

THE SETTLEMENT OF NOOTKA SOUND:
Its Distributional Morphology,
1900-1970

by

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ABSTRACT

During the first seven decades of the twentieth century, human occupancy in the Nootka Sound region of Vancouver Island's west coast has been characterized by a high rate of settlement mobility and mortality. In this thesis, the development of settlement is described in three phases. The first phase, 1900-1920, is characterized by small-scale, dispersed, speculative settlement. The second stage is initially defined by extensive, dispersed settlement located around fish processing plants. Decline in these settlements and the development of other settlements based on gold mining in the Zeballos area characterize the second decade of the period. The third phase, 1940-1970, begins with extensive development of settlement based on logging and timber processing, while that based on fish processing and gold mining experienced a high mortality rate. Settlement in the past two decades, 1950-1970, reflects a tendency to centralize and rationalize timber extraction with population shifting from dispersed, small-scale and often mobile forms of settlement, to nucleated towns incorporating a variety of services.

The tendency to establish sustained-yield practices in the dominant forest industry is coincident with the central-

ization of production and the concentration and stabilization of settlement units. These covarying tendencies are thought to describe the probable state of settlement evolution in the foreseeable future.

The historical geographer must...be a regional specialist, for he must not only know the region as it appears today; he must know its lineaments so well that he can find it in the traces of the past, and he must know its qualities so well that he can see it as it was under past situations.

- Carl Ortwin Sauer, in Forward to Historical Geography

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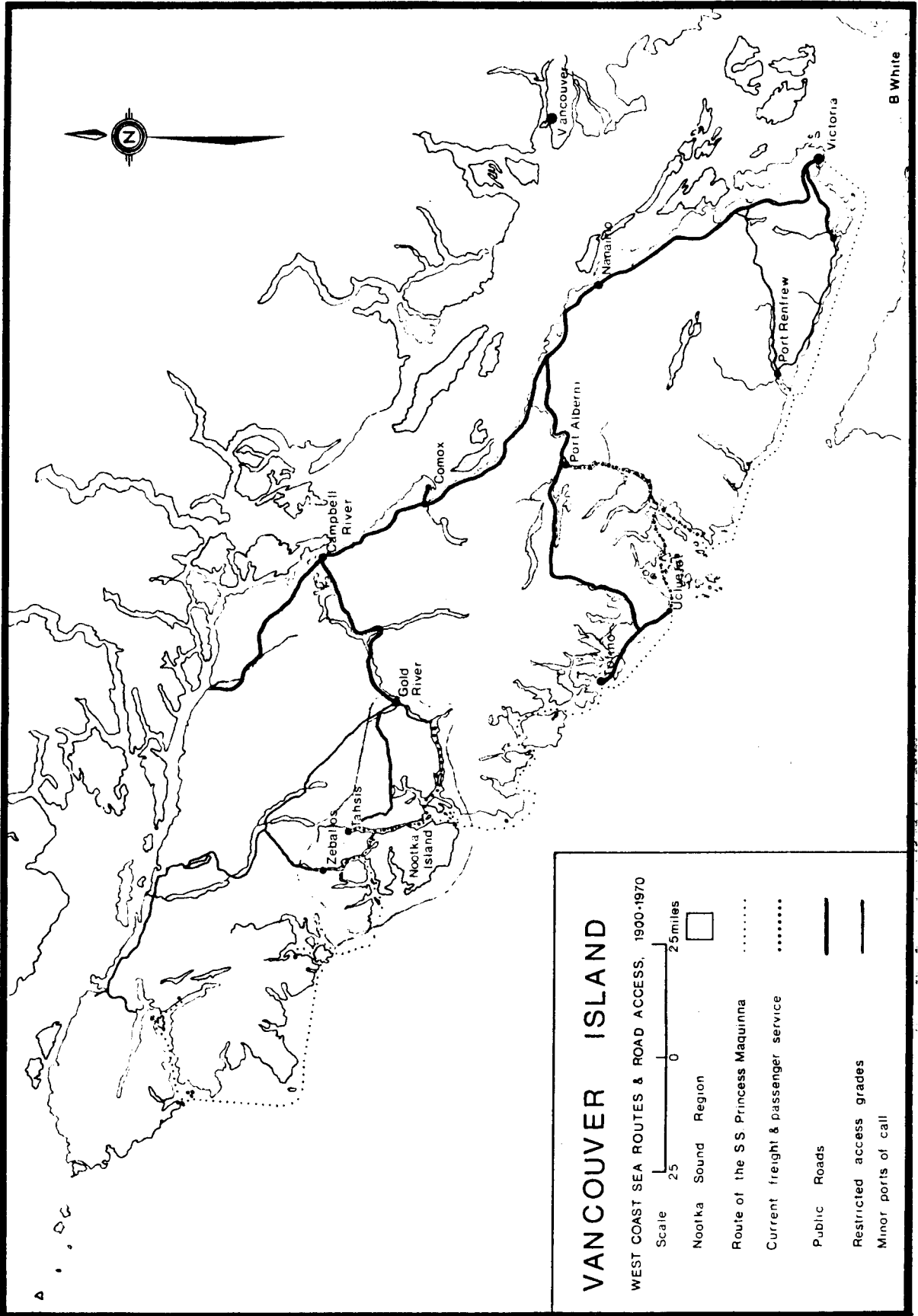
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A

B White

VANCOUVER ISLAND

WEST COAST SEA ROUTES & ROAD ACCESS, 1900-1970

Scale 25 0 25 miles

Nootka Sound Region

Route of the SS Princess Maquinna

Current freight & passenger service

Public Roads

Restricted access grades

Minor ports of call

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the human occupance of Nootka Sound has been characterized by a high degree of settlement mobility and mortality. The area under consideration in this study focuses upon the coasts and waterways of Nootka Sound, including its tributary fiords and streams.¹

In this thesis, the development of settlement patterns are appropriately framed within three stages. The first stage comprises dispersed, small scale and often mobile forms of settlement. This stage, extending approximately from 1900 to 1920, is marked chiefly by the speculative acquisition of rights to timber, land, and minerals, whose exploitation form the basis for settlement.

The second stage is recognized by settlements based on more stable industries, typically with coastal sites. The rapid development of nucleated settlements based on resource extraction and processing, principally in the Esperanza Inlet and Zeballos Arm areas, provided the settlement focus in the research area between 1920 and the Second World War. Settlement mobility, especially obvious in the case of float camps, characterized

settlement morphology. Zeballos, the first town in the research area, developed as a result of a gold rush in 1936.

The third stage, covering the years 1940-1970, was initially characterized by a period of high settlement mortality between 1940 and 1952, due to changes in resource availability, extraction feasibility, and market demand. Canneries, pilchard reduction plants, and gold mining in Zeballos closed down, while logging and sawmilling accelerated in importance to become the principal sources of employment in the region. Since 1952 the consolidation and rationalization of the resource extraction process has paralleled the increasing size and importance of nucleated settlements based on the timber industry. Settlement mobility has continued to be an important feature in timber extraction, as floating logging camps have been used considerably over the past two decades. Settlement mobility appears to have commenced a decline due to an increased emphasis on road transportation in the forest industry, a development which seems to have heralded a consolidation phase, as settlements have become more locationally and socially stable.

An important indicator of the changes in settlement morphology is the altered emphasis in movement from waterways to land and air routes. Improved market access, changing economic base, and centralization of settlement has markedly decreased the seasonality of many jobs in the research area. Social expressions of the trends under consideration include population stabilization (increased number of families as opposed

to single male workers), expansion of community facilities, and incorporation of the three major settlements, Zeballos, in 1952, Gold River as an "instant" municipality in 1965, and Tahsis, in 1970.

Despite tendencies towards population stabilization, the Nootka Sound region has consistently been perceived as a frontier area by Canadians and Europeans. Only in the case of the homesteaders have people working in the area developed an affinity with the landscape above and beyond simple economic returns. Traditionally, the white man's relationship with the landscape in the research area has been exploitive, and characterized by "permanent impermanence",² from the earliest missionaries, hand loggers, and miners, to present-day corporate employees working their way up the company hierarchy in the disembodied suburb of Gold River, hoping, through promotion, to eventually 'get to town'.

To recognize the impermanence of settlement, however, is not to deny that each phase and each point of establishment leaves its legacy. In this essay, it is the cumulative settlement morphology of the Nootka Sound region, expressing both the successes and failures of human ambitions over the past seventy years, that is of primary interest.

The landscape is reconstructed at points in time. The 1900 landscape is briefly described not as pristine, but as a Relict Landscape,³ retaining features of the declining Nootkan, or Aht Indian culture. Following an explication

of settlement changes between 1900-1970, the landscape is once again briefly examined, taking into account both currently flourishing settlements and settlement relicts added to the landscape over the past seven decades.

The contemporary landscape of the region expresses the changes in resource demands, scale of settlement, and transportation that have occurred since the turn of the century, both in the immediate area and throughout coastal British Columbia. Trends identifiable within the research area reflect, in microcosm, events occurring elsewhere on the coast, although many regional disparities of both time and place obviously must be accounted for. It is possible that the phases in the thesis could be applied to a larger-scale study encompassing the west coast of Vancouver Island, or coastal British Columbia in its entirety.

METHODOLOGY

The study is based upon evidence collected over the five-year period 1967-1971. Documentary evidence incorporated government documents and other published and unpublished sources, including maps and photographs from collections at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, and the Provincial Archives. An example of documentation from a provincial government agency is the Nootka Land Registry, a copy of which was acquired from the Director of Lands in Victoria. The Land Registry documents all land alienations in the region since 1885. Other sources include magazines and newspaper articles, corporate archives, geological and oceanographic surveys. These sources, along with the principal book on the area (Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, by George Nicholson) are dealt with further in the Review of Literature. Most pertinent nonpublished material was duplicated and indexed, as were maps and old photographs.

Field research has involved on-site examination of all settlement sites in order to ascertain their exact location, present condition, and existing relationship with the regional pattern of human occupance. Old logging float camps or shore camp locations, long since moved elsewhere, were roughly established by dating second-growth timber in logged areas along the shore-lines, and then comparing observations with Timber Licence entries in the Nootka Land Registry.

In some cases, evidence of earlier settlements in the form of ruins and deserted buildings was initially discovered through minute examination of the landscape by boat, float plane, or on foot. Several settlements were not recorded in the Land Registry in an identifiable manner, and could only be definitely located on a map by visiting their sites. Examples of such settlements would be the dry salteries along Esperanza Inlet established by Japanese corporate interests in the first three decades of the twentieth century, and trappers' cabins located towards the interior of Vancouver Island.

Interviews with pioneers and with persons currently working in the Nootka Sound region were an important aspect of field research, providing insights not readily available in documentary sources. Although a score of people were interviewed, certain informants were judged to be more authoritative than others, and it is these people who are referred to in the text.

The evidence for the development of settlement presented in this study is the result of a comparative analysis of documentary sources, observations in the field, and interviews with pioneers and those currently living and working in the research area. Different kinds of evidence have been used to explicate settlement changes at different points in time. Wherever possible, reliable documentary sources such as the Nootka Land Registry have been preferred, with other kinds

of evidence used in a secondary and collaborative manner.

The fact that one major source of documentary evidence is not used to initially describe settlement throughout the paper should not be construed as a lack of rigor in selection of a frame of analysis. No single source of evidence is accurate enough to serve as a continual organizational focus. Rather, evidence is selected and assembled in accordance with its suitability to the phase of settlement being explicated. The advantage of selecting and synthesizing a very wide variety of source material lies primarily in the extremely detailed mozaic of settlement changes over time which may be assembled. In this study, details are important; the widely varying circumstances of settlement mobility and mortality can be adequately understood only by the closest examination possible. It must further be remembered that the region under consideration is relatively small, with an unstable economic base, affected by decisions made in the "outside world", and by changing conditions within Nootka Sound itself.

The Nootka Sound region exemplifies settlement development on Vancouver Island's west coast over the past seven decades. The thesis offers a descriptive analysis of the sequential development of settlement in the Nootka Sound region, and concludes by isolating and highlighting the central theme of settlement mortality and mobility.

The fictional account of the region in 1900 which comprises part four of Chapter I takes the reader on a tour of a Relict landscape, dotted with remnants of once extensive Nootka Indian settlement, in a setting not yet significantly changed by European settlement and resource exploitation. The concluding chapter repeats the tour, but is primarily concerned with the nature of current human occupance, rather than with the region's physiography, and indian settlement.

The sequence of maps represent reference points in the development of settlement. The photographs and sketches similarly serve as reference points, complementing, rather than supplementing the written text.

Overall, the study is structured to provide an ongoing picture of settlement development and mortality. The time periods designated in Chapters II, III and IV reflect the nature of the data, as used to synthesize the interpretation of settlement morphology.

The commencement of each period (chapter) represents a quiescent period in settlement development, as indicated by the evidence available to the researcher.

It should be pointed out that there is a lag factor between changing resource perceptions, and changes in the settlement of the Nootka Sound region. Changing resource perception will not be dealt with in a significant manner, since settlement development and mortality is the main focus of this thesis.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND SOURCES

The published sources used in actually researching the thesis may be dealt with quite briefly. The most important published work is George Nicholson's Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, printed by Morriss Printing Company of Victoria in 1965. Nicholson presents a series of vignettes in no discernible order, dealing with different people, places, and events of historical interest. His long-term experience as Department of Mines representative in Zeballos make his comments on that town particularly valuable as a basic source. The same applies to his remarks on Esperanza Inlet, the pilchard reduction boom, and the growth of Tahsis town. In all cases where Nicholson's reports have had doubt cast upon them in interviews with pioneers and people currently working in the research area, collaborative evidence has been introduced. In some cases, Nicholson's description of events has been discarded as being inaccurate in the face of extensive contradictory data from other sources. Nicholson is, to date, the single available published general source on Nootka Sound's recent history.

Other published sources are used, including government geological surveys, and data gleaned primarily from newspaper and journal reports contemporary to the period under examination. For example, Margaret Sharcott's article 'Nootka's Silver Harvest', was first published in the Victoria Daily

Colonist, and was used comparatively with Nicholson's description to document the rise and fall of fish processing in the Nootka Sound region.

The Nootka Land Registry, which records all land alienations in the Nootka Land District since 1884, is the single most important documentary evidence of settlement change. It is a fairly simple matter to correlate locations of Lot Numbers on the appropriately dated Land Maps (available from the Director of Lands in Victoria) with entries in the Registry, since all alienations are listed by Lot Number. The Registry also records the dates at which Lots changed hands, and Lot reversions to the Crown. The Land Registry is cross-referenced to the Townsite Registry, which records alienations within communities surveyed and designated as townsites. Leases, mineral claims, oyster leases, foreshore leases, timber leases, government reserves, indian reservations, pre-emptions, and purchases are all recorded in detail in the Nootka Land Registry.

It is somewhat surprising that Land Registries have been so poorly utilized by historical geographers in British Columbia; without a doubt they represent a very valuable and accessible research source. In the first two chapters of this particular study, the Land Registry represents a central documentary theme, around which collaborative evidence is synthesized. The final chapter, documenting the development of the timber industry, relies more heavily on alternate

sources - but the registry is used throughout as a documentary starting point.

A great body of literature is available on the Nootka Sound region covering the initial European Contact period. Observers have commented quite exhaustively on the early Spanish settlement at Friendly Cove, on the early English and American voyages of exploration, and on the nature of Nootka Indian culture. Three key documentary sources were used in preparing the brief references to Nootkan (Aht) village locations and their relevance to European settlement. The first is Phillip Drucker's The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes, which is recognized as one of the most authoritative works on the Nootkans. The book has special significance for this thesis in that Drucker maps Nootkan village and camp locations fairly accurately. The second source is Reverend Charles Moser's The West Coast of Vancouver Island, which records the memoirs of early Catholic missionaries on the West Coast. Moser records population decline among the Nootka around the turn of the century. The third reference is John Mill's Nootka Sound: A Study in Ethnohistory, an unpublished PhD thesis presented to the department of Anthropology, University of Washington, in 1955. Mills uses ethno-historical documents dealing with initial European-Nootkan contact to develop a basis for comparison with village life at Friendly Cove in 1952, when he interviewed several informants during the course of his field work. The thesis is of relevance to

this particular study insofar as it offers a brief glimpse of village life near the start of the 1950's.⁴

The Nootka Sound region has achieved considerable historical and symbolic recognition as British Columbia's birthplace. It is hoped that this paper will explain the nature of settlement in the Nootka Sound region over the past seventy years, providing an interpretation hitherto unattempted by geographers on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The Nootka Sound region can be divided geologically into two main parts. The majority of the land within the study area falls within the Vancouver Island Ranges of the Vancouver Island Mountains.⁵ The Vancouver Island Ranges are a complex and heterogeneous group of pre-Cretaceous volcanic and sedimentary rocks with a generally northwesterly axis, intruded by granitic batholiths.⁶ The mountains are the result of mature dissection of a low-relief Tertiary erosion surface, considerably modified during the Pleistocene by the continental ice-sheet. Valley glaciers deepened and modified the valleys below 4,000 feet, and high serrate peaks standing above the ice-sheet were sculptured and formed by alpine glaciation.⁷

The second geological division is also classified by Holland (1964) as part of the Vancouver Island Mountains. The Estevan Coastal Plain (see map no. 3) stretches the entire length of Nootka Island's western coastline, averaging between one and two miles in width.⁸ The erosion which created the low-relief Tertiary surface from which the Vancouver Island Ranges developed provided the Oligocene and early Miocene sandstones which underlie most of the Estevan Coastal Plain.⁹

The Nootka Sound region's waterways are primarily deep, ice-cut fiords. Both Esperanza Inlet and Nootka Sound itself are characterized by extensive shallow areas near their mouths, the result of glacial terminal moraine deposition, and remnants

from the early Estevan coastal depositions.

The human occupance of the Nootka Sound region has sought out the varied opportunities for livelihood offered by land and sea. Early speculative homesteading was principally located along the Estevan coastal plain, where alkaline soil deposited during the early Miocene offered favourable possibilities for farming, and also easy access to offshore ocean fishing grounds. Mining settlements, of which the most significant was Zeballos, located close to the heavily mineralized fault lines which characterize the Vancouver Island Mountains. Logging settlements, whether float camps or land based camps were and are principally located along the shorelines of sheltered inlets and bays, since the waterways carved out during the Pleistocene glacial advance have always been of prime importance in the transportation of people, supplies, and timber. Fish processing plants were always located on the shore, often built out over the water on floats and pilings, to facilitate easy transfer of raw fish from fishboat to shore, and of processed products from shore to fishpacker.

Overall, the character of the Nootka Sound region's physical geography imparts the character of the extractive industries which have operated in the region, both in available resources and in choice of site. It follows that the morphology of settlement reflects the physiography in varying ways, emphasizing in particular the coastal character of most settlement sites during the period under consideration.

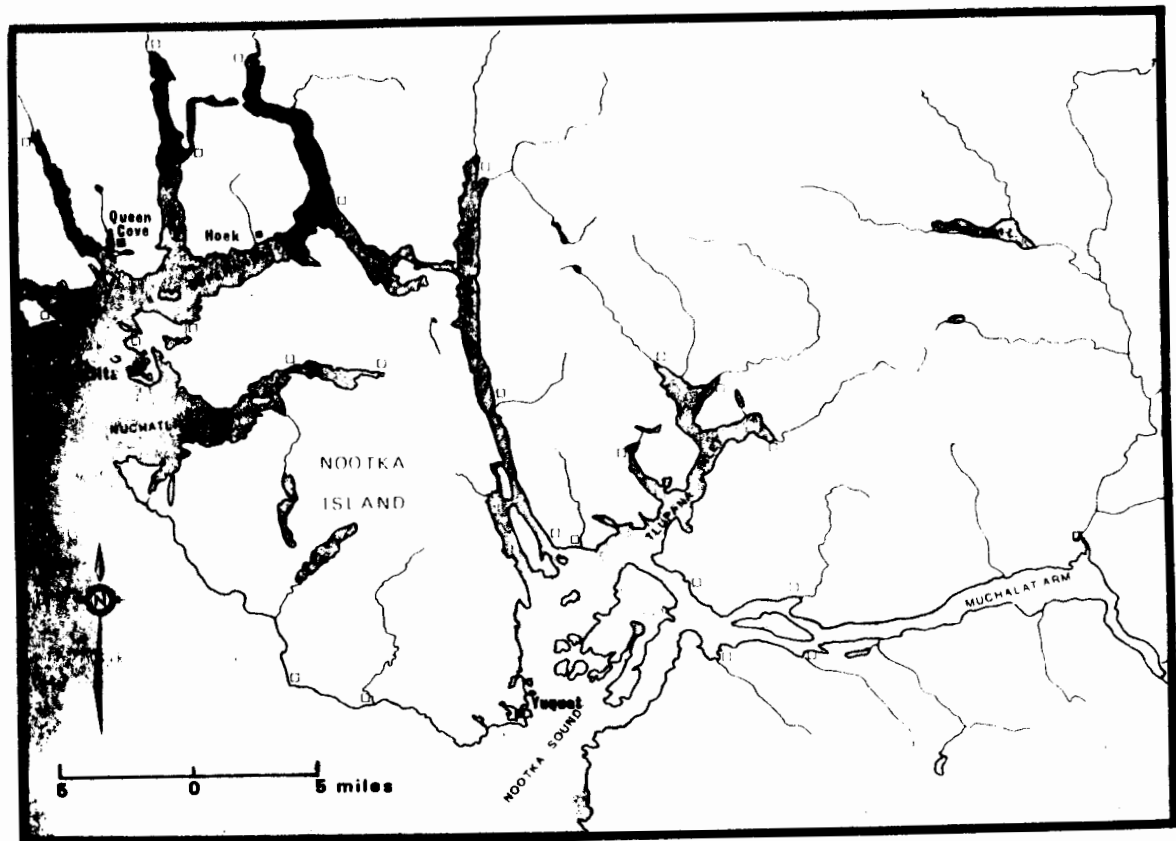
A TOUR OF THE REGION IN 1900:
Comments on a Relict Landscape¹⁰

Let us imagine that we are taking a tour of the region under consideration. We will further imagine that Europeans have disturbed the environment hardly at all; we will attempt to reconstruct the landscape as it was in 1900. The best vehicle for such an imaginary tour would be a small boat of some kind, perhaps a dugout canoe, enabling us to travel freely in close contact with sea, land, and air. The advantage of such a tour is that we may compress time and space, picking out the most salient points of the landscape.

We start our imaginary voyage from the head of Muchalat Inlet, at the mouth of Gold River, close to the abandoned Nootka Indian village site of A-aminquas. (see map 2) It is early morning in the late summer; mist rises from the mash-grass covering the river delta. Mountains surround us, standing sheer three and four thousand feet into the rising sun. The trees are surprisingly sparse; bluffs and striated cliffs reveal the area's recent glacial past. Small pines stand in orderly masses on flatter areas above the bluffs, while in deep ravines and on talus slopes, tall douglas firs compete for sunlight and soil with hemlock, red cedar, and balsam fir.

The landscape is predominantly blue-gray, with mottlings of sienna where algae and minerals stain the bluffs overlooking

Map 2: Occupied and Deserted Indian Settlements in Nootka Sound, Circa 1900



The occupied sites constitute the pre-contact summer fishing villages of the Nootka Sound region's principal confederacies.

Yuquot: Moachat and Muchalat confederacy site. The two confederacies amalgamated in the late 1880's after their populations had been decimated by years of inter-confederacy warfare. (See Philip Drucker, Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes). The original Muchalat site was at A'Aminquas, at the head of Muchalat Arm.

Nuchatlaht: Very close to original summer site of Nuchatlaht Confederacy.

Hoek: Summer site of Ehedisah Confederacy.

Queen Cove: Summer site of a branch of the Nuchatlahts.

the inlet and river. Where tall spruce trees line the banks of the Gold River, the colours darken to blue-black, then blue-green as light floods into the valley.

