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“Handicapped by distance and transportation”: Indigenous Relocation, Modernity and Time-Space Expansion

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Measuring Distance

A gradual progression from hinterland to heartland; from margin to metropole; from savagery to civilization; from pre-modern to modern; from darkness to light: these have long been the cornerstones of colonialist paradigms around the world. Details have varied over time, of course. But colonial enterprises have been consistently animated by faith in the existence of a positive correlation between Western ways of life and a better—in both material and moral terms—standard of living. In the post-World War Two era, policy-makers and intellectuals fashioned these historically-enduring beliefs into a school of thought known as development theory. Adherents of development theory (and these included both U.S. and Canadian federal Indian Affairs officials) held up the promise of modernity to subaltern peoples (and these included Indians) as though it was a prized trophy to be claimed when they crossed the finish line of their marathon from marginal, impoverished hinterland to central, prosperous heartland. The distance traveled was sometimes figurative, as the benefits of capitalist modernity such as communication media were assumed to extend to and then connect far-flung places. In other cases, populations traversed literal distances through physical relocation to sites where they would supposedly be better able to enjoy modernity's fruits.

Like many other Indigenous peoples around the globe, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation has been the beneficiary cum victim of this line of thought.¹ Twice, in the last fifty years, the community has undergone wholesale relocation. Each move brought them geographically closer to non-Aboriginal town life. In the mid-1960s, people moved from their ancestral village site at Yuquot off the west coast of Vancouver Island. Their main village came then to be located at Ahaminaquus, a reserve thirty miles up the inlet from Yuquot and nine miles downriver from the newly built town site of Gold River. Some community members moved directly from Yuquot to Ahaminaquus; others arrived at Ahaminaquus after a period of living in non-Aboriginal towns or cities. In the mid-1990s, the community relocated again, this time twelve miles inland, just up-river from the town site to their present village of Tsaxana.²

From one perspective, the relocations of this community could be cast as steps along a gradual transformation from hinterland living to a more centralized, better connected, increasingly modern existence. In a certain sense, this was the hope of community members who had their children's best interests in mind when they made the painful decision to leave their homes at Yuquot. Canadian federal Indian Affairs officials also viewed the move to Ahaminaquus optimistically, although they situated their view of what was best within a broader assimilationist vision of modernization. Development theorists of the day would have concurred. These bureaucrats and theorists shared a deep-seated high modernist faith in the ability of human beings to organize, orchestrate, and improve the world through calculated, measurable, and, if necessary, coercive, means. They were technocrats, confident that space could be rationalized and subsequently annihilated through modern technologies of transportation and communication. And, they were equally sure that this time-space compression, as geographer and social theorist David Harvey would later term it, would improve the lives of untold millions in absolute terms.³

Unfortunately for those whose lives were scheduled for improvement, many of high modernism's so-called "schemes to improve the human condition" have failed miserably.⁴ Far from an unqualified improvement in the lives of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht people, the relocation to Ahaminaquus proved disastrous from an environmental health perspective, and less than satisfactory on several other counts as well. Indeed, the second relocation to Tsaxana was necessitated by the dire conditions at Ahaminaquus. If the life that ensued at Ahaminaquus was more modern than at Yuquot, then we have to allow for a definition of modernity that includes a vast reduction (rather than improvement) in quality of life. It is not simply that time-space compression was a difficult or unpleasant experience, although this was certainly true, as Harvey has shown.⁵ Instead, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht at Yuquot seem to have experienced something quite other than time-space compression. In the early 1960s, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht community at Yuquot was accustomed to being connected via modern means to a number of outside services and infrastructure. As

the decade wore on, instead of finding themselves better connected, they found that their village felt more and more like a remote hinterland. Modernity made Yuquot more, not less, isolated than ever before. Rather than time-space compression, the community at Yuquot experienced time-space expansion. A number of factors were responsible for this, none of them inevitable, all of them historically contingent upon human agency. In particular, the nature of federal Indian Affairs bureaucrats and bureaucracy contributed significantly to time-space expansion at Yuquot.

Administrative Relocations

In the 1950s and 1960s, federal Indian Affairs bureaucracies in both Canada and the United States attempted to bring Aboriginal people from what they saw as the wilds of the hinterland to the tamed world of modernity. There was much of this sentiment behind the urban relocation program of Indians in the United States in the 1950s.⁶ Although there was no exact counterpart to this program in Canada, relocations of Aboriginal communities also occurred. Following the Second World War, federal Indian Affairs officials orchestrated a significant number of what have been termed administrative relocations and development relocations.⁷ The former aimed to facilitate the delivery of government services and the latter to make way for national or industrial projects. Both forms of relocation involved simultaneously moving Aboriginal people “for their own good,” and facilitating the goals of the state. The claim that state and Aboriginal interests were so easily aligned should have given policy makers reason to pause from the outset.⁸

The relocation of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht was not orchestrated and executed by the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) in wholesale fashion. There was no master plan to relocate the community; nor was there open coercion on the part of the DIA. However, the DIA exerted powerful indirect coercion on the community, and the ultimate relocation aligned with the same bureaucratic logic that underpinned formal relocation projects. The move was not a free, uncircumscribed choice by residents to leave their homes at Yuquot. The DIA used its authority to make life at Yuquot more, rather than less difficult, and effectively left community members with little choice but to leave. This reminds us that the line between forced and voluntary relocation is not always clear-cut, particularly in contexts where colonial bureaucracies hold significant power.

To DIA officials in the 1960s, the traditional village site of Yuquot was a remote hinterland, where wage employment was lacking and the delivery of services was expensive and inefficient. As the regional superintendent desirous of encouraging the relocation wrote in 1967, “we have right at Nootka, quite an unemployment problem and are handicapped by distance and transportation.”⁹ Alleviation of this problem lay in relocation of the community closer to services, roads, towns, and jobs. For some time, the DIA had been growing in-

creasingly reluctant to maintain services at Yuquot. And, in 1968, they took the decisive step of closing the Nootka day school there.

From Heartland to Hinterland

It is easy to naturalize the isolation of a place like Yuquot located on the southern tip of an island in the Pacific which is in turn off the west coast of Vancouver Island. But it is important to remember, that if, in 1967, Yuquot was a hinterland, if it was handicapped, as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs wrote, by distance and transportation, it had not always been so. Isolation was not a congenital defect of this Indigenous homeland. Space is constructed and isolation is contextual. So too is the notion of a center or a heart. Yuquot has functioned as a number of different hearts in its long history.

Archaeological excavations at Yuquot in 1966 led to its designation as the oldest inhabited site within Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territory, which stretches the 185-mile length of the west coast of Vancouver Island. Yuquot has been a center of Indigenous life for over 4,000 years.¹⁰ Several hundred years before the arrival of Europeans in the late-eighteenth century, it was where members of Indigenous political confederacies gathered in large numbers during the summer months.¹¹ It continued to be an important location in the subsequent development of political confederacies that continued after the arrival of Europeans.¹²

Yuquot became a center of international commerce, exploration, and diplomacy in the late-eighteenth century when European powers vied to claim the Northwest Coast. The Indigenous peoples of Nootka Sound participated in those global exchanges from the beginning. They traded with the Spanish in 1774, four years before Cook arrived and bestowed them with the long-lasting misnomer of Nootka Indians. Following Cook's visit in 1778, an intensely competitive sea-otter pelt trade emerged. High-ranking chiefs along the length of the Pacific coast of what is now British Columbia turned this trade to their advantage. Maquinna, the number one ranking chief of a powerful Indigenous regional confederacy seasonally based at Yuquot, was among them.¹³ Maquinna augmented both his wealth and hereditary status through his participation in the fur trade. At the same time, Maquinna found himself forced to deal with unwelcome intruders who coveted his homeland. Yuquot became a strategic site in the competing Spanish, Russian, American, and British claims. In the first half of the 1790s, the Spanish occupied and constructed a fort at Yuquot and Maquinna and his community moved away. Spain was ultimately unsuccessful in defending its claim to Nootka Sound, however. In 1795, the Spanish retreated and Maquinna and his people regained their ancestral home. Maquinna's sense of power was undiminished; in 1803 Maquinna ordered an attack on the American trading vessel *Boston*; the crew was killed, with the exception of two captives who Maquinna took as his slaves.¹⁴ As the sea otter trade declined, the pelagic seal trade continued to provide connections with global trade and travel. By the

end of the nineteenth century, Yuquot had been on European-drawn maps for over a century and the Indigenous peoples of Nootka Sound were used to being players on a global economic stage.

