

Unit 8

Maps and Borders

Overview

This unit examines perspectives of First Nations lands and their relationships to colonialism through the use of maps and mapping. It provides many opportunities for hands-on and experiential learning through the use of a variety of maps and mapping activities.

Before European contact, First Nations recorded the uses of their lands and territories in diverse ways based on lived experience. Traditionally people used landmarks and all the features of oral traditions – naming, story, song, ceremony, and family history – to record their interactions with the land.

After contact, maps became the tools of colonization. On one hand mapmakers “mapped out” or erased First Peoples by depicting the land as wild and empty, as Terra Nullius. As colonial, federal and provincial governments moved to formalize their control of the land and its people, it was the mapping of Indian Reserves that was central to the process. BC First Nations were restricted to these “postage stamp” pieces of land without any recognition of Indigenous Title, no treaties, and little or no compensation.

In more recent years First Peoples have had to become expert mapmakers. In venues such as the courts, at the treaty table, or in land use management planning, maps are essential to represent many aspects of Traditional Knowledges, and validation of Rights and Title. However, there are inherent risks for First Peoples when committing their geographies to maps.

Maps can create hard borders, and borders can create conflict. Before contact First Nations borders between nations were often fluid or flexible. When regions like Indian reserves or land claims territories are mapped, they become fixed and rigid. This may bring up a variety of issues for First Peoples, such as the overlap of territories claimed by First Nations in treaty or other negotiations, and obstacles formed by arbitrary political boundaries between regions.

Essential Understandings

- Maps are representations of lived realities.
- Maps can be seen as tools of colonization.
- Maps can have power through the information they show and don't show, and the ways they show it.
- Map making has become important for First Peoples to help validate their Rights and Title in judicial and political contexts.

Guiding Questions

- Why do we use maps?
- How is meaning communicated in maps?
- What truths do maps hold?

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Focus on Learning Goals

While many or all the First Peoples Principles of Learning and BC Learning Standards may be relevant, the following are suggested as a focus in this Theme Unit.

First Peoples Principles of Learning

Learning recognizes the role of Indigenous Knowledge.

Thinking about this Principle acknowledges and honours the Indigenous Knowledges held by First Peoples about their lands.

Learning Standards

Content Learning Standards

BC First Peoples 12

- Traditional territories of the B.C. First Nations and relationships with the land
- Role of oral tradition for B.C. First Peoples
- Impact of historical exchanges of ideas, practices, and materials among local B.C. First Peoples and with non-indigenous peoples
- Provincial and federal government policies and practices that have affected, and continue to affect, the responses of B.C. First Peoples to colonialism
- Resistance of B.C. First Peoples to colonialism

English First Peoples 12

- First Peoples oral traditions: The relationship between oral tradition and land/place

Contemporary Indigenous Studies 12

- Resilience and survival of indigenous peoples in the face of colonialism

Human Geography 12

- Relationship between First Peoples and the environment
- Political organization of geographic regions

Law Studies 12

- Canadian legislation concerning First Peoples

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Resources

This is an overview of the required resources for the activities in each Investigation. Additional optional sources are mentioned in the activities.

Investigation 1

- Traditional Narratives that relate to Lands and Territories. For example *People of the Land: Legends of the Four Host First Nations*.

Investigation 2

- Materials for making maps
- Access to vocabulary of local First Nations language(s)

Investigation 3

- Line Master 8-1, page 275, *Perspectives on Traditional Boundaries*
- “First Nations Face Border Struggles,” by Richard Wagamese, *Canadian Geographic*, 2010. <http://web.archive.org/web/20200710063926/https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/first-nations-face-border-struggles>
- *Kitwanga Fort Report*, George F. MacDonald, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989. <https://archive.org/details/kitwangafortrepo0000macd>

Investigation 4

- “Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery.” Assembly of First Nations, 2018. <https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/18-01-22-Dismantling-the-Doctrine-of-Discovery-EN.pdf>
- “Indigenous Title and The Doctrine of Discovery,” Indigenous Corporate Training, 2020. <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/indigenous-title-and-the-doctrine-of-discovery>

Investigation 5

- Line Master 8-2, page 276, *Mapping Indian Reserves in British Columbia Timeline*
- Line Master 8-3, page 277, *Creating Indian Reserves in BC*
- Line Master 8-4, page 278, *Fraser Valley Reserves Under Douglas*
- Line Master 8-5, page 279, *Lower Fraser River First Nations, 1867*
- Line Master 8-6, page 280, *Reducing Lower Fraser Reserves, 1867-1868*
- Line Master 8-7, page 281, *Matsqui First Nations Responses*

Investigation 6

- Resources about First Nations with territories on both sides of an international border
- Information about the Jay Treaty

Investigation 7

- Examples of contemporary maps by First Nations

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Overview of Investigations

These Investigations have more activities than most teachers will incorporate into their units. It is not expected that you will use all of the activities, or follow the sequence as it is described. The activities are intended to be adapted to fit the needs of your students and classroom.

The activities are intended to inspire ways that you can respectfully include relevant First Peoples' knowledge and perspectives in your course.

For more information, see Using The BC First Peoples 12 Teacher Resource Guide, page 6.

1. Mapping and Oral Traditions
 - a. Cognitive Mapping
 - b. Oral Maps
 - c. Mapping in First Peoples Oral Traditions
2. Traditional Territory
 - a. What is a Traditional Territory?
 - b. Territories in First Peoples Traditional Stories
 - c. Mapping Traditional Territories
 - d. Geography and Language
3. Territorial Boundaries between First Nations
 - a. Perspectives on Boundaries
 - b. Traditional Territorial Protocols
 - c. Defending Territories in the Past
4. Remapping Indigenous Lives
 - a. Terra Nullius
 - b. Examining Pre-Emptors Maps
 - c. Local First Nations Resettling
 - d. What Factors Led to the Remapping of Indigenous Lives?
5. Mapping First Nations Reserves
 - a. Background to Indian Reserves
 - b. Colonial Reserves
 - c. Indian Reserve Commission
6. Political Borders
 - a. First Nations Spanning Borders
 - b. Treaty 8
 - c. Border Issues Affecting First Peoples Today
7. Contemporary Mapping by First People
 - a. Contemporary Indigenous Maps
 - b. Overlap in Territorial Jurisdictions Today
 - c. Create a Local Indigenous Map
8. Give Back, Carry Forward
 - a. What Did We Learn?
 - b. Documenting Learning

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Investigations

Please Note: While some First Nations share many aspects of their geographical and Traditional Knowledge through publicly available maps, others do not. Before proceeding with the unit it is best to determine what types of maps, if any, local First Nations are comfortable in sharing. Also find out local Protocols around mapping different types of cultural knowledge.

1. Mapping and Oral Traditions

Students investigate the connections between First Peoples' Oral Traditions and ways of recording and communicating geographical knowledge and information.

