THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN AN URBAN OVERSEAS CHINESE COMMUNITY

by

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B.A., University of Nevada, 1970

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology

ACCEPTED
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEAN

DATE 17 Apr/73

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

April 1973

ABSTRACT

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This study has attempted to analyse the economic base of an urban Chinese community in Victoria, British Columbia, from its earliest beginnings in 1858 until 1947. Two groupings, merchants and service occupations have been delineated and described through time using the results of both field-work and document research.

The problem was to determine the nature and extent of the economic enterprises included within these groupings, their relationship to the social context of cultural contact in which they functioned and the resultant effect of this context in terms of economic adaptation, diversification and overall change.

From the data it was apparent that both merchant and service activities went through a period of development, expanding in the number of both businesses and personnel involved during a period of increasing social stress between the Chinese community and the host society. This also coincided with intense organizational and associational activity within the Chinese community.

Diversification is apparent in both types of activity during this period as merchant and service personnel seek to maximize gain in their separate market areas. Adaptation is manifested as merchants manipulated assets and invested in economic enterprises relying on the host community as clientele.

This is primarily manifested through large investment in intensive agricultural activity, through purchase of land and the establishment of greenhouses. The variables effecting this change reflect the preferable socio-economic position of the merchant. The service occupations, on the other hand, had expanded in proportion to the demand for various goods and services within the host community. They provided a situation of contact, minimal capital investment and lower incomes. When the merchants diversified their interest to incorporate the same market area, they became reliant on the host community as clientele but faced competition from the same in a situation where they had no established mechanisms for contact. By 1947 there were relatively few Chinese remaining in the traditional merchant activity and minimal numbers of service businesses. The exceptions were the development of localized retail and wholesale produce redistribution outlets and restaurants, which provided economic enterprises for numerous Chinese families. Some were those related to segments of the traditional merchant group who had moved into intensive agriculture, and others consisted of those involved in the higher income activities of the service group.

Notably the Exclusion Act and changing aspects of mainland China effectively necessitated the readjustment of the clientele on which the Chinese merchant had depended. Similarily, those employed in service occupations had no incoming personnel to replenish their numbers and relatively little chance for adaptation with a lower socio-economic

position and a declining demand for their goods and services.

In conclusion the social environment of the overseas Chinese community in Victoria forced varying degrees of economic adaptation and diversification, manifested by utilization of the host community's economic system as the only means of subsistence, in the very area from which the host society had sought relentlessly to remove the presence of Chinese economic activity.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of the information included in this thesis is solely the result of many Chinese people who have shared their lives, knowledge and time with me. I am particularly indebted to the Chinese students and Mr. Chan Chee, secretary of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the Principal of the Chinese Public School who have maintained a constant interest in my research going out of their way to provide suggestions and introduce me to others whom I asked to meet. I wish to thank Mr. Lee Dung-hoy and Mr. Wong Wah-yup, both of whom spent many patient hours discussing the history and development of the Chinese community in Victoria. Particular thanks are due Mr. Lee Wan-fung who shared my inquisitiveness, tolerated my ignorance and spent many hours in interviews and translating documents kindly lent me by the CCBA. I am also grateful to the many other people in the Chinese community who extended their friendship and hospitality answering my numerous questions.

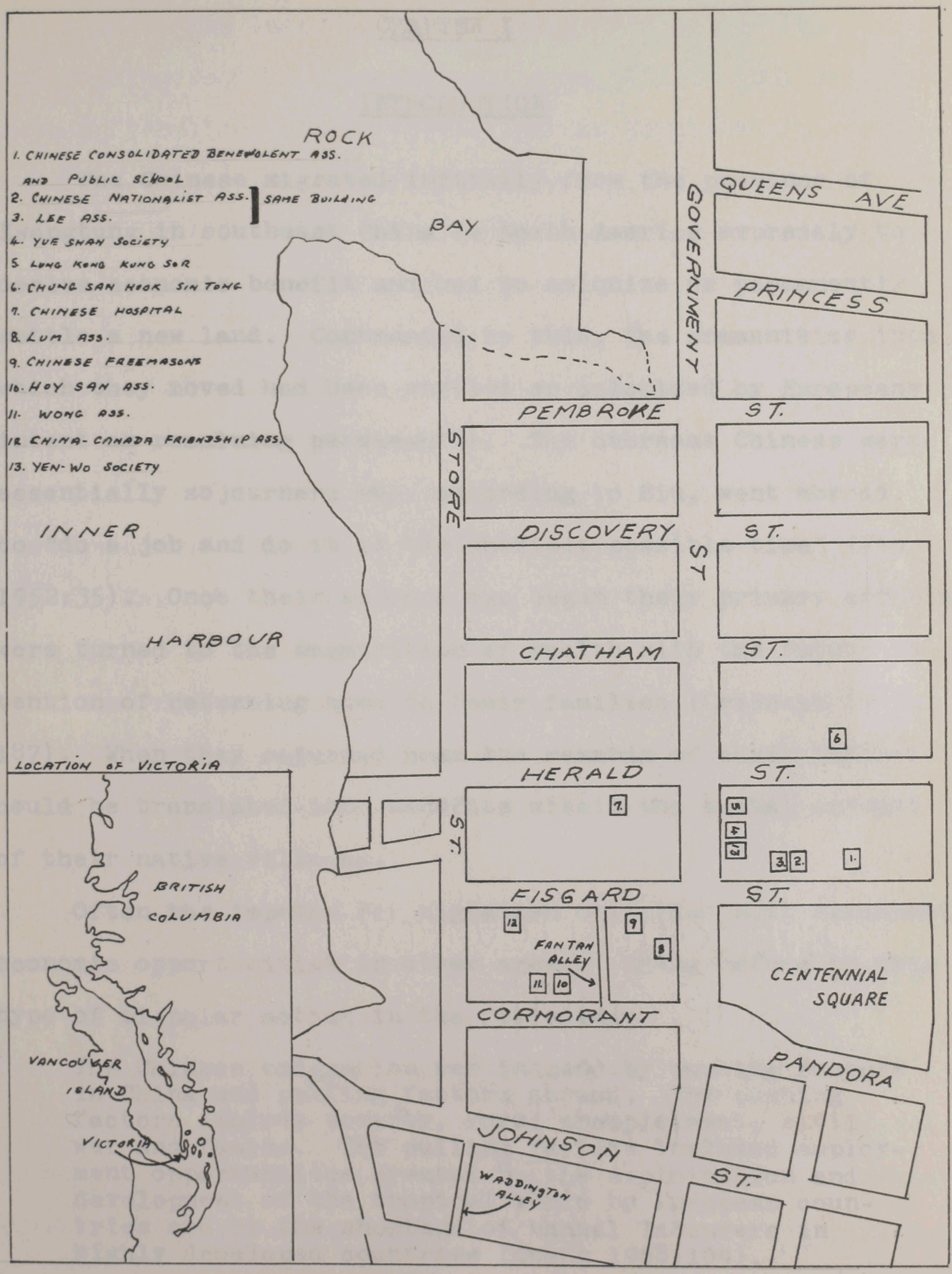
I also wish to express my appreciation to Dr. David Stevenson who introduced me to Dr. William E. Willmott of the University of British Columbia. Dr. Willmott's research on the Chinese in British Columbia provided invaluable background material and his enthusiasm and interest have helped me immeasurably. To other members of my committee I extend special thanks, Dr. William Alkire for his patience and extensive editorial assistance and Dr. David Lai for sharing the knowledge gained from his own research in the community.

Finally, a special thanks to all my friends for their perpetual interest and encouragement.

None of the people mentioned above are responsible for the thesis in final form, I alone taking the responsibility for errors in facts and the opinions which are expressed.

MAP 1

GENERAL AREA OF THE VICTORIA CHINATOWN AND THE LOCATION OF SEVERAL ASSOCIATIONS



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese migrated initially from the province of Kwangtung in southeast China to North America expressly to derive economic benefit and not to colonize or permanently settle a new land. Contrasted to this, the communities into which they moved had been settled or colonized by Europeans intent on remaining permanently. The overseas Chinese were essentially sojourners who, according to Siu, went abroad to "do a job and do it in the shortest possible time" (Siu 1952:35). Once their sojourn was begun their primary efforts were turned to the acquisition of wealth with the future intention of returning home to their families (Crissman 1967: 187). When they returned home the rewards of their labours could be translated into benefits within the social context of their native villages.

Often the impetus for migration coincided with favourable economic opportunities in other areas. Chang refers to this type of bi-polar action in the following:

> The Chinese emigration was induced by pushing factors in China and pulling factors abroad. The pushing factors include poverty, rural unemployment, civil war and famine. The pulling factors included employment opportunities created by the exploitation and development of the tropical world by European countries and by the shortage of manual labourers in highly developed countries (Chang 1968:104).

A secondary dimension of this push-pull action can be shown to induce further migration, the result of which was the establishment of a Chinese community in Victoria, British Columbia in the late 1850's and early 1860's. At this time two pushing factors were active. From 1851 to 1864 the Taiping Rebellion caused turmoil in the southeastern part of mainland China. This resulted in famine and the displacement of many rural Chinese, apparently inducing much of the population movement to the large coastal urban centers (Lyman 1970:73). Contemporaneously, in California considerable antagonism had developed against increasing numbers of Chinese competing on the labour market (Wynne 1964:9-12). Further north gold was discovered on the Fraser River, which was to prove a considerable enticement to many ethnic groups including the Chinese and American residents of the Pacific States.

In May 1858 Ah Hong, a business scout in the employment of a San Francisco Chinese merchant, reported favourably on the existing economic opportunities present in the interior of British Columbia. While in British Columbia he had been offered a job as a cook for $20 a day including board (Cheng 1931:35). His report appeared in the Daily Globe of San Francisco on May 16, 1858; by June 30th of the same year an article entitled 'A Pioneer Chinaman' appeared in the Victoria Gazette, not only announcing the arrival of the Chinese, but also speculating on his probable economic activity. Within the article the author managed to establish an economic stereotype as he added that, "Doubtless ere long the familiar

interrogation of 'Wantee Washee'? will be added to our every day conversational vocabulary" (Victoria Gazette 1858:June 30).[1] The 'Chinaman', 'Celestial', 'John', and 'Citizen of the Flowery Kingdom' as the article referred to them, was now an integral part of Victoria.

In the years between 1858 and 1947, a Chinese community of considerable size and importance developed in Victoria within a particular context and with a number of identifiable characteristics. The context included a situation of cultural contact where an ethnic minority co-resided with a dominant host community opposed to its presence and continued existence. This opposition was manifested by anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation which originated in Victoria by the 1860's, and became national in scope by 1880.

The identifiable characteristics of the Victoria Chinese community were similar to other North American Chinese communities as summarized by Lyman in the following:

> . . . the Chinese in Canada and the United States present an instance of unusually persistent social isolation and preservation of Old World values and institutions. To the present day a great many Chinese work, play, eat and sleep in the Chinese ghettos known throughout North America as "Chinatowns" (Lyman 1968:52).

Furthermore Lyman maintains:

> Except for a small but powerful merchant elite the Chinese began and remained as wage labourers. First employed in the arduous and menial tasks of mining and railroad building, the Chinese later gravitated

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[1] Hereafter reference to the Victoria Gazette will be abbreviated V.G.

> into unskilled, clerical and service work inside the Chinese community. Such work necessitated living in cities or returning to cities when unemployment drove the contract labourers to seek new jobs. The city always meant the Chinese quarter, a ghetto set aside for Chinese in which their special needs could be met and by which the white population could segregate itself from them (Lyman 1968:63).

Generally, the social and economic characteristics outlined by Lyman are applicable to the historic development of the Chinese community in Victoria in the period from 1858 to 1947. In reference to this study, however, I shall attempt to expand on this basic description by tracing in detail the development of the community in question with particular emphasis on a number of economic enterprises and occupations by which an urban Chinese population has attempted to provide for its needs. To facilitate this discussion, I shall consider economic activities under two groupings according to a general distinction made by Lyman (previously quoted) which include a number of occupations related to overseas Chinese in North America as specified by various authors including Willmott (1970:43-44), Chang (1968:104-106), Barnett (1960:41-43), and Siu (1964:429-442).

For the purpose of this thesis these specific groupings will be referred to as merchant and service occupations. The merchant group consisted of retail traders, opium manufacturers, export and import houses, curio shops and those involved in intensive agriculture. The service group consisted of laundries, tailors, restaurants, domestic cooks, vegetable peddlers and small farmers.

The criteria for the distinction between the groups are twofold: 1) the amount of capital invested and the return for this investment or wages and 2) the specific clientele on which each group depended.

These criteria define the personnel and activities of each group as they developed in the context of the Chinese community and in relation to the host community. Merchants occupied a higher socio-economic position in the Victoria Chinese community and provided goods and services for a Chinese clientele. In contrast, those involved in the service occupations generally occupied a lower socio-economic position in the Chinese community and provided goods and services for the host community.

Since these occupational groupings relate to two social environments, further discussion must be premised upon an understanding of each environment and the relationships between them. Based on this, it follows that an analysis of the relationship between the host and Chinese community is prerequisite to an understanding of the development of the Chinese community, and further that, an analysis of the economic base of the Chinese community is fundamental to an understanding of its social structure.

This approach complies with that of Firth, who has maintained that "economic organization is a type of social action", furthermore that it "is set in a social framework (involving) relations between persons and between groups, expressed in different conceptual ways and with different emphasis, as

values, symbols, rules of conduct, patterns of behavior" (Firth 1951:123-124).

In the present study, therefore, any change in the social structure of the Chinese community in Victoria is viewed as a product of two variables: 1) the economic base of the Chinese community and 2) the relationship of the Chinese community to the host society. Noting the effect of these two variables, this thesis will describe the development and change of a number of merchant and service activities and their relationship to the parallel development of the social environments in which each occurred.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY MERCHANTS AND THE DEVELOPING OCCUPATIONS 1858-1865

The Background

By the summer of 1858 and within a period of six weeks Victoria had been transformed, according to Ormsby, from a "quiet English village" economically dependent on the Hudson Bay Company to a "busy commercial centre" financed largely by American capital (Ormsby 1958:141). Many years later Gosnell described the economic status of the crown colony:

> . . . Vancouver Island then 1856 had only about two hundred settlers, mostly servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, or its auxilliary the Puget Sound Agricultural Company; and Victoria itself was only a stockaded fort (Gosnell 1913:1).

Within the six weeks to which Ormsby referred, 200 stores had been built, and the value of prime waterfront property had gone from $50 and $75 to $1,500 and $3,000 a lot (Ormsby 1958: 141).

In these early years the general economic tenure of Victoria was one of extensive trade involving large risks. Commission merchants were plentiful, buying goods on consignment and shipping them to the interior on the condition that they would receive reimbursement. Often, according to Helmcken,[2]

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[2] Dr. John S. Helmcken came to Victoria in 1850 with the Hudson's Bay Company, was elected to the first legislature in 1856 and was speaker until 1871 (Wynne 1964:134).

they took unbusiness-like risks, sometimes receiving no money for goods shipped (to the interior) (Helmcken 1892:212).

In 1862, Civil War was under way in the United States and Helmcken states that even then some Americans came to Canada to avoid the war (Helmcken 1892:212). From 1858 to 1862, six million dollars worth of gold was exported from Victoria, and three and one half million dollars worth of goods were imported, only a half-million-worth from England. In 1863 Helmcken stated that prior to then Victoria had been a place of Free Trade, which in his opinion was good for Commission Agents, middlemen and foreigners, but not for the general public. Business had been run recklessly, and no attempt had been made to establish manufacturing enterprises or farming except by a few who continually grumbled about their situation. Apparently, the business was so dependent on the gold fields that any slight set back caused consternation as it had done in 1860 when many merchants and miners had left British Columbia (Helmcken 1892:219-247).

The Early Chinese Merchants

In July of 1858 the first recorded investment by Chinese merchants in the Victoria area had been noted with the purchase of 6 lots at Esquimalt. The prices of the lots (30' x 100') ranged from $675 to $1450 and were sold mainly to Ah Sou,[3] "a well known Chinese merchant of San Francisco, who has been here some weeks, and who . . . is making arrangements

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[3] The use of 'Ah' preceding a Chinese name was a common practice by Anglo-Canadians and continued to be used in the Victoria Directory till shortly after 1877, disappearing

to facilitate a heavy immigration of his countrymen to the new El Dorado of the North" (V.G. 1858:July 14).

By 1860 the first confirmed Chinese merchant, Lee Chong, was established in Victoria with the founding of Kwong Lee & Co. Lee Chong had come from San Francisco alone but was probably preceded by partners who had surveyed the economic prospects. In January of the same year Lee Chong received his first publicity, as he had interceded on behalf of one of his countrymen accused of selling liquor to an Indian during the New Year celebration in Chinatown. Lee Chong, referred to as a "well known and respectable commission merchant", explained the law to the man in question and also, no doubt, why this violation cost the defendant $20 (British Colonist 1860:Jan. 27).

Towards the middle of April, Lee Chong received his first shipment of goods directly from Hong Kong. The Norwegian ship 'Hebe', after 62 days at sea, arrived in Victoria on April 18th. She carried 255 Chinese passengers, the first of a number that were to arrive directly from China, and $11,669 worth of Chinese goods,[4] all consigned to the Kwong Lee Co. of Lee Chong. According to the newspaper, most of

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completely by 1882. According to data collected, the Chinese use of the 'Ah' is acceptable in instances where the person may only have one given name and a surname. The absence of the second given name is remedied by the insertion of 'Ah'.

[4] The goods included mats of rice [sic], cigars, medicine wine, salted turnips, assorted beans, dried ducks, Chinese eggs, pickles, cabbage, dried vegetables, dried ginger, vermicelli, fried and dried fish, yams, soy, chestnuts, brick, building material, rattan, tobacco, matting, hats, chop sticks, and dominoes (British Colonist 1860:April 28).

the 255 passengers were also under the care of Kwong Lee Co. and took up residence in the neighborhood of Pandora and Cormorant Streets (British Colonist 1860:April 28).[5]

On May 3, 1860 the 'Red Rover' arrived, 45 days from China with 350 Chinese passengers and 3074 packages of merchandise that included 847 packets of rice for Lee Chong (Kwong Lee Co.), 20 packages of merchandise for Hee Hong and the remainder for unknown destinations (V.G. 1860:May 3).

By the following week it appears that most of the new arrivals had purchased their necessary hardware and were already on their way to the mines, for on May 8th the British Colonist, quoting 'knowing ones', said that "500 Chinamen left $10,000 with the merchants in this town last week" (Br. Col. 1860:May 8). I suspect that during this period prior to the establishment of many Chinese firms most of the needs of the Chinese miners were supplied by Anglo-Canadian or American merchants. This amount of business, $20 per man on the average, probably provided considerable stimulus for other merchants to leave San Francisco, which would account for the continued steady expansion of Chinese merchant interests in Victoria. Not only would they benefit from trade upon the arrival of Chinese men, but they would also receive part of the miner's benefits when he returned to winter in Victoria. Some of the merchants apparently functioned as informal banks, since Chinese merchants often went into the mine fields,

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[5]Hereafter reference to the British Colonist will be abbreviated Br. Col.

returning to Victoria with considerable dust (Br. Col. 1860: Jan. 28). In later years it is known that merchants undertook transactions of a financial nature for clients wishing to send money home, thus performing needed communications with the host community (Personal Communication).[6] The Chinese merchant was an economic middleman, representing his clients in the host community and in their homeland.

Through the summer of 1860 many Chinese arrived in Victoria, 160 from San Francisco on May 16, an additional 68 on the 'Lawson' from China on June 11, and 722 on two ships that arrived June 23 (V.G. 1860:May 16, June 11, June 23). The passengers of the 'Lawson' were also under the care of Lee Chong. When the boat arrived it had only 68 out of an expected 280 passengers, and Lee Chong was quick to question the whereabouts of the others. The explanation lay in a storm that had forced the ship back to Hong Kong, resulting in the disembarkation of the missing passengers (Per. Comm.). Of the other two ships that arrived from China, only one carried cargo, 300 tons of goods probably consigned to Kwong Lee Co. since Lee Chong had taken the responsibility for the passengers. Also, he had informed the newspaper on May 31st 1860 of the impending boat arrivals, when they had left China and how many passengers they carried. These functional lines of communication between China, San Francisco and Victoria obviously benefitted the continued success of Chinese business

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6 Personal Communication refers to data obtained in interviews with Chinese residents of Victoria and in future will be abbreviated to Per. Comm.

enterprises.

In May 1861 the City of Victoria passed a trade Licence Act which required each business to pay a certain tax in accordance with the assessment of their business activity. Of all the businesses listed there were only four owned by Chinese: three merchant companies and one restaurant. The assessed value of their business amounted to a total of £8,250.0.0, paying an annual tax of £22.0.0. Lee Chong's company did the best business, which would be predictable in terms of his presence in the community since 1858. One other notable point about this announcement, posted on the front page of the local newspaper, was the concentration of Chinese merchant activity within a specific geographical area. Through time there is some evidence to support trade-specific areas for Chinese businesses, primarily the merchant companies, who have tended to cluster together more than other economic activities.

The property owned by early Chinese residents is a little hard to ascertain, but the Victoria District Assessment Roll for 1861 indicates at least 24 lots valued at £3,012.0.0 belonging to Chinese people. Three of these lots were registered to Chang Tsoo, whose name had been mentioned somewhat casually in an article dated July 30, 1858:

> From a sign which appears in our streets however it may be presumed that John is among us, as it bears the euphonius and suggestive legend, Chang Tsoo.
> (V.G. 1858, July 30)

In 1861 these three lots belonging to Chang Tsoo were assessed at £345.0.0 and in 1862 at $4,000. The evident dual currency

system in Victoria at the time makes it a little hard to ascertain the significance of the assessment. Eight of the lots were registered to agents functioning for the Kwong Lee Co., two other lots were purchased by Lin Wo, apparently for an Anglo. Li Hing owned 10 lots valued at £1565.0.0 and the Yan Woo Sang Co., one of the merchants on Cormorant Street, owned the lot assessed at £60.0.0. The total tax paid to the city by these Chinese property owners amounted to £30.2.4., plus £18.16.6 due under the Victoria Street Act and £22.0.0 due under the Trades Licenses Act, the total amounting to £70.18.10.

In 1862 the business situation appears to have remained fairly constant until July, when the Trade Licence Taxes were published in the newspaper. The number of Chinese businesses had almost tripled with the addition of three traders, a doctor, an apothecary, a washerman and a fruiterer. The original merchant trade seems to have declined in terms of the assessed value, with the exception of Lee Chong's Kwong Lee Co., which had doubled their business, now being assessed at £6,500.0.0.

<u>The Development of the Service Occupations</u>

As the Chinese merchant established his business in Victoria benefitting from the movement of his fellow countrymen and their need for supplies, so other Chinese people began to fill various economic occupations. These individuals were not bound by ambition to large business ventures nor equipped in terms of available capital to undertake them.

Instead, they chose occupations which required minimal capital investment and the presence of a community which needed their services. The Chinese laundry was the first of such services to appear followed by others that depended both on the host community and the presence of other Chinese.

In July 1858, the following newspaper report was published, ". . . John Chinaman, with fine and huge boilers, was engaged busily in the 'art restorative' of soiled linen" (Br. Col. 1858:July 30). As to the financial investment of the laundryman we know little from this period except for an 1862 business assessment of £93.00.00 and an incident surrounding a counterfeit charge lodged against a Chinese laundryman who had purchased a box of soap for $4.50 offering a $5 piece which was suspect. The case went to court and the laundryman was acquitted owing to lack of evidence, and interestingly enough the laundryman was supported by character witnesses from both the Chinese and white communities (Br. Col. 1858:Sept. 10).

On February 13, 1860, Quong Sing advertised his Sacramento House on Waddinton Alley, board and lodging $7 and meals 50 cents (V.G. 1860:Feb. 13). This business, according to the Victoria Business Directories of later years, operated under the same management until at least 1874.

In the spring of 1861 the Chinese were reportedly drying fish at Rock Bay in Victoria, preparing it for sale in the gold fields during the summer (Br. Col. 1861:February). In much the same fashion one elderly Chinese couple still drys kelp on the sunny part of a city sidewalk today.

By 1863 the Chinese began to fill other occupations in Victoria with at least some overt encouragement from the host community. At this time Americans arriving in Victoria from the United States were sending to San Francisco for Chinese domestic servants (Helmcken 1892:217). This no doubt resulted in increased demand by the rest of the Victoria community, as witnessed by the fact that the Helmcken family was unable to procure such services until 1866 (Helmcken 1892: 217).

From the foregoing we can see several variations on service activity, each dependent on various segments of the surrounding community. The laundry and the domestic cooks necessarily depended on the host society's demand for their services, while the restaurant and hotel depended on both the host and Chinese community. Drying fish, however, was primary production dependent on an extended market area beyond Victoria. Of particular significance is the fact that the first three functions necessitated contact with the host community, which at this early date generated a definite reaction against the presence of the Chinese.

Anti-Chinese Reaction

On March 5, 1860, a meeting was held at the Assembly Hall in Victoria. Most of the discussion had to do with existing taxes and the need for revenue, but two proposals were brought forward which united, in the minds of those present, the state of the colony and the presence of the Chinese. It was suggested by one member that a poll tax be placed on the

Chinese entering the colony and by another that a $100 head tax be imposed. The motions met with varied responses, some more definitive than others, but the issue had now entered the political arena, and it was to remain there for many years to come. The news of the meeting spread, and along with five Anglo-Canadian gentlemen who carried the resolutions of the meeting to the Governor went Lee Chong and two other Chinese residents, who expressed considerable apprehension about rumours of a head tax (Br. Col. 1860:March 8). The Governor assured his Chinese audience that he neither could nor would impose such a tax on the Chinese (Br. Col. 1860:March 8).

In August, five Chinese merchants visited Governor Douglas in Victoria with a petition to reduce the duty on Chinese 'medicated' wines imported into British Columbia (Br. Col. 1860:Aug. 11). At that time the duty on such wine was $3 a case, the same as brandy, but the merchants maintained that its worth did not exceed $2.50 a case. The reply to this request was somewhat negative, since Governor Douglas could not see why such wine was any more necessary to the Chinese than brandy was to the white man (Br. Col. 1860:Aug. 11).

The matter of liquor was again to come to the forefront in October, when a Chinese man was arrested for selling liquor to an Indian. This time Lee Chong apparently did not intercede, and the defendant was fined $10. The judge also informed the defendant that failure to pay would result in two months with the chain-gang and the loss of his queue (Br. Col.

1860:Oct. 10). This incident was one of the last publicized about the Chinese in Victoria until the spring of 1861.

With the approach of winter it was estimated that 1,125 of the some 4,000 Chinese in British Columbia had left, some returning to California, others leaving for China. The accepted passage fare to California at this time was in dispute. On October 12, some 200 Chinese gentlemen, desiring to embark at Esquimalt for San Francisco, refused to pay the demanded $20 per head passage fee to the shipping agent. Instead they offered to pay only $15 each. The negotiations, such as they were, resulted in the delay of the boat for half an hour to the exasperation of the steamboat men and the final decision by the would-be passengers to charter their own boat the next day (Br. Col. 1860:Oct. 12). Their objection was not unreasonable, since in the previous year Chinese desiring passage to China could procure it for $25, although under questionable conditions.

In summary, both the merchant and service categories as they relate to the Victoria Chinese community are seen to have a very early origin. The first Chinese merchants in Victoria came from San Francisco, where they already had set up businesses dealing in the redistribution of imported goods from China. According to Willmott, it was a natural business expansion to extend their activities northward to exploit the presence of an expanding market area (Willmott 1970:43). Shortly after this expansion we note that they tended to establish direct contact with China, importing a large amount of food-

stuffs which could be distributed to incoming countrymen for whom they shared responsibility.

The merchant, in a sense, ensured the presence of his own market community by establishing a symbiotic relationship with his own countrymen who arrived and who in turn spent a portion of their income purchasing goods from the merchant.

Furthermore, we see the merchant becoming a very early representative of his immediate community in contact with the host society in which he attempted to protect his vested interests, including affairs of trade and the local Chinese people. In terms of social status, he achieved a high position, not only in his own community, but also in the eyes of the host community, since he participated in a profession producing trade and legitimate revenue. He was a middleman in trade, functioning between the homeland and the overseas Chinese, and in social status, functioning between the overseas Chinese and the host community.

Those involved in service activities, however, are from this time dependent almost entirely on the host community as their market area. There is a tendency for those in service activities to become residents of the Chinese community, as they were less likely to be mobile in terms of job requirements. In this sense they provided a more stable market for the goods of the merchant.

In the next period, beginning in the 1860's, we see some changes, both in the nature of the Chinese community and in the surrounding economic milieu.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW MERCHANTS AND THE RISE OF THE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS 1865-1880

Historical Context

In 1865 there were 1500 buildings in Victoria including five churches and ". . . 85 licensed drinking houses many of which are in addition brothels and gambling houses" (Vic. Dir. 1863:5, Ormsby 1958:216). The total population of Victoria was 6,000, which included an unknown number of Chinese (Vic. Dir. 1863:5, Ormsby 1958:216). The town was incorporated in the same year, with a mayor and six councillors, and the Directory's introduction concluded that it had been a good year for Victoria (Vic. Dir. 1863:5, Ormsby 1958:216).

The economic boom did not last. By 1865 the sellers' market had dwindled, but the supply was plentiful (Br. Col. 1865:June 19). According to Ormsby, bad business practices and political problems hampered the island communities, which supposedly were the fault of the new Governor's policies (Ormsby 1958:213-14).

In 1866 two significant occurrences, partially related, befell the western colonies. On November 19, 1866, the Colony of British Columbia with a debt of $1,002,983 and the Colony of Vancouver Island with a debt of $293,698 united, in Ormsby's opinion because of economic necessity (Ormsby 1958:219-221).

A partial cause of this economic distress, was the depletion in the returns from the gold fields.

In 1865 the Kootenay mining fields had appeared productive, and the Chinese wasted no time in buying claims. Within a single week of that year, for example, 1185 Chinese had arrived from Hong Kong and moved into the Kootenays (Wynne 1964:140). In the fall, news returned to Victoria that the Chinese had bought a drive of cattle for $6,000 and were buying out merchants, butchers and bakers (Br. Col. 1866: November 15). The fate of these many Chinese who moved into the Kootenays is unknown, but the increase in the numbers of Chinese service enterprises in Victoria, as seen in the Victoria Directory of 1868, suggests many were moving into the city.

Some important changes in both the Chinese community of Victoria and their relationship to the host community occurred between 1866 and 1868 which it might be well to summarize at this point. In general, this period marks the decline of intensive gold mining in British Columbia. It also marks a time of flux in the political status of the colony as it underwent the relocation of the capital from New Westminster to Victoria after 1869 and changed from a Colony to part of the Dominion in 1871. Ultimately this changed the economic situation in Victoria from one dependent on wholesale shipping to one more dependent on production for local consumption. This transition provided a demand for labour, which from most reports was in a continual shortage during this period.

Either the lucrative business of retail and wholesale trade in the previous years had spoiled the population, or the labour was just unavailable. In any case, this economic change affected the Chinese population. Although many remained in the gold fields, an increasing number made the transition to urban life, hoping to profit from the economic changeover which was a necessary prerequisite for the province's existence.

Evidence of this change can be seen in the newspaper articles of the day. From 1858 to 1866, the newspapers, somewhat with tongue-in-cheek, had impartially presented news of the Chinese, and these early articles show a degree of understanding between host and Chinese communities in Victoria. After 1866 the tenor changed, and the Chinese community was no longer seen by the host community as made up of respectable merchants, helpful domestic cooks, and industrious peddlers, but rather masses of labourers competing with and usurping the vested interests of the Anglo community.

In 1865 the House of Assembly witnessed a proposal for a head tax on the Chinese (Br. Col. 1865:May 18), and the Victoria docks were the scene of the first anti-Chinese riot in British Columbia (Br. Col. 1865:August 15).

Following this period the Chinese population in Victoria increased from 211 in 1871 to 2,915 in 1901. This was not a steady increase but one with fluctuations from 1880 to 1884 (See Appendix I). The fluctuations can be explained by the need for Chinese labour on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, since in British Columbia the construction of the railroad

commenced in 1881 and was completed in 1886, probably drawing on some of the Victoria Chinese for the labour force. In 1881, 2 ships brought 2,000 Chinese 'coolies', of whom one-tenth died either before landing or shortly after (Ormsby 1958:281). Final estimates reported that 6,000 Chinese were imported for the railroad, with the result that opposition to the Chinese developed rapidly in Victoria. It is during these years that we see the most intense attempts to initiate legislation against the Chinese (Report 1885:84). Davis and Krauter noted that "Between 1878 and 1899, no fewer than 26 statutes were passed by the provincial legislature. . . most of which were voted against or declared 'ultra vires' by the courts" (1971:62). This intense attention to the presence of Orientals also extended to the Federal Government under the influence of British Columbia's persistent legislators.

In August 1878 two pieces of legislation were passed by the Provincial legislature. The first prohibited the employment of Chinese on public works and the second levied a license of $40 per annum on every Chinese over 12 years old. The latter was called "An Act to Provide for the Better Collection of Provincial Taxes from Chinese" (Statutes of the Province of British Columbia 1878: Ch. 38). Further, the Chinese Tax Act, as it was called, provided that employers of Chinese labour were under obligation to furnish lists of their Chinese employees to ensure payment of the tax. The employer would keep the licence. Failure to comply would result in a $100 fine for the employer and a compulsory 11 hours a day on the road works

of Victoria for the Chinese labourer, who would then have to contribute 50 cents a day towards the tax (Wynne 1964:166).

According to Wynne the British Colonist newspaper felt that the bill would be defeated in Ottawa and that in fact it was contradictory, refusing employment to Chinese on public works and then forcing them to do it (Wynne 1964:167). The Chinese merchants in Victoria submitted a petition to the Secretary of State on August 30th, 1878. They maintained that all Chinese over 18 already contributed considerable revenue and that it was discriminatory particularly against the Chinese both rich and poor, some of whom were British Subjects (Wynne 1964:168). The bill went to the Supreme Court of British Columbia, where it was declared illegal, but not before certain other events took place in Victoria.

On September 17, 1878 the British Colonist reported:

> A total suspension of business amongst every class of Chinese in the City commenced yesterday. The stores throughout Chinatown were closed, the merchants refusing to sell goods to any white person, and laundrymen relinquishing their daily occupation; the wagons of vegetable peddlers ceased to run and cooks deserted the posts hitherto filled by them in restaurants and private dwelling houses. The employees of the Belmont Boot and Shoe Factory and those of other establishments declined to go to work. . . (Br. Col. 1878:Sept. 12).