In the twentieth century, Yuquot became part of a different aspect of global trade: the fishing industry. By 1911, participation in the industrial fishery was an important part of life for the Mowachaht and Muchalaht.¹⁵ In 1916, a cannery opened just a mile north and a short boat ride away from Yuquot. For the next thirty years, community members worked for the cannery: men typically fished and women worked in the processing plant. The cannery offered more than wages. It provided much of the infrastructure necessary for the movement of goods, people, and information. Groceries and other goods could be easily obtained either at the general store, or by ordering items that came with the regular freight.¹⁶ There was a post office. The cannery also provided credit, an essential feature of an economy such as fishing in which income is seasonal.¹⁷ Perhaps most importantly, the cannery provided boats. Some people purchased their own boats and others rented from the company.¹⁸ By 1946, community members had the use of thirty boats through the J.H. Todd Company.¹⁹ These boats were necessary for participation in the industrial fishery. But they also provided an independent means of transportation that people could use to haul goods, visit relatives, or obtain distant medical assistance.

When the cannery closed in the late 1940s, the fishermen at Yuquot formed the Nootka Native Troller’s Cooperative Association.²⁰ They built a fish camp and icehouse. They bought fish directly off the boats and then sold them on contract to canning companies to the south.²¹ They profited from this role as middlemen and used the proceeds to further support community members by purchasing boats for them. As one man remembers, “[T]hey would buy a boat for the boys whenever they needed one. It was, it was nothing for them to get a boat and pay cash for it, eh?”²²

The co-op eventually faltered, however. Community members tell of interference from corporations, fisheries officers, and the DIA that eventually brought it down.²³ Declining salmon stocks in the decades following the Second World War made for difficult years throughout the coastal fishery, but Aboriginal people suffered disproportionately. These were the years that Aboriginal fishers were, as the historian Dianne Newell, puts it, “cast adrift.”²⁴ New fishing technologies and the acceleration of the already existing trend towards centralization in the fishery had a number of deleterious effects on Aboriginal fishers. Larger, more mobile boats equipped with new technologies for keeping fish fresh longer were now able to transport their catch farther to centralized processing centers near urban areas.²⁵ This reduced the need for coastal processing plants and abruptly demoted the status of many cannery locales from heartland to hinterland. The Nootka co-op was up against the same odds that led to cannery closures. Fishers with enough capital to purchase new boats and technology were no longer dependent on the services that the co-op provided.

This was crucial. Aboriginal fishers were uniquely disadvantaged in their ability to raise capital because federal law in Canada prevented them from using their interest in reserve land as collateral. Aboriginal people, in most instances, simply could not get bank loans. Of course, many had long cultivated strong relationships with canneries that provided credit to their shore workers and fishers. Levels of this form of debt increased during these hard economic times. When canneries went, so too did the primary source of credit to Aboriginal communities. The repossession of boats and gear that had been rented or bought on credit from the cannery followed.²⁶

Modernist narratives would have us believe that these processes of centralization and technological change were signs of progress; that the fishery simply became more “efficient.” Popular histories have tended towards this interpretation.²⁷ And in fact, this was also the narrative of the day. The concept of “efficiency” was a central trope in the new rhetoric of resource development that took hold after the Second World War.²⁸ But these historically-specific views on resource management were not timeless truths. Capitalist markets do not function autonomously; they are shaped and directed by human policy choices. Decisions about technology use, resource management, and economic development are thus politicized decisions in which relations of power are fundamental. That many of these decisions come to be widely accepted as natural or inevitable is testimony to the hegemony of decision makers, not to the inherent truth of their claims.²⁹ The DIA could have stepped in and bankrolled Aboriginal fishers to keep them in the fishery and to keep their coastal communities viable. There were federal funds available at this time for such purposes.³⁰ Instead, Indian Affairs chose to support agricultural projects, and so few Aboriginal fishers received help from the DIA. The DIA’s apparent lack of concern for Aboriginal fishers in places like Yuquot was in accordance with contemporary discourses of regional planning that advocated the centralization of economic developments, services, and populations.³¹ Officials’ certainty that Yuquot residents would be better off somewhere else was typical of high-modernist paternalism. The subjective nature of this viewpoint is highlighted by the very different approach that community members took to the increasing sense of isolation that they felt at Yuquot.

Hinterland Adjustments

These broader changes in the fishery were profoundly felt through the devastating loss of boats at Yuquot. By 1963, there were only six boats left: three fourteen-foot homemade plywood speedboats; and three 30 or 35-foot fishing boats.³² By 1967, only one fishing boat and several speedboats remained.³³ In terms of wage work, the growth of the logging industry, in which many Mowachaht and Muchalaht men would find employment, helped mitigate the impact of the fishery decline.³⁴ But the loss of boats had ramifications beyond the question of monetary income. Life without a boat at Yuquot precipitated an

exponential increase in isolation and a concomitant increase in dependency on goods and services provided by outsiders, particularly Indian Affairs. Boats enabled many of the subsistence activities upon which much of the community still depended, particularly during times of low employment, and any decrease in the subsistence economy meant an increased need for store-bought foods and products.³⁵ The new work in logging camps provided some of this increasingly necessary cash income, but it also separated working men from the rest of their families for extended amounts of time. This was a change from the industrial fishery, which employed men, women and children alike, and which allowed fishers to return home at the end of almost every day. Without boats, life at Yuquot also became more dangerous. The remaining powerboats were often hazardous in the rough weather common on the Pacific coast, and marine-related accidents and deaths became frequent in this small community of several hundred.³⁶ The larger fishing boats were safer, but also much slower. It could take five hours to travel the thirty miles to the logging camp at Ahaminaquus. Families came to rely for transportation on Pat Murphy, the owner of this last fishing boat, particularly in emergencies. As one community member recalls: “Pat Murphy more or less cared for the whole reservation if they need to get to the hospital.”³⁷

The loss of boats and the resulting difficulties posed serious challenges. But the community’s initial response was certainly not to consider relocation. Unlike Indian Affairs, community members envisioned a future for themselves at Yuquot. The population of Yuquot was growing in the mid-1950s.³⁸ And over the course of the next decade residents actively worked to maintain and improve community life at Yuquot. They did not embrace an anti-modernism that sought to resist change. Instead, they enacted a local version of modernity, a community-driven alternative to the high modernism of government bureaucracy.³⁹ In 1960, for example, band members agreed to use band funds earned from timber sales to purchase an electrical lighting plant. Each household was to pay for the interior wiring, which the local priest volunteered to string without charge.⁴⁰ At the same time, families contributed money towards a general repair fund.⁴¹ Indian Affairs, however, was unresponsive to the band’s request to release the funds. A letter of complaint from the band speaks to issues much broader than the lighting plant itself:

Over two years ago the Yuquot tribe here at Friendly Cove voted that a portion of the band fund should be used for the installation of a lighting plant. We did this with the understanding that electricity has become a convenience and a necessity for the modern community. Electricity could provide cheaper lighting, with greater safety, than the Naptha lamps we had been using. It was our belief at that time that the Indian department would approve of our attempt to raise

the living standards of the reserve to that of white communities, even Indian groups in some areas.⁴²

Community members wanted electricity to lessen the fire hazard, to allow for an electrically-powered water system, and to improve the lives of school-children.⁴³ They wanted an improved standard of living, and they saw a way to have this at home at Yuquot. As the author or authors of this letter stressed, it was not welfare or charity that the band requested:

We have seen one excuse after another delaying the spending of our money on a light plant. We cut and erected poles in preparation for electricity, and have seen them standing without wires for over a year while we patiently waited for action. At one time the poorness of the band fund could have been an excuse. Now, however, we know that our fund is quite large enough because of timber sales. More offers to buy timber show that our fund will continue to grow.⁴⁴

