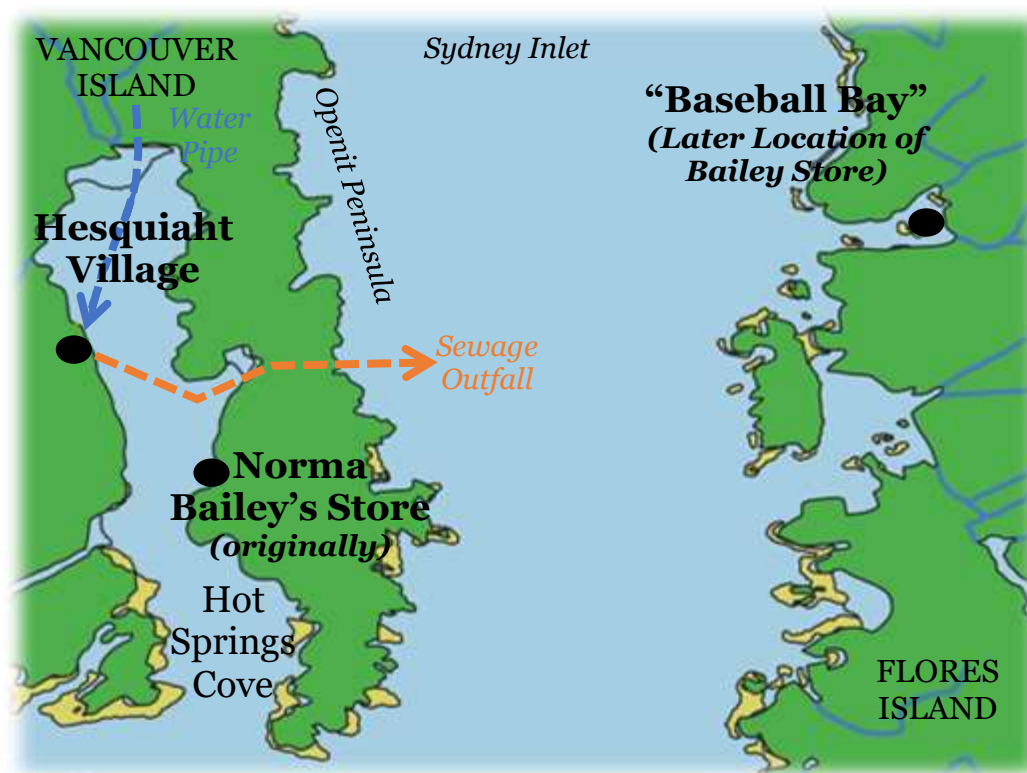


Figure 127 - Location of new Hesquiaht Village & Norma Bailey's Store, c. Mid-1980s. (Map by David Lynch)



Figure 126 – LEFT: Aerial shot of Hesquiaht Village in Hot Springs Cove, early 1990s. RIGHT: Another aerial shot of Hesquiaht Village, 1993. Note the newly-built Lodge and dock at the bottom right.

(Images Courtesy of Hotsprings Oceanside Strata)

seams” in the 1980s: “When we were growing up there were close to 150...every house was full and then we had these add-ons [built] as well, six on the other end [of the village] because housing was so short at the time.”²³ By 1991, the village’s official population had reached 64, expanding to 91 by the 1996 census, which recorded 32 distinct private dwellings.²⁴ More Hesquiaht people were now living in Hot Springs Cove than at perhaps at any other time before in their history. Aerial photographs from the early 1990s show the progressive expansion of the village site.

In an effort to provide opportunities for local employment, a small boat repair facility was built during this period at the north end of the village, along with a sizeable dock and marine fuel station, intended to serve local commercial and recreational boaters.



Figure 128 - A floatplane takes off from in front of Hot Springs Cove Village in the early 1990s.

In the upper photo, note the number of houses visible in the north end of the village.

Note, as well, the newly constructed lodge in the lower photo.



(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)

When she was a teenager, Charity Lucas recalls there being many others her age in the village.²⁵ To entertain themselves, they would “bush bomb” about, row their skiffs around the Cove, collecting sea-urchins and mussels, or just float lazily by the estuary or in Freddy’s Bay. In the early days of her childhood, TV access was very limited, so Charity would also go on adventures to the beaches and sea caves west of the village, and harvest “Indian Tea” in the woods towards the end of the summer. Swimming in the lake behind the village was also a popular pass time. Going there at night was something only the older kids were allowed to do, her niece Jaylynn Lucas remembers: “the first time I was able to go night-swimming...I was like, ‘I am all grown up!’”

“Come October”, Jaylynn recalls, attention would shift to the back of the Cove, where one would see “all the kids and the dogs over in the bay at the river catching dog salmon with our hands.” Charity and Jaylynn used to help their grand-father, “Papa Charlie”, gather the fish – that is, until his new dog “Gus” got so good at catching them that their Papa would not longer insist that they come along. “We were ditched!” recalls Jaylynn with a laugh. Their Euro-Canadian neighbour, Shaun Shelongosky, also fondly remembers the time that he saw youth from the village “standing in the first pool, gaffing dog salmon and throwing them on the bank, and their girlfriends were picking them up and putting them in tubs live. In the next pool,” he adds, “behind them, a bear was doing the exact same thing. You know everybody got their own pool!” The expansion of Hot Springs Village appears to have somewhat contradicted a broader trend towards indigenous depopulation that had slowly emerged since the 1960s. Kennedy argues that the opening of road access to Port Alberni and the rest of the Island, combined with reductions in the fishing fleet, had led to a noticeable exodus from many West Coast Nuuchahnulth communities, such as Opitsaht and Esowista, which began to take on the feel of ghost towns.²⁶ Ahousaht’s relative isolation may have diluted this effect somewhat – though its population did shrink from 509 in 1991 to 480 in 1996, before beginning to steadily climb into the 2000s.²⁷ Perhaps the Hesquiaht, having been dispersed already for so long, relished the idea of being able to coalesce once again. Certainly -- for a while, at least -- it appeared that Hot Springs Village might become their thriving capital.

In any case, the growth of Hot Springs Village -- with its protected moorage, better services, growing tourist activity and access to Tofino -- all but ended any year-round occupation of the original, principal village site in Hesquiaht Harbour. By 1991, only 13 people were recorded as living there; five years later, the number was down to 5, in a single dwelling.²⁸ This family -- headed by Dianne and Mushkai (Dave) Ignace, has continued to inhabit the sole remaining home on the old reserve site ever since.



Figure 129 - The Ignace Family at Hesquiat, c. 1993

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

Despite this exodus, however, many Hesquiaht still appear to share a deep and abiding connection to their traditional territory. Asked about where she feels most at home, Charity Lucas noted the powerful draw of her ancestral landscape:

Hesquiat, like when you get there, its sweet. The smell is sweet there, the air is clean, it's just home. Here [in Hot Springs Cove] is home too, but it's not the same as our actual territory where our ancestors walked and where they, you know, were guardians.

Jaylynn Lucas agrees: “in town, you have all your bills”, but when “you go home [to Hesquiat] you're just kinda home...you're actually living there, your thoughts are there, your thoughts are with the grass, your thoughts are with the snakes. It's amazing to be there!”

Indeed, returning to Hesquiaht Harbour appears to have remained a regular occurrence for the inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove Village. As early as 1972, band records noted an event that would eventually become known as “Hesquiat Days”, a tradition that appears to have continued since. Speaking in 2019, Jaylynn Lucas confirms that for, at least the last five years, that they “try ... to go up every summer, as a community, to go gather together and just be on the territory, have fun, bathe in the creek

together.” Participants share traditional knowledge as they harvest berries and seafood along the shore, and often gather together at night around the campfire.

For Charity Lucas, the experience of visiting her traditional territory is always a special, almost “spiritual” occasion. Specifically:

It's a different essence there. You can feel our ancestors; bathing in the creek is something they did every morning to cleanse themselves and their spirit, and I guess being back home in Hesquiat... we sense them around us...whereas here [in Hot Springs Cove], there's not as much, there's an attachment 'cause this is where we got put, but it's not an attachment that's emotional or spiritual...

[At Hesquiat], there's that spirit of belonging and one, how people might feel when they go to a church or something, that's how we feel going to Hesquiat. There's something about it there that just, like even, all of our people that come from anywhere, once you get home, it's the first thing that they do, is get on the [sea] wall there and [she inhales deeply and exhales with joy], the seawall air because the salt air, the sweetness of the flowers that are blooming.”

Hesquiat Days are open to all members of the First Nation, not just those living in Hot Springs Cove Village. However, high travel costs are an obstacle. Even with the community footing the bill for the boat ride up the coast, “it's still hard for families to get to even Tofino,” notes Charity, “because if they're in Vancouver, they have to get the ferry and drive and [then there are] all the groceries”.



Figure 130 - The main village site in Hesquiat Harbour, c. 2017. It's here, on their traditional territory, that the Hesquiaht host their annual 'Hesquiat Days' event.

(Image by David Lynch)

“Nature is the Natural Resource” – The Rise of Eco-Tourism begins to transform Tofino & Hot Springs Cove.



Figure 131 - An early whale-watching tour in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, c. 1980s.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)

While tourism had brought visitors to Hot Springs Cove aboard coastal steamers like *Maquinna* for decades, the modern eco-tourism era arguably began to take shape in the late 1960s, when a local Tofino mechanic began taking visitors on tours to see sea lions.²⁹ The first formal wildlife charter boat service began in 1970.³⁰ Clayoquot Sea-lion Tours, operated by Ernie Bach, became the forerunner of the many whale watching operators of future.³¹ At first, whale and bear watching were not on the agenda, but by the early 1980s, with the opening of Jamie Bray’s Jamie’s Whaling Station in 1982, the first whale watching tours were being done out of a converted fishing boat.³² That same year, the first day -tour of Hot Springs Cove was offered by Al Pineo aboard *Barkley Pacific*.³³ The year previous, in 1981, Roly Brown recalled a *Browing Passage* dinner cruise as among the first tourist boats to visit the Cove.³⁴ Within the decade Hot Springs Cove had emerged as a popular tourist destination. In 1986, Remote Passages introduced zodiac tours, and two years later, kayak rentals began in Tofino.³⁵ Long-time boater Dave Letson also began to provide zodiac tours aboard the *Sky Hopper*, on behalf of Inter-Island Excursions.

By the summer of 1990, Roly Brown was noting the arrival of Remote Passages tourboats and other charters in his log.³⁶ That August, he recalls, the springs got quite crowded with dogs and children.³⁷ A sudden storm the following summer had yachts and fishing trollers rafted up to the dock two and three-wide.³⁸ Statistics from BC Parks paint a similar picture. According to their figures, as of 1994, between 10 and 15 local tourboat operators and water taxis were regularly bringing in visitors to the Cove.³⁹



Figure 132 - Snapshots of the lively dock culture that had emerged by the 1990s. In the top-right image, yachts are rafted up, taking refuge from a summer storm.

The bottom images show a yachter carving a board to be included in the boardwalk. On the middle-right, Celine, the daughter of a future cabin and long-time Tofino resident Joanne, tries her luck at fishing off the dock. (Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 133 - Zodiac tours come to the cove: a Remote Passages tour races by (top-left) and a picture of Dave Letson, touring visitors in the Sky Hopper, c. 1980s.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 134 - John Forde, local boat captain and naturalist, would continue to make a living taking tourists whale-watching and on visits to the Cove, c. 2000

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 135 - Whale watching in the vicinity of the Cove, aboard the Centurion II and the Lady Selkirk, c. 1993.

Viewing the crush of tourists leaning out to view the whales, thoughts of the later sinking of the Leviathan II come to mind. (Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



At the same time as modern eco-tourism was beginning to flourish in and around Hot Springs Cove, the commercial fishery – an industry that had sustained the West Coast economy for many decades – was increasingly struggling. As the commercial fishing industry continued to industrialize and concentrate, Nuuchahnulth fishermen increasingly found themselves excluded from this most traditional of activities. From the wealth of evidence presented during the later *Ahousaht v. Canada* trial in 2007, it seems fair to conclude, as Justice Garson did, that “as recently as the 1980s, there was a flourishing Nuuchahnulth commercial fishery in which participants fished from vessels of varying sizes.”⁴⁰

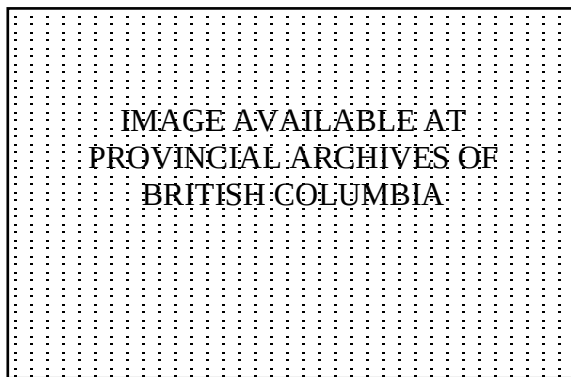


Figure 136 - Fishing boats moored at Ahousat in 1983.

Evidence suggests that there was a small but flourishing indigenous commercial fishery in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove at the time

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-02623)

And yet, over the next three decades, the combination of government actions and market forces had, Garson concluded, a “devastating” effect on Nuuchahnulth participation, to the point that, by the early 2000s, there were “only 3 or 4” Nuuchahnulth commercial fishermen.⁴¹ According to former DFO Manager Allen Wood, a witness the judge found highly credible, “conservation measures taken by the government, the industrialization of the fishery, the collapse of the salmon fishery, and the various licensing regimes have combined to largely exclude the Nuuchahnulth.”⁴² Wood also testified that, while the “main force driving change has been competition for fish and profit”, and while “competitive pressures are inherent in common property fisheries”, it was, in his opinion, “government programs and industry responses [that] aggravated those pressures, sped up change, and increased competition and pressure on [Nuuchahnulth] fishermen.”⁴³ For starters, the introduction of “limited entry” regimes

led to a precipitous drop in Nuu-chah-nulth licence ownership. In 1979, for instance, when the number of halibut licenses was capped, applicants were required to demonstrate significant participation in either of the two previous years.⁴⁴ 435 vessels apparently qualified under these new criteria, yet as Garson concluded, “fishers who may have fished halibut less intensively in the qualifying years were shut out.” Ultimately, she found, “none of those licences were allocated to Nuu-chah-nulth fishers.” The same story played out with the rockfish fishery: “none of the more than 70 Nuu-chah-nulth fishers who fished rockfish before limited entry qualified for a licence.”

Limited entry schemes also pushed the price of licenses to exorbitant heights, essentially excluding Nuu-chah-nulth fisherman wishing to fish less intensively. As Woods described, salmon and halibut licensing “costs range[d] from \$170,000 to \$200,000, which together with the cost of equipment, would bring the total cost to license and equip a fishing vessel to a cost in the order of \$600,000”, an amount, the judge concluded, was simply “out of reach for the plaintiffs”.⁴⁵ The situation was even worse with the lucrative geoduck industry, which operated, as one Ahousaht witness put it, a “stone’s throw away” from their community. And yet, as Garson noted, “the Ahousaht cannot harvest this resource because they cannot buy a licence”. Then there is the fact that “even if one were available” to purchase, the “cost of such a licence...is well in excess of \$1 million”.⁴⁶

When catch quotas were being allocated, the Nuu-chah-nulth again lost out, because “only parties that were considered for the issuance of quotas were those who already had existing licenses”. Yet, somehow, Garson realized, “DFO did not have special programs to allocate quota to First Nations when quotas were put in place”.⁴⁷ Even when a number of initiatives were brought forward, to help bolster indigenous participation, these programmes were found to “have been largely ineffective...[and] have not succeeded in maintaining even a modest native commercial fishery”.⁴⁸ Part of the problem, Garson concluded, was that these “well-intentioned” programmes were fundamentally handicapped by the government’s commitment to avoid “detrimentally impact[ing] the non-aboriginal commercial fishery”.⁴⁹ Only the clam fishery, it appears, was properly supported by a programme which allowed the Nuu-chah-nulth to

accumulate 70% of local licenses.⁵⁰ But with a total catch value of only \$493,000 in 2005, this arduous fishery was, according to Woods, of comparatively “marginal, low value”.⁵¹

As absurd as these developments might at first appear, they were the inevitable consequence of the fundamental, longstanding assumption at the heart of the government’s policy: that Canada, as Garson put it, did “not recognize any aboriginal right to participate in the commercial fishery.” Thus, government policy has long “adhere[d] to an integrated management model that treats all participants in the commercial fishery equally.”⁵² The result, ironically, has been to effectively discriminate against the Nuu-chah-nulth, who have traditionally wanted “a community-based fishery using small, low-cost boats with little capitalization and within the Nuu-chah-nulth territories”.⁵³ And yet, Canada’s “integrated” model, instead, has forced “those with commercial licenses [to] fish in the mainstream commercial fishery, and [to] only fish in management areas in which the DFO opens the fishery to all licensed vessels, regardless of whether those management areas are within Nuu-chah-nulth territory”.

Over the course of the 1980s, 90s and early 2000s, the cumulative effects of these measures, in the words of Hesquiaht Dr. Simon Lucas, “devastated the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes.”⁵⁴ When government lawyers later tried to argue that declines in Nuu-chah-nulth participation simply mirrored wider trends in the industry, Justice Garson rejected these claims based on the testimony of Gordon Gislason, a expert on the economy of the west coast fishery. Indeed, Gislason, himself a government witness, asserted that the relative impact had been greater on the Nuu-chah-nulth, since:

any one license and associated job loss is much more significant to First Nations people and communities than to their non-aboriginal counterparts...[because] fishing jobs and income comprise a much greater share of the community economic base in aboriginal communities...[and because] employment earnings are spread or shared among the community and its members more so than in non-aboriginal communities.⁵⁵

If the result of this period was, as Woods testified, to leave the Nuu-chah-nulth “essentially excluded from accessing species that accounted for about 70% of the 2003 BC landed value of \$360 million”, there can be little doubt this exclusion amounted to a

devastating loss of opportunity for indigenous communities in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove.⁵⁶ In time, however, there would be a reckoning. Just not yet.

In the 1980s, as local fish stocks continued to decline, new ways to exploit the rich waters around the Cove were emerging, with the shift away from commercial fishing towards aquaculture and sports fishing. In 1985, the first fish-farm was established, and within five years, there were 20 farms in operation around Clayoquot Sound, with a total annual output of 4,000 lbs of fish.⁵⁷ The explosive growth of this industry, largely based on a business model pioneered in Scandinavia, was encouraged by a number of factors, including a flagging economy, growing resistance to logging, declining salmon and herring fisheries, a desire for foreign investment and the loosening of foreign ownership rules.⁵⁸ In time, several fish-farms would be established in the protected inlets along the north-eastern shores of Flores Island, only a few short miles from Hot Springs Cove. Initially welcomed by many because they boosted employment (and spin-off packing jobs as well) at a challenging economic time, resistance later grew as the risks associated with these open-containment operations become more apparent.⁵⁹

As late as the mid 1970s, according to Guppy, sports-fishing in Clayoquot Sound was still “not exploited to any extent as a commercial activity, and mainly confined to local people”.⁶⁰ However, as fish-farms took root in local waters, many began, by the 1990s, to look to guiding as an alternative to the increasingly risky commercial fishery.⁶¹ Over the next two decades, professional fishing charters – and all the services and sales associated with

supporting recreational sports-fisherman – became a truly lucrative trade. Some particularly creative guides also realized the potential for combining sport with leisure, and began to include a brief soak in the hot springs as part of their all-day charters.

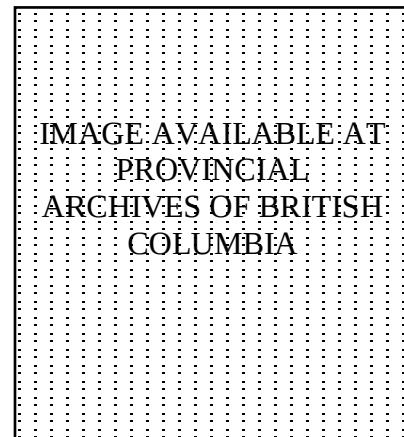


Figure 137 - A sports-fisherman with his catch north of Hot Springs Cove in 1979, as the industry was just taking off.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image I-07136)

As non-indigenous fishing guides, sports-fisherman and fish-farms increasingly sought to make a living from the rich waters of Clayoquot Sound, the future of this region was being reshaped in a faraway Ottawa court room. In response to Musqueam fisherman Edward Sparrow's challenge of federal fisheries regulations, the Supreme Court, in 1990, affirmed the right of indigenous peoples to pursue traditional activities such as fishing, asserted that these rights can evolve over time, and confirmed indigenous food fisheries should be given priority over commercial and sport fishing.⁶² While the impact of the landmark *Sparrow* decision would not be immediately felt in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove, the precedent was set for major changes in the future.

Local floatplane service, long a key lifeline for local logging, fish farms and logging operations, saw a dramatic shift in their business as the 1980s ended. Indeed, by the mid 1990s, 80-90% of their business had become tourism related.⁶³ The local Hesquiaht community, as well, sought to tap into the growing interest by offering transportation to and from the area aboard their new covered boat, the *Matlahaw*.



Figure 139 - The Matlahaw, named after a famous Hesquiaht leader, served as a water taxi for Hot Springs Cove for many years.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 138 - Visitors arrive at the park dock aboard a Tofino Air flight, early 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

With growing numbers of tourists arriving each year, other Euro-Canadian entrepreneurs, as well, were eager to get in on the action. Dave Letson & Bill Conconi, for instance, purchased one of Ivan Clarke's former parcels, where the old Church stood,

and transformed it into a rustic campground for kayakers and other, more adventurous tourists.⁶⁴

Letson also had plans to open another floating store/café. To that end, he got himself hired by the federal government to act as Dock Manager in Hot Springs Cove. He then obtained a barge and began, in 1991, building a 40x60ft structure on it, while also successfully negotiating government permission to be tied up on the dock.⁶⁵ All he needed now was an innkeeper.



Figure 141 - Dave Letson at work as the ‘Wharfinger’ (wharf-manager) on the Springs-side dock, late 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 140 - A sign points would-be campers towards the new rustic campground established by Letson & Conconi.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

In the Spring of 1991, Shaun Shelongosky, who had previously visited the area as a child in the 1970s, while his father operated as a logger in the area, had recently returned from years of travel abroad.⁶⁶ Having spent several seasons running a hostel in a remote part of the Scottish Highlands, he was eager to find a way to put his skills to work on the West Coast.

After a chance meeting with Letson, Shelongosky agreed to take over the half-finished float-house, which became known as the *Ark*.⁶⁷ After some further improvements, he began operating it as a café and general store in the Spring of 1992. By the following year, with some further renovations, Shelongosky was operating a 4-room bed and breakfast.⁶⁸ The plate glass that he installed into the floor of the *Ark* was a source

of enjoyment for visitors and locals alike. As Shelongosky remembers it, in the early days, “everybody from the village would come over to lie on the floor and look down.”⁶⁹

Out of respect for Manhousaht traditional territory, Shelongosky claims that he sought and secured permission from Manhousaht elder Rosie Swan before opening the *Ark*.⁷⁰ And in the early years, as he remembers it, relations with the nearby Hesquiaht were also both cordial and cooperative. By this time, the growing interest in overnight tourist accommodation inspired the Hesquiaht to build their own waterfront six-unit motel-style lodge, built on stilts, and featuring its own dock, at the southern end of the village. A boardwalk trail composed of

chainsawed logs was also cut from the western edge of the village to encourage access to the beaches beyond. In Shelongosky’s eyes, the two businesses “complemented” rather than “competed” with each other.⁷¹ He referred guests to the Hesquiaht-operated *Matlahaw*, hired several women in the village to wash the laundry from the *Ark*, and also sold pies and bread made by them.⁷² And his Hesquiaht friend, Bernard Charleson, a professionally-trained cook, would periodically host a ‘café’ out of his house, which was eagerly anticipated by knowledgeable cabin owners and veteran yachters alike.



Figure 142 - Shaun Shelongosky in the midst of finishing the construction of the Ark Café and Bed & Breakfast, early 1990s.

(Images courtesy of Roly Brown)



‘Mr. B’ (Bernard Charleson) is known far and wide for the tastiest salmon-burgers! (Images courtesy of Roly Brown)

At this point, Shelongosky’s dream of making a living in the wilderness seemed to have come true – until the *Ark* burnt down in mysterious circumstances, and Dave Letson declined to rebuild.⁷³ The Ahousahts, as well, appear to have initiated plans to develop their reserve site on Openit into a campground, clearing tenting spots and building an outhouse. However, this project appears to have been abandoned soon thereafter.



Figure 143 - Mark Nielsen aboard his sailboat, requisite black Labrador in tow. c. 1990

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

Clearly, by the early 1990s, like Tofino, Hot Springs Cove had become a popular attraction for the growing number of tourists flocking to the west coast of the island. Still, these tourists of the 1990s were, according to Kennedy, generally a very different breed from those of the early road access years and counter-cultural period of the Sixties. This richer clientele meant a jump in interest for more on-demand wildlife tours and fancier accommodation.⁷⁴ The modern, expensive Tofino tourist experience, it seems, was becoming recognizable. The growth in eco-tourism also corresponded with a shift in local politics in Tofino. By the mid-to-late 1980s, tourism-minded entrepreneurs had taken

over the local Chamber of Commerce and began to argue that further logging development should be more carefully controlled, lest it impact the area's growing eco-tourism business.⁷⁵ The ultimate effect, as we shall see, was to complete the transformation of Hot Springs Cove from resource frontier to recreational, eco-tourist destination.

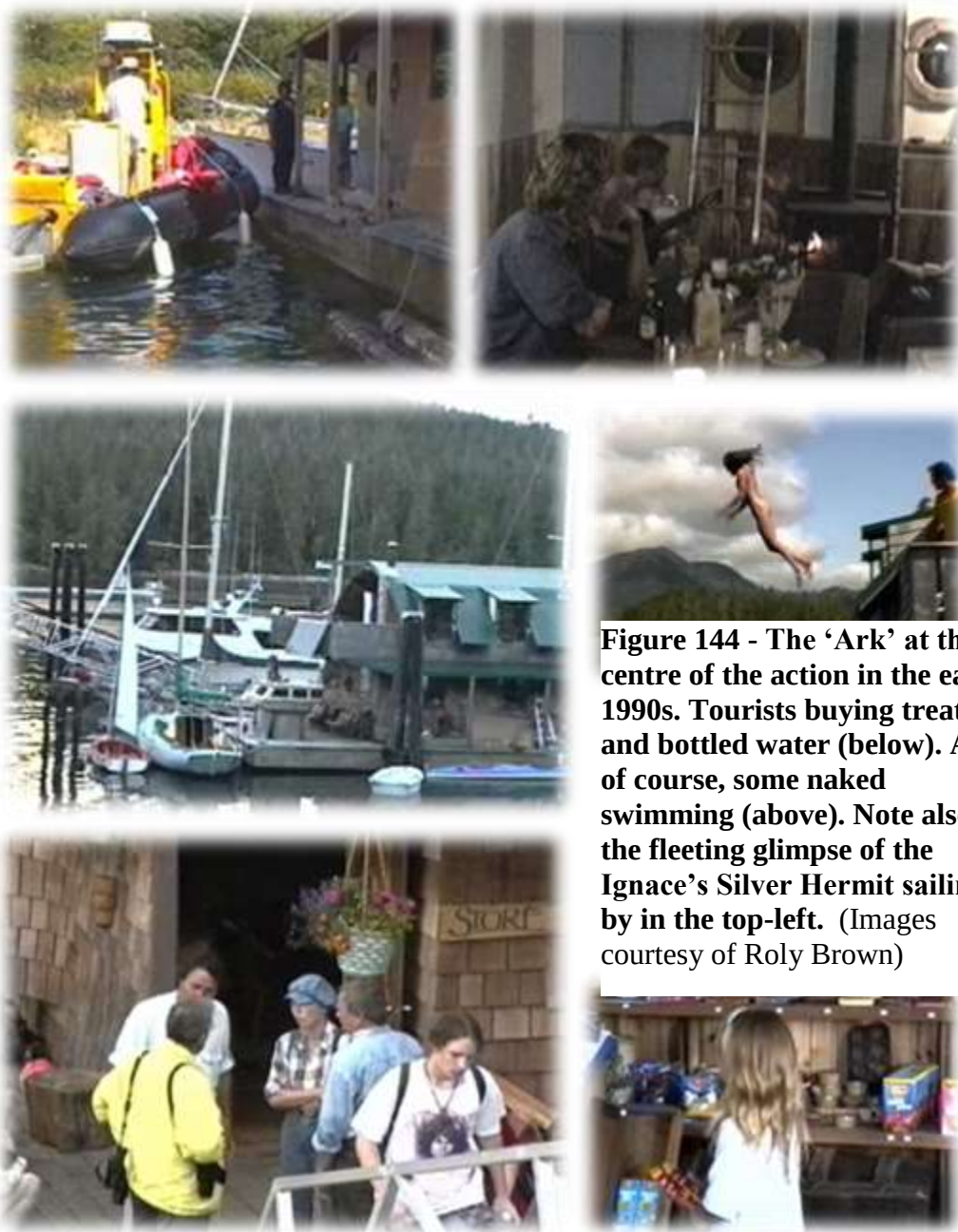


Figure 144 - The 'Ark' at the centre of the action in the early 1990s. Tourists buying treats and bottled water (below). And, of course, some naked swimming (above). Note also the fleeting glimpse of the Ignace's Silver Hermit sailing by in the top-left. (Images courtesy of Roly Brown)

‘The World is Watching’: The ‘War in the Woods’ brings global exposure to the West Coast & Hot Springs Cove

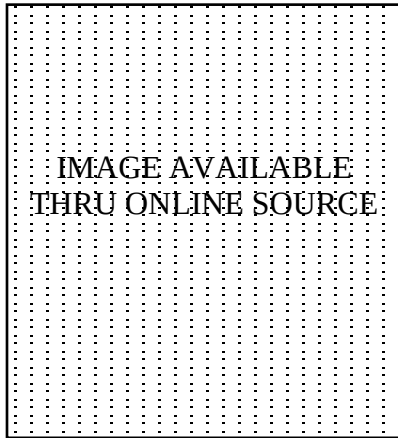


Figure 145 - Clearcut logging on the northern shore of Kennedy Lake, August 1993. (See Ademoor, Wikipedia)

There was a certain irony at play in the eventual transformation of Clayoquot Sound from resource frontier to tourist destination. Indeed, the very road access that enabled post-war logging to be so lucrative also, ironically, brought the influx of tourism that would severely curtail the harvest of local forests. Similarly, it was the sheer scope, ambition, and visual impact of these profitable logging efforts that would eventually inspire a powerful environmental backlash that brought global attention to the region, speeding the shift to tourism economy.

Despite what many modern visitors might assume, the perception of Clayoquot Sound as an environmentally conscious community dedicated to eco-tourism and conservation is a remarkably recent phenomenon. Until the 1960s, the settler economy and mindset were overwhelmingly skewed towards resource extraction.⁷⁶ And while some moves towards conservation were already occurring – such as the establishment of Cathedral Grove Park in 1947 – these were the exception, rather than the norm. As one provincial politician put it, in the eyes of many, the region’s trees were seen as a gift, provided by God, just waiting to be cut down.⁷⁷ However, the influx of tourism that accompanied the opening of road access and the wider social revolutions of the Sixties began to shift local attitudes for both moral and practical reasons. In Tofino, a community of local hippy kids began to gather, beginning in the late 1960s, at local spots like the “Gust of Wind Cafe” and the Commonloaf Bakery, the latter described by Guppy as the unofficial headquarters for the “avant garde”.⁷⁸⁷⁹ These gatherings of artists and thinkers discussed and debated many social issues, including the expanding logging operations becoming increasingly obvious as they encroached on the community.

Up to the 1970s, logging operations in the Sound had “continued to be on a comparatively small scale”, except at Bedwell, where major cutting continued until 1974, when the New Democratic Party government prohibited further logging in all provincial parks.⁸⁰ However, following the election of a more development minded Social Credit government, logging began to expand significantly, facilitated by favourable market conditions, as well as the greater road access. Larger companies like MacMillan-Blodel began to directly operate, replacing the earlier system of sub-contracting to smaller local “gyppo” outfits. The scale and impact of logging also increased, with large-scale “clearcutting” emerging as the most cost-effective, profitable method of choice.⁸¹

While the expansion of the network of logging roads provided better access for logging companies, it also allowed the local public to better observe the extent of the devastation, leading to growing concerns that the local environment was being irreversibly damaged. In the late 1970s, rumours that large scale logging would commence within sight of Tofino on Meares Island inspired the formation of a local environmental organization “Friends of Clayoquot Sound” (FOCS) by a group of locals led by Mike and Linda Mullins.⁸² The creation of FOCS mirrored the emergence of a wider environmentalism movement that had gained momentum from the anti-nuclear protests of the 1960s and 1970s, leading to the creation of the Sierra Club and Greenpeace by 1982.⁸³ All three groups would eventually join forces with the Western Canada Wilderness Committee to form a powerful environmental lobby that would go on to profoundly shift Canadian mindsets and alter the history of the region.⁸⁴

The plan to log Meares had far reaching implications. Fears over the potential damage to their “viewshed” led the increasingly tourism-minded Tofino town council to request in 1980 for negotiations with the province and the logging company to mitigate the impact.⁸⁵ While not necessarily averse to logging in theory, the council was soon voicing additional concerns about the potential threats to their water collection system, based on Meares.⁸⁶ The announcement in 1984 that MacMillan-Blodel would be nevertheless granted license to cut up to 90% of the island’s remaining forests galvanized the protest movement led by FOCS.⁸⁷ It also inspired a much more aggressive response from the Tla-o-qui-aht and their Chief Counsellor Moses Martin, who went as far as to

proclaim the island a “Tribal Park” in an effort to assert their unrecognized title and conserve the forest.⁸⁸ Indeed, indigenous concerns about pending logging on Meares and elsewhere helped inspire a renewed effort to push forward their title claims to Clayoquot Sound.

In 1980, in the wake of the *Calder* ruling, the Nuu-chah-nulth had presented the Federal government with a formal comprehensive claim asserting their un-extinguished title to and right of self-government over their traditional territories on the west coast of Vancouver Island. By 1983, the claim had been accepted as the basis for opening negotiations. While that announcement may have sounded promising at the time, history has shown that it was simply another small step in a lengthy, frustrating process that continues even until this day.

From the outset of this process, the Nuu-chah-nulth, like other First Nations in BC, had to contend with a continuing dilemma: whether to negotiate...or to litigate? While litigation can, in time, offer definitive reinforcement of indigenous claims, the BC Treaty Commission seems correct in noting that it is also “costly, generally narrowly focussed [and] time consuming”; and can also “ultimately leav[e] the question of how aboriginal rights and title apply unanswered”.⁸⁹ Then there is the fact that the federal government has what lawyer F. Matthew Kirchner calls “a practice, if not a formal policy, not to engage in treaty negotiations with First Nations that are actively pursuing litigation”.⁹⁰ And yet, without the lever of litigation, one wonders whether much progress would have been made at all. Perhaps Kirchner is right to claim that “without litigation, there would be no BC Treaty Process, no BC Treaty Commission and no negotiations over aboriginal rights and title”. In hindsight, the legacy of the *Calder* case certainly seems to support this view. As various Nuu-chah-nulth groups moved forward with their claims in the 1990s and beyond, they ultimately followed noticeably different paths when it came to finding the balance between negotiation and litigation.

In the immediate term, however, the battle over logging on Meares helped drive forward Nuu-chah-nulth efforts at reclaiming control over their traditional territories. In response to MacMillan-Blodel’s controversial announcement, both the Tla-o-qui-aht and Ahousaht would soon be filing injunctions to stop logging and expanding their title

claims, leading, in turn, to a corresponding growth in research into traditional activities and territories.⁹¹ Kennedy suggests that the assertions of title made by the groups during the Meares protests helped spur the creation of a formal treaty process in 1993.⁹² These events also appear to have reinforced the need for Nuuchah-nulth-wide political organization, a fact which surely helped the Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) emerge, by 1989, as one of the “one of most established and authoritative tribal councils in Canada”.⁹³

Such was the burgeoning influence and authority of the NTC that it had succeeded, two years previously, in securing the first federal ‘block funding agreement’ of any tribal council in Canada, laying the groundwork for the transfer of responsibility from Health Canada in 1988.⁹⁴ A year later, the NTC convinced the BC government to hand over responsibility for child-welfare to its own ‘Department of Family and Child Services’. This agency, known as *Usma* (“precious one”) thus became the first indigenous agency anywhere in Canada to have such fully delegated authority.⁹⁵ With so many indigenous children in government care -- and particularly in non-indigenous foster homes -- this move was particularly significant. After nearly a century of paternalistic interference in their parenting, the Nuuchah-nulth were one step closer to reclaiming control over their own lives. And one step closer to decolonization. While negotiations on their comprehensive claims ground slowly forward, the Nuuchah-nulth, it seemed, were simultaneously pursuing a parallel strategy of bureaucratic achievements intended to restore sovereignty incrementally.