One Chinese domestic cook recommended to his employer that he should ask "Mister Walkem to sweep out his house, Jim Lummond to black his boots and Mister Beaven to scrub the floor, polish the stove and clean the fish for dinner" (Br. Col. 1878:Sept. 12). It was obvious that the Chinese community knew exactly who had initiated the legislation:

all three gentlemen were directly responsible.

This action had resulted from three events which intimidated all segments of the Victoria Chinese community. In the early days of September a Mr. Shakespeare set out to collect the new tax from the Chinese community. He visited wash houses, cigar manufacturers and merchants with no success. Some suggested that he should first collect the tax from the wealthy employers of Chinese (specifically the Belmont Boot and Shoe Factory), and another handed Mr. Shakespeare his business card referring Mr. Shakespeare to his solicitor (Br. Col. 1878:September 11). A Chinese fisherman offered to pay the tax in fish (Br. Col. 1878:September 11).

The second event occurred in September when the newspaper reported the dismissal of a Chinese man employed at the local lunatic asylum. The man was not paid wages due him and he objected strenuously. Finally he received his wages but not before his employer had subtracted the $10 tax (Br. Col. 1878: September 12). The third event was the seizure of Chinese goods from the Tai Soong Company by Mr. J. Maguire, collector of the Chinese tax. The exact date of this action is unknown, but the Tai Soong Company was not one to tolerate this action and immediately engaged Messrs. Drake, Jackson and A. R. Robertson, Esq., Q. C., to commence legal action against the collector (Br. Col. 1878:September 18 and 28).

On September 28, 1878, the Chinese Tax Act was officially disallowed by the Federal Government, and arrangement was made soon after to make a settlement with the Tai Soong Company

(Br. Col. 1878:September 28).

During and following the problems in Victoria, the British Columbia legislators continued their appeals to the Federal government, sending long lists of grievances that outlined objections to the Chinese (Wynne 1964:346). The objections, however, were met with little response, (according to Wynne), since the promised railroad required labour and the Chinese people were the most likely to supply it (Wynne 1964:348). Two reports, however, were forthcoming. The first report was made up of interviews conducted in Ottawa. This took place in 1879, and only four of the interviews relating directly to the Victoria Chinese community. Of those consulted, there were two provincial Senators, one Member of Parliament and one stage-coach driver, all of whom expressed personal opinions about the Chinese in Victoria and British Columbia but only in a limited sense. No mention was made of Chinese merchants but only of those employed in service activities or manufacturing who, in their opinion, were respectable and useful persons. Most of the other remarks included opposition to the employment of Chinese labour on the railroad.

The second report was an attempt to gather specific information about the Victoria Chinese community by the Provincial Government, probably to aid in their appeals to the Federal Government, although they do not seem to be presented in any of the federal documents.

Unfortunately, both reports failed to consult any Chinese

people and are further suspect because of the bias that surrounded their production. However, they do serve to indicate changes within the community, and I think can be used to some benefit.

Merchant Activity and Personnel

During the 1860's a number of things happened in reference to the Chinese merchants in Victoria. Of importance was the withdrawal of Lee Chong, the owner of the Kwong Lee Company, from Victoria after only five years. In August of 1865 he sold his interest in the company to Loo Chuck Fan, who had been a partner for some time according to the Victoria Assessment Records. Lee Chong, according to one Chinese source, returned to take an official position in the government of China (Per. Comm.). When he left Victoria he took his wife and two children with him, all of whom had been in Victoria since 1859 after coming from San Francisco (Per. Comm.).

The estimated worth of Kwong Lee Company at the time Lee Chong sold his interest is undetermined, but it must have been fairly extensive. In June 1865 the company had imported 50 tons of rice and 50 tons of Chinese merchandise from Hong Kong (Br. Col. 1865:June 19).

In the following years there was no increase in the number of Chinese merchant companies until 1871. In this year four are listed in the Directory, with the Kwong Lee Company having four partners. However, at this time there are several other Chinese stores, at least four grocery and four general stores, which are not classed in the importer and merchant

category (Victoria Directory 1871).[7] This seems to substantiate the beginning of merchant activity more dependent on a local community, since at this time the Victoria Chinese community consisted of 211 people, 181 males and 30 females (Vic. Dir. 1871). I would speculate that in the intervening years between 1865 and 1871, with the decline in the gold-mining business, the possible yield to Victoria merchants would have also declined. Although imported goods must have come through Victoria, it would appear to have been more profitable to redistribute them directly to the mainland and if possible to establish subsidiary retail outlets there rather than in Victoria.

By 1874 there was still no change in merchant activity with even fewer businesses listed than in 1871, but the Chinese population had increased to 493 people, 40 of which were females (Vic. Dir. 1874:1). It is not until 1878 that the number of merchant businesses noticeably increases, with 14 listed in the Directory (Guide to the Province of British Columbia 1878). It is hard to ascertain the reason for this relatively inactive time except that it was a generally poor period economically for the new province. It appears from all information gathered that the promise of the railroad construction provided the same impetus for merchant expansion as the gold field prosperity had done years before. Again the merchants appear to have come from San Francisco and later

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[7] Hereafter reference to the Victoria Directory will be abbreviated Vic. Dir.

from Portland, where one in particular had already made contracts with white employers to provide Chinese labour for the railroad. Contemporaneous with this increase in merchant activity there was also a large increase in the Chinese population of Victoria, to 2,370 from the 493 previously noted (See Appendix I). From this it may be reasoned that the increase in urban Chinese, the promising general economic situation and the possibility of a greater number of incoming Chinese probably all tempted the initiation of merchant activity in Victoria. The hope for international trade might also be added. One other inducement involves the production of opium, which will be dealt with in a later section.

In terms of the types of companies formed, I would assume that most were partnerships, although knowledge of only a few has been gathered. Of these, one company consisted of two brothers, with an extended background of merchant activity in Australia, South Africa and San Francisco before they arrived in Victoria (Per. Comm.). Another company consisted of two unrelated partners both from San Francisco, but it is not known if they had been in business together in the United States (Per. Comm.). Of the two merchants that came from Portland, neither had partners, but both had companies already operating in Hong Kong at the time they came to Victoria (Per. Comm.).

Location

The geographical location of Chinese export and import merchants tended to be on one street within one block except

for subsidiary merchants and grocers who had moved one block north to Fisgard Street. However, this is only the case for 1871 and subsequent listings of the businesses do not verify this move. Unfortunately, records are not available to show investment in property or buildings in the late 1870's, so I can only speculate that such investment remained much the same as in previous years.

In summary, merchant activity in these years is indicative of several trends. Primarily there were companies that appeared larger than others, which imported and redistributed goods to their fellow countrymen who for the most part were mobile, moving to the mainland. Initially the goods were purchased in Victoria and carried with each person (Per. Comm.). The goods included food and other necessary equipment. After this the merchants, at least in one case, extended their trade network with the establishment of subsidiary companies on the mainland. The case in point is the Kwong Lee Company, which established a branch in Barkerville (Per. Comm.).

Between 1871 and 1874, however, there were an increasing number of Chinese people that remained in Victoria constituting what might be called a community, and it is during this time that additional stores appeared in Victoria. These, I believe, can be differentiated from the former in that they depend on a local Chinese community for clientele.

With the advent of railroad construction in British Columbia and the consequent importation of Chinese labour, another group of merchants was attracted to Victoria. These merchants

included not only those involved in import and export of goods but also some who functioned as labour contractors. These individuals came from Portland, where they had already made contact with Andrew Onderdonk, a major contractor for the Canadian Pacific Railroad who already had experience with Chinese labour in the United States (Per. Comm.). More will be said in later chapters concerning this situation, but it may be noted here that these merchants were different from those of the Kwong Lee Company mentioned in Chapter I.

Briefly, the Chinese merchants depended on three distinguishable groups of their fellow countrymen: those moving into the mainland, those resident in Victoria and those taking up residence on the mainland. When any one of these groups increased in number there was a notable expansion in merchant activity, especially among those who acted as middlemen between China and the labour market in British Columbia.

Role of the Chinese Merchant

The social role of the merchant continued unchanged until the late 1860's and early 70's. Two situations illustrate the changes in role that then occurred. The first is provided by the Chinese merchants of Victoria upon the occasion of the arrival in April, 1864, of A. E. Kennedy, the new Governor of the Colony. The Chinese merchants greeted Kennedy with the following proclamation:

> Us Chinese men greeting The Excellency in first degree Arthur Kennedy. We in first rank country name Vancouver with hangers on to it. All us here be dwelling at Victoria, the Island and Columbia British, much wish to show kind of dutiful loyalty to this Kingdom Mother Victoria Queen, for much square and

> and equal Kingdom rule of us. Just now most humbly offer much joined minds of compliments to Thee Excellency Governor Kennedy on stepping on this land of Vancouver, that thee be no longer in danger of Typhoon, us much delighted. Us be here from year 1858, and count over two thousand Chinese. Chinese country men much like that so few of us have been chastised for breaking Kingdom rule. This Kingdom rule very different from China. Chinese mind feel very much devoted to Victoria Queen, for the protection and distributive rule of him old Governor Sir James Douglas, so reverse California ruling when applied to us Chinese country men. Us believing success will come in obeying rules not breaking links, holding on what is right and true. In trading hope is good and look out large, big prospects for time to come. Us like this no change place, see it will grow higher and higher; will see a Canton will be in Victoria of this Pacific. The maritime enterprizes, will add up wonderfully and come quick. Chinese has silks, tea, rice, sugar, etc. Here is lumber, coals and minerals in return and fish as exhaustless supply which no other land can surpass . . . and trust our California neighbour may not exercise prejudice to our grief.
>
> signed: Tai Soong Co. - Tong Kee
> Yan Woo Sang Co. - Chang Tsoo
> Kwong Lee and Co. - Lee Chong & Tong Fat
> (Br. Col. 1864:April 5).

The Governor, in his reply to this, promised in the name of the Queen and the Imperial Government that the Chinese would be protected in their lives and prosperity. He praised their knowledge of business and suggested they be obedient to the laws if they wished to be protected by them (Br. Col. 1864: April 5). Unfortunately, this piece of diplomacy on the part of the merchants had few of the desired effects for that larger corpus of the Chinese population that needed the favourable treatment.

Just months after the above address was given the first anti-Chinese riot took place at the docks of Victoria, as several Chinese men bound for the Bear Creek Diggings were

forcibly removed from the boat (Br. Col. 1865:August 15). Several years later, legislation was passed which not only taxed the Chinese but restricted their employment. Further conflict followed which has already been covered, so it suffices here to indicate the reaction of the Chinese merchants. On September 22, 1878 they published the following notice in the Victoria newspaper:

> Editor Colonist: Many persons think that we, the Chinese merchants of Victoria, have made the servants, cooks and others give up their places in consequence of Mr. Walkem wanting some of their money to go to the foot of the Throne with. Now, Mr. Editor, we beg to assure you that we have not had anything to do with this matter, and all persons who wish to resume their work can do so as we are concerned. The question of tax will be before the Court soon, and we think justice will be done.
>
> Signed:
>
> Kwong Lee & Co.
> Tai Soong & Co.
> Tai Chong & Co.
> Hie Lee
> Tai Yune & Co.
> Wing Chung & Co.
>
> (Br. Col. 1878:September 12).

This raises some interesting questions. If indeed the Chinese merchants had direct control over those fellow countrymen employed in at least the domestic cook occupation, then it would seem only natural that their influence would extend along those lines. If, however, there were clear lines of social status within the Chinese community, then such an announcement would clearly delineate them. It is obvious that the merchant's lines of communication extended far beyond the Victoria community, not only in trade as already mentioned, but also in matters concerning their vested interest or position in Victoria. In November 1878 the merchants

sent a petition to Kou Lung Too, the Chinese ambassador to Great Britain, protesting their treatment (Wynne 1964:169). Obviously the merchants were aware of international relations, their affect on trade and politics and the possibility of legislation jeapordizing these relations for them and for the governments concerned. In this light the merchants apparently did not want to accept the responsibility for actions that might appear irresponsible to either the Chinese or British governments.

Service Activities and Personnel

In the years under consideration the service occupations fluctuated considerably, as indicated in Table I.

TABLE I

Service Occupations and Businesses of the Chinese in Victoria 1868-1878

	1868	1871	1874	1878
Laundry	14	5	6	14
Tailors	1	-	1	2
Wood and Charcoal Dealers	8	6	-	-
Fishermen	3	1	-	-
Cooks and Restaurants	2	5*	2	4
Barbers	-	3	-	-
Shoemakers	-	-	1	2
Cigar Manufacturers	-	2	4**	-
Market Gardeners	1	11	-	-

* Indicates cooks, although their place of employment is unknown
** One of these is also listed as an employment agent
\- Indicates an absence of information

Source: Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide, 1868-1880.

The absence of consistent information, however, makes these statistics suspect, and they serve only to indicate the diversity of enterprises engaged in. In most of the cases, including laundries, wood and charcoal dealers and market gardeners, single names are listed, which would tend to suggest individual enterprises, especially considering the smaller population in earlier years. Many of these occupations, excluding the market gardening, were winter-time employment for men who returned from the gold fields after at least five or six months.

In 1880, with the substantial beginnings of the Chinese community in Victoria, considerable change is evident especially the high increase in those employed in service occupations. This is seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Occupations of the Chinese in Victoria, 1880

Miners and Fishermen	1,100*
Doctors	3
Washermen	100
Tailors	60
Cooks and Servants	400
Gardeners	100
Cigar Makers in Factories	21
Cigar Sellers (2 Stores)	6
Wood Yards Employing	15
Wood Cutters in City and Suburbs	80
Peddlers in City	20
Shoemakers	52
Barbers	20
Trading Sloop	3
Schooner Carrying Cord Wood	4
Other Businesses Including Lodging Houses and Restaurants	316

TABLE 2 (Continued)

TOTAL 2,300

* ". . . miners and fishermen scatter over different parts of the country in spring (Report 1880:2).

Source: Report 1880, handwritten, 2 pp.

Of particular interest in discussing these figures is the fact that they were gathered during the winter months when many Chinese returned to Victoria and apparently took up employment in trades that related to winter needs on the part of both Chinese and host populations. Based on this, I would speculate that approximately 1,195 of the Chinese people listed would still be mobile and not resident in Victoria during the summer months. With this assumption, just under half of the population given in Table 3 would actually constitute the Chinese community resident in Victoria, most of whom were employed by the host community.

TABLE 3

Principle Occupations and Sex of the Chinese Community in Victoria, 1880

Category	Male	Female	Total
Workers	1,716	60	1,776
Merchants	32*		32
Service	548		548
Other	4	10	14
Total	2,300	70	2,370

* This is an estimated figure based on the number of Chinese merchants in 1884 and 1902.

Source: Report: 1880: 1-2.

Those involved in merchant and service enterprises were employed almost all year and were the most consistent contributors to the economy of both the host and Chinese communities, while the remaining half returned in the winter to contribute. Many of those who returned, however, remained idle (Per. Comm.).

In Tables 4 and 5 further information is given, including the tax paid by the Chinese and the estimated earnings. Again it must be noted that the merchant is conspicuously absent and, further, that miners and fishermen would probably not be employed year round, resulting in a lower income than those employed in Victoria.

TABLE 4

Probable Earnings of the Chinese for Some Occupations, 1880

Miners and Fishermen	$25 to $30/month
Washermen	$3/week
Tailors	$1 to $1.25/day
Cooks and Servants	$8 to $30/month
Gardeners	$1/day
Cigar Makers in Factories	$500/year (Clear of expenses)
Wood Yards employing	.60 cents/day
Wood Cutters in City and Suburbs	.75 cents/day
Shoemakers	$15 to $20/month

Source: Report sent to the Honorable J.B. Humphries, Provincial Secretary at James Bay, 1880, Feb. 14:1-2.

TABLE 5

Total Tax Contributed by the Chinese in Victoria, 1880

Provincial School Tax	$ 1,146.00
Provincial Land Tax	233.00
Municipal Road Tax	474.00
Municipal Land Tax	141.50
Total	$ 1,994.50

Source: Report sent to the Honorable J.B. Humphries, Provincial Secretary at James Bay, 1880, Feb. 14:3.

The Chinese females listed in Table 3 supposedly included 60 females of ill repute and 10 'others' of which we know nothing. It is possible that the latter were wives of merchants, since it is quite likely that merchants who had come from the States already had their wives with them, similar to the case of Lee Chong.

To shed further light on the service trades, each will be discussed separately in terms of its expansion and the various aspects relating to it.

The Chinese Restaurant

In 1866 one of the last more personal reflections of Chinese business involved the bankruptcy declared by a Chinese restaurant owner, Lee Sing. Attempts to obtain more information about this restaurant from the local Chinese community have been without success. The significant point in presenting the contents of this article is related to the clientele that were responsible for the $542.00 debt, which on the basis of 1860 figures amounts to 1,084 meals. The debt as specified

in the paper and included in Table 6 was for meals and apparently attributable to the members of the host society, since no Chinese names are present.

TABLE 6

Debts Owed to a Chinese Restaurant Owner in Victoria, 1860

A Butcher owes	$ 18.00
Captain of Schooner	50.00
Cook in Ship's Galley	8.00
Red Shirt Man	27.00
Man Come Late	10.00
Cap Man	8.50
Lean Man White Man	20.00
Fat Frenchman	30.62
Captain Tall Man	20.00
French Old Man	8.00
Whiskey Man	18.37
Blacksmith	39.00
Barkeeper	5.00
Workman	10.00
Workman Friend	6.50
Little Shirt Man	10.00
Double Blanket Man first	15.00
Lame Leg Man	40.00
Fat Man	9.25
Old Workman	7.50
Red Whiskers	18.50
Indian Joe	10.00
Lick Make Coal Shovel	25.00
Ya Yap Earing	25.00
Flour Pantaloon Man	16.00
Shoremaker, gone to California	15.00
A Man Butcher's Friend	39.00
Stable Man	15.00
Get Tight Man	7.50
	$ 542.00

This was the content of a claim filed at the Registrar's Office at James Bay for collection (Br. Col. 1866:January 1).

Some Chinese businesses, especially those partially dependent on the host society as clientele (e.g. laundries and restaurants), were particularly susceptible to debt. Debt or crime incurred by a fellow country man was not tolerated, as in the case of Hong Hoo[8] and a report from Lillooet where one Chinese man shot another for stealing (Br. Col. 1969:May 31). In two other instances failure to pay for meals at the Sacramento House of Quong Sing (once by an Indian and another time by an Anglo-Canadian) resulted in immediate action (V.G. 1860:April 13 and Br. Col. 1861:May 10). Other debts also appear in reference to Chinese laundries, where white clientele were remiss in paying their bills promptly. Further, I think this substantiates the early use of credit by Chinese businesses in Victoria, more specifically credit extended to members of the host society. According to data collected, contemporary Chinese storekeepers in Victoria also extend credit to establish faith and reciprocity in their businesses, but in turn they may incure an annual debt in the range of $2,000 (Per. Comm.). In another contemporary instance data indicates that petty theft and debts resulting from credit

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8 Hong Hoo was sent to debtors' prison upon the evidence presented by a fellow countryman who maintained that Hong Hoo was indebted to him (Br. Col. 1861:February 15).

extended necessitated the closing of a small grocery store owned by a Chinese family (Per. Comm.).

Although there seems to have been restaurants within the Chinese community in the period 1858 to 1874, they appear to be limited in number. From Table 1 it may be seen that it is not until 1878 that a substantial increase is noted with the presence of four in the community. The other figures in Table 1 for 1871 specifically note the presence of cooks. Four of these appear to be employed in Chinese restaurants which are located on Cormorant Street, previously noted as the location of the merchant companies, and on Johnson Street one block south where there were three Chinese restaurants in 1878. The first Chinese restaurant, established in 1860, was still present in 1878, located in a small alley off Johnson Street, and was still run by the same individual, Quong Sing, under the name of the Sacramento Restaurant. Whether or not this name corresponds to his previous place of residence in the United States is unknown. According to the Victoria Directory of 1878, the three other restaurants are named the Eagle Restaurant, the Canton Restaurant and the Wa Lee Restaurant (Vic. Dir. 1878). In the opinion of Mr. Barnard, a stage-coach driver of the time, most of these catered to a Chinese clientele (Report 1879:31).

Chinese Cooks

From Table 2 one can see that the demand for Chinese domestic cooks and servants by the host society was being met. In 1879, Mr. Bunster stated that it was the 'snob aristocracy'

that liked them for servants and that they did chores a white man was not supposed to do (Report 1879:2).

According to Senator MacDonald, also of Victoria, these servants were paid $20 to $35 a month and were present only because of the absence of women in the city (Report 1879:23). Mrs. G. Tiarks remarks, in an article written in Victoria, that several men will come together, rent a house and hire a Chinese housekeeper who is under the orders of a 'boss' in the household (Tiarks 1890). She also speaks of a deep aversion the Chinese domestic cook has for women 'bosses' who fool and talk all the time (Tiarks 1890). This seems to further substantiate the predominantly male nature of the Victoria population. One can see a contradiction, however, for an increase in the presence of wives in later times did not decrease the demand for the Chinese domestic cooks but rather increased it, as it had been the absence of single women that ultimately provided for the scarcity of domestic servants.

Senator MacDonald said of white girls that they got only $20 a month with room and board but that they did not stay long (Report 1879:23). It was also felt that they generally did less than the Chinese domestic servant, who, within reason and depending on his relationship with his 'boss', was willing to do many tasks. The occupation of domestic cook was no doubt a vast improvement for some Chinese who had previously learned their cooking in labour camps or the mines (Per. Comm.). At least for some it offered a stable job and more permanent

residence in an urban setting where they could derive some benefits from their own community and support Chinese merchants dependent on local trade. Apparently they were not unorganized, as evidenced by a strike of Chinese cooks in 1872 demanding higher wages to the surprise of the local newspaper. The outcome of this strike remains a mystery (Br. Col. 1872:January 4).

Apparently the Chinese cooks and servants during this time were favourably received, being accredited with what might be called a partial assimilation to the host community. Some wore Western clothes, spent money in the host community and gave their employees Christmas presents, a custom in later years to be followed by the Chinese peddler (Report 1879:27 and Per. Comm.).

Another interesting aspect surrounding this occupation is the appearance of a Chinese employment agent in Victoria. As noted in Table 1 a Chinese cigar manufacturer was also an employment agent as early as 1874. The 1879 Report confirms this, for Mr. Barnard relates that a Chinese employment agent had records which described accurately the white-owned houses in which the servants worked and the amount of wages that should be required if one worked there (Report 1879:42 and Per. Comm.). This occupation will be discussed in more detail below (See pp. 71-72).

Chinese Laundries

The laundry business increased considerably between 1874 and 1878, as can be seen from Table 1. Unfortunately, the

comparable figures for 1880 are unavailable. On the basis of Table 2 it is possible to estimate that each laundry employed at least seven or eight people at three dollars a week each. These establishments were for the most part located away from what would essentially be the Chinese business district, which is understandable considering that the major portion of their trade was with the host community.

Developing Trades and Occupations

In reference to the starting of new trades, Senator MacDonald felt that the Chinese were useful as they could start boot and shoe factories, tailor shops - in short, open manufacturing businesses (Report 1879:23). Mr. Barnard, the stage-coach proprietor, offered similar opinions. He knew for sure that they were importing machinery and turning their attention towards manufacturing, mentioning that there were already two Chinese boot-and-shoe factories in Victoria and tailors, peddlers, shopkeepers and restaurants (Report 1879: 31). Again, according to the Report in 1880, there were 52 Chinese men employed as shoemakers in Victoria and 60 as tailors. The Victoria Directory of 1882 lists 11 Chinese tailors in Victoria.

As to other service activities of the Chinese in Victoria there was little reference, although in the Report of 1880 there were 20 peddlers, 20 barners, 27 employed in the production and sale of cigars and 100 gardeners (Report 1880: 1-2). The 1879 interviews made little or no mention of these, except Mr. Bunster, the M. P. who mentioned the Victoria

farmers who used to bring their produce to market where it was exchanged for groceries but who now were confronted with Chinese peddlers who would deliver them directly to the door. I assume that the Chinese were growing and distributing their own vegetables.

Of particular importance in relation to these trades at this time is the possibility that developing industry in Victoria was providing a craft apprenticeship for willing Chinese people. This is especially relevant to the trades of tailors and shoemakers, which, according to Chinese people consulted, were not crafts brought from China but ones learned in Canada (Per. Comm.). It has already been noted that Chinese people were employed in a shoe factory, so it is quite possible that upon completing their apprenticeships they would open their own businesses. This seems also to be the case in reference to the tailoring business which developed ostensibly to supply clothes for railroad workers and probably offered the same possibility for Chinese people. If the 1879 Report is accurate in this regard, it appears that some Chinese had already purchased their own machines and were prepared to sub-contract to local, white-owned firms. This was in fact the case later, but it appears to have its origins during this period.

The cigar-manufacturing business also appears to follow similar lines, with Chinese men working for white companies until such time as they can establish their own businesses. However, I suspect the $500 yearly income for cigar makers in

factories is likely not the figure for Chinese employees, for it is comparable to white wages at that time.

Another enterprise, market-gardening, also developed in this period. It involved an exportable talent, merely requiring the presence of land that could be utilized and an available market for the produce. These conditions were apparently present in Victoria, which enjoyed a fairly long growing season. It is unknown, however, to what extent the primary production and distribution of vegetables had been developed by the Chinese farmers and peddlers at that time.

Cost of Living

The cost of living for a Chinese man in Victoria at this time was estimated by Senator MacDonald to be 25 cents a day or $90 a year, which would yield an estimated annual savings ranging from $6 to $270 a year barring any other expenses. Similar estimates for the host population are hard to ascertain, although their cost of living was thought to be about 50 cents a day with their wages ranging from $2 to $2.25 a day for the Chinese labourer as compared to the $1.25 a day for the Chinese labourer. Based on this, a white labourer could earn from $730 to $821.25 a year and could save from $747.50 to $638.75 a year barring other expenses. In general, it seems Chinese in the service activities were making half the amount of white labourers.

Residence

Basically there were two forms of residence at this time, one which may be described as co-operative rooming houses, or

fang k'ou, and the other provided by some businesses in their own buildings (Per. Comm.). Merchants, including herbalists, for example, often provided rooms with adjoining kitchens above or behind the area of business (Per. Comm.). Tailors provided the same facilities to a lesser extent. These rooms would be for store employees only. The rooming houses, sometimes attached to businesses, were larger buildings devoted solely to lodging, which provided a number of small cubicles for two or four men with access to a communal kitchen and bath-room for every 20 to 30 men. For many years these establishments provided the only place for Chinese to live in Victoria except for the domestic cooks, who might in some cases live in the residence where they worked. According to reports, however, many domestic cooks preferred to live in Chinatown or at least to pay visits there in the evenings or on Sundays (Baillie-Grohman 1900:336-37 and Chambers Journal 1911:440).

Summary

It may be noted from the preceding that the development of service activities and businesses was a direct result of the presence of a growing number of Chinese who appear to have remained in Victoria. The nature of their businesses was dependent on the host community that generated the demand for their presence. This provides an interesting contradiction, since a growing anti-Chinese sentiment also developed. The demand for their presence is evidenced by the strike and withdrawal of services caused in the community, which serves also to indicate the status distinction drawn by the merchants

between themselves and other Chinese people (See page 32).

Of particular importance is the position of those employed by members of the host society, either in terms of direct services offered or businesses that performed a service. These Chinese people had perhaps the closest contact with whites, more so than the merchant élite that became their spokesmen. They apparently extended credit to the host community, which in itself indicates the drawback to this relationship, strained by the fact that they were expected to contribute revenue to Victoria and the province.

These activities received relatively low incomes but required little investment in terms of capital. Thus, one finds little mobility upwards but rather mobility back and forth between these activities producing a diversity of interests. This may be noted from Table 1, where a cigar manufacturer also functions as an employment agent, probably for domestic cooks although this is uncertain. This may have provided considerable income but certainly not equivalent to that of the merchant, who performs this function on a far larger scale.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORT OF 1885 AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION

Historical Context

After 1881 Chinese immigration to Canada prompted by the construction of the railroad was extremely heavy. Between 1881 and 1884, 15,701 Chinese entered British Columbia, and the Provincial government reacted with continued appeals to Ottawa and the passing of a number of anti-Chinese acts (Woodsworth 1941:30-31). These included attempts to limit or forbid the acquisition of land or rights to it, a provincial Chinese exclusion act with provisions for free entry and exit for those already in British Columbia provided they paid the required fee, and an annual licence of $10 per head on every Chinese over ten years of age (Wynne 1964:362-363). Other acts required licence fees from Chinese miners that were three times as costly as those for white miners and specified other restrictions relating to burial and disinterment customs, the use of opium and living conditions (Wynne 1964:363). Most of these acts were disallowed by the Dominion Government and are discussed more thoroughly by Wynne. It is sufficient here to say that the ultimate result was a promise given by the Dominion Government to investigate

Chinese immigration thoroughly. In July 1884, a Commission was formed which in the following months gathered various information about the Chinese, including those in Victoria.

Huang Sic Chen, of the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco, provided much of the evidence for the Commission and gave the figures included in Table 7 concerned with the composition of the Chinese community in Victoria.

TABLE 7

Occupation and Sex of the Chinese Population in Victoria, 1884

Merchants	45	Store employees	179
Married Ladies	41	Boys under 12	10
Girls	31	School teachers	4
Doctors	12	Sewing machine workers	30
Barbers	20	Cigar-makers	28
Boot-makers	130	Washermen	90
Saw-Mill hands	17	Vegetable Gardeners ..	114
Cooks and Servants .	180	Bricklayers	25
Brick-makers	60	Match-makers	7
Farm Labourers	40	Charcoal burners	16
Carpenters	25	Printers	3
Vegetable sellers ..	20	Butchers	8
Fish sellers	16	Peddlers	10
Tinsmiths	2	Fuel cutters	65
Sailors	3	Bark-strippers	30
New Arrivals	380	Prostitutes	34
		Boys between 12 and 17	92

TOTAL: 1,767

Source: Report 1885:363

There are several things that can be said about these statistics in comparison to those offered for 1880 in the previous chapter. Most significant is the apparent decrease in population, with 533 fewer people in 1884. A distinction must be made here, however, between a transient population of nearly 1,200 in 1880 and a population at this point which is tending

to become stable or less mobile. This seems to be confirmed by the presence of families and of such occupations as barbers, doctors, school teachers and butchers, all of which depend directly on the presence of a Chinese community. Also, there is a noted increase in the number of labourers that appear to be employed by the host community despite anti-Chinese sentiment. To further detail this, both the merchant and service activities will be discussed in relation to the findings of the commission and the changing nature of the Chinese community.

Merchant Activity and Personnel

According to Huang Sic Chen, there were 45 Chinese merchants in Victoria, which if compared with the Victoria Directory for the same year represents 30 firms involved in import, general merchandise and grocery trade. These 45 merchants paid an annual revenue of $13,560 and accounted for nearly half the total number of Chinese merchants in all of British Columbia (Report 1885:363-66).

For the sake of making income estimates it has been assumed that the expenditures in Table 8 must be subtracted to calculate the merchants' total income.

TABLE 8

Annual Expenditures of the Chinese Merchants in British Columbia, 1884

The annual amount paid for duties	$ 150,000
Internal duties on cigar manufacturing	2,300
The approximate amount for freightage and drayage	26,000
The approximate amount paid for road tolls in the interior	13,000
	$ 191,300.

Source: Report 1885:365-66

According to figures collected by Huang Sic Chen relating to all the Chinese merchants in British Columbia it appears that their total yearly income would be approximately $2,220,000. (See Table 9.)

TABLE 9

The Annual Amount of Trade Done by the Chinese Merchants in British Columbia, 1884

The amount of trade done with China, Japan and the United States	$ 500,000
The amount of trade done with white merchants in British Columbia	400,000
The amount of business done among Chinese merchants in British Columbia	1,320,000
	$ 2,220,000.

Source: Report 1885:365

This amount less the sum of $191,300 in Table 8 yields an approximate gross income of $16,766.12 for each merchant in British Columbia. This figure is slightly misleading, however, if one assumes that the majority of trade was being done by

the Victoria-based merchants. From July 1st, 1883 to June 30th, 1884, the amount of duty paid by Chinese merchants in Victoria was $99,779.75 out of a total of $790,676.00 for all merchants (Report 1885:398). When this figure is compared to the $150,000 duty paid, according to Huang, by all Chinese merchants in British Columbia, it is apparent that the Chinese merchants in Victoria were assuming at least two-thirds of the Chinese revenue burden. It is probable, therefore, that they were doing far more business than their counterparts on the mainland. The annual expenditure of the Victoria merchants in terms of taxes can be seen in Table 10, and payments for various other services provided by the host community in Table 11.

TABLE 10

Local Taxes and Revenue Contributed by the Chinese Merchants in Victoria, 1884

Annual trade licences paid	$ 7,560
Annual assessment of property paid	500
The amount paid annually to revenue and city taxes by merchants and employees	1,100
The amount paid annually for city water by Chinese merchants and workmen	4,440
	$ 13,600

Source: Report 1885:366

TABLE 11

Annual Expenditures for Services Provided by the Host Community to Chinese Merchants in Victoria, 1884

The amount paid annually for rents to white people	$ 27,000
The amount paid annually for rent on 750 acres of cultivated grounds and charcoal places by Chinese merchants to white people	6,180
For gas	1,770
For insurance of buildings and merchandise	2,560
For interest paid to white people for borrowed cash	8,400
For postage and telegraph	3,000
	$ 48,910

Source: Report 1885:365-66

In addition to the two sums itemized above, one must add the cost of living for each family and the salaries of the employees and their cost of living. From the evidence given by Huang Sic Chen, there are about 470 persons in this category in British Columbia, who cost a total of $141,000 annually (Report 1885:366). This amounts to about $300 per person. With 179 store employees in Victoria in 1884 and 41 wives (most of whom are assumed to be married to merchants or merchants' employees) these 220 people costing in the neighborhood of $330 each amounts to $66,000, or about $1,840 annual expenditure in wages and living expenses for each merchant. With the addition of local taxes, revenue and other expenses each merchant spends $1,389 plus $1,840, or $3,229 a year. If we assume that the previously calculated annual income

excluded the above expenses, then the net annual income would be $13,537 for each merchant. Contrasted with this Huang offered the information given in Table 12.

TABLE 12

The Annual Cost of Living For a Chinese Labourer, 1884

Assuming a labourer's wages averages $25 per month:

	per year	$ 300.00
Deduct three months' wages for winter	$ 75.00	
Provisions and clothing per year	130.00	
Room rent	24.00	
Tools, fares, in British Columbia	10.00	
Revenue and road taxes	5.00	
Religious fees	5.00	
Doctor for drugs	3.00	
Oil, Light, Water and Tobacco	5.00	
		$ 257.00
		$ 43.00

Source: Report 1885:366

This seems to refer particularly to some miners and fishermen who were more likely to remain idle during the winter months while others took poorly paid jobs which would provide enough to live on.