The author(s) charged more generally that:

So far, the greatest action from the department seems to be in regard to selling what we have . . . our timber, our land, even our mineral rights. We feel that it is time we are allowed to profit from the sale of these things. We think it is time the government took action in a different way . . . let us use some of our own money.⁴⁵

This accusation that Indian Affairs was more interested in economic development than Aboriginal well-being proved accurate. An international corporation was interested in leasing another of the band's reserves. Once the chief informed the Indian agent that the band would halt talks with the company until the lighting plant was completed, the band got its lighting plant in short order.⁴⁶ Although the Indian agent denied any alliance with the company, there is no doubt that the department supported the proposed lease of Indian reserve number 12 (IR12), Ahaminaquus, and the pulp mill development that it would enable. Indian Affairs officials were certain that the mill would prove "highly beneficial" to community members and were thus "of course . . . most anxious to see this proposed development proceed." When band members repeatedly expressed their disinclination to accept the company's offer, Indian Affairs officials enquired whether there was not some legal way that they could enter into a lease "without the sanction of the band."⁴⁷ The confidence of Indian Affairs officials that they knew best meant that here, as elsewhere, bureaucracy and industry shared common interests.⁴⁸

Perhaps Indian Affairs bureaucrats dragged their heels on maintenance and improvements at Yuquot because they were already thinking about relocating the community. If so, they were out of step with the forward-looking community members who lobbied for the lighting plant. Nor does relocation seem to have been on the minds of those families who built new houses at Yuquot in the 1960s. During an unusually rain-free January in 1963, one resident managed to complete the new house he had begun on Boxing Day.⁴⁹ This house came to be filled with all the expected “modern amenities”: record player, gas refrigerator and stove, oil heater and a store-bought bed and mattress.⁵⁰ The local priest pitched in to help with the construction,⁵¹ and judging by the quick completion time for the project, so too did other community members. Three years later, the band volunteered to sell timber from their reserve number 9 and put the proceeds towards housing.⁵² Shortly thereafter, the community decided to invest \$3000 in a new domestic water supply system.⁵³

Community members worked together to identify strategies for dealing with the increasing dangers of isolation at Yuquot. Maurus McLean wrote to the Nanaimo Indian Hospital in 1961 with some ideas about how to improve healthcare at Yuquot. He asked that a nurse visit the village two days a month and that the day school be stocked with medical supplies.⁵⁴ In 1964, the community budgeted for a radiophone and a \$300 emergency fund for transportation to the hospital.⁵⁵ In the 1960s, floatplanes began to provide another link to outside services.⁵⁶ The sense of isolation created a desire not only for safety but for entertainment too. In 1967, the community purchased a billiard table and had it shipped to Yuquot.⁵⁷ “Movie nights,” held in the church basement since the 1950s, continued with the aid of a new 16 mm projector.⁵⁸

Howard Rafferty, the principal of the Nootka Day School, had an energetic and optimistic opinion of the prospects of the community at Yuquot in 1967. One girl had asked to enroll at the Yuquot school for grade eight and he believed others might do likewise.⁵⁹ A number of yellow cedars had been felled for the carving classes “given by the adults and kids for the adults and kids.”⁶⁰ The children were “wide awake and perceptively aware of their environment.”⁶¹ And the adults were hardworking, highly skilled, and motivated. Writing to the Indian agent, Rafferty noted: “The adults . . . talk of the proposed park and museum that you sparked their imaginations with. The collective sense of history is potent.” Principal Rafferty’s own imagination had evidently also been sparked and he was eager to get going:

Your initiative and our perseverance could build a longhouse before Christmas. Morris McLean is an excellent carpenter, August Jack is a hefty reliable worker, other men and all the kids and women would see their history where it always was—in front of them. Would you send the necessary blueprints, a tractor, carpentry materials, and wood necessary for such a project?⁶²

Rafferty seemed completely unaware that this was to be the school's final year in operation.

From the inside looking out, Yuquot in 1967 hardly seemed like a village on the verge of community death. On the contrary, as Rafferty described things: "Our hands are joining through happy energy pride, self-esteem, love, humor."⁶³ Significantly, this sense of cooperative community spirit that he described is one of the most salient memories that many community members today have of their years at Yuquot. None of this is to suggest that Yuquot was some sort of pre-modern arcadia. The image that emerges of life at Yuquot in the 1960s is not one of a community without difficulties or challenges. Nor is it, on the other hand, one of a time-bound community straitjacketed by the past and hopelessly out of touch with modernity.

Isolation Imposed

Isolation is not inherent to place. What was a heartland to Yuquot residents was a hinterland to government officials. Ultimately, the government had more power than residents to imprint its vision of place on Yuquot. Over time, a complex array of economic and political changes that occurred on local and global levels simultaneously produced a powerful process of distancing. Residents increasingly experienced their home as the hinterland that outsiders had long seen it as. The community was forced to leave Yuquot not because basic infrastructure was an impossibility there. They were forced to leave, in part, because Yuquot and the surrounding area lost the infrastructure that it once had. The loss of boats, for example, was a serious blow.

Equally important, however, is that Yuquot, as a place, lost the ability to attract the investment of time and money necessary to create and maintain modern conveniences and infrastructures. This had a lot to do with the practices of Indian Affairs officials. The foot-dragging of officials on the request for a lighting plant at Yuquot was emblematic of the problem. The band decision to acquire a radiophone met with similar indifference. Two years went by before Indian Affairs advised the council: "action has now started on their request for renting a radio telephone."⁶⁴ In their efforts to maintain Yuquot as a viable community, community members met this sort of bureaucratic delay all the time. DIA officials had a legally-binding fiduciary obligation towards Aboriginal people, yet they worked at cross-purposes with them. The bureaucratic paternalism of Indian Affairs contributed significantly to the creation of a sense of isolation at Yuquot. Although Indians had technically been wards of the Canadian federal government since the 1876 Indian Act was passed into law, community members felt the effects of this legislated relationship more than ever once they lost their boats.

The DIA did not necessarily have to formulate a relocation program in order to orchestrate the removal of the community from Yuquot. The nature of bureaucracy itself situated officials as cogs in a larger machine, free from the

“irrational” elements of human emotion and attachment. As Max Weber recognized over seventy-five years ago, great power lay in bureaucracy’s apparent ability to function “without regard for persons.”⁶⁵ Bureaucracy was the mechanism of choice for high modernists. Bureaucrats simply had to perform their individualized tasks while holding fast to the high-modernist belief that Aboriginal people would be better off somewhere less remote, somewhere more centralized. This alone was enough to overdetermine the outcome. Officials responded enthusiastically to requests that fit their own beliefs: they favored offers to lease reserves, and they moved quickly on housing projects that were close to town where water, sewer, and hydro could (at least theoretically) be provided inexpensively through the municipality. And, no small matter, they favored anything that would save them the arduous task of spending up to two weeks a month traveling by boat or floatplane, often in hazardous weather conditions, to reach the “remote” locales where their “wards” lived.⁶⁶ They worked to make their own working lives and the lives that they administered more “legible” and more “rational.”⁶⁷ In this context, community-initiated requests to maintain or improve services at a reserve that officials already believed faced eventual obsolescence inevitably sank to the bottom of the to-do list. Officials may have been scheming or malicious, and some were; but they did not need to be. Overburdened and overworked, they had to prioritize their workload somehow. It only made sense to do so in accordance with their own preconceptions.