Interestingly, the battle to preserve Meares united the Nuuchah-nulth and Euro-Canadians in support of conservation but it also split the Sound’s settler population into anti and pro-logging camps.⁹⁶ By 1988, however, the Tofino Chamber of Commerce was increasingly dominated by environmental voices, just in time for the famous “War in the Woods” that would really put Clayoquot Sound on the world map.⁹⁷

Eager to find more sustainable alternatives to traditional resource extraction, it was these same local, environmentally-minded interests that also helped spur the development of Whalefest, which was held for the first time in 1986. The timing, it turned out, could not have been better. By the 1960s, commercial whaling had all but

disappeared from BC's coastal waters. With Russian and Japanese factory ships cornering the market from far offshore, the local industry had effectively died out.⁹⁸ In 1967, the last whale was killed commercially in BC waters, though the offshore hunt continued until 1975.⁹⁹ By the 1980s and 90s, North American mainstream public attitudes had largely shifted to oppose whaling of any kind - a fact highlighted by the vociferous reaction to the Makahs' decision to symbolically restart their traditional whale hunt in Washington State in 1999.¹⁰⁰ While aquariums had traditionally been very popular, increasingly, the public wanted to see whales living uncorralled, in their natural habitat. Whalefest, which grew into two weeks' worth of events spread between Tofino and Uclulet, boosted interest in local whale watching, getting more and more tourists out onto the waters near Hot Springs Cove. After all, an estimated 25,000 grey whales were passing through Clayoquot Sound each March on their way from their breeding grounds in Baja to the rich feeding waters of Alaska.¹⁰¹ Yet another alternative to logging had emerged.

As the logging of old growth continued on Vancouver Island, activists continued to try to ramp up pressure on industry and government. Partly in response, the new NDP government, hoping to de-escalate this conflict, established the *Commission on Resources and the Environment* (CORE) in 1992. Under the leadership of its chair, Stephen Owen, CORE's mandate was to come up with a Vancouver Island Land Use Plan that promote development that was economically, socially and environmentally sustainable.¹⁰² In the summer of 1993, however, divergent views on the future of forestry in Clayoquot Sound reached a boiling point in the so-called 'War in the Woods'. Protests began in the vicinity of Tofino in response to news that the provincial NDP government was going to allow MacMillan-Blodel to log in one of Canada's most pristine old-growth rainforests, an area that activists believed contained some of the oldest and largest trees in the country.¹⁰³ "Starting in July 1993", recalled CTV News on the 20th anniversary of the events, "the protest crowds grew and grew and so did the coverage, reaching around the globe".

Every day, for almost three months, protestors gathered to block the logging trucks intending to head into the old growth forests behind Kennedy Lake, near Tofino. During this period, more than 800 people were arrested for defying the court injunction secured by MacMillan-Blodel. The arrests peaked on August 3, with the detainment of more than 300 willing volunteers. The sheer volume of arrests overwhelmed the local police facilities; arrested protestors had to be transported by school bus to a makeshift holding centre established in a Ucluelet sports facility.

The protestors were a very diverse group. In addition to long-time activists like Tzeporah Berman, who had helped coordinated the campaign, there were locals – young and old – from Tofino, as well as many others from around the province, and indeed the whole country. Among those arrested was NDP MP Svend Robinson. So, too, was Aimee Faulk, aged 10, who was joined by her teenaged brother, as well as her mother, a practicing Unitarian minister from Victoria.¹⁰⁴

Tzeporah Berman recalls how the mood in the protest camp would change as the logging trucks and police vehicles approached the choke-point at the Kennedy River bridge:

All of the laughing and the talking and the drumming and whatever was happening would just end. There'd be complete silence as all of these people of different ages and different backgrounds stood in front of those trucks, and one by one were taken away.

The reaction around the world, however, was anything but quiet. Protestors gathered outside several Canadian embassies, bringing global attention to a place that few had previously heard of -- let alone could pronounce. Public appearances by high-profile

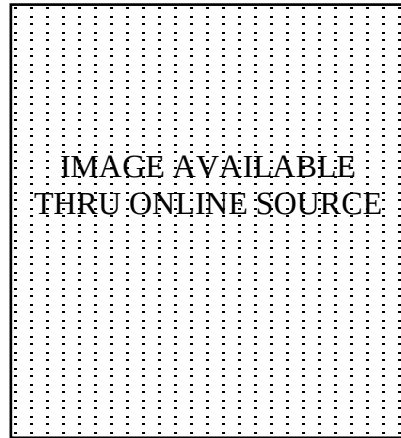


Figure 146 - A protestor is carried away by RCMP officers from the Kennedy River Bridge blockade on July 30, 1993.

(See Chuck Stoody, Canadian Press, in Megan Thomas, "'So many people giving a damn': War in the Woods resonates 25 years later with new environmental battle on B.C. coast")

celebrities like Robert Kennedy Jr. and the Australian rock band Midnight Oil helped boost the profile of the protests even further.



Figure 147 - Young Aimee Faulk (on the right) in the Clayoquot protest camp, 1993.

(Image courtesy of Aimee Daly.)

Some arrested protestors faced significant fines and the prospect of jail-time. Charged with 857 counts of criminally aiding and abetting the protestors, Berman was told that she could face six years in prison – though her charges were eventually thrown out on constitutional grounds, years later. To this day, the protests remain the most significant act of civil disobedience in Canada.¹⁰⁵

While the protests effectively delayed the logging in an immediate sense, their longer-term impact was perhaps even more significant. Within two years, activists estimate that the bad publicity had cost Macmillan-Bloedel at least \$200 million in pulp, paper and wood contracts.¹⁰⁶ Eventually, the public pressure forced the government and the company to the negotiation table.

Meanwhile, the CORE process was drawing to a close. In February 1994, it announced its recommendations, advocating the preservation of much of the coast and the restriction of logging practices, a decision greeted with much anger by the logging community.¹⁰⁷

A month later, the BC government made history by signing an “Interim Measures Agreement” with the Nuuchahnulth. The agreement empowered a ten-member board made up of indigenous people and provincial officials to make local land use decisions, effectively giving local First Nations a veto, pending any treaty settlements.¹⁰⁸ While this decision helped drive a wedge between environmentalists and indigenous groups, it also led to preservation of a large part of the Sound, at least for the foreseeable future.¹⁰⁹

The so-called ‘War in the Woods’ profoundly impacted the development of Clayoquot Sound. It helped make logging practices less damaging and more sustainable.¹¹⁰ The more restrictive regulatory environment that emerged through the BC Forest Practices Code also led to a 90% reduction in logging by 1997 and caused MacMillan-Blodel to begin withdrawing.¹¹¹ In its place, Iisaak, a commercial partnership between MacMillan-Blodel and the Nuuchahnulth’s Ma-Mook Development Corp, emerged to become the only logging company in the Sound, taking over MacMillan-Blodel’s leases.¹¹² FOCS continued, however, to have reservations about the new arrangement.¹¹³

The protests also helped lead to the preservation of large areas, inspired the emergence of a strong environmental movement, all the while encouraging local First Nations to assert their title claims and become key decision-makers in local resource and land-use decisions.¹¹⁴ It also dramatically raised the profile of the region’s natural beauty on the international stage, leading to an massive influx of tourism, further shifting the region’s emphasis to eco-tourism.¹¹⁵ And it helped facilitate the recognition of the Sound in 2000 as a UNESCO Biosphere reserve.¹¹⁶



Figure 148 - Relics of the heyday of logging in the 1960s-70s -- like this loader in Stewardson Inlet -- still litter the landscape in and around Hot Springs Cove.

(Image by David Lynch.)

The creation of two new provincial parks were very concrete local changes that resulted from the environmental protests of the early 1990s. Just to the north of Hot Springs Cove, 2,774 hectares at the head of Sydney Inlet were set aside in 1995 to protect one of the most pristine wilderness fjords on Vancouver Island, home to old-growth forests, rare species, and a viable salmon river.¹¹⁷ Opportunities for wilderness recreation, the preservation of indigenous cultural sites and the potential for biological research were identified as the park's secondary, tertiary and quaternary roles, and the *Clayoquot Biosphere Trust* (CBT) later built a research cabin there.¹¹⁸ That same year, a large addition to Maquinna Park was also made, again as recommended in the earlier *Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision*. This expansion was in keeping with the existing 1994 management plan, which promoted expansion as a way of protecting the Park's geothermal and panoramic qualities. Stretching north-west up the shoreline to Hesquiat Harbor, Maquinna Marine Park now contained 2,667.6 hectares, a massive improvement on Ivan Clarke's original donation.¹¹⁹ This was followed, in 2004, by the granting of special "Protected Area" status to a core 53 hectares.¹²⁰ The primary purpose of the park, however, remained essentially the same: "to protect and showcase special values such as geothermal and geological features." Secondary and tertiary roles noted in the province's 2003 management plan were providing recreational opportunities, as well as the conservation of a wider coastal wilderness landscape.

Evidently, mainstream perceptions of the West Coast wilderness had shifted by this time to see the value in setting aside significant portions of landscape, not just for recreational use, but also conservation. Nature was becoming a resource itself.

While the 'War in the Woods' was front and centre in the public consciousness, other important moves were being made, behind the scenes, in an effort to speed along progress towards resolving indigenous claims across the province. In 1992 -- following consultation between the BC government, the federal government, and indigenous leaders the previous year -- the *BC Treaty Commission* was established as an arms-length body intended to facilitate treaty negotiations through a six-phase process.¹²¹ This development occurred because of growing legal pressure from a series of key rulings that

reiterated the government's obligation to contend with indigenous rights claims. As the Court itself recognized in its landmark 1990 *Sparrow* ruling:

For many years, the rights of the Indians to their aboriginal lands - certainly as legal rights - were virtually ignored. It took a number of judicial decisions and notably the Calder case in this Court (1973) to prompt a reassessment of the position being taken by government.¹²²

Perhaps, then, Kirchner is correct to conclude that it is “both wrong and unrealistic to suggest that reconciliation of aboriginal rights and Crown sovereignty can be achieved entirely through negotiation without the need to resort, from time to time, to litigation.”¹²³

In the mid 1990s, though, it seemed that the Nuu-chah-nulth were eager to test out the government's newfound and apparently genuine desire to negotiate. Coordinating their efforts through the NTC, the Nuu-chah-nulth initially opted for a broad, unified approach towards the new comprehensive claims process. In 1994, the NTC, on behalf of the Hesquiaht, Ahousaht and eleven other neighbouring first nations, entered the BC Treaty Commission process by filing “a statement of intent (SOI) to negotiate”.¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ By 1996, a Stage 3 “Framework Agreement” had been signed, and all parties continued to work towards a Stage 4 “Agreement-in-Principle”, tentatively concluded in 2001.¹²⁶ Not everyone, however, would be satisfied with the end result, and the situation, as we shall see, soon became far more complex.

In the early 1990s, with ever greater numbers of tourists visiting the hot springs every year, BC Parks belatedly made the decision to invest more meaningfully in the park. To begin with, the derelict buildings left over from the Clarke establishment were destroyed in controlled burns, and the old fuel tanks on



Figure 149 - The park's welcome kiosk, which has stood at the foot of the dock since at least the early 1990s. A single historical image and few sentences about the Clarke family remain the only reference to the human history of the area.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

the dock were removed by helicopter.¹²⁷ Much to the dismay of some long-time visitors, the bathtubs at the springs were also helicoptered out.¹²⁸

The development of a broader management strategy was also initiated. As part of this planning process, Parks officials prepared a background briefing in June 1993. In the report, they revealed that electronic trail counters had recorded approximately 16,000 visitors passing along the boardwalk in 1992 - a significant increase on the few previous years.¹²⁹ They also recognized that

“overcrowding” was already a problem, as was ongoing damage to local vegetation. While officials thought access limitations made it “unlikely that [the park] could become a major day use destination”, they did believe that it would “play an ever increasing role in the local tourism industry”.¹³⁰ They also recognized that, “as concentrated use increased[d], the wilderness quality of the experience [would] decrease...resulting in the need to increase capacity or reduce use levels to reduce congestion”. The possibility of significantly developing the springs themselves was floated, with caveat that “the natural qualities of the hot springs would be severely compromised”. The report also examined the question of providing camping within the park – either at the springs or near the dock – but recommended a ban on camping within the park itself, with the idea that this “would encourage others to provide this service”.¹³¹



Figure 150 - Two claw-foot bathtubs, which featured in the experience of visitors for decades, were removed sometime in the early 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

The 1993 Parks report also explored the possibility of park expansion, an idea motivated largely, it seems, by concerns about the long-term viability of the springs themselves. Geologists had apparently suggested that any nearby geothermal energy development “could have an impact on the flow” at the hot springs. Officials therefore recommended that the park boundaries be expanded northward, at least as far as Hesquiaht Lake, the suspected origin of the spring water. And in a sign of the changing times, the report explicitly stressed the need “to include the interests and concerns of the local First Nations people”, in addition to the other non-indigenous and commercial stakeholders.¹³²

By February 1994, a draft management plan had been developed to reflect many of the ideas discussed above. The plan proposed, for instance, “Special Feature” zoning for the immediate vicinity of the springs, to restrict any development that would detract from the natural feel of the site.¹³³ Expansion of the park boundaries to include Mate Island and the surrounding foreshores was also established as a goal.

Recognizing that “in the summer, visitor use is high, creating congestion in the limited pool space and surrounding area,” the plan proposed the reduction of “crowding in and around the pools to enhance the feeling of seclusion from civilization and closeness to nature”.¹³⁴ Tourboat operators would be encouraged to “coordinate their activities to ensure a quality experience for all”.¹³⁵ Camping would also be banned, as part of the effort to encourage revegetation. And more effort would be made to provide visitors with information about “geothermal activity” as well as “local aboriginal history”.^{136 137}

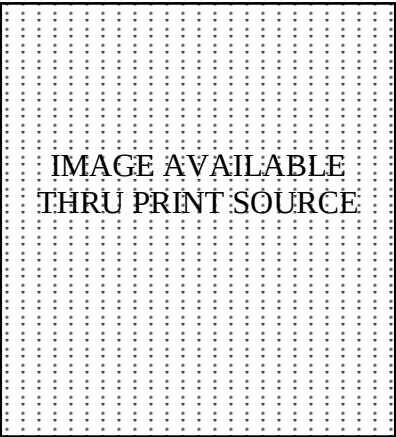


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Figure 151 - A map from BC Park’s draft 1994 management plan shows the proposed expansion of the Park.

(See “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft”, BC Parks, February 1994, pg.9)

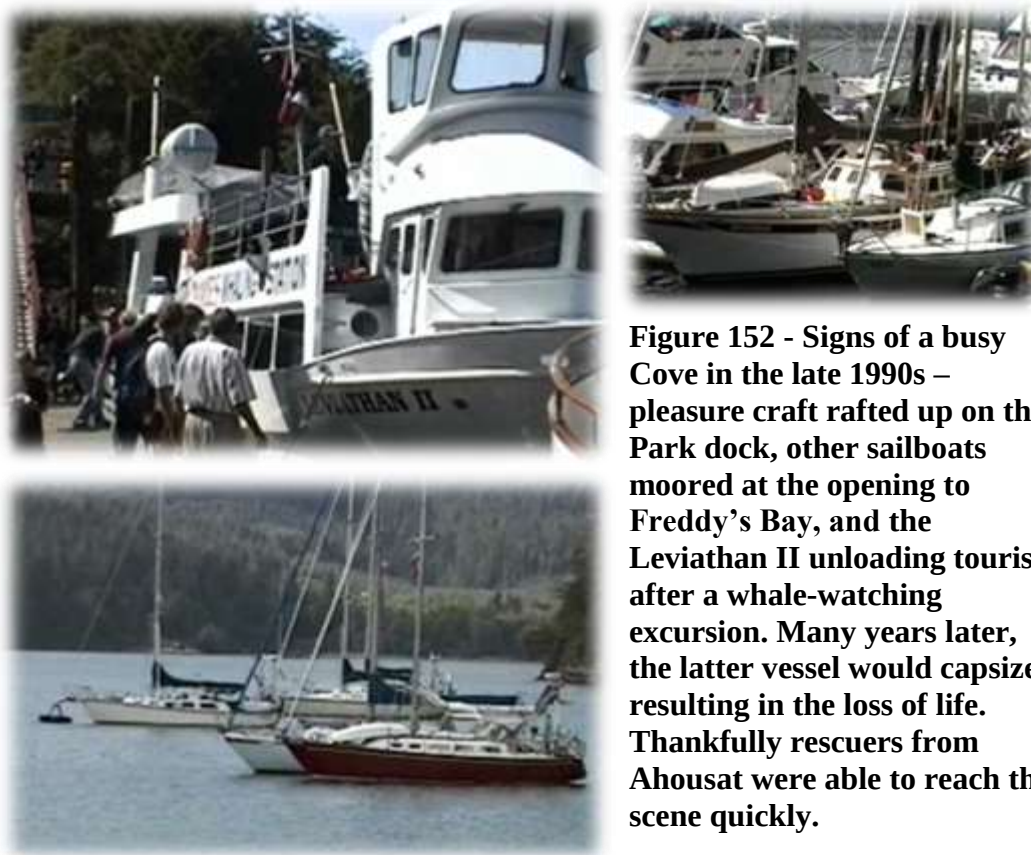


Figure 152 - Signs of a busy Cove in the late 1990s – pleasure craft rafted up on the Park dock, other sailboats moored at the opening to Freddy’s Bay, and the Leviathan II unloading tourists after a whale-watching excursion. Many years later, the latter vessel would capsize, resulting in the loss of life. Thankfully rescuers from Ahousat were able to reach the scene quickly.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)

The plan also made it clear that the makeshift “rustic” boardwalk to the springs needed major upgrading.¹³⁸ As a result, the new Park Ranger, Patrick O’Connell, spent several summers between 1993 and 1995 working from his camping spot on Openit’s “Three-Quarter Beach” to replace sections of the boardwalk with more sturdy logs, creating a 42”-wide trail.¹³⁹ Whenever O’Connell would head into town, or be away in the winter months, Shelongosky would fill in as dock manager and park ranger.¹⁴⁰

In 1995, Mark Nielsen returned again, this time aboard his new 50ft antique wooden cabin cruiser, the *Hama*, which would become a local fixture in the summers to come. He recalls feeling that things in the Cove had changed. Most obviously, Norma’s store was gone, replaced by the Ark, which was in its final stages of construction. Likely

he was also reacting to the growing number of tourboats bringing in day-trippers to the cove. Indeed, his home videos from the time reveal a dock bustling, not just with yachts, but also zodiacs full of tourists.¹⁴¹

Ultimately, BC Parks decided that a more concerted investment was required for the park's spartan infrastructure. The construction of a new board walk and change rooms occurred in three phases over the winters of 1996-98, starting the first year with construction around the springs and the large staircase in the midsection of the trail.¹⁴²

The following year, supplies were dropped off by helicopter to facilitate the construction of the bulk of the remainder of the boardwalk.¹⁴³ There were apparently issues with the initial construction firm, which reportedly declared bankruptcy, but the work was ultimately completed and the boardwalk largely transformed into its current form by 1999.¹⁴⁴ In the process of construction, most of the old carved logs and boards from the previous boardwalk were burnt, reportedly because the park manager at the time did not consider them appropriately natural.¹⁴⁵



Figure 153 - Mark Nielsen on the dock in Hot Springs Cove, in the late 1990s

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 154 - The Park Springs-side dock crowded with arriving and departing tourists, late 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 155 - Stills from Roly Brown's home videos showing the state of the make-shift boardwalk just prior to its replacement in the mid-1990s. Many of hand-carved boards, bearing the names of vessels that had previously visited did not survive the transition.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 156 - The 'new' Park boardwalk, c. 1998.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 157 - A tree overhanging the new park boardwalk completed in the late 1990s.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 158 - The original changing shelter, built during the construction of the new boardwalk in the 1990s.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

Roly Brown recalls the new boardwalk vividly, having banged his head on an overhanging log, which was later carved out into an arch so as to avoid future injuries.¹⁴⁶ The arch in question still survives to this day. In the late 1990s, the human evolution of Hot Springs Cove entered a new phase with the re-emergence of tourist accommodations and the establishment of a large-scale recreational property development. The destruction of the Ark had left innkeeper Shaun Shelongosky with a host of eager clients -- but nowhere to host them -- so he began to



Figure 159 - The InnChanter moored at the park dock c.2000

(Images courtesy of Roly Brown)

search for an alternative.¹⁴⁷ After a year off, a tip from a family member led him to Steveston and the *Burnaco*, a 86ft wooden aft-cabin coastal freighter built in 1927.¹⁴⁸ Previously operated by the Burnaby Navigation Company, the freighter had worked the coast in various capacities, initially supplying remote logging operations with cargo (like boom-chains and fuel) and later as a fish-packer and live-seafood carrier.¹⁴⁹

Shelongosky renamed her the *InnChanter* in the spring of 1997, and spent the summer renovating her; the aft-cabin was extended the length of the old cargo-deck, and the fibreglass seafood tanks were transformed into six small but luxurious staterooms.¹⁵⁰ Originally hoping to resume operating as a café and B&B on the dock, he encountered regulatory roadblocks before opening in the spring of 1998.¹⁵¹

Initially, business was quite slow, but picked up steadily over time.¹⁵² Ultimately, the *InnChanter* ended up mooring more permanently out in the Cove, a short paddle from the shore, where Shelongosky has operated seasonally, ever since, as a bed, breakfast *and* dinner.



Figure 160 - Pleasure craft and floatplanes use the dock, with the *Innchanter* moored to the north in Refuge Cove/Freddy's Bay (top right) c.2000.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 161 - Guests dine aboard the *InnChanter* – always a delicious, cosmopolitan affair, c.2007

(Image by David Lynch)

‘Owning a little Piece of the Magic’: Hotsprings becomes Recreational Property while Nuu-chah-nulth claims proceed.

In addition to waves of international tourists, the growing profile of the West Coast would also soon attract a whole new breed of people to Hot Springs Cove: the recreational cabin owners. At the outset of the 1990s, however, the only cabin in the immediate area was the rustic one built near the foot of the spring-side dock by Dicken (‘Dick’) Woodsworth. Over the years, several of the low-lying, provincially-surveyed lots just north of the village had been purchased by buyers apparently intending to use them recreationally, but nothing significant had emerged from these ambitions. On the opposite shore, the bulk of Ivan Clarke’s old pre-

emption had been acquired by members of the Rogers Sugar family, who were eager to exploit the lot’s rich timber potential. They proceeded to cut skidder trails across the lot and began to high-grade log, cutting down about 10% of the timber.¹⁵³ By late 1994, however, these logging efforts had ground to a halt, as a lack of permits and damage to beach areas had led authorities to prohibit further operations. As a result, the owners were eager to find another way to recoup their investment. That’s when the idea of selling the lot as recreational property first began to take shape. The trick would be finding the right buyers. Enter Vancouver fire-fighter Andy MacGregor, who had first ‘discovered’ Clayoquot Sound in 1991 as a kayaker. Camping on Whaler’s Island near Vargas, MacGregor recalls that he was “blown away” by the “sun, sand and salmon” and had decided -- right then and there -- that he needed to relocate. The trick, he soon realized, was finding an affordable piece of land.¹⁵⁴



Figure 162 - Dick Woodsworth’s cabin at the foot of the Springs-side dock, rebuilt in the late 1990s. In the late 2000s, it would be rented for many years to serve as accommodations for the Park Facility Operators.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 163 - Andy MacGregor relaxes aboard his converted herring skiff, late 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

When poor weather prevented Bill Burton and Brian Cutts from a similar kayaking trip in the spring of 1994, the friends decided, instead, to check out Hot Springs Cove. Catching a ride in on the *Matlahaw*, the pair of adventurous 24-year-olds endured a wet and stormy few days in the campground, warming themselves with coffee and hot chocolate aboard the Ark. They left in awe of the area, especially after witnessing passing humpback whales from the beach at the Openit reserve. So it was an easy decision for them to attend a meeting, organized a short while later, in Vancouver by the Rogers family, who were pitching the idea of transforming their holdings on the northern half of the peninsula into a cooperative. While there was some interest from the dozen or so who showed up and listened to the pitch, others found aspects of the proposal too “sketchy” for their liking. The plan soon stalled and the two friends turned their attention elsewhere.¹⁵⁵

Andy MacGregor, however, decided to pursue the idea further. After another fruitless year of looking elsewhere, MacGregor negotiated a six-month window from the Rogers to satisfy their \$1 million asking price, which he aimed to meet with 35 buyers each contributing \$30,000. Unsubstantiated rumours that a Japanese-led consortium might swoop in and buy the lot to build a spa resort provided additional urgency to MacGregor, who was motivated by the desire to preserve the wild nature of the lot.¹⁵⁶ Hoping at first to attract other fire-fighters, he ultimately cast his net much wider by

advertising in cottage magazines. It was his last-ditch ad in the Georgia Straight, however, that once again caught the attention of Cutts and Burton, who madly scrambled to scrape together enough cash to join the pending deal. Things came right down to the wire, and there were last-minute doubts about the cooperative model, but ultimately, their “sense of adventure” won out and they embraced the “gamble”. Unlike some of their fellow investors, however, they opted for a lot far from the Hot Springs, which felt more wild and uninhabited – though they did also perceive a rich indigenous history around them as well.¹⁵⁷ In the end, the 38 members of the new Hot Springs Holdings Ltd co-operative finalized their purchase of the 207-acre parcel in 1997.¹⁵⁸

While many -- like Burton, Cutts and MacGregor -- were eager to begin using their new property, a number of the original buyers appear to have been motivated by more speculative goals. One even purchased three separate shares, which he has held to the present-day without any development.

As part of the group purchase, the property had been informally divided into 51 roughly-equal waterfront allotments stretching down both sides of the northern Openit Peninsula, with a strip of approximately 100 acres of common property sandwiched between them.¹⁵⁹ The cooperative, which described itself as a “community of like-minded families and friends working to preserve and enjoy a piece of a very special west



Figure 164 - Aerial image, taken in 1993, with marks indicating the extent of land purchased by Hotsprings Cooperative in 1997.

(Image courtesy of Hotsprings Oceanside Strata)

coast” was, it claims, formed with “the intent of creating an environmentally responsible, small footprint, getaway for the enjoyment of ourselves, our friends and families of today and tomorrow”.¹⁶⁰

The group’s founding rules (which were later carried over, almost verbatim, into by-laws when it transitioned to a strata) would seem to uphold this initial ethos: strict limits on land clearing and an insistence on environmentally friendly products and earth tones for all external improvements.¹⁶¹ In any case, with the Co-op’s collective purchase, the stage was now set for a whole new phase in the human history of the area – *recreational* colonization.

For the members of the brand-new Hot Springs Cove Co-op, 1997 was the year that their dream of property ownership finally became a reality. For the Nuuchahnulth, however, the year was significant for a very different reason. In faraway Ottawa, the Supreme Court handed down their landmark *Delgamuukw* ruling, reaffirming the concept of indigenous title and asserting that the Crown should only infringe upon this title in cases where they have a “compelling and substantial legislative object”.¹⁶² The ruling also



Figure 165 - Non-indigenous fishing trollers wait hopefully in the Cove for an opening, late 1990s. By this time the local fin-fisheries were showing signs of significant distress.

(Images Courtesy of Roly Brown)

instructed lower courts to give more weight to evidence provided through indigenous oral tradition. How much of an impact *Delgamuukw* had on Nuuchahnulth negotiation is unclear; what is more certain, however, is that ongoing negotiations between the NTC and both levels of government had produced an Agreement-in-Principle by 2001. But

when the deal was put to a ratification vote in each community, eight of the thirteen groups rejected it, including the Ahousaht, Tla-o-qui-aht and Hesquiaht. Though each community had its own unique set of reasons, Francis Frank, the President of the NTC at the time, has suggested that two key factors in the rejection were the lack of constitutional protection for commercial fishing rights and the resulting inadequacy of fishing provisions included in the agreement.¹⁶³

This split decision led to a divergence in the approach of various Nuuchah-nulth groups. The five groups that did accept the Agreement -- the Kyuquot/Cheklesah and four other southern groups spread between Alberni and Ucluelet -- reorganized themselves into the "Maa-nulth First Nations" in 2004 and continued to negotiate.¹⁶⁴ The other eight essentially suspended their participation in the BC Treaty Commission process and decided, instead, to pursue their claims through some strategic litigation. In time, they managed to convince most of the other Nuuchah-nulth nations to join them in launching a lawsuit in 2003 aimed at confirming their collective, indigenous right to fish. In the words of lawyer F. Matthew Kirchner, the litigants "hoped that success in litigation would lead to a renewed opportunity to negotiate with Canada on a different level as judicially-confirmed aboriginal rights holders".¹⁶⁵ As the case moved slowly forward, three of the Nations withdrew, in order to make themselves eligible for a final Maa-nulth agreement, while three other groups had their claims "severed", to be tried later (since they conflicted those of other litigants).¹⁶⁶

Over the course of an exhaustive, 123-day long trial in 2007, known as *Ahousaht et al v. Canada*, Nicole Garson, a BC Supreme Court justice, considered evidence from both indigenous and Euro-Canadian sources about pre-contact Nuuchah-nulth life and the impact of post-contact regulation on their ability to fish. Ultimately, in 2009, Justice Garson handed down a 300-page decision which, as Kirchner puts it, confirmed that "all five Nuuchah-nulth plaintiffs ha[d] aboriginal rights to fish in their traditional territories and sell that fish into the commercial marketplace".¹⁶⁷ Of particular significance, notes Kirchner, this ruling marked "only the second case in Canada in which aboriginal rights to sell fish have been established outside of a treaty and the first such case that expressly applies that right to any species of fish available in the First Nations' territories". Given

such a momentous precedent, it was perhaps not surprising that the federal government soon launched an appeal.

While the *Ahousaht* case was winding its way through the courts, the five Maa-nulth nations concluded 17 years of negotiation in 2011 by signing, ratifying, and beginning to implement the *Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement*, “the first modern-day treaty to be concluded on Vancouver Island”.¹⁶⁸ Essentially “the full and final settlement of the Aboriginal rights, including Aboriginal title, of each [member nation]”, the Agreement, in the words of the Toquaht Nation:

exhaustively defines the rights, obligations, jurisdictions and limitations of the BC provincial government and the Canadian federal government. It also defines each Maa-nulth First Nations’ section 35 rights, their attributes, their geographic extent, and their limitations.¹⁶⁹

With this treaty, the five Maa-nulth communities joined the handful of other BC First Nations – such as the Nisga’a - with formal, modern-day comprehensive treaty agreements. Whether their other Nuuchah-nulth neighbours would soon follow in their footsteps, however, remained to be seen.

A year later, in 2012, the Hesquiaht did receive some positive news of a different sort. More than a hundred and forty years later, the British Columbia government provided an official “expression of regret” for the two questionable convictions and executions that occurred in the wake of the sinking of the *John Bright* in 1869.¹⁷⁰ At a reconciliation feast, Minister Ida Chong emphasized the purpose of the move was to provide:

some closure to the pain [their descendants] have been feeling. Every generation hereafter, when they hear the story of what happened, now they can plug in this chapter and say, 'But on this day, what took place was an offer from the province of regret, and an offer from the Hesquiaht of forgiveness.'

While the event received relatively little fanfare, it was well-received by the Hesquiaht, and marked another small step in the long road to reconciliation.¹⁷¹

After the purchase of their massive lot went through in 1997, it would be several years before the new co-operative would begin to make a meaningful mark on the local landscape. The challenging reality of building on the rugged coastline of the Openit

peninsula quickly became apparent to even the most gung-ho owners, and clearing efforts proceeded slowly. For instance, Tom Moore -- who had chosen his Sydney Inlet lot in mere minutes during a wet and hurried boat tour of the property -- took until 2007 to get his modest 300 sq ft. cabin completed to lock-up. At the time, he recalls, only about 4 other structures -- including the author's future cabin-- had been fully built.¹⁷²

Most other lots, however, remained largely undeveloped, as only a handful of owners were willing (or able) to regularly spend time on their remote new property. Those that did would regularly seek refuge from their leaky tent-camps aboard the *InnChanter*, where they were plied with coffee, and able to make precious phone calls using the radio-phone.

The slow pace of the Coop's development likely helps explain Roly Brown's recollection, as a frequent visitor to the area, that little noticeable change accompanied the arrival of the Co-op -- at least initially.¹⁷³ The Hesquiaht, however, were likely more sensitive to the growing activity on the peninsula opposite -- as were the Ahousahts, upon whose traditional territory the cabin owners were slowly settling.

When exactly the Hotsprings Co-op began to transition towards a 'bare land strata' is difficult to pin-point. Some of the initial buyers may have aimed for this from the outset; others, however, appeared satisfied with collective, co-operative ownership. Still, a number of developments paved the way for an eventual shift. In 1999, the Co-op and the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District began to discuss establishing a unique zoning arrangement intended to allow "limited development".¹⁷⁴ While these discussions were ongoing, in 2000, the Co-op commissioned a complete archaeological survey of the lot by *Golder and Associates*, in order to identify areas



Figure 166 - The relative remoteness of Hot Springs Cove -- and lack of regular cargo service -- forces cabin owners like Tom Moore to transport their own supplies aboard their own boats -- or face paying the high cost of chartering local cargo vessels.

(Image by David Lynch)

of indigenous cultural significance for conservation – a prerequisite for any future sub-division.¹⁷⁵ The surveyors identified burial caves on the Sydney Inlet, as well as culturally-modified trees scattered across the lot.¹⁷⁶ In April 2001, the newly developed "Section 110A Seasonal Cottage (SC) District" zoning came into effect, establishing various building and clearing restrictions, including a maximum footprint of 560 sq ft.¹⁷⁷ The following year, enthusiasm for sub-division was shaken when members learned that the province expected a gravel road to be laid throughout the property – a move that would require major clearing and detract from the welcomed isolation of each individual lot.¹⁷⁸ The vote to proceed with a bare land strata subdivision finally occurred in 2005, after the road requirement “turned out to be flexible”. It would take another four years – and a full topographic survey -- before the property was finally, officially subdivided into 51 strata lots in 2009. In the process, the Co-op racked up nearly half a million dollars in legal fees, and a number of relationships were strained or shattered over the course of many acrimonious meetings. A handful of neighbours also found themselves at odds when certain original allotment boundaries appeared to shift as a result of the new survey. Finally, a dispute with the Surveyor-General about the northern boundary of the property ended up with acres of land being reclaimed by the province.

Even after the transition was complete, problems persisted. Eager to pay off its mounting debt, the Co-op holding company ended up selling off the remainder of its unallocated lots at bargain prices in the summer of 2014. And when they moved to transfer their



Figure 167 - Prelude to settlement: scoping out the author's intended purchase on the Openit Peninsula, 2012.

(Images by David Lynch)



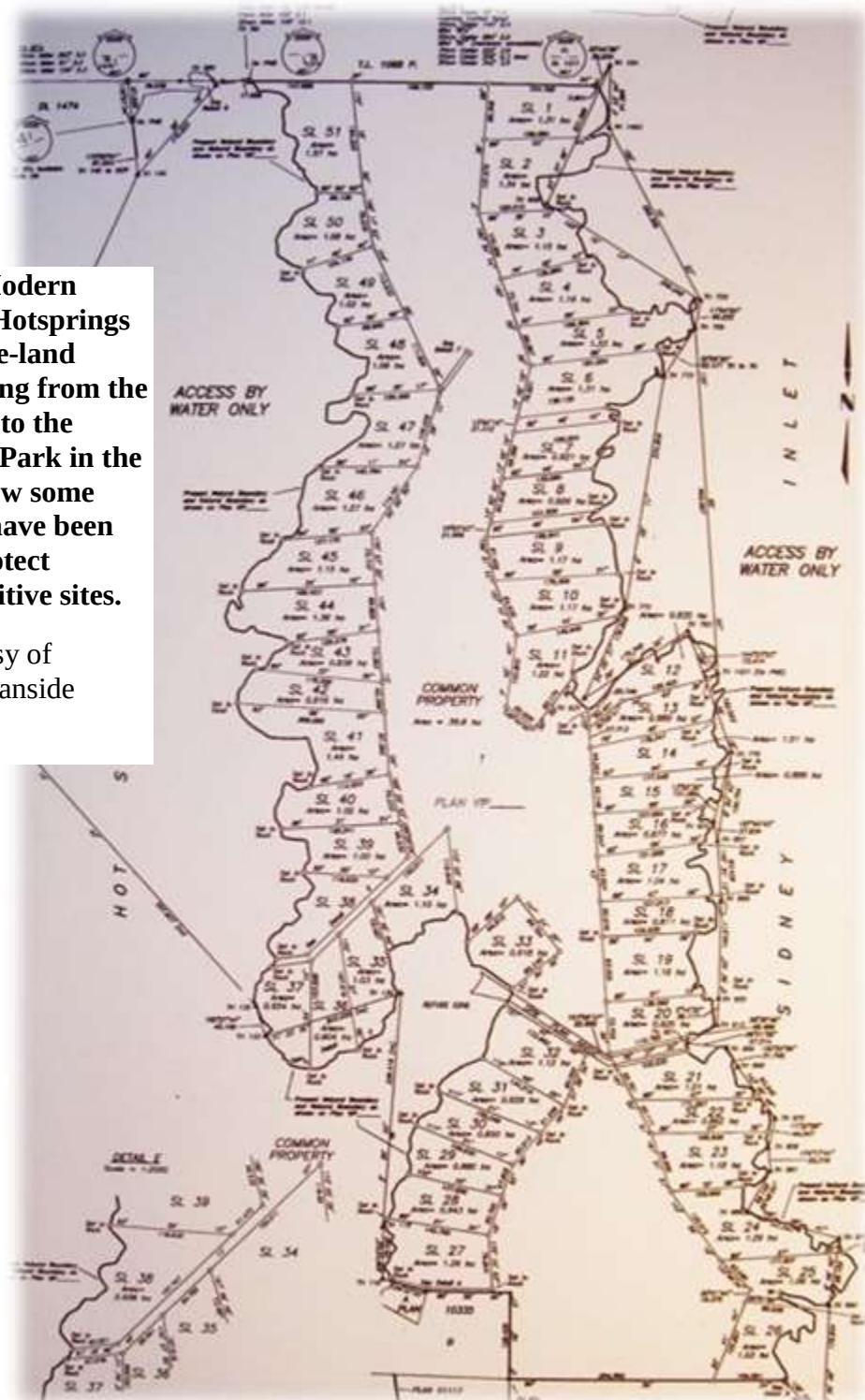
parking lot in to Tofino to the new strata, the process was held to ransom by a handful of members who wanted to their share of the profit after eagerly selling their lots soon after subdivision went through.

