

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
1842-1891

by

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B.A., Victoria College, 1963

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

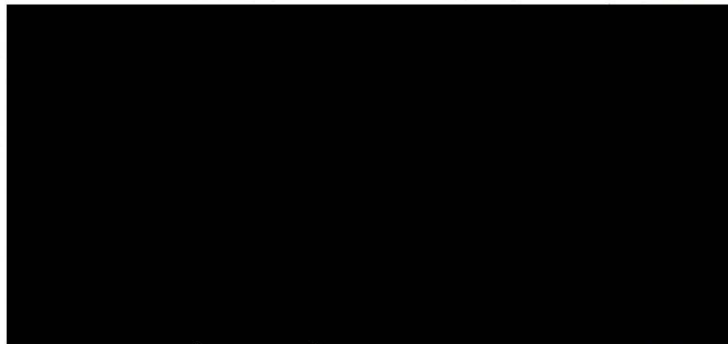
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Geography

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard



*Accepted for
the Faculty
of Graduate
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Dec 29, 1969.*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. C.N. Forward, for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of this thesis. My gratitude also to Miss P.E. Roy and Professor C.H. Howatson for their suggestions, and Dr. E.D. Ross, who supervised the preliminary stages of the study.

Mr. Ainslie Helmcken of the Victoria City Archives supplied much of the information on land values in early Victoria. The staffs of the Provincial Archives and Provincial Museum were most helpful in searching for manuscript material, maps, and photographs. The Provincial Archives provided all of the photographs used in the thesis, and gave permission for their reproduction.

Finally, my thanks to my wife, Grethe, who provided continuous encouragement and typed the preliminary and final drafts.

Supervisor: Dr. Charles N. Forward

ABSTRACT

In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island was significantly altered four times. These changes were largely the result of new economic functions being introduced to the area. The Victoria region has been the subject of a number of historical and geographic studies, but they have been topical in nature rather than regional. This study endeavours to describe and analyze the changing patterns in the human geography which followed each change in economic function.

The approach used is to present a series of cross-sections, in which the regional geography of the area is analyzed in depth. A brief historical background is given for each cross-section, describing the change in function that occurred. In this study five cross-sections are used. The first describes Southeastern Vancouver Island when it was used only by the Salish Indians. The second describes the area during the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company. The third deals with the human geography in the period following the Gold Rush. The last two cross-sections describe the geography before and after the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885. The study ends with Victoria still the dominant center in British Columbia. By the end of the century Vancouver had passed Victoria in size

and economic importance, but the overshadowing of Victoria as the economic center of the province was only relative, because in many respects the Victoria region continued to grow.

This study does not provide any new theories on the history of Southeastern Vancouver Island. Rather, it is a geographer's view of change in an area that played an important role in the cultural and economic history of British Columbia in the Nineteenth Century. By stressing the concept of place, the idea of a continually changing landscape is emphasized. The cross-section approach clearly illustrates the change from one period to the next. The study also illustrates the role that culture plays in changing the landscape. At each stage the dominant economic group had a different view of the value of Southeastern Vancouver Island, and attempted to shape it to meet the group's needs.

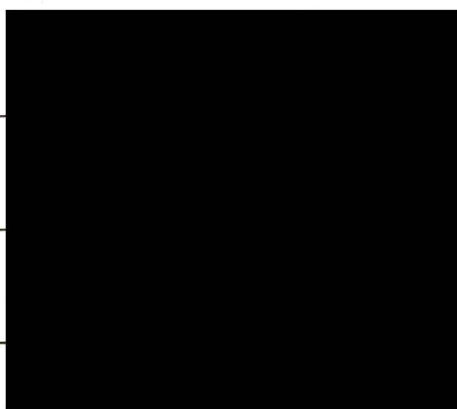


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, the economic function of the Victoria area (hereafter referred to as Southeastern Vancouver Island) was transformed dramatically four times. The most significant change was the introduction of the European cultural and economic system with the establishment of Fort Victoria in 1843. Although the Indians in the area had been in occasional contact with Europeans for about half a century, there had been no European settlement on the southern end of the island. After settlement was initiated the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island was further modified by three other events: the Gold Rush of 1858, the economic recession which began in the late 1860's and lasted a decade, and the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885.

During the Twentieth Century, the functions of Southeastern Vancouver Island have changed only in degree--as with the increased emphasis on military and shipbuilding activities during the two World Wars--rather than being dramatically altered. Victoria and the surrounding area have been associated with a number of economic functions: the administrative role as capital of the province, the center of the Canadian naval operations on the Pacific Coast, the base for

limited development in the forest and shipbuilding industries, a notable tourist center, and more recently, a significant retirement area. The area has been overshadowed by the lower mainland, particularly Vancouver, in manufacturing and port functions, and the mainland area has grown at a much faster rate. The Nineteenth Century offers the more distinct contrasts for the historical geographer interested in the impact of economic change upon the landscape.

Review of the Literature

Present-day Victoria and the surrounding areas have been the subject of a number of geographic studies to date. These studies tended to be topical in nature rather than regional, and generally have been concerned with present conditions.¹ One study by A.L. Farley was regional in scope, but was concerned with the contemporary geography; although it included consideration of the historical development of the area, it did so only in reference to the present conditions.² In discussing the historical background to the present regional geography, Farley used mainly secondary sources.

Another study of Victoria was concerned exclusively with the historical development of the area. J.M. Wright in "The Settlement of the Victoria Region, British Columbia," traced the history of settlement from aboriginal times to the present.³ However, his main purpose was to examine

"the manner in which the regional landscape has attained its present form during the history of its settlement."⁴ and therefore the amount of attention paid to the Nineteenth Century conditions was necessarily brief; indeed, the settlement patterns that were important in the Nineteenth Century, but did not play a significant role in the development of present conditions, were usually not dealt with in the study. Therefore, the period prior to significant urban development in Victoria and European settlement on the Saanich Peninsula received little coverage. Wright's main concern with historical factors was to explain the existing settlement pattern.

A number of articles, theses, and books have investigated the social and political history of the Victoria region during the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Margaret Ormsby's British Columbia: A History⁵, provides a thorough background for any historical study of the province, while Derek Pethick's Victoria: The Fort⁶, offers a more detailed study of social and political affairs in Victoria during the Hudson's Bay Company's administration.

Approach

While geography is concerned mainly with the explanation of the present landscape and distributions, there is a well recognized place for the study of past geographies. These studies can serve either of two main purposes: to

provide the background for understanding the processes that have produced the contemporary landscape, or to study past geography for its own sake. In reference to the second purpose, A.H. Clark has written, "there is much of importance to be learned from considering past geographies and their changing character as worthy of study in themselves."⁷ It is this purpose that the present study serves.

This thesis sets out to provide an account of the changing patterns in the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island in the Nineteenth Century that resulted from each significant alteration in cultural-economic function. No attempt is made to explain the contemporary scene in the light of the past, albeit some of the patterns of development still have relevance to regional development in general and Southeastern Vancouver Island in particular. Although the forces that helped to shape the human geographies of the Nineteenth Century are included, the main emphasis is on the description and analysis of these past geographies.

Other than a description of the vegetation of the area as witnessed by the first European settlers, no account is given of the physical geography. This topic was covered in the works of both Farley and Wright, and there is nothing of significance that can be added from the writings of the Nineteenth Century. Secondly, other than the modification of the vegetation, there was little change in the physical geography during the time covered in this study.

The region studied is the area on Vancouver Island east of a line drawn from the head of Finlayson Arm in Saanich Inlet to Sooke Bay (Figure 1). Wright and Farley used much the same definition in their studies. While the area around Sooke is in many ways physically distinct from the Saanich Peninsula, it has been historically linked with the peninsula as far as human occupation in the Nineteenth Century is concerned. In aboriginal times this boundary corresponded closely to the division between the Straits Salish Indians, who lived on the southern end of the island, and the Nootka and Cowichan Salish, to the northwest and northeast, respectively. In the period of European occupancy the Sooke area was closely linked economically to Victoria.

The study area has been referred to as Southeastern Vancouver Island rather than the Victoria region because the paper begins before the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company fort. While this results in a rather cumbersome title, it does help to avoid the tendency that is quite common among Canadian historians and geographers--to ignore the history and geography of the aboriginal peoples of the country. Reference to the study area as the Victoria Region would imply that the period of study begins after the establishment of the fort, or that nothing significant occurred before that time.

Studies in historical geography in North America in recent years have generally followed one of three main

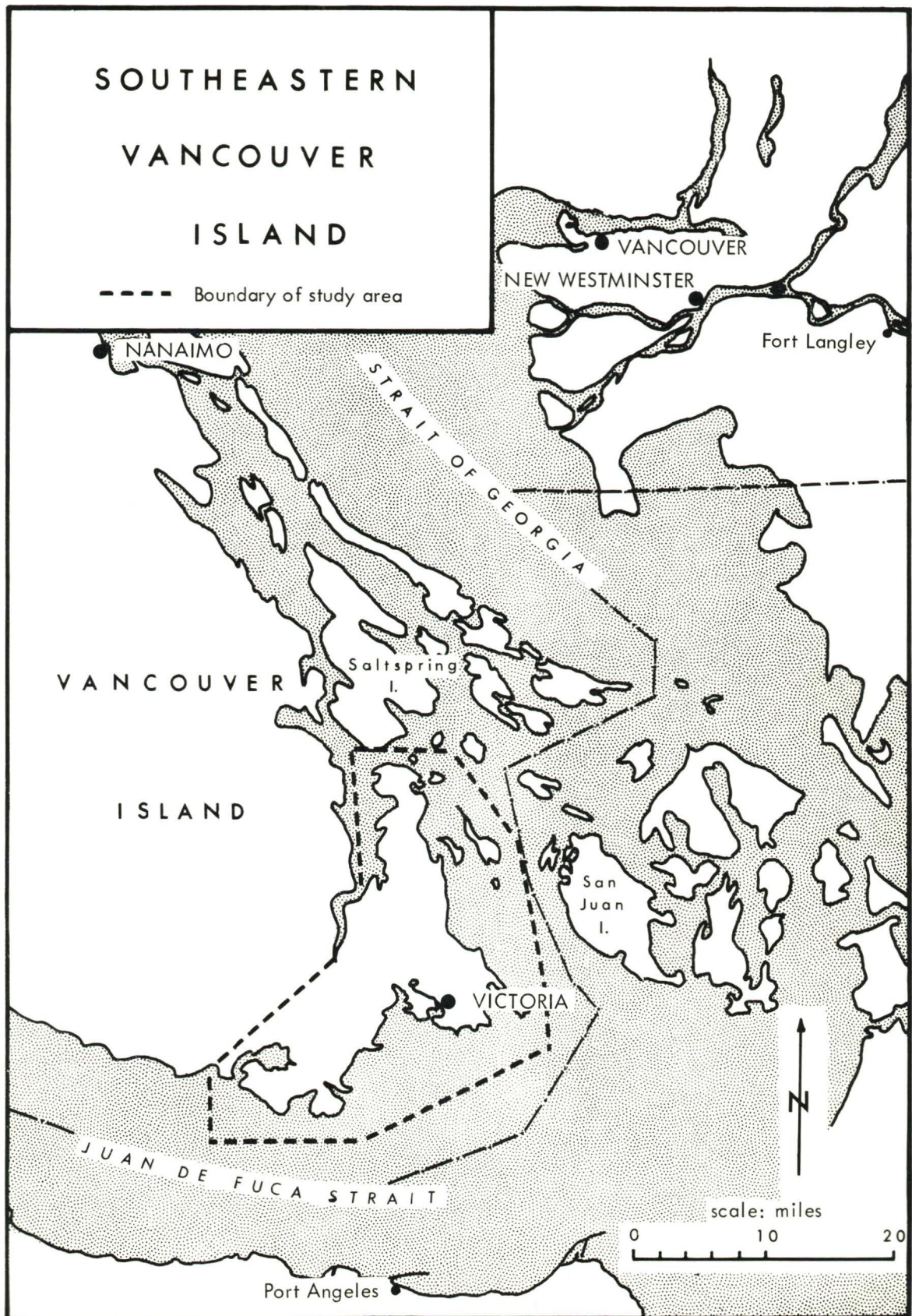


Figure 1

approaches that emerged in the 1930's and 1940's. Two of these approaches have reflected the interests and methodology of the two most influential personalities in this field: Carl Sauer and Ralph Brown.⁸ Sauer was interested in explaining present conditions in the light of the past and used a thematic approach which did not attempt to make a distinction between what is geography and what is history. In particular, Sauer was concerned with the process that produced the present landscape. This approach is best applied to the explanation of one aspect of the present-day geography, particularly along such themes as settlement demography and cultural influences. Brown, on the other hand, was interested in explaining past geographies for their own sake, and tended to employ the cross-sectional approach. His outstanding work, Mirror for Americans, Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard, 1810,⁹ describes eastern North America at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century through the eyes of a fictitious geographer. It is concerned with the geography of that period, not with using history to explain contemporary geography. This approach enjoys the advantage of being more easily identified as "geography" in the Kantian sense; instead of describing the present landscape, it describes a landscape of the past. Thus, it avoids the charge that geographers should not be involved in process or genetic studies. The third approach is really a modification of the second. The concept of sequent occupation, used by Derwent Whittlesey,

Preston James, and Jan Broek, amongst others, uses the idea of the cross-section combined with the idea of process. A series of cross-sections is given, held together by a common theme; "...stages could be recognized during which human occupation of an area remained constant in its fundamental aspects, followed by the onset of rapid and profound changes in the way of life. By analyzing what a place was like in each successive stage the geographer would present a sequent series of 'stills'."¹⁰ This approach has the advantage that broader geographic insight can be gained for each of the stages than would be possible in a study that was concerned only with process, and yet the emphasis on process is not lost.

In this study the sequent occupation approach is used. The human geography of the area is reconstructed for a given year after each significant functional change. The particular dates chosen were determined first by the significance of the period, and secondly by the available data; there was no attempt to maintain a consistent number of years between each cross-section, as this would not necessarily reveal all important changes in the area. Before each cross-section a brief historical background is given, which provides the "process" or description of the change in function, and puts the next cross-section in perspective.

The thesis consists of five cross-sections of the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island in the Nineteenth Century. The first is 1842, the year in which James Douglas arrived to carry out a survey for the site of the new Hudson's Bay Company depot in the northwest. This is the earliest date for which an accurate account of the human geography can be given. Southeastern Vancouver Island during the period of administration by the Hudson's Bay Company is described in the second cross-section. The year chosen, 1854, is near the end of the Company's administration, and one for which there is considerable economic and demographic data. The third cross-section describes the area in 1863, when Victoria served as the main port for the movement of goods to the mainland and for the export of gold to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. The fourth cross-section describes the conditions in 1880-81 at the end of the long depression which began in 1866.¹¹ Finally, the year 1890-91 is representative of the boom that followed the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The railroad period had resulted in considerable growth, including the establishment of a number of manufacturing enterprises that served not only the local market, but also the province as a whole.