Once officials rendered a diagnosis of isolated hinterland, distance could metastasize at an alarming rate. Over the course of the 1960s, some families had migrated to urban centers. By the end of the decade, some of them were looking for a way to return home, but they faced proliferating difficulties. One couple did return to live at Yuquot after a brief period of living away. They have remained there ever since and have been the only permanent residents of Yuquot for almost thirty years. They have experienced the increasing distance around Yuquot first-hand. Once Indian Affairs officials made the decision to build a subdivision adjacent to the pulp mill at Ahaminaquus, they grew even more parsimonious in response to requests for housing maintenance and construction at Yuquot.⁶⁸ With fewer and fewer year-round residents, the freight service in Nootka Sound refused to make regular stops there. Regular floatplane service, which began in 1971, and which might have mitigated the impact of the loss of boats, stopped regular flights to Yuquot in 1975 because Indian Affairs no longer maintained the wharf there.⁶⁹ Residents had raised the question of wharf repair back in 1967 but to no avail.⁷⁰ Postal service, which had been readily available while Nootka cannery was open, was similarly difficult to regain. When thrice-weekly mail service from the town of Campbell River was instituted in 1967 for locales farther up the coast and more geographically isolated than Yuquot, the people of Yuquot wondered why they were left with mail once every three weeks.⁷¹

If space between some places was annihilated by the time-space compression of modernity, the space between Yuquot and elsewhere was magnified. For

the people of Yuquot, the effect of modernity was not time-space compression, it was time-space expansion. The increasingly-felt sense of isolation made life at Yuquot more difficult. And, as community members now remember, the closure of the day school was the final straw. They sought a solution that would allow them to keep their children at home with them. Parents at Yuquot were already used to seeing their older children taken away to the Christie Residential School at Kakawis. Some of the parents had attended the Roman Catholic residential school themselves as children and so knew first-hand of the rigid and foreign routine that awaited their children there. Parents knew that they would not see their children for ten months of every year for several years on end once their children were admitted to Christie. And they knew that each summer when the children returned home all too briefly, they spoke less and understood less of their mother tongue.⁷² The closing of the day school meant that parents faced the choice between sending their children to Christie at an even younger age, when they were just five or six years old, or moving someplace where their children could attend school while remaining at home.

This choice proved to be no choice at all. State control of schooling was a powerful tool for moving reluctant parents.⁷³ There was no single collective community decision on this painful issue; but one by one, families moved from Yuquot. John Frederic Gibson, social worker by occupation and sympathetic ethnographer of Aboriginal life by vocation, described the emptying out of coastal villages such as Yuquot:

The people were leaving the island, and almost every month another house was empty, its windows boarded and the unmistakable appearance of neglect creeping over the walls. No smoke came from the chimneys. No washing hung on the line. It only took one gale and a leaking roof to end the house forever. The rain in that area was heavy, and once the walls were sodden there was nothing to be done.⁷⁴

Modernity's Hollow Promise

As Yuquot receded from modernity, Ahaminaquus seemed to be moving in the other direction. Two-thirds of the reserve had been leased to the Tahsis Company for use in their pulp mill operations in 1963, and the company had promised jobs to band members under clause 21 of the lease.⁷⁵ In the mid-1960s, the band began to correspond with Indian Affairs about the possibility of building a subdivision at Ahaminaquus, and the department offered to build new houses on the unleased part of Ahaminaquus reserve.⁷⁶ In contrast to their reluctance to support infrastructure and economic development at Yuquot, Indian Affairs was enthusiastic about the prospect of building new houses a few hundred yards from a pulp mill. In the words of the Indian agent in 1966, "we encourage projects of this nature because it is in line with Branch policy of

relocating Indians nearer employment.”⁷⁷ Some community members who had left Yuquot earlier in the 1960s wrote to the Indian agent asking for houses at the new reserve. Hereditary chief Ambrose Maquinna, who had moved away from Yuquot in 1963 in order to look for work,⁷⁸ was among those who wanted to take the company up on its promise to hire band members.⁷⁹ Others moved to Ahaminaquus directly from Yuquot when it was time for their children to attend school, when they needed employment, or when they simply decided that it made sense to trade a house at Yuquot that Indian Affairs was so reluctant to maintain for a new house at Ahaminaquus.

Community members and Indian Affairs officials alike hoped that the move to Ahaminaquus would benefit the people at large and the youth in particular. It seemed apparent to everyone that community members were moving from margin to center, from hinterland to heartland. Their new houses were adjacent to a source of reliable employment, a state-of-the-art Kraft pulp and paper mill. Employment difficulties seemed solved. The reserve and mill were nine miles downstream from the recently constructed town of Gold River, built to house company workers. The new town site was billed as the epitome of modern living. Touted as Canada’s first all-electric town, it was also the first to have underground wiring in order to preserve sightlines to the spectacular mountains. Neighborhoods were carefully designed with curved streets and generous lots. A quadrangle of strip malls formed the town’s heart. Schools, medical services, shopping: residents who relocated to the new reserve had good reason to believe that they would have access to them all.⁸⁰

But the actual conditions at IR12 were a far cry from this optimistic promise. If modernity had failed to bring Yuquot closer to the center through time-space compression, it was similarly stingy to the families once they were in their new houses at Ahaminaquus. Geographically, the distance between the Gold River town site and the reserve was only nine miles; but if we use the standard of living as our measurement, the distance was much greater.

Along with putting their children in the local school, employment opportunities were the major motivation for families who moved to the new reserve. Unfortunately for the majority of band members, the promised jobs did not materialize. Despite years of complaints by the band and subsequent promises by the company, racism and ever-increasing educational requirements meant that no more than a handful of band members ever worked at the mill.⁸¹

Improved health and safety conditions were supposed to be another of modernity’s gifts. Indian Affairs had worried about what they felt were the health and safety deficits at Yuquot for many years. Sewage disposal was inadequate. And there were perennial difficulties with the domestic water system. Seasonal water shortages created further health risks, and also posed a fire hazard to the closely spaced wooden houses. The water supply was also vulnerable to contamination by organic matter and animal waste.⁸² These were the sorts of difficulties that commonly affected life in a remote locale. These were the sorts of difficulties that the move towards a modern center was supposed to alleviate.

Instead, the health risks and environmental dangers at Ahaminaquus spiraled to new levels. Rather than an improved standard of living, life became even more dangerous. The same issues that had plagued community health at Yuquot, fire hazards and safe water supply, were exacerbated at Ahaminaquus. In addition, the move out of isolation came with a battery of new health and environmental hazards that were specific to living next to a Kraft pulp mill that was left to regulate its own emissions and environmental impact. Indian Affairs officials at the time understood that living side by side with the pulp mill was going to be highly undesirable, and in response, they might have worked with community members to support the village at Yuquot. But such an approach would have worked against their broader goals of assimilation and centralization. Instead, they hoped that poor conditions at Ahaminaquus would help them to convince band members to move off-reserve.⁸³

Not only did access to proper fire fighting equipment remain a problem at Ahaminaquus, the fire hazard actually increased. Air-borne cedar chips and fibers—known as fines—accumulated on the streets where they not infrequently caught fire when truck drivers tossed cigarettes out their windows.⁸⁴ The presence of a bulk oil storage plant on the leased portion of the reserve further increased the fire hazard.⁸⁵ Large amounts of chlorine and chlorine dioxide also stored at the mill posed another serious threat.⁸⁶ The cedar fines also affected people's respiratory health. Many adults and children developed asthma.⁸⁷ Children developed rashes and sores.⁸⁸ Laundry hung outside came back covered with dust and fines.⁸⁹ When people opened their windows, the emissions from the mill sometimes set off their smoke alarms.⁹⁰ The salt water in the inlet, where the children swam and where the people fished for food, was contaminated with dioxins and furans.⁹¹ Shellfish consumption was first limited, and then banned altogether.⁹² Even the drinking water in people's homes became contaminated when inadequately treated sewage from the upstream town site was dumped into the river from whence it then flowed through the pipes and out the taps of reserve houses.⁹³ The new houses themselves were substandard and deteriorated to the point that by 1992, the Environmental Health Officer judged at least six of them "unfit for human habitation due to fire, health and safety hazards" because they "suffer[ed] from dry rot, leaking roofs, rotten floors, malfunctioning bathrooms, lack of insulation, improper electrical hook ups and a litany of other complaints."⁹⁴

Although community members were closer to towns, roads, schools than ever before, they were as far from the fruits of modernity as they had ever been. Risk of disease and accidents increased at Ahaminaquus. The dangers of traveling in small boats had been replaced by the threat of speeding logging trucks. Alleviation of the danger posed by being far from medical services came at the cost of vastly worsened environmental conditions. Drinking water was still not reliably safe; and now the saltwater posed a threat too. Many band members were still unemployed and were thus as cash-poor as ever. But whereas at Yuquot they had the opportunity to feed themselves off the land and sea, this was more

difficult at Ahaminaquus where shellfish were contaminated and salmon stocks in decline. The change in diet at Ahaminaquus should also be evaluated in light of the appearance of diabetes in this, as in so many other, Aboriginal communities. And these were only the acute health risks. The long-term chronic impact of living a few hundred yards from the noise and stench of the pulp mill has yet to be evaluated.

