

Spontaneous Communities: Boarding and Lodging in Victoria,
British Columbia, 1881-1901.

by


Sean William Mattys


B.A., University of Victoria, 1998


A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

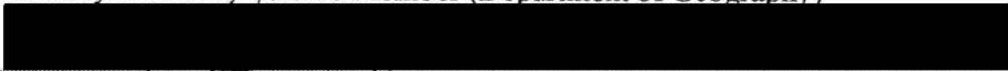
in the Department of History

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard


Dr. Eric Sager, Supervisor (Department of History)


Dr. Peter Baskerville Departmental Member (Department of History)


Dr. Larry McCann, Outside Member (Department of Geography)


Dr. Rennie Warburton, External Examiner (Department of Sociology)

© Sean William Mattys, 2000

University of Victoria


All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by
photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.


ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the great throng of individuals who lived, either by choice or circumstance, as boarders or lodgers during the late-nineteenth century. Although the presence of boarders and lodgers in North America's towns and cities is well known, the exact social and cultural organization of tenancy arrangements during this period is not completely understood. And although we know a great deal about tenancy arrangements with private families, there is little research that examines the full breadth of available tenancy living arrangements, including residency in hotels, rooming houses, and housekeeping rooms.


This thesis provides a detailed case study based on patterns of boarding and lodging in a single city, Victoria, British Columbia, during a twenty-year period that spans three census years, 1881, 1891 and 1901. What this thesis intimates is that the practice of boarding and lodging was extremely selective. Both heads of households and prospective boarders engaged in a careful screening process in order to designate compatibility. Likewise, boarders and lodgers also took extreme interest in assuring compatibility with existing tenants as well. There were a number of ways in which compatibility could be assessed. Age, marital status, gender, occupation and birthplaces were important criteria used to designate compatibility with heads of households, as well as other tenants. However, it would appear that religious denomination, based on findings in this thesis, was the most important arbiter of household selection.

Examiners:


Dr. Eric Sager, Supervisor (Department of History)


Dr. Peter Baskerville, Departmental Member (Department of history)


Dr. Larry McCann, Outside Member (Department of Geography)


Dr. Rennie Warburton, External Examiner (Department of Sociology)

Acknowledgements

For me, the merit of this MA thesis lies not so much in the pages that follow, but in the intellectual and emotion journey it has taken me. There are several individuals that I would like to thank.

First of all I would like to thank Peter Baskerville, Larry McCann, and, of course, my supervisor Eric Sager, for improving my research, and enriching my prose. I would also like to thank the Canadian Families Project, as well as its major source of funding the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for providing a rich environment from which I was able to conceive this thesis. Of course no graduate program can rise above the calibre of its secretarial staff. I would like to thank Judy Nixon for holding my hand and walking me through the process.

I feel very fortunate to be enrolled in a graduate program with such fabulous colleagues, and, hopefully, life long friends. In particular, I would like to isolate two individuals. Nick Mitchell, an important L-hut confidante, who knows the meaning of hospitality and friendship. And Melanie Buddle whose even-keeled nature, intelligence, and warmth is greatly admired and appreciated.

I would also like to thank my parents, Bill Mattys and Nancy Anderson. The bank of Mom and Dad is the only major bank that values the true nature of education. Thanks for all of your love and support. I would also like to thank Jim Bardy for keeping me sane along the way. And Bruce, Marsha and Daniel, who, not only showed me that it is possible to age dangerously, but also provided a roof over my head while living in Victoria.

Table of Contents

p.1	...	Title Page
P.2	...	Abstract
P.3	...	Vita
P.4	...	Partial Copyright Notice
P.5	...	Acknowledgements
P.6	...	Table of Contents
PP. 9-32		Chapter 1- Boarding and Lodging During the Late-nineteenth Century: A Social Compass for the Uninitiated.
PP. 35-65		Chapter 2-A Comparative Analysis of Victoria's Boarding and Non-Boarding Populations
PP. 66-106		Chapter 3-The Emergence of Spontaneous Communities: Religious, Occupational and Ethnic Affinities in Victoria's Boarding and Lodging Population
PP. 107-135		Chapter 4-Boarding and Lodging in Private Homes: Surrogate Families and Symbolic Communities
PP. 136-172		Chapter 5-Everybody Under Their 'Own Vines and Fig Tree:' The growth of Victoria's Hotel and Lodging House Infrastructure.
PP. 173-198		Chapter 6-'His home is his castle:' The Continued Predominance of Boarding and Lodging Into the Turn-of-the-twentieth century
PP. 199-210		Bibliography
PP. 211-218		Appendix I
PP.219-221		Appendix II

Index of Figures and Tables

p.40	Table 1	Age Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
------	---------	--

- p. 43 Table 2 Percentage of Males and Females in Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p. 45 Table 3 Marital Status Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p.48 Table 4 Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Female boarders as a percentage of Victoria's Total Female Population in 1891
- p.49. Table 5 Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Male Boarders as a Percentage of Victoria's Total Male Population in 1891
- p.51 Table 6 Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Boarders with Children as a Percentage of Victoria's Total Population of Individuals with Children in 1891
- p.52 Table 7 Birthplace of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p.59 Table 8 Religious Distribution in Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p.62 Table 9 Occupational Category of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p.62 Table 10 Occupational Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)
- p.71 Figure 1 Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace as their Head of Household (1881-1901)
- p.74 Figure 2 Percentage of Heads of Household who Selected Tenants with the Same Birthplace as Themselves
- p.76 Figure 3 Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace as the Majority of Other Tenants in the Household (1881-1901)
- p. 76 Figure 4 Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace with at Least One Other Tenant in the Household (1881-1901)
- p.77 Figure 5 Percentage of Boarders with Dual Birthplace Linkages

- p.77 Figure 6 Percentage of Boarders with Single Birthplace Linkages
- p.781 Figure 7 Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Occupational Class as their Host
- p.82 Figure 8 Percentage of Hosts that Share the Same Occupational Affinity as their Boarders (1881-1901)
- p.83 Figure 9 Percentage of Boarders who Share an Occupational Affinity with at Least One Other Boarder in the Household
- p.84 Figure 10 Percentage of Boarders that Share an Occupational Affinity with the Majority of Boarders in the Household
- p.85 Figure 11 Percentage of Boarders with Dual Occupational Linkages
- p.86 Figure 12 Percentage of Boarders with Single Occupational Linkage
- p.88 Figure 13 Percent of Boarders who share the Same Religion as their Head of Household
- p.90 Figure 14 Percentage of Hosts who share the Same Religion as their Boarders
- p.91 Figure 15 Percentage of Boarders who share the same Religion as the Majority of Tenants in the Household
- p.92 Figure 16 Percentage of Boarders who share the same Religion with at least one other Tenant in the Household
- p.92 Figure 17 Percentage of Boarders who share Dual Religious Linkages
- p.92 Figure 18 Percentage of Boarders who share Single Religious Linkages
- p. 96 Table 11 LOGISTIC REGRESSION
- p.98 Table 2 Likelihood Ratio

Chapter 1

Boarding and Lodging During the Late-nineteenth Century: A Social Compass for the Uninitiated

This thesis is concerned with the great throng of individuals who lived, either by choice or circumstance, as boarders or lodgers during the late-nineteenth century. Although the presence of boarders and lodgers in North America's towns and cities is well known, the social and cultural organization of tenancy arrangements during the nineteenth century is not completely understood. The purpose of this thesis is to explore whether boarders actively sought out and lived with heads of household or fellow tenants that shared similar social class, religion, and ethnic backgrounds. This thesis will provide a detailed case study based on patterns of boarding and lodging in a single city, Victoria, British Columbia, during a twenty-year period that spans three census years, 1881, 1891 and 1901. A detailed analysis of boarding and lodging will advance our understanding of patterns of tenancy in western Canada during the late-nineteenth century.

Boarding and lodging was a practice that directly touched the lives of thousands of individuals during the nineteenth century, particularly, although not exclusively, the *posse comitatus* of unmarried males. There are a number of financial reasons that encouraged individuals to board or lodge. Income during the nineteenth century fluctuated, seasonal unemployment was common, and wages were often

insufficient to permit home ownership. Boarding *operandi* involved fixed expenses for room, rent, laundry, and food, providing a mechanism by which men and women could save money on a regular basis. In particular, boarding promised inexpensive and flexible accommodation to those who were only in the city briefly, such as drifters or seasonal workers. During the age of the 'walking city,' boarding also offered accommodation that was usually within a reasonable distance from most workplaces. This provided particular benefits for the capitalist class since it provided a geographically concentrated supply of flexible workers.¹ Yet living in boarding and lodging houses also provided a number of advantages to workers as well. Individuals could choose from a variety of living arrangements and select a form of tenancy that adequately reflected their lifestyle and domestic requirements, including financial considerations, camaraderie and friendship networks.

During the past thirty years, North American social scientists, particularly in the field of family history, have provided several illuminating studies that examine various forms of tenancy during the nineteenth century.² In particular, Modell and Hareven's landmark study, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household,"

¹ R. Harris, G. Levine, and S. Osbourne, "Housing and Social Class in Kingston, Ontario 1881-1901," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7. 3 (1981): 274.

² Laurence Glasco, "Migration and Adjustment in the Nineteenth Century: Occupation, Property, and Household Structure of Native-Born Whites, Buffalo, New York, 1855," *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*, eds. Tamara Hareven and Maris Vinovskis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) 154-178; Laurence Glasco, "Life Cycles and Household Structure of American Ethnic Groups: Irish, Germans, and Native-Born Whites in Buffalo, New York, 1855," *Family and Kin in Urban Communities 1700-1930*, ed. Tamara Hareven (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977) 122-143; Stuart Blumin, "Rip Van Winkle's Grandchildren Family and Household in the Hudson Valley, 1880-1860," *Family and Kin in Urban Communities 1700-1930*, ed. Tamara Hareven (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977) 100-121.

demonstrates the importance of understanding the intricacies of the relationship between residing family members and non-kin ‘strangers,’ a relationship that touched the lives of a large segment of North America’s population during the late-nineteenth century.³ In fact, Modell and Hareven estimate that an astonishing one-third to one-half of all individuals would be both boarder and head with boarders at some point in their life cycle.⁴ The impact of boarding and lodging as a transitional stage in the lives of so many individuals during the nineteenth century makes it an important occurrence to understand.

In the Canadian context, Michael Katz’s exhaustive study of Hamilton, Ontario, provides one of the first detailed analyses of tenancy arrangements to include the particular dynamic of boarding and lodging.⁵ Katz observed a positive correlation between the wealth of a family and the presence of boarders in mid-nineteenth century Hamilton. In this city, the ability to accommodate boarders indicated a measure of social status similar to the employment of servants. While Katz observed a preponderance of boarders and lodgers in the homes of Hamilton’s wealthy families, the research of Bettina Bradbury suggests that families of other social classes were also interested in taking in boarders and lodgers. Bettina Bradbury suggests, based on her research on working-class families in Montreal

³ John Modell and Tamara Hareven, “Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families,” *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930*, ed. Tamara Hareven (New York: New Viewpoints, 1977) 164-186.

⁴ Modell and Hareven, 173.

⁵ Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

during the late-nineteenth century, that taking in boarders was also an indispensable survival strategy used by widows and working-class families.⁶ Richard Harris observed yet another dynamic in his study of Toronto's boarding and lodging populations between 1890 and 1951. Harris suggests that many families who were renting entire houses were motivated to take in boarders as a measure of economy to conserve funds for the purchase of a home.⁷ These studies illustrate that during the nineteenth century, families from diverse socio-economic backgrounds took in boarders for equally disparate reasons.

The research of Katz, Bradbury, and Harris explores the dialectic between family households and the incorporation of boarders. Certainly, boarding in private homes is the image that most readily comes to mind when considering patterns of tenancy during the nineteenth century. It is an image perpetuated by a series of plays and novels during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that depict the relationship between tenants and hosts in private homes.⁸ Boarding in private homes

⁶ Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993); Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (1984): 9-48. Similarly, Sager and Baskerville suggest that poor families in Canada were quite likely to take in boarders during the late-nineteenth century. See Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager, *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and their Families in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 141.

⁷ Richard Harris, "The End Justifies the Means: Boarding and Rooming in a City of Homes, 1890-1951," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1994): 323; Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900-1950* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) 119.

⁸ A small sample includes: Evelyn Simms, *The Lodging House Keeper; A Monologue* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1909); Annette Noble, *Miss Roberts' Lodgers* (New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1892); Montgomery Rollins, *The Banker at the Boarding-House* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1918); Joseph Clarke, *Boarding House Blonde* (New York: Godwin, 1936). Doris Francklyn, *Mrs. Shrimper's Boarders: a Comedy* (New York, 1905); Alvin Francis Sanborn, *Moody's Lodging House and Other Tenement Sketches* (Boston:

was a prominent, although not always dominant, form of living among North America's tenant populations. In reality, the rate of boarding in forms of tenancy other than in private homes varied substantially depending on regional location as well as time period. For instance, Peter Baskerville's study of Canadian boardinghouse families in 1901 indicates that the percentage of boarders who lived in private homes differed substantially depending upon regional location. In Canada's western provinces at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, boarders were just as likely to be found living in hotels and commercial rooming houses as they were with private families.⁹ Baskerville's findings suggest that exploring tenancy in private residences captures only part of the richness of household types and living arrangements that existed in Canadian cities. It is clear that an assessment of boarding and lodging during the late-nineteenth century, therefore, needs to consider the blended assortment of available living arrangements.

The need to examine boarding in all its various permutations is addressed forcibly by American historian Mark Peel who argues that it is imperative to "reach beyond the family and familistic values" when addressing tenancy during the

Copeland and Day, 1895); Rosemary Taylor, Chicken Every Sunday: My Life with Mother's Boarders. (Philadelphia: Triangle books, 1946); William Stabb, A Story of Many Colors: Or, Romance in a Lodging House. (Boston, 1903); Annette Noble. Miss Roberts' Lodgers (New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1892).

⁹ Peter Baskerville, "More than Money: Urban Families with Boarders, Canada, 1901," Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project Workshop 1998: 25, footnote 34. Baskerville's findings suggest that between two-thirds and three-quarters of tenants in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes lived in households with five or fewer boarders. Conversely, only half of tenants in Canada's western provinces lived in households with five or fewer tenants.

nineteenth century.¹⁰ Peel's research on large boarding houses in Boston, Massachusetts, between 1860 and 1900, demonstrates that commercial boarding arrangements were an attractive alternative to living with private families.¹¹ The advantage of boarding with private families often dissipated when compared with the relative anonymity and freedom of movement associated with hotel and rooming house living. Likewise, Robert Harney integrates commercial boarding relationships within his analysis of Italian sojourners in Toronto during the nineteenth century.¹² According to Harney, boarding played an important social and economic role in the lives of immigrants, providing an opportunity to save money, as well as offering important recreational opportunities and social networks.¹³

This thesis will investigate the vast array of boarding preferences that were available during the late-nineteenth century. Analysis of boarding in private homes will only be provided when that form of living arrangement crosses the lives of Victoria's tenant populations. After all, boarding in private homes is only one facet of boarding and lodging during the nineteenth century. Household size fluctuated in response to a series of economic and social factors. Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that a rigid dividing line existed between small and large, or informal and

¹⁰ Mark Peel, "On the Margins: Lodgers and Boarders in Boston, 1860-1900," *The Journal of American History* 72 (1986): 834.

¹¹ Paul Erling Groth also provides a useful examination of residency in hotels during the late-nineteenth century: see Paul Erling Groth, *Forbidden Housing: The Evolution and Exclusion of Hotels and Boarding Houses, Rooming Houses, and Lodging Houses in American Cities, 1880-1930*, Diss. University of California, 1983; Paul Erling Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

¹² Robert Harney, "Boarding and Belonging," *Urban History Review* 78 (1978): 8-37.

¹³ Harney, 16.

commercial, boarding arrangements. When the analysis shifts away from families to boarders, and beyond the family boardinghouse to include hotels and large boarding institutions, a more complete picture of tenancy arrangements emerges. Through understanding the various forms of housing options available to tenants during the nineteenth century, it is possible to analyze which factors influenced individuals and families to choose one form of tenancy over another.

This thesis will explore whether there are any meaningful differences between commercial and private family boarders. It is clear that boarders and lodgers could be found in a variety of types of dwellings, including hotels, large rooming and boarding houses, as well as cohabitation with private families. It is certain that the internal space provided by these various tenancy arrangements could vary dramatically, from rental of a single room with a private family in a residential district to a suite of rooms in a downtown hotel; but were the individuals who lived in these various living arrangements fundamentally different? Was there, for instance, a prototypical rooming house tenant or family-type boarder? Also, did particular ethnic groups, social classes, or adherents to particular religions tend to choose boarding with private families over institutional arrangements, or vice-versa? This thesis will attempt to bridge analyses of social and cultural affinities within boarding and lodging houses with an examination of the breadth of boarding options available during the nineteenth century. This will provide a useful study that weds

the analysis of both small scale and large scale boarding houses, living arrangements that hitherto have been examined in isolation.

Living with strangers has a long history in western society. During the time of enumeration of the Canadian census in 1881, 1891 and 1901 one-tenth to one-fifth of Victoria's population lived as boarders or lodgers.¹⁴ Many more may have been affected by boarding at some point in their lives. The frequency of boarding and lodging in Victoria is consistent with that found in other North American and western European cities during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ The frequency of boarding in North America and Europe calls attention to the international nature of boarding and lodging at this time. Immigrants leaving Manchester, New York, Hamilton, or Seattle, to settle in Victoria were most likely

¹⁴ Boarders and lodgers accounted for 14 percent of Victoria's population in 1881, 22 percent in 1891, and 12 percent in 1901. Source: 1881, 1891, 1901 manuscript censuses

¹⁵ In the United States: Glasco found 21 percent of households in Buffalo during the 1850s were augmented with non-kin; Blumin found 17-20 percent of households in Troy, Marlborough and Kingston had non-kin members in 1855; Tygiel suggests 31 percent of San Francisco's working-class population between 1880 and 1900 lived as boarders. See: Glasco, "Migration and Adjustment" 171-3; Blumin, "Rip Van Winkle" 115; Jules Tygiel, *Workingmen in San Francisco, 1880-1901* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992) 198. The proportion of households with boarders in England and Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century ranged between 10 to 25 percent. See: F.J. Bruggemeier and L. Nithammer, "Lodgers, Schnapps-Casinos and Working-Class Colonies in a Heavy Industrial Region," *The Social History of Politics* Ed. Geog Iggers (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985) 235; Michael Anderson, "Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution: Mid-Nineteenth Century Preston in Comparative Perspective," *Household and Family in Past Time* ed. P. Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) 220; David Crew, *Town in the Ruhr* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 235; M.R. Haines, *Fertility and Occupation: Population Patterns in Industrialization* (New York: Academic Press, 1979) 226; J. Wickham "Working-Class movement and Working-Class Life: Frankfurt am Main during the Weimar Republic," *Social History* 8, 3 (1983): 333. In Canada: Katz found that 29 percent of Hamilton's households in 1851, and 20 percent of households in 1861, had boarders; Medjuck suggests that in Moncton, New Brunswick, boarders were found in 35 percent of households in 1851 and 8 percent of households in 1861; Peter Baskerville found that in 1901 20 percent of families in Toronto, 25 percent of families in Vancouver, 16 percent of families in Montreal, 16 percent of families Hamilton, and 27 percent of families in

familiar with the social landscape of boarding and lodging, either through first hand experience, or with observation of comparable boarding practices in their native city. Although boarding and lodging was common in most areas, there were certain cities that were more conducive to this form of tenancy. In the United States, San Francisco and Boston were major centres of boarding activity.¹⁶ In Canada, British Columbia had the highest rate of boarding among Canadian provinces.¹⁷ Within British Columbia, Victoria did not house as many boarders and lodgers as did Vancouver or New Westminster. Nevertheless, the rates of boarding and lodging in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century exceeded those of cities of comparable size in central and eastern Canada.¹⁸

The high rates of boarding and lodging in North America during the second half of the nineteenth century correspond to the profound effects of urbanization and industrialization. Victoria at this time was a medium sized city undergoing rapid economic and social change. The economic infrastructure of the city offered many attractions for migrant workers and families. As the provincial capital, Victoria was

Winnipeg, had boarders. See Katz, *Hamilton* 222; Medjuck, "Family and Household" 258; Baskerville, "More than Money" 3.

¹⁶ See Wolfe, *Lodging House Problem*.

¹⁷ Gordon Darroch suggests that in 1901 19 percent of British Columbia's population were boarders, compared with 5 percent of Manitoba, 4 percent of Ontario, 3 percent of Quebec, 2.7% of New Brunswick, 4 percent of Nova Scotia, and 2 percent of Prince Edward Island. See Gordon Darroch, "Individuals, Families and Dwellings in the 1901 Census of Canada: Conceptual Issues, Limits, and Opportunities for Analysis," Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project Workshop 1998.

¹⁸ Sager and Baskerville estimate that in 1901 boarders were found in 15% of households in Victoria, 12 percent of households in Hamilton, 15 percent households in Montreal and 8 percent of households in Halifax.

See Baskerville and Sager, 141 note 40.

an important destination for members of the expanding service and professional sector. It was also a popular port of call for workers involved in the mining, lumbering, sealing and manufacturing industries.¹⁹ According to the 1892 City Directory, “Victoria [was] the distributing point for most of the wholesale trade ... on Vancouver Island and the Northwest Coast.”²⁰ In fact, Victoria was an important entrepôt for regional trade along the Pacific Northwest, as well as a thriving manufacturing centre, employing twice as many workers in 1891 as nearby Vancouver and New Westminster.²¹

The global depression during the early 1890s coincided with, and probably precipitated, a reduction in Victoria’s manufacturing base, as well as a shift in primary resource industries, such as the lumber, and mining industries, away from Vancouver Island towards British Columbia’s lower mainland.²² The rise and fall of Victoria’s primary resource and manufacturing industries was extremely crucial in determining the variety of tenancy arrangements. In particular, the fortunes of a number of hotels depended upon the vibrancy of Victoria’s railways and harbor. When the depression during the early 1890s reduced economic growth in the city, hotels and restaurants which serviced the city’s tenant population also suffered. In

¹⁹ Harry Gregson, *A History of Victoria 1842-1970* (Victoria: Observer Publishing, 1970)

²⁰ Charles Forward, “The Evolution of Victoria’s Functional Character,” *Town and City* ed. Alan Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981) 363.

²¹ Robert McDonald, “Victoria, Vancouver, and the Economic Development of British Columbia, 1886-1914,” *Town and City* ed. Alan Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981) 31-58; Forward, 347-372.

²² Forward, 364; Stanley Edward Ruzicka, *The Decline of Victoria as the Metropolitan Centre of British Columbia 1885-1901*, M.A. Thesis (University of Victoria) 1973: 45.

fact, a number of hotels and commercial rooming houses were forced to close their doors.

The decline in Victoria's economic infrastructure was not absolute, however. It still remained the provincial capital, possessed some important manufacturing concerns, and experienced modest population gain, increasing from 16,800 people in 1891 to 21,000 in 1901. According to a Daily Colonist report in 1901:

No one will claim that Victoria is enjoying a boom, and the amount of building in progress is not strikingly large, but the number of vacant houses in this city is very small and so is the number of vacant business places. ... New people are coming to the city steadily, not in shoals, but in fair numbers and a considerable proportion of them are persons who have been attracted here by the advantages of the city as a residential point.²³

This newspaper report illustrates that even though Victoria's economy experienced a downturn, housing shortages continued well into the twentieth century. Not everyone owned, let alone rented a home. As a result, boarding and lodging were living arrangements that continued to appeal to a significant proportion of Victoria's residents.

In their seminal paper, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household," Modell and Hareven suggest that industrial urbanization was an important element that determined boarding rates.²⁴ This observation seems applicable to Victoria's level of boarding and lodging activity between 1881 and 1901. Undoubtedly there is a connection among Victoria's industrial expansion during the 1880s, the surge in the

²³ Colonist 23 October 1901: 4.

²⁴ Modell and Hareven, 169. See also Michael Doucet and John Weaver, Housing the North American City (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) 305.

city's population,²⁵ the concomitant strain on its housing resource, and the increased rates of boarding between 1881-1891. Conversely, the contraction of Victoria's economy and comparatively unimpressive population growth during the 1890s, from 16,841 individuals in 1891 to 20,919 in 1901, most likely contributed to a reduction in boarding rates by the turn-of-the-century, from 22 percent of the populace in 1891 to a modest 12 percent in 1901.

It would appear that patterns of boarding and lodging did respond to commercial factors, fluctuating in response to economic cycles and patterns. However, it would be misleading to assume that boarding and lodging was exclusively a by-product of economic stimuli alone. Other factors were also important. The nature of a city's housing stock could influence rates of boarding as well. Each city has its own unique housing traditions.²⁶ Household composition can not only vary dramatically between cities, but also within cities, as certain districts and neighborhoods contained dwellings more suitable to the incorporation of boarders.²⁷ In some districts 'excess' populations were absorbed into existing

²⁵ The population of Victoria was: 5,925 in 1881; 16,841 in 1891; and 20,919 in 1901. Source: Canadian 1881, 1891, 1901 published census

²⁶ For example, M. J. Daunton demonstrates that in New York during the late-nineteenth century over one half of all families lived in households with six or more families. By contrast, only 1.1 percent of families in Philadelphia was living in this type of arrangement. Daunton's observations provide a persuasive reminder that it is important to understand local housing traditions when studying tenancy during the nineteenth century. See M.J. Daunton, "Rows and Tenements: American Cities, 1880-1914," *Housing the Workers 1850-1914* ed. M.J. Daunton (London: Leicester University Press, 1990) 249.

²⁷ For example, Boston's south end was renown for its boardinghouse districts during the late-nineteenth century. See: Albert Wolfe, *Lodging House Problem in Boston* (Boston, 1906). Similarly, San Francisco's south of Market District was also a famed area of boarding activity. See: Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1850-1950: The Emergence of a Skid Row," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 52 (September 1973): 197-218; Tygiel, *Workingmen,*

private residences. Most of these boarding houses were not built specifically for the purpose of accommodating boarders and lodgers. Rather, they were often suites modified post-hoc, created as the need arose. In other areas of the city vibrant hotel and commercial lodging zones emerged. Living conditions within a particular city's housing resource, in turn, were affected by housing shortages which tended to cause overcrowding and modification of existing space.

The robust nature of Victoria's economy during the late-nineteenth century attracted North America's, Western Europe's 'floating proletariat.' The city's population was also bolstered, to the consternation of some middle-class reformers, by the arrival of 1,600 Chinese people between 1881 and 1884. These Chinese immigrants were tightly packed into Canada's largest Chinatown.²⁸ Living conditions in this area were so awful that they spurred a panic among municipal reformers, resulting in extensive public health inspections during the mid-1880s.²⁹ Housing among Victoria's other national groups, predominantly American and western European, continued to swell in the downtown core and, increasingly, along the periphery in the city's growing suburbs. The growth in Victoria's population undoubtedly caused a strain on the city's housing stock, encouraging a host of boarding and lodging operations. The history of land use in Victoria has profoundly

Vancouver's West End also emerged as lodging house district by the turn-of-the-twentieth century. See Jill Wade, "Home or Homelessness? Marginal Housing in Vancouver, 1886-1950," *Urban History Review/Revue D'Histoire Urbaine* XXV, 2 (March 1997): 22.

²⁸ Peter Baskerville, *Beyond the Island: An Illustrated History of Victoria* (Burlington: Windsor Publications, 1986).

²⁹ Baskerville, *Beyond the Island* 64.

influenced the character of tenancy arrangements in the city and household configurations.

Boarding and lodging was an important social and cultural practice that most likely shaped, and was in turn itself changed by, Victoria's broader cultural and social milieu. Boardinghouse keepers were often particular about the social class and occupational status of their tenants. Most boardinghouses developed reputations for servicing either a 'genteel' or 'rough' clientele.³⁰ Likewise, hotels targeted specific social classes, catering to either professional or working-classes. Among Chinese residents in Victoria, and later Japanese residents, boarding and lodging houses created important networks of association, which provided vital links to employment, social activity, and cultural affiliation. Robert Harney argues that boarding-houses offered a sense of "fellow feeling" where individuals could gather information about "reliable merchants, money-lenders, and go-betweens."³¹ In this sense boardinghouses, in the words of Modell and Hareven, provided a "family of re-orientation to the city, to a job, to a neighbourhood, to independence." The cultural aspect of boarding and lodging needs to be further explored. In particular, it would be beneficial to know more about the influence of religion, ethnicity, and class, in determining living arrangements.

Although the presence of boarders and lodgers during the nineteenth century has been widely researched, the exact social organization of boarders and lodgers

³⁰ For discussion of the relationship between lodging, hotels, and social respectability see: Groth, Forbidden Housing.

remains largely unclear, and is in need of careful documentation. The importance of boarding and lodging quantitatively, in terms of the number of individuals affected, and qualitatively, in terms of its impact on the cultural and social fabric of nineteenth century society, makes it an important subject of inquiry. Victoria, British Columbia, provides an excellent case study to examine this phenomenon for a number of reasons. The volatility in both Victoria's economy and rates of population growth allow us to examine the relationship between economic and demographic factors and their association with various forms of tenancy.³² The nature of Victoria's largely commercial economy also serves as a useful contrast to other more documented, and more industrial, cities such as Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal. There is also a more pragmatic reason for using Victoria as a case study. The Public History Group and the Canadian Families Project have compiled datasets of Victoria's population based on the 1881, 1891, and 1901 manuscript censuses.³³ These datasets provide a compelling source. All individuals living in Victoria enumerated by the census officials are recorded into a complete database, which in

³¹ Harney, 31.

³² In this respect the temporal framework of this study is similar to Medjuck's study of Moncton, in that both studies chronicle a period of economic prosperity followed by economic decline. See: Sheva Medjuck, "The Importance of Boarding for the Structure of the Household in the Nineteenth Century: Moncton, New Brunswick, and Hamilton, Canada West," *Histoire Social/ Social History* 25 (May 1980): 207-213.

³³ The 1881, 1891 and 1901 databases are over-samples comprising 100% of the information from the original census manuscripts. The 1881 and 1891 censuses were entered by the Public History Research Group, while the 1901 sample was conducted by the Canadian Families Project. *1881 Canadian Census: Vancouver Island*, ed. Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager (Victoria: Public History Group, 1990); *1891 Canadian Census, Victoria* ed. Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville. (Victoria: Public History Group, 1991). The 1881 sample includes 7294 individuals in 1613 households, 1891 census includes 16843 individuals in 3,038 households, and 1901 21051 individuals in 4669 households.

turn can be manipulated and examined through the use of software packages, such as SPSS. For the purposes of this study, the advantages of using the entire population is clear. Boarding and lodging was a complex institution, involving individuals from diverse social backgrounds and including a variety of household arrangements. Complete coverage allows us to see the richness of these complexities and to elucidate trends that might be muted by samples. In fact, there is no other source that contains such a wealth of information about an otherwise anonymous population.

Since information gleaned from the Canadian census is the primary source used in this thesis, a brief description of the nature of this document is appropriate. The Canadian government has conducted official censuses of its population since 1871. The range of questions asked by the national census has continued to change over the years. In many ways the national census, the categories and questions posed, reflect a specific group of interests. The government uses the national census as a means of understanding the general profile of the Canadian population. The census also serves as an important propaganda device aimed at promoting the country abroad, as well as at home. The multifarious orientation of the census makes it a challenging, yet rousing, historical source. Some social scientists are quite critical of the usefulness of manuscript censuses. For instance, Michael Donnelly suggests that “official statistics have ‘classed’ the population, in varied and sometimes shifting ways, but with the cumulative effect of hardening classifications

into enduring and familiar categories—artifacts of the classifiers' decisions."³⁴

The argument that censuses are essentially cultural creations is, of course, irrefutable. However, Donnelly's assertion that the census has "hardened classifications" remains problematic. Careful use of the census can illuminate characteristics of the Canadian population, as well as shed light on some of the cultural and social biases of the manufacturers of the census. For instance, Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager have effectively demonstrated how the Canadian government used the 1901 census as a means to understand the country's industrial workforce. Yet Baskerville and Sager also suggest that "the workforce was constructed by the census and also helped to construct it."³⁵ After all, it is important to be clear about the manner in which national censuses are compiled. It is the respondent who classifies themselves, albeit within a limited range of available social meanings. The construction of the census, therefore, should be viewed as multi-layered, involving competing objectives, interests and rationales. Careful use of manuscript censuses, however, allows social scientists to examine various 'contexts' of individuals, groups of individuals, and governments.

For the purposes of this thesis, decennial censuses provide a unique and valuable source for examining tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth

³⁴ Michael Donnelly, "Statistical Classifications and the Salience of Social Class," *Reworking-class* ed. John R. Hall (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1997) 107; See also: Annalee Golz, "Constructing 'Normality' and Confronting 'Deviance,'" Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project Workshop 1998; Edward Higgs, "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses," *History Workshop Journal*, 23 (1987); Nancy Folbre and Marjorie Able, "Women's Work and Women's Households: Gender Bias in the U.S. Census," *Social Research* 56 (1989): 545-570.

century. This view is not shared by all, however. In his study of boarding and lodging in Toronto between 1890 and 1951 Richard Harris rejects the exclusive use of decennial censuses, and favors instead the use of city directories and property assessments, which are compiled annually.³⁶ However, since this study is interested in examining social and cultural affinities among boarders and lodgers, rather than linking individuals between censuses, the decennial censuses provide a unique and indispensable source. In fact, the sources that Harris mentions do not contain the same wealth of information as those gleaned from manuscript censuses. Between 1881 and 1901 the national census contains information on birthplace, age, religion, occupation, sex, and marital status, among other categories. In 1891 and 1901 there is additional information on the relationship of the respondent to the head of household, and the number of rooms in the household. In 1901 there is a variety of

³⁵ Baskerville and Sager, 196.

³⁶ Harris, "Flexible House: The Housing Backlog and the Persistence of Lodging, 1891-1951," *Social Science History* 18 (1994):48. Since population of North America's cities during the nineteenth century was constantly changing in response to economic and social factors, Harris suggests that the Canadian census fails to capture the nuances of historical processes such as migration and settlement patterns. Use of censuses does pose problems at the level of methodology when trying to establish patterns during the intervening years between censuses. Longitudinal analysis, created through examining two or more censuses, can rectify some of these problems. However, even the use of three censuses does not solve the problem completely. It is quite an assumption to presume that the experiences of a 20 year old in 1881 can be linked to that of a 30 year old in 1891 or a 40 year old in 1901. It would appear that 10-year intervals are too long to permit detailed analysis of age cohorts. Particularly, since boarders moved too frequently. The ethnic, religious, and occupational composition of boarders was constantly being re-invented. This study does not assume, however, that longitudinal analysis of age cohorts is possible. Thus the 1881, 1891 and 1901 census will be used as discrete snapshots. See also Daniel Hiebert, "Class, Ethnicity, and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901-1921," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17,1 (1991): 57; Tygiel, 180; Kok "Family Strategies" 114. There is also the problem of under-enumeration see Richard Steckel, "The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda," *Social Science History* 15,4 (Winter 1991) However, under-enumeration may not be as great as once thought. See Miriam King and Diana Magnuson "Historical US Census Undercounts," *Social Science History* 19 (1995): 455-66.

information regarding yearly income. The breadth of information contained in the 1881, 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses is not readily accessible from other historical sources, and offers distinct advantages to researchers interested in exploring tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth century.

The Canadian census in both its published and manuscript forms uses the terms boarder and lodger. Unfortunately, these terms are used without clear definition or explanation. Nowhere in the instructions to enumerators are the terms boarder and lodger precisely defined. The absence of 'official' definitions, however, does not mean that there were not recognizable customs and traditions associated with boarding and lodging. There seems to be consensus among many historians that boarding is characterized by an actual exchange of money between tenant and head of household. Most likely it is this economic relationship that differentiates boarding and lodging from other living arrangements, such as co-resident or extended families. The problem with defining boarders strictly by the exchange of money in return for specific services is that it is almost impossible to decipher from most historical sources whether or not an exchange of money actually occurred between tenant and host. Rather, this relationship most likely existed mainly as a verbal agreement that cannot be established from the information provided from manuscript censuses, or from city directories. Thus, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to use other means of differentiating boarders from the rest of Victoria's population.

A number of historical studies have relied on the presence of different surnames to distinguish boarders from hosts. In fact, this method is used in this thesis to establish boarders from the 1881 manuscript census. This method, however, is somewhat problematic. Boarding is a phenomenon that not only involved the incorporation of strangers into the home, but family members as well. For example, a brother or sister might live in the household of a sibling paying rent for room and board.³⁷ The incorporation of additional family members brought extra costs and increased strain on spatial resources in the household. As a result, it seems logical that some sort of monetary compensation would be appropriate and most likely requested.³⁸ The presence of boarders with the same last name as the head of household indicates that boarding and lodging is probably a much more complex institution than originally believed, including both strangers and relatives. These boarders and lodgers with the same last name as the head of household can be captured by the 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses. This is because these censuses ask the question “what is your relationship with the head of household?” Thus, an

³⁷ Evidence from the 1891 census suggests that 111 individuals listed themselves as lodgers, even though they had the same last name as their head of household. It would appear that this number far exceeds what could be attributed to enumerator error or “improper” self-declaration.

³⁸ Whether coresident families should be included in a study of boarders presents a thorny problem. It is possible that in cases where one family owned the house, the remaining families provided some form of monetary compensation. The major obstacle of including coresident families is the absence of direct evidence that the relationship involved an exchange of money. As a result, this study will not make the assumption that coresident families were necessarily boarders. However, it is important to note that the U.S. Immigration Commission (1907-1910) suggested that households with two or more families living together should constitute a boarding arrangement. The U.S. Immigration’s definition is a clear attempt to capture the fluidity associated with the concept of boarding.

See: Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, “Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family, Life Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid,” *Historical Papers* (1983): 30-55.

individual has the opportunity to identify his or her relationship to the head of household as a roomer, boarder or lodger. For the purpose of this thesis self-declaration provides the best means of isolating boarders and lodgers.³⁹

So far the terms ‘lodging’ and ‘boarding’ have been used to indicate a special form of tenancy in which individuals exchanged money in return for accommodation. However, there were important differences between the practice of boarding and lodging that must be noted. Boarding typically involved the rental of a room, as well as provision of at least one meal; while lodging simply involved payment for shelter. Richard Harris suggests that contemporaries of the nineteenth century often blurred the lines between boarding and lodging.⁴⁰ Yet Harris still seems to feel confident about the distinction between these terms, since he uses the categories “rooms” and “boards” from the City Directories in order to chronicle trends in tenancy. It is difficult to acquire a sense of how often contemporaries confused these terms. Certainly popular novels and newspaper reports appeared to use these terms interchangeably.⁴¹ So did the Canadian census.⁴² During the

³⁹ The ‘relationship to head’ column of the census is a useful criterion for differentiating boarders from the rest of the population. However, there are a few blind spots with this approach. In particular, there are a number of cases in the census in which the ‘relationship to head’ column is left blank. Something must have occurred during the process of communication between enumerator and respondent, or through pure negligence of the enumerator. Blank entries in the ‘relationship to head’ column cause a series of methodological problems since many of these individuals have many of the characteristics of boarders. In 1891 there are 1084 blank entries (7 percent of Victoria’s total population) under the ‘relation to head’ column. In 1901 there are 1842 blank entries under the ‘relation to head’ column (9 percent of Victoria’s total population). A decision was made in this study not to include individuals in the 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses that have no information listed under the ‘relationship to head’ column. The only boarders and lodgers recognized by this study, therefore, are those that identified themselves as such in the manuscript census.

⁴⁰ Harris, “City of Homes” 335; Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs* 118-119.