The 1885 Report gives some indication of the increase in economic activity by the Chinese in Victoria. In 1879 the Chinese in Victoria paid $5,827 in taxes to the City of Victoria, in 1880 $6,191, in 1881 $6,562, in 1882 $7,712 and in 1885 $8,414 (Report 1885:394). In comparison to the 1880

very little at this time. From Appendix I it may be noted that between 1902 and 1922, which includes one peak period in Chinese immigration, the Chinese population of Victoria increased by only 418 people. In the same general period (1901-1924), the number of merchant businesses increased from 55 to 91; service businesses increased from 80 in 1901 to 113 in 1915 but then decreased in number to 69 in 1924 (Vic. Dir. 1901, 1915 and 1924). To indicate the occupational change in the population a set of statistics for 1922 is offered in Table 23; these are the only available figures for this period.

TABLE 23

Occupation and Sex of the Chinese Community in Victoria, 1922

Category	Male	Female	Total
Workers	2,150	150	2,300
Merchants	270	156*	270
Service	555		156 555
Others	250	150	400
Totals	3,375	456	3,681

*These women belong to both the merchant and service categories.

Source: From records kept by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria, B. C., and translated by Dr. Chuen-Yan Lai, University of Victoria.

For the purpose of organizing these statistics I have divided the "merchant" category of the original computation into service and merchant on the basis of the nature of businesses in the Chinese community for 1922. The increase in

figure, there is an obvious discrepancy, as the revenue of that year collected from 2,370 Chinese people in Victoria was only $1,994.50, while in 1885 it was $8,414 from a Chinese population of 1,767 in Victoria. The former figure might be explained by a $3 per-capita Provincial tax which was apparently levied according to the 1885 report. This tax yielded the amounts included in Table 13 from 1882 to 1884 for the City of Victoria and Esquimalt areas.

TABLE 13

Annual Revenue From the Chinese in Victoria for the Per Capita Provincial Tax, 1882-1884

1882.....	572 at $3 per capita.....	$1,716.00
1883.....	102 at $3 per capita.....	3,306.00
1884.....	half year 1,040.....	3,120.00

Source: Report 1885:vi

The origin of this tax is not explained either in the report or in any other source.

The other discrepancy between the $8,414 tax figure (see above) and the one of $13,600 from Huang Sic Chen is ultimately explained by the building of ten new Chinese firms in April and May of 1884 and the sale of 11 opium licences at $500 each and 12 spirit licences at $50 each (Report 1885:x). Sometime between 1881 and 1884 ten opium factories had been started in Victoria. In the Dominion Census of 1881 it was stated that there was one opium factory in Victoria with invested capital of $51,500., three employees and a total value of products of $79,000 (Census 1881:514-15).

One last piece of evidence presented by Huang Sic Chen gives some statistics for buildings owned by the Chinese in Victoria. In 1883 and 1884 alone they had invested or were in the process of investing $52,000 in houses and business establishments (Census 1881:44). Two merchant enterprises, the Kwong Lee Company and the Tai Soong Company, had stores built by white men costing $7,000 (Sessional Papers 1885: 401). Another merchant, On Huig, according to the Mayor of Victoria had recently purchased on Fisguard Street[9] (Report 1885:44).

Opium Manufacture and Merchants

The opium business was to become extremely important and lucrative for some Chinese merchants in Victoria and later in Vancouver. The actual date when this business commenced is unknown, but some early references are made to its presence. In 1860 the United States Government imposed a prohibitive tax on the import of opium (Clark 1971:50). As a result of this the manufacture of opium moved to Victoria where there was no government restriction for sale or possession. The first large amount to arrive in Victoria according to Mr. Lee[10] was in 1871, when $600 worth was imported (Per. Comm.). By 1872 British Columbia was, of course, a part of the Dominion, and therefore statistics were kept involving all imports. In this year 27,111 taels of opium valued at $11,921 were

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[9] Spelling of this street name varied through time from Fisguard to Fisgard.

[10] Mr. David T. H. Lee is a resident of Victoria and author of The Chinese in Canada, 1968.

imported, which gave the Canadian government $2,492.75 in duty (Appendix II). Between 1872 and 1887 all the opium imported was from the United States and the United Kingdom; after this it came exclusively from China and the United Kingdom until 1908, when it became illegal in Canada. In 1885, the year after the data had been accumulated for the 1885 Report, 81,216 pounds were imported into British Columbia worth over $271,825, the duty being $53,172.40 (See Appendix II). According to one Chinese source, this opium was shipped from China to San Francisco, then to Victoria. In Victoria it was processed, then shipped quietly from Ten Mile Point (just east of the City of Victoria) back into the States via Seattle and Portland (Per. Comm.).

The peak period of the opium business is readily noticeable between 1885 and 1899, when it was no longer brought from China (See Appendix II). In 1871, according to an inspector for the British Columbia Provincial Police, opium could be bought for $7 or $8 a pound, which increased to $10 and then $15 in 1888 (Clark 1971:50). He also states that it cost $90 a pound in 1931 (Clark 1971:50). According to Clark, the immense increase in the traffic after 1886 is a direct result of the completed Canadian Pacific Railroad that allowed transportation to all points east (Per. Comm.). The close of this business was an indirect result of the Anti-Oriental Riots of 1907 in Vancouver. After the riots the Canadian government endeavoured to reimburse the Chinese and Japanese who had sustained damage to their property and

business. In the course of his duty of assessing the damage, William Lyon Mackenzie King (Deputy Minister of Labour) from Ottawa found out about the opium industry.

His investigations resulted in the inclusion of a claim for $1200 for two opium companies which had been closed for six days (Sessional Papers 1908:15). Further investigation revealed the yearly statement for one opium factory in Vancouver included in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Annual Financial Statement for a Vancouver Opium Factory, 1907

Gross Receipts	$ 180,000
Wages	5,820
Rent	1,080
Licence	500
Net Profit:	$ 20,000 (1 year)

Note: the duty is not specified.

Source: Report 1908:15

This owner had been in business for only 10 years; the other, however, had been in business for 21 years and estimated his net profit at $15,000 (Report 1908:15). Both of these estimates were for 1907. Other information gathered revealed the presence of three or four opium factories in Victoria at this time and one in New Westminister (Report 1908:15).

Mackenzie King's response to this discovery was a recommendation to the Federal government to examine this matter immediately with a view to restriction. It is assumed that

the figures presented here are similar to those that would have been obtained from merchants engaged in the opium business in Victoria. Although the presentation of this information here is premature in terms of its historical context, it must be noted that the original opium manufacture was centered in Victoria and, as listed in Appendix II, must have been extremely lucrative in the period under consideration. In 1884 it is apparent that just under a third of the merchants in Victoria were manufacturing opium and probably continued to do so through the peak period until 1892 (See Appendix II). If the statistics previously given in Tables 8 and 9 included the opium business, then the rather large increase in merchant activity might be more easily explained; unfortunately, this remains unknown, as the report gives no specific information on this subject but only general remarks about opium smoking and dens. There is an interesting contradiction here: this business contributed approximately one million dollars in duty to the province between 1872 and 1894 and yet its presence came as a complete surprise to the Federal government in 1907.

Personnel

Unfortunately owing to the absence of enough data during this period little can be said to clarify the extent to which partnerships were formed. However, some comments can be offered. There seems to be at least three major reasons that partnerships were formed: 1) to accumulate capital, with each additional partner investing a sum he had on hand, 2) to

absorb close kin, who were brought into the business with a view to perpetuating it or creating subsidiary businesses, and 3) to continue expansion, with each partner only becoming such after he reinvests a portion of his earnings by purchasing shares. These seem to appear in the order they have been given, but it becomes extremely hard to substantiate this, except in this period where we have a relatively heavy investment in a short period. This would seem to lend credibility to the first type of partnership, especially in view of the opium and import activities.

Another interesting point is the presence of 41 wives, who one may assume are those of merchants, and the presence of 102 boys who are classified by age. Unfortunately it is impossible to tell whether these children were born in the United States, Canada, or in China. This problem also extends to the presence of families other than that of Lee Chong. The 1880 statistics indicated the presence of at least a few merchant families, with 10 females unaccounted for out of the 70 present, but it is more likely that permanence of this sort would be created only when economic opportunity was stable and when a prolonged sojourn was anticipated.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Chinese merchants of Victoria were doing extensive trade which was obviously benefitting the province and its cities. From 1874 to 1884 the duty received from imports from China had increased from $174.47 to an estimated $111,300.15 (Report 1885:iv). In 1883 the duty had been $104,738.66, of which $99,779.75

had been paid by Chinese firms (Report 1885:iv). Not only were the Chinese merchants engaged in an extended trade network amongst themselves with goods provided by them, but they also were functioning in the redistribution of goods derived from the host society. Compared to the list previously quoted of goods imported from China in 1860 there is a noticeable decrease in the food content imported with a substantial amount being bought from Canadian merchants.[11] This may be explained by the entrance of more Chinese into food production and at least partial adaptation to Western foods, which will be covered in a later section.

Briefly, the Chinese merchants in Victoria constituted just under half of the total for British Columbia and were assuming two thirds of the revenue burden. In addition to their economic functions outlined in the last chapter they now had a fairly large resident local community functioning as clientele, which includes a large number performing a service function for the host community. In addition, opium manufacture and agricultural activity had been added, although little is mentioned about the intensive aspect of the latter. The only hint is the 750 acres of agricultural land rented and included in Table 11.

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[11] The merchants imported rice, tea, oil, liquors, tobacco, dry goods, chinaware, drugs, silk goods, paper ware, books and stationary, matting, clothes, shoes, opium, Joss paper and sticks (Report 1885:x). They bought "cloth goods, linen, cloth caps, boots, stockings, furs, kerosine, oil, candles, matches, papers, soaps, tobacco, cigars, sugar, flour, rice, sweet meats, salt, pigs, lard, beef, butter, fish, fowls, wines, ducks, nails, tools, plates, horses, carriages, wagons, watches, rope, tennis, lamps, fuels, coal, hard and iron ware, glass and crockery wooden ware & c" (Report 1885:x).

One can note that merchants were contributing approximately $181,510 to Victoria in 1885 which was not in the form of investment that they could reclaim. However, there was investment in buildings, which leads one to suspect that there was some degree of permanence attached to their presence.

Associational and Organizational Activity

The formation of associations by the Chinese in Victoria seems to have begun in earnest prior to this period and culminated in the formation of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in 1884. Although these associations were related almost entirely to the merchant élite of the Chinese community, it is assumed to be appropriate that they be included under a separate section, since the role of the individual merchant has already been established in the Victoria community. In the foregoing he performed two roles, first as middleman between his fellow countrymen and the host community, and secondarily as a person responsible for his own vested interest. In the latter role the merchant was responsible for bringing many of his fellow countrymen to Canada, from which he benefitted economically and which in turn placed him, at least in terms of income, at the head of the overseas community. This position seems almost to be a reversal of the situation in China, where mobility was achieved through bureaucratic procedure. With the emergence of a stable Chinese community we see the beginnings of cohesive activities which tend to draw together various segments of the Chinese community into

associations under merchant leadership.

This development started in the 1870's, playing an increasingly important role in the Victoria Chinese community. According to Willmott there are four major types of these associations:

> Clan associations, in which membership is limited to Chinese of one or several surnames; locality associations, in which membership is limited to Chinese from one village or county in China; fraternal associations, which in principle any Chinese may join, the only ones in Canada being the Chinese Freemasons and the Kuomintang; community associations, which are formed to represent an entire Chinese community, e.g., the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. . . (Willmott 1968:31)

In Victoria the first Chinese association to appear is rather hard to define, since its membership may have included several surnames all of which belong to Hakka people. This association, the Yun Wo Society, was founded in Victoria in 1872 and still operates today, although with a very limited membership. Unfortunately, details surrounding its formation and functions are unknown, but there is no other one like it in Canada according to one Chinese source (Willmott 1961: field notes).

Later, in 1886, this same group of people established a public temple, the Tam Gung Miu, on Government street. Previously this shrine had belonged to an individual Chinese man who was Hakka. As related to me, he was a goldminer who kept the shrine under his table in his little house down by the waterfront in Victoria. Another Hakka man, who had been in California, arrived in Victoria and asked if there were any

other Hakka people here and was told of the goldminer. He went to see the goldminer and there saw the shrine. When he enquired about the shrine, the owner replied that it was his personal shrine that he kept so that he might ask for good luck before he returned to the gold fields in May or June. The newcomer told the goldminer that the Tam Gung was highly favoured in Hong Kong and that perhaps he should make his shrine available to more people. When the owner agreed, the other set out to gather all the Hakka people that they might collect enough to erect a small temple. He found ten people, and together they collected $10 and bought a ten-foot by one-hundred-and-twenty-foot lot. They erected the temple, which eventually was replaced by a new building in 1912.

At one time the temple was wealthy, and in one New Years $300 was received, which was invested by the caretaker. Now it is mainly financed by contributions received from Chinese people both young and old who still frequent the temple seeking a remedy for an ailment or a prediction of their fortune.

As with other temples and association halls, the contents appear mostly to come from China.

The altar of the Tam Gung Miu was made in Canton in 1897; the bell that stands in one corner was made in 1887 and brought from China along with many other banners and fans imported from Hong Kong which have been donated by various families. There is also an incense table and an offering table, the latter having three sets of semi-lunar fortune-telling blocks and two cylindrical bamboo containers with

fortune-telling sticks in them. Each stick has a number on it, which in turn can be compared to statements on slips of paper that are kept in a series of numbered pigeon-hole boxes on a far wall. As there are two cylinders, one for medical remedies and one for fortunes, there are slips of paper for each giving appropriate responses and advice. In case the recipient of the fortune was not familiar with the import of his fortune, the caretaker referred to a fortune book where each was explained in terms of its historical context, giving added meaning to the recipient. Donations are given for this privilege, which are duly recorded in a book on the offering table.

Two other temples still exist in Victoria, one belonging to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and now housed on the upper floor of the Chinese Public School building owned by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. This shrine is dedicated to three patrons, or gods: Kwan Kung, an ancient Chinese hero, Tin Hua, patron of sea travellers, and Choy Bok, patron of businessmen. The shrine was brought to Victoria in 1884, donated by ten Chinese merchant companies whose names were inscribed on each side (Willmott 1961 and Per. Comm.). This shrine was moved from the original association building on Fisgard Street, when unfortunately many of the other donations including vases and banners were stolen (Per. Comm.).

The other shrine is located in the Chee Gung Tong, or Chinese Freemason Hall. This one, established in 1886, is

also dedicated to Kwan Kung and imported from Hong Kong. Both of these temples were established the year that their sponsoring associations started in Victoria.

Another early association which predates the two previously mentioned was the Ning Yung Hing Tong, later known as the Toy San Ning Yung, which was established in Victoria in 1877. This is a locality association for the people of Tai Shan, which was organized, according to Willmott:

> . . . to look after connections with the homeland by arranging trips in both directions, expediting remittances to relatives in China, and ultimately arranging for the disinterment and shipment of bones to be buried in China (after seven years interment in Canada). They also provided club rooms and hostel facilities to landsmanner passing through or resident in Victoria. (Willmott 1970:46)

Another major function performed by the association after 1920 was the collection of large amounts to subsidize various relief and educational projects within Tai Shan.

Perhaps of primary importance for the Chinese in Canada and Victoria was the founding of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in 1884. This is a community organization that was, according to Lai, ". . . the main representative body for the Chinese in Canada before the Chinese Consulate was set up in Ottawa in 1908" (1972:53). In 1884 the Victoria Chinese community was the largest in Canada and felt perhaps more than any other community the need for a representative body that could not only deal with the internal problems of the community but also represent the Chinese people in their increasing contact with the host society. In March 1884 the Chinese merchants of Victoria sent a letter to the

Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco stating the need for the establishment of such an association. The merchants emphasized the growing conflict between the Chinese and the British Columbia government which was resulting in "discriminatory laws" and the growing problems in their own community as summed up in the following:

> . . . gangs of vicious Chinese were bullying their fellow-countrymen; the old, the poor and the unemployed suffered from coldness, sickness and starvation, and some had died in the streets; Prostitution, gambling, brawling, fighting, intimidation and extortion pervaded the Chinese communities (Lai 1972:55).

Whether or not all of these accusations were justified remains unknown, certainly Chinese opinions expressed in the Royal Commission Report of 1885 gave no indication of this situation. However, it must be remembered that the specific information on the Victoria community was supplied by the same office to whom the Victoria merchants sent the letter. In the Report, Huang Tsim Hsim, the Consul-General, and Huang Sic Chen, the secretary, supplied information on both the San Francisco and Victoria communities in August, but no mention was made of the founding of the CCBA in Victoria or the internal troubles of the Victoria community. The only indication of "intimidation or extortion" comes several years later (1897), when a Rossland newspaper article reported ". . . that a Chinese merchant of that town had been threatened by 'high binders' but had written 'to the chief of the gang in Victoria who wrote out an order prohibiting hostilities against him' " (Lyman, Willmott and Ho 1970:48). According to the authors, this reference relates more to rival society activity and

specifically to the Chee Kung Tong, which established a Victoria branch in 1897 (Lyman, Willmott and Ho 1970:48). (Another date of 1886 was given for this.) In 1899 a set of rules outlining the duties and benefits of a 'professional mercenary in the service of the secret societies' was seized in Victoria. This notice was dated 2 July 1887 and is outlined in the following:

> You shall always work to the interest of the tong and never make your office a means of private revenge.
>
> When orders are given you shall advance valiantly to your assigned task. Never shirk or turn your back upon the battlefield.
>
> When a ship arrives in port with prostitutes on board and the grand master issues **an** order for you to go down and recieve them, you must be punctual and use all your ability for the good of the Commonwealth.
>
> If, in the discharge of your duty, you are slain we will undertake to pay $500 sympathy money to your friends.
>
> If you are wounded a doctor will be engaged to heal your wounds, and if you are laid up for any length of time you will receive $10 per month.
>
> If you are maimed for life and incapacitated for work $250 shall be paid to you and a subscription taken to defray costs of your journey to China. . .
>
> Furthermore, whenever you exert your strength to kill or wound enemies of this tong, and in doing so you are arrested and imprisoned, $100 per year shall be paid to your friends during your imprisonment. (Lyman 1962: Radio Lecture: Lect 6:6).

Besides the obvious social import of this code, it also has interest from an economic point of view. The $500 paid to "friends" upon death is equal to one year's wages for most employed in the service occupations such as domestic cooks, laundry workers and tailors, and the $10 a month for

disability is comparable to the cost of living at that time. It is also interesting to note that passage home would be subsidized plus a payment of $250 - considering that you might never be able to work again. In Victoria at that time there were no hospital facilities for sick or disabled Chinese people, which was to be remedied later with the establishment of a Chinese Hospital.

To return to the founding of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, we find that a notice was posted announcing an appeal for funds. These funds accordingly were to be collected and used to establish the association and to start a campaign against "discriminatory laws and taxes" (Lai 1972:56). Each Chinese person was required to contribute $2 which had to reach Victoria before October 3, 1884. A contribution of over $3 resulted in the recording of the person's name and native place on a notice board. Failure to comply, on the other hand, would result in a compulsory $10 charge before the person could return to China (Lai 1972:56). In this case, it cost $10 a year to stay in Canada and $10 to get out.

The intended functions of the association are clearly outlined by Lai (1972:53-62) so I will not attempt to duplicate his work save to mention a few points. Basically, the constitution differs from that of Toy San Ning Yung Association (See Chapter V) in that it attempts to place emphasis on the overseas community. Justifiably, one might suggest that the passage of 47 years between the two may have produced

this change, but I rather think the intentions were different. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, although essentially run by what Lyman, Willmott and Ho have called a "merchant élite", genuinely attempts to represent the Chinese community as a unit and each of the individuals included within it (Lyman, Willmott and Ho 1970:48). As Lai points out, it functioned as a "protector", "arbitrator" and "benefactor" in several social spheres (Lai 1972:58). It acknowledged the possible areas of conflict between individual Chinese people, between these individuals and Westerners, and between the Chinese community and the Western institutions, governmental and legal. In essence it establishes the concept of a community complete with the social sanctions and prescribed methods for ostracizing undesirable members by cutting across the existing culturally defined clan, locality and fraternal distinctions already established. It did not, however, cut across the status hierarchy established on the basis of occupation and wealth within the community. From 1884 until at least 1901 the association offices were filled by the prominent merchants. In 1901 this changed, with a restaurant owner filling one of the offices, and by 1939 there was a baker, greenhouse owner, gambler, newspaper manager and church representative in the slate of officers (Per. Comm.). This is indicative of both an economic and social change in the community which will be discussed in the following pages.

Clan associations have also formed an integral part of this early activity but the dates and situations surrounding

their establishment in Victoria remain obscure except for the presence of the Lee Association prior to 1884 (Per. Comm.).

Service Activities and Personnel

Interestingly enough, information surrounding the service occupations is not included in Huang Sic Chen's material given to the Commission, except for the general statistics included in Table 7. Instead, most comments were generated by the Victoria host community, which will be included here in reference particularly to domestic servants, vegetable peddlers, small farmers and laundries.

Domestic Cooks and Servants

Despite some comments against their employment, most agree that the Chinese domestic servant had filled a very necessary gap in the life of Victorians. Ward, a resident of Victoria, stated in evidence that "Several lots of girls brought out from England to fill such places have mostly married shortly after arrival" (Report 1885:85). Crease further substantiates this stating that

> . . . a few (of the Victoria community) chartered several ships with female servants from England round the Horn. We paid $150 a head for their passage, on engagements of gradual repayment out of wages at colonial rates after they arrived - a payment which, with a few honourable exceptions . . . was rarely ever made (Report 1885:142).

Both men felt that the Chinese domestic servant was not only necessary but moreover if they had not been available many white settlers would not have come to Victoria. It is interesting to note that the very act Chinese labour merchants had been accused of - indenturing their own people - which was

denied by Huang Sic Chen was in fact condoned by some Englishmen (Report 1885:162).

Vegetable Peddlers, Small Farmers and Laundries

In the opinion of those interviewed for the Royal Commission report, the agricultural and laundry businesses of the Chinese in Victoria had reached a point of monopolization (Report 1885:91). According to Huang Sic Chen, there were 90 washermen working in 18 laundries in Victoria with an estimated average of five employed in each (Report 1885:363 and Vic. Dir. 1884:85). All these were fairly well distributed outside the Cormorant-Government Street area of Chinatown. The laundryman's trade, according to personal communication, was done almost entirely with the host population much in the same manner as the Chinese peddlers. The laundryman picked up and delivered the clothes they cleaned.

The vegetable gardeners numbered 114 and the peddlers numbered 46 including those who peddled fish (Report 1885: 363). Again from personal communication, it would appear as though the market gardeners, leasing small lots, in areas adjacent to wells, would grow and distribute their produce to Chinese peddlers, who in turn delivered the produce to households throughout the city. One Chinese gentleman interviewed said that the market gardeners occupied an area between Government and Douglas Streets on Herald (north side). Here the peddlers picked up the produce from the small farmer, which they delivered in large wicker baskets carried on either end of a shoulder pole. An Anglo-Canadian informant of

Victoria said to me that it was probable that Chinese peddlers would form an exchange agreement with particular domestic cooks throughout the city, which provided a consistent market for the small farmer, a stable trade route and business for the peddlers and job security for the domestic cooks, who could maintain some control over food consumption to the benefit of the household and himself.

Situations like this where reciprocal relationships were established also gives some hint as to how one might become a peddler.

One older Chinese resident told of how his father had entered the fish peddling business when he came to Victoria about 1870. When the father arrived he had no money and no job. He talked to some peddlers, and they explained how a bucket of herring could be bought from Japanese fishermen for 25 cents and then sold for 75 cents. Thinking this worthwhile, the father sought to collect his initial investment. His only asset at the time were some cold pills (So Hop Yin) he had brought with him. He took these to a Chinese herbalist and bargained with him, finally selling them for 25 cents. The next day he borrowed two baskets from another peddler and bought 25 cents worth of fish. He made 75 cents the first day. The next day he bought three buckets of fish and sold them. Within a short time he had made enough to open a small store where he sold tobacco and matches to the Indians. The Indians he traded with convinced him that he should trade with Indian villages on the coast by means of a boat.

Following their advice, he procured a boat whereby he traded groceries purchased from the Hudson Bay Company to the Indians for deer skins. This continued until the missionaries arrived, who, upon observing the Chinese trader's position, demanded that he provide them with a bell for the continued privilege of trading. The father took the proposal under consideration but upon finding that a bell would cost $500 decided to give up this trading venture, contrary to the wishes of the Indians. After this he carried cordwood in his boat, earning $1.25 a cord delivered to Victoria. He continued in the wood business until he finally returned to China.

The situation in 1884 therefore seems to indicate an increased number of Chinese people entering the service occupations with relatively little increase in the number of service businesses. Certainly some of these occupations, such as domestic cooks and peddlers, require no place of business, but more important is the fact that this appears to be a time of apprenticeship for those who later expanded their enterprises to the point where they could maintain their own establishments.

The agricultural complex was also developing, with 184 people involved in the production and distribution of vegetables. This activity, however, appears to have been fairly limited in scope except for one Chinese merchant who had already diversified to intensive farming as can be seen in the next chapter. Of particular importance is the fact that these were essentially the first Chinese people to reside

and work away from the Chinatown area tending their small farms. Most of the peddlers, however, still resided within Chinatown.

The Commission's Summation and the Resulting Legislation

The remainder of the information generated by the 1885 Report is at best generalized and more accurately summed up in the Commission's final prognosis. The Victoria host community was divided: it had a "strongly prejudiced minority", an "intelligent minority" and a "large majority". The first would settle for "absolute exclusion", the second desired no legislation, preferring to depend on the law of supply and demand, and the third desired "moderate restrictions" (Report 1885:cii).

The "large majority's" opinion prevailed, and the first Act restricting Chinese immigration was given assent by the Dominion Government on July 20, 1885 (Kalbach 1970:13). It provided that every person of Chinese origin entering Canada should pay a tax of $50 (ibid.). Members of the diplomatic corps, other government representatives and their servants, tourists, merchants, scientists and students were exempted under this Act (ibid.). This in itself is an interesting reflection on those Chinese immigrants acceptable to various segments of the Canadian social and political structure.

In 1886 the Act was amended so that those exempted had to possess a certificate of identity giving their occupation and reason for coming to Canada (ibid.). This was not applicable to government representatives. In 1887 a further

amendment exempted Chinese wives with other than Chinese husbands providing they were the same nationality as their husband (Kalbach 1970:13). This was broadened in 1900 to include the wives and children of Chinese merchants and clergymen and Chinese children who had been born in Canada (ibid.). The exemption of children, according to some Chinese residents of Victoria, allowed the members of the community who could afford it to send their children back to China to be educated (Per. Comm.). This in practice mainly applied to the children of merchants and was done prior to the 1920's, when Chinese children were admitted to the Victoria schools. This provided a formal high-school education necessary to supply required information should the child in later years intend to return to China as an adult.

The favourable treatment of merchants and clergymen tends to generate two impressions, one that the Chinese merchant was respected at least partially by the host society, and the second that clergymen were thought to be a panacea for the acculturation process: missionary zeal was acceptable.

One further amendment to the 1900 Act was the increasing of the head tax, as it was called, to $100 for each Chinese person entering except for the exempt classes already mentioned (Kalbach 1970:13). The amendments of 1886 apparently had no effect: there were no persons admitted exempt in 1887 and 1888 (Immigration and Colonization Report 1919:20). The 1887 amendment, however, was followed by the admittance of 112 exempt persons in 1889, the largest number to enter between

1886 and 1904 (Immigration and Colonization Report 1919:20). The number paying the head tax of $50 also increased from 290 in 1880 to 782 in 1889 (Immigration and Colonization Report 1919:20). The explanation of this seems to lie in the fear either that further restriction was imminent or that expanding business enterprises were enticing more merchants and students to come. Between 1884 and 1891 the Chinese community in Victoria increased by 313 people (See Appendix I).

A Reaction From the Host Society

One particular result of this Commission's Report was the production of one of the most biased attacks on the Chinese population of Canada. It is of special note because of its source, George R. Maxwell, M.P. for Burrard District and a former Minister of the Presbyterian Church, who expressed his opinions in the House of Commons and published an article of similar tone and sentiment in the "Presbyterian College Journal" printed in Montreal (Maxwell et al. 1896:1-10). He condemned the Chinese people of both British Columbia and Canada on every possible grounds: their morals, living conditions, competition in all areas of employment, their use of secret societies and their enslavement of their own people. He urged both the church and the people of Canada to likewise condemn these people in the name of Christianity and civilization (Maxwell 1896:1-10).

The result of this outrageous attack brought objection from the Church (Presbyterian), one E. E. from Quebec, a missionary of the Presbyterian church in British Columbia

(C. A. Colman), the Victoria "Daily Times" and three Chinese gentlemen of the Vancouver Chinese community (Maxwell 1896).

The clergyman objected firstly to the use of a Church's publication for the expression of views so obviously contrary to their dogma, and secondly to one of their own producing such a document in absolute ignorance of the facts. The gentleman from Quebec stated that there were about 500 Chinese people in Montreal at the time and that he could not substantiate one of Maxwell's claims in reference to their community. He further concluded that Maxwell knew absolutely nothing about Chinese culture or society in China or as it was manifested in Canada and proceeded categorically to disprove all Maxwell's claims. The Victoria newspaper condemned Maxwell's literary style and language by equating it to that which might be used in a "lower class of American newspaper", by no means appropriate for a "professional theologian, a member of the Dominion Parliament and a protagonist of white labour" (Maxwell 1896).

Of perhaps more relevance to this study are the replies offered by Mr. W. A. Cumyow,[12] Chinese Interpreter, Chung Chuck, President of the Chinese Board of Trade, and Goon Sun, President of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society of British Columbia (Maxwell 1896:27, 36, 44).

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[12] Mr. W. A. Cumyow was born in Port Douglas in 1861, the first Chinese child to be born in Canada. His father was a gold miner and the son learned English from local missionaries. Mr. Wun was the first Interpreter for the CCBA upon its founding in Victoria.

A Response From the Chinese Community

Wun Cum Yow's statements refuted some of the more obvious falsehoods perpetrated by Mr. Maxwell. Mr. Wun maintained that, contrary to Mr. Maxwell's contention, the Chinese market gardeners did not live off the swill from hotels, but used it to feed their hogs; that the Chinese in general were not dirty, and that if they were it would indeed be strange that so many were employed by whites as domestic cooks; that they were poor but that this did not mean that they were "the off scouring of the jail and the lowest life of the Chinese" (Maxwell et al. 1898:26). Maxwell also referred to the Chinamen's "slavish docility", to which Mr. Wun responded, ". . . on which side does the want of morality come in. On that of the kicker or the kicked?" (Maxwell et al. 1898:27). In conclusion he denied the incredible increase in Chinese people prophesied by Mr. Maxwell, stating that many Chinese stayed here only till such time as they could depart for the States, Havana, Mexico and Chile, leaving Canada $50 richer (Maxwell 1898:27). He supported this with evidence from the British Columbia canneries, which in 1896 were unable to employ enough Chinese workers and consequently had to rely on Indian labour (Maxwell 1898:27).

Chung Chuck, in his reply to Mr. Maxwell, objected strenuously to the stereotyping of all Chinese and further stressed the extensive role of the Chinese in contributing to the economy of British Columbia (Maxwell 1898:32-36). He emphasized their role in the canneries, farms, mines and

mercantile business, which provided a livelihood for the Chinese and considerable revenue, food and profit for the host society. He maintained that the removal of capital from Canada was not solely a custom of the Chinese but also the intent of other "foreigners from other countries who come here and make from $100,000 to $200,000 and then leave for their homes", while the Chinaman may only leave with "his paltry hundreds" (Maxwell et al. 1898:36). Goon Sun emphasized the same points in a rebuttal, stating that most of the criticisms levelled by Mr. Maxwell against the Chinese could also be said of others (Maxwell et al. 1898:37-44). He further noted that if living conditions of the Chinese were so despicable, then how could Mr. Maxwell account for the findings of the Crow's Nest Pass Commission published in 1898, which documented the mistreatment of white employees by their white bosses and the bad conditions under which they suffered? (Maxwell et al. 1898:41). In opposition to Mr. Maxwell's comments on secret societies in Canada, Goon Sun emphasized the fact that in his opinion they were no different from Orangeman and Catholic societies except that they were not religious but political, concerned primarily with China (Maxwell et al. 1898:40). He denied the connection or equivalence with the situation in San Francisco. He also mentioned that the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of British Columbia was incorporated and on April 9th, 1898, had sent $3,500 "to relieve distress caused by the drought in the Province of Canton" (Maxwell et al. 1898:44).

To conclude this matter it seems fitting to quote Goon Sun, who replied to Mr. Maxwell's accusation that the Chinese are expert liars with the following:

> I think after the honourable gentlemen have perused this case thoroughly they will come to the conclusions that expertness in lying is not confined to the Chinese alone. There are others!
>
> (Maxwell et al. 1898:44)

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION

1885-1902

Historical Context

In the period following the 1885 Report anti-Chinese sentiment persisted in British Columbia. Legislation was initiated to openly restrict employment of Chinese and Japanese people in mines, public works, and Canadian companies. Other legislation including private acts contained clauses that included the same restrictions but like the others they were disallowed. Anti-Chinese organizations were established, and open hostility broke out in Vancouver destroying the property of some 24 Chinese workers and a few Chinese laundries (Wynne 1964:378-79).

As already mentioned, the head tax was increased, but the provincial government had apparently hoped for total exclusion. It was obvious, as one resident of Duncan pointed out to the Victoria newspaper, that the Chinese were damned if they did stay and settle with their families and equally damned if they didn't and returned home carrying the results of the work they had contributed to the province (Br. Col. 1900:July 13).

With the continued pressure from British Columbia, the

Prime Minister appointed another commission to study the Oriental situation in 1901, this time including the Japanese. The evidence given in this Report was provided by the Chinese community,[13] a considerable change from the situation in 1885. Unfortunately, their willingness to come forth only provided evidence which was used against them. What is hard to understand is the conspicuous absence of reference to the role of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and the Chinese Board of Trade, both active in the community for at least 16 years. Both of these organizations contributed information through various officers, but the commission made no attempt to mention the organizations that in a sense were responsible for creating and controlling the Chinese community.

