More than just a City’s History:

Narratives of the Elimination of Indigenous Histories in the
Settler Colonial Objectives of the Historian in Nanaimo, British Columbia

By

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Nanaimo: A Settler City alongside Indigenous Histories
“History is the fruit of power, but power itself is never so transparent that its analysis becomes superfluous. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots.” – Michel-Rolph Trouillot

Nanaimo is the sixth largest city in British Columbia, one of the larger centres for communities on eastern Vancouver Island, as well as one of the leading transportation links for both residents of the city, and tourists to travel to and from the lower mainland. Nanaimo is where I was born; it is where I grew up playing soccer and hockey, and where much of my life took place. Growing up in my small community north of Nanaimo, we did not have the amenities that one could find in Nanaimo. If we needed something, we always had to drive to Nanaimo. Although I did not ever live in the city, Nanaimo always felt like home to me, and a city I knew well. Additionally, for myself growing up in a mainly retired Caucasian community, where I was one of the few minorities in my school, Nanaimo was a place where I could always see Indigenous people and a community that, although I am not a member of, I identified with. The Snuneymuxw First Nation, (pronounced Snuh-NAY-mow) whose traditional territories and histories encompass what today is the city of Nanaimo.

Nanaimo’s history is portrayed both for residents of the city, and visitors along its waterfront in the historic part of Nanaimo. Growing up, I found the waterfront interesting for the presence of Indigenous histories portrayed alongside settler histories of Nanaimo. In a short walk along the waterfront, one finds multiple photos and discussions on Nanaimo’s maritime history which lead a visitor to a five-ton piece of sandstone with depictions of a person, a bear, and an eagle. The monument in Swy-a-Lana Lagoon Park depicts the narrative of Swy-a-Lana, the first Snuneymuxw person that came down from the mountains and established the Snuneymuxw people in Nanaimo. To the visitor to the city, the stone monument is a representation of the Snuneymuxw people’s history built into an account of Nanaimo. To myself growing up, the
monument was an example of the survivance of Indigenous history in a settler colonial city.\(^1\) The survivance of the culture of the Snuneymuxw artist James Johnny. When I look upon the rock, I see it as an example of the ownership and pride in the creation of the monument in 1985, and the assertion of Indigenous histories alongside colonial histories of Nanaimo.

Walking further back up the waterfront, past multiple stores selling the famous Nanaimo Bar, one finds under cover of trees two concrete busts that memorialise the history of the founding of Nanaimo, and the memory the busts hold in Nanaimo's history. One of the statues is the first Mayor of Nanaimo Mark Bate, the other, a Snuneymuxw man, given the title: Coal Tyee.\(^2\) The busts memorialise the beginnings of the city, with descriptions beneath each bust of each person's role in the creation of Nanaimo. The two busts stand on the edge of the Pioneer Square, meters away from the Pioneer Rock Cairn, each defined by the importance of pioneers in the city. The narrative of the cities settlers beginning with the landing of the city's early pioneers in the 1850's, whose narratives describe the sun coming out from behind the clouds as the first pioneers stepped foot on the Pioneer Rock. I will return to these sites, but in my memory seeing these throughout my life, I understood these sites to exemplify the city's use of monuments to solidify a consciousness that the Indigenous people are not eliminated in Nanaimo's history. In my memory, Indigenous people remain present in Nanaimo’s history, yet the analysis that follows suggests some Indigenous histories are not always brought forward to the public.

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\(^1\) Survivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry.” Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln: Nebraska, 1999), p. vii.

\(^2\) The Coal Tyee, meaning boss or senior, was the title given by Governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas to the Snuneymuxw Chief Che-wich-i-kan after he brought coal to Fort Victoria to allow the HBC to recognise, and develop coal deposits in the Nanaimo area, posing the beginning of the development of the city of Nanaimo.
In understanding Indigenous histories and where they are memorialised in Nanaimo, it is crucial to know where this thesis stands concerning settler colonial theory, and the premise of works on the elimination of Indigenous people from the settler space. Settler colonial theory came academically out of Patrick Wolfe's work on settler histories of Australia, under the insight in the field that "Settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure, not an event."\(^3\) Wolfe set forth the theory of the role settlers created in making a structural society, a structure that cannot be relegated to the past, or to one event, and differentiated from colonialism for the objectives settlers hold for their private interests. Arguments continued through in Lorenzo Veracini’s large-scale focus on the accounts of settlers to generalise settler colonial theory under the premise of the particular characteristic in settler colonial society is that of elimination. Veracini’s theoretical overview suggests that settler colonisation’s objective is the "elimination" of Indigenous peoples from the settler space to open the space for settler use.\(^4\) Veracini uses references to the silencing of primal violent interaction, the silencing of Indigenous people, and the different meaning of space, where modernity does not include Indigenous people, to create a space where Indigenous people are eliminated. Elimination of Indigenous people from settler spaces, Veracini argues, is the structure of settler colonialism because these spaces are for the occupation and consumption of settlers. Nanaimo arose out of the same conditions of settler colonisation. The Coal Tyee monument argues for Nanaimo the settler’s city, beginning for extraction of coal, allowing the settlers of Nanaimo to build Nanaimo into a settler space.


Monuments such as the Coal Tyee bust are significant because they represent the concrete actions Nanaimo has made to memorialise, and key in this thesis, to remember histories in the city. In the theories of Veracini and Wolfe, the premise of settler colonialism on the elimination of the Indigenous people from the space of the settler demonstrates Indigenous people have not seen removal in Nanaimo. Moreover, Indigenous people receive celebration, they are not eliminated, and from these spaces, Indigenous people remain both in view and in memory of someone walking through Nanaimo. Therefore the question coming out of Nanaimo is if Indigenous people’s histories have not been eliminated, the objectives of settler colonialism have not been successful, then what position do narratives of Indigenous histories take in the Nanaimo’s history when settlers cannot ignore Indigenous presences?

In the narrative of Nanaimo, it would appear there is no evidence of the last of Indigenous people in Nanaimo, but the methodology of firsting contains evidence for the role prominent first Indigenous people have in Nanaimo's settler colonial structure in the city's history. Jean O'Brien argues for the settler colonial structure in New England premised on the narrative of New England settlers being the first people of the land, firsting, writing out the existence of Indigenous people and histories in New England. A structure to allow the elimination of discussion on the Indigenous presences in New England because the "English triumphed and the Indians were vanquished and replaced on the landscape," in effect ending any discussion of Indigenous sovereignty in New England, because the English were now the first people. Nanaimo, as outlined in this introduction, does not contain narratives of lasting.

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However, O’Brien’s methodology of firsting can help understand Nanaimo's history, in particular in her arguments for the "peculiar phenomenon: famous first Indians. Originary places dependent on famous first Indians to authorize their origins and inaugurate the production of modernity." The phenomenon of prominent first Indigenous people is present in Nanaimo in the bust of the Coal Tyee, and the name that is synonymous with the only named Indigenous person in the narrative of Nanaimo. Under O’Brien’s methodology, lasting is not present under the theory of elimination. Firsting of Indigenous people is seen openly on the waterfront walkway where the invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company to extract coal resources by a Snuneymuxw person, Coal Tyee, overwrites the settler colonial occupation of Nanaimo, to allow a narrative of cooperation through firsting of Nanaimo’s pioneers.

Another element this project brings into discussion is how spaces of Indigenous history in Nanaimo receive definition for the public. Daniel J Walkowitz and Lisa Knauer who suggest the argument that memory is a "point of entry into the history… unstable that is as much about forgetting and self-censoring as remembering," indicate that memory is a complicated area in history. Walkowitz and Knauer make a distinction in public history to be careful in the use of the term "public" to have a homogeneous outlook on society. Rather, they suggest historians "conceive of multiple publics with divergent, often competing interests and different stakes in how histories are represented" To work with these public history methodologies, this project will work with the multiple publics that does have a record of their views of Nanaimo's history,

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the work of the historian, archivists, museum worker, and the public of the maintenance and production of Nanaimo’s narratives.

Theories of public history suggest memory is not solidified, public histories are contested, and indicate the importance of understanding the transformation of spaces over time to know how those creating narratives make history conform to a subject's memory. Kenneth E. Foote outlines the importance of a look beyond the question of why some tragedies inspire memorials, whereas others are ignored or effaced. Foote argues for recognizing that "the tangible past is altered mainly to make history conform to memory. Memory not only conserves the past but adjusts to recall to current needs. Instead of remembering exactly what was, we make the past intelligible in the light of present circumstances." Foote takes the relationship of public history association between tragedy and the negotiation of meaning and suggests a necessary connection between landscape, culture, and social or collective memory. Foote’s concept of memory provides an essential bond between culture and landscape because human modifications of the environment are often related to the way societies wish to sustain and efface memories.

In bringing public history back to settler colonial theory, with Indigenous people not being eliminated from the public sphere, there is a question of, how do public accounts and collective memories reconcile, or overlook the presence of Indigenous people that stand in opposition to settler colonial objectives as set by Veracini? Elizabeth Furniss argues for the methodology of the “burden of history” now confronting both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in Canada, and narratives of history in these communities. In bringing unresolved

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historical matters to public attention, Furniss argues Indigenous histories in Canadian communities are calling into question some of the fundamental tenets of the culture and worldview of Euro-Canadian society that legitimise the denial of Indigenous presences in urban spaces.\footnote{Elizabeth Furniss, \textit{The Burden of History}, 52.} Furniss argues the position history now must address, or continue to silence, are the burdens of settler colonial history, the structures of settling and eliminating Indigenous people from the accounts of communities, and the historical narratives that have silenced Indigenous histories within these cities, such as Nanaimo.

Silences, in the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot, are an essential element in each narrative because where there are silences, there are actors who are silencing the past. Trouillot argues the assumption that each fact is written into a story develop silences, and it is essential to look into where these silences occur, whether these "occur at the start…some are in individuals…some of which are quite concrete."\footnote{Michel-Rolph Trouillot, \textit{Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History}, (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015) 29.} Trouillot suggests silences leave traces, and the role of the historian is to address the silences for what they shed concerning power in those creating narratives.\footnote{Michel-Rolph Trouillot, \textit{Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History}, 29.} Out of Trouillot’s framework comes the questions of who are creating narratives in Nanaimo, what are the silences in Nanaimo’s descriptions, and what can these silences shed on the subject of why elements of Nanaimo's history are silenced? The history of silences are the context that this thesis inserts itself into the literature of both settler colonial theory in Nanaimo and historical narratives of silences in the city of Nanaimo.

Building on the theories of Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini on the premise of the elimination of the Indigenous populations from the settler space. I argue that although this
objective may be in the minds of the settler, Indigenous people have not been eliminated from Nanaimo, nor have their histories in connection to spaces in Nanaimo seen elimination from the public portrayal of the city's history along the waterfront. The areas described in the introduction contain examples of firsting prominent Indigenous people, along the same lines as those put forward in Jean O’Brien’s theories of New England. However, there is no evidence that Nanaimo like New England contains lasting of Indigenous people. I argue that the previously mentioned historical spaces in Nanaimo suggest that the city's history is strongly influenced by the historical field in Nanaimo and the keepers of narratives of history in Nanaimo; narrative keepers that I will address in the work of local historians, local archives, and museums. From a walk through each of the spaces discussed in the introduction, it is easy to imagine the Swy-a-Lana Lagoon in regards to survivance of indigeneity. It would appear from this overview that questions could arise concerning if settler colonialism has ended in Nanaimo. On the contrary, I argue in an understanding of settler colonial theory, commemoration of history in monuments has a use for the objective of settlers to control how an area is defined, in particular, how histories that highlight the settler colonial past of Nanaimo see elimination, while those that do not are commemorated. I argue the elimination of Indigenous histories in Nanaimo represent the actions taken by historians in Nanaimo to memorialise a history of Nanaimo that focuses on public memorials of Nanaimo’s history, like Swy-a-Lana Lagoon and the Coal Tyee bust, that include Indigenous histories to avoid addressing the burdens of Nanaimo’s history: the city’s settler colonial past.

In chapter one, I address the historic structure of the Hudson's Bay Company Bastion, today a defining feature on the city's waterfront skyline, and in the city's memory as a site of celebration of the beginnings of Nanaimo. I argue the Bastion is a space built with Indigenous
people in mind, in particular, the Snuneymuxw people who were seen as a threat to settlers of Nanaimo. Following the argument of my thesis, because the Bastion is the identity of Nanaimo, those who define the space, local historians, choose not to use specific narratives. In particular, narratives that suggest the Bastion's creation arose out of settler colonial violence. The Bastion chapter addresses the choices the historians in Nanaimo make to create the historical identity associated with the Bastion, a position where the narrative of its role in settler colonialism are left out. Therefore, allowing a place where one can celebrate the Bastion as the identity of Nanaimo, while conversely silencing the Bastion’s history as a site of settler colonial violence.