⁴¹ Harris, “City of Homes” 335.

nineteenth century there was such a range of forms of tenancy that it is difficult to be entirely clear about appropriate methods and criteria for defining which segment of the population were boarders or lodgers. If these terms were confused, it is understandable, given the various ways boarding and lodging arrangements overlapped. A survey of classified advertisements from Victoria's Daily Colonist and Daily Times indicates that rooms could be acquired "with or without board," suggesting extreme flexibility and fluidity between boarding and lodging. Also a number of houses included only partial board, providing laundry or other services, but not meals.⁴² Furthermore, several advertisements indicated that rooms could be rented "with or without access to kitchen" or "access to kitchen if necessary." This indicates that the host did not necessarily provide meals as a condition of tenancy. However, most likely joint access to the kitchen resulted in regular contact between

⁴² Darroch argues that government officials provided virtually no information concerning the 'relation to head' column in the national census during the late-nineteenth century. Most likely Canadian census officials were aping classifications used south of the boarder. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain the exact intentions of this classification system. The terms 'lodger', 'roomer', and 'boarder' are found in the 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses. This suggests that these terms had currency during the nineteenth century. However, enumerators were not instructed to differentiate these terms. See Darroch, "Individuals, Families and Dwellings" 4-7. It is important to note, however, that the Massachusetts state census did in fact collect accurate data on those who lived in boarding, lodging, and rooming houses during the nineteenth century.

In addition, it is important to keep in mind how the census defines length of residence affects the number of boarders. Boarders and lodgers were the most mobile segment of the population. It would not be uncommon for many lodgers and boarders to change their address frequently during a given year. Therefore, the time of the year in which the census is taken is mostly likely also important.

⁴³ Albert Wolfe ran into these problems when he attempted to distinguish the difference between lodging houses and apartment houses. According to Wolfe the differences between these two forms of tenancy often was "fixed more or less arbitrarily according to the number of rooms in a suite, the rental rate, sanitary equipment, and the like—In practice the distinction very often turns on the presence or absence of a bathroom for each suite." Wolfe, 5 (footnote 3). Mark Peel in his study of tenancy arrangements which contain five or more tenants suggests that boarding arrangements can be differentiated through the presence of domestic servants. This is based in the belief that give the large

tenant and head of household at meal times. There is also a strong probability that cooking utensils and perhaps food goods were shared. Since meals were not provided as a condition of tenancy, this is most likely a lodging arrangement. Yet this living arrangement would be extremely divergent from tenancy arrangements that existed in hotels or commercial lodging houses, which were typically more impersonal. There were also rooms that had makeshift kitchens for the exclusive use of the lodger. These rooms, known as housekeeping rooms, usually included a gas plate, or similar set-up, where tenants cooked their own meals.⁴⁴ Normally these rooms were found in hotels, but they were also located in a number of private residences as well. Given the various ways boarding and lodging overlapped, and because the Federal Government did not instruct census enumerators to distinguish between boarding and lodging, it seems logical not to differentiate these terms in this thesis. Thus, unless specifically noted, the terms lodging and boarding will be used interchangeably.

Lodging and boarding was an important tenancy arrangement in North America during the nineteenth century, particularly in urban centres along the west coast such as Vancouver, San Francisco, and to a somewhat a lesser extent Victoria. The involvement of so many individuals in this form of tenancy makes it an important subject of enquiry. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the demographics of Victoria's boarding population. In particular, the timing of

number of tenants the boarding house keeper would need additional assistance in meal preparation. Peel, 819.

boarding in association with marital status, gender and age will be addressed.

Also the ethnic, religious, and occupational composition of boarders and lodgers will be illustrated. Moreover, the characteristics of Victoria's boarders will be compared with those of the non-boarding population in order to test the hypothesis that boarders were a distinct sub-set of the general population. Chapter 3 will explore the tendency of boarders to share religious, ethnic, and occupational affinities with heads of household, as well as fellow tenants. This chapter will also attempt to assess which factor(s) are most important in determining a boarder's locational decision. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 will continue the study of inter-connection among religion, ethnicity, and occupation, but in a somewhat different vein, examining them within the context of household size. Chapter 4 will explore the profile of boarders who live with private families, while Chapter 5 will examine boarders living in hotels and commercial rooming houses. The concluding chapter will explore the similarities and differences between small and large scale tenancy arrangements with particular emphasis on the role of religion, class and ethnicity. In this way I will provide a comprehensive discussion of boarding and lodging in Victoria, and hope to illuminate our understanding of housing arrangements in British Columbia during the late-nineteenth century.

⁴⁴ Jill Wade, 22.

Chapter 2

A Comparative Analysis of Victoria's Boarding and Non-Boarding Populations

Life course analysis, largely espoused in the field of family history, demonstrates the importance of major transitions in people's lives, such as the transition from adolescence to adulthood, or, the transition from being single to married.⁴⁵ During the nineteenth century boarding and lodging served as an important stage in the life course for young men and women leaving home, serving for many as a respite before eventual marriage, and possible home ownership. The experience of boarding and lodging was potentially profound. Not only did boarding and lodging involve changes in physical surroundings; it could also significantly alter an individual's entire social milieu.

Much is already known about the general profile of North America's boarding populations during the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Boarding and lodging was a

⁴⁵ For research related to life course analysis: see Tamara Hareven: *Transitions: The family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective* (New York: Academic Press, 1978); Tamara Hareven and Maris Vinovskis Eds. *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Tamara Hareven and Kanji Masaoka, "Turning Points and Transitions: Perceptions of the Life Course," *Journal of Family History* 13 (1988): 271-289; Jan Kok, "Revealing Family Strategies Using Life Course Analysis," *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands* (1994): 109-127. Tamara Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *American Historical Review* 96 (Feb 1991): 95-124. Research that examines the importance of the life course of boarders includes: Glasco, "Life Cycles" 122-143; Glasco, "Migration and Adjustment" 154-178; Also see: Katz, *The People of Hamilton*.

⁴⁶ Modell and Hareven provide the first, and still useful, overview of boarders and lodgers in America during the second half of the nineteenth century. Mark Peel's case study of large boardinghouses and rooming houses in Boston Massachusetts contributes an excellent case study of large scale tenancy arrangements between 1860 and 1900. In the Canadian context, Richard Harris examines boarding

practice that affected the young more than the old, men more than women, and those whose marital status was single rather than married. Typically, the sex ratios, diversity of marital status, and age profiles of a city's tenant population differed from that of the remainder of its inhabitants. In particular, several historical studies indicate that boarders were over-represented among those who were native rather than foreign born.⁴⁷ Less clear is the occupational profile of boarders. Modell and Hareven suggest that towards the end of the century boarding became stigmatised as a lower class practice. Similarly, Tygiel found that among San Francisco's working-classes between 1880 and 1900 boarding increasingly became associated with the lesser skilled segment of the working-class.⁴⁸ Yet, in Boston, between 1860 and 1900, Mark Peel discovered that boarding remained a flexible institution that attracted individuals from diverse occupational backgrounds, including a significant number of professional, managerial, and skilled blue-collar workers.⁴⁹ Richard Harris also suggests that the boarding population in Toronto displayed occupational diversity well into the first few decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁰ The occupational profile of boarders, therefore, was exceedingly complex, most likely varying depending upon the city under review, and the time period of analysis.

and lodging in Toronto between 1890 and 1951. In addition, Peter Baskerville offers an excellent overview of Canadian boardinghouse families in 1901.

⁴⁷ Modell and Hareven, 170; Glasco, 124-125.

⁴⁸ Tygiel, 208-225.

⁴⁹ Peel, 818.

⁵⁰ Harris, 346-347.

Although much is known about the ethnicity and occupational class of boarders and lodgers, little is known about their religious profile. Since the American censuses during the late-nineteenth century did not ask respondents to declare their religion, there is a problem at the level of methodology when trying to understand the interface between religion and tenancy arrangements. The failure to include an analysis of religion in existing studies of boarding and lodging is unfortunate, especially given the social and cultural importance of religion during the late-nineteenth century. A notable exception is Peter Baskerville's recent study of boardinghouse families in 1901 which provides one of the first indications that religion played a significant role in the dealings between host and tenant.⁵¹ Baskerville's findings indicate that more work is necessary in order to understand the relationship between religious affiliation and tenancy relationships.

The purpose of this chapter will be to elucidate the general characteristics of Victoria's boarding population. Of particular interest is whether there are normative patterns associated with boarding and lodging in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century. Did boarders and lodgers in Victoria share similar characteristics with what we already know about boarders in other regions? Also, was "middle-class boarding ... overshadowed by the emergence of lower class boarding" towards the end of the nineteenth century as Modell and Hareven suggest?⁵² Or was the occupational structure of Victoria's boarding population more heterogeneous, as indicated by

⁵¹ Baskerville, "More Than Money" 17-18.

⁵² Modell and Hareven, 182.

Harris's study of Toronto? Furthermore, the religious profile of boarders will be considered. In particular, this study will explore whether the practice of boarding and lodging was more prevalent among specific religious denomination. In answering these questions this chapter wishes to test what is already known about boarders in North America and apply it to a western Canadian case study.

Oliver Knight once suggested that each historical case study is wrapped in a "cocoon of uniqueness."⁵³ This characterization, however, is not entirely accurate. Case studies provide important measurements from which comparisons can be made with other regions. In fact, there exists a productive relationship in the field of family history between general studies, such as the work of Modell and Hareven, and specific case studies such as Tygiel's examination of San Francisco and Harris's study of Toronto. In order to make this microstudy intelligible to other researchers interested in comparative research I will attempt not only to profile Victoria's boarding population, but also to suggest what made this group distinctive from Victoria's general population. An understanding of the non-boarding population is essential in order to make accurate comparisons, as well as to discern whether the characteristics of boarders are unique as a sub-population, or merely a reflection of the peculiarities of the city's general population.

Important and particular to Victoria's population in the late-nineteenth century were the thousands of individuals of Chinese descent. The presence of

⁵³ Oliver Knight, "Towards an Understanding of the Western Town," The Western Historical Quarterly. 4, 1, (January 1973): 27-42.

Chinese boarders made British Columbia's urban places very different in ethnic composition from Canada's eastern cities. Victoria's Chinese population was physically segregated from the city's remaining ethnic groups, almost exclusively located within the radius of a few city blocks. Physical segregation was accompanied by profound cultural isolation of Chinese boarders from Victoria's mainly European residents. In fact, there was virtually no integration of Chinese boarders and Chinese heads of household with other ethnic groups.⁵⁴ For reasons of survival the Chinese community developed its own internal resources, such as grocery stores, benevolent associations, and commercial boarding houses.⁵⁵

Chinese residents were dramatically over-represented within Victoria's boarding and lodging populations. Whereas Chinese residents accounted for only 5 percent of Victoria's general population between 1881 and 1901, they comprised an astonishing one-third of the boarding population during this period.⁵⁶ The demographic profile of Chinese boarders was also divergent from the rest of the city's boarders. The gender of Chinese boarders was overwhelmingly male, and their age profile was considerably younger than that of the city's remaining ethnic

⁵⁴ For instance, in 1891 only 11 percent of Victoria's Chinese boarders lived with a non-Chinese head of household, and only 2 percent of Chinese heads of household took-in non-Chinese tenants. Chinese residents in Victoria, therefore, lived in households which were essentially culturally homogeneous.

⁵⁵ Chuen-Yan Lai, "Socio-Economic Structures and Viability of Chinatown." *Residential and Neighbourhood Studies in Victoria* ed. Charles N. Forward, (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1973); Chuen-Yan Lai, *The Forbidden City within Victoria: Myth Symbol and Streetscape of Canada's Earliest Chinatowns* (Victoria: Orca Books, 1991).

⁵⁶ In 1881 individuals of Chinese descent accounted for 5 percent of Victoria's non-boarding population and 36 percent of the boarding population; In 1891 4 percent of non-boarders and 32 percent of boarders; And in 1901 2 percent of non-boarders and 42 percent of boarders.

groups.⁵⁷ The extreme physical and cultural isolation of the Chinese population from the rest of Victoria's boarding population suggests that it might be advantageous to study this population separately. As a result, all of the tables and figures that relate to boarders and non-boarders in this chapter, as well as subsequent chapters, exclude Victoria's Chinese population. The uniqueness of Victoria's Chinese boarding population demands research which goes beyond the purview of this study, and will be left to other historians (see Appendix 1).

The age profile of boarders largely aped the profile of Victoria's general population (see Table 1).⁵⁸ Age cohort, therefore, does not appear to be a major factor in household selection. The only difference seems to be the fact that those aged between 16 and 30 are over-represented, by about 10 percent, in the city's boarding population. The presence of a large number of boarders under the age of thirty in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century conforms quite nicely to the theory of 'semi-autonomy'.⁵⁹ Among young men and women during the nineteenth century boarding and lodging was often viewed as a transitional stage before marriage that provided an important progression from adolescence to adulthood in

⁵⁷ Including Chinese boarders in the general analysis of boarding and lodging in Victoria would cause a number of problems. An artifact of the large Chinese population resulted in Confucianism being dramatically over-represented in the city's tenant population compared to Victoria's general population.

⁵⁸ Note: Population figures in this chapter, unless explicitly stated, refer to Victoria's adult population, those over the age of fifteen.

⁵⁹ The percentage of boarders in Victoria who were between the ages of 16-30 ranged between 47 percent and 61 percent of the total boarding population between 1881 and 1901. For discussion of theory of semi-autonomy see: Modell and Hareven, 117-119; Hareven and Vinovkis, 17; Katz, People of Hamilton 212-213; Michael Katz, Michael Doucet and Mark Stern, Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (London: Harvard University Press, 1982) 245.

what Modell and Hareven coined a 'surrogate family setting.'⁶⁰ This stage took place as young men and women left their family home in order to live with someone outside their immediate family structure. Living with a 'surrogate family,' according to Modell and Hareven, provided "the comforts of home without the accompanying familial obligations and parental controls."⁶¹ Historians have tended to perceive this period of 'semi-autonomy' as a temporary phase in the life course where money could be saved for marriage and eventual house ownership, as well as a period in which youths could exert independence and personal freedom.⁶²

⁶⁰ For a description of the concept of 'surrogate family' see John Modell and Tamara Hareven 177; Hareven and Vinovskis, 17; Katz People of Hamilton 267.

⁶¹ Modell and Hareven, 17.

⁶² Research regarding the relationship between family type households and young boarders has made an important contribution to our understanding of adolescence and young adulthood during the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, many young people lived in boarding houses that were analogous to a 'surrogate family.' However, it is important to keep in mind the full extent of available tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth century. Young people also lived in dwellings, such as hotels and large boarding houses, which were impersonal, and most likely free from stringent moral control. The multiplicity of housing arrangements that were available to both young and old boarders will be explained in greater detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Table 1
Age Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)^a

Age (in years)	1881		1891		1901	
	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population
16-30	47% (262)	37% (1479)	61% (1307)	50% (5185)	49% (601)	40% (5121)
31-40	23% (130)	23% (915)	22% (467)	23% (2368)	27% (329)	27% (3440)
41-50	16% (90)	21% (851)	9% (189)	13% (1348)	14% (174)	15% (1951)
51-60	9% (53)	13% (522)	5% (102)	8% (836)	6% (74)	9% (1129)
61-70	4% (20)	5% (180)	2% (43)	4% (418)	3% (40)	5% (683)
71+	1% (8)	1% (48)	2% (34)	2% (160)	1% (14)	3% (350)
Total	100% (563)	100% (3995)	100% (2142)	100% (10315)	100% (1232)	100% (12674)

Michael Katz suggests that the process of industrialization transformed the family, causing the frequency of boarding to decline, as well as influencing young people to stay home longer. In fact, he suggests that the process of 'semi-autonomy' "virtually disappeared" during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶³ It is possible, however, that Katz's observations, if they indeed reflect broader trends, only apply to the mid-nineteenth century and are not applicable to later periods. Bradbury's research on working-class families in Montreal, for instance,

^a Note: The general population in this table includes the boarding population. In addition, only those over the age of fifteen, and of non-Chinese descent are included in the table. Source 1881, 1891, 1891 manuscript censuses.

⁶³ Katz et al., *Social Organization*, 244-251; Tygiel, 225.

substantiates the decline in 'semi-autonomy' among young men and women until 1881. However, by 1891 she suggests that the rates of boarding among young men in the city increased to levels found during the mid-nineteenth century. It would seem that higher wages and availability of employment opportunities encouraged young men in Montreal to leave home once again at earlier ages.⁶⁴ Similarly, in Victoria the high rates of boarding among individuals aged 15-30, particularly in 1891, provides a preliminary indication that boarding remained an important housing option in the life course of young people. This also seems to corroborate Bradbury's assertion that the rates of boarding among young men and women responded to shifts in local and regional economies, since the increase in the frequency of youths boarding during the late 1880s and early 1890s corresponded to a period in which Victoria's economy was extremely robust.⁶⁵

Boarding and lodging in North America during the late-nineteenth century was a gendered practice, affecting men much more than women.⁶⁶ Nevertheless women still comprised an important constituency within Victoria's boarding population, accounting for one-fifth to one-quarter of all boarders between 1881 and 1901 (see Table 2). In the general population more than four of every ten persons was a woman; among boarders, however, only one in five, or at most one in four,

⁶⁴ Bradbury, *Working Families* 66.

⁶⁵ Bradbury, *Working Families* 66; Katz et al. *Social Organization* 305.

⁶⁶ There was a stereotype among contemporaries of the late-nineteenth century that women were not found among the ranks of the lodging and boarding populations in North America. Nels Anderson, for example, suggested that "the homeless migratory and casual workers constitute a womanless group." This stereotype, perhaps indicative of certain occupational categories, is not applicable to the

was a woman. There seems to be, in the words of Modell and Hareven, a “lingering societal preference of family governance for women” during the nineteenth century that effectively discouraged women from becoming lodgers or boarders.⁶⁷ Families, of course, had a vested interest in keeping young women in the home where they could perform additional familial responsibilities.⁶⁸ The tendency for families to rely on the domestic labour of their daughters undoubtedly influenced the proportion of female boarders in Victoria during the nineteenth century.

Table 2
Percentage of Males and Females in Victoria’s Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901).^b

Sex	Boarders or Lodger	1881		1891		1901	
		General Population	Boarders or Lodger	General Population	Boarders or Lodger	General Population	
Male	79% (446)	59% (2342)	83% (1770)	63% (6496)	76% (1006)	58% (7288)	
Female	21% (117)	41% (1653)	17% (317)	37% (3816)	24% (309)	42% (5385)	

If the family generally refused to ‘push’ girls out of the household, urban industries did not offer much of a ‘pull’ either. Victoria during the late-nineteenth century still offered only a limited array of employment opportunities for women. Even those women who found work rarely received wages that were sufficient to

whole of the boarding population. Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: Sociology of the Homeless Man*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923) 268.

⁶⁷ Modell and Hareven, 165, 170.

⁶⁸ See David Gagan’s analysis of the interaction between gender and familial responsibilities: David Gagan, *Hopeful Travelers: Families, Land, and Social Change in mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 134. With respect to tensions that existed within families between the needs and expectations of parents and those of their children see Bradbury’s *Working Families*, especially p. 65.

^b See methodology used for Table 1.

facilitate independent accommodation.⁶⁹ This situation is captured succinctly by the bureau of labor statistics for Minnesota, which concluded in the 1880s:

... that a large proportion of working girls live at home. This is a great advantage to the girls who are fortunately situated; but the benefit to this class of girls is counterbalanced by the injury to that class who are not able to earn good wages and must bear the whole expense of their own support. . . . They are not able to secure good wages, because girls with homes and merely nominal expenses can work very cheap, and are, therefore, employed in preference.⁷⁰

The combination of the rhetoric among male workers for a ‘family wage,’ as well as the capitalist class’s desire to reduce labour costs left the question of the fairness of women’s wages largely undefended.⁷¹ Financial autonomy was accessible to very few women.⁷² Concomitantly the housing and lifestyle options available to women were also severely curtailed. The lower rates of boarding and lodging among women are undoubtedly indicative of this fact. Pressures on young women to remain in the family home, as well as an economic system that depressed women’s wages, conspired to limit the feasibility of boarding among women.

If boarding could be exemplified as predominantly a male institution, it could also be characterized as a form of tenancy preferred by those whose marital status

⁶⁹ Bradbury, *Working Families* 65.

⁷⁰ Katz et al. *Social Organization* 252.

⁷¹ Steven Dubnoff, “Gender, the Family, and the Problem of Work Motivation in a Transition to Industrial Capitalism,” *Journal of Family History* 4, 2, (Summer 1979): 133.

⁷² The financial plight of women is demonstrated quite succinctly by an examination of the median income of Victoria’s male and female population in 1901. The median income of women in the general population was a meagre \$250 a year, while the median income among men was \$675. Conversely, the median income among female boarders is higher, about \$465 a year. The median income among female boarders, however, remained significantly below the median income of male boarders which was \$660 a year. Once again, the higher income among female boarders, rather non-

was single rather than married. Table 3 suggests that between 1881-1901 at least three quarters of boarders were single. Conversely, the percentage of single individuals in the general population was comparatively modest. This strong representation of single boarders can be explained, in part, by the fact that single individuals tended to be the most transient and mobile segment of society. The nineteenth century was a time when ‘men [were] in motion.’ Albert Wolfe, in his great sociological survey of Boston’s population, concluded that an incredible 51 percent of Boston’s adult population changed their addresses between 1902 and 1903.⁷³ Likewise, Thernstrom and Knights remind us that migration in and out of cities could be just as dramatic as net population gain between censuses.⁷⁴ Within this migratory environment it would appear that there was a strong correlation between home ownership, marriage, and residential stability.⁷⁵

boarders, is undoubtedly attributed to the fact that this segment of the population could board only in cases where their income reached a certain threshold.

⁷³ Wolfe, 85. Likewise, Stuart Blumin found that in Troy, Kingston and Marlborough between 1855-1860 that all but 3 percent of the boarding population “packed their bags.” Similarly sociologist Harvey Zorbaugh observed that Chicago’s boarding population “turns over every four months.” Furthermore, Robert McDonald estimates that “only 40 to 60 percent of all adult males persisted in [Vancouver] for as long as a decade. See Blumin, 114-117; Harvey Zorbaugh, *Gold Coast and Slum*; Robert McDonald, “Working-Class Vancouver” 328; Edward Devine, “The Shiftless and Floating City Population,” *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* X (July 1897-December 1897): 149-164.

⁷⁴ Stephan Thernstrom and Peter Knights, “Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Populations Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 (1970-1971): 10.

⁷⁵ Tygiel, 209.

Table 3

Marital Status Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)^c

Marital Status	1881		1891		1901	
	Boarder or Lodger	General Population.	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population
Single	86% (482)	39% (1572)	83% (1986)	59% (6982)	76% (991)	42% (5332)
Married	6% (35)	54% (2138)	14% (340)	38% (4453)	19% (248)	51% (6478)
Widow(er)	8% (46)	7% (285)	4% (105)	3% (388)	5% (68)	7% (831)
Total	100% (563)	100% (3995)	101% (2431)	100% (11823)	100% (1307)	100% (12641)

It comes as no surprise that the bulk of boarders in Victoria were single. This finding is mentioned in a number of comparable studies. More interesting, is the indication in Table 3 that the percentage of widows and widowers in the boarding population was nearly identical to the percentage found in the general population. In fact, boarding and lodging affected a significant proportion of elderly residents in Victoria, especially in 1891. In part, the prevalence of boarding and lodging among widow(er)s was influenced by the year of immigration. The median immigration year for all foreign born widow(er)s, based on information from the 1901 manuscript census, is 1888 among boarders and 1878 among non-boarders. This ten-year difference in the year of immigration suggests that widow(er)s in the boarding

^c See methodology used in Table 1.

population probably had less time in Canada to develop community and kinship roots, and thus relied on the services of boarding and lodging arrangements.⁷⁶

The percentage of married individuals in the city's boarding population increased from 6 percent in 1881 to 19 percent in 1901 (See Table 3). This seems to indicate that boarding and lodging remained an important housing decision for a broad range of Victoria's population, including those who were married. Likewise, it is important to note that migration was not limited to those who were single. Numerous married men 'tramped' during the nineteenth century, sometimes for large parts of the year, while their family stayed behind.⁷⁷ Undoubtedly, many married men came to Victoria without their spouse in order to find employment. Also, married individuals might live in Victoria while their spouse looked for work outside of the city.⁷⁸ The latter was the experience of Florence Baillie-Grohman who stayed in Victoria at the Driard Hotel, as well as several 'genteel' boarding houses, when her husband went 'upcountry' to perform surveying contracts for the Provincial government during the 1890s.⁷⁹ During a period in which work often took individuals away from their spouses, the experiences of Baillie-Grohman were probably familiar to many women. Tygiel suggests that in San Francisco only 4

⁷⁶ In addition, based on income levels from the 1901 census it appears that widow(er)s in the boarding population had significantly higher levels of income than their counterparts in the general population. Most likely this suggests that widow(er)s in the boarding population were more financially autonomous than those in the general population, making boarding and lodging a financially viable living arrangement.

⁷⁷ Bruno Ramirez study of Quebec families illustrates that entire families migrated in response to economic pressures. See Bruno Ramirez, "Emigration and Development in a Quebec Rural County," *Constructing Modern Canada* ed. Chad Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1994): 128-154.

⁷⁸ Tygiel, 214.

percent the city's working-class married boarders in 1880, and 5 percent in 1900, lived with their spouse at the time of the enumeration of the United States Census.⁸⁰ In Victoria the percentage of boarders who lived with their spouse was considerably higher. In 1891 58 percent of married boarders lived with their spouse.⁸¹ However, this still meant that nearly one-half of married individuals in the boarding population did not live with their spouse at the time of the 1891 census. Most likely this is attributable to the fact that one spouse is out-of-town because of work related reasons. Of course, there could be other reasons as well. Perhaps some cases could be attributed to flight from marriage as well. The experiences of married boarders, therefore, mimicked those of single boarders in a number of respects. Both married and single boarders migrated in response to the possibility of greener pastures, and the promise of financial betterment.

For most married couples boarding was probably a temporary period in the life course where money could be saved for the eventual purchase of a home.⁸² The popularity of boarding among many married couples in Victoria is corroborated by the prevalence of advertisements placed by married couples in search of accommodation in the classified sections of the city's daily newspapers. For

⁷⁹ Florence Baillie-Grohman "Unpublished Manuscript" *BC Historical News* 1 (Feb 1968): (7-22).

⁸⁰ Tygiel, 204.

⁸¹ The percentage of married individuals who lived with their spouse was determined through linking surnames and marital status in the 1891 manuscript census of Victoria.

⁸² Chudacoff argues that boarding was a common occurrence among newlyweds. In fact, she found that 35 percent of recently married couples during the nineteenth century lived as boarders and lodgers. See Howard Chudacoff, "Newlyweds and Family Extension: The First Stage of the Family Cycle in Providence, Rhode Island, 1864-1865 and 1879-1880," *Family and Population in*

instance, on April 24 1890 this advertisement was placed in the Daily Colonist:

“Wanted by young married couple small cottage to rent or furnished room and plain board with or without use of sitting room, must be clean and respectable, terms easy.”⁸³ This particular advertisement placed by a ‘young couple’ provides a glimpse at the popularity of boarding among recently married couples. In part, this is substantiated by the fact that only 3 percent of married female boarders and 5 percent of married male boarders in 1891 were over the age of 51 (see Table s4-5). The tendency for married boarders to be largely under the age of fifty confirms the extent to which boarding was a well-timed event in the life course, a stage that was profoundly influenced by age.

Table 4
Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Female Boarders as a Percentage of Victoria’s General Population in 1891^d

	Age Cohort			
	1—14	15—30	31—50	51+
Marital Status				
Single	5% (100)	18% (218)	29% (41)	31% (10)
Married		8% (78)	4% (46)	3% (8)
Widow		19% (5)	16% (18)	24% (45)

Nineteenth-Century America Ed. Tamara Hareven and Maris Vinovskis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) 179-205.

⁸³ Daily Colonist 24 April 1890.

Table 5
 Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Male Boarders as a Percentage
 of Victoria's General Population in 1891^e

	Age Cohort			
	1—14	15—30	31—50	51+
Marital Status				
Single	5% (99)	42% (1048)	56% (457)	42% (95)
Married		14% (76)	14% (119)	5% (27)
Widow			32% (17)	22% (27)

Boarding and lodging was a practice that touched the lives of few children. The vast majority of children during the nineteenth century did not earn sufficient wages to leave their familial home in favor of living with strangers as a boarder or lodger. Table 4-5 demonstrates that only 5 percent of the Victoria's children under the age of 14 lived as a boarder or lodger.⁸⁴ Many of these children were living with their parents. The remainder were living in households where they did not have any visible family members. Undoubtedly, large proportions of these children were placed with private families. However, children were also found in the city's hotels. The Angel Hotel, Victoria's well known temperance hotel, housed a number of school-aged children. The proprietor of the hotel, Mrs. Carne, reputedly ensured that these children "did their homework and didn't stay out late at night."⁸⁵ It is probable that boarding provided many opportunities for these children, including

^d In this table all age groups are included. However, Chinese boarders and non-boarders are excluded. Source: 1891 manuscript census

^e See methodology used in Table 4.

⁸⁴ Those aged between 1-14 constituted 18 percent of female boarders, but only 5 percent of male boarders in 1891. This gender breakdown is similar to the results found among Buffalo's boarding

persuit of employment and educational opportunities and training.⁸⁶ However, it is also possible that children boarded out of necessity, because of neglect and abandonment. The living conditions and experiences of children who boarded remains an area of research that needs further development.

Boarders with children comprised a distinctive minority in Victoria's boarding population (see Table 6).⁸⁷ Interestingly, the demographics of boarders with children differed dramatically from those members of the general population who had children. The main difference between these two sub-populations is in terms of marital status. Three-quarters of single individuals with children between the ages of 16 and 30, half of those individuals between the ages of 31 and 50, and a fifth of those over the age of 50, lived as a boarder. In addition, over a third of widower and widowed parents with children between the ages of 16 and 30 lived as a boarder. Likewise, the age profile of boarders with children differed dramatically from their counterparts in the non-boarding population.⁸⁸ Boarders with children tended to be considerably younger, almost two-thirds being between the ages of 15

population in 1855, where 1/5th of female boarders and only 5 percent of the male boarders were children. See Glasco, 173

⁸⁵ *Daily Colonist* 16 January 1900.

⁸⁶ In some cases, parents trying to find a home where their children could attend school placed advertisements in the classified section of Victoria's daily newspapers. For instance, "Wanted board for two boys aged 10-12 near Central school" (*Daily Colonist* 14 August 1900); "Wanted Home for little girl age 9 years old-state terms" (*Daily Colonist* 11 June 1900); "Wanted—Young girl wants to attend high school, would like home with some nice family where she could exchange a little work for board" (*Daily Colonist* 8 May 1900).

⁸⁷ For example, in 1881 only one percent of boarders had children of their own, although 40 percent of boarders in 1881 lived in households which contained children.

⁸⁸ Bettina Bradbury, "Measuring Single Parenthood in the Past Challenges, Solutions?" Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project, Workshop, 1998. 14.

and 30. Conversely, the majority of parents in the non-boarding population were over the age of 30 (see Table 6).

A glance at the classified section of Victoria's newspapers during the late-nineteenth century indicates that a number of advertisements were placed by single parents with children in search of accommodation. For example, on January 25, 1891 this advertisement appeared: "A lady and little girl wish to get two unfurnished rooms and use of kitchen in respectable house."⁸⁹ Given the number of advertisements placed by single women with children searching for accommodation, it would appear that this group had difficulty finding suitable living arrangements.⁹⁰

Table 6

Crosstabulation of Marital Status and Age Cohort of Boarders with Children as a Percentage of Victoria's General Population with Children in 1891^f

	Age Cohort		
Marital Status	15-30 yrs.	31-50 yrs.	51+ yrs.
Single	74% (102)	44% (34)	22% (9)
Married	6% (871)	2% (1831)	1% (594)
Widow(er)	38% (16)	12% (95)	6% (162)

Victoria's population, with the notable exception of Chinese immigrants, consisted largely of people of British stock born in Britain, Canada, and the United

⁸⁹ Also *Daily Colonist* 25 January 1891:1

States. Despite the relative homogeneity of Victoria's population, there were some striking differences in the boarding patterns of Victoria's various ethnic groups. Table 7 provides information on the birthplace profile of Victoria's boarding population between 1881 and 1901. This information makes it possible to comprehend how the ethnic composition of boarders was changing during this period.

Table 7
Birthplace Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)^g

	1881		1891		1901	
	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population
British Columbia	13% (73)	14 % (562)	6% (130)	13% (1300)	21% (258)	34% (5160)
Canada	14% (79)	12% (465)	29% (614)	24% (2456)	21% (258)	20% (3225)
United States	12% (67)	13% (515)	10% (219)	10% (995)	12% (149)	8% (1242)
England	23%(132)	30% (1200)	28% (605)	28% (2881)	25% (300)	17% (2500)
Scotland	10% (59)	9% (369)	11% (238)	9% (952)	6% (73)	9% (1043)
Ireland	13% (73)	9% (365)	5% (117)	6% (585)	5% (53)	4% (589)
Other	14% (80)	12% (471)	10% (219)	11% (1095)	9% (110)	9% (1375)
Total	100% (563)	100% (3947)	100% (2142)	100% (10264)	100% (1201)	100% (15134)

Modell and Hareven, in their general study of American families, and Mark Peel, in his case study of Boston, found that the percentage of individuals who were born in the United States was larger in the boarding population, as was the case in the

⁹⁰ Bettina Bradbury, "Measuring Single Parenthood in the Past: Challenges, Solutions?" Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project Workshop, 1998.

^f See methodology for Table 4.

^g See methodology applied in Table 1.

city's general population.⁹¹ This led Modell and Hareven to conclude that "boarding was a migrant rather than foreign immigrant practice."⁹² Similarly, Glasco indicates that the majority of boarders in Buffalo during the mid-nineteenth century came from the surrounding county or at least from nearby states.⁹³ These observations led Glasco to conclude that "the greater the distance the migrant had come the less likely he or she was to be a boarder or servant."⁹⁴ The results from Table 6 suggest that a different dynamic may be occurring in western Canada. In 1881 there was a similar percentage of British Columbia born individuals in the boarding and general populations. However, after 1881, during the census years of 1891 and 1901, British Columbia born individuals became dramatically under-represented in the boarding population.

The rejection of accommodations in Victoria's boardinghouses by those native to British Columbia is explained, in part, by the age distribution of individuals born in the province. After all, mass settlement into British Columbia was a relatively recent phenomenon, largely occurring after the 1870s. Thus the majority of people born in British Columbia were quite young. The youthfulness of British Columbia's population is indicated by the fact that 93 percent of the non-boarding population born in British Columbia in 1891 was under the age of thirty. Likewise, those boarders who were born in British Columbia tended to be quite young. In

⁹¹ Peel, 817.

⁹² Modell and Hareven, 170.

⁹³ Glasco, "Migration and Adjustment" 170-171; Glasco, "Life Cycles" 124.

⁹⁴ Glasco, "Life Cycles" 164.

1891 British Columbia boarders accounted for 9 percent of the Victoria's boarding population, yet comprised 42 percent of boarders between the ages of 1-14.⁹⁵ Since children accounted for only a small fraction of boarders it should come as no surprise that British Columbia-born individuals would be under-represented among their ranks. British Columbia's boarders, therefore, exemplified a different profile from boarders born in other provinces, as well as other countries, which typically included a more adult and male population.

Individuals born in Canadian provinces outside of British Columbia were an important and expanding constituency of Victoria's boarding population. Canadian born boarders as a percentage of all boarders nearly doubled between 1881 and 1901, from 4 percent of boarders in 1881 to 21 percent in 1901 (see Table 7). The vast majority of Canadian-born boarders coming to Victoria were from Ontario, although migrants from Nova Scotia and Quebec were important constituents as well. The remaining Canadian provinces, as well as Newfoundland, were extremely under-represented within Victoria's boarding population. The percentage of Canadian born individuals within Victoria's boarding population, however, is significantly lower than the rate found in comparable studies. This might be a

⁹⁵ In 1881 BC born boarders accounted for an astonishing 85 percent of those individuals between the ages of 1-15. After 1881 there was also a sizable increase in the number of children born in United States and the rest of Canada. In 1891 and 1901 individuals born in BC, the rest of Canada, and the United States accounted for 82 percent and 93 percent, respectively, of boarders between the ages of 1-15. The remaining birthplaces were well below expected values for this age group. This indicates that the presence of young children most likely influenced boarding location. Although it is still possible that they were leaving the province and then returning, it seems more likely that the presence of children limited the geographic scale of migration. As a result, boarders with children were most likely native to BC, or at least from nearby regions.

product of geography. Victoria, like Vancouver and San Francisco, was located within a resource based economy. As such, it was a pole of attraction among miners, loggers and sealers born in Canada, but also among dispossessed workers from abroad.⁹⁶ This undoubtedly accounts for the international texture of Victoria's boarding population.

The majority of Victoria's boarders during the late-nineteenth century were born outside of Canada. The largest constituency of foreign born boarders were English born, accounting for approximately a quarter of Victoria's boarding population between 1881 and 1901. In addition, Scottish and American boarders accounted for one-tenth of boarders, while Irish boarders accounted for 13 percent of the boarding population in 1881 and 5 percent in 1891 and 1901. Furthermore, an additional one-tenth of birthplaces in the boarding population can be categorized as 'other' (see Table 7). Birthplaces in the 'other' category were mainly central and southern European and Scandinavian countries such as Germany, Italy and Sweden. An examination of Victoria's minority birthplaces indicates that 'new' ethnic groups to the city were at times over-represented among boarders. For example, in 1891 there was an important influx of Italians into Victoria—40 percent of whom lived as

⁹⁶ The results for Victoria are very similar to those found in San Francisco. Tygiel discovered that only 34% of boarders in 1880 and 30% of boarders in 1900 were born in the United States. As a result, foreign born boarders comprized an important constituency in San Francisco's tenant population.

boarders.⁹⁷ It is important to note, however, that the majority of ethnic groups in the 'other' category rejected boarding, preferring other living arrangements.

Table 6 indicates that between 1881 and 1901, with the possible exception of British Columbia born boarders in 1891, there was a convergence in the ethnic representation of Victoria's boarding and general population. Likewise, Tygiel argues that the ethnic composition of boarders in San Francisco between 1860 and 1900 was similar to that of the general population.⁹⁸ Tygiel's evidence from San Francisco, as well as this study's finding for Victoria, indicates that boarding and lodging in the Pacific Northwest was an international practice. Unlike eastern cities in North America, such as Buffalo, Boston, and Moncton, it would appear that boarding and lodging in Victoria was a living arrangement that was not restricted to those who were born locally; instead, it was readily accessible and intelligible to those who were foreign-born as well. Clearly, migrants to Victoria were acquainted with the practice of boarding from previous experience and found this form of tenancy amenable to their transition into Victoria, British Columbia.

Birthplace representation in the boarding population was profoundly influenced by gender. The majority of female boarders were born in British Columbia, the rest of Canada and the United States. In 1891 these three regions accounted for 61 percent of female boarders and only 43 percent male boarders.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Similarly, a quarter of all Germans in 1891 resided as a boarder or lodger.

⁹⁸ Tygiel, 200.

⁹⁹ Likewise, these three regions account for 67 percent of female and 38 percent of male boarders in 1881, and 72 percent of female boarders and 48 percent of male boarders in 1901.

This suggests that the geographic range of female boarders was more limited compared to that of men. The birthplace distribution of female boarders is similar to that of boarders under the age of sixteen.¹⁰⁰ It would seem probable that boarding among women, particularly single women, was predominantly taking place among those individuals who were familiar with Victoria through acquaintances or family members. The remaining female boarders, those born outside Canada, tended to be recent immigrants. The median year of immigration, based on the 1901 census, is 1895 for female boarders, compared to 1890 for female non-boarders.¹⁰¹ This suggests that boarding played a seminal role among foreign-born females who recently arrived in Canada, but not very prominent among those who lived in Canada for more than a decade.