It was during the final phase of this transition that the author himself, in 2012, became one of the first people to buy into this new strata arrangement, by purchasing a lot from one of the original Co-op members who needed to free up some capital. His new 2-acre waterfront lot, looking out on Sydney Inlet, came with a tiny, unfinished cabin, as well as a few subtle artifacts from its time as a log-sort: rusty steel cables, massive salal-covered slash piles, and a grove of quick-sprouting alders growing out of a marshy area leveled by machinery. To the author, though, it was a dream come true, representing a chance to achieve much-needed solitude and enjoy fashioning a home-away-from-home out of the wilderness. The larger significance of this decision, however, would only come later. Once merely a visitor, he too, now, had become a settler.

In hindsight, it is clear that the transition from Co-op to strata came at a price – most notably an undermining of the communitarian spirit that had infused the Co-op’s creation. Some, like founder Andy McGregor, were opposed to the switch from the start. Perhaps, though, collective ownership simply felt too risky, and collective decision-making too ungainly, for the bulk of the membership. Or perhaps the positive example of other healthy co-operative arrangements -- like nearby Wickaninnish Island -- was simply not enough. Profit likely proved a powerful motivator, particularly for those who had originally bought their lots for investment purposes. In the eyes of prospective buyers, bare land strata was clearly a more attractive option than buying into a co-operative where you owned a share of everything - but not your ‘own’ lot. It also probably helped that assurances were made, early on in the discussions, that lots would be easily worth up to \$250,000 each – once subdivision was complete.¹⁷⁹ The shift, though subtle, has been noticeable, as “it’s mine” has increasingly replaced “it’s ours”.

Figure 168 - Modern Survey of the Hotsprings Oceanside bare-land strata, stretching from the root of Openit to the borders of the Park in the South. Note how some small parcels have been set aside to protect culturally sensitive sites.

(Image Courtesy of Hotsprings Oceanside Strata)



The shift has also arguably opened up the property to a wider range of owners, since the more standardized strata arrangement -- with its more delineated responsibilities and greater individual sovereignty -- is easier to understand and buy into from a distance.

Purchasers no longer feel so compelled to spend time assessing the community ethos or building relationships with their neighbours, because they are no longer so beholden to the collective will when it comes to what they do on their own lot. For his part, long-time member Shaun Shelongosky laments what he feels is a resultant shift in the practices of his fellow cabin-owners:

Our idea was when we started the co-op and the strata was that the buildings were going to be hidden and made from local colours and local materials, tiny and set back 50 feet back from the water 40 feet out into the forest so they wouldn't be seen and you weren't allowed to cut the trees down in front...¹⁸⁰

To others, however, the by-laws still remain too restrictive, in terms of limiting the way their properties can be used, and how much of their lots they can clear. One recent prospective buyer, for instance, ended up purchasing two of the lots on the opposite shore, north of the village, rather than risk interference at the hands of a strata.¹⁸¹

At present, one could classify the strata membership into two roughly equal groups, the 'owners' and the 'users'. A little under half of the lots have cabins and are enjoyed on an annual or semi-annual basis, while the other half are largely untouched, owned by people who have not visited the Cove in years – if at all. This makes for interesting discussions at Annual General Meetings, where 'users' find themselves cautiously advocating for greater spending on items like trail development and emergency improvement – investments that at least half of the membership are unlikely to make use of.

Kyle Shaw and his co-owner and fellow teacher Adrian Pendergast bought into the strata in 2014, snapping up one of the last Co-op lots then being sold at a discount. New to the Cove, Shaw and Pendergast, were no strangers, however, to the wider West Coast. Avid sports-fisherman, both had spent many summers fishing around the north end of



Figure 169 - Kyle Shaw & Adrian Pendergast, two of the newer generation of cabin-owners in the Cove.

(Image courtesy of Kyle Shaw)

Vancouver Island. “We’ve always enjoyed the West Coast for all of its natural beauty”, suggests Shaw, who was first introduced to the Cove while visiting the author. “Adrian and I chose Hot Springs Cove for its rugged landscapes, sense of isolation and fishing opportunities,” he says. “It’s such a great base for getting out doing all kinds of outdoor activities”. Together, over the past few summers, working in week-long stints, the two have built a tall, sturdy and spacious 8x12’ cedar cabin on the western shore of Openit, on a headland just across from Hot Springs Cove village. Respectful of the nature around them, Shaw and Pendergast nevertheless represent a new breed of cabin-owner, with no historical connection to the former Co-op.

The transformations occurring on the Openit peninsula have not gone unnoticed by the Hesquiaht. Prior to the Co-op’s arrival, Charity Lucas recalls, there were a “two, three hippie houses” along the western shore of the Cove, “so that was [our] first experience [with] neighbours”.¹⁸² Those structures, though, were quite unobtrusive, as they “they were never allowed to be seen...[and] you never really heard them”. Compared with the cabins that have begun popping up in the strata development, “it wasn’t as predominant as now,” she observes. “Now you see these houses”. To her, the Cove:

[is] different now because, even in a flight, I now see all these different lots, whereas before it was all just covered... and you didn’t see all of this and hear chainsaws. I remember the first time that I heard it I’m just like sitting there ‘cause you can tell when a chainsaw comes from your community and when it’s echoing from across the bay and I’m like “Whose chainsaw? Where is that coming from?” And that’s when mom told me “Oh they have co-op lots”.

Over time, she says, she grew to accept the presence of her neighbours across the Cove. Indeed, she credits the gradual evolution – from Norma Bailey, and the Ark, through the *InnChanter* and the presence of tourists – with acclimatizing her community to a non-indigenous presence in the Cove: “That kind of got us a little bit warmed up to traffic...because I think that if we didn’t have that we probably would have been more culture shocked and would have come with more resistance as people came in”. Plus, she adds, “us having to settle here is already a displacement...so neighbours, I don’t think, bother us as much”.

The limits of Charity's tolerance for continuing development bubbles through, however, in her frustrated description of the clearing done on a privately-owned waterfront lot just north of the village site:

He's illegally done that. He's wiped out that part of our... that's the kind of thing that makes us not want to have people around us because that's ours. If we didn't cut it down, why are you cutting it down? To make your accessibility easier? That's unjust. You know what I mean? We are already sharing areas with you we don't have, we shouldn't have to watch you demolish our property.... it's an adjustment...now if it was Hesquiat that this was happening in, I would be enraged. Here, because it's indifferent, I don't feel like it's really ours.

One suspects that many of her fellow community members share similar sentiments about the aggressive clearing being done by some of their recently-arrived neighbours!¹⁸³

Despite such frustrations, genuine goodwill still seems to exist towards the non-indigenous users of the Cove. Jaylynn Lucas is particularly positive about the potential for us all to co-exist peacefully:

That's the beautiful thing...people who are ready to commit to a cabin or whatever, they're respectful, they're not going in there with bad intentions...that's the thing...we're not coming out with bad intentions either. We're not coming out to run you guys out or vice versa right. You guys aren't coming in wanting to run the show or whatever. It's a nice connection, that is, one I hope will be still nice when the kids I'm teaching are the adults.

She credits her openness to the teachings of her elders. As she sees it, people in her community have made a conscious choice to try to move beyond the anger associated with colonization. She remembers expressing her frustration as a school-aged child about the development occurring across the bay: "What are they doing across there? Why are they over there?" She and her peers were learning about the environment at the time, and "could hear the saws and see all the smoke going up in the air". Their immediate reaction was to think that "they shouldn't be over there, they shouldn't be doing that... that's not healthy!" But something their language teacher, Larry Paul, said gave them pause: "Ah, I wonder why we wouldn't share our land when it's so beautiful?" Jaylynn acknowledges that she and peers "used to be really bitter about it", and admits that "this interview would have gone a lot differently if my grandpa didn't tell me the things that he did". She says that he fundamentally shifted her thinking:

[Our ancestors] shared their land, so we need to share...[if] you go back to when colonization first started happening, do we want to go back to that? No. No, we don't want to start that fight over again, because why would we rehash all that back up? And that's what the elders always said, that was the worst time of their lives, so we have no reason to keep carrying on that fight.

Jaylynn is equally clear, however, that this is by no means an admission of defeat, nor some form of passive acquiescence:

The resistance will always be there. We will always stand up for what we believe is right. There are a lot of things that, to this day, are not right. We are not going to let an oil tanker come through here, no! That's a whole other story. Come and build a cabin, come enjoy, just don't take your oil through here, that's a whole other thing!

By the late 1990s, the Hesquiaht community of Hot Springs Cove Village was well-established on the western shore of the Cove. Questions remained, however, about the long-term status of the area. Was it still to be considered Ahousaht territory, or would Hesquiaht occupation alter that dynamic. While such issues were surely being discussed by the leaders of both communities, the topic of sovereignty may not have been top-of-mind for younger Hesquiaht like Jaylynn Lucas:

I always remember I didn't really know or honestly care about whose territory [the Hot Springs] was... I knew that I was home. And I knew that we could just paddle across and go there whenever we wanted.

Her aunt, Charity agrees with this assessment: "we were always taught this was a shared area...growing up, all of our elders...always told us it wasn't an either or, you know what I mean? It was both of our areas". The Cove, she suggests:

was a place of travel. This is a place of healing for the hot springs, this is a place of rest from the... it used to be called Refuge Cove 'cause it's a rest from the winds and the high seas...so it was a place of common area, it wasn't a place of grounding and roots. Does that make sense?

The status of the Park, however, was far clearer in at least regard. As Charity puts it, the park "was an illegal government stake on land". Who the 'real owners' should be, however, was less certain: "Ahousaht never wanted it until it became provincial", she asserts, "and meanwhile we Hesquiaht have a legal case in the courts, so you tell me, who owns it?"

When asked about Hesquiaht relations with the Ahousaht over the topic of the Cove, Jaylynn Lucas is careful not to make any definitive assertions. Instead, she emphasizes that it is her opinion – and no more than that – that perhaps the Ahousaht leadership have been more active in their assertions of sovereignty over the area, while the Hesquiaht have opted for conciliation. It is approach rooted, she thinks, in a conscious decision by her elders:

The way that we're so welcoming kind of made us look weak in a way, it made us look standoffish, it made us look like we're just going to go with whatever happens...but in reality, it was just our elders saying, 'We don't want any controversy. We're not gonna pick up this fight with our neighbours who have been so good to us and we've been so good to you guys. You know we fish together, we hunt together, so why are we going to start this controversy?'

To emphasize her point, Jaylynn recounts a story from the late-2000s, about how she and eight other Hesquiaht visited the springs that summer, only to encounter a banner that read "Welcome to Ahousat Territory". Already "heated" about an earlier basketball loss to the Ahousat squad a while earlier, the Hesquiaht teens tore down the banner and burned it in front of some Ahousaht peers, because, in Jaylynn's words, it "rubbed us kids the wrong way". Expecting to be congratulated upon their return home, Jaylynn and her friends found themselves, instead, "in a lot of trouble":

Our elders and our parents told us that that's not how Hesquiat people act. That's not how we carry ourselves, that's not how we treat our relatives, that's not how we treat our neighbours. So we had to publicly apologize to the Ahousat people for being immature -- yes we were twelve, but that's what they called us. They told us that it was one of the worst things that we could have done.

Her aunt Charity agrees that concerns about co-existence were at the heart of this reaction:

We have a lot of interconnections going back generations and generations and generations. And I think that's the bond that our elders always think of. It's what we've been through, the battles we've been through in the past, you know, it's "is this worth it for the future of our children? Is this something that's going to benefit our children?"

However, there may other factors, as well, behind this conciliatory approach. Jaylynn Lucas, for instance, suggests that the experience of surviving and rebuilding in the wake

of the '64 tsunami may have also shaped Hesquiaht perceptions of – and approaches – to the physical landscape of the Cove. She recalls how her great-grandfather Charlie – or “Papa” as she always called him – would “remind me about almost losing his son, my Uncle Bruce, during the tidal wave”. As a result of his experiences, in Charlie’s estimation, family “was way more important than just land”. She recalls how he would tell her “I almost lost something that is so important to me I’m not going to sit here and worry about land when I have a whole entire family to take care of, a whole entire nation to take care of”.

Differing perceptions regarding the use and ownership of land may also factor in. As Charity Lucas sees it:

We [the Hesquiaht] don’t believe we own this land, that we just govern it, we just take care of it. When our elders think about picking and choosing battles that’s what they think about is the long term, the longevity of us as a nation, as one...land is not something to fight over because it’s the resources and use of that land [that matter]...we’re not owners.

Whatever the reason, it seems clear that our shared inhabitant of the Cove could be far more acrimonious than it has been.

Thanks, in part, to the world-wide attention garnered by the 1993 “War in the Woods” protests, Tofino’s profile as a tourist destination exploded in the late 1990s, and continued to expand throughout the next decade. The presence of film crews capturing footage for travel shows and the rise of social media posting by celebrities both helped publicize the local area.



Figure 170 - A film crew documenting the Cove for a tourism show, c. 2000.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

As *The Tofino Guide*, Clayoquot's self-styled "longest longest-running website" aptly puts it, "Today, Tofino is Tourism". Indeed, Clayoquot Sound now attracts between 750,000 and a million tourists annually. And more than a few of these visitors have ultimately made the journey to Hot Springs Cove.¹⁸⁴ During the peak summer months, Hot Springs Cove attracts a wide variety of one-time tourists, from German, Dutch and American tourists, to BCers wanting to explore a new part of their province. The number of tourists from Asia – and particularly China – has also increased significantly. All told, in recent years, an estimated 20,000 visitors have passed through Maquinna Park annually. This number reflects not only the sheer popularity of Clayoquot Sound in general, but also the specific efforts of tour companies to promote the Hotsprings as an alternative to more traditional wildlife viewing. While whale watching has continued to be a major draw for

Figure 171 - Tourboat driver 'Pipot' prepares to clean a Lingcod caught which waiting for his passengers to soak, c.2000

(Courtesy Roly Brown)



Figure 173 - Tourists leave by tourboat, just as a floatplane comes in for a landing, c. 2000.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)



Figure 172 - Tourboat drivers wait on the dock for their passengers to return. With the growing frequency of 'double-runs', such leisurely scenes seem to be dwindling.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)



tourists, tour-boat companies have come to perceive the hot springs as a more reliable option, especially during seasons when migrating whales prove particularly sparse.¹⁸⁵

To meet demand and maximise profit, tour operators also began to do “double-runs”. On these “yo-yo” trips, harried boat drivers would drop a group off, then race back empty to Tofino and pick up a second group, who would, in turn, be landed in Hot Springs Cove just as the initial group was wrapping up their visit. On busier days, particularly in the summer, this could mean more than 100 people could be at the Springs or in transit at a given moment. It became common, therefore, to see crowds of 40+ people sitting or clambering around the springs, waiting for their chance to squeeze a quick toe in the water before the next boatload inevitably arrived.

Yachters, guests on the *InnChanter*, local cabin owners and overnight campers in the Hesquiaht-run campground had a better chance of having the springs to themselves – if they timed it just right. That typically meant going before the first day-trippers arrived, or waiting until the last tourboats departed. But even this has gotten trickier in recent years. In ideal conditions, the first floatplanes now regularly arrive at 7:30am, and can roar away as late as 9pm. And the same tourboats now roar by the water-front cabins, back and forth, multiple times a day.



Figure 174 - Even as early as the late 1990s, it was common to see crowds of tourists waiting their turn to soak in the Springs.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

There is a feeling– ironic as it is – among many long-time visitors and cabin owners that there is now too much tourist traffic. The settlers, it would seem, are resentful of a new wave of colonization. The question is, can one really fault the tour companies for attempting to make the most of their short peak season, especially when the price is so right? While insuring, maintaining and operating their craft is obviously expensive –

especially as fuel costs continue to rise – the likely negligible corporate user-licensing fee associated with using the provincially-owned dock surely makes the hot springs run a veritable cash cow.

Some Hesquiaht, too, worry about the impact that the burgeoning tourist traffic is having on the surrounding environment – and the ocean in particular. As Charity Lucas sees it:

An issue is these boats that come in. That's more of an issue in our salmon running season and our herring running season because, to them it's just the business, but to us these are our food waters and they're ripping through here when we have herring coming in or dog salmon coming in... that is more of an issue than having to be transparent with our neighbours, you know what I mean? Because that is something that is vital to us surviving out here. You know, sharing lots with people is not so vital to us surviving!¹⁸⁶

By 2007, the growing popularity of Maquinna Park encouraged BC Parks make further investments in large new covered shelters and high-tech composting toilets at both ends of the boardwalk.¹⁸⁷ Now that businesses were being encouraged to take on multi-year 'park facility operator' (PFO) contracts, the province introduced a \$3/per person daily-use fee, to help fund these improvements and make the managing the park more attractive. The fee, initially collected from arriving tourists by sub-contracted park facility operator staff, was flatly ignored by many long-time visitors and local cabin owners, who felt that it contradicted the apparent spirit of Clarkes' original donation of the land to the people of British Columbia.¹⁸⁸ Despite this influx of new cash, the author witnessed remarkably little noticeable maintenance was done by RLC Ltd, the first PFO, over its ten years of managing the park. The company also struggled to attract and retain appropriate on-site employees, with many staff fired prior to the end of the five-month contracts. The remote location, extended time-commitments and relative lack of amenities were all arguably contributing factors.

These trials and tribulations have provided entertainment for regular visitors, local cabin owners, and *InnChanter* guests, who also appreciate being able to enjoy the springs without sustained supervision. This is true particularly of the many long-time 'naturists' who regularly ignore the posted prohibitions against "nude bathing", albeit only in the presence of other adults.¹⁸⁹ The sense of 'freedom' that comes, arguably, from

remoteness of Hot Springs Cove helps, perhaps, to explain a few other unique local traditions. Consider the unknown yachter who would practice his bagpipes on the boardwalk in the fog, or the Tofino local who regularly sleeps on a blow-up mattress in the springs themselves. And then there's the dentist from Vancouver who transformed the springs, once a year, into a 'undersea lounge', complete with glow sticks, candle lanterns, and ambient music.

Despite the predominance of Euro-Canadian and other non-indigenous visitors, the hot springs appear to have still occasionally attracted more traditional Nuu-chah-nulth use. When he was serving as park warden in the late 1990s, Shaun Shelongosky bore witness to a three-day visit by Ahousaht elders:

They lived up there. They ate all the berries from around the spring cause it had lots of extra minerals in it and they ate all the shellfish right at the mouth cause they're filled with all the minerals from the hot springs, and they were all there to help with their arthritis.¹⁹⁰

Growing up in Hot Springs Village, Charity Lucas recalls being taught that the "healing waters" of the springs was somewhere "we used to send our women... after birth, because the sulphur water helped with their muscles and ease[d] their body from the delivery". Her grandfather also had a tradition of getting her to bring back bottles of water from the source. She remembers how "he would say 'go where it's bubbling and fill it up from there', then would freeze the water for later use. Eventually, he would:

unthaw it and he would make us all take shots of it. What it does is a natural cleanse. Everything in your body, every organ you've got – mind, you need to stay near the bathroom that day...it really does work that quick!

By the early 2000s, Hot Springs Cove's emergence as an increasingly popular and well-known popular tourism and recreational destination was mirrored by a corresponding decline in the full-time Hesquiaht population living there. When Atleo Air began operations in 1995, owner Jason Bertin recalls flying in sometimes five or six times a day to serve a bustling community of several hundred.¹⁹¹ However, by the end of the decade, the community was down to approximately 30 full time residents, and tourists were now making up the bulk of the flights into Hot Springs Cove aboard Atleo's planes, and those of their rivals, Tofino Air. Increasingly, the Hesquiahts were concentrated in

Tofino, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, Victoria and Vancouver, returning only periodically to their Hot Springs Cove village for holidays or to visit relatives.

Summers were a particularly busy time, while in the depths of the wet and stormy winter season, the population would plummet. By 2016, census figures put the year-round residential population at just 50 people, living in 30 households, half of which the respondents claimed to need “major repairs”.¹⁹² The median age of the population was also quite high, at 55.4 years (compared with Ahousaht’s 27.0).¹⁹³ Perhaps most tellingly, a significant minority reported themselves as either unemployed, or working less than 13 weeks in the past year. Some of this census data, however, seems very much at odds with the 122 people officially ‘registered’ as living in the village, as of Nov 2018, according to Indigenous & Northern Affairs Canada.¹⁹⁴ Still, as a proportion of its 747 total registered members, this on-reserve population is a clear minority.



Figure 175 - A photograph of Roly Brown’s new converted fishing boat, Tropic Isle, gives a sense of Hot Springs Cove Village at its peak, c. 2000.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

Several developments may have contributed to this significant decline, in addition to those already discussed as factors behind the wider indigenous exodus from the West Coast. The decision to provide benefits and voting rights to all members of the First Nation, regardless of their location, made it easier to live off-reserve. Significant increases in fuel prices and the cost of transportation made the commute to ‘town’ increasingly costly. Flying out every few weeks for groceries, treats and a day around Tofino was no longer as practical for a whole family to do. And with town so costly and

distant, bulk-shopping is required, yet the nearest cheap box stores were far away in Alberni and Nanaimo. Jaylynn Lucas, for one, recalls how the cost of travel increased dramatically over her childhood:

I remember growing up ...I was probably about 10...the boat was only like \$10 for me, not even that, \$5. And then it went up to \$10 and I remember it started becoming more of an issue for me to go out with my friends, 'cause my mom was like, 'No, I'm not going to spend, you know, \$30 for you just to go for a day, 'cause that's ridiculous.'...Now I think the boat's \$50 one way... So from 5 to 25 in like 10 years, it was tough - emotionally it was hard - because you can't really leave home anymore.¹⁹⁵

Today, the high cost of living presents real challenges for those who wish to make a life in Hot Springs Cove. "When you want to go and get cheaper groceries out of Hot Springs Cove," notes Charity, "you spend an hour and a half on a boat, hour and a half drive, three hours just to get off and then you have to pay for your gas." But that's not all, Jaylynn points out: "So that's about \$90 right there [just getting to Tofino] and now you've got to pay for the rest of your food, oh wait, hold on you have to buy a lunch too!" And then there are "those inflated prices, and on top of all that", Charity notes, "the produce ain't fresh!"

Even the infrequent cabin dweller can surely relate to the amount of work that goes into keeping your pantry stocked in Hot Springs Cove. And they can recognize the truth in Charity's observation that "we touch our groceries five times when we go to Port Alberni by the time we just get to our dock, and then we have to carry them home, get them in the house and unpack them."

The struggle to properly manage the community's initial expansion may have also contributed to its decline, according to Charity: "I think the community kind of boomed too quickly and we couldn't grow with it fast enough." In other words, the community was unable to expand its infrastructure to keep up with the growing demands placed on it by a burgeoning population. In particular, Lucas suggests, the bureaucratic obstacles that delayed expansion of the local school may have helped convince families to move away: "we've been trying to get this school that we finally have, we've been trying to get that for over 20 years." When students "hit 7th grade," she recalls, you had to travel "on a boat to Ahousaht." This reality, she argues, presented parents with an unpleasant choice:

Having to have to let your child go somewhere else to educate them is hard. You can't protect them, you can't nurture them, you can't correct them, you know what I mean? Like, it's solely dependent on someone else...and it's very hard for our children too!

The weather, particularly in the winter months, also made the school commute unpredictable. Lucas recalls that parents could not be certain that:

when your child goes to Ahousat that they're going to get home every night. There were many times where we were stormbound there, you know, sometimes for days. Sometimes we were stormbound near a week and not be able to go to school.

Many families, she suggests, decided that it was “easier for the whole family to move as a unit, rather than that one child. I think a lot of families just started seeing that”. While she admits that this is just her “theory”, she is convinced that it was “one of the main reasons why our community dissipated in numbers”. Charity herself ended up in Victoria for school, and Jaylynn left after graduating too. Improvements, when they came, may have been too late, Charity suggests. “Now it's in a different place which is sad cause if they could stay up here and not have to send their child to another community, they would”. The sad irony, she notes, is that, today “we have a full school and we don't have as many children”.

In the eyes of Jaylynn and Charity, the challenges mentioned above help to explain why the village struggles to retain its inhabitants, and why there some local jobs within the village that go unfilled. Today, making the decision to relocate to – or remain living in Hot Springs Village – is no easy decision, notes Charity: “It's just hard...living out here is a different kind of lifestyle, you can either make it or break it. It's sink or swim”. Jaylynn agrees. “You have to be fully ready to commit”, she suggests, “to this lifestyle in Hot Springs”.

At the same time, a lack of varied local employment opportunities may have also contributed to the decline, as well as the naturally limited health-care services available in the community. Continuing claims by the neighbouring Ahousahts, and the resulting uncertainty of future use may have also discouraged some from investing more meaningfully in the village site.

Despite – or perhaps because of – these trends, the Hesquiaht were able to secure funding for the construction of a state-of-the-art, multi-million-dollar “Hesquiaht Place of Learning”, which was officially opened in 2008.¹⁹⁶ Perched above the village, and featuring two condo-like ‘teacherages’, the *Place of Learning* was designed and built with the help of community members. From the outset, the Hesquiaht conceived of it as more than “just a school. It’s a community centre, a post-disaster facility and most of all, something that community members built with their own hands, reflecting their own vision, using natural resources from their own traditional territory”.¹⁹⁷ Today, the community’s handful of school-aged residents are educated there, while the space is also used to host classes and community events on a regular basis. This project certainly seems to fit within a broader ongoing Nuu-chah-nulth effort based on the belief, as Shawn Atleo neatly puts it, that “education is the new whale [hunt]”, that entire communities must work together, as before, for such an important but challenging initiative to be successful.¹⁹⁸

One wonders if the introduction of increasingly reliable and speedy internet service came just a little too late to stem the emigration. By 2010, relatively high-speed connections were introduced into Hotsprings village.¹⁹⁹ Initially, a few nearby cabin owners were lucky enough to piggy-back off router signals from the village, but most had to settle for the dial-up available through their phone-shed, or pay for a pricey satellite services like “ExploreNet”. Effectively, the Openit Peninsula remained a place disconnected from the virtual world. But big changes were imminent.



Figure 176 - For almost two decades, the cabin owners on the Openit Peninsula had to rely on a finicky phone setup based out of a small wooden shed in the middle of their common property. With the advent of cell-phones, many question the need for such a shared resource.

(Image by David Lynch)

While the author was occupied with making small improvements to his newly-acquired cabin (such as the installation of safety railings and a dining area), more significant events were taking place, far away in Ottawa. In January 2014, after more than a decade before the courts, the five remaining litigant nations in the *Ahousaht* case woke to the news that the Supreme Court in Ottawa had refused to hear any further appeals, effectively upholding favourable lower court decisions.²⁰⁰ In the original, upheld ruling, the court had reached a number of conclusions that would already be familiar. To begin with, the judge dismissed a number of questionable assertions by government lawyers, such as that the Nuu-chah-nulth did not travel long distances by canoe until after Europeans introduced sails to them, or that the amalgamation of the Nuu-chah-nulth had not begun until after contact (and then, only as the result of European influence).²⁰¹ To establish the ‘continuity’ of their rights, the plaintiffs had also been required, in the words of Kirchner, to show “that local groups that occupied a particular area prior to contact amalgamated into the nations that now occupy that area”, a test which the judge not surprisingly “concluded...was met by each plaintiff”.²⁰²

After reflecting on the evidence highlighted, in part, earlier in this work, Judge Garson found that “the cumulative effect of Canada’s fisheries regime...restricts the Nuu-chah-nulth with respect to their ability to fish and their methods of fishing, including location, time, gear and species.”²⁰³ In fact, apart from the marginal clam fishery, the only Nuu-chah-nulth fishing right that the government had not infringed was the “FSC fishery” (food, social and ceremonial).²⁰⁴ Garson also rebuked the government for

effectively eliminating Nuu-chah-nulth access to commercial fishing: “It is impossible”, she concluded, “for the plaintiffs to pay the large amounts the market sets for licences, and they are simply unable to compete in an economically sustainable way in the non-aboriginal fishery under the present regulatory regime”.²⁰⁵ Even in cases where the Nuu-chah-nulth have managed to acquire licenses, noted Garson, “they are either in low value fisheries such as herring and clam fisheries or, where they are in higher value fisheries, the Nuu- chah-nulth lack sufficient capital to operate the licences”.²⁰⁶



Figure 177 - Commercial non-indigenous live-cod fisherman processing their cargo in the Cove, c.2000.

Justice Garson would later find that a combination of factors had all but excluded the Nuu-chah-nulth from the fin-fishery since the 1980s.

(Image Courtesy of Roly Brown)

The court also rejected, as specious, government attempts to justify their infringement of Nuu-chah-nulth fishing rights: “not having taken into account the existence of the plaintiffs’ aboriginal rights to fish and to sell fish, Canada is not in a position to justify the infringements of that right”.²⁰⁷ Having effectively eviscerated the Crown’s claims, and faulted them for much of the infringement, the court also highlighted other factors that have been at play, including “the collapse of the salmon stock, changes in equipment, the reduction in the price of fish, the closure of local fish buying businesses, environmental factors, international treaties, and conservation imperatives.”²⁰⁸ And having heard convincing evidence that the Nuu-chah-nulth traditionally traded whatever species of fish was abundant or available to them, the judge

also found that “it would be an artificial limitation of the characterization of the plaintiffs’ fishing right to limit it to certain species”.²⁰⁹

Ultimately, Justice Garson concluded her influential judgement with a powerful plea for change, given the ground-breaking nature of her findings. Recognizing that “negotiations have previously gone forth without recognition of the plaintiffs’ aboriginal rights”, she recommended that “they must now proceed on a different footing than has heretofore taken place, one that starts with recognition of the plaintiffs’ constitutional rights to fish and to sell that fish.”²¹⁰

For Deb Foxcroft, the president of the NTC, the decision “affirm[ed] what Nuuchah-nulth have always asserted” - that they were “fishing people, dependent on our sea resources for our food and our economies”. In her view, the Canadian government, therefore, “must work with our nations to design fisheries that meet our community needs, using our preferred means to fish, and in our preferred fishing areas”. The question, she wondered, was when “will the Canadian government get serious about negotiating with Nuuchah-nulth Nations as the Courts have directed?”.

Similar concerns were surely in the minds of Tsilhqot’in leaders that same year as they learned of the Supreme Court’s decision to uphold a ground-breaking lower court ruling recognizing their indigenous title to – and right to use, make decisions about, and be consulted in developments involving – a large swath of their traditional territories in central BC. Rejecting Crown arguments that they should only be able to claim title over specific sites, the court affirmed that a semi-nomadic group can claim title over a broad area, even if it only uses various parts periodically.²¹¹ Just as significantly, the decision also clarified the meaning of indigenous title, as the CBC summarized it, to include “the right to the benefits associated with the land and the right to use it, enjoy it and profit from it”, while also asserting that this title is not absolute. Indeed, the court recognized that the government can still allow economic development projects to proceed on indigenous lands, provided that they either gain the consent of the titleholders, or prove that the “development is pressing and substantial” and that it satisfies the government’s “fiduciary duty” to the group in question. Together, the *Tsilhqot’in* and *Ahousaht* cases

have arguably changed the negotiating landscape in ways that are still becoming apparent.

In 2016, Telus made the decision to replace its aging local phone system with a cellphone tower, transforming life in Hot Springs Cove in ways that are still becoming apparent. The area had been first connected electronically to the outside world by telegraph at the beginning of the 20th century, and then later by phone. Eventually, following the establishment of the modern Hesquiaht community, a centralized phone system was introduced and maintained by BC Tel and its successor Telus, transmitting by microwave to Ahousat, and then onto Tofino and the rest of the network. Charity Lucas remembers the early days before every house got its own telephone: “at night time, the Band office would just leave the door unlocked, and you would go and make your phone call and write it down and then pay for it”.²¹²

Eventually, service was extended, by unsecured radio link, to the *InnChanter*, which became the unofficial lifeline for local pilots and tour boat operators, who would often drop by to check on the weather or contact their offices back in Tofino. The park facility operators, too, often made use of the *InnChanter*’s phone, though they had a satellite phone by the late 2000s. In the same way, the new Hot Springs Cove Co-operative was able to connect to the system, building a little shed in the middle of their property to house a phone and other emergency supplies. Still, cabin owners wishing to reach the outside world had to walk for many minutes to this shed, fire up the generator, and hope the phone initialized...just to do something as simple as coordinate a flight out. In practice, this meant that Hot Springs Cove remained a place of retreat, where you planned well ahead, and then just enjoyed your stay, in the present, until it was time for your pre-arranged departure. In the absence of local service, periodically during the peak summer months, a tradition of checking in by VHF every day at noon on Channel 71 developed, continuing as late as 2015.

With the construction of a cell-tower on the heights above Hot Springs Cove village, however, such proactive, community efforts were no longer necessary.²¹³ Now, on a good day, anyone with a cellphone could get coverage as far north as Hesquiat, well up Sydney Inlet, and half way down Herbert Inlet towards Ahousat. Along with this

connectivity came wireless data. Watching Netflix in a cabin on a remote beach in Clayoquot was no longer an absurd impossibility.

Although it is still early to be certain, this new system may have initiated some profound changes to the way Hot Springs Cove is used and enjoyed. Most obviously, tourists can now be seen stumbling their way down the park boardwalk, their eyes on their phones, rather than on the stunning natural beauty around them. Access for cabin owners was also facilitated, commercial tour operators could now easily connect with their drivers, and ‘just-in-time’ shopping arrangements were now possible. Emergency services were also improved, facilitating communication with the Coast Guard and police. The potential for working remotely from Hot Springs Cove also increased, with some cabin owners contributing to their existing work through the internet while at their cabin. However, in the minds of some at least, a sense of loss also accompanied this newfound connectivity. Hot Springs Cove had lost some of its remoteness. No longer was it truly a place of retreat from the pressures of civilization, now that cellphones could be heard ringing on otherwise remote beaches and trails.

While the introduction of cell coverage may have lessened the area’s remoteness in many ways, the fact remains that Hot Springs Cove is still - physically at least – a significant distance from other population centres. Having the ability to instantly reach a 9-1-1 operator from the cellphone in one’s hand may be comforting, but it does not change the fact that emergency services are still a significant boat-, floatplane-, or helicopter-ride away. Similarly, a sudden shift in the winds, fog or rain could easily strand a couple of carefree, under-dressed tourists overnight in the park, with nothing more than the towels and snacks they brought with them. Nor is the new cell system necessarily dependable, especially in the event of a major calamity, like a tsunami. It was with these realities in mind that the Hotsprings Oceanside strata recently replaced their community phone with a powerful ship-grade VHF radio in 2018. That the move was rejected as unnecessary by a number of council-members reveals remarkably divergent perceptions of the area’s inherent risk and remoteness. This same complacency is also evident in the inadequate efforts of many individual cabin owners to prepare for a

tsunami, and it continues to be a source of frustration for those wishing to better coordinate emergency planning efforts with the Hesquiaht.