Questions for Inquiry

- How did First Peoples record geographical information in the past?
- What is mapping?

a. Cognitive Mapping

Most people are able to map their world using their imagination, creating mental pictures of familiar locations. Students can consider how we make mental (cognitive) maps from a personal perspective.

- Ask students to draw a sketch map of a landscape that they are familiar with. For example, they could draw their neighbourhood, their community, a region they go to for a holiday, or an area that covers their route from home to school, work, or shopping.
- Have them add some details that are significant to them.
 - Make sure the directions are open ended, allowing students to interpret the activity as they see fit.
 - You may want to set a fairly short time frame, such as 10 minutes, so students concentrate on giving an impression of the landscape, rather than focussing on details.
- An alternate activity would be to have all students sketch a map of the same landscape, such as your locality if you are in small town or village, the neighbourhood around the school, or the school itself.
- When finished students can share their maps to see different ways that people drew their maps, and what information they decided to include.
- Ask questions such as:
 - What types of features did you include in your map? What features did you leave out?
 - What does your map tell you about how well you observe your environment?
 - What landmarks did you show? Were these similar or different from landmarks that others put on their maps?
 - Where did you get the information to include in your map?
 - How easy or difficult was it for you to use a cognitive map to draw familiar locations?

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b. Oral Maps

We are often able to communicate aspects of cognitive maps verbally through oral maps. An oral map is a verbal description of how to move through an environment, such as giving directions verbally.

- **Where Am I Going?** Ask students to work in partners or groups to describe verbally how to go to a location in the school, such as how to get to their locker, to the gym, office, or library.
 - Students should describe how to get to a location in the school without telling the others the destination.
 - If your school is small without many options for different routes, students could give directions for locations in the community or local neighbourhood.
- Then have students describe how to navigate in a location unfamiliar to the rest of the group. (They will need to give the destination in this exercise.) They verbally give directions on how to reach the chosen location.
 - Oral maps could include directions to a room in their house, following a path in a park or outdoor area to get to a destination, driving to someone's house, walking to their regular bus stop, or finding the office in a school they used to attend.
- Discuss how well students were able to follow these oral maps.
- Discuss in groups or with the whole class the differences in the experiences of giving directions in familiar and unfamiliar places. (For example, the listeners were probably able to follow the directions better in places they were familiar with. The speaker and listeners had shared knowledge of the school.)

c. Mapping in First Peoples Oral Traditions

Societies with Oral Traditions have many ways of recording and communicating geographical information.

- Have students reflect on this statement, give by the Sq'ewlets First Nation:
Our traditional maps were created through our experiences on the land, held in our minds, and passed along through the memories of our Elders. Families knew every inch of the rivers we paddled and the forests we walked.
(Source: http://digitalsqewlets.ca/sqwelqwel/past_future-passe_futur/timeline_chronologie-eng.php, item: 1868 Reserve Creation)
 - Discuss how the ideas in this statement connect with First Peoples Oral Traditions.
 - Discuss how students' experiences with cognitive and oral mapping connect with First Peoples Oral Traditions.
- Ask students to suggest some features that are important for communicating geographical information in an Oral Tradition. (For example, shared knowledge, experience, imagination, memory.)
- Ask students to think of ways that First Peoples traditionally kept track of geographical information. (For example: naming, learning landmarks, stories, family histories, making signs on the land such as marking trees, petroglyphs and pictographs, using the stars and constellations,

For activities building an understanding of Oral Traditions, see Unit 2, Investigation 2, First Peoples' Oral Traditions and Traditional Stories, page 84.

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lived experiences, others aspects of oral traditions such as songs, masks, ceremonies, poles.)

- Have students work in groups to consider what types of geographical information First Peoples would need to know and remember about their Traditional Territory.
 - Students can create a web, mind map, chart or diagrams to illustrate the variety of types of geographical knowledge held about the land.
 - Sample responses include: location of events in family histories; harvesting locations; travel routes; habitat and migration routes of animals; sacred locations, taboo places; forts and defensive sites; borders and territories of their neighbours.

2. Traditional Territory

Help students build their understandings about the Traditional Territory or Territories that your school or locality sits on. Your discussion will depend on your location; if you are in or near a First Nations community the answers may be clearer than in an urban setting.

a. What is a Traditional Territory?

Ask students to suggest what “Traditional Territories” means to them. Share ideas and come up with a consensus on what it means.

- Note that “Traditional Territory” may be interpreted in different ways depending on the context it is used:
 - The Traditional Territory of a First Nation or language group, such as Tahltan, Dakelh or Nuxalk. Often in BC these are represented by Tribal Councils.
 - The Traditional Territory of a local First Nation community, such as Kwadacha, Tk'emlúps, or Tsawwassen First Nations.
 - The Traditional Territory of a family or clan group within these broader groups.
- It is important to make clear that Traditional Territories referred to here may not be the same as those lands under legal or political considerations such as in the pursuit of Indigenous Rights and Title. Also they are not the same as the government-defined Indian Reserves.
- Note that boundaries between territories are not precise.

b. Territories in First Peoples Traditional Stories

Understandings about territories are often embedded in a First Peoples Traditional Story. These may be origin stories, which tell of how the land and territory came to be created. Others may include key features within a territory.

- Find and share examples of traditional narratives that include representations or mentions of territories. If possible, identify specific locations that are referred to in a local narrative.
 - It may be possible for students to visit the site.
 - Some physical features such as mountains with important stories about them can be observed from a distance.
 - You may be able to collect some photographs of places mentioned in a story.

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- Ideally you will be able to find stories from the local First Nations. However, if this is not possible, use a narrative from another region as a model. Some examples are:
 - *People of the Land: Legends of the Four Host First Nations*.
 - Sch'ich'iyúy – The Sisters Mountain (Squamish) pages 81-90. This tells the story of the transformation of two sisters into the two prominent mountain peaks visible from Vancouver, called by the Squamish the Sisters, and also known today as the Lions.
 - “The Transformer Story of Lil'wat People: Creation of Lil'wat Territory,” pages 13-19. Two brothers and their sister, known as the Transformers, shaped the land of Lil'wat people, leaving landmarks that can be identified today. At the same time, they instruct the people on how to harvest resources from the land.
 - *Persistence and Change*. “The Discovery of the Ginadoiks River,” pages 18-19. A Ts'msyen woman travels from her husband's Territory in one watershed to her brother's village in another valley. She discovers a new area rich in beaver and salmon. It becomes part of her family's Territory.

c. Mapping Traditional Territories

Students can map some important locations within the Traditional Territory of local First Nations using the First Nations names wherever possible.