Although several studies have examined the ethnic composition of boarders and lodgers during the nineteenth century, most of these studies fail to integrate the religious profile of the boarding population into their analysis. In particular, Mark Peel, Richard Harris, and Jules Tygiel do not examine the relationship between religion and boarding in any depth. This is unfortunate. Part of the problem has been excessive reliance on the twin towers of class/occupational status and birthplace/ethnicity. Also there are methodological problems which stem from the nature of the United States Census itself. The American census, unlike its counterpart in Canada, did not include religious affiliation among the questions

¹⁰⁰ See footnote 95.

asked by enumerators. Since census materials are an important primary source used by demographers and family historians, the absence of an analytical examination of the effects of religion is, in part, understandable. However, the paucity of research on the effects of religion on patterns of tenancy during the late-nineteenth century remains problematic. After all, religious affiliation was an extremely important impulse in the nineteenth century society, making its inclusion an indispensable component of the process of boarding and lodging.¹⁰²

Stability, rather than change, characterized the religious composition of Victoria's population during the late-nineteenth century. Victoria's boarders predominantly belonged to protestant denominations, mainly the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Roman Catholics accounted for a quarter of all boarders in 1881, but only 12 percent and 13 percent of boarders in 1891 and 1901 (see Table 8). The relative percentage of religions categorized in Table 7 as 'other' remained stable as well--although the various religions that comprised this category fluctuated during the three census years.¹⁰³ The religions that were lumped into the 'other' category were quite varied, ranging from Baptist to Salvation Army.

¹⁰¹ Conversely, there was no significant differences in the year of immigration among male boarders and non-boarders.

¹⁰² Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-nineteenth Century Small-Town Ontario*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

¹⁰³ The largest constituents of 'other' religions in 1881 were non-Believer, Lutheran and Reformed Episcopal. In 1891 it was Baptists, freethinkers and Jewish; and in 1901 Baptists, Lutherans and Free Thinkers were the largest religious affiliations in the 'other' religions category. Boarders within the 'other' category of religion who lived as boarders were predominantly male. Only 16 percent of boarders belonging to 'other' religions in 1881, and 15 percent of 'other' religions in 1901, were women. Conversely, the percentage of women belonging to larger denominations ranged between 21 and 31 percent.

When one examines the various constituencies in the ‘other’ category there was extreme differentiation. Some religions were extremely over-represented in the boarding population, particularly ‘non-believers’ such as agnostics, atheists, and free thinkers.¹⁰⁴

Table 8
Religious Distribution in Victoria’s Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)^h

	1881		1891		1901	
	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population
Roman Catholic	25% (257)	15% (609)	12% (257)	11% (1169)	13% (168)	10% (1292)
Anglican	28% (155)	32% (1292)	34% (737)	36% (3685)	37% (481)	34% (4373)
Presbyterian	19% (108)	17% (675)	24% (515)	19% (1981)	19% (249)	20% (2490)
Methodist	7% (40)	13% (500)	14% (305)	13% (1386)	12% (154)	15% (1925)
Other	21% (120)	23% (923)	15% (328)	20% (2050)	20% (262)	21% (2620)
Total	100% (680)	100% (3999)	100% (2142)	100% (9218)	100% (1314)	100% (12700)

Class and social status were important in the lives of boarders and lodgers during the nineteenth century. Table 9 demonstrates quite clearly that the seemingly disparate occupational profile of boarders and non-boarders in 1881, was, in fact, converging by the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Between 1881 and 1901 there was a significant increase in the percentage of white-collar workers in the boarding

¹⁰⁴ For example, in 1891 one half of Victoria’s agnostics lived as boarders.

^h Same methodology as was used in Table 1.

population from 32 percent in 1881 to 48 percent in 1901.¹⁰⁵ Among blue-collar workers the opposite trend was occurring. Over two-thirds of employed boarders could be categorized as blue-collar in 1881, while this was true of only one half by the turn-of-the-twentieth century. By the turn-of-the-century, therefore, the relative percentage of white-collar boarders was nearly identical to that of blue-collar workers in both Victoria's boarding and non-boarding populations.¹⁰⁶ This convergence indicates that, at least in Victoria, boarding and lodging continued to have broad appeal in the city's workforce.

Table 10 provides a more rigorous examination of the occupational profile of boarders and non-boarders between 1881 and 1901. Rather than a simple dichotomy of blue- and white-collar workers, Table 10 includes eight occupational categories.¹⁰⁷ The proportion of white-collar workers in Victoria's boarding population is extremely similar to that found in the general population during each census year from 1881 to 1901. For many white-collar workers, particularly those in the professional and managerial sector, boarding served as an important stage in the life course before marriage and house ownership. The occupational profile of Victoria's boarding population differs dramatically from the findings of Modell and Hareven, who suggested that the percentage of white-collar workers in the boarding

¹⁰⁵ Blue-collar workers in this study are defined as workers who work in primary and secondary manufacturing, primary resource industries, transport and general labourers. White-collar workers are defined as workers who were professionals, managers, service sector and sales industry workers.

¹⁰⁶ These results are similar to those found by Glaso in his examination of mid-century Buffalo. He found that blue-collar and white-collar workers accounted for 57% and 43%, respectively, of working boarders.

and lodging populations decreased towards the turn-of-the-century. In fact, they assert that the reputation of boarding was becoming increasingly tarnished and “was overshadowed by the emergence of lower-class boarding.”¹⁰⁸ Recent research by Richard Harris disputes, at least in the case of Toronto, that the popularity of boarding among white-collar workers was waning. Similarly, based on the findings of Table 10 it would seem that white-collar workers remained prevalent in Victoria’s boarding population as well.

The pattern of blue-collar workers in the boarding population between 1881 and 1901 was exceedingly complex. There was a substantial decline in the proportion of general labourers and transport workers in the boarding population in 1881 and 1901. Yet in 1891, a year situated during a period of economic prosperity, general labourers and transport workers were over-represented in the boarding population. Since the number of workers engaged in these industries remained stable in Victoria’s general population, it is clear that their decreased representation in the boarding population is not due to emigration. Rather, it would appear that general labourers, transport, and primary manufacturing workers shunned boarding in favour other living arrangements.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ These categories include: professional/managerial, clerical, sales, service, primary resource, primary manufacturing, secondary manufacturing, and transport/general labourer.

¹⁰⁸ Modell and Hareven, 182.

¹⁰⁹ This stands in contrast to the results of Tygiel. He observed changes in the occupational profile among workingmen in San Francisco between 1880-1900. There was a decrease in the number of boarders who were carpenters, while the number of labourers and teamsters stayed the same. Conversely, there is a gap occurring among heads of household as carpenters were becoming more strongly represented. Tygiel argues that the “older and more family oriented, the artisans had become increasingly alienated from other workingmen.” Tygiel, 225.

Table 9
Occupational Category of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)ⁱ

Occupational Category	1881		1891		1901	
	(Boarders)	(Gen. Pop.)	(Boarders)	(Gen. Pop.)	(Boarders)	(Gen. Pop.)
White-collar	32% (147)	54% (1643)	34% (663)	61% (4091)	48% (480)	41% (2234)
Blue-collar	68% (314)	46% (1410)	66% (1309)	39% (2624)	52% (514)	59% (3256)
Total	100% (467)	100% (2687)	100% (1972)	100% (6715)	100% (994)	100% (5490)

Table 10
Occupational Profile of Victoria's Boarding and General Populations (1881-1901)^j

	1881		1891		1901	
	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population	Boarder or Lodger	General Population
Prof/Manag.	11% (51)	11% (340)	8% (147)	12% (774)	17% (165)	13% (688)
Clerical	5% (24)	5% (160)	7% (125)	6% (403)	12% (123)	6% (351)
Sales	5% (24)	7% (218)	9% (163)	10% (652)	8% (76)	7% (380)
Service	10% (48)	31% (960)	11% (199)	13% (865)	12% (116)	15% (829)
Prim. Resou	6% (27)	8% (245)	4% (72)	5% (313)	7% (73)	6% (304)
Prim. Man.	16% (75)	10% (313)	11% (202)	11% (721)	4% (35)	9% (500)
Sec. Man.	9% (42)	6% (200)	11% (208)	9% (594)	17% (165)	9% (500)
Trans./Gen.	37% (170)	21% (654)	41% (775)	33% (2153)	24% (241)	34% (1854)

From the available evidence we can now draw general conclusions. The boarding population in Victoria was similar to the general population in a number of respects. By the turn-of-the-century there was an equal proportion of white- and

ⁱ Only those individuals who have an occupation at the time of enumeration are included in this table. Also only those over the age of fifteen and of non-Chinese descent. Source: 1881, 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses.

^j Similar methodology as was used for Table 9.

blue-collar workers in both the boarding and non-boarding populations. The age profile of boarders and non-boarders was also similar. The principal difference was that boarders were slightly over-represented among those aged 15-30, and dramatically underrepresented among those under the age of 15. There was an absence of appreciable differences between the religious profile of boarders and non-boarders. This does not suggest, however, that religion was an unimportant factor in tenancy arrangements, but that all major Christian denomination in Victoria's general population were more or less equally represented in the tenant population. Moreover, differences in the birthplace profile between boarders and non-boarders were slight, mainly involving an under-representation of those born in British Columbia in the tenant population in 1891 and 1901.¹¹⁰ This is rather surprising since existing studies suggest that the boarding population tended to be over-represented among those who were native-born. However, in Victoria those individuals who were born in British Columbia, and to a lesser degree other Canadian provinces, shunned boarding in favor of other living arrangements. This finding suggests that a different dynamic might be happening on the West Coast of North America. Boarding in Victoria was very much an international practice, encompassing individuals from a diversity of birthplaces, and not limited to those born locally.

¹¹⁰ With the notable exceptions of boarders born in China—who will be studied separately in Chapter 5

This chapter has shown that boarding and lodging was a specifically timed event in the life course that intersected with age, marital status, and gender. Victoria's boarding and lodging house population were predominantly young, single, and male. For some, possibly the majority, boarding was a transitional stage in which money was saved, careers established, and independence achieved. Yet for others, boarding could represent a legitimate housing choice that proved to be more permanent than fleeting. Boarding also appealed to many individuals who are generally overlooked in studies that examine tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth century. There were a number of single parents who lived as boarders, as well as children who boarded in households with no immediate relatives. This is an area that demands further research. In particular, more needs to be known about how these single parents, mostly single women, lived and survived. Also, additional research is necessary which illustrates the factors that encouraged children to live in households where there were no visible family members. Was it to attend school? Or was it simply a case of abandonment? Boarding and lodging was also a tenancy arrangement that figured prominently in the lives of Victoria's elderly population as well.¹¹¹ In addition, there were a number of married individuals who boarded. Many of these individuals lived in households in which their spouse was not present. In sum, boarding and lodging proved to be a flexible living arrangement that

¹¹¹ See also R. Burr Litchfield, "Single People in the Nineteenth Century City," *Continuity and Change* 3,1 (1988): 92.

serviced the needs of many individuals from a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds, making simple descriptors problematic.

Chapter 3

The Emergence of Spontaneous Communities: Religious, Occupational and Ethnic Affinities in Victoria's Boarding and Lodging Population

Tenancy during the nineteenth century was multifarious, involving cultural and social interactions that often transcended mere economic transactions. Boardinghouse keepers did not pick the first boarder who walked in their doors. Rather, as Modell and Hareven suggest, boardinghouse keepers could be quite discriminating in their selection of tenants "utilizing the pricing mechanism as well as outright rejection" in order to ensure that a suitable tenant was chosen.¹¹² There was a process of preference in which some boarders were admitted while others were not. Hosts often gave partiality to boarders who shared similar ethnic and occupational profiles, suggesting that selection of tenants was a prudential process. Likewise, boarders could also be equally discerning about their choice of host. There is considerable evidence that boardinghouse keepers had to be competitive in their rents and services in order to attract and retain their tenants.¹¹³ After all boarders had several recourses available to them if they did not like their head of household. One obvious remedy was to vote with their feet, and hope to find greener pastures elsewhere. In fact, internal migration within most cities was frequent. Prospective boarding houses had to meet a number of criteria. Boarders chose places based on

¹¹² Modell and Hareven, 174.

pecuniary advantages, such as affordable rent, as well as provision of ancillary services, such as laundry and a boxed lunch. Proximity to the workplace was another yardstick used to assess the feasibility of a given boarding establishment, since most workers were only willing to walk up to one hour to their workplace. The quality of meals was also important. Boardinghouse keepers had to ensure that their meals were competitive with other establishments in the city, as well as the growing proliferation of restaurants and cafes in Victoria's downtown core.

Boarders and lodgers not only cared about compatibility with their host, but also ensured that they shared similar characteristics with other tenants residing in the household as well. Mark Peel suggests that birthplace solidarities during the mid-nineteenth century played a crucial role in household selection, as ethnic groups tended to be concentrated in specific households.¹¹⁴ In particular, ethnic solidarities remained pronounced among Boston's recent immigrants, suggesting that boarding and lodging figured prominently in the process of acculturation. Yet at the same time Peel observed another concurrent trend. Towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century, he observed a movement away from large congregations of specific ethnic groups within Boston's boardinghouses, towards households characterized by increased ethnic diversity. In particular, boarders of American, British Canadian, and British descent tended to board with other English speaking tenants, rather than live in dwellings that housed a single national group. Boarders in Boston, between 1860 and

¹¹³ Harney, 24.

¹¹⁴ Peel, 813-834.

1900 also purported to select households based upon the occupational status of fellow boarders. This partiality was strongest among blue-collar workers, especially less skilled workers such as general labourers and teamsters.¹¹⁵ Peel's study of Boston, as well as Tygiel's examination of San Francisco during the nineteenth century, suggest that there was a gradual erosion of households based on shared types of work.¹¹⁶ This did not mean, however, that working people rejected boarding arrangements altogether. Rather, there was an emergence, particularly among boarders in the 'middle ranks' of the emergent white-collar professions, towards associations based on broad notions of social class, rather than on shared specific occupations.¹¹⁷

This chapter will build upon existing research that demonstrates the proclivity of boarders during the late-nineteenth century to seek out households that reflect their own distinctive ethnic and occupational profile. The work of Mark Peel provides a detailed case study of boarding and lodging which tests many of the ideas first introduced by Modell and Hareven in their seminal paper "Urbanization and the Malleable Household." Peel's study, however, only examines large boardinghouses, dwellings with six or more boarders, and provides a case study of an American city that is considerably larger than Canadian urban centres during this period. Moreover, a major drawback to Peel's case study is the failure to include the category of religion in his analysis. This is unfortunate, since it would appear, based

¹¹⁵ Tygiel, 208-215.

¹¹⁶ Tygiel, 205; Peel, 813-834.

on Peter Baskerville's recent findings, that religious affiliation was a critical factor in the interaction between boarder and host, and may be of greater importance than the influence of class and ethnicity.¹¹⁸ Baskerville's study of boardinghouse families, therefore, intimates that a comprehensive study of boarding and lodging must examine the importance of class and ethnicity in combination with religion. In addition, there is need for a case study that not only considers both small and large boardinghouses, but also examines the Canadian context, especially from a western Canadian perspective. In fact, little is known about boarders and lodgers in British Columbia, despite the fact that this form of tenancy was practiced in its greatest numbers in that province.

As shown in Chapter 2, boarding and lodging affected individuals from diverse social and cultural backgrounds. What is not clear, however, is the various ways boarders aligned themselves according to ethnic, cultural and social characteristics. The objective of this chapter will be to examine affinity, the inclination of tenants to form relationships with heads of household and/or fellow tenants who share similar characteristics. Affinities will be measured through the study of linkages.¹¹⁹ A boarder has a single linkage if he/she shares the same birthplace (religion denomination or occupation) as the head of household *or* the

¹¹⁷ Peel, 827.

¹¹⁸ Baskerville, "More Than Money" 18.

¹¹⁹ This schema is similar to the one developed by Mark Peel: see Peel, 813-834.

majority of boarders in the dwelling.¹²⁰ A boarder has a dual linkage if he/she has the same birthplace (religious denomination or occupation) as the head of household *and* the majority of boarders in the dwelling. The analysis of these linkages will provide a necessary first step aimed at unfurling the social and cultural organization of Victoria's tenant population between 1881 and 1901.

This chapter will also explore how boarding and lodging was regulated by the interconnection of several factors such as ethnicity, religious denomination, occupation, marital status, gender and age. The relative importance of each of these variables will be assessed in order to investigate which determinants were the most critical in influencing tenancy arrangements in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century. Fortunately, this type of assessment is possible through the use of a statistical technique known as logistic regression which is able to assess which components are the most important in explaining a particular phenomenon, in our case, factors which influenced household formation amongst Victoria's boarding population.

1) Birthplace

The birthplace of an individual offers an indication of ethnic background and regional identity. The manuscript censuses between 1881 and 1901 provide information on the birthplace of the vast majority of Victoria's residents. As a

¹²⁰ In order to establish a majority only houses with more than one boarder were included. In cases where there were two boarders a majority was only formed when both boarders had the same religion, occupation or birthplace. In houses with more than two boarders, a majority was formed based on a simple majority (50% +1).

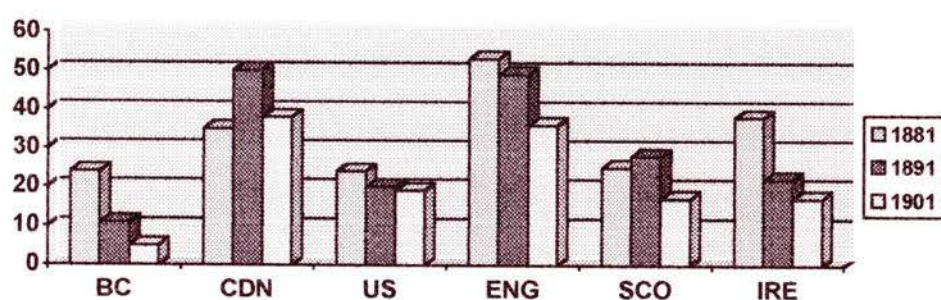
result, it is possible to make comparisons between the birthplace of both boarders and hosts for each household in the city. This comparison permits an understanding of the role of ethnicity in the interface between boarders and hosts. Between one-quarter to one-third of Victoria's boarders shared the same birthplace with the head of household during the late-nineteenth century.¹²¹ Figure 1 indicates that associations were strongest among Canadian and British-born boarders and hosts. In fact, between 35 and 50 percent of boarders born in Canada during this period lived with Canadian born hosts. Likewise, between 36 and 53 percent of boarders born in Britain lived with compatriot hosts. It makes sense that there is a strong connection among those born in Britain and Canada; after all, these two regions made-up the largest constituencies in Victoria's general population, as well as the largest proportion of boarders in the city during the late-nineteenth century.¹²² Thus it would be relatively simple for these boarders to find hosts with the same national or regional birthplace. Conversely, the numbers of boarders and heads of household born in Ireland, British Columbia, and Scotland were comparatively modest, thereby reducing their chances of finding a match. Undoubtedly this negatively influenced the proclivity of boarders born in these regions to find households in Victoria in which the host shared the same national profile. American boarders were also unlikely to live with compatriot heads of household. This was despite the fact that the numbers of both American-born boarders and hosts remained relatively high.

¹²¹ Percentages of boarders who share the same birthplace with the head of household: 33 percent in 1881, 38 percent in 1891, and 26 percent in 1901.

This seems to suggest that American-born boarders were more flexible in their choice of host, feeling comfortable, in most cases, living with other English-speaking groups, specifically Canadian and British born heads of household.¹²³

Figure 1

Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace as their Head of Household (1881-1901)^k



So far we have examined the propensity of boarders to select households in which the host reflected their birthplace or regional profile. But what was the likelihood of heads of household to select boarders with similar birthplaces? Between 1881 and 1901 over one-third of hosts selected boarders that reflected their

¹²² See Chapter 2.

¹²³ Similarly, Peel found in his study of Boston Massachusetts found that American, British Canadian, and British born boarders did not develop strong affinities with their national group. However, Peel suggests that these national groups felt comfortable living in households with other English-speaking tenants. This situation seems akin to the experience of American boarders in Victoria. This would make sense. After all the cultural differences among those born in Canada, United States, and Britain was potentially slight.

^k Only individuals over the age of fifteen and of non-Chinese descent are included in this Figure.

Source: 1881, 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses.

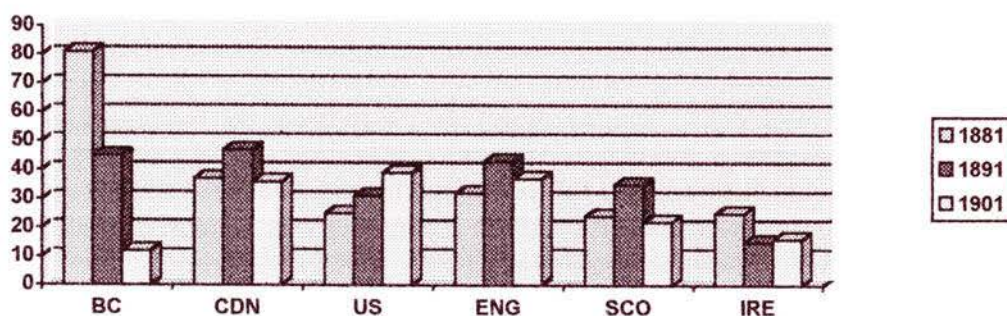
BC=British Columbia; CDN=Canadian; US=United States; ENG=England; SCO=Scotland; IRE=Ireland.

own birthplace profile.¹²⁴ The tendency of heads of household to share birthplace affinities remained surprisingly stable between 1881 and 1901, with the exception of heads born in British Columbia (see Figure 2). In 1881 an astonishing 81 percent of heads of household born in British Columbia sought out boarders who were born in the same province. By 1901, however, only 12 percent of heads born in British Columbia sought out this type of affinity. The exact reasons behind this decline in affinity must remain speculative. However, it does seem to provide a compelling indication of the erosion of affinities at the local level. In 1881 heads of household British Columbia seem to have provided a service to individuals born in the province—perhaps akin to what Modell and Hareven coined a ‘surrogate family’ setting. By the turn-of-the-century, however, there was no longer any visible bond between British Columbia born hosts and boarders. This might suggest that boarding was becoming increasingly fragmented, as British Columbia born heads no longer provided housing services for those native to the province. Instead, hosts born British Columbia born heads, like heads of households born elsewhere, were beginning to incorporate individuals from diverse national backgrounds into their homes.

¹²⁴ Percentage of heads of household that selected boarders with a similar birthplace: 39 percent in 1881, 43 percent in 1891, and 35 percent in 1901.

Figure 2

Percentage of heads of household who selected tenants with the same birthplace as themselves¹



An individual not only had the choice to select a host with a similar ethnic profile, but he/she could also ensure that fellow tenants in the household reflected their own distinctive profile as well. In order to assess this relationship, we will examine the proclivity of boarders to live in households where the majority of fellow tenants share the same birthplace.¹²⁵ Only households that contained more than one boarder were used in this analysis, thus preventing skewing the results through inclusion of boarders that lived alone. Approximately half of boarders between 1881 and 1901 shared the same birthplace as the majority of boarders in their

¹ These percentages are derived through asking the following question: Does the head of household have the same birthplace as their boarder. If the household has several boarders then the question was repeated for each tenant in the household.

¹²⁵ In order to share an affinity with a majority of tenants it requires 50 percent plus one. Thus it is not possible to share affinities in households with one or two tenants. Households in which there are only one tenant will be developed in greater length in Chapter 4.

household.¹²⁶ This association remained remarkably stable among most birthplaces (see Figure 3). However, there are a few specific instances of variation. There was an increase in the propensity of American boarders to live in households where the majority of boarders reflected their own birthplace from 16 percent in 1881 to 63 percent in 1901. Conversely, there is a sweeping decline in the affinity of boarders born in British Columbia to live together from a high of 66 percent in 1881 to a low of 35 percent in 1901. Affinities were consistently low among boarders born in Scotland and Ireland, and persistently high among boarders born in Canada and Britain.¹²⁷ This complexity might be explained by the changing ethnic organization of boarders during the late-nineteenth century. During each census year the composition of the boarding population could change, reflecting different immigration and settlement patterns. Yet the number of boarders from each birthplace is sufficiently large to permit individuals the opportunity to live with fellow countrymen (see Chapter 2). It would appear that towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century, therefore, boarders born in British Columbia, Ireland, and Scotland simply were not interested in living in households where the majority of tenants shared their national or regional heritage. This did not mean, however, that birthplace affinities were completely eradicated. The vast majority of tenants in

¹²⁶ Percentage of boarders that share the same birthplace as the majority of boarders in their household: 55 percent in 1881, 54 percent in 1891 and 1901.

¹²⁷ There is a prickly problem associated with Scottish boarders. In 1891 there was a large surge in the number of Scottish-born boarders. Concomitant to this increase was a dramatic rise in the affinity to live with fellow Scottish boarders. This suggests that affinities could at times erupt in response to mass migration and immigration of a single national group.

Victoria between 1881 and 1901 continued to share a birthplace affinity with at least one other tenant (see Figure 4). In fact, 85 percent of boarders in 1881, 81 percent in 1891, and 78 percent in 1901 shared an affinity with at least one other tenant in the household, suggesting that birthplace and ethnicity remained important arbiters of locational decisions.

Figure 3
Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace as the Majority of Other Tenants in the Household (1881-1901)^m

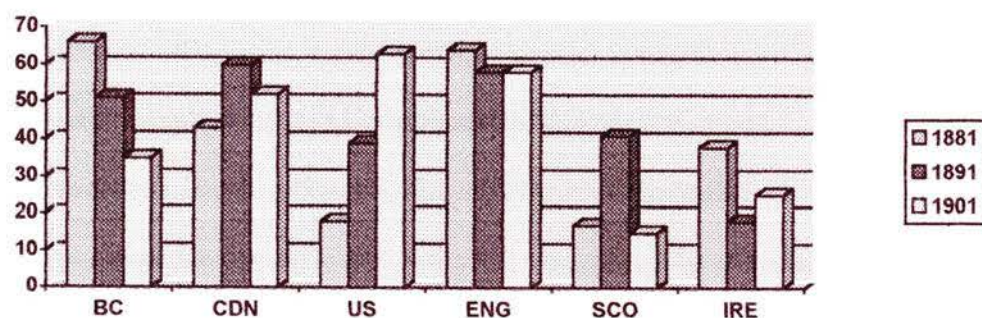
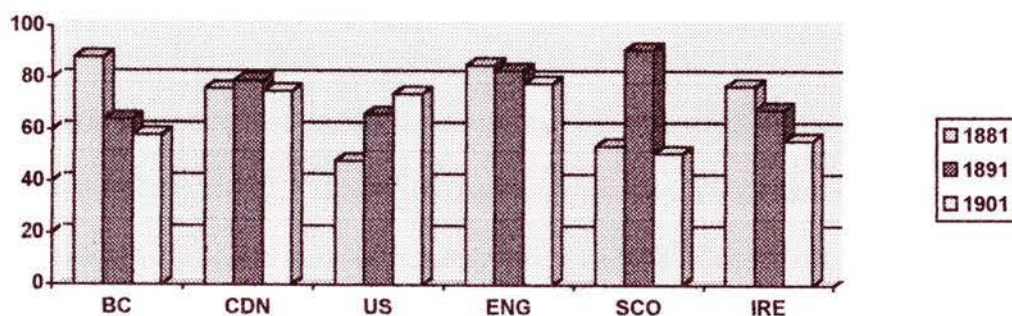


Figure 4
Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Birthplace with at Least One Other Tenant in the Household (1881-1901)ⁿ



^m Same methodology as used in Figure 1.

ⁿ Same methodology as used in Figure 1.

Towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century there was a movement away from dual linkages, households in which boarders shared birthplace affinities with *both* the majority of tenants and host. The decline in the percentage of boarders with dual birthplace linkages was most prevalent among British Columbia-born boarders from 24 percent in 1881 to 4 percent in 1901, British-born boarders from 47 percent in 1881 to 26 percent in 1901, and Irish-born boarders from 22 percent in 1881 to 10 percent in 1901 (see Figure 5). Single linkages became increasingly important to Victoria's boarders, particularly among those born in Canada, America and Britain. In fact, every birthplace experienced an increase in single linkages, with the exception of boarders born in British Columbia and Ireland (see Figure 6).

Figure 5

Percentage of Boarders with Dual Birthplace Linkages^o

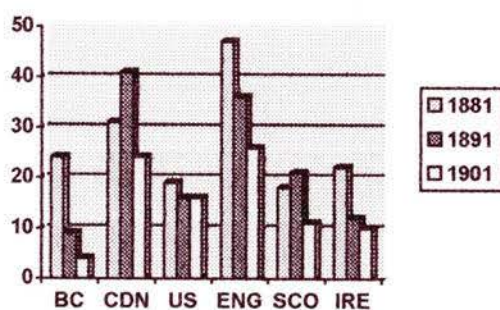
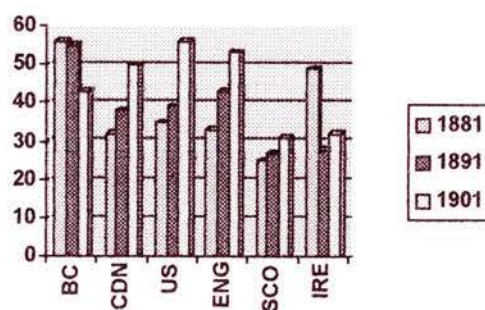


Figure 6

Percentage of Boarders with Single Birthplace Linkages^p



^o Same methodology as used in Figure 1.

^p Same methodology as used in Figure 1.

Birthplace affinities, in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century, appear to be stronger and more stable among boarders themselves, rather than between boarders and hosts. The vast majority of boarders lived in households where at least one other boarder shared a similar birthplace. Furthermore, approximately half of boarders lived in households where the majority of tenants shared the same birthplace. There were several identifiable patterns of association. In particular, there was a reduction in the predilection of boarders born in British Columbia to live together, as well as to live with British Columbia born heads of household. The decline in birthplace affinities among British Columbia born boarders provides an indication of the broader trend of increased social differentiation among Victoria's tenant population, as boarders of British stock felt comfortable living with other English speaking tenants.

There are a number of national groups that experienced rapid growth, followed by a rapid decline, in birthplace affinities. In 1881 Irish boarders displayed a propensity to share affinities with compatriot hosts and fellow tenants. Households based on national affiliations, however, did not burgeon among boarders born in Ireland living in Victoria after 1881. Between 1891 and 1901 there was a decline in immigration of Irish individuals into Victoria, matched by a concomitant decline in the proclivity of Irish boarders to strike affinities with Irish boarders and hosts.¹²⁸ The experience of Scottish boarders aped those of the Irish in a number of respects.

¹²⁸ Similarly, Baskerville found that Irish boarders tended not to live with Irish hosts across Canada in 1901. See Baskerville, "More Than Money" 15.

Scottish boarders were not found in great numbers in 1881 and 1901—nor did they tend to share birthplace affinities during these two census years. However, Scottish boarders in 1891, not unlike Irish boarders in 1881, migrated to Victoria in significant numbers. The significance of birthplace affinities among boarders born in Scotland in 1891 indicates that national affiliations could ‘spontaneously’ arise. Where ten years previously birthplace affinities were negligible, in 1891 Scottish boarders were strongly affiliated with compatriot tenants and heads of household. Americans were another national group that experienced meteoric growth in birthplace affinities. Whereas the inclination of Americans to live together between 1881 and 1891 was modest, by the turn-of-the-century national bonds became pervasive.

The strength of affinities among Irish in 1881, Scottish in 1891, and Americans in 1901 was associated with the dramatic rise in the absolute number of these birthplaces in the boarding population. It would appear that there is a critical number that is necessary to promote the development of birthplace affinities. The strong ethnic bonds between boarders were matched by a concomitant increase in affinities between boarder and host only in the case of Irish tenants in 1881. Birthplace affinities between boarder and host did not burgeon among Scottish tenants in 1891, or American tenants in 1901. Rather, it seems to be the presence of compatriot tenants that provided a point of reference. Perhaps these boarders traveled in migratory pools of labour that developed networks of association based

on ethnicity once they arrived in a city. Certainly more research is necessary to understand the specific methods tenants used to ensure compatriots lived in their chosen household.

2) Occupation

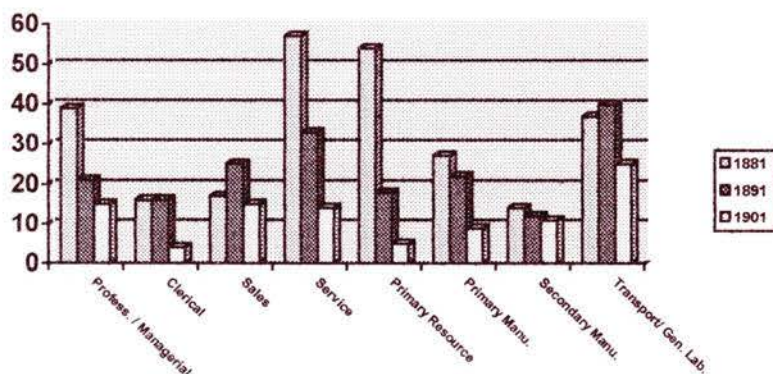
Occupation was a powerful indicator of social status during the nineteenth century. The manuscript censuses between 1881 and 1901 include the occupation of most working people in Victoria's population. Thus it is possible to compare the occupational profile of Victoria's boarders and boardinghouse keepers. Out of convenience the occupations of boarders and heads of household have been divided into eight categories: professional/managerial, clerical, sales, service, primary resource, primary manufacturing, secondary manufacturing, and transport/general labourers. These categories provide a convenient breakdown of dominant categories of paid work listed in the manuscript censuses.

The occupational association between boarders and hosts was not very strong, and was in fact weakening during the period between 1881 and 1901. The percentage of boarders that shared an occupational affinity with the head of household decreased from 35 percent of boarders in 1881 and 28 percent of boarders in 1891, to only 14 percent of boarders in 1901.¹²⁹ Nearly every occupation group

¹²⁹ There is a weakness in the study of occupational affinity between boarders and heads of household. Most heads of households listed their occupation as boardinghouse keeper and were thus classified as working in the service sector. This would reduce the chances of affinity, since the vast majority of hosts worked in the service sector. Yet, among married heads of household often the woman listed her profession as boardinghouse keeper while the man typically listed a different profession.

experienced a decline in association. By 1901 only transport/general labourers had an affinity with the head of household that was above 15 percent (see Figure 7). Towards the turn-of-the-century, therefore, occupational affinities became less important, as the vast majority of boarders in Victoria did not select hosts who shared the same occupation or type of work.

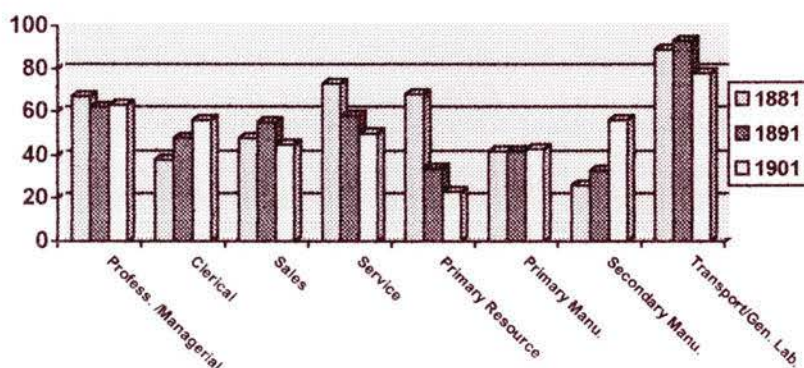
Figure 7
Percentage of Boarders who Share the Same Occupational Class as their Host (1881-1901)⁹



Heads of household were somewhat more likely to seek out boarders that reflected their own occupational profile. The rates of association remained more stable: 32 percent in 1881, 30 percent in 1891, and 28 percent in 1901. In particular, hosts that were transport/general labourer were most likely to select boarders with a similar occupational class (see Figure 8). In addition, approximately a quarter of heads of household working in the professional/managerial, clerical, sales or secondary manufacturing, selected boarders with similar occupational profiles. This

would indicate that households based on a shared occupation or type of work still existed. However, occupational affinity between host and boarder was a bond that affected only a minority of Victoria's tenants by the turn-of-the-twentieth century. In fact, for most boardinghouse keepers, and for the majority of tenants, compatibility based on shared type of work was not a major concern.

Figure 8
Percentage of Hosts that Share the Same Occupational Affinity as their Boarders (1881-1901)^f

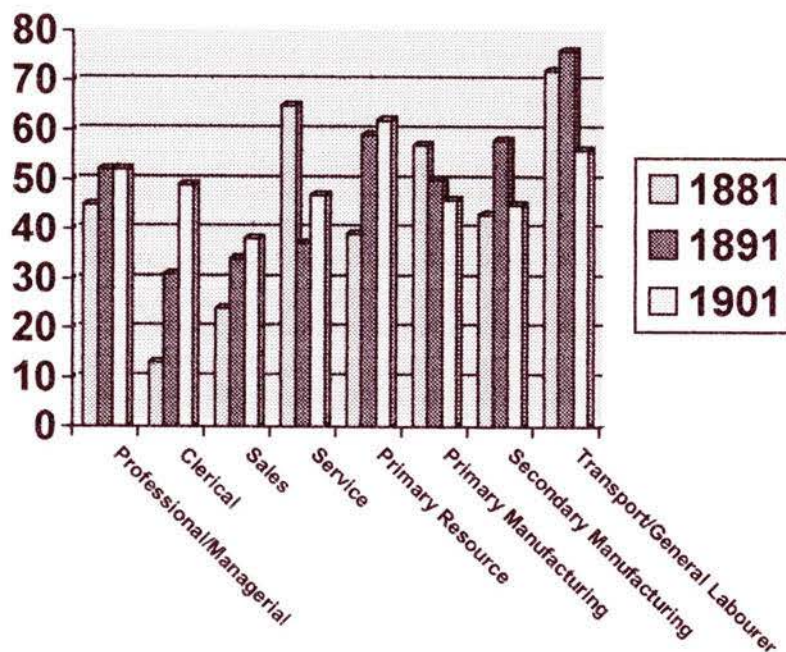


Where occupational class appears to be of importance is the relationship that existed between tenants in Victoria's various boardinghouses. Approximately half of all boarders shared an occupational affinity with at least one other boarder between 1881 and 1901. Associations remained strong among most occupational categories, although transport/general labourers had the most compelling association, particularly in 1881 and 1891 (see Figure 9). When a more rigorous measurement of occupational affinity is used, association with the majority of tenants in the

^f Only individuals who were over the age of fifteen, of non-Chinese descent, and who had an

household, only a third of boarders share affinities with their fellow tenants (see Figure 10). Boarders who were transport workers/general labourers or professionals/managerial had the highest tendency to share occupational affinities with the majority of fellow boarders. Conversely, affinities remained extremely modest among the remaining occupational groups.

Figure 9
Percentage of Boarders who Share an Occupational Affinity with at Least One Other Boarder (1881-1901)^s



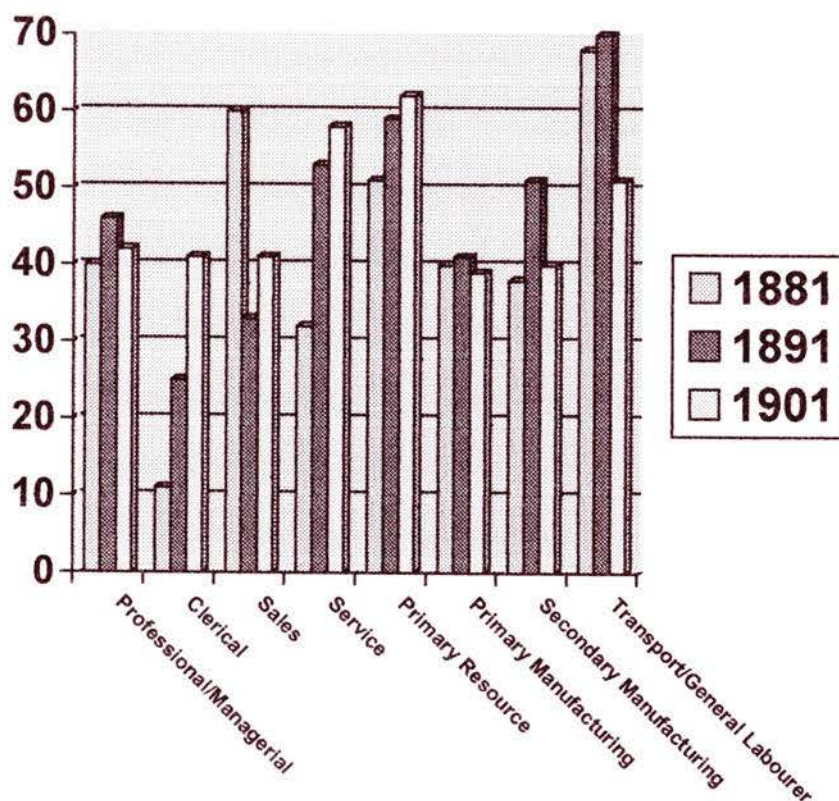
occupation listed in the Manuscript census. Source: 1881, 1891, and 1901 manuscript censuses

^r Same methodology as used in Figure 8.