Chapter two focuses on the small provincial park in Nanaimo that provides both an interpretive site and historical space for the thousand-year-old petroglyphs that receive protection in Petroglyph Provincial Park. I suggest, through an analysis of the narratives of Petroglyph Provincial Park, that historians in Nanaimo frame the park as a tourist site of the far past of Nanaimo to allow Nanaimo's history to hide the settler colonial objectives in the creation of the park. By not addressing, and disavowing, the denial that the Indigenous people of Nanaimo made the petroglyphs, eliminates the Snuneymuxw connection to the petroglyphs. The work of historians in Nanaimo create the narrative that all of the park are elements of histories before Nanaimo, and as a result, not a space of settler colonialism.

Finally, in chapter three I address the site of the former Nanaimo Indian Hospital. Today forgotten in an empty, overgrown field, behind barbed wire fences is a site in which Indigenous histories have been ignored and eliminated from the city's history. I argue the forgetting of the presence of the hospital, and the experiences of its former patients represent elements of the city's history deemed by historians in Nanaimo to not be representative of the city's history. Therefore, after the hospital’s closing, the descriptions of both the hospital's existence and the
narratives of Indigenous patients in the hospital are eliminated from Nanaimo’s history. I argue this elimination is part of the active forgetting of the hospital, representing the unreconciled accounts of the city, which are deemed to be part of the national history of Indian Hospitals, and reconciliation in Canada, not of the histories of Nanaimo, to hide the settler colonial action of actively effacing colonial histories in Nanaimo.

The chapters in this thesis will highlight Nanaimo’s history, and the changing narratives over time to argue for the broader history of presences of settler of colonialism, indicating there has not been an end to settler colonialism in Nanaimo. I suggest the more extensive history of Indigenous histories in Nanaimo represents the actions taken by those writing, and keeping narratives in Nanaimo to write and memorialise accounts of the city that hide Nanaimo’s settler colonial past. Suggesting silencing Indigenous histories are the objectives of historians in Nanaimo to eliminate histories of settler colonialism in Nanaimo, and consequently the actions and intentions of the settler colonial historian. I return to the opening quote by Trouillot in this paper because this paper will expose the roots of settler colonial histories in Nanaimo to highlight my experiences growing up in Nanaimo, are experiences in a present settler colonial city, that through the actions of the settler colonial historians, hides its settler colonial past in broad daylight, for the eyes of all to view.
“Remember the Bastion”: Forgotten Narratives of Colonial Violence in the Identity of Nanaimo
"Those who have interest in the city's history can take heart that the old Bastion, once a Hudson’s Bay Company Fortress during Nanaimo's earliest Day's still stood guard on Front Street…During the summer months a cannon is fired from the site…Visitors to the city might think we are under attack!"15

The short joyous description of the landmark on the waterfront of Nanaimo illustrates the image the structure occupies inside the city, a tourist icon and physical reminder of Nanaimo's history. The Bastion is a wooden octagonal Hudson's Bay Company fort built to defend the coal mining and company operations in Nanaimo. A visitor to the city can walk through, touch the defensive structure, and peer out the windows designed to allow access for cannons and muskets. Every morning at 11 am, visitors to the city watch the staff prepare the cannon to fire out towards the harbour and surrounding islands. Throughout the city, one can find the aptly named Bastion Street, Bastion Trophies, Bastion Janitorial Supplies, and Coast Bastion Hotel appear around the city. The defensive structure carries a name of recognition both to the visitor and the local. The Bastion will be the subject of analysis in this chapter under the starting question I have had since my childhood, what was the structure defending against?

In answering this question, it is crucial to examine how the city defines the Bastion in the history of Nanaimo. Local historian Jan Peterson's book A Place in Time: Nanaimo Chronicles suggests

"The company (HBC) never intended Nanaimo to be a ‘fort,’…Nanaimo was created primarily to service the coal-mining enterprise, and the Bastion was built to partially ease the fears of the white settlers of possible marauding Native attacks ...Two cannons were placed in front of the building more for ceremonial use than for defence. Sometimes a fusillade of guns were fired to impress the natives.” 16

A short walk from the Bastion to the Nanaimo Museum finds an extensive exhibit on the early city, listing accounts of pioneers whose histories use the Bastion as a starting point for histories

16 Jan Peterson, A Place in Time Nanaimo Chronicles, 55-56.
of Nanaimo. The Nanaimo museum lists the Bastion's importance as "The Beacon of Central Vancouver Island…Today, this former Hudson's Bay Company building is a symbol of Nanaimo's history…The Bastion is a must see destination for visitors to Nanaimo."17 The Canadian Register of Historic Places describes the Bastion as significant to Nanaimo and Canada's history for being "Nanaimo's oldest building and the sole reminder of the Hudson's Bay Company's singular coal mining venture, the Bastion is the physical evidence of the community's earliest European social and economic development."18 Pride is an excellent term to generalise the descriptions of the Bastion today; it is the hub from which historical narratives under the banner of, histories of Nanaimo, begin.

I argue in this chapter that the Bastion is a significant site to analyse because of its identification with the city and the histories of Nanaimo. I will contend the Bastion is a space built with Indigenous people in mind, in particular, the Snuneymuxw people of Nanaimo, who were deemed to be a threat to the defense of Nanaimo. However, as I have described, because of the Bastion being the identity of Nanaimo, the present historical narrative of the Bastion does not reconcile that the Bastion is an example of settler colonial violence to the Snuneymuxw people. The solidified account of the history of Nanaimo are the product of historians who choose not to use specific narratives that relate to settler colonial histories concerning Indigenous people when giving descriptions of the Bastion. The Bastion represents the choices the historians in Nanaimo make to create the historical identity of the city that allows for histories of settler colonial violence to not be present concerning the Bastion.

To return to the introduction chapter, I have set forth that the Bastion is one of three spaces that represent broader Indigenous histories in Nanaimo, and all three places represent settler colonial histories in the city. As the introduction suggests, Nanaimo’s history and the narratives of Nanaimo in the present have a great deal of influence from local historians in Nanaimo, the community archives, and the community museum. In the example of the Swy-a-Lana Lagoon, it is easy to imagine the space in regards to survivance of indigeneity in settler colonial Nanaimo. However, as I contend in my introduction, accepted areas, such as the Swy-a-Lana Lagoon do not represent settler colonial histories in Nanaimo, and I will demonstrate the settler colonial histories of violence that become eliminated from narratives of the Bastion.

In this chapter, I will examine the creation of the Bastion via the Nanaimo archives descriptions of the 1853 beginnings of the Bastion, which emerged following the violence that arose against the Hudson's Bay Company with the Snuneymuxw people.¹⁹ The evidence of the Bastion's creation remains in the Nanaimo archives, but as the descriptions that open this chapter depict, memories are chosen by those portraying Nanaimo's history. The history of the Bastion in connection to the history of Nanaimo can be traced back into descriptions in the Daily Colonist newspaper where the Bastion is a vital element in the founding of Nanaimo for the protection it provided pioneers from Indigenous violence. The depictions argue that from the Bastion’s creation, the idea of a defensive structure in the mind of the pioneers was the history of the space. The memories in pioneers of the fear they felt from Indigenous people in Nanaimo and the safety the Bastion brought carry over into the 1940's and 1960’s to define why it was a necessary

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structure to maintain in the city. All of which culminate with the transition into the collection of memories of pioneers by those writing narratives in Nanaimo. However, after this period narratives of violence are forgotten in favour of the celebration of the Bastion for its foundations in the beginning of Nanaimo. I argue this allows a tourist to visit the site today, and see the Bastion as a space of celebration and civic identity, while not addressing the settler colonial histories of violence against Indigenous people built into the same area.

As brought forward in the introduction, I argue to use the methodology of Elizabeth Furniss in the discussion of frontier histories of British Columbia, to analyse the creation of local histories in Nanaimo and highlight the elements in Nanaimo’s history that are deemed to be burdens of history. However, Furniss’ work does not address physical space, and so I propose to use the methodology of Kenneth Foote to discuss how sites and spaces of violence are interpreted and defined. Foote argues historical points of trauma become emblems of local or regional identity. Foote contends this is not to maintain that "history" is merely myth and legend but rather to claim that facts and events defined by violence are filtered, screened, and interpreted to make them seem more coherent and heroic than they might have been. His methodology offers an essential perspective on the intentional actions that designate the way a location is defined. I contend that the methods of the sanctification of a place, the process by which events are seen to hold some definite lasting meaning that people wish to remember, and subsequent memorial or monument apply to the treatments of the Bastion. Foote's framework

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allows a broader understanding of the transformation of sites over time, about memories of trauma and violence that play a role in the recollections chosen to define a space in narratives.

Narratives, which in the case of the Nanaimo Bastion focus on the Bastion’s creation for the protection of both the Snuneymuxw and the settlers of Nanaimo from marauding northern Nations is the narrative that has become solidified in the city. The Nanaimo Museum describes a "large flotilla of Kwakwaka’wakw paddling from the north appears in the harbour, sending residents to seek refuge in the third floor of the Bastion, one of the few recorded defensive uses of the Bastion."23 One can find inside the Bastion, and in multiple local history books, the narrative of the invading force from the north causing fear in Nanaimo used interchangeably with the Haida people as antagonists. The challenge that comes toward this description is in the correspondence between the Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island James Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Company Chief of Operations in Nanaimo Joseph McKay, in which there is no description of Haida or Kwakwaka’wakw attacks being the reason for the creation of the Bastion. In this case, the narratives held in the Nanaimo Archives challenge the theory of defense against northern Nations being the reason for the Bastion’s inception.

Instead, the archives in Nanaimo illustrate that the creation of the Bastion arose out of lost control on Vancouver Island via the actions of the Snuneymuxw people. In Chris Arnett’s work on colonial taking control of territories on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, Arnett argues that an incident in which an HBC employee, Peter Brown, was killed on November 5th, 1852 instituted a policy change in the HBC towards violent tactics of control and shows of

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In the correspondence between Douglas and McKay, Douglas outlines “Siam-a-sit of the Nanaimoes, son of Tche-hetum, Siam-a-sit being accused of having participated in the murder of Peter Brown at Victoria.” In McKay's journal the incident with Peter Brown, a shepherd working for the HBC, comes forward multiple times over months suggesting the event was a significant action. McKay lists in his diary after correspondence with Governor Douglas "upon knowledge of Siam-a-sit, the Steamer Beaver arrived with the Recovery in tow having an armed force on board with Governor…such force has never been seen in the Nanaimo region." The incident McKay described, followed with an armed force in which Douglas took the father of Siam-a-sit hostage for not giving up his son, for

“The Nanaimo tribe who promised to deliver up the murderer Siam-a-sit assembled round the Beaver armed but not having the murderer with them Tche-wihe-tum was seized and detained as a pledge, for the delivery of his son into custody... Douglas told them that they should be treated as enemies, and their villages destroyed if they continued longer to protect the murderer, who we were now informed had left.”

The description followed with an extensive HBC manhunt culminating with the capture of Siam-a-sit, and his execution after a brief trial in Nanaimo on an island overlooking both the Snuneymuxw community and the settlement, in a place known today as Gallows Point. Arnett argues the manhunt, holding hostage of Snuneymuxw individuals, and execution were symbols

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25 HBC Letterbook: Correspondence between Joseph McKay (Nanaimo) and James Douglas (Victoria) August 24th, 1852 - September 27th, 1853, “January 3rd, 1853”, HBC Fonds, Transcribed by Carol Hill, 2014. Nanaimo Community Archives, Nanaimo, B.C.


27 Transcription of Joseph McKay's Journal, “Sunday 12th, January 1853”.

28 HBC Letterbook: Correspondence between Joseph McKay (Nanaimo) and James Douglas (Victoria).
to enforce in the mindset of the Snuneymuxw the potential to be unleashed if they challenged the HBC.

Gallows Point remains on Protection Island directly across the harbour from both the Nanaimo Bastion and the reserve, demonstrating the idea of displaying violence towards the Snuneymuxw people is still a real element in Nanaimo to this day. The trial of both the Cowichan person and Siam-a-sit is described to have gone before a jury of British sailors as the peers for Siam-a-sit. In the face of this strange and new form of proceeding, the mother of Siam-a-sit is said to have begged Douglas to hang her husband instead, because he was old and could not live long. In short, she recognized the circumstances required a symbolic execution, and offered the life of a chief for that of Peter Brown. But this proposal did not meet the ideas of Douglas, whose colonial law required that the killer die, the actual perpetrator, not someone put forward in his place. Later that day, both men were executed on the point, and Douglas' correspondence describe all members of the Snuneymuxw watched on at the events on Gallows Point, under the guise of leaving a symbol in the Snuneymuxw, a symbol of violence that would follow any further attacks upon settlers on Vancouver Island.