The thesis ends in the late Nineteenth Century as the purpose was to describe the geography that followed abrupt economic changes. In the early 1890's Victoria was the largest center in British Columbia, had more manufacturing,

establishments and persons employed in manufacturing than any other town, and handled the largest share of the provincial trade. By the end of the century Vancouver passed it in population, persons employed in manufacturing,¹² and value of trade handled.¹³ Within the next decade the mainland center had acquired more manufacturing establishments as well. But the overshadowing of Victoria as the economic center of the province was only relative, because in many respects the city and surrounding area continued to grow. The change in the economic function of Southeastern Vancouver Island after 1890-91 was gradual.

In dealing with the urban functions of the city of Victoria, commercial land use maps were prepared for 1863 and 1890-91. It was not possible to make a detailed map for 1880-81 because the street directory of that period did not list building numbers. Three maps showing the assessed value of land by block-frontage were compiled from the 1863 assessments published in the British Columbia Gazette, and from the original assessment rolls for 1881 and 1891, which are held in the Victoria City Archives. To compensate for the changing land values from one period to the next, the categories of land value chosen were based in all cases upon the same percentages of the peak land value. Thus, the peak valued lot for each year was rated as 100, and the six categories were: 25 per cent or more of the peak value, 12.5 to 24.9, 5 to 12.4, 2.5 to 4.9, 1.25 to 2.4, and under 1.25.

It is possible to compare not only the overall change of the value of land from one period to the next, but also the relative value of any particular block within the city from one period to the next, and the use to which the land of highest value was put in each period.

The detailed mapping of land values within the city permitted a better analysis of relations between land use and land value. The mapping of block-fronts rather than whole blocks revealed differences in land values between streets that would otherwise have been obscured. Five per cent of the peak land value is an important division, as studies have found, that it corresponds roughly to the limits of the central business district in most modern cities.¹⁴ This permits a general comparison between the area of commercial land use in Nineteenth Century Victoria and the corresponding area in an average city today.

Place names always cause a problem in any historical work that covers a significant number of years. In this study the modern name and spelling has been used in the text except in quotes and paraphrases. When the older name or spelling is used, the present name or spelling is given as well if there is a possibility of confusion. On all maps, however, the names and spellings of the period are used.

NOTES

¹ A number of these studies deal with aspects of human geography. One analyzed the relation of tourism to the historical development, location, and economic base of the city. M.E. Robinson, "A Method for Investigating the Effects of Tourism on the Functional and Morphological Development of a City; as Applied to Greater Victoria, British Columbia," Evanston, Northwestern University, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1957.

Other theses which touch briefly on historical aspects are:

N.A. Cook, "Small Food Stores in Metropolitan Victoria," Edmonton, University of Alberta, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1969.

I.P.B. Halkett, "Tourism in Victoria, British Columbia," University of Victoria, unpublished B.A. Honours Paper, 1969.

L.D. McCann, "The Structure and Pattern of Manufacturing in the Victoria Metropolitan Area," University of Victoria, unpublished B.A. Honours Paper, 1966.

² A.L. Farley, "A Regional Study of the Saanich-Sooke Area of Southeast Vancouver Island," Vancouver, B.C., University of British Columbia, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1949.

³ J.M. Wright, "The Settlement of the Victoria Region, British Columbia," Montreal, McGill University, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1956.

⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

⁵ M.A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Toronto, Macmillan, 1958.

⁶ D. Pethick, Victoria: The Fort, Vancouver, Mitchell, 1968.

⁷ A.H. Clark, "Historical Geography," American Geography: Inventory and Prospect, P.E. James and C.F. Jones, eds., Syracuse University Press, 1954, p. 89.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 83-86.

⁹ Ralph Brown, Mirror for Americans, Likeness of the Eastern Seaboard, 1810, New York, American Geographical Society, 1943.

¹⁰ J.O.M. Broek, Geography: Its Scope and Spirit, Columbus, Merrill, 1965, p. 28.

11 The fiscal year, July 1 to June 30, is used for the last two cross-sections because almost all the data available at these times were given in this manner.

12 The following data show how Vancouver surpassed Victoria at the turn of the century:

	Victoria	Vancouver
<u>1890-91</u>		
Population	16,841	13,709
Manufacturing Establishments	239	94
Employees	2,033	1,084
<u>1900-01</u>		
Population	20,919	26,133
Manufacturing Establishments (5 or more employees only)	82	71
Employees	1,445	2,151

Canada, Census of Canada, 1901, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1902-05, vol. 3, p. 326.

13 In the fiscal year of 1899, Vancouver handled \$4,009,438 of trade, and in 1900, \$6,361,913. The figures for Victoria were \$4,785,459 and \$5,441,765. Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Reports, 1900 and 1901.

14 R.E. Murphy and J.E. Vance, "Delimiting the CBD." Readings in Urban Geography, H.M. Mayer and C.F. Kohn, eds., pp. 424-426.

CHAPTER II

THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS, 1842

The first detailed historical accounts of Southeastern Vancouver Island date from the early 1840's when the Hudson's Bay Company decided to establish a new fur trade depot at the site of present-day Victoria. Until further archaeological surveys are carried out, this is the earliest date at which an accurate human geography can be constructed for the area. It was also the end of the aboriginal human geography; after the fort was constructed, the settlement pattern and economy of the local Indians was considerably altered.

In 1842 Southeastern Vancouver Island was occupied by about two thousand Salish Indians who had villages situated at the heads of bays from Saanich Inlet to Sooke Basin, as well as on some of the nearby islands. The villages were fully occupied only during the winter months; during the remainder of the year the Indians were busy fishing, hunting, and gathering at various resource sites throughout the area. The natural environment was not altered to any extent at this time; much of Southeastern Vancouver Island was lightly forested with oak and arbutus in the drier areas, and Douglas fir and other conifers in the wetter areas. Throughout, but particularly in the south, there were large,

open spaces, referred to as "prairies" by the earliest settlers. The natural environment provided the Indians with a high level of subsistence, as the land provided game, berries and root crops, and the sea, a wide range of marine life. With such an abundance of natural food resources, there was little incentive to alter nature.

Historical Background

Archaeological investigation of Southeastern Vancouver Island has been very limited to date, and our knowledge of the prehistory of this area is still largely speculative. One view, presented by C.E. Borden, is that the area, together with the adjacent mainland, was settled originally by a maritime "Eskimoid" culture which spread down the Pacific Coast.¹ At a later date, a reorganization of interior peoples took place, and one result was the movement of groups from the interior to the coast. One of these groups, Salish-speaking, migrated to the coast through the Fraser River Valley. This migration, which possibly lasted several centuries, resulted in the occupation of southern Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands, San Juan Islands, and the adjacent mainland by the ancestors of the present-day Coast Salish in these areas. Many of the traits of this interior people were later modified either by contact with the earlier coast culture or by adaptation to the new environment.²

Descendants of these people occupied Southeastern Vancouver Island when interest in discovering the Northwest Passage drew European explorers to the northwest coast in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century. Of particular importance was the location of the strait supposedly sighted by Juan de Fuca in 1592. Although de Fuca's story had been the result of his imagination, the entrance to a strait was found a few degrees to the north of that indicated by him.³ In 1790, Manuel de Quimper became the first known European to enter Juan de Fuca Strait, and travelled as far east as present-day Victoria. He investigated both Sooke and Esquimalt harbours, and referred to Indian villages at Sooke and the large lagoon to the west of Esquimalt harbour. During the following summer Francesco Eliza and Jose Maria Nawaez explored Haro and Rosario Straits, and investigated the Gulf of Georgia as far north as Nanaimo and Texada Island. Finally, in the summer of 1792, Galiano and Valdez entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and after visiting Esquimalt, sailed to Bellingham Bay, and then Boundary Bay. Here they met the British expedition under Captain George Vancouver, and together sailed north through Malaspina Channel. At this point the Spaniards left to examine the mainland, and Vancouver continued north through Johnstone Strait to Queen Charlotte Sound. He then sailed south down the west coast of Vancouver Island to Nootka Sound, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the island that bears his name.

Both Spain and Britain had claims on the northwest at this time, and while at Nootka, Captain Vancouver attempted to negotiate with the Spanish Commandant, Bodega y Quadra. An impasse was soon reached, however. During the next year, events in Europe caused Britain and Spain to form an alliance, and on March 23, 1795, British and Spanish representatives met at Nootka for a brief ceremony during which Britain took possession of the area.

During the next sixty years British interest in the Pacific northwest centered on the fur trade, and particularly on the sea otter. As most of the sea otters lived in the waters from northern Vancouver Island to the Gulf of Alaska, there was little interest shown in southern Vancouver Island. However, the effect of the fur trade was felt by all native groups, even those who had little or no direct contact with it. The Salish of southern Vancouver Island often felt the impact of the Europeans long before they met them. In the early 1780's a smallpox epidemic swept across North America from the east, and heavily decimated the native population on the northwest coast. During the early period of the fur trade, independent traders who arrived by sea introduced firearms as a trade item. This played a major role in the redistribution of the Salish groups on southern Vancouver Island and the adjacent islands. One of the earliest groups to acquire firearms were the Yacultas, the most southerly group of the Kwakiutl. They were particularly aggressive,

and carried out periodic raids as far south as Puget Sound, forcing most of those living on the Gulf Islands and San Juan Islands to construct large forts or to move to the mainland or Vancouver Island for greater protection.

During the late 1820's the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish posts along the coast north of the Columbia River. The first of these was Fort Langley on the Fraser, established in 1827. At the same time controversy occurred over the selection of the site for the principal Pacific depot for the Company. The main argument was between Chief Factor John McLoughlin, who wanted it at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and Governor Simpson, who wanted it farther north. The latter at first favoured a location near the mouth of the Fraser River, but after investigating the canyon in 1828, ruled it out.⁵ The position of Fort Vancouver was weakened, however, by a series of marine accidents on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia,⁶ and by the outbreak of fever brought north from California. The latter, since established as malaria, almost eliminated the native population in the area.⁷

In 1834 Simpson instructed McLaughlin to explore the Puget Sound area, but the latter was unable to discover a site that provided a large enough tract of land capable of tillage, a necessary prerequisite for the depot. McLoughlin continued to prefer Fort Vancouver as the Pacific depot for the Company, but he sent Captain McNeill in the Beaver to

explore the southern end of Vancouver Island in the early summer of 1837.⁸ Although McNeill's report has apparently been lost, James Douglas' letter to Simpson gives a summary of McNeill's exploration. Describing present-day Victoria harbour, he wrote:

The most Easterly of the harbours 10 miles West of Point Gonzalo is said to be the best on the Coast and possesses the important advantage, over the other, of a more abundant supply of fresh water, furnished by a stream 20 Yards wide, which after contributing to fertilize the open Country, flows into it. The plains are said to be fertile and covered with luxuriant vegetation, but judging from a sample of soil brought here, I think it rather light and certainly not the best quality, admitting even this disadvantage, I am persuaded that no part of this sterile and Rock bound Coast will be found better adapted for the site of the proposed Depot or to combine, in a higher degree, the desired requisites, of a secure harbour accessible to shipping at every season, of good pasture, and, to a certain extent, of improvable tillage land.⁹

In the autumn of 1839 McLoughlin accompanied by McNeill and John Work made his only visit to Vancouver Island. He visited the harbour suggested by McNeill as a site for the depot, but after acknowledging that the harbour itself was fine, dismissed the site as "not a place suitable to our purposes."¹⁰ Simpson, however, thought that there were far too many forts on the coast, and decided to close many of them and to establish a fort at the harbour suggested by McNeill. He wanted a depot that could supply not only the fur trade in the northwest, but also the budding whaling industry in the North Pacific. He also hoped to develop the fisheries in the area. A fourth consideration was a

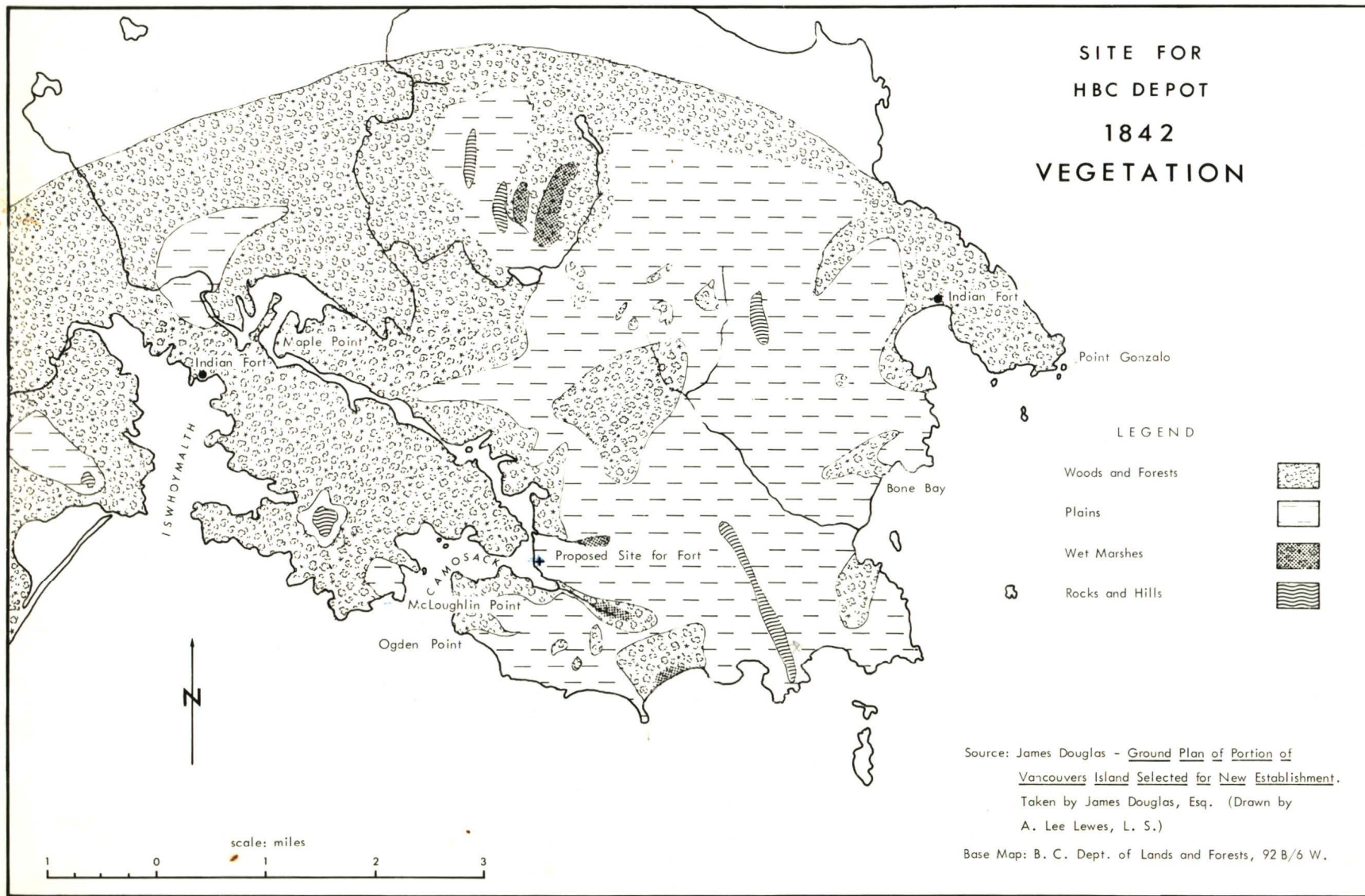
political one; Simpson concluded that the Strait of Juan de Fuca would likely become the boundary between the United States and British North America.¹¹

In June, 1842, McLoughlin sent James Douglas, with a party of six men, to southern Vancouver Island to re-investigate the area and to choose a site for the location of the depot. Douglas once again concluded that Victoria Harbour, or Camosack, as he called it after the natives' name for the area, was the best location for the post.