^s Same methodology as used in Figure 8.

Figure 10

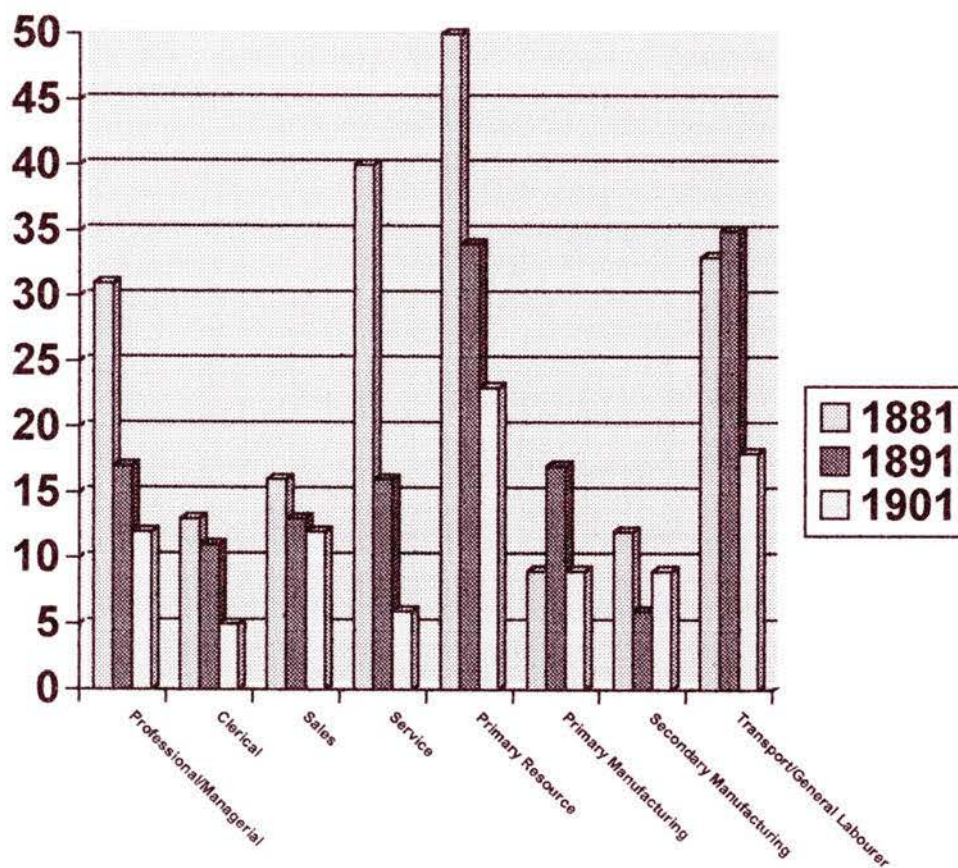
Percentage of Boarders that Share an Occupational Affinity with the Majority of Boarders in the Household (1881-1901)¹



Towards the turn-of-the-century there was a movement away from dual linkages, as the frequency of individuals who shared the same occupational category with both their host and the majority of boarders declined dramatically (see Figure 11). Alternatively, single linkages became more important. In fact, single linkages increased among every occupational group, particularly among secondary manufacturing and clerical workers (see Figure 12).

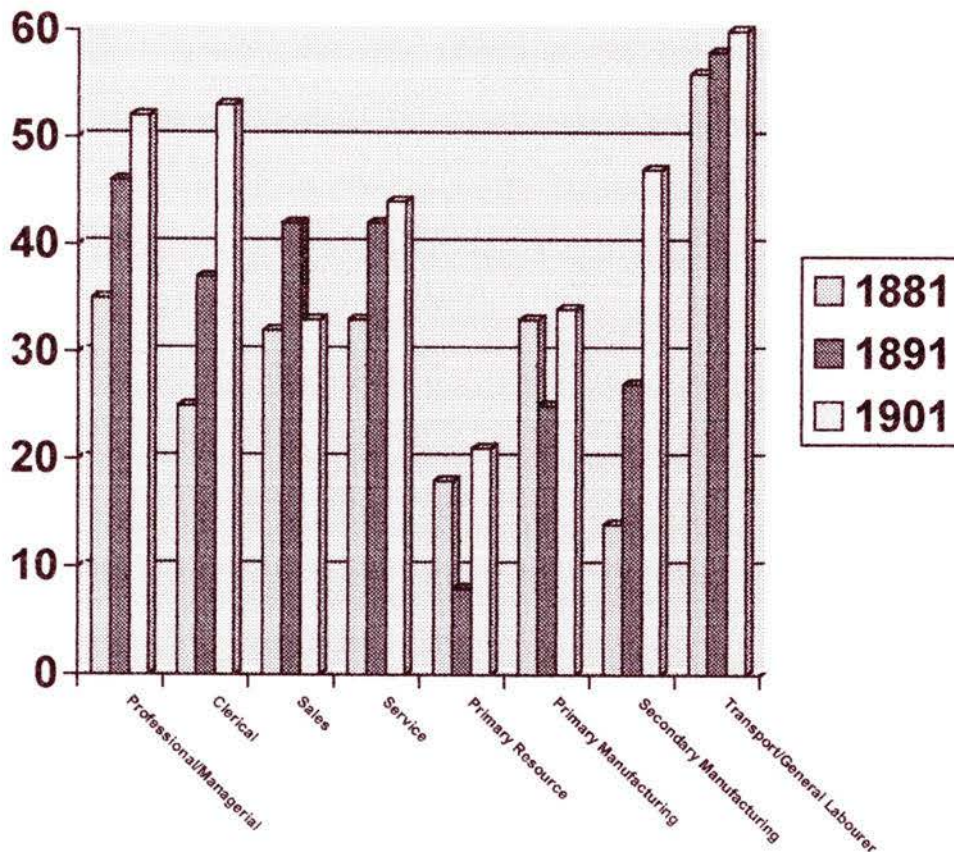
¹ Same methodology as used in Figure 8.

Figure 11
 Percentage of Boarders with Dual Occupational Linkages¹¹



¹¹ Same methodology as used in Figure 8

Figure 12
Percentage of Boarders with Single Occupational Linkages^v



Most boarders did not live with heads of household with similar occupations or types of work. To some extent boarders lived with hosts who shared the same broad social class; white-collar workers lived with white-collar heads, and blue-collar workers lived with blue-collar heads.¹³⁰ But even this relationship was

^v Same methodology as used in Figure 8.

¹³⁰ If the eight occupational classes are compressed into two simple groups, white and blue collar workers, the downward trend in occupational affinity is still visible. Using this simple dichotomy 63 percent of blue- and white-collar boarders in 1881, 59 percent of boarders in 1891, and only 32 percent in 1901 lived in households where the host shared a similar occupational class.

weakening. More common was the tendency of boarders to live in households where fellow tenants shared the same type of work. The least skilled workers in Victoria's blue-collar workforce, transport/general labourers, were quite likely to live together, suggesting that social integration with other occupational groups was difficult. Highly skilled white collar workers also had a proclivity to live together, forming a closed community which, at least outwardly, did not commingle with other social classes. As a result, there seem to be two trends at work, each operating at the opposite ends of the social scale. Yet for the majority of boarders there was a rise in non-association based on occupational class. Workers were no longer making locational decisions based upon allegiances to specific occupations. Rather, a more complicated relationship was emerging in which occupational class was important to some boarders, yet insignificant to others.

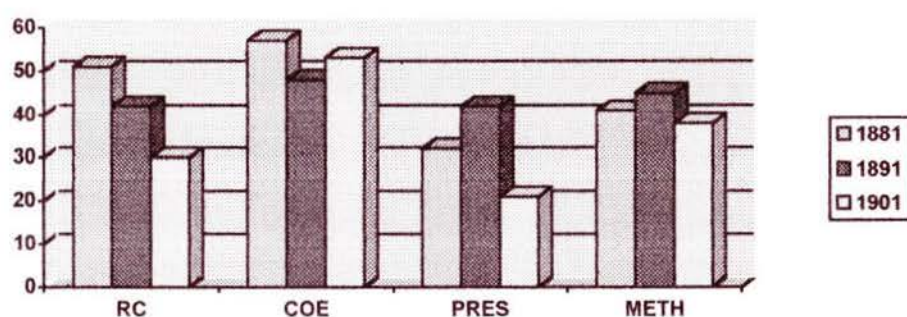
3) Religion

Peter Baskerville suggests that religion was a crucial variable in the interface between hosts and boarders across Canada, possibly exceeding the importance of class and ethnicity.¹³¹ Evidence from the manuscript censuses confirms, that in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century, religious affiliation was a prominent element in the relationship between boarders and hosts. In fact, 51 percent of boarders in 1881, 45 percent in 1891 and 42 percent in 1901, lived in households where they shared the same religion as the head of household. The proclivity to hold

¹³¹ Baskerville, "More Than Money" 17-18.

religious affinities with the head of households between 1881 and 1901 was strongest, and most consistent, among Methodist and Anglican boarders (see Figure 13). Conversely, there was a weakening in the level of associations among Catholic and Presbyterian boarders and hosts. Yet religious affinities still remained remarkably important, especially when compared with birthplace and occupational affinities.

Figure 13
Percent of Boarders who Share the Same Religion as their Head of Household^w



Heads of household were also extremely selective in their choice of tenants, ensuring that they reflected their own religious belief. Approximately half of heads of households chose boarders that adhered to the same religion as themselves.¹³² Once again there was extreme variation among religions (see Figure 14). In 1881 half of Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian heads, and a third of Methodist heads,

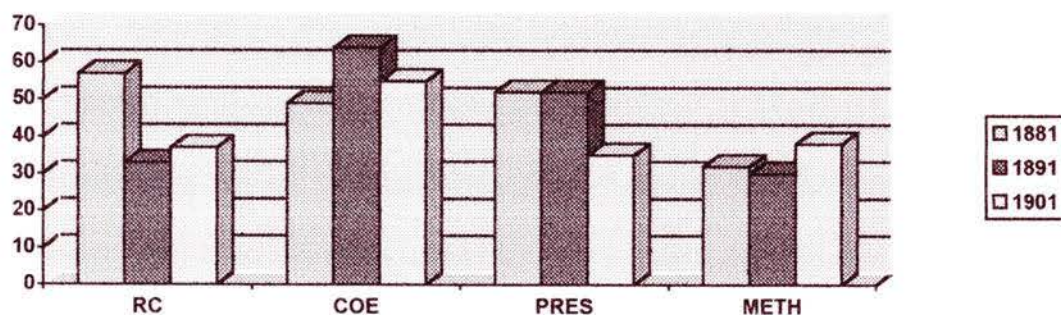
^w Only individuals who were over the age of fifteen and of non-Chinese descent are included in this figure. Source: 1881, 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses.

selected boarders that had the same religious tradition. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century, there was a change in the religious composition of hosts that sought boarders with similar religious profile. In 1901 approximately half of Anglican heads and a third of Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist hosts chose boarders that reflected their own religious background. Anglican heads of household, therefore, became increasingly differentiated in their tendency to select boarders with a similar religion. However, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist heads of household still continued, albeit in reduced numbers, to seek boarders who reflected their distinctive religious profile as well.¹³³ The strength of religious affinities suggests that religion was an important arbiter used by heads of household to filter prospective boarders.

¹³² Percentage of heads of household that selected boarders with similar religious profile: 50 percent in 1881, 53 percent in 1891 46 percent in 1901.

¹³³ It would appear that there is a reciprocal relationship between boarders and heads of household, each desiring to share religious affinities with the other. The sole exceptions to this tendency were Presbyterians. For some reason Presbyterian heads of household were more likely to choose Presbyterian boarders, than the obverse scenario, during the period between 1881 and 1901.

Figure 14
Percentage of Hosts who share the same Religion as their Boarders^x



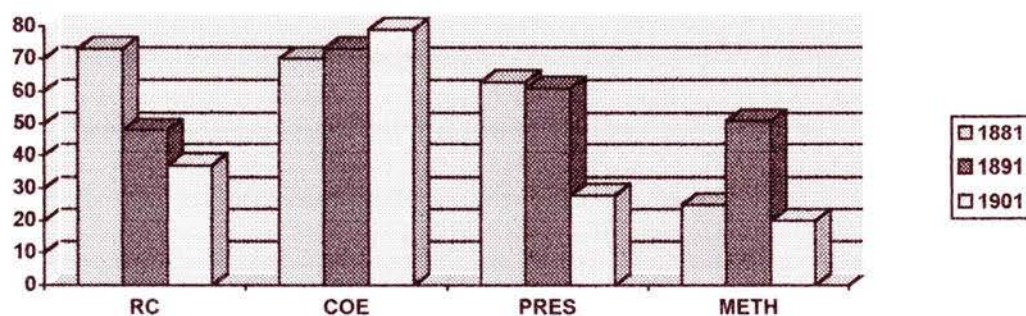
The religious affiliation that existed between tenants in the same household was also an important association. Approximately half of Victoria's boarders between 1881 and 1901 held the same religion as the majority of boarders in the household.¹³⁴ In 1881 three quarters of Catholic and Anglican boarders, two-thirds of Presbyterian boarders, and one-quarter of Methodist boarders lived in such households. By the turn-of-the-century three quarters of Anglicans continued to share the same religion as the majority of tenants, while rates among the remaining religions were comparatively more modest (see Figure 15). The decline in the inclination of boarders to live in households where the majority of tenants shared a similar religion is matched by an increase in the number of households where there is no clear religious majority. In fact, one-fifth of Victoria's boarders in 1901 lived in such households. The absence of a clear religious majority in so many households provides an indication that the religious composition of boarding houses in Victoria

^x Same methodology as was used in Figure 14.

was becoming increasingly differentiated.¹³⁵ Households which contained large concentrations of particular religious groups were no longer the norm. This did not mean, however, that religious affinities between boarders became no longer important. After all, the vast majority of boarders, approximately 85 percent, continued to live in households where at least one other boarder shared the same religion between 1881 and 1901 (see Figure 16).

Figure 15

Percentage of Boarders who share the Same Religion as the Majority of Tenants in the Household^y

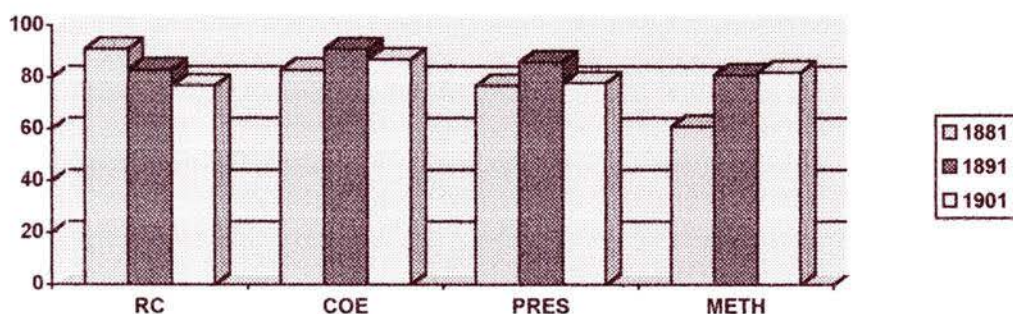


¹³⁴ Percentage of boarders with same religion as majority of other tenants: 52 percent in 1881, 53 percent in 1891, and 50 percent in 1901.

¹³⁵ There was an increase between 1881 and 1901 in the percentage of boarders who lived in households in which they did not share the same religious profile as other tenants: 27 percent in 1881, 35 percent in 1891 and 39 percent in 1901.

^y Same methodology as used Figure 14.

Figure 16
Percentage of boarders who share the same religion with at least one other tenant in their household.^z



Between 1881 and 1901 there was a slight decline in the percentage of dual linkages, particularly among Presbyterian boarders (see Figure 17). Meanwhile the frequency of single linkages remained more or less stable during this period, suggesting that boarders desired some sort of affiliation with either the head of household or the majority of tenants (see Figure 18).

Figure 17
Percentage of Boarders who Share dual Linkages^{aa}

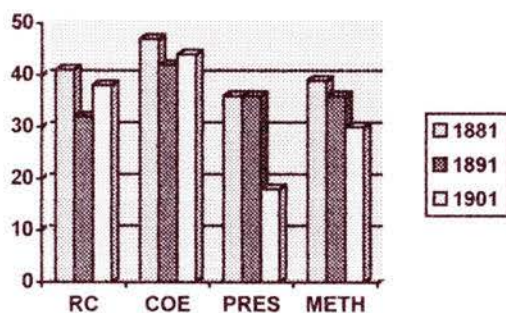
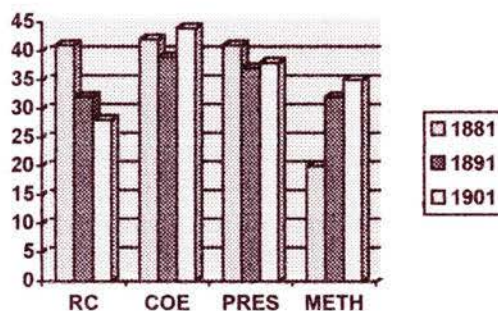


Figure 18
Percentage of Boarders who share single Linkages^{bb}



^z Same methodology as used in Figure 14.

^{aa} Same methodology as used in Figure 14.

^{bb} Same methodology as used in Figure 14.

Between 1881 and 1901 the penchant of boarders and lodgers to strike religious affinities changed in a number of respects. The percentage of boarders that shared the same religion with the majority of boarders in their household decreased slightly during this period. Anglican boarders were the sole denomination that maintained a strong tendency to possess religious affinities with both the head of household and majority of boarders. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century Victoria's boardinghouses were no longer as likely to contain large concentrations of specific religious groups. Religious composition became increasingly differentiated. However, approximately half of all boarders still lived with a head of household who shared a similar religion. In addition, the sheer number of boarders that lived with at least one other boarder with a similar religious profile indicates that religion continued to play a critical role in locational decisions during the late-nineteenth century.

4) The relationship between religion, birthplace and occupation

So far religion, birthplace, and occupational category have been examined as if they are isolated variables. These factors could intersect in a number of ways. In order to explore the relationship between these various elements, it is useful to examine how many boarders shared not only one linkage with fellow boarders and heads of household, but several. A simple question was asked: did a boarder share a similar occupational class with their host or the majority of boarders in the household? If the answer is affirmative then a linkage is acquired. The same

question was repeated replacing occupational class with birthplace and religion.

Therefore, it is possible to have up to three linkages. This analysis provides a robust measurement of the tendency of boarders to live with boarders and hosts with similar characteristics.¹³⁶ Approximately one-third of Victoria's boarders between 1881 and 1901 had triple linkages. A further one-third had dual linkages. Only a quarter of boarders had single linkages and less than one-tenth of boarders had no linkage.

These rates remained remarkably stable during the three census years, although there was a slight increase in dual linkages and a slight decrease in triple linkages after 1881. This suggests that boarding was an extremely selective process. The majority of boarders were choosing households that reflected part, if not all, of their religious, birthplace, and occupational profile.

It is clear that boarders shared a variety of affinities with other members of the household. Less clear, however, is whether certain religions, birthplaces, and occupations are over-represented among those boarders with dual or triple linkages. As a result, it would be useful to unfurl which constituent of the linkage is the most important. For example, was Frederick White a boarder in 1891 because he worked as a carpenter, was born in United States, or belonged to the Anglican Church? Fortunately logistic regression provides a tool that facilitates an examination of these differences. Logistic regression is a form of statistical analysis used when the dependent variable is dichotomous. In this case the dependent variable is whether or

not a boarder has more than two or more linkages.¹³⁷ Logistic regression provides a statistical tool that can examine the strength of this bond. Table 11 examines the influence of several independent variables: religion, birthplace, occupation, age, marital status, and gender on the likelihood of a boarder having either a dual or triple linkage. For each category one value is used as a reference category. The value given by $\text{Exp}(B)$ reflect the odds of a particular variable increasing or decreasing in relation to the reference category. A value of $\text{Exp}(B)$ that is equal to one indicates that there is no difference in relation to the reference category, while a value greater than one indicates that the odds of having a dual or triple linkage have increased. Conversely, if the value of $\text{Exp}(B)$ is less than one the odds having a dual or triple linkage decreased in relation to the reference category.

¹³⁶ Surely, the results would be significantly higher if merely association with one other member of the household, rather than a majority of boarders, is used. However, I feel more comfortable using this more conservative estimate.

¹³⁷ The presence of two or three linkages is used in order to provide a robust measurement of the tendency of boarders to live in households which reflect their distinctive occupational, religious, and

Table 11
LOGISTIC REGRESSION

	Sig.	Exp (B)	Wald
Religion	.0000		123.44
Catholic	.0000	4.8159	61.71
Anglican	.0000	5.8681	110.89
Presbyterian	.0000	4.7031	67.99
Methodist	.0000	3.6438	45.99
<i>Reference category:</i> <i>'other'</i>			
Birthplace	.0007		73.33
British Columbia	.3979	.4936	11.37
Canadian	.0004	1.1372	.71
United States	.0011	.5116	12.48
Scotland	.0000	.4891	10.61
Ireland	.0000	.3015	22.82
'Other'	.0000	.3466	25.83
<i>Reference category:</i> <i>Britain</i>			

birthplace profile. Conversely, the presence of only a single linkage or no linkage is indicative of relationships in which occupational, religious, and birthplace affinities are weak or absent.

Occupation	.0000		86.50
None	.0367	.7024	4.36
Professional/Mgr	.0108	.9684	66.50
Clerical	.0000	.3252	21.93
Sales	.0000	.3602	23.01
Service	.0419	.6699	4.14
Primary Resource	.0000	.2796	21.22
Primary Manu.	.0000	.4274	20.50
Secondary Manu.	.0000	.2595	53.46
<i>Reference Category:</i> <i>Transport/ Gen Lab.</i>			
Age	.09	.9926	1.2789
Number of Boarders	.0000	.9686	147.81
Gender	.		
Female	.047	1.1381	.9087
<i>Reference Category:</i> Male			
Marital Status	.1757		3.4781
Single	.9880	.9978	.02

Widow/Widower	.0735	1.9391	3.2042
<i>Reference Category</i>			
Married			
Constant	.0401		33.51

Table 12

Likelihood Ratio

Variable	-2 log LR	d.f.	Sig.
Number of Boarders	170.4	1	.0000
Religion	142.8	4	.0000
Occupation	90.3	8	.0000
Birthplace	75.8	6	.0000
Marital Status	2.2	2	.0075
Age	1.2	1	.0000
Gender	.9	1	.0000

Table 11 explores various factors in Victoria's boarding population which contribute to the likelihood of a boarder having a dual or triple linkage. The odds of a boarder having a dual or triple linkage increased among Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and particularly Anglicans, when compared to the reference category of

'other' religions. In relation to the reference category of boarders born in Britain, all birthplaces with the exception of those born in Canada, were less likely to share dual or triple linkages. This would make sense. After all, boarders born in Britain and Canada were the two national groups that were the most represented in Victoria's boardinghouse populations. In terms of occupation, the odds of having a dual or triple linkage decreased for all occupational groups in relation to the reference category of transport/labourer, with the sole exception of boarders working in the professional/managerial sector where there was essentially no difference. It would appear that boarders working at opposite ends of the occupational spectrum were in fact the most likely to share dual or triple linkages.

There are additional factors that contributed to the likelihood of a boarder having dual or triple linkages, such as gender, marital status and age. In terms of gender, women are more likely than men to share this type of linkage. Widows/widowers when compared to the reference category of married boarders are much more likely to share linkages, while there are no appreciable differences between those who are single and those who are married. Interestingly, Table 11 indicates that age does not seem to be a factor that influenced the proclivity of a boarder to share a dual or triple linkage. This indicates that boarders no matter what their age, placed equal emphasis in finding households that reflected their social and cultural profile. In sum, it would appear that gender and marital status could intersect with other factors, such as religion, class, and ethnicity, to determine the

likelihood of dual and triple linkages. Conversely, age remained an unimportant determinant in household selection

Table 11 provides an indication that certain factors were more important than others in influencing the propensity of boarders to share dual or triple linkages. However, what is not explicit in this analysis is the strength of these relationships. The likelihood ratio provides a statistical measurement that is able to assess the relative importance of each variable. The higher the likelihood ratio the more important is the variable in determining associating agents. Table 12 indicates that the most important contributing factor in determining the likelihood of an individual to share two or three linkages is the number of boarders in a particular dwelling. The importance of the number of tenants in a household in determining the frequency of linkages could be predicted without performing a logistic regression.¹³⁸ It makes sense that the number of boarders would affect linkages because of the nature of this measurement. As household size increases it would seem likely that linkages would decrease. For example, it is unlikely that a boarder in a large hotel with 50 tenants would share the same occupation, religion or birthplace with the majority of boarders in the household. Conversely, there is a greater likelihood of sharing linkages if one lived in boarding houses with only a handful of members. Likewise, it would make sense that the next most important variables in determining the likelihood of a boarder to share dual and triple linkages would be religion,

¹³⁸ The importance of the number of boarders in a household will be an issue that will be developed in greater detail in chapters 4 and 5.

occupation, and birthplace. After all, linkages are measurements of religious, occupational, and ethnic affinities. What is interesting, however, is the rank of association. Religion is by far the most significant variable. This is rather surprising since British Columbia is typically represented as a province in which religion did not play as great a role in tenancy arrangements as it did in other eastern provinces. Ethnicity and class still remain important factors, but it is religious denomination that seems to be the primary bond of association. Gender, age, and marital status, on the other hand, do not alter the likelihood of sharing linkages. Although these variables could be important in certain individual cases, their importance diminishes when examined in conjunction with several factors.

In Victoria between 1881 and 1901 a complex relationship existed between boarders and hosts, characterized by each party searching for a counterpart that shared ethnic, occupational and religious similarities. The bond between boarder and host was particularly strong with regards to religious denomination. This finding is corroborated by Peter Baskerville's recent study of boarding house families across Canada in 1901 that also found religion to be a crucial element in tenancy arrangements. It would appear, based on this case study of boarding and lodging in Victoria, that boarding arrangements during the late-nineteenth century need to be examined with consideration to the religious denomination of not only the host but of all the tenants in the household as well. Boarders were inclined to seek out households in which at least one other tenant, and in many cases the majority of

tenants, shared a common religious affiliation. This may indicate that there needs to be a correction to existing research on tenancy arrangements during the nineteenth century that examines the role of class and ethnicity without examining the possible influence of religious denomination.

In Victoria affinities between boarders created out of shared religious denomination, birthplace or occupation exceeded those formed between boarder and host in both frequency and vigor of association. At first glance, the fact that the bonds between boarders are so remarkable seems curious. Since boarders often migrated several times a year, it seems odd that they placed so much emphasis on finding suitable households which reflected their cultural and social heritage. It seems probable that some of the bonds between boarders and host can be explained through kinship and familial links. Consanguinity with family members might be drawing these individuals into Victoria. So might the clarion call of wider ethnic and religious networks of association. It is possible that these were the same plexuses that contributed to the relationship that existed between boarders themselves. Initially family and friends might be able to assist recent migrants in finding living arrangements that reflected their occupational, religious, and ethnic profiles. It is also possible that individuals migrated in small or even large groups, shifting location in response to economic and financial stimuli. This certainly would account for the tendency of boarders to share occupational affinities with other tenants in the household. However, if boarders of specific occupations were

migrating together it does not necessarily follow that they shared similar ethnic and religious characteristics. Furthermore, evidence from the manuscript census suggests that affinities based on specific occupations were in decline. A survey of classified advertisements in Victoria's daily newspapers indicates that overt appeal to specific religious denominations was not the norm.¹³⁹ Likewise, there is only slight mention of ethnicity and trifling reference to specific professions in Victoria's classified columns. Even the occasional instance where overt appeal to specific characteristics was made does not necessarily explain the tendency of boarders to share affinities with each other. After all the classified section almost exclusively involved a dialogue between host and boarder rather than between boarders themselves. It seems clear that there are other forces at play. Perhaps the church played a role in finding accommodation for newly arrived members of the congregation? Clearly this is an area that demands further research.

Robert Harney suggests that "changing sentiments, intentions, and ethnic identity" among sojourners remain poorly understood.¹⁴⁰ In part, this is attributable to the paucity of sources related to North America's migrant populations. Yet there are some elements specific to the boarding and lodging population that can be understood. Boarders and lodgers in Victoria were sufficiently differentiated from other segments of society that it is possible to suggest that they formed a sub-culture

¹³⁹ Likewise, Peter Baskerville found a similar lack of appeal to specific religions in the classified section of the *Hamilton Spectator* during the late-nineteenth century. See Baskerville, "More Than Money" 18.

¹⁴⁰ Harney, 10.

which does appear 'partially autonomous' from the city's general population.¹⁴¹

For example, one of the advantages associated with boarding, which differentiated it from other living arrangements, was that it was not necessary to own household furnishings. For many, specifically middle-class reformers, this was the unsavory feature of boarding and lodging. Albert Wolfe, a social reformer during the early twentieth century, appealed to this sentiment when he referred to possessions as "those last anchors of men and women to a sense of ownership and permanent interest in a fixed abode."¹⁴² As a result, the absence of furnishings clearly differentiated boarders from the rest of society. As Groth suggests, boarders and lodgers were "materially the least tied down people of the vast floating population of the 1800s."¹⁴³ The practice of boarding and lodging facilitated ease of movement within and between cities. It also meant that their possessions and other outward signs of material wealth were not powerful symbols in their lives. Sociologists such as Nels Anderson, Samuel Wallace, and James Spradley, all contemporaries of the turn-of-the-twentieth century, argued that migrant workers had a flourishing sub-culture which included storytelling, specialized language, and drinking activities.¹⁴⁴ Another factor that distinguished boarders and lodgers from the rest of society was the fact that meals were purchased rather than cooked by family members. Boarders

¹⁴¹ Sub-culture, according to Burke, is "defined as a partially autonomous culture within a larger whole." Peter Burke *History and Social Theory*. (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992) 125.

¹⁴² Wolfe, 106.

¹⁴³ Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 210; Devine, "Floating City Population" 147-164.

¹⁴⁴ Anderson, *The Hobo*; Fred Johnson, "The Lodging House Problem in Minneapolis," B.A. University of Minnesota May 1910.

paid for food as part of their rent, while lodgers purchased meals at restaurants, saloons and cafés. Since meals form an important daily ritual, the different culinary practices among boarders and lodgers stood in sharp contrast to those of the rest of society. In fact, one way in which ethnicity could be expressed was through the important link between ethnicity and food. This association should not be underestimated. Harney suggests that food at boarding and lodging houses played an important role among certain ethnic groups, easing the transition into a new city. Food was an important link to culture and nationality.¹⁴⁵ In addition, evidence from diaries and oral interviews suggests that within lodging and boardinghouses close family-like friendships emerged. Harney argues that among Italian boarders in Toronto during the late-nineteenth century boarders would typically call an older tenant ‘uncle’ and the female head of household ‘auntie’ or nunna.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Victoria boardinghouses such as the Rocabella, Mrs. Howard’s and Mrs. McCandlish’s were renowned for their home-like character and social conviviality.

The concept of ‘set of communities’ or ‘urban villages’ adopted from sociological and anthropological theory might be helpful in understanding the creation of culture among boarders and lodgers. Victor Turner suggests that ‘communitas’ or spontaneous social solidarities are an important creative force in western societies. According to Turner these ‘communitas’ are shifting and changing. What revives these solidarities is the symbolic construction of

¹⁴⁵ Taste in food must have been a factor, albeit not the major factor, which discouraged Chinese integration in European households and vice versa.

community. Thus, in Victoria the creation of communities could arise in individuals from similar ethnic, religious denomination, and occupational backgrounds sought each other out. This is not to suggest that boarders and lodgers had a distinct culture separate from that of the rest of society. Undoubtedly boarders and lodgers in Victoria did share many characteristics with the population as a whole, as Chapter 2 suggests. However, the proclivity among boarders and lodgers to live among tenants and heads of households with similar backgrounds is hardly accidental. Rather it involves a conscious and deliberate attempt to create households that promote religious, ethnic and occupational affinity. This chapter suggests that these affiliation were in a sense spontaneous communities that were create to reflect the individual and social needs of the city's tenant population.

¹⁴⁶ Harney, 22.

Chapter 4

Boarding and Lodging in Private Homes: Surrogate Families and the Development of Spontaneous Communities

During the late-nineteenth century the North American city was becoming fundamentally transformed. The salmagundi of industrialization, economic diversification, and rapid urban population growth produced strains on North America's towns and cities, including distension of the urban housing resource, causing profound overcrowding and scarcity of accommodation. New options in housing, however, were providing some relief. The combination of changes in house building technology, affordable loans, the proliferation of bicycle ownership, and the emergence of streetcar infrastructures contributed to the rise in home ownership along the urban periphery.¹⁴⁷ Concomitantly there was an emergence of a public discourse that espoused the benefits of house ownership.¹⁴⁸ The walking city was slowly becoming the motor city. Lodging and boarding houses were conspicuously absent in these new suburban areas.¹⁴⁹ This did not mean, however, that the practice of boarding and lodging fell completely out of favor. As Richard Harris suggests in his study of boardinghouses in Toronto, boarding continued to be an important housing practice, particularly among those new to the city, that

¹⁴⁷ Tygiel, 234-50; Daunton, 257.

¹⁴⁸ Daunton, 257.

¹⁴⁹ Richard Harris, "A Working-Class Suburb for Immigrants, Toronto 1909-1913," *The Geographic Review* 81 (July 1991): 318-332.

remained vigorous well into the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁰ The convenience of boarding and lodging, especially during an era when apartments were not yet a common feature of the urban housing landscape, cannot be overstated.¹⁵¹

During the late-nineteenth century Victoria's housing resource underwent fervent expansion. The number of houses in Victoria augmented rapidly, increasing from 1,613 houses in 1881 to 3,038 in 1891 and 4,669 in 1901.¹⁵² While home ownership experienced a growth in Victoria, most of the population still continued to live as tenants. Some rented entire houses or lived with relatives; others, the majority of tenants, lived as boarders or lodgers. The practice of boarding and lodging was exceedingly complex, encompassing a variety of forms. Individuals in search of accommodation would see signs in the windows of private residences indicating that space was available. These signs could be placed by families temporarily desiring to supplement their income, or perhaps placed by seasoned boarding house keepers who generated most of their earnings through the rental of rooms. Accommodation could also be found in the downtown core. Victoria's hotels housed vacationers and visitors to the city. Yet many hotels earned their keep through the housing of permanent residents. Lodging houses and rooming houses also proliferated near Victoria's downtown, servicing individuals in search of affordable housing in close proximity to the city's railway yards and harbour. In

¹⁵⁰ Harris, "City of Homes" 350.

¹⁵¹ Richard Dennis, "Interpreting the Apartment House: Modernity and Metropolitainism in Toronto 1900-1930," *Journal of Historical Geography* 20, 3 (1994): 305-322.

¹⁵² Source published census: 1881, 1891 and 1901.

sum, there was a full range of household arrangements available to boarders and lodgers in Victoria, making it possible to match one's living arrangements with one's financial and social needs.

The size of boarding arrangements could vary dramatically. An individual might live as a single boarder with a private family, or among dozens of fellow tenants in a rooming house or hotel. Several historians have attempted to distinguish between familial and commercial boarding establishments through the use of numerical arbiters. The established criterion suggests that households with five or fewer lodgers constitute a small-scale boarding arrangement, typically a residency arrangement associated with private families.¹⁵³ Conversely, more than five tenants is usually associated with tenancy in commercial establishments such as hotels and large rooming houses. This numerical division between familial and commercial boarding and lodging houses provides a manageable breakdown of tenancy arrangements, which is most effective in a study, such as Peter Baskerville's, which makes comparisons between several cities.¹⁵⁴

At the local level it is possible to use other sources to refine the division between familial and commercial boardinghouses. Careful use of the manuscript census permits analysis of the occupation of heads of household. This allows hotelkeepers and commercial lodging housekeepers to be singled out. Also, the Canadian census can be linked to other sources such as city directories and classified

¹⁵³ Baskerville, "More than Money" 4; Harris, "City of Homes" 333; Peel, 819.

¹⁵⁴ Baskerville, "More than Money" 1-26.

advertisements, in order to clearly isolate commercial boardinghouses and hotels. For the purposes of this study, a combination of numerical distinction based on the number of boarders, as well as an inventory of city directories and newspaper classified advertisements, will be used. This will permit separate analyses of hotels, commercial lodging houses and small-scale boardinghouses. The intent of this chapter will be to examine the dynamics of boarding houses with five or fewer tenants, living arrangements largely associated with private families. The ensuing chapter will explore larger lodging and boarding arrangements, such as hotels and commercial rooming houses.

A great deal has been written about the relationship that existed between private families and boarders in North America. Families often took in boarders as a measure of economy, in order to save sufficient funds to purchase a home, or as a means to meet their family's living requirements.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, a number of studies have researched the ethnic, occupational, and to a lesser extent religious, profile of boardinghouse keepers.¹⁵⁶ This literature also indicates that private families played an important role in regulating the behavior of young boarders. For instance, Modell and Hareven suggest that boarding houses provided a 'surrogate family' that offered moral and social guidance and support.¹⁵⁷ The behavior of heads of household in North America during the late-nineteenth century is well documented and understood. Less is known about the boarders who inhabited these households. The

¹⁵⁵ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs* 119; Harris, "City of Homes" 323.

¹⁵⁶ Peel, 813-834; Baskerville, "More than Money" 1-29.

advantages associated with boarding with private families were clear. Fixed rent, and provision of meals, as well as other services, permitted tenants to save money for marriage, home ownership or other objectives. It also provided the opportunity to live a relatively carefree lifestyle. Although boarding with private families could offer a surrogate family setting, as Modell and Hareven suggest, it nevertheless probably afforded boarders the opportunity to have greater freedom than would be otherwise possible under direct parental control.

One of the major challenges in this study of boarding and lodging during the late-nineteenth century, a problem that is endemic to social history in general, is focused around the paucity of sources related to the lives of 'average' people. Boarders and lodgers are a particularly difficult subject of enquiry since they moved quite frequently, rarely staying in the same city or area of the city for very long.¹⁵⁸ As a result, it is difficult to acquire a comprehensive picture of this amorphous population. However, there are enough fragments to make analysis of this population possible. Official documents such as the national census, and to lesser extent city directories, provide useful snapshots of this population. Fortunately, there are other sources available as well. One historical source that is available, although exceedingly difficult to find, are diaries and private correspondences. These sources are valuable since they reflect the perspective of the tenant population themselves. In this chapter a pastiche of sources will be used in order to elucidate

¹⁵⁷ Modell and Hareven 177.

¹⁵⁸ Wolfe, 85; Blumin, 114-117.

the experiences of Victoria's boarding population during the late-nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹

Daily newspapers from the nineteenth century are an important historical source that offered occasional glimpses into the practice of boarding and lodging.¹⁶⁰ Most of the newspaper reports pertaining to boarding and lodging in Victoria during this period tended to depict sensational stories such as overcrowding and disease outbreaks in the city's Chinatown. More promising is the classified section of the newspaper. This is an aspect of the newspaper that has a wealth of information pertaining to tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth century. Landlords were able to advertise the availability of space in their homes or commercial establishments through classified advertisements.¹⁶¹ These advertisements provide detailed descriptions of the number of tenants desired, the number of services provided, and the number of rooms offered. Likewise, potential boarders were also able to express their desire to find accommodation through placing advertisements in the 'wanted' section of the newspaper.