In the wake of the War in the Woods, and the 1994 *Interim Measures Agreement*, the Nuuchah-nulth have been able to exercise significant – but certainly not total -- influence over land-based resource development in their traditional territories. This has allowed a new set of tension to emerge; this time, between indigenous leaders eager for economic development, skeptical opponents within their own communities, and non-indigenous environmentalists. Acutely aware of the rampant unemployment and lack of resources in their communities, Nuuchah-nulth decision makers have sought to maintain a tricky balance: generating much-needed jobs and revenue from the rich landscape around them, while mitigating, as much as possible, the potential risks of such resource-extraction. This has inevitably brought them into conflict with environmentalists, who would generally prefer a permanent end to mining and logging in the region. For instance, a decision in 2008 by some Ahousaht leaders to allow limited exploratory copper mining on Catface mountain was met by strong protest, not only from the FOCS and the Tofino Chamber of Commerce, but also the Ahousahts as well.²¹⁴ Responding to environmentalists, Tla-o-qui-aht Chief Counsellor Moses neatly summed up the challenge for Nuuchah-nulth leaders:

You're concerned about the trees and the wildlife, and many of us share those concerns, but we're also carrying...the highest suicide rates in Canada, we have the highest unemployment rates in Canada, and our people are struggling so hard to survive that our culture and language are dying.²¹⁵

These same tensions became particularly evident in forestry sector. Since the late 1990s, Iisaak, the joint venture between Nuuchah-nulth-owned MaMook Natural Resources and Weyerhaeuser (MacMillan-Blodel's successor) continued to quietly log the Sound, albeit on a much smaller scale. In 2006, however, MaMook acquired total control of the company.²¹⁶ The following year, Iisaak, in turn, purchased Interfor's 49,000 hectare tree farm license (TFL) in Clayoquot, giving the central Nuuchah-nulth an effective monopoly over all logging operations in the Sound.²¹⁷ Yet, at the same time, the Tla-o-qui-aht were busy initiating the creation of a number of Tribal Parks in watersheds above Tofino, indefinitely preserving these areas from logging.²¹⁸

Such moves put “added pressure”, Kennedy suggests, on Iisaak, because they “further limit[ed] the areas that they could access”.²¹⁹ Consequently, Iisaak began lobbying the province for access to intact watersheds in Sound, seemingly in violation of their founding commitment, in the words of the WWC, to “stay out of the unlogged valleys and log sustainably for the rest of their tenure”.²²⁰ This soon led to several conflicts between indigenous development efforts and non-indigenous environmentalists who believe, in the words of the Western Wilderness Committee that:

An economy based on fishing, eco-tourism, research, education and a rich, vibrant environment will in the long run be much more healthy and long-lasting than an economy based on logging some of the last intact ancient forested valleys left on the planet.²²¹

In 2008, for instance, Iisaak partnered with Alberni-based Coulson Forest Products, and initiated efforts to log a hundred-hectare portion of old growth forests in the vicinity of Hesquiaht Creek.²²²

Noting that the partnership was already logging on both sides of Hesquiat Harbour, activist Maryjka Mychajlowycz, speaking for FOCS, threatened another blockade, claiming that these “intact valleys are our line in the sand... that's our bottom line”.²²³ This earned a rebuke from Ahousaht deputy Chief Counsellor John Frank, who suggested that environmentalists seem to:

think that we can't think... we're not bimbos. We are a people that have a real strong sense on how the environment should be, well cared for, in the way it needs to be... It's not as though we're going to go knock down every tree.

Despite Forestry Minister Pat Bell’s assurances that the project amounted to “a very light-footprint form of log harvesting”, and that “a very small amount of timber that would be removed”, the fierce opposition ultimately prompted Iisaak to shelve the project, though not before

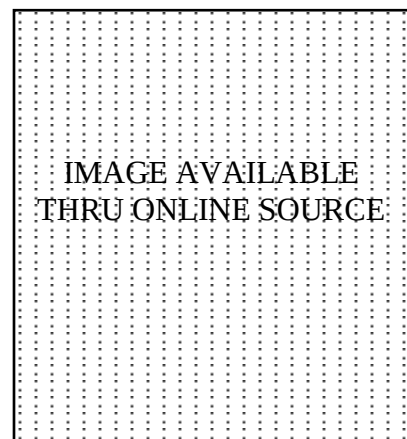


Figure 178 - Tree Farm License (TFL) #54, largely covers the Clayoquot Sound watershed, from just north of Estevan Point to just beyond Kennedy Lake in the south.

(See “TFL 54 [Farming, Natural Resources & Industry - Forestry - Forest Tenures - Timber Harvesting Rights - Tree Farm Licences]”, Government of British Columbia)

Frank, speaking to the *Globe & Mail*, gave voice to his frustrations:

It's to put bread and butter for our children and for the next seven generations," he said, adding that the native communities have a sustainable-harvesting plan in place that will not cause the environmental devastation associated with the clear-cuts in Clayoquot's past. "Whose traditional territory is it? Is it the Friends of the Clayoquot Sound, or is it the chiefs that are the stewards of the land? ... I would never go into Hesquiaht territory and tell them how to run their affairs."²²⁴

This same scenario was essentially repeated again a few years later, in 2011, on the other side of Hot Springs Cove, when Isaak, struggling under heavy debt after purchasing the timber rights to the Sound, was granted permission to cut a logging road into an intact ancient forest on Flores.²²⁵ Again, the plan was ultimately abandoned a year later in the face stiff opposition from environmental groups.²²⁶

Isaak's logging operations have also led to inter-group tensions as well. In 2015, for instance, when the company attempted to move forward with the harvest of two cutblocks inland from Hooksum school in Hesquiaht harbour, resistance from the Hesquiaht caused operations to be suspended.²²⁷ Adamant that the community and council had been "blindsided" by the arrival of logging crews, community member Bernard Charleson insisted that "we will take whatever steps are necessary to prevent logging in our territory". Of particular concern was the potential for further damage to salmon-bearing streams recently restored after earlier logging. In response to the opposition, Isaak's General Manager announced that "as it stands, we're not moving forward on that small block in Hesquiaht territory". Instead, he suggested "We will harvest the other block, which is in Ahousaht territory. [Ahousaht First Nation] has reiterated their full support for the harvest".

On the whole, though, it is both important and accurate to note that logging and mining activity under Nuuchahnulth management is nowhere near the volume nor the sheer destruction that was allowed to occur previously. Similarly, Nuuchahnulth groups have proven themselves to willing to reject development plans that they deem too risky. In 2013, for instance, Tla-o-qui-aht opposition to the re-opening of an old gold-mine on the Tranquil River north of Tofino led the project to be shelved indefinitely.²²⁸



Figure 179 - Once a thriving base of logging operations, the camp at Stewardson Inlet now lies eerily abandoned, apparent evidence of Ma-Mook's struggles to profitably log the landscape around Hot Springs Cove.

(Images by David Lynch.)

2017, a Year of Particular Significance?: Indications of Continuity & Change in Hot Springs Cove.

Over the first few months of 2017, in several very different contexts, choices were being made that would shape the future of Hot Springs Cove. While some of these decisions were perhaps more momentous than others, all of them arguably shed revealing light on the changing human dynamics in the area.

That year, in the boardrooms of the federal Department of Fisheries & Oceans, scientists and bureaucrats were finalizing their management decisions for the west coast

of Vancouver Island. After a review of their existing “Chinook Management Measures” a year earlier, a decision had been made to prohibit all harvesting of finfish within a mile of shore around Hot Springs Cove, effective August 1st through October 31st.^{229 230} When the decision was made in 2017 to repeat this closure for a second year, it became increasingly obvious that Departmental officials were deeply concerned, not only about dramatic declines in wild Chinook populations, but also by the negative impact these declines were having on orca-whale populations along BC’s south coast.²³¹ For locals, these seemingly unprecedented closures were a stark reminder of the growing stress on local ocean ecosystems. Long gone, apparently, were the days where Hot Springs Cove was the epicentre of a thriving local fishery. Yet another rich local resource, it seemed, had been over-exploited, to the point of collapse.



Figure 180 - In 2017, posters like this one announced the closure of all fin-fishing within a mile of Hot Springs Cove. For many locals, the closure came as quite a shock.

(Image by David Lynch)

Other signs of change were in the air, quite literally. Cabin dwellers used to waking up to sparkling July mornings and gazing out upon Sydney Inlet were experiencing an eerie, unsettling sight. For a number of days, the gorgeous, rounded hillsides of Flores Island were almost completely obscured by a thick haze of smoke from the many wildfires raging across the province. After a relatively quiet start to the annual fire season, the situation had deteriorated rapidly by early July, when the province declared a state of emergency that would remain in effect for an unprecedented 10 straight weeks.²³² In the end, 1.2 hectares of land had burnt, 65,000 residents had been displaced, and over \$568 million spent on fire suppression, inviting conclusions that 2017 was “officially the worst wildfire season in B.C.’s history.”^{233 234}



Figure 181 - Local cabin-owners fishing recreationally near the mouth of Hot Springs Cove, c. 2007. Within a decade, regular summer fin-fish closures had apparently become the new normal.

(Image by David Lynch)

At the height of the crisis, the government undertook what it has called “some extraordinary measures” in order to reduce the risk of additional “human-caused wildfires”. These included campfire prohibitions and off-roading bans across most of the province, as well as outright backcountry closures in a few of the highest risk regions.²³⁵ While the government has since stated that “prohibitions like these are very rare in B.C, and are only implemented when absolutely necessary”, the 2017 fire season left many people in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove wondering about the future. Was the severity of this crisis -- and the smoky skies that it brought -- the undeniable evidence of human-caused climate change? And how vulnerable was our ‘own’ little corner of the province? How likely would a careless local mistake lead to devastating wildfire that could affect all of us? These concerns were enough to inspire one of the cabin owners on the Openit peninsula, a firefighter, to create a fire-safety manual for all members of HSO.

A few months earlier, before the fire season, a handful of these same members had met at their sparsely-attended AGM in Vancouver. One of the discussions items was a proposed change to the HSO by-laws that would ban any ‘commercial use’ of their strata lots. The measure, proposed by some of the more frequent users, was motivated by the explosive popularity of unregulated AirBnB rentals. Proponents of the by-law wanted to proactively prevent what they feared could become a steady stream of short-term cabin renters, who would disrupt the quiet of the property, and heighten the risk of a carelessly-caused wildfire. This concern reflected a wider unease, increasingly shared by many

frequent users of the area, that its popularity had reached a point of unsustainability: that tourism, if allowed to expand, would essentially ‘ruin’ the area’s innate value. The colonists, it seemed, did not want the place that they had changed...to change any more. Some of their indigenous neighbours, however, had different plans.

The Hesquiaht, for instance, were busy pushing forward with a plan that to make life in their cove-side village site more sustainable. Since its inception, the village had depended on diesel-powered generators to provide electricity to its residents, making it one of 61 communities in the province reliant, as of 2011, on fossil-fuel generation.²³⁶ This dependence has been a costly one: in 2014-15, for instance, \$565k was spent on fuel, split between band and INAC, a figure that Chief Counsellor Richard Lucas has suggested could sometime eat up as much as 2/3 of the community’s annual operating budget.²³⁷ It also repeatedly put the community at risk of brownouts, particularly during the cold and stormy winter months, when the demand on the system is greatest, and the weather most unpredictable. With a barge-load of fuel needed every month-and-a-half or so, storms that prevented delivery for a week or more at a time could be quite significant.²³⁸ “If we order diesel in October [or] November,” noted Lucas, “and it blows and blows, its stormy, every December we run out”.²³⁹ Outages lead to wide-spread food spoilage, as residents, in the words of Heather Campbell “can’t just day shop. We have to think long term so we always buy a big quantity of groceries”.²⁴⁰

More concerningly, despite the 17 woodstoves scattered throughout the village, many of the most vulnerable elders in the community relied on electric baseboard heating.²⁴¹ Not surprisingly, on December 29, 2016, when the generators failed for a second time thanks to an expected cold spell, 45 gallon drums of diesel had to be rushed in aboard nine chartered boats.²⁴² With so much fuel passing regularly through local waters, the risk of a devastating spill was also ever-present.²⁴³ And then there were the carbon emissions and noise pollution resulting from the 24/7 operation of the generators, which could be heard at night by cabin owners on the far shore of the Openit peninsula.

With all of these challenges in mind, INAC initiated exploration into alternate options for power generation. In 2014, research funded by Natural Resources Canada had found that the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove “may be a good candidate for wave energy

development”, given that the “magnitude of this resource is significantly greater than other high profile sites in Europe”.²⁴⁴ Ultimately, though, a feasibility study by the Barkley Project Group, funded from a 500k provincial clean energy grant, settled on a plan to construct a ‘run-of-the-river’ hydro-generation system up Ahtaapq Creek, which flows into the back of Hot Springs Cove.^{245 246}

The idea was not particularly new: a 1988 assessment has suggested that the waterway had viable hydro potential.²⁴⁷ The Barkley plan, finalized in August of 2017, however, fleshed out the specific details.²⁴⁸ The proposal was to divert a portion of the creek 2 kms down a 16-inch pipe, through 250-kilowatt generator, then back into the main waterway.²⁴⁹ The diversion was situated above a waterfall -- and beyond spawning grounds -- to avoid any impact on fish and other aquatic life supported by the creek. A storage system was also built into the plans, to hold back 20hrs of generation potential; however, in drier summer months, when streamflow is particularly low, the need to revert to diesel generation was anticipated.

Ultimately, the feasibility study, along with an apparent lack of opposition, convinced the federal government to step in and fund the lion’s share of the project, initially projected to cost \$7 million.²⁵⁰ The benefits were clear: a predicted reduction in annual diesel consumption of approximately 76%, resulting in 627 fewer tonnes of carbon emissions, a significant decline in noise pollution, and a vast reduction in the risk of a fuel spill.²⁵¹ For the Hesquiaht, the project offered another obvious benefit: the prospect of additional, local, long-term employment. Initially, there was talk of five positions; however, that figure dropped over time to two or three, according to Chief Lucas, who hoped that the project would encourage “more people [to] move back”, since the Hesquiaht, he noted, “naturally...need[ed] the employment too”.²⁵²

Whatever the long term benefits of the project -- slated to come online in the spring of 2019 -- the significant investment required to realize it -- \$13.7 million at last count -- would seem to suggest that both the government and Hesquiaht themselves see their continuing presence in Hot Springs Cove as long-term reality.²⁵³

While the Hesquiaht were pushing ahead with their plans for hydro power in 2017, the Ahousaht were also working to re-assert their title to a number of locations in

the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. Making use of the national *Specific Claims Tribunal*, the Ahousaht had first filed a claim in November 2011 seeking to regain a number of locations they alleged had been illegally “alienated”.²⁵⁴ Their subsequent “Declaration of Claim”, submitted in 2017, argued that a number of non-indigenous interests had been granted “pre-emptions” by the province to locations on the Bear River, as well as on Vargas and Blunden Islands, despite the fact that the lands in question were known at the time, by the federal government, to be either former habitation or fishing sites. Similarly, the claim alleged that other traditional sites on Bare Island and in Pretty Girl Cove had been recommended for reserve status but were never actually set aside. Interestingly, one of the locations in question was “Kut-Coast” Bay”, on Flores Island, the site of the famous battle where the Ahousaht appear to have conquered the Otsosashts, the prelude to absorbing their territory.

And yet, in a pattern that the author has observed, unfortunately, is very typical of the federal government’s short-sighted approach to such specific claims, officials responded that there was “no outstanding lawful obligation on the part of the Government of Canada”. Given the information already considered earlier in this work, the author wonders just how long federal officials will be able to maintain this questionable position.

Even as they were challenging federal officials in the *Specific Claims Tribunal*, the Ahousaht were also laying the ground-work for a very practical yet meaningful re-engagement in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove. Aware that the park facility operator contract for Maquinna Marine Park was up for renegotiation in 2017, Ahousaht officials approached BC Parks in 2016, and the two parties spent the remainder of the year developing “a new management approach for the facilities and came to agreement on the scope of work and responsibilities for maintenance and management”.²⁵⁵ A ten-year contract, signed in February 2017, gave the Ahousaht, through their Maaqtusiis Hahoulthee Stewardship Society (MHSS), responsibility for staffing the park, conducting preventative maintenance on its infrastructure, and collecting visitor and dock moorage fees.²⁵⁶ The agreement also encouraged the MHSS to enhance the experience of visitors by offering guided cultural walks and traditional food, while enabling them to generate

additional income by establishing a 12-site campground and operating a day-spa. MHSS CEO Trevor Jones also anticipated “rent[ing] towels and robes and Crocs or flip-flops to get folks down into the pools.”²⁵⁷

From the province’s perspective, the agreement was “a progressive approach to park management that assists Ahousaht First Nation in achieving their economic goals while reducing costs to BC Parks and ensuring Hot Springs Cove continues to provide an exceptional visitor experience”.²⁵⁸ The Ahousahts, for their part, clearly saw the deal as “part of a broader strategy that the chiefs have developed to diversify the economy in the area, get more folks working and get more folks connected back to the land”, revealed Jones.²⁵⁹ Indeed, according to a government spokesman, “the arrangement forms part of a larger commercial recreation plan for Ahousaht that will see an expansion of park visitors to several other parks in the area”.²⁶⁰

Employment was clearly a driving motivation for the Ahousaht, who estimated, at the time of signing, that a minimum of 4 full-time seasonal jobs would be created, with two staff members being on-site at any one time during the peak summer months.²⁶¹ These staff, Jones suggested, would also help to create “more of a First Nations presence there to help folks understand the history of the area and the importance of the area, the spiritual significance of the site”.²⁶² While additional employment may yet flow from the establishment of the spa and campground, so far, it would appear that the new park management has struggled to attract and retain Ahousaht staff members. In their inaugural season, for instance, there was significant turn-over; in 2018, the principal staff member ended up being one of the local Euro-Canadian cabin owners.

Regardless of whether the MHSS manages to expand or simply maintain the existing economic infrastructure, however, the significance of this new arrangement with the Ahousaht should not be underestimated. Whether or not it was the central motivation behind their application, the management contract effectively re-positioned the Ahousaht front and centre, as core stakeholders in the future of the area and its diverse and valuable natural resources. Indeed, they are now in an ideal position, arguably, to leverage their traditional claims to the area into some very profitable, extensive and influential cultural

and eco-tourist initiatives – initiatives that could make effective use of the local landscape, and its many captivating beaches, waterways and lookouts.

In part, this vast potential may help to explain the unease -- subtle though it may be -- currently felt by some of the local non-indigenous stakeholders, who increasingly wonder -- albeit quietly, and to themselves -- about what the future holds. What the area will be like? Will they be able to continue to enjoy it exactly as they have traditionally done so? Or will they find themselves restricted, one day soon, from so freely visiting, exploring, and lounging upon their favourite ‘wild’ local spots? While this uneasiness is very real, it is also, one must admit, rather rich in irony for those of us who are relative newcomers to the area. Here are the non-indigenous *settlers* -- whose ancestors marginalized, displaced, and paternalistically managed the area’s traditional inhabitants -- feeling just the barest hint of discomfort, concerned that we might somehow be losing a little bit of our freedom, our liberty to go where we wish, camp, fish and picnic where we please - on lands that have belonged to others for millennia... But that’s colonialism for you. The more pervasive and successful it has been, the reality is, the less the average settler is aware of its true insidiousness...

The profundity of the impact imposed by colonialism on the Nuu-chah-nulth is particularly obvious, however, in the precipitous decline of their traditional language. In a pattern repeated across much of the rest of the country, the number of fluent speakers has plummeted over the last hundred years, to the point where very few alive today can even functionally converse in their traditional language. Hesquiaht, a Nuu-chah-nulth dialect, has been particularly hard-hit, by a combination of residential schooling, assimilation and dislocation.²⁶³ Many, like Charity Lucas, feel a sense of sadness and shame about this. She admits that:

The hardest thing to say when I meet people and they say “oh, do you know your language?” and then I have to go into a big sad story of why we don’t have our language and that’s not an attachment that I like. I would like to be able to say, ‘You know what? I chose not to learn my language’ but that’s not the reality of it...²⁶⁴

That said, she remembers a powerful moment when, as a fifteen-year-old, she encountered a group of native Kwakwaka'wakw-speaking teenagers from Alert Bay. For her, it:

was the most amazing thing...the most foreign thing I ever knew...hearing them speak their own language amongst themselves...it was so beautiful...it was so powerful. I didn't understand a flipin' word they were saying...but I just felt it in my heart and in my spirit...like I knew and it was just like they were one, that heartbeat.... I was, like, wow, I'm missing out on so much, you know, and yet only people in their '70s and '80s are speaking it...

Not surprisingly, losing one's traditional language has a jarring effect, Charity suggests. “[It] displaces us as a people because we're not able to live our authentic selves”. This is not, it would appear, mere sentimentality, but rather likely fact. Indeed, from a cultural perspective, the loss of a traditional language can have a profoundly negative impact for a community, in terms of lost knowledge and collective identity. Embedded within the Hesquiaht language are words, ideas and meanings that may not exist *anywhere* else in the world. The language has, for instance, a descriptive richness to it that surpasses English and confounds translation. “All the elders say that English is not as expressive,” notes Charity Lucas. They consider it “much more rigid and defined”. Or, as Jaylynn Lucas describes it:

For harvesting seafood, there are a lot of Hesquiaht words that we say that you wouldn't be able to say in English. Like ways that they've done it before, that they have their words for, and fishermen know because they were only taught that way, but they can't really teach it because you don't know how to explain it in English.

Were the language to disappear forever, these nuances could disappear along with it. Today, that remains a very real possibility – though determined Hesquiaht like Jaylynn are committed to preventing that.

Growing up, she recalls learning from two language teachers in the village, for about half an hour each day. However, as far as she can tell, no-one had been actively teaching Hesquiaht for the last 5 or 6 years prior to her return. When she started her intensive learning programme a year ago, she estimated that there were probably only 5

fluent Hesquiaht speakers left. She considers herself extremely fortunate to have one of the most skilled as her mentor.

For Jaylynn, the turning point came in a phone call with her grandfather. She is visibly emotional as recount some of the last conversations that she had with him:

[He] would call me and be like “you know...there’s no one that even knows how to say ‘hello my name is so-and-so”, or I ask them how they are in our language...I could see his heart break, I could feel his heart break. And he’d say “I’m not going to be here a lot longer and what’s going to happen when I’m gone and no one knows how to speak the language?”

She credits these conversations with inspiring her to commit to a long-term language-learning plan. “[My] journey started”, she says, with a “900-hour mentor/apprentice program known as “SeaLaska Heritage” that’s funded by the Hesquiaht First Nation”. Throughout the entire programme, both her mentor and her are paid -- by the hour -- to work intensively with each other. This learning wage allows Jaylynn to focus on the language as if it were a job – because it is. She is also following in the footsteps of her mentor, Layla who started to learn her language at age 25, then completed graduate training in linguistics, created a Hesquiaht dictionary, and is now promoting language learning programmes like the one that Jaylynn is participating in.²⁶⁵ Jaylynn hopes to one day emulate her mentor:

This is my first step...is learning and teaching...so I’m learning to teach basically, so once I learn to teach and become fluent, then I’ll be able to go to university and do what you’re doing, get my masters and be able to write books and tell my story about how all of this came about, and maybe be able to write Hesquiaht books for our kids, for my grandkids.

She also hopes to serve a trail-blazer for her fellow Hesquiaht, to “show future generations that you can have a lifestyle in language, in culture, but also be able to do the colonized things like have a house, have a car, go to school, get a degree”.

So far, Jaylynn admits, the learning process has been both strenuous and stressful. “I wish I had the glory of just knowing [the language] off the bat, not having to beat myself up and spend hours and hours on it”, she says. “It’s a hard language to learn... it can be a lot of pressure”. But it has also, she adds, brought real rewards: “I didn’t understand when [my grandfather] would speak to me... and now I can pray to him in his

language, the language that he wanted me so badly to know... and that's a really fulfilling feeling".

Currently, Jaylynn alternates with her fellow student-teacher, Gail, and teaches the children in the village twice a week. For her part, Charity is very pleased to see her niece learning the language, and sharing it with the children of the community. "It's so nice to see her being groomed and being 'Ha-ho-pa' [a teacher]...teaching them, guiding them, nurturing them". Today, Jaylynn feels guardedly optimistic about the future of her language. "Right now", she says, "there are four of us actively learning our language...out of almost 700 [Hesquiaht] members". Still, to her thinking, "it's a really good step forward in being able to tell people that it's not going anywhere. That it's not going to die anytime soon, hopefully".

As Jaylynn sees it, part of her motivation for learning her language is the desire to push beyond the generational trauma that has weighed down her community for so long:

The thing about deciding to pick it up too...is that you don't want that pity anymore. You figure out in your life everything that happened... I sat through my grandpa's residential school hearing; that was the worst thing that I have ever had to go through in my life, hearing everything that he had to go through...and that's why I got emotional earlier when I was talking about how our language -- I don't like to use the word but it's kind of impossible not to -- how our language was *stolen* from us..

[But] when you decide to carry on with something, you have to leave that behind you...that's why I never like to use that word "stolen"... it doesn't come out of my mouth unless it absolutely has to...there's a whole horrible history of everything being stolen from us, our identities being stolen from us...but it's really up to us and our resilience to decide what's going to happen in the future for our kids...that could be another ten years of going to counselling and therapy, because you're so messed up from what that system did to you...or you could know your language, know how to say, "hey, how's it going", "I'm doing good" in your language and not worry about it...that's what we strive for, that's what we live for...that's what I live for.

CHAPTER SUMMARY: The Landscape is the Resource...But Whose Landscape is it?

The final decades of the twentieth century, and the first years of the new millennium have continued to be times of great change in and around Hot Springs Cove. Leading up to this period, shifts in global demand led to development of profitable fishing and logging industries in the vicinity of the Cove, transforming the landscape profoundly and leading, in many cases, to overexploitation and resources closures. The introduction of new industries such as aquaculture have also brought both opportunities and potentially devastating, long-term impacts. As the last century concluded, improvements in transportation technology and access led to a massive influx of recreational visitors to Tofino and the Cove. Combined with the increasing popularity of environmentalism, this change led to a decline in logging, fundamentally reorienting the economic axis of the area, from one of extraction to one of recreation.

The increasing emigration and urbanization of the local Hesquiaht population has shifted that community's relationship to the landscape, from one of symbiotic dependence on local resources to more transient and recreational use. At the same time, the Cove has seen an influx of a new kind of Euro-Canadian, the recreational cabin-owner, who has sought to carve out their 'own little piece of the wilderness' along its rocky shores.

If the immediate post-period proved to be the high-water mark of colonization, the last few decades of the twentieth century have arguably seen the first steps towards DE-colonization. Much of this progress – halting and inconsistent thought it may be – can be attributed to the growing pressure asserted by the region's indigenous peoples.

As part of the larger Nuu-chah-nulth, the Hesquiaht and Ahousaht have been increasingly vocal in their efforts to revolve issues of title and regain use of their traditional territories through treaty negotiations after decades of marginalization. Local indigenous communities in and around the Cove have simultaneously sought to bolster their economic and social development by developing local businesses that provide recreation, transportation and hospitality services. The Ahousaht, in particular, have been determined to continue asserting their rights to what they consider their traditional

territories with periodic visits and seemingly through the recent acquisition of the Park's management contract.

Despite their many successes, the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht continued to be held back by the colonial structures, restrictions and paternalism of the Indian Act, not to mention inter-governmental bickering and bureaucratic inertia. To make matters worse, in addition to the continuing loss of sovereignty and use of large parts of their traditional territories, intergenerational trauma and its associated social and psychological scars also remain significant challenges. Indeed, they are the perhaps the most insidious and damaging legacy of colonialism faced by the region's indigenous groups, and have fostered lingering patterns of dependency and disconnection from their traditional culture, language and landscape. Still, with the return of some self-government powers, ongoing treaty negotiations and truth and reconciliation proceedings, there is a sense that colonialism may be ebbing, and meaningful progress may finally be underway. Key to this process will be better awareness of the process and impact of colonization, particularly among the region's many non-indigenous users and inhabitants.

During this most recent period of history, there was a profound shift that occurred in the Euro-Canadian perception of Hot Springs Cove's value as a natural resource. The forests and waters were once coveted for their extractive potential – in other words, what profit they could yield. Today, though, the landscape is increasingly valued for its affective qualities and eco-touristic potential.

The slow relocation of the Hesquiaht and eventual establishment of Hot Springs Cove village has allowed generations of Hesquiaht to grow up perceiving the Cove as their “home” – despite the fact that the place is still considered by the Ahousaht as their traditional territory, thanks to their historical absorption of the Manhousahts. This seems to have created a sense that the Cove is in need of reclamation -- or defending -- depending on who you ask.

Another deep and lasting legacy of the Cove's colonization manifests itself in the (un)thinking of many of the region's non-indigenous users and inhabitants. Centuries of colonialism has conditioned mainstream settler-society into ignoring indigenous considerations and conceiving of the landscape as wild, unclaimed and open for the

taking. When indigenous people are thought of, all too often it seems to be as a novel anomaly... Many of the more recent recreational users, for their part, have come to value the Cove for natural beauty and restorative qualities, and are correspondingly protective of it, resistant to any development that seems to threaten its sense of wildness.

Finally, cell service has reduced the perceived isolation of Hot Springs Cove, allowing users like the author to work remotely online. This connectivity has also given inhabitants and visitors alike the sense that the wider world – of supplies, services and assistance -- is only a call or a text away when, in reality, meaningful geographic obstacles remain. Clearly, the world has changed, but not quite as much as we may think! The question is, *what will come next?*

CONCLUSION - ‘Looking Back, to Move Forward’: Reflecting on the past, present and future of Hot Springs Cove.



Figure 182 - Winter waves smash ashore near the tip of Sharp Point.

(Image by David Lynch)

Past & Present in Hot Springs Cove Today

Hot Springs Cove, today, is a bustling place – at least part of the year. On a sunny summer’s day, hundreds of tourists will arrive aboard dozens of tourboats and aircraft, eager to immerse themselves in the steaming springs. Along both sides of the rugged Openit Peninsula, more than twenty cabins now stand, many occupied for weeks at a time in July and August. And across the bay, floatplanes and water taxis still regularly arrive and depart from the Hot Springs Cove village, although in fewer numbers than before, as the year-round Hesquiaht population seems to dwindle further every year. In the winter, however, the scene is much quieter. The cabins are seldom occupied and the flow of tourists slows to a boat or plane or two a day – if any. And when the storms roll in, the quiet deepens still further, even as the waves smash ashore and the wind howls overhead. The boats stop arriving, the planes cannot fly, and the few remaining inhabitants in the village hunker down to wait out the weather.¹

On a stormy winter’s day, as the waves crash and the rain pours down, it is easy to look out upon the wild landscape and imagine it as a timeless, unchanging place. That it has always been this way – and always will be...

It is a wonderful fantasy. But just that - a fantasy. A closer look at the surrounding landscape reveals the truth: evidence of an ever-changing past is all around. In nearby Young Bay, for instance, the ruins of a reduction plant are marked by the remains of a boiler and some concrete footings. Meanwhile, a rusted excavator in the bush at the head of the Cove testifies to the glory days of local logging. At the same time, almost nothing can be seen of the settlement that once enlivened Riley Cove. Similarly, the alders have swallowed the logging equipment in nearby Steamer Cove. Trees and shrubs now also obscure the entrance to the once-lucrative Indian Head Mine in Stewardson Inlet. Nearby, traditional Nuu-chah-nulth fishing stations lie unused, their postage-stamp reserves the only clue that they were one rich resource sites. To the north, a single house now stands in the grassy clearings east of Estevan Point where the Hesquiaht once congregated. For its part, Openit village is no more than a fringe of salmon berry bushes and ivy along a shady pebble beach. European backpackers now party the summer away on Meares Island, happily unaware that their resort is built over the ruins of the Christie school. And in the place once known as Refuge Cove, a dock is almost all that is left of Ivan Clarke's once thriving establishment.

Much, it seems, has changed -- and is likely to continue changing. Just like our perceptions of the Cove.



Figure 183 - Little remains of the pilchard reduction plant in Young Bay, apart from the iron bands pictured above.

(Image by David Lynch)

Modern Perceptions of Hot Springs Cove:

Today, many different peoples regularly visit, use or inhabit the place now commonly called Hot Springs Cove. With their varying values, perspectives and histories, they all perceive the landscape around them in differing ways. As it always has, the Cove today evokes a diverse range of thoughts, sensations and experiences. To the modern fleeting tourist, the Cove represents an exhilarating, impulsive, taste of wild nature, albeit within the comforting embrace of cell-coverage. It is a place they likely visit only once, a brief footnote in a holiday full of other exciting activities and stunning vistas -- an experience all the better if does not end in motion sickness!

In contrast with the one-time tourists, a small but dedicated group of long-term non-indigenous visitors seem to have been captivated by a unique combination of nature, solitude and community that draws them back again and again over the years.

For some, the draw is strong enough to convince them to purchase land, to become recreational property owners, and begin carving out their own little holiday retreat. The wilderness fills these would-be settlers with an exciting, pioneering spirit: they are energized by the thought of being among the first people in the place, creating something new out of a seemingly-untamed landscape. Relatively few, it would seem, give much sustained thought to the subtle traces of those who definitely came before them. If anything, the nearby Hesquiaht village is perceived as a historical oddity, a disconnected, abstract artifact left over from some hazy past.

And yet, for many Hesquiaht, the Cove is the only home that they have ever known – or at least the place where they were finally able to root themselves and build a more permanent life. Some younger Hesquiaht likely think of the area as a holiday destination, that place where their grandparents live and where they get to spend part of



Figure 184 - The expression scrawled above in the author's own hand neatly sums up his appreciation for the wonder of the local environment in Hot Springs Cove.

(Image by David Lynch)

the summer outdoors. And still others consider it sanctuary, a safe place where they can return to heal and rebuild their lives.

As for the Ahousahts, the Cove would seem, for most, to be a place at the far edge of their territory – a place with history, certainly, but also one with definite potential for future. For the handful of descendants of the Manhousaht, however, the connection is likely more profound. To them, this is the place where their ancestors existed – some in living memory, and some at rest in the sacred caves that now dot the rocky Openit peninsula.

A Long & Eventful Human History

How, one might wonder, can the same place be perceived so differently? How can so many different groups make such divergent claims of the same landscape? The answer, in short, is *history*. A lengthy, complex, *multi-layered* history of human engagement. A history populated with different actors engaging with each other and the landscape over many millennia. And a history full of both surprising continuity and remarkable change.

Indeed, so very much *has* changed in the millennium since the Manhousahts, themselves, first arrived on the shores of the Openit Peninsula. Following in the footsteps of the very first humans, who likely passed through on their way south many thousands of years before, the Manhousaht stayed, settled, and built a vibrant and sustainable life, drawing upon the area's rich marine and terrestrial resources. For hundreds of years, they traded with, married into, and warred against neighbouring Nuu-chah-nulth communities. That is, until the coming of European explorers and traders helped trigger a series of profound changes that would ultimately leave the few that survived all but dispossessed.

In the wake of a brief, explosive maritime otter fur trade came diseases that devastated their communities, contributing to a violent period of warfare which ended with their conquest by the Ahousaht. Next came the Euro-Canadian merchants and missionaries, followed by the British gunboats meant to guarantee their safety and impose British notions of law and order. Soon enough, the survivors were engaging

themselves in the European wage economy, working as whalers, seal hunters, fisherman and hops-pickers. Then, rumours of gold and copper in the surrounding hills brought the first miners, who were soon followed by a new breed of Europeans, the homesteaders, who sought to permanently settle and make the land their own. By now, the balance of the landscape had been artificially delineated by faraway officials into a grid of lots and timber leases, with indigenous peoples relegated to tiny reserves carved from the remainder.

As the European presence thickened, the reach of those officials tightened over virtually all aspect of Nuu-chah-nulth life, leading to the suppression of cultural activities and the forced education of their children. Following a devastating global war, which somewhat delayed further European development, the pilchard boom brought an influx of fisherman and construction to local inlets – including the Cove itself.

A Great Depression was followed by another devastating world-wide war, which, in turn, brought conflict, albeit very briefly, to nearby waters. In the post-war period, logging spread northwards, even as the commercial fishery continued to grow and flourish. It was during this era that the neighbouring Hesquiaht, unable to continue living productively in their traditional territory, sought to relocate elsewhere. Faced with inept bureaucrats and intergovernmental bickering, they made Hot Springs Cove their temporary home – until a sudden tsunami shattered this nascent settlement. After another decade of trials and tribulations, a modern village was finally established, cementing the local Hesquiaht presence. Meanwhile, to the south, the same road connection that initially allowed to logging to flourish in Clayoquot Sound ultimately transformed the region into a tourist destination, ushering in a new era of eco-tourism. As the number of regular visitors to the Cove grew, interest in recreational property grew as well, leading to the formation of the

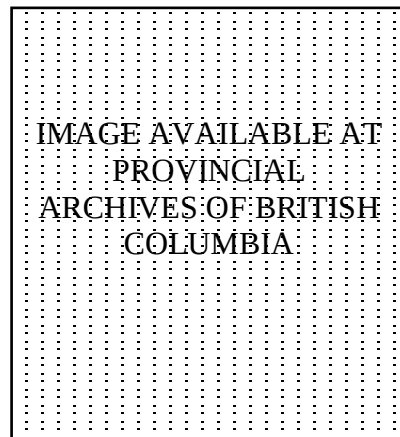


Figure 185 - The Princess Maquinna.

(See Royal BC Museum/BC Archives, Image D-01398)

Hotspring Co-operative. Soon, cabins began to pop up along the shores of the Openit peninsula, the very land the Manhousaht had once inhabited.

Even more recently, the introduction of internet and cell-coverage would seem to have further reduced the Cove's relative isolation. And yet, as easy as it is now to shop online from the comfort of your cabin, you still have to actually *get* there. Certainly, the ease of, say, modern floatplane travel makes the coastline feel more accessible than ever. But the reality is that there was arguably more affordable, dependable and versatile passenger and cargo service seventy years ago, as the majestic *Princess Maquinna* regularly sailed through many remote waterways rarely accessed today by commercial craft. Nor is the Cove today perhaps as 'developed' in every respect as it once was. In fact, many services and amenities are no longer available in a place that once featured a general store, fuel dock and even a church.

'The Place and How We've Used It': How Interactions with the Environment shaped Human Perceptions of the Cove.

Evidently, over the past thousand or more years, Hot Springs Cove, like the wider West Coast, has seen many waves of people wash over its rocky shores. Some were soon gone, whereas others have endured. All left their mark in some form. And each invariably perceived the landscape around them in very different ways. Often these perceptions were heavily shaped by their own mindsets and motivations for engaging with the place.