Paddling up Muchalat Inlet, we look back to see the high serrated peaks of the Vancouver Island Mountains rising behind us. On either side, steep slopes rise to three thousand feet and more. The inlet's shores present a smoother, more rounded profile as we move closer to the Pacific Ocean. The scrubby pines and stands of douglas fir persist on rocky slopes, but thick forests of hemlock, cedar, and balsam fir clothe an ever increasing proportion of the mountainside visible from our craft. The colours change; in the distance we see a sparkling white bank of sea-mist eddying around pale, blue-green Bligh Island. As we near the inlet's mouth, the whitened spikes of ancient cedar trees stand out along the shore, their outlines clear against the dark blue-green of balsam fir and hemlock.

Passing into Nootka Sound itself, we wind our way between a group of small, rocky islands known as the Spanish Pilot group, covered with a dense growth of cedar, scrub pine, and fir. Salal, an evergreen shrub with broad, waxy leaves, grows in a solid mass under the trees. The mountains of Nootka Island loom ahead of us, long, rolling slopes covered with dense coniferous forests. No bluffs or open alpine areas break their symmetry.

It is mid-day. The sea-mist rolls back out into the

Pacific as the sun rises higher. We pass the last of the islands, and strike out towards the open Pacific at the southernmost tip of Nootka Island. We pass several tiny islets, noting that the rocks and trees now show the effects of heavy winter gales and storms. The air becomes cooler, smelling of salt and ozone. The calmer waters of the inland sounds and inlets begin to move to the rhythm of the Pacific, with surf surging over rocks covered with a thick carpet of sea worms, giant mussels, sea anemones, and seaweeds of different shapes and colours.

We stop briefly at Yoquot village, Friendly Cove. The ancient long-houses have gone, and large, western-style frame houses stand along the small peninsula, overlooking dug out canoes pulled up on the beach below. A small church stands inobtrusively in a cove a hundred yards from the main village. Some of the houses show signs of disrepair and neglect.

Moving north-west along Nootka Island's seaward shoreline in the early afternoon, the wind freshens, forcing us to shelter inside the kelpbeds which extend over half a mile out from the shoreline. Dense, wind-blasted thickets of spruce and cedar cover the coast, growing on an undulating coastal plain which extends back to the rolling mountains of Nootka Island's interior. Mostly the coastline is brown and rocky, but here and there long, half-moon beaches covered with white sand and scattered driftwood contrast with the dark trees behind.

In the late afternoon, we paddle across the mouth of Nuchatlitz Inlet, beyond rocky and barren Ferrier Point. Rocks and heavy groundswells show that here the sea is shallow, and rich in marine life. Sea lions bob up to inspect us as we pass.

We camp for the night on a tiny island near Nuchatlitz indian village, north of Nuchatlitz Inlet. We draw water from a tepid, tea-coloured stream running over a beach of crushed shells. The sun sinks behind a bank of mist; the sky glows apricot, then violet. The temperature drops rapidly as the stars come out. The sound of the surf is muffled as the sea-mist returns to shore for the night.

In the morning we rise at five, and head down Esperanza Inlet. Along the shore, sea-caves echo as waves alternately fill them and rush out again.

The dawn is gray, and very damp. Trees loom out of the mist as we hug the shore-line, following every little bay and headland. The rocks here are dark brown, fading into cedars and ancient spruce trees.

As the mist burns off, we see Centre Island to the north, and beyond, the mouths of two fiords, Port Eliza, and Espinoza Inlet. Out to sea behind us, a faint line of trees floating above the mist identifies Catala Island, which barely clears the high tide line. The mountains rise gently from the shore-line along both sides of the inlet, becoming steeper further inland. The tree colours become darker in the higher slopes as balsam fir dominates over the coastal cedars. As the sun

burns the mist away, we see snow shining on peaks to the north and north-west. In the distance, a plume of wood-smoke identifies Ehedisah Indian village, and we can just make out the large clearing behind the long white beach.

At Steamer Point, the prospect changes. The mountain slopes are steeper, with bluffs, fir, and pine trees. Nootka Island is still gentle and undulating, but the view up Zeballos Inlet to our north is rugged, with broken terrain and jagged skyline. The landscape is very blue here; Esperanza Inlet appears inviting and safe in comparison to the huge bluffs and peaks bordering Zeballos Inlet. We continue, paddling south-east down Hecate Channel, into the sheltered waters of Tahsis Narrows.

The water, ruffled slightly by a light land breeze, becomes absolutely calm. Nootka Island's shoreline shears directly into the inlet; at high tide overhanging branches and salal just clear the water. The opposite shore slopes more gently into the water, with steep bluffs rising almost directly from the beach.

We fight the tide through Tahsis Narrows, turning to our right into Tahsis Inlet. The mountains of the Vancouver Island range rise above us, their serrated, brown peaks contrasting with the rounded shoulders of Nootka Island on the opposite shore. Ahead of us in the distance, we see Strange Island, rising whale-shaped at the junction of Tahsis Inlet and Nootka Sound. Tahsis Inlet is like a huge, narrow trough, steep-sided,

and gloomy in aspect. The mountains hem us in, the sun rises late and sets early on the inlet's waters. The slopes are richly clothed with hemlock, balsam, and cedar stands, growing thickly up to timber-line. At Koop-tee, opposite Strange Island we pass canoe channels cleared in the rocks on a small beach. Behind, partly obscured by trees, we see the remains of old house-posts, abandoned as the Nootkan population declined in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The landscape changes in character as we enter Nootka Sound again. After passing Strange Island, there is less shelter available; the shoreline becomes very rocky, with occasional beaches. The trees include many old, snagtopped cedars and firs.

We have circumnavigated Nootka Island, and head across the swells of Nootka Sound towards Bligh Island. Passing through Hanna Channel, we see the eastern tip of rocky Gore Island appear, as clouds begin to gather over the mountains of Vancouver Island's interior.

Heading back down the long canyon of Muchalat Inlet in the late afternoon, the colour of the landscape changes as more and more of the sky is obscured by clouds. The blue cast of sea and mountain fades into bright gray, like sea-mist, then into a featureless lead-gray as fracto-stratus clouds congeal into a solid, low ceiling. The rain starts slowly, building into a steady downpour. The inlet's waters become calmer as the rain increases, reflecting the slate-like grayness of the clouds above. Never could a human encounter a more profoundly

depressing landscape.

Paddling against a falling tide, we slide into the mouth of Gold River as the last bit of light disappears from the soggy scene.

We have experienced the best and worst the region can offer. It is dark, soaking wet, and chilly, and the beauty we will remember so vividly is overwhelmed by an immediate desire for warmth, civilized amenities, and the company of our own people.

REFERENCES, CHAPTER I

1 The boundaries defined, i.e. the waterways of Nootka Sound and the watershed of these waterways, roughly coincides with the legal boundaries of the Nootka Land district. The record of land alienation for the district, i.e. the Nootka Land Registry, was a convenient data base to work from. Also, coastal settlement in the defined research area has depended on the Nootka Sound region's sheltered interior waterways for communication and transportation, and therefore has developed as a unit, largely cut off from other west coast sounds by the open Pacific ocean or "outside". There is also evidence to suggest that the area has been and still is perceived as a region, due to its physiographic unity and isolation.

2 The term is Ira Robinson's. See New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 85-87. For a more detailed study of impermanence in Canadian single industry towns, see Rex Lucas, Minetown Milltown Railtown, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

3 'Relict Landscape' is used by J.W. Watson, Relict Geography in an Urban Community, in R. Miller and J.W. Watson, Geographical Essays in Memory of Alan G. Ogilvie, (Nelson, 1959), pp. 110-143, in reference to the urban development of Halifax.

4 The preliminary results of archaeological explorations at Yuquot were published in Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Fall, 1969. See W.J. Folen, Yuquot, British Columbia, The Prehistory and History of a Nootkan Village, Vol. 3, no. 2.

5 Stuart Holland, Landforms of British Columbia: A Physiographic Outline, British Columbia Department of Mines and Petroleum Resources, Bulletin 48, 1964, p. 31.

6 Ibid., p. 31.

7 Ibid., p. 31.

8 Ibid., p. 32. Also see J.A. Jeletzky, Tertiary Rocks of the Hesquiat-Nootka Area, Geological Survey of Canada, paper 53-17, Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

9 Ibid., p. 32.

10 For a fictional account of the Canadian northwest in 1811 similar in spirit although much larger in scope than this present essay, see Eric Ross, Beyond the River and the Bay, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

CHAPTER II

EARLY SPECULATIVE SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENTS

IN NOOTKA SOUND: 1900-1920

Any examination of settlement morphology after 1900 must of necessity refer to trends in evidence during the preceding decades, to 'set the stage' for later developments. What follows is a brief sketch of settlement developments since 1884, that being the earliest year in which organized, governmental documentary evidence of land alienation and resource extraction in the Nootka Sound region is available. Reference to earlier events in the region is omitted as being essentially irrelevant to the topic at hand.

The Nootka Land Registry records the purchase by Edgar M. Sayward of 886 acres of land in the Nootka Sound region in 1884, at an aggregate cost of \$886.00.¹ These claims were located at the head of Muchalat Inlet and at Plumper Harbour, on Nootka Island. The loggers lived on float camps or in shanties on shore, and used either hand-logging techniques or a steam-operated "A"-frame to winch timber into the water. The acquisition of a further 7,706 acres for 10 cents per acre by Sayward Mill and Timber Company in 1893 indicates a fairly long-term interest in the area.² Only a very small percentage

of these leaseholds were ever exploited, due to the long and hazardous trip to the sawmills at Port Alberni. The need to transport logs down the open Pacific coastline was a powerful deterrent to early large-scale logging in the Nootka Sound region, while logging operations in Barkley Sound to the south were in a more favourable competitive position in so far as water transportation of logs was concerned.

Other timber leases were taken up by Sutton Lumber and Trading Company in 1905, amounting to 2,989 acres in Tlupana Arm and Williamson Passage.³ That these timber leases were only minimally exploited may be verified by examining second-growth timber areas within the purchase boundaries. Only occasional rotted stumps can be found along the shoreline, with very small patches of 70-80 year old timber.⁴ Early timber leases were apparently primarily speculative in nature; the lessees maintained their interest in the area in anticipation of future development of the Nootka Sound region as a port and Pacific Railhead of the proposed northern extension of the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway.

The documentary evidence seems to indicate a slackening of interest in lumbering after the turn of the century, although no leaseholds or purchases lapsed. Other resources were of greater interest during the first decade of the twentieth century, especially mineral resources, principally marble, iron ore and coal. A marble quarry was developed at Hisnit Inlet in 1909, after a small group of settlers sold their

discovery to an interested company. (See Map 3) The Nootka Land Registry records a total of 421 acres alienated by purchase in 1909.⁵ That the industry and settlement actually developed and flourished is documented in the Victoria Daily Colonist, November 14, 1909, by Captain J. T. Walbran:

The principle industry of Nootka is that of the Nootka Marble Quarries. The Quarries are situated on an excellent harbour near the centre of the sound. A marble mill has been erected here, and during the past year excellent examples of monumental work in blue marble, and large blue marble slabs have been manufactured and sold to dealers in Victoria, Vancouver and Seattle.

Captain Walbran also mentions the development of an open-pit iron mine at Head Bay on Tlupana Inlet, owned by James Dunsmuir, then Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. The Land Registry records a group of mineral claims owned jointly by Dunsmuir and Clarence Dawley, who also owned a trading store on land adjacent to the Indian Reserve at Friendly Cove.⁶ The iron mine endured until the First World War, and the Marble quarries also closed down in 1914.⁷

The above mentioned enterprises were the only developed mineral resources incorporating semi-permanent settlements in the Nootka Sound region in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The coal deposits of the Estevan coastal plain, particularly on the Hesquiat peninsula, were not exploited for export sales, although accessible coal seams were probably used locally. Once again, isolation, and the existence of flourishing coal mines at Cumberland and Nanaimo

on Vancouver Island's east coast, rendered development of these deposits pointless.

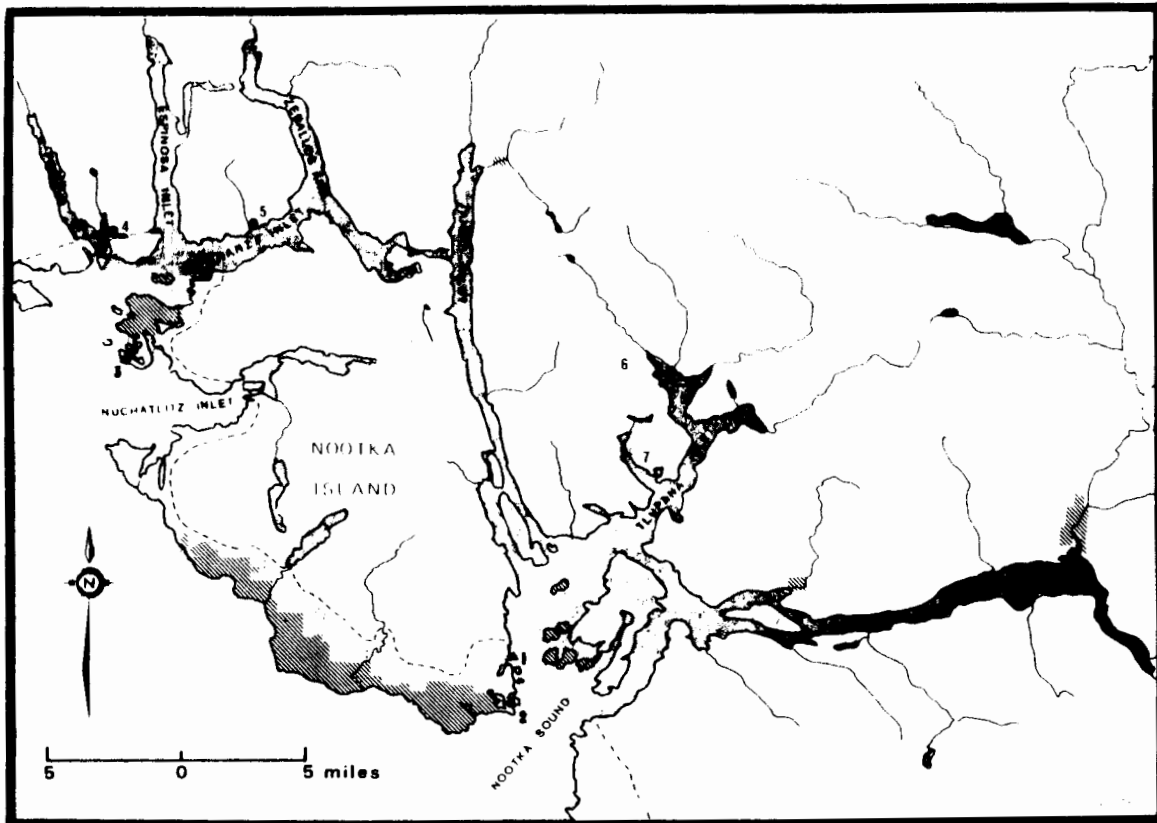
The presence of marble, coal, iron ore, and carboniferous limestone, plus the existence of good port facilities, were enough to spark the interest of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railways, of which Lieutenant-Governor James Dunsmuir was the principal director. Captain Walbran comments as follows:

From Gold River to Campbell River a trail runs through a country in no place higher than 750 feet above sea level, and any railway passing from Victoria to the north of Vancouver Island will, on account of the grade, necessarily pass within a few miles of Nootka Sound. ...The country surrounding the Sound is covered by a dense growth of timber, suitable for export trade, and coal is found on the Estevan (Hesquiat) peninsula. Timber, limestone, marble, iron and coal are known to exist in sufficient quantity to warrant the establishment of large industries. The port itself is so excellent, so easy of approach from the ocean and so central that it is well up in the race for the terminus of a continental railway.

8

That Captain Walbran's assertions are not just wishful thinking can be verified in the Nootka Land Registry, which indicates 11,312 acres of land in the Gold River valley were granted to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway by the Crown in 1913.⁹ The Registry further indicates that fifty land purchases were made between 1908 and 1913 in the Nootka Land District, mostly in the area of Nootka Sound proper, Gold River valley, and Muchalat Inlet. Most of these purchases were surveyed and entered in the register in 1912, and all but six reverted to the crown under the Soldier's Homestead Act in 1916.¹⁰ The acquisition of these properties was based on speculative

Map 3: Early Speculative Settlement in Nootka Sound, 1900-1920



Legend

- 1 Nootka Cannery, established 1917
- 2 Yuquot Indian village and Lighthouse
- 3 Nuchatlaht Indian village
- 4 Queen Cove Indian village
- 5 Ehedisaht Indian village
- 6 Head Bay open pit iron mine
- 7 Nootka Marble Quarries

(Shading denotes areas alienated by preemption or purchase prior to 1920, as recorded in the Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, B. C.)

interest in the development of Nootka Sound as a port. Other interested parties took a less expensive route in their attempted acquisition of land rights in the Nootka Sound region by pre-empting land for homesteads. The register records a total of 69 pre-emptions in the Nootka Land district between 1912 and 1914, with the majority located on the seaward side of Nootka Island, along the Estevan coastal plain, which was recognised as potentially fertile farmland.¹¹ Another grouping of pre-emptions developed on Esperanza Inlet in the vicinity of Nuchatlitz Indian village, extending down Esperanza Inlet to a point opposite Centre Island. With perhaps six exceptions, these pre-emptions had all been cancelled or reverted to the crown by 1927.¹² Those settlers interested in land on the west coast of Nootka Island had in most cases not even bothered to develop the land which they had pre-empted, probably recognising very quickly that there would be no rail-head at Gold River and no industrial development in the Nootka Sound region in the immediate future.

Those settlers who did stay based their homesteads on small-scale, specialized economies. Silver fox farming was developed as an industry on several small islands of the Spanish Pilot group in Nootka Sound, and opposite as well as on Centre Island in Esperanza Inlet.¹³ In 1912, Carl Leiner developed a small farm near the deserted Indian village of Tahsis, which prospered for a few years. (See Map 3)

The sudden surge of interest which peaked in 1912 reflects

the serious consideration afforded the Nootka Sound region as a potential industrial area and railhead, serving north-central Vancouver Island. The magnificent scenery, excellent salmon fishing, and plentiful game animals acted as powerful incentives as well. Perhaps the single most important incentive to development, however, was the inauguration of regular steamship service to the area from Victoria in 1912. The C.P.R. ship SS 'Princess Macquinna' stopped at Friendly Cove, making Nootka Sound accessible to individuals as settlers. The Canadian Pacific Railway company actively promoted settlement schemes along the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Estevan Coastal Plain, with its fertile soil, was touted as an excellent settlement prospect, and with other coastal areas, excited a great deal of interest in England and in other parts of Canada.¹⁴

The scramble for land tapered off when industrial development of Nootka Sound's mineral wealth declined at the beginning of the First World War. With the closing of both the marble quarry and the iron mine, prospects for a railhead at Gold River disappeared. Farming on the west coast proved to be a fruitless venture, due to isolation from southern markets, lack of a rail link to the east coast of Vancouver Island, and frequent adverse weather during the growing season. Specialized agriculture (berries) and "cottage industries" i.e. silver fox ranching, were subject to the vicissitudes of the distant consumer markets and ladies' fur

fashions, and never became the economic base of viable long-term settlements. It should be pointed out that many homesteaders who pre-empted or purchased land prior to the First World War were financially independent, often being British remittance men in receipt of money from their families, or pensioners seeking a self-sufficient, independent life. In such cases, the tiny cabins and lodges built at the side of some secluded bay were never meant to form the nucleus of a flourishing settlement. Rather, these buildings were reclaimed by the forest when the inhabitants moved away, or when they grew too old to live along in the wilderness. In the case of the pre-emptions on the seaward side of Nootka Island, no signs of settlements are visible today beyond the rotten remains of cabins flattened by the winter winds, and patches of second growth timber where small "stump farms" had been cleared. The failure of attempts to establish dispersed, non-nucleated homesteads in the Nootka Sound region added to a long list of earlier settler failures on the west coast of Vancouver Island.¹⁵ However, the fact that four homesteads in Esperanza Inlet, Muchalat Inlet and Tahsis Inlet survived into the 1920's indicates that settlers may have been content to live in rather marginal economic circumstances if the more important requirements of solitude and independence continued to be met.¹⁶

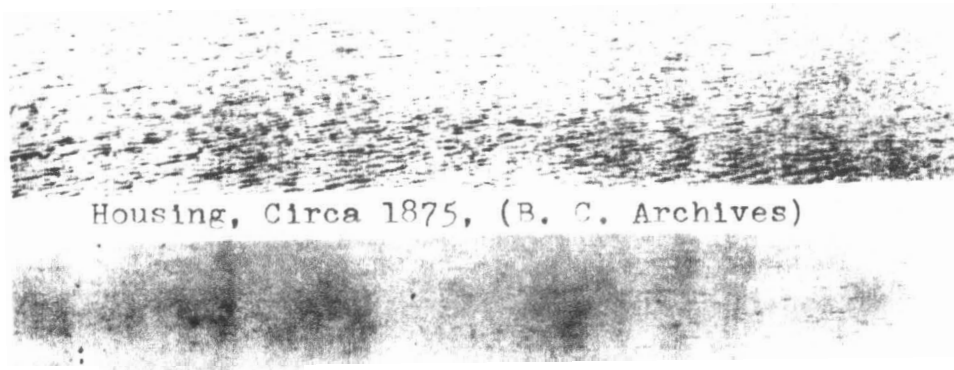
Indian Settlement to 1920

While it is not the intent of this thesis to deal at length with changing settlement patterns of the Nootka Indians in the research area, some mention of their settlements will be made at selected points in the paper, since the villages did have important effects on some aspects of non-Indian settlement. By 1900 the Nootka Indians in the area under consideration numbered approximately three hundred and eighty, with occupied villages at Yuquot (Friendly Cove) Nuchatlitz, and Ehedisaht.¹⁷ The size of the population in the three villages had been declining for several generations due to inter-confederacy warfare, diseases introduced by white traders, and by the inhabitants abandoning their villages for the "bright lights" in Victoria. Another factor in Nootka population decline was the attraction of high wages on sealing and whaling schooners. Nootkan sailors often never returned home from their long trips. Those remaining in the villages made a little extra money by selling carvings and basketry to tourists in Victoria and by selling fish to packing companies. The Nootka Indians were viewed by white entrepreneurs as a potential labour force quite early, since the Catholic missionaries who resided at Hesquiat to the south of Nootka Sound wanted to develop local employment opportunities. Reverend Charles Moser, who was resident priest in the first two decades of this century, records in

his memoirs his dismay at seeing the Hesquiat and other tribes annually disappear to pick hops in Puget Sound, where many died from diseases such as smallpox and measles.¹⁸ He recognized that the establishment of a cannery in Nootka Sound would induce the indians to remain in the Nootka Sound region, and avoid the very real dangers of disease, alcoholism and prostitution in Victoria and in the Puget Sound area.¹⁹

The indians residing at Friendly Cove, Nuchatlitz, and Ehedisahst still occupied hereditary fishing sites during the autumn salmon runs, and also early spring herring spawning sites. These hereditary fishing sites had been included as indian lands in the 1884 land survey conducted by the British Columbia government, and the indians owning rights to particular locations erected cabins and small cedar-shake shanties to provide shelter and salmon smoke-curing facilities.²⁰ The longhouses used at the time of Captain Cook's visit to Friendly Cove in 1780 were replaced by western-style dwellings between 1847 and 1900, which coincided with the initial period of missionary activity on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and abandonment of the traditional practice of yearly migration.²¹ (See accompanying sequence of house styles at Friendly Cove.)