¹⁵⁹ See Hareven, "Complexity of Social Change." 116.

¹⁶⁰ Methodology--- All classified advertisements which pertained to boarding and lodging in the Daily Colonist and Daily Times between January 1st 1890 to April 30th 1891 and January 1st 1900 to April 30th 1901 were recorded. Classified advertisements were entered if they met certain criteria. First, only classified advertisements offering accommodation that included a street address were catalogued in this study. This decision was made because the street address was the only link to manuscript censuses and city directories. Second, advertisements in the 'wanted' section of the newspaper were entered if they gave some indication of the gender of the applicant.

¹⁶¹ An article that appeared in The Ladies Home Journal offered the following advice to prospective boardinghouse keepers: "Insert a concise advertisement in a reliable newspaper, asking for references as that precaution keeps away undesirable people. List your rooms at the Young Men's Christian Association or if near a college post a notice on the college bulletin board. After two or three years of business it will scarcely ever be necessary to advertise—people will just come." Laurine Marion

Approximately half of Victoria's boarders lived in households with five or fewer boarders between 1881 and 1901.¹⁶² Yet it is difficult to ascertain how exactly boarders gained entry into these households. It would seem probable that some were related to the head of household, or possibly to boarders already residing in the household. Some might have discovered the boardinghouse through acquaintances or through connections at their workplace. Most cities also had room registries where individuals could acquire information about available housing in return for a modest fee.¹⁶³ Still others would have roamed neighborhoods in search of signs that simply read: 'rooms to let.'¹⁶⁴ A further possibility is that individuals found out about accommodation through Victoria's daily newspapers.¹⁶⁵ Advertisements could reach a large spectrum of the population. It is important to be aware, however, that it was also a very selective population. These advertisements, for instance, were not targeted towards Victoria's Chinese population. Yet for many English-speaking Victorians the daily newspapers were probably the primary source of information about rooms for rent. As a result, an examination of classified

Krag, "How I Made a Boarding-House Successful: Based on Twenty Years' Experience," *The Ladies Home Journal* (April 1906): 34.

¹⁶² Percentage of boarders who lived in households with five or fewer tenants: 58 percent in 1881, 56 percent in 1891 and 53 percent in 1901.

¹⁶³ Eleanor Woods, "Social Betterment in a Lodging District," *Charities and The Commons* (November 1907): 963.

¹⁶⁴ However, Albert Wolfe suggests, at least in the case of Boston, that "the house which stoops to a room-sign loses caste." Wolfe, 63.

¹⁶⁵ Albert Wolfe observed that in Boston at the turn-of-the-twentieth century boardinghouse keepers almost exclusively relied on 'rooms to let' signs placed in their windows as a mechanism to attract tenants. In New York and Chicago, however, newspaper advertisement was the preferred method used by landlords to attract tenants. Similarly, it would appear that in Victoria landlords also used newspapers as a mechanism to attract tenants.

advertisements provides insight into tenancy arrangements in British Columbia during the late-nineteenth century.

A dissection of the language used in Victoria's newspaper advertisements suggests that there was a profusion of available boarding arrangements during the late-nineteenth century. In 1891 the most prevalent type of advertisement is one which indicates that board and furnished rooms are offered. By 1901 this has changed. Furnished rooms continue to be popular. However, advertisements that suggest that accommodation could be either furnished or unfurnished also begin to emerge. Moreover, by 1901 there is a dramatic increase in the number of advertisements that offer housekeeping rooms. In fact, the number of advertisements offering housekeeping rooms out numbers those providing room and board. Housekeeping rooms were an interesting variant upon traditional services. They usually consisted of one or two rooms that were blocked off from the rest of the house. Instead of providing meals for the tenants, the owner usually installed jerry-rigged kitchens in the living quarters. The kitchen was often merely a hot plate and a pail that substituted for a sink.¹⁶⁶ Typically housekeeping rooms were advertised as being furnished since they included a few pieces of household furniture and cooking implements.¹⁶⁷ The attraction of housekeeping rooms was that food costs could be further reduced since the tenant could prepare his/her own food. However, as you can imagine, housekeeping rooms were both a fire hazard and a

¹⁶⁶ Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936) 315; Wade, 16.

public menace, prone to both poor sanitation and extreme over-crowding.¹⁶⁸ As Edith Abbott observed, having “parlor, bedroom, clothes closet, dining room, kitchen, pantry, and even coal shed combined in one room where the cooking, eating, sleeping, and washing, and all the family life go on” undoubtedly triggered a number of health and safety problems.¹⁶⁹

Classified advertisements provide a glimpse at the internal space that was available to boarders during the late-nineteenth century. The majority of advertisements specified that they offered ‘front room(s),’ presumably rooms in the front of the house where boarders could gain easy access in and out of the dwelling. Advertisements also indicated that a portion, if not all, of the offered space was shared among all of the residents in the household. For example, advertisements specified that boarders may have ‘use of kitchen,’ ‘use of bath,’ ‘use of hot and cold water,’ and ‘use of sitting room’. Some advertisements even indicated that ‘use of piano’ could be arranged, suggesting that social space in the boardinghouse was often shared. Moreover, in most dwellings one toilet serviced the entire household. At best, some commercial boardinghouses provided one bathroom per floor.¹⁷⁰ Certainly, sharing rooms and services among several people was quite common during the nineteenth century. As a result, boarders probably accepted the lack of privacy that was associated with boarding in private residences. As the fictional

¹⁶⁷ Wade, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Abbott, 335; Wolfe, 35-6; Groth, *Living Downtown* 214.

¹⁶⁹ Abbott, 335.

¹⁷⁰ Johnson, 22.

head of household in the monologue “The Boarding-house Keeper” quipped: “... Privacy? Oh no, indeed, you needn’t worry about that—we’re just like one family—every one knows about every one else...”¹⁷¹

When considering boarding houses during the nineteenth century it is important to be aware that the majority of boardinghouses with five or fewer tenants were rarely specifically built for this purpose. The incorporation of tenants was probably an afterthought, largely precipitated out of a family’s desire to increase the family unit’s income. The dismal condition of some boarding rooms can be inferred from the fact that a number of classified advertisements attempted to relay the aesthetics of their boarding suite in a positive light. Advertisements stressed that they offered ‘large airy rooms,’ ‘sunny rooms,’ and ‘well ventilated rooms.’ The need to belabor the sanitary nature of these rooms suggests that the unsanitary, dark, and poorly ventilated conditions of many rooms in Victoria were probably well known.¹⁷²

Classified advertisements were often quite specific about the type of boarders they desired. This was particularly the case among boardinghouses that sought a ‘respectable clientele.’ Numerous advertisements indicated that they offered a ‘refined home,’ or indicated that they desired ‘gentlemen.’ Others attempted to appeal to respectable professions, such as doctors and nurses.¹⁷³ In addition,

¹⁷¹ May Isabel Fisk, “The Boarding-house Keeper,” *Harper’s Monthly Magazine* Vol. 113 (June–November 1906): 479–481.

¹⁷² Wade, 16; Johnson, 20; Bradbury, *Working Families* 71.

¹⁷³ See *Colonist* 28 May 1902; *Colonist* 13 April 1894.

boardinghouse keepers often stressed in their advertisements that ‘no children’ were granted accommodations. This is rather surprising since children made up only a small proportion of Victoria’s population making the need to stress their exclusion redundant (see Chapter 2). Boardinghouse keepers in their classified advertisements also overwhelmingly preferred male boarders, and to a lesser extent married couples, but rarely mentioned that they desired female tenants or children. Whereas today’s landlord seems to prefer renting to women, in the nineteenth century only a handful of advertisements specified that they wanted female tenants. The fact that women tended to earn only a modest income probably dissuaded most boarding house keepers from recruiting them. There is also the possibility that boardinghouse keepers felt they had to police the morality of their female tenants and were reluctant to take on these additional responsibilities.

So far we have examined how boardinghouse keepers were able to use Victoria’s daily newspaper as a vehicle to both advertise space in their house, as well as to make overt appeals to specific segments of the boarding population. However, the classified section of Victoria’s newspapers provided a voice for boarders as well. The ‘wanted’ column of the classified section offered opportunities for individuals to express their desire for accommodation. Miss Jones, for example, a nurse by profession, let boardinghouse keepers know that she preferred a “furnished room in a house with a telephone.”¹⁷⁴ Miss Jones’ advertisement is indicative of the growing

¹⁷⁴ Colonist 28 October 1902.

trend for women in Victoria to use the ‘wanted’ section of the newspaper as a means to find accommodation. The classified section was also a space in which a disproportionate number of women with children advertised their need for accommodation.¹⁷⁵ These advertisements were inclined to be extremely vague about their tenancy requirements. This suggests that women with children could not be overly discriminating in their selection of households. The number of advertisements placed by women in general, and single women with children in particular, is at first surprising. After all women accounted for only about 20 percent of Victoria’s boarding population between 1881 and 1901. This seems to indicate that classified advertisements were not only an acceptable way for women to acquire lodging, but also a highly desired means. Perhaps men had greater opportunities to acquire lodging than women through other means, and therefore did not have to rely as heavily on classified advertisements.

Newspaper articles, classified advertisements, memoirs, and biographies provide a preliminary understanding of family-type boardinghouses. Yet these sources undoubtedly skew the analysis towards the experiences of middle-class boarders. What is necessary, therefore, is a more extensive examination of boarders from a full breadth of socio-economic backgrounds. The manuscript census provides an ideal source for developing a more comprehensive picture of these small and medium sized boardinghouses. Through the use of information compiled from

¹⁷⁵ It would appear that given the small percentage of single women children in the oversample, that this group is over-represented among individuals placing advertisements in search of accommodation.

the 1881, 1891 and 1901 manuscript censuses there are a number of important questions regarding family-type boarding arrangements that can be answered. In particular, it is possible to discover whether there is a prototypical boarder who congregated in boardinghouses with five or fewer tenants. An important distinction in this chapter will be made between those living as the sole tenant in a household and those who lived in households where there are between two to five tenants. This chapter will examine if there were quantifiable differences between these two types of tenancy. These results can, in turn, be compared with the findings of the ensuing chapter which examines large, and more commercial, boarding arrangements.

Boarders who live as the sole tenant

Individuals who lived as the sole tenant in the boarding house represented a distinctive constituency within Victoria's boarding population. The nature of this living arrangement precluded striking affinities with other boarders in the household. As a result, it is possible that this type of living arrangement was more solitary and private compared to other boarding configurations. The proportion of boarders that lived as a sole tenant was declining during the late-nineteenth century from a high of 27 percent of boarders in 1881 to a low of 17 percent in 1891 and 19 percent in 1901. The reason behind this decline might be attributable to Victoria's rapid population growth and concomitant strain on the housing resource that occurred during the late 1880s and early 1890s. Scarcity in housing might have meant that space was at a premium. This undoubtedly encouraged a number of different

housing arrangements such as doubling-up and multiple occupancy. The decline in the frequency of sole boarders may also be attributable to the fundamental transformation of tenancy arrangements that was occurring during the late-nineteenth century. Boarding and lodging were increasingly becoming commercial practices. Small-scale boarding arrangements were giving way to larger and more commercial establishments.¹⁷⁶ As a result, the number of boarding houses that were willing to service only a single boarder declined, in the face of competition and the realization that multiple occupancy would be more financially lucrative.

For the most part the religious composition of Victoria's boarders who lived alone was heterogeneous, encompassing a wide spectrum of denominations (see Appendix 2).¹⁷⁷ As examined in Chapter 3, boarders and lodgers had a proclivity to search for households in which the host shared a similar religious profile. This was particularly the case among boarders who were the sole tenant in the household. In fact, 68 percent of sole boarders in 1881, 61 percent in 1891, and 58 percent in 1901 shared religious affinities with their host.¹⁷⁸ These rates are about 15 percent higher than those found within the general boarding population (see Chapter 3).

¹⁷⁶ Modell and Hareven, 164-186.

¹⁷⁷ In fact, the only significant deviation was Methodist boarders in 1881, who flocked for some reason towards households in which they were the sole tenant. Yet for other religious denominations, including Methodists after 1881, dwellings which housed only one boarder seemed to have cut across religious lines, appealing more or less equally to Victoria's various religious affiliations.

¹⁷⁸ Percentage of sole boarders who share the same religion as their head of household:

	RC	COE	PRES	METH	OTHER
1881	59% (20)	70% (33)	73% (24)	81% (26)	62% (26)
1891	48% (19)	72% (104)	60% (49)	56% (36)	56% (25)
1901	52% (16)	64% (69)	52% (23)	50% (19)	43% (20)

Birthplace was another factor that had the potential to influence the likelihood of living as a sole boarder. Once again most birthplaces were proportionately represented among the ranks of boarders living alone (see Appendix 2).¹⁷⁹ However, the association between the birthplace of sole boarders and hosts was somewhat weaker than the frequencies of religious affinity. Yet birthplace affinities with the host still involved 41 percent of boarders in 1881, 49 percent in 1891, and 37 percent in 1901.¹⁸⁰ Once again, this is a rate considerably higher than that found in the general boarding population.

In 1881 the lowest associations were among Catholics and tenants belonging to ‘other’ religions, while robust associations existed among Anglicans, Presbyterians, and especially Methodists, boarders and hosts. By the turn-of-the-century, two thirds of Anglicans and approximately one half of the remaining religions shared a religious affinity with the head of household. Despite the modest decline in religious affinities by 1901, it would appear that sole boarders took extreme interest in striking religious affinities with hosts that shared the same religion as themselves.

¹⁷⁹ There are a few notable instances of variation in the representation of birthplaces. American boarders were well represented among those living as the sole tenant in 1881, but under-represented in 1891 and 1901. One possible explanation for this upheaval is attributed to the fact that Americans were a considerably larger sub-population in Victoria after 1881 (see Chapter 2). As such they may have preferred living arrangements that encompassed compatriot tenants, rather than the potential isolation associated with being the sole boarder in the household. Irish boarders between 1881 and 1901 were also underrepresented among those who lived as the sole boarder. The aversion of those born in Ireland of living as a the sole boarder in Victoria’s households must remain speculative. However, it is possible that Irish tenants, the majority of whom were Catholics, felt uneasy living in dwellings where the majority of household heads were non-Irish and almost exclusively adherents to protestant denominations.

¹⁸⁰ Percentage of boarders living as the sole tenant, who share the same birthplace as the head of household:

	BC	CDN	US	ENG	SCO	IRE	OTHER
1881	35% (13)	43%(10)	50% (14)	47% (18)	50% (7)	29% (4)	30% (7)
1891	53% (9)	52% (51)	36% (13)	52% (73)	48% (21)	38% (8)	46% (19)
1901	8% (2)	49% (33)	14% (5)	57% (55)	48% (10)	0% (0)	0% (0)

Birthplace affinities with the head of household were higher, and more consistent, among Canadian, British, and Scottish boarders between 1881 and 1901. Birthplace affinities among Americans were initially high in 1881, but decreased dramatically thereafter. In fact, towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century those born in BC, US, Ireland, and ‘other’ birthplaces were not discerning about the birthplace profile of their host. Households that contained only a single tenant were becoming increasingly ethnically diverse as birthplace affinity between host and boarder atrophied.

Class and occupational status were factors that could also influence the proportion of individuals who lived as the sole tenant in the boarding house. A significant proportion of each occupational category chose to live as the sole tenant in the household between 1881 and 1901 (see appendix 2). The tendency of sole boarders to share an occupational affinity with their host declined dramatically during this period from 43 percent in 1881 to 30 percent in 1891 and 20 percent in 1901. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century occupational affinities with the host were particularly low among clerical and primary manufacturing workers. Overall, however, occupational affinity still remained slightly higher among sole boarders than among tenants in the general boarding population (see Chapter 3).¹⁸¹

Boarders in households with 2 to 5 boarders

Approximately one-third of Victoria's boarding population lived in households that contained 2 to 5 boarders during the late-nineteenth century.¹⁸² Birthplace was an important factor that influenced individuals to live in households with 2 to 5 boarders. In particular, boarders born in British Columbia overwhelmingly chose this household arrangement during the late-nineteenth

¹⁸¹ Percentage of boarders living as the sole tenant who share the same occupation class as their head of household:

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manu.	Secondary Manu.	Transport/ Gen. Lab.
1881	58% (7)	29% (2)	57% (4)	63% (5)	80% (8)	39% (7)	45% (5)	41% (13)
1891	12% (6)	19% (4)	19% (9)	21% (7)	19% (3)	29% (14)	27% (8)	44% (51)
1901	15% (4)	0% (0)	29% (4)	23% (5)	25% (2)	0% (0)	17% (6)	32% (19)

¹⁸² Percentage of boarders who lived in households with between 2 to 5 tenants: 34% in 1881, 40% in 1891 and 34% in 1901.

century (see Appendix 2).¹⁸³ This should not come as a great surprise. After all being born and raised in BC would have increased the probability that other family members, close friends, or acquaintances were also located in Victoria or surrounding communities. These networks of association most likely offered entry into Victoria's family-type boarding houses. As a result, there was probably not as great a need for British Columbia born boarders to temporarily live in hotels or large rooming houses. Also it is important to remember from Chapter 2 that British Columbia born boarders were over-represented among women, including women with children. This probably influenced the concentration of British Columbia boarders in households with 2 to 5 boarders, since this constellation of tenants most likely preferred the respectability and potential safety associated with these smaller scale living arrangements.

Tenants living in households with 2 to 5 boarders did not actively seek out hosts with a similar birthplace profile with the same vigor as boarders who lived as the sole tenant in the household. In fact, only 30 percent of boarders in 1881, 43 percent in 1891, and 26 percent in 1901 shared a birthplace affinity with the host.¹⁸⁴ In particular, British Columbia-born boarders had only moderate birthplace affinities

¹⁸³ In fact, 59 percent of British Columbia born boarders in 1881 and 51 percent in 1901 lived in households with between 2 to 5 tenants, a level of concentration that was significantly higher than that of the remaining birthplaces.

¹⁸⁴ Percentage of boarders in households with 2 to 5 boarders who share the same birthplace as the head of household:

	BC	CDN	US	Britain	Scotland	Ireland
1881	25% (20)	24% (4)	6% (1)	51% (20)	40% (8)	29% (5)
1891	11% (14)	51% (122)	25% (125)	58% (157)	38% (34)	35% (12)
1901	7% (5)	32% (37)	38% (30)	32% (36)	30% (9)	38% (9)

with the head of household in 1881 and virtually no affinity in 1901. This is rather surprising since British Columbia boarders made up a substantial percentage of boarders and hosts who lived in households with 2 to 5 boarders. It would appear that these boarders were selecting these households for reasons other than birthplace affinity with the host. Much more important to boarders born in British Columbia were associations with fellow British Columbia boarders.¹⁸⁵ In fact, birthplace affinities between tenants themselves were extremely important for most boarders living in households with between two to five tenants, encompassing 50 percent of boarders in 1881 and 46 percent of boarders in 1901.¹⁸⁶

There was relative stability in the religious representation of boarders who lived in households with 2 to 5 boarders in 1881 (see Appendix 2).¹⁸⁷ The proclivity of boarders living in households with 2 to 5 tenants to share religious affinities with

¹⁸⁵ Religion was an important, possibly the most crucial, determinant in household selection. Boarders born in BC did not display a large tendency to live with BC born heads or fellow BC-born boarders in households with 2 to 5 tenants. What is interesting, however, is that BC boarders, more than other birthplace, displayed high levels of religious linkage. 83 percent of BC boarders in 1881, 75 percent in 1891 and 89 percent in 1901 had at least one form of religious linkage, either with household head or fellow boarders. This level of association was at least 20% higher than those among other birthplaces.

¹⁸⁶ Percentage of boarders living in households with 2 to 5 boarders who share the same birthplace as the majority of tenants in the household:

	BC	CDN	US	Britain	Scotland	Ireland
1881	81% (65)	47% (8)	0% (0)	72% (28)	40% (8)	0% (0)
1891	56% (72)	66% (156)	54% (67)	66% (172)	46% (41)	44% (15)
1901	50% (35)	58% (68)	65% (49)	55% (60)	41% (11)	33% (24)

There are some interesting patterns of association. There is an increase in association among Americans and Irish individuals between 1881 and 1901. Conversely, there is a slight decline in association among BC and British boarders during this period. Yet for the majority of boarders in households with 2 to 5 tenants association with the majority of tenants remained extremely important.

¹⁸⁷ The only exception was, Presbyterian boarders in 1881 who were over-represented among boarders in these households. After 1881, however, there was only slight variation in the proportional representation of religions in these households.

their host remained strong, including 52 percent of boarders in 1881, 54 percent in 1891, and 63 percent in 1901.¹⁸⁸ There was also a tendency for boarders who lived in households with 2 to 5 tenants to share religious affinities with their fellow boarders. This rate of affinity ranged from a high of 74 percent in 1881 to a low of 65 percent in 1901. This rate is considerably higher, about 15 percent, than that found among boarders in the general population during this period (see Chapter 3).

189

Diversity characterized the occupational composition of boarders who lived in households with 2-5 boarders (see Appendix 2). The affinity of boarders to live with heads of household with the same occupational profile was not strong during

¹⁸⁸ Percent of boarders in households where there is 2 to 5 tenants who share the same religion as the host:

	RC	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	55% (28)	57% (39)	43% (24)	25% (2)	58% (22)
1891	45% (53)	61% (234)	49% (92)	55% (17)	50% (60)
1901	69% (45)	77% (137)	43% (32)	56% (29)	58% (270)

The variation in the tendency of specific religions to hold religious affinities with their hosts during this period was largely insignificant, with the only possible exception being a depressed level of affinity among Methodists in 1881. This is an artefact of the small number of cases of Methodists boarders in 1881. In fact, only 8 Methodists lived in households with 2 to 5 tenants during this year.

¹⁸⁹ Percentage of boarders in households with 2 to 5 tenants who share the same religion as the majority of tenants:

	RC	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	80% (41)	55% (81)	80% (45)	25% (2)	39% (15)
1891	96% (91)	86% (314)	86% (126)	70% (92)	54% (92)
1901	73% (45)	77% (137)	43% (32)	56% (29)	58% (270)

Rates of affinity were strong among most religious denomination; yet there are a few noticeable trends. Anglican and Catholic boarders have the strongest propensity to share religious affinities with fellow boarders. Since Anglicans were the largest religious affiliation during this period, it should come as no surprise that they found it easy to associate with fellow Anglican boarders. Conversely, Catholic boarders were a large constituency in Victoria's boarding population in 1881, but thereafter became one of the smallest. Yet despite the atrophy in their numbers, Catholics continued to select households that contained tenants with the same religion as their own. In part, this can be explained by the fact that Catholics were essentially an 'outsider' religion potentially isolated in the principally

the late-nineteenth century. In 1881 only 28 percent of boarders shared an affinity with the head of household.¹⁹⁰ Professional/managerial and primary resource workers were the sole occupational classes that had a propensity to share occupational affinities with the head of household. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century the percentage of boarders that shared occupational affinities with their host was reduced to a mere 19 percent. There is no occupational class in 1901 that clearly differentiates itself in its vigor to share affinities. The small rate of occupational affinities between boarders and host in living arrangements with 2 to 5 tenants indicates that the occupational status of the host was not a major factor in household selection.

Boarders who lived in households with 2-5 boarders were more likely to have occupational affinities with their fellow boarders than they were with the head of household. In fact, 51 percent of boarders in 1881 and 44 percent in 1901 have an

Protestant tenant population. Within this environment it would appear that the vast majority of Catholic boarders sought out households that reflected their religious profile.

¹⁹⁰ Percentage of boarders in households with 2 to 5 boarders who share the same occupational class as the head of household:

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manu.	Secondary Manu	Transport/ Gen. Lab.
1881	42% (8)	12% (1)	0% (0)	36% (5)	64% (7)	29% (4)	0 % (0)	35% (18)
1891	25% (20)	18% (10)	38% (33)	17% (16)	24% (6)	28% (24)	16% (13)	51% (123)
1901	21% (15)	8% (4)	25% (7)	18% (7)	6% (1)	23% (3)	17% (12)	28% (21)

Note: rates of occupational affinity between boarders who lived in households with 2 to 5 tenants was still considerably higher than the rate found in the general boarding population.

occupational affinity with the majority of tenants.¹⁹¹ Occupational affinities are particularly strong among boarders categorized as transport/general labourers. Yet affinities for all occupational groups, with the sole exception of those working in the service sector, remained strong well into the turn-of-the-century.

Boarders who lived as the sole tenant in the household had the greatest propensity in the boarding population to have religious, birthplace, and occupational affinities with the head of household. Since affinity with the host was the only association available, great care seems to have gone into household selection. Compatibility between tenant and host was probably crucial since most dwellings that incorporated only a single boarder were probably ill suited for this purpose. Gerry-rigged rooms with minimal privacy were common. Evidence from classified advertisements suggests that considerable space was shared between the tenant and the family of the host. These households were probably most representative of Modell and Hareven's evocative expression 'surrogate family.' Living as the single tenant might have been viewed as less of a transition, particularly for young people, than finding accommodation in rooming houses or hotels.

The concept of a 'surrogate family' has mainly been associated with individuals who recently left their familial home. However, it is also possible that

¹⁹¹ Percentage of boarders who share an occupational affinity with the majority of tenants:

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manu.	Secondary Manu	Transport/ Gen. Lab.
1881	47% (9)	38% (3)	14% (1)	57% (8)	73% (8)	21% (3)	0 % (0)	81% (53)
1891	59% (44)	31% (16)	44% (26)	27% (20)	44% (8)	70% (35)	70% (30)	69% (145)
1901	57% (41)	44% (22)	43% (12)	16% (41)	38% (6)	54% (7)	51% (36)	62% (46)

the notion of a 'surrogate family' was an attraction for elderly members of society as well. The elderly, particularly widows, gravitated to households that housed only a single boarder. In fact, an appreciable 37 percent of widow(er)s between 1881 and 1901 lived as the sole tenant in the household. This is significant, especially considering that sole boarders accounted for only 19 percent of the boarding population during this period. The majority of these widow(er)s in 1881 and 1891 were women, while by the turn-of-the-century there is proportional representation by both sexes. As household size increased and additional boarders were incorporated into the household, the frequency of widow(er)s declined dramatically. This might suggest that elderly men and women were establishing relationships that aped those of a traditional family. These boarders might assume the role of a 'parent figure' or 'grandparent,' or even the role of babysitter, in this type of household.

Women were attracted to households in which they were the sole tenant, as well as households which contained 2 to 5 boarders.¹⁹² Women living with private families may have been perceived this arrangement as being safer and more respectable than large rooming houses or hotels. Similarly, women with children gravitated towards households with five or fewer boarders. Although it was not unheard of for children to be raised in hotels, smaller boarding arrangements,

¹⁹² Households with 2-5 boarders was a popular household arrangement chosen by female boarders. 46% of women in 1881, 51% in 1891, 42% in 1901 chose households with 2-5 boarders.

particularly accommodation with private families, seem to be the preferred tenancy arrangement.

It is important to note that households with only a single boarder depicted in this study should not be viewed as static. Just because at the time of the census there was only one boarder does not necessarily mean that at other times of the year these households did not expand to include additional tenants. In some cases boarders might desire to reduce costs through sharing their existing space with one or two additional tenants. The sheer number of classified advertisements that emphasize that their boarding space was “suitable for one or two gentlemen” indicates that many boardinghouse keepers were willing to be supple about the number of tenants in order to ensure that their extra space was rented out, and that sufficient funds were generated to support the family. For boarders this meant that a room or suite of rooms could be split with other tenants to reduce costs. Alternatively, if privacy was desired a boarder could always live alone. Living arrangements, therefore, were adaptable over time, oscillating in response to the social and economic needs of boarders and heads of household.

The characteristics of boarders in households with 2 to 5 boarders differed from those living as the sole tenants in certain respects. Bonds between boarder and host in households with 2 to 5 boarders remained robust, stronger than those in the general boarding population as a whole, but less than those who lived as the sole tenant. More important to boarders living in households with 2 to 5 tenants were the

bonds that existed between tenants themselves. Boarders living in this type of household took extreme care in selecting households where existing tenants shared similar ethnic, religious, or occupational profiles.

This chapter has examined boarding relationships that existed in households with five or fewer boarders. The intent of this Chapter is not to present boarding relationships with private families as strictly empyrean bliss. Conflict often could, and did, arise. Living with a family could limit the freedom of movement of boarders, preventing them from coming and going as they pleased. Personal conduct was highly visible, and therefore open to scrutiny and possible censure. Sexual relations were also difficult. Social control in these households was usually subtle, largely the result of boarders showing consideration for other residents, or feeling awkward about others knowing private aspects of their lives. Boarders could feel uncomfortable inviting guests, particularly visitors of the opposite sex, into the parlor of the boardinghouse. Also boarders had to worry about getting home at a reasonable time, so that other members of the household were not disturbed. The experiences of a woman in the United States, Ms G, elucidates many of the potential problems associated with boarding and lodging:

The family from whom I rented a room were inquisitive and prying. I'm sure they investigated my room during my absence. The bathroom was occupied for prolonged periods, and last but not least, they seemed to think I should remain with them for the rest of my life. My relief was great the day I left with bag and baggage and moved into a hotel.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Groth, *Living Downtown* 124.

Boarding with private families was an ambiguous form of tenancy, which pleased some, while being anathema to others. For those who did not enjoy the intimacy associated with boarding with private families there were other living arrangements available. However, for a significant number of individuals, boarding with private families offered a socially acceptable form of living that fulfilled specific housing requirements.

Evidence from this chapter gives support to certain aspects of the theory of 'semi-autonomy.' However, this theory cannot be applied to all tenancy arrangements. The most obvious inadequacy of this approach is that most studies that discuss 'semi-autonomy' examine boarders residing with private families. As will be discussed in chapter 5, a substantial number of boarders, both young and old, lived in alternative housing arrangements such as large boarding houses, housekeeping rooms, and hotels. In addition, a significant number of boarders lived in households in which space was only partially shared. For example, boarders might share only a living room, bathroom, or a kitchen with the head of household. In households such as these it is difficult to ascertain the degree of moral suasion heads of household had over their tenants. Also there is a potential problem with the connotations invoked by the term 'surrogate family.' A 'surrogate family' conjures up a feeling that a strong and enduring bond was created between the family of the head of household and their boarder. Although the specifics of the internal dealings of households are difficult to establish, historical studies suggest that boarders rarely

stayed in any given household for lengthy periods.¹⁹⁴ As a result, it is difficult to grasp what was the motivation for creating a surrogate family considering that the presence of tenants was often only fleeting.

Evidence from this chapter confirms that patterns of tenancy in Victoria between 1881 and 1901 were hardly ‘accidental.’ Boarders overwhelmingly sought hosts and fellow tenants that resembled themselves. When Florence Baillie-Grohman was searching for accommodation in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century, she stayed at Mrs. Howard’s boardinghouse. After a few days, Mrs. Grohman wrote in her journal that she “felt the three or four men living there would rather have it to themselves...” and so she left and found accommodations elsewhere in the city. The observations of Mrs. Baillie-Grohman suggest that the internal dealings of boardinghouses were complex. If existing boarders did not like a new tenant they probably let their feelings be known. This is an example of how boarders, in this case white-collar male workers whose marital status appears to have been single, actively dissuaded a married non-working woman from staying at ‘their’ boardinghouse. The experiences of Baillie-Grohman are confirmed by aggregate analysis of the manuscript censuses between 1881 and 1901. Many boarders formed tightly knit communities that could spontaneously arise, disband, and then appear once again.

¹⁹⁴ Wolfe, 85.

In cases where there was only a single boarder in the household there was emphasis placed on sharing religious, ethnic, and occupational affinities with the host. However, once the household included at least two tenants, the bonds between boarders themselves exceeded those between boarder and host. The concept of ‘spontaneous communities’ is an apposite metaphor for the patterns of tenancy described in this chapter. Boarders were active in selecting households that reflected their social, cultural, and economic profile. Boarders, for the most part, moved quite frequently in to, and out of, the city. Relationships would form as the need arose. Just as quickly these relationships could also suddenly disband.

Several novels and plays used boardinghouses as a backdrop to explore the solidarities and antipathies that emerged in North America’s Boarding houses.¹⁹⁵ Stephen Leacock in his short essay “Boarding-House Geometry” provides an ingenious rendition of the social landscape of boarding, including the development of compatibilities, incompatibilities and camaraderie:

All boarding houses are the same boarding house. Boarders in the same boarding house and on the same flat are equal to one another. A single room is that which has no parts and no magnitude. The landlady of a boarding house is a parallelogram—that is, an oblong angular figure, which cannot be described, but which is equal to anything. A wrangle is the disinclination of two boarders to each other that meet together but are not in

¹⁹⁵ Ward Macauley, *Mrs. McGreevy's boarders* (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1918); Merit Osborn, *Farmer Larkin's boarders an original comedy in two acts* (Clyde, Ohio: Ames' Publishing Co., 1897); Arthur Lewis Tubbs, *Miss Buzbys boarders a comedy in three acts* (Boston : Walter H. 1908); Doris Francklyn, *Mrs. Shrimper's boarders: a comedy* .(New York 1905); O. E Young, *Betsey's boarders: a farce in one act* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Willi N. Bugbee Co., 1922) George Batson, *Strange boarders : comedy in three acts* (New York : Dramatists Play Service, 1974); Eckersley, Arthur, *Gentlemen boarders :a farce in one act* (London: S. French, 1910); Levin C Tees, *Lodgers taken in a comedy in three acts* (New York:: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1913).

the same line. All the other rooms are taken, a single room is said to be a double room.

A pie may be produced any number of times. The landlady can be reduced to her lowest terms by a series of propositions. A bee line may be made from any boarding house to any other boarding house. The clothes of a boarding house bed, though produced ever so far both ways, will not meet. Any two meals at a boarding house are together less than two square meals.

...

On the same bill and on the same side of it there should not be two charges for the same thing. If there be two boarders on the same flat, and the amount of side of the one be equal to the amount of side of the other, each to each, and the wrangle between one boarder and the landlady be equal to the wrangle between the landlady and the other, then shall the weekly bills of the two boarders be equal also, each to each. For if not, let one bill be the greater. Then the other bill is less than it might have been—which is absurd.¹⁹⁶

This passage from Leacock's book Literary Lapses neatly encapsulates many of the ideas presented in this Chapter. Boarders who disliked the conditions in their boarding houses did in fact make "a bee line ... from any boarding house to any other boarding house." Meals in many small scale boarding houses could be frugal, and as a result "any two meals at a boarding house [probably seemed] less than two square meals." Certainly the inadequacies of meals in many boarding houses caused many individuals in Victoria's tenant population to flock to the city's hotels and restaurants. Also Leacock's musing about differential rent was probably correct. In all likelihood "the landlady [was] reduced to her lowest terms by a series of propositions." Landladies, like any businesspersons, had to make their product competitive with other business establishments. Leacock also keenly observed the overcrowded conditions of many boarding houses. He suggests that the "single

room is said to be a double room.” Many of Victoria’s tenants did double up in the same room, sometimes even in the same bed. The “geometry” of Victoria’s boarding houses was shifting, de-centred, and constantly changing. Yet when you take snapshots of the boarding population, such as the national census, you can catch glimpses of the symbolic formation of community.

¹⁹⁶ Stephen Leacock, *Literary Lapses* (Toronto: Collins, 1945): 23-24.

Chapter 5:

Everybody Under Their ‘Own Vines and Fig Tree:’ The growth of Victoria’s Hotel and Lodging House Infrastructure.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a fundamental transformation, characterized by increased specialization, in the downtown core of the North American city. An important hallmark of this developing urban landscape was the proliferation of hotels and large rooming houses. This transformation of the downtown district was occurring throughout North America’s towns and cities. Jill Wade and Alan Artibise in their studies of Vancouver and Winnipeg, respectively, found decisive changes in urban geography as single-family dwellings became common in the periphery, while houses in the downtown core increasingly became converted to multiple-family and rooming houses use.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Tygiel observed a growing specialization in the neighborhoods of San Francisco between 1880 and 1900.¹⁹⁸ This distinctive character of the urban centre, therefore, was taking shape during the formative period of the late-nineteenth century. Part of the expression of this developing downtown district was the emergence of restaurants, cafés and other enterprises.¹⁹⁹ These services operated in close proximity to the growing number of commercial rooming houses and hotels, forming a symbiotic relationship between the needs of shelter, nourishment and entertainment.

¹⁹⁷ Wade, 52. Artibise, 156-57.

¹⁹⁸ Tygiel, 240-41, 269.

¹⁹⁹ Wolfe, 28.

Travel and tourism, facilitated by the development of Canada's railway infrastructure, spurred the growth of a hotel industry across the country. Victoria by the end of the nineteenth century, not unlike the same city one hundred years later, was a popular tourist destination among American and Canadian travellers. At the same time, there were other factors which supported and sustained the hotel industry. Hotels were a practical living arrangement for many workers during a period in which most internal transit was done by foot. Individuals searching for work, holding a job, or temporarily conducting business, could live and work in close proximity to each other. The construction of the E and N Railway and the Victoria to Sidney railway caused Victoria's hotel population to swell.²⁰⁰ Likewise, the Yukon Gold Rush attracted people to Victoria's and Vancouver's hotels en route to the Klondike. An article which appeared in The Daily Colonist in 1897 suggests that:

Already the hotels have on more than one occasion been compelled, after boarding out many guests to refuse others ... it seems certain that if Vancouver is to hold its share of the preferred Yukon business of next spring there must at least be a temporary addition to the number of respectable local hotels equipped with licenses.²⁰¹

Undoubtedly Victoria was a pole of attraction to these migrant workers as well. Victoria's harbor was a port of call for numerous sealers and mariners, many of whom stayed in Victoria's lodging houses and hotels. Hotels were also popular among white-collar workers. According to former Victoria archivist A.J. Helmcken "hotel bars were places where the male population not only gathered for social talk,

²⁰⁰ Colonist 20 July 1971: 14d.

²⁰¹ Colonist 15 December 1897: 3.

but many a business transaction [took place as well].²⁰² The advantages of living in a hotel extended beyond proximity to work; the hotel also offered a living arrangement that offered a variety of commercial services, opportunities to socialize, and recreational entertainment.

Businesses were also cognizant of the usefulness of having their labour force living within walking distance to their place of work. Hotel residents, largely single males, were a captive workforce with a flexible regime around meals and an absence of immediate family commitments. This provided a workforce that was amenable to industrial regimes. Entrepreneurs also recognized the housing needs in the downtown core, especially between 1881 and 1891, and quickly established several hotels and commercial lodging houses.²⁰³ In fact, a number of entrepreneurs were able to exploit their tenants through charging exorbitant rents in return for frugal services.²⁰⁴

Most lodging houses were the result of make-shift division of rooms in private residences or conversion of commercial buildings into residential use. The condition inside most rooming houses could be quite variable. Many rooms lacked sunlight, were poorly ventilated, and were grossly overcrowded.²⁰⁵ Bryce Stewart

²⁰² *Colonist* 20 July 1971: 14d.

²⁰³ For evidence for other cities see: Dennis, 313; Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 207.

²⁰⁴ For example, Michael Piva discusses John Hamilton's Workingmen's Home which was supposedly a rescue mission, but in reality was a profit making venture which was characterised by inhospitable conditions. See Michael Piva *The Conditions of the Working-class in Toronto 1900-1912* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979).