- Discuss or review protocols when engaging with First Peoples' knowledge. Ask questions such as:
 - What types of locations or place names are appropriate for us to include?
 - What are appropriate sources to use to gather information?
 - How can we show respect for the traditional places and the territory as a whole?
- Students can work in groups to map places such as lakes and rivers, communities within the territories, and significant cultural locations.
- Some options for creating maps are:
 - Draw maps on paper.
 - Use a plastic overlay on a published map.
 - Create a digital map using software or online resources.
- There may be maps and other resources available from the local First Nations community. However, it is important to respect the wishes of a Nation that does not wish to share cultural maps.
- Learn to pronounce some of the important place names, if the students are not familiar with them. Work with a language teacher or other community member to learn the correct pronunciation.
- If maps of Traditional Territories are available, students could be asked to read and interpret them.

d. Geography and Language

Students can learn words in the local First Nations language that relate to directions, way finding and recording geographical information.

- Examples: directions (north, east, south-west, etc.); landmark or marker; road, trail or path; travel; boundary line
- Names of geographical features, such as earth, ocean, lake, place, land,

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river, creek, mountain.

- Students can add the words to their First Nations Language dictionary. See Unit 1, page 57
- Students could create a map of an area in their community using this vocabulary.

3. Territorial Boundaries Between First Nations


Students investigate how boundaries between Nations were perceived and acknowledged in the past, in times of peace and times of war, and how ancient protocols are followed today.

Questions for Inquiry

How do First Peoples recognize and acknowledge each others' territories?

a. Perspectives on Boundaries

- Students can read a short article by Richard Wagamese that gives his perspectives on boundaries and mapping. Alternatively, you or students can read the article aloud.
 - “First Nations Face Border Struggles,” by Richard Wagamese, *Canadian Geographic*, 2010. <http://web.archive.org/web/20200710063926/https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/first-nations-face-border-struggles>
 - Ask students to choose two or three phrases that stood out for them, and explain why there were significant to them.
- Students can read a number of quotes about traditional boundaries between First Nations. Use Line Master 8-1, page 275, *Perspectives on Traditional Boundaries*.
- Students can create and share a Found Poem using these texts. For suggestions regarding Found Poems, see <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/teaching-strategies/found-poems>.

 Line Master 8-1, page 275, *Perspectives on Traditional Boundaries*

b. Traditional Territorial Protocols

Build understandings of traditional Protocols when Indigenous people enter another's territories.

- Ask students if they are aware of Protocols followed when outsiders enter the territory of a First Nation. Some students may have been involved in such ceremonies, while others may have observed them in videos.
- Often when groups make a canoe journey to another Territory, they ask permission to land on the shore in front of the village. Students can view videos of canoe journeys that illustrate the arrival of canoes in a new territory to find out some of the details of the protocols. Have them observe what the hosts and visitors do and say.
 - For example, see the video: Canoe Journey: Following Traditional Protocol. Arriving at Tsawout First Nation. <https://youtu.be/hzA0eSaLDyE>
- Welcome songs. Protocols usually include a song of welcome to the visitors.

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- Coast Salish Welcome Song. Indigenous Tourism BC , 2014. <https://youtu.be/Zp3m7DFUSWc>
- Discuss the connections between traditional territorial protocols and the Territorial Acknowledgments we make today. For more activities about Territorial Acknowledgements, see Unit 1, page 60.
- Ask students to discuss, write or share orally a response to the question, “What are the benefits of having Protocols between First Nations?”

c. Defending Territories in the Past

Like all societies, conflicts sometimes arose over First Nations territories in the past. First Nations had diverse defensive strategies based on their geographical location. These included observation sites, defensive sites and forts, and also places of refuge for Elders, women and children during times of conflict.

This investigation will be most useful if there are identifiable defensive sites in your area, particularly if students can visit one or more of them, or there are pictures available. If there is little information about the local area, students could find out about defensive sites in other parts of the province.

- Find out about defensive and refuge sites in your region. If there are published or online resources available, students can research them. There may also be battle sites that are known. They may have special features that mark their place and help keep them in the collective memory. They likely have narratives connected with them.
For example, there is a landmark known as Balancing Rock in Secwépemc territory which resulted from warfare between the Secwépemc and the Okanagan. See *Secwépemc People, Land and Laws*, pages 301-304 for a Traditional Narrative about the feature. This source also includes other narratives about defending territories (pages 304-315)
- Students can find out the locations of the sites, if the information is readily available and can be shared. Alternatively, present the information to the class.
- One example of a defensive site is Gitwanga Battle Hill National Historic Site. It overlooks the Skeena River and played an important role in trade between the coast and the interior before contact. It was previously known as the Kitwanga Fort. Here are some resources for researching Gitwanga Battle Hill:
 - *Kitwanga Fort Report*, George F. MacDonald, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989. This report gives considerable information about warfare and defensive sites in northern BC, including Gitksan, Ts’msyen, Haida and Tlingit First Nations. There are descriptions of forts and some illustrations. A model of the Gitwanga fort is given on page 70 (PDF page 81). A map of a number of forts around the Skeena region is on page 10 (PDF page 21).
Online at <https://archive.org/details/kitwangafortrepo0000macd>. (Requires a free account to read.)
 - Parks Canada website: <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/lhn-nhs/bc/gitwanga/info>

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- Canadian Encyclopedia article: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/kitwanga-fort>
- There may be traditional narratives that describe defensive sites, or events when they were used. An example is the Ts'msyen maalsk "The Laxlikswa'nm Fortress of the Gitwilgyoots" in *Persistence and Change*, pages 22 to 27.

4. Remapping Indigenous Lives

Colonialism brought maps which both mapped First Peoples out of the landscape and used maps to clear them from their Traditional Territories onto tiny reserves.

Questions for Inquiry

- How did colonial mapmakers map out Indigenous lives with blank spaces?
- How did the forces of colonization use maps to redefine First Nations territories?

a. Terra Nullius

- Review or introduce the terms Terra Nullius and Doctrine of Discovery.
- Students can work in groups to find examples or evidence of ways that the concept of Terra Nullius was used in colonizing processes. Ask how the idea of Terra Nullius mapped First Peoples out of the land. (For example, it claimed that all "discovered" land was vacant and open for conquest.)
For resources, see:
 - "Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery." Assembly of First Nations, 2018. <https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/18-01-22-Dismantling-the-Doctrine-of-Discovery-EN.pdf>
 - "Christopher Columbus and the Doctrine of Discovery - 5 Things to Know." Indigenous Corporate Training, 2016. <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/christopher-columbus-and-the-doctrine-of-discovery-5-things-to-know>
 - "Indigenous Title and The Doctrine of Discovery," Indigenous Corporate Training, 2020. <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/indigenous-title-and-the-doctrine-of-discovery>
- Discuss how colonizers justified calling North America "vacant" when they arrived here. (For example, they interpreted the land as being unoccupied or unsettled according to their point of view. There didn't appear to be towns with roads and cultivated farms. They ignored the fact that people lived there and used all the land and resources.)
- Students can analyse the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action that refer specifically to Terra Nullius and the Doctrine of Discovery. See Calls 45, 46, 47 and 49.
 - Link to TRC Calls to Action: http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf

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b. Examining Pre-Emptors Maps

Students can examine an example of a pre-emptors map to see how First Nations presence on the land was virtually erased.