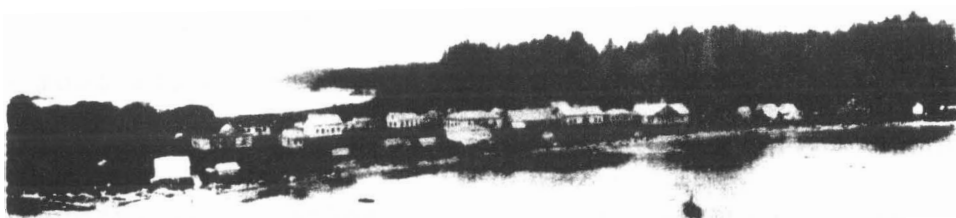
Nootka Indian villages and their inhabitants were significant to early white settlement in three ways. First, the Nootkans were excellent fishermen. Their detailed "coastline knowledge", small boats, and fifty fathom nets



Housing, Circa 1875, (B. C. Archives)



Housing, Circa 1905, (B. C. Archives)



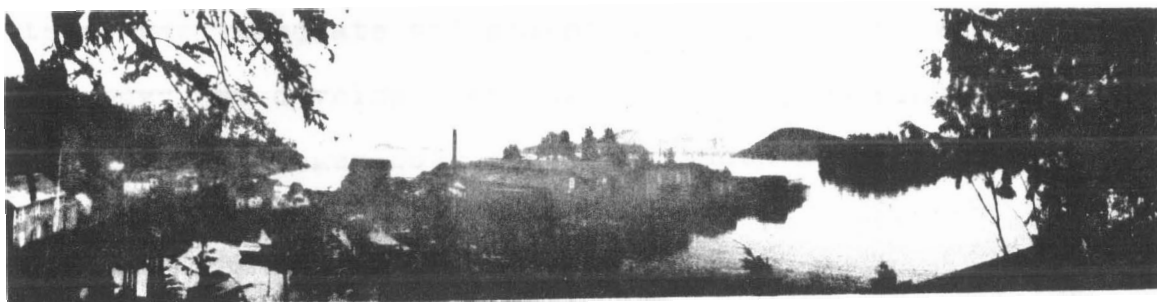
Friendly Cove, Housing, Circa 1926, (B. C. Archives)

enabled them to follow salmon close inshore, providing an assured fish supply throughout the season at a low price per pound. The Nootkans also provided labour in canneries, although Chinese workers were usually preferred. Secondly, the Nootka Indians constituted both market and source of supply for merchants and traders. Thirdly, centuries of occupation at river fishing sites, summer villages, and winter villages had changed the landscape at these locations, providing focal points for initial white settlement. The beaches and cleared areas at Friendly Cove in particular, served as an "entrepôt" for settlers and speculators interested in homesteading the fertile soils deposited on the Estevan coastal plain, on the western coast of Nootka Island. (See map 3)

The dramatic population decline of the latter part of the nineteenth century had left many traditional Nootkan sites in the Nootka Sound region deserted, with only abandoned buildings and small clearings to show the location of the site. It is quite probable that without clearly established legal definition and protection under the Land Act, these old village sites would have been pre-empted by settlers.²²

The most significant settlement development prior to the third decade of the twentieth century was the development of Nootka Cannery, three miles north of Friendly Cove, on Cook Channel.²³ The establishment of this cannery in 1917 by the

Illustration 2



Nootka Cannery, Circa 1926, (B. C. Archives)



Squatters' Village, Nootka Cannery, Circa 1926, (B. C. Archives)

Everett Packing Company of Everett, Washington, heralded the development of nucleated, stable, resource-based settlements in the Nootka Sound region, preceeding by eight years the major development of cannery sites along Esperanza Inlet, to the north of Nootka Island.

The effect of the cannery on existing Indian settlement patterns was immediate and momentous. Within the year, a shanty-town had developed around the plant, housing Nootka Indians from villages both north and south of the Nootka Sound region during the fishing season. The establishment of this fish purchasing agency within the region provided the base for an unprecedented economic boom among the northern Nootka Indians. Many were able to buy newer, larger fishboats with the proceeds from their fish sales.²⁴

The Aftermath of the First World War and its Effect on Settlement

The termination of the First World War had some indirect effects on settlement in the Nootka Sound region, since the provincial government was anxious to reserve surveyed lands for returning veterans. The decline of interest in settling the region is demonstrated by the very small number of land sales and pre-emptions made between 1915 and 1926, the year marking the beginning of intensive cannery and pilchard reduction plant construction in Esperanza Inlet. Settlement interest during this period was directed towards the B. C.

interior, the Cariboo region in particular.²⁵ The year 1920 in itself is not significant, except that it marks a distinct quiescence in settlement development in the Nootka Sound region.

It might be argued that 1917 would be a more significant date in terms of a change in settlement morphology. It must be remembered, however, that Nootka Cannery was a solitary pioneer, preceeding extensive, large-scale fish processing development by nearly a decade. Although the cannery created a settlement focus in the Friendly Cove area and generally along the southern shoreline of Nootka Island, development elsewhere in the region lagged considerably. A few homesteads struggled on through the early 1920's, mineral explorations continued sporadically, and a few dry salteries were erected on Esperanza Inlet during the summer months, but on the whole, the number of actual land alienations was very low between 1918 and 1926.²⁶

The relatively low level of settlement activity following the First World War provides a convenient point of departure for a more detailed examination of settlement developments in the Nootka Sound region. Even on the relatively small scale of this study, it is necessary to be familiar with periods of decline and stagnation. Concentrating entirely on settlement growth and development would provide a distorted picture, implying that the area is characterized by its more recent

successes. This is not to say that the "boom and bust" cycle of settlement so typical of British Columbia's frontier areas is predicated on the rigid hypothesis that the boom periods always find their seeds in previous declines. However, it will be demonstrated later that declining fisheries and fish processing did free men for other work, resulting in significant changes in settlement.

REFERENCES, CHAPTER II

- 1 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, p. 1.
- 2 Ibid., p. 2.
- 3 Ibid., p. 5.
- 4 Field observations made 1970.
- 5 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, p. 18.
- 6 Ibid., p. 17. Also George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 211.
- 7 Nicholson, Ibid., p. 30.
- 8 J. T. Walbran, "Historic Nootka", Victoria Colonist, Nov. 14, 1909.
- 9 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, pp. 45-46.
- 10 Ibid., pp. 33-41.
- 11 See Department of Lands, 1:250,000 Land Alienation map revised to 1919, Department of Lands, Victoria.
- 12 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, pp. 59-89.
- 13 Ibid., p. 47.
- 14 George Nicholson, "Princess Nora Once Slated for West Coast Service", Daily Colonist, Victoria, Feb. 14, 1954.
- 15 See, for example, Nicholson, pp. 182, 276.
- 16 Herman Steinhoff (personal communication), March, 1970 gives a similar rationale for the long duration of the Perry brothers' homestead at the Leiner River. Mrs. J. Witton (personal communication), March, 1970, gives the same type of reasoning to explain the long stay of the Rustards, who developed the Centre Island homestead.
- 17 Rev. Charles Moser, Reminiscences of the West Coast of Vancouver Island, (Kakawis, B. C., 1926), p. 192.

- 18 Ibid., pp. 138-140.
- 19 Ibid., pp. 138-140.
- 20 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, pp. 55-57. See also Schedule of Lands conveyed to Dominion Government, o/c #1036, 29 July, 1936.
- 21 Father Brabant (in) Rev. Charles Moser, Reminiscences of the West Coast of Vancouver Island, (Kakawis, B. C., 1926), pp. 130-131.
- 22 For record of Indian Reserves, see Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, pp. 55-57.
- 23 Margaret Sharcott, "Nootka's Silver Harvest", The Daily Colonist, May 31, 1970, p. 7. Also Nootka Land Registry, p. 44.
- 24 Ibid., p. 7.
- 25 See, for example, Nootka Land Registry, pp. 34, 36.
- 26 Ibid., p. 65. It should be remembered that the salteries operating along Esperanza Inlet at this time are not recorded in the Registry.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PILCHARD,
AND THE GOLD RUSH: 1920-1940

By 1920, settlement in the research area may be grouped into three categories. The first group comprises the Nootka villages at Friendly Cove (Yuquot), Nuchatlitz, Queen Cove, and Ehedisaht. Population in these settlements began to stabilize during the second decade of the twentieth century.¹

An example of the second category of settlement, based on raw materials processing (in this case fish) was located at Nootka Cannery, and constituted a hotel, barracks for Chinese workers, houses for management personnel and their families, and an extensive indian squatter settlement.² This settlement saw extreme seasonal fluctuations in population, ranging from approximately one hundred and fifty in the summer and fall fishing seasons, to ten or twenty in the winter. About half were indian fishermen and their dependents.³ Single men who worked only for the duration of the fishing season predominated.

The third type of settlement comprises dispersed, individual homesteads, trappers' cabins, and small shanties at river mouths utilized by the Nootka Indians for habitation

and smoke curing during the salmon runs of late summer and fall. The exact number and location of trappers' cabins is difficult to determine, since documentation on their existence is non-existent.

An activity of importance to future settlement development in progress after the First World War was timber cruising and volume estimation. The 1919 Department of Lands map indicates large numbers of Timber Licences surveyed in the interior of Nootka Island.⁴ Options on these licences were not taken up, and most reverted to the crown before 1938.⁵ The surveying of Timber Licences is significant in that some estimate of volume, species, and quality was available to potential investors quite early in the period under consideration, and demonstrates that investors were unwilling to commit capital to lumbering in the Nootka Sound region when more available forests of equal or superior quality were being logged.⁶

The period of slow development in the early 1920's can be characterized best as a time of appraisal of the area's resources, often carried out by unemployed fishermen from other coastal points, such as Kyuquot, Quatsino, and Tofino. For example, the first gold finds were made in the Zeballos valley in 1924, by a group of Scandinavian fishermen from Quatsino Sound.³²

The post-war slump adversely affected the operation of Nootka Cannery, and other canneries along Vancouver Island's west coast. The first three years of operation had been very

profitable. The approximately \$60,000 invested in buildings, boats, and in leasing the "Iron Chink" (processing plant) had been repaid with very good hauls of salmon.⁸ A large percentage of the yearly catch was sockeye salmon, which commanded an excellent price on world markets.⁹ The "College Widow", the Everett Packing Company's fish packer, was kept busy collecting fish from indian seiners in the inlets and bays around Nootka Island. Another source of salmon was the large American seiners, which were allowed to fish three miles off-shore, and deliver their catches to Nootka Cannery.¹⁰

The Pilchard Industry

Nootka Cannery was established specifically to can salmon. Pilchards began showing up in the inlets of Vancouver Island's west coast soon after the cannery became the focus of settlement in the Nootka Sound region. Nootka Cannery canned several thousand cases on an experimental basis, but the pilchards were not well received on the American market due to their very high oil content.¹¹ In 1918 a fertilizer plant was installed at Nootka, capable of handling five tons of wet fish scraps per hour. Margaret Sharcott believes that pilchards contributed considerably to fertilizer output, although at that time using whole fish for fertilizer was not strictly legal.¹² A valuable byproduct from the vacuum drying process used in processing fish fertilizer was high-quality oil, used in paint and cosmetics manufacture, which found a

ready market in the United States. The installation of the oil and fertilizer plant undoubtedly increased the size of the settlement attached to the cannery, although there is no direct documentary evidence available to provide proof. The most important aspect of the early exploitation of the pilchard fisheries to the settlement in the Nootka Sound region was the extension of human occupancy at the cannery settlement beyond the salmon season. Margaret Sharcott comments as follows:

Although the pilchards started running...in the summer, they were rarely fished in any quantity until the late fall and winter because the salmon which wouldn't wait had to be handled first. 13

Although this particular evidence is oblique, it can be further backed up by Sharcott's assertion that in 1920, 16,000 cases of pilchards were sent to the Orient.¹⁴ She points out, however, that in 1920, 30,000 cases of salmon were stored in the warehouse, unsold from the previous year. American investors playing the commodities stock market were wary, and avoided buying fish, since they had recently lost heavily in sugar during the post-war slump.¹⁵ Pilchard sales helped maintain the solvency of the cannery during the period of depressed sales on the domestic and American markets up to 1922, when the market picked up considerably.

Large schools of pilchards passed into the inlets in August of 1922. The Nootka Indians were not available to catch them, having travelled to Rivers Inlet aboard the

"Princess Macquinna" to fish and work in the canneries.¹⁶ Consequently, orders for pilchards remained unfilled. In 1925 huge schools of pilchards were observed in Barkley, Clayoquot, Nootka, and Kyuquot Sounds. Schools several acres in extent were reported, and quickly attracted the attention of California manufacturers of fish reduction equipment.¹⁷

It was discovered that the pilchards frequenting the west coast were the same fish as California sardines, only larger and with a higher oil yield.¹⁸ The Californian manufacturers' agents lost no time in promoting processing equipment to Canadian fishing interests.¹⁹

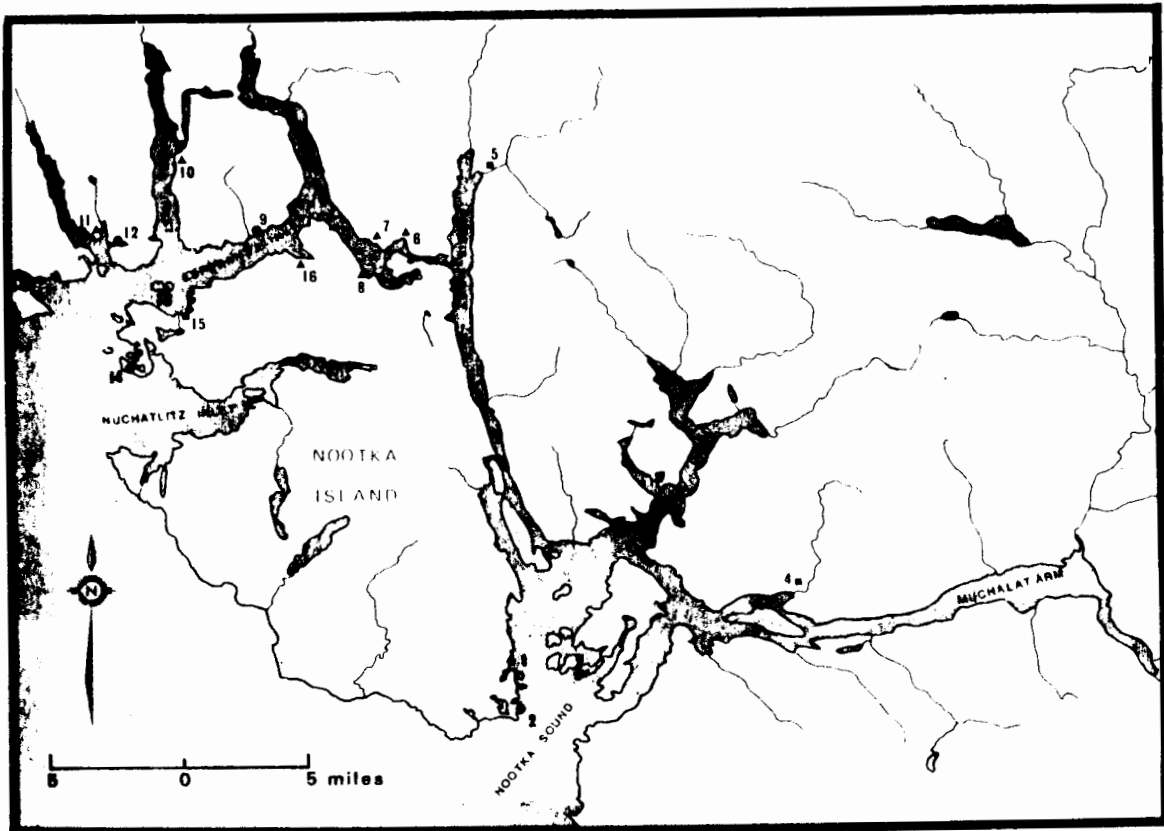
Major George Nicholson remarks on the subsequent fish reduction boom as follows:

Nootka Cannery and Watson Bros. at Matilda Creek (Ahousat)...(were)...the first to install the American-made oil processing and drying kilns. Other companies quickly followed suit, and by 1927, there was no less than twenty-six pilchard reduction plants between Barkley Sound and Kyuquot. Many operated in conjunction with existing salmon canneries, but the majority were built specially for the purpose. Suitable sites were at a premium, requiring good penetration for piledriving, shelter for boats and docks, and above all a plentiful water supply. Victoria and Vancouver shipyards worked day and night building seine boats and scows, while fishing companies vied with one another in a mad scramble to cash in on the bonanza. ... Within three years from scratch (1925) the combined plants were together employing for a four to five month season, 500 men ashore and another 500 represented in the various boat crews; 75 seine boats, 100 tugs and scout boats and 50 scows.

20

Nicholson's figures for total workforce cannot be easily

Map 4: Settlement Circa 1927



Legend

- 1 Nootka Cannery and Fish Reduction Plant
- 2 Yuquot Indian Village, and Lighthouse
- 3 Silver Fox Farm
- 4 Homestead
- 5 Homestead (owned by Carl Leiner)
- 6 Ceepeecee Cannery and Fish Reduction Plant
- 7 Esperanza Fish Reduction Plant
- 8 Hecate Fish Reduction Plant
- 9 Ehedisaht Indian Village (Hoek)
- 10 Espinoza Fish Reduction Plant
- 11 Queen Cove Cannery
- 12 Queen Cove Indian Village
- 13 Centre Island Homestead
- 14 Nuchatlaht Indian Village
- 15 Newton Homestead and Post Office ("Centre Island")
- 16 Saltery Bay Fish Reduction Plant

verified. He has obviously rounded off his estimates, allowing for a considerable amount of leeway. That a boom was in progress can be definitely verified from other sources, and his estimates of the workforce involved does seem within reason.

As Map 4 demonstrates, alienation of foreshore for pilchard reduction plants and canneries peaked in 1926, with most choice sites gone by the end of 1927. Esperanza Inlet and Hecate Channel were favoured, as the shoreline is characterized by benches, abundant year-round streams, and shallow beach slopes, suitable for pile-driving and dredging. The close proximity of the Ehedisah, Nuchatlitz, and Queen Cove Indian villagers as fishermen and as labour in the plants was also an important factor in plant location.²¹ The lack of good sites, and the competitively superior location of Nootka Cannery prevented the development of fish reduction plants elsewhere in the Nootka Sound region. It would appear that the waterways further inland, such as Tlupana Inlet, Tahsis Inlet, and Muchalat Inlet were not adequately endowed with a year-round water supply near available level land.

Actual land alienation on Esperanza Inlet, in the form of 21 year leaseholds, exceeded the number of fish reduction plants which achieved production status and were marked as producing plants on government maps.²² The speculation in land during the initial pilchard boom years (1925-1927) was limited by site availability, resulting in a total of five settlements and reduction plant developments. Nicholson

remarks that a capital outlay in the neighbourhood of \$250,000 was required for each plant.²³

The dry salteries which operated in the inlet during the early 1920's, salting down herring and chum salmon in the fall, were forced out of business by a tax of \$1.25 per ton, applied after considerable pressure was put on the government by fish canning and packing concerns.²⁴ The salteries were Japanese owned, but indians and whites supplied the fish. The salt salmon was sent to China, where the salt was extracted, and the fish were subsequently sold in Japan.²⁵ The only evidence of these salteries present in the research area today is some cement foundations at Saltery Bay, on Nootka Island, (See Map 4). Unfortunately, the Land Registry does not record dry saltery locations, since formalized land alienation was not required for their establishment. Salteries did not constitute permanent settlements, since they were used only for a few months per year. Most fishermen supplying the salteries lived on their own boats, and only the simplest and most rudimentary moorage floats were provided.

Settlements based on fish processing were necessarily highly seasonal. The existence of regular passenger service via the SS "Princess Macquinna", made labour access to the processing plants from Victoria a fairly simple affair, and almost all the men who manned the plants during fishing seasons returned to Victoria for the winter and spring.²⁶ Caretakers, often a retired couple, or in some cases the plant manager

and his family, remained at the plant on a year round basis. Then as now, however, trips to the "outside world", meaning Victoria usually, were arranged as often as possible. Older school-age children were sent to boarding schools in Victoria or Vancouver for the duration of the school year, while indian children boarded at the Catholic Christie Indian Residential School at Kakawis, on Clayoquot Sound.²⁷

The rhythm of seasonally-adjusted life in Nootka Sound's cannery and reduction plant communities endured only a few years. The peak years of the pilchard fishery lasted from 1926 to 1929, with rapid decline setting in during the depression.

The pattern of settlements based on the fish processing industry changed according to several important variables. Initially, pilchards frequented Barkley, Clayoquot, Nootka, and Kyuquot Sounds, with the schools staying well inside the sheltered waterways. The fish were taken from the fishing grounds to the processing plants in scows towed by tugs.²⁸ Squatter settlements such as occurred at Nootka Cannery and Reduction Plant were easily accessible to the best fishing areas. Then in the early 1930's, the pilchards remained several miles offshore, and only rarely came into the sheltered waterways.²⁹ The heavy groundswell of the open Pacific coupled with the necessity of using very large seine nets, required extensive changes in fishing techniques. Only large seine boats could follow the schools on the "outside",

effectively cutting out the smaller boats of indian fishermen who earlier had held the advantage.³⁰ The owners of the smaller reduction plants could not provide capitalization for such an extensive refitting in fishboats and fishing tackle, especially during the depression years when capital was impossible to come by. The reduction plants at Esperanza, Hecate, Espinosa Arm, and Queen Cove all ceased operations by 1936.³¹ The seasonal settlements associated with the pilchard reduction plants were no longer occupied for the duration of the fishing season, although they continued to be used sporadically by indian families and some European fishermen. The canneries at Nootka and at Ceepeecee on Hecate Strait, continued to can salmon, although the annual packs declined steadily, due to poor salmon prices and over-fishing.³²

The pilchard boom promoted some development of tertiary industries incorporating settlements. These included the hotels at Esperanza and at Nootka, and an oiling station not far from Ceepeecee.³³ A tiny first aid station was built next to the oiling station, operated by grants from the fishing companies and the one small logging company then operating in the area.³⁴ The first aid station served a population of nearly 1,500 in the Nootka Sound region, including approximately 400 indians, between 1926 and 1937. The Nootka General Hospital was built at Esperanza in 1937, and by the time the mines at Zeballos came into production, that town boasted a thirty-bed hospital.³⁵

Between 1926 and 1929, the Esperanza Inlet-Hecate Channel area of the Nootka Sound region developed a pattern of settlement based primarily on the availability of very large schools of pilchards. It is therefore important to examine the reasons for the sudden appearance of pilchards close inshore in the 1920's and their subsequent change of habit and disappearance in the 1930's and early 1940's. The pilchards apparently came into inlets on the west coast of Vancouver Island when the summer water temperature was higher than usual, and when certain kinds of microscopic feed were present.³⁶ Pilchards did not spawn in the inlets. Their spawning grounds were several miles off the California coast in the vicinity of San Diego, and the Californian sardine industry, with an extremely large fleet of boats and processing plants all along the coast, made large inroads into the schools of fish before they reached the British Columbia coastline. No definite conclusions have been reached as to the reasons for the pilchards' sudden reticence to enter west coast inlets after 1930, and their subsequent decline and disappearance. Probably a number of factors were involved, including over-fishing, changing water temperatures, declining feed availability, and so on. Pilchards have been reported off New Zealand and Australia, and the Biological Research Board of Canada has made extensive enquiries into the reasons for the decline of the fishery.

The pilchard fishery was a short, but important chapter

in the settlement history of the Nootka Sound region. The majority of the fishermen and cannery and reduction plant workers involved in the boom left for Victoria and Vancouver as the plants closed down one by one during the depression years. It is interesting that so many adverse changes occurred in Canada's resource geography during the depression; one remembers that the disappearance of pilchards coincided with drought conditions on the Canadian prairies.