For the first transient hunter-gatherers, the area likely represented a welcome rest-stop as they followed the 'kelp highway' south, away from the ice. Thousands of years later, as the descendants of these very first peoples settled the surrounding shores more permanently, the landscape around Hot Springs Cove became a permanent homeland. As local groups cooperated and fought, merged and diverged, the landscape's rich resources did not simply foster the emergence of a distinct and vibrant Nuuchah-nulth culture evolved. Rather, the landscape itself also took on supernatural significance, as its inhabitants incorporated its physical features into their own mythologies, origin stories and social hierarchies.



Figure 186 - Hot Springs Cove at dusk, c. 2007.

(Image by David Lynch)

Arriving aboard their ghostly bird-like sailing ships in the late 1700s, the first European explorers brought their very own distinct ideas, perceiving the landscape through the lenses of scientific exploration and imperialist expansion. The unknown coast became a place to be explored, documented and renamed. Then suddenly, the explosive growth of the maritime fur trade attracted a whole new type of Europeans, who came to perceive the coast near Hot Springs Cove as a landscape of lucrative opportunity. Their profits, in turn, endowed the area with sudden geopolitical significance, nearly sparking a global war between two great imperial powers. As competition for furs grew, a series of violent interactions with their indigenous counterparts also cultivated a growing sense of the region and its inhabitants as both dangerous and unpredictable. This ‘geography of fear’ would go on to taint the perceptions of Euro-Canadian colonial society for at least another century.

However, with the collapse of otter stocks, European interest in the area dwindled, leading Nuu-chah-nulth groups to amalgamate and acquire through conquest the local resources they required to sustain themselves in face of profound economic change and the devastating onslaught of European disease. With its rich local resources, the Cove attracted the interest of the Ahousaht, who conquered the Manhousaht and

absorbed the landscape into their greatly-expanded territory. In the latter half of the 19th Century, the emergence of commercial European fishing, sealing, and eventually mining led to a renaissance of Euro-Canadian interest in the area. Numerous British gunboats were deployed, to secure the region and to impose the sort of colonial authority necessary for further development. This period also saw the arrival of the first missionaries, who perceived the area as a savage place in need of Christian civilization. In their wake came the bureaucrats, who perceived an undeveloped landscape ripe for settlement, a process they facilitated by partitioning it into lots and leases.

Meanwhile, Nuuchah-nulth resource-use, culture, and perceptions were increasingly under siege thanks to growing legal restrictions and residential schooling. These policies explicitly sought to disconnect them from their spirituality and traditional ways of life, and thus from the landscape itself. Then came the settlers, who established homesteads and businesses on the land itself, seeking to make a living from this rich ‘resource frontier.’ It would not be long before the surrounding forests themselves caught the attention of logging companies, who proceeded to aggressively mine this ‘green gold’, scarring the landscape in unprecedented ways.

Ironically, it was the very Euro-Canadian desire for ‘better access’ to outside markets that helped transform, once more, perceptions of the landscape. As visitors increasingly flocked to Tofino, and then onto the Cove, traditional resource activities came increasingly into conflict with the demands of eco-tourism. Development was no longer simply about natural resources. Nature had *become* the resource. And many Euro-Canadians were so eager for it that they began to acquire recreational property in the vicinity of the cove, eager to ‘get back to nature’ and enjoy the landscape. That more and more tourists seemed to have the same idea became, for these recreational settlers, a growing nuisance. The area’s wildness had become a commodity itself, and one they wanted to protect. And yet, even as environmentalism and conservation blossomed, the long-marginalized Nuuchah-nulth were resurgent. Indeed, after almost two centuries of colonialism, the increasingly confident and assertive indigenous inhabitants of the area are now, finally, making steady progress in reclaiming sovereignty over their traditional territories. Eager for more jobs and revenue, they have come to perceive the landscape

around them as one of opportunity, both for the future, and for re-engaging with their long-repressed past.

Making an Impact: How human Activity Has Shaped the Local Landscape of Hot Springs Cove



Figure 187 - The park dock at Hot Springs Cove packed with yachts during the 2000 RVYC Bicentennial Cruise.

With the increasing number of tourists visiting each year, it is small wonder that the Ahousaht perceive the park as a potentially lucrative source of income.

(Images courtesy of Roly Brown)

Humans have evidently lived off the land and waters in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove for millennia, and have impacted their environment throughout this period. There is little doubt, however, that the coming of Europeans and colonization have left some particularly deep footprints. The evidence is all around us.

Physically-speaking, several centuries of non-indigenous presence has noticeably re-shaped the landscape: nearby hillsides are scarred by cut-blocks, slashed by crumbling logging roads and punctured by old mine shafts. Human waste can be found on even the remotest of beaches, where plastic bottles and mangled fishing floats rest among the remains of log-booms and escaped timber. Species that were once abundant – like whales, otters and salmon – and which sustained local life for millennia are now meaningfully threatened. Each has borne the brunt of a familiar, yet seemingly

unavoidable pattern of over-exploitation, mismanagement and neglect. And then there is the climate. In recent years, unusually long, dry summers and the smoky haze from forest fires in the interior also seemed to portend a disturbing future of extreme weather patterns and climate changes which may yet transform the Cove in ways unexpected.



Figure 188 - Little but a handful of lonely fruit trees reminds the casual visitor that a small indigenous community once thrived along the south-western shore of the Cove as recently as the 1950s.

Further to the east, shards of pottery mark the former location of a Manhousaht village now entirely overgrown by salmon-berry bushes.

(Images by David Lynch)



The landscape is also remarkable for what it is missing: people. It might sound counter-intuitive to say it, but there is case to be made that European colonization has led,

ironically, to a profound *de*-population of the landscape. If the shores of Sydney Inlet and Hesquiaht Harbour feel wild and remote, perhaps that is because there are far, far fewer people living along them today than there were, even four hundred years ago. Where thriving Nuu-chah-nulth villages once dotted the shoreline, there are, today, mostly deserted beaches crowned by thick salmonberry bushes. If the history of the Cove is a story of settlement, then it is equally one of relocation, dispersal, and disappearance.

An unsettling history, to be sure.

A Colonized Landscape: A Process Long in the Making



Figure 189 - Tootoowiltena fishing station, one of the tiny reserves set aside for the Nuu-chah-nulth in Clayoquot Sound.

(Image by David Lynch)

Even the quickest of glances at a modern-day map reveals another stark change to the local landscape: the marginalization of the area's original inhabitants, the Nuu-chah-nulth. Once the sole occupants and users of the landscape, their effective ownership, in a

legal sense, has been reduced to a series of postage-stamp size reserve sites scattered throughout the Sound.

Meanwhile, large swathes of the land are now owned by or leased long-term to non-indigenous recreational and commercial interests. And many traditional harvesting sites, and locations with cultural or spiritual significance are officially off limits to people whose ancestors once used them freely. As Peter Webster aptly put it “we, who owned this place before the coming of the white man, now own very little.”²

Where the Nuu-chah-nulth were once free to engage as they wished with their surrounding environment, today a complex and restrictive blanket of regulations and bureaucratic red-tape all but smothers their freedom of action and restricts many of the activities they have traditionally pursued for a thousand years or more. At first glance, as well, the socio-economic picture seems equally bleak: unemployment, ill-health, poor life expectancy and many other indicators all point to a profound and lingering legacy of historical trauma and colonialism.

It is important to note that the Euro-Canadian colonization of Hot Springs Cove did not occur overnight. Rather, as we have seen, it came about, step-by-step, as the result of a complex set of processes that began almost immediately after first contact and continue even to this day. Much can be attributed to the conscious, often deliberate choices made by Euro-Canadian actors; however, colonization was also driven forward, at times, both unintentionally, and by chance.

At the same time as the first European trade goods were initiating subtle changes in Nuu-chah-nulth culture, European explorers were beginning the process of re-conceptualizing the surrounding landscape into a European space, complete with European names and borders. Within two decades of contact, the British had come to conceive of Vancouver Island as part of their empire. Meanwhile, European traders were busy endowing an indigenous ‘other’ with all the traits they attributed to more ‘primitive’ peoples.

Socio-political upheavals associated with the collapse of the fur trade combined with European epidemics to weaken the ability of the Nuu-chah-nulth to resist what came

next: the assertion of coercive colonial authority. Then began the formal settlement of the region, a take-over facilitated by detailed surveying, followed by the delineation of the landscape into lots, and the creation of Indian reserves. By this point, colonial thinking had entrenched the belief that indigenous peoples, as less sophisticated cultures, did not adequately ‘use’ or ‘develop’ the land. Naturally, then, it was reasonable – the thinking went – for Euro-Canadians to take it over, a process which accelerated significantly as the Cove entered the twentieth century.

Convinced that the long-term survival of indigenous peoples depended on their integration into mainstream society, government officials increasingly controlled every aspect of their lives, in an effort to stamp out old ways and encourage assimilation. The resulting suppression of traditional ceremonies -- combined with the trauma of mandatory residential schooling -- relentlessly attacked Nuuchah-nulth culture, disconnected generations, destroyed priceless local knowledge, and threatened their very languages. European notions of conservation and resource management further alienated the Nuuchah-nulth from their identity by restricting their access to their traditional lands and activities. These restrictions also further impoverished and marginalized them. And then there was the impact of bureaucratic ineptitude and inertia – a reality made all too clear by the long, frustrating saga of the Hesquiaht relocation.

Ultimately, it is worth remembering that the region’s non-indigenous ‘settlers’ have a history of experiencing the world in a very different way than our Nuuchah-nulth neighbours: “We live in a different reality”, notes Charity Lucas, “because we are considered wards of the state...we’re bound by different laws and by different approaches”.³ If there is a certain passiveness apparent in Hesquiaht actions, she argues, “that passiveness doesn’t come from a place of not fighting for what we believe in”. Rather, it can be explained, in part, by the ton “of red tape and shackles that we have to abide by and get removed before we can move forward to the next step”. The Hesquiaht have learned “from experience”, Lucas suggests, that change will always be “a long, long, drawn-out process”.

Pushing Back: An Equally Long History of Indigenous Agency

In hindsight, it is easy to fall into the trap of perceiving the colonial history of the Cove as one long, tragic tale of victimization. Certainly, there's little doubt that the Nuu-chah-nulth have suffered immensely as a result of colonization. It's equally clear that this suffering continues even to this day, as centuries of historical trauma and the inequalities of colonialism continue to be felt. But to portray the Nuu-chah-nulth solely as victims is incorrect. It is also inaccurate. And it does them – and *all of us* – a disservice. To focus entirely on what colonization *did* to them is to deprive them of *agency*. It ignores what *they did*, and how they worked to resist and meaningfully reshape the seemingly inexorable forces of colonialism. Such a one-dimensional interpretation also obscures the many positive trends evident today, trends that have resulted largely from the concerted efforts of the Nuu-chah-nulth and other indigenous groups to *push back* against colonialism.

This is not a new story, though. Readers have seen how, from the first moments of contact, the Nuu-chah-nulth actively sought to engage the European newcomers, pursuing sophisticated strategies to set the terms of the fur trade to their own advantage. Far from being fickle, unpredictable or overwhelmed, we have witnessed how they defied colonial stereotypes and adjusted to rapidly changing demographic and economic realities through violent struggle, amalgamation, and wage-labour. In the face of repressive government policies, they adapted their cultural practices and sought to organize and lobby for their interests, to the point that the government felt compelled to ban such activity. And even then, they continued, behind the scenes, collaboratively, to build toward a string of legal, political and moral victories that have forced the government to the negotiating table, and have fundamentally re-oriented their relationship with the rest of Canada.

In recent years, we have also seen how the Nuu-chah-nulth have effectively worked to reclaim their sovereignty by incrementally assuming responsibility for their own governance. Progress has also been made in reclaiming the authority and resources necessary to create jobs and better benefit from local resource-extraction and tourism. And all the while, efforts have been ongoing to promote education and preserve their traditional languages and traditions. Clearly, there is good reason not to perpetuate the

outdated colonial belief that the Nuu-chah-nulth were simply not up to the challenge of contending with a seemingly superior, colonizing people. They have clearly proven otherwise.

After an interview with Jaylynn Lucas, for instance, the author was left with a sense of optimism that the next generation of Nuu-chah-nulth leaders is, as she notes, determined to exceed their elders' expectations:

All of our elders are scared for the future generations, because of how modern things are and how things have changed compared to when they were young. That's what we hear all the time, 'Things are so different now! You guys don't do anything. You guys are lazy'.⁴

In response, she says, "it's just really about proving them wrong at this point... I'm sorry to say that, but we're proving you wrong here!"



Figure 190 - A traditional Nuu-chah-nulth dugout canoe visits the Cove, c. late 1990s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

Thankfully, this slow reclamation process has been mirrored by a noticeable change in non-indigenous attitudes towards the traditional culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth. Once the relentless target of residential schooling and legal prohibitions, Nuu-chah-nulth language, customs and knowledge are now increasingly seen as invaluable and worthy of preservation. Elders like Alice Paul of the Hesquiaht recognize the irony all too well: "when today's elders went to school they were told to forget their culture. Now anthropologists say to them: "please remember. Tell us about traditional life".⁵ That this knowledge is still so threatened demonstrates the profound, lasting legacy of such colonial policies. This recognition also helped to inspire this author to create this work, in

the hopes that it will – even in some small way – improve non-indigenous understanding of Nuu-chah-nulth culture and history.

Looking Forward: Thoughts on the Future of Hot Springs Cove

With such a long, eventful and multi-layered history behind it, Hot Springs Cove is clearly anything but a timeless, unchanging refuge. Nor is it a place likely to remain exactly the same as we move forward.

As denizens of the past, historians are usually loath to make predictions about the future, for they know full well, from their studies, that nothing is ever certain. One small action or random occurrence can change everything in an instant. Making predictions is thus a sure way to be proven wrong.

But perhaps, in this case, it is worth taking some time to think forward?

Perhaps it is unavoidable, when the historian is also a direct stakeholder in the future of the place being studied?

Perhaps it is impossible to completely separate the historian from the interested party?

Or perhaps there is a larger moral imperative at work? Perhaps a case-study in colonialism deserves to end with consideration of how the wrongs and inequities of the past might eventually be resolved?

After all, resolution – or at least, some redress – seems to be coming in the not so distant future.

If recent trends continue, and the Nuu-chah-nulth are able to keep up their pressure on the government, it seems likely that we will soon see some major progress in the resolution of their claims to the local landscape and its resources. Recent litigation, for instance, has clearly shown that Nuu-chah-nulth fishing rights -- long-denied -- must be accommodated *before* those of other, non-indigenous interests. Indeed, in the wake of the *Ahousaht* ruling – which up-ended longstanding federal fisheries policy -- any new agreement will clearly need to offer meaningful, constitutionally-protected fishing access. While litigation may be portrayed by the *BC Treaty Commission* as “antithetical” to

negotiation, recent history suggests that the Nuu-chah-nulth should – and likely will – continue to pursue a combined approach of negotiation, reinforced by strategic litigation. Slow as it, the process seems to be moving them in the right direction.

The same goes for their larger claims to title over the Cove, and to Clayoquot Sound as a whole. Having never signed a treaty, nor otherwise willingly extinguished their title, precedent would seem to suggest that the Nuu-chah-nulth are still --arguably -- the rightful owners and users of much of the region in and around Hot Springs Cove. Those of us who came later, who ‘bought’ or ‘pre-empted’ land from the Crown are, therefore, theoretically at least, in possession of ‘stolen’ property – even if we ourselves acquired the land in good faith. That said, it has been a longstanding practice of treaty negotiations that privately-owned property is not subject to be expropriated or returned to indigenous claimants. So perhaps there is little likelihood that any recreational cabin owner will be forced to give up their properties. The same cannot be said of the surrounding public land. Traditionally, the province and federal governments have been highly resistant to returning park lands. Yet, as with unoccupied Crown land, however, there are few barriers to doing so.

Then there is the question of resource-use. Since the 1990s, the Nuu-chah-nulth have arguably exercised a fair bit of control over local resource-development, and this influence is likely to increase in the wake of ground-breaking legal precedents like the 2014 *Tsilhqot'in* ruling. In practical terms, this means that there is a good chance that the Ahousaht and Hesquiaht may soon be playing a central role in developing, managing, and enforcing land- and resource-use policy in the vicinity of Hot Springs Cove.

While greater sovereignty over their traditional lands appears all but inevitable at this point, it also seems likely that the Hesquiaht and Ahousaht will still have to negotiate – with each other. As two different groups effectively inhabiting the same space, they will have to find a way to co-exist and share the landscape. For the colonial history of Hot Springs Cove has left a profoundly complex human dynamic in its wake.



Figure 191 –
Photographs of Maps
detailing Hesquiaht and
Ahousaht traditional
territories seem to hint,
at the very least,
towards the need for
future negotiation, as
each community asserts
their claims -- with each
other, their neighbours,
and the Crown.

(Images by David
 Lynch)



Seen from the eyes of the Manhousaht descendants, the Cove has been their territory for a millennium or more. Their absorption by the Ahousaht, in colonial times, merely shared their rights to the land with a larger group. And yet, seen another way, this development occurred so relatively recently – in the larger scheme of time – that some might challenge the claims of the wider Ahousaht that this area is – and has always been – their *traditional* territory.

The fact that the Hesquiaht have largely relocated to the Cove and appear to have made it their long-term home complicates this situation greatly. Their modern village is, of course, relatively new, barely preceding modern non-indigenous recreational settlement. And yet, there is evidence that the Hesquiaht have used the area for far longer. At what point, then, does this area become their traditional territory, too? How many generations must pass for their claims to be legitimized? Will it ever? And if not, how can we say to a community whose grandparents were born right there...that they have no real claim to the place of their birth?

These are important, challenging questions that will need to be addressed in the coming years.



Figure 192 - Sunset over Hot Springs Village, c. 2007.

(Image by David Lynch)

Decolonization: A Worthy Yet Challenging Goal?

Assuming, for a moment, that the interests of the Hesquiaht and Ahousaht can ultimately be reconciled, there is still the question of how the area's many non-indigenous users will respond to their resurgent authority:

- ☞ *After more than a century as the dominant decision-makers in the area, are we ready to forgo the status-quo, a state which has benefited us so well - and for so long?*
- ☞ *Are we ready, mentally, to grapple with new restrictions and potentially unfamiliar approaches to managing a landscape already dear to us?*
- ☞ *In other words, are we ready for DE-colonization?*

This author thinks *not*.

That's the central premise behind this book and its creation. The conviction that meaningful decolonization will not – *cannot* – occur without a *better* understanding of the past, what was done there, and how those events continue to affect us today.

I am convinced that true reconciliation will require – as a pre-requisite – a deeper and more nuanced understanding of colonization and the legacy of colonialism that it wrought. That understanding, in turn, requires grappling with the myriad ways that Euro-Canadian society has historically managed, manipulated and marginalized our indigenous neighbours. It also involves recognizing the many ways that indigenous peoples have pushed back against the powerful forces of colonization, consistently resisting and reshaping the colonialism that Euro-Canadian society attempted to impose upon them. And it behooves us to carefully consider the way that our own thinking -- about the landscape, indigenous people, and our relationship with both -- has been profoundly shaped by centuries of colonialism.

It will involve asking ourselves, as non-indigenous people, some hard questions, such as:

- ☞ *Is our enjoyment of fishing as important as the livelihood of those who fed themselves by fishing these waters for generations?*

- ☞ *How would we react – or feel -- if we had to watch others, everyday, enjoying what was once 'ours'?*
- ☞ *How is it possible for us to 'own' someone else's burial ground, when their descendants still exist?*
- ☞ *Having spent more than a century prescribing what indigenous people can and cannot do on their own landscape, how can we justify continuing to doing so?*
- ☞ *If the Nuu-chah-nulth never gave up title to their lands, was Ivan Clarke's land ever really his to donate?*
- ☞ *And finally: Don't we have a collective obligation, as the beneficiaries of this colonization and marginalization, to address its negative consequences?*

Even from my own, admittedly nascent but halting experience, I realize that this is no easy task. Those of us who are members of mainstream Euro-Canadian society are so accustomed to our political, economic and cultural dominance that we seldom think twice about it. But when someone else does, it inevitably makes us uncomfortable. Or even easily defensive. Challenging our own privilege isn't easy. It's *unsettling*, because it involves the discomfort of questioning that which we normally take for granted. There is a tendency to fall back on longstanding stereotypes and well-worn assumptions. Or refuse to feel bad about – or even acknowledge – the wrongs of the past.

But where does that get us? Perhaps, in a place where there has been so much *settling*, we need a bit more *UN-settling*.

I recall the famous aphorism that posits that '*those who do not learn from the past are doomed to repeat it*'. Perhaps, in the case of Hot Springs Cove at least, learning about the past should be *less* about *avoidance* and more about *striking a new path*, one that helps us to begin to *break free* from our colonial past.

In an era where leaders seem to be gaining particular traction offering simplistic solutions to complex challenges, we need to realize that decolonization won't be simple. It isn't as easy as simply signing a treaty or handing over control of a resource. It means

facing up to a troubling past, working to make right the wrongs done, and finding a way to move forward on a path together.

Perhaps the first step along that long path can be anchored, rather ironically, in the words of British novelist L. P. Hartley, who once famously suggested that “the past is a foreign country...they do things differently there.” Perhaps then we can be honest about the past, and acknowledge that the history of Hot Springs Cove and the wider West Coast is replete with wrongs and injustices, while realizing that it is just that: *the past*. Perhaps we can skip over the unhelpful trap of guilt, shame and defensiveness, and look – instead – to the future, and how we will tackle the challenges that lie before us.

For there are many. Indeed, the landscape around us – that has sustained life here for millennia – is sending us a clear message, that decades – nay, centuries – of human overexploitation and abuse are threatening the very nature that we seemingly cherish. Our once rich waters are increasingly devoid of the very marine life that fostered Nuu-chah-nulth culture and attracted Europeans to the area. Worse yet, drier summers, extreme weather and the growing threat of wildfires warn of an even more ominous threat – climate change – that will can only be tackled collectively.

In some ways, these emerging threats are beginning to shift our thinking in helpful ways. Less and less is the Cove a place of endless, uncontrollable wilderness; in our eyes, increasingly, it is a fragile, interdependent environment, one that we must take *more* care to properly respect and protect.

To a certain degree, local resistance to the growing influx of tourist traffic is rather hypocritical – at least for the recreational cabin owners, who were once visitors themselves. In a pattern that is all too familiar the world over, the *recently-*



Figure 193 - Crowded times in the springs, c. early 2000s.

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

arrived have grown increasingly critical of the *newcomers*. And yet, there may be a point hidden amongst all the irony.

Indeed, the history of Hot Springs Cove shows a disturbing tendency towards the repeated over-exploitation of valuable local resources. First the otter, then the seal, then whales, pilchard, salmon and the cedar forest themselves. Even with eco-tourism, there is a point at which usage starts to impact the surrounding environment and detract from the very experience that made the place so desirable in the first place.

In an ideal world, constructive, cooperative action will occur before this point is reached. Hopefully, the region's indigenous and non-indigenous peoples will be able to come together, to collectively find a way to use, enjoy and live upon the shared landscape that is both equitable and sustainable.

And while tourism currently reigns supreme, we must not forget that the region is also home to many other resources that continue to be valuable in the eyes of the wider world. As long as Clayoquot Sound remains rich in timber, fish and minerals, there will be continuing tensions between competing economic interests and those who would live on – and from – the landscape.

Aquaculture remains a particularly troubling example. Today, fish farms dot the nearby inlets, which are out of bounds for sport fishing because chinook populations are so low. But sports-fisherman aren't the only ones who will be affected if the salmon stocks do not recover. As we have seen, salmon has been central to Nuu-chah-nulth culture since it first emerged thousands of years ago.



Figure 194 - Multiple tour-boats rafted up at the dock in Hot Springs Cove, c.2000.

At what point will such eco-tourism become unsustainable?

(Image courtesy of Roly Brown)

With such threats looming, the need for informed, concerted, collective action seems all the more pressing. The question is: are we ready to make the effort to meaningfully reconcile, to work through the unsettling thoughts and feelings that will surely result as we seek to address the injustices of the past, and create more equitable and respectful arrangements for the future?

This remains to be seen.

In the last pages of their comprehensive history of Tofino and Clayoquot Sound, Margaret Horsfield and Ian Kennedy strike an optimistic tone, suggesting that:

the many fragmented and mutually exclusive worldviews of this area, its people and its resources, have been slowly coming together as more people are listening more carefully to each other.⁶

They go on to suggest that this convergence is rooted in a growing recognition that:

the environmental concerns, tourism, and the economic health of the area are profoundly interconnected, as are the rights of First nations and the interests of resource industries.

If this indeed true – if the fate of both the Nuuchah-nulth and non-indigenous inhabitants of the Cove is indeed inseparably linked – then we will, it seems, have come full circle. Indeed, after more than a century spent actively suppressing Nuuchah-nulth culture, we will have ultimately embraced a central tenet of their worldview: the idea of interconnectedness. As Ahousaht thinker and hereditary chief E. Richard Atleo puts it, the principle of *heshook-ish tsawalk* emphasizes the belief that “everything is one”...

Atleo’s words resonate with me all the more after my extended journey, delving into the surprisingly rich and complex history of Hot Springs Cove. They also strike me as a rallying cry for the future. After all, as Supreme Court Chief Justice Antonio Lamer surmised, in his famous *Delgamuukw* decision, “Let us face it, we are all here to stay.”⁷

In her interview with the author, Jaylynn Lucas of the Hesquiaht expressed a similar view of our shared, inter-dependent future:

Now, whenever I go to a new territory, I’m like, ‘ok we all have our own lives, our own values, our own strengths and our own weaknesses that we all carry as a nation, as individuals’...I think that was probably the most important thing to learn in my life... because of our territory -- Hot Springs, Ahousat, Clayoquot --

and learning the language now, at the age that I'm at... I see why [my grandfather] would tell me those things...because we are really interconnected. We are really together, as much as we're apart...⁸

If Jaylynn is right, then it would seem that the only correct path forward will be a challenging one. After all, we, the inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove, are the inheritors of a disheartening legacy of colonization, occupation, marginalization and over-exploitation. Yet, we are also the beneficiaries of inspiring examples of cooperation, adaptation and coexistence...

We cannot change the past, certainly, but surely, we can let it improve the way we that perceive each other and, hopefully, move forward together?

It would seem that we owe it to each other – and to the place that we all love so dearly.

David Lynch,

May 2019



Figure 195 - A particularly special spot on nearby Flores Island.

At what point will all the local stakeholders realize how important it is that we all collaborate to preserve such priceless places?

(Image by David Lynch)

ENDNOTES

Introduction - A Wilderness without History?

¹ Margaret Horsfield and Ian Kennedy, *Tofino and Clayoquot Sound: A History* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2014), pg. 480.

² E. Richard Atleo. *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 2005) pg. 117 & 125.

³ Readers will notice numerous footnotes littered throughout this work. They will either offer additional information, highlight points of particular historiographical interest, or serve to identify the source(s) of the evidence being presented.

Literature Review & Methodology

¹ Kaehn's The Hotsprings Cove Story will be published by Harbour Publishing, and was supposed to be on shelves toward the end of April, 2019.

² Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, "Rethinking Home. A Case for Writing Local History by Joseph A. Amato [Book Review], *Journal of Social History*, (Vol. 40, No. 2, Winter, 2006). pg. 518.

³ Andrew Hopper, "Writing Local History, By John Beckett [Book Review]" (*History* (London), 01/01/2009, Volume 94 , Issue, 313) pg. 77.

⁴ Andrew Hopper, "Writing Local History, By John Beckett [Book Review]", pg. 77.

⁵ Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It" (*Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Autumn, 1993), Pg. 32.

⁶ Andrew Hopper, "Writing Local History, By John Beckett [Book Review]", pg. 77.

⁷ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.

⁸ Magnússon goes on to admit that engagement is "not solely a problem for local historians", recognizing that the wider discipline also had "unequal success".

⁹ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.

¹⁰ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.

¹¹ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.

¹² David M. Boje. "Microstoria analysis", *Sage Series in Management Research: Narrative methods for organizational & communication research*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2001. doi: 10.4135/9781849209496. pg.55.

¹³ Andrew Hopper, "Writing Local History, By John Beckett [Book Review]", pg. 77.

¹⁴ Andrew Hopper, "Writing Local History, By John Beckett [Book Review]", pg. 77.

¹⁵ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.

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- ¹⁶ Amato, pg. 3, qtd in James Kessenides. "Rethinking Home. A Case for Writing Local History by Joseph A. Amato [Book Review]", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, (Vol. 35, No. 4, Spring, 2005), pp. 655.
- ¹⁷ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 519.
- ¹⁸ Magnússon, "Rethinking Home", pg. 518.
- ¹⁹ Kessenides. "Rethinking Home", pg. 655-56.
- ²⁰ Kessenides. "Rethinking Home", pg. 655.
- ²¹ Amato, pg. 16, qtd in Kessenides. "Rethinking Home", pg. 656.
- ²² "Parochial: Definitions", *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Last Accessed: April 16, 2019, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/parochial>; "Parochial: Definitions", *Cambridge English Dictionary Online*, Last Accessed: April 16, 2019, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/parochial>.
- ²³ Thomas Robisheaux. Ed. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (47:1, January 2017), pg. 11.
- ²⁴ Thomas Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (47:1, January 2017), pg. 2.
- ²⁵ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 10.
- ²⁶ Filippo de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", *Cultural and Social History* (:3, 2010), pg. 388.
- ²⁷ István M Szijártó. "Probing the Limits of Microhistory", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (47:1, January 2017) pg. 194.
- ²⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 9.
- ²⁹ In a 2015 roundtable discussion, a number of leading microhistorians discussed the difference between case studies and microstoria; several admitted that they find the distinction difficult to define. (Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion Edited by Thomas Robisheaux, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47:1, January 2017) pg. 14.)
- ³⁰ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 388
- ³¹ Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 10-11
- ³² Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 12.
- ³³ Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 13.
- ³⁴ Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 17.
- ³⁵ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 387.
- ³⁶ Boje, "Microstoria analysis", pg. 45.
- ³⁷ Boje, "Microstoria analysis", pg. 45.
- ³⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 22.

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- ³⁹ Szijártó, “Probing the Limits of Microhistory”, pg. 194.
- ⁴⁰ Ginzburg et al, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It”, pg 33.
- ⁴¹ de Vivo. “Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale”, pg. 387.
- ⁴² Ginzburg et al, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It”, pg 22.
- ⁴³ de Vivo. “Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale”, pg. 391.
- ⁴⁴ de Vivo. “Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale”, pg.391.
- ⁴⁵ Ginzburg et al, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It”, pg 33.
- ⁴⁶ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 28.
- ⁴⁷ Ginzburg et al, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It”, pg 15-16.
- ⁴⁸ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 8 & 12.
- ⁴⁹ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 9.
- ⁵⁰ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 12.
- ⁵¹ Robisheaux. “Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers”, pg.4.
- ⁵² Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 53.
- ⁵³ Robisheaux. “Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers”, pg.5.
- ⁵⁴ Robisheaux. “Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers”, pg.5.
- ⁵⁵ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 21.
- ⁵⁶ de Vivo. “Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale”, pg. 392.
- ⁵⁷ Boje, “Microstoria analysis”, pg. 25.
- ⁵⁸ Robisheaux. “Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion”, pg. 13.
- ⁵⁹ Tonio Andrade. “A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory”, *Journal of World History* (Volume 21, Number 4, December 2010), pg.574.
- ⁶⁰ Robisheaux. “Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers”, pg.4.
- ⁶¹ Robisheaux goes on to elaborate on his point:

Microhistory offers the prospect of getting as close as a historian possibly can to everyday experience, recognizing, of course, that one cannot know everything. Large-scale studies often lose sight of agency. What they also lose is how individuals understand what they are doing in the moment and not later, in hindsight. They often work at a level of abstraction that bleaches out all the factors — not just motives — in play at a moment. Microhistory is also acutely aware of the fragmented and local nature of human experience. Even in our day with the prominence of large institutions and global relationships, many of us experience the global through personal networks or small-scale interactions. People don’t always understand and experience things at large-scale levels of abstraction. Most are involved in everyday life, with a logic and dynamic that is

contingent, changeable, and not entirely knowable, even by those caught up in an event.

(Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg 13)

⁶² Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 17.

⁶³ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg.3.

⁶⁴ Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory", pg.574

⁶⁵ Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory", 591

⁶⁶ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg. 5.

⁶⁷ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg. 5.

⁶⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg 19.

⁶⁹ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 390.

⁷⁰ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 390 and Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg 19.

⁷¹ There is a certain irony, I feel, in the fact that the idea of repeatedly zooming in and out seems not to have been purely an innovation of the microhistorians. As Ginzburg points out, the Annales school was already experimenting with a somewhat similar concept decades before: "According to Kracauer, Marc Bloch offered the best solution in his *Feudal Society*: a constant back and forth between micro- and macro-history, between close-ups and extreme long-shots, so as to continually thrust back into discussion the comprehensive vision of the historical process through apparent exceptions and cases of brief duration." (Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 27)

⁷² Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 26.

⁷³ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 389.

⁷⁴ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 13.

⁷⁵ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg.393.

⁷⁶ Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 21.

⁷⁷ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 46-47.

⁷⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg.2.

⁷⁹ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 11.

⁸⁰ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 46-47.

⁸¹ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 47.

⁸² Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg 15.

⁸³ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 11.

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- ⁸⁴ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 47.
- ⁸⁵ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg.2.
- ⁸⁶ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 390.
- ⁸⁷ Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg. 23-24.
- ⁸⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory and the Historical Imagination: New Frontiers", pg.2.
- ⁸⁹ de Vivo. "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale", pg. 390.
- ⁹⁰ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 35.
- ⁹¹ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 46-47.
- ⁹² Szijártó, "Probing the Limits of Microhistory", pg. 194.
- ⁹³ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 46-47.
- ⁹⁴ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 11.
- ⁹⁵ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 14.
- ⁹⁶ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 12.
- ⁹⁷ Szijártó, "Probing the Limits of Microhistory", pg. 196.
- ⁹⁸ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg 33.
- ⁹⁹ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 43.
- ¹⁰⁰ Szijártó, "Probing the Limits of Microhistory", pg. 196.
- ¹⁰¹ Boje, "Microstoria analysis", pg. 55.
- ¹⁰² Ron Gregory. "Biography of a Place: Passages through a Central Oregon Meadow [Book Review]", Oregon Historical Quarterly (Vol. 109, No. 1, Spring, 2008, pp. 155-156).
- ¹⁰³ Ward Tonsfeldt qtd in Martin Winch, *Biography of a Place: Passages through a Central Oregon Meadow* (Bend, Or.: Deschutes County Historical Society, 2006), pg. viii.
- ¹⁰⁴ Allan Pritchard. "The Wilderness Profound: Victorian Life on the Gulf of Georgia [Book Review]", BC Studies (06/1996) pg. 111.
- ¹⁰⁵ Pritchard. "The Wilderness Profound", pg. 111.
- ¹⁰⁶ Pritchard. "The Wilderness Profound", pg. 112.
- ¹⁰⁷ Jon Swainger. "The Wilderness Profound: Victorian Life on the Gulf of Georgia by Richard Somerset; and: Faces of British Columbia, Looking at the Past 1860-1960 by Rosemary Neering, Joe Thompson [Book Review]", The Canadian Historical Review, Volume 78, Number 4, December 1997, pg. 687.
- ¹⁰⁸ Swainger. "The Wilderness Profound", pg. 688.
- ¹⁰⁹ Pritchard. "The Wilderness Profound", pg. 112.

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- ¹¹⁰ "About Margaret Horsfield." margarethorsfield.com. Accessed April 19, 2019. <http://margarethorsfield.com/about-margaret-horsfield/> and "Ian Kennedy, Author." *Ianmkennedy.ca*. Last modified 2014. Accessed April 19, 2019. <https://www.ianmkennedy.ca/>.
- ¹¹¹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 10.
- ¹¹² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 9-10.
- ¹¹³ Carlo Ginzburg et al, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It", pg 32.
- ¹¹⁴ Hayden White. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *The Content of the Form*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987, pg. 25.
- ¹¹⁵ Peter Munz, "The Historical Narrative," in Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (Routledge, 1997), p.852.
- ¹¹⁶ Louis O. Mink, "Narrative Form As Cognitive Instrument," in Louis O. Mink, *Historical Understanding* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 199.
- ¹¹⁷ White has argued that moral positioning, even when not explicit or conscious, occurs in all historical work. He wonders: "Could we ever narrativize with out moralizing? [Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p 25.)
- ¹¹⁸ Allan Megill. *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pg 167 & 184.
- ¹¹⁹ Munz, "The Historical Narrative," p. 867.
- ¹²⁰ Megill. *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error*, pg. 186.
- ¹²¹ Fisher portrayed the decline of the fur trade in the early 1800s as the crucial turning point, leading to the economic marginalization. More recent scholars, such as Daniel Clayton, in *Islands of Truth*, see the transition as more complex and less obvious. Clayton factors in the impact of epidemics and seems to opt more for the mid 1840-50s, based on his own reading of the emergence of an imperial mindset and a critical mass of settlement, rather than economic involvement, which he and others like Lutz and Knight trace further forward in time. For my part, I have chosen to go with two transitions instead. (Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xviii & 233-34).
- ¹²² Martin Winch, *Biography of a Place: Passages through a Central Oregon Meadow* (Bend, Or.: Deschutes County Historical Society, 2006), pg. 1-18.
- ¹²³ Ward Tonsfeldt qtd in Martin Winch, *Biography of a Place*, pg., ix
- ¹²⁴ The influence of the New Social History of the 1950s can surely be seen, to a certain degree, in my emphasis on the lives and experiences of everyday peoples, and how they were affected by economic forces. However, unlike many of those works, I made no deliberate exploration or application of Marxist theory.
- ¹²⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xv.
- ¹²⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xii-xiii.