In his journal, McKay describes in his interactions with Governor Douglas where after the incident with Siam-a-sit, and his subsequent execution, the Bastion would provide safety from the Snuneymuxw people and ensure the Snuneymuxw would not affect HBC operations.


30 Hamar Foster, “Queen’s Law Is Better Than Yours”: International Homicide in Early British Columbia,” 63.

31 Hamar Foster, “Queen’s Law Is Better Than Yours”: International Homicide in Early British Columbia,” 63.

32 Despatch to London, Douglas to Pakington, “21st January 1853” 3852, CO 305/4, p. 1, B.C. Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
During the manhunt for Siam-a-sit, McKay’s Journal describes a meeting Douglas held with the miners in the community, who throughout the events, had not worked for fear of having to engage with the Snuneymuxw. McKay describes Douglas’ interaction with him and the miners in which McKay explains "Douglas outlined in audience with the miners the destined fort for protection of our safety from Nanaimoes in times such as these.” In this interaction in January 1853, Douglas mandated two employees to begin the construction of the Bastion Fort to protect the interests of the company in Nanaimo from the Snuneymuxw people. In the context of the miners, it would suggest there was fear of coal operations being lost because of the violence of the Snuneymuxw. McKay's journal entries indicate the Bastion fort's creation arose from a loss of control and distrust towards the Snuneymuxw people living in the same bay as the early settlers in Nanaimo, where the fort could offer stability and safety to the company’s operations in Nanaimo.

In the time following, little reference in the Nanaimo Archives describes any use of the Bastion for defense against the Snuneymuxw people, which appears as a reason for why the Bastion eventually lost use, and favour within the city. A search through the HBC Nanaimo Memoranda, a daily description of the activities of the company, and the city of Nanaimo from 1855-1857 only describes one occurrence in which the Bastion saw defense. On Friday, August 17th, 1855, the HBC memoranda describe large canoes passing outside the Nanaimo harbour carrying Haida warriors. The notes describe, after seeing the Snuneymuxw were hostile

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33 “Monday 17, January 1853”, Transcription of Joseph McKay’s Journal.
towards them “people took refuge on the second floor…fired a cannon to warn them from our territory - as a collision between the parties would no doubt materially interfere with the business and tranquillity of the place.” In the description in the memoranda, the Bastion serves as a defense both for people living in Nanaimo, but also to deter warfare from the Snuneymuxw and Haida people for the adverse effects it would leave on the safety and operations of the company. However, after this example, there do not appear to be any other examples of the Bastion in use to defend against Indigenous people physically, rather than symbolically.

In contextualising the Bastion fort, it is necessary to recognise the building was not always a desirable element of the history of Nanaimo and a form of protection for the settlers in the community. The Nanaimo Archives describe that in 1890 the fort was to be torn down for the city's new road, only to be saved by the efforts of the city's police chief. The archives describe how the police chief convinced the Mayor of the Bastion’s importance in defending the early settlers from the Snuneymuxw people, to have the town allocate money to move it from the way of the new road. It would appear from this description, in the under forty years since the Bastion’s creation, the Bastion had lost its purpose in Nanaimo and it took the actions of citizens to save a structure deemed less necessary than a new road. In recordings of the meetings in 1906 when the Native Sons of British Columbia took ownership of the deteriorating structure for the "public good" suggests from the meeting, the Bastion had lost its need in the city.39 In the

39 Conversely arguing, these individuals preserving the Bastion saw they were doing so for broader members of Nanaimo. William Barraclough, “Early Days of Wharf & Front Streets” April 18th 197, Nanaimo Historical Society Fonds: Series 2 Sound Recordings, Transcribed by Nancy Lee Deslauriers, 2008, Nanaimo Community Archives, Nanaimo, B.C.
interviews with members of the Native Sons of British Columbia Nanaimo Branch, it is clear the first members were made up of descendants of the pioneers of the city, who appear to be the few in Nanaimo who saw the structure for its historical significance. Descriptions in the Nanaimo Archives highlight that in 1920 there was an effort to convince the city not to have the structure sold and demolished for what the Bastion represented as a significant historical landmark in Nanaimo. The narrative of the Bastion as the identity of Nanaimo suggests that the structure did not always hold the position it presents today as an essential structure to city’s history. The fact that the Bastion was considered by many a structure that was a waste of space and was set to be removed suggests that the image of the Bastion in Nanaimo today did not become solidified at this point.

The fear in Nanaimo did not only remain in the private correspondence in the HBC, newspapers in Nanaimo argue that distrust of the Snuneymuxw was an element of the community and how history receives representation in Nanaimo. *The Daily Colonist*, a Vancouver Island newspaper publishing for cities on Vancouver Island, including Nanaimo, which in its "Island News" section would consistently discuss the early history of Nanaimo. In a 1939 article, following previous discussions of other histories of Vancouver Island, a full three pages detail histories of Nanaimo. In the article, a page of description goes into the Bastion and the symbol it offers in the city. The article placed a focus on the building in the memories of a Nanaimo pioneer John Muir in that the,

“Bastion was a real comfort to the little settlement of 1853…There was reason to mistrust the Indians, for a while the Nanaimo Indians were very friendly to the whites, but they were continually at war, and often carried their private feuds and public enmities into the

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40 William Barraclough, "Early Days of Wharf & Front Streets."

white settlement. As soon as Muir and his men started to sink a shaft they commenced to worry about the Indians. It was not comforting to realize that the natives were so close to the workers without defense.”

Muir conveys that the Bastion was a physical and mental defense for the settlers in Nanaimo, and distrust was a real element for people living in the settlement. The article suggests the importance of relaying the history of the structure concerning Indigenous violence, over eighty years after the Bastion's creation. It indicates in the article that the memory of Indigenous force and the connection of the Bastion's inception for protection remain present in the minds of the descendants of the city’s pioneers. In early narratives, the Bastion’s relationship to settler colonial violence is not only an accepted memory but one of pride for those in Nanaimo. Muir’s description, similar to Douglas’ narrative, describes the mistrust toward the violent Snuneymuxw people is a stage in the development of the city's history. The Bastion is therefore significant, for being a structure which allows an end to the savagery of the Indigenous people, and the beginning of a modern, civilised settlement.

To relate back to the framework of Elizabeth Furniss, her analysis of William Lake B.C. argues that local historians and archives in the town define how the city's history is outwardly portrayed through local productions of history. In Nanaimo, my analyses on accounts of the city find that almost every historical work from the 1930's into the 21st century begins the story of the city with the creation of the Bastion. Patricia Mary Johnson's *A Short History of Nanaimo* argues the nature of the structure comes out of the joint uneasiness the Snuneymuxw people gave to the settlers for their warlike reputation and the consistent raids of by the Haida people on Nanaimo. Johnson argues though, the cannons in the Bastion only saw action in salutes on ceremonial

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days, and the firing of cannons into the nearby Protection Island “as a warning to the Indians who could see the damage the cannons caused.” In 1958, over a hundred years after the Bastion's creation, Johnson maintained a focus on the HBC employee whose death and subsequent execution of the Snuneymuxw man lead to the establishment of the Bastion as an integral part of Nanaimo's history. The narrative of the Bastion for violent defense continues in the Nanaimo and District Museum Society book *Nanaimo: The Story of a City*, by discussing the armaments on the second floor and following word for word Johnson’s discussion of the intentional damage cannons would have on Protection Island, as a symbol of strength. Of note, the front cover of the book contains a painting of the Bastion with a cannon in the Bastion aiming at a canoe of Indigenous people, one with hands in the air. It is symbolic that this was the image to place on the cover of the book and to memorialise the image in Nanaimo’s history. Lastly, in E. Blanche Norcross' *Nanaimo Retrospective: The First Century*, both her 1979 and 1996 republished books maintain the cannons would only fire upon Protection Island for the "Nanaimo natives to see the damage of the cannons." Settler colonial violence in the history of the Bastion appears to have a link to the identity of the city, which remain present at this point in Nanaimo’s history.

The historical development over time of the Bastion as a historical space highlights how the Bastion remains a site connected to violence and an area where there have not yet been any

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44 Patricia Mary Johnson, *A Short History of Nanaimo*, 11.
45 Patricia Mary Johnson, *A Short History of Nanaimo*, 43.
retrospective changes to the narrative of the Bastion. Under Foote's definition of sanctification, "places are transformed into monuments that serve as reminders or warnings...The site receives transformation into a symbol intended to remind future generations of virtue or sacrifice or to warn them of events to be avoided."\(^{48}\) It would appear that sanctification is the portrayal the Bastion receives in its constant reference to the structure's protection of the settlement against the Snuneymuxw people. Memorialised in local history texts in the monument, it provides a sanctified space, as a meaning that remains in each narrative for violence as a significant memory to be maintained.

However, one must consider the element of elimination, for present narratives of the history of Nanaimo do not reference the aspect of settler colonial objectives in the Bastion. Jan Peterson’s books, which according to the Nanaimo Museum are the most purchased works on the history of Nanaimo, all of which provide a focus on the Bastion. However, in each, the arguments come down to the fact that the Bastion was built for fear, "not from the Snuneymuxw, but from the danger from marauding invasions of either the Haida or the Kwakwaka’wakw.\(^{49}\) In Peterson's books, and subsequently, the Nanaimo Museum, begins the elimination of narratives of violence and intimidation against the Snuneymuxw people from the Bastion. The point appears in the writing of descriptions of Nanaimo's history, representing the changing of the narrative, which at this point no longer discuss violence against the Snuneymuxw people. Instead, the narrative now focuses on the mutual relationship working together of mining operations in Nanaimo. In this period, narratives in both the Bastion and the museum continue to


focus on the pioneers who protect the Bastion from destruction, solidifying the elimination of narratives of violence through the forgetting of the previous history of the Bastion.

The retrospective narrative of the Bastion illustrates the historian's role in eliminating the perspective that challenges the position of the site as a sanctified site in Nanaimo. I borrow again from the methodology of Foote in that the Bastion both represents a hallowed place for the historical identity of the city, but additionally follow the theory of obliterating an element of the history that historians wish to avoid. Foote contends obliteration, instead of illustrating human character at its best, obliterated sections draw attention to the dark side of human nature and its capacity for evil.50 Peterson's work argues for the protection in mutual terms, protecting both Indigenous and non-Indigenous inhabitants, while her focus is on how the site becomes safeguarded and the actions of the Native Sons of B.C. to preserve the building. Peterson’s narrative demonstrates the importance of the keepers of narratives in Nanaimo who hold the power to frame the 11 o'clock cannon firing as a tourist must visit and a definite continuation of Nanaimo's history. By framing this narrative on the extension of the cannon in the city, local historians subjugate the continuation of the Indigenous history for the Snuneymuxw where the same cannons became an actual use of force for intimidation of the Snuneymuxw people through threat of violence via the cannon firing.

I conclude that the Bastion’s representation and narratives in Nanaimo serve as the elimination of histories of settler colonial violence in the city of Nanaimo in the accounts that celebrate the Bastion in the histories of Nanaimo. From the Bastion's creation, and conception, the Bastion's objectives are to both protect, and subjugate the Snuneymuxw people as well as others into submission through threat, and open symbol of violence. Violence being an explicit

element in the narratives and memories in connection to the Bastion and why it becomes a historical site in Nanaimo, and also why this element of the Bastion’s history is forgotten.

The Bastion represents Indigenous histories of Nanaimo, and to come back to the question from my youth on who the Bastion defends against, the Bastion was built to protect against Indigenous people in Nanaimo and further settler-colonial goals of development. Despite this, the narratives in the twentieth century represent the strength of the local historian to choose, and eliminate the Indigenous connection to the building. I conclude that this allows the historian of Nanaimo to proudly declare “Remember the Bastion” all the while not bringing into discussion the Indigenous and settler colonial histories of violence that are present in the very same space.

I challenge the reader to continue this thought of the control the local historian holds in the elimination of Indigenous histories in my next chapter's discussion of petroglyphs in Nanaimo. The removal of the Snuneymuxw people’s ties to the petroglyphs on their territories for settler colonial objectives of public identification with prehistory works to disavow the Snuneymuxw histories to the petroglyphs.
“We think maybe visiting in the summer would have been more worthwhile, but it wasn't quite what I was expecting. All the stuff online, I thought there'd be MORE petroglyphs, and I thought they'd be visible, but they were covered in moss. I also thought maybe they would be more spread out rather than just a short walk down a trail and then an endcap with a single solitary slab of limestone to stare at. While I'd definitely take a glance if I were traveling through or in the area (especially since you can see it all in about ten mins) I wouldn't make it a part of a special trip.”

