DETAILED CITATIONS

FERNWOOD

This was the location of B.W. Pearse's manor, *Fernwood*.¹ Pearse was a surveyor, who pushed for reserve land to be reduced throughout his career. He wrote:

"By the 'Land Proclamation Act of 1862,' Indian Reserves are exempt from settlement. If this was construed to mean Potato gardens, there would be no settlement at all by the whites, as the whole valley is covered with them."²

Pearse knew that land was used and occupied by Indigenous peoples, and he argued for dispossessing them of it anyway.

JOHNSON STREET BRIDGE 1

The west side of this bridge is where the old Lekwungen (Songhees) reserve was located.³ As this area became more "commercially valuable", white settlers began pushing for the removal of Lekwungen people, and an exclusively white city.

"[Fort Victoria] has disappeared; a city of the white race occupies its place." (British Colonist, 1863).⁴

The city government agreed, and the old Songhees reserve was dissolved in 1911.⁵ Lekwungen women who attempted to protest the move were told that under the Indian Act, only men had the right to decide whether to move or not.⁶

JOHNSON ST BRIDGE 2

There have been many iterations of the Johnson Street bridge throughout Victoria's history. The second bridge was purposefully torn down in 1861, in an attempt to isolate the Lekwungen that lived across the bridge, and prevent their easy access to the city. It was not rebuilt again until 1886.⁷

CRAIGDARROCH

In 1883, Robert and James Dunsmuir, of Craigdarroch Castle, wanted land from both the Songhees and Esquimalt reserves to construct a railroad. In 1885, impatient with the government's attempts to remove the Songhees band from their own land, Robert Dunsmuir's

¹ Jude Goertzen, "A Tradesman's Paradise: Class, Ethnicity and Housing, Fernwood, Victoria, 1880-1916," *British Columbia History* 39, no. 4 (2006): 8.

² BCA, Colonial Correspondence, GR1372, F949-4, *B.W. Pearse to the Colonial Secretary*, 17 May 1867. The "whole valley" in this case refers to the Chemainus Valley, but there were also potato/kwetlal gardens across "Victoria."

³ Grant Keddie, *Songhees Pictorial: A History of the Songhees People as seen by Outsiders, 1790 - 1912,* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2003), 24.

⁴ British Colonist, 8 January 1863, 2.

⁵ Keddie, *Songhees Pictorial*, 146.

⁶ Ibid., 148.

⁷ Ibid., 60.

company notified the Superintendant of Indian Affairs that he would simply be building his railroad through the middle of the Songhees reserve anyway.⁸ This "castle" was built on violent land dispossession and extractive settler colonialism.

MCNEILL BAY

This is the southern shore of Chilcowitch family (Lekwungen) territory. Archeological evidence of a 500-year-old village dots the landscape, with middens and other remains beneath your feet.⁹ McNeill Bay is named after a steamship captain who first anchored here less than 200 years ago. He also purchased land here, after surveyors decided that Lekwungen kwetlal and potato fields would be stolen by settlers.¹⁰ McNeill's purchase of 200 acres along the shoreline cut the Lekwungen off from essential foodsources and their carefully cultivated landscape.¹¹ That statement is still true today.

PEMBERTON

Joseph Pemberton was a surveyor, and he was the first person to parcel Lekwungen lands into a cadastral grid. This imposed the concept of fee-simple private property for the first time onto unceded lands, and it cut off the Lekwungen from their resources.¹² Pemberton openly encouraged settlers to destroy kwetlal ("camas"), an essential crop carefully cultivated by Lekwungen women:

Open grass lands can of course be ploughed up at once, and a crop obtained.... and to destroy by exposure bulbous roots, such as crocuses, kamass, [kwetlal] *etc., for which purpose pigs make admirable pioneers.*¹³

PUBLIC PARKS

Less than 200 years ago, every single piece of land in 'Victoria' was carefully managed and cultivated by Lekwungen people. That land was essential to Lekwungen lifeways, for growing *kwetlal*, fishing, and hunting. Today, 95% of the thousands of acres of Lekwungen land has been built on, paved over, or ripped up by settlers.¹⁴ The land that remains in settler 'parks' has been overrun with invasive species, and the city claims to control who can use the park.¹⁵ This

⁸ Ibid., 107.