Background: At the same time as governments were mapping out small reserve lands of less than 10 acres for First Nations families, they gave the rights to immigrants who were British Subjects to acquire 160 acres of land for very little cost. This process is known as pre-emption, and those who took the land are pre-emptors. They were required to clear the land for farming, and pay a registration fee. Otherwise the land was free. In the early twentieth century, the BC Department of Lands produced maps to show pre-emptors the land that was available to them.

- Ask students to look at an example of a pre-emptors map from the Skeena River region of northern BC and compare it with a recent map showing Gitxsan House Group territories.
 - Bulkley Sheet 1915, pre-emptors map. <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/specialp/items/1.0229412#p0z-6r0f>:
 - Gitxsan map. <http://www.gitxsan.com/old/images/stories/PDFs/gitmap2.pdf>
 - Tip: To orient the two maps, find the Suskwa River on both maps.
- Have students predict, then use the legend to find out what the areas coloured in red represent. (Lands available for pre-emption.)
- Ask students to describe the main differences between the two maps.
- Students can examine two other pre-emptors maps:
 - Graham Island 1915 <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/specialp/items/1.0229452#p0z-2r0f>
 - New Westminster District and Vancouver Island 1912 Pre-emptors map. <https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/specialp/items/1.0229424#p0z-2r0f>
- Note that the information shown is slightly different on each map.
 - Bulkley Sheet, 1915. Land already claimed and subdivided into lots, shown by individual numbers. Indian reserves are similar to the lots, but labelled IR. All the red area is open for pre-emption.
 - Graham Island, 1915. Similar to Bulkley.
 - New Westminster District, 1912. Indian Reserves are in red; green areas are lands reserved for logging.

c. Local First Nations Resettling

Students can investigate how settlement patterns have changed for First Nation.

- Students can create a map, or more than one map, that shows the pre-contact Traditional Territory of the Nation, and the contemporary areas of settlement for the Nation. (Mapping for some First Nations may require more than two maps or layers if the history of resettlement is more complex.) Options for creating maps include:
 - Create a single map with labels to show different time periods.
 - Two maps, before contact and present day.
 - A physical or digital map with overlays.

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- Students can begin by mapping the Traditional Territory. They may have already created such a map in other Investigations, or have access to such a map. Indicate where people lived at different times of the year.
- Students then add or create a second map with the boundaries of the community and other areas of use today, such as fish camps.
- Discuss how the present main community site relates to the living spaces of the past. For example, is the present-day community in the same spot as a traditional winter village site?
- Students can research what forces and processes brought about the changes in settlement patterns for the local First Nation.
 - The settlement of some communities was influenced by the presence of a Hudson's Bay Company trading post or fort.
 - Most communities have a church connected with one dominant religious denomination (Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist/United). Students can find out what influence the church had on resettlement. For example, was the resettlement a result of influence by missionaries, or did the missionaries come to the village later?
 - For all First Nations, the creation of Indian Reserves was a major factor in the remapping of settlement patterns. Students can assess the extent to which the imposition of the reserves impacted the Nation. For some Nations, the reserves reflected some of the traditional settlement areas; others were forced to move away from their traditional settlement areas.

d. What Factors Led to the Remapping of Indigenous Lives?

Students can examine how Indigenous lives were remapped through colonization and industrialization. This includes settlement patterns and access to resources.

- Students can work in groups to identify some of the factors that brought about the remapping of First Nations lives. This can include where they live, how they access resources, and changes to the places where their social and ceremonial lives took place. Some major factors were:
 - Fur Trade. Some First Nations moved close trading posts for economic benefit.
 - Christianity. Some permanent settlements grew up around churches and schools.
 - Indian Residential Schools forced students to move away from their home communities.
 - Wage labour and the capitalist economy. People moved away from communities to get work. For many in the 19th and 20th century, this movement was often seasonal as they went to work in salmon canneries or hop farms. For others, moves were permanent to urban centres.
 - Railway construction.
 - Megaprojects such as building dams: Nechako, Peace River, Site C.
- Mapping Indian Residential School life. For another perspective on the remapping of Indigenous lives, students can examine a map of an Indian Residential School.
 - Students can view plans of St. George's Residential School near Lytton BC. See *Indian Residential Schools and Reconciliation*, Grade 5 book, pages 48 to 51.

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- Ask students to imagine what it would be like for children, often from the ages of 6 to 16, to have this small area as the map of their lives.
- Students can respond to the map using a Y-chart graphic organizer with the three sections labelled “Looks Like,” “Sounds Like,” and “Feels Like.”

5. Mapping First Nations Reserves

Students investigate how First Nations (Indian) Reserves were decided upon and mapped over time.


Students can engage in a research activity to find out the history of the reserves of a local First Nation. This will involve using on-line archival resources that give students an opportunity to use primary source materials including maps.


Questions for Inquiry

- How did the mapping of reserves take place?
- What different policies determined the size and location of reserves?
- How do reserves disrupt First Nations relationships to their Traditional Territories?

a. Background to Indian Reserves

- Assess students’ background knowledge about Indian Reserves. Ask them to discuss in written form or in groups, the question “How is a First Nations’ Territory different from its Indian Reserves?”
- Students can refer to the timeline on Line Master 8-2, page 276, *Mapping Indian Reserves in British Columbia Timeline* to see the time span of the creation and mapping of the reserves.
 - Ask students to give their general impressions of the reserve-making processes illustrated in the time line. (For example, it was a long process, there were different phases and government officials in charge, which suggests a diversity in ways that reserves were implemented.)
 - Ask students if they are familiar with any of the names of the government officials who were in charge of making reserves. (They may know about James Douglas and Joseph Trutch.)
- Students can read the information on Line Master 8-3, page 277, *Creating Indian Reserves in BC*, to learn more about the colonizing processes of creating and mapping reserves.
- Identify the reserves of the local First Nation or another First Nation that students are interested in. Classes in urban schools may wish to have groups of students research reserves of different communities in the region. You can provide the information, or have students find it out together. One source for the locations of the reserves connected with each First Nations is the First Nations Profiles page of the Government of Canada at <https://fnp-ppn.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/FNP/Main/Search/SearchFN.aspx>
 - Follow the links to find the First Nation or community name in the alphabetical list.

 Line Master 8-2, page 276, *Mapping Indian Reserves in British Columbia Timeline*

 Line Master 8-3, page 277, *Creating Indian Reserves in BC*


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- On the Nations' profile page, click the button "Reserves" under General Information. This takes you to a list of the reserves with their size and official information.
- Note that First Nations who have negotiated treaties no longer have Indian Reserves, so they are not listed on this site. If students wish to trace the historical reserves, they can use the McKenna-McBride Commission maps. See directions for using the Union of BC Indian Chiefs website in part 6c below.
- Have students locate the individual reserves on a map, or show them on a map you have prepared.
 - For First Nations community schools you may be able to get this information from the local First Nation government or treaty office.

b. Colonial Reserves

Students can investigate the processes that were followed for the creation of reserves in the Colonial period.