The period of the late 1890's and early 1900's was one of extensive development for Victoria. Prior to this period many of the buildings had been of wood, which was subsequently changed to stone and brick (Wright 1965:7). Roads had been expanded to encompass what would turn out to be extremely productive agricultural ground (Wright 1965:7). The improved transportation facilities in the 1880's, according to Wright, made this productive region accessible to the urban area

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13 Those members of the Chinese community that contributed to the Report were: Lee Cheong Poi, the President of the CCBA, Lee Mong Kow, interpreter for the Dominion Government, Lee Dye, a market gardener, Mar Chan, a Chinese labour contractor, Tim Kee, a Chinese tailor and employment agent, Ming Lee, a laundryman, Charlie Bo, a tailor, Yuen Wah, a tailor, Tom Chue Thom a Chinese missionary of New Westminister, W.A. Cum Yow, corresponding foreign secretary of the Chinese Empire Reform Association of Canada and Yip On, merchant and Secretary of the Chinese Board of Trade. All were from Victoria unless otherwise stated.

(Wright 1965:7).

Merchant Activity and Personnel

The increase in the merchant business seems to have been in the line of grocery and general merchandise.

In Table 15 the total number of merchants and service businesses are given with the number of partners involved in each. From the figures it may be noted that several merchant businesses have at least an average of four partners each, including opium manufacturers, green grocers, importers of silk fancy goods, curios and merchandise and wholesale importers of general merchandise.

The service businesses such as tailors, shoemakers, pawnbrokers have a lower average number of partners, ranging from 1 to 3 with most having less than 3. This is probably because import companies initially required more investment. Other merchant activites, especially service occupations, could expand more gradually. There would also be a tendency for larger merchant companies to involve close kin (brothers and uncles), thereby expanding partnership more rapidly and further ensuring its continuity. There is also some evidence to support the tendency of partnerships to multiply. In one case a company that started in 1875 with two partners had three partners in 1902: a brother of one of the original founders, his son and another partner. In another instance a father had left his business upon his death in 1902 to his four sons, who later diversified the business from retail import and export and farming to wholesale food activities.

TABLE 15

Chinese Merchants Engaged In The City Of Victoria For 1901, By Class Of Activity

	No. of Firms	No. of Partners
Importers and Manufacturers of Opium	3	18
Dealers in Dry Goods and Manufacturers of Clothing	12	19
Butchers, Provisions and poultry Dealers	7	15
Druggists and Dealers in General Merchandise	5	12
Manufacturers of Chinese Clothing	2	3
Merchant Tailors	14	17
Boot and Shoe Dealers	2	3
Restaurant Keepers	9	15
Pawn Brokers	1	3
Jeweller	3	3
Tinware Dealer	1	2
Cigar Manufacturer	2	2
Rice Miller	4	4
Green Grocer	1	4
Manufacturer of Ladies Silk Underwear	1	2
Cannery Contractors and Importers	4	15
Importers of Silk Fancy Goods, Curios and Merchandise	2	9
Retail Importers, General Merchandise	22	78
	109	288

Source: Report 1902:212

Some expanding partnerships resulted in diversification with the incoming relative being set up in his own business within

the original establishment. This produced in one instance a grocery business which housed a tailor shop and later included a greenhouse, all related through the partnership.

The income of the merchant is almost impossible to ascertain, although the volume of business done by 109 firms is given as $1,059,812 for the year 1900 (Report 1902:217). This gives an average annual turn-over of $9,723 for each firm, or $3,680 for each partner. These are at best, however, misleading estimates due to the range of businesses included. Estimates are also available for the volume of business done by Chinese merchants in Vancouver, Nanaimo and New Westminister, which are presented in Table 16.

TABLE 16

The Number of Firms and Volume of Business for Ninety Chinese Merchants in British Columbia, 1901

City	No. of Firms	Volume of Business	Average Business Per Firm
Vancouver	47	$ 518,051	$ 11,022
Nanaimo	14	162,930	11,638
New Westminister	29	316,917	10,928
	90	$ 997,898	$ 33,588

Source: Report 1902:217

Interestingly enough, in each case the average yearly income for each firm is over $10,000, more than the amount for each of the Victoria firms.

In Table 17 the Chinese population of Victoria is divided according to occupation and sex.

TABLE 17

Occupation and Sex of the Chinese Population of Victoria for 1901

Category	Male	Female	Total
Workers	1572	28	1600
Merchants	159		159
		61*	61
Service	1135		1135
Unemployed	173	4	177
Professional	3	3	6
Children	63	82	145
	3105	178	3283

*Wives belonging to merchant and service categories.

Source: Report 1902:12 and 212

This distribution was calculated from two sources, Table 15 (above) and the occupational distribution of the Chinese in Victoria found in the report, with an added assumption that the population figures for the Chinese in Victoria, produced from a Chinese source, are probably more correct (Report 1902:12 and 212). Of the 159 merchants, only an estimated 45 had wives with them, certainly a larger proportion than among the 1,572 workers, of whom only 28 had wives with them. The average number of children per family is around 1.5, but this figure is probably inaccurate because it includes all categories and does not take into account the high mortality rate which will be considered later.

In examining the revenue contributed by the Chinese in Victoria it can be shown there was a substantial increase

over 1885. Table 18 itemizes the amount collected from the Chinese community in 1900. Unfortunately, these figures

TABLE 18

Revenue Collected from the Chinese Community in Victoria for 1900

Trade Licences	$ 2,882.50
Peddlers	530.00
Market Fees from Market Gardeners at 5 cents a day	900.00
Water rents from Chinese	4,460.00
Sewer Rents	92.00
Assessed Tax of Property in Name of Chinese	3,414.86
Revenue Tax at $3 a head	2,385.00
Road Tax at $2 a head	832.00
	$ 15,496.36

Source: Report 1902:42

conflict with those given by the Chinese Board of Trade, which total $17,257 for the same year (Report 1902:12 and 212). Depending on which one accepts there is an increase of either $1,896.36 or $3,657 over the figure given for 1884; this compares favourably with an increase of 1,516 people in the Chinese community.

The 1901 Census reported a Chinese population in Victoria of 2,705, while the Report states 3,283, which made up less than a quarter of the 14,376 Chinese in British Columbia or the 16,792 in Canada (Report 1902:7). Victoria had the largest urban Chinese population, Vancouver a close second having

2,011 (Report 1902:7). In seven years the Chinese population of Victoria increased by between 1,000 and 1,500, depending on the population statistics one accepts, and the number of businesses in almost all categories also had increased. Table 19 gives some indication of this trend.

TABLE 19

The Comparative Increase in Major Chinese Businesses in Victoria, 1884 to 1902

	1884	1902	Increase
Merchants	80	53	23
Tailors	12	29	17
Laundries	19	32	13
Barbers	3	6	3
Restaurants	-	4	4
Bakers	1	3	2
Shoemakers	1	4	3
	66	131	65

Source: Report 1902:212 and Henderson's British Columbia Directory 1901:1017-17.

Table 19 represents the number of actual businesses and not the number of partners. In these seven categories there is an increase of 65 businesses, with the highest increase in those which required more capital and yielded higher incomes. Another pertinent increase along with those already noted can be seen in Table 20, where the actual capital outlay is itemized. Unfortunately, the nature of these statistics does not permit direct comparison with all the figures from the 1885 Report, although some are possible. The rents paid to white landlords remained much the same, $33,180 in 1884 and

TABLE 20

Total Amount of Capital Invested by Chinese Businesses in Victoria, 1901

Importations from China	$ 107,594.78
Goods purchased in Canada, England and the United States	464,369.35
Canada Customs Duty, Wharfage, Freight and Drayage	148,376.75
Revenue and Road Taxes, Assessment Tax and Business Licence	7,804.85
Water Rates, Gas, Electric Light	9,452.25
Insurance, Fire	4,414.20
Rents paid to white Landlords	34,274.75
Postage Stamps	511.60
Custom House Brokerage	807.50
Real Estate Owned by Chinese in Victoria	296,090.25
Total Capital Investment in Business in Victoria:	$ 573,500.00

Source: Report 1902:212 (Chinese Board of Trade)

$34,274.75, in 1901 showing only a slight increase, but the annual property tax had increased from $500 in 1885 to $3,414.86 in 1901. In 1885 the buildings owned by Chinese were worth $59,000, and in 1900 the value of real estate owned by Chinese totaled $296,090.25. These figures seem to indicate an extensive increase in actual investment, which is further substantiated by the total investment figure of $573,500.

One drastic decrease is shown in the business licence revenue, which declined from $7,560 in 1884 to $4,312.50 in 1900. This may be accounted for by the decrease in opium

factories, which yielded $500 each in licence fees.

In terms of trade it is hard to ascertain whether or not there had been an increase or decrease. The total amount done with China, Japan, United States and Canada by all the Chinese merchants in British Columbia for 1884 was $900,000 as compared to $571,964.14 done by the merchants (Chinese) in Victoria for 1900. There are no total figures available for all Chinese merchants in British Columbia in 1900. One possible indicator of business trends may be gleaned from the customs duty, wharfage and freight expenses. In 1884 all the Chinese merchants in British Columbia spent $176,000 for these items, while in 1900 the Chinese merchants in Victoria spent $148,376.75; either the duty had increased or the amount of business done had increased.

Opium Merchants

The number of opium companies, according to Lee Cheong Poi, was only three in 1902, while Huang Sic Chen had listed eleven in Victoria for 1884 (Report 1885:x and 1902:212). The Victoria Directory for 1901 lists six, a discrepancy more likely the fault of the Directory. The import records for opium to British Columbia only document the 1900 shipment, which was mostly from the United Kingdom. The amount imported can be seen in Appendix II, but it will also be noted that the dutiable amount decreased substantially, yielding only $1,213 in revenue rather than the amount of $39,703.95 for 1899. After 1900 there are no available figures on opium import for British Columbia, figures instead were given for all of Canada.

Again, the significance and reason for this change are unknown.

Intensive Farming and the Agricultural Merchant

Of particular importance at this time is the appearance of intensive farming, which began in 1871 with at least one Chinese farmer. This was substantiated by the evidence of Lee Dye (Lee Gum Gow), who in 1901 ran four market gardens on 198 acres of leased land which was rented for $5 to $12 an acre (Report 1902:65). His father, Lee Hong Yen, had started the business in 1871, investing $14,000 in total, $4,000 of which was his own cash (Report 1902:65). The son's farm was apparently established in 1879 on a slope below Lansdowne Road.

It is not known how the father accumulated his capital, but it is known from data gathered that other Chinese farmers started by peddling vegetables until such time as they had enough capital to lease some land. Lee Dye's sales in 1901 amounted to $24,185.25 (Report 1902:65). If we estimate an annual expenditure for rent and wages of $4,000, he still made about $20,000. Lee Dye's investment in Victoria was considerable. His property was worth between $1,500 to $2,000, and he estimated the value of his business at $30,000; whether or not this included the dry goods store owned by the family is not known. This store was located on View Street and supplied Oriental silks and art objects to the Victoria community. Diversification like this is one aspect of the Chinese businesses in Victoria that becomes increasingly noteworthy, as it represents a rather unique adaptive phase.

Several Chinese merchant businesses have exhibited the same diversification, which appeared to be a product of second-generation Chinese born and raised in Canada or those brought over by older kin at a sufficiently young age to learn and benefit from an elder's experience in Victoria.

This type of diversification for the merchant tended to provide a multiple market, since he could depend at once on both the host and Chinese communities, being able to compensate for market variables in either. The dependence on the host market, however, required a knowledge of English, and often one finds that the older and more renown Chinese merchants in Victoria were well aware of this and took pains to learn English themselves and provide the means of education for their children. For instance, Lee Dye had come to Victoria in 1884 with his wife. They had two children, one 10 and the other 6, who had returned to China with his wife in 1897 to be educated. He expected to have them return in 1903 (Report 1902:65).

Location

In other categories of economic activity there also was a significant increase in business, as indicated before. Although most of the merchants were located on Cormorant Street, there were in 1901 a substantial number located on Fisgard Street, a parallel street one block north. Nineteen had opened there compared to the three in 1885. The new shops included 5 grocery stores, 2 druggists (herbalists), 1 butcher, 1 tinshop and 10 general stores.

The Role of the Chinese Merchant

In 1893 a Chinese merchant association was started in Victoria called the Wa Sheung Chung Wai. Although little is known of its function in the community, I collected details on the first group of officers. The president was the uncle of the farmer previously mentioned in this chapter, and the remaining six were all owners of merchant companies, including one tea importer, two opium manufacturers and three importers of general goods. Five out of the seven men had families in Victoria, and at least three had inherited or would in the following years inherit their businesses from an uncle or father. There were four surnames represented, four Lee and one each of Lum, Chan and Lou.

In 1899 the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, established in Victoria in 1884, met to compose a notice to be sent to China discouraging fellow countrymen from coming to Canada. The basis for the decision of these merchants (all major offices in the association were filled by merchants) was founded on the following:

a) the Chinese exclusion from working underground in the Nanaimo Coal Mines,

b) the decline in the cannery business and the fact that it was only seasonal,

c) the high cost of living and the possibility of having to depend on relatives in Victoria and

d) the decline in productivity of the gold mines (Lai 1972: 4-7 unpub. ms.). The cost of living, according to the notice,

was from $5 to $6 a month or 10 times as much as in China, with an annual income of only $20 (this income was from cannery work) (Lai 1972:5 unpub. ms.). Other information told of the hardships that would be endured in the gold fields and how it would cost $500 to $600 in transportation alone to arrive there. It told of the unemployed Chinese in Victoria who were "suffering from hunger (and) have nowhere to go but to stay in despair in Victoria" (Lai 1972:5 unpub. ms.). The notice ended with the following:

> We have been living in Victoria for a long time and understand the hardship of Chinese here. We cannot bear to keep our mouth shut while we see our fellow countrymen come here only to run into despair and difficulties. This is why we are sending this notice to inform you that if you wish to come here to look for a job, do not do so unless you are promised that you will be employed or supported financially after you arrive in Victoria. If you are not sure of this never think of coming to Canada. If you do not take our advice, and are determined to come, you should bring along with you some extra money for emergency. After you have paid for the fare to Victoria and the head tax, you should have an extra $30 to $90 dollars so that you will have money to pay for your board and lodging while you are still seeking work. Otherwise you will find yourself in a terrible plight and have to sleep in the open, with no job, no food, and no salvation.
>
> Source: Lai 1972:6-7 (unpub. ms.).

The first obvious observation was the prominent role of the Chinese merchants, who once again took the responsibility of speaking for their people, but whether this was done in complete sympathy or in the interest of preserving business in which some had invested ten to twenty years of work and considerable capital is not known. I would suggest in fairness that both parts played a part in their suggestion, which

included a slight amount of exaggeration. However, referring back to the notice published in the paper in 1878, where the merchants absolved themselves of the responsibility for the actions of some of their fellow countrymen, one may wonder whether this notice of 1899 is written with similar feeling. The merchants of this period are still vividly remembered by older members of the Chinese community today. They are referred to not only in terms that allude to their higher status economically, socially and politically, but also as leaders that fully represented their community in a way which is unknown in the present times. These were also men who had vested interest in the economic enterprises they ran, which may originally have functioned specifically to acquire wealth but which by 1901 seem to have been gradually changing to family enterprises with some degree of permanence attached to their existence.

One might add that, contrary to the situation in 1899, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association's slate of officers and directors did include one restaurant owner, but the remaining were all merchants, farmers, importers or opium manufacturers.

In the seventeen years since the previous report, Victoria's Chinese population had become the largest urban one in the province, increasing by approximately 1,500 people. Those occupied as labourers and merchants had increased greatly, while those in the service category, significantly less. The number of merchant businesses had risen from 30

firms with 45 merchants to 53 firms with 159 merchants by 1901, with a number of large partnerships. The number of families, probably those of merchants, and the increased number of children, 145 with a higher proportion of females, were probably indicative of the prosperity and prolonged duration of the sojourn. Some of the boys, numbering 102 under 17 in 1884, might have been those related to merchant families who by this time were incorporated into partnerships, as is the case of the agricultural family mentioned previously.

One should notice that the trade done by the Victoria Chinese merchants in 1901 with Canada, China, England and the United States was approximately half that of the similar figure for 1884 done by all the Chinese merchants in British Columbia. Specifically, they were doing almost four times as much business with Canada, England and the United States as they were with China in 1901. Also it may be noted that the business done by Chinese firms in Victoria for 1901 was only slightly less than that done by all Chinese merchants in British Columbia in 1884.

These facts, plus the increase in investments, the amount of revenue paid and insurance seem to add further towards indicating the economic expansion of Victoria's commerce. Unfortunately, we have little idea of how much the opium business contributed to this situation, although there was a definite decline by 1901. In the same vane, it is hard to estimate the effects of the three growing urban Chinese communities on the mainland, although Victoria contained 60

of the 150 companies in the four communities (See Table 16).

In brief, the Victoria Chinese merchants commanded a dominant position in the trade network involving export, import and redistribution of goods, with a declining dependence on Chinese commodities. Further, the presence of this increased activity had encouraged land investment and family businesses financed by their own capital with apparently no reliance on the host community, since no interest payments are listed for 1901 as they were in 1884.

Also, it is in this period that we see the rise of intensive farming at the apex of the agricultural complex supported by small farmers and peddlers.

The Service Activities and Personnel

From Table 17 one can note that there was a considerable increase in each category between 1885 and 1901. In 1901 there were 1,044 more workers, 459 more in the service occupations and 114 more merchants. There were also a greater number of families, 92 in 1901 as compared to only 41 in 1884, an increase of 51. The number of children had also increased but only by 12. Twenty-nine of these children were attending school, probably the Chinese school established in 1889.

This increase in the service occupations can be seen in Table 21.

TABLE 21

Comparative Number of Chinese Personnel Involved in Several Major Occupations

Occupation	1884	1901	Increase
Merchants	45	159	114
Domestic Cooks	180	530	350
Tailors	30	84	54
Laundrymen	90	197	107
Market Gardeners	114	198	184

Source: Report 1902:13 and Report 1885

The increases can be explained as a function of a number of economic and social changes that had taken place in Victoria. These include particularly the increase in the total population of Victoria from 16,000 in 1889 to 25,000 in 1900 (Report 1902:178). This brought about a demand for goods that could be consumed in the local area and those necessary to foster trade with the mainland. Significantly, more and more Chinese in Victoria were depending on the host society's demand for their services, which in turn fostered a symbiotic relationship with those that utilized the services and with the Chinese merchants who benefitted in trade.

Small Farmers and Peddlers

By 1891 a substantial increase was seen in horticultural activity and a corresponding increase in population, which provided the necessary market for the produce. In the Report of 1902 several farmers alluded to this expansion of the agricultural industry but chose to blame it entirely on the Chinese.

Andrew Strachen, Michael Finnerty, Henry Atkinson and Joseph Shaw substantiated the presence of the Chinese market gardener in 1891-92, some to the point where they called it a monopoly (Report 1902:57 and 66). Unlike the Chinese market gardener, however, these men depended on the retail market, trading or selling their goods in the Victoria green-grocery stores. One estimated that he used to sell his goods for $8 to $20 a day but gave it up when the Chinese peddlers interceded as middlemen for their own market gardeners (Report 1902:57). Another farmer estimated that there were between 60 and 70 Chinese peddlers who were delivering goods to the Chinese cooks and domestic servants -- a relationship mentioned before (Report 1902:66). This relationship meant that 198 market gardeners were supplying 60 to 70 peddlers, who were in turn distributing goods to 530 domestic cooks.

Compared to other evidence, however, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the small market gardener and the farmer, or specialized agriculturalist. The white farmers employed Chinese labour for the clearing of the land and the performance of chores, thus cutting their labour costs. A Chinese labourer was paid only half the amount of a white labourer (See Appendix III). This meant that the white farmer could compete favourable in one of two ways: either he leased uncleared land to a Chinese market gardener, whereby he not only got his land cleared but also received rent, or he hired Chinese labour at $18 to $20 a month as opposed to $36 for white labour, thereby reducing his production costs. The

small market gardener, on the other hand, could not afford the labour and did not have enough land to lease to Chinese gardeners (Report 1902:45-66). The exception to this was the entrance of Chinese people into intensive farming, which has been covered in the section on merchants.

Domestic and Commercial Cooks

Other service activities in which the Chinese were involved had also increased, both in the number of businesses and the number of personnel employed. The domestic cooks in 1901 were employed in both private homes and hotels. Those in homes earned from $10 to $30 a month and those employed in hotels from $25 to $45 a month, in the latter case without room and board. This marks another change from the 1885 situation, as we see the employment of Chinese cooks and help in white restaurants and hotels, more lucrative than working in a home and providing more opportunity to learn a language that some Chinese considered an absolute necessity. This occupation, as previously mentioned, required a minimal apprenticeship and afforded a more than nominal amount of job security, with the added benefit of allowing continued contact with friends and kin within the Chinese community.

Cooks also provided benefit for such establishments as the Tim Kee employment agency. Mr. Wong, the owner of this business, which was another case of diversified business as he also had a tailor shop, served as liaison between white employers and willing Chinese cooks. One Chinese gentleman, who spent many years as a domestic cook, told of how Mr. Wong

would procure a job for a client for 10% of the first month's wages; however, this could be circumvented, since residence in a fang k'ou with other cooks gave similar access without the added expense. My friend had followed the latter course of action.

Laundries

The laundry business was also expanding, spreading further geographically than any other service business, except the peddler, but still within the downtown area. This geographical dispersal can be explained partially by the expansion of Victoria and partly by a fire in the City of Victoria which burned over 100 houses. The location of the burned houses seems to have been along the waterfront below Cormorant Street and Johnson Street, where there was a considerable number of wooden buildings, many of which, according to data collected, were occupied by Chinese laundrymen.

Little is known of the laundry business in Victoria, but from all accounts it appears to have existed in much the same fashion as it did in other areas of North America more thoroughly dealt with by Siu (Siu 1964 and Siu 1952). As in the case of some other Chinese businesses, the option of board and room was also present in the laundry, according to the evidence of W. A. Cum Yow, resident of Victoria (Report 1902: 237). Laundrymen could earn $17 or $18 a month or $8 a month with room and board (Report 1902:176). The laundryman who gave the above information had been a farmer in China and managed to send home between $100 and $120 a year to his wife

and 3 children (Report 1902:176). Ming Lee also noted one drawback to this business, the occupational hazard of debts incurred from customers. In his evidence he said he had many debts, one in particular of $100 from one man whose laundry cost him $5 a month. The presence of this situation has been noted before in reference to the Chinese restaurant (1885) and to the contemporary small retail outlets owned or managed by Chinese people. This hazard appears to be the result of competition in which the business may extend credit to attract clientele. Informal credit may attract business and keep customers, but it becomes virtually impossible to regain a loss unless voluntarily paid, since the customer may never appear again. Before the Chinese had access to any legal protection -- expensive and difficult even today -- there seems to have been a great deal of dependence on the honesty of members of the host community. In the early years such access required interpreters, of whom there were very few, all Englishmen.

One other aspect of the laundry business in 1902 is the employment of Chinese women (number unknown) who earned from $16 to $30 a month. These might have been wives of laundry operators, yet they earned half the wage of the male employees (See Appendix III).

Tailors

One other business that had shown a considerable increase was tailoring. The Report of 1902 lists sixteen Chinese tailors, two of which produced Chinese clothing (Report 1902:177).

However, the Victoria Directory listed 28 Chinese tailor shops for the same year, all of which, with only three exceptions, were located on Cormorant, Government and Store Streets (British Columbia Directory 1901:1017-1019). The reason for this discrepancy may have been the listing of silk yardage stores under the heading of tailor shops in the Directory.

According to evidence given by white tailors, the Chinese tailor had not entered into competition with the white tailors before 1891. In this year there were, according to the Report, 150 tailors in Victoria, all of whom were white. In 1891 white wages were $18 a week for a man and $10 a week for a woman (Report 1902:177). In 1901 the tailoring business in Victoria employed 135 people, which included 84 Chinese tailors employed at $25 to $40 a month with board and 51 white tailors, men earning $48 a month and women $24 a month (Report 1902:177). The Chinese men were employed by 14 Chinese tailoring firms who subcontracted to white wholesale merchant tailors for the production mainly of pants and overalls, although there is some mention of making ready-made suits. One Victoria manufacturer claimed that he had paid out about $300 a month to Chinese tailors for the production ofpants and coats (Report 1902:182). The pants cost $4.50 a dozen and the coats $5 a dozen (Report 1902:182). At this rate, which is comparable to the amount paid by other white tailors, they were buying an average of 63 dozen garments a month (Report 1902:181-82). The Chinese tailor, on the other hand, employing four to six men who worked from 9:00 a.m. to 8:00

p.m. seven days a week, could gross $900 a month (Report 1902:180). This evidence was given by Charlie Bo and Company, who made, according to personal communication, 18 to 20 suits for Chinese men each month, costing from $12 to $20 each, and 15 suits a month for white men at about $14.50 a suit. A white tailor would charge $22 to $23 for the same thing (Per. Comm.).

Although there was fairly strenuous competition between white and Chinese tailors in terms of filling orders, it did not appear to produce any conflict. Most of the tailors admitted that bids were fairly competitive and that the Chinese tailor could often underbid and receive the contract. This would profit the tailor, his staff and the contracting firm. The people who may have suffered were those employed by white tailors whose wages had decreased considerably since 1891. One such example was a man who said he found it hard to support himself, his wife and four children with an annual income of $576 and a cost of living of $662 when in 1889 he had been able to earn an annual wage of $1,040 (Report 1902:178). He makes no mention of his cost of living in 1889, so it is a little hard to determine the actual significance of his remarks. A single Chinese man, according to Tim Kee (Per. Comm.), could live on $7 or $8 a month. Three men living together would each pay $3 to $5 for a room they shared and about $3 a month for board (Report 1902:180). Given a cost of living of $8 a month, a Chinese tailor or apprentice could save anywhere from $204 to $384 annually given consistent employment and no

unforeseen expenses such as association membership fees, donations, remittances or illness. In comparison, it was estimated by Mr. McLean in the course of the investigations that the cost of living for a Chinese man in China would have been from $24 to $36 a year, with a possible annual income of about $55 at 15 cents a day (Report 1902:8). If this is correct it can easily be seen how a subsidy provided by a relative in Victoria could prove to be a considerable help.

To summarize the Chinese role in the tailoring business of Victoria, I would say that they had benefited from competition that was crippling the Western market due to the high cost of labour. Luckily, the white merchant tailors in Victoria had the Chinese tailors to fall back on; otherwise their industry would have been in far worse shape by 1901. For the Chinese tailor it provided a chance of adaptation that brought both favourable and unfavourable rewards. Monetarily it served his purpose, but it also made him at least partially reliant on an unknown quantity -- the host society. At various times after 1901 it became almost impossible to start a tailor shop, which resulted in the necessity of seeking other employment - in one case switching to a laundry business. At this time most work was done for private customers with the prior dependence on wholesale white tailor firms unavailable. Mechanization of the Clothes manufacturing business in the east had thwarted production in the west.

Shoemaking

Another industry which had reached its peak and declined

by 1901 was that of shoemaking. This, too, had provided jobs for many Chinese men in the interim between 1884 and 1901. In 1894 there were 150 Chinese and 30 white men employed in the industry (Report 1902:183). Much of this boom was attributable to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, one boot manufacturer selling as much as $10,000 worth in a month (Report 1902:185). After the railroad was completed the market declined, and in 1901 only 16 Chinese and four white men were employed in this business in Victoria (Report 1902:185). The Chinese men received wages ranging from $6 to $8 a week, while the white employees earned $12 to $18 a week (Report 1902:185). In 1901, however, two Chinese men owned shoemaking shops, according to the Victoria Directory, which was the first evidence of this in Victoria except for the mention of one Chinese shoemaker in the same source for 1884. In the 1902 Report, two of these shops are mentioned, each employing three men at $25 to $30 a month (Report 1902: 185). I would speculate here that the apprenticeship done by some Chinese in the late 1800's for white firms had enabled them to amass enough capital to start their own business - at least on a small scale.

Cost of Living

In the foregoing, some mention has been made of the cost of living for Chinese people in Victoria. The cost of living for a Chinese labourer in 1884 amounted to about $182 for the year, permitting savings of $218 if he was employed consistently for 12 months at $25 a month. In 1901 a similar

cost of living and similar working conditions would have produced yearly savings of from $118 to $398 (Report 1885:366).

An important aspect here is the tendency of all Chinese people in Victoria to maintain as low a cost of living as possible despite an increase in their wages or the affluence of the society that surrounded them. This always provided a point of consternation for various members of the host community who tended to increase their cost of living, sometimes beyond the capacity of their income to support it. The personal comforts of many Chinese were secondary to the distribution of their income over a far wider spectrum ranging from the support of family at home to financial aid given to association and kin within Victoria and other parts of Canada. One Chinese gentleman who came to Victoria in 1902 and eventually went on to Calgary opened a restaurant some years later financed by shares he offered to friends in Vancouver (Red Deer Advocate 1968:December 5).

Between 1884 and 1901 the service activities and businesses had diversified to include a wide spectrum of operations. The laundry business reached its peak in this period, with the highest number of persons involved and the largest number of establishments distributed geographically further than any other Chinese business. It provided year-round employment, which, as can be noted in Appendix III, produced a maximum income greater than employment in other service activities and as a labourer. Cooks also increased in number, with a noticeable shift to working in hotels and restaurants

owned by white people which tended to yield a higher income (See Appendix III). This again was a year-round activity. There was also a sudden rise in restaurants, notably on Fisgard Street, an area that tended to house firms dealing more specifically with the needs of the local Chinese community. It is unknown whether this increase was the result of local Chinese domestic cooks who started their own businesses or a product of more recent arrivals to the community. It is assumed that they catered almost exclusively to a Chinese clientele, although it is not known whether those cooking in fang k'ou or Chinese firms that provided room and board are included under this category in the 1901 report.

Other activities relating to the local Chinese community also increased, as might be expected with a larger population. There were, according to the Victoria Directory, one jeweller, one pawnbroker, three bakers, two employment agents and one lottery agent, all located in Chinatown (Victoria Directory 1901). Of more importance, however, as indicated in the section under service activities, is the tailoring business, which had almost doubled since 1884. This manufacturing enterprise became extremely lucrative to the Chinese after 1891, as they had the possibility of supplying three general markets: their own community, the host community and the host community's manufacturers. In this light, the tailor participated in the same general market as the Chinese merchant, but without the import-export function, the distinction being that his expansion was directly dependent on the manufacturing enterprises

of the host community. As in other service businesses, expansion or contraction was easily accommodated with minimal capital outlay provided trained apprentices were available. Apprenticeship appears to have been originally provided by white-owned manufacturers, with the function gradually being taken over by the Chinese tailor who accumulated enough capital to start his own shop. This in turn gave rise to the possibility of establishing a family business including females as productive members. This provides a distinction between other activities, excluding perhaps laundries, shoemakers, and merchant enterprises where women were not included as a productive member. This, of course, could be explained by the relatively few women in the Chinese community.

It is also worth noting here that Chinese tailors bought silk from Chinese importers as well as buying material from the host community.

Shoemaking seems similar to the tailoring industry in its development and decline by 1901. Again the apprenticeship appears to have been performed for white manufacturers in Victoria supplying a market created by the railroad. Once the market declined and eastern competition increased, the Chinese involved either had to change their activity or adapt. In 1901 there were only two Chinese boot and shoe dealers.

The market garden industry was also of great importance during this period, attracting increasingly larger numbers of Chinese people involved in labour and in distribution both to their own community and to the host population. Again, the

low labour costs and the avoidance of retail outlets on the part of the Chinese allowed them to fill the gap left open by white farmers who sent their produce straight from the farm to the retail store.

Chinese Employment Agent and the Chinese Labourer

In the foregoing, most of the merchant activity and service industries have been discussed as they involved the economic activity of the Chinese. Now it remains to talk briefly about Chinese labour. In Victoria most of the Chinese labour, other than those working for Chinese employers, was employed in four major activities. These included the lumber industry (cordwood-cutting and saw mills), cigar-making, brick-making, lime-burning and farm labour. Other Chinese were employed in the coal mines at Nanaimo and in the island canneries. The comparative wages for these various activities can be found in Appendix III.

Most of these activities were seasonal, especially the cannery, and thus a Chinese labourer might be unemployed anywhere from four to six months of the year. Nearly all of these activities depended on Chinese employment agencies as middlemen, which, as one Chinese gentleman related, provided some problems.

As already stated, the Chinese employment agent worked on a commission basis. A white employer would go to an agent and ask for so many men; the employment agent found them and ensured their position in the job for his fee. In one case, the employer made a further deal with the Chinese agent

whereby he fired the group after a short time and then requested another group to replace them. This meant that the Chinese employment agent could perform the same task again and receive his interest from a new group of men. Although this was reported of only one man, it seems possible that this sort of activity was widespread. Apparently this was also the case with white employment agents, too, since legislation was passed in 1919 forbidding the operating of such private employment agencies where fees were charged outside the scrutiny of some government agency (Department of Labour Annual Report 1919:28). This legislation, however, was not applicable to Chinese employment agents, and the Tim Kee Company continued operation until 1947, when he moved to Vancouver. It was obviously necessary for this business to continue, since British Columbia's traditional antagonism against Oriental labour did not permit the presence of Chinese intermediaries in government-sponsored employment offices where they could help their own people. By 1947, with the war and some changing attitudes, the decline in the demand for domestic cooks and a greater dependence on the host economic system by Chinese people, the need for such conveniences decreased.

The general opinion of white employers in the 1902 Report was favourable towards the Chinese labourer. The labour was cheap, which reduced production costs, and the men were industrious and less prone to be "activists". One brickmaker in Victoria said that he had fired all his Chinese labourers,

but when the white employees tried to re-organize his business he re-hired the Chinese labourers (Report 1902:187).

The Summation of the Commission

In contradiction to these opinions the final analysis of the 1902 Report, summarized in Table 22, reads like a denunciation of all Chinese people.

TABLE 22

The Summarized Opinions of Those Consulted in the 1902 Report

	Exclusion	Higher Restriction	Keep $100 Head Tax	No Restriction	No Opinion
Employers	11	15	4	4	7
Merchants	11	4	1	2	-
Professional Class	35	4	2	2	-
Farmers and Market Gardeners	8	5	-	1	-

Source: Report 1902:240

In addition to this, the white employees favoured exclusion or higher restriction, and the ministers were decided ". . . that the Chinese were an undesirable class and, with one exception, favoured the prohibition of further immigration of the labouring class of Chinese" (Report 1902:240).

It seems most interesting that the 'professional class' who employed the majority of the domestic cooks and had least contact with the larger corpus of the Chinese community were the most vehemently opposed to their presence. This provided

one example of anti-Chinese sentiment that did not directly stem from economic competition.