Relocation (reprise)

The people of Yuquot had not sat idly by bemoaning their increasing distance from modernity; nor did they do so once they found themselves in the difficult circumstances at Ahaminaquus. The nature of the Indian Affairs bureaucracy had not changed much either, and it took a long time before becoming responsive to community concerns. In the early 1970s, the band began what would become a protracted legal struggle that stretched over almost two decades.⁹⁵ Numerous points of law were at question, including a number of rights-of-way, pollution control, and the validity of the original lease to the pulp mill company. Band members enlisted the support of the west coast Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council and of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs.⁹⁶ And they earned a crucial ally in the Environmental Health Officer, Denis Hayes, and then eventually, with Hayes's superiors at Health Canada.⁹⁷ Finally in 1993, a senior official at Indian Affairs acknowledged the situation at Ahaminaquus:

The Mowachaht Band is immediately adjacent to a massive pulp mill complex in a narrow valley south of Gold River, BC. The site is fully developed and seriously overcrowded, located inside an industrial complex with associated safety risks including toxic chemical storage, constant traffic by logging, chip and chemical transport trucks, noise, dangerous areas for children, wind blown particulates from wood chip piles, and air emissions of sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide and mercaptans. Mucahalet Inlet is contaminated with dioxins and furans.⁹⁸

Even so, it was clear that Indian Affairs was motivated to respond only under threat of legal action and liability:

A number of legal issues have been raised by the band . . . The band also alleges breach of DIAND responsibilities in facilitating the band migration . . . A preliminary risk assessment by legal counsel indicates potential liabilities in the \$1 million range with respect to the major claims raised by the band . . . DIAND will relocate the community, but will want releases from existing and potential legal claims.⁹⁹

After extended negotiations, a second community relocation occurred in 1996. Now located upstream from Gold River town, community members could rest assured that the town could never again contaminate their water supply. The Mowachaht and Muchalaht people seemed poised at last to reap the benefits of this planned, prosperous, modern community at Gold River, situated squarely in their traditional territory. Here at last then, they were to arrive after their long journey from hinterland to center. Instead, just two years later in 1999, the mill closed down for good. Dependent on the pulp mill, Gold River witnessed the same recession of modernity that Yuquot had experienced decades earlier.

Today the community continues to search for ways to garner modernity's benefits, rather than simply its drawbacks. After years of living with almost two hundred people crowded onto the nine acres at Ahaminaquus, community members reasonably assumed privacy to be one of modernity's privileges, and they built it into their new environment.¹⁰⁰ Like any modern suburb elsewhere in Canada, their new home at Tsaxana has widely-spaced houses on large lots arranged around a constellation of culs-de-sac. But even this modern purchase has not turned out to be quite so simple. Community members accustomed to the closer quarters of the previous two reserves, while admitting the downsides, nonetheless miss the constant human interaction that used to occur. Many community members also miss being on the water. The desire to escape the environmental hazards of IR12 was the driving force behind the move to Tsaxana, and this has been accomplished by moving twelve miles upriver. This is an enormous adjustment for a people whose ties to the sea extend back to time immemorial. The inland move is even more bittersweet because the mill's closure has eliminated the source of environmental hazard but the relocation agreement prohibits a return to Ahaminaquus.

Space, Power, Colonialism

Community members know from experience what Indian Affairs bureaucrats, with all their paper knowledge, seemed unable to grasp. Modernity is no simple march forward into the light. This is perhaps doubly true in colonial situations. Dots on a map were poor indicators of distance from the amenities of modernity. Space is a social construct; so too is the sense of distance we experience between places or things. Like all things that are socially constituted, the experience of distance cannot be measured independent of relations of power. From this perspective, a host of factors complicate the simple geographical measurements of the distance from Yuquot to Ahaminaquus to Tsaxana. These range from policy decisions that privileged non-Aboriginal fishers over Aboriginal ones, through breakdowns of inter-cultural communication and understanding, to the racism of employers who would not hire Aboriginal workers. Indian Affairs officials in the 1960s saw the provisioning and servicing of Yuquot as unsustainable in both economic and logistical terms. To them, Yuquot was just too far away. This proved to be a false economy, as the \$9.6 million spent to

relocate the community away from Ahaminaquus in the 1990s suggests. And this is to say nothing of the increased cost of health care and other support necessary for community members who lost the means to sustain themselves. Indian Affairs officials, like other high modernists, believed modernity’s advantages involved simple advancements rather than complex trade-offs. It proved woefully naive to assume that a modern subdivision connected by road to a nearby town site would necessarily increase the community’s standard of living. Basic geography did not offer a straightforward solution to the problem posed by how to bring more people under the umbrella of modernity’s blessings. Paved roads and indoor plumbing did not remedy the colonial nature of the relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian state. The paternalism of the colonial state distanced Indigenous people from decisions about their own lives. Then, through their self-appointed role *in loco parentis*, federal Indian Affairs bureaucrats contributed to the counter-intuitive time-space expansion around Yuquot. The DIA’s actions, or lack thereof, exacerbated and in some instances created the community’s distance from modernity’s blessings. This does not necessarily mean that the community was distant from modernity itself; modernity has its curses too, and the Mowachaht and Muchalaht have received more than their fair share of these, as have so many other Indigenous peoples under colonialism.

Experiences of Time-Space Compression Compared and Contrasted

The increasing sense of isolation felt by residents of Yuquot, and of other remote reserves, reservations, outposts, and rural communities around the world was an aspect of global modernity. As space between some locales has been annihilated (at least for those inhabitants with economic means to afford modern transportation and communication infrastructures), other locations have grown more distant from their neighbors than ever before. This process of distancing was not so much in opposition to time-space compression as it was its counterpart. Whether modernity annihilates or magnifies the space around you depends a lot on where you are standing.

Sudden time-space expansions caused difficulty, upheaval, and even heart-break in all communities that found themselves rendered unviable, redundant, or inefficient, in a word: isolated. The changes that left Yuquot stranded are common themes in nostalgic popular histories of British Columbia, for example. The local historian Lester Peterson, mourns the loss of communities such as Ocean Falls, a former pulp-mill town in his evocatively titled piece, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,”

Visibly the town maintained church, school, hospital, hotel,
apartment, café, merchandising, theatre, newspaper, sports,

dairy, bakery, laundry and other facilities. It presented a significant stop for ships and plans. It offered a haven not only for boats owned by mill employees, but also for commercial fishing vessels. Without road access, the isolated inhabitants threw themselves into whole-heartedly into community life.¹⁰¹

Lamenting that non-Aboriginal communities such as this have been condemned to death, Peterson stresses the important role that transportation played: “When the fleet of the Union Steamship Company plied the British Columbia coast, even the tiniest stop received regular service of mail and grocery delivery, and although not every camp could be reached individually by steamer, each camp could find, within practicable distance, a center at which ships did call.”¹⁰² Self-styled modern pioneer Helen Piddington also laments the loss of the Union Steamships. Piddington, who moved to remote Loughborough Inlet on British Columbia’s central coast in 1975, at just about the time that Peterson wrote his piece, writes,

Sometimes I wish we moved here long ago. Life seemed far simpler then. For instance when our house was built in 1934, the Union Steamships made weekly runs from Vancouver up and down the coast . . . And almost anything could be shipped in for very little: mail, groceries, parts were delivered regularly and large items like powerboats and machinery when needed. In Loughborough the port of call was Roy, directly across the inlet, so there was no need to make the long runs, as we must now, for mail or supplies.¹⁰³