²⁰⁵ Wade, 23; Groth, *Forbidden Housing*, 77.

gave the following assessment of a boardinghouse in Vancouver that he visited at the turn-of-the-twentieth century:

In a lodging house of forty-eight rooms on Hastings Street east, thirty six rooms have practically no light or ventilation. The building has been so constructed that the lavatories ventilate into the court from which a score of bedrooms derive their supply of fresh air.²⁰⁶

There is no reason to suggest that the conditions inside certain lodging houses in Victoria differed substantially from those described by Bryce in Vancouver. Most rooming houses had one bathroom per floor, although some times there was only one per household.²⁰⁷ And some lodging houses did not contain bathroom facilities whatsoever. In many commercial rooming houses severe overcrowding was the norm. Rooms could be divided into smaller ones, hallways could be converted to makeshift bedrooms, and tenants often doubled up in rooms, and even in beds.²⁰⁸

Hotel proprietors during the late-nineteenth century, out of need to diversify their income, usually took in a mixture of transient and permanent guests. In fact, Groth suggests that permanent residents comprised 60 percent of San Francisco's hotel rooms between 1880 and 1930.²⁰⁹ For hotel owners, boarders offered a steady supply of income, particularly during the winter months.²¹⁰ In fact some hotels, such as Victoria's Douglas House, offered special 'winter rates.' Classified

²⁰⁶ Bryce Stewart, "The Housing of our Immigration Worker," *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase 1880-1920*. Ed. Paul Rutherford. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974): 152.

²⁰⁷ Wolfe, 36.

²⁰⁸ Wade, 23; Johnson, 17.

²⁰⁹ Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 292.

²¹⁰ Patricia Roy, "Vancouver: 'The Mecca of the Unemployed,' 1907-1929," In *Town and City*. Ed. Alan Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981): 393.

advertisements from the late-nineteenth century also indicate that most hotels offered weekly and monthly rates. After all, hotel owners also had to be mindful about their ratio of guests and residents during the summer months as well. Throughout the year, however, most permanent residents would at least receive a rate that was better than the advertised one.²¹¹ During times of low demand, it is probable that hotel tenants were able to negotiate a reduced price, as well as stipulations that their rent included other inducements such as meal tickets or laundry services.

Meals were included in the price of certain hotel rooms. At the Angel Hotel boarders paid \$1 a day which included a room and three meals.²¹² Most hotels, however, did not include the price of meals. Meals were usually offered ‘a la carte,’ although numerous hotels and commercial lodging houses also offered meal tickets. At Victoria’s Osbourne House five single-meal tickets were offered for only \$1.²¹³ Meal tickets entitled the bearer to a certain number of meals. Part of the attraction of buying meal tickets was that after a given number of meals the next one was on the house, a system akin to today’s coffee cards which entitle the bearer to a free beverage after a given number of purchases. Hotel boarders, especially those living in housekeeping rooms, also could purchase their food at grocery stores. In fact,

²¹¹ A number of classified advertisements indicated that they gave ‘special inducements to permanent guests,’ ‘permanent roomers,’ and ‘permanent families.’ Although none of the advertisements are clear on the exact nature of these inducements.

²¹² Colonist 26 October 1955: 7.

²¹³ Colonist 16 May 1902.

Also meal tickets were available at the Queen’s restaurant for \$4. Colonist 4 January 1895: 7.

Victoria's largest grocery store, Fell's Grocery, was located on the ground floor of the popular Royal Hotel.²¹⁴

Hotel living provided extreme flexibility around meal arrangements, especially compared to the tightly controlled eating regimes associated with living with private families.²¹⁵ The proliferation of restaurants and cafés in the downtown core provided a variety of cuisine at a range of prices. Dining at restaurants had several advantages over traditional boarding house meals. At a boardinghouse tenants had to pay for their meals regardless of whether they attended or not. Conversely, lodgers in hotels and commercial rooming houses had complete control over where and when they wanted to eat. One of the options available to Victoria's lodgers was dining at saloons. Saloons provided meals, often at no charge, in an effort to encourage patrons to develop a healthy thirst.²¹⁶ By all accounts these were hearty meals, "great slabs of roast beef, ham and other meats with stacks of bread, rye, white and whole wheat" that probably rivaled the fare available at many boardinghouses.²¹⁷ The patrons of these saloons were largely members of the working and lower middle-class. In particular, these 'dollar a day' saloons

²¹⁴ *Colonist* 20 July 1971: 14d.

²¹⁵ A number of social reformers bemoaned the lost of shared meals around the family table. Bishop Potter, in 1899, argued: "The family circle ... in our modern life exists, so far as it survives at all, in the attenuated dimensions of the breakfast table, to which its members, if they come at all, come in ragged and disjointed order, the other meals being eaten downtown, at the club, as guest at somebody else's table, at restaurants, and the like." Quoted in Calhoun, Arthur W. *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present, Volumes I, II, and III*. (New York: Arno Press, 1973) 77.

²¹⁶ Gregson, 134.

²¹⁷ *Colonist* 29 January 1967.

capitalized on workers on spending sprees, particularly resource sector workers, coming into town during their days or weeks off.

For those that found saloons anathema there were alternative options available, including Victoria's growing number of restaurants.²¹⁸ Most hotels had associating cafés and dining rooms where lodgers could take their meals. For instance, you could get "your money's worth a at 25 cent meal of the best at the Colonial Hotel."²¹⁹ What is interesting about Victoria's restaurants is the sheer flexibility associated with hours of operation. Hotels, such as the Balmoral, indicated that meals were 'served at all hours,' while the Hotel Victoria was 'open late' closing at 12:00 p.m.²²⁰ Towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century Victoria's population in general, and boarders and lodgers in particular, wanted, and received, flexibility surrounding eating regimes.

The actual living arrangements within hotels were extremely adaptable. Rooms could be rented by the day, week, or month. There was no need to leave two or four weeks rent as a retainer, as was the case at some small-scale boardinghouses. Typically a boarder would rent a room or a suite of rooms. However, there were a number of places, such as the Telegraph Hotel, where it was possible to rent only a bed.²²¹ Although the majority of hotels came furnished, some hotels offered a range of choices including unfurnished or even housekeeping rooms. The advantages

²¹⁸ At the Poodle Dog Restaurant M. and Mme Marboeuf, the proprietors, suggest that you will find a "friend to the workingman." *Colonist* 7 March 1894: 5.

²¹⁹ *Colonist* 4 November 1889.

²²⁰ *Colonist* 13 May 1892: 8; Lynch's 1892-1893: 98.

associated with living in hotels and rooming houses should not be overlooked.

Since these tenants owned few possessions, it made internal movement within, as well migration out of, the city possible. The expenses associated with outfitting a room, such as furnishings, sheets, and cooking utensils could be quite expensive. As a result, hotel living could appeal to individuals interested in 'rock bottom' living in an effort to reduce their fixed costs to the lowest level possible.

One of the distinct advantages of living in a hotel was that it offered possible sexual freedom, providing courting space removed from the watchful eyes of family members and so-called 'surrogate parents.'²²² Couples were subjected to less scrutiny than would be the case under alternative living arrangements. Albert Wolfe estimated that "ninety nine percent of the houses allowed lodgers to take others to their rooms" in Boston's lodging houses at the turn-of-the-twentieth century.²²³ Increasingly landlords, according to Wolfe, concerned themselves exclusively with the question of payment of rent, and no longer believed that moral regulation was within the purview of the landlord-tenant nexus. The perceived moral laxity of hotels and rooming houses was a familiar source of derision postulated by prominent social reformers of the period.²²⁴ Certainly, hotel living could provide opportunities for individuals engaged in relationships which were outside social norms, such as temporary unions and same sex relationships. In a society where it was common for

²²¹ Daily Standard 29 May 1884

²²² Groth, Living Downtown 60-1, 216.

²²³ Wolfe, 65.

men to sleep in the same bed together out of financial hardship or as a means to save money, it is probable that homosexual relations were discreetly practiced in Victoria's hotels and rooming houses.²²⁵ Also for women, disparagingly referred to as 'charity girls,' living with a man without marrying him became a mechanism by which they could leave their familial home or quit the drudgery of their job.²²⁶

During the nineteenth century hotels became increasingly specialized. In Victoria the first residential hotel, the King Edward, did not appear until 1905. In an advertisement, The King Edward shows the clear attempt by the proprietors of this apartment to appeal to respectable tenants:

The house is fitted up in the most modern style, the paperings, carpetings and upholsterings being not only tasty but handsome to a degree. All rooms too are well furnished and so arranged as to present a most homelike and attractive appearance. The house is provided with rooms singly and in suites, calculated to meet the variety of demand from that of the transient traveler to that of the resident bachelor who wants everything comfortable and bright around him. There are sixty rooms in the hotel and fifteen private baths...²²⁷

This quotation refers to 'resident bachelors,' yet it was not uncommon for entire families to live in Victoria's hotels as well.²²⁸ One time Victoria archivist A.J. Helmcken suggested that "for those [families] who for some reason or other didn't

²²⁴ See Johnson, Lodging House Problem; Wolfe Lodging House Problem; and Anderson Hobo; Norman Sylvester Hayner, Hotel Life. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

²²⁵ N. Anderson, 144-149.

²²⁶ Joanne Meyerowitz, Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930 (Chicago, 1988).

²²⁷ Colonist 5 February 1905: 5.

²²⁸ Groth estimates that couples, either married or unmarried, accounted for between 7 percent and 38 percent of large tenancy arrangements in the United States. Groth, Living Downtown 107. Also Day Monroe's study of Chicago Families in 1920 found that 8 percent of families whose head of household was a professional lived in the city's hotels. See Groth, Living Downtown 87.

live in private houses the hotels were the answer . . .”²²⁹ Several hotels in Victoria emphasized in their advertisements that they gave special inducements and accommodation for families. The Colonial Metropole, for instance, offered ‘best accommodation for families’ and “private dining rooms for families;” The Leland House offered “furnished rooms for families;” the Occidental “special rates made to families;” the Pacific Telegraph Hotel offered “the most commodious and clean hotel in Victoria [and provided] private dining-rooms for families;” and the Wilson Hotel had “elegant suites for families.”²³⁰ As a result, living in hotels was seen as an important interim stage in the life course of some married couples, in which money could be saved for the eventual purchase of a home.²³¹

There was, of course, another side to living in hotels. They could be extremely lonely places, free from the *joi-de-vivre* associated with other forms of tenancy. Novelists and playwrights used hotels and commercial rooming houses as backdrops to express human frailties and personal tragedy. Dreiser’s *Sister Carrie* captures the isolation and despair of the human condition through the portrayal of Hurstwood spending his final days in a cheap rooming house, the site of his eventual suicide. Likewise, social reformers during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also saw hotels and rooming houses as powerful symbols of the perceived

²²⁹ *Colonist* 20 July 1971:14d.

²³⁰ *Lynch’s* 1892-1893:73, 93; *Colonist* 18 October 1891; *Daily Standard* 29 May 1884; See also *Colonist* 29 January 1967 and *Colonist* 27 March 1877.

²³¹ Many social reformers, however, bemoaned the presence of families in Hotels or lodging houses. For instance Edith Abbott argued that the “unstable, irresponsible, shiftless family is most likely to begin living in furnished rooms, and the influence of that type of living and the neighbourhood in

growing decay in society. For instance, Albert Wolfe pleaded that “when a young man and young woman are thrown together in illicit relations by the force and circumstances of the lodging house environment, and through the chain of events thus stated, the girl becomes a suicide or the boy a murderer, the lodging-house must be held responsible for social dissolution.”²³² The strawman of the run down rooming house served as an effective whipping post used by social reformers as a symbol of the perceived moral decline of contemporary living arrangements.

The research of Groth has shown that in the United States there was a continuum in the degrees of social respectability that existed between hotels in a city.²³³ In Victoria there was only a handful of hotels that catered to an exclusive white-collar boarding clientele. The vast majority of hotels in this city catered to blue-collar boarders. Numerous hotels in Victoria were located near the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway and the C.P.N. wharf, such as the Janion, Occidental and New England hotels. These hotels were strongly linked to the prosperity of the sealing industry and the success of the E&N railway. This hotel district was largely self-contained, exclusively catering to resource sector workers who needed accommodation during their days off, as well as residence during the off-season.²³⁴

which rooming-houses are to be found is in the direction of increasing their instability and shiftlessness. See Abbott, 314.

²³² Wolfe, 138.

²³³ Groth ranks hotels according to four categories: First rank hotels catered to the elite in society; second rank hotels were respectable hotels which had amenities such as running hot and cold water; third rank hotels were for working-class members of society who wanted a hotel that was still clean and respectable; fourth rank hotels catered to a decidedly ‘rough’ clientele. See Groth Forbidden Housing.

²³⁴ McDonald, 328.

By the turn-of-the-century the decline of Victoria's harbor had serious ramifications for the hotel industry. A number of hotels went into decline, and were in turn transformed into warehouses or rooming houses.²³⁵

Victoria's 'rough' hotels were a recognizable feature of the city's downtown landscape. The social status of these hotels was transparent from the condition of their street fronts, usually in varying stages of disrepair. Whereas the St. George Hotel could once boast of housing Royal Governor Arthur Edward Kennedy during the mid-nineteenth century,²³⁶ by the turn-of-the-twentieth century it was classified by the police as being 'disorderly.'²³⁷ The St. George was indicative of the history of many hotels in Victoria during the nineteenth century which were constantly being re-invented, largely a product of transfers in ownership, changing the brand of clientele they aimed to attract in response to public demand. The rooms and services that were offered by 'rough' hotels, such as the St. George, were usually quite basic. It is unlikely that sheets were changed more than twice a week or that blankets were fumigated after use.²³⁸ This class of hotel often suffered from under-capitalization, neglect and minimal upkeep. What permitted hotel owners to rent these dilapidated

²³⁵ *Islander* 3 February 1985.

²³⁶ *Islander* 15 December 1980.

²³⁷ *Colonist* 19 December 1901: 8.

²³⁸ Groth, *Living Downtown* 229.

spaces is the fact that the poorer class of tenant had few options, and could usually ill afford to be discriminating about their accommodation.²³⁹

The darker side of life in hotels and rooming houses is still extant in Victoria today.²⁴⁰ High rents, particularly during the late 1980s and early 1990s, coincided with concomitant growth in urban poverty in the city of Victoria. Government cutbacks to social programs such as social assistance, employment insurance, and health care, have adversely affected Canada's working poor and unemployed. It is this growing constituency that is increasingly resorting to rooming house and hotel living. Among its ranks are a number of individuals suffering from manic depression and other mental illnesses, who, not receiving proper care from government institutions, are living in rooming houses as a last resort.²⁴¹

Today the Douglas Hotel maintains the same function of many of the old hotels in the late-nineteenth century. The clientele at The Douglas are mostly people who find it difficult locating accommodation elsewhere in the city. Rachel Katz, the manager of the Douglas Hotel, refers to her job as a "complicated blend of on-the-spot social services, den mother and businesswoman." In the summer approximately 84 rooms are rented to permanent roomers. This number increases during the winter months. There seems to be a number of reasons why individuals choose to live in

²³⁹ Behind the Colonial Hotel there were "tiny brick 'cabins' where a fellow could shack up." Moreover, on Cormorant Street there were "dozens of tiny cubicles were filled with tiers of bunkbeds, and 'cheater floors' were built like galleries where ceilings were high enough to permit this."

Also off Cormorant Street there were "rough plank huts." Monday Magazine 2-8 May 1989
²⁴⁰ See Monday Magazine 12-18 Feb 1998.

²⁴¹ Monday 12-18 February 1998.

this hotel. Ayearst, a roomer at the ‘The Dougie’ for eight years, states that her “eccentricities and right to privacy are respected [in the hotel].”²⁴² Moreover, she argues that the cell like bedrooms and shared washrooms at “The Dougie’ are preferable to “rooming houses and roommates from hell.” Conversely, Roger Dyer argues that his stint at the hotel is a temporary measure before a better paying employment can be secured.²⁴³ The culture in the Douglas Hotel is undoubtedly analogous to the circumstances of certain tenants during the late-nineteenth century.²⁴⁴

In Victoria there were a number of hotels and saloons targeted by municipal officials as being “unsightly and a disgrace to the localities in which they are situated.”²⁴⁵ These same hotels, however, remained popular with the “water fleet habitue.” Many of these hotels appear to have the function of what Groth refers to as “islands of permanence and identity in very transient and environmentally-independent lives.”²⁴⁶ Nevertheless municipal officials targeted many of these hotels and saloons, and steps were taken to prevent them from transferring their licenses.²⁴⁷ In 1899, for instance, the licensing commission in Victoria referred to the Albion hotel as an ‘unsightly disgrace’ and prevented it and six other

²⁴² *Times Colonist* 6 June 1990.

²⁴³ *Times Colonist* 6 June 1990.

²⁴⁴ Abbott, *Tenements*; N. Anderson, 61-65.

²⁴⁵ *Colonist* 9 March 1899: 6.

²⁴⁶ Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 188.

²⁴⁷ There was a growing concern among municipal officials throughout North America during the turn-of-the-twentieth century towards regulation of hotels and lodging houses. See Charles Kettleborough, “Inspection of Hotels and Public Lodging Houses,” *The American Political Science Review* Volume VII (1913): 93.

'ramshackle' establishments from transferring their liquor licenses.²⁴⁸ A similar fate occurred to the 'disorderly' St. George Hotel in 1901.²⁴⁹ The rationale behind preventing the license transfer was to reduce the value of the property in order to ensure "that these eyesores may be removed as speedily as possible."²⁵⁰ In addition to the dilapidated physical condition of many of these buildings, municipal officials were also concerned with the alleged improprieties that transpired within the confines of their walls.

The Turner Hotel, according to Victoria's Police Chief Sheppard, was a gathering point for "disreputable women" who were both living and conducting business in the hotel.²⁵¹ For prostitutes in Victoria, as was the case in other urban centres, hotels were an extremely convenient place to conduct business. Hotels were also a place where unmarried couples could rendezvous in a setting that was relatively discreet and free from public, and especially familial, scrutiny. In fact, Police Chief Sheppard argued that "it was not an uncommon thing for men to take women to their rooms in any hotel [in Victoria] without the proprietor finding out."²⁵² There was a major concern among municipal reformers in Victoria, as well as other cities, that hotels and lodging homes were lax in supervising the moral conduct of their guests. Ultimately, the police chief argued, in a tone of extreme

²⁴⁸ *Colonist* 9 March 1899: 6.

²⁴⁹ *Colonist* 1 November 1901: 5.

²⁵⁰ *Colonist* 9 March 1899: 6.

²⁵¹ This type of hotel was sometimes referred to as a 'barrel-house'—a rooming house, saloon, and house of prostitution rolled into one.

²⁵² *Colonist* 10 June 1892: 3.

pragmatism, that there was “no infallible rule for keeping women out.” This points to the general policy of Victoria’s police department, during the late-nineteenth century, towards a policy of containment of prostitution within certain sectors of the city.²⁵³

Prostitution during the nineteenth century, not unlike today, was a major concern among Victoria’s citizens, and a prominent subject discussed in the pages of the daily newspapers. In an article entitled “Moral depravity: a shocking story of how young girls are led into a life of shame,” the Daily Colonist engaged in an investigation into child prostitution.²⁵⁴ According to the staff reporter, three young girls, aged 11, 12 and 13, were a well-known fixture around a building that offered furnished rooms to rent. According to the Daily Colonist reporter these girls were “made use of by men who lived there” and were subjected to the “grossest kinds of immorality.” The Daily Colonist reporter was probably right that there was a connection between prostitution and certain boarding establishments.²⁵⁵ For many of the men who lived in hotels sexual relations with prostitutes was not uncommon, and was probably an attractive feature, for some, of living in a hotel.

The St. George and the Turner hotels are examples of hotels that had fallen on hard times, and as such were easy targets for local politicians and newspaper reporters. What was overlooked, however, was the important social and cultural role these hotels played in the community. The St. George was an important meeting

²⁵³ See Times 12 November 1894:4; Times 13 November 1894:4; Times 14 November 1894:5.

²⁵⁴ Colonist 5 June 1892: 8.

place among workers, sailors, and soldiers. In fact, some residents testified before a municipal commission that the St. George was an integral element in the area, and was in fact a “necessity for the workmen in the vicinity [because] many of [them] took their meals there.”²⁵⁶ Hotels were important gathering and meeting points during the nineteenth century.²⁵⁷

The Russ House is an example of a hotel that played an important role in the lives of working people. An advertisement from The Daily Colonist in 1895 boldly states:

To the working men and others—I was the first man in Victoria to give you the benefit of 15 cent meals and now I am prepared to enable you to have a good night’s sleep from 15 cents upwards. I have no straw mattresses, but all spring beds. Look out for the Russ House.²⁵⁸

What is interesting about this advertisement is its overt appeal to working-class clientele. ‘Rough’ and ‘workingmen’s’ hotels, such as the Russ House, most likely played an important role in the lives of workingmen, and might be indicative of a working-class culture that undoubtedly existed in Victoria during this time. These hotels provided cheap accommodation, offered entertainment, and permitted social freedom for a large sector of Victoria’s working-class population. Hotels and rooming houses, therefore, were a highly contested space between existing working-class culture and the desire of the municipality to police morality.

²⁵⁵ Hayner, Hotel Life.

²⁵⁶ Colonist 19 December 1901:8.

²⁵⁷ It is important to note, however, that hotels were also a highly gendered space. It was illegal, for instance for women during the late-nineteenth century to found in Victoria’s bars. See Colonist 20 July 1971:14d.

During the late-nineteenth century a wave of municipal reformers and charitable organizations attempted to provide accommodation for unemployed and under-employed members of society.²⁵⁹ Since differences in wages between men and women were so large, housing options that were available to women could be quite limited.²⁶⁰ In Victoria, the YWCA was a source of housing that was available to women who needed temporary housing. Likewise, the YMCA serviced the needs of men who happened to be down on their luck. The Ys, therefore, provided affordable housing, albeit in a “morally conservative” setting.²⁶¹ Because the Ys were often subsidized, rents were reasonable compared to other housing options, such as rooming houses and hotels. For middle-class reformers the Ys provided the moral supervision that was usually associated with tenancy arrangements with private families. The social space of the Ys was tightly regulated. Drinking and gambling were prohibited and nightly curfews were strictly enforced, undoubtedly to the consternation of the Ys residents. Since the rules and regulations were often severe, the Ys typically remained a transitional home for those who were looking for employment, or were temporarily suffering financial hardships.²⁶²

The Salvation Army was another organization that ran a shelter home in late-nineteenth century Victoria. The Salvation Army was a housing option of last resort

²⁵⁸ *Colonist* 22 January 1895.

²⁵⁹ See Lionel Rose, *Rogues and Vagabonds: Vagrant Underworld in Britain, 1815-1985*. (London: Routledge, 1988).

²⁶⁰ E. Woods, 964.

²⁶¹ Gregson, 168; Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 101.

²⁶² Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 102.

for a number of male residents. At the Salvation Army tenants received meal tickets that entitled them to two meals and a night's lodging. Lodgers were given a mattress and slept in a large dormitory. Curfew was at ten o'clock in the evening and lights came on at six in the morning. During the morning lodgers were encouraged to participate in a prayer service. The shelter also provided disinfecting and bathing rooms "where a man ... may go in a thousand strong, but come out one individual."²⁶³

The so-called 'respectable' members of society, high white collar workers, also had their own selection of hotels that catered to their needs. The Driard Hotel, Victoria's premiere hotel, housed a number of middle-class boarders. In fact, the Driard was one of the few hotels that had a majority of its permanent residents belonging to white-collar professions.²⁶⁴ Interestingly, the Driard Hotel did not advertise availability of accommodation in Victoria's daily papers. Presumably the reputation of this hotel was well-known among recent settlers to Victoria. The Driard was a large hotel which had several specialized rooms earmarked for guests and permanent residents. On the first floor of the hotel there was a drawing room, ladies writing room, dining hall, bar, and billiard rooms. One of the advantages of the Driard was that each floor had landings that were directly connected to the dining room. Thus permanent residents most likely had their own access to the dining

²⁶³ *Colonist* 18 January 1895: 3.

²⁶⁴ In 1891 there was 17 identifiable tenants in the Driard Hotel. Of those with a listed occupation in the 1891 manuscript census, 12 were white-collar workers and only 1 was a blue-collar worker.

room, and maybe had their own dinner tables.²⁶⁵ The memoirs of Florence Baillie-Grohman provide a glimpse at the social life at The Driard. During the 1890s she left the hotel after spending a few days there “because she felt that people drank too heavily” at the hotel.²⁶⁶ It would appear that the veneer of respectability associated with hotels such as the Driard could be remarkably thin. Nevertheless, the Driard hotel appealed to a specific social class of visitors and permanent guests.

The Clarence Hotel, Victoria’s second best hotel during the 1890s, was also a favorite among Victoria’s more ‘respectable’ working and middle-classes, and was “a favorite of the bachelor captains from the sealing schooners.”²⁶⁷ Unlike the Driard, the Clarence advertised frequently in Victoria’s daily newspapers indicating that there were “special inducements to long time roomers.”²⁶⁸ It would appear that working-class and ‘respectable’ hotels alike depended on the presence of permanent roomers to offset their rates of vacancy, particularly during the winter months.

In Victoria, as elsewhere, there were a number of small and medium sized boardinghouses that catered specifically to the ‘genteel’ members of society. These boardinghouses in Victoria included The Roccabella, Elsemere House, The Wyoming, Mrs. Howard’s, and Emma McCandlish’s. An advertisement for the Wyoming gives an indication of some of the features of these ‘genteel’ boardinghouses:

²⁶⁵ Victoria City Archives—Hotel Folder

²⁶⁶ *Daily Colonist* 27 October 1966.

²⁶⁷ Michael Kluckner, *Victoria The Way It Was*. (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1986) 34.

²⁶⁸ *Colonist* 13 May 1892: 8.

Victoria is so entirely a city of homes, where everybody lives under their “own vines and fig tree,” that it is often difficult for those who do not like the bustle and confusion of hotel life to find quiet, comfortable rooms, where they may be free from noise and intrusion; but this lack of outside accommodation has recently been remedied by the starting of The Wyoming on Broad Street between Yates and View . . . It is really a select home, and is found the more desirable by the charming attentions of its mistress, making her guests feel so entirely welcome, and in doing her utmost to gratify their wants and wishes. The cozy parlor for the use of guests is very attractive, being handsomely furnished, and supplied with excellent music, books and current literature. We take pleasure in recommending The Wyoming to all who may, while visiting, or intending to remain in Victoria, desire the comforts, quiet and refinements of a home.²⁶⁹

This advertisement emphasizes the importance of the ideal of ‘home’ that many of these boardinghouses aspired. ‘Genteel’ boardinghouses promised an active parlor life, where guests mingled in a respectable setting, exchanging witticisms, reading books or playing piano forte.

The Roccabella was one of Victoria’s most famous boardinghouses. It was a popular hostel among travelers, listed favorably in Baedacker’s famous guide book.²⁷⁰ However, it was the permanent boarders who were its most recognizable clientele. According to Mary Elizabeth Colman, the niece of the owner, visitors and permanent boarders inhabited separate spheres in the Roccabella. In fact, visitors “found a closed corporation, presenting a frosty united front.”²⁷¹ In the evenings visitors gathered in the lobby around the heater, while permanent guests gathered

²⁶⁹ Victoria City Archives- Hotel Folder

²⁷⁰ Sun 14 June 1952:18

²⁷¹ Colonist 8 April 1951: 11

around the fireplace in the more comfortable drawing room.²⁷² The Roccabella was clearly distinguished from the largely single and male clientele of most boarding houses in Victoria. At the Roccabella single men and women, as well as married couples, mixed freely at the dinner table, in the hallways, on the verandah, and in the parlor. First and foremost, the Roccabella was a 'respectable' boardinghouse that accommodated a number of prominent citizens. Charles Pemberton, the Roccabella's 'star boarder,' stayed there for over fifty years beginning in the 1880s, becoming a permanent boarder between 1892 and 1942. In his memoirs Pemberton describes several of the 'guests' that stayed at the Roccabella, including R.E Gosnell, a reporter with the Vancouver Press who lived with his wife and daughter, and Mrs. White-Fraser, the wife of a surveyor for the Dominion Government who stayed at the Roccabella during the summer months when her husband was out in the field.²⁷³ In addition, Carl Lowenberg, a member of the German Consulate, ate regularly at the Roccabella. This list of 'guests' at the Roccabella indicates that boarding and lodging, in the right household, could be a respectable and socially acceptable form of living well into the early twentieth century.

The Victorian era is characterized as a period in which there were considerable social fears directed towards the dangers of incorporating strangers into homes where young women were present. These social fears, however, were not compromised by the internal organization of the Roccabella. Boarders commingled

²⁷² *Colonist* 8 April 1951: 11.

²⁷³ Provincial archives ED P361.9--Add. Mss. 522 Vol. 1.

with the three “pretty and talented” daughters, and seemingly several cousins, of the proprietor. Yet, the social space in this ‘genteel’ boarding house was tightly regulated. In fact, the supervisory prowess of the owner, Mary Jorand, was somewhat legendary. In the evenings it was not uncommon for “courting couples [to congregate] by the drawing-room fireplace.”²⁷⁴ However, Mary Elizabeth Colman recalls that her aunt, Mrs. Jorand, was a “tireless chaperone,” who would sit between the young courting couple with “her restless knitting needles clicking.”²⁷⁵ Mary Jorand, not unlike Dickens’ Madame Defarge, seemed to be quite aware of the events happening around her.

The strong sense of community at the Roccabella is akin to the situation at ‘genteel’ boarding houses elsewhere in the city. Mrs. Howard, for example, ran a respectable boarding house located near Victoria’s downtown. Her boardinghouse often appeared in the classified section of the Daily Colonist advertising that “furnished rooms for gentlemen” were available. Mrs. Howard’s boarders also included a number of Victoria’s high profile citizens, including Mr. Vernon, chief commissioner of Lands and Parks, Ted Bovill, secretary to Sir Joseph Trutch, and Florence Eleanor Nunn, future wife of renowned architect Francis Mawson Rattenbury.²⁷⁶ Mrs. Howard’s boardinghouse was an active place, especially since

²⁷⁴ Sun 14 June 1952: 18.

²⁷⁵ Colonist 8 April 1951: 11; Sun 14 June 1952: 18.

²⁷⁶ Terry Reksten Rattenbury (Sono Nis Press, Victoria, B.C. 1978) 117-118.

The story of Florence Eleanor Nunn is extremely interesting. She was born with ‘neither wealth nor position.’ Her father, Captain George Elphinstone Nun, a seaman, left his wife and children in Victoria. Likewise, Florrie’s mother also left as well, in this case for Portland to live with an older

Mr. Vernon, who disliked his offices in the Parliament's 'birdcages,' conducted his business out of the parlour. This ensured that there was a steady stream of government officials passing through Mrs. Howard's house. Likewise, Mrs. Doan's boarding house provided a convivial atmosphere that attracted Victoria's 'genteel' boarding clientele. Mrs. Baillie-Grohman remembered her time spent in this household, and the many "lasting friends" she met there, such as Judge Gray's wife, the Creases, and the Pemberton's.²⁷⁷

During the late-nineteenth century nearly every hotel either had a bar, or was located in close proximity to one. As a result, temperance hotels were somewhat of an anomaly in a city where licensed hotels were the norm.²⁷⁸ The Angel Hotel was Victoria's most recognizable temperance hotel. It was a place where boarders could find accommodation free from 'rough' people and 'rough' behavior. The proprietor Frederick Carne and his wife were renowned for their hospitality and propriety. Apparently, the Angel Hotel during the winter months was home for a number of Victoria's sealers.²⁷⁹ In addition, several families from up-Island boarded their school-aged children at the Angel Hotel. Reputedly, the Carnes ensured that these children "did their home work and didn't stay out late at nights."²⁸⁰ Members of the

daughter who married well. As a result, Florrie was left in Victoria in the care of Eleanor Howard. Rattenbury knew someone who lived in Howard's house, and that is where he met and eventually courted Florence.

²⁷⁷ Florence Baillie-Grohman *BC Historical News* (February 1 1968): 7-22.

²⁷⁸ Between 1889-1901 there was between 69 and 83 licensed saloons and hotels in Victoria—Source Ronald Green, "Some Licensed Establishments, 1889-1917," Unpublished paper (February 1990): 1-30.

²⁷⁹ *Colonist* 16 January 1949.

²⁸⁰ *Colonist* 16 January 1949.

Salvation Army had a special relationship with the Angel Hotel. In fact, “... whenever the Salvation Army band marched through the streets it would stop in front of the Angel Hotel and perform as a way of paying respect for the kindness and thoughtfulness the army always received at the hotel.”²⁸¹ According to the 1891 census the Angel Hotel, unlike other hotels in the city, housed a mixture of white and blue collar workers.²⁸² The Angel Hotel was not the only temperance hotel in Victoria. The Osbourne House on the Corner of Pandora and Blanchard Streets was also a temperance hotel. There were also hotels, such as the New England, which billed themselves as a “family type hostel” in which liquor was served only in the dining room.²⁸³

HOTELS

For the purpose of this study it is necessary to distinguish hotel boarders from those who live in commercial rooming houses. The differences between these two living arrangements were not always clear, since both forms of tenancy could have similar numbers of rooms and boarders. For the purpose of this study, hotels will be identified through careful use of the manuscript census. Hotels can be distinguished if the head of household is a hotelkeeper and more than five tenants live in the dwelling. In some cases hotels are recognizable by using other sources, such as city directories or newspaper classified advertisements. This study has

²⁸¹ *Colonist* 20 July 1971: 14d.

²⁸² In 1891 there were 15 tenants living in the Angel Hotel that would be identified in the manuscript census. Of these boarders 11 were blue-collar workers, while 4 were white-collar workers.

²⁸³ *Colonist* 29 January 1967.

isolated 139 boarders in 8 hotels in 1881, 388 boarders in 19 hotels in 1891, and 159 boarders in 11 hotels in 1901. I suspect that the actual number of boarders that resided in hotels was significantly higher. A preliminary examination of city directories indicates that the number of hotel boarders is probably grossly under-enumerated by the census. Yet despite its shortcomings the database of hotel residents used in this study provides a compelling glimpse at a largely anonymous population.

There are a number of continuities between the three census years. The hotel tenant population consisted overwhelmingly of individuals of European descent. Individuals of Chinese and Japanese descent accounted for only a miniscule fraction of the hotel population.²⁸⁴ The hotel population was also predominantly male. In fact, fewer than 5 percent of the hotel population in 1881 and 1891, and only 12 percent in 1901, was female. This is rather surprising considering that women made up roughly one-fifth of the boarding population in Victoria (see Chapter 2). The mean age of hotel boarders between 1881 and 1901 was approximately 35 years of age, slightly higher than the rate found in the general boarding population. However, there were significant differences from hotel to hotel. The Pacific Telegraph and Railroad Hotel both attracted hotel residents who averaged 44 years of age in 1891. Conversely, other hotels catered to boarders in their late teens and early twenties.

²⁸⁴ Chinese and Japanese individuals accounted for a mere 1 percent of hotel boarders in 1881 and a modest 7 percent in 1901.

Since the head of household was inevitably a hotelkeeper there is no need to examine occupational affinities between tenant and host in Victoria's hotels. The relationship between tenant and hotelkeeper does not appear to be a major criterion in household selection when other categories are analyzed as well. The vast majority of tenants living in hotels did not share religious affinities with the hotelkeeper.²⁸⁵ Nor did tenants tend to share birthplace affinities with the hotelkeeper.²⁸⁶ This is an important finding since a number of studies suggest that individual hotelkeepers played a dynamic role in the selection of clients. On the contrary, it was tenants themselves who were most particular about grouping themselves with fellow tenants who shared similar characteristics.

Tenants in Victoria's expanding service sector were over-presented in the city's hotel population. This makes sense. The place of employment for most workers in the service sector would be located in close proximity to these hotels. Members working in other white-collar professions, such as professionals, managerial, clerical, or sales, largely shunned living in hotels, finding other living

²⁸⁵ Percentage of Tenants Living in Hotels who Share the Same Religion as the Hotelkeeper:

	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	57% (16)	10% (3)	0% (0)	25% (2)	11% (6)
1891	48% (31)	21% (26)	13% (13)	20% (9)	11% (5)
1901	0% (0)	60% (37)	6% (2)	25% (2)	0% (0)

²⁸⁶ Percentage of Tenants Living in Hotels who share the Same Birthplace as the Hotelkeeper:

	British Columbia	Canada	United States	Britain	Scotland	Ireland	Other
1881	0% (0)	26% (5)	8% (1)	59% (22)	0% (0)	44% (8)	29% (8)
1891	0% (0)	53% (59)	0% (0)	43% (48)	8% (4)	16% (5)	0% (0)
1901	0% (0)	44% (12)	0% (0)	27% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)

arrangements more amenable (see Appendix 2). Among blue-collar workers there is considerable variation in the propensity to live in hotels.²⁸⁷ In 1881 half of workers categorized as secondary manufacturers in the tenant population lived in hotels. Yet in 1901 these workers were scarcely found in the hotel population. Similarly, only 7 percent of resource workers were found in the hotel population in 1881. However, in 1901 they represented 30 percent of resource workers in the tenant population. This indicates that the occupational composition of hotel tenants changed in accordance to larger economic cycles. As a result, there was not such a thing as a prototypical occupational profile of a hotel tenant.²⁸⁸ Yet, a major factor in choosing a hotel was the occupational profile of other tenants living in the building. The vast majority of tenants in hotels ensured that there were others who shared the same occupational category as themselves.²⁸⁹ This suggests that the

²⁸⁷ The distribution of occupations could also vary dramatically from hotel to hotel. For example, 77 percent and 82 percent of the residents of Dominion House and the Commercial Hotel, respectively, were transport/general labourers.

²⁸⁸ The time of the year most likely played an important role in the occupational structure of hotels. Migrant workers often stayed in hotels during the off-season, and waited for potential employment.

²⁸⁹ It is necessary to refine our measurement of affinity. Since hotels could house dozens, even hundreds, of tenants under a single roof, the previous measurement of examining one's affinity with the majority of residents in the household is no longer useful. More indicative of the presence of an affinity in this study will be relationships with at least three other tenants in the hotel. This is, of course, an arbitrary number. However, I feel confident that it provides a useful indication of the types of relationship that existed in Victoria's hotel population. When this measurement is used, 70 percent of hotel tenants in 1881 and 80 percent in 1901 lived in hotels where at least three other boarders shared the same occupational category.

reputations of Victoria's hotels were well known. Workers chose hotels that were not only situated in close proximity to their place of work, but also ensured that they surrounded themselves with workers who shared the same occupational category. It would seem Victoria's hotels such as the Driard, Colonial Metropole, Pacific Telegraph Hotel, and Wilson provided a vehicle to self-identity based on occupational category.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, religion figured prominently in Victoria's tenant population. During the late-nineteenth century there was little variance in the propensity of Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists to live in hotels (see Appendix 2). Individuals belonging to 'other' religious denominations, however, were over-represented among those found in hotels during this period. This category included such religious denominations as Freethinkers, Episcopalians, and Lutherans. It is possible that individuals belonging to religious minorities found assimilation into other tenancy arrangements difficult, and thus preferred the

Percentage of Tenants Living in Hotels who Share an Occupational Affinity with at Least Three Other Tenants:

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manufacturing	Secondary Manufacturing	Transport/ General Labourer
1881	38% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	90% (26)	0% (0)	82% (18)	40% (6)	88% (42)
1891	0% (0)	3% (33)	64% (7)	70% (23)	25% (12)	76% (37)	84% (41)	95% (181)
1901	75% (6)	0% (0)	0% (0)	45% (14)	36% (9)	0% (0)	43% (9)	42% (10)

Conversely, a mere 15 percent of boarders in 1881 and 16 percent of boarders in 1901 lived in hotels in which they were the only tenant who belong to their particular occupational class. As a result, the

comparative anonymity associated with hotel living. For the vast majority of tenants living in Victoria's hotels there was a high probability of sharing religious affinities with other tenants.²⁹⁰

There was some variation in the proportional representation of birthplaces in Victoria's hotel population between 1881 and 1901 (see Appendix 2). In particular, in 1881 those born in British Columbia largely shunned living in hotels. This makes sense. Individuals who were born in British Columbia most likely had greater access to accommodation with private families through community and familial links in the province (see Chapter 4). The remaining birthplaces were more or less equally represented in the hotel population. In 1901, however, there was considerable variation in the representation of birthplaces in Victoria's hotels. In particular, 'other' birthplaces in 1901 were slightly over-represented in the hotel population. It is possible that lodgers from these minority birthplaces, similar to tenants who adhered to 'other' religions, found the comparative anonymity of hotel life more amenable in their transition into the city of Victoria. The majority of tenants,

vast majority of tenants in hotels were clustered with fellow tenants who shared the same occupational class.