Douglas' View of the Camosack Area

Following his trip to southern Vancouver Island, Douglas sent a written report to McLoughlin.¹² It is the earliest available detailed account of the area. Douglas included in the report a rough sketch of the area from just west of Is-whoy-malth [Esquimalt Harbour] to Point Gonzalo [Cadboro Point]; the information provided by this sketch is given in Figure 2. In Douglas' opinion, southern Vancouver Island was the only possible choice for the depot as the area from Point Gonzalo to the Port of Sy-yousung [Sooke Harbour] contained the only extensive clear land. The area also offered several fine harbours, most notably Sy-yousung, Whoyung [Pedder Bay?], Is-whoy-malth, and Camosack. The first three, however, offered no opportunity for the establishment of farms. Sy-yousung had the advantage of fresh water, and according to Douglas' native

Figure 2



informants, "a considerable quantity of salmon is caught there annually; a consideration which would make it exceedingly valuable to an establishment." Whoyung, however, had little to recommend it, being surrounded by "high broken hills of naked granite" on the east and "equally sterile" material on the west. Is-whoy-malth, similarly, although being "one of the best harbours on the coast", had little else to recommend it. "Its appearance is strikingly unprepossessing, the outline of the country exhibiting a confused assemblage of rock and wood."

The Port of Camosack, on the other hand, was situated next to "a range of plains nearly 6 miles square containing a great extent of valuable tillage and pasture land equally well adapted for the plough or for feeding stock." The clear land extended from the proposed site of the new fort (Figure 2) to Point Gonzalo [Cadboro Point], consisting of two-thirds "prairie" land and the rest covered by "valuable oak and pine timber." While the soil in the area varied in quality, there grew in all places an abundance of grass as well as clover. "In two places particularly we saw several acres of clover, growing with a luxuriance and compactness more resembling the close sward of a well managed lea, than the produce of an uncultivated waste." Everything considered, Douglas concluded that the Port of Comosack offered the best possible location for the new depot. Even the lack of a large stream for the operation

of a mill was partially offset by the strong tide that ran through the narrows about two miles up the Canal of Camosack [the Gorge].

Douglas' report and choice of location for the fort reflects the importance of agriculture in the plans of the Hudson's Bay Company for the new depot. If the fort were to be used only as an administrative center, or as a means for defence against American aggression in the area, then Esquimalt Harbour would have been the more likely choice, as it had much the better harbour.

Unfortunately, Douglas did not carry out a survey of the Saanich Peninsula, indeed, maps published before 1855 either left a broken line beyond Cadboro Point, or failed to show Saanich Inlet.¹³ One can assume from Douglas' failure to mention the inlet that he had no knowledge of it at this time. Another limitation in Douglas' report is the few references to the natives of Southeastern Vancouver Island. Other than a few general references to native forts, the only specific village sites referred to are at Sooke and Cadboro Bay, the latter indicated on his sketch map. The reconstruction of the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1842, therefore, must depend upon the few references made in the journals and correspondence of the earliest Europeans to arrive after the establishment of the fort, and on the work carried out by anthropologists.

Indian Population and Settlement

At the time of Douglas' first visit to Southeastern Vancouver Island, the area was occupied by three groups of the Coast Salish ethnic division, all speaking dialects of the Straits Salish language. The Saanich-speaking tribes occupied the Saanich Peninsula, the Songish or Lekwungen the area from Cadboro Bay to Parry Bay, and the Sooke from Pedder Bay to Sooke Harbour (see Figure 3). This division of the tribes of Southeastern Vancouver Island into these three categories is by language; the grouping had no political connotation. Linguistically, the tribes were most closely related to the Lummi and Samish in the San Juan Islands, and the Semiahmoo and Klallam on the Washington coast, all of which spoke the Straits language. They were also closely connected to other language groups, however, particularly the various Cowichan-speaking tribes up-island, and, in the case of the Saanich, to the tribes at the mouth of the Fraser River.

In 1842, the Sooke occupied present-day Sooke Harbour. The harbour had been the site of an Indian village ever since Europeans first visited the area; Quimper for instance, visited the site on his trip in 1790.¹⁴ There is some doubt, however, if the group visited by Quimper was the same as that visited by Douglas half a century later. Suttles reports that the Klallam Indians (who later occupied Becher Bay) defeated the earlier inhabitants of Sooke,

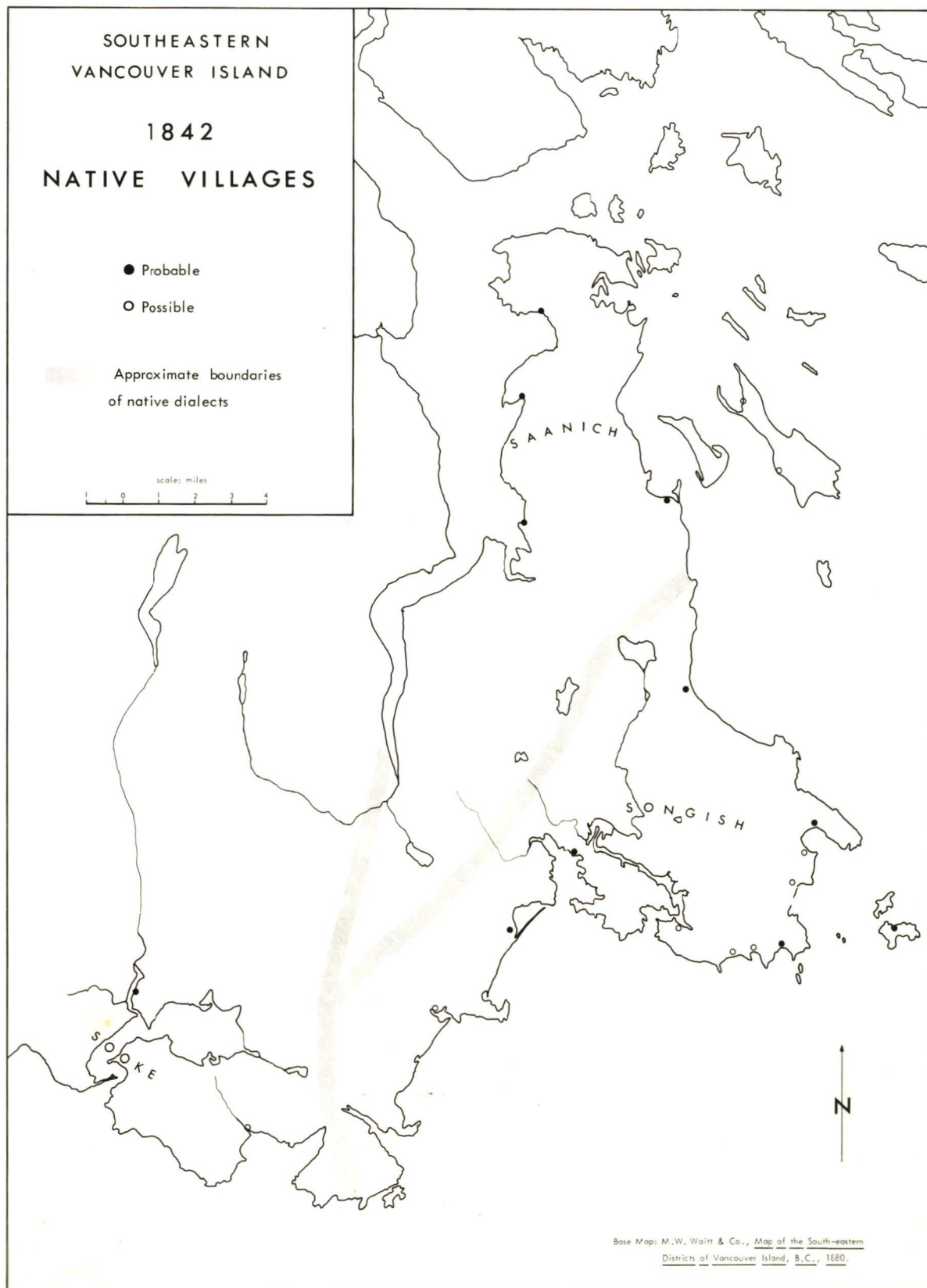


Figure 3

Harbour, forcing them to Sooke Bay, where they were eventually annihilated by the Makah from Cape Flattery.¹⁵

Eastward from the Sooke were the various Songish tribes who occupied a number of sites from Parry Bay to Cadboro Bay. Douglas in his report to McLoughlin refers to having made a careful survey of "the several Forts and harbours" in the area;¹⁶ one can assume he was referring to fortifications erected by the Songish for protection against raids from the Cowichan and Yacultas. The only references to specific sites, however, is on his sketch map, which indicates Indian forts at Cadboro Bay and Esquimalt (Figure 2). Reports by ethnographers indicate a number of sites that were occupied before the British settled there. Franz Boas did some work in the area at the end of the Nineteenth Century, and in his report to the British Association for the Advancement of Science listed twelve village sites.¹⁷ Early in the Twentieth Century, Charles Hill-Tout carried out field work and listed eleven probable sites in his report.¹⁸ The names of the villages and their locations given in these reports are listed in Table I. The lists show considerable similarity, especially if Boas' site number six is assumed to be the same as Hill-Tout's site number five.

The most recent ethnographic work was done by Wayne Suttles.¹⁹ His informants reaffirmed some of the locations listed by Boas and Hill-Tout, and raised doubts about some

TABLE I
PRE-CONTACT VILLAGES OF THE SONGISH

Location (Modern Names)	F. Boas (1890)	C. Hill-Tout (1907)
Cadboro Bay	1. Ququ'lek 2. LEIE'K	1. S'nÉka 2. Sluk
Discovery Island	3. Sk-inge'nes	3. Sk-uninEs
Oak Bay	4. Sitcan'netl	--
McNeill (Shoal) Bay	5. Tck'Ungen 6. Tcik-au'atc 7. Qitla'sen 8. Quqoaq	4. Tcuknin -- -- --
Ross Bay	--	5. Tciakaúitc
Victoria Harbour	9. Squin'nqun	6. QsapsEm
Esquimalt	10. Qsapsem (or Sqsema'ltel)	7. Sqematlitl
Esquimalt to William Head	11. Stsa'nges 12. K-ek-a'yek-En	8. SonEs
Becher Bay	--	9. Nukst'laiyum 10. Tcianuk 11. Tciwetsun

Sources: F. Boas, "The Lkungen," British Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 60 (1890), p. 17 and C. Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Southeastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 37 (1907), p. 307.

of the others. In particular, Suttles thought that the sites given by Hill-Tout at Becher Bay were Klallam villages.²⁰

The village sites of the various Saanich tribes are easier to determine as there was less disruption of their locations after the establishment of Fort Victoria than was the case for the Songish. The four historic villages of the Saanich tribes on the peninsula were Tsartlip, Paquachin, and Tsaykum, moving south to north on the west side of the peninsula, and Tsaout on the east side²¹ (Figure 3). In 1842 the Saanich possibly occupied a number of sites in the Gulf Islands as well; those on what is now Sidney Island are shown in Figure 3.²² By this time, however, attacks from northern tribes had driven many of those living on the smaller islands to the Saanich Peninsula, particularly to the village of Tsaout.²³

In general the Salish villages of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1842 were situated at the heads of well-sheltered bays. Originally, protection from the weather was probably the most important factor, but by the middle of the Nineteenth Century, protection from the raids of the Cowichan and Yaculta likely was more important. These raids had led to shifts in location of some villages and erection of fortifications in others. The Saanich constructed forts, as did the Songish at Cadboro Bay and Esquimalt Harbour. The idea of building these forts might have been gained from contact,

with the whites, especially after the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827.

The size of the villages in 1842 is difficult to ascertain. Mooney, in his estimate of the aboriginal population of North America before the great smallpox epidemic of the 1780's, gave a total population of 2,700 for Southeastern Vancouver Island.²⁴ The early explorers of the area, unfortunately, gave little indication of the number of Indians. In 1842, however, it is likely that the native population was below that estimated by Mooney because the effects of the smallpox epidemic probably had not been overcome. Secondly, the increasing raids of the northern tribes would have taken their toll, either from death in the raid itself or by the number of prisoners taken by the victors. The scant evidence available from explorers' reports indicates a figure close to two thousand. The largest concentrations appear to have been at Sooke, the Songish village at Cadboro Bay, and the four Saanich villages.

Indian Economy

In general the native economy on Southeastern Vancouver Island resembled that of other areas on the northwest coast. The sea was the main provider, and the yearly work cycle was geared to the arrival of various species of fish, particularly the salmon. The sea was also the main means of travel, and the villages were always built at the heads of sheltered bays.

The Straits Salish did not ignore the land, however, and berries, bulbs and roots were important items in their diet. While these crops were not usually cultivated, they did provide the natives with a much more varied diet than is generally assumed.

In 1842 the Indians of Southeastern Vancouver Island had had little contact with the Europeans, and their resources were those that had been used for centuries to satisfy their most immediate needs: food, clothing, shelter and transportation. From the writings of the earliest explorers and settlers in the area, and the recent works by anthropologists, it is possible to develop a fairly detailed account of the resources that were available.²⁷

The sea was the main source of food. As was true throughout the northwest coast area, salmon were the most important food resource. All five species were available, although only coho and chum spawned abundantly in the few streams of the area. Other species of fish readily available included halibut, cod and other rock fish, flounder and herring. A wide range of shellfish was available in abundance along the coast, and sea mammals, notably seals and porpoises, were occasionally taken.