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- ¹²⁷ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 37.
- ¹²⁸ Szijártó, "Probing the Limits of Microhistory", pg. 195.
- ¹²⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xvii.
- ¹³⁰ Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 14.
- ¹³¹ William Sewell, "Refiguring the Social in Social Science," in *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p.349.
- ¹³² Allan Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). p. 182-183.
- ¹³³ Deborah Cohen and Peter Mandler, "The History Manifesto: A Critique," *American Historical Review* vol. 120, no. 2 (April, 2015), p.542.
- ¹³⁴ Justice Alan MacEachern, 1992, qtd in Arthur J. Ray. *Telling It to the Judge: Taking Native History to Court*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011. p. 158.
- ¹³⁵ "Foucault, power, discourse / experience". History 500 Class notes, *University of Victoria*. February 26, 2016 and "Gender / postcolonialism / world history" History 500 Class notes, *University of Victoria*. March 17, 2016.
- ¹³⁷ Dane Kennedy, "Postcolonialism and History," *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies* (ed. Graham Duggan, 2013). pg.15-16.
- ¹³⁸ Edward Said, "Knowing the Oriental", from *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) pg.31-49.
- ¹³⁹ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 62.

Chapter 1 - "First Peoples": Indigenous Settlement & Life prior to Contact (12,000BP to late 1700s)

- ¹⁴⁰ Robisheaux. "Microhistory Today: A Roundtable Discussion", pg. 27.
- ¹⁴¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xiv.
- ¹⁴² "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", BC Parks, June 1993, Legislative Library of British Columbia, Doc BC P299S67 D: M2 1993 c. 3.
- ¹⁴³ There are diverging opinions, of course, about the origins of the springs, but the model proposed by Nevin Sadler-Brown Goodbrand Ltd has, according to BC Parks "has significant evidence of support." ("Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", BC Parks, June 1993, pg. 7)
- ¹⁴⁴ Robert James Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia: An Anthropological Survey* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 15-16.
- ¹⁴⁵ Nancy Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge: Ethnobotany and ecological wisdom of Indigenous peoples of northwestern North America* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), pg. 47.
- ¹⁴⁶ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 53-54.

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- ¹⁴⁷ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 47 and Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 17.
- ¹⁴⁸ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 15.
- ¹⁴⁹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 16; Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 77.
- ¹⁵⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 20.
- ¹⁵¹ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 51-52.
- ¹⁵² Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 83.
- ¹⁵³ Research suggests that, within the past 10000 years, sea-levels have been both lower and higher than present. Around 7000BP ('Before Present'), the ocean was an estimated 3m lower than present. By 5000BP, it had risen to 3m above present, where it stayed for approximately, 1000 years, before beginning to drop to modern levels. (Friele, 1991, cited in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 1993)
- ¹⁵⁴ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 76-77 & 80-81.
- ¹⁵⁵ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 87-90.
- ¹⁵⁶ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 48.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hebda & Rouse, qtd in James C. Haggarty, "The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour: the archaeological utility of an ethnographically defined social unit." (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1982), pg. 55-58.
- ¹⁵⁸ Pollen and plant analysis, for instance, suggest that the climate may, at one point, have been somewhat cooler/moister at Hesquiaht. (Howes in Haggarty, "The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour", pg. 35.)
- ¹⁵⁹ Reid, Joshua L. Reid, *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, an Indigenous Borderlands People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 5-7.
- ¹⁶⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 23.
- ¹⁶¹ Ruth Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd, 1988), pg.161.
- ¹⁶² Borden, 1975, and Carlson, 1990, cited in Yvonne May Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People: A Case Study of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht Tribes" (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 1993), 79.
- ¹⁶³ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 80-81 & 83.
- ¹⁶⁴ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 17-18.
- ¹⁶⁵ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 113.
- ¹⁶⁶ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 90.
- ¹⁶⁷ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 87-89.
- ¹⁶⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 165.

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- ¹⁶⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 94 & 97.
- ¹⁷⁰ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 90.
- ¹⁷¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 81.
- ¹⁷² Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), pg. 101.
- ¹⁷³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 19; Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 113-114.
- ¹⁷⁴ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 120.
- ¹⁷⁵ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 207.
- ¹⁷⁶ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. vii.
- ¹⁷⁷ In historical terms, "CE" stands for "Current Era", a term that has largely replaced "AD". Note, as well, the difference between "Hesquiat" (the place) and "Hesquiaht" (the people). The same naming convention also applies to the Ahousaht, given that "Aht" is a Nuu-chah-nulth word for "people".
- ¹⁷⁸ Morgan 1980 & 1981 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 18.
- ¹⁷⁹ Dewhirst, 1982 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 43).
- ¹⁸⁰ Dewhirst concluding that year-round occupation of one site would create economic hardship; therefore, a seasonal pattern makes more sense, with large confederated groups moving back and forth (Dewhirst, 1982, Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 43)
- ¹⁸¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 183.
- ¹⁸² Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 39
- ¹⁸³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 98.
- ¹⁸⁴ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 69 & 98.
- ¹⁸⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 137.
- ¹⁸⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 98.
- ¹⁸⁷ The earliest evidence of occupation at Hesquiat appears to date to 1800BP, but most does not predate 1000BP (Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 33).
- ¹⁸⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 119 & 137-38.
- ¹⁸⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 120.
- ¹⁹⁰ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 27-28.
- ¹⁹¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 27-28.
- ¹⁹² Huelsbeck 1988b,c & Marshall 1989b in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 27-28.

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- ¹⁹³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 247.
- ¹⁹⁴ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 248.
- ¹⁹⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 138.
- ¹⁹⁶ Helen and Philip Akrigg, in Andrew Scott. "Openit", The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names, Accessed March 26, 2019.
<http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/placenames/Books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/O/Openit-Peninsula>.
- ¹⁹⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 44-45.
- ¹⁹⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 129.
- ¹⁹⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 130 & 132.
- ²⁰⁰ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 129 & 24.
- ²⁰¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 134.
- ²⁰² Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 22.
- ²⁰³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 18.
- ²⁰⁴ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 197.
- ²⁰⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 248 & 175.
- ²⁰⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 248-49.
- ²⁰⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 209.
- ²⁰⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 248-49.
- ²⁰⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 248-49.
- ²¹⁰ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 24, 175 & 218.
- ²¹¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 247.
- ²¹² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 132.
- ²¹³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 217.
- ²¹⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 132.
- ²¹⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 218.
- ²¹⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 241 & 341.
- ²¹⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 206 & 225.
- ²¹⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 206 & 225.
- ²¹⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 169 and Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 93.
- ²²⁰ According to Drucker's analysis, these five groups were: 1) Ma'apiath – completely inner group, north of Redeault and Leclair points, 2) Homisath – strictly outer coast local group on western margin of Hesquiat peninsula, 3) Haimai'isath as an outer coast group

on the southern end of the peninsula, 4) Kiqinath – intermediate local group along western shoreline of Hesquiat Harbour and eastern shore near Hesquiat Point, and 5) the Ya'qhsisath, at the northern end of the harbour, in what is now Boat Basin. Note: Some Hesquiaht elders have challenged this figure, proposing instead the presence of up to 12 different groups. (Haggarty, "The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour", pg. 73-78 & 207)

²²¹ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 167.

²²² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 169.

²²³ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 64.

²²⁴ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 62.

²²⁵ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 62).

²²⁶ Ellis & Swan, 1981 and Drucker, 1951, in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 93.

²²⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 196.

²²⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 202.

²²⁹ George S.W. Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast, 1762-1962* (Victoria, B.C: Morriss Printing Company, 1963), pg. 21.

²³⁰ How authoritative Nicholson, as a folk historian lacking detailed anthropological training, is on this subject is unclear.

²³¹ Marshall in Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 115.

²³² Drucker 1951: 238, 344-52 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 267 and George S.W. Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast, 1762-1962* (Victoria, B.C: Morriss Printing Company, 1963), pg. 87.

²³³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 145.

²³⁴ Drucker, 1951 in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 83.

²³⁵ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 196 & 200.

²³⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 37.

²³⁷ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 34.

²³⁸ Haggarty 1982,120, in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 33.

²³⁹ George S.W. Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast, 1762-1962* (Victoria, B.C: Morriss Printing Company, 1963), pg. 21.

²⁴⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 147.

²⁴¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 165.

²⁴² There is some debate about whether the central Nuuchah-nulth groups were equally influenced by their southern and northern neighbours; Drucker theorized that there was

less direct influence from groups north on the central coast (like the Kwakiutl) compared with groups like the Makah to the south. (Drucker, 1951, in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 61)

²⁴³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 141-143.

²⁴⁴ Contrary to popular belief, some linguists believe that the emergence of Chinook may have actually pre-dated Contact. In either case, the jargon later took on the name of the indigenous group based in the vicinity of the early European trading headquarters in Washington.

²⁴⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 180.

²⁴⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 57.

²⁴⁷ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 57-58;

²⁴⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101.

²⁴⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103 and Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 57.

²⁵⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 57-58.

²⁵¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 57.

²⁵² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 45.

²⁵³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 57.

²⁵⁴ Ruth Tom, a Hesquiaht elder, passed down recollections, for instance, of a high-ranking relative enslaved long before somewhere to south of Makah territory. (Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 44)

²⁵⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 144-45.

²⁵⁶ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 44.

²⁵⁷ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 55.

²⁵⁸ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 69-70 and Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 118.

²⁵⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 119.

²⁶⁰ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 70.

²⁶¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 120.

²⁶² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 120.

²⁶³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 125.

²⁶⁴ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 69-70.

²⁶⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 167.

²⁶⁶ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 49-50.

²⁶⁷ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 198 & 206 and Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 43.

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- ²⁶⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 109.
- ²⁶⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 119.
- ²⁷⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 39.
- ²⁷¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 105, 107-108 & 119.
- ²⁷² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 39.
- ²⁷³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 109.
- ²⁷⁴ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 39.
- ²⁷⁵ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 46.
- ²⁷⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 20.
- ²⁷⁷ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 63.
- ²⁷⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101.
- ²⁷⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 131.
- ²⁸⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101.
- ²⁸¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101-102.
- ²⁸² The local group was led by the highest ranking chief of the most important family line. Large families would sometimes subdivide, with lesser chiefs building separate houses. (Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101-102)
- ²⁸³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 167.
- ²⁸⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 102.
- ²⁸⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103.
- ²⁸⁶ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 67-69.
- ²⁸⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101.
- ²⁸⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 38.
- ²⁸⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 134.
- ²⁹⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 10.
- ²⁹¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 24.
- ²⁹² Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 11.
- ²⁹³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 102.
- ²⁹⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 102.
- ²⁹⁵ Drucker, 1951, in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 65.
- ²⁹⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 43.
- ²⁹⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103.
- ²⁹⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103.

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- ²⁹⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103.
- ³⁰⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 47 and Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg.167.
- ³⁰¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 103.
- ³⁰² Prior to the 19th century, Kirk suggests, indigenous leaders on the North West Coast may have preferred to host feasting during times of plenty, so as not to depend on stored food to feed guests. However, winters were time when different groups were more likely to be gathered together in composite 'winter villages'. (Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 70)
- ³⁰³ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 151.
- ³⁰⁴ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 12 and Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 9.
- ³⁰⁵ Early Europeans, not surprisingly, struggled to distinguish these nuances, and often confusingly used terms like 'Hesquiaht' or 'Nootkan' to describe the local languages they were encountering. (Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 12)
- ³⁰⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 17.
- ³⁰⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 16.
- ³⁰⁸ Until 1978, the Nuu-chah-nulth were commonly known as "West Coast People", and before that, as the "Nootka", a name dating from Cook's original misunderstanding. (Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 17)
- ³⁰⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 17.
- ³¹⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 30.
- ³¹¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 43.
- ³¹² Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 153.
- ³¹³ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 149-153.
- ³¹⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 149-153 and Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 49-50.
- ³¹⁵ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 140.
- ³¹⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 140.
- ³¹⁷ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 18.
- ³¹⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 101.
- ³¹⁹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 38.
- ³²⁰ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 111.
- ³²¹ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 90.

Chapter 2 - 'Contact & Trade': First European-Nuu-chah-nulth Interactions (1700s-1800CE)

- ¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 15.
- ² Michael Layland and Marlyn Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight: Early Maps and Charts of Vancouver Island* (Victoria, British Columbia: TouchWood Editions, 2013), pg. 1, 3 & 19, and Michael Layland, *A Perfect Eden: Encounters by Early Explorers of Vancouver Island* (Victoria, BC: TouchWood Editions, 2016), 9.
- ³ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 17; Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1 & 19 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 34.
- ⁴ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 19; Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 17.
- ⁵ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1 & 19.
Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 17.
- ⁶ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1 & 19.
- ⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 19.
- ⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 30.
- ⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 26, and Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 30.
- ¹⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 22 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 37.
- ¹¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 28 and Peter Webster, *As Far As I Know: Reminiscences of an Ahousaht Elder* (Campbell River Museum & Archives, 1983) pg. 59.
- ¹² Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 30.
- ¹³ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 19.
- ¹⁴ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 19.
- ¹⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 32.
- ¹⁶ Estevan was named by Perez after second lieutenant, Estevan José Martinez. Cook later called it "Breaker's Point", but the British Admiralty restored Perez's earlier name to their charts in 1849.
- ¹⁷ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 36.
- ¹⁸ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1 & 19.
- ¹⁹ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1, 19 & 21.
- ²⁰ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 21-23.
- ²¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 9.
- ²² In fact, Cook's sloops, *HMS Resolution* and *HMS Discovery* had been renamed from the *Drake* and *Raleigh* expressly to avoid upsetting the Spanish. (Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 23-25)

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- ²³ Clayton suggest that Cook's voyages were met with great public interest, and were among most publicized events of Enlightenment era. (Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 7)
- ²⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 9, & 13.
- ²⁵ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 22.
- ²⁶ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 26.
- ²⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 44, and Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 26.
- ²⁸ Folan 1972: 32 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 16.
- ²⁹ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 26.
- ³⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 7-8.
- ³¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 8-9 & 12.
- ³² Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 27.
- ³³ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 35.
- ³⁴ There were other forms of exchange that occurred as well, though Cook's officers made an effort to discourage and downplay sexual interaction between their crews and the indigenous groups they were engaging with. Cook apparently wanted to discourage spread of sexually transmitted infections -- which had been an issue in earlier voyages -- by mooring away from villages (Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 30 & 45-46)
- ³⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 201.
- ³⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 208.
- ³⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 34.
- ³⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 21.
- ³⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 32-33.
- ⁴⁰ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 27.
- ⁴¹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 25.
- ⁴² Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 31.
- ⁴³ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 29; Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 47 and Beth Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley: 1769-1845* (Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing, 1978), pg. 44-45.
- ⁴⁴ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 31 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 49.
- ⁴⁵ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 1 and Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley*, pg 45.

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- ⁴⁶ For example, one fine fur, originally obtained on the Northwest coast for broken buckle, was later sold for £300 (Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 30)
- ⁴⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 31 and Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 74.
- ⁴⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 46.
- ⁴⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 70.
- ⁵⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 69-70.
- ⁵¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 48-49
- ⁵² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 48-49, Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, and Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley*, pg 30.
- ⁵³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 48-49.
- ⁵⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 74.
- ⁵⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 48.
- ⁵⁶ Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley*, pg 29 & 36-37, and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 51.
- ⁵⁷ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 86.
- ⁵⁸ Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley*, pg 35.
- ⁵⁹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 35.
- ⁶⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 31.
- ⁶¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 40.
- ⁶² Hill, *The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley*, pg 65 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 51.
- ⁶³ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 35; Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 51-52.
- ⁶⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 170-171.
- ⁶⁵ If Meares' account can be believed, this deal may have amounted to the first European land acquisition in B.C. (Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 35)
- ⁶⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 74; Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 35; Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 54.
- ⁶⁷ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 40.
- ⁶⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 40.
- ⁶⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 100.
- ⁷⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 41 and Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 100 & 122.

⁷¹ In 1792, Vancouver, for instance, noted trade between Friendly Cove and communities on the other side of the island, near Alert Bay, over existing Oolichan trails. For his part, within a month in the early 1800s, captive John Jewitt noted the arrival in Nootka of slaves from Wickaninnish, blubber from a driftwhale salvaged by the Hesquiaht, as well as herring, salmon spawn and dentalia shells from other groups. (Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 123 and Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 139).

⁷² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 100.

⁷³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 62.

⁷⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 125.

⁷⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 176.

⁷⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 210-11.

⁷⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 104.

⁷⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 25.

⁷⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 104.

⁸⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 41.

⁸¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 109.

⁸² Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 34.

⁸³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 109 & 118.

⁸⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 30-32 & 43.

⁸⁵ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 33.

⁸⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 126.

⁸⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 127.

⁸⁸ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 62.

⁸⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 104.

⁹⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 113-114.

⁹¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 241.

⁹² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 116.

⁹³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 100.

⁹⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 24.

⁹⁵ A third group, Tatoosh's Makah, were dominant further south, around the entrance to the Strait of Juan da Fuca (Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 24)

⁹⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 43.

⁹⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 120, Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 217-18 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 21.

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- ⁹⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 131.
- ⁹⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 217-18.
- ¹⁰⁰ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 228-29.
- ¹⁰¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 252-53.
- ¹⁰² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 126.
- ¹⁰³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 121.
- ¹⁰⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 105-106.
- ¹⁰⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 120.
- ¹⁰⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 56.
- ¹⁰⁷ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 25.
- ¹⁰⁸ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 40.
- ¹⁰⁹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 37.
- ¹¹⁰ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 38.
- ¹¹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 58.
- ¹¹² Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 219.
- ¹¹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 58.
- ¹¹⁴ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 19 and Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 184.
- ¹¹⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 173.
- ¹¹⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 180.
- ¹¹⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 185.
- ¹¹⁸ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 43.
- ¹¹⁹ "Nootka Sound controversy," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, last modified October 21, 2018, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Nootka-Sound-controversy>.
- ¹²⁰ Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1933), pg. 163-69.
- ¹²¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 241.
- ¹²² Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*. Pg. 83
- ¹²³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 219.
- ¹²⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 59-60 and Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 221 & 230-31.
- ¹²⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 233-234.
- ¹²⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 65.

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- ¹²⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 59; Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 66.
- ¹²⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 61.
- ¹²⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 61-64.
- ¹³⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 65.
- ¹³¹ Gray's ship, the *Columbia Redidiva* would later give its name to the Columbia river – and indeed the future province of British Columbia. Following their departure from Clayoquot, the crew managed to cross the bar at the opening to the Columbia River, bringing this significant new waterway into the European consciousness.
- ¹³² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 66-67.
- ¹³³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 190.
- ¹³⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 66.
- ¹³⁵ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 1.
- ¹³⁶ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 1.
- ¹³⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 193-194 & 198.
- ¹³⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 220).
- ¹³⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 198.
- ¹⁴⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 199.
- ¹⁴¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 199.
- ¹⁴² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 202.
- ¹⁴³ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 2.
- ¹⁴⁴ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 2.
- ¹⁴⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 202.
- ¹⁴⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 192.
- ¹⁴⁷ Harley, 1988, qtd in Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 203.
- ¹⁴⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 192.
- ¹⁴⁹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 39.
- ¹⁵⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 74.
- ¹⁵¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 67.
- ¹⁵² Working in the early part of the 20th century, a historian, Howay, estimated that 450 ships had visited the North West Coast in search of furs between 1774 and 1820; according to his calculations, more than half were American, 93 were British and 43 Spanish. According to Reid, between 1788 and 1826, American ships made at least 127 voyages to coast to trade for otters. (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 67, and Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 39-40)

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- ¹⁵³ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 31, Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 47, and Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xii.
- ¹⁵⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 56.
- ¹⁵⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 72.
- ¹⁵⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 117.
- ¹⁵⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 56.
- ¹⁵⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 72.
- ¹⁵⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 211.
- ¹⁶⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 48.
- ¹⁶¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 211.
- ¹⁶² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 77-78.
- ¹⁶³ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 87.
- ¹⁶⁴ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 253.
- ¹⁶⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 82-85.
- ¹⁶⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 76.
- ¹⁶⁷ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. xvi.
- ¹⁶⁸ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 75.
- ¹⁶⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 94.
- ¹⁷⁰ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 78.
- ¹⁷¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 78-79.
- ¹⁷² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 76.
- ¹⁷³ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, xi.

Chapter 3 - 'Conflict & Colonization': European Authority & Nuu-chah-nulth Consolidation. (1800-1870sCE)

- ¹ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, 112.
- ² Brabant qtd in Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 87.
- ³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 67.
- ⁴ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 75 & 101 and Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 83 & 86.
- ⁵ Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 83 & 86.
- ⁶ Clayton, qtd. in Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 78.
- ⁷ Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 44 & 49.

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- ⁸ Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 80-81.
- ⁹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 77.
- ¹⁰ Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 77.
- ¹¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 244.
- ¹² Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 276-277.
- ¹³ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 86.
- ¹⁴ Marshall, 256.
- ¹⁵ Marshall, 276-277.
- ¹⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 175.
- ¹⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 276-277.
- ¹⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 85.
- ¹⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 257-258 & 262.
- ²⁰ Even the Ahousaht, at one point, opportunistically joined the Mowachat for some of these attacks. (Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 260)
- ²¹ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 59.
- ²² Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 76.
- ²³ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 99.
- ²⁴ Drucker 1951, 237, in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 77.
- ²⁵ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 208.
- ²⁶ This merger appears to mirror a larger trend towards amalgamation evident elsewhere among, for example, of the Newitti (Tlatlasikwala), who began begun to merge as well by 1860s due to declining numbers, disease and warfare and naval raids. In the case of the Hesquiaht, each sub-group's seasonal migration patterns were adapted to reflect their new location. For instance, the Ma'apiath's daily commute to fall salmon fishing sites was no longer practical, so seasonal camps were established next to the fishing sites (George Henry Richards, Linda Dorricott, and Deidre Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards: The Vancouver Island Survey (1860-1862)* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2012), 73 and Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 204-205.)
- ²⁷ Webster recounts details of a 15-year-long war between the Ahousahts, their allies, and the 'Oo-tsus-ahts', which he dated to either 1840s or 1850s (Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 60)
- ²⁸ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 60.
- ²⁹ Drucker 1951: 238,344-52 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 267.

³⁰ According to Webster, the 'Clayoquot' (Tla-o-qui-aht) only controlled three salmon-bearing rivers while the 'Oo-tsus-ahts' (Otsosahts had eighteen (Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 60).

³¹ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 62.

³² Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 10-11.

³³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 267.

³⁴ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 61.

³⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 145.

³⁶ Shanna Baker, "Walk on the wild side," *British Columbia Magazine*, <https://www.bcmag.ca/walk-on-the-wild-side/>.

³⁷ Webster recounts that the culminating battle on the outside shore of Flores Island led to the Ahousaht burning down an Otsosaht long-house at Rafael Point, with the smoke from the fire reportedly visible to the Makah, far to the south in Neah Bay (Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 62)

³⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 268.

³⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 145.

⁴⁰ Webster is convinced that firearms proved central to these battles; it is difficult from his recollections, however, to determine their specific source, but there's a good chance they were seized from the *Boston* and/or *Tonquin*. (Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 60).

⁴¹ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 10-11 & 62.

⁴² Drucker, 1951, in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 83.

⁴³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 24 & 36.

⁴⁴ Marktosis, the official geographical name for the location of today's main Ahousaht community was, according to Nicolas, once a principal Otsosaht burial ground. He suggests that the name was derived from "mak-ya-sats" (a coffin) or Mak-yak-wilt (to bury). (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 87)

⁴⁵ Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, *The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1987), 207.

⁴⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 36.

⁴⁷ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 60.

⁴⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 269.

⁴⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 270 & 276.

⁵⁰ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 270.

⁵¹ According to Nicholson, this raid, launched to avenge a previous murder, resulted in the death of about 70 and the taking of about 70 slaves from the Kyuoquot village, for the loss of 20 and 1 wounded Hesquiaht. (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 79-80.)

⁵² It would not be particularly surprising for Nicholson to mis-perceive revenge as the primary motivation, given how imbedded such perceptions have been in traditional, post-Contact European thinking.

⁵³ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 272.

⁵⁴ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 271.

⁵⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 276-77.

⁵⁶ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 269.

⁵⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 268-69.

⁵⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", pg. 175.

⁵⁹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 60.

⁶⁰ It was the author's initial impression that the Nuuchah-nulth were profoundly affected by the early smallpox epidemics that devastated parts of what is now British Columbia in late 1700s, late 1830s and early 1850s. Some secondary sources, such as Kennedy and Horsfield, do make reference to the early impact of smallpox. And there is certainly significant evidence to suggest that the disease ravaged the Salish in Georgia Strait, as well as northern groups like the Heiltsuk, Nuxalk and Haida. However, Cole Harris concludes that the disease did not make it north of Port Renfrew until the devastating epidemic of 1862-3. That said, other diseases like Tuberculosis and Measles were recorded among the Nuuchah-nulth well prior to that. Given the profound impact of Smallpox elsewhere – as well as upon the Nuuchah-nulth in the 1860s – the author has purposefully chosen to speak broadly of 'European Diseases' to emphasize their overall impact. (Harris, *Power and Cultural Change in Pre-Colonial British Columbia*, and *Voices of Disaster: Smallpox around the Strait of Georgia in 1782*".)

⁶¹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 60.

⁶² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 225.

⁶³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 62 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 39.

⁶⁴ George Henry Richards, Linda Dorricott, and Deidre Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards: The Vancouver Island Survey (1860-1862)* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2012), pg. 190.

⁶⁵ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 112.

⁶⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 38.

⁶⁷ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 225.

⁶⁸ Sproat, *The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, pg. 207.

⁶⁹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 61.

⁷⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 61.

⁷¹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 61.

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- ⁷² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 228.
- ⁷³ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 118.
- ⁷⁴ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 228.
- ⁷⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75.
- ⁷⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 221 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75.
- ⁷⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75-76.
- ⁷⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 218.
- ⁷⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75.
- ⁸⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75-77.
- ⁸¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 76-79.
- ⁸² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 218.
- ⁸³ Reid notes trading connections in 1850s-60s between Makah and Ahousaht and Clayoquot. Almost certainly, this sort of trading pre-dated Contact, though it became more noticeable as the number of European observers becomes more substantial by 1850s. Given their traditional trading connections with their neighbours, this also likely means that the Hesquiaht and indigenous inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove were able to participate, albeit indirectly, in these networks. (Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 159)
- ⁸⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 183.
- ⁸⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 115-116.
- ⁸⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 116.
- ⁸⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 111-112, Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 178 and Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 221.
- ⁸⁸ The realization that local indigenous hunting skill could be harnessed for profit led sealing ship captains to begin employ hunters from the west coast of the island. Captain Spring, a local trader turned sealer, became one of the first to hire Nuu-chah'nulth hunters on his sealing schooner, *Favourite*. (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 215).
- ⁸⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 117
- ⁹⁰ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 133.
- ⁹¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 169.
- ⁹² Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 169.
- ⁹³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 133.
- ⁹⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 147.
- ⁹⁵ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 88.

⁹⁶ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 65.

⁹⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 65.

⁹⁸ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 64 and Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 95.

⁹⁹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 75; Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 108-109.

¹⁰¹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 91.

¹⁰² Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 67.

¹⁰³ The encroachment of American settlers and the dangerous Columbia River bar crossing, which had wrecked many HBC trading and supply ships, made the northward move attractive.

¹⁰⁴ In 1825, the HBC's George Simpson had toured west of Rockies and seen great economic potential, so he pressured the British government, hoping to protect the HBC presence in Washington and Oregon, but these initial negotiations failed, leading to another joint use agreement. (Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 211)

¹⁰⁵ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 215.

¹⁰⁶ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 200 & 214.

¹⁰⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 72 & 75 and Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 220-221.

¹⁰⁸ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 72 & 75.

¹⁰⁹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 222.

¹¹⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 70.

¹¹¹ Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 229.

¹¹² Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pg. 229.

¹¹³ The growing herds of European-owned cattle roaming the southern part of Vancouver Island, brought increasing conflict with local indigenous peoples, as the cattle destroyed their Camus crops and were, in turn, hunted like deer. This sort of conflict was largely avoided on the more remote West Coast. (Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 221).

¹¹⁴ Douglas sealed these treaties with trade goods, and promised the signatory FNs that "they would not be disturbed in their possession of their village sites and enclosed fields, which are of small extent, and to carry on their fisheries with the same freedom as when they were the sole occupants of the country". (Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 33)

¹¹⁵ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 70.

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- ¹¹⁶ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 70.
- ¹¹⁷ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 71.
- ¹¹⁸ Contrast these with the minimums typical in Ontario (80 acres) and on the prairies (640 acres/family).
- ¹¹⁹ Keith Thor Carlson. *A Sto: Lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*. (Vancouver BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001) pg. 164.
- ¹²⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 71 & 80.
- ¹²¹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 182.
- ¹²² Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 182.
- ¹²³ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 118-119.
- ¹²⁴ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. xii.
- ¹²⁵ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, xii and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 242
- ¹²⁶ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 123.
- ¹²⁷ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 123.
- ¹²⁸ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 122.
- ¹²⁹ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 202 and Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 123.
- ¹³⁰ Andrew Scott, "Sydney Inlet," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/S/Sydney-Inlet>.
- ¹³¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 480 and Andrew Scott, "Hot Springs Cove," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/H/Hot-Springs-Cove>.
- ¹³² Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 125 & 204.
- ¹³³ In their initial survey of "Hesquiot" harbour, they noted a spacious bay but with water shallower than others. Gowlland noted a population of "about 300" for "Esquiat". (Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 125 & 204).
- ¹³⁴ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 112.
- ¹³⁵ Adapting to the unpredictable local weather, these surveyors jumped around quite a lot. Bad weather again forced Richards to postpone a follow-up visit for a few remaining

soundings at Hesquiat in October 1861, but it appears it was not until July 1862 that Richards returned briefly to finish up. (Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 213-214)

¹³⁶ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 182.

¹³⁷ The remainder of Richards' surveying was completed by the HBC's *Beaver*.

¹³⁸ Writing for the Daily Victoria Gazette in 1858, William Banfield questioned the names colonial authorities were giving to places on Vancouver Island's west coast: "Good taste would lead us at the present day to adopt the Indian names," he wrote, "in most instances...much prettier, many of them having a natural beauty of sound...Great Britain's Colonies have enough Royal names, noble names, and titles of our grandfathers and grandmothers." ("Concerning Place Names", Tofino and Clayoquot Sound: A History, KNOWBC.COM, Accessed April 7, 2019. <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/tofinoandclayoquot/Books/Tofino-and-Clayoquot-Sound-A-History/Concerning-Place-Names.>)

¹³⁹ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 7; Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 119.

¹⁴⁰ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 86.

¹⁴¹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 86 and Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, 7.

¹⁴² Indigenous informants provided Richards' crew with population figures by handing over bunches of twigs, with short ones for kids and longer ones representing adults in many villages that they visited (Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, pg. 193).

¹⁴³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 43.

¹⁴⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 54.

¹⁴⁵ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, 110, Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 196 and Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, xii.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 256.

¹⁴⁷ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, 20-21; Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, xii.

¹⁴⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 74 and Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 63.

¹⁴⁹ Richards, Dorricott, and Cullon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.H. Richards*, 20-21.

¹⁵⁰ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 63.

¹⁵¹ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 104.

¹⁵² Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 129.

¹⁵³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 183.

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- ¹⁵⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 193.
- ¹⁵⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 184; Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 148; Marnie Andersen. *Women of the West Coast, Then and Now* (Sidney, B.C.: Sand Dollar Press, 1993), pg. 66, and Walter Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings: A History of Clayoquot Sound, 1800s to 1980s* (Victoria: Grassroots Publication, 1997), pg. 13.
- ¹⁵⁶ Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, pg. 106.
- ¹⁵⁷ Qtd in Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 110.
- ¹⁵⁸ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, pg. 75.
- ¹⁵⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. pg. 74.
- ¹⁶⁰ Glynn Barratt. *Russian Shadows on the British Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1890: A Study of Rejection of Defence Responsibilities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983), pg. 68-70.
- ¹⁶¹ A Naval historian, Glynn Barratt, argues that the Russian Far East fleet of the 1860s was in no position to launch any ambitious cross-Pacific attack, given its "extremely modest size" and lack of refuelling infrastructure. Later in the 1870s, however, Russian rearmament, neglect of British Pacific defenses and a worsening of relations did heighten the fear of Russian attack in a more realistic way.(Glynn Barratt. *Russian Shadows on the British Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1890: A Study of Rejection of Defence Responsibilities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983), pg. 76-77)
- ¹⁶² Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America: 1810-1914: A study of British Maritime Ascendancy* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1971), pg. 166.
- ¹⁶³ Ironically, it was actually the naval commander on the ground at the time during the San Juan Crisis that refused to take the more aggressive actions demanded by Douglas, thereby ensuring that the situation did not escalate.
- ¹⁶⁴ Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America: 1810-1914*: pg. 210-213.
- ¹⁶⁵ As a potent military force on the northwest coast, *HMS Sparrowhawk*, along with her sister-ships, would have played a bit part in deterring the remote possibility of a Russian incursion. However, their biggest contribution, when it came to Russia, was arguably serving as a reassuring presence for a body of colonists consistently insecure with their position at the edge of empire.
- ¹⁶⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 79.
- ¹⁶⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 79-80.
- ¹⁶⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 102-103 & 110.
- ¹⁶⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 80 and Layland, *A Perfect Eden*, 147.

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- ¹⁷⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 80.
- ¹⁷¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 82-83.
- ¹⁷² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 83-87.
- ¹⁷³ *Illustrated London News*, qtd in Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 88.
- ¹⁷⁴ Brabant, qtd in Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 87.
- ¹⁷⁵ [Tina Loo. *Making Law, Order and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). pg. 147.
- ¹⁷⁶ Peter Johnson. *Glyphs and Gallows: The Rock Art of Clo-oose and the Wreck of the John Bright*, (Surrey: Heritage House, 1999.) p. 124-125.
- ¹⁷⁷ Barry M. Gough. *Gunboat Frontier: British Maritime Authority and Northwest Coast Indians, 1846-90*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1984). p.126.
- ¹⁷⁸ Gough. *Gunboat Frontier*, p.126.
- ¹⁷⁹ Gough, *Gunboat Frontier*, 127.
- ¹⁸⁰ *British Colonist*, qtd in Gough, *Gunboat Frontier*, 127.
- ¹⁸¹ Gough, *Gunboat Frontier*, 127.
- ¹⁸² Brabant went as far as to write a letter to the editor of the *Daily Colonist* years later to correct its portrayal of the *John Bright* affair, featured in a retrospective article.
- ¹⁸³ Charity Lucas, Jaylynn Lucas and Shaun Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch, March 26, 2019, Hot Springs Cove, BC.
- ¹⁸⁴ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 39.
- ¹⁸⁵ Whether British governance lived up to its self-proclaimed principles of 'fairness' and the 'rule of law', however, is another question entirely...
- ¹⁸⁶ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 220.

Chapter 4 - 'Occupation & Marginalization': European Settlement & Colonialism (1870s-1945CE)

- ¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ² "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 107-108, Accessible through searchable index at *Our Homes Are Bleeding [BC Union of Indian Chiefs]*, <http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/Testimonies2/index.html>.
- ³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 7 and Marnie Andersen. *Women of the West Coast, Then and Now* (Sidney, B.C.: Sand Dollar Press, 1993), pg. 8-9.
- ⁴ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 130.

⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 256.

⁶ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 60.

⁷ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg.225

⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 17.

⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 65-66.

¹⁰ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 77 & 81.

¹¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 277.

¹² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 40-41.

¹³ Shaun Shelongosky recalls hearing that one of the Clarkes, poking around in the ruins of a house that had washed ashore due to the tsunami, found one of these gold medallions. It was apparently returned, years later, to the Amos family. (Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.)

¹⁴ Consider, for example, the photograph presented on Page 154, depicting navy sailors standing with local "Manhousahts", c. 1874-82. Indeed, the exact timeframe and form of absorption of the Manhousahts is difficult for an outsider to determine exactly. The relational divide seems still to have been at play in the mind of Ahousaht chief Kietler as late as 1914, when he noted that in testimony that he did not know Openit reserve "very well because it is not of my band." Some government officials, for their part, maintained the distinction in their records as late as 1943. However, it was also officially noted as early as 1914 that these two groups had "amalgamated several years ago". This could suggest that the McKenna-McBride officials made this choice in order to preclude future bureaucratic confusion. Still, descendants of the Manhousaht appear to have kept the distinction alive. In 1946, Chief Swan, for instance, requested Lot 1895 become a reserve under his tribe's name.

("Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 123 & 130, "SCHEDULE OF INDIAN RESERVES IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA PART 2 RESERVES IN THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA RECOMPILED AND CORRECTED UP TO MARCH 31, 1943 [Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1943]." *Indigenous & Northern Affairs Canada*. Accessed April 21, 2019. <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-affairs-annual-reports/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=33572>, pg 174, and N.W Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Your File 33-15-5427", enclosing request by Luke Swan and Noah Thomas, April 19, 1946.)

¹⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.

¹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.

¹⁷ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 241.

¹⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 222.

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- ¹⁹ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 199; Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 241.
- ²⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 111-112.
- ²¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 112.
- ²² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 111-112.
- ²³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 111-112.
- ²⁴ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 178.
- ²⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 170.
- ²⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 221, Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 8 and Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 170.
- ²⁷ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 170.
- ²⁸ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 186.
- ²⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. pg. 125.
- ³⁰ At the time of the initial 1914 McKenna-McBride hearings, it appears that officials still considered the Kelsemaht to be an independent band.
- ³¹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 214.
- ³² Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 220.
- ³³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 215.
- ³⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 253.
- ³⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 209.
- ³⁶ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 210.
- ³⁷ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, pg. 44.
- ³⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 178-79.
- ³⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 275.
- ⁴⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 170-72.
- ⁴¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 178-79.
- ⁴² "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 123.
- ⁴³ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 123.
- ⁴⁴ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 17
- ⁴⁵ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 234.
- ⁴⁶ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 199.
- ⁴⁷ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 243.