A small minority of workers, mostly fishermen, remained in the region during the early 1930's. Traditionally they had engaged in other pursuits after the fishing season closed each year, especially prospecting, trapping, and hand-logging. As returns from pilchard fishing declined, and large runs of salmon became a thing of the past due to over-fishing, these other activities began to occupy more of their time. Indian fishermen did not engage in prospecting or logging, but continued to hunt and fish. Homesteading continued at three locations, at Kleeptee Creek on Muchalat Inlet, in the Centre Island area on Esperanza Inlet, and on the delta of the Leiner (or Russian) river, at the head of Tahsis Inlet. A few cabins erected along Esperanza Inlet during the pilchard boom years continued to be occupied on a seasonal basis, mainly by indian families.³⁷

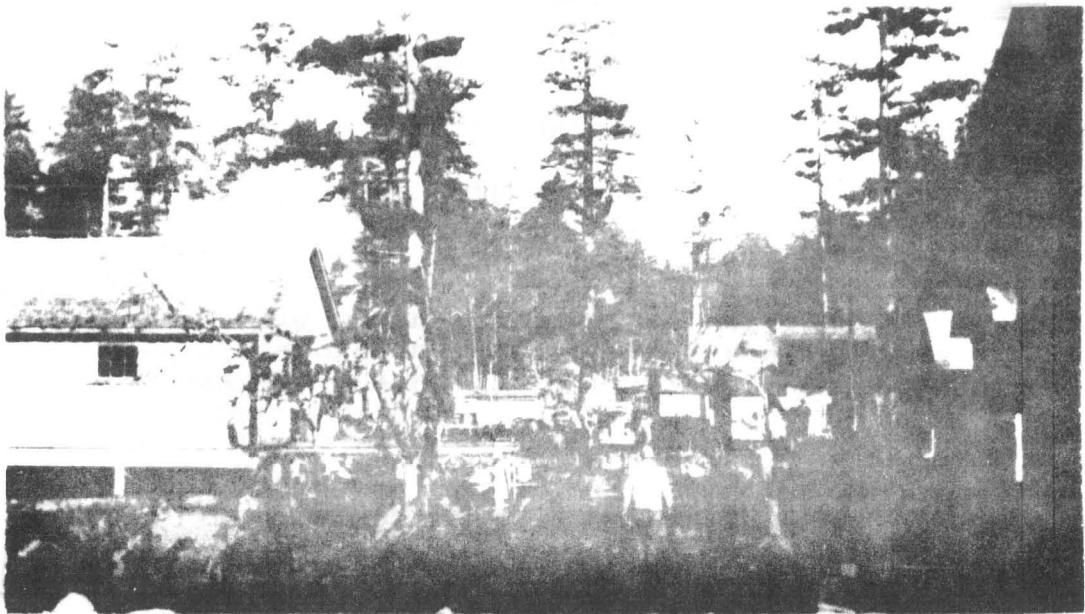
The Zeballos Gold Rush

The depression hit fishermen, settlers, and industries

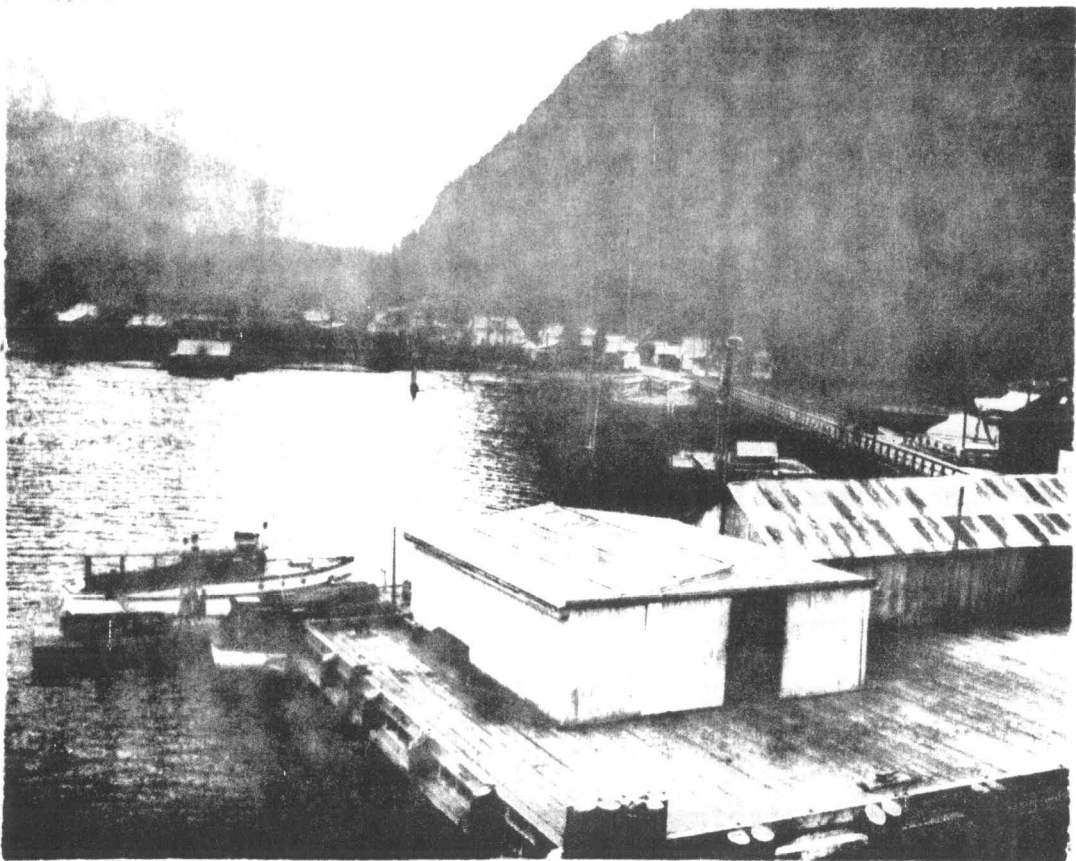
very hard on the west coast. Resources were still plentiful, but very poor market conditions made buyers extremely scarce.

Gold had been panned from the Zeballos River bed in 1924 by two Quatsino pioneers named Malmberg and Nordstrom. Geologists sent by the provincial government had made favourable reports on the valley's mineral potentialities.³⁸ In 1931, a small group of unemployed fishermen from Quatsino Sound built cabins at the head of Zeballos Arm. During the summer months they prospected, and in the winter they trapped. They lived on fish and game, which were plentiful in the area.³⁹

Most of the mineral properties staked in the valley prior to 1931 had lapsed due to indifference on the part of investors,⁴⁰ so the prospectors staked their claims within a year, and began development of the properties immediately. The first producing property was the White Star group of claims, owned by Andrew Donaldson, son of a Cape Scott pioneer.⁴¹ The mine was located six miles from tidewater, and access was gained via elk and bear trails along the Zeballos River bank. Ore was mined by hand, using powder and hand drills, then shipped by canoe down the Zeballos River to the canyon, portaged, and then taken to the beach. The ore was loaded aboard the SS "Princess Macquinna" at Ceepeecee Cannery dock, where it was shipped to the smelter in Tacoma. A total of 47 tons of ore was shipped in this manner between 1934 and 1937, yielding 650 ounces of gold and 175 ounces of silver.⁴² The property was leased to a Vancouver syndicate in 1937. Returns



Zeballos in 1936, (B. C. Archives)



Zeballos, Dock Facilities, 1946, (B. C. Archives)

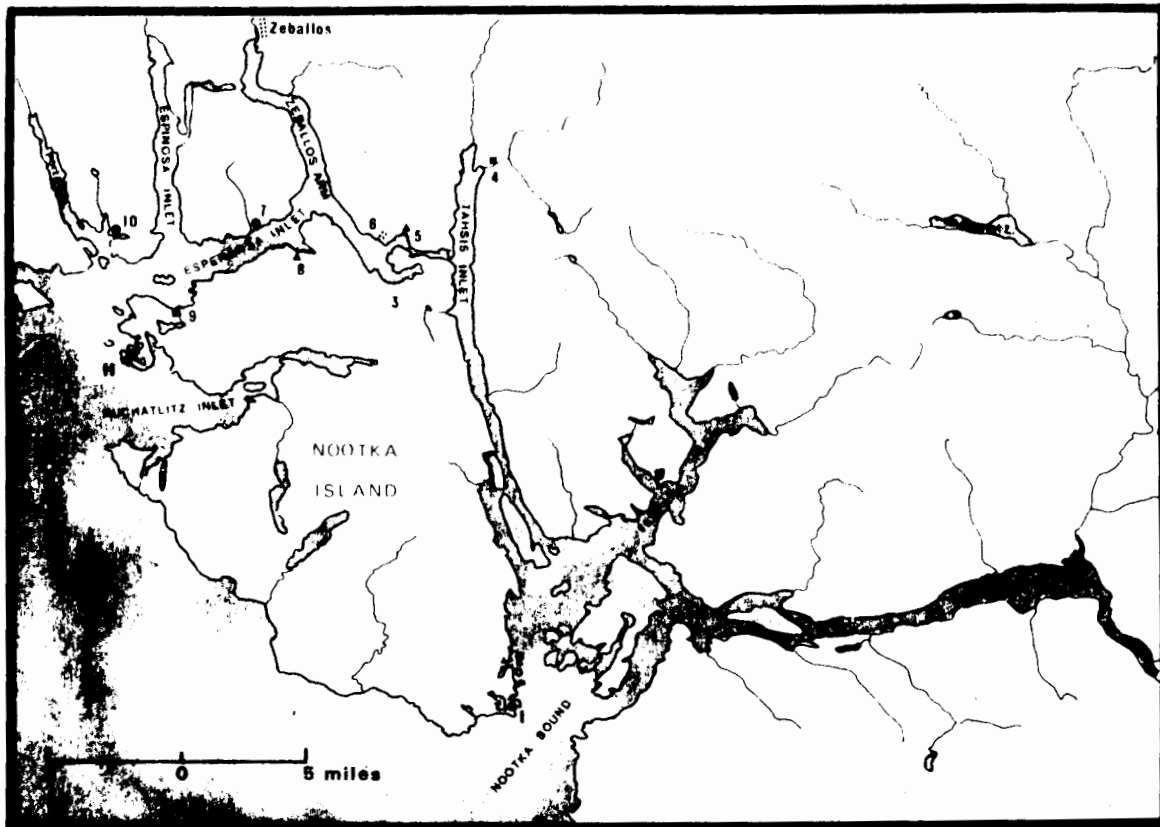
from the White Star claims and other properties developed after 1931 prompted a gold rush in 1936.

J. S. Stevenson, a mining engineer employed by the B. C. department of mines, gives this account of the development of mining in Zeballos:

Mining really began in the winter of 1934-35 when high-grade ore was shipped from the property of White Star Gold Mines. In 1937, shipments of high-grade ore were made from No. 1 vein on the Privateer. In 1938, the Privateer mill and Spud Valley Gold Mines mill began operating. That year nearly 400 men were employed at thirty properties in prospecting, development work, and production. In 1939, mills were built at the Mount Zeballos and Central Zeballos mines, and in 1941, a mill was built at the Homeward mine. About the middle of 1942, the shortage of men and supplies because of World War II forced all but Privateer and the Prident to close, and in October, 1943, these properties also were forced to close. During the winter of 1945-46, operations were resumed at Privateer, Prident, Central Zeballos, and Spud Valley mines, but owing to the increased cost of supplies and labour relative to the fixed price of gold, these mines were forced to close again and by the end of 1948, Privateer, the last to operate, had ceased operations. 43

The townsite of Zeballos was surveyed in 1936, and all properties within the townsite sold quickly. Photographs of Zeballos during the early boom days show thick mud along the streets, with narrow boardwalks and raised wooden sidewalks connecting the buildings. Prior to government-sponsored road construction in 1938, access to mining properties was gained by tractor roads, packhorse trails, and footpaths. After 1936, the Zeballos River was no longer an economical transportation route, since the volume of ore shipped down the valley increased

Map 5: Settlement Circa 1937



Legend

- 1 Yuquot Indian village and Lighthouse
- 2 Nootka Cannery
- 3 Port Tahsis Sawmill (under construction near Hecate Fish Reduction Plant, which was no longer operating at this time)
- 4 Perry brothers' homestead (berry farm)
- 5 Ceepeecee Cannery and fish-buying camp
- 6 Esperanza Hotel
- 7 Ehedisah Indian village (Hoek) (at least partly deserted by this time; most of the Ehedisahs had moved to the gold mining settlement of Zeballos)
- 8 Saltery Bay Fish Reduction Plant
- 9 Newton Homestead and post office ("Centre Island")
- 10 Queen Cove Indian village
- 11 Nuchatlaht Indian village

(two small logging float camps were operating in the region at this time, supplying the new Port Tahsis mill)

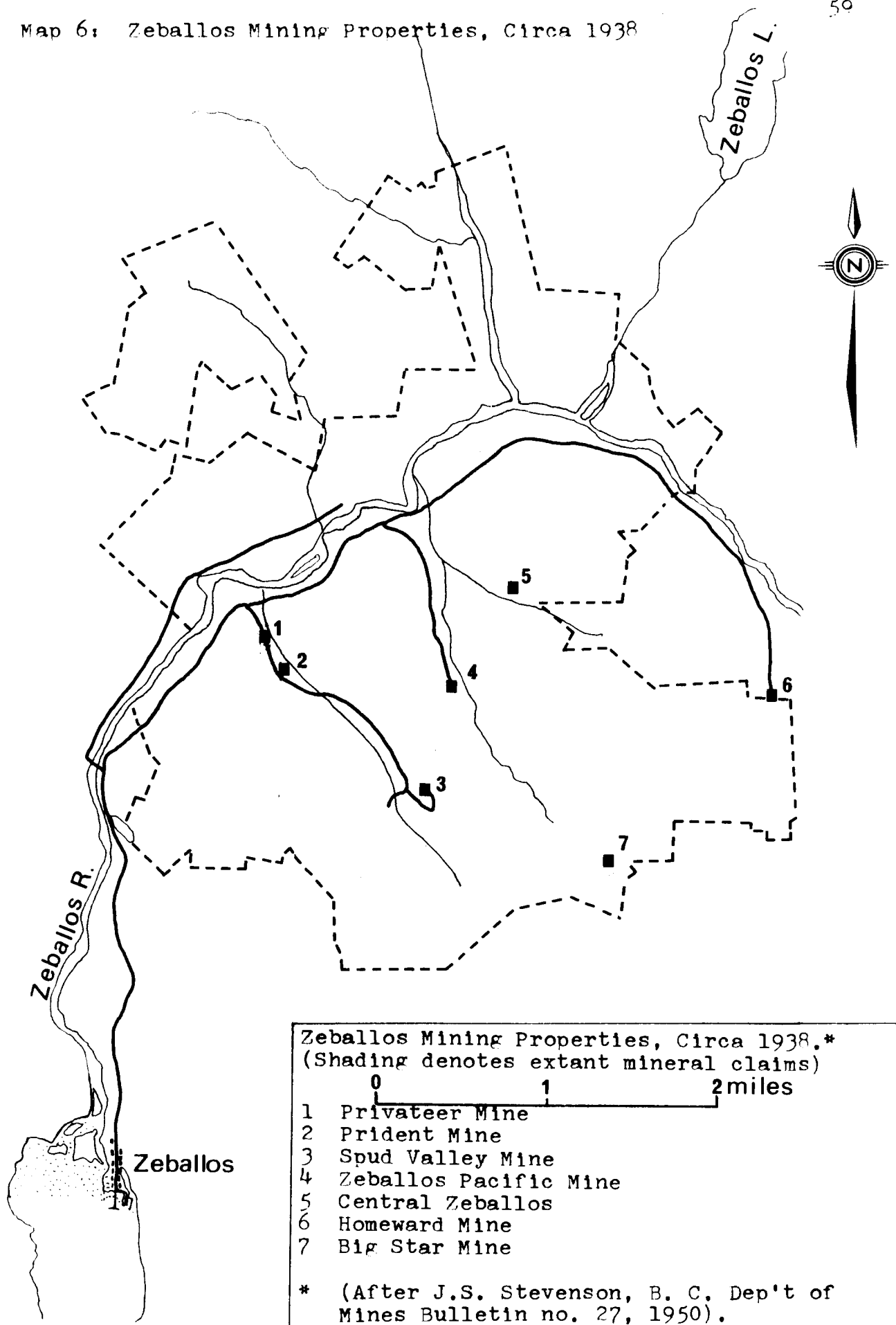
considerably.

Zeballos townsite developed as a transshipment point and service centre for the various mining properties in the Zeballos River valley. The main street paralleled a slough which was used at high tide to unload bargeloads of equipment. Many buildings along one side of the street were built out over the slough, resting on pilings. The townsite was located on a long ridge of gravel paralleling the slough, because this was the only level ground near the river delta firm enough to build on. (See Map 5) Most of the lower Zeballos River is spruce bog, incapable of supporting large buildings. The narrowness of the gravel ridge placed building sites at a premium, and those buildings which were situated on the slough side of the main road were built partially or completely on pilings to make the best use of available sites. Another consideration favouring the Zeballos townsite location was its elevation, about ten feet above the delta, making the townsite less susceptible to high tides and the yearly Zeballos River flood. The Zeballos River often changes channels near its mouth, making locations near it unsuitable for a townsite.

All supplies for the townsite and mine prior to construction of the government wharf in 1938 were either unloaded at the Ceepeecee Cannery wharf, or transshipped directly from the "Princess Macquinna" via a flat-top scow.⁴⁴

Within two years (1936-1938) Zeballos boasted a population of approximately one thousand, a twenty-bed hospital operated

Map 6: Zeballos Mining Properties, Circa 1938



Zeballos Mining Properties, Circa 1938.*
 (Shading denotes extant mineral claims)

0 1 2 miles

- 1 Privateer Mine
- 2 Prident Mine
- 3 Spud Valley Mine
- 4 Zeballos Pacific Mine
- 5 Central Zeballos
- 6 Homeward Mine
- 7 Big Star Mine

* (After J.S. Stevenson, B. C. Dep't of Mines Bulletin no. 27, 1950).

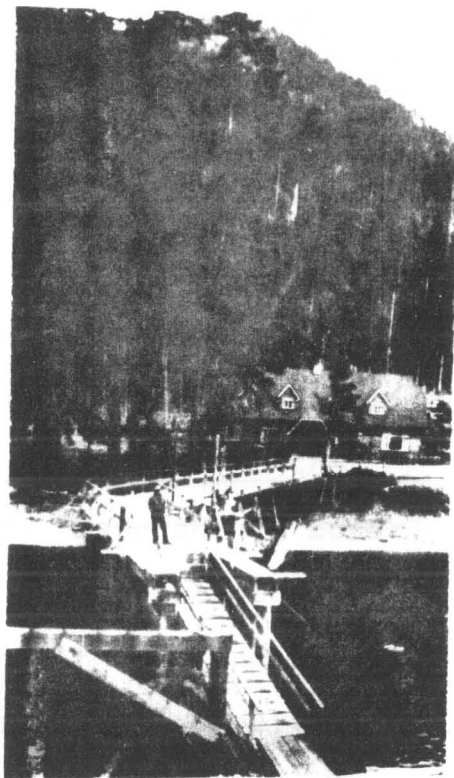
by the Red Cross Society, a school, a bakery, laundry, and general supply stores, plus a well-staffed "goat ranch", as bawdy houses were known, just outside of town. Many of the first commercial buildings were financed by miners who had been successful during the early boom years. For example, Leslie R. Brown, co-owner of the White Star property, built the Pioneer, Zeballos' first hotel, and the only hotel still in operation today. The first restaurant was established by the cook for the group that developed the Privateer mine; he made enough in a few month's labour to establish himself in business.⁴⁵

During the latter 1930's, communities developed around the crushing mills established near each mine portal. The settlement at Privateer mine was the largest, incorporating a school and houses for married couples besides the usual bunkhouses. These small communities, numbering approximately one hundred persons, gained easy access to Zeballos townsite after roads were constructed to all operating mines in the valley in 1938, as a result of the report made by S. C. Ellis of the Federal Department of Mines.⁴⁶

The Late 1930's: Gold, Fish, and Wood

Between 1936 and 1938, the population of the Nootka Sound region focused at the head of Zeballos Arm, with smaller communities situated in scattered locations further up the Zeballos River and its tributaries. (See Map 6) Ceepeecee

Illustration 4



Esperanza Mission Hospital and Esperanza Hotel, (1946?)
(B. C. Archives)

Cannery, in difficulty due to poor salmon prices and the decline of the pilchard industry, gained additional revenue from wharfage fees charged for transshipment of supplies from the "Princess Macquinna". Esperanza Hotel continued to operate, although the pilchard reduction plants closed down one by one. According to informants in the region, the hotel also incorporated a seasonal brothel. Apparently these enterprising ladies also used a boat to provide more direct services, visiting the logging camps and fish processing plants throughout the region, but documentation of this point has been hard to come by.⁴⁷ Another conjectural point dealing with the "geography of vice" during the period under consideration is the possible opposition of married women to the establishment of a bordello in Zeballos. Esperanza's more isolated location would have been less susceptible to intervention from the Zeballos detachment of the B. C. provincial police, established in 1936. The policemen apparently adopted a "live and let live" attitude until pressured to do otherwise.

Informants report that the bordello ceased functioning effectively from the hotel during 1937, when the Nootka Regional Hospital was built at Esperanza.⁴⁸ The hospital was sponsored by the Shantymen's Christian Association of Victoria, headed by the Reverend Percy Wills.⁴⁹ The Shantymen are an evangelical missionary group, dedicated to providing spiritual aid to people in isolated frontier communities. My informants indicated some uncertainty as to whether or not the Shantymen

accomplished their goal in this particular case.⁵⁰

Prior to 1938, logging in the Nootka Sound region had been hampered by isolation from processing facilities and markets. Timber leases had been acquired by various interested parties since 1884, but very few had actually been exploited.⁵¹ Rather, timber easily accessible from the water had been hand-logged and "A"-framed on a small scale, and sold to the mill at Port Alberni. Only Sayward Mill and Timber had engaged in logging requiring fairly heavy capital investment.⁵²

In 1936, a group of British investors lead by Len Whallen decided to purchase timber leases on Nootka Island, and build an export lumber mill at McBride Bay, one and a half miles from the semi-defunct pilchard reduction plant at Hecate. (See Map 6) Whallen and his group incorporated under the name Nootka Wood Products, and started cutting pilings for the mill in 1937.⁵⁴ According to my informant, the McBride Bay (Port Tahsis) mill was a promotional scheme, since it was constructed entirely on untreated hemlock pilings and lacked space for storage and facilities for sawdust and waste elimination.⁵⁵ Capital outlay for the mill was between \$500,000 and \$600,000, according to my informant.⁵⁶ Only one ship loaded sawn timber at the mill in 1939 after the outbreak of the Second World War, and it sank before reaching England.⁵⁷ The mill was abandoned in 1940, due to the outbreak of war, insolvency, and the rapid decay of the pilings upon which the mill was constructed. The untreated hemlock was subject to attack from

Toredo worms, and the first signs of imminent collapse showed within six months of construction. The mill machinery was also of very poor quality.⁵⁸

The settlement attached to the mill incorporated a staff house, and bunkhouses for workers. The Port Tahsis mill was supplied principally by hand loggers, and by small-scale "A"-framing along Esperanza Inlet.

By 1940, the Perry farm on the Leiner River and the Newton homestead opposite Centre Island were the only remaining homesteads. The Perry brothers owned a timber lease, a small berry farm and a vegetable garden near the site of Carl Leiner's old homestead. The Newtons ran a small store and post office at the settlement of Centre Island, opposite Centre Island itself.⁵⁹ The Rustards, who purchased the Centre Island homesite from its original owner, built a small retirement cottage at Haven Cove opposite Esperanza about this time, abandoning the old homestead.⁶⁰

Zeballos townsite was well established, with the main street lined with false-fronted wooden frame buildings. The mining camps further up the valley continued in full swing. Ceepeecee and Nootka Canneries still remained in operation, while all the pilchard reduction plants had ceased production. Whallen's mill at Port Tahsis lasted only two years, and can best be classed as an unsuccessful speculative venture. The mill's shipment of one load of sawn lumber did demonstrate that deep-sea ships were willing to call into Esperanza Inlet, making export saw-milling feasible in the Nootka Sound region.