The resources provided by the sea were so plentiful that they would have been sufficient to maintain the native population during most of the year. The Straits Salish, however, supplemented their marine diet with a wide variety of food resources from the land. Waterfowl of every

description were taken around the many lakes and deer, elk and bear were abundant. The most important vegetal food available was the bulb of the camas, a plant which blooms in May and withers soon after seeding. Because the bulb had to be dug out while the stock was still visible, it was only available for a few weeks near the end of May. The bulb was very important to the Indians as it was their main food sweetener.²⁸ Other native plants used as food were the bulbs of lilies, the roots of clover, and sprouts from the horsetail, thimbleberry and salmonberry. Fruit available included blackberries, salmonberries, salalberries and crab-apples, although most of the berries used by the Indians in the area came from the Fraser River delta.

By 1842 the Indians of Vancouver Island had obtained a new vegetable crop. The white potato was being cultivated by the Straits Salish in the areas visited by James Douglas on his trip of 1842. Commenting on the agricultural possibilities of Southeastern Vancouver Island, he wrote, "We are certain that Potatoes thrive and grow to large size, as the Indians have many small fields in cultivation, which appear to repay the labour bestowed on them...."²⁹ The Spaniards had introduced the potato during their stay at Nootka Sound, but it is more likely that the natives of Southeastern Vancouver Island had obtained it from Hudson's Bay Company employees at Fort Langley.

The most valuable resource for clothing, housing and transportation was the red cedar. The bark was shredded and used for clothing and rope, the wood was split for the planks of houses, and large trunks were hollowed and used as canoes. Cedar was readily available for the Sooke and Saanich tribes, but less so for the Songish. The latter, especially the tribes in villages from Cadboro Bay to Victoria Harbour, probably had to bring their logs some distance as there were few cedars in that vicinity. Cedar could be split easily into thin planks, even with stone axes and chisels, and this enabled the Saanich and Songish to remove the wall-boards from their houses and take them along to the summer camps where they could be used in the houses erected there. Shredded cedar bark was used to a great extent in making clothing, essentially skirts for the women and shawls for both sexes, although the latter were used only in the winter months. In the summer, males often went without clothing. Wool from mountain goats and dogs was used in the weaving of women's clothing, but mainly for decorative purposes. Mountain goat wool was too rare to be considered anything but a luxury, and only those of the upper class could afford it. Besides bark, the main materials used for clothing were hides of animals. Bark, shredded animal hides, roots and vines were also used for ropes, nets, mats, and baskets.

The exploitation of the resources of Southeastern Vancouver Island by the natives was carried out by the

members of the large households. These households were politically and economically independent, and were made up of several families in the European sense. The members were bound together by descent, common traditions and control over certain resource areas. The leaders of the household units were not chiefs with clearly defined powers, but men with the most prestige.³⁰ A number of these household units made up a village, which was often referred to as a "tribe", but the Coast Salish did not have a concept of a tribal unit. "There was no tribe or state, hence, there were no offences against or loyalty to either."³¹

The Salish worked in step with nature, and developed a year cycle of work activity that harmonized with the availability of resources. During the long, wet winter economic activities were limited to fishing for cod and grilse on the calmer days, and to shooting waterfowl with spears or bows and arrows. The Salish also constructed large nets with which to snare waterfowl. Two large poles often over thirty feet were erected at a spit, a narrow channel, or stream mouth. The net was suspended between the poles. There were few good locations for these nets on Southeastern Vancouver Island, and so they were of limited use.³² However, the Sooke Indians made considerable use of a net at the spit guarding the entrance to Sooke Inlet,³³ and the Songish had one at the small lake near the Inlet of Camosack [Swan Lake].³⁴ In the spring economic activity increased. Seal hunting

began in March, and fishing increased along the coast as the weather improved. Spring salmon and halibut were caught as well as cod and grilse. In April, herring ran up the Inlet of Camosack to spawn, and were taken in great numbers by the Songish. At this time all the groups began to move away from the winter villages. Men hunted for deer and elk, and in May, the women dug for camas bulbs and clover roots on the open parklands.

The most important period of economic activity was during July and August. This was the period of the annual sockeye salmon run, and the sockeye was probably the most important single item in the diet of the natives. The various village groups of Southeastern Vancouver Island arranged their work activities to take full advantage of the run. The sockeye do not feed after entering the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and so must be trapped. As there are no sockeye streams on Vancouver Island, the Indians there had to travel to the Fraser River to net for fish, or develop techniques of netting fish as they passed through the various straits between Vancouver Island and the mainland.

The technique developed to net fish as they passed on their way to the Fraser was the reef-net. It was a rectangular net approximately thirty-five feet by twenty-five feet suspended between two canoes on a kelp-covered reef. As the sockeye swam across the reefs, particularly during a flood tide, they came to the surface. The nearer end of the

net was lowered a few feet into the water, while the farther end was kept at the water surface. The fish swam up onto the net where they were trapped. Although this system could be used only during flood or ebb tides in good weather, it was nonetheless highly productive, as several thousand fish could be taken in a single day. The reef net was employed by the Sooke, Songish and the Tsaout villagers of the Saanich. The Sooke had about four sites along the southwest corner of the island, while the Songish migrated to the west coast of San Juan Island, where they employed reef-nets all along the coast.³⁵ The Tsaout also migrated to the islands in the straits, mainly fishing off South Pender and Saturna Islands. The tribes from the west side of the Saanich Peninsula, however, moved across to the Fraser River during the summer months, where they had a large summer village.³⁶

In the fall the various tribes returned to their villages, from which they fished and hunted for sea mammals. The villagers at Tsartlip fished for coho salmon at Goldstream, while those at Tsaout visited the Cowichan River at the invitation of the Indian groups which had villages there.

While the natives usually worked in harmony with nature, they did try to change the physical environment occasionally. Early settlers gave numerous accounts of fires being set by the Indians to burn away brush and trees, presumably to allow the berries and shrubs that they used a better chance to grow.³⁷ The women also cultivated patches of potatoes

and camas, although this practice was likely learned from the Europeans at Fort Langley.

Food resources that were not available locally were obtained from nearby Indian groups. This exchange was not carried out in the European sense of trade or by purchasing, however, but by the exchange of excess resources between relatives or by the use of the resource areas of nearby villages. As the members of the villages around the Strait of Georgia were often intermarried, this led to the exchange of products of one area for those of another. The temporary reciprocation of rights to exploit a resource area was another means of exchange, as in the Cowichan use of the Tsaout reef-net locations in return for the Tsaout use of the weir on the Cowichan River.³⁸

Another important element in the exchange of goods was the potlatch. This ceremony was common throughout all the northwest, although it differed in details from one cultural area to another. It was a means by which social status was reiterated, both for the host group and their guests. The core of the potlatch was the giving of prestige goods by the host groups to their guests. These goods often had no practical use, but were valued only as status symbols. Among the Salish, the host group appears to have been the village community. It would potlatch for another community, probably one close-by. One result of the potlatch was that certain goods would be redistributed throughout the area.

Villages that had better resources would use them to accumulate potlatch goods, which in turn would be given to other villages during the potlatches.

Summary

The Straits Salish were culturally and economically similar to other groups in the northwest. They shared with these groups two important characteristics: a heavy reliance upon marine life, particularly salmon, for the major part of their diet, and a desire for material goods which could be used in the potlatch system. The food resources of the Straits Salish were much more varied than those of most northwest coast groups. The natural landscape provided a wide range of birds, game, berries, roots and bulbs, and the exchange of food or resource sites was more common in this area than in most other places in the northwest.

As the resources available on Southeastern Vancouver Island were sufficient to satisfy the basic needs of the Indians, there was no need to alter the landscape significantly. Other than the village sites, the only notable change in the physical environment was the occasional burning of the underbrush to permit berries to grow. The landscape described by James Douglas had probably changed little for generations. It was this landscape, consisting of large, open areas of grasses and clovers and scattered with small lakes, that provided the food resources that gave the Straits Salish a more varied diet than was characteristic in the northwest.

NOTES

1 C.E. Borden, "Some Aspects of Prehistoric Coastal-Interior Relations in the Pacific Northwest," Anthropology In British Columbia, No. 4, 1953-54, p. 26.

2 C.E. Borden, "Notes on the Prehistory of the Southern Northwest Coast," British Columbia Historical Quarterly (hereafter cited as BCHQ), vol. 14 (October 1950), pp. 241-246.

3 The Greek pilot, Apostolas Valerianos, who adopted the name Juan de Fuca, related a story of how he sailed north along the west coast of North America until he discovered an inlet at latitude 47°N. He then sailed for twenty days in the inlet, finally reaching the North Sea (Atlantic Ocean). Although entirely the work of Valeriano's imagination, the story was readily accepted by the noted French geographers Joseph Nicholas Delisle and Philippe Buache. See A.L. Farley, "Historical Cartography of British Columbia, with a Separate Appendix of Maps," Madison, University of Wisconsin, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1960, pp. 20-22.

4 W.P. Suttles, "Post-contact Culture Changes Among the Lummi Indians," BCHQ, vol. 18 (Jan-April 1954), pp. 43-44.

5 W.K. Lamb, "The Founding of Fort Victoria," BCHQ, vol. 7 (April 1943), p. 71.

6 Ibid., p. 73.

7 The epidemic and its effects have been the subject of a study by S.F. Cook, "The Epidemic of 1830-33 in California and Oregon," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 43, No. 3, 1955, cited in W. Duff, The Impact of the White Man, Victoria, Provincial Museum, 1964, p. 39.

8 Lamb, op. cit., p. 75.

9 Douglas to Simpson, March 18, 1838. The Letters of John McLoughlin, from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-28 (hereafter cited as The Letters of John McLoughlin), ed. E.E. Rich, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1941, pp. 296-97.

10 McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1840, HBC Archives B. 223/b/26, cited in Lamb, op. cit., p. 77.

11 Lamb, op. cit., p. 82.

12 Douglas to McLoughlin, July 12, 1842, cited in "Founding of Victoria," The Beaver, Outfit 273, (March 1943), pp. 4-7.

13 J. Arrowsmith, British North America, 1837 edition, for instance, shows "Quadra and Vancouver's Island" coming to a peak at "Point Gonzalo," with no indication of a peninsula. This is also true of the U.S. Exploring Expedition's Map of the Oregon Territory, 1841.

14 H.R. Wagner, Spanish Exploration in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Santa Ana, Fine Arts Press, 1933, p. 99.

15 W.P. Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits," Seattle, University of Washington, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1951, p. 9.

16 Douglas to McLoughlin, July 12, 1842.

17 F. Boas, "The Lkungen," British Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. 60 (1890), p. 17.

18 C. Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the South-eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 37 (1907), p. 307.

19 Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," pp. 17-20.

20 The Klallam moved to Becher Bay soon after Fort Victoria was established. The Sooke Indians had previously occupied the bay, but by 1850 their numbers had been so heavily depleted that they were concentrated in a small village at Sooke Harbour (see chapter 3).

21 Names of the villages are those given by Wilson Duff, op. cit., p. 28. The village at Cole Bay was not included in J.D. Pemberton's map of The Southeastern Districts of Vancouver Island, published by Arrowsmith in 1855. The village may have been temporarily abandoned, or there might have been an oversight on the part of Pemberton or his publisher. According to Diamond Jenness, "The Saanitch Indians of Vancouver Island," unpublished manuscript, p. 3, the Union Patricia Bay village was established some time in the Nineteenth Century by a group who formerly occupied a site near present-day Sidney village. They apparently moved to Patricia Bay for greater protection from the raids of Cowichans and Yacultas.

22 Other sites were one on Stuart Island, three on Salt-spring Island and three near Active Pass on Mayne Island.

23 Suttles states that the Saanichton Bay site on Cordova Channel had three villages, one of which was started by people from the Gulf Islands early in the Nineteenth Century. This site, on the shore west of the lagoon, eventually became the most important. The other two sites were at the mouth of Sandhill Creek and on the spit. Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," p. 24.

24 James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, no. 7 (1928), pp. 28-29.

25 Suttles, "Lummi Indians," p. 42.

26 In his second trip to the port of Camosack [Victoria], James Douglas was accompanied by a priest, Father Bolduc. The latter visited a village about six miles from the harbour "at the base of a charming little bay." [Cadboro Bay?] At the village he counted at least 525 people. The following Sunday, March 19, he held mass for "1200 natives from three large tribes, Kawitshins, Klalams, and Tsamishes...." Even allowing for the excessive enthusiasm of the priest, the area appears to have been well populated at this time.

Bolduc also commented on the stockade at the village, being about 150 feet square, built as protection against the raids of "the Yougletas, a powerful and warlike tribe, part of which inhabit Vancouver Island itself...." See Bolduc to M.C., Cowlitz, February 15, 1844 in Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest.... Portland, Oregon Historical Society, 1956, pp. 189-199.

27 Besides the sparse comments by the early explorers in the area, the best summary of the resources of the tribes of southeastern Vancouver Island is Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," pp. 57-106.

28 Ibid., p. 62

29 Douglas to McLoughlin, July 12, 1842.

30 Suttles, "Lummi Indians," p. 32.

31 H. Barnett, The Coast Salish, Eugene, University of Oregon, 1955, p. 241.

32 Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," p. 70.

33 Quimper's Journal contains a description of the net at Sooke. One of Quimper's mates reported that, at the entrance to Sooke Harbour, "he found in various places on the beach many high poles which look like flag poles, with some props at the bottom...." Quimper and his mates thought that these were used as buoys, but they were probably not in use at the time and therefore the nets would have been taken down. Wagner, loc. cit.

34 Barnett, op. cit., p. 20.

35 Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," p. 154.

36 In Menzies' journal of Captain Vancouver's voyage of 1792, he gives an account of an "abandoned" village, capable of holding four or five hundred people, at Point Roberts, on the mainland. This was probably the Saanich summer village. It was considered to be abandoned because all the side boards had been removed from the houses, but the Salish always removed the side boards from their winter homes for use at their summer camps. Vancouver visited Point Roberts in June, too early for it to be occupied by the Saanich. See Archibald Menzies, Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792, ed. C.F. Newcombe, Victoria, Cullin, 1923, p. 60.

37 W.C. Grant, "Report on Vancouver Island, 1849," Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC), typescript, who was the first surveyor of the area, mentions this practice. "Their object is to clear away the thick fern and underwood in order that the roots and fruits on which they in a gt. measure subsist may grow more freely and be the more easily dug up."

38 W.P. Suttles, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish," American Anthropologists, vol. 62 (1960), p. 300.

CHAPTER III

UNDER HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CHARTER, 1854

The function of Southeastern Vancouver Island changed dramatically with the construction of Fort Victoria in 1843. The introduction of European economy, culture and diseases completely disrupted the Indian way of life, and within a short time the human geography of the area was altered considerably. By the mid-fifties the Hudson's Bay Company was well established, and a start was made in the development of company farms. About 1853 James Douglas completed a census of the native population of Southeastern Vancouver Island, and in 1854 he compiled a detailed census of the European population and agricultural production of the colony of Vancouver Island. These two censuses provide the basis from which the human geography during the Hudson's Bay Company administration can be constructed. The year 1854 saw Southeastern Vancouver Island in transition. The impact of the Europeans was most notable in the area within five miles of the fort. Immediately next to the fort a small town was established, while farther away the better farm land was occupied and clearing was begun. The function as headquarters and supply center for the Hudson's Bay Company was well established. Throughout the area traditionally occupied by the Songish, villages were

abandoned and most of the natives lived at a settlement established opposite the fort on Victoria Harbour. Yet while the native culture was disrupted the Indians were still a majority and a force to be reckoned with.