²⁹⁰ Percentage of Tenants Living in Hotels who share a Religious Affinity with at Least Three Other Tenants:

	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	89% (25)	83% (25)	63% (10)	38% (5)	96% (55)
1891	85% (55)	97% (122)	92% (90)	80% (35)	75% (33)
1901	47% (15)	88% (37)	67% (22)	71% (10)	89% (34)

85 percent of tenants in 1881 and 82 percent in 1901 lived in hotels in which at least three other lodgers shared the same religion. Only 12 percent of tenants in 1881 and 8 percent in 1901 lived as the sole representative of their religion in the household. There was an intensification of religious

therefore, lived in hotels where they lived among compatriots.²⁹¹ Yet towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century there was increased probability for those born in Ireland, Scotland, and ‘other’ birthplaces to live as the lone representative of their birthplace in the hotels. It would appear that birthplace solidarities were no longer an important feature in Victoria’s hotel population.

LODGING HOUSES

Lodging houses are defined in this study as all households that contain more than five tenants and cannot be classified as hotels. The proportion of tenants that lived in lodging houses was on the rise, increasing from 21 percent of Victoria’s tenants in 1881 to 27 percent in 1891 and 38 percent in 1901.²⁹² In the 1880s lodging houses were relatively small in terms of the number of tenants they housed. In 1881, for instance, there were only three lodging houses that contained more than 12 boarders. By 1901, however, there were fifteen lodging houses with more than 12 tenants.

denominations in Victoria’s hotels. Religious affinities between tenants in the household appear to be an important element of hotel selection.

²⁹¹ Percentage of Boarders Living in Lodging Houses that Share Birthplace Affinities with at Least Three Other Tenants:

	British Columbia	Canada	United States	Britain	Scotland	Ireland	Other
1881	0% (0)	55% (12)	53% (8)	43% (9)	54% (7)	93% (26)	47% (7)
1891	50% (20)	88% (199)	61% (39)	84% (145)	59% (48)	50% (17)	50% (27)
1901	29% (9)	75% (87)	69% (53)	73% (104)	9% (3)	12% (4)	14% (4)

The vast majority of tenants in hotels live amongst compatriots. 72 percent of boarders in 1881 and 74 percent in 1901 lived with at least three other boarders that shared the same birthplace. Only 16 percent of boarders in 1881 and 12 percent in 1901 were the only representative of their birthplace in their hotel.

²⁹² This study has isolated 139 individuals in 1881, 377 in 1891, and 486 in 1901 who lived in tenancy arrangements that can be classified as commercial lodging houses.

Bonds between tenant and host in lodging houses were stronger than those in hotels, but remained far weaker than affinities in households with five or fewer tenants. Only 45 percent of boarders in 1881 and 31 percent in 1901 shared a religious affinity with the head of household.²⁹³ The tendency to share birthplace affinities with hosts in Victoria was also waning between 1881 and 1901.²⁹⁴ Likewise, the propensity of tenants to select lodging houses based on the occupation of the host was surprisingly slight.²⁹⁵ Tenants living in housing arrangements with

²⁹³ Percentage of Boarders Living in Lodging Houses who share a Religious Affinity with the Head of Household:

	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	40% (17)	81% (26)	22% (4)	8% (1)	47% (7)
1891	25% (16)	40% (78)	43% (87)	46% (52)	40% (32)
1901	17% (8)	59% (96)	9% (9)	25% (13)	23% (18)

The vast majority of tenants failed to demonstrate an affinity with their host by the turn-of-the-twentieth century, with the sole exception being Anglicans who continued to live with Anglican hosts. Affinity between Anglican tenants and hosts is most likely a product of the sheer number of adherents of this religion in Victoria's population. Religious affinity between tenant and host, therefore, does not appear to be a significant element in locational decisions in Victoria's lodging house population.

²⁹⁴ Percentage of Lodgers Living in Lodging Houses that share Birthplace Affinities with the Head of Household:

	British Columbia	Canada	United States	Britain	Scotland	Ireland	Other
1881	0% (0)	41% (9)	7% (9)	62% (13)	0% (0)	39% (11)	20% (3)
1891	3% (1)	44% (100)	13% (8)	36% (60)	16% (13)	13% (4)	40% (21)
1901	0% (0)	43% (50)	6% (5)	37% (53)	9% (3)	2% (6)	17% (5)

In 1881 and 1901 31 percent of boarders shared a birthplace affinity with their heads of household. In both of these years associations were highest among British and Canadian tenants and hosts. Since the vast majority of heads of household were born in either England or Canada, it would appear that this relationship was more of an artifact of chance, rather than a true reflection of affinity between tenant and host.

²⁹⁵ In 1881 36 percent of boarders shared an affinity with the head of household. This tendency was strongest among transport/general labourer, primary manufacturing, and professional/managerial. Conversely, only 9 percent of boarders in 1901 had an affinity with the head of household. And out of these, the vast majority were categorized as transport/general labourer. Percentage of Lodgers Living in Lodging Houses who share the same Occupational Class as the Head of Household:

more than six tenants, therefore, did not place particular emphasis on ensuring shared affinity with the head of household.

A broad spectrum of religious denominations were represented in Victoria's lodging house population.²⁹⁶ Similar to the hotel population, the vast majority of tenants in lodging houses shared religious affinities with other tenants.²⁹⁷ There was more or less proportional representation in the occupational composition of tenants that lived in Victoria's lodging houses between 1881 and 1901 (see Appendix 2). A

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manufacturing.	Secondary Manufacturing	Transport/ General Labourer.
1881	33% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	30% (7)	0%(0)	61% (28)
1891	19% (8)	16% (6)	2% (1)	30% (15)	19% (6)	18% (9)	6% (4)	75% (208)
1901	11% (7)	0% (0)	0% (0)	10% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	2% (1)	23% (20)

²⁹⁶ In 1881 Catholics and Methodists had the greatest propensity among religious denominations to live in lodging houses with six or more boarders (see Appendix 2). By the turn-of-the-twentieth century, however, there were no longer any significant variations in the distribution of religions in these households.

²⁹⁷ Percentage of Boarders in Lodging Houses who share a Religious Affinity with at least Three Other Tenants:

	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Other
1881	91%	72%	78%	46%	67%
1891	85%	97%	92%	80%	75%
1901	50%	96%	69%	50%	65%

75 percent of lodgers in 1881 and 72 percent in 1901 of tenants in households with six or more lodgers shared an affinity with three or more boarders in the household. The vast majority of individuals living in hotels shared some sort of affinity with other tenants, whether it be association with one other tenants, three other boarders, or the majority of boarders. In fact, only 9 percent of boarders in 1881 and 8 percent of boarders in 1901 lived as the sole representative of their religion in the lodging house.

greater proportion of white-collar workers lived in lodging houses as compared to hotels. There was also a strong tendency to share occupational affinities.²⁹⁸

Between 1881 and 1901 there was also a full complement of birthplaces that were represented in the lodging house population. Yet there were a few identifiable patterns. In both 1881 and 1901 tenants of Irish descent were the most likely birthplace to live in these households, while British Columbia-born boarders were the least likely (see Appendix 2). The small proportion of individuals born in British Columbia in the lodging house population is probably attributable to the same reasons why this birthplace was largely absent from the hotel population. British Columbia born tenants, as shown in Chapter 2, included those who were young, a disproportionate number of women, and numerous single parents with children. Such tenants gravitated towards boarding with private families. Once again there was a strong tendency for tenants in lodging houses to share birthplace affinities.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Percentage of Lodgers that share Occupational Affinities with at least Three Other Tenants in the Household:

	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Primary Resource	Primary Manufacturing	Secondary Manufacturing	Transport/ General Labourer
1881	92% (11)	0% (0)	57% (4)	60% (3)	60% (3)	100% (23)	57%(4)	89% (41)
1891	0% (0)	3% (33)	64% (7)	70% (23)	25% (12)	76% (37)	84% (41)	95% (181)
1901	64% (39)	74% (35)	53% (16)	75% (30)	55% (18)	77% (10)	74% (32)	84% (73)

The majority of tenants living in these lodging houses shared the same occupational class as other tenants in the household. 86 percent of tenants in 1881 and 71 percent in 1901 lived with at least three other tenants who shared the same occupational class. Only 7 percent of tenants in 1881 and 18 percent in 1901 lived as the sole representative of their occupational class in the household.

²⁹⁹ Percentage of Lodgers Living in Lodging Houses that share Birthplace affinities with at Least three Other Tenants:

This chapter provides strong evidence that the bonds that existed between tenants and hosts in Victoria's hotels and large lodging houses were waning towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century. The religious, ethnic, and occupational profile of the host was not a major factor in household selection. This was particularly the case in hotels, but also applied to lodging houses as well. There was a decline in religious affinities between tenants and host between 1881 and 1901, with the sole exception of Anglicans. Yet the proclivity for Anglican tenants and hosts to live together was most likely an artifact of chance, rather than a conscious effort for adherents of this religion to get together. Similarly, there was a decline in birthplace affinities between tenant and host. Those born in Canada and England were more likely than other nationalities to share affinities. However, once again the proclivity for those born in Canada and England to share birthplace affinities is more a product of the absolute number of individuals from these birthplaces. The tendency for tenants to share occupational affinities with their host also remained remarkably low between 1881 and 1901. The only occupational classes that had any likelihood of sharing

	British Columbia	Canada	United States	Britain	Scotland	Ireland	Other
1881	0% (0)	55% (12)	53% (8)	43% (9)	54% (7)	93% (26)	47% (7)
1891	50% (20)	88% (199)	61% (39)	84% (145)	59% (48)	50% (17)	50% (27)
1901	29% (9)	75% (87)	69% (53)	73% (104)	9% (3)	12% (4)	14% (4)

In both 1881 and 1901 57 percent of boarders share a birthplace affinity with at least three other boarders. The composition of birthplaces that shared these affinities, however, was different during these two census years. In 1881 nearly all Irish-born boarders lived with at least three other fellow Irishmen, while this was the case of only 12 percent in 1901. Likewise, there is a significant drop in the level of birthplace affinities among Scottish and tenants born in 'other' birthplaces. The vast majority of boarders share some sort of affinity, even if it is only with one other boarder in the household. Only 17 percent of boarders in 1881 and 14 percent in 1901 were the only representative

affinities were individuals working as professional/managerial or transport/general labouring. Even among these two occupational categories there was a rapid decline in the propensity to share affinity.

Boarders in commercial lodging houses did, however, surround themselves with other tenants that shared part, if not all, of their birthplace, religious, and occupational profile. Three-quarters of Victoria's lodging house population shared religious and occupational affinities with at least three other tenants in the household. Furthermore, slightly over one-half of tenants in lodgings shared birthplace affinities with at least three other tenants. Similarly, tenants living in hotels had a proclivity to share affinities with other tenants in the building. Between 70 to 80 percent of tenants in hotels shared occupational affinities, between 80 to 85 percent of tenants shared religious affinities, and approximately three-quarters of tenants in hotels shared birthplace affinities.

Hotels and lodging houses should not be viewed as completely anonymous environments. The tenants in Victoria's hotels and lodging houses took great care to ensure that they lived with others who reflected their own cultural, social, and economic background. There are two ways that the propensity of tenants to share affinities with others in the hotel and lodging houses can be explained. Upon arrival in Victoria, individuals may have searched for hotels, or already knew hotels, which represented their particular ethnic and cultural profile. It is also possible, however,

of their birthplace in the household. Yet it would appear that it was tenants born in the US, England, and Canada that were the most active in insulating themselves with compatriot tenants.

that individuals traveled in small groups and collectively settled in hotels or lodging houses. The former explanation suggests that the ethnic identification of the hotel remained static, largely the product of the ethnicity of the hotelkeeper. The latter explanation suggests that the ethnic composition of hotels and lodging houses was constantly changing, depending on the rhythms of settlement.

Chapter 6:

‘His home is his castle:’ The Continued Prominence of Boarding and Lodging Into the Turn-of-the-twentieth century

Towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century boarding and lodging was becoming associated, rather mistakenly, with a ‘lower class’ practice, effectively tarnishing the reputation of this form of tenancy in the eyes of North American middle-class reformers.³⁰⁰ Previously it was believed that boarding with private families offered an element of social control over the hordes of young men and women who were entering the city and leaving their familial home for the first time.³⁰¹ With the decline in moral management of tenants it was believed that boarding and lodging was becoming strictly a “cold cash proposition.”³⁰² Reformers bemoaned the fact that boardinghouses were concentrating on scientific management and profit maximization, rather than focussing on moral reform of their tenants.³⁰³ Social reformers attempted to counter the perceived ‘lodging menace’ through promotion of the value of home ownership. Reformers such as Herbert Ames and Bryce Stewart boosted the benefits of single-family dwellings, while concurrently portraying boarding as the “cause of family pathology” and “a lower-class disease to be cleansed with domesticity.”³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Modell and Hareven, 182.

See also: Lawrence Veiller, and Robert W. De Forest. *The Tenement House Problem Volumes 1 & 2.* (New York: Arno Press, 1970) 33; Abbott, 306-335; Calhoun, 183.

³⁰¹ Tygiel, 206.

³⁰² Katz et al. *Early Industrial Capitalism* 251.

³⁰³ Wolfe, 47.

³⁰⁴ Rutherford, Paul “Tomorrow’s Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920.” *The Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: an anthology of early articles on Urban Reform.* Ed.

Social reformers feared the implications of having a large proportion of the urban population living with “no fixed place of abode,” “no strong family ties,” and “little effective social instinct.”³⁰⁵ These concerns encouraged Bryce Stewart to investigate the state of housing in several Canadian cities. From Stewart’s perspective Canada’s expanding urban landscape was producing “an army of industrial nomads with lower standards of home life.”³⁰⁶ Social reformers, such as Stewart, were attempting to grapple with the profound changes to North American society caused by urbanization and industrialization. The message of these social reformers was largely negative. If there was a common thread, it was that social reform through government intervention was necessary to alleviate adverse housing conditions.³⁰⁷ Civic authorities were compelled to respond to this rhetoric in a number of instances. In Toronto, for instance, civic authorities were pressured by middle-class reformers to regulate sanitary conditions during the 1910s.³⁰⁸

Paul Rutherford *Toronto*: University of Toronto Press, 1974. 442; Katz et al. *Early Industrial Capitalism* 251; Wolfe, 118; Doucet et al. *North American City* 421; Herbert Brown Ames, *City Below the Hill* (Toronto reprint, 1972); Stewart, Bryce. “The Housing of our Immigrant Workers.” *Saving the Canadian City: The first phase 1880-1920*. Ed. Paul Rutherford. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

³⁰⁵ Wolfe, 9; See also James Pitsula, “The Treatment of Tramps in Late-nineteenth Century Toronto,” *Historical Papers* (1980): 116-32.

³⁰⁶ Stewart, 139.

³⁰⁷ Harris, *Unplanned Suburb* 94; Robert Woods, “Furnished Rooms” 956; John Weaver, “Tomorrow’s Metropolis’ Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1820-1920,” *Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920* Ed. Paul Rutherford (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) 469; J. Bottomley, *The Business Community, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning in Vancouver B.C., 1900-1940*. Diss. University of British Columbia, 1977; Gilles Vandal, “Nineteenth Century Response to the Problem of Poverty,” *Journal of Urban Housing* 19,1 (November 1992): 30.

³⁰⁸ Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs* 102-108; Shirley Spragge, “A Confluence of Interests: Housing Reform in Toronto, 1920-1920,” *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern City*. Eds. Alan Artibise and Gilbert Stelter (Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1979).

Likewise, in Victoria during the 1890s municipal officials attempted to ‘rectify’ the disease outbreaks and overcrowding in the city’s Chinatown area through the imposition of a series of by-laws aimed at regulating the internal space of the city’s lodging houses.³⁰⁹

The overall influence of middle-class reformers in discouraging the practice of boarding and lodging was slight. Boarding and lodging was a tenancy arrangement that remained popular well into the twentieth century.³¹⁰ Social reformers were correct, however, when they observed that boarding was fading into lodging towards the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Tygiel’s study of San Francisco, Wolfe’s study of Boston, and Harris’s study of Toronto, confirm this transition.³¹¹ Social reformers placed a distinct value judgement on this transition, characterizing the proliferation of lodging houses as an extremely negative impulse in society. Social reformers typically gravitated towards the worst aspects of housing in North American cities, and made extrapolations based on these findings. In particular, social reformers bemoaned the symbolic loss of a number of traditional services that were exemplified in the traditional boarding house.³¹² ‘Old fashioned’ boarding houses, under this vision, offered tenants a number of important services, such as the provision of meals, moral management, and a familial setting. Social reformers felt that the loss of the connection between boarder and host was an exemplification of

³⁰⁹ See Appendix 1.

³¹⁰ Harris *Unplanned Suburb* 117-119.

³¹¹ Wolfe, 38-51.

³¹² Abbott, 182.

the larger process of social decay that was sweeping across North America's urban centres.³¹³

Certainly there is a long history of cultural significance in western society associated with the sharing of meals.³¹⁴ However, we should not look at the dissolution of shared meals in boardinghouses as either the hallmark of the depersonalization of the relationship between host and tenant, or as a cultural tragedy. There were many disadvantages associated with traditional boarding house meal arrangements. In boardinghouses meals were scheduled at set times. At best this provided a regular time in which boarders could expect meals to be served. At worst this scheduling adversely affected the individual lifestyles of boarding house residents. If a boarder missed a meal they were out of luck. In fact, they were doubly unlucky because they had already paid for that meal. The variety and quality of these meals was also variable depending on the cooking skills of the boardinghouse keeper.³¹⁵ Conversely, Victoria's emerging saloons, cafés, and restaurants targeted and catered to the individualizing tastes and schedules of the city's tenant community. Advertisements during late-nineteenth century document the increased pliability in the hours of operation in which meals were served. In addition, an inventory of classified advertisements indicates that the number of

³¹³ Harney, 29; Wolfe, 46; Robert Woods, "The Myriad Tenantry of Furnished Rooms," Charities in The Common (November 2 1907): 956; Calhoun, 184.

³¹⁴ Tamara Hareven, "The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective," Social Research Vol. 58 (Spring 1991): 263.

³¹⁵ Evelyn Simms in her fictional account of boarding house keepers discusses the practice of "marginal board." These were boarding houses in which the food selection was extremely limited

housekeeping rooms was also on the rise, suggesting that numerous tenants preferred cooking their own meals as well.

Boardinghouse keepers were also motivated to re-define the provision of traditional services. Meals were a service that brought considerable expense to the boarding house keeper, often requiring additional domestic staff. As a result, boardinghouse keepers probably felt that the removal of the need to provide meals was a progressive measure from the standpoint of household economy. The vast majority of boarders and hosts during the late-nineteenth century, therefore, probably rejected the eulogy presented by middle-class reformers who lamented the loss of traditional boarding house meals. Tenants and hosts were motivated in a number of ways to re-invent the ‘board’ aspect of their residency, and were most likely contented that the provision of meals was no longer a necessary criterion for tenancy.³¹⁶

The rhetoric of social reformers during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries who bemoaned the end of tenancy arrangements with private families was extremely premature. Richard Harris clearly demonstrates that the majority of tenancy arrangements in Toronto continued to be associated with private families well into the twentieth century.³¹⁷ Likewise, this study of Victoria suggests

between Monday and Saturday and on Sunday meals were typically not provided. See Simms, *Lodging-House Keeper* 4.

³¹⁶ Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 96.

³¹⁷ Harris, “City of Homes” 331-58.

that the proportion of tenants that lived in private homes remained substantial, involving 62 percent of tenants in 1881 and 52 percent in 1901.

Tenancy arrangements with private families attracted a broad range of Victoria's boarding and lodging population. In particular, those born in British Columbia gravitated towards this living arrangement. This included a substantial number of children who were born in British Columbia, nearby Canadian provinces, or nearby American states. Women also overwhelmingly chose tenancy arrangements with private families. This was particularly the case with elderly women. Single parents with children were a constituency of the boarding population that was also attracted to these households. A broad spectrum of the boarding population, therefore, perceived residency with private families as an important household transition that met their individualizing contexts and needs.

The viewpoints of social reformers are widely cited in studies that examine housing in North American cities during the late-nineteenth century. In part, this is because the opinions of social reformers have been largely preserved and are therefore readily accessible to social scientists. However, it is a challenge for historians to determine whether the opinions of social reformers provide an appropriate assessment of housing conditions during the nineteenth century. Specifically, it is difficult to determine if the convictions of social reformers percolated into the thoughts and beliefs of North American society at large. In the process of examining Victoria's daily newspapers between 1881 and 1901, I did not

come across a great deal of information that indicated that municipal officials in this city were directly concerned with the perceived ‘lodger evil.’ In fact, references to lodgers and boarders were remarkably absent in places where one might be expected to find such social concerns. For instance, in 1894 the Victoria Civic Improvement Association was founded out of a concern for a host of municipal reform issues, such as taxation, licensing of saloons, and regulation of “houses of ill-fame.”³¹⁸ Yet nowhere in the constitution and the published minutes of this organization was there any indication that there were specific concerns with the practice of boarding and lodging.

The message of social reformers was largely based on negativism. More apparent in the pages of the daily newspapers is a discourse of optimism, which promoted the joy and wonderment associated with home ownership.³¹⁹ Take for instance this article that appeared in the Northwestern Review at the turn-of-the-twentieth century:

The love of home with its attendant luxuries or comforts, its rest and quiet, its social enjoyments and refining influences, is inherent in the heart of every true Briton. ‘His home is his castle,’ and nowhere in the broad empire is this more fully displayed than here in the beautiful city, bearing the same name, and adding to the luster of the country’s beloved queen. A city with over 4,000 homes, for a population of 25,000 inhabitants, speaks in unmistakable language of the prosperity of its people. Not a city of overcrowded tenements and squalid courts, pest holes of disease and misery, but a city of princely mansions, handsome residences, cozy cottages and rural homes, surrounded by stately groves, elegant lawns and beautiful gardens . . . Nine-tenths of the people in this city own their own homes, and take pardonable

³¹⁸ Times 27 November 1894: 7.

³¹⁹ For example, see “How we are Growing Splendid: New Buildings on Every Hand Attest the Growth of our City.” Colonist, 22 November 1891: 3.

pride in vying with their neighbors in beautifying and adorning them, making the entire city a garden spot . . . There is hardly a vacant house within the city limits and though new residences are constantly being erected, so great is the demand for homes, that they are either sold or leased before their completion. It is not necessary to point to this as an evidence of the almost perfect law and order which reigns in the city: every citizen thus becomes the guardian of his own home, and respects the privacy and peace of his neighbor.³²⁰

This article cuts to the heart of this discourse of optimism. Home ownership was promoted as a fiefdom of privacy, respectability, and possibility.³²¹

The discourse of home ownership was persuasive. It was supported by the emergence of affordable loans, changes in house building technology, and the development of a streetcar infrastructure that made areas along the urban periphery accessible for development.³²² But once again we must be cautious about the emphasis placed on home ownership. Deryck Holdsworth suggests that individuals during the nineteenth century who rejected home ownership in Vancouver were seen as outcasts “since those who had no stake in society could not be expected to work

³²⁰ The Northwestern Review: Victoria Municipal Archives hotel folder

³²¹ Thomas Adams, “Housing and Social Reconstruction,” Housing Problems in America: Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on Housing (New York: National Housing Association, 1918); Tygiel, 273-286; Henry Vivian, “City Planning,” Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Ottawa 1910. (Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1911) 106.

³²² Richard Harris, “The Growth of Home Ownership in Toronto, 1899-1913,” Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto Research Paper, No.163, (1987): 17-22; Stephen Herzog and Robert Lewis, “A City of Tenants: Homeownership and Social Class in Montreal, 1847-1881,” The Canadian Geographer 30 (1986): 320; Richard Harris, “A Working-Class Suburb” 318-332; Tygiel, 233; Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975) 157; Daunton, 257; D.D. Luria “Wealth Capital and Power: The Social Meaning of Home Ownership,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 7 (1976-7): 282; M.J. Doucet, “Politics, Space, and Trolleys: Mass Transit in Early Twentieth Century Toronto,” Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process. Eds. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise. (Ottawa, 1982).

within the social and economic rules of those that did.”³²³ According to this generalization, however, more than one-quarter of Vancouver’s population could be labeled ‘outcasts.’ Cities are complex social creations that cannot be reduced to simple analogies. The numbers of private homes in North America were on the rise. Yet so was the impulse of using existing housing resources for different purposes.³²⁴ Rooming houses were being created from old warehouses. Storeowners often rented their extra space to roomers. In addition, apartment buildings were beginning to creep into neighborhoods that were previously dominated by single-family dwellings.³²⁵ The urban landscape of North American cities was becoming fundamentally transformed as distinct residential areas were growing along the periphery and increased specialization was occurring in the downtown core.³²⁶

One aspect of the growing specialization of North America’s urban landscape was the emergence of distinct lodging house districts in large urban centres, such as Boston, New York, and San Francisco. According to Albert Wolfe, these districts were virtual “ghost towns during the day,” but became vibrant during the evening

³²³ Holdsworth, “House and Home in Vancouver: Images of West Coast Urbanism, 1886-1929.” *The Canadian city: Essays in Urban and Social History*. Eds. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan Artibise. (Ottawa: Carleton University Press) 193.

³²⁴ Ford, James. *Slums and Housing with Social Reference to New York City History, Conditions, Policy*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) 341.

³²⁵ See M. Peterson, “The Rise of Apartments and Apartment Dwellers in Winnipeg, 1900-1914,” *Prairie Forum* 18 (1993): 155-169; J. Hancock, “The Apartment House in Urban America,” *Buildings and Society*. Ed. A. D. King (London, 1980):151-189; Doucet et al. *North American City* 388-419; D. P. Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society: 1815-1915*. (Boston: Little Brown, 1979).

³²⁶ Artibise, 156-7; Richard Harris, “Household Work Strategies and Suburban Homeownership in Toronto, 1899-1913,” *Society and Space*. 8 (1990): 97-121.

once tenants returned from a day of work.³²⁷ Victoria, British Columbia, was too small a city to have a self-contained lodging house district. Yet this does not mean that elements of a lodging house district did not exist in this city. Within the downtown sector, Victoria's lodging and boarding population had access to a variety of services, cultural connections, and leisure pursuits. Restaurants were open late. Saloons attracted lodgers through the enticement of free meals. Rooming houses and hotels often housed reading rooms and parlors which served as convenient places where business and social contacts could be made. Chinese laundries were also located near Victoria's boarding houses providing a valuable service for the tenant population. Many of these features differentiated Victoria's lodging and boarding community from the rest of the city's population.

Each boardinghouse also had its own particular culture. Anecdotal evidence from diaries and reminiscences suggests that each boardinghouse, particularly of the 'genteel' variety, had a distinct "social set" within the household, as well as a "leader and mouthpiece."³²⁸ In many instances the head of household defined the character of the boardinghouse. One woman remembers Mrs. Doan, a notorious boardinghouse keeper in Victoria, as being what "people would vulgarly call 'no class.'" Yet Mrs. Doan was renowned for her knowledge of the histories of the origins of most of the 'elite' members of town, and was known for her rapier like wit

³²⁷ Wolfe, 23.

³²⁸ The Islander 15 December 1980.

and put-downs.³²⁹ The character and eccentricities of Mrs. Doan undoubtedly set the tone and tenor of the interpersonal dynamics of the household. Similarly, the owner of the Angel Hotel, Mrs. Carne, impressed her belief in temperance upon the residents of her hotel. Men and women who entered the Angel Hotel knew that they were entering a 'respectable' hotel.³³⁰

The social dynamics of boarding and lodging arrangements could also be focused around charismatic tenants. Certainly, the social life of Victoria's famous Roccabella was focused around its 'star boarder,' C.C. Pemberton, who hailed from one of the city's more prominent families.³³¹ Similarly, Forbes Vernon the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works during the late-nineteenth century lived, as well as conducted his business, at Mrs. Howard's boardinghouse. In any given day there were hordes of government officials who would crowd into the boardinghouse and discuss governmental affairs. The interesting life histories of individual boardinghouse keepers, such as Mrs. Jorand and Mrs. Howard, and boarders, such as Forbes Vernon, C.C. Pemberton, and Mrs. Carne, point to the fact that each hotel, rooming house, and small-scale boardinghouse had its own unique flavour and culture, defined by the constituents assembled under its roof. Yet the culture in these various forms of tenancy also overlapped in many instances. There were many common experiences unique to the tenant population that differentiated this group from the rest of the city's population. The nature of their living arrangements, for

³²⁹ Grohman, unpublished manuscript 11.

³³⁰ Colonist 16 January 1949.

instance, necessitated the exchange of money in return for the provision of certain services. Tenants, typically, did not own household furnishings. As a result, identity was not readily identifiable from material possession. This was also a population that rented, rather than owned the space in which they lived. In addition, tenants typically purchased meals, rather than having them provided by their immediate family structure. The presence of these various factors undoubtedly contributed to a certain mentalité among Victoria's tenant population.³³²

There were a number of factors that encouraged individuals to live as a boarder or lodger during the late-nineteenth century. Chapter 2 indicated that a preponderance of single young men boarded. Although there were not many single young women who boarded, there were a certain number of married women. In particular, there was a significant proportion of newlywed couples who boarded in Victoria. Most likely this was a temporary measure before the eventual purchase of a home. In addition, a number of married women often lived as boarders or lodgers when their husbands left the city in order to work, or to find employment.³³³ This was the case for Mrs. Baillie-Grohman who lived in boardinghouses for several months during the year when her husband left the city to perform surveying work for the provincial government during the late-1890s. Some children also lived as

³³¹ *Colonist* 8 April 1955: 11; *Sun* 14 June 1952: 18.

³³² For a discussion of working-class culture see Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914*. (Montreal, McGill-Queens Press, 1979); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

³³³ See also Tygiel, 214.

boarders. The Angel Hotel housed a number of children who were attending school. In addition, there were a disproportionate number of single parents with children who lived as boarders or lodgers. These individuals probably lacked familial and community support and were living as boarders as means of last resort. Boarding and lodging was a living arrangement that figured prominently among Victoria's elderly population, particularly among the city's widows. As this inventory of the various profiles of individuals who lived as a boarder or lodger implies, the tenant population in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century was exceedingly diverse.

Too much of the literature that examines tenancy arrangements during the late-nineteenth century focuses excessively on the poor conditions of housing that existed during this period. Tenants should not be viewed as merely victims to the whims of exploitative landlords. After all it was the tenant him/herself who had ultimate dominion over the selection of tenancy arrangement. For instance, a tenant could decide whether they wanted to live in one of Victoria's hotels, such as the ritzy Driard, teetotaling Angel, or the rowdy Colonial Metropole. Likewise, a tenant could choose to live in one of the growing number of commercial rooming houses. If these tenancy arrangements were not amenable, then an individual could choose to live with a private family. Once again a tenant could choose to live in an established boardinghouse such as The Roccabella or Mrs. Doan's, or select a household out of the myriad of advertisements in the city's daily newspapers. In addition, it was up to

the tenant to select whether he/she wanted to live alone or with other tenants. A tenant also had the choice of selecting households which were self-contained such as housekeeping rooms. Or, tenants could look for households in which social and living spaces in the dwelling were shared among all residents in the household. Moreover, another housing option was that workingmen could get together and rent a number of rooms in a house, in effect creating their own informal rooming house.³³⁴ There was, therefore, a multiplicity of living arrangements available to tenants during the nineteenth century. Certainly some boarders were exploited. Some boarders lived in horrid conditions. Yet for the majority of tenants there was considerable latitude in the type of accommodation they could select.

Boarders and lodgers during the nineteenth century were active agents that constructed their own social milieu, rather than victims exploited by scheming families or manipulative businessmen. This perspective represents a necessary correction to previous work that examines boarding as merely an adjunct to the family economy. One way in which the agency of tenants was expressed was through affinity. A boarder could, and did, search for households that reflected their own particular class, ethnicity, and religion. Evidence from the manuscript censuses of Victoria from 1881 to 1901 suggests that boarding and lodging was a carefully planned transition. Tenants took extreme care in selecting households that reflected their own unique characteristics.

³³⁴ Groth, *Forbidden Housing* 461.

Chapter 3 explored, and ranked, the presence of affinities between boarder and host, as well as affinities that existed between tenants themselves. There was a host of factors that were taken into account in household selection. A tenant cared about the age, gender, and marital status of the host and tenants in the dwelling. Likewise, birthplace and occupational profiles were taken into account. Through the use of a statistical techniques known as Logistic Regression and Likelihood Ratios, Chapter 3 attempted to establish which criteria were most influential in determining affinity. Household size was extremely important. This makes sense. As household size increased the levels of affinity declined. This study also ascertained that religion was a vital, and most likely ascendant, element of tenancy arrangements in Victoria during the late-nineteenth century. This finding suggests that a corrective to existing research, that exclusively examines the role of class and ethnicity of North America's tenant population, is necessary.

The bonds between tenant and host remained strong during the late-nineteenth century. The manner in which these bonds were formed, however, remains speculative. Advertisements placed by landlords in Victoria's daily newspapers rarely appealed to specific religions, ethnicities, or occupations. Consanguinity with heads of household may have been one manner in which tenants gained entry into these households. It is also possible that a significant number of individuals arrived in Victoria without any social or cultural support. However, once in the city they took extreme care in finding others that shared their own ethnic,

religious, and occupational profile. Most likely there was a rigorous screening process in which tenant and host interviewed each other and determined compatibility. Laurine Marion Krag in her article “How I Made a Boarding-House Successful” describes a typical interview between tenant and host:

It is advisable to take [prospective tenants] into the parlor for a couple of minutes so that they may get an idea of the house. You can find out the kind of room they wish, their occupation and the length of time they wish to stay provided everything is satisfactory ... If they decide to engage the room ask for a deposit, but before taking it explain fully the rules of your house.³³⁵

Clearly, tenants and hosts took extreme care in their assessment of compatibility. The realities of living arrangements during the nineteenth century dictated that internal space was shared within a physical space that was rarely purposely built for the incorporation of boarders. Even if units were self-contained, as in the instance of hotels and housekeeping rooms, walls were exceedingly thin, so the business of others was well known.

As strong as the bond between tenant and host remained, affinities between tenants themselves proved even more trenchant. This finding suggests that it is necessary to examine boarding and lodging as more than merely an adjunct to the study of the family economy. Boarders actively sought out tenants that shared their own distinctive religious, ethnic and occupational profiles. Once again it is difficult to be precise about how these relationships were initiated. It is possible that small groups of individuals, formed out of shared characteristics, traveled together and

³³⁵ Laurine Marion Krag, “How I Made a Boardinghouse Successful: Based on Twenty Years’ Experience,” *The Ladies Home Journal* (April 1906): 34.

settled together in the same households, thereby imposing their current commonalties on Victoria's existing housing resource. It is also possible that recent migrants to Victoria not only interviewed the heads of household, but existing tenants as well, in order to designate compatibility. Similarly, residing tenants would also interview prospective roommates. This was certainly the experience of Mrs. Baillie-Grohman who found that at Mrs. Howard's boardinghouse "the three or four men living there would rather have it to themselves."³³⁶ These tenants succeeded in dissuading Mrs. Baillie-Grohman from living in this household and forced her to find accommodation elsewhere in the city.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 examined the effect of household size on the presence of religious, occupational, and ethnic affinities. Several different living arrangements were isolated. One distinctive constituency in Victoria's tenant population were boarders who lived as the sole tenant in the household. Since affinities with other tenants in these households were not possible, it would appear that careful attention was given to the selection of hosts. The strongest relationship between boarder and host revolved around religion. In fact, 68 percent of boarders living as the sole tenant in 1881, and 58 percent in 1901, shared the same religion as their host. Affinities based on birthplace and occupation were also present between boarders and hosts in this type of living arrangement. However, these bonds remained weaker than affinities based on religion.

³³⁶ Baillie-Grohman, unpublished manuscript 11.

Bonds between tenants and hosts also figured prominently in households with two to five tenants. These households were almost exclusively tenancy arrangements associated with private families. Religious affinities between tenants and hosts remained strong in these households, comprising 52 percent in 1881 and 63 percent in 1901. Affinities based on birthplace and occupation between tenant and head of household, on the other hand, were diminishing. While bonds between host and boarder weakened in certain respects, affinities that existed between boarders themselves remained strong. In fact, three-quarters to two-thirds of boarders living in these households shared religious affinities with their fellow boarders. Furthermore, approximately half shared birthplace and occupational affinities with other tenants in the dwelling.

Boarding and lodging in households where there were two to five tenants continued to have broad appeal in Victoria. It was not stigmatized as a “lower class practice.” Nor was it becoming a living arrangement in which ethnic, religious, or occupational bonds no longer mattered. It remained a careful practice that involved a great deal of effort. Boarders living with private families were likely to share religious affinities. In the case of sole tenants their bond was with their host. Meanwhile boarders living in households with two to five tenants tended to strike affinities with each other, rather than with the head of household. This finding suggests that there needs to be a corrective to existing scholarship that concentrates exclusively on the tenant-landlord nexus.

The presence of occupational, religious, and ethnic bonds also flourished in Victoria's commercial rooming houses and hotels. In fact, over 80 percent of tenants living in hotels and over 70 percent of residents in lodging houses shared religious affinities with at least three other tenants in the household. Over 70 percent of tenants living in the city's hotels and lodging houses shared occupational and birthplace affinities with three or more tenants. The vast majority of tenants living in Victoria's hotels and commercial lodging houses were living in a context where they shared similar characteristics with others around them.

In the case of hotels, the relationship between tenant and host was negligible. It does not appear that the birthplace and religion of hotelkeepers played a major role in attracting tenants. The relationship between host and tenant in commercial lodging houses, however, was more complex. Some 45 percent of tenants in lodging houses in 1881, and 31 percent in 1901, shared the same religion as their host. Similarly, 31 percent of tenants in 1881 and 1901 shared birthplace affinities with the head of household. Conversely, occupational affinities between tenant and host were weakening. Whereas 36 percent of tenants in 1881 shared occupational affinities with their host, this was true of a mere 9 percent of tenants in 1901. Towards the turn-of-the-century, the bonds between tenant and hosts in Victoria rooming houses remained strong in the case of religion and birthplace, and largely insignificant in the case of occupation.

Historians examining family history have found Modell's and Hareven's theory of 'surrogate families' a useful concept to depict the relationship between traditional families and non-kin lodgers and boarders during the late-nineteenth century.³³⁷ Modell and Hareven assert that boarding "was a transfer from a family (often rural, whether domestic or foreign) with excess sons or daughters (or insufficient economic base) to one (usually urban) with excess room (or present or anticipated economic need)."³³⁸ This explanation has been used by several historians to explain the preponderance of young people among the ranks of North America's boarding and lodging population. The problem with this explanation, however, is that it is too mechanistic. According to this argument "excess sons" and "excess rooms" are treated as some sort of mathematical constant. Moreover, boarding often occurred in dwellings that lacked excess space. In fact, working-class families represent a large demographic of the population that took in tenants.³³⁹ Typically, these families resorted to the incorporation of tenants as a measure of family economy, rather than out of a desire to fill 'excess' space in their dwelling.

The concept of 'surrogate families' remains useful in depicting two aspects of Victoria's tenant population. Chapter 2 of this study confirms that the practice of boarding and lodging was an important transitional step that figured prominently in the lives of many young people, many of whom were leaving home for the first time. In this respect, boarding houses may have acted as a 'surrogate family.' This study

³³⁷ Glasco, "Lifecycles" 124; Katz, *People of Hamilton* 257.