In contrast to these opinions, two given by members of the Chinese community, one a merchant and the other both a professional and tailor, indicated the business benefits derived from continued immigration of their fellow countrymen. Lee Cheong, owner of the Tai Yune Company and President of the Chinese Board of Trade, said that the tax should be removed altogether. Lee Mong Kow, the Chinese Interpreter at the Customs House, when asked whether it would be better that no more Chinese be admitted, said "In a way it might be better, but of course it would affect the commercial business" (Report 1902:238-39).

Restrictive Legislation

The result of the 1902 Report and investigations was an increase in the existing head tax to $500 for each Chinese person entering except for the exempt classes already mentioned. The Act was passed in 1903 and became effective January 1904 (Kalbach 1970:13). In 1908 students were dropped from the exempt classes but teachers were added (Kalbach 1970)13).

The effect of the head tax was felt, and between 1904 and 1907 a total of only 536 Chinese entered the Province, 415 of whom entered exempt. The total revenue from this tax was $127,695, which also included the registration fee from 7,095 Chinese who had registered for leave (See Appendix IV). Another change to the 1903 Act was the increase in British Columbia's share of the head tax revenue from one-quarter to

one-half (Woodsworth 1941:45).

Organizations and Institutions

There are three important organizational activities that develop during this time: the founding of schools for Chinese students by the Chinese community, the beginning of political alignment in the Victoria Chinese community, and the development of fund-raising to support various innovations in China and other overseas Chinese communities beyond the range of the remittance to families and villages.

Education

The first Chinese school in Victoria, Lock Quan, was established by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association under the guidance of Lee Mong Kow. Lee Mong Kow came to Victoria in 1882 with his mother, who worked for an English family that had previously resided in Hong Kong. In the course of a few years he learned English by taking lessons, worked as a labourer in Esquimalt, and still later was an apprentice to a tailor. He ultimately opened his own shop in Victoria (Per. Comm.). He married a prominent tailor's daughter in Victoria and raised a large family of 12 children, and in 1901 he became an interpreter for the Victoria collector of customs (Per. Comm.). The school he helped found, initially taught Chinese but later included the teaching of Chinese geography and history.

An older Chinese gentleman in Victoria told me that around 1900 he had heard his father speak of a man in Victoria who told the Chinese people that all the Chinese children

would grow up like Indians if they were not sent to school. This must have been Lee Mong Kow, who established the school with Lee Yung Qwong, a scholar brought from China by the owner of Tai Yune Company to educate his son, as the first teacher. Originally the school gave free lessons, but, according to one gentleman, the day it moved into the new building a fee was charged for each student, and he went no longer. The school, according to one of the former teachers, prepared Chinese children for entrance into high school when they returned to China. There is other evidence to support this fact, since some of the wealthier merchants did send their children back to China for further education, and after the raising of the head tax to $500 it is probable that relatives urged the completion of high school in China before coming overseas. In this way with the acquisition of English they could attend the Victoria public schools.

There were other schools in Victoria specifically for Chinese students, some run by associations and others, one in particular the Chinese Mission School established in 1874, offered classes three times a week in the morning and evening (Br. Col. 1874:March 20). Osterhout, in The Oriental in Canada, tells how W. C. Sanford, a merchant from Hamilton, gave $500 a year to establish the Sanford Mission in Victoria, which between 1875 and 1876 had upwards of 90 boys in attendance (Osterhout 1929:73). Little information has been collected about the role of these schools, although there is some contention that missionary activity became particularly

fervent in Victoria with the presence of young Chinese who were possible converts (Osterhout 1929:73).

Political Organization

During this important period of organizational fervour amongst the Chinese in Victoria, we find the founding of the first essentially fraternal association, supporting what might be termed a political cause. This was the Empire Reform Association, started under the initiative of K'ang Yu-wei, who was described as "the great Chinese reformer" and:

> A Cantonese of the tradesman class, (who) has by his ability risen to be the comrade of the emperor, and although now in exile has had the proud distinction of having given China an impetus on the road to progress and reform which will never be wholly lost, even though its operation may be temporarily retarded.
> (Br. Col. 1899:April 9)

Note: In actuality K'ang Yu-wei came from a family of Confucian scholars (Chai and Chai 1962:197).

The article continued in its praise, saying that K'ang was obviously different from the Cantonese in Victoria who were described as being known "well" and who were furthermore incapable of producing a man ". . . who may inaugurate a new era for humanity. . ." (Br. Col. 1899:April 9).

K'ang escaped from Peking, where he had been tutor to the Emperor (in name only) and the leader of a reform movement which found disfavour with the Dowager Empress when she discovered the suggested reforms were actually being initiated. Under the protection of British government representatives, he left China in hopes of appealing for help to Britain and the overseas Chinese communities in Canada (Br. Col. 1899: April 8 and 9). In Victoria K'ang stayed with Lee Mong Kow

and Lee Yick Wai, part-owner of the Tai Yune Company. After leaving Victoria, K'ang went to Vancouver, where his impending visit had caused considerable consternation. The Chinese Board of Trade in that city was reluctant to openly receive K'ang fearing that "secret emissaries would write to China of their sentiments and their relatives' heads would be cut off because they sympathized with K'ang" (Br. Col. 1899: April 13). Despite this, K'ang was received, largely because Dr. Lui of Vancouver, "an influential man", urged support on the grounds that "K'ang was not a rebel; he was formerly the companion of their Emperor and a prophet of the people and Great Britain was his friend" (Br. Col. 1899:April 13). During the rest of the year K'ang visited other Chinese communities in Canada and then went to England, returning to Victoria in the fall. Once back he began to organize the Chinese Empire Reform Association with Charley Yip Yen,[14] the C.P.R. interpreter in Vancouver, as its first president (Br. Col. 1899:Oct. 10). Proclamations were issued to urge donations, and three emissaries (two from Victoria and one from Vancouver) were sent to San Francisco to "commence operations" (Br. Col. 1899:Oct. 10).

The extent of donations given to this cause is not known, but the confidence displayed by a general meeting of the

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14 Charley Yip Yen, according to the Royal Commission Report of 1910-11, was an interpreter at Vancouver till 1902, when he returned to China to open a banking firm, his brother succeeding him as interpreter. He returned to Vancouver in 1907 to form the Chinese Empire Reform Association. Further information about him may be found in the Report.

association in the summer of 1900 suggests some optimism. Several resolutions were passed at this time, including one that urged all loyal Chinese throughout the world to celebrate the birthday of their Honorary President, His Imperial Majesty K'ang Hsu and another condemned the supporters of the Boxer Rebellion, who, in the opinion of the association, should be removed from power (Br. Col. 1899:Oct. 10).

In July of the same year 110 Chinese men were summoned to Macao from Vancouver, New York, and Seattle, where they were to form a council of war under K'ang Yu-wei (Br. Col. 1900:July 25).

This reform movement did not succeed under K'ang Yu-wei; the Emperor was made prisoner by the Empress Dowager and died in 1908, but another man of peasant background rose to take K'ang's place (Chai and Chai 1962:199). This man, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, with a Western education, sought revolution as a means to end the Manchu regime in China. Dr. Sun, unlike K'ang, was not a product of the traditional system in China and furthermore was an overseas Chinese who had joined his brother in Honolulu at the age of 12 (Chai and Chai 1962:205). This was in July 1879, the year he also paid his first of three visits to Victoria. The purpose of his later visits in 1910 and January of 1911, as with K'ang's, was to ellicit monetary support for the revolution that was finally to get under way in October of 1911. In Victoria he apparently won favour, for he changed the rules of the Chee Gung Tong of which he was a member. The Chee Gung Tong had existed in one

form or another in Canada since its foundation in Barkerville in 1862 (Lyman, Willmott and Ho 1970:48). It had existed in Victoria, according to the above source, since 1897 - or according to another source since 1886 (Lyman, Willmott and Ho 1970:48 and Per. Comm.). Sun Yat-Sen sought the help of this organization, which he obtained. Then by changing its regulations he drew to it many persons who had previously supported the Empire Reform Association (Per. Comm.). An older gentleman in Vancouver told of how as many as 100 people in a day would change their affiliation (Per. Comm.).

The second incidence of financial support coming from the Victoria community involves an attempt by the CCBA to help the overseas Chinese community in Cuba. Contributions were ellicited from the Victoria community by the sale of five official titles (Lai 1972:60). The five titles were auctioned for a total of $680.50, which was remitted to help the Chinese in Cuba (Lai 1972:60). This is the only instance I know of in Canada of this phenomenon, which, according to Yen Ching-Hwang, was particularly prevalent in Singapore and Malaya, where the practice began in 1869 (Yen 1970:21). Yen explains that by this practice the traditional forms of social mobility, where ". . . men sought office and power in order to gain wealth and prestige . . ." had been reversed in the overseas Chinese communities (Yen 1970:21). Furthermore:

> Distance, and China's traditional prejudice against most overseas subjects left most overseas Chinese no hope of gaining offices through the examination system . . . (this left no alternative but to) . . . gain wealth first and then use it to get prestige and power (Yen 1970:26).

In the case of Victoria, I do not know whether or not the official titles were bought with the hope that they would give social status, power and position in Victoria or in China upon the individual's return. I would speculate that the latter would be more likely simply because of the intent on the part of the majority of the Chinese to return home. Either wealth, associational leadership or both sufficed in Victoria to gain status and prestige.

CHAPTER VI

A Changing Chinese Community, 1902 to 1923

Historical Context

The reduction in immigration noted in the last chapter was short-lived, and between 1907 and 1915 28,612 Chinese entered paying the tax, 4,146 entered exempt and 31,111 registered for leave, yielding a total revenue of $14,355,406, half of which went to the province of British Columbia (See Appendix IV). Much to the alarm of the province there was also an increase in Japanese and Hindu immigration. Between June 30, 1904, and March 31, 1908, 5,179 East Indians entered Canada to compete with the Japanese and Chinese in gardening, clearing the land and mill work, although with less success (Woodsworth 1941:73).

The lull in Oriental immigration, however, from 1904 to 1907 provided time for a number of things to occur. In British Columbia growing agitation had mounted against Oriental labour. Since Wynne has very aptly summarized the growth of this agitation, its possible sources and the results, it will suffice at this point to mention only a few points (See Wynne 1966:172-179, and Wynne 1964).

The sources of the antagonism were a combination of American trade unionism with its advocates and a similar

organization, The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, which met in Victoria in 1906. Both groups were very much opposed to Asiatic labour. This, coupled with the founding, under American leadership, of the Asiatic Exclusion League in Vancouver in 1907, brought together a number of people very much concerned with calling attention to their organization and taking action on behalf of labour against Asiatics. The result was an Oriental riot in Vancouver which destroyed a considerable amount of Chinese property and which consequently cost the Canadian Government $26,990.00 in indemnities to Chinese for losses sustained (Report 1908:18). The subsequent investigation also yielded evidence on the presence of the opium industry in British Columbia, which has been covered in a previous section. According to Woodsworth, "The troubles of 1907 were caused not so much by renewed Chinese immigration as by the sudden influx of the other two groups, the Hindus and the Japanese" (1941:100-101).

The Oriental question had now entered a larger political arena because of the labour movement. As a result, two commissions were to investigate the extent of Asiatic labour in British Columbia. The first, published in 1908, was the "Report of the Royal Commission on Methods by which Oriental Labourers Have Been Induced to Come to Canada". It dealt mainly with the Japanese situation but did offer the first explanation of the extremely rapid increase in Chinese immigration which began in 1907. King, the author of the Report, pointed out that:

> The Chinamen who had landed in this country prior to January 1, 1904, discovered that the state, unwittingly perhaps, had, by restricting further competition from without, created of his labour a hugh monopoly; without organization, without expense, without even agitation, every Chinaman became a unit in a labour group more favoured than the most highly protected trade union (Report 1908:70-71).

According to Woodsworth this resulted in the doubling and tripling of Chinese wages, allowing more rapid accumulation of capital which could in turn be used to visit China and encourage relatives to come and to pay their $500 head tax on entry into Canada (1941:100). This is generally acknowledged by most authors to be the direct cause of increased immigration (Kung 1961, Gosnell 1913), but the process whereby this took place is not explained. Kung ignores the process, merely stating it as fact, and Gosnell, a resident of Victoria, explains the phenomenon in the following manner:

> The effect of restriction was to raise the price of wages among the Chinese each time it was increased, until after the five hundred dollars was imposed the Chinamen, secure in the labour market against more Chinamen, advanced their own wages by some method of combination until the scale now runs from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars and sixty dollars per month (Gosnell 1913:10).

This is an exaggeration because, as already indicated, the average scale of wages in 1902 was already between $25 and $60 a month for Chinese labour employed by Chinese or whites. That there was a great increase in 1907 is not likely: rather, there was a labour market which after the depression and crop failure of 1907 expanded, manifesting a demand for more labour (Gosnell 1913:10). This is partially indicated by an article published in 1907, which spoke highly of the Chinese in Canada

and their contribution; it further maintained that many farmers and fruit growers had come to British Columbia on the good faith that they could hire cheap Chinese labour. It goes on to say that, since the government restriction on immigration, crops were rotting on the ground, and petitions had been forwarded to Parliament asking that the Chinese be permitted to come as farm labourers and servants (Living Age 1907:504). One perceptive comment that sums up much of the antagonism levelled against the Chinese is the following:

> We seem to have decided that our own standard, - the standard of the Anglo-Saxon working man in this present year of grace - is the lowest we ought to recognize, and that any individual or race that contrives to live below it is necessarily a blot on the landscape (Living Age 1907:504).

Despite these contradicting opinions, the immigration went on, and further legislation was passed to restrict entrance without increasing the head tax. On May 27, 1908, the amount of money required in one's pocket upon landing was increased from $25 (required by a 1906 Act) to $200 for all Asiatic immigrants except the Japanese (Andracki 1958:104). In addition, an Order in Council of December 8, 1913 prohibited the entrance of skilled and unskilled labourers to Canada due to an overcrowded labour market (Andracki 1958:112). Much of this legislation, according to Andracki, was an attempt to place restrictions on Hindu immigration but ultimately applied to everyone (1958:112).

The facts concerning the actual state of the labour market in British Columbia, as I have indicated, are at best contradictory. Even the Royal Commission appointed by the

government of British Columbia in 1912 to look into labour conditions in the province concluded that "Oriental labour no longer meets with as much opposition as in past years. There is a growing tendency to view it as an evil that may be mitigated but must be endured . . ." (Andracki 1958:128).

What most authors tend to ignore in talking of immigration at this time is the situation in China, which profoundly affected the overseas community in relation to the welfare of their county or village of origin. This even extended to the national sphere in the period from 1900 to 1920, when, according to Willmott, "the Chinese community itself was preoccupied with the revolution in China" (1970:48). Willmott continues, "Sun Yat-Sen declared that "the Overseas Chinese are the parents of the Revolution", by which he meant not only that they were the main source of money, but also that they provided the ideological direction for his party (ibid.). Considering Sun Yat-Sen's experience in Honolulu, his visits to Victoria, Vancouver and other North American Chinese communities, it does not seem illogical that he would urge people from China to go abroad in order that they would contribute funds for the cause of the Revolution. Further, it is not inconceivable that the Chinese people aware of the coming revolution would take the opportunity to move while they could and before they lost what they had or before restrictions for entrance to countries where their kin had moved were prohibitive. Interestingly enough, those that did emigrate apparently did not come to Victoria, for the Victoria Chinese population increased

merchant activity since 1901 (See Table 17) seems to support the division, but the decrease in service businesses and the involvement of 555 people might be a little unrealistic. Of particular importance in these figures is the substantial increase in women, from 178 in 1901 to 456 in 1922, and the more even distribution of these women amongst the various economic categories. This tends to substantiate two important social changes in the Victoria community.

From 1901 to 1922 many Chinese men returned home, some for extended periods during wartime when transportation was unavailable and when the Canadian government extended the permitted period of absence from six months till such time as the war was over. This permitted many men to re-establish communication with their families and for some the chance to start one. According to some Chinese men who had returned home, at that time they would take up work in their own village, in one case returning to an old craft and in another opening a small business. In the event that they were still young enough they returned to Canada, still a more promising place than their home despite restrictions. Some brought their wives with them or moved them to Hong Kong where they could be reached and brought to Canada with less trouble.

In relation to the Victoria Chinese community, this period is the first in which we see the essentially male nature of the community change. The greatest proportion of the population increase was female between 1901 and 1922. Unfortunately, the only statistics available to show this are the

mortality figures kept by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. Table 24 gives only a portion of the information, that which is specific to Victoria. From a very early period

TABLE 24

Chinese Adult and Child Deaths In Victoria, 1903-1919

Years	Adults		Children Under 12	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1903	53	0	2	2
1904	44	0	2	2
1905	38	0	0	0
1906	37	2	1	0
1907	39	0	3	1
1908	32	0	0	0
1909	28	0	5	2
1910	26	1	8	6
1911	33	5	5	0
1912	43	2	4	3
1913	45	2	10	4
1914	37	2	8	7
1915	41	2	4	1
1916	29	0	9	4
1917	45	1	6	7
1918	68	2	6	4
1919	43	1	3	1
	681	20	76	44

Source: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association Records

the Chinese in Victoria and Canada followed a tradition of sending the remains of the deceased back to their native village in China. This tradition provided the necessity for considerable effort and expense for the relatives and associations involved.[15]

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[15] When a Chinese person died in Victoria, he or she would be buried for seven years; their name, place of birth, cause of death and burial location recorded. Offerings of food left at the graveside, according to one account, were removed

One can see from the figures that there was a fairly consistent death rate for males in Victoria, with much of the increase in population represented in the number of females, most of whom were probably wives. This is further supported by an increase in child mortality, in which death usually

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15 by Indians who had noticed the food while paddling by close to the shore. This resulted in the discontinuation of this custom and the removal of the food after the burial service (Chamber Journal 1911:439). After seven years the bones would be disintered and prepared for shipment home. The remains would be crated and sometimes stored until such time as there were sufficient number to warrant shipment.

In 1871 a fire in Victoria brought the presence of what was called a 'dead house' to the attention of the Victoria newspaper (Br. Col. 1871:Oct. 4). After investigation by the mayor and a councellor, who noted that "no offensive smell was perceptible, and the fear of infection groundless," the matter was dropped (Br. Col. 1871:Dec. 14). In the following year 160 boxes containing remains were shipped from Victoria (Br. Col. 1872:Jan. 27). The first recorded shipment, however, had been reported April 8, 1869, when the remains of 12 Chinese men were sent to San Francisco for re-shipment to Hong Kong (Br. Col. 1869:April 9). Later, bones were shipped directly from Victoria to Hong Kong at a cost of $16 a box. When in Hong Kong they would be stored at the Tung Wah Hospital awaiting re-shipment to their destination in the mainland at a cost of $2 a box (Per. Comm.). In 1931 preparation was made to ship some 800 boxes of remains. Owing to war, however, shipment was not possible, and the remains were stored in a house near the cemetery (Per. Comm.). In the same year the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association undertook a fund-raising program to take care of these remains. In co-operation with other Chinese communities across Canada $10,000 was raised by eight associations, enough funds to procure a new cemetery. By 1956 the new cemetery was full and in disrepair, and consequently another cemetery was used which had been recently opened. During the Japanese invasion and the Second World War the shipment of the remains had been impossible, transportation being unavailable. Even though Victoria had ceased to be the center where such remains were stored in Canada and from whence they were shipped, many of the remains were still here. In 1949 an attempt was made to remove these to the homeland, but the new government showed reluctance to accept them, and their final resting place was to be Victoria. In the years after 1931, with the presence of families, the necessity for associational co-ordination and control of this custom ceased, and this function again became the responsibility of the individual families.

occurred at birth (Records of the CCBA). The larger proportion of adult deaths occurred during the winter months as a result of pneumonia, influenza and tuberculosis. This suggests a very depressing picture of the medical facilities available to the Chinese in Victoria, obviously they were limited. The child mortality rate must have also been disheartening to Chinese families, especially after years of separation or absence from a family. One Chinese gentleman told me that his father had left Victoria once to go to the States with his wife hoping to have better luck, but after losing four sons at birth they considered the place bad luck and returned to Victoria.

In the period from 1902 to 1922, as far as the immigration authorities were concerned, the wives and children of both merchants and clergymen or children born in Canada of Chinese origin were exempt (Kalbach 1970:14-15). This might explain the increase of women in the merchant and service category, but the notable increase of women in the worker category is most probably due to the payment of the head tax by members of the family in China or, more likely, relatives or prospective husbands in Canada.

Two further comments on immigration might be added. Firstly that a higher degree of selectivity was being exercised by overseas Chinese, who sought to bring out kin or close relations (Lascelles N. Ward 1925:46). The author believed that the more efficient methods of business, clean shops and merchants associations were an indication of this

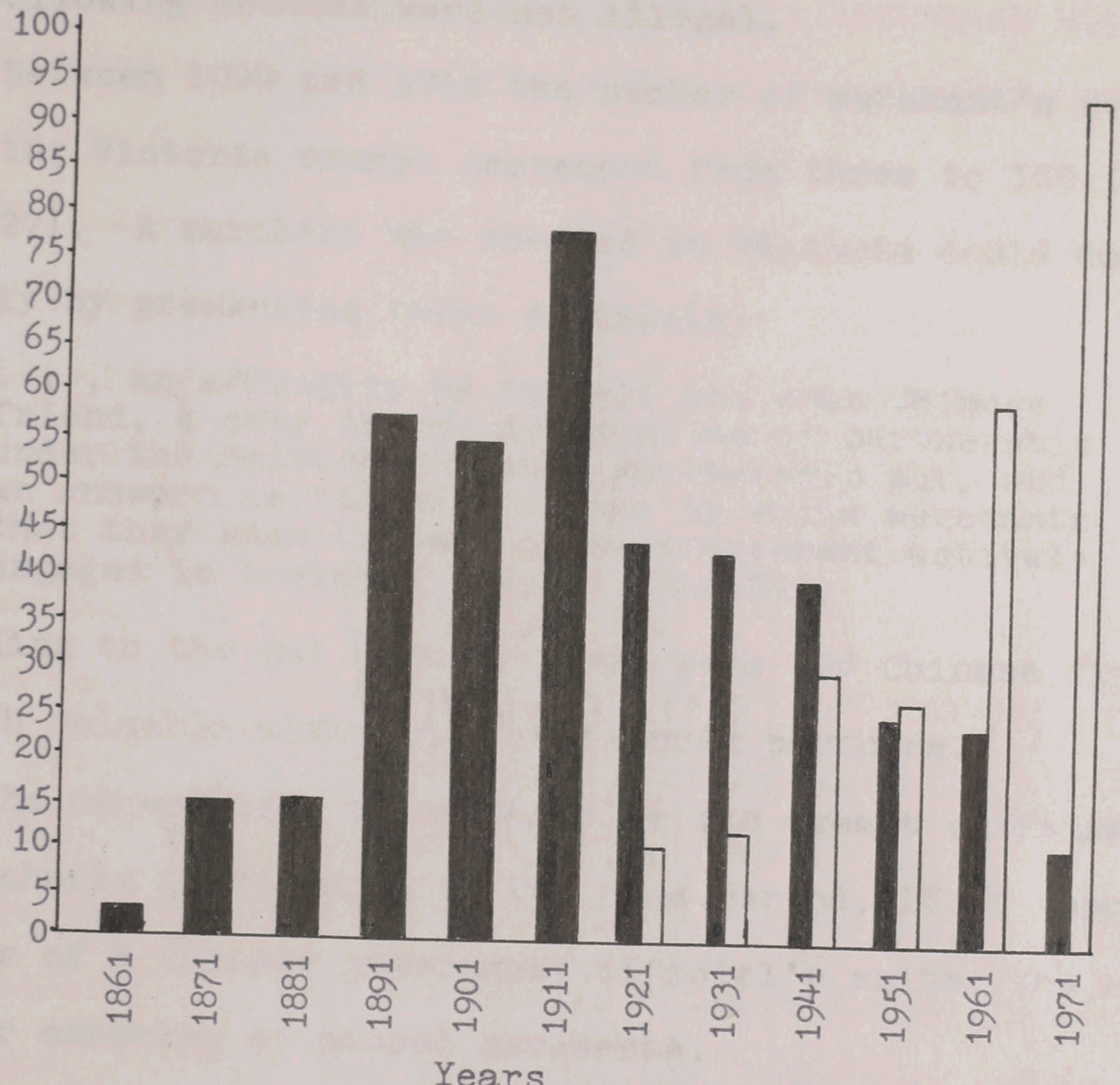
trend (Ibid.). Secondly, conditions elsewhere seemed to have had some affect on immigration. One Chinese gentleman told of how his father, who was in San Francisco in 1913, sent him to Victoria instead of the United States. The father had wanted to have his son join him in San Francisco, but because of trouble and 'Tong Wars' there the father paid the $500 head tax and the son came to Victoria. His father had been in the States since 1862 and a maternal uncle had been in the Caribou for forty years but had never made a fortune since he could work only during the spring and summer months. The uncle returned to China in 1915 (Per. Comm.).

Merchant Activity and Personnel

Merchant activity itemized in Graph 1 shows an increase already alluded to and further provides an overall picture for one hundred years of the Chinese community. In Graph 1 it can be seen that the period in question represented the peak in Chinatown merchant activity. Most of the businesses were dealing strictly in the sale of Chinese goods, including food, dry goods and curios or antiques. This reached a peak in 1911, with 79 merchant stores, 16 of which dealt in groceries and the rest in other goods. Some by this time had switched from opium and other merchandise to the sale of Chinese antiques and curios. One speculation that may be ventured on the data is that merchant activity was increased on purpose by any Chinese person who could afford it so that he might fulfill the requirements allowing kin to be admitted without payment of the head tax. In this way incoming members

GRAPH 1

Chinese Merchant Activity in Victoria, 1861 to 1971



Note: The graph represents the number of merchant businesses for each year shown. The dark bars represent those firms that are close to Chinatown and which deal almost exclusively in Chinese goods. The light bars represent those outside Chinatown dealing in fruit, vegetables and consumer goods of the host society.

Source: Victoria and British Columbia Directory 1861-1971
Victoria Chinese Directory 1944, 1947, 1960, 1965, 1967, 1968, 1972
Royal Commission Report 1885, 1902
Report to Legislative Assembly, 1927
Licence Records, City of Victoria 1948-72 (incomplete)

were able to establish their position as merchants.

There are two pieces of information that confirm this, both appearing in the 1910 Report which concerned itself with the illegal entry of Chinese people into Canada, although the following methods were not illegal.

Between 1904 and 1910 the number of merchant's sons entering Victoria exempt increased from three to 109 (Report 1910:27). A merchant who resided in Victoria could do this legally by presenting three documents:

> . . . an affidavit by himself and some Chinese friend, a copy of the declaration of partnership under the British Columbia Partnership Act, and an unsworn certificate signed by white merchants that they knew the man to be a merchant actively engaged in business (Report 1910:27).

According to the Act quoted, there were 528 Chinese firms in British Columbia with 2,561 registered partners.

The other piece of evidence is the exempt entrance of 54 merchants to Victoria in the same period, 18 of whom were members of a Chinese government official's suite, the remainder entering as actual merchants.

The diversity that was noted in the last chapter continues during this period, as one discovers, for instance, an extended family of male kin whose members were involved in businesses including groceries, dry goods, a tailor shop, a greenhouse, and a farm. In this way a family could extend their consumer market from being solely Chinese to one dependent on both the Chinese and host communities in several areas. Diversity also provided an apprenticeship for family members and employment for others. This diversity seems in part to be the result of

a new generation with tremendous energy who benefitted from the hard-earned knowledge and capital of their elders.

Older merchants in Victoria, some with as many as ten sons, retired or died, leaving the firm to a son or relative, or in some cases liquidating completely, returning with the whole family to China. I know of only one case of the latter choice.

This company was started in Victoria in 1880, when the founder came from Portland. Later, his son took over the business, also becoming in the course of his stay the first president of the Toy San Ning Yung Association and the eighth president of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria. In 1923 he closed the company in Victoria and went to Shanghai to open a banking and trust company, although, as was often the case with older merchant companies, he also had a branch of his company in Hong Kong.

One of the larger Chinese merchant companies in Victoria, which started in 1875, was managed by two unrelated partners (Per. Comm.). Both had come from San Francisco. Later, one partner returned to San Francisco, leaving the company to the other, who in turn returned to China in 1886, leaving the business to his younger brother. This younger brother ran the company until 1910 as one of three partners. After the company closed, two of the partners each opened a curio shop, and the third returned to Hong Kong to open a company there (Per. Comm.). All three of these merchants had families in Victoria with a total of fifteen children. Of these fifteen,

three established stores in Chinatown, one had a greenhouse and another became an interpreter for the immigration office. The remainder moved elsewhere, and one became a translator for the Chinese Times in Vancouver. Another merchant, previously mentioned in the 1902 Report, whose father had died in 1902, had an importing business besides having considerable investment in farming. He had four sons, two of whom are still in the produce business in Victoria running large wholesale firms, and another is in Calgary.

Other large Victoria Chinese merchants had already sold out by the early 1900's. One in particular, who had come to Victoria in 1880 from Portland, according to one Chinese source, had been responsible for making the agreement with Onderdonk for 4,000 Chinese labourers to work on the Canadian Pacific Railroad. He also had a merchant company which he closed in 1886 to return to China. Years later his son and grandson came to Canada but went to Vancouver instead of Victoria.

Other changes in types of merchant activity were apparent during this period. Table 25 indicates that for most years the dry goods stores outnumbered the grocery stores until 1917, when the total grocery outlets outnumbered the dry goods stores for the first time. The only explanation for this is the unavailability of Chinese imported goods during the war years due to the lack of shipping facilities; this shortage was remedied by 1924, but does not explain an increase in dry goods stores for 1915 unless of course the Directory is

unreliable. The most important aspect of this change is the development of retail grocery stores supplying the host community, mostly with vegetables and fruit produced by the Chinese farmers. This, however, provides some problems in interpretation, because the more apparent growth in this adaptation comes in the late 1920's which will be covered in the next chapter. Unfortunately I do not know the extent to which this early change influenced the later period.

TABLE 25

The Number of Various Chinese Businesses in Victoria 1910-1924

	1910	1913	1914	1915	1917	1920	1924
Dry Goods	54	47	44	52	29	9	37
Grocery	16	28	27	36	48*	43*	36*
Butcher	3	4	4	7	4	2	7
Tailor	29	29	26	28	23	21	16
Laundry	24	22	32	34	34	14	19
Barber	8	13	15	16	11	3	7
Baker	3	-	-	2	-	1	2
Wood	3	1	2	4	3	-	3
Restaurant	6	6	5	8	-	2	10
Jeweller and Watchmaker	3	3	6	5	4	1	1
Herbalist	1	2	-	2	3	2	3
Employment Agent	-	2	-	-	5	3	-
Boots and Shoes	9	9	12	14	11	-	11

*In 1917 9 of these groceries are not in Chinatown
In 1920 20 of these groceries are not in Chinatown
In 1924 17 of these groceries are not in Chinatown

Source: Victoria and British Columbia Directory 1910-1924

Summary

This is a particularly problematic period as it represents a time during which relatively little information was recorded about the Chinese community, which appears to have been in a stage of transition. Both population and merchant activity increased. What appears to have happened, however, is that the extended market area noted in Chapter IV shrank for the Victoria merchant. Several reasons may be postulated for this: 1) that the rise of the mainland merchant activity decreased the range of operations run in Victoria, 2) that the prospect of this activity was less appealing to a younger generation of Chinese, some born in Canada and others in China, 3) that the First World War and the revolution in China had disrupted the long-established trade links with Victoria and 4) that the continued and mounting antagonism of Canada towards Oriental immigration was necessitating an either/or situation for the Chinese merchant: he had to decide either to go back to China or stay and diversify his economic activity.

If he decided to stay, then selectively bringing in close kin and direct family members obviously became important especially if they could avoid the $500 head tax by entering as merchants. If he accomplished this by opening a merchant business then this could explain the flouresence of what appears, from most accounts, to be small merchant activity. Merchant activity does, however, appear to be dependent on a Chinese community that is local and a host community which

had an increasing interest in acquiring Chinese curios and antiques. Attempts to verify this latter aspect of business, however, have been without success and exceptions did exist, especially in one case where a Chinese jeweller in Victoria could no longer carry on his business so he learned how to repair watches from a friend in Vancouver, returning later to pursue this activity in Victoria.

Another aspect that might be included here is the dissolution of the older partnerships and the entrance of the children of earlier merchants into smaller, one-man operations. This again, however, is mere speculation, and until further data can be gathered about this period, little more can be added.

The only other enlightening information that can be included here in terms of merchant activity is the appearance of the first greenhouse owned by a Chinese person, according to the Victoria Directory, in 1913, and the appearance of a Chinese-owned wholesale and retail produce outlet the following year (Vic. Dir. 1913 and 14). The wholesale produce outlet was on Herald Street, which was in previous years an area where small farmers distributed their produce to the peddlers. The retail outlet, however, was located outside the Chinatown area and seems to mark the first of such enterprises that depended almost exclusively on the host community. However, as mentioned previously, the growth in Chinese grocery stores is not really noticeable till the late 1920's and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Service Activities and Personnel

Another interesting aspect of this period is the increase in all service activities requiring a place of business. From Graphs 2 through 5, however, it will be noticed that the peak periods for tailors, and barbers, occurred around 1911, while the laundry business and restaurants had begun by this time to decline. The latter two businesses would seem to be fluctuating in proportion to the size of the Chinese community, which reached 3,458 in 1911, the largest it had ever been. The tailoring business, however, dependent as it was on the host society, suffered from the post-war depression. According to one person, the price of material had become prohibitive and the market had dwindled, partially due to mechanization in the east and largely to the inability to acquire business in Victoria. As can be seen, however, there was still a substantial number of tailors in 1921, which might be explained by a tendency for those in this occupation to have more families than any of the other service businesses.