⁹ Ibid., 55.

 ¹⁰ BCA, Colonial Correspondence, GR1372, F949-4, B.W. Pearse to the Colonial Secretary, 17 May 1867.
 ¹¹ Jeff Corntassel and Cheryl Bryce, "Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination: Indigenous Approaches to Cultural Restoration and Revitalization," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2012): 151-162.

¹² Corntassel and Bryce, "Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination," 151-162.

¹³ J. D. Pemberton, *Facts and figures relating to Vancouver Island and British Columbia: Showing what to expect and how to get there; With illustrative maps*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860).

¹⁴ Michael Simpson and Jen Bagelman, "Decolonizing Urban Political Ecologies: The Production of Nature in Settler Colonial Cities," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108 no.2 (2018): 562.

¹⁵ Corntassel and Bryce, "Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination," 151-162.

deprives Lekwungen people of their resources and rights to their own land, which they never ceded.

LEGISLATURE

The very first major issue debated in the first House of Assembly in Victoria was about the removal of Lekwungen people from their territory.¹⁶ No Lekwungen people were invited. Between January 15 and February 15 1859, right where the legislature buildings are today, James Yates called for the violent removal of the Lekwungen from their lands. He did not even want to allow the Lekwungen to sell their land to settlers, because if they did,

"The Indians would have such an idea of the value of land that hereafter their title could not be extinguished by any means."¹⁷

Settlers *knew* that the Lekwungen would not give up their lands by any means, and so advocated for violent dispossession instead.

CADBORO BAY

This was the winter village site of the Lekwungen, *Sungyaka*.¹⁸ When European settlers arrived in 1843, many Lekwungen moved closer to Fort Victoria for the trade and work opportunities. In 1881, the city wanted to appropriate that land. The Songhees band agreed to move back to their original lands at Cadboro Bay, but the HBC claimed to own it now. The government refused to buy it back on behalf of the Songhees, who could not do it themselves under the Indian Act.¹⁹ So began 30 years of negotiations, in which the Songhees band refused to move to any other reserve, except their old village site at Cadboro Bay.²⁰ In 1911, they were removed to the current reserve. Today, "Cadboro Bay" remains in settler hands.

HARBOUR

Between 1862 and 1863, twenty to thirty thousand Indigenous peoples in the colonies of Vancouver Island and BC died of smallpox.²¹ Seasonal or visiting people, mostly from up island, were the most vulnerable in Victoria.²² In May 1862, the government of Victoria forcibly removed sick and dying Indigenous peoples with their two gunboats, HMS *Forward* and HMS *Grappler*. The Victoria newspaper *The British Colonist* celebrated the move, because the evicted "Indians" would spread smallpox to their families up North.²³ The disease would kill Indigenous people, and thus open the path to further white settlement.

¹⁶ Keddie, *Songhees Pictorial*, 62.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Andrew Scott, *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names,* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2009), 98.

¹⁹ Keddie, Songhees Pictorial, 107.

²⁰ Ibid., 109.

²¹ John Lutz, "Victoria, 1862," *Victorian Review* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 38.

²² Ibid., 37.

²³ "Good Bye to the Northerners," *British Colonist* (12 June 1862): 3.

CHINATOWN

In 1865, colonial and later provincial land laws ruled that Indigenous and Chinese peoples could only buy extremely expensive (unceded) Indigenous land after it was first offered to white men.²⁴ Yet still some Chinese businessmen bought land, and could thus vote in the imposed system. When BC became a province, a new law remedied this: *"No Chinaman or Indian shall have his name placed on the register of voters for any electoral district, or be entitled to vote in any election of a member to serve in the Legislative Assembly of this Province."*²⁵

CLOVER POINT

James Douglas anchored off this spot in 1842, attracted to the the fields of "clover," a contrast to the heavily wooded areas common to the Northwest coast. However, Douglas was not culturally nor ecologically literate enough to understand the space he was seeing.²⁶ The "perfect Eden" that Douglas saw was the result of controlled burns and careful cultivation by Lekwungen people, especially women. They maintained fields, including here at Clover Point, and planted kwetlal ("camas" in English).²⁷ Later, settlers claimed that if Lekwungen fields were not enclosed by fences, the land was fair game to take.²⁸ They stole vast swaths of land and destroyed kwetlal food systems, like this one.