Historical Background

In the evening of March 14, 1843, James Douglas and fifteen men arrived in the Beaver at a point near the entrance of the Port of Camosack.¹ The squaring of timber began and local Indians were employed to bring pickets. Although there was a small lake about eight hundred yards away, a well was dug to provide water in case of fire or an attack by the natives. After the work on the fort was under way, Douglas continued north in the Beaver to dismantle Fort Durham (Taku) and Fort McLaughlin, and brought their staffs (about fifty) to Camosun on June 1.²

Work continued all summer on the fort, referred to as Camosun and Fort Albert in the log of the Cadboro, a schooner used to bring in supplies, and by October the stockades were complete. Douglas returned to Fort Vancouver, leaving Charles Ross in command with Roderick Finlayson as his assistant. News soon arrived at the fort that on June 10, 1843, the Council of the Northern Department, which met at Fort Garry, had officially named it Fort Victoria.³

/ During the construction of the fort, the Songish from,

Cadboro Bay began to construct houses along the harbour northward from the fort near what is now the foot of Johnson Street.⁴ When they became a nuisance for the Hudson's Bay employees Finlayson persuaded them to move across the harbour.⁵

Horses and cattle were imported from the Puget Sound Agricultural Company farm at Nisqually.⁶ The cattle were placed on three large farms, "one at a place below Church Hill; one at Gonzales - now Pemberton's; and the other at the North Dairy Farm - each with seventy milch cows..."⁷ A granary, built on the wharf which had been constructed on the harbour below the fort, was used for the storage of grain from farms on the Columbia, Puget Sound, and at Langley before the grain was shipped to the northern posts and to the Russians.

By 1846 there was considerable demand for the agricultural produce of the new post. Ships of the British Navy arrived that summer to protect British subjects in the area and to carry out hydrographic surveys. The demand for agricultural products was increased further with the California Gold Rush of 1849 when some of the miners came all the way to Fort Victoria to purchase supplies. The miners' display of wealth helped encourage desertion by the employees of the post.⁸ With the continuing demand for agricultural produce and the shortage of white labour, local Indians were hired as farm helpers.

The year 1849 also witnessed significant changes in the function of the fort. On January 13, the Hudson's Bay Company received a charter to establish a colony on Vancouver Island and to settle emigrants from the United Kingdom and from other British possessions. The Company's offer to settle the new colony was chosen over other claims because the Colonial Office recognized its superior financial status and had the mistaken idea that the Red River settlement had been a success. The Company on its part welcomed the opportunity to secure its position in the northwest, both against possible American intrusion as had occurred in Oregon, and against claims in Britain that the Company had no special rights west of the Rockies.⁹

The Colonial Office and the Company soon agreed to conditions for purchasing land. The main clauses were:¹⁰

1. No purchase less than twenty acres.
2. The price of £1 per acre was payable in London.
3. Purchasers were to pay their own passage out.
4. Five single men or three married couples were to be brought out for each one hundred acres purchased.¹¹

In May, 1849, James Douglas moved the western headquarters of the Company from Fort Vancouver - in American territory since the signing of the Oregon Boundary Treaty on June 15, 1846 - to Fort Victoria. Douglas moved to Victoria to take charge, and in the following spring purchased land. On March 9, 1850, Richard Blanshard, the colony's first governor, arrived on H.M.S. Driver, and began his unpleasant

task of dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company, and James Douglas in particular. Vancouver Island had only one independent colonist at this time, Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant, who took up residence at Sooke Harbour. Grant had also been appointed official Surveyor, a position for which he had very little training.

It was soon apparent that the settlement of the new colony was not succeeding. Grant had brought out eight men as part of his agreement, but they were soon dismissed or deserted him. Douglas had felt all along that free grants should be offered to families interested in coming to Vancouver Island, but both Earl Grey and Sir John Pelly, Governor of the Company, insisted that only those with sufficient capital to purchase land should be allowed to settle. This point was emphasized in a dispatch from the Company's headquarters.

The Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company believes that some of the worst evils that afflict the Colonies have arisen from the admission of persons of all descriptions, no regard being had to the character, means, or views of the immigrants. They have therefore established such conditions for the disposal of lands as they trust will have the effect of introducing a just proportion of labour and capital, and also of preventing the ingress of squatters, paupers and land speculators. 12

While there was no development in the sale of land to independent settlers, the Hudson's Bay Company did bring over labourers to work on its farms (Figure 4). In November, 1850, 127 passengers sailed on the Tory for Vancouver Island, including three bailiffs hired by the

Puget Sound Agricultural Company to develop farms in the area west of Victoria Harbour. Besides the bailiffs' families, there were seventy-four laborers, nine laborers' wives, and four children.¹³

The control over the colony by the Hudson's Bay Company was complete. The best land within five miles of the fort in all directions was taken up by the farms of the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company or placed under reserve (Figure 4). Trade on the island was tightly controlled by the Company. The cost of goods at the Hudson's Bay store varied for those employed and not employed by the Company, and the price paid for the agricultural produce of the farmers depended upon the whim of the Company's clerks. Conditions became so bad that in November, 1850, the fifteen independent settlers, most of whom were former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, sent a petition to Governor Blanshard protesting the Company's monopolistic practices.¹⁴ During the same month, however, Blanshard requested his own recall, stating as reasons his personal health and the excessive cost of living in the new colony.¹⁵

Blanshard left Vancouver Island in September, 1851. Earlier, in May, James Douglas had been appointed Governor, and so ruled the Island in name as well as fact. During the next three years very little change occurred in the economic function of the Victoria region; almost all the immigrants,

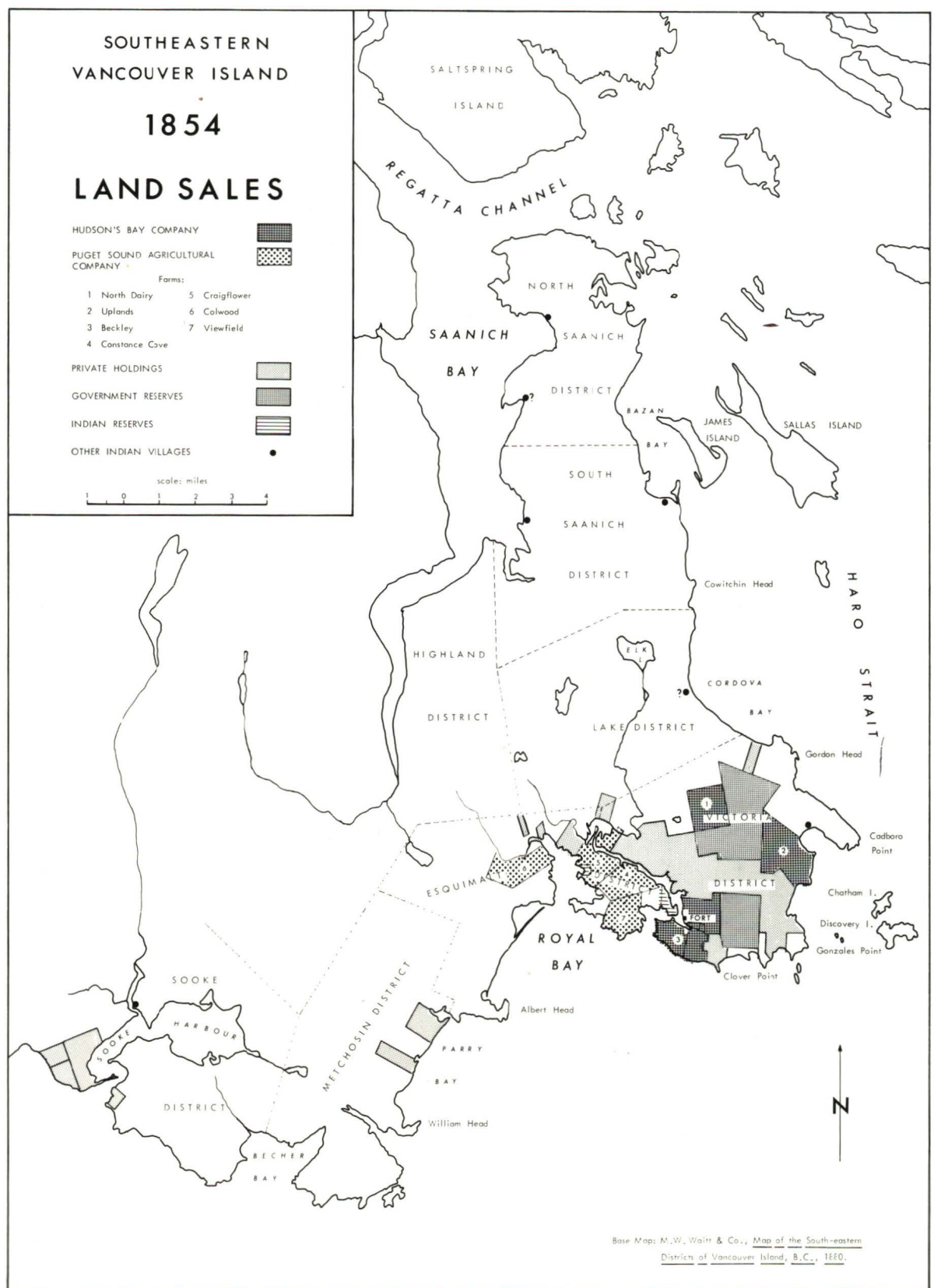


Figure 4

who arrived came as employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and its agricultural subsidiary. Between 1848 and 1854, 797 settlers were sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company to the colony (Table II). A number of these were reported to have left soon after arriving;¹⁶ by December, 1854 the total white population of the Colony of Vancouver Island (including San Juan Island) was only 774, which would include those who were in the colony prior to 1848 and children born there.¹⁷

During the late 1840's and early 1850's the area of southern Vancouver Island was surveyed and eventually mapped. The first official Surveyor, Captain Grant, had neither the training nor the inclination for the job, and his reports were very sketchy.¹⁸ He failed to complete a detailed survey of any portion of the area.¹⁹ Grant left the colony in October, 1851 and was succeeded by Joseph Despard Pemberton who arrived in June, 1851. Pemberton carried out a survey of the area from Sooke to Esquimalt and the whole of the Saanich Peninsula.²⁰ By December, 1853 he had surveyed all the districts of Southeastern Vancouver Island and reported on their agricultural potential.²¹

While the number of settlers arriving from Great Britain to take advantage of the agricultural potential of the Fort Victoria region was disappointing, the native Indians of the Northwest Coast soon recognized the importance of Fort Victoria as the administrative center of the

TABLE II
 EMIGRANTS TO VANCOUVER ISLAND,
 1848-1854

	Male	Female	Children	Total
1848	21	5	6	32
1849	67	5	0	72
1850	99	25	27	151
1851	28	2	0	30
1852	70	44	55	169
1853	87	41	87	215
1854	45	38	45	128
Total	417	160	220	797

Source: Colville to Pakington, November 24, 1852,
 and Colville to Russell, June 9, 1855.
 Record Office Transcripts, HBC, vol. 726
 (1852-1856).

Hudson's Bay Company. The various Songish tribes continued to congregate in increasingly large numbers at the new village across the harbour from the Fort. Around 1850 part of the Klallam tribe from across Juan de Fuca Strait in American territory moved into the Becher Bay area, which had recently been vacated by the Sooke Indians. During the 1850's an increasing number of "northern" Indians began to descend on Fort Victoria during the summer months, camping on the open parklands near the fort and out as far as Cadboro Bay. The movement of native people in the area from 1800 to 1855 is summarized in Figure 5.

James Douglas tried to reduce possible problems with the native Indians by settling the question of the ownership of land on southeastern Vancouver Island. In April, 1850, he signed treaties with the Sooke, Klallam, and Songish tribes in which they gave up title to all land except their village sites in return for payment from the Hudson's Bay Company and hunting rights over "unoccupied" land and fishing rights "as formerly".²² In February, 1852, similar treaties were signed with the Saanich tribes.²³ These treaties reflected the Hudson's Bay Company's desire to acquire title to all agricultural land to ensure development of the area as the food supply depot of the North Pacific Ocean. A summary of the treaties is in Appendix A.