In this online review on the website TripAdvisor, it would appear from the description that a trip today to Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo is not worth the visit. It is an exciting feeling as a historian to be using a trip review site to judge the public's view of a historic space, as the site does provide a valuable element for each review. The majority of responses do not address either the Indigenous connection or the history of the space. The majority of reactions focus on the park for tourism, a short walk, and a roadside attraction; hence, the title of the

A Part of our City, far from our History: Settler Colonial Disavowing of the Indigenous Histories of Petroglyphs in Nanaimo’s Petroglyph Provincial Park
review "Not Worth the Visit." In the reactions, it is hard to decipher the park's history that goes back to 1948 when it became a Provincial Park, or the thousand-year-old history of Indigenous peoples using the rocks surrounding the Chase River in Nanaimo for carving their histories.

I have chosen the Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo as a significant space for analysis because of its role as a tourist attraction in the city of Nanaimo. The park is currently a space where school students and tourists driving along the highway can make a pit stop and walk through the park to experience the carvings on the rocks in the park. In visits to the park, visitors encounter narratives of the history of the park, which contain arguments for the significance of the area because of the protection the park provides for the thousand-year-old petroglyphs in the park.

The question I am left with from this brief overview to the site is where are the connections to Indigenous people today? Petroglyph Provincial Park is the most openly Indigenous site in all of Nanaimo, yet descriptions of the relationship to Indigenous people in the present are few and far between. There does appear to be a gap in scholarship and narratives in the history of Nanaimo for connections the park holds through history to Indigenous people. I propose to answer in this chapter the question of, what are the Indigenous accounts of the Petroglyph Provincial Park and why is there a lack of discussion of connection to the Snuneymuxw people?

In answer to this question, I argue that the framework of narratives of the Petroglyph Provincial Park as a tourist site of the far past of Nanaimo, rather than a place of Snuneymuxw culture, allows Nanaimo's history to avoid the settler colonial objective of removing the connection of the petroglyphs to the Snuneymuxw people. By not addressing the petroglyph’s connections to the Snuneymuxw people, builds a space where the creation of the park is not
representative of settler colonial actions because the petroglyphs are framed to not be related to the Indigenous people of Nanaimo. I argue the Petroglyph Provincial Park represents the histories of the disavowal of Indigenous connections to serve the exclusion of Indigenous accounts in the present, rather than addressing Indigenous histories concerning settler colonialism in Nanaimo's present history, the park represents the disavowal of Indigenous histories in the petroglyphs and the park.

Relating to the previous chapter of the elimination by forgetting about histories of settler colonial violence, I argue in this chapter to build on the arguments of the Bastion chapter, because the Petroglyph Provincial Park represents the settler colonial actions of historians in Nanaimo not to forget narratives of settler colonialism, but to maintain a narrative that is important to historians in Nanaimo. I begin by setting forth the current accounts and uses of Petroglyph Provincial Park to argue that the descriptions at the beginning of this chapter represent the elimination of Indigenous connections in the park's creation by the disavowal of Indigenous histories. This chapter analyses the reasons concerning the origins of the park, where historians in Nanaimo frame the significance of the park to the Provincial government in 1948 in the age of the petroglyphs. Local historian’s narratives use the age of the petroglyphs to enforce a narrative that does not eliminate the Snuneymuxw people but rejects their connection to the petroglyphs. I track this narrative to suggest the creation of the park allows the silencing of Indigenous histories related to the petroglyphs by eliminating descriptions of the Snuneymuxw cultural connections to the petroglyphs. I argue the park follows the lines of the Marpole Midden’s history in Vancouver to represent the narrative of public acceptance of ancient accounts that overwrite First Nations arguments to control the sovereignty of the territory, and the histories of the space. The disavowal of the Indigenous accounts culminates in the present
actions of the Snuneymuxw people to maintain cultural connections to the petroglyphs, which are not included in the narratives of the park. From this framework, I set forth the cases of the elimination of Snuneymuxw connections to the petroglyphs in Petroglyph Provincial Park by denying Snuneymuxw histories connected to the space.

The petroglyphs in Nanaimo are not a subject exempt from scholarship. However, the focus of scholarship has not been about the history of the petroglyphs; instead, ethnographic, or archeological themes are the focus. Annie York, Richard Daly, and Chris Arnett’s work on petroglyphs on the Stein River in British Columbia analyse the presence and meaning of petroglyphs in the oral histories of the ‘Nlaka’pamux and Lil’ wat nations. In Richard Daly’s chapter “Writing on the Landscape: Protoliteracy and Psychic Travel in Oral Cultures" Daly argues the petroglyphs in Nanaimo have narratives that limit inquiry into the petroglyphs. Daly contends that scholarship with a concentration on how the figures in the rocks "[were] a means of commemorating important events among a people with no written language" limit inquiry into Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo on only questions of the origins of human writing. Daly debates that the park’s structure for its delineation from the broader history of human societies built off writing, not merely Indigenous art, or ethnographic art. Daly, Arnett, and York argue the park in Nanaimo follows a broader theme of petroglyphs in academic literature for questions solely based on the purpose of the petroglyphs before settler arrival, however, the present narrative surrounding the park limits inquiry into these questions.

51 Annie York, Richard Daly, Chris Arnett, *They Write their Dream on the Rock Forever: Rock Writings of the Stein River Valley of British Columbia*, (Vancouver: Talonbooks, Xwi7xwa Collection, 1993), ix.
52 Annie York, *They Write their Dream on the Rock Forever*, 223.
53 Annie York, *They Write their Dream on the Rock Forever*, 223.
I set forth to work using the methodology of Susan Roy's analysis of the acceptance of the Marpole Midden in the public histories of Vancouver as a framework for addressing the recognition of petroglyphs in Nanaimo's history. Roy argues the acceptance of the Midden found in Marpole of the community of c̓əsnaʔəm for archaeological purposes represents the distancing of Indigenous peoples from their territories. Suggesting the public acceptance of the Marpole Midden represent the claiming of the archeological history in Vancouver’s history overwrite the meaning in the cultural belongings and what the space of c̓əsnaʔəm represent to the Musqueam people. Roy’s work highlights the settler colonial work to accept archeological finds as their own to remove Indigenous connections to them in the present. This chapter will maintain a focus on the methodology Roy argues for, but with the framework of the local historians work on the petroglyphs in Nanaimo for the narratives to fit the settler colonial objectives of elimination in Nanaimo.

On the B.C. Provincial Parks website, it lists the primary purpose for the creation and protection of the petroglyphs in Nanaimo is the high concentration of petroglyphs which act as the primary attraction to see in the park. Outside of this description, and the fact that the park's creation dates back to 1948, the website does not provide any more detail on the reasons for its inception. Therefore to contextualise the park further, it is necessary to analyse how the park's creation receives description in 1948 and the narratives in connection to the park.

An analysis of the archives of the *Daily Colonist* suggests the petroglyphs in Nanaimo hold a long history in the fascination of settlers in the community. A June 3rd, 1934 article describes tourist sites in Nanaimo, where the petroglyphs along the Chase River are well known by most in Nanaimo. The article highlights ten years before the creation of the park, “tourists search along the rocky edges of the river for the drawings, where no living Indian knows the meaning to the rock carvings.” This *Daily Colonist* article introduces the fact of that the petroglyphs are a tourist site for non-Indigenous people, as well as the element of the meaning of the petroglyphs not being known by the Snuneymuxw. Instead, it appears from the settler perspective; the settlers did not believe the petroglyphs held a connection to the Snuneymuxw people, making it the settler's responsibility to find the meaning of the petroglyphs and protect them from damage.

Following analysis of the *Daily Colonist* concerning the Bastion, one can find the newspaper provides many descriptions and photos about the history of the petroglyphs and the work of historians that led to the creation of the Provincial Park. The articles suggest the best interests of the petroglyphs are determined by the arguments of local historians and the Provincial Government, not the Snuneymuxw. In the August 15th, 1948 edition of the *Daily Colonist* an article argues for the importance of the creation of the new park because the Provincial Government would be creating a park for the petroglyphs made by a race of Indigenous people who inhabited the area thousands of years ago. The descriptions of Bruce

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McKelvie focus on him for being a historian and "authority on Indian Lore in the area" allowing him the authority to speak concerning the petroglyphs. The description suggests to the reader that the petroglyphs were ancient, and created by a group of people who no longer live in the city. Therefore the park should receive protection for the value the petroglyphs present for Nanaimo and the historians who speak for the history of the petroglyphs.

The Historian Bruce McKelvie’s name is in each article from the *Daily Colonist* where his description and background legitimise the reasons for the creation of the park to protect the ancient drawings in the rocks that under the expertise of McKelvie, represent the pre-Snuneymuxw history of Nanaimo. In the August 20th edition of *Daily Colonist*, the focus is placed upon the authority of Bruce McKelvie concerning the petroglyphs. Describing McKelvie as a BC historian whose "quarter of a century of work" to bring the petroglyphs under the protection of the Provincial Government to protect the remnants of a vanished race of people. McKelvie expands on the theory of the vanished race to suggest that the petroglyphs are the product of “sun-worshipers” from 10-15,000 years ago. An argument McKelvie bolsters in the suggestion that the sun-worshipers built a large rock slab in the centre of the park, which McKelvie believed was used as a sacrificial altar. Judging by how often the arguments and authority of McKelvie are referenced concerning the park, it can be seen that McKelvie successfully asserted his theory that a vanished race of people existed before the Snuneymuxw,

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60 “B.C. Government to Open New Nanaimo Park” *The Daily Colonist*, 32.
to whom the petroglyphs owe their production, as the expertise of the petroglyphs transitions to that of the settler.

However, the surprising element in articles on the petroglyphs is the Indigenous voices do not become silenced, in fact, the *Nanaimo Daily News* highlights the Snuneymuxw voices of opposition to the site under the argument that the petroglyphs belong to the Snuneymuxw. In the days before the park’s opening, the *Nanaimo Daily News* references the opposition to the park in Edison White, son of the Chief of the Snuneymuxw, who argued against the creation of the park that was not the space for a "white man's park." Moreover, White contended the argument that the petroglyphs were a product of a vanished race of people was a false theory because the Snuneymuxw were the first people of their territories. White describes the experiences of Indigenous people in Nanaimo where historically the petroglyphs were a sacred space that Indigenous people would travel to up until quite recently when Christianity discouraged travel, and because of this discouragement, the area fell into disrepair. White goes further to suggest the Snuneymuxw saw the creation of the park as another instance of overlooking their inalienable rights to the land. The *Daily Colonist* does not shy away from highlighting voices of opposition, yet the same arguments do not appear to be taken into consideration by historians in Nanaimo such as McKelvie. Further, in books published in local histories of Nanaimo, the element of the tension in the creation of the park, and Snuneymuxw opposition, appear to leave the narrative at this point.

65 “Petroglyph Area South of City Now Public Park” *Nanaimo Daily News*, 5.
66 “Petroglyph Area South of City Now Public Park” *Nanaimo Daily News*, 5.
In tying back to the first article from the *Daily Colonist*, each piece stresses the knowledge of the petroglyph’s meaning and why the people who made the petroglyphs are no longer in the city. Each piece emphasises the creation of the petroglyphs by a previous race of Indigenous people that contend the claims of the Snuneymuxw for the territories of Nanaimo. A December 1948 article maintains the narrative of the vanished race to suggest the pervasiveness of arguments of the historians in Nanaimo. Months after the park’s creation, the piece describes the petroglyphs as the product of an unknown person, a vanished race of people on Vancouver Island. The writer describes that therefore the park preserves the ancient lost history that residents can now enjoy by viewing the petroglyphs and understanding the meaning for themselves.

In subsequent books on the history of Nanaimo, the narrative of the elimination of the Snuneymuxw connection to the petroglyphs are emphasised, for in each book can be found a description of the vanished pre-Indigenous race. Johnson’s *A Short History of Nanaimo* argues the petroglyphs are “the proof of a pre-Indian culture” presence in the city. Johnson reiterates in her 1974 book that the petroglyphs represent the “First known inhabitants, a pre-Indian race existed at least 10,000 years ago,” following the narrative set by McKelvie for the pre-Suneymuxw race of people who created the petroglyphs. In Peterson’s books, *Harbour City: Nanaimo in Transition, 1920-1967* and *A place in time: Nanaimo chronicles*, Peterson reiterates McKelvie’s arguments for the petroglyphs representing a past group of people no longer present.

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69 Patricia Mary Johnson, *A Short History of Nanaimo*, 46.

70 Patricia Mary Johnson, *Welcome to Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada*, 19.
in the city.\textsuperscript{71} Local history books in Nanaimo represent the shaping of the narrative of the present park which ties in no connection of the Snuneymuxw to the petroglyphs or the park. Rather they disavow the Snuneymuxw arguments in the stories local historians create, highlighting the public acceptance of history to eliminate Indigenous accounts and meaning to the park.