Nostalgic as Piddington is, she is correct to note that Loughborough Inlet was less isolated fifty years earlier. Just as the community at Yuquot was stranded by loss of infrastructure, non-Aboriginal coastal communities were likewise made isolated by the disappearance of five hospitals and nearly forty post offices and general stores from the British Columbia coast between 1925 and 1975.¹⁰⁴ And, as at Yuquot, floatplanes compensated only temporarily for the loss of infrastructure in these non-Aboriginal coastal communities. As Piddington writes:

. . . in 1973 one could phone in grocery lists to shops in Campbell River; the order would be delivered to the airline and flown in free of charge. By . . . 1975 this service had stopped, but airfare to Campbell River was still only \$20. Now, in 2000, it costs well over \$80 one-way. Also in the 1970s, if someone was ill, especially a child, medication was flown in gratis. How gracious those days seem.¹⁰⁵

The loss of community, transportation, and communication infrastructures means that, as Peterson writes, “today a single person or a family wishing to locate anywhere along British Columbia’s depopulated coastline . . . would encounter incredible obstacles.”¹⁰⁶ Piddington knows about these obstacles first-hand. For example, where a barge used to bring oil and fill orders of any size, “nowadays oil company policy demands orders of \$10,000 or else one pays an exorbitant delivery charge.”¹⁰⁷ Peterson also cites the cost of living, identifying the rising prices of coastal land, much of it owned by absentee or seasonal owners.¹⁰⁸

Piddington’s complaint about the cost of oil delivery highlights another important point about the transformation of coastal communities. Piddington puts it mildly when she writes that “it isn’t easy to fork out that much money at once.”¹⁰⁹ For many people, it is simply impossible. The once working-class coast is increasingly a playground for the wealthy. Much of the coast today is only accessible, as Peterson notes, to those “who can afford the luxury of yachts.”¹¹⁰

Both Piddington and Peterson wax nostalgic about the disappearance of these coastal communities. And, if asked, they would probably regret the fate of Yuquot too. In fact, Peterson illustrates his piece with images of the eighteenth-century chief Maquinna and “Friendly Cove,” as Cook dubbed Yuquot. He notes the demographic annihilation of First Nations, and reminds the reader that although “there is a tendency now to list the white man’s canneries as the first fish processing plants along the British Columbia coast[,] [a]ctually, at one time every native Indian village constituted a factory at which enormous numbers of salmon of all varieties were processed by either a drying or a smoking process.”¹¹¹ And commenting on the closure of the canneries, Peterson writes, “native Indians, deprived of jobs essential to their economy, also upped stakes and attempted to follow their lost jobs to the cities. In this process, almost every coastal inlet lost its entire native population.”¹¹² There are clear parallels then between the distancing of Yuquot and the death of the non-Aboriginal coastal communities. To a certain degree, displaced Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal coastal residents can be said to share a common history of time-space expansion.

But, there are differences, and they are fundamental. Peterson unwittingly points in the direction of these differences with his succinct enumeration of three factors that kept coastal communities alive. Writing of the steamship lines, he notes,

Existence of this complex network of transportation routes; coupled with both the presence of fish and game and the availability of very cheap Crown land made practicable every one of the communities that have since disappeared.¹¹³

The loss of transportation routes and the decline of natural resources have affected both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, although in quite dif-

ferential ways. And so, in this light, Peterson seems reasonable in suggesting government sponsorship of rural economic development and Department of Fisheries support for small boats docked in remote communities.¹¹⁴ Such measures could be of assistance to Aboriginal people too. But it is Peterson's final item, "the availability of very cheap Crown land," that reminds us of the essentially colonial nature of the story he tells. Every non-Aboriginal settlement that was made "practicable" by cheap Crown land was simultaneously both a cause and an effect of the dispossession of Aboriginal peoples. Moreover, the decline of fish and game resources occurred at the hand of these colonizers who reaped a double yield, growing rich off of unceded resources and unceded land.¹¹⁵ Peterson's is a fully imperialist nostalgia.¹¹⁶ Hoping to reverse the population decline on the coast, he asks: if the speculation-free pre-emption system enticed settlers to our coast sixty years ago, why not throw parts of the coast open to pre-emption again?¹¹⁷ Peterson's proposal amounts to a second wave of colonization. Indigenous people across the province could tell Peterson why not in a heartbeat.

Heartland, Hinterland, Homeland

Definitions of heartlands and hinterlands fluctuate as communities expand and contract with economic and political changes. The difference between the circumstances of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities can be found in a third "h-word": homeland. Among Aboriginal people, for whom the notion of homeland was fixed in place, these fluctuations had unique ramifications. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the Mowachaht and Muchalaht have sought a suitable place to live. They have tried to locate themselves in a place where they and their children and grandchildren might reasonably hope to experience a standard of living proximate to other Canadians. That said, the question of where they live has almost no bearing on where they feel they are from; it has nothing to do with where their home is. Many community members still refer to Yuquot as home. This is true of some who have not returned to Yuquot for thirty years, and it is even true of some who have never lived there. This is the point of incommensurability between Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences of time-space expansion. Whatever ties residents of Ocean Falls or Loughborough Inlet had to their villages, they do not today teach their grandchildren that this village, whose heyday came and went decades earlier, is the child's "home."¹¹⁸ Around the globe, colonialism has displaced Indigenous peoples from their homes. It has been much less successful at changing their sense of homeland.

Conclusion

As capitalist forces of time-space compression bring some communities and places close together (whether physically or metaphorically), they simulta-

neously increase the distance between other communities and places. Those distanced are all too often invisible and consequently all too easily forgotten. It is not simply that these communities and their stories matter, which of course they do. But stories about the British Columbia coast, about places such as Ocean Falls, Loughborough Inlet, and Yuquot, can and should serve us as more than opportunities for nostalgic interludes. We need to be awake to what these stories have to tell us about modernity, distance, and colonialism. If we pay attention, these stories remind us of the fallacy of modernist teleologies that would have us believe in the inevitable decline of inherently isolated and inefficient places and the concomitant improvement and rationalization of the human condition. They remind us to interrogate celebratory claims that the global village brings everyone closer together. They remind us that words such as “inevitable” mask the machinations of power and the workings of racial and class inequity. And they remind us that history does not march in a straight line; that it does not even march forward. Gains are made, but they are neither absolute nor without human cost. High modernism’s promise was, for many, irresistibly optimistic. As one insightful observer of mid-century coastal Aboriginal life writes: “Few of us remain outside the didactic optimism of the modern state. Few of us are free.”¹⁹ But too often this optimism conceals brutal, perhaps immeasurable, loss. The reason these stories matter is because of their potential to free us, if only briefly, to dim this blinding beam of optimism so we can see the people and places it obscures in its shadows.

Notes

This article is part of a larger and on-going research project with the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation. I thank the band council for its permission, support, and access to their documentary record. And I thank all the members of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation who took the time to participate in this research, and particularly my research assistant Sheila Savey. Forty-three band members have spent over fifty hours with me sharing their memories and experiences of relocation. I am enormously grateful for their patience and generosity. I also thank the other people who agreed to be interviewed for this project. These interviews will be the focus of forthcoming work and do not play a direct role in this essay. That said, there is no denying that the hours I have spent in conversation with community members have shaped my interpretation of the documents. Some sentiments have been so widely expressed to me in both formal interviews and informal conversations that I characterize them as broadly shared community perspectives. I mention some of these in the course of this essay. Any errors of fact or interpretation are, of course, my own. I also offer my thanks to the audience at the BC Studies conference in 2005, where I first presented this work, to Jack Woodward, and to colleagues Tina Loo, Coll Thrush, and Graeme Wynn who commented on this paper. This research was funded by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

1. The present-day Mowachaht and Muchalaht First Nation is the product of a formal amalgamation in 1950 of previously two separate groups, the Mowachaht and the Muchalaht. In the century prior to this, the two groups had grown increasingly close through marriage and residence. Successive unifications of local groups in Nootka Sound since the late-eighteenth century had given rise to these two entities. Since the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, these groups have been widely known as the Nootka Indians. They retain distinct traditional territories. Yvonne Marshall, “Political History of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth People: A Case Study of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht Tribes” (PhD dissertation, Simon Fraser University, 1993), 17.