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- 29 Ibid., pp. 245-246.
- 30 See Sharcott, p. 6.
- 31 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, pp. 96-100.
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- 33 Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, p. 10.
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46 Ibid., p. 304.

47 Information on the brothel is the result of interviews with informants. Another brothel existed some distance up the valley from Zeballos townsite, and was known as the "Goat Ranch".

48 Nicholson, op. cit., p. 243.

49 P. W. Keller, Splendour From the Sea, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963), pp. 96-100.

50 My informants indicate that the Shantymen actively campaigned against the existence of the brothel and liquor outlet.

51 See Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, Saywood Lumber Co. and Sutton Trading Co., plus individual pioneers, owned timber leases in the research area.

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54 Mr. Johnny Chappelle, (personal communication), Tahsis, June, 1970.

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CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT IN THE NOOTKA SOUND REGION, 1940-1970:

The Expansion of Lumbering and Milling Facilities

Settlement patterns in the Nootka Sound region changed considerably during the war years. During the early war period 1939-1942, the workforce of the Nootka Sound region declined as men left their jobs to enlist in the armed services. Zeballos mining continued to be important despite declining population, and in 1941 a new crushing mill was built at the Homeward mine.¹ In 1942, however, the shortage of men and materials due to the war effort forced all the mines except Privateer and Prident to close, and in October of 1943 these two mines closed also.²

The Zeballos mines, and the canneries at Ceepeecee and Nootka did not experience sales due to the war effort. Men soon drifted away, or were conscripted. Lumbering was an entirely different story, however. The war created a demand for black spruce, which was used to construct aircraft frames. The damp river bottoms of the Nootka Sound region had abundant spruce stands, and the more enterprising loggers operating on the west coast of Vancouver Island lost no time in acquiring Timber Licences which included high percentages of spruce sawlogs.

Many timber licences in the Nootka Sound region acquired prior to 1930 had been allowed to lapse, and there was some competition for the best licences when timber demands increased as a result of the war. The federal government subsidized loggers on a "Spruce Account", which supplied the capital investment required to outfit a logging camp, and provided a guaranteed profit margin. This policy was referred to as "cost-plus".³

My informant describes logging practices under the system as follows:

"...During the war a lot of small and big operators got their start on the spruce account - they charged up everything to the government! One time I was working during the war and the foreman says, "Hey, John, we're going to cut that mainline up for guy-lines!" I say, "But its only been on for two weeks!" He says, "That's alright, we need good guylines!" - all on spruce account! Big #1 spruce we used for "A"-frames...but a lot of those spruce logs never reached Vancouver! The barges sank...nothing mattered so long as we could get those logs out. We just left most of the timber standing, or just cut it down and left it lying if it was in the way. There wasn't anything else we could do - we had to get the wood!"

4

In 1940 a logger named Olsen started "A"-framing along Tahsis Inlet on the Spruce Account, moving his float camp from licence to licence as he finished logging each claim. The Gibson brothers, of Ahousat, on Clayoquot Sound, purchased timber in the Tahsis River valley, Esperanza Inlet, and on Nootka Island. They outfitted floating camps on the Spruce Account, and developed a road network up the Tahsis River valley. Once again, the investment in machinery and trucks was partially

financed by the federal government.

The floating camps which highgraded or "creamed" spruce from Nootka Sound's forests during the early war years were manned by soldiers on 'logger's leave' from the armed services. The entrepreneurs responsible for operating the camps were given every incentive to maximize their production of spruce logs, and forestry officials turned a blind eye to the extravagant misuse of machinery and wastefulness which characterized wartime logging practices.

The Port Tahsis mill had demonstrated during its short history that siting a sawmill within the forests supplying the raw materials was feasible, so long as adequate wharfage and storage areas were available.⁵ Gordon Gibson and his brothers became interested in developing a mill in the Nootka Sound region in 1944, after they had accumulated capital from their "cost-plus" logging operations all along Vancouver Island's west coast.⁶

Frank Grobb, a Tahsis Company executive, explains how Tahsis, at the head of Tahsis Inlet, was chosen as a sawmill site:

Now, the interesting part here is looking back on the choice of site. They (The Gibson brothers) really had two choices; one was either Tahsis, or the present site of the Gold River pulp mill. And Tahsis was chosen because they felt that the possibility of providing a road to the sawmill, if it was at Gold River, through the Gold River canyon, would be too tough. ...Furthermore, the fundamental philosophy behind the mill location was that you located a producing plant within the forest similar

to the McBride Bay (Port Tahsis) operation. They were going to put logs in the Tahsis River and float the logs down the river and around into the ladder. This made a very nice simple arrangement and low cost. So Tahsis was chosen. 7

As Mr. Grobb implies, the Tahsis River valley was the primary source of timber for the mill. Gordon Gibson, who was in charge of the lumbering aspect of the family's multi-faceted business ventures, purchased the mill machinery from the old Port Tahsis mill, and moved it to the new mill site.⁸ Floating bunkhouses provided accommodation for construction and sawmill workers during the early years of the mill's operations.

The mill was situated on flats adjacent to the Tahsis River estuary, and the site was enlarged by edging and filling. (See Map 7) Full wharfage facilities were installed after the mill began operating, and initially freighters were loaded from lighters in the middle of the channel.

Timber began to come from farther afield when log transportation methods changed in the latter war years.⁹ Old hulks were used to barge logs down the outside coast, and new rafting techniques made long-distance towing economically feasible.¹⁰ Improved log transport promoted the establishment of floating logging camps at sites some distance from the sawmill, and timber was even barged in from Gibson logging interests in the Queen Charlotte Islands. During the war years the only other sawmilling facility in the research area was at Zeballos, where a small mill supplied mine timbers, construction materials,

and sawn lumber for fish-packing crates.¹¹

During the winter of 1945-46, Privateer, Prident, Central Zeballos, and Spud Valley mines resumed operations in the Zeballos River valley.¹² This mining renaissance prompted a sizable increase in population for Zeballos, but unfortunately the increased cost of labour and supplies relative to the fixed price of gold (\$35 per ounce) made continued operations uneconomical, and most mines closed down in 1947. Privateer, the last mine to operate, closed down in 1948.¹³ The mine closures resulted in a major economic recession in Zeballos, with many businesses moving elsewhere. Manning timber company obtained licences in the Zeballos and Nomash River valleys, and together with the government liquor store and Pioneer Hotel pub, provided Zeballos with a somewhat fragile surrogate economic base. The Zeballos decline also adversely affected the Esperanza Hotel, which struggled on through the war years despite the decline of mining and fish processing in the Nootka Sound region. Nootka and Ceepeecee canneries operated at low capacity during the war years, canning mainly the fall pink salmon run, and serving as headquarters for fishermen and fish packers.

Settlement based on logging was of necessity mobile, since during the war years no large earth-moving machines were available to establish camps on shore. The floating camps were easily moved, and presented no problems insofar as waste disposal was concerned. Direct service to urban centres became

available during the latter 1930's, with the institution of float plane service to Vancouver and Victoria.¹⁴

One particular settlement did prosper during the 1940's. The Shantymen's Christian Association Hospital at Esperanza received substantial federal government subsidies, expanding its facilities considerably while the Esperanza Hotel languished from lack of business, due to the decline of Zeballos mining and the fish processing industry in the Esperanza Inlet area.

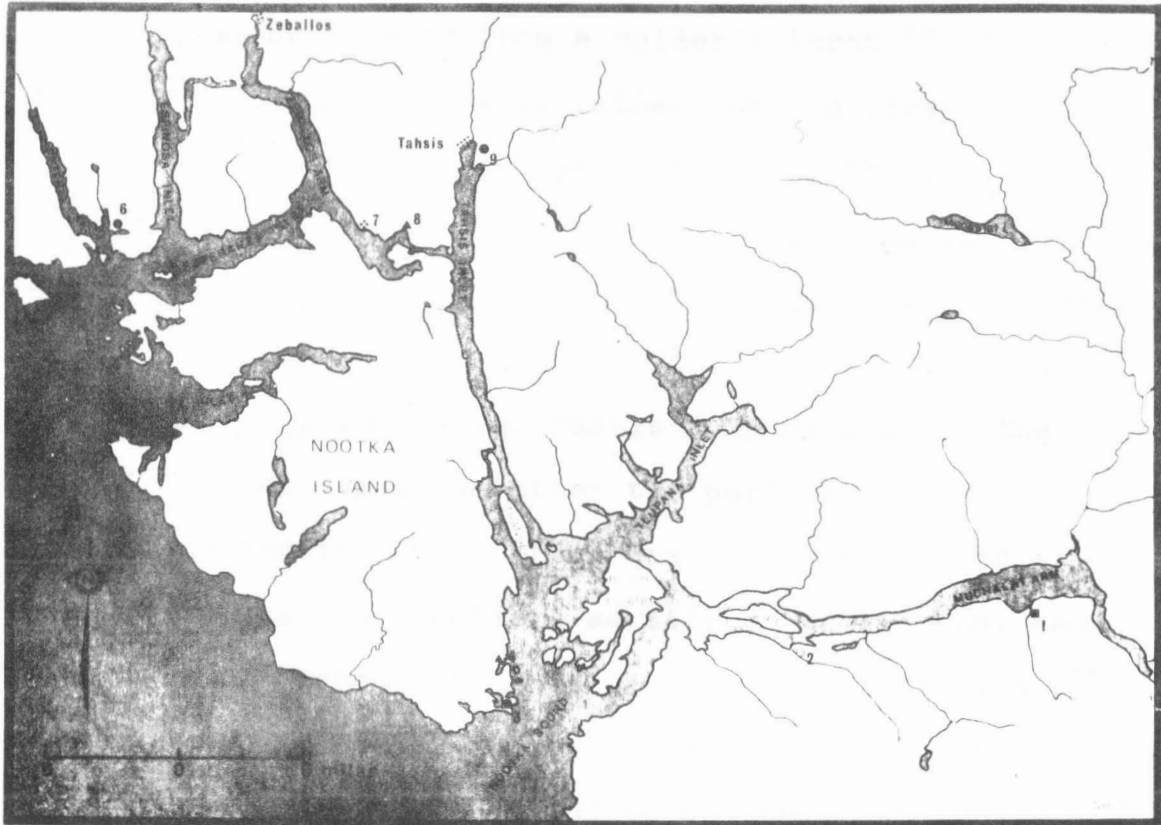
One settlement which came into being during the latter war years was the radar and coastal defence station at Ferrier Point, on northern Nootka Island. The station ceased operations shortly after the war, but has continued to be a landmark on the coast.

The Post-War Years, 1946-1950:

The Growth of the Tahsis Company Hegemony

Rapid development of the Nootka Sound region's timber industry coincided with declines in gold mining and fish processing after the war ended. The building of Tahsis mill and export dock provided timber processing and shipping facilities, and Gibson Brother's export agents, East Asiatic Steamship Company, of Copenhagen, took advantage of the post-war boom to find expanded overseas softwood markets. Tahsis townsite expanded rapidly after the war, with some new houses being built on shore in 1946.¹⁵

Tahsis sawmill burned down in July, 1948, in a fire



Legend

- 1 Muchalaht Logging Camp
- 2 Silverado Creek Gold Mine: (a speculative and short-lived venture)
- 3 Yuquot Indian village and Lighthouse
- 4 Nootka Cannery
- 5 Nuchatlaht Indian village
- 6 Queen Cove Indian village
- 7 Esperanza Mission hospital and hotel
- 8 Ceepeecee fish buying camp
- 9 Tahsis Indian village

A few floating logging camps were working on Tahsis Inlet, and Esperanza Inlet at this time, supplying timber to Tahsis sawmill.

probably caused by a spark from a welder's torch.¹⁶ The plant was insured on a standing basis rather than in terms of replacement value, and with post-war inflation, the Gibson brothers found that they alone could not raise the capital necessary to rebuild Tahsis sawmill.¹⁷ Consequently, a half-interest in the company was sold to East Asiatic Company, and the new partnership was called Tahsis Company Ltd.¹⁸ The additional capital available after the partnership was instituted enabled the Gibson brothers to purchase used equipment from the old Woodfibre sawmill on Howe Sound, near Squamish, and the Tahsis mill was rebuilt within the year.¹⁹ The new second-hand Tahsis mill was inefficient and subject to breakdowns, but the town's population continued to grow.

The enlarged Tahsis Company had a profound effect on settlement patterns in the Nootka Sound region. First, the rebuilt sawmill created the economic base for a town of approximately 1200 people.²⁰ These mill workers and their families were principally European immigrants. Several buildings from Zeballos townsite were purchased for Tahsis village, including two hotels. They were barged down, and skidded onto shore with tractors. Other buildings were originally part of Gibson brothers' logging camp.²¹ Secondly, some Nootka Indians from the Moachat Confederacy at Friendly Cove established permanent homes at the Tahsis reservation, directly opposite the new townsite, and gained employment in Tahsis company on the log booming and sorting crews. Thirdly,

increased timber sales during the post-war boom enabled Tahsis company to outfit more floating camps, and increase log production. Some camps had married quarters, but most provided accomodation for men only. Spar-tree logging and truck transportation in accessible areas, such as Zeballos and Tahsis River valleys, began to characterize the region in the late 1940's. The C.P.R. ship S.S. "Princess Macquinna" continued to give faithful service, stopping at Tahsis, and at camps able to accommodate her at their floats. Competition from aircraft seriously reduced the number of passengers she carried after the war, and concomitantly increased Vancouver's importance as an urban passenger terminous for residents of the Nootka Sound region.²² Heavy freight continued to be supplied by coaster from Victoria and Port Alberni.²³

The partnership between the Gibson brothers and East Asiatic Company was terminated in 1952, after four years of conflict over Tahsis company development policies. East Asiatic Company bought out the Gibsons' interests for five million dollars. This initial change in ownership of Tahsis Company should be examined in some detail, since policies of the company have been the dominant influence in the creation of present settlement patterns in the Nootka Sound region. Frank Grobb describes the changes in ownership and forest tenure between 1948 and 1952 as follows:

Now, about this time we had new legislation and new reports coming out in Victoria with regard to

forestry practices, and it was the emergence of what we call our Forest Management Licences or Free Farm Licences, as they were called at that time. This change in forest policy was now beginning to have a telling effect on what future forest lands were going to be available. Now, the Gibsons had come up through a process of being local loggers and taking timber as and when they needed it and they, like many others, resented the contractual long-term arrangements of large corporations that were given exclusive logging rights. And this turned out to be a violent disagreement with their new partners. And this generally was the start of a conflict which eventually terminated the arrangements in 1952. 24

My informant, who logged with Gordon Gibson in the war years, points out another dimension to the conflict.

...I asked Gordon Gibson one time, "How come you're packing up and selling out?" And he says, "I go broke!" ...They put every nickel we make back into expansion. I might as well pull out while the going's good!" ...and they say he sold his share out to Tahsis company for \$5,000,000...They got a good cheap deal - They knew what junk the mill was ...but all the timber round here! ...and you know - Gordon told me, it was his brother Jack who really earned that five million, because he was a Liberal M.P. (Lilloet) at the time, and if it wasn't for him the big companies like MacMillan Bloedel would've cut their throats! 25

Several interesting points emerge here. Of primary importance to the lumber industry in Nootka Sound were the Tree Farm or Forest Management Licences granted to large corporations on the authority of the Lands and Forests minister, Mr. Robert Summers, of the newly elected provincial Social Credit government. Jack Gibson's position as a spokesman for small loggers in the previous Liberal-Conservative coalition government, plus his considerable political power at both provincial and federal levels, evidently prevented the well-

established timber giants from grabbing T.F.L. 19 from Tahsis Company. The federal government was favourably disposed towards East Asiatic Company's acquisition of T.F.L. 19, since the timber rights granted were partially reparations owing the Company due to the destruction of East Asiatic shipping by Canadian bombers during the war. The government in this case was able to ignore pressures from the large timber corporations, support the sale of the Gibson brothers' interest to East Asiatic, and foster the growth of the infant Tahsis Company. Tahsis Company applied for and received rights to T.F.L. 19 in 1952.²⁵

The establishment of permanent forest tenure areas by the provincial government enabled Tahsis Company to acquire long-term capitalization for expansion. The small-scale coastal logging which characterized the pre-war years was replaced by extensive road networks up river valleys, larger machinery, and shore-based logging camps. Post-war inflation made capitalization costs for expansion seem enormous, but excellent market conditions and optimistic prospects for future overseas timber sales prompted Tahsis Company management to reinvest their profits in further expansion.

Changes in Logging Settlement during the 1950's

New machinery, roads, and semi-permanent, shore-based logging camps such as Muchalat camp on Muchalat Arm provided sufficient amenities for family life. Prior to the Second

World War, few women and children lived in logging camps, due to generally poor living conditions and their isolation in camps of predominantly young, single men. Large, land-based camps provided centralized facilities for several distinct spar-tree logging operations or 'sides', and in the case of Muchalat camp, a schoolteacher was hired for the elementary school children. Houses and trailers skidded up onto shore provided satisfactory accommodation.²⁷

Tahsis Company, after acquiring T.F.L. 19, for a short time concentrated its own logging operations in fairly accessible coastal areas and river valleys. A few small contractors supplying logs to Tahsis sawmill established camps along Tahsis canal and Esperanza Inlet in the early 1950's. Camps were also established at the mouth of the Little Zeballos River by Canadian Forest Products, and at Moya Bay, on Muchalat Arm, by a C.F.P. contractor, Taylor Way logging.

Besides the establishment of a constellation of logging camps and the expansion of Tahsis into a full-fledged company town, Zeballos became incorporated as a village in 1952, under the leadership of its mayor, Bob Whitton.²⁸ The village's population, languishing since the decline of gold mining, was increased during this time by the movement of Nootka Indians from Ehedisah village, Queen Cove, and Nuchatlitz into old rooming houses and private homes vacated by mining people. Zeballos landlords apparently offered the space at low rental in an attempt to gain back some of their ill-fated investments.

The old Ehedisaht site continued to be used as a graveyard.²⁹ Nuchatlitz and Queen Cove continued to be occupied by a few families.

The expansion of settlement based on timber exploitation during the early 1950's coincided with changes in transportation. The S.S. "Princess Macquinna" was taken out of service in 1952, after her boilers could no longer sustain sufficient steam pressure. She was replaced initially by much smaller craft operating out of Port Alberni, and after a space of five years, by the "Northland Prince", operating out of Vancouver.³⁰ The "Northland Prince" has been a freight carrier principally, since passage by sea from Vancouver is too slow and expensive for most passengers.

In 1955, a new powerhouse was installed in Tahsis, and fifty additional houses were built in the south townsite, on the Tahsis River delta.³¹ Installation of modern chipping facilities provided better utilization of waste wood, and expanded markets for pulp chips. Mill capacity rose from approximately 2.5 million board feet per month in 1948, to a "break-even" volume of 5 to 6 million board feet per month in 1955.³²

Other Significant Settlement Changes

1950-1960

There were changes in other types of settlement during the early 1950's. Nootka Cannery finally shut down its

operations in 1952, and the machinery and smaller buildings were sold over the next few years.³³ The last remnants of the original C.P.R.-sponsored pioneers abandoned their pre-emptions opposite Centre Island. The Rustards, who had homesteaded on Centre Island, lived in a retirement cottage God's Pocket, near Steamer Point on Esperanza Inlet, having sold their property to an absentee American. The Mission Hospital at Esperanza formed the basis of a settlement which incorporated most of the original forty lots surveyed by the government in 1936.³⁴ The Esperanza Hotel burned down under mysterious circumstances in 1952, and the Reverend Doctor McClean, head of the Shantymen mission at Esperanza, built his own home on the hotel's concrete foundations. In 1955 the Shantymen leased the deserted Hecate Pilchard Reduction Plant, using the remaining buildings as a summer Bible camp.³⁵ Ceepeecee Cannery became a headquarters for fishermen and for fish packing boats, ceasing its processing operations altogether. Fishermen sold their catches directly to a cash buyer. Salmon were shipped directly to Tofino, Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria for processing at large, automated plants, since small, coastal canneries were no longer economical to operate. The Pink Salmon runs which supported Ceepeecee and Nootka canneries after the war declined steadily. Buildings at both canneries were seasonally occupied by Nootka Indians after fish processing closed down for good in the Nootka Sound region. Houses at Ceepeecee continued to be occupied by a few

fishermen.

The canneries had incorporated general stores, post offices, and sold fishing tackle - in effect providing a fishermen's headquarters. In the middle 1950's, floating stores owned by Maillard and Company took over these functions. One floating store was established at Nootka, another near Nuchatlitz Indian village, north of Nuchatlitz Inlet. A cash buyer anchored close to these stores during the fishing season, providing, in aggregate, a service centre close to the off-shore fishing grounds which made interruptions of fishing for long trips to home bases in Ucluelet, Tofino, or Kyuquot unnecessary.

The trend towards consolidation and rationalization in the west coast fishing industry spelt the end of extensive settlement based on fishing in the Nootka Sound region. With the notable exceptions of the indian villages of Nuchatlitz, Queen Cove, and Friendly Cove, and the moribund settlement of Zeballos, most fishermen who used the region as a summer fishing headquarters made their permanent homes in the larger centres of Tofino, Ucluelet, and Kyuquot.

The rosy economic picture of the early 1950's and corresponding increases in sawn timber production from the Tahsis export mill resulted in a change of policy for Tahsis Company in 1959. Basically, the problem was inefficient utilization of waste wood. Tahsis mill cut only rough, green lumber for export, and was not immediately able to take advantage of new

demands in the United States market. Subsequently a power generator was built, and a planing mill was installed to provide finished timber for the new markets.³⁶

Tahsis town increased in population when the mill was built. New houses were constructed overlooking the Inlet, and the town began to develop a 'two-headed' character, with one-half located on the Tahsis River delta across from the millsite, and the rest of the town built on higher ground to the west of the mill, overlooking Tahsis Inlet. Bunkhouses for single men were established on shore in the middle 1950's, on pilings and fill beside the Tahsis River.³⁷

Logging in the Zeballos area continued through the middle 1950's, and extensive mining exploration for minerals other than gold injected some money into the village's economy. The town's population fluctuated around the one hundred fifty mark in the 1950's, depending on whether fishing was in season or not. Aging prospectors who originally came to Zeballos in the 1936 gold rush still worked their claims in the hills, and lived in shacks on the outskirts of the village.