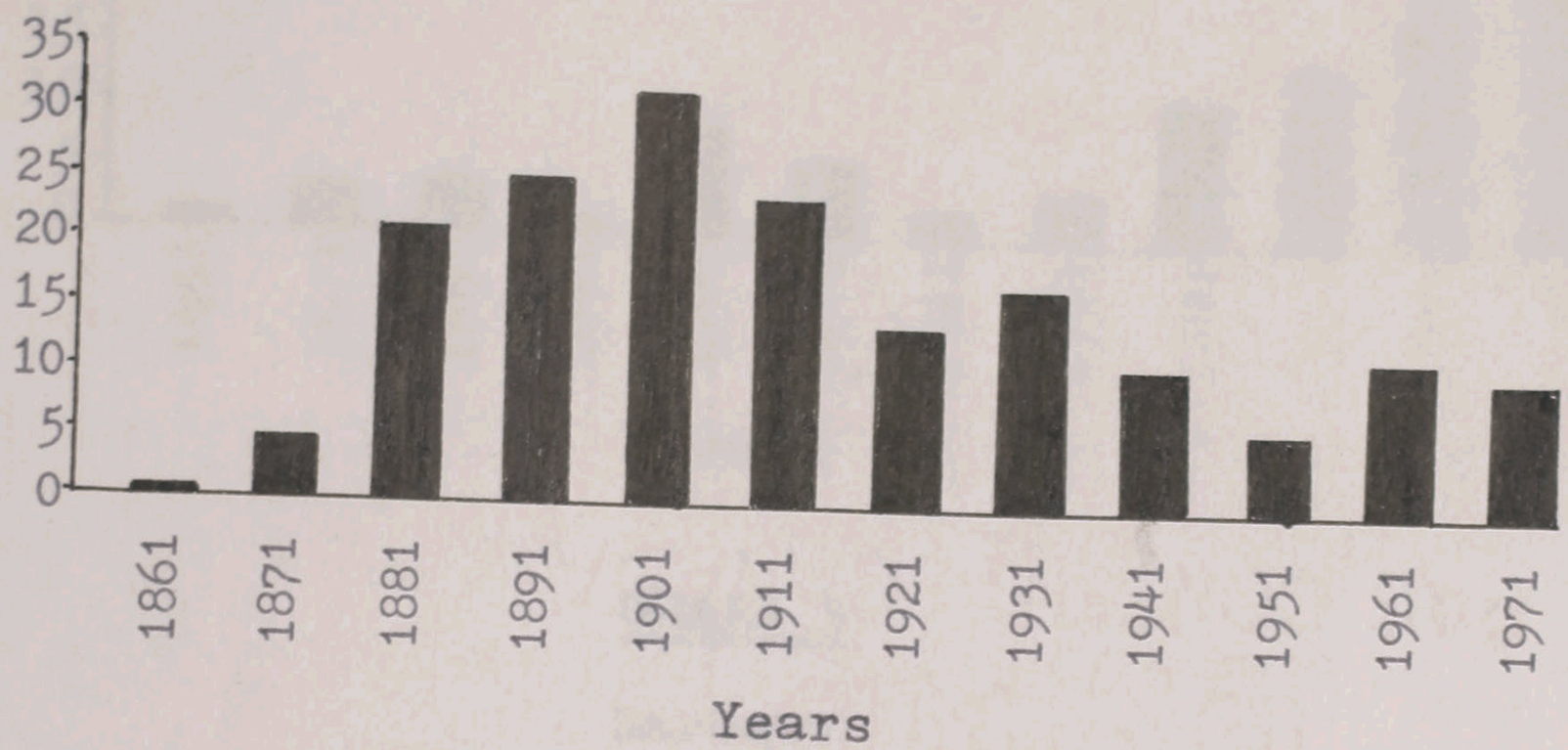
To conclude this discussion I enclose a brief life-history of one tailor who began as an apprentice during this period. This particular Chinese boy had been born in Canada, returning to China when he was 13 for educational purposes. Prior to this time he had been in attendance at the English and Chinese schools in Victoria. He had learned English and Chinese at night school and became an apprentice tailor, taking piece-work at home. At 19 he opened his own business

GRAPH 2 THROUGH 5

Chinese Service Businesses in Victoria, 1861-1971

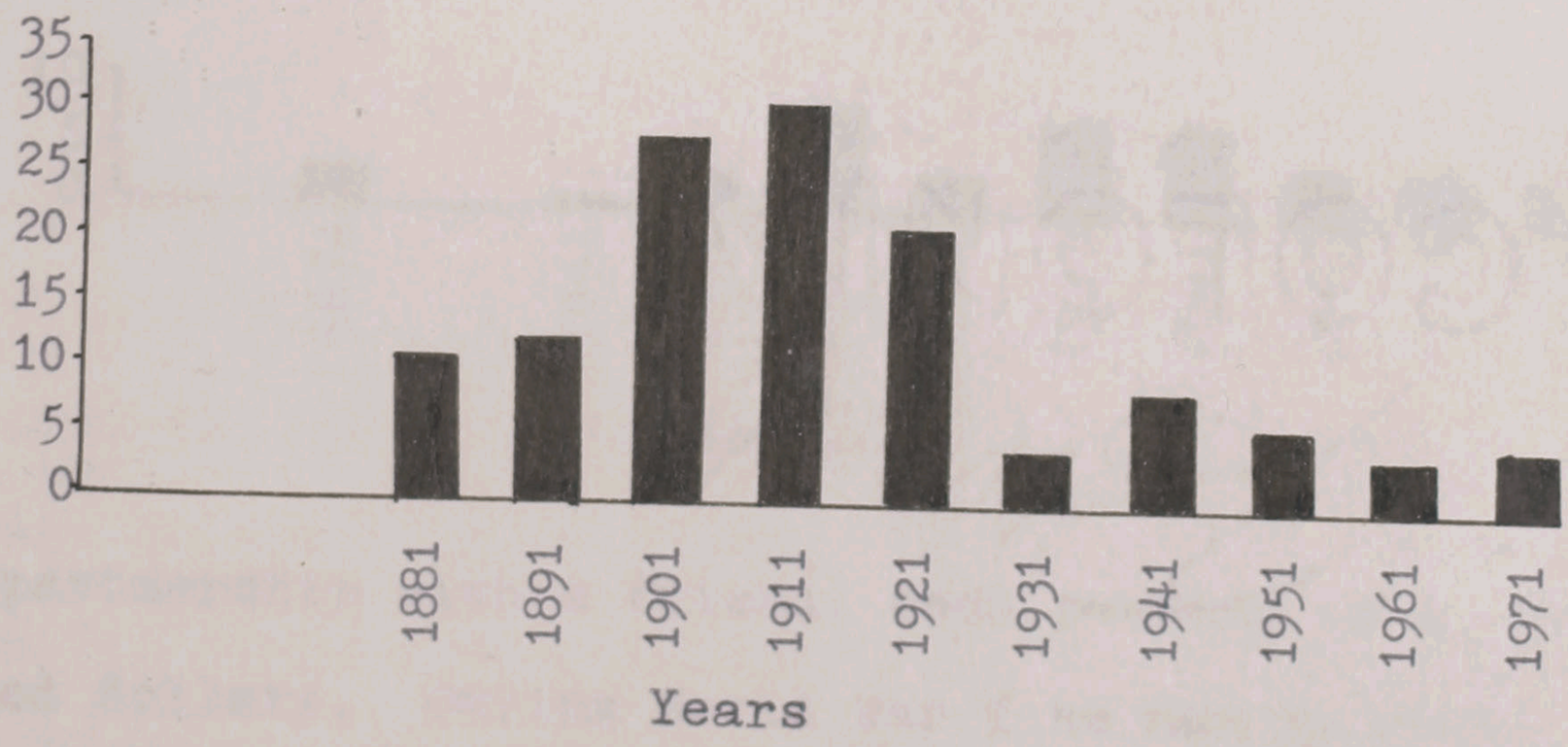
GRAPH 2

Laundries



GRAPH 3

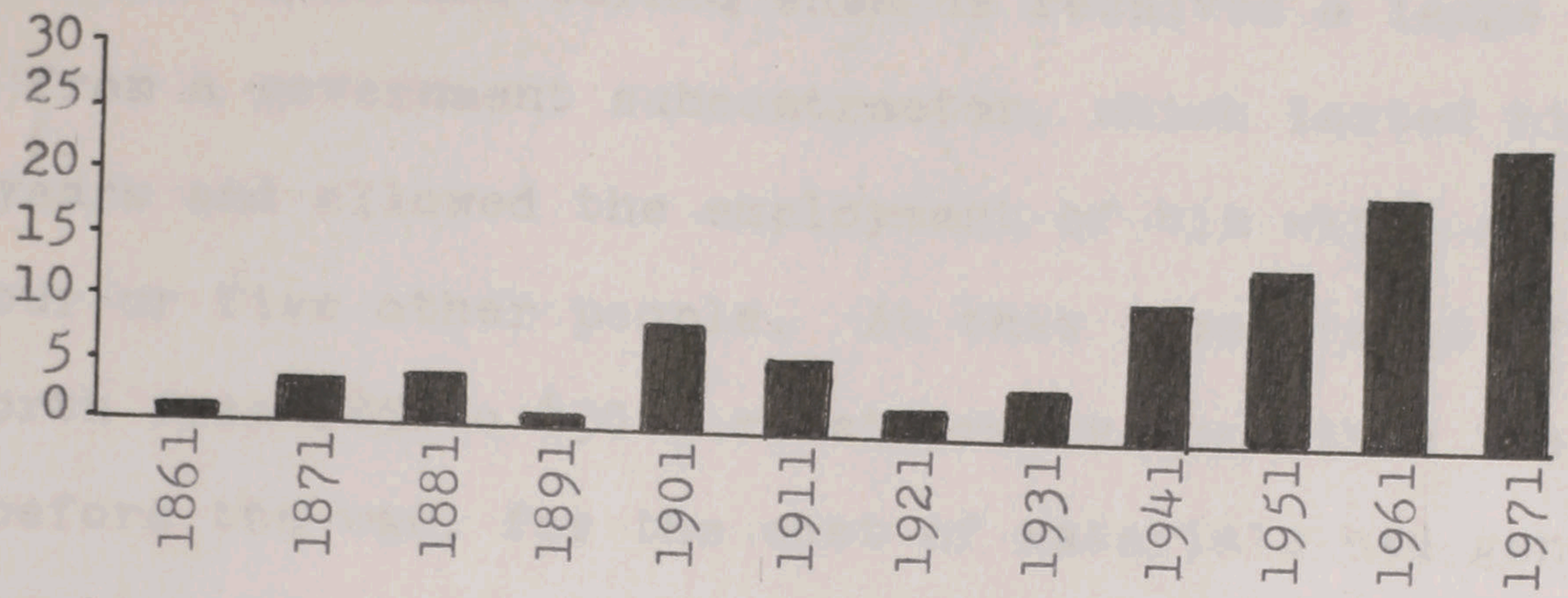
Tailors



Source: Graph 2 through 5, see page 133.

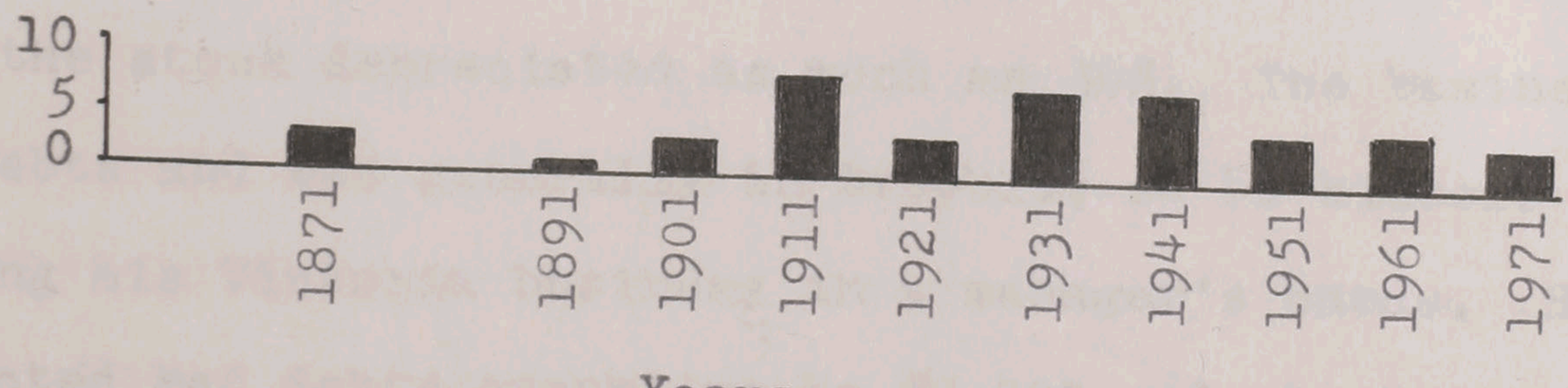
GRAPH 4

Restaurants



GRAPH 5

Barbers



in a partnership with a friend, each putting up a couple of hundred dollars. During World War I he had to close the store, since they could no longer use the rented building which had been sold by the owner. In need of a job, he opened a laundry business, and he and his father (a bookkeeper) would go from door to door looking for business, but little was to be found. After a while he returned to Chinatown,

leased a store for $50 a month and started a tailoring business with a total investment of $1,000. He worked 14 and 15 hours a day, and after six or seven months business was better. His luck had turned when he received a large contract from a government subcontractor, which lasted him for four years and allowed the employment of his wife, sisters and four or five other people. At this time a suit of clothes was worth from $25 to $30 - considerably more than the $14.50 paid before the war, for the cost of materials had gone up considerably after the war. By 1919 he had two daughters, one married, and a newborn son and a son-in-law, whom he had set up in a clothes-peddling business, travelling around the Island. Later, he established this son-in-law in a business in another town, paying $600 for a lot and $2,000 for a store which when finished became a dry-goods store. By the time it was stocked he estimated that it was worth $10,000. After 1921 the stock depreciated as much as 30%. The business had bad debts and was generally in trouble, so he himself went, leaving his Victoria business in a manager's hands. He collected bad debts amounting to $3,000 and started a delivery business to the logging camps. He would visit them, take orders for clothes and deliver them later. In time he employed 18 to 20 people and was doing well. In 1926 he opened a store in Vancouver and gradually in the following years closed out his two businesses on the Island.

The impression one gets from this account is that the original intent to return to China had been consciously

rejected. Instead, the family had settled, and investments were made to ensure their welfare. Others, including one Chinese labourer who has worked for woodyards and sawmills all his life as his father did before him, went home twice between 1926 and 1937. He brought his wife from his village to Hong Kong and there raised a family, which he gradually brought to Canada. From being a boss in Hong Kong in 1929 he returned to Victoria to haul cordwood in the midst of a depression. The government had sponsored a program for white men by which they could earn $2.00 a cord, but this was not available to Chinese. It was a time as he remembered when the CCBA offered rice porridge to those without jobs.

Summary

The service businesses and activities, like the merchant situation, are a little hard to determine in this period except for general trends. The period of the First World War, however, does mark the termination of expansion for most major service activities and in some cases the peak of their activity. From this period on they declined in number, with the exception of the Chinese restaurant, which increased again after 1931, as can be seen in Graph 4.

Organizations and Institutions

In contrast to the previous period, this is one of developing problems for the Chinese, both in their contact with the host community and in their relationship to mainland China. With the gradual changes in economic activity making it more reliant and more closely related to that of the host community,

areas of conflict arose. Conflict also appeared with the entry of Chinese children in the Victoria schools.

In 1923 a British Columbia law was instituted which provided that:

> . . . no person may employ in any capacity a white woman or girl or permit any white woman or girl to reside or lodge in, or work in, save as a bona fide customers, to frequent any restaurant, laundry or other place of business or amusement owned, kept or managed by a Chinese person (Labour Gazette 1923:1382).

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association hired a lawyer in Victoria at the cost of $1,000 to fight their case, and the Chinese Consul sent a telegram to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in which he protested the law and further added that:

> Such restriction might be directed with far greater justice and reason against the members of a certain white race now largely employing girls in shops and restaurants in this province. In any event it is not warranted against the Chinese and is an unfair racial discrimination (Lin Pac Heng 1923:Telegram CCBA).

To do justice to the situation of the Chinese in Victoria, I take the liberty of quoting the following letter which sums up the feeling of people thwarted at every turn.

> To Mr. _____ who will inform the following to the literary, labouring and commercial circles in China.
>
> The Canadians, violent and outrageous by nature, disgrace our overseas Chinese by expelling us out of their country, Canada. The cry of expulsion is heard everywhere.
>
> The school affairs department of Victoria passed a bill. It said that all the municipal schools would give the Chinese students no admission to their schools. Instead they have used the deserted school buildings which they cast aside and which are overgrown with weeds, to accommodate our students, both new and old. By doing so they gloss over what they have done to the Chinese people here.

Alas! the Canadians first started expelling the Chinese labourers and then businessmen. Now this expulsion has spread out to the literary circles.

Canada, a so-called civilized country, violates international law, and practises their close-door policy like the barbarian age in order to prevent our Chinese students from going to school.

We Chinese here have greatly suffered from disgraces of this sort and swear to stand on our defences to the end and even pay with our lives for it - we do not care.

We have given orders that all our Chinese students stop attending schools.

Almost a week went by, they knew that to have treated us Chinese in this way was wrong.

So suddenly the five articles of the municipal school regulations to limit the conditions of enrollment of the Chinese students were proclaimed and are the only excuse for having the Chinese students excluded from their municipal schools and those foreign students who cannot speak English. This is therefore so much concerned with the dignity of our homeland, and the future of the Chinese students.

We are continuing to struggle with them for the rights of the Chinese students, so as to cancel this bill.

We can hardly support ourselves alone and are in need of public assistance.

We dare implore that all of you who have enthusiastic love for the overseas Chinese here and support our struggle or write articles to rebut or to declare a boycott against the violence, so that they will be afraid and thus the public right will obviously be set right. We are awaiting the response of all of you.

Source: CCBA Records

This letter was a response to the Victoria School Board's attempt to segregate Chinese children in the North Ward school, where most Chinese students were in attendance, until they reached grade eight (Boggs 1926:321-22). The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese Canadian Club appealed with a petition which finally moved the School Board in 1924 to allow all Chinese children with an adequate knowledge of English to be

admitted to classes (Boggs 1926:321-22). Others would be admitted when they had attained proficiency in English (Boggs 1926:321-22). The acquisition of the English language had become an important key, as Lee Mong Kow had illustrated some years before, for it is said of him that his knowledge of English greatly helped both his own position and the position of his fellow countrymen (Per. Comm.). The importance of this can be noted, especially since the first generation of Chinese Canadian children were now apparent in the white Victoria community, and the responsibility for their appearance and behavior was made known to their guardians and kin in a notice posted by the CCBA:

> We hope those who are their parents and guardians will teach them how to abide by the regulations of these elementary schools. It is important that the Chinese children should keep their bodies and clothes especially clean and tidy in order to meet their requirements and to avoid any further disgrace upon the reputation of our homeland, China.
> (CCBA Notice 1922:Jan. 14)

Despite this conflict, the Chinese in Victoria supported the building of two schools. One was funded by a collection of $10,000 from the community in 1907 that helped replace the school previously mentioned in Chapter Four. Another collection in 1920 from 9,332 Toy San people across Canada yielded $240,000, which was sent to the county of Toy San in Kwangtung to help build a high school; unfortunately, the amount contributed in Victoria is not known.

Of a more political nature were the contributions made to support Dr. Sun and the revolution in China. In 1911 (January) Dr. Sun Yat-Sen raised $70,000 in Canada - $30,000

from Vcitoria, $15,000 from Vancouver, with the remainder coming from other Canadian Chinese communities. In Victoria, three merchants had donated $4,000 and the Chee Gung Tong mortgaged their building to British Columbia Land Investment Agency (Per. Comm.). According to Willmott, the total amounted to $150,000, which helped Sun establish an army in Canton for his revolution (Willmott 1970:48).

Another significant change resulting from Sun's campaign was the establishment of a pro-Nationalist newspaper. This was not the first Chinese paper in Canada since the Yut Sun Bow had been started in 1905. This paper was in Vancouver and had supported the Empire Reform Association (Per. Comm.). According to one source, another paper was started in Vancouver the following year, this one by a Christian church and supported Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (Per. Comm.). The fate of these two papers is unknown except for the fact that the latter went broke in 1907 (Per. Comm.).

In 1911 a paper emerged in Victoria, the Sun Man Kwok Bow, organized by the Chee Kung Tong in total support of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The first editor was, according to some, brought over by the Chee Gung Tong to organize and run the paper in Victoria, then written using carbon copies (Per. Comm.). To give some indication of the organization of the paper and its intended role, Appendix V provides a public notice of the company offering shares, and Appendix VI gives a draft of the company constitution. Of particular interest in this constitution is its detail and close relationship with the Nationalist

Party. Further, it can be seen both from its contents and from interviews of older Chinese people that the newspaper provided a concrete means of communication for Chinese people in Canada and Victoria. It appears to have been responsible for a co-ordinated "national" feeling and was an instrument for the establishment of community feeling which, like the CCBA, cut across traditional distinctions that had provided cohesive, but segrementary, units within the community.

One example of the role of the newspaper took place in 1913-14, when the editor of the newspaper questioned the support of Yuan Shih-k'ai, a general who had made an agreement with Sun to help overthrow the Ch'ing dynasty, by the CCBA, or at least by one member of it. The CCBA up to this time had attempted to remain apolitical, but each member could hold whatever political affiliation he wanted. Other organizations, including the Chee Gung Tong and the Dart Coon Club (a branch of the Chee Gung Tong organized in 1916), supported Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and not Yuan Shih-k'ai. The editor of the newspaper called a general meeting and subsequently went with a delegation to the CCBA. As a result of this, according to one informant, the CCBA became a more representative organization, accepting representatives from all the associations in accordance with the amount of donation. If I understand this correctly, for $100 you got one member and one vote for your association and for $200 you got two representatives and two votes. The Nationalist Party immediately got two representatives.

This, according to opinions I ellicited, initiated the first era of unity within the Chinese community of Victoria. Contrary to the Victoria newspaper's unnecessarily derogatory remarks about the inability of the Victoria Chinese community to produce leaders, it did. The organizing of the Nationalist Party in Victoria involved three extremely prominent men. To quote Willmott,

> In Victoria, a small group of pro-Sun revolutionaries was organized by Seto More (Seto Ying-shek), for many years the most prominent Chinese scholar in British Columbia, Mr. Wu Hsiang-ying, who later became a minister in Chiang Kai-shek's government, Mr. Chu Chi-ngok, who is today one of the major poets in Vancouver's Chinatown. (Willmott 1970:49)

This organization finally became the Koumintang in 1923 (Willmott 1970:49). The following year the Annual Return of the Nationalist League listed five officers, two of which were cooks, one translator, one professional, and one other. There were 16 directors of whom three were typesetters, five merchants, four cooks, three labourers and one barber. Their annual expenses included funds for a newspaper, library, night school, building rent and general expenses, which came to a total of $2,531.25. The initiation and yearly fee plus voluntary donations totaled $2,819.50, giving a balance of $188.25.

Although this is the only available piece of this type of information, it does give some indication of operating expenses and the occupational distribution of the leadership. At this point in 1924 there would seem to be a fairly wide distribution devoid of the merchant control that might have

been anticipated had the organization been formed in previous years. I might add, however, that the nature of the organization probably drew upon a wider spectrum of the population because of its political affiliations.

General Remarks and Further Legislation

The general impression I get of this period within the Chinese community is one that was commensurate to the situation in Victoria as a whole. The period, as portrayed by Ormsby, is one of expansion, investment and general well-being for British Columbia and Victoria (Ormsby 1958:354-367), at least from about 1908 to 1913, when both European and American investment in the Province were extremely high and land speculation was profitable. After this, with the impending threat of war, the strikes at the Nanaimo coal mines, where Chinese and Japanese workers had been used as strike breakers, and a general slump in British Columbia mineral production, the economy declined (Ormsby 1958:365). At the same time, Chinese business activity in Victoria also declined, perhaps now more dependent on the host community than at any previous time.
In December 1915 an Order in Council prohibited the landing in British Columbia of unskilled labour or artisans, a further attempt to stem the Oriental immigration. This Order in Council was renewed every six months until after the war, even in the face of a labour shortage in Canada (Dominion Government Policy on Immigration and Settlement in Canada 1867-1938).

After World War I, Canada faced unemployment and

depression, partially due to veterans returning home (Woodsworth 1941:105). The Japanese, now firmly entrenched in the fishing industry of British Columbia, faced the brunt of the antagonism. Chinese people entering exempt to Canada could no longer use the certificates issued by the Chinese and British authorities at home: instead, they had to satisfy the controller at the port of entry (Woodsworth 1941:106). The continued pressure for legislation by British Columbia culminated in a bill introduced by the Minister of the Interior on March 2, 1923. Under this bill, the $500 head tax was abolished and entrance restricted to the following classes:

a) The members of the diplomatic corps, or other government representatives, their suites and their servants, and consuls and consular agents.

b) The children born in Canada of parents of Chinese race or descent, who had left Canada for educational or other purposes, on substantiating their identity to the satisfaction of the controller at the port or place where they seek to enter on their return;

c) 1) Merchants as defined by such regulations as the minister may prescribe;

2) Students coming to Canada for the purpose of attendance and while in actual attendance, at any Canadian University or College authorized by statute or charter to confer degrees;

d) Persons in transit through Canada.

(13-14 Geo. V., C. 38, ss.5,22)

The absence of a definition for a "merchant" in the Act was remedied in July 10, 1923 when the following was added:

> Merchants, as used in this Act shall not include any person who does not devote his undivided attention to mercantile pursuits and who has less than $2,500 invested in a business dealing exclusively in goods, grown, produced or manufactured

> in China or in exporting to China goods grown, produced or manufactured in Canada, and who has not conducted such business for a period of at least three years; any merchant's clerk or other employee, tailor, mechanic, huckster, peddler or person engaged in taking, drying or otherwise conserving fish for home consumption or exportation, or having any connexion whatever with a restaurant laundry or rooming house (Andracki 1958:160).

Between 1924 and 1946, when this Act was rescinded, only eight Chinese merchants entered Canada. It was apparent that the amassing of this kind of capital was no longer possible, with the added deterrent of knowing that one would not be able to bring one's immediate family or kin to help or be involved in the business.

The Reaction of the Chinese

Opposition to this bill was imminent from various factions, but uneffective. According to Woodsworth, the "China Review" said it was "incongruous with the spirit of better order and particularly repugnant to what is known as the British sense of fair play." Telegrams were sent from many Chinese in Canada to Ottawa, London and Canton, and a Chinese Association was organized in Toronto. Despite a hearing given to them in Ottawa, nothing was changed (Woodsworth 1941: 110). In Victoria the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association set aside July 1 as "humiliation day", with other Chinese associations following suit across Canada (Woodsworth 1941:110).

CHAPTER VII

THE RISE OF NEW MERCHANT ACTIVITIES AND THE DECLINE OF THE SERVICE OCCUPATIONS 1923-1947

Historical Context

The period after 1923 includes the last attempt by the British Columbia legislature to effectively thwart the activity of the Oriental in British Columbia, the depression, and the last major collection by the Victoria Chinese community in aid of their homeland invaded by the Japanese in 1937.

In 1927, despite the fact that Chinese immigration was almost non-existent, the committee on Agriculture of the British Columbia legislature reported that the Oriental was penetrating all manner of commercial and industrial activities (Report 1927:2). White merchants were supposedly being forced out of business, oriental land ownership had increased, and British Columbia objected to the fact that they had the largest Chinese population in Canada, which was 27,139 in 1931 (Report 1927:2 and Woodsworth 1949:122). According to Woodsworth, the birth rate for the Chinese in Canada was about 200 per annum and the death rate about 370 (Woodsworth 1949:123). In Victoria, the deaths had increased from 44 adults in 1919 to 54 per annum in 1945. The average age at death had increased from between 30 and 60 to between 60 and

80 in the same time period (CCBA Records). In 1944-45 only one child had died as compared to the previous period.

The Chinese population of Victoria increased to 3,702 by 1931, the largest it had been in its 60 years of existence (Appendix 1). This resulted from a movement of Chinese people to the large urban centers of Vancouver and Victoria in a time when they were unable to return to their homeland and equally unable to get a job (Willmott 1968:29). In the following years the population decreased, as noted in Appendix I, but reached another high point in 1941, which as yet remains unexplained.

From 1924 to 1941, 57,607 Chinese people in Canada registered for leave, but it is not known how many left Victoria. The information included in Table 26 and Table 27 gives some indication of the sex and occupational distribution during the depression and afterwards, which remain steady in overall population numbers, as indicated by the 1941 population figures in Appendix I.

Unfortunately, the information contained in these tables is not comparable. Carothers has combined growers and farmers which seem to show a drastic decrease in 1939 which is not, in fact, the case (See Graph 7). Children were not included in the material from 1939 and not classified according to sex in 1930, making any assumptions very tenuous.

Before turning to a more detailed discussion of occupations and economic activity, three Tables will be included here which will facilitate discussion later (See Tables 28,

TABLE 26

Occupation and Sex of the Chinese Community in Victoria, 1930

Category	Male	Female	Total
Workers	725		725
Merchants	135		135
Growers and Farmers	300		300
Service	550		550
Unemployed			150
Children			500**
Women		150*	150
Total	1,710	150	2,510

*Women not classified
**Children not classified

Source: Carrothers 1934:278

TABLE 27

Occupation and Sex of the Chinese Community in Victoria, 1939

Category	Male	Single Females	Housewives	Total
Workers	1,679	4		1,683
Merchants	118	1		119
Agricultural Merchants	64			64
			63*	63
Service	226			226
Professional	22	10		32
Unknown	361	28		389
Total	2,470	43	63	2,577

*The majority of the housewives are those of merchants with only a few belonging to other categories.

Source: CCBA Records of Bond Sales 1939-40

TABLE 28

Distribution By County Of Origin And Occupation
For The Chinese Population of Victoria, 1939-40

	Toy-San	Yun-Ping	Hoy-Ping	San-Wui	Sun-Dak	Pun-Yu	Nam-Hoy	Chung-San	Chung-Sing	Hawk-San	Total
Merchants	31	4	13	18	8	5		32	8	3	119
Agricultural											
Business	7		6	11			1	34	4		64
Laundry	42			11							53
Tailors				2	2	1	1		1		7
Cooks	57	4	10	25			2	3	1		102
Barbers			2	2				1			5
Peddlers				4				33			37
Shoemakers	1					1					2
Sailors	1			7							8
Firewood	1										1
Restaurant	6		7								13
Students	13		1		5	2					21
Teachers	3		1			1					5
Ministers	1		1								2
Newspaper			2	1				1			4
Labourers	465	36	318	291	5	198	2	310	55	3	1683
Unknown	61	2	16	29	1	17	4	32	3		165
Housewives	23		12	10	8	4		6			63
Unclassified	1	1	1	2	1						6
Total	713	47	390	413	30	230	10	452	72	3	2360 *

* This figure excludes 217 people for whom no occupation or no county of origin was given.

Source: See Bibliography, Translated Documents.

TABLE 29

Distribution By County Of Origin And Surname* For The Chinese Population In Victoria, B.C. 1939-40

Surname	Sze-Yap			Sam-Yap							Total
	Toy-San	Yun-Ping	Hoy-Ping	San-Wui	Sun-Dak	Pun-Yu	Nam-Hoy	Chung-San	Chung-Sing	Other	
Lee	128			71		2	2	103	12	16	334
Wong	136		27	58		4		33	25	11	294
Chow	1		97			172		1	4	7	282
Chan	90	14		65	4	2	2	16	6	8	207
Lau	51	6	1	9	22	2	1	76	9	3	180
Lim	34		1	86		1		40		8	170
Mar	74				1			8		1	84
Louie	3							63		0	66
Eng	8	10	2	5				5	19	3	52
Tang	6	1	15	17						4	43
Yee	12		2	11				14		2	41
Cheung			5	14	1	1	1	14		3	39
Ng	23	1		3				8		2	37
Woo	1		28					2			31
Young				11		14		6			31
Yuen	9		18					2			29
Quan			23		2		1			1	27
Jung	18		4							5	27
Tse		6	15			2		2		0	25
Fong			2				21			1	24
Jeung		5		6				11		1	23
Leung	1		4				1	8		0	14
Sum						14				0	14
Choy	9	1						2		0	12
Liu	2			8						0	10
	606	44	244	364	30	214	29	414	75	76	2096

* These surnames represent 25 out of 98 represented in the Chinese population of Victoria of 1939-40. Of the 73 surnames remaining none had more than 9 representatives in Victoria, in 1939-40.

TABLE 30

Distribution by Occupation And Surname* For The Chinese Population In Victoria, B.C. 1939-40

Surname	Merchants	Agricultural Business	Laundry	Tailors	Cooks	Barber	Peddler	Shoemaker	Firewood	Restaurant	Students	Teachers	Ministers	Newspaper	Sailors	Housewives	Labourers	Unknown	Other	Total
Lee	21	26	10		8		15			1	4	3	1		1	10	196	38		334
Wong	9	10	17		29	2	1				1					6	167	52		294
Chow	13	1		1	1	1		1		2	2	1	1			12	234	12		282
Chan	8	11	2	3	15	1	1		1	5	1	3		1		2	133	17	1	205
Lau	17	1		3	5		3	1			5			1	1	15	114	14		180
Lim	8	5			5	1	3								5	6	118	13		164
Mar	5	2	11		10		1				5	1				3	38	8		84
Louie	10	6					8							1			37	4		66
Eng	3	1			1	1									1	1	39	4	1	52
Tang	1		3		3	1		1								1	20	10	3	43
Yee			3		2									1		2	30	3		41
Cheung	2		1		6		3										24	3		39
Ng					1											1	29	5	1	37
Woo					4					4							24			32
Young	1	1	1														24	3	1	31
Yuen	1		5													1	19	3		29
Quan	7	5			2					1						2	9	1		27
Jung	1	1			1												18	5	1	27
Tse		1			3						1						18	2		25
Fong	1				1	1	1										15	5		24
Jeung	1	1														1	19	1		23
Leung																	11	3		14
Sum																	13	1		14
Choy					1					1							9	1		12
Liu												1					8	1		10
Total	109	72	53	7	98	8	36	3	1	14	19	9	2	4	8	63	1366	209	8	2089

*This list represents those surnames with more than 9 representatives in Victoria.

29 and 30). These are a result of the Bond Drive sponsored by the Chinese community to aid the homeland in their fight against Japan. Information was collected which supposedly would have enabled the bonds to have been cashed in at a later date. According to a member of the executive committee responsible for the co-ordination of the bond sale, this collection included all but two adult members of the community who were publicly ostracized for their refusal to buy bonds (Per. Comm).

The importance of these Tables derived from the fact that they give more complete information about a relatively stable Chinese community. The immigration restrictions of 1923 had effectively stopped the possibility of new members coming to Victoria. Thus, any change in composition would have resulted only from the return of those who had previously lived in Canada. Because of this, the population may be referred to as one that is ageing and fairly stable.

To indicate the homeland geographical distribution of the Chinese community in Victoria, the population has been divided into general regions made up of a number of counties recognized by the Chinese people. These include the Sze Yap area, made up of four districts; the Sam Yap, including Sun Dak, Pun Yu and Nam Hoy; and three other counties adjacent geographically to the preceding. The counties are grouped in Appendix VII according to these districts with the number of representatives and percentage of the total that each represents. From this information we can determine the percentage

of the Chinese in Victoria from each county which are ranked accordingly in Table 31.