To return to the earlier discussion, the example of the petroglyphs in Nanaimo mirrors Susan Roy's analysis of Vancouver concerning the Musqueam community and the Marpole Midden in her methodology of the work archeology does to underwrite Indigenous claims to the territory through acceptance of theories of a pre-Indigenous race. Roy argues the excavations of the Marpole Midden into the Musqueam community of ćəsnaʔəm in south Vancouver by local ethnographer Charles Hill-Tout are an example of building Vancouver’s history with narratives of the pre-city.\textsuperscript{72} The excavation efforts by Hill-Tout and his team, in measuring skull sizes to show differences in skull sizes differing from the current Musqueam people, were a project to prove the Musqueam relatives in ćəsnaʔəm were a distant race. The aims were to establish the city of Vancouver, and the settler colonial population were not the first to dispose of a race of people in Vancouver.\textsuperscript{73} Roy's work highlights the settler colonial project of occupations by other groups of people as a step on the path to the modernisation of the city.\textsuperscript{74} The removal of the Musqueam people from the history of ćəsnaʔəm culminates with the dedication of a memorial to the Great Marpole Midden in a ceremony that did not have any Indigenous representatives present.\textsuperscript{75} The Marpole Midden represents in Roy’s framework the severing of the Musqueam


\textsuperscript{72} Susan Roy, \textit{These Mysterious People}, 102.

\textsuperscript{73} Susan Roy, \textit{These Mysterious People}, 106.

\textsuperscript{74} Susan Roy, \textit{These Mysterious People}, 106.

\textsuperscript{75} Susan Roy, \textit{These Mysterious People}, 107.
connection to ćəsnaʔəm for the settler colonial objectives, the acceptance of histories that because of their age allow histories of ćəsnaʔəm to be argued to not to be a part of Musqueam history, and therefore not their histories to control or protect. Therefore, under settler colonial theory, the Marpole Midden belongs to the pre-Musqueam history of Vancouver and creates the concept of Vancouver having a history of being settled by multiple groups of people at different time periods.

Roy’s project contains many similarities that have applications in the discussion of the Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo for the similar objectives of overwriting Indigenous claims to the petroglyphs during the same period. Roy's arguments should be brought in consideration of the petroglyphs in Nanaimo because the excavation and ethnographic project in Vancouver in the 1920's and 1930's likely represents a broader frame of reference in the region. Such arguments are made at the same time as the discussions of historians such as Bruce McKelvie when he made propositions to the Provincial Government to protect the petroglyphs in a park in the 1920’s. In light of Roy's arguments, this suggests a similar plan takes place in Nanaimo, to highlight a previous Indigenous people. Therefore the actions of all settlers in Nanaimo and the Douglas treaties were not acts of dispossession; dispossession and colonisation are steps in the history of development through a different race of people.76 Therefore, the

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76 Between 1850 and 1854, James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island, signed treaties with fourteen Aboriginal communities on Vancouver Island. These treaties dealt with areas from Victoria to Sooke, the Saanich Peninsula, Nanaimo, and Fort Rupert. According to the treaties, the Indigenous chiefs and their communities agreed to "surrender, entirely and forever," most of their territories to the Hudson's Bay Company. They kept their "village sites and enclosed fields" and the right to "hunt over the unoccupied lands, and to carry on their fisheries as formerly." For their land, First Nations communities received blankets or pounds sterling.

project in creating the Petroglyph Provincial Park is a direct attempt to eliminate Snuneymuxw authority in Nanaimo in a narrative that does not see a challenge in the present descriptions of the park.

The Hepburn Stone in the Nanaimo Museum provides a prime example of the petroglyphs being the domain of the historian in Nanaimo, not the Indigenous people because the Snuneymuxw are believed not to know the meaning of the petroglyphs and therefore cannot protect them. The Hepburn Stone in the Nanaimo Museum is discussed in The Navigator Vancouver Island University Student Press for being one of the oldest petroglyphs known in the city. The article describes how the petroglyph found by local mining engineer James Thomas Orr Hepburn in the spring of 1923, while Hepburn was working on his property, eventually making its way into the museum collection.77 In The Navigator’s description there is the repeated argument that the Hepburn Stone is an “unlocked….unexplored time” of Nanaimo’s history.78 The article suggests that because of the lack of knowledge by the Snuneymuxw people on the meaning and creation of the stone, the stone cannot be the production of the Snuneymuxw,

“It’s also assumed that the Coast Salish in the area would have had lore about the piece, yet there is none. The figure’s features don’t resemble the Salish people, so the carvers likely had different ancestors. Who were they related to?”79

Both the article and the description beside the stone in the Nanaimo Museum do not address why the Hepburn Stone is in the museum or the arguments of the Snuneymuxw people for control of the Hepburn Stone petroglyph. In this example, one can see how the narratives of petroglyphs in Nanaimo remove any connection to the Snuneymuxw people by repeating the argument for the inability of the Snuneymuxw to produce the petroglyphs.

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78 Alexandria Stuart, “The Hepburn Stone: witness of an unexplored time.”

past race of people who occupied Nanaimo before the Snuneymuxw. In this perspective, cases of Snuneymuxw opposition are not a part of the narratives of the petroglyphs, because the Snuneymuxw are not the original people of Nanaimo. Consequently, the Hepburn Stone and Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo represents the broader history of the historical community in Nanaimo using the petroglyphs for the objective of eliminating the Snuneymuxw histories and control over the defining the history of the petroglyphs.

Out of this framework, petroglyphs appear to be a site of conflict in Nanaimo for the concept of meaning they hold towards Indigenous people when analysis and narrativization focus on the age, and archeological connections, over meaning for Indigenous people. Amanda Shea Adams’s Master’s Thesis explores the stylistic variability of petroglyphs and argues the meaning of the petroglyphs themselves do not vanish or disappear. Adams work with an elder of the Snuneymuxw community describes the BC Provincial Governments view on vandalism in the Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo being the result of Snuneymuxw individuals carving their initials, names, and carvings of their own to continue the meaning of their ancestors. In the eyes of the elder and Adams, the carvings represent an attempt to maintain meaning and connection to the petroglyphs. Adams argues they are an example of the petroglyph’s connection to the Snuneymuxw people, a narrative not found in historian's accounts of the park.

In the B.C. Provincial Government’s Petroglyph Provincial Park Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan, the plan describes vandalism of the petroglyphs as a primary purpose for the maintenance and upkeep of the park. The response to the vandalism, where “vandalism to

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80 Amanda Shea Adams, *Visions cast on stone a stylistic analysis of the petroglyphs of Gabriola Island*, (University of British Columbia, B.C., 2003), 1.

81 Amanda Shea Adams, *Visions cast on stone a stylistic analysis of the petroglyphs of Gabriola Island*, 2.
petroglyphs and damage to park’s natural and cultural values from high level of use” suggests the view of the government is that vandalism, including what the Snuneymuxw elder describes, are a form of defacing of the petroglyphs.\textsuperscript{82} The argument by the B.C. Provincial Government for protection of cultural values suggests tension in the view of the government for protection of the petroglyphs as they are, versus the arguments of the elder of the Snuneymuxw. In this context, Adams argues the activities are a demonstration of the living meaning that petroglyphs hold into the present. Adams puts forward in the present; the petroglyphs are a space where members of the Snuneymuxw community have run into clashes in maintaining a connection to the petroglyphs in reactions to those that hold control in the Provincial Government and how historians of Nanaimo define the park.

Therefore, in the present, the Snuneymuxw community is in the position to have to challenge these histories themselves to demonstrate their connection and meaning to the petroglyphs are active in the face of the narratives disavowing Snuneymuxw control of the petroglyphs. An interview on YouTube with an Elder of the Snuneymuxw First Nation, Geraldine Manson argues the meaning of the petroglyphs are active, viewing the creation of picnic tables, and the focus on making the park a tourist attraction goes against the purposes of the petroglyphs. Manson argues, today the stories found in the park “do not do significant justice for what it actually means to our community.”\textsuperscript{83} Manson argues that from the period of its creation up until the early 2000’s the park did not work to protect the petroglyphs and their


\textsuperscript{83} “Geraldine Manson on the Petroglyphs, Part One” YouTube, Published April 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 2010, Accessed February 6\textsuperscript{th}, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WJwQoGD28U0.
cultural meaning. Manson claims “it was us that began this to be a consideration for the protection of the meaning they have with our community.”

A sentiment carried in an interaction by an elder of the Snuneymuxw First Nation Ellen White; White describes school children on a field trip to Petroglyph Provincial Park being encouraged to make rubbings on the petroglyphs as a class activity to understand the age of the petroglyphs. White viewed the discussion and education in the framework of the petroglyphs being past artifacts of a past society, ignoring the living connections they had in the present. A narrative that remains today in Petroglyph Provincial Park, where you will find no reference to the arguments of the Snuneymuxw community. Instead, they are eliminated by the disavowing of the Snuneymuxw control of the petroglyphs.

Out of this narrative, the most openly Indigenous site in all of Nanaimo, outside of the reserve, is also the site most hostile to the attempts of Indigenous people to demonstrate the thousand-year-old survivance remains present. I conclude this history is representative of the framework of the narrative of the Petroglyph Provincial Park, kept and maintained by the keepers of narratives in Nanaimo to allow Nanaimo's history to disavow and not reconcile with the settler colonial objectives of the park. The hostility to the attempts of the Snuneymuxw people demonstrating the survivance of their connections to the petroglyphs in the face of settler colonialism mark a challenge to the historical narrative of Nanaimo. Therefore the history of petroglyphs in Nanaimo is framed on the focus of the petroglyph’s age and sophistication as evidence of them not being the creation of the Snuneymuxw people. The keepers of narrative in

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84 “Geraldine Manson on the Petroglyphs, Part One.”
85 Amanda Shea Adams, *Visions cast on stone a stylistic analysis of the petroglyphs of Gabriola Island*, 2.
Nanaimo maintain this description into the present to allow the elimination of Indigenous histories concerning the petroglyphs and to not reconcile the role of the historian in the creation of the park for a vanished race of people, not the Snuneymuxw people. From this narrative, it becomes the responsibility of the Snuneymuxw people to maintain the petroglyphs meaning in their community, and challenge the false narrative of the past people to preserve the sovereignty to their territories and histories since time immemorial. Creating the present account in Nanaimo where the role of control and protection of the petroglyphs are the responsibilities of historians in Nanaimo to frame the petroglyphs as a site of education of the remains of the vanished people in Nanaimo. A park that is a tourist site, not for the petroglyphs significance to the Snuneymuxw people, but for the maintenance of a narrative that eliminates the settler colonial histories in the park.

I will bring this narrative of eliminating the actions of the local community and historians into the history of Indian Hospitals in Canada, specifically the elimination of Indian Hospitals in local histories. The next chapter expands on the idea of elimination in the narratives, or lack of descriptions in connection to the former Nanaimo Indian Hospital, to argue the local historian's ability to silence and eliminate Indigenous histories. The park in this chapter depicts the actions of both the broader colonial body in the Provincial Government and the local settler-colonial historian. I will expand upon this in the following chapter for the elimination of narratives to not reconcile the historical community in Nanaimo with histories the city would rather pretend did not exist in Nanaimo, were not made by the city of Nanaimo, and therefore need not be reconciled by the historians of Nanaimo.
"Canadians would be shocked if they truly knew what the government, church and medical professions did to our people in that hospital."

The former is a description of Barbara Hunt’s experiences in the Nanaimo Indian Hospital in the 1940’s from her daughter Ainjil Hunt. Ainjil Hunt is probably right in her assessment of Indian Hospitals in Canadian history. Although in this chapter my interest is strictly with histories of Indian Hospitals in Nanaimo, where I suspect, and will argue, this knowledge is almost non-existent.

My memory of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital is that I can remember it being mentioned as a child, where it was alongside the main highway on Vancouver Island. I remember each time

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87 Angela Sterritt, Manjula Dufresne "Canadians would be shocked': Survivors, lawyers describe treatment at Nanaimo Indian Hospital," CBC News, Last Updated: Feb 01, 2018.
driving past this site that it stood out; the barbed wire fences and the Department of Defence signs never connected to me until I learned that the space is currently the home of the Nanaimo Military Camp and the Canadian Scottish Regiment Infantry. My other memory of the area is the emptiness, and therefore the mystery in my mind of why this large space across from Vancouver Island University, beside a major highway, was empty. It was only once I began researching for this project that I started to learn the history of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital and the experiences that took place in this now forgotten space.