2. Interestingly, and in contrast to both removal in the United States and urban migrations, these consecutive relocations did not displace the people from their traditional territory. Yuquot is in Mowachaht territory, and Ahaminaquus and Tsaxana are in Muchalaht territory.

3. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 240. See also Graeme Wynn, "Shall We Linger Along Ambitionless?": Environmental Perspectives on British Columbia," *BC Studies* 142/143 (2004): 64.

4. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Scott's investigation of this topic is impressively wide-ranging, but remarkably, he omits Indigenous peoples of the Americas entirely from the litany of tragedies he enumerates.

5. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, chaps. 15-19.

6. Donald Lee Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), chap. 1.

7. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1996), 1, 2, chap. 11, section 1.1. http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg34_e.html#109. Accessed 4 August 2005.

8. Interestingly, during this period, Indian Affairs simultaneously encouraged the relocation of some Aboriginal communities *away* from non-Aboriginal towns and *towards* the hinterland. This was especially true in the Arctic. Both centralizing relocations and relocations away from non-Aboriginal centers were based on the assumption that real Indians could not handle the conditions of modernity, and needed to be either assimilated or else removed from non-Aboriginal milieus. In this sense then, relocations towards and away from non-Aboriginal society were two sides of the same coin. David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). Alan R. Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995). Frank J. Tester and Peter Keith Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994). Non-Aboriginal communities were similarly relocated to make way for high modernist development projects, especially dams. See for example Tina Loo, "People in the Way: Modernity, Environment and Society on the Arrow Lakes," *BC Studies* 142/143 (2004): 161-96.

9. W.G. Robinson to F.A. Grobb, 25 September 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967, Property of Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation (hereafter abbreviated [M/MFN]).

10. Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 104 & 13.

11. *Ibid.*, 129, 197.

12. *Ibid.*, 199.

13. "Maquinna" was historically the hereditary name held by the highest ranking chief of this confederacy. The name was passed from generation to generation. "Maquinna" eventually became a surname, and today a member of this family, Mike Maquinna, continues to hold this hereditary position.

14. Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), chap. 1.

15. "Mowachahts Fight Tahsis Company over Pollution," *Ha Shilth-Sa* 6 (October 1979), 1.

16. Hugh Brody, "The Washing of Tears" Interview Transcripts, Part I, SR10, 7 [M/MFN]; Envelopes "L," "P," & "Q," 90-43 Nootka Packing Co. Ltd., 1917-1929, Campbell River Museum & Archives.

17. Envelope "P," 90-43 Nootka Packing Co. Ltd., 1917-1929, Campbell River Museum & Archives.

18. Hugh Brody, "The Washing of Tears" Interview Transcripts, Part I, SR10, 7 [M/MFN].

19. "Mowachahts fight Tahsis Company over Pollution," 1.

20. "Nootka Native Troller Cooperative Ass'n: Members," 14 March 1951, Book of Minutes, in possession of Margaret Amos. Indian Affairs referred to the co-op as the Nootka Native Fisherman's Cooperative Association. N.W. Garrard to W.S. Arneil, 6 November 1950, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1959 [M/MFN].

21. Hugh Brody, "The Washing of Tears" Interview Transcripts, Part I, SR10 9-10, [M/MFN].

22. *Ibid.*

23. "Mowachahts fight Tahsis Company over Pollution," 1.

24. Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries*, 1st ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993), chap. 6.

25. *Ibid.*, 124.

26. *Ibid.*, 136-7.
27. Lester R. Peterson, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,” in *Raincoast Chronicles First Five: Stories and History of the B.C. Coast*, ed. Howard White (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 1976), 150.
28. Newell, *Tangled Webs of History*, 123-24.
29. Dianne Newell offers a sustained and compelling illustration that even a concept that seems as biologically determined as “resource conservation” is, in fact, constituted through human decisions that favor certain groups in society over others. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 137.
31. *Ibid.*, 130. The DIA’s bias in favor of farming fits with the long-standing belief of colonizers in Canada that agriculture was a more civilized pursuit than fishing.
32. [Handwritten notes re: Father Jack McCann] 1993, J. Woodward file 1664.8.47 [M/MFN].
33. W.G. Robinson to F.A. Grobb, 25 September 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].
34. Meeting of Nootka Band held on M.V. Skeena at Friendly Cove, 4 May 1966, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].
35. Elsewhere, high-modernist government bureaucrats were blind to the value (both social and economic) generated by subsistence economies and failed to account for the cost to communities when relocation curtailed or destroyed such activities. Powerful defenses of the value of Indigenous subsistence economies emerged from the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Thomas R. Berger and Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Canada), *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988). Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988). Non-Aboriginal relocatees similarly valued their subsistence activities. Loo, “People in the Way,” 194.
36. On the dangers of boat travel to and from Yuquot, see John Frederic Gibson, *A Small and Charming World* (Toronto: Collins, 1972 rev. ed; Smithers, BC: Creekstone Press, 2001), 158-62.
37. Examination for discovery by Mr. Pollard for the Defendant, Her Majesty the Queen, in the Federal court of Canada, No. T-2283-86, Between Violet Johnson et al (Plaintiffs) and Benny Jack et al (Plaintiffs) versus Her Majesty the Queen, CIP Inc. and Petro-Canada Inc. (Defendants), 10 July 1990, J. Woodward file 1664.7.09, 24 [M/MFN].
38. W.S. Arneil to J.G. Bowen, 29 March 1957, file 978/8-2-9-1: 1, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN].
39. On the need to recognize multiple definitions of modernity and progress see Berger and Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Canada), *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, 1, 8, 23. More recently see Loo, “People in the Way,” 162, 89-96.
40. Council Meeting Minutes, 15 March 1960, Book of Minutes, in possession of Margaret Amos.
41. 12 May 1960, “Church—Lighting Plant—Repairs—Contribution,” Yuquot—miscellaneous correspondence, 1950s-1960s, Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation Band office files [M/MFN].
42. [unsigned letter], [1962], Yuquot Indian Reserve, Nootka, BC, J. Woodward file 1664.5.03 [M/MFN].
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Ambrose Maquinna to J.L. Homan, 24 May 1962, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1962 [M/MFN]; J.L. Homan to Ambrose Maquinna, 28 May 1962, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1962 [M/MFN]; J.L. Homan, Quarterly report for quarter ending May 31, 1962, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1962 [M/MFN].
47. W.J. McGregor to W.C. Bethune, 27 February 1961, J. Woodard File 1664.5.12.1960-61 [M/MFN]; 2 May 1961, Handwritten minutes of meeting with Nootka Band, J. Woodard File 1664.5.12.1960-61 [M/MFN]; J.L. Homan to Ambrose Maquinna, 28 May 1962, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1962 [M/MFN].
48. Berger and Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Canada), *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, 6.
49. [Handwritten notes re: Father Jack McCann] 1993, J. Woodward file 1664.8.47 [M/MFN].
50. Father Larry Mackey to Gordon Robinson, 10 April 1968, J. Woodward file 1664.5.03 [M/MFN].
51. [Handwritten notes re: Father Jack McCann] 1993, J. Woodward file 1664.8.47 [M/MFN].

52. "Meeting of Nootka Band Held in Friendly Cove School, Friendly Cove, BC," 1 December 1966, file 4215-3-630: 1, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN].

53. Minutes of meeting of district council, West Coast Agency, 11 March 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].

54. Maurus McLean to D.R. Campbel, 12 October 1961, J. Woodward file 1664.7.03 [M/MFN].

55. Nootka Band Council to J.L. Homan, 25 January 1964, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1964, [M/MFN].

56. Gibson, *A Small and Charming World*, 153.

57. Band Council Resolution, Nootka Band, 1 December 1966, file 4310-3-630 974-1, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN]; W.G. Robinson to Brunswick of Canada Ltd., 11 September 1967, file 4310-3-630 974-1, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN].