TABLE 31

Percentage of Chinese Population
In Victoria from each County

County	Per Cent
Toy-San	30.21
Chung San	19.15
San Wui	17.50
Hoy Ping	16.52
Pun Yu	9.75
Chung Sing	3.1
Yun Ping	1.99
Sun Dak	1.27
Nam Hoy	.42
Hawk San	.12

Source: CCBA Records 1939-40

When these are compared to the similar percentages for the Chinese in the whole of Canada in 1967 we see a slightly different distribution, as will be noted in Table 32. The significance of this lies in the change of distribution after 1947, when the immigration laws were changed again, permitting Chinese to come to Canada in very limited numbers and categories. In Mr. Lee's 1967 estimates, the Sze Yap, or Four Districts, represented 79% of the population, whereas in 1939 they represented only 66.22% (See Appendix VII). Further speculation as to the significance of this, however,

TABLE 32

Percentage of Chinese Population in Canada from some Counties

County	Per Cent
Toy San	44.00
Hoy Ping	16.5
San Wui	12.
Yun Ping	6.
Chung San	7.5
Pun Yu	5.5

Source: Lai unpub. man. 1972:4 quoted from Lee 1967

will have to wait until comparative data is known about the composition from other Chinese communities in Canada.

Tables 29 and 30 include 25 out of the 98 surnames represented in the Victoria community, with the remainder having less than 9 representatives each. It can be seen that the proportionately larger clans monopolize most of the major occupations, including merchants, agricultural businesses, cooks and peddlers. The same is also true for the number of housewives, who can be correlated with those employed in the most lucrative businesses as there are relatively few married to labourers; however, this is only in general terms. More important is the indication that some surnames, less numerous in terms of representatives, tend to have proportionately more wives. This is indicated by the surname Lau, with 180 persons in Victoria and 15 wives, while other surnames, including Louie, have none. There seems to be something else

operating here besides the financial ability to support a family. It may be more properly related to the situation in the village from which the people came or an intent by male overseas members to return home later.

The average age for the 25 surnames referred to is within a range from 40 to 50 years of age for males, and 19 to 48 for both single and married females. This, however, is misleading because younger wives and single females tend to pull the average down among surnames with more representatives (See Appendix VIII).

Merchant Activity and Personnel

From 1923 on, the decline in traditionally Chinatown-based merchants continued, as can be seen in Graph 1. However, other kinds of merchant activity increased, including the number of farms and greenhouses and retail outlets located within the host community. In comparing Table 26 for 1930 and Table 27 for 1939, it can be seen that the total number of merchants decreased from 135 to 119, and to a large part this was due to a decrease in those dependent on the Chinese community and located in Chinatown.

In 1930, Dun and Bradstreet of Canada listed 28 dry goods stores dealing in Chinese curios and silks; 25 groceries dealing in fruits and vegetables, Chinese foodstuffs, confectionary and tobacco; 2 restaurants; 5 tailors; one firewood dealer; and one feed and grain dealer (Dun and Bradstreet 1930:21). The estimated worth of the dry goods stores ranged anywhere from $1,000 to $20,000. Some of those having a high

estimated worth represent the accumulated value of more than one business. Others over $5,000, of which there were only six, were older merchant companies, some with as much as 50 years experience in Victoria.

To facilitate a comparison of annual incomes, Carrothers has provided an overall view, included in Table 33. From

TABLE 33

Earnings by Occupation for the Majority of Chinese in Victoria

Occupation	Best Year	1930	1933
General Stores, Drygoods and Grocery Stores	$ 3,200-5,000	$ 2,400-3,600	$ 1,200-3,000
Chinese Labour	Earnings comparable to Merchants (profit = $ 3,000-8,000)		
Fruit Dealers and Confectionary Stores	$ 1,500	$ 900	$ 720
Loggers, Mill Workers and Cordwood Cutters	$ 500	$ 400	$ 360
Cannery Workers	$ 480*	$ 300	$ 150-200
Greenhouse Operators in Victoria	Similar to Merchant Group (profit =$ 1,500		
Agricultural Workers* and Small Farmers	Similar to Labour earnings		
Domestic Cooks	$ 3,200		$ 900

*Note: Most of the labour activities are seasonal except domestic cooks and greenhouses; thus, much of the labour force is inactive in the winter.

These figures were taken from 'Oriental Standards of Living' in The Japanese Canadians by Young, Reid and Carrothers. ed. H. A. Innis. pp. 275-280. Toronto, 1939

this, we can surmise that the Chinatown-based grocery and dry goods stores still maintained the higher incomes, although they declined in number during the depression years. We also notice that the greenhouse and employment agent are close to the range of other merchants. At this time, as will be noted in the next section, the agricultural business increased rapidly and probably surpassed the Chinatown merchants in terms of annual income and invested capital.

To turn to other merchant activities, we notice Carrothers' category of fruit dealers and confectionery stores, which according to Graph 1, included between 10 and 15 stores located in increasing numbers outside the Chinatown area. Their income was considerably less than the other merchants, and they were smaller outlets, dealing almost exclusively in Western commodities and produce. According to Dun and Bradstreet, their estimated value ranged from $500 to $1,000, which would seem to indicate that a relatively small investment was yielding an income commensurate to the Chinatown merchant in his poorest year. Unfortunately, I have no information to indicate what members of the Chinese community became involved in this business, but I would suppose that the relatively low investment might attract persons, particularly those with families who have accumulated capital as farmers, in service occupations, or through activity as a labourer.

By 1939, however, we notice from Graph 1 that the retail fruit and vegetable business outside Chinatown had become increasingly popular, with approximately 30 units operating.

About five of these are wholesale fruit and vegetable distributors. The expansion of retail outlets owned by Chinese people was part of a more general expansion of the population in Victoria, which, as noted by Cook, ". . . forced (people) to live farther from the actual downtown and therefore the construction of food stores within outlying residential areas became necessary . . ." (Cook 1969:13). In 1911 there were 66 food stores which increased to 142 by 1931 and 200 by 1951 (Cook 1969:11 and 14). The Chinese involvement in this marks one very important aspect, that being an expansion of merchant activity relative to change in the host community and not the Chinese community.

According to Dun and Bradstreet of 1945 the estimated pecuniary strength of these retail outlets owned and operated by Chinese people had increased, with the majority lying between $2,000 and $3,000 but all above $500 (Dun and Bradstreet 1945). The grocery store in Chinatown dealing in Chinese foodstuffs rated slightly higher, ranging from $2,000 to $5,000, comparable to the Chinese wholesale fruit and vegetable outlets, and the other Chinese goods stores ranged from $2,000 to $20,000. I hasten to add, however, that these figures are based on a fairly small sample of Chinese businesses and may be misleading. In 1945 there were approximately 44 wholesale and retail fruit, vegetable and confectionery outlets owned by Chinese people of which only 27 were listed by Dun and Bradstreet. Similarly, there were 14 general Chinese goods stores of which only two are included in the previously mentioned listings.

The older and larger merchants at this time in Chinatown, according to information I gathered, were larger families with children where the founder is still present. The businesses with a lesser estimated worth in Chinatown would seem to belong to the children of earlier merchants who had since returned to China or died. The exception to this is, of course, the diversified activities where, as previously mentioned, a company would have operations in Chinatown and perhaps a greenhouse or fruit-and-vegetable store elsewhere. Generally, these also were owned by a younger generation.

If we compare the number of merchants with county of origin as can be seen in Table 28, we notice that the number of merchants from each of the Four Counties, or Sze Yap area, is roughly in the same proportion -- one merchant to 20 or 30 people. In turn, if one correlates popular surnames in the Victoria community with county of origin and merchant activity, it will be noticed that the more popular surnames tend to be from the Sze Yap area, particularly from Toy San, and have the greater number of merchants, with only three exceptions (See Tables 29 and 30): the Chow people predominantly from Pun Yu have the third largest number of merchants, and the Lau and Louie people from Chung San the second and fourth largest number of merchants. Unfortunately, it is not known which type of merchant activity was pursued in terms of dependence on the Chinese or host community as clientele, although I have heard that Chung San people tend to be involved in retail outlets functioning outside Chinatown. There

is also the possibility that merchant activity may be a function of one's surname and county of origin. One elderly Chinese gentleman maintained that being a merchant in 'the old days' was usually dependent on the number of people in the community on whom one could rely as clientele. If there were many Lee people or many people from Toy San and you could identify yourself in terms of either criteria, then it would be beneficial for you to engage in merchant activity. At the other extreme, if you were from a poorly represented surname and county and ventured into merchant activity, it would behove you to employ representatives from those surnames and counties which comprised the larger portion of the community. On the other hand, if you chose the host society as your clientele, then these same criteria for reciprocity might also be used to establish business relationships. If you were from a particular county or had a particular surname you might be helped to procure a store by people with whom you shared this identity. This is reminiscent of a situation previously mentioned, where a domestic cook might help a newcomer to procure similar employment, especially if he lived in the same fang k'ou.

In 1927 the amount of property owned by an estimated 300 Chinese was valued at between $2,500,000 and $3,000,000, which included 73,525 acres and more than 240 lots (Report 1927:12). There were also 217 stores and 257 acres of land leased (Report 1927:12). According to the Report, the vast amount of the owned acreage belonged to 6 owners (Report 1927:15).

In comparison, the Chinese in Victoria in 1900 owned real estate to the value of $296,090.25.

Agricultural Activity

A large amount of the land owned was now under cultivation in Victoria or utilized for greenhouses. Table 34 indicates the increase in this occupation.

TABLE 34

British Columbia Greenhouse Survey for Vancouver Island 1923 and 1925

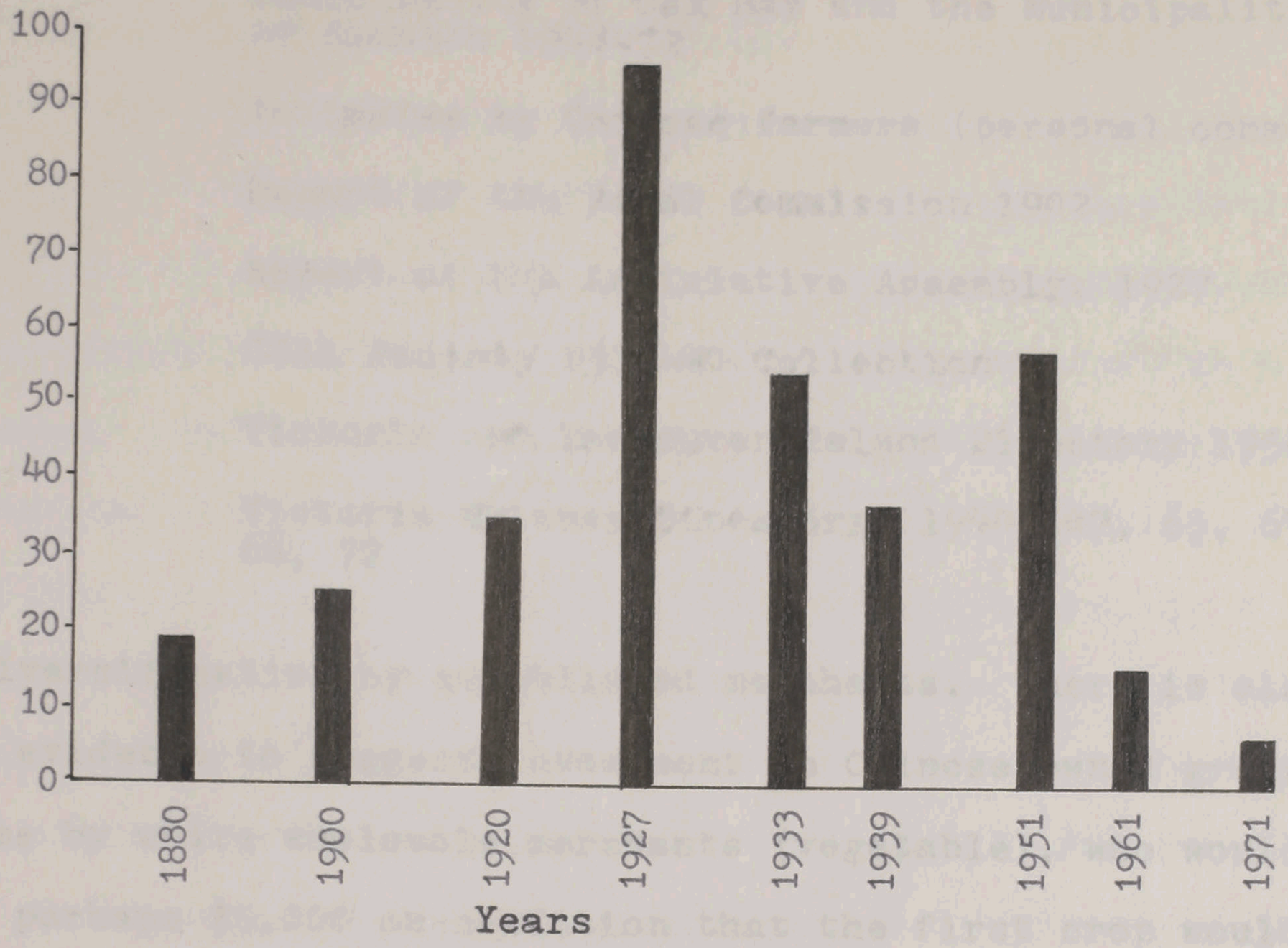
		No. of Growers	No. of Houses	Area in Square Feet
1923	Whites	51	218	570,930
	Chinese	9	92	382,382
1925	Whites	65	246	567,357
	Chinese	15	158	654,664

Source: Report 1927:22

This is believed to be located almost entirely within the Victoria area according to some farmers I have consulted. To further indicate the expansion in this area Graph 7 is offered, which shows the increase through time. The initial expansion here can be easily seen and was explained to me as the result of a symbiotic relationship between older Chinese men who were peddlers and those who had started as small farmers in the 1900's and now were able to expand their enterprise, either by offering shares to employees (who might earn $40 a month depending on experience and in turn invest $20 for a share) or through the establishment of partnerships. The other source of this business as already noted was the result

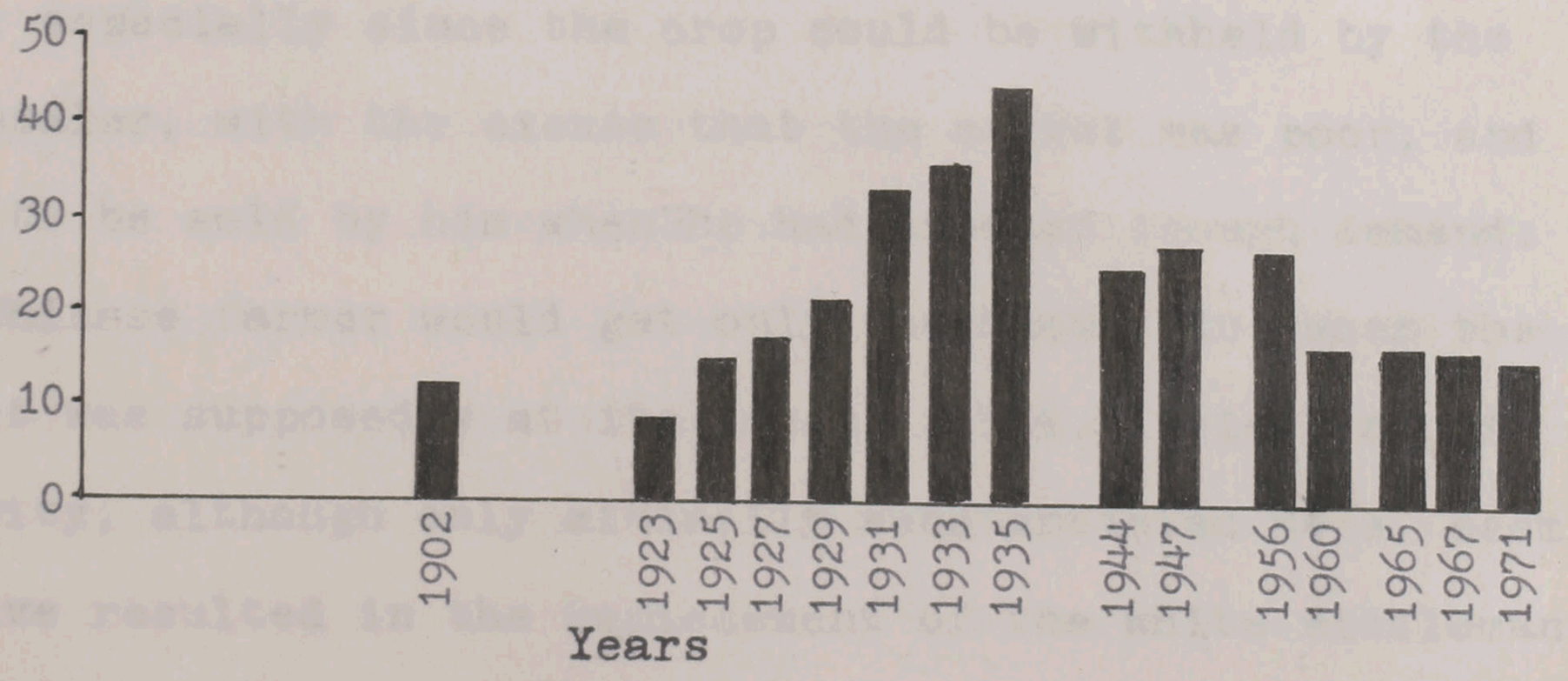
GRAPH 6

Chinese Peddlers in Victoria* 1880-1971



GRAPH 7

Chinese Farms and Greenhouses in Victoria* 1871-1971



*The absence of information for intervening years is due to the unavailability of reliable data.

The period prior to 1902 is essentially one of individual market gardeners with relatively few larger farms.

Land utilized in this period was largely leased.

Source: Licence Records of the City of Victoria, the Municipality of Oak Bay and the Municipality of Saanich 1948-72

Estimates by Chinese farmers (personal comm.)

Report of the Royal Commission 1902

Report of the Legislative Assembly, 1927

CCBA Records 1939-40 Collection

Victoria and Vancouver Island Directory 1956

Victoria Chinese Directory, 1944, 47, 65, 67, 68, 72

of diversification by established merchants. There is also some evidence to suggest investment in Chinese-owned greenhouses by white wholesale merchants (vegetable), who would lend perhaps $5,000 on condition that the first crop would be consigned to them. When the crop was sold, the balance after payment would be given to the Chinese farmer. There are, however, instances known where the Chinese farmer stood to lose, especially since the crop could be withheld by the wholesaler, with the excuse that the market was poor, and then to be sold by him when he had created enough demand. The Chinese farmer would get only the amount due when the market was supposedly at its lowest point. This kind of activity, although only minimally substantiated here, seems to have resulted in the replacement of the white middleman or wholesaler by Chinese wholesalers between 1913 and 1935.

From Table 28 it may be noted that the majority of those involved in agricultural business came from Chung San. When

Table 29 and 30 are compared, however, surnames with the largest number of representatives from Chung San do not necessarily have a majority involved in agricultural activity. The discrepancy of eight people here can be accounted for by the fact that no county of origin was given, so they are excluded from Table 28. Again, the surnames with the largest number of representatives appear to have a greater interest in this business. Unfortunately no figures are available to give an indication of annual income other than those given by Carrothers in Table 24, which confirm a similar income to that of the merchant with $1,500 profit a year. In 1945 one greenhouse was listed in Dun and Bradstreet with a pecuniary strength of from $50,000 to $74,000 (Dun and Bradstreet 1945). This one was proportedly owned by a merchant company in Chinatown which was also a steamship agency (Vic. Dir. 1934). Other owners were also merchants with businesses elsewhere, including a tailor and an owner of a retail fruit-and-vegetable store.

The success in this business, according to one older Chinese farmer, was not necessarily imminent. The Chinese people had entered into competition with the indigenous market, not only local but provincial, and even though they had been traditionally aware of the nature of market communities and the way to grow crops, the work was continuous and hard. The market they depended on was unpredictable and often beyond their control. The cost of running and maintaining a greenhouse could be prohibitive when one had to buy wood to

heat them and continually replace broken glass resulting from a bad winter. Running a greenhouse was a test of one's business knowledge, and any neglect could result in going broke and having to close, which did happen. Choice of partners was also crucial, since any mistakes or lack of work could result in the loss of the crop and no return for one's effort; thus, partnerships have been dissolved without claiming one's share. Other problems resulted from the decline in the availability of Chinese labour which began to effect the business after 1923, although the running of a greenhouse may require less workers than a farm, depending on its size. Further problems resulted from the Mexican and California crops that entered the British Columbia market, making the timing of the crop sale crucial and the option of depending on local markets probable (Per. Comm.). When the number of Chinese peddlers decreased, other means had to be found to distribute produce locally, which in turn gave rise to the Chinese-owned produce store, already present by 1925 and dependent on consumers in the host community.

The number of farms and greenhouses continued to increase, reaching a peak in 1935 (See Graph 7). This was important, not only insomuch as it reduced the cost of living for Chinese people, but also since it provided needed food after the crop failures elsewhere in British Columbia (Ormsby 1958:444-45). This seems also to have been a period of investment, as I would suspect that land would be fairly cheap in Victoria. In 1935 the Chinese growers formed an association in Victoria,

partially as a reaction to British Columbia's move to control the agriculture industry (New Republic 1966).

The association had 100 members representing 50 farms. Attempts to inquire into the function of this organization have remained fruitless, so little more can be added except that it disbanded in 1966, the explanation being that the need for this industry in the previous years had declined, particularly after the Second World War, when many who had been active in this business left Victoria. Upon closing, the association donated the remaining $500 in its account to the Chinese Public School. This association seems to represent an attempt to eliminate financing by white middlemen and establish some co-operative source of information about markets; however, upon my suggesting this to people, it was denied. Some believe that it would be impossible because many of the older merchants distrusted each other too much to co-operate. The association did not, as far as it is known, involve the Chinese produce stores outside of Chinatown or the Chinese peddlers, who by this time had exchanged their baskets for trucks and were gradually declining in number.

By 1939 the number of farms and greenhouses had decreased. According to the Victoria Directory, there were 19 units involving 64 people (Vic. Dir. and CCBA Records). Unfortunately, the reliability of the Victoria Directory is debatable, especially since the Chinese Directory for 1944 lists 25 farms and greenhouses (Chinese Directory).

Service Activities and Personnel

Generally, the number of service businesses owned by the Chinese in Victoria declined through this period, with a few exceptions. From Graph 2 through 5 it will be noticed that at least laundries, barbers and restaurants increased in number during the depression, but only the latter continued to increase. The explanation for this increase relates more than likely to the increase in the Chinese population and the relatively small expense involved in entering into business if only for a short time. The tailor business increased by 1941 after a decline during the depression, when there were less than five in operation.

The number of Chinese employed as cooks, in laundries and as peddlers declined, but labourers increased as indicated by Table 35.

TABLE 35

Comparative Figures Indicating the Number of Chinese People Involved in Four Occupations

Occupation	1930	1939
Cooks	400	102
Laundries	100	53
Peddlers	50	37
Labourers	725	1,683

Source: Carrothers 1934:278 and CCBA Records 1939-40

The viability of the first three occupations was decreasing as domestic cooks were less in demand and those employed in

white restaurants were using it only as a means of accumulating capital, experience in business and proficiency in the English language (Per. Comm.). Also, it is quite possible that some of the younger domestic cooks left their employment to start restaurants. Although it has not been verified for that time, many of the restaurant owners today got their training by cooking in the ferries, local hotels or white restaurants.

Laundries at this time were becoming mechanized, converting to steam-cleaning and requiring less personnel (See Siu), and the peddler business, although partially mechanized with the aid of vehicles, became less profitable with the dispersion of retail outlets.

In terms of occupations, the distinct correlation between some occupations and place of origin in the 19th century amongst overseas Chinese were still evident with slight modification in 1939. To quote Willmott:

> Some occupational specialization according to locality was evident in the nineteenth century - for instance, Chung San tended to peddling vegetables, Tai Shan to laundries, K'ai Ping to restaurants - but this has broken down as Chinese occupations have become more diversified. (Willmott:1964:34)

In 1939 this is still apparent, with the T'ai Shan people still the majority in the laundry business, the K'ai Ping people involved in restaurants and the Chung San people representing the majority not only of peddlers but also of agricultural businesses. It may be also noted that the counties with the largest number of representatives in the community also

represent the majority in the major occupations, including merchants, agricultural business, laundries, cooks, peddlers and restaurants.

Associational and Organizational Activity

Through the depression and after, the Chinese community in Victoria continued to finance various institutions and activities in their homeland.

In 1930, according to Remer, remittances from the Chinese in Canada totaled 17.5 million Hong Kong dollars, or an amount equal to the head tax paid by the Chinese to the Canadian government between 1901 and 1910 inclusive (Remer 1968:185 and Canada Year Book 1941:123). This amount remitted to the homeland had always provided fuel for anti-Chinese feeling; according to Angus,

> if knowledge of foreign trade were more widespread, (this fact would) be accepted as one of the ways in which China pays for her imports, and among other imports for the goods which China buys from Canada (Angus 1933:30).

The Toy San Association also collected and donated funds. One receipt on the wall of the Association hall in Victoria acknowledges a donation of $20,000 sent to the Kwangtung Provincial Government in 1940 and another for $2,600 sent to the Kwangtung Provincial Relief Association (date unknown). In 1940 the Tai Shan association in Victoria sent $10,000 to the Finance Department of China.

Most of these early collections seem to have been organized by committees especially formed for the purpose, as there was no officially recognized slate of officers. This

is evidenced by the lack of a constitution, which was not written down until after a general meeting in 1931. Appendix IX includes a translated version of the Constitution that was drawn up at the time, which appears not only to provide a co-ordinating body for the overseas Tai Shan people but also to ensure reciprocation between themselves and their home county.

There are several things to be noted about this constitution; most important is the fact that it had taken 52 years for the necessity of a constitution to arise. In terms of the apparently constant activity of this association, the absence of at least some co-ordinating body would seem unusual, since the association represented a majority of the overseas Chinese, with reference to geographical identity in China. I speculate here that this may indicate the end of the period in which we find the existence of an extremely strong and competent merchant elite in the individual communities. Further, since the majority of overseas Chinese in Canada are from Toy San, it is equally possible that they represented a large majority of the merchant interests. Co-ordinating collection campaigns and other matters appear to have been ably conducted by them, using their business place for both meetings and correspondence centers. With the decline in the number of merchants in some communities and the geographical dispersion in terms of residence, other means would have to be found for co-ordinating and perpetuating activities.

Besides providing for the election of officers (who

volunteered their services with the exception of the secretary) and bureaucratic procedure, the association also required the donation of $1 to the first Convention and $2 to be paid upon departure for China, provided one was between the ages of 18 and 60. According to the Constitution, this was essentially to defray the costs of returning the remains of deceased Toy San people to China and apparently to fund the other activities of the association. There is obvious attention paid to the collection of this money and provisions made for default of payment whether in Canada or China. Understandably, any debts paid in China are donated to the Toy San High School, already financed by the Toy San people in Canada, with the exception of the $2 that would go to the police for their efforts. This clearly indicates that the vested interest of the overseas Toy San people, at least the association, was firmly implanted in their homeland, especially since much of the Constitution relates to the maintenance of this relationship.

For those who were in Victoria, the association offered to mediate in conflicts with fellow Toy San people or other Chinese and to deal with problems that might arise with the immigration office. However, one does not find the specific reference to help that the Chinese Benevolent Association offered, or to financial aid in these circumstances. Article 15 does make reference to loans extended to a "third party" and further outlines the methods by which it is to be repaid and the amount repayable. This seems to be a somewhat

equivalent situation to that found by Willmott among the Vancouver clan associations, where the convenience was extended to members who wished to start a business (1964:36).

In 1937 the Japanese invasion of mainland China had commenced, which forced the Chinese government to initiate the sale of bonds to help pay for the war. In the same year the Chinese government issued $500,000,000 (Chinese dollars) worth of bonds to be administered by a 'central committee' under Low Wai Chee (Per. Comm.). At the same time the sale of these bonds to overseas Chinese was authorized. In Victoria a committee was established to administer the organization of a bond drive, which took place in 1939 and 1940. The first committee was established with a chairman, an executive committee of eight members, two secretaries and two accountants, also in charge of publication and records. In the second period a similar committee was organized, with most of the original members again volunteering their services. In the first period $230,000 Chinese dollars, or $71,000 Canadian dollars, was collected, and in the second collection $370,000 Chinese, or $114,700 Canadian, was collected. Each of these sums was sent to China through a Bank in New York.

This collection was unusual, since it represented a total community effort which involved not only the recording of each name but also occupation, age, place of birth, address in Victoria, and the amount of donation for which the bonds were issued.

Most members of the community seem to have given in

terms of their financial ability with a minimum for men of $15.50 and less for women and young children. Merchants and those having agricultural businesses tended to give more. The associations, 22 in total, gave over $5,000, which included donations by seven locality, five clan, four fraternal, two trade associations, and one newspaper.

Only one white person is listed as having bought bonds, but apparently the Chinese had at least moral support for their endeavours to fight the Japanese. A scrapbook recovered from an abandoned Chinese store revealed several articles of the times. One in particular talked about a co-operative effort between the Chinese people and white supporters to stop the loading of a shipment of scrap-iron bound for Japan. Three white organizations, The Embargo Council, Medical Aid for China and Canadian Friends of the Chinese People, had helped. This anti-Japanese sentiment shared by both Chinese and Canadians provided the first essential social bond between these people (Krauter and Davis 1971:57). According to these authors:

> With the advent of World War II, however, the respecyive positions of the two Asian groups were dramatically reversed, and the Japanese found themselves the subject of far more overt and terrifying discrimination and persecution than the Chinese had ever suffered (Krauter and Davis 1971:57-8).

In 1942 the Japanese were forcibly evacuated from the west coast (Krauter and Davis 1971:58). This resulted in the loss of both land and business interest, which, although marginal in Victoria, did allow a few Chinese to replace Japanese as proprietors of laundries.

General Summary

On May 14, 1947, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, was repealed, but only in a limited sense (Kalbach 1970:21). On February 17, 1950, further restrictions were waived, and no longer were Chinese wives or unmarried children under 18 required to have an unexpired passport (Kalbach 1970:21). However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis. In Victoria during the intervening years the Chinese population decreased, reaching its lowest point since 1879, and it was only after 1961 that this situation changed. In this period, the retail confectionery and produce store became an important activity as the viability of most service activities declined. In a way it replaced the laundry as a business that was largely dependent on neighborhood economics, which necessitated its distribution away from the downtown area. The growth of this activity seems to have followed the development of the farm and greenhouse business, as can be seen in comparing Graph 1 with Graph 5. After this it was not until the population again began to climb that this activity increased. From this it appears that the early stores were started by Chinese people and dealt largely in fresh fruit and vegetables, which linked the Chinese produce wholesaler with the greenhouse and farm operator and retail merchant, explaining the cases of one family participating in all three operations. Along with these trends must be included the increase in Chinese restaurants after 1931, again encompassing the time when the previously mentioned activities also increased. In contrast to

the others, this business had no setbacks, continuing to increase in number and changing its clientele from solely Chinese people to include the host community. This started, according to one source, only during the fifties and was still at that time hazardous, with fluctuating attitudes in the host society towards the Chinese. One restaurant owner worked five years on the British Columbia ferries before he could accumulate enough capital, with additional financial aid from mortgaging his father's house. Even then the restaurant was a partnership, with 3 members contributing a total of $30,000. I assume that from 1931 on the Chinese restaurant could depend almost entirely on the Chinese wholesaler for produce -- if, in fact, he did not depend directly on the farms and greenhouses.

In 1947 the number of businesses operated and owned by Chinese can be seen in Table 36.

The relatively few dry goods stores were located within the Chinatown area and deal specifically in Chinese goods, as do the grocery stores dealing in Chinese foodstuffs. The other grocery and confectionery stores were located further away from the Chinatown area, mostly on the main streets, with about half supporting English store names, a change that became more prevalent after 1939. Approximately five of the 38 stores under "confectionery and grocery" in Table 36 are wholesale outlets. Some of these, plus a few of the grocery stores, were attached to a greenhouse or farm operations that were owned by the same family. Most of the stores, however,

TABLE 36

Chinese Businesses in Victoria for 1947

Dry Goods	14
Chinese Grocery	6
Grocery and Confectionery	38
Farms and Greenhouses	30
Butcher, Fish and Poultry	7
Laundry and Cleaners	19
Tailors	12
Shoe Repair	3
Restaurants	12
Herbalist	2
Baker	1
Barber	9
Rooms and Hotels	31
Employment Agent	1
Publishing Company	1
Vegetable Traders	18
	200

Source: Chinese Directory of Greater Victoria and Nanaimo, 1947

appeared to have single owners, except in one case where two stores are owned by the same person.

The farms and greenhouses were further away from Victoria on land that in future years was used for development. Graph 6 gives some indication of the decline of this activity, especially after 1956, when it was no longer as profitable to persue this business and when the value of the land was such that it was possible to sell for considerable amounts. The unavailability of labour, the increased competition from large retail food chains and the increasing costs of transporting goods have been given as reasons why this occupation diminished

in importance. It will be noticed from Graph 6, however, that the last peak in agricultural activity was also the last period when there was a relatively large number of Chinese peddlers. Those listed in Table 36 happen to be ones that have trucks and constitute only a small proportion of the total. Generally, these were men who gradually retreated from this occupation as they became older and as the retail outlets moved further out into their market area, providing competition for them. In 1972 one of the Chinese grocery stores in Chinatown dispensed with a list of Chinese peddlers that had been kept for many years because they had come to purchase gifts for their customers each Christmas, but not any longer.

The service businesses, as can be noted from Table 36, had reached equilibrium with the available market. Most of the laundries eventually closed with only a few becoming cleaning establishments. The tailors at this point include approximately seven establishments that include seamstresses, dressmakers and alterations with only a few remaining as tailors.

Other service businesses relate mostly to the Chinese community, and little more can be added concerning their activity.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this study I have attempted to trace in one specific overseas Chinese community the development of two groups of economic activity functioning in different social environments. The two groups delineated included various occupations which are subsumed in general terms under merchant and service activity, and which in turn have been described in terms of invested capital and clientele. The service occupations originated and expanded in the context of the host community, and the merchant activity developed within the context of the Chinese community. Both groups were present from the beginning of the Chinese community in Victoria and constituted what I believed to be the more stable element in terms of residence.

The social environment in which they developed contained two cultural contexts: one, the host society, which became increasingly opposed to the presence of the Chinese; and the other, the Chinese community, which developed its own associations and organizations. The host community generated legislation which attempted to remove the Chinese from economic competition and from the country, while the Chinese community aligned internally in response to its composition, the conditions of contact, and changes in their homeland. Within

this complicated social environment a Chinese community developed in Victoria, becoming the first of substantial size in Canada.