Historian Maureen Lux’s multiple works on Indian Hospitals in Canada contextualise Indian Hospitals as a form of segregation in health care to focus solely on Indigenous patients. Lux argues from the 1920’s-1970’s in Canada the fear for medical practitioners were the diseases disproportionately affecting Indigenous people, creating the anxiety that Indigenous populations would spread diseases to non-Indigenous patients. Lux argues that following the Second World War, the anxieties of Indigenous diseases lead the Department of Indian Affairs to take up a project in converting former military buildings into Indian Hospitals, which is where the Nanaimo Indian Hospital begins in 1946, taking over from the previous Nanaimo Military Camp Hospital.

In this thesis, the Nanaimo Indian hospital is significant in regards to the history of Nanaimo because it is a space that holds connections to Indigenous people from a wide range of areas, not just Nanaimo and the Snuneymuxw people. Through this lens, the hospital is significant because, in its short time, it brought Indigenous communities from across British

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89 Maureen K. Lux, “Care for the “racially careless”: Indian Hospitals in the Canadian West, 1920-1950s” 415.
Columbia to Nanaimo, bringing their memories and experiences into the hospital and broader Indigenous connections to the city. The space of the former hospital is significant because it is a difficult space to define, the hospital was the place for the experiences of many people who have had negative encounters in the hospital, yet today the institution has no significant memorial or reminder of its presence. It seems with the closing of the hospital, and the tearing down of the former hospital buildings, the histories of the hospital in Nanaimo no longer exist in the city’s history.

Therefore in my research, I am left with the question of where does the Indian Hospital fit into the city's history, where are historians placing the hospital in regards to other clearly Indigenous spaces in the city? More importantly, why do narratives in connection to the hospital have a focus on the Nanaimo Indian Hospital's place in Canada's history, not Nanaimo's history?

I argue that in relation to the Nanaimo Indian Hospital, the lack of narratives around the space of the Indian Hospital itself allow the narratives of Nanaimo to silence, and forget the experiences of the Indigenous peoples who spent time in the hospital, to enable their accounts not to be a part of the history of the city. The city's historians need to allow the history of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital to fade away for the narratives of Nanaimo to avoid discussion of colonial treatments of Indigenous peoples, and the work of the settlers that contributed to unequal treatments of people in Nanaimo's history. The presence and disappearance of the hospital in historical narratives of the city represent the active forgetting of histories deemed, not part of the city's history. I argue the Indian Hospital represents the decisions on what deserves a presence in the narratives of Nanaimo, and what histories are relegated to the broader national conversation of reconciliation.
I set forth this argument to address that during the period when the hospital was open, the Indian Hospital was a part of the history of Nanaimo, yet the references to the hospital leave the narrative after the hospital closes. During the period when the hospital was open there continue to be references in history books and local newspapers describing the active role of the hospital in the community. I argue these references are limited, however, after the 20 years of operation of the hospital, the references to the hospital begin to disappear in Nanaimo's histories. This runs to 2004 with the tearing down of the former hospital. After the closing of the hospital, there is an attempt to obliterate the narrative from the city's history to support in references that the hospital's history is tied to the federal government, not the city. I argue that this creates a space where the arguments of the narratives of survivors do not focus on the role of the hospital in the city's history, instead the focus is upon bringing narratives to the general public to inform Canadians of this silenced history. The obliteration of the hospital in the city's history leaves a gap in memory because the hospital is not an element of the history of Nanaimo.

Although discussions of Indian Hospitals in academic sources are not a vacant area of discussion, academic sources have consistently focused upon the similarities of experiences across the country to highlight the actions of colonial medical control on Indigenous bodies. Maureen Lux addresses the national perspective of Indian Hospitals in Canada with her argument of the hospitals demonstrating that in the 1930’s the federal government built in a policy of isolating patients with tuberculosis from the non-Indigenous community.⁹⁰ Lux attempts to contextualise the experiences of former patients and their experiences in Indian Hospitals in Canada in the broader framework of health policies in the twentieth century where

the Nanaimo Indian Hospital fits in both the period of the government taking responsibility for
the welfare of Indigenous health, and the latter period of offloading Indigenous Health to the
Provinces. A concept Mary Ellen Kelm argues represents a shift from the 1930's in Canadian
medical literature focused on the dying race, where Indigenous people were disappearing, and
every effort must be made to preserve the last Indigenous people. Following this period, Kelm
argues the focus in medical literature shifts increasingly towards the concept of the contagion of
the Indian and the threat their bodies brought towards Canadian society, leading to the creation
of Indian Hospitals.

Memory is a difficult topic concerning the Nanaimo Indian Hospital as the Nanaimo
Archives, and local newspapers suggest the Indian Hospital was an active part of the city’s
history. Both the Nanaimo Archives and the *Daily Colonist* have articles about the Indian
Hospital concerning its presence and role in the city of Nanaimo during the period when the
hospital was open. In a *Daily Colonist* article in 1949, there is a description of the year-end work
of the Craigflower Women's Institute on Vancouver Island. One of the areas the institute
focuses on are the “yearly carloads of members who will drive up with boxes of gifts and
mandarin oranges for the hospital.” The article highlights that on a yearly basis women are
visiting and supporting the Indian Hospital in their community, suggesting a community interest
in helping the patients in the hospital. Similar to an article a few months later in 1950 under the

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92 ME Kelm, "Diagnosing the Discursive Indian: Medicine, Gender, and the "Dying Race" " *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 2 (2005): 371-406, 373.
93 ME Kelm, "Diagnosing the Discursive Indian: Medicine, Gender, and the "Dying Race"," 373.
section, "With Women, Clubs and Societies," highlights the work of the Happy Valley Women's Institutes work to collect materials and patterns to send to support the patients at the Nanaimo Indian Hospital.96 While articles in the Nanaimo Archives describe yearly Christmas performances that women’s groups in the community would attend each year to support the children living in the hospital.97 The hospital, from the brief newspaper descriptions, does appear to be along the lines of any other hospital, a known, active part of the community, with community members working to support patients.

Likewise, personal narratives of members of the community growing up in Nanaimo demonstrate an awareness of the Indian Hospital and connecting experiences with Indigenous people in the city to the hospital. The autobiography of J. Douglas Steel describes his experiences growing up in Nanaimo in the 1940's in his book, Early Recollections: Nanaimo, the Forties and Fifties: A Memoir. Nanaimo. In Steel’s memoir, he spends most chapters on the changing themes and elements of the city as it develops, focusing a section on racism and segregation in Nanaimo where Steel discusses his awareness of when "native people were sick, they were sent to a different hospital."98 Steel’s narrative of the city is that he and his friends knew and would see Indigenous people who were sick being sent to the Indian Hospital, where patients saw treatment for illnesses such as smallpox, from which Steel was aware many died.99

In Steel's narrative of Nanaimo, Indigenous spaces like the hospital, where community members

96 "With Women, Clubs and Societies," The Daily Colonist, March 11th, 1950, University of Victoria Libraries, Victoria, B.C., 8.
could openly see patients who received treatment in the hospital, are an element to bring forward in the city's history and his memory. Following the lines of the previous newspaper articles, members of the community understood the hospital as a part of the history of Nanaimo, and their memories while it was open.

Equally important, during the period when the hospital was open, historians in Nanaimo took time to make reference to the hospital and its operations in the city, where it does remain present in Nanaimo's history. Johnson’s histories of Nanaimo, in an overview of Nanaimo’s history up to the celebrations of Nanaimo’s centennial, describes after the Second World War where the hospital at the Nanaimo Military Camp became enlarged to become a tuberculosis Hospital. Johnson finishes her reference in a description of Doctor D.R. Campbell, who “oversees 215 patients in the hospital and 174 staff.” It is a short reference, understood in the context of a book telling the broader history of Nanaimo; Johnson does see the Nanaimo Indian Hospital having a place in the history of Nanaimo. This can be taken from her first book that repeats the reference to the hospital in her 1974 book where seven years after the hospital's closing Johnson describes the work of doctors and staff to care for Native patients. Johnson’s history books suggest the hospital continues to have a place in the city’s history narrative when it was open.

However, it should be made note of, after Johnson’s references in the years following the closing of the hospital, narratives of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital do not come forward in almost

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100 Patricia Johnson, A Short History of Nanaimo, (Nanaimo, B.C: City of Nanaimo, British Columbia Centennial Committee), 1958, 42.
101 Patricia Johnson, A Short History of Nanaimo, 42.
any historical account of the city, and the history of Indian Hospitals begins to shift from city histories to national histories. This leads to the early 2000's when it appears the majority of works on the Indian Hospitals in Canada are released from academic publishers. All of which begin to focus on Indian Hospitals being an arm of the colonial objectives of the Canadian Federal Government. Each academic source sheds light on the shared experiences of former patients who saw mistreatment in the hospitals and their negative, traumatic experiences from the hospitals. However, as far as I have read into the histories of Nanaimo, Indigenous patient’s experiences do not come forth in any narratives or references to the hospital in Nanaimo’s history.

In academic treatments of contextualising Indian Hospitals in Canada's history and histories of colonial medicine, the local perspective does not figure into the broader narratives being created. Laurie Meijer Drees focuses on the similar experiences in the Canadian perspective of the mistreatment of patients in Indian hospitals, through both analysis of different hospitals, and the recounts of experiences with former patients. The only focus Drees makes for the city of Nanaimo comes with her account of the patients' experiences with their surroundings. Drees describes that "Field trips were rare, but occasionally nurses and doctors took staff and patients on arranged outings down the hill and into the town." Outside of this description, Drees focuses her discussion on the Nanaimo Indian Hospital and its place in the Canadian narrative for the elimination of the experiences of former patients from dialogue around colonial actions of the government in Canada’s history. A focus, rightly so on highlighting voices on a national history silenced into the present; where a quick search on CBC News shows histories of

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103 Laurie Meijer Drees, Healing histories: Stories from Canada’s Indian Hospitals, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2012), 47.
Indian Hospitals, and the experiences of patients are beginning to enter the consciousness of the majority of Canadians. In the accounts of both Maureen Lux and Gary Geddes, discussion of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital are focused upon the "Indian Hospital" narrative, rather than the "Nanaimo" narrative to begin to open dialogue on a silenced element of our national history.

An element of this narrative extends from the silencing of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital in Nanaimo's history from the historian and community actively forgetting, not wanting to reconcile the histories present in the site still a part of the city. In particular, the experiences of the individual, that are the focus of Drees, Lux, and Geddes, to highlight how patients experiences fit in the histories of Canada. The history of the individual are not new to narratives in Nanaimo; to return to chapter one, the history of the arrival of pioneers and the creation of the Bastion are built around narratives of individuals. Along the waterfront below the Bastion fort are two statues of the heads of Nanaimo's first Mayor Mark Bate, and the Snuneymuxw man, known as the Coal Tyee. The Nanaimo museum contains a small exhibit on the Snuneymuxw man Harry Manson who was a "pioneer in soccer," suggesting the narrative of Indigenous individuals are not absent either. However, the lack of narratives on the experiences of the individual in the former patients of the Indian hospital suggest patients and the hospital are not viewed as part of the city's history.

Given the prominent focus on the narratives of the pioneers, in favour of that of Indigenous narratives, sheds light on which narratives of the past historians in Nanaimo wanted to produce. It is quite telling to find in the acknowledgments to each history of Nanaimo a sentence or two on the dedication to an early family member that was a pioneer in the history of the city. Conversely, in Peterson's books, she dedicates her work both to tell the story of
"Nanaimo, my new home," as well as to "the pioneers and their descendants in Nanaimo." Peterson along with other historians in Nanaimo dating back to the Native Son's interest in writing narratives of Nanaimo comes down to their families role at the beginning of the city or highlighting the individual narratives of the pioneers who played a role in the birth and development of the Nanaimo. Historians in Nanaimo have a direct interest in underscoring a positive perspective for each of these individual narratives to both validate the pride historians have in their relatives, and to maintain a narrative that allows historians credibility in the public of Nanaimo. Local histories are read by individuals looking for their ancestor's role in creating a city they are proud of, not histories that challenge pride in Nanaimo by highlighting settler colonial legacies against Indigenous histories. To entice readers to purchase local histories and verify a local historian for their ability to write and tell histories of Nanaimo, they must uphold narratives that their readers will identify with. Therefore each historian then holds at stake maintaining a narrative and lasting legacy of both their ancestors and their home. The focus on narratives of historian’s ancestors allows an understanding of why the Indigenous narratives of the hospital and the patients are not a priority, the patients are not the relatives of those writing and maintaining narratives of Nanaimo. The experiences of the former patients challenge the positive image that Peterson holds at stake in telling a popular history of her new found home. The historians of Nanaimo do appear to have at stake their ability and credibility to retain the authority to tell local histories. Ultimately, the credibility at stake for the local historian leads them to leave out the experiences of Indigenous people because the experiences of the former patients challenge narratives of pride, and their hometowns past of colonialism, and settler

colonialism. Suggesting Nanaimo is responsible for a colonial action in Indian Hospitals that individuals like Peterson would not like to consider they took part in creating. A question then is what are the individual experiences of these former patients and what are left out of the narratives of Nanaimo?