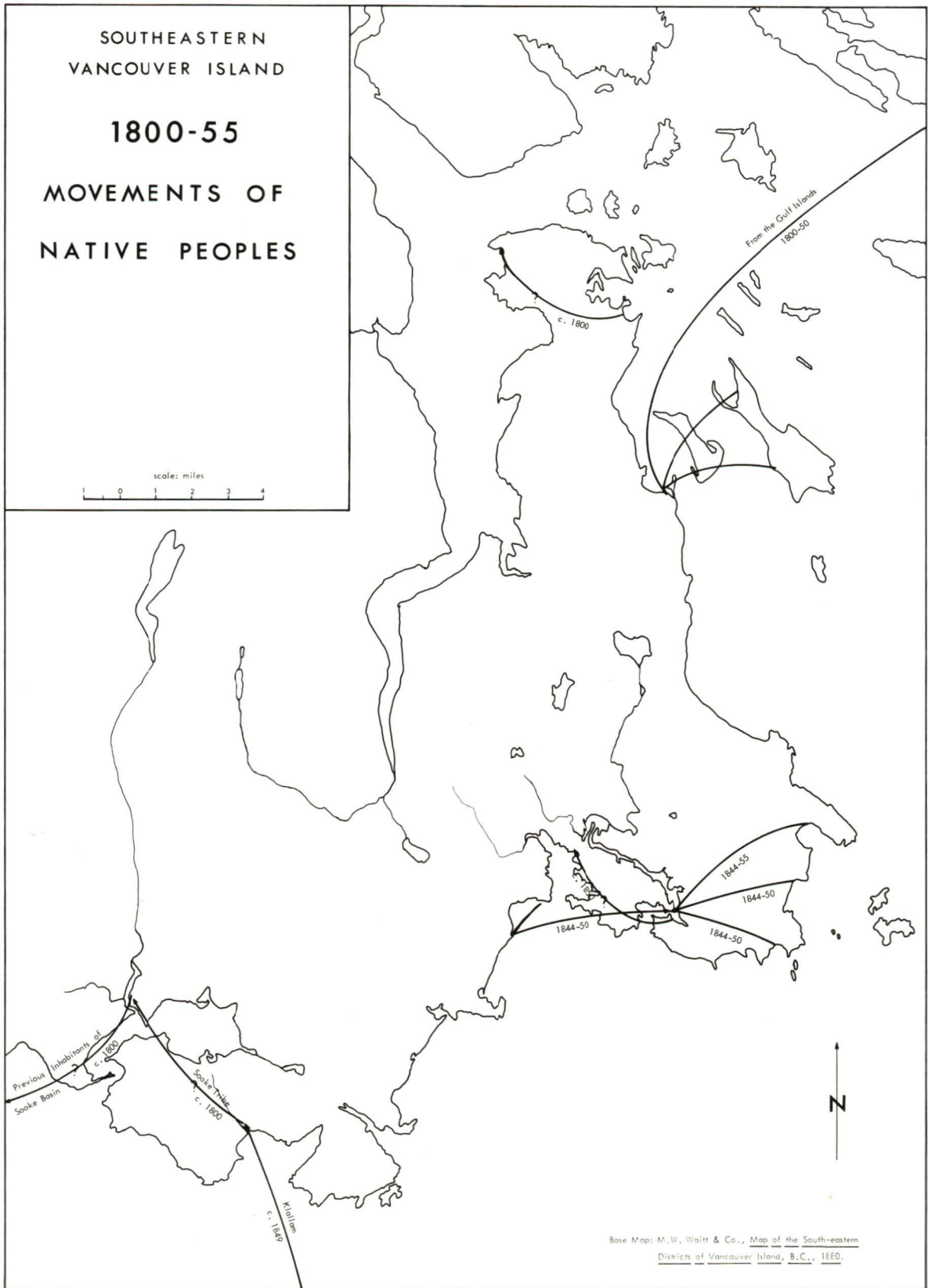


Figure 5

Population and Settlement

The total population of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854 was close to 2,500. Of this total, only 582 were whites,²⁴ with 232 of these living in what was now referred to as Victoria Town, consisting of the fort and a small area to the north of it, essentially the area bounded today by Johnson Street, Government Street, Fort Street and the harbour. The remaining population was dispersed on the farms in the nearby areas, although the only ones with significantly large populations were those run by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company: Craigflower (76), Constance Cove (34), and Colwood (30). The Hudson's Bay Company farms, on the other hand, employed few people; the Beckley farm had a population of only four, North Dairy, five, and Uplands, fifteen. A summary of the white population is shown in Table III. It reflects the pioneering nature of the region, with over one-half of the population being between twenty and forty years of age. Also typical of frontier regions was the great surplus of marriageable males compared to females. This was more pronounced in the town than on the farms, as a number of young couples had been hired by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

The town of Victoria in 1854 consisted of seventy-nine dwellings and twelve "stores and shops" (Table IV). Most of the latter would have been part of the fort. The town plan

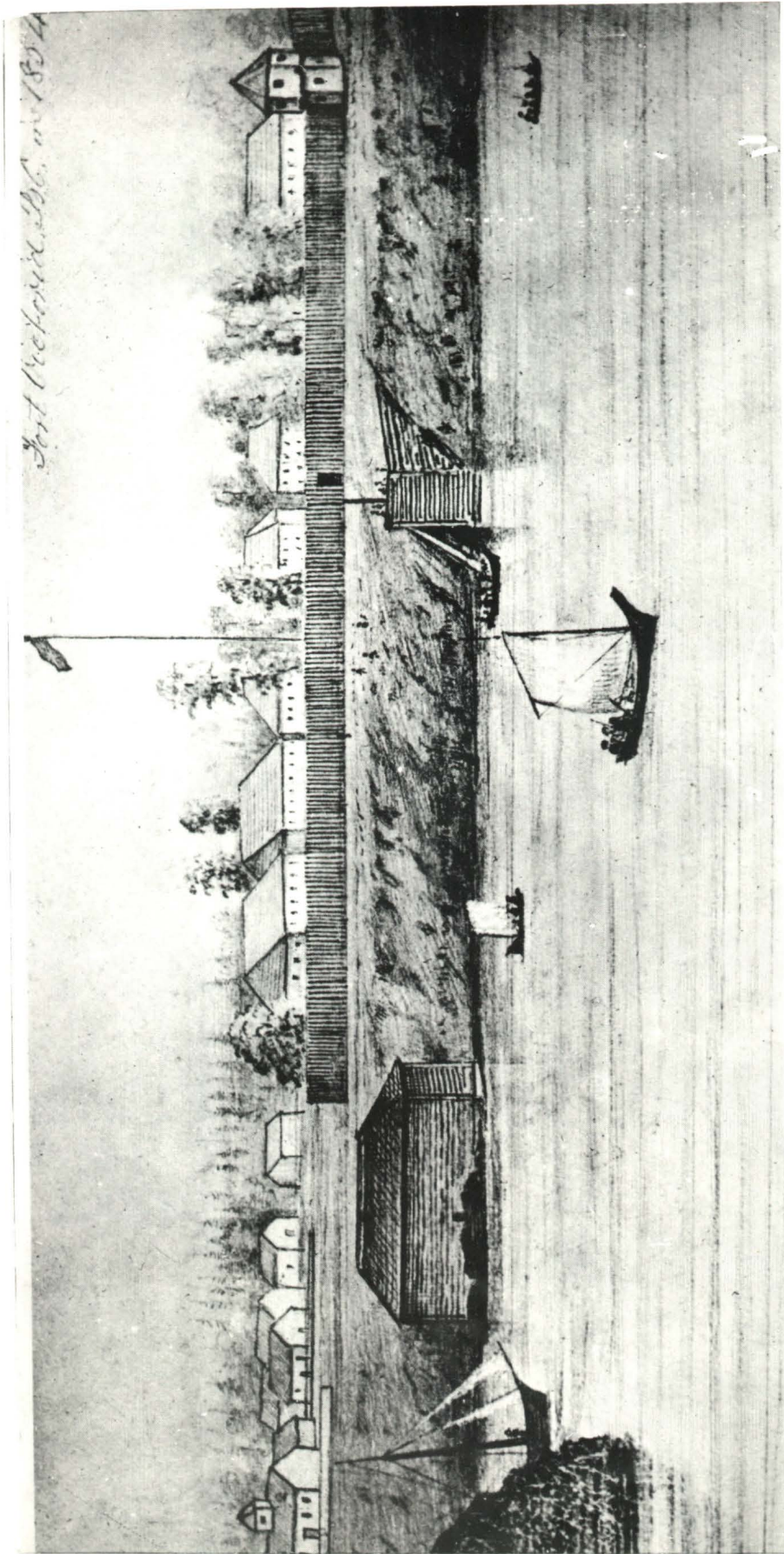


Plate 1. A sketch of Victoria made in 1854. The fort is on the right and the town on the left. The large building on the waterfront was probably the Hudson's Bay Company granary.

TABLE III

AGE STRUCTURE OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND, 1854

	0-9		10-19		20-39		40 up		Total		T
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Sooke District	1	0	1	3	9	0	2	1	13	4	17
Metchosin District	0	2	0	2	1	1	1	1	2	6	8
Esquimalt District*	26	25	8	14	68	32	7	2	109	73	182
Victoria Town	28	41	7	8	94	39	14	1	143	89	232
Victoria District*	31	15	14	21	31	16	9	6	85	58	143
Total	86	83	30	48	203	88	33	11	352	230	582

* Total for Maple Point (Craigflower) Farm included in Esquimalt District. The farm was situated partly in the Victoria District.

Source: W.K. Lamb, ed., "The Census of Vancouver Island," BCHQ, vol. 4 (January 1940), pp. 54-55.

TABLE IV

BUILDINGS ON SOUTHEASTERN
VANCOUVER ISLAND, 1854

	Dwelling Houses	Stores/ Shops	Churches	Schools	Saw Mills	Flour Mills
Sooke District	4	7	0	0	1	1
Metchosin District	6	3	0	0	0	0
Esquimalt District*	56	10	0	1	4	2
Victoria Town	79	12	1	1	0	0
Victoria District*	35	2	0	0	0	0
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	180	34	1	2	5	3

* Total for Maple Point (Craigflower) Farm included in Esquimalt District.

Source: W.K. Lamb, ed., "The Census of Vancouver Island,"
BCHQ, vol. 4 (January 1940), p. 58.

had been surveyed by Pemberton in 1852, and lots were sold for £10-20. The only other concentration of dwellings occurred on the three larger Puget Sound Agricultural Company farms: twenty-one at Craigflower, twelve at Colwood, and nine at Constance Cove. There were no other concentrations greater than five dwellings.

Three-quarters of the population was Indian. According to a census taken by James Douglas around 1853, the Indian population native to Southeastern Vancouver Island totalled 1,885.²⁵ The Songish are listed as six "tribes" in Douglas' census, the names of which correspond to those who signed treaties in 1850 (see Appendix A). The treaties had indicated the territory "claimed" by each of the tribes, but neither they nor the census indicate the village sites of the Songish tribes. In 1854 it is likely that most of the Songish lived at the village opposite the Fort in Victoria, although the Kosampson tribe listed by Douglas probably occupied the reserve established in Esquimalt Harbour. This reserve is indicated on Pemberton's map, The Southeastern Districts of Vancouver Island. Pemberton also indicated a settlement at Cadboro Bay, and there are references, in the correspondence of this period, to Indians staying there but it is not certain whether this was still a permanent winter village site.

Douglas lists two Tlallum [Klallam] tribes, the Kakyakaan at Metchosin and the Cheaskaytsun at Rocky Point. The latter are undoubtedly the Klallams who moved across Juan de Fuca Strait after the establishment of Fort Victoria, but the name of the former tribe closely resembles the Songish tribe listed by Franz Boas as having occupied the Metchosin area (Table I). Although there were reports at this time of disease taking its toll among the natives, there does not appear to have been a significant decrease in the Indian population. More importantly, the number of native children was almost double that of the adults, indicating a high birth rate (Table V). In his report to James Douglas in 1849, however, Captain Grant noted that the native population death rate was considerable, especially from "scrophala or sphilis" and that it would likely increase in direct proportion to the increasing white population.²⁶

The white population, largely British, with a few Canadians, and the natives made up almost the entire permanent population of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854. There were a few Indians from eastern North America employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and possibly the occasional Hawaiian. The eastern Indians were considered better workers than those native to the area, although Grant found the latter "quick at receiving instruction" and many "tolerably good hands with both axe and spade."²⁷

TABLE V

NATIVE INDIAN POPULATION OF
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
C. 1853

Linguistic Group	Tribe	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Songes [Songish]	Teechamitsa	11	10	16	14	51
	Kosampsom	21	23	35	36	115
	Swengwhung	30	33	57	63	183
	Chilcowitch	12	13	17	16	58
	Whyomalth	18	20	36	39	113
	Chekonein	30	35	60	65	190
		<u>122</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>221</u>	<u>223</u>	<u>700</u>
Tlallum [Klallam]	Kakyaakan	10	12	20	17	59
	Cheaskaytsan	30	35	54	58	177
		<u>40</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>236</u>
Soke [Sooke]	Soke*	34	40	65	71	210
Sanitch [Saanich]	Mt. Douglas**	10	12	16	18	56
	Sanetch Arm	118	130	210	225	683
		<u>128</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>226</u>	<u>243</u>	<u>739</u>
	Total	324	363	586	612	1885

*Captain Grant gave a total of sixty for the Soke tribe in a paper written after he left the colony for the last time in 1853. W.C. Grant. "Description of Vancouver Island," Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, vol. 27 (1857), p. 283.

** The census is given as it appears in James Douglas' works. The Mt. Douglas tribe referred to here and in the treaties signed by the Hudson's Bay Co. (Appendix A) is likely a Songish group, and its totals can therefore be included with the other Songish tribes. The tribe was located at Cordova Bay (see Figure 3). According to Saanich informants, the village was Songish, not Saanich (see W.P. Suttles, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish," p. 20).

Source: James Douglas, Private Papers; Second Series, PABC, pp. 5-6.

If relations with the local Indians were on the whole peaceful,²⁸ the northern Indians caused Governor Douglas and the small white population considerable uneasiness in the summer of 1854. During the 1850's, Fort Victoria had drawn increasingly larger numbers of Haida natives from as far north as the Stikine River. They were interested in obtaining work, their earnings likely being used to obtain potlatch goods for the coming winter's ceremonials. Many of James Douglas' dispatches were concerned with the dangerous situations which soon arose. Early in June, 1854, over five hundred northern Indians arrived at the settlement. Most of these left after an incident at the Uplands Farm during which one of the Company's employees was knocked out.²⁹ In July, further trouble was averted when Douglas persuaded about one hundred "Hydas" to return home.³⁰ By the end of the year, however, Douglas was able to report that all was quiet again, and to give more detailed reports on the progress of the white community.³¹

Public works were progressing slowly in 1854; the population was small, and as revenue had to be raised by the colony, funds were limited. In August Douglas reported favourable progress on the "road to Soke", constructed largely by means of Indian labour. A jail had been completed and work was soon to begin on a Court House.³² During the year work on a bridge across Victoria Harbour, by which the goods could be brought by road from Esquimalt Harbour, was

nearing completion, as was work on the Victoria District Church.³³

Economic Functions

The economic development of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854 fell far short of the expectations that had been raised by the Hudson's Bay Company when the site for the depot had been chosen. The expected trade with the Pacific whaling fleets had not developed, and the sale of produce to the Russians had not led to a prospering agricultural industry on the island. Provisions were being sold to the occasional British naval vessel which visited Esquimalt, but even after the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 this trade was not regular.

In 1854 the colony of Vancouver Island was exporting only a small fraction of what it was importing. Figures on the revenue gained from the fur trade are incomplete, but the number of pelts received each year at Fort Victoria was small and the more valuable animals were decreasing (Table VI). The beaver and sea otter had never been numerous in the area and the former had been over-exploited throughout the northwest by the 1850's.³⁴ In 1854 the main exports from Southeastern Vancouver Island were sawn timber, masts, spars and fish. While separate figures are not available for the port of Victoria, the total exports from the colony of Vancouver Island were very small. Most of the exports went to San

TABLE VI

FUR RETURNS - FORT VICTORIA, 1850-1854

	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854
Bears	175	82	37	121	103
Beaver	121	180	394	305	206
Lynx	128	80	71	81	22
Marten	428	240	250	177	269
Minks	895	770	1211	971	652
Muskrats	837	363	728	1090	534
Otters: land	169	55	197	82	83
sea	20	25	22	5	9
Racoons	532	361	444	368	381

Source: Fort Vancouver, Fur Trade Returns For Columbia and Caledonia Districts, 1825-1857, PABC.

Francisco; the only other significant market was the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands.³⁵ Exports to California faced an import duty of twenty-five to thirty per cent, which almost prohibited exports from the colony. There was only a five per cent duty in the Sandwich Islands but the colony had little to offer in exports. The main objective of those on Vancouver Island was to obtain a reciprocity treaty with the United States similar to that in effect between Canada and the United States.³⁶

The greatest concern at this time was the failure of agriculture. Critics of the Hudson's Bay Company and British colonial policy have been quick to point out that decisive factors were the restrictive nature of purchasing land in the colony and the monopolistic practices of the company mentioned above. These factors were certainly important, as shown by the few independent settlers on Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854 and the emigration of company employees to American territory at this time. But equally important were the failure of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company bailiffs to make any progress with their farms and the lack of a suitable market for agricultural produce.