- Students can refer to the timeline on Line Master 8-2, page 276 to determine three different phases of the mapping of reserves in some parts of the province during Colonial times. (Douglas treaty reserves, James Douglas mainland reserves, Joseph Trutch cut-off reserves).
- Students can use the documents on Line Master 8-4, page 278 to study an example of how the colonial mapping of reserves was carried out. The documents relate to the mapping of reserves in the Fraser Valley. They illustrate the changes from the fairly generous allotment of reserve land in the Douglas period to the restrictive policies of Trutch.
 - Line Master 8-4, page 278, *Fraser Valley Reserves Under Douglas* is a report from the surveyor William McColl after he finished staking out the reserves as directed by Douglas, with a letter from government official Chartres Brew giving him instructions.
 - Line Master 8-5, page 279, *Lower Fraser River First Nations, 1867*, is a table which shows the size of the reserves mapped out by McColl in 1864, as well as other information gathered by Trutch in 1867.
 - Line Master 8-6, page 280, *Reducing Lower Fraser Reserves, 1867-1868*, includes parts of reports by Joseph Trutch after a visit to the Stó:lō communities between New Westminster and Harrison Lake, and HM Bell who surveyed the reduced reserves.
 - Line Master 8-7, page 281, *Matsqui First Nations Responses*, is from a letter to the colonial governor by the Matsqui First Nation.
 - Most of these excerpts are from the document *Papers Relating to Land Question*. Students interested in exploring further can read all the correspondence about the Lower Fraser River colonial reserves on pages 41 to 47. Direct link: <https://archive.org/details/papersconnectedw00britiala/page/40/mode/2up>
- Have students relate the dates of these documents to the timeline to see where they fit it.
- Ask students to read Line Master 8-4 to find evidence of the reserve-making policies under Governor James Douglas. (For example, they include "all lands claimed by the Indians"; "as much land as they wished"; reserves to be at least 100 acres; include any land that had been cleared and tilled, that is, farmed).

 Line Master 8-4, page 278, *Fraser Valley Reserves Under Douglas*

Line Master 8-5, page 279, *Lower Fraser River First Nations, 1867*

Line Master 8-6, page 280, *Reducing Lower Fraser Reserves, 1867-1868*

Line Master 8-7, page 281, *Matsqui First Nations Responses*

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- Students can refer to Line Master 8-5 to see the size of the reserves that McColl mapped out.
- Read with students the reports of Trutch and Bell on Line Master 8-6. You may need to discuss some vocabulary used in the reports.
 - Ask students to find evidence of the attitudes and perspectives of the colonial officials when dealing with the land issues.
 - Ask students, how did Trutch and Bell report the responses of the First Nations to having their reserves reduced? (For example, “There will be no difficulty in reducing them, with the full concurrence of the Indians”; “The Indians are ready to abide by and decision the Governor makes”; “all appeared perfectly satisfied with the reserves.”)
- Students can then read the responses of the Matsqui First Nation on Line Master 8-7. How do their attitudes and perspectives compare with those of the colonial officials?

c. Indian Reserve Commission

Use maps to compare the size of reserves with the Traditional Territories of a First Nations group.

- The local First Nations offices may have maps of their territories that show the Indian Reserves and the extent of their Traditional Territories.
- Topographical maps produced by the provincial government (1:50,000 scale) show Indian Reserves. If your library has these maps of the local regions, students could use them to identify reserve lands.
- Students can study historical maps for their region made at the time of the McKenna-McBride Commission in 1916. These maps show the reserves that were allocated at that time for all regions of the province. They indicate original reserves (made in the 1880s and 1890s), reserves added during the Royal Commission, and lands that were cut off from original reserves.
 - The maps are online at the Union of BC Indian Chiefs digital collection, *Our Homes Are Bleeding*. Find the map index at <http://ourhomesarebleeding.ubcic.bc.ca/>
 - Select the Agency covering your region at the time.
 - This will link to a series of maps. You may find maps for the local area, but it is best to look first at the Final Report Images for the agency (at the bottom of the list.)
- Students can view an online map that shows the reserves in the Coast Salish territories in the lower mainland. See the Digital Sq̓ewlets website, online at <https://tinyurl.com/fnesc906>.
- If you have access to volume 2 of the *Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada* (Royal Canadian Geographical Society, 2018), students can view maps of BC which illustrate the location of reserves in relationship to the home communities.
- Ask students to think about how forcing First Nations onto reserves impacted their lives. Have students work in groups to suggest as many ways as they can. Possible responses include:
 - loss of access to Traditional Territories and resources
 - loss of control and benefit from resources
 - changes in life styles, such as not being able to travel throughout their territories

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- changes in living accommodations, from traditional structures to European-style houses
- emotional reactions to being treated unfairly, such as alienation, anger, confusion

6. Political Borders

Colonization imposes hard political boundaries around different government-designated spaces, such as countries, provinces, municipalities and other regions. These have a variety of impacts on First Peoples.

Questions for Inquiry

- How have geo-political borders impacted First Peoples?

a. First Nations Spanning Borders

Students can investigate the impacts of the borders between Canada and the USA for First Peoples generally, and for specific First Nations.

- Have students work in small groups to predict how the international border may affect First Peoples today in ways that are different from other Canadians.
- Students can investigate the impact on First Nations who have territories on both sides of the border. They include:
 - Coast Salish
 - Okanagan
 - Sinixt
 - Ktunaxa
 - Nuu-chah-nulth / Makah
 - Haida
 - Ts'msyen
 - Tahltan
 - Tlingit
- Optional resources:
 - The “Really Real” Border and the Divided Salish Community. Bruce Miller. BC Studies No. 112 1996-97. <https://ojs.library.ubc.ca/index.php/bcstudies/article/view/1669/1714>
 - A Border without Guards: First Nations and the Enforcement of National Space. Benjamin Hoy. *Journal of the Canadian Historical Society*. <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1032842ar>
 - Homelands and Hearts, Split in Two. <https://thetyee.ca/News/2018/12/17/Indigenous-Communities-Immigration-Policies/>
- Students can investigate the implications of the Columbia River Treaty on First Nations lands and people. This could include the historical treaty in 1961, and the contemporary treaty, currently being negotiated in 2021.
- Jay Treaty. Students can explore the historical reasons for the Jay Treaty (officially known as Jay’s Treaty) and how it is applied today in Canada and the United States.
 - What is the Jay Treaty? How does it affect Indigenous people in Canada and the United States differently?

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- Students may be interested in reading about ceremonies that have been held celebrating the Jay Treaty. See the article “Annual Border Crossing Ceremony” in *The Native Voice*, August 1951, page 7. It describes such a ceremony held by the Six Nations Confederacy held at Niagara Falls. Online at <http://nativevoice.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/nv-1951v08.pdf>

b. Treaty 8

Examine issues facing members of Treaty 8 nations relating to crossing provincial boundaries.