Between 1858 and 1947, the content of the merchant and service groups expanded and contracted in terms of the number of businesses and personnel involved. Merchant activity, originally isolated geographically within the Chinese community, based its expansion largely on the redistribution of goods to a Chinese clientele. The service personnel, resident in the Chinese community, expanded various activities in response to a demand for goods and services by the host community in areas of fairly minimal economic competition. Their functions involved both exchange and redistribution.

Merchant activity developed in four overlapping phases. In the first the merchant performed a dual function of travel agent and redistributor of Chinese goods to a largely transient Chinese population. The second phase combined these functions with redistribution to a resident local Chinese community and further provided employment agents for particular service occupations. The third increased in scope due to a rise in Chinese immigration, the manufacture of opium and the necessity for Chinese labour contractors. Finally, a fourth expansion occurred, apparently not in response to an increased market area, but rather as a reaction to increasingly stringent immigration restrictions.

Of particular importance in these phases of expanded activity of the merchants is the nature of the market area,

which appeared to be specifically Chinese. The merchants developed an extended trade network for the redistribution of Chinese and Canadian consumer goods to a Chinese clientele. The Victoria Chinese merchant in this role was essentially a middleman, linking Victoria to Hong Kong, San Francisco and other urban Chinese communities in British Columbia. This role as middleman was also duplicated in a social sense, since the personnel involved constituted an elite (in terms of status, based on income) that functioned as a representative body for the Chinese community in situations of contact with the host community. Initially this function was voluntary but later consolidated into a formally organized group with rights and duties. In the late 1800's this provided a perplexing situation for the merchants, since their economic position depended on a market area created by the presence of a Chinese population to which the host community had grown increasingly hostile. As indicated in this study, the merchants resolved this situation by discouraging the immigration of those Chinese against whom the host society had directed restrictive legislation.

Between 1902 and 1911, the peak period of Chinese merchant activity in Victoria, a number of these businesses underwent a process of diversification and adaptation by manipulating their clientele. The variables that effected this change are threefold. The first was competition from Chinese merchant activity that developed on the British Columbia mainland which decreased the necessity for the middleman function of the Victoria merchants. Second, the presence of nuclear

families and expanded partnerships based on kin relationships generated a need for permanent and diversified investment. Third, increased immigration restrictions and unrest in China forced a prolonged sojourn in Victoria.

The diversification is evidenced by an increased number of merchant businesses, apparently dependent on a resident local Chinese community, and the adaptation by the entrance of merchants into intensive agriculture. The significant aspect of this change is based on the fact that the merchant and service groups had previously been interdependent in terms of their economic role as stable elements of the resident Victoria Chinese community but had competed or functioned in differing social environments for clientele. When the merchant sought the clientele utilized by the service group, they essentially entered into competition for the same clientele, that is, the host community.

The service occupations, as noted in the study, developed on the basis of a demand created by the host society which necessitated some degree of contact and minimal amounts of capital investment but yielded considerably lower incomes than the merchant. The market area for their resources was well defined except for the tailors, restaurants and barbers. The barbers depended almost exclusively on Chinese clientele, while tailors and restaurants depended on both Chinese and host communities.

Other service occupations, including small farmers, peddlers and domestic cooks, generally seem, however, to follow

the previously mentioned distinctive features of this group. The chronological development of the service group followed extremely close to that of the merchant but with proportionately less businesses and more personnel.

Generally, those involved in service occupations had less possibility for upward mobility in terms of income or occupation but could on the other hand move from one service activity to another with relative ease. Some exceptions to the above, however, have been noted in the text, especially in circumstances where a rapid increase in demand within the economic system of the host society could be capitalized upon. One specific example noted was the Chinese tailor who served an apprenticeship with a white manufacturer and then started his own business. It is quite probable that economic opportunities such as this were apparent for personnel in other service occupations which would have allowed mobility towards the social and economic position of the merchant. Although insufficient data have been collected to verify the extent of such mobility, it did occur and quite probably accounted in part for the increased number of families involved in service activities by 1922.

Other aspects of economic activity that made this group distinctive were the reciprocal relationship established between small farmers, peddlers and domestic cooks, which provided a system of production, distribution and consumption of produce. I have maintained that this became increasingly significant as personnel from the merchant group with available

liquid capital invested in intensive agriculture and utilized an already developed market area. I have speculated that the demand must have exceeded the supply, allowing younger merchants to invest and capitalize in an area of economic activity occupied by older and decreasing numbers of service personnel who did not seek permanence in either their sojourn or economic activity. Capital derived from one market area or resource was utilized to develop primary production for distribution to the host community, which was manifested by an extremely rapid growth in intensive agriculture between 1902 and 1935. This resulted in two particular economic developments. First, the resources sought by those involved brought them into competition with the white-owned agricultural activity as they extended their market area. Second, it resulted in the establishment of Chinese-owned wholesale and retail fruit and vegetable outlets in Victoria. The former brought the Chinese merchant for the first time into an equitable position with other Chinese involved in labour and service occupations as far as the host community was concerned. The latter provided a reasonably accessible activity with the benefits of the service and merchant groups. The exchange system established in the service group provided produce which, with a small investment, could be redistributed to the host community through a retail outlet, yielding an income sufficient to maintain a family and an occupation that could provide employment for the members.

In the years following the First World War, which included

the period of the depression and the drastic decline of the Chinese population in Victoria that followed, the older service and merchant activities declined. Older members of the Chinese community that had provided personnel for the service enterprises retired or went home, and mechanization combined with mass production to prohibit, with some exceptions, the feasibility of adaptation for laundries and tailors.

The disruptive effect of war on shipping facilities and merchant contacts with China compounded with the Exclusion Act to destroy the market area of the traditionally Chinatown-based merchants. After 1935 even the intensive agricultural activity declined with increased competition from other market areas, lack of Chinese labour and increasing costs of transporting produce to available markets. Notably, the only occupations that persisted and increased in number were the retail fruit and vegetable outlets and the Chinese restaurant. The retail outlets were located outside Chinatown, dependent on the host community as clients and on the remaining agricultural merchants and wholesalers for produce. Some agricultural merchants withdrew from the extended market area in which they had competed and tended to rely more on localized distribution to retail outlets and their own wholesalers; others discontinued operation, benefitting only from the sale of their land.

The ultimate effect in the years since 1947, despite the lifting of immigration restrictions, has been the almost total decline of merchant activity that had maintained

extensive businesses based on an urban localized Chinese community. The only alternative for many Chinese was an almost total dependence on the clientele once specific to the service group and the Chinese labourer, and this in turn forced changes in residence and the decline of a once active Chinatown.

In summation, I have maintained that the Victoria Chinese community was characterized by a braod range of economic enterprises and incomes developed in two distinguishable groups seeking clientele in two social environments. Both expanded in proportion to a demand apparent within the particular context of their economic activity. Once the demand for this dual economy diminished due to various pressures, there was a tendency for convergence to occur where the merchant adopted the economic context of the service personnel, which in turn provided initial support through the functional relationships of its contact with the host community. However, this support was localized and did not function in the extended market area sought by the Chinese agricultural merchant. Essentially, the service activities had the most adaptable economic position in terms of its relationship with the host community but a declining demand for its services. The merchants, on the other hand, had available capital for diversification and adaptation but no mechanisms for contact with or control over a non-Chinese market. The result was a re-establishment of reciprocal economic relationships among various enterprises that dealt essentially in consumer goods that could be redistributed to

both the Chinese and host communities and a general decline in the traditional Chinatown-based merchant operation (See Appendix X). Older occupational specialization has been replaced by new ones that ultimately developed in the later years of the period discussed. The economic hierarchy defined in terms of a Chinese economy gradually disappeared, being replaced by one that could be defined only in terms of the host society's economic system.

The criteria for social leadership which constituted this hierarchy within the Victoria Chinese community were no longer as narrow, especially after 1911, when other occupational groups were represented in the leadership of associations and organizations. Political and financial involvement in Chinese national affairs provided an area in which some achieved considerable prominence in the community as they directed financial, political and educational activities supported to a large extent by merchant capital. Under the impact of forced economic change, population decline, the changing situation in China and the emergence of other larger urban Chinese communities in Canada, the role of the Victoria Chinese community, its leadership, associations and their membership declined, despite the changes since 1947.

The Chinese community in Victoria that had once provided a focal point for all Chinese in Canada, that had been the focus of anti-Chinese sentiment and under the constant scrutiny of the host society for the greater portion of its history, underwent continual social and economic adjustment. By

discussion of merchant and service occupations in relation to two variable I have attempted to delineate the reasons for and the results of this socio-economic adjustment while emphasizing at the same time the diversity and perseverance of Chinese economic enterprises in a social context of contact and conflict.

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APPENDIX I

AVAILABLE STATISTICS FOR THE CHINESE POPULATION IN VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

Year	Chinese in Victoria	Chinese in British Columbia
1867	187[h]	2,195
1871	211[a]	
1874	493[a]	
1879	2,000[b]	6,000[b]
1880	2,370[c]	
1881	1,690[j]	4,350[j]
1884	1,767[d]	
1891	2,080[j]	8,910[j]
1901	2,915[j]	14,885[j]
1902	3,263[e]	
1911	3,458[j]	19,568[j]
1921	3,441[j]	23,533[j]
1922	3,681[g]	
1931	3,702[j]	27,139[j]
1933	2,510[h]	
1939	2,577[g]	
1941	3,438[j]	18,619[j]
1947	2,200[f]	
1951	1,904[j]	15,933[j]
1961	2,137[j]	24,227[j]
1972	4,000[f]	

a - Victoria Directory 1871, 1874

b - House of Commons, Journals, 1879

c - Report 1880:2

d - Report 1885

e - Report 1902

f - Personal communication

g - CCBA Records 1922, 1939

h - Carrothers, 1938

i - Wynne, 1964

j - Census of Canada, 1881 - 1961

APPENDIX II

THE IMPORT OF OPIUM INTO BRITISH COLUMBIA BY AVAILABLE YEARS, QUANTITY, DUTY AND VALUE

Year	Country (ies) of Origin	Total Quantity	Total Value	For Home Consumption Quantity	Value	Duty
1872	United States	27,111 Taels 6 Pkgs.	$ 11,921.	16,765	$ 10,653	$ 2,492.75
1873	U.K. & U.S.	39 Pkgs.	11,212.	48 Pkgs.	14,830	2,224.48
1874	U.K. & U.S.	26 Pkgs.	10,699.	25 Pkgs.	10,065	1,558.13
1875	U.S.	81 Pkgs.	32,507.	70 Pkgs.	27,637	4,836.36
1876	U.S. & China	22,826 Lbs.	110,784.	19,468 Lbs.	87,608	15,331.39
1877	U.S.			518 Lbs.	3,618	633.09
1881	U.K., China & U.S.	18,159 Lbs.	73,397.	17,199 Lbs.	68,341	13,668.20
1885	U.K., China & U.S.	81,216 Lbs.	271,825.	78,417 Lbs.	265,862	53,172.40
1887	U.K., China & U.S.	102,284 Lbs.	305,543.	82,001 Lbs.	244,553	82,001.08
1888	U.K. & China	54,513 Lbs.	168,159.	72,558 Lbs.	223,803	72,558.00
1889	U.K. & China	110,876 Lbs.	278,499.	101,243 Lbs.	257,134	101,243.50
1890	-	147,639 Lbs.	349,027.	137,049 Lbs.	324,844	137,049.75
1891	-	142,091 Lbs.	371,053.	146,760 Lbs.	379,299	146,760.00
1892	-	147,805 Lbs.	391,888.	144,593 Lbs.	386,318	144,593.00
1894	-	83,223 Lbs.	194,192.	91,843 Lbs.	217,173	91,843.00
1895	-	29,210 Lbs.	77,866.	36,506 Lbs.	96,123	36,506.00
1896	-	49,581 Lbs.	132,352.	48,125 Lbs.	129,535	48,125.50
1897	-	54,936 Lbs.	143,864.	51,580 Lbs.	135,780	51,580.00
1898	-	55,986 Lbs.	154,210.	57,606 Lbs.	157,836	57,606.50
1899	-	61,471 Lbs.	184,881.	39,704 Lbs.	117,672	39,703.95
	This is the last year of extensive import from China.					
1900	Most from U.K.	56,367 Lbs.	189,555.	1,213 Lbs.	3,931	1,213.00

Note: After 1900 no specific information was given for Opium imported into British Columbia only figures for all of Canada. Opium was made illegal in Canada in 1908 shortly after Mackenzie King's visit to Vancouver to settle claims in the riots of 1907.

Source: Canada, Tables of the Trade and Navigation, Dominion of Canada, Ottawa.

APPENDIX III

COMPARATIVE WAGES IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FOR WHITE AND CHINESE EMPLOYED IN VICTORIA, 1902

	Employer	Employee	
		Chinese	White
Farm Labour	White	$18 to $20*	$36
	Chinese	$18 to $25	
		$12**	
Dairying Labour	White	$10 to $30	$20 to $40
Lumber Mill	White	$24 to $46 (in mill)	$106 to $108
		$24 to $30 (in yard)	
		$30 to $60 (cook)	
Cord Wood Cutting	White	$28.80	
Coal Mining	White		
	above ground	$29.04	$27.60 to $116.40
	underground	$32.88	$34.08 to $103.20
Cannery	White		
	can makers	$50 to $60	
	packers	$35 to $45	
Domestic Servants	White		
	families	$10 to $30**	
	hotels	$25 to $45	
Laundries	Chinese		
	men	$32 to $72	
		$32 to $60**	
	women	$16 to $30	
Merchant Tailors	Chinese	$25 to $40	
	White		
	men		$48
	women		$24
Wholesale Clothing Manufacture			
	White	$16 to $40	
	trousers	$2.25 to $6/doz.	
	coats	$5.00/doz.	

	Employer	Employee	
		Chinese	White
Boots and Shoes	White	$20 to $44	$48 to $72
	Chinese	$25 to $30	
Cigar Makers	White	.50¢ to $1.00/100	$1.10 to $1.90/100
Brickmaker	White	$36 to $40	$48 to $60
	moulder	$60	
Lime Burning	White	$24 to $33	$45 to $50

* All wages by month unless otherwise specified.
** These wages plus room & board with Sunday off.

Note: These figures have been computed from two sources:

1) Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Session 1902, Ottawa, pp. 65-192.

2) Yearbook of British Columbia, 1903, pp. 80-336.

APPENDIX IV

Revenue Receipts And Registrations For Leave Of Chinese Immigrants 1886-1941*

Year	Paying Head Tax	Exempt From Head Tax	% of Total Arrivals Admitted Exempt	Registrations for Leave	Total Revenue
(1886-1888 inclusive)	625	1	0.47	2,431	34,812.00
(1889-1904)	44,019	693	1.54	20,512	2,964,266.00
(1904-1907)	121	415	77.42	7,095	127,695.00
(1907-1915)	28,612	4,146	12.65	31,111	14,366,406.00
(1915-1916)	20	69	77.53	4,064	19,389.00
(1916-1924)	8,972	2,633	22.68	41,674	5,611,352.00
(1924-1941)	3	5	62.50	57,607	531,482.00

* This period extends from the initiation of the head tax in 1886 to the last year statistics were made available, 1941. The head tax was discontinued in 1923 with the Chinese Immigration Act, revenue after this period is from 1) a $1 or $2 leave registration fee, 2) retained bonds from temporarily admitted persons who failed to leave within the valid period of their permits, 3) administrative fines, and 4) the collection of $500 from persons who had entered under the exempt class but who had failed to remain in such exempt classes.

Sources: 1886-1917, Annual Reports, Superintendent of Immigration, Department of the Interior.
1918-1930, Annual Reports, Department of Immigration and Colonization.
1931-1941, The Canada Year Book, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, p. 167, 1942.

Chinese Immigrant Arrivals, 1941-61

Year	Chinese
1941-45	-
1946-50	2,654
1951-55	11,524
1956-60	10,407
1956-61	11,301

Source: Kalbach, Warren E., The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 43, Ottawa, 1970.

APPENDIX V

PUBLIC NOTICE

The New Republic Morning Paper Has Open Shares

I. Name of the Paper

This newspaper would be known as the New Republic Newspaper.

II. The Purpose of the Paper

The aim of this paper is to propagate the democratic form of government as well as to translate the ideals of the Principles of the Peoples Livelihood into action.

III. Function of the Paper

The function of this newspaper is to enlighten the public against bad customs, to encourage investment in the realm of realty business as well as contributions to charity; to serve as sounding board for the discussion of current events and to arouse the nationalistic feeling of overseas Chinese in an attempt to strengthen the foundations of the Chinese Republic.

IV. Organization

The staff of this company consists of a secretary, a treasurer, a manager and twelve staff members chosen by the shareholders in the annual general meeting each year. They serve for one year and are liable to be re-elected.

V. Regulations of Shareholders

A) In addition to its old shareholders, the newspaper company now has another 1,000 shares open to purchase, priced at $5 per share to be collected at the point of transaction. Twenty percent of the net profit would be put back as capital, 80% would be divided up in proportion to the number of shares held by each shareholder.

B) Prospective buyers should pay their money either to the share-selling agents or directly to the company, or through the post. All shares must bear the signature of the manager and the treasurer.

C) The purchase of shares cannot be made after the 1st of _____ month. Thereafter no transactions would be accepted.

D) Shareholding of each shareholder cannot exceed 1,000 shares.

The newspaper company would print a 2-page daily paper (except Sunday). All Chinese and English notices would be printed upon request.

E) The newspaper company is responsible for ensuring the payment of shareholders to the Stock and Share Company Ltd. All other transactions of the Stocks and Share Company Ltd. do not fall into the realm of the newspaper company.

F) All funds of the Newspaper Company will be deposited in the bank. Each cheque has to bear the signature (or seal) of both the manager and the treasurer.

G) The secretary, with the help of other staff members, would audit the account every month. The annual balance sheet would be printed in the Annual Report to be sent to all shareholders with the amount of dividend due to each shareholder.

These regulations contained here are open to discussion.

XXII. An annual report of accounts would be distributed to all shareholders each March after it has been audited by two representatives of the Nationalist Party.

XXIII. In the event of embezzlement by the manager and the secretary, the matter would be settled by the majority decision of the staff members. If no clear decision is reached, the Nationalist Party would then call an extraordinary meeting of shareholders to deliberate the matter.

XXIV. One month's written notice must be given to the Nationalist Party Office should the manager decide to resign. In such an event, the Nationalist Party would call a meeting of the shareholders to select a replacement.

XXV. One month's written notice must be given to the supervisor of the newspaper company should other staff members (except the manager and the editors) decide to resign.

XXVI. Six month's written notice must be given to the Nationalist Party Office should the manager decide to resign. In such an event the Nationalist Party would nominate a replacement.

Three month's written notice must be given to the Nationalist Party Office and the supervisor of the newspaper company should the editors decide to resign. In such an event the Nationalist Party would nominate a replacement in joint consultation with the supervisor.

The same stipulations apply in the event of dismissal of the said officers of the newspaper company.

XXVII. The clauses of the constitution can only be changed upon the proposal of 28 shareholders and the approval of the majority of the shareholders.

XXVIII. This constitution is effective from the founding of the newspaper company.

New shares would be opened at public purchase upon the ratification of the above constitution by the annual general meeting.

NOTE: The circumstances surrounding this constitution are not known as of yet, including the fact of whether or not it was adopted. This particular draft was located in an old store, closed in 1971 and since sold with its contents to an American antique dealer. Other information relevant to the newspaper was found, but as of now it remains untranslated. There is evidence of a bill of sale dated the 1st of May 1911 which transfers "the old publishing outfit machines, types, and other articles" of an old newspaper, the Sun Tai Look Po for $1,800, but again no information has been gathered about this transaction.

APPENDIX VI

A DRAFT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW REPUBLIC NEWSPAPER

I. The New Republic is purely for publicizing the ideas of the Nationalist Party and its associating departments, as well as for propagating the unchanging ideals of the Three Peoples Principles.

II. Although the New Republic is affiliated to the Nationalist Party it is an independent operation in terms of commercial activities.

III. The amount of shareholding among shareholders ranging from one share to 10,000 shares.

IV. This journal would legally be registered with the Canadian government under the term New Republic Newspaper Company Ltd.

V. At the headquarters of the newspaper company the company derives its fund from its shares, but in delivering the newspaper to other towns, funds amounting to half the cost of publication would be charged annually.

VI. A manager, a secretary, and 15 staff members would be elected annually. They cannot serve more than two consecutive terms if re-elected.

VII. The manager, the secretary and the chief editor have permanent office in the newspaper company, being salaried posts. The accountant, who audits the account once a month, has a salary of $2 per month. The other staff members, except the reporters and translators, serve on a voluntary basis.

VIII. The chief editor is nominated by the Nationalist Party manager. The other editors are nominated by the chief editors with the approval of the Nationalist Party manager and the Newspaper company manager.

IX. In the event of organizational problems not resolved by the staff members of the newspaper company, the Nationalist Party would call a general meeting of shareholders to deliberate the matter.

X. The manager of the newspaper company, his secretary, and all the staff members (except the editors and the accountant) are elected during the annual general meeting of the shareholders.

XI. Each of the Nationalist Party in Canada would put forward two names as candidates for manager and two names as

candidates for secretary for the newspaper company, selected by the staff members of that particular office who are concurrently shareholders of the newspaper company.

The Shareholders of the newspaper company residing in the town where the newspaper company is located should put forward thirty names as candidate staff members.

The name list of all the above candidates would be posted in the newspaper and sent to all parts of Canada.

The Nationalist Party would call the annual general meeting. The election itself would be conducted by the newspaper company with two representatives of the Nationalist Party supervising the counting of the ballots.

The accountant is chosen by and among the staff members themselves.

XII. The election date would be published in the newspaper a month before the ballot sheet is issued. The names of all the shareholders together with the amount of shares held by each shareholder would also be printed and sent to all the offices of the Nationalist Party including the liason branches so that the shareholders themselves would contact the Election Committee members for ballot sheets.

XIII. All shareholders have the right to elect and be elected. The amount of vote for each shareholder, however, is in direct proportion to the number of shares he holds. The amount of shares one holds has to be specified in the ballot sheet, failing which the ballot sheet would be counted as one vote.

XIV. The results of the election would be announced before the first of January, the changeover would occur on the first of February.

XV. The names of the newly elected officers of the newspaper company would be printed in the newspaper themselves and sent to all parts of Canada right after the election.

XVI. The newly elected officers of the newspaper company would be notified by a formal letter of appointment by the supervisor.

XVII. Shareholding certificates would be re-issued to all shareholders after the election. Voluntary contributions at the founding of the newspaper company would be converted in the form of shareholding certificates.

XVIII. Shareholders who want to sell his shares have first to contact the supervisor of the newspaper company. The Nationalist Party office would buy the share from the shareholder. Shares sold to a private party are null and void.

XIX. Any Nationalist Party member who holds shares of the newspaper company and who resides in an area where the Nationalist Party office has not been established can contact the newspaper company as to his rights and obligations.

XX. Whether the profit of the newspaper company should be distributed would be decided by the shareholders in joint consultation.

XXI. The Newspaper company would not publish any slanderous remarks sent to our publishers concerning the Nationalist Party itself or its Nationalist Party Headquarters to be dealt with.

APPENDIX VII

COUNTY OF ORIGIN FOR THE CHINESE POPULATION IN VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1939

	County	Representatives in Victoria	% of Total
Sze-Yap	Toy-San	713	30.21
	Yun-Ping	47	1.99
	Hoy-Ping	390	16.52
	San-Wui	413	17.50
Total		1,563	66.22
Sam-Yap	San-Dak	30	1.27
	Pun-Yu	230	9.75
	Nam-Hoy	10	.42
Total		270	11.44
	Chung-San	452	19.15
	Chung-Sing	72	3.10
	Hawk-San	3	.12
Total		527	22.37
	TOTAL	2,360	

Source: Bond Sales Records of the Anti-Japanese Association, 1939-40 translated by Lee Wan Fung and compiled by the author.

APPENDIX VIII

SURNAME AND AVERAGE AGE FOR A PORTION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION OF VICTORIA 1939-40

Surname	Average Age Male	Female
Lee	47.49	26.80
Wong	41.47	25.90
Chow	42.81	18.66
Chan	47.49	26.80
Lau	47.37	38.05
Lim	48.33	22.57
Mar	40.30	20.57
Louie	48.84	26.00
Eng	50.66	48.00
Tang	47.86	53.00
Yee	49.94	41.00
Cheung	50.74	-
Ng	52.4	22.00
Woo	50.38	-
Young	56.36	-
Yuen	50.60	48.50
Quan	44.71	33.50
Jung	49.00	-
Tse	50.21	-
Fong	51.13	41.00
Jeung	56.31	45.00
Leung	51.57	-
Sum	43.25	25.00
Choy	50.83	-
Liu	51.88	-

APPENDIX IX

TOY SAN NING YUNG BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION CONSTITUTION

Prologue:

The Ning Yung Hing Tong has been established for several decades with the aim of furthering the welfare and peaceful co-existence of the Toy San Community here. Owing to the hard work and dedication of its founders and the whole hearted financial and moral support of fellow Huysunese this tong has made notable contributions to public welfare.

Owing to the fact that the Yu Hing Tong has not had any general meeting for several decades or any constitution to guide the members, we have decided to change the Yu Hing Tong to Toy San Ning Yung Benevolent Association and to call a general meeting on November 29th 1931 in Vancouver so as to draw up a constitution with representatives of other towns participating.

During the meeting (name of officers) were chosen as chairman and (name of secretaries). After the opening ceremony, discussion follows. A programme of action was drawn up and a constitution was outlined so that the programme of action could be successfully carried out. I am called upon to compile the constitution that has been drawn up at the meeting and have the copies sent to you with the hope of asking for your support - improving the association structure and carrying out the beneficial acts of the association.
1st January 1932.

THE CONSTITUTION OF TOY-SAN NING YUNG BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

HEADQUARTERS FOR CANADA

1. NAME

This association should go by the name of:
Toy-San Ning Yung Benevolent Association Headquarters For Canada as passed by the first Convention.

2. AIM

The aim of the said association should be as follows:
To create a close relation among our fellow Toy-Sanese and to maintain our rights, to reform and carry out the affairs needed to be done so as to create welfare and happiness for our fellow natives.

3. ADDRESS

The Toy-San Ning Yung Benevolent Association in Victoria should be used as the headquarters of the said association.

4. AUTHORITY

The said association has authority over all other Toy-San Ning Yung Benevolent Associations and Co-ordinating Stations in Canada.

5. BOARD OF EXECUTIVES

The board should consist of the following:
the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Chinese Secretary, the Assistant Chinese Secretary, the Treasurer, the Assistant Treasurer, the Social Convenor, the Assistant Social Convenor, the Supervisor, the Vice-Supervisor, the Auditory, the Assistant Auditor and 18 Executives.

<u>BY-LAWS</u>

1. The length of appointment should be 1 year after which new executives should be re-elected in December of each year and the January of the immediate year.

2. All Toy-Sanese who have fulfilled the responsibilities as required by the said association have the right to elect and be elected.

3. The Chairman and the Chinese Secretary should not be re-elected to the post for more than 3 times in succession. The Treasurer should not stay in the post for more than 1 year.

   All other executives can stay in their post provided they are re-elected.

4. The Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Chinese Secretary, the Assistant Chinese Secretary, the Public Convenor, the Assistant Public Convenor, the Treasurer, the Assistant Treasurer, the Supervisor, and the Vice-Supervisor should be elected by delegates from all over Canada during the Convention. All other executives should be elected by the local members.

6. DUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVES

The duties of the executives should be as follows:

a) The Chairman should be responsible for all activities of the said association and the Vice-Chairman should assist the Chairman to carry out his duties and to take his place during his absence.

b) The Chinese Secretary should be responsible for all correspondant affairs, keep record of all income and expense and write reports for all meetings held. The Assistant Chinese Secretary should give him all assistance when required.

c) The Treasurer should be responsible for all money associated with the said association.

BY-LAWS

1. Deposit of funds in the bank should have the consent of the executives meeting.

2. All cheques of the said association have to be signed by all three of the named persons: the Chairman, the Treasurer, and the Chinese Secretary.

3. Withdrawal of more than $50 from the bank should have the consent of the executives meeting.

d) The Public Convenor should be responsible for all affairs dealing with the Westerners. The Assistant Public Convenor should help him to carry out his duties.

e) The supervisor should see to it that all executives do carry out their duties and to call for a meeting in case of some special events. The Vice-Supervisor should help him.

f) The Auditor should be responsible for all audit of the said association and the Assistant Auditor should help him.

g) The Executives (Trustees ?) have the right to discuss the affairs of the association and to pass all bills.

7. RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERS

All Toy-Sanese should donate $1 to the first Convention and donate $2 to the said association upon their return to China. Those who have done so at the branch offices do not have to pay again.

BY-LAWS

1. All donations for the 1st Convention should be made before the 31st of December 1932. Those failing to do so have to pay double the amount.

8. FUNCTION

The said association should carry out the following functions:

a) In cities where there is no Toy-San Ning Yung Benevolent Association the said association should try to establish either a new branch or a co-ordinating station there if required.

b) For all fellow natives who upon entering or leaving Canada without offending the law are arrested by the Immigration Officers the said association should send the Public Convenor to argue the case. The person involved should pay all other expense.

c) If there is any conflict between our fellow natives or between them and other Chinese the association should try the best to help settle it.

d) The said association should carry out all bills passed during the 1st Convention and other coming Conventions.

9. RIGHTS

All fellow natives who have fulfilled the required responsibilities (listed in Article 7 above) have the rights to vote for and be elected to be executives, have the right to speak in the general meetings, to vote in the meetings, to bring out any complaint and to present any opinion provided they have a letter stating their reason.

BY-LAWS

1. For all fellow natives who have fulfilled the required responsibilities as stated in Article 7 when they are old or because of physical disabilities unable to work are going home to China the association should subsidize $5 for their transportation. When the branch associations report such cases and ask for help the said association should try to gather contribution money for them.

10. REGULATIONS

a) All Toy-Sanese should be law-abiding and peace-loving; sociable to Westerners, co-operative with other Chinese and affectionate to fellow Hoy-Sunese. Unlawful action of any member which leads to prosecution by the Canadian government do not fall under the responsibility of this association.

b) All Toy-Sanese (except those who relied on subscription), upon their return to China, must report to this association, its branch or co-ordinating station to pay $2 donation, failing, they would be charged double.

BY-LAWS

Method of Collections

(i) Collected by the branch office or co-ordinating station from its members.

(ii) Collected by Toy-Sanese shop owners in Vancouver or Victoria.

(iii) Collected by association representatives at the Pier before boarding the ship.

(iv) Collected by the representatives of the association stationed at the immigration office.

(v) Collected by the Convenor of the association.

(vi) Collected double by the chief of the District Police in Toy-San upon the request of the association here, this is to punish those who try to evade the fee. One-half of this fee would go to the police, the other half to the Toy San High School.

(vii) Exemption is granted to those who relied upon subscription to return to China.

(viii) Exemption is granted to those under 18 years of age.

(ix) Exemption is granted to those over 60 years of age.

11. PUNISHMENTS

a) In the event of Toy Sanese here molesting association property and ignoring the warning of staff members or ordinary members of our association, the association will seek compensation through legal action.

b) In the event of embezzlement by members of the staff, an extraordinary general meeting will be called to deal with the matter.

12. CORRESPONDENCE

An annual balance sheet would be printed in detail and distributed to all branch associations and co-ordinating centers.

13. REGISTRATION

The association would be registered with the Canadian government with the title Toy San Ning Yung Benevolent Association Headquarters for Canada.

14. SALARY

The Chinese Secretary receives a monthly salary of $15. The rest of the staff will serve on a voluntary basis.

15. COLLECTION OF DEBITS

Money lent to a third party by the Ning Yung Hing Tong will be collected by this association.

Method of Collection

(i) The association will send representatives to collect the debt.

(ii) Insist on the debtor signing both the English and the Chinese version of the I.O.U.

(iii) The association would only collect 50% of the debt if the said debt (sum) is paid between the 1st of January and the 31st of December 1932.

(iv) The association would only collect 70% of the debt if the said sum is paid between the 1st January and the 31st December 1933.

(v) The association would ask the Toy San Hsien government to collect the full 100% if the debt is still outstanding after 1933. The money then collected would be donated to the Toy San High School.

(vi) The association will publish in the balance sheet any sum owed to the Ning Yung Yue Hing Tong or its branch.

16. TRANSPORTATION OF BONES

a) Bones of the deceased Toy Sanese here would be transported back to China once every seven years.

b) Financing Method

(i) The $2 donation paid by every Toy Sanese upon his return to China is used for transporting bones to China.

(ii) Money has to be paid in advance by members of another Hsien should he desire the bones of his relatives transported back to China through our association.

(iii) The Chinese Benevolent Association is responsible for transporting the bones of those Chinese who died nameless.

(iv) Our association is responsible for transporting the bones of all Toy San natives who died here, upon request.

c) Registration Procedure

The relatives of the deceased have to fill in the form printed by our association stating the name, the place of birth, date of death, city where the deceased is buried as well as the name used in the Death Registration Form of the Canadian Government. Such forms are sent free of charge upon request.

17. DATE OF THE SECOND CONVENTION

The date of the second convention of the association shall be 1936. In the interval, an extraordinary general meeting can be called as needed.

18. EPILOGUE

Any necessary modivication of the above constitutions shall await the meeting of the second constitution. In the meantime this constitution is effective from January 1st 1932.

APPENDIX X

CHINESE BUSINESSES IN VICTORIA 1951-1971

	1951	1960	1965	1967	1968	1971
General Merchandise[1]	20	18	10	12	11	13
Retail Food Stores[2]	38	60	62	73	77	95
Wholesale Stores[3]	5	1	-	1	1	2
Herbalists[4]	2	2	2	3	3	3
Restaurants[5]	14	20	19	15	15	24
Service (general)[6]	41	32	28	26	28	35
Professional Services[7]	-	-	4	8	10	15
Construction[8]	-	3	3	4	6	8
Housing[9]	6	46	4	14	14	10
Agricultural Activities[10]	25	16	15	16	14	15

Note:
1. Dry goods, giftware, clothes, jeweller, fuel, these included both Chinese and Canadian goods.
2. Fish, meat, poultry, fruit, vegetables, grocery and confectionary stores, the majority of which are outside Chinatown.
3. Tobacco, meat packers and frozen foods.
4. Herbs and drugs.
5. (See Table)
6. Tailors, barbers, laundries, cleaners, beauty parlors, pool rooms, dressmaking, service stations, shoe shines, taxicabs, upholsterer, travel agent, photographers, radio and T.V. repair, trucking and bakery.
7. Dentists, insurance agents, lawyers, physicians and surgeons.
8. Lumber etc.
9. Hotels, co-operative rooms and Apartments.
10. Greenhouses, nurseries, farms, and market gardens.

Source: Victoria Chinese Directory 1951 to 1971.