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- ⁴⁸ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 266.
- ⁴⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 171 & 304.
- ⁵⁰ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 17 & 20.
- ⁵¹ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 246 and Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 44.
- ⁵² If you know just where to look, the remains of one such early gas-powered vessel -- a wooden dugout canoe modified for an early gas engine -- can be found on the western shores of the Openit peninsula.
- ⁵³ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 256.
- ⁵⁴ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 248.
- ⁵⁵ Lutz qtd in Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg.
- ⁵⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 223.
- ⁵⁷ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 17 & 33.
- ⁵⁸ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 236.
- ⁵⁹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 70.
- ⁶⁰ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 223-225.
- ⁶¹ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 254-255.
- ⁶² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 36.
- ⁶³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 67.
- ⁶⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 92.
- ⁶⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 94-95.
- ⁶⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 95.
- ⁶⁷ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 99.
- ⁶⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 94-95.
- ⁶⁹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 99.
- ⁷⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 97.
- ⁷¹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 101.
- ⁷² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 99.
- ⁷³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 128.
- ⁷⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 101.
- ⁷⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 104-105.
- ⁷⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 108, 110.
- ⁷⁷ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 128 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 100.

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- ⁷⁸ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 215-16
- ⁷⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 113.
- ⁸⁰ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 97 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 277.
- ⁸¹ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 66.
- ⁸² Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 65.
- ⁸³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 65.
- ⁸⁴ Hamar Foster, "Biography - SPROAT, GILBERT MALCOLM - Volume XIV (1911-1920)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography/Dictionnaire biographique du Canada (DCB/DBC)*, last modified 1998, accessed April 5, 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sproat_gilbert_malcolm_14E.html.
- ⁸⁵ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 239.
- ⁸⁶ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ⁸⁷ Layland and Horsdal, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 155.
- ⁸⁸ "Indian Claims Commission, Williams Lake Indian Band: Village Site Inquiry." pg. v-vi *Government of Canada*. March 2006. Accessed April 5, 2019. <http://publications.gc.ca/Collection/RC31-35-2006E.pdf>.
- ⁸⁹ "Indian Claims Commission, Williams Lake Indian Band: Village Site Inquiry." pg. vi.
- ⁹⁰ It is worth noting, as the Union of BC Indian Chiefs do, that "the decisions of the Joint Reserves Commission were made without consent from First Nations", and were justified on the basis of practicality, rather than any close adherence to or respect for the concepts of indigenous rights or title.
(http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Background_3.htm)
- ⁹¹ Douglas C. Harris, "*Indian Reserves Allotted for Fishing Purposes in British Columbia, 1849-1925*." pg. 26. *University of British Columbia Press*. 2007. Accessed April 5, 2019. https://www.ubcpres.ca/asset/13402/1/9780774814195_HarrisD_IndianReservesBC_WebTable.pdf, and "MINUTES OF DECISION, CORRESPONDENCE & SKETCHES Peter O'Reilly - February 1884 to December 1887 - (M.O.D.s February 1884 to September 1887), Binder8 (Box 3)", BC Union of Indian Chiefs. Last modified March 2005. Accessed May 4, 2019. <http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/sites/jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/files/BCMOD%20Binder%2008.pdf>.
- ⁹² Harris, "*Indian Reserves Allotted for Fishing Purposes in British Columbia, 1849-1925*." pg. 25-26.
- ⁹³ "Minutes of Decision - Clayoquot Tribe - Final Report - West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16].", pg 894, *BC Union of Indian Chiefs*. Accessed April 6, 2019. <http://gsdl.ubcic.bc.ca/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d00000-00---off-0finalr18--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4---0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=finalr18&cl=CL1&d=HASH01147ffc8705b44dbbc97fc1.45>.

⁹⁴ "MINUTES OF DECISION & SKETCHES ~ P. O'REILLY, A.W. VOWELL ~ DECISIONS IRC BOOK No. 2. [inc INDEX - VOLUME 20]", *BC Union of Indian Chiefs*. Last modified January 2005. Accessed April 6, 2019.
<http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/sites/jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/files/Volume%2020.pdf>

⁹⁵ Like most influential British Columbians of his time, he refused to accept the concept of aboriginal entitlement as a basis for claims. Later in his role as commissioner he did concede some rights in the areas of traditional hunting and gathering activities such as his promises to assure these rights to Chiefs in the Skeena and Bulkley regions. ("Peter O'Reilly - Federal and Provincial Collections of Minutes of Decision, Correspondence, and Sketches - Materials produced by the Joint Indian Reserve Commission and Indian Reserve Commission, 1876-1910," *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*, accessed April 6, 2019, <http://jirc.ubcic.bc.ca/node/49>.)

⁹⁶ Robin Fisher. "Biography - TRUTCH, Sir JOSEPH WILLIAM - Volume XIII (1901-1910)." Dictionary of Canadian Biography/Dictionnaire biographique du Canada (DCB/DBC). 1994. Accessed April 14, 2019.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/trutch_joseph_william_13E.html.

⁹⁷ Ironically, the delayed creation of these West Coast reserves may have sheltered them somewhat from the concerted campaign of reductions and alienations lead by Trutch in his role as Indian Lands Commissioner. On the other hand, by the time that these West Coast reserves were officially enshrined, his minimalist views had already become deeply entrenched in policy.

⁹⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 313 and Gough. *Gunboat Frontier*, p.94.

⁹⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 313.

¹⁰⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 8.

¹⁰¹ "Impacts of the McKenna-McBride Commission," *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*,
http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Impacts_3.htm.

¹⁰² The pass system does *not* appear to have been systematically applied in B.C.

¹⁰³ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, pg. 72.

¹⁰⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 253.

¹⁰⁵ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 238.

¹⁰⁶ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 32 and Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 26.

¹⁰⁸ Chaikin and Cole, 1990, in Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 255.

¹⁰⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 255.

¹¹⁰ Ira Chaikin and Douglas Cole, *An iron hand upon the people: the law against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), pg. 124

¹¹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 254.

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- ¹¹² Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 238.
- ¹¹³ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 238 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 253.
- ¹¹⁴ Golla, 1987, qdt in Chaikin Cole, *An iron hand upon the people*, pg.165-166.
- ¹¹⁵ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 67-69.
- ¹¹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 257.
- ¹¹⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 259.
- ¹¹⁸ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 142 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 91.
- ¹¹⁹ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 142.
- ¹²⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 7.
- ¹²¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 257.
- ¹²² Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 142 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 257
- ¹²³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 268.
- ¹²⁴ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 68.
- ¹²⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 267-8.
- ¹²⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 16.
- ¹²⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 267-8.
- ¹²⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 262-65.
- ¹²⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 263
- ¹³⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 276.
- ¹³¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 266.
- ¹³² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 270.
- ¹³³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 16.
- ¹³⁴ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ¹³⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 278 & 561.
- ¹³⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 269.
- ¹³⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 275.
- ¹³⁸ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 267.
- ¹³⁹ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ¹⁴⁰ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 25.
- ¹⁴¹ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 247.

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- ¹⁴² “Canadian Pacific Navigation Company,” Victoria Harbour History, accessed April 5, 2019, <https://www.victoriaharbourhistory.com/transportation/sea-transportation/early-steamships/canadian-pacific-navigation-company/> and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 349.
- ¹⁴³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 24.
- ¹⁴⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 10 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 348.
- ¹⁴⁵ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 69.
- ¹⁴⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 348 & 357.
- ¹⁴⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 348.
- ¹⁴⁸ “Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 351 and Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 69.
- ¹⁴⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 361.
- ¹⁵⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 361.
- ¹⁵¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 184-85.
- ¹⁵² It should be noted that colonization was not an entirely Europeans affair: some of the placer miners at the Bedwell River between 1866-1886 were actually of Chinese origin. One, Sing Lee, later went onto operate a store in Tofino, making him one of the area’s earliest non-indigenous settlers (Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 9)
- ¹⁵³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 185-187.
- ¹⁵⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 185-187).
- ¹⁵⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 187-188 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 13-14.
- ¹⁵⁶ Some sources appear to refer to this mine as the “Indian Head Mine”, or simply the “Sydney Inlet Mine”.
- ¹⁵⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 187-188 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 13.
- ¹⁵⁸ “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report”, BC Parks, June 1993, pg. 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ The author believes that more on this subject will likely be provided in Michael Kaehn’s upcoming book, “The Hot Springs Cove Story”.
- ¹⁶⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 75.
- ¹⁶¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 19.
- ¹⁶² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 172 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 19.
- ¹⁶³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 19.
- ¹⁶⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 168.

¹⁶⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Grice found work as a shipping master on sealing schooners, visiting local indigenous communities by canoe to recruit hunters. (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 276).

¹⁶⁷ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 43.

¹⁶⁸ Similar to a 'timber lease', 'Crown granted' plots, 'pre-empted' land or lots purchased by Europeans put land beyond the reach of indigenous applications. Non-indigenous claims appear to have consistently trumped indigenous requests for reserve expansion. One apparent example is Wickanninish Island, which was requested as a reserve but allowed to be purchased by local storekeeper Dawley. (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 250).

¹⁶⁹ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 166

¹⁷⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 9.

¹⁷¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 228-235.

¹⁷² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 177.

¹⁷³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 215.

¹⁷⁴ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 215.

¹⁷⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 216.

¹⁷⁶ The female presence there generated a level excitement arguably not seen since the arrival of the first female teachers at Ahousat several years earlier. There is a belief among some modern-day local cabin owners that there was a brothel in Pretty Girl Cove. However, no evidence could be found of this, so it is likely the result of misinterpretation. (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 117 & 273)

¹⁷⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 177 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 216

¹⁷⁸ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 279 and Andrew Scott. "Riley Cove." The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names. Accessed April 4, 2019. <http://knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/R/Riley-Cove>.

¹⁷⁹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 260.

¹⁸⁰ These European settlers on the north of Flores were not alone, in the thinking of some Ahousaht elders, who believed in the legendary Ahoots-oos, sasquatch-like creatures believed to be descendants of outlawed members of Manhousaht, who were said to live up in caves on mountains and occasionally raid down on villages. Some current Hesquiaht believe they live up isolated Sydney Inlet. (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 270)

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- ¹⁸¹ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 3-5; "Cougar Annie's Garden: History," Boat Basin Foundation, accessed April 5, 2019, <http://www.boatbasin.org/garden.htm>.
- ¹⁸² Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 6.
- ¹⁸³ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 6.
- ¹⁸⁴ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 6-7.
- ¹⁸⁵ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 6.
- ¹⁸⁶ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 8-9.
- ¹⁸⁷ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 8.
- ¹⁸⁸ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 9.
- ¹⁸⁹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 38.
- ¹⁹⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 12.
- ¹⁹¹ To spur this and other similar investments, the Provincial government began offering 21-year renewable timber leases, at a rent of only 15 cents per acre per year – as long as the successful bidder also built a mill (Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 12).
- ¹⁹² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 250.
- ¹⁹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 197.
- ¹⁹⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 12-13.
- ¹⁹⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 21.
- ¹⁹⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ¹⁹⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 14-15.
- ¹⁹⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 14-15.
- ¹⁹⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 191-192.
- ²⁰⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 191,192 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 21.
- ²⁰¹ Scott, "Sydney Inlet," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*.
- ²⁰² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 239.
- ²⁰³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 18.
- ²⁰⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 315.
- ²⁰⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 236.
- ²⁰⁶ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 37, Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 57 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 393.
- ²⁰⁷ The first keeper at Estevan, Otto Buckholtz, a former sealer who had helped build the lighthouse, ended up having a pretty rocky relationship with the Hesquiaht. A dispute culminated in him shooting one of their cows, leading to demands that he be arrested.

(Peter Johnson and John Walls. *To the Lighthouse: An Explorer's Guide to the Island Lighthouses of Southwestern BC*, Victoria, BC: Heritage House Publishing Co, 2015).

²⁰⁸ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 57, Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 140, 173 & 176.

²⁰⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 163.

²¹⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 174. Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 16 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 252.

²¹¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 16.

²¹² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 177.

²¹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 174 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 279 & 282.

²¹⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 173

²¹⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 238-39.

²¹⁶ "Indian Bands and Agencies: British Columbia," Library & Archives Canada, last modified November 27, 2013, accessed April 15, 2019, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/first-nations/indian-bands-agencies/Pages/british-columbia.aspx>.

²¹⁷ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 71 and William B. Henderson, "Indian Act," ed. Zach Parrott, Canadian Encyclopedia, last modified October 23, 2018, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indian-act>.

²¹⁸ "General Report [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 18, BC Union of Indian Chiefs. Accessed April 15, 2019. https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/mckenna_mcbride_royal_commission

²¹⁹ "Work of the McKenna McBride Royal Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]" *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*. accessed April 15, 2019, http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Background_5.htm.

²²⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 247 & 252.

²²¹ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 99.

²²² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 252 and "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 97, 107 & 141.

²²³ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 102 & 124.

²²⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 252.

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- ²²⁵ "Introduction – West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 851, BC Union of Indian Chiefs. Accessed April 6, 2019. <http://gsdl.ubcic.bc.ca/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=q-00000-00---off-0finalr18--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-about-851--00-0-1-00-0--4---0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=finalr18&srp=0&srn=0&cl=search&d=HASH01147ffc8705b44dbbc97fc1.3851>
- ²²⁶ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 106.
- ²²⁷ "Impacts: Loss of Land [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*. accessed April 15, 2019, http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Impacts_4.htm.
- ²²⁸ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 198.
- ²²⁹ "Introduction – West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 851.
- ²³⁰ Harris, "Indian Reserves Allotted for Fishing Purposes in British Columbia, 1849-1925." pg. 26-2 and "Additional Lands Applications 1-4 - West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 881-882, *Union of Indian Chiefs*, Accessed April 6, BC. <http://gsdl.ubcic.bc.ca/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-00000-00---off-0finalr18--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4---0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1&d=HASH01147ffc8705b44dbbc97fc1.33>
- ²³¹ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 133 and "Minutes of Decision – Esperanza Inlet Tribe - Final Report - West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 895, *BC Union of Indian Chiefs*. Accessed April 6, 2019. <http://gsdl.ubcic.bc.ca/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d00000-00---off-0finalr18--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-11--11-en-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4---0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=finalr18&cl=CL1&d=HASH01147ffc8705b44dbbc97fc1.45>.
- ²³² "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 130
- ²³³ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 234.
- ²³⁴ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 131.
- ²³⁵ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 145-146
- ²³⁶ "Additional Lands Applications 1-4 - West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 882.

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- ²³⁷ Douglas C. Harris, "Indian Reserves Allotted for Fishing Purposes in British Columbia, 1849-1925," pg. 26.
- ²³⁸ "Additional Lands Applications 1-4 - West Coast Agency [McKenna-McBride Commission, 1914-16]", pg. 884.
- ²³⁹ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 84 and "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 147.
- ²⁴⁰ "Implementation of the Commission Recommendations [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*. accessed April 15, 2019, http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Background_8.htm.
- ²⁴¹ "Implementation of the Commission Recommendations [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁴² "Implementation of the Commission Recommendations [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁴³ "Legislative and Legal Impacts of the Royal Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*. accessed April 15, 2019, http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Impacts_2.htm.
- and "Implementation of the Commission Recommendations [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- and Dana McFarland, "Indian reserve cut-offs in British Columbia, 1912-1924 : an examination of federal-provincial negotiations" (master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1990), accessed April 5, 2019, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0302324>.
- ²⁴⁴ "Declaration of Claim - Ahousaht First Nation," *Specific Claims Tribunal*, August 16, 2017, pg. 11, accessed April 5, 2019, [https://www.sct-trp.ca/apption/cms/UploadedDocuments/20177002/001-SCT-7002-17-Doc1\(filed\).pdf](https://www.sct-trp.ca/apption/cms/UploadedDocuments/20177002/001-SCT-7002-17-Doc1(filed).pdf).
- ²⁴⁵ The closest appears to be in the Alberni area, where uncultivated areas were cut-off.
- ²⁴⁶ "Declaration of Claim - Ahousaht First Nation," *Specific Claims Tribunal*, August 16, 2017, pg. 11.
- ²⁴⁷ These rejections, like their predecessors, appear questionable, legally speaking, given that, in 1865, the colonial government had adopted regulations ensuring that pre-emptions would not be allowed for lands containing indigenous settlements, a restriction that appears to have been carried forward in legislation even into the 20th century. ("Declaration of Claim - Ahousaht First Nation," *Specific Claims Tribunal*, pg. 11-12)
- ²⁴⁸ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 229.
- ²⁴⁹ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 99.
- ²⁵⁰ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 100.

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- ²⁵¹ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 145.
- ²⁵² “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 138.
- ²⁵³ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 100.
- ²⁵⁴ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 109.
- ²⁵⁵ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 137.
- ²⁵⁶ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 138.
- ²⁵⁷ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 107.
- ²⁵⁸ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 108.
- ²⁵⁹ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 124.
- ²⁶⁰ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 108.
- ²⁶¹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 326.
- ²⁶² “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 102.
- ²⁶³ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 143-44.
- ²⁶⁴ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 138.
- ²⁶⁵ “Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]”, pg. 130
- ²⁶⁶ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 37.
- ²⁶⁷ "Legislative and Legal Impacts of the Royal Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁶⁸ "Legislative and Legal Impacts of the Royal Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁶⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 326.
- ²⁷⁰ "Impacts: Further Opposition to the Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*. accessed April 15, 2019, http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/narratives/Impacts_3.htm, Marshall, "A

Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 327-328 and Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 73.

- ²⁷¹ "Impacts: Further Opposition to the Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁷² "Impacts: Further Opposition to the Commission [Our Homes are Bleeding – Digital Collection]." *Union of BC Indian Chiefs*.
- ²⁷³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 10.
- ²⁷⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 297)
- ²⁷⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 297.
- ²⁷⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25.
- ²⁷⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 363.
- ²⁷⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 363.
- ²⁷⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 365.
- ²⁸⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 24.
- ²⁸¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 23.
- ²⁸² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 353.
- ²⁸³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 362.
- ²⁸⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 364.
- ²⁸⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 361-65.
- ²⁸⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 20.
- ²⁸⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 329, 332
- ²⁸⁸ There is, perhaps, a certain irony that it was now the *Euro-Canadians* who appeared less than eager to share the rich bounty of the local waters with seeming outsiders.
- ²⁸⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 338-39.
- ²⁹⁰ Prior to 1923, fish buying on the coast had been very erratic, leading inevitably to unnecessary waste (Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 293).
- ²⁹¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 20.
- ²⁹² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 372.
- ²⁹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 174-6.
- ²⁹⁴ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 244.
- ²⁹⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 244.
- ²⁹⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 20.

²⁹⁷ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 244 & 246 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 174-6.

²⁹⁸ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 245.

²⁹⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 20 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 88 & 245.

³⁰⁰ Guppy identifies 26 plants in existence in 1927 between Kyuoquot and Barkley Sound, while Nicholson puts the figure at 27. What appears to be the remains of the boilers/reduction barrels and some concrete footings can still be found in Young Bay today.

³⁰¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 20.

³⁰² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 245.

³⁰³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 246.

³⁰⁴ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 245.

³⁰⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 244 & 246.

³⁰⁶ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 25.

³⁰⁷ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 25.

³⁰⁸ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 25.

³⁰⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25.

³¹⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25.

³¹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 17 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 26.

³¹² According to Guppy, at the time of the Crash, the federal government was one of the largest employers in Tofino, accounting for 18 of 90 workers – including the lifeboat crew, the staff at the Kennedy Lake hatchery, the customs agents, the telegraph operator and linesman. (Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25)

³¹³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 26.

³¹⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 25.

³¹⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 319 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 35.

³¹⁶ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 241 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 35.

³¹⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 29.

³¹⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 29.

³¹⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 28 & 29.

³²⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 21 & 31.

³²¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 177.

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- ³²² Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 245.
- ³²³ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 245.
- ³²⁴ Andrew Scott, "Young Bay," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/Y/Young-Bay>.
- ³²⁵ Andrew Scott, "Holmes Inlet," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/H/Holmes-Inlet> and Andrew Scott, "Stewardson Inlet," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/placenames/Books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/S/Stewardson-Inlet>.
- ³²⁶ By the mid 1930s, there were an estimated 900 non-indigenous settlers living between Ucluelet and Estevan Point, compared with roughly 1,400 indigenous inhabitants. While the Nuuchah-nulth were not yet a minority in their own territories, that time was approaching (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 319)
- ³²⁷ J.R. Miller, "Residential Schools in Canada," ed. Tabitha Marshall, *Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified June 14, 2018, accessed March 29, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/residential-schools>.
- ³²⁸ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 327-328.
- ³²⁹ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 324.
- ³³⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 36.
- ³³¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 48-49 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 359.
- ³³² Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 48-49.
- ³³³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ³³⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 359.
- ³³⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 359 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ³³⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 359.
- ³³⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ³³⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ³³⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 480 and Scott, "Hot Springs Cove," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*.
- ³⁴⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ³⁴¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.
- ³⁴² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ³⁴³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 11.

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- ³⁴⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 349)
- ³⁴⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 351 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 17.
- ³⁴⁶ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 7.
- ³⁴⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 357.
- ³⁴⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 359.
- ³⁴⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.
- ³⁵⁰ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 142
- ³⁵¹ "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 141.
- ³⁵² "Agency Testimonies from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916 [West Coast Agency]", pg. 147.
- ³⁵³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.
- ³⁵⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ³⁵⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.
- ³⁵⁶ This location that would later become a reserve in the 1940s.
- ³⁵⁷ D.M. Mackay to P.B. Ashbridge, "Your File 1156/45/C", March 19, 1946.
- ³⁵⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 28 & 30-31.
- ³⁵⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 30-31 & 67.
- ³⁶⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 28.
- ³⁶¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 253.

Chapter 5 - 'Resources & Relocations': Economic Boom & Nuu-chah-nulth Reorganization (1945-70s)

- ¹ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 33.
- ² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 380.
- ³ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 21 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 34.
- ⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 383-385 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 35.
- ⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 34.
- ⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 34.
- ⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 381.

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- ⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 29.
- ⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 34.
- ¹⁰ Fear of a Japanese attack was apparently quite pervasive. Even some local residential school children had gas masks and were practicing drills (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 392)
- ¹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 388.
- ¹² Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 78 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 390.
- ¹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 420 and Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 78.
- ¹⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 393.
- ¹⁵ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 37.
- ¹⁶ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ¹⁷ Greg Robinson, "Internment of Japanese Canadians," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified February 15, 2017, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/internment-of-japanese-canadians>.
- ¹⁸ Robinson, "Internment of Japanese Canadians" and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 417-18.
- ¹⁹ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 83.
- ²⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 414-15.
- ²¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 37.
- ²² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 414-15.
- ²³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 43.
- ²⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 45, and Stephen Harris, "Early-Warning Radar," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified March 4, 2015, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/early-warning-radar>.
- ²⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 45.
- ²⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 46.
- ²⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 43.
- ²⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 43 & 46.
- ²⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 60.
- ³⁰ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 293 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 432.
- ³¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 46 and Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 292.

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- ³² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 482.
- ³³ Internal Department of Indian Affairs documents note that, by the 1960s, the West Coast Agency was apparently providing funds to ‘top-up’ indigenous fisherman waiting for unemployment benefits to kick in (Confidential Memo by W.A.S. Barns to Indian Commissioner for B.C on West Coast Agency, 1966).
- ³⁴ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 211.
- ³⁵ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 42.
- ³⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 498 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ³⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ³⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ³⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 498.
- ⁴⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 498.
- ⁴¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ⁴² Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41.
- ⁴³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 42.
- ⁴⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 41-42.
- ⁴⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 498.
- ⁴⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 499.
- ⁴⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 499.
- ⁴⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 499 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 56.
- ⁴⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 56.
- ⁵⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 499.
- ⁵¹ J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, “Relocation -Hesquiaht Band”, April 29, 1965.
- ⁵² Charleson to Indian Agent, April 26, 1964 and J.L. Homan to F.A. Grobb, “159/30(2-4)”, April 29 1964.
- ⁵³ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 238.
- ⁵⁴ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 42.
- ⁵⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ⁵⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 50.
- ⁵⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 29.
- ⁵⁸ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 35-36.

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- ⁵⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 429.
- ⁶⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 405.
- ⁶¹ Nicholson, *Vancouver Island's West Coast*, pg. 294.
- ⁶² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 432.
- ⁶³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 43.
- ⁶⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 43.
- ⁶⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 48.
- ⁶⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 480-481 and Scott, "Hot Springs Cove," *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*.
- ⁶⁷ Andrew. Scott, "Hot Springs Cove." *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*. Accessed March 26, 2019. <http://www.knowbc.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/books/The-Encyclopedia-of-Raincoast-Place-Names/H/Hot-Springs-Cove>.
- ⁶⁸ On charts, however, even after this change, it appears that the smaller cove immediately north-west of the Clarke establishment – known as “Freddy’s Bay” to some current-day locals -- continued to bear the name “Refuge Cove”.
- ⁶⁹ N.W. Garrard, Report on “Inspection of 1894: Which the Indians of Hesquiaht Band desire for their location”, May 1946.
- ⁷⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481
- ⁷¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ⁷² Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49.
- ⁷³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 256.
- ⁷⁴ Henderson, "Indian Act".
- ⁷⁵ Henderson, "Indian Act".
- ⁷⁶ Henderson, "Indian Act".
- ⁷⁷ Henderson, "Indian Act".
- ⁷⁸ Henderson, "Indian Act".
- ⁷⁹ This gender discrimination would continue to marginalize indigenous women until the coming of the Charter and the adoption of Bill C-31 in the mid-1980s.
- ⁸⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 281.
- ⁸¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 257.
- ⁸² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 422-33 & 484.
- ⁸³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 277-78.
- ⁸⁴ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 41.
- ⁸⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 283.

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- ⁸⁶ Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 51.
- ⁸⁷ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 237.
- ⁸⁸ Turner. *Ancient Pathways, Ancestral knowledge*, pg. 237.
- ⁸⁹ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 143.
- ⁹⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 484.
- ⁹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 422.
- ⁹² Confidential Memo by W.A.S. Barns to Indian Commissioner for B.C on West Coast Agency, 1966 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 53.
- ⁹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 484.
- ⁹⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 484-85.
- ⁹⁵ James Coleman for D.M. Mackay to N.W. Garrard, "In reply to 33-15-4305", June 20, 1946.
- ⁹⁶ D.M. Mackay to P.B. Ashbridge, "Your File 1156/45/C", March 19, 1946.
- ⁹⁷ D.M. Mackay to P.B. Ashbridge, "Your File 1156/45/C", March 19, 1946.
- ⁹⁸ N.W. Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Your letter June 13 33-15-4212", July 29 1946.
- ⁹⁹ N.W. Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Your File 33-15-5427", enclosing request by Luke Swan and Noah Thomas, April 19, 1946.
- ¹⁰⁰ D.M. Mackay to P.B. Ashbridge, "Your File 1156/45/C", March 19, 1946.
- ¹⁰¹ N.W. Garrard, Report on "Inspection of 1894: Which the Indians of Hesquiaht Band desire for their location", May 1946.
- ¹⁰² N.W. Garrard, Report on "Inspection of 1894: Which the Indians of Hesquiaht Band desire for their location", May 1946.
- ¹⁰³ Request for Lot 1895 by Luke Swan et al., as recorded by N.W. Garrard, April 18, 1946 and N.W. Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Your File 33-15-5427", enclosing request by Luke Swan and Noah Thomas, April 19, 1946.
- ¹⁰⁴ Sworn Statement by Luke Swan and other Ahousaht leaders regarding Hesquiaht Inhabitation of Lot 1895, April 18, 1946.
- ¹⁰⁵ Chief Benedict Andrews to Indian Agent, May 1946.
- ¹⁰⁶ James Coleman for D.M. Mackay to N.W. Garrard, "In reply to 33-15-4212", June 13, 1946 and A.D.P. Heeney, "PC4446", October 29, 1946.
- ¹⁰⁷ D.J. Allen to D.M. Mackay, "Re: Lot 1895 Refuge Cove," November 7, 1946 and D.M. Mackay to N. W. Garrard, "In reply to 16-3-4", August 22 1947.
- ¹⁰⁸ What exactly came of this plan – or indeed the government decision to set aside Lot 1895 in 1946 - is unclear. A bureaucratic error may be responsible for the fact that the Order-in-Council officially setting aside this lot as a reserve was not officially filed until 1968.

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- ¹⁰⁹ James Coleman for D.M. Mackay to N.W. Garrard, "In reply to 33-15-4212", June 13, 1946 and N.W. Garrard to Chief Benedict Andrews, June 24, 1946.
- ¹¹⁰ Apparently, though there were restrictions on "Status Indians" obtaining pre-emptions, there were no such restrictions on the outright purchase of land.
- ¹¹¹ James Coleman for D.M. Mackay to N.W. Garrard, "In reply to 33-15-4305", June 20, 1946.
- ¹¹² N.W. Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Your file: 33-15-4305", and N.W. Garrard to D.M. Mackay, "Reference your 33-15-5167", September 18, 1946.
- ¹¹³ Draft agreement of sale by Ivan H. Clarke, notarized by N.W. Garrard, September 11, 1949.
- ¹¹⁴ N.W. Garrard to W.S. Arneil, "Re: Hesquiaht Band- Refuge Cove 159/30-5", June 20, 1950
- ¹¹⁵ Superintendent of Lands to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Please refer to file #0178892 Attention: Purchases", December 1, 1950.
- ¹¹⁶ George Amos to Mr Garrard, Personal Letter, received Dec 8, 1950.
- ¹¹⁷ N.W. Garrard to George Amos, December 19, 1950.
- ¹¹⁸ N.W. Garrard to George Amos, July 25, 1951; Application for approval of expenditure for construction of dwelling house on Indian Reserve, by Louse Sabbas, May 15, 1953; Application for approval of expenditure for construction of dwelling house on Indian Reserve, by August Amos, May 15, 1953; and Jean Charleson to Mr Garrard, Personal letter, November 25, 1953.
- ¹¹⁹ N.W. Garrard to Chief Benedict Andrews, "159/29-2-5", August 29, 1957.
- ¹²⁰ "Maquinna Marine Park", BC Geographical Names, Government of British Columbia, last accessed May 7, 2019. <https://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/41330.html>
- ¹²¹ N.W. Garrard to Regional Office Vancouver, "Settlement of Hesquiaht Indians at Hot Springs Cove", September 23, 1959.
- ¹²² W.J. McGregor to Indian Affairs Branch Ottawa, "Settlement of Hesquiaht Indians at Hot Springs Cove", March 22, 1961.
- ¹²³ J.L. Homan to Mr. Sylvester Charleson, "159/30-5", December 20, 1962.
- ¹²⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 424.
- ¹²⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 424.
- ¹²⁶ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C. "Re: Hot Springs Cove, Hesquiaht Band", December 13, 1962 and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Hot Springs Cove, Hesquiaht Band", December 28, 1962.
- ¹²⁷ J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, "Hot Springs Cove - Hesquiaht Band", January 3, 1963.
- ¹²⁸ J.L. Homan to Superintendent of Lands, "Re: Hot Springs Cove", July 16, 1963.

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- ¹²⁹ J.V. Boys to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Survey of Block B Lot 1474”, February 27, 1964 and Draft Band Council Resolution, Hequiaht Band, March 1964.
- ¹³⁰ Between 1906 and 1976, records indicate that a number of tsunamis occurred, ranging from 6 to 240cm in height. (Howes in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 34).
- ¹³¹ The quake registered 9.2 on the Richter scale (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 483)
- ¹³² R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, “Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation”, February 18, 1972.
- ¹³³ Likely the Valdivia earthquakes of 1960 that caused a tsunami that reached the Aleutians and resulted in deaths in Hawaii and Japan.
- ¹³⁴ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht -Relocation”, July 13, 1965, R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, “Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation”, February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964.), and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 483.
- ¹³⁵ R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, “Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation”, February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964.)
- ¹³⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 483.
- ¹³⁷ R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, “Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation”, February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964.)
- ¹³⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 483.
- ¹³⁹ Howes in Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiat Harbour*, pg. 34.
- ¹⁴⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 48.
- ¹⁴¹ Ledger, West Coast Indian Agency Trust, July 13 1964 and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht -Relocation”, July 13, 1965 and W.G. Robinson to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Tidal Wave Disaster Fund”, November 8, 1966.
- ¹⁴² J. L Homan to Indian Commissioner of B.C., “Sheet 173”, May 13, 1964 and J.V. Boys to Superintendent – West Coast Agency, “Lot 1895 – Refuge Cove – Hesquiat Band”, May 25, 1964.
- ¹⁴³ J.V. Boys to Indian Affairs Branch Ottawa, “Hesquiaht Band Relocation” November 25, 1964.
- ¹⁴⁴ Charleson to Indian Agent, April 26, 1964.
- ¹⁴⁵ J.L. Homan to F.A. Grobb, “159/30(2-4)”, April 29 1964.

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- ¹⁴⁶ Chief Benedict Andrews to J.L. Homan, April 30, 1964 and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 5, 1964.
- ¹⁴⁷ Chief Benedict Andrews, “List of Numbers in Families”, May 24 1964 and Chief Benedict Andrews to J.L. Homan, Personal Letter, May 25 1964.
- ¹⁴⁸ One of the oddest developments at this time involved correspondence from a P. Kistemet of the Lillooet Band, who apparently wrote the BC Indian Commissioner, offering 250 acres of free land to the Hesquiaht. Officials apparently respectfully declined with gratitude, explaining that most of the Hesquiat were fishermen (J.L. Homan to Ben Andrews, “159/30-5”, Summer 1964.)
- ¹⁴⁹ J.L. Homan to Mr. F.A. Grobb, Letter, June 30, 1964
- ¹⁵⁰ F.A. Grobb to J. L. Homan, “Re: Your File: 159/30 (2-4).”, May 15, 1964, J. L. Homan to F.A. Grobb, “159/30(1-4)”, May 19, 1964; and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 5, 1964.
- ¹⁵¹ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 17, 1964; J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 19, 1964; J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 19, 1964; R. Nelson to J.L. Homan, June 23, 1964; and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 30, 1964.
- ¹⁵² J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, June 30, 1964.
- ¹⁵³ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, July 30, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁴ J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, August 7, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁵ J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, September 3, 1964 and J.V. Boys to Superintendent of Lands, “Hesquiaht Band Relocation”, September 18, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁶ J.L. Homan to Superintendent of Lands, September 25, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁷ Dr. Campbell to J.L. Homan, “Investigation of water source at Hot Springs Cove”, October 21, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁸ J.L. Homan to Chief Ben Andrews, September 22, 1964.
- ¹⁵⁹ R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, “Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation”, February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964.)
- ¹⁶⁰ Hesquiaht Band Council Resolution, regarding Liquidation of Tidal Wave Disaster Fund, November 7, 1966 and W.G. Robinson to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Hesquiaht Tidal Wave Disaster Fund”, November 8, 1966.

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- ¹⁶¹ Minutes of Meeting between J.L. Homan and Hesquiaht Band at Ehattesah, November 11, 1964 and J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Hesquiaht Band Relocation", November 17, 1964.
- ¹⁶² J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Hesquiaht Band Relocation" November 24, 1964.
- ¹⁶³ Jean A. MacLeod to Thomas S. Barnett, Letter from Tofino Village Clerk, December 18, 1964.
- ¹⁶⁴ J.L. Homan to Superintendent of Lands, November 27, 1964.
- ¹⁶⁵ J.V. Boys to Indian Affairs Branch Ottawa, "Hesquiaht Band Relocation" November 25, 1964.
- ¹⁶⁶ G. J. Bowen to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Relocation -Hesquiaht Band", December 9, 1964.
- ¹⁶⁷ In the words of one official, lacking suitable accommodations, "all too often...[the Indian Worker] will leave the job and return to the familiar surroundings of the reserve where he can at least be sure of social assistance and the comforts of his family". (J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Hesquiaht Band Relocation" November 24, 1964).
- ¹⁶⁸ J.V. Boys to Superintendent - West Coast Agency, "Hesquiaht Band Relocation", November 23, 1964.
- ¹⁶⁹ J.V. Boys to Superintendent - West Coast Agency, "Hesquiaht Band Relocation", November 23, 1964.
- ¹⁷⁰ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Relocation -Hesquiaht Band", December 21, 1964.
- ¹⁷¹ J.L. Homan to Felix Charleson, December 7, 1964.
- ¹⁷² J.L. Homan to D. Borthwick, Superintendent of Lands, "Attention: Reserves", March 23, 1965.
- ¹⁷³ R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, "Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation", February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964.)
- ¹⁷⁴ J.V. Boys to Superintendent West Coast Agency, "Relocation -Hesquiaht Band", April 29, 1965 and Field Notes of Meeting with Hesquiaht Band Council at Hot Springs Cove, by J.L. Homan, May 1, 1965.
- ¹⁷⁵ Field Notes of Meeting with Hesquiaht Band Council at Hot Springs Cove, by J.L. Homan, May 30, 1965; Jean A. MacLeod to Boyes, Indian Commissioner for B.C., Letter from Tofino Village Clerk, June 11, 1965, and J.V. Boyes, Indian Commissioner for BC to Mrs. Joan A. McLeod, Tofino Village Clerk, "Re Letter June 11", June 17, 1965.
- ¹⁷⁶ G. J. Bowen to Indian Commissioner for B.C., "Relocation -Hesquiaht Band", September 28, 1965.