- Review or explain Treaty 8 lands are crossed by borders, as they include British Columbia, Alberta and the Yukon.
- See Governance and Hunting and Trapping documents in *BC First Nations Land, Title, and Governance*. See the documents in Section 7, pages 229 to 233.

c. Border Issues Affecting First Peoples Today

Students can do further research to find out if there are other issues around hard borders for First Peoples today that can be explored?

- See, for example, this story from 2018: “U.S.-born Tsimshian woman fighting to stay in her First Nation’s traditional territory in Canada.”
 - <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/u-s-born-tsimshian-woman-fighting-to-stay-in-her-first-nation-s-traditional-territory-in-canada-1.4704477>

7. Contemporary Mapping by First Peoples

By the 1970s First Nations found they had to create maps to support their land claims in courts and later in treaty negotiations. Most First Nations have developed many maps documenting their presence on and uses of the land. Students can explore the purposes for creating such maps.

Teachers in public schools can connect with the District Indigenous Education Department for additional information and maps, and also for any protocols around the use of mapping information held by local First Nations.

Questions for Inquiry

How are maps used by First Peoples today?

a. Contemporary Indigenous Maps

- Have students work together to find examples of different types of maps made and used by First Peoples. Where possible, start with maps by local First Nations. Students can begin by looking at First Nations websites.
- Students can identify the purposes of these maps.
- If possible, students with connections with a First Nation community may be able to visit a treaty office or resource management office to see maps and how they are used.
- Teachers in public schools may be able to connect with the District

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Indigenous Education Department for additional maps and information.

- For an example, see Tsawout Marine Use Study. Report prepared by Peter Evans, Beth Keats, and Dave King, Trailmark Systems and Consulting, May 1, 2015. See maps on pages 20 to 27.
 - <https://www.acee.gc.ca/050/documents/p80054/130289E.pdf>
- Here is an example of how digital maps have been used to illustrate different aspects of Territory.
 - Traditional territory flyover tour, Ditidaht First Nation website. <https://www.nitinaht.com/first-nation>. Scroll down to the “Traditional territory flyover tour.”
- Discuss the question: What dangers might there be in making maps public?

b. Overlap in Territorial Jurisdictions Today

Students can investigate issues surrounding the overlap of Traditional Territories.

- How does the requirement or need to draw maps of territories for treaty (or other reasons) cause conflict?
- How does the purpose of maps cause conflict?

c. Create a Local Indigenous Map

Students can work as a class or in groups to create maps that highlight some significant aspects of local First Nations and other First Peoples’ cultures. Here are some suggestions that can be used on their own, or incorporated into one map.

Note: It is important to be aware of local protocols when discussing, locating or accessing sites within the territory of a First Nation.

- Significant Sites Commemoration Project. Students can respond to the TRC Call to Action that refers to the responsibility for “commemoration.”

TRC Call to Action 68: We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, and the Canadian Museums Association to mark the 150th anniversary of Canadian Confederation in 2017 by establishing a dedicated national funding program for commemoration projects on the theme of reconciliation.

 - Discuss what types of sites in your area should be commemorated and why.
- Hidden Geographies. Much of the geography of First Peoples is unknown to the general public. We may be walking through an ancient village site or driving along the route of an old trading trail. Students could engage in a mapping activity that illustrates the stories and events of the past. Ask questions such as:
 - What places are there in your community that people pass by without recognizing their significance?
 - How can we make aspects of BC First Nations territory visible? e.g. sites of ancient villages; burial sites; monuments such as burial mounds that are ignored

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- Create a map or other visual representation of the local region that brings to life both the visible and invisible Indigenous stories of the past and present.

8. Give Back, Carry Forward

Students reflect on the important things they have learned in this unit, and consider how they can give back and carry their learning forward.

Refer to the Major Project outline, page 51.

a. What Did You Learn?

Students can consider these questions:

- What is one new thing you learned in this unit that you would consider a gift?
- What is one thing growing out of your learning that you can take action on?
- What are some new things you learned about where you live?
- What did you learn about yourself?

b. Documenting learning

- Students can discuss or share ideas for documenting their learning.
 - Students can begin to come up with ways that they can showcase their learning in this course, while connecting to both “giving back” and “carry forward” what they have learned.

Perspectives on Traditional Boundaries

Boundaries between territories were looked upon very seriously by the old-time Ditidaht and their neighbours. Sometimes these boundaries were noted by large boulders on the beach or by points of land.

<https://www.nitinaht.com/first-nation/our-history-culture/>

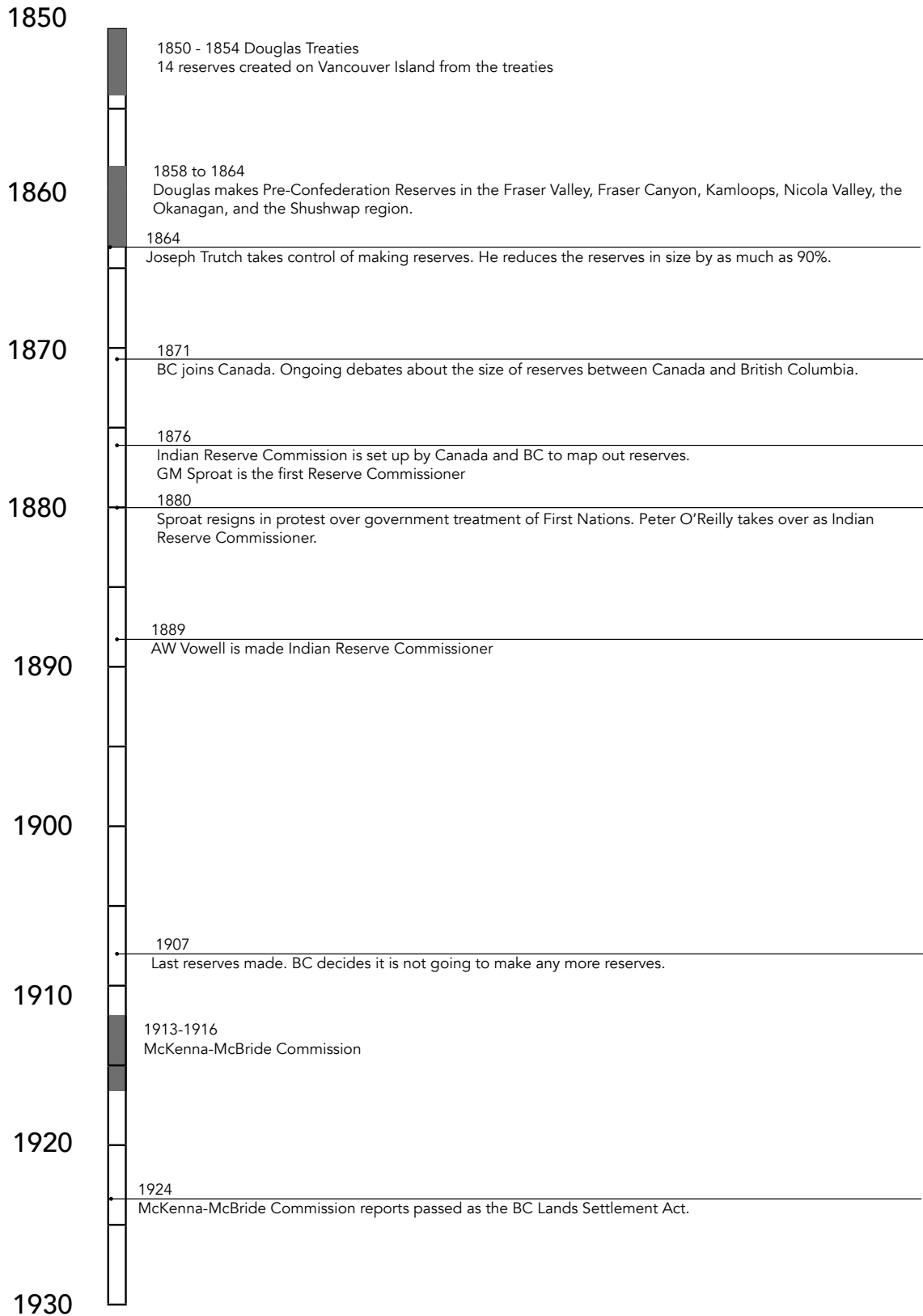
[The first Europeans to visit the BC interior] found the people of each tribe supreme in their own territory, and having tribal boundaries known and recognized by all. The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch (belonging to all the people of the tribe) from which they gathered their food and clothing, etc.

Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia.
Presented at Kamloops, 25th August, 1910 (Wilfred Laurier Memorial)

Sometimes, the end of one family's or band's Traditional Territory and the start of another's was marked by a huge boulder or a cliff. Other times, a bend in the river itself referenced a boundary, even though there is no word for boundary in the Ojibwa language. There is no word for map either. There was only ever the land.

Richard Wagamese. First Nations Face Border Struggles, Canadian Geographic, 2010

Mapping Indian Reserves in British Columbia Timeline



Creating Indian Reserves in BC

A common practice in many colonized countries was to set aside certain lands specifically for its Indigenous peoples. This happened in British Columbia, beginning in colonial times around settled areas.

Colonial Reserves, 1849 to 1871

At first, the size of the reserves allocated to First Nations under Governor James Douglas were relatively large, though only a fraction of the size of their Traditional Territories.

Then in 1864 Joseph Trutch became in charge of Indian Reserves for the colony. His policies were very restrictive, and he cut back the Douglas reserves. The new reserves he made were very small.

Post-Confederation Reserves, 1871 to 1912

After BC joined Confederation in 1871, officials worked to allocate Indian Reserves for all First Nations throughout the province. There were two main periods of reserve creation.

Original Reserves were made between 1876 and 1907. The Indian Reserve Commission was set up to systematically select and map out reserves lands in most parts of the province.

Not surprisingly, First Nations protested being forced to live on reserves, while at the same time their Indigenous Title was denied. When the surveyors hammered their corner posts into the ground to marking out the reserve boundaries, sometimes First Nations people pulled them out in protest.

First Nations made numerous presentations to the federal and provincial governments, explaining the injustices of the land policies. The large issue of resolving land issues became known as the "Indian Question."

McKenna-McBride Commission, 1912 to 1924

To try to bring some resolution to the land question, Canada and BC created the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. This became known as the McKenna-McBride Commission. Dr. J.A.J. McKenna was the special commissioner of Indian Affairs in British Columbia appointed by Canada, and Richard McBride was the premier of B.C.

The commission, made up of federal and provincial appointees (and no First Nations representatives) travelled to every First Nations community in B.C. Their goal was to ascertain the amount of land they thought each First Nation needed. However, most Nations

wanted to talk about Indigenous Title, not reserves. This the commissioners were forbidden to discuss.

Some First Nations refused to meet with the Commission until they dealt with Indigenous Title. Thus, in many cases it was the Indian Agent or a missionary who suggested additional reserves to be added.

New Reserves were added, but some original reserves were "cut-off" and given back to the province.

Disputes arose because, while the Federal government was responsible for managing "Indian" lands, Indian Reserves would have to come out of provincially controlled land. The province enforced a paltry allocation of acres per person compared with the rest of Canada.

Today most First Nations have their main community on the principal reserve for their Band. In some cases this is an ancestral village site, while in others they settled in a new spot within their Traditional Territories.

Most Bands or First Nations also have additional reserve lands that were created at fishing or other harvesting sites.

In most of the rest of Canada, Indigenous title was recognized by treaties to surrender their lands. However, the British Columbia government consistently refused to acknowledge Indigenous Rights and Title. Reserves were established with little consultation or compensation.

Being forced to live on reserves caused huge disruptions for First Nations communities. Most Nations had seasonal harvesting patterns that took them around large areas of their Traditional Territories. Under the Indian Act they had to set up permanent villages in one location, and build European styled homes.

There were many restrictions around who could live on a reserve – only registered Indians who were members of the Band – and even when people could leave the reserve.

It is important to note that Reserves are not the same as Traditional Territories. Reserves are tiny parcels of land, sometimes called "postage stamp" sized plots of land.

Territories are all the land that a First Nations has used and cared for over many generations. Also note that reserves are not the same as reservations, which is the term used in the USA.

Fraser Valley Reserves Under Douglas

Mr. William McColl's Report.

New Westminster,
16th May, 1864.

SIR,—In accordance with Mr. Brew's instructions of the 6th April, I have completed the staking off of the reserves alluded to in that document, (herewith returned).

I beg to inform you that, in addition to the written instructions, I had further verbal orders given to me by Sir James Douglas, to the effect that all lands claimed by the Indians were to be included in the reserve; the Indians were to have as much land as they wished, and in no case to lay off a reserve under 100 acres. The reserves have been laid off accordingly. (See the accompanying diagram).

I also beg to inform you that I have laid off more reserves than what was originally intended when the instructions were written.

List marked A was handed to me by Sir James Douglas, and contained all the names of the reserves that were to be laid off; but afterwards documents B, C, and D were sent, 'giving a considerable larger amount of work than what was expected at first.

This explanation is given to shew cause why the work was so much longer in hand than what was expected, one month being allowed. The work was one month and eleven days in hand. This I leave for your consideration.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) Wm. McColl.

ENCLOSURES.

Instructions to Mr. McColl.

Mr. William McColl will proceed forthwith to mark out Indian Reserves around the different Indian Villages on the Fraser River, between New Westminster and Harrison River, wherever reserves have not yet been declared and defined. He will also mark as Indian Reserves, any ground which has been cleared and tilled for years by the Indians.

Mr. McColl will mark out with corner and intermediate posts, whatsoever land the Indians claim as theirs; and at any Indian Village where the quantity of land demanded by the Indians is not equal to ten acres for each family, Mr. McColl will enlarge the reserve to that extent. Each grown man to be considered the head of a family.