The analyses of Indian Hospitals in Canada highlight the experiences of patients in the Nanaimo Indian Hospital for the harm and trauma patients experienced and these narratives are left out of Nanaimo’s history. Laurie Meijer Drees’ interview with a former patient of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital Laura Crammer suggests the experiences of fear she had in the hospital. Laura explains that her lasting memory of the hospital was “all I remember were fear, uncertainty, and fear of not knowing what was going to happen next. I felt a profound loneliness.” Similar to the experiences reflected in the experiences of Michael Dick whose lasting memory was “I knew, deep inside of me, what was wrong. But the whole process, the interaction was wrong. It wasn’t about caring; the whole interaction between patients and staff wasn’t about caring. It wasn’t about that.” Joan Morris explains in her interview with Gary Geddes that her experiences in the procedures in the hospital “were often painful and done without sedation or painkillers: Reflecting on it now, I truly believe there was a lot of medical pioneering going on . . . I knew, deep inside of me, it was wrong.” This continues in the negative experiences of Sharon Whonnock who explains her memory of being tied to her bed, “the ties were also taken off for meals [we] ate in the bed. If we needed to use the bathroom, we

106 Laurie Meijer Drees, *Healing histories: Stories from Canada’s Indian Hospitals*, 108.
were brought a bedpan."108 The experiences of former patients leave a memory of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital in experiences that highlight the importance of the former patients’ memories of the hospital and the mistreatment seen inside the hospital that remains as the legacy former patients have of the hospital.

In the most recent history books released in Nanaimo, the former patients’ narratives and the role of the hospital in Nanaimo’s history are left out in the work of the local historian to silence the history of the hospital. Jan Peterson’s book, *Harbour City: Nanaimo in Transition, 1920-1967*, published in 2006, highlights the Nanaimo Indian Hospital for the former staff’s work in the hospital in Nanaimo's history. Peterson makes one of the only references to the Indian Hospital in any history written after its closing. Although, in her only discussion of patients in the hospital she discusses the patients who occupied their time doing crafts such as leatherwork, weaving, or basketry.109 Peterson’s book focuses on the 100 plus staff from Nanaimo who gave all their efforts for patient satisfaction, using a quote from Miss E. Robb, a housekeeper, who recalls “Our patients were not people of a different colour or race to us. They were individuals. We grew very fond of them.”110 Peterson argues from the Nanaimo Indian Hospital “emerged new health and welfare for Native communities…. The hospital operated for 20 years and literally never closed its doors. When it came time to lock up permanently, it was

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110 Rex Malthouse, "Indian Hospital closing ends era, opens another," Information file: Indian Hospital, Nanaimo Community Archives, Nanaimo, B.C., 75.
found the door had no lock and had never had one.”

Her short insight into the narrative of Nanaimo describes the unreconciled historian, in one of the only accounts in the twenty-first century by a historian of Nanaimo, Peterson chooses to eliminate and forget the experiences of Indigenous patients that have had negative experiences in the hospital. In this case, the unreconciled historians favour a focus on the local members of Nanaimo whose work in the hospital contributed to making the hospital a positive space, and not a narrative of negative experiences of colonial medicine.

Peterson's article leaves two narratives in the city, the positive legacy of Indian Hospitals in the developments towards the support of Indigenous health and welfare, and the connection of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital towards the federal government, over the city of Nanaimo. The former narrative, I don't feel I am in any place to comment on what the legacy of Indian Hospitals are, in particular with the billion dollar lawsuit currently brought against the federal government, I believe this legacy will continue to become elaborated over time.

The latter narrative along with the lawsuit, create the narrative that the hospital is part of the broader Canadian history narrative, which is absolutely correct. Although, this narrative leaves out, that Nanaimo is more than just a city where the hospital operated. Nanaimo is the city where the

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112 In the news article, it describes the Nanaimo Indian Hospital has been named in a $1.1-billion class-action lawsuit against the Canadian government. The lawsuit claims to be for all former Indigenous patients of the Canadian Governments former 29 Indian Hospitals. The article describes the lawsuit which alleges the hospitals were overcrowded, poorly staffed, unsanitary and had widespread physical and sexual abuse like beating with rods and sticks and physical restraint to beds.

narratives of the traumatic experiences calling on the federal government for reconciliation, also need to be reconciled by the keepers of narratives in Nanaimo. Nanaimo is the community where women's groups would visit the hospital to support the patients, where the youth growing up in Nanaimo understood the racial segregation of health care present in their community. More than anything else, Nanaimo, and the empty field on the hills overlooking the city surrounded by barbed wire fences is where the experiences historians have made time to bring forward, currently put in a lawsuit against the federal government are built into this space. Nanaimo's historians' position is the elimination of Indigenous histories by forgetting the experiences of the patients in the hospital, which become part of a broader history of Nanaimo's narratives being defined where they are not responsible for the hospital, the hospital's reconciliation is the government's responsibility, and we weren't responsible for that.

National histories are not new elements to the history of Nanaimo, memorials to both world wars and detailed narratives of the histories during both world wars demonstrate national histories can find a place in the local narrative. Across the street from the Nanaimo Museum, one will see on a hill overlooking the harbour the Nanaimo Military Museum. The Nanaimo Military Camp, the site where the Nanaimo Indian Hospital would operate on, holds an exhibit in both museums and detailed descriptions of the community members who both worked and trained in the military camp, and the critical role they played in Canadian history during both world wars. One could argue the military histories of Nanaimo are a part of the Canadian history narrative, and yet, these are detailed elements of both Nanaimo's history and Canada's history. Contrary to the difficulty in reconciling Indian Hospital's in both Canada's history and Nanaimo's history, the military history of Nanaimo demonstrates this can be done with elements of Nanaimo's history that historians have pride in.
Reconciliation is an essential aspect of Canadian society to show respect to Indigenous people for the wronged actions of the federal government and settler bodies. However, Nanaimo represents the work of the unreconciled historian, willing to leave this reconciliation to only the government, and not local histories. The unreconciled narrative of Nanaimo is the elimination of the experiences of former patients of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital, which according to some reports numbered around 14,000 when it closed. The experiences of former patients do not come forth in narratives of Nanaimo, but from my analysis of narratives of the city from local historians, and the archives show the hospital's presence and operation as a part of the city while it was open, and leaving the narrative of Nanaimo after the hospital's closing. Consequently, the hospital's place in Nanaimo and the experiences of Indigenous people in the city are actively forgotten from Nanaimo's history. As a result of forgetting Nanaimo's current narrative sees the elimination from the city's history to allow Nanaimo to forget the operations of colonialism in their city, and the legacy of colonialism is a part of Nanaimo's history.

I conclude, the Nanaimo Indian Hospital and its lack of knowledge or reference in the present city of Nanaimo is not the result of short memories of the city, rather it is a product of the longer history of settler colonial eliminations of narratives of colonialism in the city, to emphasise the hospital not being a part of the city's history. The elimination of Indigenous experiences in the Nanaimo Indian Hospital because of Indian Hospital’s presence in the larger framework of colonial institutions of medical control, for historians of Nanaimo, justify its absence in the city's history. The history of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital is a narrative of the forgetting, and unreconciling of the local historical body with more extensive histories, both from the individual experience level of former patients, many of whom still live in Nanaimo. As

113 “Former Nanaimo Indian Hospital part of $1.1-billion class-action suit”, Nanaimo News Bulletin.
well, as the broader movement of historical work around Indian Hospitals in Canada and colonial medical and welfare during the twenty-first century regarding Canada's Indigenous people. To return to the quote that began this chapter, I suspect most in Nanaimo are surprised to hear of the lawsuit including the Nanaimo Indian Hospital, because like the site itself, outwardly it does not appear to have much left as a site. I have stood on this site many times, and each time the space stands out to me for how quiet it is in contrast to the busy university campus across the road. Behind the barbed wire fences, there isn't much, old broken concrete and not much of any wildlife. Standing in contrast to the fast-moving university campus across the street, and the primary highway up the hill. This space stands out to me because across the street is the daycare for the staff of Vancouver Island University, where one can watch children play in the safety and care of a learning institution. On the other side of the street lies the remains of the hospital where the experiences of many former patients suggest this same level of love and care for Indigenous patients was not present. The narratives of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital’s place in the past and today in Nanaimo are a direct connection to historians in Nanaimo's ability to make this a space that could have been a part of the city that people know as well as the Bastion, and yet is not the case. Instead, in Nanaimo, the Indian Hospital remains a space of colonial action, and settler colonial forgetting, little known to most, eliminated both from eye, and memory.
Nanaimo and the Settler Colonial Historian: Frameworks for Addressing the Local Historian and the Reconciliation of History

In the introduction to this thesis, I argued the event on July 30th, 1985 which brought together members of parliament, the Mayor of Nanaimo, and the Chief of the Snuneymuxw community for the dedication of the Swy-a-Lana Lagoon stone carving by Snuneymuxw artist James Johnny is more than just a gathering of Nanaimo community members for a new monument. The community event and stone carving represent the public survivance of Snuneymuxw history in Nanaimo. Into the present day, the Swy-a-Lana Lagoon has not disappeared from the city, nor has the pride in Snuneymuxw history that is in both the carving of the monument and the story of the creation of the Snuneymuxw people. The site remains a permanent fixture within the city and the narratives that are a part of the history of Nanaimo. For that reason, I return to the theories of settler colonialism, the structure of the elimination of Indigenous people from the settler space does not fit perfectly in the context of Nanaimo. The Swy-a-Lana Lagoon appears to be in tension with the premise of settler colonialism because the lagoon remains a space of celebration in the history of Nanaimo.

In this tension, I have set forth the broader history of Nanaimo in sites of representation that are in tension with where Indigenous histories are accepted, and where they are not. I have outlined in my three chapters, three spaces in the city that do not have the same focus on the Indigenous histories as can be found in Swy-a-Lana Lagoon. Therefore, to answer my initial question on where are Indigenous accounts in Nanaimo, they are present throughout the city, and yet control over where Indigenous histories are part of the narrative of Nanaimo are dependent on those writing accounts of Nanaimo. In each of the spaces put forward in this thesis, the defining element on whether Indigenous histories receive acceptance in Nanaimo are determined
on whether the history addressed contain elements historians in Nanaimo would prefer not to discuss. In popular histories of Nanaimo, the aspect that historians prefer not to discuss are settler colonial relations towards Indigenous people in Nanaimo. Consequently the lack of local historians discussing the burdens of history create the position where historians in Nanaimo are active elements of the structures of settler colonialism. In the case of this thesis, this results in historians work in the hiding of settler colonialism to create a present where one can bring forward questions on if settler colonialism ever existed in Nanaimo, and if it has ended.

Chapter one highlights how settler colonialism does remain in the Bastion’s representation and narratives in Nanaimo that represent the elimination of Indigenous histories of settler colonial violence, which have historically been a reason to celebrate and maintain the Bastion in Nanaimo. I conclude the Bastion represents Indigenous accounts of Nanaimo, in particular, narratives that the Bastion was built to defend against Indigenous people in Nanaimo and further settler colonial goals of development and settlement in Nanaimo. However, narratives of settler colonialism are written out of the history of Nanaimo and forgotten in descriptions of the history of Nanaimo in the present. I conclude in this chapter that forgetting allows the historians of Nanaimo to celebrate the history of the Bastion, all the while not bringing into discussion the Indigenous histories and settler colonial histories of violence that are present in the very same space.

In chapter two I conclude the Petroglyph Provincial Park in Nanaimo represents both the Indigenous histories and the settler colonial actions taken to create the park without the consent of the Snuneymuxw people. However, because of the work of local historical bodies, neither of these narratives are represented as part of the parks narrative. I argue the lack of discussion of the settler colonial history is representative of disavowal: denying presence and acceptance of the
Snuneymuxw history concerning the petroglyphs, to not reconcile the role of the historian in Nanaimo in the settler colonial creation of the park. Ultimately, the settler colonial work of historians creates the present in Nanaimo where the role of control and protection of the petroglyphs are the responsibilities of historians in Nanaimo. Historians who frame the petroglyphs as a site of education on the far past of Nanaimo, instead of Indigenous histories and settler colonial silencing of the disavowal of Snuneymuxw histories.