³³⁸ Modell and Hareven, 177.

also indicated that a significant number of elderly individuals also lived with private families in Victoria. This suggests that elderly tenants may have assumed specific roles within the city's boarding houses, perhaps mimicking those of a traditional family. Yet for the majority of tenants in Victoria's population, such as those living in hotels and rooming houses, the concept a 'surrogate family' does not provide a suitable explanation.

In Victoria's tenant population 'urban villages' would spontaneously appear, characterized by bonds based on religious, ethnic, and occupational similarities.³⁴⁰ These bonds, as the analysis of affinity presented in chapters 3 to 5 suggests, were decidedly strong. Yet, these bonds were unstable and impermanent as well. Boarders and lodgers were a transient lot. Boarders moved frequently and for a variety of reasons. A tenant might leave to find cheaper accommodation, or better food and ancillary services, elsewhere in the city. A tenant might also desire to find accommodation that was closer to their place of work. Most likely the relationship that tenants had with his/her host, and, particularly, with other tenants, was the principal cause for internal migration in the city. Compatibility with other members of the household was extremely important to Victoria's tenant population. Boarders were extremely willing to vote with their feet. It is probable that boarders moved frequently in order to find the 'right' household. Certainly this was the case for

³³⁹ Bradbury, *Working Families*; Baskerville and Sager, *Unwilling Idlers* 141.

³⁴⁰ Gagan discuss the emergence of a "tramping army of vagrants was unmade and reconstituted by events" Gagan, David and Rosemary Gagan. "Working-Class Standards of Living in Late-Victorian

Baillie-Grohman who tried a prominent hotel and two boardinghouses before suitable accommodation could be found, in this case a boardinghouse that included individuals from her social class and gender.

The willingness of entrepreneurs and heads of household to take in tenants could oscillate as well. Financial hardship might force a family to consider taking-in tenants to supplement the family income. Once the family was able to re-establish a degree of financial certainty and stability, they might opt to withdraw from the business of taking in tenants. The owners of hotels were also motivated to take in permanent roomers in response to financial pressures. If a hotel was not filled to capacity with the lucrative tourist market, then a hotelkeeper was compelled to consider other arrangements. A number of Victoria's hotels took in permanent roomers. This was especially the case during the winter months, a time in which the influx of tourists and travelers into city hotels was comparatively modest. The context of one's individual life course was another factor that may have motivated individuals to take in, or kick out, boarders and lodgers. Recently widowed women, for instance, were a constituency of Victoria's population that was extremely likely to take-in tenants.

The bonds between boarder and host, and between tenants themselves, no matter the degree of affinity, could be broken just as quickly as they were formed. These social relationships, or 'communitas,' were constantly changing and becoming

re-invented. What remained remarkable, however, was that even within this impermanent and transitory environment, affinities remained a prerequisite to household formation.

The nature of boarding and lodging encouraged the development of a ‘mentality’ among its residents.³⁴¹ The choice of a particular boarding or lodging house was a vehicle to self-identity, a symbol of rank and social status. Rooming houses, hotels, and small-scale boardinghouses ranged from ‘rough’ to ‘respectable’.³⁴² The reputation of a boardinghouse and the social class of its residents were important considerations in determining location of residence. In Victoria the social class of a boardinghouse would be readily decipherable from its external and internal appearance, as well as the conduct of the head of household. Mrs. Jorand and Mrs Howard, for instance, were not only boardinghouse keepers, but also ‘respectable’ citizens in the community. Likewise, the Angel Hotel was a well-known temperance hotel, and thus embodied a certain brand of ‘respectability’ and ‘propriety.’ These dwellings provided a group identity that was easily recognizable to contemporaries of the late-nineteenth century.

The practice of boarding provided a ‘social compass’ for those unfamiliar with a particular city. This was attributed to the fact that the majority of recent immigrants were most likely familiar with the customs and traditions associated with

³⁴¹ According to Jacques Le Goff ‘the term ‘mentality’ refers to the beliefs that an individual shares with a larger community. Burke, 14.

boarding and lodging. The frequency of boarding and lodging among residents throughout North America's urban landscape suggests that this form of tenancy was part of a shared experience. At the same time, however, the city of Victoria had its own unique characteristics. As a result, there is an interesting dialectic between a common experience of boarding and lodging which was transferable between the network of cities in North America, and the nuances of local conditions, such as labour force composition and housing stock, which were distinct to Victoria and provided a uniquely individual experience.³⁴³

The logical next step of this thesis is to examine the spatial element of boarding and lodging in Canada's other towns and cities. There is considerable research that points to the development of distinct boarding areas within cities.³⁴⁴ However, most of this research is in the American context and may not be applicable to the more modest population of Canadian urban centres. Also, there is not a major study, that I am aware of, that explores the spatial structure of the landlord-tenant nexus with specific reference to religion, ethnicity, and class. It is my belief that the affinity between tenant and host, as well as the affinity between tenants themselves, had a distinct spatial component. In particular, there is the obvious concentration of Victoria's Chinese tenant population in the span of a few city blocks. But other

³⁴² Hummon, "House, Home, and Identity in Contemporary American Culture," Housing, Culture and Design: a Comparative Perspective Ed. Setha Low and Erve Chambers (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) 209.

³⁴³ Tamara Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," American Historical Review 96 (Feb 1991): 95.

ethnic, religious, and occupational groups do appear to be concentrated, although not in comparable proportion as the Chinese community, in specific areas of the city. So-called 'genteel' boardinghouses were located in close proximity to each other. Similarly, 'rough' hotels and taverns could also be found in close propinquity.

Although this study has demonstrated that there were profound levels of affinity in Victoria's various tenancy arrangements, precise understanding of how these relationships occurred is not completely understood. Perhaps a detailed mapping of tenancy arrangement within a city would show that there were distinct spatial boundaries that characterized the selection of boarding and lodging arrangements. The prospect of mapping tenancy arrangements is not as daunting as it would appear. The 1901 manuscript census offers street addresses, and thus facilitates the examination of the spatial dimension of the relationship between tenancy and religious, birthplace and occupational affinity.

A further dimension that needs to be explored is the relationship between tenancy arrangements and internal space. Once again the Canadian manuscript census provides an ideal source. During the late-nineteenth century, the Canadian census recorded both the number of floors in a dwelling, as well as the number of rooms. My belief is that the internal use of space did in fact vary substantially across the city, and did respond to specific factors such as religion, ethnicity and class. What is necessary, however, is to determine, and map, the intricacies of internal

³⁴⁴ David Ward, *Cities and immigrants: A geography of changes in America*. (New York. Oxford University Press, 1971); See also Abbott, *Tenements*, and Tygiel, *Workngmen*.

space across cities based on such aggregate evidence, as found in manuscript censuses, and from specific case studies, on a house by house basis, as found in fire insurance plans and blueprints.

Bibliography

Computer Databases

1881 Canadian Census: Vancouver Island. Compiled by Peter Baskerville, Eric Sager; with Raymond Frogner and George Young. Victoria: Public History Group, 1990.

1891 Canadian Census: Victoria, British Columbia. Compiled by Eric Sager, Peter Baskerville; with Jennifer Molony, Darryl Green and Chris Roberts. Victoria, British Columbia: Public History Group, 1991.

1901 Canadian Census, Victoria, British Columbia. Compiled by Eric Sager, Peter Baskerville, and Mark Trottier. Victoria, British Columbia, 1999.

Proceedings, Annual Reports, and Government Documents

Adams, Thomas. "Housing and Social Reconstruction." Housing Problems in America: Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on Housing. New York: National Housing Association, 1918.

Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration. New York: Arno Press, 1978.

"Victoria City By-Law No.344," Relating to Public Health (8 March 1901):158-175.

Vivian, Henry. "City Planning," Addresses Delivered before the Canadian Club of Ottawa 1910. (Ottawa: The Mortimer Press, 1911) 106.

Directories

Henderson's British Columbia Gazetter and Directory. Victoria, B.C. 1889-1901.

Lynch's Ready Guide, 1892-1893.

McKenney's Pacific Coast Directory, 1883-1884.

Williams Official British Columbia Directory, 1891-1899.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Daily Colonist, 1880-1901.

Daily News, 1892.

Daily Times, 1890-91.

Northwest Review, 1890-1910.

Articles

Devine, Edward T. "The Shiftless and Floating City Population." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science X (July 1897—December 1897): 149-164.

Fisk, May Isabel. "The Boarding-House Keeper." Harper's Monthly Magazine 113 (June-November 1906): 479-481.

Kettleborough, Charles. "Inspection of Hotels and Public Lodging Houses." The American Political Science Review VII (1913): 93-96.

Krag, Laurine Marion. "How I Made a Boarding-House Successful: Based on Twenty Years' Experience." The Ladies Home Journal (April 1906): 34.

Woods, Eleanor. "Social Betterment in a Lodging District." Charities and The Commons (November 2 1907): 962-968.

Woods, Robert. "The Myriad Tenantry of Furnished Rooms." Charities in The Common (November 2 1907): 956.

Other Printed Sources

Ames, Herbert Brown. The City Below the Hill. 1897, reprint Toronto, 1972.

Batson, George. Strange Boarders : Comedy in Three Acts. New York : Dramatists Play Service, 1874.

Clarke, Joseph. Boarding House Blonde. New York: Godwin, 1936.

Eckersley, Arthur. Gentlemen Boarders : A Farce in One Act. London: S. French, 1910.

- Francklyn, Doris. Mrs. Shrimper's Boarders: A Comedy. New York, 1905.
- Macauley, Ward. Mrs. McGreevy's Boarders. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1918.
- Noble, Annette. Miss Roberts' Lodgers. New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1892.
- Osborn, Merit. Farmer Larkin's Boarders an Original Comedy in Two Acts. Clyde, Ohio : Ames' Publishing Co., 1897.
- Rollins, Montgomery. The Banker at the Boarding-House. Boston: Lothrop's, Lee & Shepard, 1918.
- Sanborn, Alvan Francis. Moody's Lodging House and Other Tenement Sketches. Boston: Copeland and Day, 1895.
- Simms, Evelyn. The Lodging-House Keeper: a Monologue. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1909.
- Stabb, Willam. A Story of Many Colors; Or, Romance in a Lodging-House. Boston, 1903.
- Taylor, Rosemary. Chicken Every Sunday: My Life with Mother's Boarders. Philadelphia Triangle Books, 1946.
- Tees, Levin C. Lodgers Taken in a Comedy in Three Acts. New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1913.
- Tubbs, Arthur Lewis. Miss Buzbys Boarders: A Comedy in Three Acts. Boston: Walter Baker, 1908.
- Young, O. E. Betsey's Boarders, a Farce in One Act. Syracuse, N. Y.: Willi Bugbee Co., 1922.

Secondary Sources

Books

Abbott, Edith. The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936.

Anderson, Nels. The Hobo: Sociology of the Homeless Man. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

Artibise, Alan. Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.

Baskerville, Peter. Beyond the Island: an Illustrated History of Victoria. Burlington, Ontario: Windsor Publications, 1986.

Baskerville, Peter and Eric Sager. Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and their Families in Late Victorian Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Bradbury, Bettina. Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993.

Burke, Peter. History and Social Theory. Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Calhoun, Arthur W. A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present, Volumes I, II, and III. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Crew, David. Town in the Ruhr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

Ford, James. Slums and Housing with Social Reference to New York City History, Conditions, Policy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Gagan, David. Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Gregson, Harry. A History of Victoria 1842-1970. Victoria: Observer Publishing, 1970.

- Groth, Paul. Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
- Haines, M.R. Fertility and Occupation: Population Patterns in Industrialization. New York: Academic Press, 1979.
- Handlin, D. P. The American Home: Architecture and Society: 1815-1915. Boston, Little Brown, 1979.
- Hareven, Tamara. Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- Harris, Richard. Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900-1950. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Hayner, Norman Sylvester. Hotel Life. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936.
- Katz, Michael B., Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern. The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism. London: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Katz, Michael. The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Kluckner, Michael. Victoria: The Way it Was. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1986.
- Lai, Chuen-Yan. The Forbidden City within Victoria: Myth Symbol and Streetscape of Canada's Earliest Chinatowns Victoria: Orca Books, 1991.
- Leacock, Stephen. Literary Lapses. Toronto: Collins, 1945.
- McDonald, Robert. Making Vancouver: Class, Status and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996.
- Marks, Lynne. Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-nineteenth Century Small-Town Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne. Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930. Chicago, 1988.

Palmer, Bryan. A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

Piva, Michael. The Conditions of the Working-class in Toronto 1900-1912. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979.

Recksten, Terry. Rattenbury. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1978.

Rose, Lionel. Rogues and Vagabonds : Vagrant Underworld in Britain, 1815-1985. London, New York : Routledge, 1988.

Rosenzweig, Roy. Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Tygiel, Jules. Workingmen in San Francisco, 1880-1901. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992.

Veiller, Lawrence and Robert W. De Forest. The Tenement House Problem Volumes 1 & 2. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Wolfe, Albert Benedict. The Lodging House Problem in Boston. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.

Articles

Anderson, Michael. "Household Structure and the Industrial Revolution: Mid-Nineteenth Century Preston in Comparative Perspective." Household and Family in Past Time. Ed. P. Laslett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Averbach, Alvin. "San Francisco's South of Market District 1850-1950; the Emergence of a Skid Row." California Historical Society Quarterly 52 (September 1973): 197-218.

Blumin, Stuart M. "Rip Van Winkle's Grandchildren: Family and Household in the Hudson Valley, 1800-1860." Family and Kin in Urban Communities 1700-1930. Ed. Tamara K. Hareven. New York: New Viewpoints, 1977. 100-121.

Bradbury, Bettina. "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891." Labour/Le Travail 14 (1984): 9-48.

- Bruggemeier, F.J. and L. Nithammer. "Lodgers, Schnapps-Casinos and Working-Class Colonies in a Heavy Industrial Region." The Social History of Politics. Ed. Geog Iggers Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985
- Chudacoff, Howard P. "Newlyweds and Family Extension: The First Stage of the Family Cycle in Providence, Rhode Island, 1864-1865 and 1879-1880." Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America. Eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. 179-205
- Darroch, Gordon and Michael Ornstein. "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family, Life Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid." Historical Papers (1983): 30-55.
- Darroch, Gordon and Michael Ornstein. "Family and Household in Nineteenth-Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies." Journal of Family History 9 (Summer 1984): 158-77.
- Daunton, M.J. "Rows and Tenements: American cities, 1880-1914." Housing the Worker: 1850-1914. Ed. M.J. Daunton. London: Leicester University Press, 1990.
- Dennis, Richard. "Interpreting the Apartment House: Modernity and Metropolitanism in Toronto, 1900-1930." Journal of Historical Geography 20, 3 (1994): 305-322.
- Donnelly, Michael, "Statistical Classifications and the Salience of Social Class," Reworking-class. Ed. John R Hall. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Doucet, M.J. "Politics, Space, and Trolleys: Mass Transit in Early Twentieth Century Toronto." Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process. Eds. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise. Ottawa, 1982.
- Dubnoff, Steven. "Gender, the Family, and the Problem of Work Motivation in a Transition to Industrial Capitalism." Journal of Family History 4. 2 (Summer 1979): 121-152.
- Folbre, Nancy and Marjorie Able. "Women's Work and Women's Households: Gender Bias in the U.S. Census." Social Research 56 (1989): 545-570.
- Forward, Charles. "The Evolution of Victoria's Functional Character." Town and City. Ed. Alan Artibise. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981. 347-372.

Gagan, David and Rosemary Gagan. "Working-Class Standards of Living in Late-Victorian Urban Ontario: A Review of the Miscellaneous Evidence on the Quality of Material Life." Journal of the CHA (1990).

Glasco, Laurence "Migration and Adjustment in the Nineteenth-Century City: Occupation, Property, and Household Structure of Native-born Whites, Buffalo, New York, 1855." Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America. Eds. Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. 154-178.

Glasco, Laurence A. "The Life Cycles and Household Structure of American Ethnic Groups: Irish, Germans, and Native-born Whites in Buffalo, New York, 1855." Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930. Ed. Tamara K. Hareven. New York: New Viewpoints, 1977.122-143.

Hancock, J. "The Apartment House in Urban America." Buildings and Society Ed. A. D. King (London, 1980). 151-189.

Hareven, Tamara K. "The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective." Social Research 58, 1 (Spring 1991): 253-285.

Hareven, Tamara K. and Kanji Masaoka. "Turning Points and Transitions: n of the Life Course." Journal of Family History 13.3 (1988): 271-289.

Hareven, Tamara. "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change." American Historical Review 96 (Feb 1991): 95-124.

Harney, Robert F. "Boarding and Belonging." Urban History Review 78(1978): 8-37.

Harris, R. and G. Levine, and S. Osbourne. "Housing and Social Class in Kingston, Ontario 1881-1901." Journal of Historical Geography 7.3 (1981): 271-289.

Harris, Richard. "A Working-Class Suburb for Immigrants, Toronto 1909-1913." The Geographic Review 81 (July 1991): 318-332.

Harris, Richard. "The End Justifies the Means: Boarding and Rooming in a City of Homes, 1890-1951." Journal of Social History 26 (1994): 331-58.

Harris, Richard. "The Growth of Home Ownership in Toronto, 1899-1913." Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto Research Paper, No.163, (1987): 17-22.

Harris, Richard. "The Flexible House: The Housing Backlog and the Persistence of Lodging, 1891-1951." Social Science History 18.1 (Spring 1994): 31-53.

Harris, Richard. "Household Work Strategies and Suburban Homeownership in Toronto, 1899-1913." Society and Space 8 (1990): 97-121.

Herzog, Stephen and Robert Lewis. "A City of Tenants: Homeownership and Social Class in Montreal, 1847-1881." The Canadian Geographer 30 (1986): 316-23.

Hiebert, Daniel. "Class, Ethnicity and Residential Structure: The Social Geography of Winnipeg, 1901-1921." Journal of Historical Geography 17, 1 (1991): 56-86.

Higgs, Edward. "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses." History Workshop Journal 23 (1987): 59-80.

Holdsworth, Deryck. "House and Home in Vancouver: Images of West Coast Urbanism, 1886-1929." The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History. Eds. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991. 187-209

King, Miriam and Diana Magnuson. "Historical US Census Undercounts." Social Science History 19.4 (1995): 455-466.

Knight, Oliver. "Towards an Understanding of the Western Town." The Western Historical Quarterly 4.1 (Jan 1973): 27-42.

Kok, Jan. "Revealing Family Strategies Using Life Course Analysis." Economic and Social History in the Netherlands Vol.6 (1994). 109-127

Lai, Chuen-Yan. "Socio-Economic Structures and Viability of Chinatown." Residential and Neighbourhood Studies in Victoria Vol. 5. Ed. Charles N. Forward. Victoria: University of Victoria, 1973. 101-129.

Litchfield, R. Burr. "Single People in the Nineteenth-Century City: A Comparative Perspective on Occupations and Living Situations." Continuity and Change 3.1 (1988): 83-100.

Luria D.D. "Wealth Capital and Power: The Social Meaning of Home Ownership." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 7 (1976-7) 282.

McDonald, Robert A.J. "Working-Class Vancouver, 1886-1914: Urbanism and Class in British Columbia." BC Studies 69-70 (Spring-Summer 1986): 33-69.

McDonald, Robert. "Victoria, Vancouver, and the Economic Development of British Columbia." Town and City. Ed. Artibise. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981. 31-58.

Medjuck, Sheva. "Family and Household Composition in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Moncton, New Brunswick, 1851-1871." Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: An Anthology of Early Articles on Urban Reform. Ed. Paul Rutherford. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Medjuck, Sheva. "The Importance of Boarding for the Structure of the Household in the Nineteenth Century: Moncton, New Brunswick, and Hamilton, Canada West." Histoire Sociale/Social History Vol.XIII, No 25 (May 1980): 207-213.

Modell, John and Tamara Hareven. "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in Amercian Families." Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930. Ed. Tamara Hareven. New York: New Viewpoints, 1977. 164-186.

Peterson, M. "The Rise of Apartments and Apartment Dwellers in Winnipeg, 1900-1914." Prairie Forum 18 (1993): 155-169.

Peel, Mark. "On the Margins: Lodgers and Boarders in Boston, 1860-1900." The Journal of American History 72, 4 (1986): 813-834.

Pitsula, James. "The Treatment of Tramps in Late-nineteenth Century Toronto." Historical Papers (1980): 116-32.

Ramirez, Bruno "Emigration and Development in a Quebec Rural County." Constructing Modern Canada. Ed. Chad Gaffield. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1994. 128-154.

Roy, Patricia. "Vancouver: 'The Mecca of the Unemployed,' 1907-1929." Town and City. Ed. Alan Artibise. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981: 393-413.

Rutherford, Paul "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920." The Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: an Anthology of early articles on Urban Reform. Ed. Paul Rutherford Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Spragge, Shirley. "A Confluence of Interests: Housing Reform in Toronto, 1920-1920." The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern City. Eds. Alan Artibise and Gilbert Stetler. Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1979.

Steckle, Richard. "The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda." Social Science History 15,4, (Winter 1991): 579-599.

Stewart, Bryce. "The Housing of our immigrant Workers." Saving the Canadian City: The first phase 1880-1920. Ed. Paul Rutherford. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Thernstrom, Stephan and Peter R. Knights. "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America." The Journal of Interdisciplinary History Vol. I (1970-1971): 7-36.

Vandal, Gilles. "Nineteenth Century Response to the Problem of Poverty." Journal of Urban Housing 19,1 (November 1992).

Wade, Jill. "Home or Homelessness? Marginal Housing in Vancouver, 1886-1950." Urban History Review/ Revue D'Histoire Urbaine Vol. XXV, no.2 (March 1997): 19-29.

Weaver, John. "Tomorrow's Metropolis? Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1820-1920." The Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: an anthology of early articles on Urban Reform. Ed. Paul Rutherford Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Wickham, J. "Working-Class movement and Working-Class Life: Frankfurt am Main during the Weimar Republic" Social History 8,3, (1983): 315-43.

Theses and Unpublished Papers

Baskerville, Peter. "More Than Money: Urban Families with Boarders, Canada, 1901." Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project, Workshop, 1998.

Bottomley, J. The Business Community, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning in Vancouver B.C., 1900-1940. Diss. University of British Columbia, 1977.

Bradbury, Bettina. "Measuring Single Parenthood in the Past Challenges, Solutions?" Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project, Workshop, 1998.

Darroch, Gordon. "Individuals, Families and Dwellings in the 1901 Census of Canada: Conceptual Issues, Limits, and Opportunities for Analysis." Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project, Workshop, 1998.

Golz, Annalee. "Constructing 'Normality' and Confronting 'Deviance': Familial Ideologies, Household Structures, and the 1901 Canadian Census." Unpublished paper delivered to the Canadian Families Project, Workshop, 1998.

Greene, Ronald. "Some Licensed Establishments, 1889-1917." Unpublished paper (February 1990) 1-30.

Groth, Paul Erling. Forbidden Housing: The Evolution and Exclusion of Hotels, Boarding Houses, Rooming Houses, and Lodging Houses in American Cities, 1880-1930. Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1983.

Johnson, Fred. The Lodging House Problem in Minneapolis. Diss. University of Minnesota, 1910.

Ruzicka, Stanley Edward. The Decline of Victoria as the Metropolitan Centre of British Columbia 1885-1901. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1973.

Appendix 1

During the late-nineteenth century Victoria's Chinese population increased dramatically from 693 individuals in 1881 to 2080 in 1891 and 2978 in 1901. These figures do not, of course, capture the considerable immigration that occurred between census years. For instance, between 1881 and 1884, it is estimated that 16,000 Chinese individuals passed through Victoria's port alone.³⁴⁵ What attracted Chinese immigrants to British Columbia were employment opportunities in the resource and primary manufacturing sectors, such as lumbering, sealing, and canneries. Employment opportunities were also available in Victoria's expanding service sector, which included domestic service and restaurant work, as well as commercial enterprises such as groceries and laundromats.

The proportion of Victoria's population that was of Chinese descent oscillated dramatically during the late-nineteenth century, comprising one-third of the population in 1886, while only one-seventh in 1901. There was little integration of Victoria's Chinese community with other ethnic groups in the city. Deep rooted racism towards Chinese immigrants conspired to keep this population spatially concentrated in Canada's largest Chinatown. In fact, David Lai estimates that 87 percent of Victoria's Chinese population in 1886 resided in the confines of four city blocks alone.³⁴⁶ As can be imagined, living conditions within this district were

³⁴⁵ Royal Commission 1885 398; Lai, Forbidden City 103.

³⁴⁶ Lai, Forbidden City 103.

exemplified by profound overcrowding, as well as prone to the spread of environmentally transferable diseases.³⁴⁷

There were innumerable ways in which the distinctiveness of Victoria's Chinese population was expressed. Nearly all of the Chinese tenant population during the late-nineteenth century was male. In fact, in the whole boarding and lodging population in 1891 there were only 24 Chinese women, as compared to 1156 men. The near absence of female members of the Chinese community is attributable to immigration laws during this period which forbade the importation of Chinese women into British Columbia. Because of the dearth of female members, it should not come as a surprise that the vast majority of Victoria's Chinese population, 96 percent in 1891, listed their marital status as single. Victoria's Chinese community was also delineated from the rest of the city's population through their religious composition, the vast majority adhering to Confucianism.

Victoria's Chinese tenant population lived in dwellings that differed significantly from accommodation inhabited by other ethnic groups in the city. In particular, Chinese tenants typically lived in households that had fewer rooms compared with Victoria's remaining ethnic groups. Whereas over three-quarters of Chinese tenants live in households with five or fewer rooms, the vast majority of other ethnic groups lived in households which contain six or more rooms. Virtually none of the Victoria's Chinese population lived in hotels. Rather, the vast majority

³⁴⁷ Wade, *Marginal Housing* 20-1.

of Chinese residents lived in large rooming houses, which were typically converted warehouses. During the nineteenth century a minimum standard of space was deemed to be one room per person. Yet for Victoria's Chinese population in 1891, 97 percent lived in households where there was less than one room per person.³⁴⁸

Studies of housing in North America have largely focused on individuals of European descent, particularly those of British extraction.³⁴⁹ As a result, less is known about the housing conditions of non-Europeans, particularly the tenancy patterns of Canada's Chinese and Japanese populations. What has been written, however, has stressed the tremendous overcrowding and unsanitary conditions found in Victoria's Chinatown. Many of Canada's leading social reformers took extreme interest in the housing conditions of Victoria and Vancouver. In fact, this issue became so politically sensitive that the Canadian government fabricated, in the great Canadian tradition, a royal commission that examined Canada's Chinese and Japanese populations in 1902.

The following is an account of a commissioner who inspected housing conditions within Victoria's Chinatown:

³⁴⁸ In 1891 the average number of boarders per person was 9.7 persons living in an average of 4.6 rooms. This is well below minimum standards.

³⁴⁹ Important studies that do examine aspects Chinese tenancy arrangements include: Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989).

Our next visit to a typical Chinese boarding house, occupied, we were told, by the better class of Chinese labourers, cooks and domestics. Ascending a narrow stairway we enter what had apparently once been a large room, some 18x 30 feet, with a 10 foot ceiling, but which had an additional floor, occupying a position nearly midway between the floor and the ceiling, thus making two stories out of one. The lower floor was divided off into small rooms reached by a number of narrow hallways, each room containing three low bunks was observed. The covering, in a moderately clean condition, consists of a mat and one or two quilts. The second or upper floor was reached by a short stairway. Here no attempt seems to have been made at a division of space, at least by partitioning, but at intervals a small mat is spread out on the floor with some regularity, by which each individual is enabled to locate his own particular claim. In many cases even a third floor exists, reached usually by a narrow rickety stairway, into which the occupant crawls upon his hands and knees. Here we found an almost entire absence of light and ventilation, the occupants using a small smoky, open lamp, to discover their respective locations, the fumes from which add to the discomfort of the surroundings. The conditions as to style of dwelling described here conveys some idea of the close economy of these people in small things which enables them to live at but a fraction of the expense necessary for the maintenance of our people of the same class".³⁵⁰

The gaze of the inspector is undoubtedly skewed by the racist ideology of the day. Yet this report does provide a compelling interpretation of the housing conditions in some areas of Victoria's Chinatown. The inspector indicates that ventilation is a problem in this building. Certainly, the presence of a large number of tenants, commingling of eating and living spaces, and the absence of adequate ventilation from windows and doorways, caused specific health concerns. The practice, noticed by the commissioner, of splitting a single floor into two levels was common in many lodging house districts in North America, particularly in situations in which existing housing infrastructures could not keep up with tenancy demands.

³⁵⁰ Royal Commission 1902. 15

Even in the midst of oppressive housing conditions, Chinese tenants still attempted to personalize their living spaces through placing mats at the foot of their beds. Often tenants in these lodging houses would cook their own meals. Usually there was a stove, as well as shared cooking implements, which were used by the inhabitants of the dwelling.³⁵¹ Inspectors, however, were concerned with the perceived lack of furniture in Chinatown's lodging houses. The commissioners complained that:

The rooms looks always bare and empty. A few shelves hold some cups and saucers, and there are several small trays and stands. There are no chairs, and the tables are low, small and plain. As to the kitchen, one or two small moveable stoves, a few pans of metal, and some brooms are all that are needed.³⁵²

Middle-class reformers had similar concerns regarding the absence of material possessions in North America's general population as well. Albert Wolfe, for instance, viewed the presence of material possessions as those "those last anchors ... to a sense of ownership and a permanent interest in a fixed abode."³⁵³ Thus, the perceived lack of furniture was tantamount to being uncivic.

During the late-nineteenth century Victoria's municipal government began to pass legislation aimed at overcrowded lodging houses. Much of this legislation was specifically targeted towards the city's Chinese population. For instance, the city passed legislation that stipulated that each room in Victoria must have at least 384

³⁵¹ Royal Commission 1902, 16; Groth, Forbidden Housing 286.

³⁵² Royal Commission 1902, 335-336.

³⁵³ Wolfe, 150.

cubic feet of space for each occupant.³⁵⁴ Failure to comply with the bylaw resulted in a fine. The reality for most of the city's Chinese residents, however, was that overcrowded conditions, situations that contravened this by-law, were the only available housing arrangements. Chinese tenants made the best out of a terrible situation. This cubic air by-law benefited the city in a number of ways. Municipal officials targeted a marginalized community, and created a by-law that had potential to increase revenue for the city.

In reality, the cubic air by-laws were an infringement into the lives of Victoria's Chinese community. In response, the Chinese community decided to fight back. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) decided that if someone from the Chinese community was arrested under the by-law that they should go to jail in place of paying the fine. However, once the member was released from jail the CCBA would pay the individual \$10 for their troubles. In total 100 Chinese tenants were arrested. The plan of action, of course, was to flood Victoria's jails, in order to make enforcement of the by-law virtually impossible. Also if the police placed all of the individuals who violated the by-law in jail, the police would be in effect breaking their own by-law of minimum levels of cubic feet

³⁵⁴ These cubic air laws were part of a larger impulse in North American society. For example, California passed legislation in 1876. In fact, by the turn-of-the-century most American states had passed similar legislation.—See Charles Kettleborough, "Inspection of Hotels and Public Lodging Houses," *The American Political Science Review* Vol. VII (1913): 93-96.

of space per resident. The CCBA tactic worked. After 1894 the Victoria police department did not attempt to enforce the by-law.³⁵⁵

The development of racialized ghettos had many advantages to the ruling class. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, municipal officials in Victoria had convenient reasons for perpetuating the presence of a distinct Chinatown in the city. The City's police department used the area as a dumping ground for a number of illegal activities such as prostitution and gambling. Perceptions of middle-class reformers clashed with those of the actual inhabitants of Victoria's Chinatown. Chinatown, both in its physical and cultural context, was a site of conflict. For Chinese immigrants the presence of a distinct Chinese district did in fact offer specific advantages. The social and political infrastructure of Victoria's Chinatown provided important networks of association that facilitated the process of acculturation.

The experiences of Chinese boarders and lodgers in Victoria were not unique to this city. Living conditions for Chinese residents in other cities in the Pacific Northwest, such as Vancouver and San Francisco, were also characterized by deplorable housing conditions.³⁵⁶ David Lai, Order of Canada laureate and Urban geographer, has offered many insights into the Chinese community in Victoria, as well as elsewhere in North America.³⁵⁷ Yet there is room for much more research. There are a few avenues of enquiry that became readily apparent in the course of

³⁵⁵ Lai, *Forbidden City* 37-38.

³⁵⁶ Robert Edward Wynne, *Reactions to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1860-1910* (Seattle, 1964).

doing this study. The differences, and similarities, between Japanese and Chinese living conditions during the late-nineteenth century an interesting avenue of research. The rhetoric of social reformers during the late-nineteenth century created an interesting distinction between Chinese and Japanese residents. There was a perception that Japanese citizens were less willing to “crowd together in the same sense as the Chinese.”³⁵⁸ Additional research is necessary to explore the potential differences between Chinese and Japanese housing environments during this period. Moreover, research that explores the rare instances in which Chinese tenants lived among tenants from other ethnic backgrounds is required. It would be interesting to look at these households, and examine the profile of their residents. The intricacies and complexities of Victoria’s Chinese tenant population transcends the purview of this study and will be best left to other researchers.

³⁵⁷ Chuen-Yan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988).

Appendix 2

1881

Crosstabulation of Religion, Birthplace, and Occupation with Household Size in Victoria's Boarding Population (1881)					
	Sole	2-5	6+	Hotels	
Religion					
Roman Catholic	22% (34)	33% (51)	28% (43)	18% (28)	100% (156)
Anglican	27% (47)	38% (68)	18% (32)	17% (30)	100% (177)
Presbyterian	27% (33)	46% (56)	15% (18)	13% (16)	100% (123)
Methodist	42% (21)	16% (8)	26% (13)	16% (8)	100% (50)
'Other'	28% (42)	25% (38)	10% (15)	38% (57)	100% (152)
Birthplace					
British Columbia	27% (37)	59% (80)	5% (7)	8% (11)	100% (135)
Canada	28% (23)	21% (17)	27% (22)	23% (19)	100% (81)
United States	39% (28)	22% (16)	21% (15)	18% (13)	100% (92)
Britain	28% (38)	29% (39)	16% (21)	27% (37)	100% (135)
Scotland	23% (14)	33% (20)	22% (13)	22% (13)	100% (60)
Ireland	18% (14)	22% (17)	36% (28)	23% (18)	100% (77)
'Other'	23% (23)	33% (33)	15% (15)	28% (28)	100% (99)
Occupation					
Professional/ Managerial	24% (12)	37% (19)	24% (12)	16% (8)	100% (51)
Clerical	33% (7)	38% (8)	10% (2)	19% (4)	100% (21)
Sales	29% (7)	29% (7)	29% (7)	13% (3)	100% (24)
Service	14% (8)	25% (14)	9% (5)	52% (29)	100% (56)
Primary Resource	36% (10)	39% (11)	18% (5)	7% (2)	100% (28)
Primary Manufacturing	23% (18)	18% (14)	30% (23)	29% (22)	100% (77)
Secondary Manufacturing	38% (11)	24% (7)	24% (46)	52% (15)	100% (29)
Transport/ General Labour	18% (32)	29% (52)	26% (46)	27% (48)	100% (178)
Total	27% (177)	34% (221)	27% (655)	21% (139)	

³⁵⁸ See Royal Commission 1902. 337.

1891

Crosstabulation of Religion, Birthplace, and Occupation with Household Size in Victoria's Boarding Population (1891)					
	Sole	2-5	6+	Hotels	
<i>Religion</i>					
Roman Catholic	14% (40)	41% (119)	22% (65)	22% (65)	100% (289)
Anglican	17% (144)	45% (382)	24% (197)	15% (126)	100% (849)
Presbyterian	14% (82)	33% (186)	35% (201)	17% (98)	100% (567)
Methodist	18% (64)	37% (133)	33% (114)	12% (44)	100% (355)
'Other'	15% (45)	42% (121)	28% (81)	15% (44)	100% (291)
<i>Birthplace</i>					
British Columbia	9% (17)	66% (129)	19% (37)	6% (11)	100% (194)
Canada	15% (99)	35% (237)	34% (223)	17% (112)	100% (671)
United States	14% (36)	48% (125)	24% (62)	15% (39)	100% (262)
Britain	20% (140)	38% (262)	25% (169)	16% (112)	100% (683)
Scotland	17% (44)	34% (90)	31% (81)	18% (48)	100% (263)
Ireland	18% (21)	29% (34)	27% (31)	27% (32)	100% (118)
'Other'	18% (41)	44% (98)	23% (52)	15% (34)	100% (225)
<i>Occupation</i>					
Professional/ Managerial	27% (50)	42% (78)	23% (43)	8% (14)	100% (185)
Clerical	17% (21)	46% (56)	30% (37)	7% (9)	100% (123)
Sales	26% (48)	46% (86)	23% (43)	6% (11)	100% (188)
Service	16% (33)	45% (96)	24% (50)	16% (33)	100% (212)
Primary Resource	18% (16)	27% (25)	34% (31)	21% (19)	100% (91)
Primary Manufacturing	21% (48)	38% (87)	19% (44)	21% (48)	100% (217)
Secondary Manufacturing	13% (30)	36% (80)	28% (64)	22% (49)	100% (223)
Transport/ General Labour	14% (115)	29% (241)	34% (279)	22% (183)	100% (818)
'Other'	10% (37)	60% (223)	25% (92)	6% (22)	100% (374)
<i>Total</i>	16% (398)	40% (975)	27% (655)	16% (388)	

1901

Crosstabulation of Religion, Birthplace, and Occupation with Household Size in Victoria's Boarding Population (1901)					
	Sole	2-5	6+	Hotels	
Religion					
Roman Catholic	18% (31)	37% (65)	34% (59)	11% (19)	100% (174)
Anglican	22% (107)	36% (177)	33% (162)	9% (42)	100% (488)
Presbyterian	17% (44)	29% (74)	41% (105)	13% (33)	100% (256)
Methodist	24% (38)	33% (52)	34% (53)	9% (14)	100% (157)
'Other'	15% (46)	33% (101)	35% (107)	17% (51)	100% (305)
Birthplace					
British Columbia	19% (26)	51% (71)	19% (26)	11% (15)	100% (138)
Canada	19% (61)	36% (117)	36% (116)	8% (27)	100% (321)
United States	15% (35)	34% (80)	33% (77)	18% (43)	100% (235)
Britain	26% (97)	30% (111)	38% (142)	6% (22)	100% (372)
Scotland	21% (21)	31% (30)	36% (35)	12% (12)	100% (98)
Ireland	13% (8)	28% (17)	55% (33)	3% (2)	100% (60)
'Other'	10% (11)	22% (24)	45% (49)	23% (25)	100% (109)
Occupation					
Professional/ Managerial	16% (27)	43% (72)	36% (61)	5% (8)	100% (168)
Clerical	20% (25)	40% (50)	38% (47)	2% (2)	100% (124)
Sales	18% (14)	37% (28)	39% (30)	5% (4)	100% (76)
Service	17% (22)	30% (39)	30% (40)	23% (31)	100% (132)
Primary Resource	10% (8)	20% (16)	40% (33)	30% (25)	100% (82)
Primary Manufacturing	24% (8)	38% (13)	38% (13)	0% (0)	100% (34)
Secondary Manufacturing	21% (36)	42% (71)	25% (43)	12% (21)	100% (171)
Transport/ General Labour	24% (59)	30% (74)	36% (87)	10% (24)	100% (244)
Total	19%	33%	38%	11%	

Vita

Surname: **Mattys** *Given Names:* **Sean William**
Place of Birth: **London, Ontario, Canada**

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Saskatchewan 1999-present.

University of Victoria 1993-2000.

University of Toronto 1990-1992.

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. (with distinction) University of Victoria 1998.

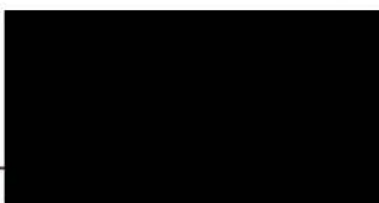
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis (or dissertation) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

Spontaneous Communities: Boarding and Lodging in Victoria, British Columbia, 1881-1901.

Sean William Mattys



Date: Aug18, 2000