Mr. McColl will be allowed a month to execute this task.

Surveyor General's Office,
New Westminster, 6th April, 1864. (Signed) C. BREW.

Lower Fraser River First Nations, 1867

ENCLOSURE.

Statement of the numbers in the Indian tribes on the Lower Fraser, visited by Mr. Trutch and Captain Ball, on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th November, 1867.

Initial letter on plan	Name of the Tribe.	No. of Acres laid of by Mr. McColl.	No. of men in the tribe.	No. of women in the tribe.	No. of children in the tribe.	Number of cattle, horses, pigs, etc., belonging to the tribe.
A	Whonock	2000	13	14	9	3 cattle, 12 pigs.
B	Saamoqua	500	9	5		6 cattle, 3 horses, 5 pigs.
C	Matzqui	9600	22	25	24	12 pigs.
D	Tlalt-whaas	2000	Not visited.			
E	Sumass (Upper)	1200	8	12	14	21 horses, 12 pigs.
F	Sumass (Lower)	6400	22	39	39	1 cow, 3 horses, 16 pigs.
G	Nicksamen	6400	Not visited.			
H	Iswhy	300	13	11	15	Some pigs.
I	Isqubay	3200	33	23	33	5 cattle and some pigs.
J	Koquaa-plit	400	8	8	7	6 cattle, 1 horse, & some pigs.
K	Iswaya-aayla	1000	11	12	11	9 cattle, 1 horse, & some pigs.
L	Assay-litch	400	4	4	2	Some pigs.
M	Yuke-youqua-yoose-sockale.....	2500	Not visited.			
N	So-why-lee.....	4000	Not visited.			

Reducing Lower Fraser Reserves, 1867-1868

In August 1867, Joseph Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands for the colony, visited the Stó:lō communities along the Fraser River where McColl had marked out reserves. This is part of his report to the colonial government from November 19, 1867,

I am satisfied, as the result of our reconnaissance, that those reserves are in almost every instance too extensive, and in some cases extravagantly so, but that there will be no practical difficulty in reducing them, with the full concurrence of the Indians themselves, within much narrower limits.

The Indians generally, and indeed without exception as far as we could ascertain, are ready to abide by any decision the Governor may make as to the extent of land to be reserved for their use.

They do not seem opposed to relinquishing portions of the lands which, since McColl's surveys, they have been led to consider as set apart for them. They are only anxious to retain their villages and potato patches and such moderate extents of land around them as may be finally reserved by Government for them.

They express themselves, however, as much aggrieved at the appropriation by white settlers of portions of the lands which they have hitherto considered as intended for the Indians alone, evidently regarding such settlements as unauthorized intrusions on their rights.

I took occasion at each village, to inform the Indians that McColl had no authority for laying off the excessive amounts of land included by him in these reserves, and that his action in this respect was entirely disavowed, but that the Governor would direct that such amounts of land should be secured to the use of each tribe as he should determine to be proportionate to their numbers and requirements, and that next spring these reserves would be definitely staked off, and maps of the same given to each Chief, so that the boundaries thereof should be clearly understood.

I also impressed upon them that such lands would not be their property to sell or convey away in any manner, but would be held in trust by the Government for their use as long as they continued to live upon them, and free from all intrusion either of white people or Indians of other tribes.

The next year Trutch sent H. M. Ball and B. W. Pearse to survey the reserves. This is Ball's report of their work.

Mr. Ball to Governor Seymour.

Yale, October 17th, 1868.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that according to instructions I proceeded in company with Assistant Surveyor-General Pearse, to the Harrison, Chilliwack, and Sumass Rivers, to define and adjust the Indian Reserves situated in that neighbourhood and some others on the Lower Fraser.

The number of reserves visited amounted in all to fourteen, all of which, with one exception, were reduced, and portions of land (averaging ten acres to each adult) allotted proportioned to the size and requirements of the different Indian villages.

We experienced no trouble with the Indians when the proposal of the reductions was made, and all appeared perfectly satisfied with the reserves laid out for them, as every regard was paid to ensure the enclosure of the ground they had previously cultivated. A great anxiety existed amongst most of the villages to have a final settlement of the limits of their land made, more particularly where the reserves were surrounded by white settlers.

Several hundreds of acres of good agricultural and pasture land have consequently been thrown open for pre-emption, which has hitherto been locked up and unused by white settlers, in consequence of its forming part of the large reserves allotted to the different villages in 1864.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

H. M. BALL.

Matsqui First Nation Responses

By 1866, First Nations could see that the changes the colonial government was bringing in were going to be disastrous for them. That year, First Nations leaders from Lytton, the Fraser Valley and coastal areas met in New Westminster to present Governor Seymour a petition. Among other things, they were protesting the reduction in the size of their reserves that was rumoured to be happening. Their petition included this statement:

The white men tell us many things about taking our lands: our hearts become sick. We wish to say to Governor Seymour: Please protect our lands*

They had some hope that the Governor would protect their lands. Previously he had stated, “There is plenty of land here for both white men and Indians. You shall not be disturbed in your reserves.”

However, Governor Seymour did not protect their lands. Trutch and others convinced Seymour and the colonial government that the Fraser Valley Reserves were too big, and took action to reduce them. As a result, the Matsqui Reserve was reduced from 9600 acres to just 80 acres. The Matsqui First Nation quickly protested this action, and in December, 1868 delivered a petition to Governor Seymour protesting the reduction of the reserve.

Some days ago two men arrived at our village and told us that they had to measure our land; these men to the greatest sorrow of your memorialists, instead of including in our small reservation the dry land where we have our potatoes and our Grave yard situated but a few acres from our houses, insisted to have the line of our Reservation running into the marsh adjoining where the water stays the greater part of the year, and where it is impossible for us to raise our potatoes or anything else. ... It is ... in confidence, that in these days of sorrow we send this paper to your Excellency praying that you may be good enough to remove the cause of our grief.†

Governor Seymour stayed in the memory of the Stó:lō through their Oral Traditions. “Si:mo” (as Seymour is pronounced by the Stó:lō) is remembered as someone who broke promises. Even into the twenty-first century he was remembered as “Wel qel mestiyexw,” meaning “a bad person.”

Stó:lō Elder Mathilda Gutierrez in 2001:

Si:mo’: I used to hear my granddad talk about Si:mo. They didn’t say Seymour, they said Si:mo ... Wel qel mestiyexw, that’s all he said, qel mestiyexw, means a bad person, I guess cause he wasn’t keeping his promise for them.‡

* Petition from Indian Chiefs to Colonial Secretary, February 19, 1867. Petition is an enclosure in Gov. Seymour to Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon, Feb 19, 1867, BCA, C. O/27.

† Petition from the Matsqui Tribe to Governor Seymour, December 6, 1868, BC Archives, GR 1372, File 503/2.

‡ Jody Wood, The Crown’s Promise. Stó:lō Nation Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, 2001, page 5.