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- ¹⁷⁷ J.L. Homan to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Relocation -Hesquiaht Band”, October 19, 1965.
- ¹⁷⁸ Band Council Resolution, Hesquiaht Band, October 13, 1965; W.P. MacIntyre to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Proposed Relocation Hesquiaht Indian Band Hot Springs B.C.”, April 27 1967.
- ¹⁷⁹ J.L. Homan to Superintendent of Lands, November 27, 1964 and J.L. Homan to D. Borthwick, Superintendent of Lands, “Attention: Reserves”, March 23, 1965.
- ¹⁸⁰ N.E. Whitehead to Ian Fox Legal Surveys Branch, “Proposed Relocation Hesquiaht Indian Band Hot Springs B.C.”, July 5, 1966.
- ¹⁸¹ W.P. MacIntyre to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Proposed Relocation Hesquiaht Indian Band Hot Springs B.C.”, April 27 1967.
- ¹⁸² Confidential Memo by W.A.S. Barns to Indian Commissioner for B.C on West Coast Agency, 1966.
- ¹⁸³ H.L. Menard, Deputy Administrator of Lands, to Indian Commissioner for B.C., “Exchange”, February 23, 1968; Certified Copy of a Minute of the Honourable Executive Council of the Province of British Columbia, signed by W.A.C. Bennett, April 29, 1968.
- ¹⁸⁴ W.G. Robinson to Superintendent - West Coast Agency, “Development of Refuge Cove I.R. At Hot Springs Cove”, October 15, 1969.
- ¹⁸⁵ Memo to File by F.A. Wiles, Community Planner, “Notes on Trip to Several West Coast Reserves”, June 16, 1969.
- ¹⁸⁶ W.G. Robinson to Felix Charleson, August 6, 1969.
- ¹⁸⁷ W.G. Robinson to Superintendent - West Coast Agency, “Subdivision Survey - Refuge Cove I.R. Number 6”, January 3, 196; W.G. Robinson to Felix Charleson, March 11, 1969; W.G. Robinson to Superintendent - West Coast Agency, “Development of Refuge Cove I.R. At Hot Springs Cove”, October 15, 1969 and Memo to File, by F.A. Wiles, Community Planner, “Development of Hot Springs Cove Indian Reserve”, February 12, 1970.
- ¹⁸⁸ W.G. Robinson to Felix Charleson, October 17, 1969 and W.G. Robinson to Superintendent West Coast Agency, “Development of Refuge Cove I.R. At Hot Springs Cove,” January 8, 1970.
- ¹⁸⁹ Hesquiaht Band Council Resolution, regarding swap of land, March 31, 1971.
- ¹⁹⁰ The sketch they provided showed 24.2 acres from their original village site at the back of the bay, as well as 24.2 acres from Ivan Clarke’s lot 1371. However, in later department correspondence, 24.2 acres of TL1068 seemed to replace Clark’s property in discussions – (Hand drawings on Lot Map of Hot Springs Cove, appended to June 8, 1971 Inspection report from W.I. Coplick, Acting BC Regional Engineer to Superintendent-in-Charge, South Island District.)
- ¹⁹¹ W.I. Coplick to Superintendent in Charge South Island District, “Development of Indian Reserve for Hesquiaht Indian Band at Refuge Cove”, June 8, 1971 and R.N.M

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- Lonsdale to L.E. Wight, "Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation", February 18, 1972 (includes Appendix A: From D.B. Campbell to J.L. Homan, Re: Damage from Tidal Wave- Hot Springs Cove, April 13, 1964).
- ¹⁹² W.A.S. Barnes to Regional Director, B.C. Yukon District, "Re: Hesquiaht Indian Reserve Number 6", April 5, 1971.
- ¹⁹³ R.N.M. Lonsdale to Regional Director B.C. Yukon Region, "Hesquiaht Band Relocation Request Refuge Cove", June 14, 1971.
- ¹⁹⁴ Hand drawings on Lot Map of Hot Springs Cove, appended to June 8, 1971 Inspection report from W.I. Coplick, Acting BC Regional Engineer to Superintendent-in-Charge, South Island District.
- ¹⁹⁵ W.G. Robinson to Regional Superintendent, Economic Development, "Hesquiaht Band Relocation", August 13, 1971; A.M. Cunningham to W.I. Coplick, "Hesquiaht Relocation", October 27, 1971 and L.E. Whight to Simon Lucas, "Hesquiaht Relocation", January 4, 1972.
- ¹⁹⁶ Handwritten commentary on: R.N.M Lonsdale to L.E. Whight, "Report on Hesquiaht Proposed Relocation", 1972.
- ¹⁹⁷ Chief S. Lucas, Hesquiaht Band Council to Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs, "Re Hesquiaht Relocation – File 974/30-28-1", February 15, 1972.
- ¹⁹⁸ Larry Wight, Memo to File, "Hesquiaht Band Exchange of Land", February 25, 1972 and Band Council Resolution, Hesquiaht Band, "Community Development of Hesquiaht I.R. Number 6", February 18, 1972.
- ¹⁹⁹ S.P. Lucas, "Band Chief's Report", September 20, 1972.
- ²⁰⁰ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ²⁰¹ "History [A Timeline of the Nuuchah-nulth & NTC]," Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://nuuchahnulth.org/history>.
- ²⁰² The NTC is the second oldest tribal confederacy in BC, after the Nisga'a (Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 21).
- ²⁰³ Ha-silthsa 1978:4 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 16.
- ²⁰⁴ Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organization in British, Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism", *BC STUDIES*, no. 55, Autumn 1982, pg 37.
- ²⁰⁵ Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuuchah-nulth People", 332.
- ²⁰⁶ Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 73-74.
- ²⁰⁷ Tabitha Marshall, Michael Posluns, and Anthony J. Hall, "Assembly of First Nations," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified February 29, 2016, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/assembly-of-first-nations>.
- ²⁰⁸ The NIB was reshaped into the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1982 (Marshall et al. "Assembly of First Nations".)
- ²⁰⁹ Henderson, "Indian Act".

²¹⁰ Thus it was in the mid-1970s, nearly a century after the Nisga'a had first raised their grievances, that the federal government finally began to negotiate in earnest, a process that would take another two decades to complete, culminating in the 1996 Nisga'a Agreement-in-Principle. (Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 78)

²¹¹ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiaht Harbour*, pg. 23.

²¹² Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 47.

²¹³ Haggarty, *The Archaeology of Hesquiaht Harbour*, pg. 23.

²¹⁴ Jaylynn and Charity Lucas note that many Hesquiaht artifacts, removed for safe-keeping by the archeologists who surveyed their traditional sites several decades ago, are still being kept at the Royal BC Museum. The plan at the time had been to relocate them to the museum that was then being constructed on their main traditional village site. However, when the funding ran out, the project stalled, and the structure eventually fell into disrepair and has since largely collapsed. Today, while individual Hesquiaht are able to make arrangements to visit these artifacts, there continues to be disagreement over how -- or if-- they should be returned, in the absence of a functioning Hesquiaht museum. The argument for preservation is seemingly obvious, but as Charity Lucas points out, there are other -- perhaps more Hesquiaht -- ways to look at it:

I often wonder if our ancestors who have passed didn't want us to take it home because it should never have been touched... Everything has energy, we were taught at a young age. Our spirit is energy, this body is only borrowed. This is only our temple for awhile. Our spirit is energy and it moves on. And when you shift that energy, when it has been placed there for a specific reason, then you leave that there to be recycled into Earth, to come back again later down the road in the cycle of life...but it is not fondly thought of in the archives.

(Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.)

²¹⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 301.

²¹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 302.

²¹⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 37.

²¹⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 437

²¹⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 42 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 437.

²²⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 42 and Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 38.

²²¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 47 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 439 & 443.

²²² Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 47.

²²³ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 40, Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 53-54, and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 460.

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- ²²⁴ Apparently, two vehicles were burned, the RCMP was forced to read the Riot Act, and 11 arrests were made (Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 53).
- ²²⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 460.
- ²²⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.
- ²²⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 49 and Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 484.
- ²²⁸ Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 12-13 and Margaret Horsfield. *Cougar Annie's Garden* (Nanaimo, B.C: Salal Books, 1999), pg. 222.
- ²²⁹ Horsfield. *Cougar Annie's Garden*, pg. 225.
- ²³⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 58.
- ²³¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 463
- ²³² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 463-464 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 58.
- ²³³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 58.
- ²³⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 62.
- ²³⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 442-443.
- ²³⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 57.
- ²³⁷ F. Matthew Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish: Ahousaht Nation et al. V. Canada," [www.ratcliff.com](http://www.ratcliff.com/publications/aboriginal-right-sell-fish-ahousaht-nation-et-al-v-canada), last modified March 4, 2010, accessed January 9, 2019, <http://www.ratcliff.com/publications/aboriginal-right-sell-fish-ahousaht-nation-et-al-v-canada>. pg.19.
- ²³⁸ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.17.
- ²³⁹ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.19.
- ²⁴⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 443 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 57-58.
- ²⁴¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 57.
- ²⁴² Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 50 & 55-56. Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 56-55.
- ²⁴³ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 56-55.
- ²⁴⁴ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 67-68.
- ²⁴⁵ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 55-56.
- ²⁴⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 500.
- ²⁴⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 498.
- ²⁴⁸ Scott, "Stewardson Inlet," The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names.

²⁴⁹ Cheryl McLeod. Interviewed by David Lynch, January 8, 2019, over phone from Ft. St. John, BC.

Chapter 6 - 'Recreation & Resurgence': Eco-Tourism & Nuu-chah-nulth Sovereignty (1970s to Present)

¹ Mark Neilsen. Interview by David Lynch, August 4, 2018, Hot Springs Cove, BC.

² Rowland ("Roly") G. Brown, Interview by David Lynch, January 14, 2018, Metchosin, BC.

³ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

⁴ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", BC Parks, June 1993, pg. 2-4.

⁵ The Order-in-Council officially enshrining this expansion appears, however, to only have gone through in December of 1990. ("Maquinna Marine Park", *BC Geographical Names*, Government of British Columbia)

⁶ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", BC Parks, June 1993, pg. 13

⁷ The discharge rate of the springs (between 5-8 litres/second) is, according to BC Parks, considered "among the largest in the province". ("Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", BC Parks, June 1993, pg. 9)

⁸ Lloyd Kahn, *Builders of the Pacific Coast* (Bollinas, CA: Shelter Publications, 2008), pg. 89.

⁹ Kahn, *Builders of the Pacific Coast*, pg. 89.

¹⁰ Kahn, *Builders of the Pacific Coast*, pg. 89.

¹¹ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

¹² Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹³ Godfrey Stephens qtd in Lloyd Kahn, "Norma's Floating Store in British Columbia," *Lloyd's Blog*, entry posted February 13, 2016, accessed April 19, 2019, <https://www.lloydkahn.com/2016/02/normas-floating-store-in-britis/> and Shaun Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch, January 2, 2018, Hot Springs Cove, BC.

¹⁴ Neilsen. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁵ Neilsen. Interview by David Lynch and Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁶ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁷ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁸ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch

¹⁹ Roly Brown suspects that this was in 1987. He recalls visiting her in Baseball Bay. There is some confusion among long-time locals whether Baseball Bay is properly

located on modern charts, or whether it has been mistakenly swapped with Hootla-Kootla Bay.

²⁰ Kahn, *Builders of the Pacific Coast*, pg. 89.

²¹ Government of British Columbia, "Census 1996 - Profiles (Graphic Summary) - Refuge Cove 6, R", BC Stats, Last modified 2001. Accessed April 19, 2019.
<http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/Files/9b5a1c54-ac6b-4ef3-9021-da51c8797af1/Census1996-ProfilesGraphicSummary-RefugeCove6R.pdf>

²² "Ahtaapq Creek Hydropower, Maquinna Protected Area Boundary Adjustment Final Stage Two Proposal", *Barkley Project Group* for BC Ministry of Environment & Climate Change. August 2017, Accessed April 19, 2019.
<http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/PBAProcess/maquinna/docs/maquinna-pa-stage-two-final-20170830.pdf>, pg. 13.

²³ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

²⁴ Government of British Columbia, "1996 Indian Reserves - Including Estimates for Unenumerated Reserves," *BC Stats*, last modified 1996, accessed April 19, 2019,
<http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/Census/1996Census/PopulationHousing/IndianReserves.aspx>.

²⁵ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

²⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 454

²⁷ "1996 Indian Reserves - Including Estimates for Unenumerated Reserves," *BC Stats*, and Government of British Columbia. "2001 Indian Reserves - Including Estimates for Unenumerated Reserves." *BC Stats*. Last modified 2001. Accessed April 19, 2019.
<http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/Census/2001Census/PopulationHousing/IndianReserves.aspx>.

²⁸ "1996 Indian Reserves - Including Estimates for Unenumerated Reserves," *BC Stats*.

²⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 479.

³⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 478.

³¹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 57.

³² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 478-480 and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 66.

³³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 479-480.

³⁴ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

³⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 479-480.

³⁶ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

³⁷ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

³⁸ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

³⁹ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft", BC Parks, February 1994, Legislative Library of British Columbia, Doc BC P299S67 D: M198d 1994 c. 2, pg. 4.

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- ⁴⁰ *Ahousaht*, para. 680, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.18
- ⁴¹ *Ahousaht*, para. 680, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.17 & 19.
- ⁴² *Ahousaht*, para. 674 qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 18.
- ⁴³ *Ahousaht*, para. 674 paraphrased in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 18.
- ⁴⁴ *Ahousaht*, para. 576 qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 19.
- ⁴⁵ *Ahousaht*, para. 775-776, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 24.
- ⁴⁶ *Ahousaht*, para. 775-776, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 24
- ⁴⁷ *Ahousaht*, para. 577, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 20.
- ⁴⁸ *Ahousaht*, para. 790, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 20-21.
- ⁴⁹ *Ahousaht*, para. 733, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 23.
- ⁵⁰ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.25
- ⁵¹ *Ahousaht*, para. 674, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 18.
- ⁵² *Ahousaht*, para. 689, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 23.
- ⁵³ *Ahousaht*, para. 775-776, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 24.
- ⁵⁴ *Ahousaht*, para. 576, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 19
- ⁵⁵ *Ahousaht*, para. 676, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 20-21.
- ⁵⁶ *Ahousaht*, para. 674 qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 18.
- ⁵⁷ *Ahousaht*, para. 680, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 18, and Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 69.
- ⁵⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 492.
- ⁵⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 493-494.
- ⁶⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 57.
- ⁶¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 182.
- ⁶² Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 79.
- ⁶³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 533.
- ⁶⁴ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁶⁵ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch and Brown, Interview by David Lynch.
- ⁶⁶ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁶⁷ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁶⁸ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁶⁹ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ⁷⁰ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch

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- ⁷¹ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁷² Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁷³ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ⁷⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 534.
- ⁷⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 491.
- ⁷⁶ At start of 1960s, for instance, local garbage in Tofino was still disposed of by leaving it on the beach or dumping off the government dock in town. (Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 47).
- ⁷⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 497.
- ⁷⁸ It was here that the Save Meares Island organization began in 1970s, evolving eventually into the Friends of Clayoquot Sound (FOCS) (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 469)
- ⁷⁹ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 61
- ⁸⁰ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 55.
- ⁸¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 500.
- ⁸² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 500 and Andersen. *Women of the West Coast*, pg. 93.
- ⁸³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 500.
- ⁸⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 500.
- ⁸⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 501.
- ⁸⁶ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 64-65.
- ⁸⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 502-503.
- ⁸⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 502-503.
- ⁸⁹ Qtd in F. Matthew Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation: Aboriginal Fishing Rights in Ahousaht v. Canada," www.ratcliff.com, last modified June 2010, accessed January 9, 2019, <http://www.ratcliff.com/publications/reconciliation-through-litigation>, pg. 3.1.2.
- ⁹⁰ Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation", pg. 3.1.3.
- ⁹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 505.
- ⁹² Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 548.
- ⁹³ Cassidy and Bish, 1989:90 in Marshall, "A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People", 21.
- ⁹⁴ "History," *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*.

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- ⁹⁵ "USMA Nuu-chah-nulth Family & Child Services," Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://nuuchahnulth.org/services/usma> and "History," *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*.
- ⁹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 505.
- ⁹⁷ Guppy, *Clayoquot Soundings*, pg. 64-65.
- ⁹⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 180.
- ⁹⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 180.
- ¹⁰⁰ Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 2-3
- ¹⁰¹ "A Brief Tofino History," *Tofino Guide*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.tofino-bc.com/about/tofino-history.php>.
- ¹⁰² "Vancouver Island Land Use Plan", Government of British Columbia, last accessed May 7, 2019. <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/industry/crown-land-water/land-use-planning/regions/west-coast/vancouverisland-lup>.
- ¹⁰³ Kim Nursall, "War in the Woods mass arrests 20 years ago prompted lasting change," CTVNews.ca, last modified August 11, 2013, accessed May 2, 2019, <https://bc.ctvnews.ca/war-in-the-woods-mass-arrests-20-years-ago-prompted-lasting-change-1.1406602>.
- ¹⁰⁴ The author's own mother, a provincial social worker at the time, seriously contemplated joining the protests but decided that the experience would be too traumatic for her children.
- ¹⁰⁵ Megan Thomas, "'So many people giving a damn': War in the Woods resonates 25 years later with new environmental battle on B.C. coast," CBCNews.ca, last modified April 12, 2018, accessed May 2, 2019, <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform/so-many-people-giving-a-damn>.
- ¹⁰⁶ Daniel Pierce, "25 Years after the War in the Woods: Why B.C.'s forests are still in crisis," The Narwhal, last modified May 14, 2018, accessed May 2, 2019, <https://thenarwhal.ca/25-years-after-clayoquot-sound-blockades-the-war-in-the-woods-never-ended-and-its-heating-back-up/>.
- ¹⁰⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 526.
- ¹⁰⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 525.
- ¹⁰⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 525.
- ¹¹⁰ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 529-30.
- ¹¹¹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 527.
- ¹¹² Iisaak translates as "respect", while Ma-Mook means "working/to do/make" (Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 528).
- ¹¹³ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 528.
- ¹¹⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 529-30.

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- ¹¹⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 531.
- ¹¹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 528-529.
- ¹¹⁷ "Sydney Inlet Provincial Park," *BC Parks*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/explore/parkpgs/sydney/>.
- ¹¹⁸ "SYDNEY INLET PROVINCIAL PARK, PURPOSE STATEMENT AND ZONING PLAN", *BC Parks*, September 2003. Accessed April 11, 2019. http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/planning/mgmtplns/sydney/sydney_zp.pdf?v=1545702100697
- ¹¹⁹ "MAQUINNA PROVINCIAL PARK - PURPOSE STATEMENT AND ZONING PLAN." *BC Parks*. February 2003. Accessed April 11, 2019. http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/planning/mgmtplns/maquinna/maquin_ps.pdf?v=1545703525735.
- ¹²⁰ "Maquinna Marine Provincial Park and Protected Area," *BC Parks*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/explore/parkpgs/maquinna/>.
- ¹²¹ "Negotiations - Six Stages," *BC Treaty Commission*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.bctreaty.ca/six-stages>.
- ¹²² *R. v. Sparrow [1990]*, qtd in Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation", pg. 3.1.3.
- ¹²³ Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation", pg. 3.1.2.
- ¹²⁴ "MAA-NULTH FINAL AGREEMENT," *Toquaht First Nation*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.toquaht.ca/maa-nulth-final-agreement/>.
- ¹²⁵ From south to north, the 14 Nuuchah-nulth Nations are the Ditidaht, Huu-ay-aht, Hupacasath, Tseshah, Uchuklesah, Toquaht, Ucluelet, Tla-o-qui-aht, Ahousah, Hesquiaht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht, Nuchatlaht, Ehattah, and Kyuquot/Cheklesah. (Qtd in Kirchner, *Reconciliation through Litigation*, pg. 3.1.4)
- ¹²⁶ Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation", pg. 3.1.4.
- ¹²⁷ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.
- ¹²⁸ Nielsen recalls the bathtubs being gone by 1986, but Shelongosky suggests they were helicoptered out around 1992 a detail confirmed by Roly Brown.
- ¹²⁹ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", *BC Parks*, June 1993, pg. 17-18.
- ¹³⁰ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", *BC Parks*, June 1993, pg. 19
- ¹³¹ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", *BC Parks*, June 1993, pg. 21
- ¹³² "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft – Background Report", *BC Parks*, June 1993, pg. 21.
- ¹³³ "Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft", *BC Parks*, February 1994, pg. 6

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- ¹³⁴ “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft”, BC Parks, February 1994, pg. 11-12
- ¹³⁵ “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft”, BC Parks, February 1994, pg. 13
- ¹³⁶ “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft”, BC Parks, February 1994, pg. 15
- ¹³⁷ The latter does not appear to have been achieved in any meaningful way.
- ¹³⁸ “Maquinna Provincial Park – Master Plan – Draft”, BC Parks, February 1994, pg. 12
- ¹³⁹ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁰ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴¹ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴² Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴³ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁴ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁵ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁶ Brown, Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁷ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁸ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁴⁹ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁵⁰ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁵¹ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁵² Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch
- ¹⁵³ "What is Hot Springs Oceanside," *Hot Springs Oceanside*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://hotspringsoceanside.ca/WhatIsOceanside.htm>.
- ¹⁵⁴ Brian Cutts, Bill Burton and Andy MacGregor. Interview by David Lynch, August 18, 2018, Hot Springs Cove, BC.
- ¹⁵⁵ Cutts, Burton and MacGregor. Interview by David Lynch,
- ¹⁵⁶ Shaun Shelongosky. Conversation by phone with David Lynch, May 1, 2019.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cutts, Burton and MacGregor. Interview by David Lynch.
- ¹⁵⁸ "What is Hot Springs Oceanside," *Hot Springs Oceanside*.
- ¹⁵⁹ In order to qualify for building permits from the Alberni-Clayoquot Regional District in the future, the Co-op also purchased, at that time, a small parking lot in Tofino.
- ¹⁶⁰ "What is Hot Springs Oceanside," *Hot Springs Oceanside*.
- ¹⁶¹ "THE OWNERS, STRATA PLAN VIS6527 STRATA BYLAWS," *Hot Springs Oceanside*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://hotspringsoceanside.ca/StrataBylaws.html>.
- ¹⁶² Muckle, *The First Nations of British Columbia*, 79.

¹⁶³ Kirchner, "Reconciliation through Litigation", pg. 3.1.4.

¹⁶⁴ The five groups that pursued the Maa-nulth agreement were the Toquaht Nation, Huu-ay-aht First Nations, Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/Che:k'tles7et'h First Nations, Uchucklesaht Tribe, and Yuułu?ił?ath. Maa-nulth means "villages along the coast" ("MAA-NULTH FINAL AGREEMENT," *Toquaht First Nation*.)

¹⁶⁵ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.2.

¹⁶⁶ The five groups that persevered with the original fishing claim were the Ahousaht, Ehatesaht, Hesquiaht, Mowachaht/Muchalaht and Tla-o-qui-aht.

¹⁶⁷ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.1.

¹⁶⁸ "History," *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*.

¹⁶⁹ "MAA-NULTH FINAL AGREEMENT," *Toquaht First Nation*.

¹⁷⁰ "B.C. government regrets 1869 hanging of 2 Hesquiaht men," *CBC News*, November 17, 2012, [Page #], accessed January 3, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/b-c-government-regrets-1869-hanging-of-2-hesquiaht-men-1.1127382>.

¹⁷¹ The Hesquiaht themselves had previously raised a memorial pole at Home-is, north of Estevan point in 2008, and Victor Amos, the great-great-great-grandson of one of the victims had contacted the province a few years later, initiating the apology process.

¹⁷² Tom Moore. Interview by David Lynch, December 18 2018, over phone from Duncan BC.

¹⁷³ Brown, Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁷⁴ "Property History," *Hot Springs Oceanside*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://hotspringsoceanside.ca/propertyhistoryetc.html>.

¹⁷⁵ "Property History," *Hot Springs Oceanside*.

¹⁷⁶ These burial caves were later protected by strips of common land separating them from neighbouring lots when the property was surveyed in the process of subdivision.

¹⁷⁷ "Hot Springs Oceanside Zoning By-Law," *Hot Springs Oceanside*, accessed April 10, 2019, <http://hotspringsoceanside.ca/zoning.htm>.

¹⁷⁸ "Property History," *Hot Springs Oceanside*.

¹⁷⁹ At the time of writing, no lot – including those with elaborate cabins – had been sold for anything close to that figure.

¹⁸⁰ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁸¹ He apparently intends to establish a commercial hospitality operation, a use prohibited by the HSO strata by-laws. Ultimately, however, it appears that he mistook the province's standard environmental restrictions as somehow being the product of HSO by-laws.

¹⁸² Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁸³ Asked how we, the cabin-owners, can be better neighbours to the Hesquiaht, Charity Lucas had this to say:

Just being neighbours with each other and being fair...just the way it's been going. Transparent, yeah, because we realize that times have changed. We realize society is growing. We realize that we're not ever going to be isolated like we once were before. We've accepted the fact.

(Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.)

¹⁸⁴ "A Brief Tofino History," *Tofino Guide*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://www.tofino-bc.com/about/tofino-history.php>.

¹⁸⁵ Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch

¹⁸⁶ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁸⁷ Powered by wind turbines and solar panels, the toilets were designed to be self-sufficient, but struggled, particularly in recent years, to contend with less-than-ideal conditions and sheer volume of summer use.

¹⁸⁸ It would be several years before provincial authorities finally opted to embed the fee into the cost of all tourboat and floatplane trips into the Park. The sign at the foot of the boardwalk, however, still suggests that users are expected to pay their 3\$ user fee there.

¹⁸⁹ The more enduring park staff, it seems, have learned to adapt to this tradition.

¹⁹⁰ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁹¹ Jason Bertin. Interview by David Lynch, Tofino, BC. March 12, 2018.

¹⁹² "Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census, Hesquiaht [First Nation/Indian band or Tribal Council area], British Columbia." *Statistics Canada*. Accessed April 10, 2019. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/abpopprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=AB&Code1=2016C1005599&Data=Count&SearchText=Hesquiaht&SearchType=Begins&B1=All&C1=All&SEX_ID=1&AGE_ID=1&RESGEO_ID=1&TABID=2.

¹⁹³ "Aboriginal Population Profile, 2016 Census, Ahousaht [First Nation/Indian band or Tribal Council area], British Columbia." *Statistics Canada*. Accessed April 10, 2019. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/abpopprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=AB&Code1=2016C1005597&Data=Count&SearchText=Ahousaht&SearchType=Begins&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=2016C1005597&SEX_ID=1&AGE_ID=1&RESGEO_ID=1.

¹⁹⁴ INAC also reported an additional 33 people living on "other reserve", which could reflect population in Alberni, Tofino, or conceivably the old village site in Hesquiaht. ("First Nations Profiles - Hesquiaht." *Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada*. Accessed April 10, 2019. http://fnp-ppn.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=661&lang=eng.)

¹⁹⁵ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

¹⁹⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 481.

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- ¹⁹⁷ Anita Bedell, "About," *Hesquiaht Place of Learning*, Accessed March 29, 2019, <https://hesquiahtplaceoflearning.wordpress.com/about/>.
- ¹⁹⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 557.
- ¹⁹⁹ Shaun Shelongosky. Conversation by phone with David Lynch, May 1, 2019.
- ²⁰⁰ "Nuu-chah-nulth Fishing Rights upheld by Supreme Court of Canada," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, last modified January 30, 2014, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://hashilthsa.com/news/2014-01-30/nuu-chah-nulth-fishing-rights-upheld-supreme-court-canada>.
- ²⁰¹ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg.12.
- ²⁰² Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 12.
- ²⁰³ *Ahousaht*, para. 901, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 17.
- ²⁰⁴ Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 25.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ahousaht*, para 788. qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 17-18.
- ²⁰⁶ Garson J, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 19.
- ²⁰⁷ *Ahousaht*, para. 865, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 26.
- ²⁰⁸ *Ahousaht*, para. 786, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 17.
- ²⁰⁹ *Ahousaht*, para. 38, qtd in Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 11.
- ²¹⁰ *Ahousaht*, para. 875, Kirchner, "The Aboriginal right to sell fish", pg. 28.
- ²¹¹ In its ruling, the court set out a three-point test to determine land titles that considers A) occupation. B) Continuity of habitation on the land, and C) Exclusivity in area. ("Tsilhqot'in First Nation granted B.C. title claim in Supreme Court ruling," *CBC News*, June 26, 2014, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/tsilhqot-in-first-nation-granted-b-c-title-claim-in-supreme-court-ruling-1.2688332>.)
- ²¹² Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.
- ²¹³ A second, 'reflector' tower was built by helicopter, across Sydney Inlet, on a mountain-top on Flores Island.
- ²¹⁴ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 553.
- ²¹⁵ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 527.
- ²¹⁶ "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," Wilderness Committee, accessed March 30, 2019, https://www.wildernesscommittee.org/clayoquot_sound_backgrounder.
- ²¹⁷ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 530.
- ²¹⁸ "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," *Wilderness Committee*.
- ²¹⁹ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 560.
- ²²⁰ "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," *Wilderness Committee*.
- ²²¹ "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," *Wilderness Committee*.

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- ²²² "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," *Wilderness Committee*.
- ²²³ Canadian Press, "Activists prepare to take on logging companies," *The Globe and Mail*, last modified July 28, 2008, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/activists-prepare-to-take-on-logging-companies/article657324/>.
- ²²⁴ Anna Mehler Paperny, "Sides in Clayoquot dispute agree to talk," *The Globe and Mail*, last modified July 29, 2008, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/sides-in-clayoquot-dispute-agree-to-talk/article1058248/>.
- ²²⁵ "Clayoquot Sound Backgrounder," *Wilderness Committee*.
- ²²⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 560.
- ²²⁷ Shayne Morrow, "Hesquiaht Nation prevents logging near Hesquiaht Harbour," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, last modified August 12, 2015, accessed March 30, 2019.
- ²²⁸ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 553-554.
- ²²⁹ "Fishery Notice - FN0749-Recreational Salmon: Southwest Vancouver Island - Areas 21 to 24 and 121 to 124 - West Coast Vancouver Island Chinook Management Measures." Fisheries and Oceans Canada. Last modified July 27, 2016. Accessed March 30, 2019. https://www-ops2.pac.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/fns-sap/index-eng.cfm?pg=view_notice&DOC_ID=186533&ID=all.
- ²³⁰ Similar closures applied to much of the wider Clayoquot Sound region (Area 24)
- ²³¹ "June 1 to Sept. 30 Fisheries management measures to protect Southern Resident Killer Whales." Fisheries and Oceans Canada. Last modified May 31, 2018. <http://www.pac.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/fm-gp/maps-cartes/salmon-saumon/2018-skrw-ers-eng.html>.
- ²³² As the province itself put it, "This was the longest Provincial State of Emergency in the province's history, and the first to be declared since the 2003 firestorm." ("Wildfire Season Summary [2017]," Government of British Columbia, last modified 2017, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/safety/wildfire-status/about-bcws/wildfire-history/wildfire-season-summary>.)
- ²³³ Estefania Duran, "B.C. year in review 2017: wildfires devastate the province like never before," *GlobalNews.ca*, last modified December 25, 2017, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/3921710/b-c-year-in-review-2017-wildfires/> and "Wildfire Season Summary [2017]," *Government of British Columbia*, last modified 2017, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/safety/wildfire-status/about-bcws/wildfire-history/wildfire-season-summary>.
- ²³⁴ The previous record was set in 1958, when about 855,000 hectares were burned. Record keeping began in 1950. (Liza Yuzda and Simon Little, "2017 officially B.C.'s worst ever wildfire season," *GlobalNews.ca*, <https://globalnews.ca/news/3675434/2017-officially-b-c-s-worst-ever-wildfire-season/>.)

²³⁵ Interestingly, while open burning was prohibited in most of the rest of the Coastal Fire Centre region, Hot Springs Cove and much of the west coast of the island remained unrestricted, thanks to its location within the narrow belt known as the “Fog Zone”.

²³⁶ "Done with diesel: First Nation proposes hydro project for clean energy future," *CBC News*, July 1, 2017, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/hesquiaht-hydro-project-1.4183034>.

²³⁷ "Done with diesel" *CBC News*, July 1, 2017.

²³⁸ "Done with diesel" *CBC News*, July 1, 2017.

²³⁹ Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://hashilthsa.com/news/2017-08-31/hot-springs-cove-gains-ground-hydro-project>.

²⁴⁰ "Done with diesel" *CBC News*, July 1, 2017.

²⁴¹ Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017

²⁴² Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017

²⁴³ "Hesquiaht First Nations making transition to clean, reliable energy," news release, *Government of British Columbia*. July 20, 2018, accessed March 30, 2019, <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2018IRR0050-001439>.

²⁴⁴ Clayton E. Hiles et al, "Wave energy resources near Hot Springs Cove, Canada," *Renewable Energy* 71 (2014), accessed April 10, 2019, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.renene.2014.06.020>.

²⁴⁵ Andrew Bailey, "Hydro power project proposed at Hot Springs Cove," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, June 19, 2017, accessed January 9, 2019, <https://www.westerlynews.ca/news/hydro-power-project-proposed-at-hot-springs-cove/>.

²⁴⁶ The Barkley Project Group had previously harnessed micro-hydro power for the Tla-o-qui-aht at Canoe Creek. (Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017)

²⁴⁷ Bailey, "Hydro power project proposed at Hot Springs Cove," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, June 19, 2017.

²⁴⁸ “Ahtaapq Creek Hydropower, Maquinna Protected Area Boundary Adjustment Final Stage Two Proposal”, *Barkley Project Group*.

²⁴⁹ Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017.

²⁵⁰ Andrew Bailey, "Diesel-dependent Hesquiaht First Nation receives \$500,000 for hydropower project at Hot Springs Cove," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, last modified July 20, 2018, accessed March 29, 2019, <https://www.westerlynews.ca/news/diesel-dependent-hesquiaht-first-nation-receives-500000-for-hydropower-project-at-hot-springs-cove/>.

"Done with diesel" *CBC News*, July 1, 2017.

²⁵¹ Bailey, "Diesel-dependent Hesquiaht First Nation receives \$500,000", *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, July 20, 2018. "Hesquiaht First Nations making transition to clean, reliable energy," news release, *Government of British Columbia*. July 20, 2018. "Done with diesel" *CBC News*, July 1, 2017.

²⁵² Eric Plummer, "Hot Springs Cove gains ground with hydro project," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, August 31, 2017.

²⁵³ Bailey, "Diesel-dependent Hesquiaht First Nation receives \$500,000", *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, July 20, 2018.

²⁵⁴ "Declaration of Claim - Ahousaht First Nation," *Specific Claims Tribunal*, August 16, 2017, pg. 2 & 13.

²⁵⁵ Andrew Bailey, "Ahousaht First Nation takes over Hot Springs Cove management," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*, last modified March 17, 2017, accessed March 29, 2019, <https://www.westerlynews.ca/news/ahousaht-first-nation-takes-over-hot-springs-cove-management/>.

²⁵⁶ Denise Titian, "Ahousaht takes over management of Hot Springs Cove Park," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, March 2, 2017, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://hashilthsa.com/news/2017-03-02/ahousaht-takes-over-management-hot-springs-cove-park>.

²⁵⁷ "Ahousaht First Nation takes over management of hot springs attraction near Tofino," *CBC News*, March 8, 2017, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/ahousaht-first-nation-takes-over-management-of-hot-springs-attraction-near-tofino-1.4015820>.

²⁵⁸ Bailey, "Ahousaht First Nation takes over Hot Springs Cove management," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*.

²⁵⁹ "Ahousaht First Nation takes over management of hot springs attraction near Tofino," *CBC News*, March 8, 2017.

²⁶⁰ Bailey, "Ahousaht First Nation takes over Hot Springs Cove management," *Tofino-Ucluelet Westerly News*.

²⁶¹ Denise Titian, "Ahousaht takes over management of Hot Springs Cove Park," *Ha-Shilth-Sa*, March 2, 2017.

²⁶² "Ahousaht First Nation takes over management of hot springs attraction near Tofino," *CBC News*, March 8, 2017.

²⁶³ As Jaylynn Lucas, a current Hesquiaht language learner and teacher puts it:

Hesquiaht is a lot different than Nuuchahnulth...we have a lot of different words, different meanings... but when we talk, like when my grandpa used to talk to someone from Gold River, they would understand each other because of the way that they're saying it...the way that it comes out you kind of get it.

²⁶⁴ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

²⁶⁵ Back when he was ministering at Hesquiat, Fr. Brabant had compiled a handwritten ‘Hesquiaht Dictionary’, but his motivation had been very different: to better communicate with his parish in order to further his evangelization.

CONCLUSION - ‘Looking Back, to Move Forward’: Reflecting on the past, present and future of Hot Springs Cove.

¹ This, at least, is one pattern that we modern-day inhabitants of Hot Springs Cove might still share with the original inhabitants of the area, the Manhousahts, who would have spent the rainy season sheltering behind the solid cedar planks of their winter villages, resting, repairing and celebrating.

² Webster. *As Far As I Know*. pg. 59.

³ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

⁴ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

⁵ Kirk. *Wisdom of the Elders*, pg. 171.

⁶ Horsfield & Kennedy. *Tofino & Clayoquot Sound: A History*, pg. 566.

⁷ Lamer C.J. S. in “Judgments of the Supreme Court: Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010”, *Supreme Court of Canada/Lexum*, Accessed March 29, 2019. <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1569/index.do>, para. 186.

⁸ Lucas, Lucas & Shelongosky. Interview by David Lynch.

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