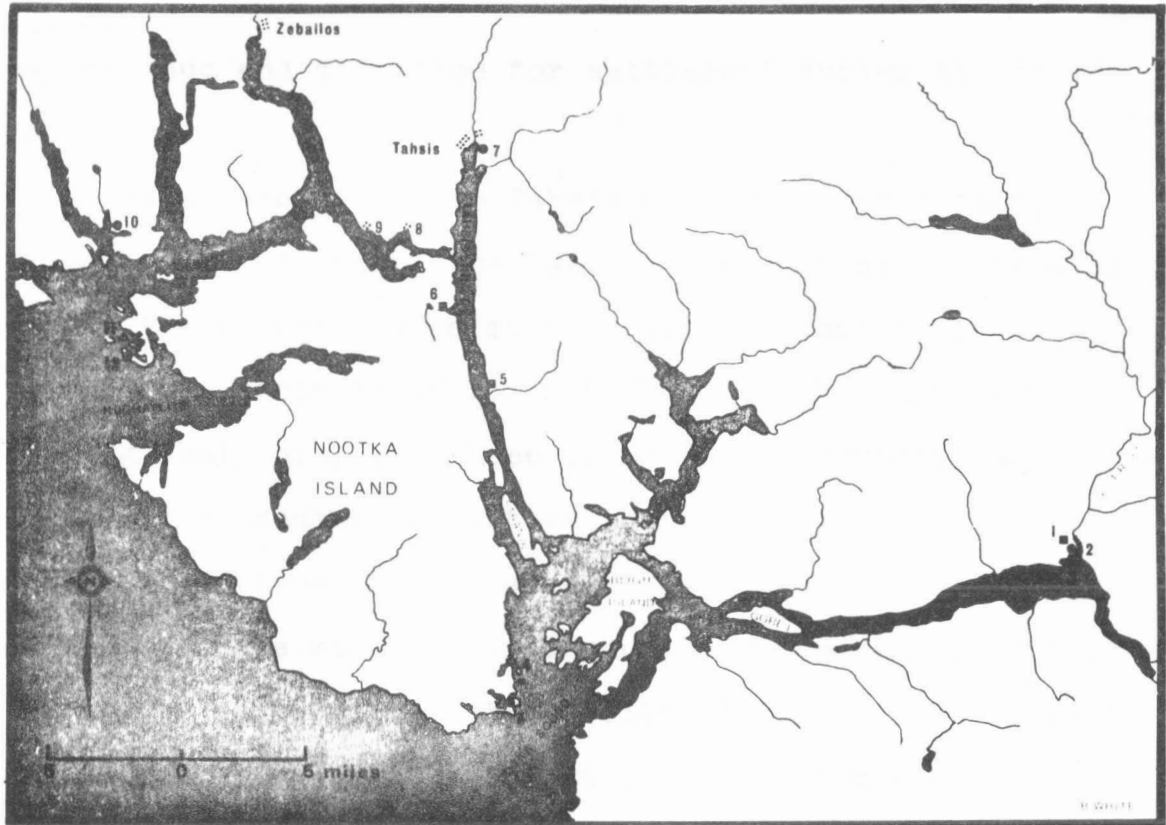
The principal ore development of the latter 1950's was a mountain of high-grade iron ore just three miles from tide-water, and most mining exploration activities centred around this property during the closing years of the decade.³⁸

Zeballos continued to be the "good-time" centre of the Nootka Sound region, and the liquor store and Pioneer Hotel beer parlour continued to do a reasonable amount of business.

A "booze-boat" to Tahsis was instituted at an indefinite date in the 1950's, supplying liquor to thirsty mill-workers in Tahsis which was a "dry" town at this time. The operator charged a fee dependent upon the type and quantity of liquor ordered.

The decade 1950-1960 in the Nootka Sound region was characterized by the rapid growth of a constellation of settlements based on timber extraction and processing. These settlements included small float camps, large-scale logging camps (Muchalat, Fleetwood), Tahsis town itself, and a small settlement at Sandpoint, where logs were sorted according to species and quality. (See Map 8) Esperanza Mission had developed into a thriving little community. Nootka and Ceepeecee canneries shut down due to changes in organization in the fishing industry, and due to declining catches of salmon. The last few settlers drifted away after the war. The Centre Island settlements were sold, and the Perry farm on the Leiner River was abandoned. Besides living in their own villages, Nootka Indians occupied deserted houses in old pilchard reduction plants, in Zeballos, and in the old canneries. By 1960, the Nootka Sound landscape was as notable for its deserted settlements as for those which continued to thrive.

By 1960 most settlements in the Nootka Sound region were affected directly or indirectly by policies established by Tahsis Company. Major changes in corporate organization and subsequent alterations in the boundaries of T.F.L. 19 provided



Legend

- 1 Muchalaht Logging Camp
- 2 A'Aminquas Indian village (re-occupied)
- 3 Yuquot Indian village and Lighthouse
- 4 Nootka Fish-buying camp
- 5 Sandpoint Log Sorting Grounds
- 6 Chappelle Logging Camp (Blowhole Bay)
- 7 Tahsis Indian village
- 8 Ceepeecee (occupied mainly by fishermen)
- 9 Esperanza Mission hospital
- 10 Queen Cove Indian village
- 11 Nuchatlitz Fish-buying camp and floating store
- 12 Nuchatlaht Indian village

(Floating logging camps working in Tahsis Inlet, Espinoza Inlet, and Muchalat Arm)

a new impetuous and direction for settlement during the decade 1960-1970.

Two major exceptions to Tahsis Company's domination of settlement changes during the 1960's should be noted, Zeballos, which was incorporated as a municipality, became a mining service centre again in 1962. Zeballos Iron Mines Ltd. began developing their property three miles from tidewater, and installed bulk-loading facilities near Zeballos townsite to ship pelletized iron-ore to Japan. Mine workers lived at the mine-site, and the mine employed about two hundred men during its period of maximum production, (1965-1969).³⁹ The Zeballos Iron Mine ceased operations in 1969. Tahsis Company, which had operated a small logging division in Zeballos since the early 1960's, acquired the old miners' quarters, and expanded and diversified their logging operations in the Zeballos River valley.

The second significant settlement change involved the resettlement of the old Muchalat indian village site of A'aminquas, at the mouth of the Gold River. The indian affairs branch constructed new houses on the reservation in an attempt to provide accessible homes for the Moachats at Friendly Cove, and for other Nootka Indians in the Nootka Sound region. It was expected that the expanding capacity of Tahsis Company's operations would provide better job opportunities for the Nootkans, and road access to stores and other services.

In order to understand overall settlement change during

the past decade, it is necessary to examine in some detail the rationales and methods employed during the period of Tahsis Company's major expansion.

As implied earlier, inflation had threatened Tahsis Company's profit margin during the early 1950's.⁴⁰ To counteract this threat, mill capacity and versatility had been expanded, and Tahsis town's population had increased correspondingly. The amount of waste wood produced as a result of these changes in production capacity, plus favourable market conditions, made the company directors think in terms of a pulp mill, to be located within the producing forest.⁴¹ In 1960, the major Tahsis Company logging divisions were at Muchalat, at Jacklah Creek near the head of Muchalat Inlet, and at Fair Harbour in the Kyuquot Public Sustained Yield Unit. In the following year Muchalat was moved to the mouth of the Gold River. Approximately 200 loggers, some with families, worked out of Muchalat, and half that number worked in the Fair Harbour area. Muchalat had a total population of about 400, and Fair Harbour had about 200 persons.⁴²

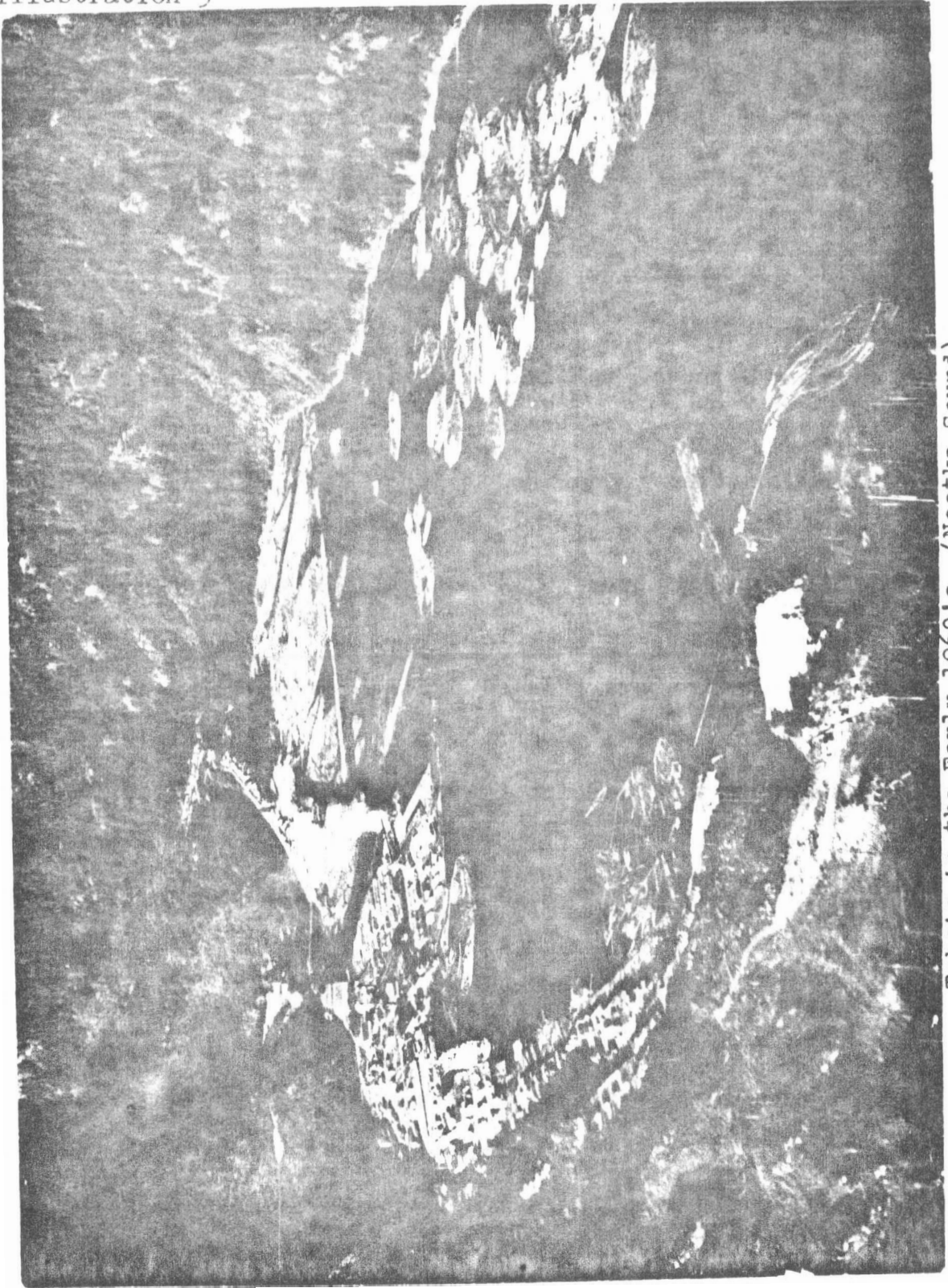
The Muchalat Logging Camp site on Gold River was within T.F.L. 19 and, by 1960, an adequate truck road had been built past the Gold River canyon to Vancouver Island's interior. The Gold River delta upon which Muchalat Camp was located provided the most promising pulp mill site, according to a team of consulting engineers hired to complete a survey of potential locations.

Once the idea of a pulp mill was generally accepted by senior management, and by the parent East Asiatic Company, management consultants were hired to locate a partner for the pulp mill venture, since Tahsis Company as constituted in 1960 was too small and inexperienced to develop the mill complex alone. The organization chosen for partnership in the expanded Tahsis Company was Canadian International Paper of Montreal, a subsidiary of International Paper of New York.⁴³ In return for organization and management of the pulp mill operation, Canadian International Paper acquired a half-interest in the expanded Tahsis Company.⁴⁴

Planning and design of the pulp mill proceeded apace during the early 1960's. A wide valley at the confluence of the Gold and Heber Rivers, nine miles from tidewater, was chosen as a townsite to service the mill, and McCarter Nairne and Partners of Vancouver was retained to plan the new community, which was to be known as Gold River.⁴⁵ The Muchalat Camp-Gold River logging road system hooked up to Elk River Timber Company's private road to Campbell River in 1960, providing restricted road access to the east coast of Vancouver Island. (See Map 9) Tahsis Company held clear title to the pulp mill site, and acquired the townsite from the provincial government.⁴⁶

Up to 1965, Tahsis sawmill had been adequately supplied by timber resources held within T.F.L. 19, and by small operators logging within the Kyuquot and Nootka Public Sustained

Illustration 5



Tahsis in the Early 1960's, (Nootka Sound)

Yield Units and Crown Forests. To operate the new 750 ton per day pulp mill on a profitable basis, it was seen that a larger resource base would be required than the waste wood gleaned from Tahsis sawmill.⁴⁷ Tahsis Company therefore applied for an additional 100,000 acres, mostly in the Kyuquot Crown forest, with the remainder in the Gold River-Gilse Creek area of the Sayward forest district.⁴⁸ The application was made after plans for the pulp mill and townsite were completed, and after construction had begun on the new mill.⁴⁹

The T.F.L. extension application was bitterly opposed by both large timber corporations and small contract loggers. Arguments against the application were heard by Ray Williston, Minister of Lands and Forests, in August of 1965. Briefly, the three main arguments against Tahsis were as follows: First, extension of T.F.L.'s into Crown Forests and Public Sustained Yield Units (P.S.Y.U.'s) could set a precedent which ultimately would wipe out the coastal P.S.Y.U.'s. Secondly, Tahsis Company already had enough timber, and the T.F.L. yield would be doubled simply through re-inventory and through utilization of smallwood. Finally, the Tahsis extension would hurt other operators working in the Sayward and Kyuquot forests. The Independent Timber Converters Association, present at the hearings, pointed out that the timber requested by Tahsis, based on the present cut, would sustain the existing quota holders for fifty years.⁵⁰

During the hearing, John Squire, the M.L.A. (N.D.P.) for

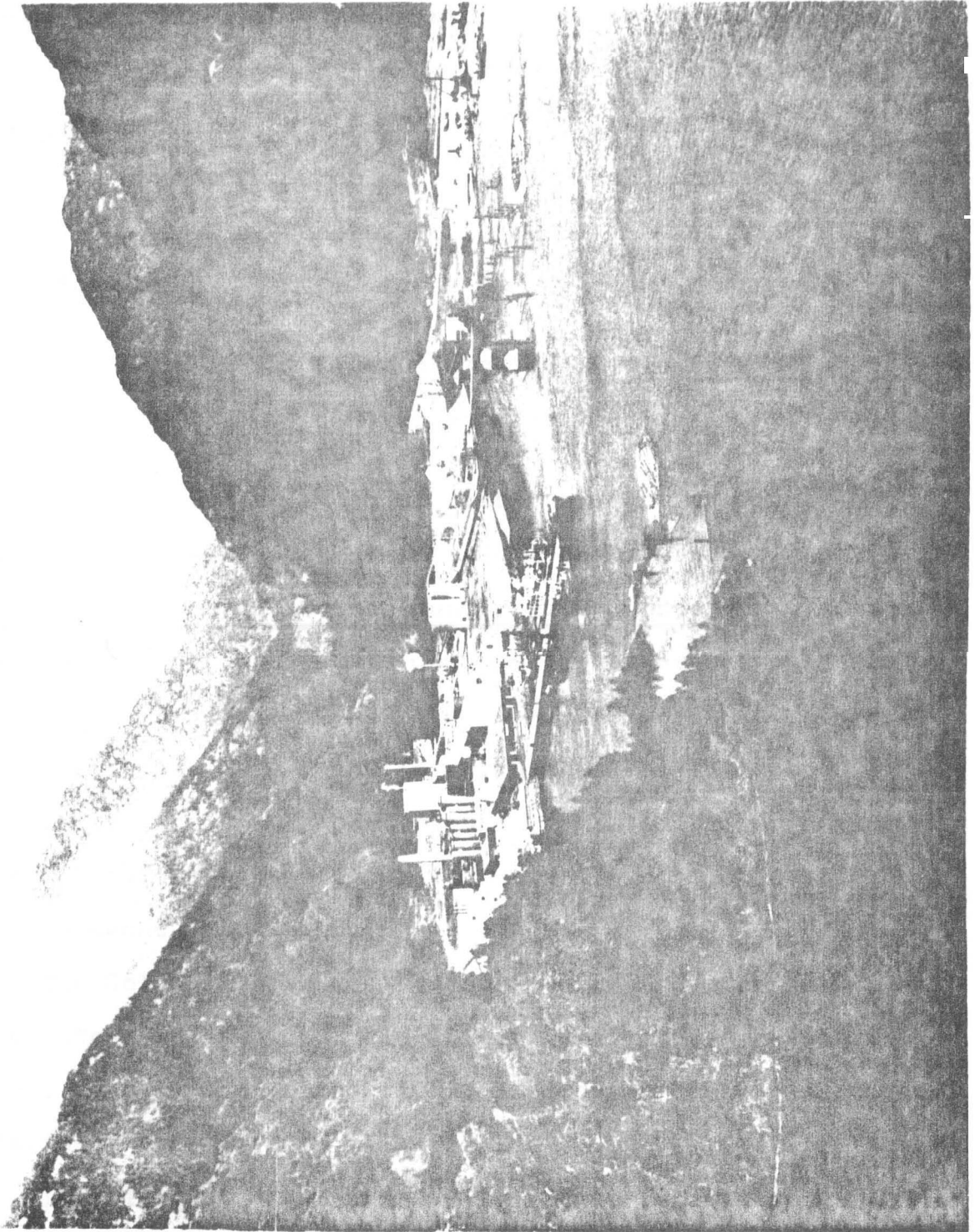
Alberni (which includes the Nootka Sound region), presented two briefs. In the first he opposed the extension. In the second, he requested social amenities (roads, etc.) be provided for the new town of Gold River, and for residents of Tahsis. Williston, according to the Vancouver Sun report, replied "Where am I?" to Squire's presentation. Squire said: "I'm a realist, Mr. Williston. You know and I know that Tahsis didn't start that pulp mill without a guaranteed source of material. If they haven't got it, they are going to get out of the area."⁵¹

As a result of the application and the subsequent hearings, Tahsis received its additional timber, but not in the areas originally applied for. In total, the company was granted approximately 60,000 acres, about half of which was productive.⁵² 48,000 acres were in the Zeballos River area, but 16,300 acres of prime hemlock and balsam fir sawlogs in the Artlish River drainage were cut off the original application. Tahsis Company also lost the 35,000 acres it sought in the Sayward Forest district.⁵³ In return for the extension, Tahsis Company gave up some of its cutting rights in the Kyuquot P.S.Y.U.⁵⁴

Prior to the Tree Farm Licence 19 extension, Tahsis held exclusive rights to 164,180 acres of productive timber. The T.F.L. extension provided a total of approximately 195,000 acres of productive timber. Tahsis also continued to hold about 58 percent of the cutting rights in the Kyuquot Crown Forest.⁵⁵

Tahsis Company actually received all it asked for in the

Illustration 6



Gold River Pulp Mill, (Nootka Sound)

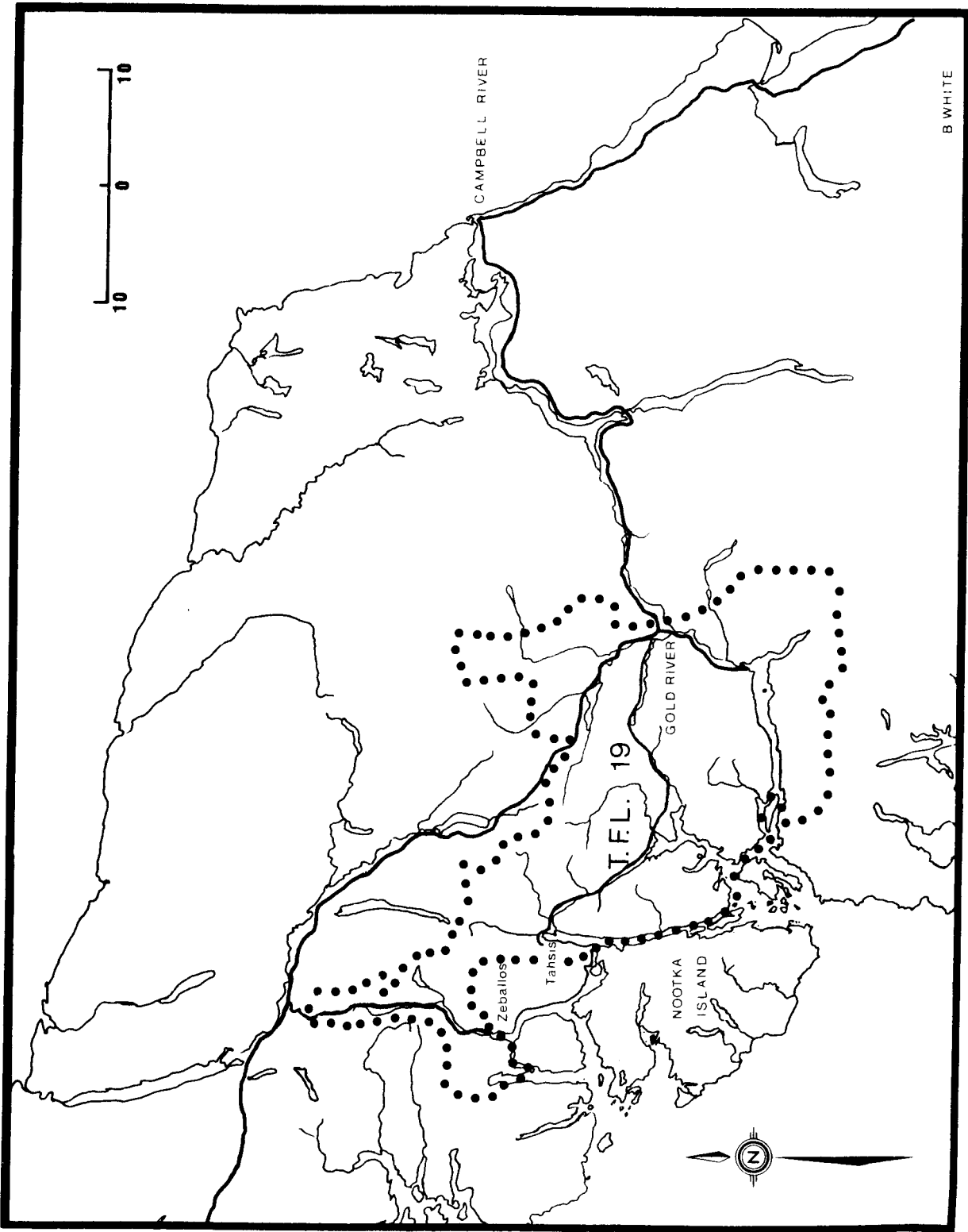
grants, since Tahsis timber licences effectively blocked access to the upper Artlish River system by other companies. At the time, nothing was mentioned as to who would ultimately get this high-grade timber, but obviously, Tahsis Company was placed in a very favourable position should the area come up for bids under some form of Forest Tenure other than a Tree Farm Licence.

The Effect of the Extension of T.F.L. 19 on Settlement:

Gold River and Zeballos

The location of expanded timber harvesting rights represent a most important influence on subsequent settlement developments in the Nootka Sound region. (See Map 9) It was obvious that the Tahsis Company timber quota would be increased; the question which created the greatest interest was under whose terms, and in which areas. Williston's decision to grant only part of the requested timber mollified other operators in the area, who viewed expansion of T.F.L. 19 as a foregone conclusion.⁵⁶

The Gold River townsite, designed by McCarter Nairne and Associates, was the most significant and obvious result of Tahsis Company's expanded timber processing capacities, outside of the new pulp mill itself. (See Map 9) Gold River was planned as an "instant municipality", and was to be incorporated as quickly as possible under the B. C. municipal act to avoid the stigma of being a "company town".⁵⁷ Leslie



Map 9: Northern Central Vancouver Island

Rimes, writing in the Canadian Consulting Engineer, describes the basic requirements outlined by Tahsis Company:

The Tahsis Company owned the land; but it wanted the residents of the new community of Gold River to own and manage it. At the same time, the logging company wanted to maintain control - at the outset, at least - to ensure that the houses to be built would be well designed and constructed and sufficiently reasonable in price to attract purchasers, that the shopping centre would contain an adequate number of businesses to serve the community, and that the employment requirements of the new pulp mills would be uppermost in the planning. 58

The provincial government became a partner in the development of Gold River, taking over those public services already constructed within the municipality. A municipal council was appointed by Dan Campbell, Minister of Municipal Affairs, which also became a partner in developing the townsite. 59

The deadline for completion of the initial phase of the Gold River townsite was set at mid-1967, coinciding with the pulp mill start-up date.⁶⁰ By October of 1965, forty-four single-family dwellings had been completed, and the first families moved in. These houses were occupied primarily by ex-residents of the old Muchalat logging camp near the pulp mill site. Muchalat camp increased in size very rapidly after construction started on the pulp mill, with the majority of the new residents being single men employed in construction. The Gold River Logging Division continued to operate from its old headquarters, until a large new camp was established in 1966, on the banks of the Gold River, about one mile from the main Gold River townsite. The new camp provided bunkhouse



Gold River Townsite: The First Houses, 1967, (Nootka Sound)

accommodation for single men only, with married residences available in the main townsite. The houses skidded up on shore which had earlier supplied accommodation for married people were moved to Tahsis Company's Fair Harbour logging camp, on Kyuquot Sound, to the north of Esperanza Inlet.