The first of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company farms, Colwood, was established in 1851 by Captain Edward Langford. It was followed in early 1853 by Craigflower Farm under Kenneth McKenzie, who was also the general

supervisor of all farming operations, and Constance Cove Farm under Thomas Skinner. Later in the same year Viewfield Farm was established under Donald Macauley.³⁷ The farms occupied a total area of 2,700 acres but by 1854 only 355 acres had been improved, 190 acres on Colwood Farm alone.³⁸

Not only were the Puget Sound farms largely unimproved but their production per improved acre was far below that of the other large farms. The three Hudson's Bay Company farms, with just over half the number of acres, raised more produce than the four Puget Sound Agricultural Company farms, although two of the Hudson's Bay farms were designed primarily for raising livestock (only Beckley Farm was used for agricultural produce to any extent). Compared to some of the larger farms owned by individuals, the production of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was even poorer.³⁹ Except for livestock, especially sheep, the production of the company farms was far below that of the private farms (Table VII). It should be remembered, however, that most of the private farms were run by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁴⁰

The lack of a suitable market was probably the most decisive factor in limiting agricultural production, for neither individual settlers nor company farms could be successful under such circumstances. There were no British possessions near enough with which to trade, the Sandwich Islands did not need agricultural goods, the tariffs in

TABLE VII
 SIZE OF FARMS, STOCK AND PRODUCTS
 SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
 1854

	Company Farms:		Private Farms:		Totals
	HBC	PSAC	Victoria District	Other Districts	
Improved Acres	200	355	623	130	1,308
Unimproved Acres	1,971	2,345	3,203	1,447	8,966
Horses	26	59	140	38	263
Milch Cows	38	40	111	34	223
Oxen	22	37	103	31	193
Cattle	105	161	211	47	524
Sheep	1,327	2,525	162	-	4,014
Swine	43	148	561	68	820
Poultry	70	172	237	382	861
Wheat bu.	975	781	2,619	240	3,615
Oats bu.	440	30	990	220	1,680
Peas bu.	242	482	733	40	1,497
Barley bu.	79	160	102	-	341
Potatoes bu.	650	340	3,435	700	5,125
Cheese lb.	-	-	490	200	690
Butter lb.	344	150	2,590	1,100	4,184

Source: W.K. Lamb, ed., "The Census of Vancouver Island,"
 BCHQ, vol. 4 (1940), pp. 56-57.

California prohibited the sale of goods there and the Pacific whaling fleet had generally by-passed Fort Victoria in favour of the Sandwich Islands. What was required for agriculture on Vancouver Island was either a large local market or the elimination of tariffs in American territory.

While the European economy appeared stagnant, the economy of the Indians of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1854 was considerably more diversified than it had been twelve years earlier. The arrival of the Europeans had not led to any substantial reduction in the native resources; rather, it had opened new avenues of economic activity. Local Indians could now work for the companies or individual settlers or could sell fish or game. They were usually paid with manufactured goods, particularly knives, guns and gun powder, and blankets. These goods quickly became prestige items within the native culture and were accepted into the potlatch system. The result was inflation and potlatching became much more common and elaborate. The Indians still relied on fishing for the greater part of their diet and still had access to roots, bulbs and berries, except in parts of Esquimalt and Victoria land districts.⁴² The supply of deer and elk was apparently still sufficient to meet the demands of both the Indians and the whites.

Summary

The building of Fort Victoria abruptly altered the settlement pattern of Southeastern Vancouver Island. The fort became the focal point of activity in the area for the natives as well as the Europeans. The Songish village across the harbour from the fort was far larger than any village had been before the construction of the fort. The fort was even more important in the distribution of Europeans who were concentrated within a five-mile radius of it. They were to a great extent directly engaged in the economic activities of the Hudson's Bay Company or its subsidiary; very few independent settlers had come to the colony.

The economic growth of Southeastern Vancouver Island for the European settlers was far less than had been expected. The area did provide the basic necessities for the fort but the development in agriculture had not materialized. Except for the re-export of furs, the main exports were small quantities of sawn timber, spars, and salted fish. The lack of a suitable market restricted trade and the land policy of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Colonial Office discouraged settlers, so that a local market was virtually non-existent.

The economy and culture of the local Indians was changed by the introduction of the European economy. Although there were few fur-bearing animals in the area, European goods could be obtained by selling fish, berries and potatoes or by

working on road gangs or farms. The essential change of the native economy was not what was taken away but what was added. The addition of European trade articles greatly inflated the Indian potlatch system, so that potlatching became much more common and changes in social status were easily obtainable.

NOTES

¹ Most authorities say they landed at Clover Point, but as one writer has recently pointed out, this is hardly likely as Douglas was already familiar with the area. They probably anchored inside the entrance of the harbour and went ashore the next day. D. Blakey Smith "Did Douglas land at Clover Point in 1843?" Manuscript, PABC.

² "The Founding of Fort Victoria," The Beaver, Outfit 273 (March 1943), p. 8.

³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴ The Songish were also referred to as the Songhees (or Songees). Duff refers to them as the Lekwungen, although this term has also been applied to all the Straits Salish. In this essay the term Songish will refer to the linguistic unit (i.e. those speaking the Songish dialect of the Straits Salish language), and the term Songhees to those who occupied the Songish village in Victoria Harbour. The terms Songish and Songhees appear to have been derived from the names of one of the aboriginal village units, the St sa'nges (Boas) or SonEs (Hill-Tout) from Parry Bay.

⁵ Roderick Finlayson, "Biography" unpublished typescript, PABC, pp. 9-12. Finlayson assumed command of Fort Victoria when Charles Ross died on June 27, 1844.

⁶ The Puget Sound Agricultural Company was a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company. Most of its shareholders were also shareholders in the parent company, and all of the directors in the northwest were Hudson's Bay employees. It was created in 1839 to provide food for the Russian trading posts in Alaska as part of an agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company. In return the Hudson's Bay Company obtained a lease on the coastal strip south of Mount Fairweather and the use of the Russian post at the mouth of the Stikine River. The Puget Sound Company operated farms at Nisqually and in the nearby Cowlitz Valley. See M.A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Toronto, Macmillan, 1958, p. 76.

⁷ Finlayson, "Biography," p. 15.

⁸ Ormsby, op. cit., p. 93.

⁹ The Hudson's Bay Company had negotiated for almost two years for a grant of Vancouver Island, but had been frustrated by James Stephen, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was set against any form of privately sponsored colonization. With his retirement, the view of Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, prevailed. Grey was a strong follower of the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. See Ormsby, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

¹⁰ L.A. Wrinch, "Land Policy of the Colony of Vancouver Island," Vancouver, University of British Columbia, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1932, pp. 16-17.

¹¹ These conditions were the center of much dispute at the time. The strongest criticisms were offered by James Edward Fitzgerald, who had offered an alternative plan for the settlement of the island based on the exploitation of coal. His plan, however, was no less restrictive than the Company's. John S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869. University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 290.

¹² Barclay to Douglas, December, 1849, Fort Victoria, Correspondence Inward, 1849-1859, PABC.

¹³ Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 196-97.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 299.

¹⁵ Ormsby, op. cit., p. 107. Blanshard received no salary for his position, and as there were only a few settlers, no revenue could be raised through taxation. For a detailed account of Blanshard's term of office see W.K. Lamb, "The Governorship of Richard Blanshard," BCHQ, vol. 14 (Jan.-April 1950), pp. 1-40.

¹⁶ Referring to these immigrants, Captain Grant later stated, "...the majority find their way to the opposite American side; and of the 400 men who have been imported in all during the past five years, about two-thirds may be said to have deserted, one-fifth to have been sent elsewhere, and the remainder to be at present employed on the island." W.C. Grant, "Description of Vancouver Island," Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, vol. 27 (1857), p. 273.

¹⁷ There were 39 children under one year old, and 119 between one and five. W.K. Lamb, ed., "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," from the Census of James Douglas, BCHQ, vol. 4 (January 1940), pp. 54-55.

18 Grant did complete a report for James Douglas in 1849, but it adds little to Douglas' own report of 1842. W.C. Grant, "Report on Vancouver Island, 1849," PABC, manuscript.

19 It did not take Douglas and the Hudson's Bay Company officials in London long to realize that Grant was not capable of doing the work for which he had been hired. In March, 1850, Grant tendered his resignation to Douglas, but agreed to provide some reports and diagrams on the Fur Trade Reserve, the area within about ten miles of the Fort. His last report was dated September 10, 1850. See W.E. Ireland, "Captain Walter Colquhoun Grant: Vancouver Island's First Independent Settler," BCHQ, vol. 17 (Jan.-April 1953), pp. 101-107.

20 Pemberton's dispatches to London indicate that little was known of the Saanich Peninsula before his survey. In a letter to the Governor and Committee of the HBC, December 4, 1851, in PABC, Vancouver Island, Colonial Surveyor, Correspondence Outward, 1851-58, Pemberton refers to an inlet of 'Haro Strait' extending from 'Saanich Head' at about $48^{\circ}41'$ in a southwest direction, making a peninsula of the southern end of the island. The inlet was not shown on existing maps. In Grant's report to Douglas in 1849, no mention was made of the Saanich area.

21 Pemberton to Barclay, August 5, 1853 and December 12, 1853. Ibid. Pemberton's surveys were later used in the first official map of the area, The Southeastern Districts of Vancouver Island, London, Arrowsmith, 1855.

22 British Columbia, Papers Connected With the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875. Victoria, Government Printer, 1875, pp. 5-9.

23 Ibid., p. 10.

24 Figures for the white population are from Lamb, ed., "Census," pp. 54-55.

25 James Douglas, Census of Indian Population in Vancouver Island and British Columbia. In Private Papers; Second Series, PABC, pp. 5-6. The census is dated 1853, but the totals for adult males correspond exactly with those who signed the various treaties with the HBC in 1850 and 1852 (see Appendix A).

26 Grant, "Report, 1849."

27 Grant, "Report, 1849."

28 The one notable exception occurred in 1844 when Roderick Finlayson was forced to destroy a Songees home with shot from the cannon of the bastion to calm the aspirations of the local chief. Before firing, Finlayson had sent an interpreter to warn the occupants of the house, and so peace was quickly and efficiently restored without bloodshed.

29 Douglas to Barclay, June 15, 1854. Fort Victoria, Correspondence Outward to H.B.C., 1850-1855, PABC.

30 Douglas to Barclay, July 13, 1854. Ibid.

31 Douglas to Barclay, December 20, 1854. Ibid.

32 Douglas to Barclay, August 26, 1854. Ibid.

33 Both works were completed in the early summer of 1855. Colville to Russell, June 9, 1855. Record Office Transcripts, H.B.C. 726 (1852-1856).

34 In 1832, 21,290 beavers were trapped in the northwest, what is now northern Oregon, Washington, British Columbia and southern Yukon. By 1840, only 4,474 were taken. The number continued to decline after this. Mink and marten continued to be taken in large numbers, but their population fluctuated widely from year to year, depending upon availability of food. See I. McTaggart Cowan, "The Fur Trade and Fur Cycle," BCHQ, vol. 2 (January 1938), pp. 27-29.

35 A summary of the trade of the colony for the period July, 1854 to July, 1855 was sent to the Colonial Office by Governor Douglas. Douglas to Colonial Secretary, August 21, 1855, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 305, vol. 6, PABC microfilm 393A.

Trade of Vancouver Island, 1854-55

Market	Imports		Exports	
	British Vessels	Foreign Vessels	British Vessels	Foreign Vessels
	£	£	£	£
Great Britain	35,050/8/-	-	-	-
San Francisco	4,479/10/4	1,017/10/-	3,247/8/-	704/-/-
Sandwich Islands	1,099/19/-	-	1,814/-/-	-
Puget Sound	1,300/-/-	125/10/-	-	-
China	-	-	-	320/-/-
Subtotal	<u>41,929/17/4</u>	<u>1,142/10/-</u>	<u>5,061/8/-</u>	<u>1,024/-/-</u>
Total	£43,072/7/4		£6,085/8/-	

The above figures obviously do not take into account the exports of furs from the colony, nor the sale of produce to either the Russians or the British navy. The exports include timber and coal from Nanaimo.

36 Ibid.

37 F.W. Laing, "Early Agriculture in British Columbia," Manuscript, 1925, PABC.

38 Lamb, ed., "Census," p. 56.

39 The farm of John Work, for instance, a famous and long-time employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, had only forty acres of improved farm land, yet produced five hundred bushels of wheat, two hundred bushels of oats, one hundred bushels of peas, and twelve hundred bushels of potatoes.

40 These officials owned most of the larger farms in Victoria District, the main exceptions being Bishop Demers (total in farm, 112 acres), Reverend Staines (446 acres), and James Yates, a former HBC employee (204 acres). On the other hand all but fifty acres of the farm land in the outlying districts was owned by independent settlers.

41 Some writers have claimed that the Puget Sound Agricultural Company farms, together with the three Hudson's Bay Company farms completely supplied the small local market.

"The colony offered no market for farm produce: the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, closely connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, was engaged in agriculture on the island in a large way, and completely absorbed the small local market...." H.F. Angus, ed., British Columbia and the United States; the North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation. Toronto, Ryerson, 1942, p. 137.

Table VII shows that this was not the case, however. The farms of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company proved to be a failure. The choice of bailiffs proved to be a poor one; McKenzie, the general supervisor and bailiff at Craigflower, seemed unable to keep his own records in order, let alone check on the others, and Langford, the bailiff at Colwood, was interested only in entertaining. In the end only the Constance Cove farm, under Skinner, was a success.

42 While the Indians of Southeastern Vancouver Island had surrendered title to the land, they had been granted liberty to hunt over all unoccupied land. Thus, they had access to much of the area from Sooke to Cordova Bay, and all of the Saanich Peninsula.