58. Howard Rafferty, Principal, Nootka Indian Day School to Indian Agent, West Coast Agency, 12 September 1967, file 978/6-1-024, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN].

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.* We should, of course, view Rafferty's comments with a healthy measure of skepticism. But at the same time, we should also remember that non-Indians who came into Aboriginal communities in the 1960s were far more likely to carry prejudices against rather than in favor of Aboriginal people.

64. Nootka Band Council Meeting held aboard M.V. "Skeena," 16 February 1966, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].

65. Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 215. See also *Ibid.*, 214, 216, 228.

66. Memo from Art [Pape] to file, 26 March 1980, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1977-present [M/MFN]; Gibson, *A Small and Charming World*, 130, 97-98.

67. Scott and Loo both discuss the concept of legibility. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*. Loo, "People in the Way." Rationality is a key concept for Weber. Weber, "Bureaucracy."

68. [Maurus McLean?] to West Coast Indian agency, Port Alberni, 12 June 1968, J. Woodward file 1664.5.03 [M/MFN]; Leonard J. Mark (& Raymond Williams) to Mr. Allen Fry, 10 December 1970, J. Woodward file 1664.5.08 [M/MFN]; Johnny Williams (& Raymond Williams) to Mr. Allen Fry, 10 December 1970, J. Woodward file 1664.5.08 [M/MFN]; L.W. Larsen, Housing & Physical Development of Communities, 24 December 1970, J. Woodward file 1664.5.08 [M/MFN].

69. Mowachaht Council Meeting Minutes, 30 October 1975, Spiral Notebook, J. Woodward file 1664.5.18.00 (Ledgers) [M/MFN].

70. Meeting of Nootka Band at Friendly Cove, 8 May 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].

71. *Ibid.*

72. Residential schools for Indians in Canada were funded by the federal government, who contracted the schools out to various religious denominations. The schools first opened in the mid-nineteenth century and the last one did not close until 1996, although most had shut down in the 1970s. The schools are considered a national scandal in Canada and a litany of law suits have been initiated by former students who were physically or sexually abused while attending the schools. Apart from these tragedies, the schools constituted a form of cultural abuse, some would say genocide, in their forceful attempt to assimilate Indian students. Students were routinely punished for speaking their mother tongue. John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1996), 1, 2, Chap. 10. http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sgm10_e.html. Accessed 4 August 2005.

73. Access to schooling and school buses was used to force non-Aboriginal families to relocate in the Arrow Lakes Valley too. Linda Kendall, "Death of a Community," *BC Studies* 142/143 (2004): 154.

74. Gibson, *A Small and Charming World*, 144.

75. G.H. Macvey to Tom Moffat, 27 February 1968 J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1968, [M/MFN]. As early as the 1970s, Thomas Berger warned about the false promise of full wage employment for rural Aboriginal populations. Berger and Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Canada), *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, 4.

76. Agency Report, Meeting of the West Coast District Council, 1969, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1969-1973 [M/MFN].

77. N.E. Whitehead to Don Huntley, 11 May 1966, J. Woodward file 1664.18.18 [M/MFN].
78. Ambrose Maquinna to J.L. Homan, 15 May 1963, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1963 [M/MFN].
79. Ambrose Maquinna to [Indian Affairs], 30 August 1966, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].
80. Laurie Jones, *Nootka Sound Explored: A Westcoast History* (Campbell River, B.C.: Ptarmigan Press, 1991), chap. 8.
81. J.L. Homan to Ambrose Maquinna, 7 December 1961, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1960-61 [M/MFN]; Tahsis Company to J.L. Homan, 22 January 1964, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1964 [M/MFN]; W.G. Robinson to F.A. Grobb, 25 September 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN]; Nootka Band member[s] to W.G. Robinson, 29 September 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN]; H.S. Wilson to [?], 21 February 1968, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1968 [M/MFN]; G.H. Macey to Tom Moffat, 27 February 1968, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1968 [M/MFN]; Memo from Art Pape to file, 26 March 1980, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1977-present [M/MFN].
82. File 978/8-2-9-1: 1, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [M/MFN].
83. W.B. Bailey to A/Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, 17 May 1961, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1960-61 [M/MFN]; J.E. Falkenberg to J.V. Boys, 15 December 1967, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1966-1967 [M/MFN].
84. [Notes of a meeting held in Campbell River Municipal offices] 12 June 1974, J. Woodward file 1664.5.12.1974-76 [M/MFN].
85. [J. Yong] to D. Clegg, 25 August 1981, J. Woodward file 1664.18.10 [M/MFN].
86. C. Van Netten to Rodney Thur, 27 March 1991, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
87. “Indians Angered by Water Pollution,” *Times-Colonist*, Sunday, 9 December 1990, B12, copy in file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
88. Minutes of pollution by-law hearing, 14-15 August 1979, J. Woodward file 1664.5.18.00 (Ledgers) [M/MFN].
89. Hugh Brody, “The Washing of Tears” Interview Transcripts, Part II, SR 81, 5-6 [M/MFN].
90. *Ibid.*
91. Briefing notes for Minister Irwin for meeting with Minister Cashore by John Watson, 23 November 1993, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
92. S.M. Osborne to Chief Jack, 23 November 1989, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.; Brett Lowther, “Moving the Village,” *Monday Magazine* (Victoria, BC), 9-15 December 1993, copy in file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
93. Denis Hayes to H.J. Johnson & Chief & Council, Mowachaht Band Office, 21 August 1989, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
94. Denis Hayes to Chief and Council, Mowachaht Band Office, 26 June 1992, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
95. J. Woodward file #1664 [M/MFN].
96. Angela Cantryn to Chiefs & Council, Mowachaht Band, 23 June 1989, J. Woodward file #1664.18.27 [M/MFN]; Mowachaht, Band Council Resolution, 22 January 1979, noted in Jan van de Voort, “Memo on Land Matters - Mowachaht/Tahsis,” 10 September 1982, J. Woodward file #1664.5.12.1977-present [M/MFN].
97. Denis Hayes to H.J. Johnson, 22 November 1990, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC; J.H. Johnson to Chief and Council, Mowachaht Band Office, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC; Denis Hayes, Personal Interview, 12 February 2004.
98. Briefing notes for Minister Irwin for meeting with Minister Cashore by John Watson, 23 November 1993, file #151-5-1-28, Medical Services Branch, Health & Welfare Canada, Victoria, BC.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Robert Mason Lee, “Pollution-free Property Sought for Indian Band,” *Vancouver Sun*, 19 August 1993.
101. Peterson, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,” 160-61.
102. *Ibid.*, 158, 161.
103. Helen Piddington, *The Inlet: Memoir of a Modern Pioneer* (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 2001), 42.
104. Peterson, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,” 162.
105. Piddington, *The Inlet*, 43.
106. Peterson, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,” 162.
107. Piddington, *The Inlet*, 45.
108. Peterson, “British Columbia’s Depopulated Coast,” 162.

109. Piddington, *The Inlet*, 45.
 110. Peterson, "British Columbia's Depopulated Coast," 163.
 111. *Ibid.*, 157.
 112. *Ibid.*, 160.
 113. *Ibid.*, 158.
 114. *Ibid.*, 163.
 115. The history of land in British Columbia is somewhat unique in North America. The vast majority of First Nations in the province have never signed a treaty ceding their lands, nor have they been defeated militarily. In 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada determined that Aboriginal title continues to be a burden on the Crown in British Columbia and advised the Province and the Federal Government to negotiate compensation settlements with First Nations across the province.
 116. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), chap. 3.
 117. Peterson, "British Columbia's Depopulated Coast," 163.
 118. It is worth noting that many overseas immigrants to North America have exhibited this sense of home that endured across time and space in their on-going attachment to villages in the "old country." Denise Chong, *The Concubine's Children: Portrait of a Family Divided* (Toronto: Viking, 1994). Richard White, *Remembering Ahanagan: Storytelling in a Family's Past*, 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998). Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas, Global Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).
 119. Gibson, *A Small and Charming World*, 203.

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