GOVERNMENT STREET

Victoria has long used its police to control who is allowed to be on the streets, and who is not. During the 1860s, in the evening, police would start here on Government Street and move north towards Johnson. As they walked, they forcibly marched any Indigenous person they saw away from the city, quarantining them on the outskirts until morning.²⁹ While the white settlers were unabashedly racist, the city relied heavily on Indigenous labour, and so the rule would be lifted during daylight hours.³⁰ By 1869, the city passed laws to remove all Indigenous peoples from the city of Victoria unless they could prove they had a white employer.³¹

CHINATOWN

²⁴ Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*, (Vancouver, B.C: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 69.

²⁵ Qualification and Registration of Voters, S.B.C. 1875, c. 2, s. 3.

²⁶ Simpson and Bagelman, "Decolonizing Urban Political Ecologies," 561.

²⁷ Corntassel and Bryce, "Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination."

²⁸ Wilson Duff, "The Fort Victoria Treaties," BC Studies 3, (1969): 45.

²⁹ "Clearing the streets," *British Colonist*, 10 May 1860.

³⁰ Penelope Edmonds, "Unpacking Settler Colonialism's Urban Strategies: Indigenous Peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and the Transition to a Settler-Colonial City," *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (2010): 12. ³¹ Ibid., 15.

The lower block of Johnson and Store Street was once called "Indian Street."³² After the establishment of the railroad, the "Indian Quarter" centered around Herald Street.³³ Chinese immigrants bought land around this area because it was cheap, leading to the establishment of Chinatown.³⁴ After laws were passed to restrict and evict Indigenous peoples from the city of Victoria, the Indigenous population dwindled, and by 1901 this area had been all but abandoned as white residents intentionally drove Indigenous occupants away by gunboat, force, or pass system.³⁵

UPLANDS PARK

Uplands park sits on a Lekwungen kwetlal food system. The oaks and open fields are the result of generations of careful management by Lekwungen people, who conducted controlled burns and harvested kwetlal (camas) here.³⁶ The sunny open area, so different from the heavily wooded areas elsewhere, was attractive to the HBC. They appropriated the land for their own farms, importing potatoes and domestic farm animals from Europe.³⁷ These animals and other introduced plants wreaked havoc on Lekwungen land. This park is one of the few remaining kwetlal food systems which settlers have not paved over or ripped up, and is essential to Lekwungen resources and lifeways.³⁸

UPLANDS NEIGHBORHOOD

"Uplands" is named for the HBC Uplands farm, which operated on these lands less than two hundred years ago. Well pre-dating that farm are Lekwungen burial cairns scattered about the area,³⁹ and the cultivation of the Garry Oak landscape you see here today. John Olmsted, the 1907 architect of Uplands, paid careful attention to 'preserving' the Garry oaks - but not to the burial cairns.⁴⁰ Today, settlers "own" those cairns on multi-million dollar pieces of private property.

 ³² Patrick A. Dunae, John S. Lutz, Donald J. Lafreniere, and Jason A. Gilliland, "Making the Inscrutable, Scrutable: Race and Space in Victoria's Chinatown, 1891," *BC Studies* 169, no. 169 (2011): 54.
 ³³ Ibid.

³⁴ John Sutton Lutz, Don Lafreniere, Megan Harvey, Patrick Dunae, Jason Gilliland, "A city of the white race occupies its place: Kanaka Row, Chinatown and the Indian Quarter in Victorian Victoria," in *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History* (London: Routledge 2018), 336.
³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Corntassel and Bryce, "Practicing Sustainable Self-Determination," 157.

³⁷ Larry McCann, "JOHN OLMSTED'S UPLANDS: "Victoria's Celebrated Residential Park,"" *BC Studies* no. 181 (2014): 11-12.

³⁸ Briony Penn, "Restoring Camas and Culture to Lekwungen and Victoria: an interview with Lekwungen Cheryl Bryce," *Focus Magazine*, June 2006.

³⁹ Vivian Moreau, "FEATURE: Park Stones are Markers of History," *Oak Bay News*, April 14, 2010.

⁴⁰ McCann, "JOHN OLMSTED'S UPLANDS."

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