Within two years, Gold River boasted a population of over 2,000 people, living in single family residences, condominiums, and apartments. A shopping centre incorporating a pedestrian mall and a hotel and beer parlour complex was completed in 1967.⁶¹

The civic centre, including Municipal offices and Emergency services, (fire, police, ambulance) was completed in 1967, also a high school and open-area elementary school.⁶² The entire town was electrically serviced from the start, first by B. C. hydro diesel generators, and after 1967, by transmission cable from the Elk Falls Hydro Project, near Campbell River. All services were placed underground, to avoid unsightly overhead wires on residential streets. The roads within the municipal boundaries were paved in 1967, and a public gravel road linking Gold River with Campbell River was opened the same year. (See Map 9)⁶³

The newly situated Gold River Logging Division operated ten "sides" in 1967, harvesting the southern part of T.F.L. 19. The expanded boundaries of the Tree Farm Licence to the the north raised questions regarding the consolidation of logging efforts in the Kyuquot Crown Forest and Zeballos River areas.

The principal Tahsis Company logging camp in the area was Fair Harbour, on Kyuquot Sound. The settlement had a permanent population of about two hundred. Logs were trucked from the five or six sides operating in the area during the latter 1960's, and dumped into Espinoza Inlet, where they were rafted to Sandpoint Sorting Grounds. Fair Harbour served as a headquarters for small contractors "A"-framing timber leases in the Kyuquot Sound area.

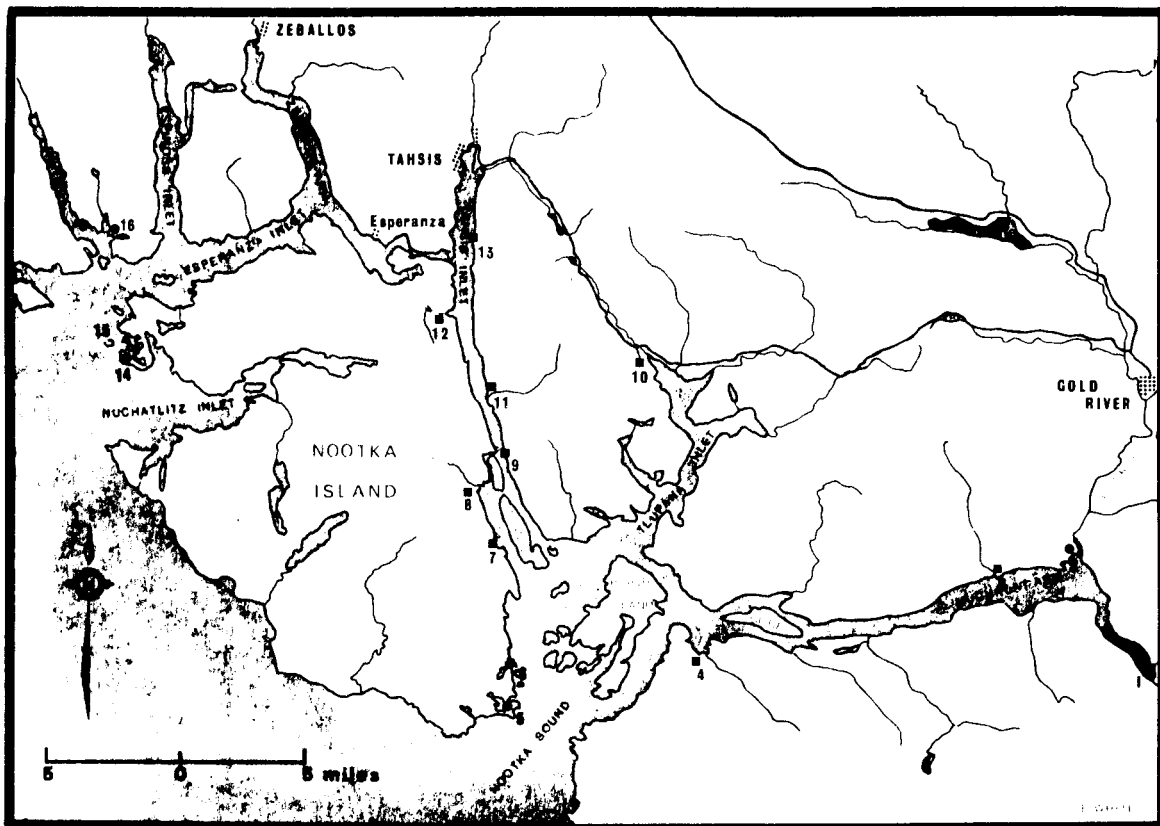
Tahsis Company had enlarged its logging operations in 1969, when the Zeballos iron mine ceased operations. The expanded logging activity provided yet another prop for the village's perpetually shaky economy. The camp was located about three miles from town, in barracks deserted by the miners.

The expansion of Tahsis Company's timber quota made organizational changes in the northern portion of the T.F.L. imperative if efficient timber extraction was to be carried out. The question of a viable economic base for Zeballos was also recognized as an important consideration in expansion of production capacities. The concept of centralization of logging settlement and facilities in one place, initially developed in the Gold River townsite, pulp mill, and logging camp complex, was applied to the Zeballos area. Company planners and executives decided in 1969 to integrate the northern operation into one complex, situated in or very near the village of Zeballos.⁶⁴ They promised a road connecting

with the main island highway and Gold River within two years.⁶⁵ Connection with the Fair Harbour logging road network was engineered and completed in 1971, allowing trucks to haul logs from the logging area directly to Zeballos.⁶⁶ New sorting facilities were installed at the Zeballos log dump in 1971.

The old Fair Harbour houses were trucked en masse to Zeballos in 1971, nearly doubling the size of the village in the space of one month. The houses were re-established near the bulk-loading site previously used by the Zeballos iron mine, since the loading facilities had been dismantled after the mine closed in 1969. Several trailers were also moved in to accommodate new personnel. A new townsite was cleared to the north-east of Zeballos in the summer of 1971, and the new logging camp itself was installed across the Zeballos River at the same time. The new townsite, slated for completion in 1972, is about two miles by road from the present village of Zeballos, well outside the municipal boundaries established in 1952. This new townsite was initially surveyed and engineered by Tahsis Company personnel.⁶⁷

The village of Tahsis became incorporated as a municipality in 1970, and the mill personnel manager was elected mayor.⁶⁸ In the same year Nootka Cedar Products Limited completed a new sawmill for cutting rough cedar on landfill near the Tahsis River's mouth. In the same year, government crews surveyed the routes for a public highway, and for power transmission lines from Gold River. Tahsis Company's Logging Engineering



Legend

- 1 Road Building Camp, Matchlee Bay
- 2 A'Aminquas Indian Village, by Pulp Mill
- 3 McCurdy Creek Logging Camp
- 4 Taylor Way Logging Camp, Moya Bay
- 5 Yuquot Indian Village and Lighthouse
- 6 Nootka Fish buying Camp and Floating Store
- 7 A. Mangles Logging Camp, Plumper Harbour
- 8 Stoltz Logging Camp, Kendrick Arm
- 9 Rockwell and O'Hara Floating Camps
- 10 Gran Bay Logging Camp, Head Bay
- 11 Sandpoint Sorting Grounds
- 12 Russell and Lilly Logging Camp, Blowhole Bay
- 13 George Green Logging Floating Camp
- 14 Nuchatlait Indian Village
- 15 Nuchatlitz Fish Buying Camp and Floating Store
- 16 Queen Cove Indian Village

Division completed their own restricted access road between Gold River and Tahsis early in 1971, providing access for logging the transmission line right-of-way.⁶⁹

Currently, soft market conditions for pulp and paper have slowed development of Gold River municipality. A fairly stable export market for sawn lumber has allowed Tahsis municipality to grow, adding a new subdivision of houses in 1970.

Settlement in the Nootka Sound Region
at the Start of the 1970's

Tahsis Company expansion and reorganization was mirrored in settlement changes in the Nootka Sound region during the decade 1960-1970. The mobile floating camps which provided accommodation for loggers in the 1950's were supplemented by larger, shore-based camps. Higher timber prices plus improvements in logging machinery and road-building equipment, made accessible timber which previously had been uneconomical to log. Tahsis mill expanded, and the town population grew correspondingly.⁷⁰ Overall, the trend in timber-based settlement has emphasized consolidation and centralization, the most obvious example being the concept and development of Gold River municipality and pulp mill.

Road transportation gained in importance during the latter 1960's, with a public highway completed from Campbell River to Gold River in 1967. Restricted links were established

between Gold River and Tahsis, and Gold River and Zeballos in 1971. Corollary to the development of the road system was the institution of the Nootka Sound ferry, the "Uchuck III", serving all points between Gold River dock and Zeballos twice weekly.

There were few significant declines during the 1960's; ruins of earlier settlements continued to recede under an advancing tide of secondary growth, while more and more of the region's forest cover was stripped off to feed the increased demands of the mills.

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- 7 Frank Grobb, Speech, p. 2.
- 8 J. Chappelle, (personal communication), March, 1970.
- 9 "...When I started to work for him, we built 'Davis Rafts', where you make an ordinary boom with stiff legs, and then weave the lines through and under. That was in 1936. But they broke up all the time - so Gordon (Gibson) invented the "Gibson Raft". He took two floats maybe 200 feet, and draped 1½" lines across them. Then he loaded logs into the lines, between the floats, when the centre was full of logs, he pulled the lines together with blocks, and the floats bobbed free. Then he lashed it all together...he lost a lot, but Gibson was a man who would say, (in bad weather) "let's have a go!" Then (on the outside coast) the tug would have to cut the towline". - (personal communication), J. Chappelle, March, 1970.
- 10 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 2.
- 11 Zeballos Miner, November 9, 1946.
- 12 J. S. Stevenson, Geology and Mineral Deposits of the Zeballos Mining Camp, B. C. Department of Mines, Bulletin 27, Victoria, 1950, p. 13.
- 13 Ibid., p. 13.
- 14 George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 313.

15 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 2.

16 Ibid., p. 3.

17 Ibid., p. 3.

18 Ibid., p. 3.

19 "...the company was very short of funds, so we...bought equipment you would never put into a new plant. But we had a payroll to meet...and the only way that we could get back in business was to put in as quick and as cheap and as dirty as possible, and start selling lumber. ...Things that we would normally do today in terms of foundations, special equipment, were ignored and we felt that we could come back and look after them later." - F. Grobb, Speech, p. 3.

20 George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 299

21 J. Chappelle, (personal communication), March, 1970.

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23 George Nicholson, "Princess Nora once slated for West Coast Service", Daily Colonist, Victoria, Feb. 14, 1954.

24 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 3.

25 J. Chappelle, (personal communication), March, 1970.

26 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 3.

27 J. Chappelle, (personal communication), March, 1970, also George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 299.

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over the west coast run. (See George Nicholson, "Princess Nora once slated for the West Coast Service", Daily Colonist, Victoria, Feb. 14, 1954).

31 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 6.

32 Ibid., p. 6.

33 Margaret Sharcott, "Nootka's Silver Harvest", The Daily Colonist, May 31, 1970, p. 7.

34 Doctor W. McClean, (personal communication), Esperanza, August, 1971. See also Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, p. 9, and Townsite Register, Director of Lands, Victoria, Folio 43, for Subdivision of Lands.

35 Doctor W. McClean, (personal communication), Esperanza, August, 1971. See also Nootka Land Registry, Director of Lands, Victoria, p. 97.

36 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 6.

37 J. Chappelle, (personal communication), March 1970.

38 The property was originally discovered and staked between 1936 and 1938, by three of the original gold rush prospectors, Felix Letain, Andy Morod, and S. Norman Ray. They were paid royalties after Zeballos Iron mine was brought into production in 1962. (See George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 309.

39 Nicholson, Ibid., p. 56. It should be remembered that Tahsis Company opened its own logging division in Zeballos in 1962.

40 F. Grobb, Speech, p. 6.

41 Ibid., Speech, p. 6.

42 George Nicholson, Vancouver Island's West Coast 1762-1962, (Victoria: Morriss Printing Co., 1965), p. 299.

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44 Ibid., pp. 92-93.

45 Leslie Rimes, "Engineering a New Town", Canadian Consulting Engineer, January, 1966, p. 37.

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47 Pat Carney, "Big, Little Operators Buck Tahsis Timber Application", Vancouver Sun, August 25, 1965, also see the Vancouver Province, "Tahsis Seeks to Extend Tree Farm Boundaries", August 26, 1965.

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CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT MOBILITY AND MORTALITY:

A Central Theme

The movement and abandonment of settlements during the period under consideration imparts a particular character to the landscapes of the Nootka Sound region today. Settlement developments in the past seven decades have contributed another phase to the relict landscape of the Nootka Indians encountered by the first settlers. Settlements deserted at some earlier date dot the shoreline, exhibiting varying degrees of decay and collapse. Crescent-shaped areas of dense secondary growth indicate the previous locations of logging A-frames and their accompanying floating camps. It is a fairly simple matter to date early float camp locations by counting the growth rings of second growth trees in logged-over areas along the coast. More recent logging activity is characterized by road networks radiating from logging camps which have become locationally stable. Massive expanses of slash, some severely eroded, now greet the observer in the Nootka Sound region, because the advanced technology of truck and mobile spar-tree logging makes timber more accessible.

Deserted settlements based on activities other than

logging are less in evidence today because the degree of obvious environmental disturbance has been less significant, or because the settlements' buildings have been removed and located elsewhere.

It would be useful to examine different kinds of occupied and deserted settlements in evidence today in terms of their respective mortality and mobility, in order to develop some conclusions regarding the overall nature of settlement in the area under consideration.

In our analysis, we may follow the route taken in the initial description of the area in 1900, suitably adjusted to incorporate the technological achievements, landscape changes, and settlement developments of the last seven decades.

We begin our journey in the early morning, in the coffee shop of the Gold River Chalet. It is deserted; business has been very slow, due indirectly to depressed market conditions for pulp. Gold River municipality has lost the raw, frontier look of its first years; expanses of grass relieve the fields of brown-gray stones left during the town's hasty construction.

Gold River is a "suburb looking for a city." It has a shopping centre with a mall, but no real "down-town." The planners hired by Tahsis Company looked at the mistakes made in other new towns in Canada, and vowed Gold River would be significantly different. The initial design concepts which were significantly different were rapidly eroded by high costs, "practical" planning considerations, and a desire on

the part of senior corporate executives to expedite the town's completion as quickly as possible.

Gold River is an expensive, moderately attractive middle-class, dormitory suburb housing mainly young, transitory, urban people who ultimately expect to 'get to town', i.e. Vancouver. This goal is accomplished either by quitting the company, or more rarely, by rising through the corporate ranks until one is transferred to the head office.¹ This social condition is characterized as "permanent impermanence" by Ira Robinson in New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier.²

The road to the pulp mill complex on Muchalat Arm was widened and paved in 1967-1968. A strip of land several hundred yards wide on each side of the road is incorporated into Gold River Municipality, to control commercial development along the right-of way. None has taken place to date.

The old logging camp of Muchalat is completely gone. In its place, the pulp mill pours steam into the sky, and on the ancient Nootka village site of A-aminquas, a row of new government-built houses shelters behind a stand of small Douglas Firs.

The government wharf at Gold River was built in the early 1960's, and serves as a transportation terminus for both float planes and the Nootka Sound ferry, the Uchuck III.

Travelling by speedboat, we move up Muchalat Inlet.

The valleys tributary to Muchalat Inlet have been logged.

Illustration 8



Gold River Mill and Townsite, (Nootka Sound)

At McCurdy Creek, a road extends a short distance along the shore, providing access for a "winter show," which is a low-altitude logging area saved for use when snows close higher altitude roads. The shore-based camp is deserted, since the crew is logging right-of way on the new Tahsis Road. We pass log booms tied up along the inlet's shores, waiting to be sent up the jack-ladder into the pulp mill. At Mooya Bay, opposite Gore Island, Taylor Way logging camp nestles at the mouth of Mooya River. Recent logging slash, burned over and eroded, covers the steep sidehills behind the camp. A diesel power generator hums behind the aluminum-sheeted repair shed, sending a plume of blue-grey smoke into the air.

We cross the mouth of Tlupana Inlet, stopping briefly at the old Nootka winter village site at Kooptee. The fertile midden soil has produced a dense mass of vegetation; plum trees and apple trees planted after missionary contact still flourish in the jungle-like growth behind the beach. Long sandy strips still mark the places where rocks were cleared so canoes could easily be beached. Opposite Kooptee, Strange Island has been almost completely logged off.

In Tahsis Inlet we pass Sandpoint sorting grounds, where logs are sorted and directed to either the sawmill at Tahsis, or the pulpmill at Gold River. The valley behind is logged out, with poor secondary growth due to severe erosion.

The motor boat hits a "chunk" of floating wood which has escaped from the mill or a logging camp. We stop to change

the propeller opposite Blowhole Bay, a shore-based logging camp established in the early 1960's. Bunkhouses, cookhouse, and trailers skidded up on shore comprise most of the rather stark settlement. The only non-mobile building is the repair shop, built of unsquared logs, and roofed with aluminum.

As soon as Blowhole Bay ceases to be a viable headquarters for the logging operation, most of the buildings can be moved elsewhere on barges. Those buildings too old to move will be burned, or simply left to rot.

On the way to Tahsis, opposite Tahsis Narrows, we pass a sidehill which has been clear-cut from the beach to the 1500-foot elevation. Timber left standing on this sidehill has blown down in the strong winter winds, and now the mountain's entire flank lies exposed. The logging has been carried out by George Green, and his floating camp has been anchored about one and one-half miles from Tahsis since the early 1960's. The road network from the camp extends nearly to the timberline.³

The village of Tahsis straggles along a mile of shoreline at the head of Tahsis Inlet. The village has grown directly in proportion to mill expansion, with new subdivisions added according to the rising demand for timber products. The original company-owned houses, built in 1947 and 1952, show signs of neglect, with poorly-kept gardens and little maintenance of house exteriors.

Tahsis acquired two hotels from Zeballos after gold mining closed down in 1948. One of them, originally used as

a company guest house, now serves as a staff house for unmarried salaried employees. The other, originally located on the Zeballos waterfront, (see plate 3) now serves as an apartment.

Tahsis town grew by acquiring servicable buildings from Zeballos, and from other abandoned resource extracting communities along the west coast. This policy was abandoned as more money became available in the early 1950's for construction of subdivisions associated with sawmill expansion. Settlements constructed on pilings, or very close to the water, were easily dragged onto floats and barges for transport to Tahsis. Many of the fish reduction plants, and service-oriented buildings in Zeballos had gone into receivership by 1946, and in an attempt to gain some return on the investment, banks and other credit granting organizations sold these buildings for far less than their original construction cost.

Tahsis is built on a rather constricted space for a mill site. Expansion has been provided by filling tidal flats with sawdust waste edged with rubble, and covered with gravel and sand. The town will never attain any kind of unity and central focus on the sawmill, because no space is available for expansion. Plans currently call for the development of a new subdivision on the Leiner River flood plain, near the site of the old Perry farm. (see appendix #1) Tahsis will continue to grow haphazardly, always mindful of the manpower demands of the sawmills, with its community prosperity ever subject to

the vicissitudes of the overseas consumer market for sawn lumber.

The Tahsis mill workforce may be categorized into two significant groupings, those men who are married, and those who are single. Some family men are staff members, working their way up the corporate hierarchy. They live on the hill in the newer subdivision above the shopping mall and export docks. Union mill workers with families, mainly immigrants from southern Europe, live "in the valley," across the bridge on the Tahsis River flood plain where Gordon Gibson had his original logging camp. The single men, making up a sizable proportion of the work force, occupy dilapidated bunkhouses and newly installed trailers around the mouth of the Tahsis River. (see appendix #1) For these single men especially, Tahsis constitutes a kind of "alcoholic landscape," with most social activities centred around the consumption of liquor. The mill's very high annual turnover rate indicates the serious problems of alienation, sexual frustration, and boredom faced by workers in British Columbia's single-enterprise communities.³

Leaving Tahsis under its pall of blue smoke from the sawmill, we retrace our route through Tahsis Narrows. On our right the ruins of Hecate Fish Reduction Plant stand out against a dense second growth of trees and bushes. All that remains of Port Tahsis sawmill is a few pilings, and columns of hardened sawdust sculptured into fantastic shapes by wave action over the years.