Lastly, in chapter three, the experiences of Indigenous histories in the Nanaimo Indian Hospital are eliminated by an active silencing of the hospital's existence in the city's history over time. I conclude from my analysis of historical narratives of the city from local historians, the museum, and the archives show its presence and operation as a part of Nanaimo while it was open. After this period, local historians use the closing of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital, and its lack of knowledge, to eliminate the experiences of patients and emphasise the hospital not being a part of the city's history. The history of the Nanaimo Indian Hospital is a narrative of the non-reconciling of the local historical body with broader accounts, both from the individual experience level of former patients, and the more extensive body of literature on Indian Hospitals in Canada to avoid Indian Hospitals being a part of Nanaimo’s history. I conclude, the Indian Hospital remains a space of colonial action, but the lack of narratives entering accounts of Nanaimo is the result of the settler colonial actions of historians in Nanaimo who worry how descriptions of the experiences of former patients will open discussion on how Indigenous histories in Nanaimo go beyond just Swy-a-Lana lagoon.

Separately, each space provides a fascinating account within the history of Nanaimo, but when brought into analysis together they represent the choices made by historians in Nanaimo on which histories see silencing in the city’s history. The communities making decisions in regards
to which accounts are silenced consequently hold a great deal of power in their ability to keep, maintain, and memorialise narratives in Nanaimo based upon what is deemed to be essential to the history of the city. The framework I put forward allows the site of Swy-a-Lana Lagoon to be present and celebrated in the city's history because it represents the Indigenous account of the Snuneymuxw story of creation and history before Nanaimo. To return to my introduction, the bust of Coal Tyee, in the framework of prominent Indigenous people in firsting, represent the portrayal of the Indigenous invitation to the exploitation of the city, and therefore settler colonial beginnings of Nanaimo are at the request of Indigenous people, not a narrative of settler colonial oppression. Therefore the Bastion remains a site in narratives of the celebration it permits by allowing the city to grow from the defense the Bastion provided, not of the history deemed to be representative of settler colonial violence towards Indigenous people in Nanaimo. I set forth that each space in my thesis serves an objective carried by those writing histories of Nanaimo that do not address or memorialise the settler colonial histories that are present in all three spaces discussed in this thesis. All three areas demonstrate historians in Nanaimo operate for the objective of creating a position where it is believed from a view of the celebration and memorialisation of Swy-a-Lana Lagoon and the Coal Tyee bust, that settler colonialism has ended, and that the historian is not a part of the settler colonial operation in the city.

Therefore I conclude from my analysis that the presence of settler colonial relations in Indigenous histories in Nanaimo are the burdens of past that the keepers of narratives in

\[114\] Note, the busts of both the Coal Tyee and Mark Bate were the product of a local non-Indigenous artist who expressed their wish for local school children and community members to learn about these prominent historical figures in Nanaimo's history. The public art project was made possible by the generous financial assistance of the: Gyro Club, Women of the Moose, Kiwanis Club, Knights of Columbus, Order of the Royal Purple Lodge No. 16, Fraternal Order of Eagles Aerie No. 15. As well, from looking at the opening ceremonies in the Nanaimo Daily News do not have any reference to Snuneymuxw presence at the commemoration, or in the creation of the busts.
Nanaimo now face. In the examples I have put forth, the sites suggest forgetting, disavowal, and silencing, are a structured history of settler colonialism in Nanaimo used to avoid addressing the burdens of Nanaimo’s history. Settler colonial historians create the narratives of today, where their work allows the elimination of settler colonial accounts from histories of Nanaimo.

Ultimately the actions of those writing and controlling narratives in Nanaimo are a product of the objectives to provide histories of Nanaimo that fit the purpose of historians in Nanaimo. Historians in Nanaimo are writing popular histories of a city they have pride in, stemming from their families pioneer beginnings in Nanaimo or their identification of Nanaimo as their home and place they call their own. To maintain the city historians of Nanaimo have pride in, they remove elements that challenge the view that Nanaimo should be proud of its history. The objective appears in each space to hide what historians would not like to discuss, or see define the city, to tell popular histories that focus the discussion of settler colonialism as a structure that has ended in Nanaimo’s history. Doing so by hiding the city's settler colonial past for fear of how these burdens of history will undermine the narratives of the city they believe allow Nanaimo to thrive and are keys to each Nanaimoite being proud of their hometown. Historians fear that reconciling both the settler colonial past and present, will undermine the local historian and their credibility at stake to define the city, and this will undermine what has allowed the city to arrive at its present development. Historians in Nanaimo fear discussing Nanaimo’s settler colonial histories will challenge the objective nature of their role as omniscient historians in Nanaimo, taking away from the power historians and the institutions of narratives in Nanaimo hold to define the city they desire.

An element to discuss at this point in my thesis is that there is a reason that the majority of local sources and narratives are not considered academic literature, because of their lack of
compliance with many academic standards which make up the majority of Nanaimo's history narratives. My thesis has charted the descriptions of Nanaimo's history through the works on the city's history produced by local historians whose works stand out against other academic sources for their lack of footnotes or endnotes. Elizabeth Furniss suggests local histories such as those written in Nanaimo attempt to market them around Nanaimo, as classic stories, and compelling reads about the past of the city, rather than academic texts, leading them away from formal academic citations. In Nanaimo, the local archives and museum have much of their work done through the work of volunteers, which leaves the underlying element that I don't know what the academic background is of people working and crafting narratives in Nanaimo.

The lack of academic compliance or background creates the context of the extreme positions between the academic history departments and the local historian's fields. Academia, because of the issues with lacking academic compliance in local histories that I have presented, do not, or struggle to consider these similar documents to use or analyse as they would with any other academically produced work. Additionally, it should not be overlooked that academia are not necessarily writing for people in Nanaimo to read their works, the audiences do differ from the audience local historians in Nanaimo are writing for. Audience, when looking at many of the academics I work with in this thesis either do not write on topics that a local historical audience would consider or be interested in until quite recently. In Furniss' work, which directly address local histories in small-town British Columbia, it is evident by the fact her work was only published in the 1990’s that the silencing by academia has been a precedent up until quite recently. The polar opposite to this are the narratives and local histories that because of the lack of critique, and consideration as an audience from academic fields hold an immense amount of

power for defining and memorializing the history of a community, and leaving local histories unchallenged. I have attempted to highlight in this thesis that all of the sources and evidence I make use of are available either through local archives, or through provincial files and databases, and yet the local settler colonial historian attempt not to reference these because by not referencing these sources allows the maintenance of the settler colonial histories. It is for these reasons I have trust in academia working on local histories and providing a fuller perspective of local histories. Local historians show the maintenance of narratives that support the objectives of the historian in Nanaimo that because of their lack of academic compliance and refusal to address the source base this thesis uses, create the commanding position of the unchallenged, widely read popular histories of Nanaimo.

My work has attempted to answer the settler colonial historians and the burdens of history that are deemed not to be a part of Nanaimo's history. The end goal of my argument, the audience I would ideally intend to have my thesis read by are people living in Nanaimo. I have brought forward elements of the history of Nanaimo that because of the framework of narratives have not been read by the majority of people living in Nanaimo. Most importantly, this thesis matters to Indigenous youth growing up in and around Nanaimo to understand the community we live in and what broader Indigenous histories represent in Nanaimo. However, there should be a practical consideration, that there is likely no chance anyone in Nanaimo or even historians in Nanaimo will ever have the opportunity to read my work. Therefore there is the question of what is the significance of my thesis?

This thesis is significant because it offers the discussion of what can be provided by the historian working with popular histories and the local historian to give a fuller perspective of the accounts the majority of the world consumes. To return to Trouillot, the crux facing academia is
historians “grossly underestimate the size, the relevance, and the complexity of the overlapping sites where history is produced, notably outside of academia.”\textsuperscript{116} Nanaimo's narratives exemplify the power the local historians have to hide the settler colonial history of Nanaimo. An element that is even further emphasised by the fact that "Universities and university presses are not the only location of the production of the historical narrative."\textsuperscript{117} Academia can continue to operate as it has been for its history, and the local historian can work under the same pretense, yet what this leads to is a city where a local could claim that Nanaimo no longer is a settler colonial city, and its settler colonial past has done just that, past.

Academic historians working to challenge local histories for claims in regards to Indigenous histories are not an area without any precedent, Jean O’Brien’s work set this precedent. O'Brien’s work researching through 600 local history texts explain both the presences of Indigenous people throughout New England's history, as well as describing how local histories inscribe a temporal frame of past, present, and future onto its non-Indigenous audience.\textsuperscript{118} O'Brien shows the power of the written word as local sources construct histories that write Native Americans out of history. In O'Brien's work, she does not shy away from working with local history texts produced from sources with a lack of academic background, even describing the motivation for many of the local history texts to be similar to what I have outlined for the motivation of historians in Nanaimo. In her example, there is a framework for overcoming the issues with local histories to bring to light the pervasive history making of nineteenth-century New Englanders who were determined to make "invisible the continuing

\textsuperscript{116} Michel-Rolph Trouillot, \textit{Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History}, 19.

\textsuperscript{117} Michel-Rolph Trouillot, \textit{Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History}, 20.

Indian presence in the region.” Ultimately, citing the speech of a New Englander born into the “robust tradition of southern New England ancestor worship” as he invokes the last of the Wampanoag people in New England gave space for New Englanders to inherit control of the territory, all the while Indigenous people remained in censuses across New England. O’Brien explains this conception is the power of the local historian, and because of this challenges local histories to define the settler colonial framework built into local accounts in New England to write Indigenous people out of existence. I cite this framework because, along with the example of Elizabeth Furniss, they explain that for the academic historian, local histories are not a field they cannot enter. The consequences of working with local histories allow a space to challenge the settler colonial frameworks of narratives that are read by the broader population interested in history, which have the opportunity for broader impacts in the people affected by the accounts challenged.

I believe this thesis is a beginning step, and a methodology that can be taken into many communities in Canada, and settler colonial spaces to understand how memory has been re-shaped for communities histories. Using this framework to understand the retrospective, to forget and disavow that which a community does not want to see attached to the narratives that allow pride in one's community. This project has taken approaches to understanding settler colonialism, the burdens of the history of a small town, and how these burdens are reshaped in the retrospective to highlight and demonstrate the work of the historian in a small community on Vancouver Island under the banner of settler colonialism. I hope this project will be taken by those interested in bringing a reconciliation of historians in Canada and the settler colonial world.

to allow academics to come down from the ivory tower and address that which communities do not wish to discuss.

I highlight an incident that may appear somewhat isolated that came at noon on September 15th, 2017 when members of the Snuneymuxw First Nation symbolically removed and took back the Snuneymuxw flag which flew alongside the flags of B.C. and Nanaimo over the entrance to Nanaimo’s City Hall. The flag, gifted to the city by the Snuneymuxw in 2015 on National Aboriginal Day, with the intention to foster and improve the working relationship between the Snuneymuxw and the city of Nanaimo, rescinded the gift in response to violence and bullying of an Indigenous staff member of city hall.121 In the comments from the Snuneymuxw council, this was not an isolated incident of violence and represents the continued lack of trust and respect towards the Snuneymuxw and all Indigenous people in Nanaimo’s history.122 However, the response from the city, as well as most commenters on the story represent the lack of understanding of the settler colonial history of Nanaimo. “The incident being made a racial thing is wrong and they are trying to make an issue that doesn’t exist.”123 The criticism from an internet commenter as well as the refusal to issue an apology by the Mayor represents the power of the local historian in Nanaimo, to create the informed mindset in Nanaimo where the Snuneymuxw are aware of where this incident stands in city’s settler colonial past, yet the rest of Nanaimo do not. Violence and bullying to an Indigenous person are isolated from the broader silenced history of settler colonial control of narratives in Nanaimo by

123 Greg Sakai, "VIDEO: Snuneymuxw council takes back flag from Nanaimo City Hall."
the local historian. Leaving the mindset that the removal of the flag from city hall is not part of a more extensive history of oppressive relations against Indigenous people in Nanaimo because the public is not aware of the burdens of the city's history.

Indigenous people in Canada have not seen elimination within the settler colonial space. Therefore there are spaces such as Nanaimo across Canada and the settler colonial world that have settler colonial histories that the majority of people are not aware are present in their communities. Each community likely holds their own Bastion, an element of their history in settler colonialism they wish not to address. I hope that from this thesis, twenty years from now both the city of Nanaimo and the broader historical field come to terms in a reconciliation of the work of the historian. To provide a view of settler colonial spaces that allow youth to grow up in a city and understand the settler colonial histories in their town, and the histories that make up their home. I hope that in the future an Indigenous youth such as myself can understand our histories and hopefully every other Canadian through the work of academic historians can begin to understand the reconciliation we have yet to come to terms with in the power of settler colonialism to hide that which we hope not to have to discuss. I hope that one day I can stand at the Bastion and hear tourists to the city learning why the fort was built and why we did not talk about it for so long.
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