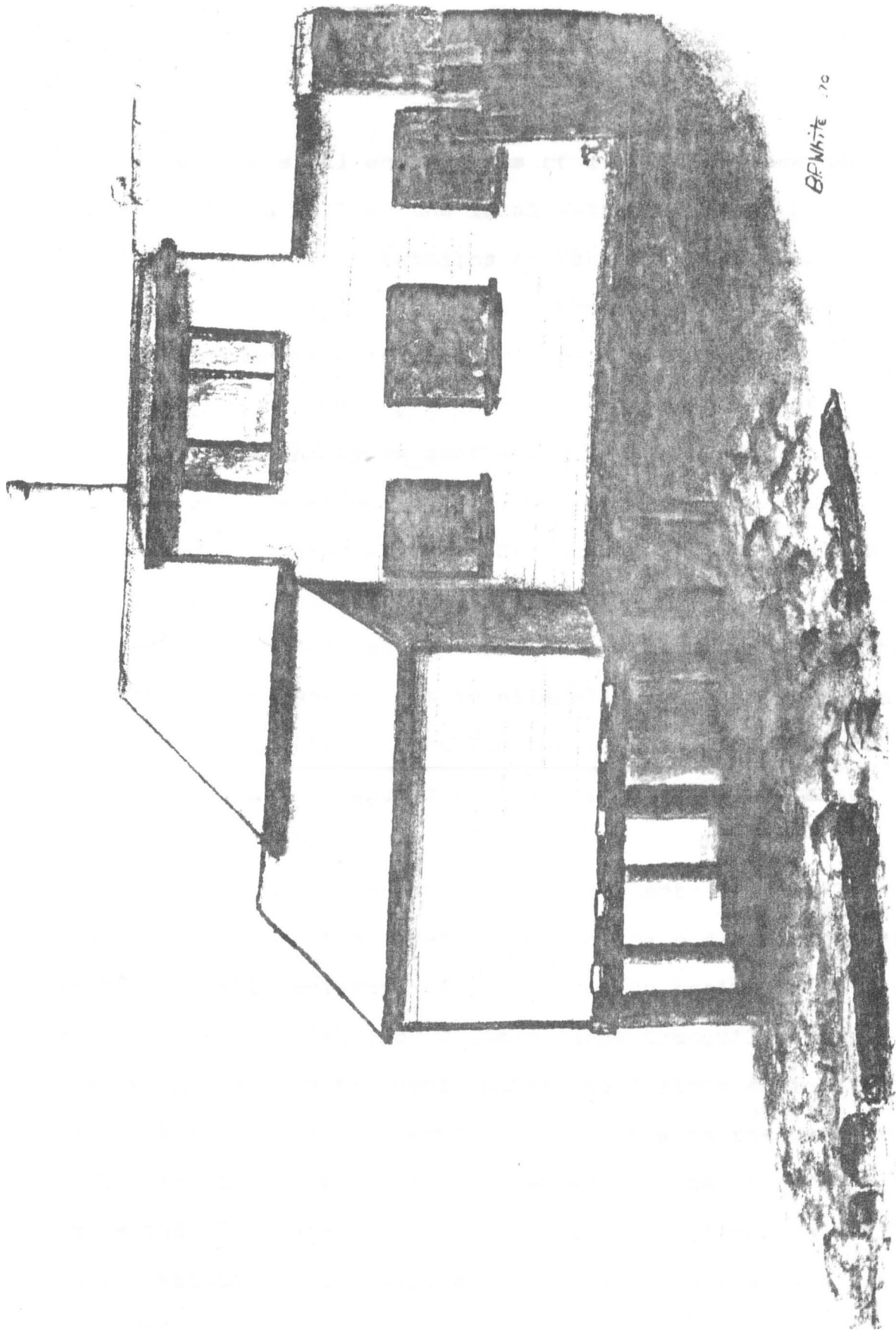


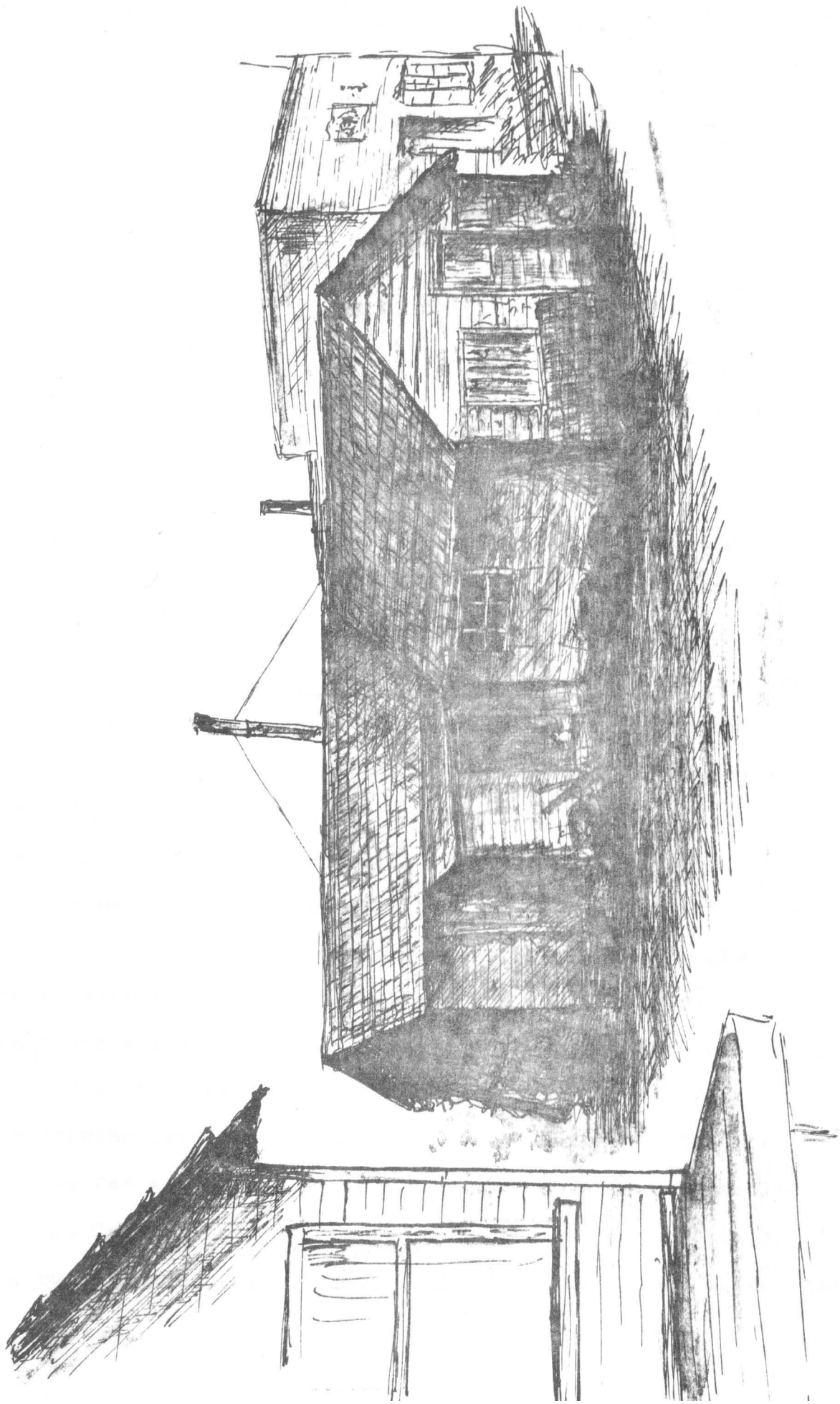
Illustration #9: Zeballos General Store

Ceepeecee still shows signs of life; fishermen make their homes there, as well as the local entrepreneur who operates the "booze-boat" from Zeballos to Tahsis. Fish packers tie up at the wharf during fishing season. Esperanza is prospering still; the hospital shines clean and white in the sunshine, and several buildings lie skidded up on shore, ready to be blocked into position. The Shantymen contracted to close down the Fleetwood Logging camp operation in 1970, and acquired the buildings. The old bunkhouses were barged to Esperanza for a nominal fee.

We pass an old forlorn three-story building on our way to Zeballos, skidded up on shore near logging slash dating from the early 1950's. It is allegedly the old 'Goat Ranch' (brothel) from outside Zeballos, which ended its days rather ignominiously as a logger's bunkhouse, after being barged to its present location.

Zeballos Arm is scarred by the remnants of poor logging practice. The entire sidehill behind the old Fleetwood camp is barren, with evidence of gully erosion beginning to show here and there. Zeballos village seems tranquil enough, having endured its frequent changes in fortune stoically. Gaps filled with salmonberry thickets show on the main street, left where buildings have been jacked up, loaded on barges, and moved elsewhere. The stores built on pilings are still there, waiting to capitalize on the expected business boom from expanded logging operations in the area.

Zeballos has never lost its spark of life; it still flares



B.P. 6/6 1970

Illustration #10: Miner's Home, Zeballos

up on Friday and Saturday nights in the Pioneer Hotel or occasionally at the weekend, Community Hall dances. Then, young people from the logging community get together, along with the old-timers, who haven't forgotten how to enjoy themselves, and the village for a brief time looks like a boom town again under the false fronts and verandas of main street. The community has shown itself to be flexible; it shrinks and grows according to changing resource demands, but it has never expired. Relics from the early years, such as the Nootka Steam Laundry and the Bestway Bakery, blend appropriately with the landscape; even the newer houses of logging division families moved from Fair Harbour near the government wharf do not seem out of place. Communities change in form as required on the west coast. A small, portable building has often been too valuable a commodity to be left to rot. The settlements resulting from such building mobility are not tidy, but are generally reasonably serviceable.

We head up Esperanza Inlet toward the open Pacific Ocean. On our right we pass the deserted Nootka village of Ehedisaht, (Hoek) with its single, decaying totem pole. The midden beyond the beach has washed away, revealing the strata of shells and detrius left by centuries of habitation. Wild fruit trees are growing over the broken remnants of houses behind the pole, and the few graves are rapidly becoming covered by brambles.

At Centre Island we pause to visit the old homestead. The buildings have long since fallen, and the floor of the old

orchard is covered with moss. Opposite Centre Island, the Newton family's old settlement is occupied during the summer by Mrs. Flynn, a dentist's widow from Seattle.⁴ Most of the buildings at the old settlement of Centre Island (Newton's) are derelict and overgrown. We pass Queen Cove, with its abandoned cannery, and occupied indian village, and turn south towards Nuchatlitz Indian village. Here, the houses form a long line on a sandbar overlooking a shallow tidal lagoon. Cows keep the grass trimmed and green. The small, one-room frame houses built on blocks are only partly occupied. Some Nootkan fishermen live in Nuchatlitz during the fishing season, but only a few older folk live here all year round. The Catholic priest only visits once every few months now, and the older children attend residential school in Port Alberni for most of the year. A floating fish camp anchored across the lagoon incorporates a small store, where villagers can get supplies.

The west coast of Nootka Island is still relatively untouched. The old wartime radar station is still intact on its hill overlooking Nuchatlitz Inlet, the beaches are now covered in driftwood, and the remains of a freighter which ran aground litter the rocks at Ferrier Point. On the whole, however, the coastal aspect has not changed markedly in the past seventy years. Here and there on the Estevan coastal plain, small stump farms cleared during the early speculative period of settlement are still in evidence, marked by dense

stands of fifty-foot second growth timber. The only significant change to take place recently on the coastal plain has been a small logging operation two miles from Friendly Cove.

The lighthouse station at Friendly Cove stands on a small island, the red roofs contrasting vividly with the white buildings. The station is separate from the indian village; the station people lead their own lives, supplied by lighthouse tenders which call every month or so.

Yuquot village is partly deserted; in 1970 only seven families lived there. Many houses are derelict. The Catholic church stands deserted, its windows smashed. In the summer months, tourists still visit on Thursdays when the Uchuck III offers a day trip from Gold River. Nootkans still use Yuquot village as a fishing headquarters during the fishing season.

We pause briefly at the old Nootka Cannery site before heading back to Gold River. The smaller buildings have been barged away, and only the larger buildings remain as derelict reminders of the site's former importance. A floating store, fish-buying camp, and fuel float still operate around the small bay, providing a service centre for Yuquot village, and for fishermen during the summer months.

The most significant effects of settlement can be seen along the more sheltered waterways and interior valleys in the Nootka Sound region today. The outside "west coast" itself still largely resists extensive exploitation and settlement. It is ironic that the area which was first acquired for

settlement during the speculative period at the beginning of this century should be the last to be significantly altered by settlement and resource exploitation.

The Nootka Sound region has been characterized by a high rate of settlement mortality during the first five decades of the period under consideration. This thesis emphasizes the themes of consolidation and regional integration of resource extraction industries over the past two decades, and human communities expanded or developed during this period have exhibited similar tendencies towards centralization and consolidation. Settlement mobility has continued to be an important aspect of the settlement morphology of the Nootka Sound region throughout the period under consideration. Mobile settlements achieved special significance during the development of the logging industry, due to the rapid exhaustion of available timber resources within economically feasible reach of a particular float camp or shore camp site. Settlement mobility has declined proportionally to the increased use of roads, mobile steel spartrees, and truck logging in the region. These technological developments, in conjunction with more effective road-building techniques have made frequent settlement moves less necessary.

The first period of settlement, defined for the purposes of this thesis as occurring between 1900 and 1920, was characterized by small scale, dispersed settlement, principally short-term and speculative in nature. This period of settlement



B. Fisher 1970

Logging Gold River

Illustration * II:

was superimposed on a relict landscape, featuring remnants of the declining Nootkan (Aht) Indian culture. The occupied villages left at the turn of the century were the original summer confederacy sites. Friendly Cove (Yuquot), Queen Cove, Nuchatlitz, and Ehedisaht (Hoek). These villages, particularly Yuquot, which was serviced by the C.P.R.'s SS "Princess Macquinna", served as "entrepots" for speculators interested in exploiting the Nootka Sound region's natural wealth. The many abandoned seasonal village sites in evidence throughout the region were not exploited by homesteaders, since they had been set aside as reservations by the B. C. Land Survey of 1884.

Speculative interest in development of a rail route to northern Vancouver Island, and prospective port developments at the mouth of Gold River was fostered by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The C.P.R. promoted settlement in Nootka Sound through its steamship service, but interest died rapidly when rail and port facilities failed to materialize.

The second period was pioneered by Nootka Cannery in 1917, and was initially characterized by the development of settlements clustered around canneries and pilchard reduction plants. A few homesteads, vestiges of the early speculative land rush of 1909-1913, struggled on by diversifying their economic base. For example, the Newtons' settlement opposite Centre Island on Esperanza Inlet incorporated a post office and service centre for pilchard fishermen, besides the fox

farm which was supposed to provide the main cash income. Hand logging became a part-time occupation of many homesteaders as well.

The pilchard boom began to decline rapidly in 1929, when the depression severely cut the availability of investment capital, and pilchards no longer entered the waterways of the Nootka Sound region - for reasons still unknown.

The depression years were marked by a general exodus of people to Victoria and Vancouver. Those unemployed fishermen and reduction plant workers who stayed turned to hunting, trapping, and prospecting.

The Zeballos gold rush of 1936 was sparked by rich assay returns on claims staked by unemployed fishermen. Within two years, the Zeballos River valley boasted several developed mines, complete with attached mining communities. The village of Zeballos, built partly on pilings on a slough near the river's mouth, was developed as a transshipment and supply base for the mining properties. Esperanza, originally built in conjunction with the pilchard reduction industry, became a mining service centre due to its possession of adequate wharfage facilities and a hotel.

The first attempt at export sawmilling in the Nootka Sound region was made in 1938, when a group of British investors financed a mill at McBride Bay, close to Hecate Fish Reduction plant. The mill failed, due to inadequate storage space, shoddy construction, and bankruptcy.

The period 1940-1970 was initially marked by a rapid upswing in the lumber industry, due to the demand for airplane spruce for the war effort. Massive subsidies from the Dominion government enabled frontier entrepreneurs to amass sufficient capital equipment to begin economically feasible logging operations. Floating logging camps became an increasingly important feature of the region's settlement morphology as settlement based on fish processing declined. Zeballos declined rapidly after 1948, when the government pegged the price of gold at thirty-five dollars per ounce.

Export sawmilling began in 1947, with the establishment of Tahsis sawmill. The availability of timber processing facilities within the region plus legislation providing for long-term forest tenure in 1951 promoted a further expansion of settlements based on logging.

Fish processing in the Nootka Sound region stopped entirely in 1952. The old canneries continued to be used as fishermen's homes and fish camps, while fish were removed directly by packers to plants in Tofino, Victoria, and Vancouver.

Some logging camps were established on shore during the 1950's, with road networks providing access to timber in interior valleys. The early 1960's were characterized by the extension of roads into the interior valleys, with restricted road connections with Campbell River being established in 1962. Tahsis town grew in size as production facilities

increased in capacity. Zeballos experienced a brief mining renaissance from 1962 to 1969, when Zeballos Iron Mines shipped pelletized iron ore to Japan. Zeballos has subsequently become the headquarters for Tahsis Company's operations in the northern portion of T.F.L. 19, and has grown considerably in this new role.

The Gold River townsite and pulpmill complex is the most significant settlement development to date in the Nootka Sound region. Some commentary on the nature of human occupancy in the Nootka Sound region over the past seven decades may be made with reference to Gold River. As mentioned earlier, the majority of Gold River's inhabitants might be considered transitory. Life in the town may be compared to life in a new, exurbanite subdivision. The town is an "urban outpost"; most of the inhabitants are urban people, attracted there by high wages, and/or the promise of a decent way of life. The major problem faced by workers and their families in Gold River is the same one which has characterized settlements in Nootka Sound throughout its recent history - the problem of isolation. True, the transportation links are now via paved road, rather than by sea, but this has had the effect of making larger urban areas seem all the more attractive and easily reached. In addition, many Gold River workers commute on a weekly basis, going home to their families on the east coast of Vancouver Island on the weekend.

The town itself is qualitatively similar to the smaller,

coastal settlements which have lived and died on Vancouver Island's west coast for decades. The same dependence on a single resource, and upon world demand for that resource, still characterizes the community. There is no history of agricultural settlement, followed by gradual urbanization. As in other places on Canada's resource frontier, settlements are created "instantly" to exploit and process resources, and they decline equally rapidly. It follows that human attachments to the region are likely to be tenuous.

The impermanence of settlement in Nootka Sound has given rise to a dualistic lifestyle for many resource industry workers, a situation which in many respects is unique to the British Columbian coast. This dualistic lifestyle may be depicted on two scales. First, most resource extraction industries are seasonal in nature. Fishing and canning are both seasonal; logging has its winter shutdown. Workers who do not have their families with them commute to the southern urban areas for the duration of the closure, then return. Secondly, workers recognize that the individual settlements are not permanent in nature, and they are expected to follow a "boom-bust" cycle. The emphasis is on 'making a stake', and leaving as soon as circumstances change for the worse. The long, dreary days of fall, spring, and winter on the west coast serve as a further hindrance to the establishment of long-term occupance.

The establishment of Gold River may be viewed as a step

towards permanency of settlement, since the town's economic base is a renewable resource and the cost of establishing the town is great. However, the population will probably remain at present levels, with slight fluctuations according to changing pulp demands. Those citizens operating the commercial and service functions in the community will probably be disappointed, as expected rapid growth turns out to be economic stagnation.

Despite the rapid development of road links and resources in northern Vancouver Island, the area is still best described as a resource frontier, awaiting increased population and expansion of the industrial base before any noticeable qualitative change in the human community is evident. It is likely that the large timber companies who control the forests of the region will strenuously oppose any change in the status quo as a threat to their continued hegemony, preferring isolated, centralized, semi-urban settlements with nominal self-government, to a really viable system of small towns. Until there is a significant change in current government forest management policies, therefore, the present condition of "permanent impermanence" in the human community is likely to persist indefinitely in the Nootka Sound region, and throughout northern Vancouver Island.

In conclusion, the human community in the Nootka Sound region focuses on the fiords and waterways of the sound as it has always done. However, road links have invaded the

established pattern; where water routes were a common denominator to all coastal points, road links now are becoming a conservative factor in settlement development, keeping settlements in situ, since a very large capital investment is required in road building and settlement construction.

The development of road-based communication and permanent settlement suggests that resources will no longer be the determinant of resource extracting settlement location. Rather, settlements will become the focus of resource organization, given present technological conditions.

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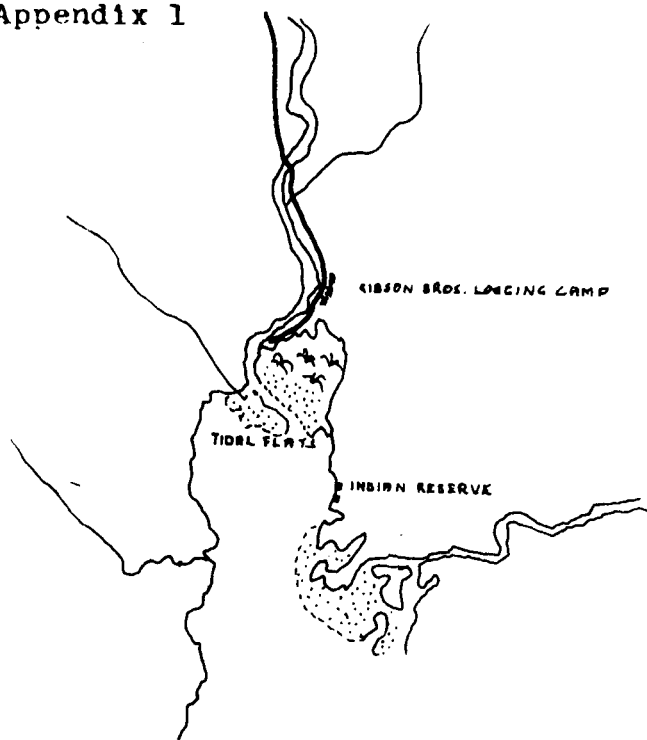
3 See, for example, Rex Lucas' comments in Chapter 9, Minetown, Milltown, Railtown, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971).

4 See "Flynn's Cove Now Ghost Town", The Nootka Sound, April, 1970.

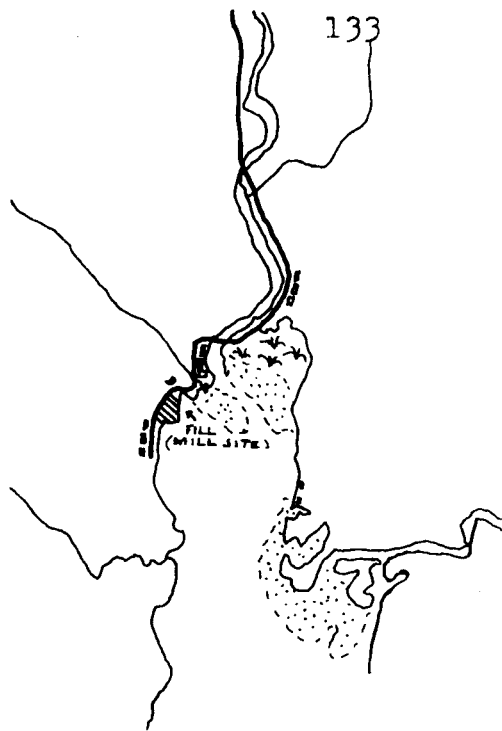
APPENDIX I

THE MORPHOLOGY OF TAHSIS TOWN, 1945-1970

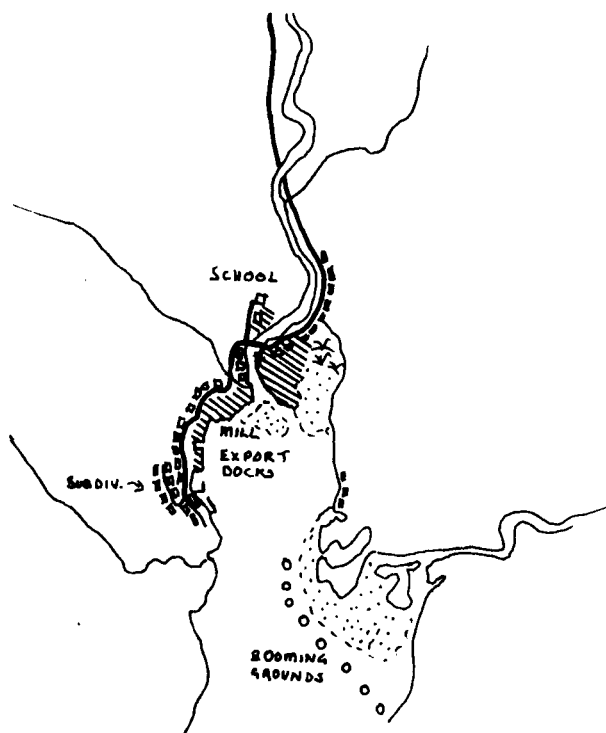
(B. C. Archives)



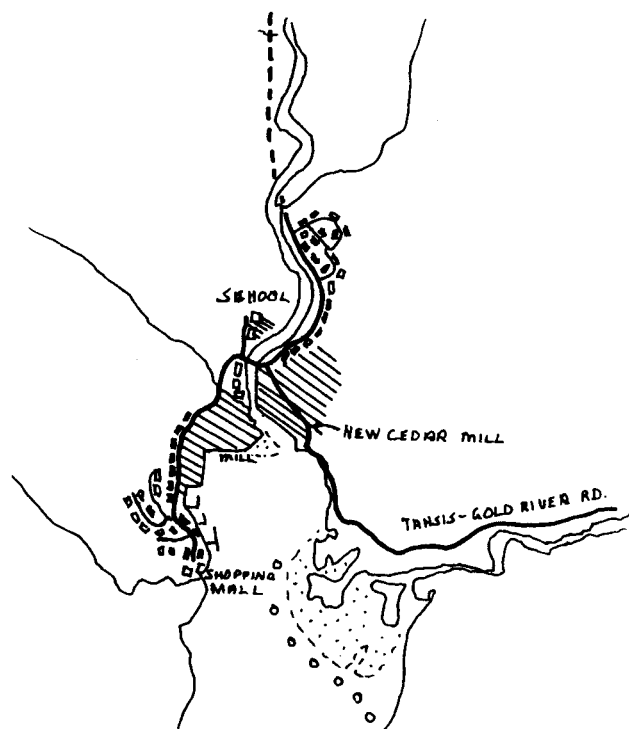
Head of Tahsis Inlet,
Circa, 1945



Tahsis, Circa 1949



Tahsis, Circa 1958



Tahsis, Circa 1971