CHAPTER IV

DURING THE GOLD RUSH, 1863

Whereas there had been little optimism shown for the economic future of the Victoria region in 1854, those who arrived in the early 1860's were generally overly zealous about the future. One enthusiast wrote at the end of 1863:

The situation of Victoria is so remarkably adapted for the purposes of extensive commerce.... It...extends to shipping the double protection of its ample harbour...[and] is contiguous to the more commodious harbour of Esquimalt.... So extensive has been the amount of capital expended on mercantile appliances in Victoria, so remunerative have those sources of wealth proved, so powerful is the connection formed by our importers with great shipping firms in England and other parts of the world, and so incomparably rapid has been the general progress of the city, that the colossal dimensions into which it is destined to expand are already unmistakably foreshadowed as the leading mart on the sea-board north of San Francisco. Nor would it be astonishing were it to outmatch in future ages that renowned entrepot of California.¹

There were many visitors to Southeastern Vancouver Island and those who wrote about their experiences praised the beautiful climate and scenery.² Those immigrants who arrived directly from Europe, mainly Britain, had just completed an arduous journey and perhaps were more enthusiastic about the scenery than were those who had come north from California. The journey around Cape Horn, in particular, was rarely pleasant./

We experienced the usual gales which fall to the lot of all voyagers outwardbound who attempt to double this "Cape of Storms," a name it deserves in a greater degree than the Cape of Good Hope itself. As far as our experience goes, there is no part of the world in which heavier seas may be expected than in these latitudes....³

Upon arriving at Southeastern Vancouver Island, the immigrants first noted the excellent harbours, particularly that at Esquimalt. As in the case of the British naval officers in the 1850's, some of these visitors predicted that Esquimalt's superior harbour would eventually make the village there more important than Victoria. "I believe that the harbour of Victoria will not be found to meet the requirements of a very much increased immigration, but will have to yield to the superior claims of Esquimalt...."⁴ Others agreed that Esquimalt was a superior site, but felt that, since the decision had already been made, no change could feasibly take place, and the best solution would be to connect the city and Esquimalt Harbour with a good road.⁵ Others agreed with Douglas' choice, and one went so far as to predict that Esquimalt's most useful function would be that of a naval base.⁶

The most impressive feature mentioned about the Victoria area in the early 1860's was the rapid change taking place in the town itself.

At the time of my arrival [early 1860] in the colony, it [Victoria] consisted of little more than an assemblage of wooden houses; at the period of my departure, however, brick and stone,

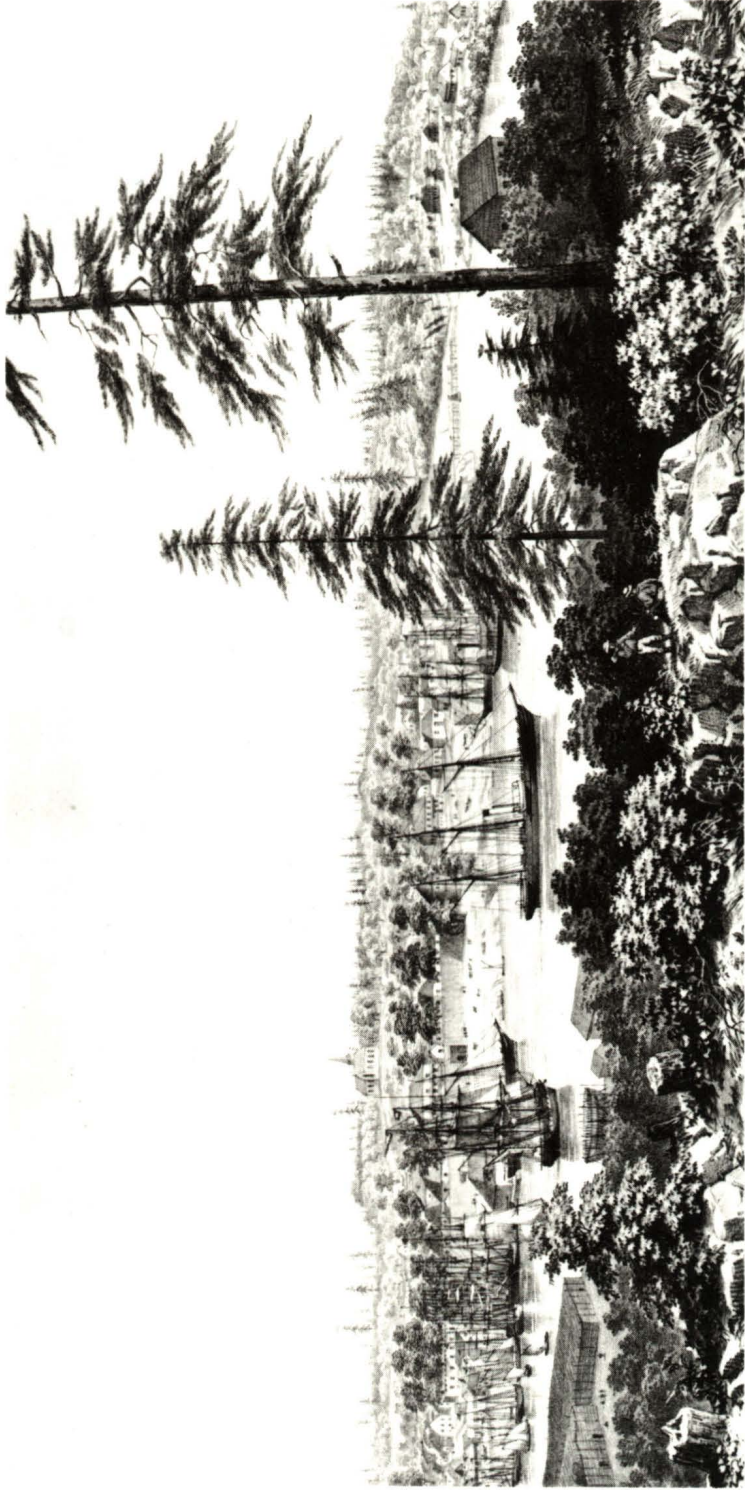


Plate 2. A view of the town of Victoria in 1860 from across the harbour at the Songhees Reserve. In the foreground is the Fort, and behind it the District Church. To the right are the Government Buildings, joined with the town by the James Bay bridge. The photograph is taken from a painting.

covered okting

were fast replacing the original wood, some handsome buildings had been erected, and I observed several edifices of fire proof construction.⁷

The most impressive changes were those that had taken place along Wharf Street, where "long massive blocks of buildings...furnish every indication of prosperity and permanence."⁸

Historical Background

Complaints about the Hudson's Bay Company's administration of the colony of Vancouver Island had continued through 1854 but the Crimean War had rendered such matters insignificant in the eyes of the British government. In the early summer of 1855, however, the Colonial Office reminded the Company that it had the power to revoke the grant of Vancouver Island. To offset mounting criticism, the Company modified some of the conditions on the purchase of land in 1856. Payments could be made by installments, and a system of deduction for areas of swamps and rocks was begun. The Company also released some of its reserve around the fort, including part of Beckley Farm on the south side of James Bay.

The sale of agricultural produce increased during 1855 when Esquimalt was used briefly as a supply base for the British Navy's Pacific Squadron during the Crimean War. Kenneth MacKenzie, the bailiff of Craigflower Farm, soon developed a flourishing bakery business supplying the naval

ships. The farmers, both Company and private, hoped at this time that Esquimalt would become the permanent depot for the Pacific Squadron, and that extensive facilities would be constructed. Nothing came of this, however, for the next decade. Trade with foreign ports was still very limited. The few exports continued to consist largely of forest products: sawn timber, masts and spars, as well as salted fish.

In July, 1857, miners from the Columbia River had followed the river northward and then crossed to the Thompson River. Later that month small amounts of gold were discovered on the Thompson, and in the fall a major strike occurred near the junction of the Thompson and Fraser. Early in the spring of 1858 word of the discovery of gold on the Fraser River reached the California fields and the rush was on. In all, over thirty thousand men left California that summer and the majority travelled to Victoria before leaving for the gold fields. The first ship arrived on April 25, 1858, carrying over 450 men,⁹ and the population of the city grew steadily during the spring, reaching over twenty thousand by the summer.

Over two hundred frame buildings sprang up within weeks, and most were used as stores, especially by importers. Land values in the town site rose from \$50 to \$75 per lot to \$3,000 or more, the proceeds of most sales going to the Hudson's Bay Company, as they still held most of the land as,

part of their reserve. The summer of 1858 was a happy one for the farmers of Southeastern Vancouver Island as prices for their produce rose to meet the demand. By the end of the year, however, the thousands of tents that had covered the vacant land in the town were gone and the population had declined to about three thousand. Interest in Fraser River gold continued to decline during 1859, and by September the population of Victoria had fallen to fifteen hundred.¹⁰

In September, 1858, the Colonial Office appointed James Douglas Governor of British Columbia¹¹ on the condition that he relinquished all positions and interests in the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company.¹² Douglas accepted the offer in October. The year 1858 also saw the beginning of negotiations to end the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter on Vancouver Island.¹³

During the next three years the population of Victoria fluctuated between fifteen hundred and three thousand. In 1860, the town was established as a free port, a development which the merchants hoped would increase the trading area. New gold discoveries helped maintain the economy of the town during this period; strikes were made in the Cariboo in 1860, on the Stikine River in 1861, the Peace River in 1862, and the Kootenay River in 1863. The Cariboo strike, though less spectacular than the Fraser strike, was more sustained and in the end much more lucrative.¹⁴

The rapid growth of the town had created several serious problems. The streets in winter were ankle-deep in mud, farm animals roamed unattended on the main thoroughfares, there was no waterworks, and open drains ran beside the board sidewalks. Some progress was being made, nevertheless; during the year 1861 fifty-six brick buildings were erected.¹⁵ The problems were difficult to solve because there was no organized municipal government until August 2, 1862, when the town was incorporated as a city. It was hoped that this act would enable the citizens to institute some of the badly needed sanitary improvements (see Appendix B).

Population and Settlement

After a marked decline in the population of Victoria immediately after the Fraser River gold rush, the non-Indian population remained below three thousand for four years. In 1862 it doubled to about six thousand.¹⁶ While there was no official census taken, it is likely that most of the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1863 lived within the city boundaries.¹⁷

The non-Indian population of Victoria had become more cosmopolitan. Thousands of Americans, particularly from San Francisco, had come in with the Gold Rush, and many American merchants remained. The shopping area on Johnson Street was noted for its Jewish population and on the other side of the ravine that cut between Johnson Street and,

Pandora Avenue there was a small Chinese community. Humboldt Street was called 'Kanaka Row' after the large number of Hawaiians who lived there, most of them employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Other ethnic groups included the remainder of a group of some three or four hundred negroes who had arrived at the beginning of the gold rush to escape prejudice in California. Ironically many of their persecutors were soon to arrive. By 1863, many of the negroes had left the city, either to return to the United States or to become settlers on nearby Saltspring Island. Those who remained lived everywhere, avoiding self-segregation.¹⁸ They did join together to form a voluntary rifle association and they rented a hall where they practiced instrumental music and drill.¹⁹ Other significant ethnic minorities in the non-Indian population included Germans and Frenchmen, who maintained their national identity through such organizations as the Singverein and 'French Benevolent Society.'²⁰

The town area had grown tremendously. In 1854 the "town", although mapped out by the Surveyor-General, consisted of about seventy houses and a few small shops. By 1863, the town had reached Rock Bay in the north, Cook Street in the east, and James Bay in the south. New subdivisions were being opened northeast of the intersection of Pandora Avenue and Blanshard Street, in the area behind the Government buildings and Quebec Street on the south side of,

James Bay [the old Beckley Farm], and in the area between the Songhees Reserve and Viewfield Farm (see Figure 6 for street names).

The growth of the townsite was even more dramatically illustrated by the change in buildings. Soon after the first building boom in the summer of 1858, the Victoria Gazette had called for the removal of the Fort, the only significant structure of 1854, and by 1863 only a few of the original buildings remained. Much of the property on which the Fort had stood had been sold and new buildings were being constructed in the area. The most notable features in the townsite were hotels, especially the Royal and St. Nicholas, and churches: besides the District Anglican Church there was a second Anglican Church, St. John's, at the corner of Douglas and Fisgard, built of iron and the gift of a benefactor in England, a Methodist Church at Broad and Pandora, and a Roman Catholic Church on Humboldt. During the year construction continued on a Jewish Synagogue and a Presbyterian Church, both on Pandora (Figure 6).

Outside the city boundaries there was less change in the settlement. The two companies continued to operate their large farms, and much of Victoria district was still owned by employees or former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. However, the properties held previously as church and government reserves were being subdivided to make some land available. Other settlers were beginning to move out to the

Saanich Peninsula and in 1863 there were some two hundred people in the Lake and South Saanich districts.²¹ A pre-emption system was now in practice in the outlying districts. In addition eleven regular grants totalling 2,055 acres were made in 1863.²²

Roads and bridges were a major concern. The townsite itself was laid out in a grid pattern, first planned by Pemberton in 1852. During the first year of incorporation, the City Council dealt with a number of requests from property owners asking for the grading and macadamizing of roads. The City Council passed a motion in April, 1863, for the macadamizing of the streets in the area bounded by Fort, Wharf, Cormorant and Government, as well as Government Street down to Fisgard and Douglas Street from Humboldt to Johnson.²³ The bridge at the foot of Johnson Street was closed to traffic in 1861, and a new route between Victoria and Esquimalt opened by June, 1861. It consisted of two bridges, one crossing Rock Bay from Constance Street, and the second crossing to the Esquimalt side at Ellice Point.²⁴ The road to Esquimalt, which had presented a trying experience for those using it, was greatly improved by the end of 1863.²⁵ With the completion of the Point Ellice bridge, travellers were no longer forced to pass through the Songhees Reserve.

Other roads throughout Southeastern Vancouver Island had also been improved. The road to Sooke underwent

improvement during the year, and construction continued on a new road at Metchosin. Work was being carried out in the area north and east of the city, with a number of the roads which led to the many farms in the area being improved, including Saanich, Cadboro Bay, and Fowl [Foul] Bay. Work also had been started on the construction of Cedar Hill Road, Moss Street and a road to Mount Tolmie.²⁶

Whereas the non-Indian population of Southeast Vancouver Island in 1863 was ten times that of 1854, the Indian population had seriously declined, bearing out the prophecy of Captain Grant in 1849. The first serious blow to the local natives had been the Gold Rush, which led to considerable prostitution of not only local Indian women, but also those of the northern tribes who were brought by their men to the city for this purpose. This caused the spread of venereal disease and a rapid decline in the morale of the whole Indian population. The new merchant class which arrived during and after the Gold Rush brought a different sense of values from those possessed by the Hudson's Bay officials and soon demanded that the natives on the Songhees Reserve should be shipped as far away from the townsite as possible. To the merchant class, the native population was a nuisance, a hindrance to progress, and had no rights whatever. The desire to remove them from the Songhees Reserve probably had a dual motive; not only was the sight of the reserve repugnant but the land had suddenly become extremely,

valuable with the rise of the port of Victoria.

In April, 1862, an even more serious blow hit the entire Indian population of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. A white man arrived in Victoria from San Francisco carrying smallpox. Although the disease was quickly controlled among the white population, it soon reached the Songhees Reserve. As had been the case since the early 1850's Victoria was visited by hundreds of northern Indians during the summer months, and officials forced these people to return to their homes. The disease was quickly transmitted by them to all parts of the province.²⁷ The natives were very susceptible to smallpox as they had not built up any natural resistance and attempts to vaccinate them proved futile. Probably one-third to one-half of the local Indians died as a result of the epidemic, and this death toll together with an already declining birth rate, left the native population of Southeastern Vancouver Island numbering no more than eight hundred.²⁸

Economic Function

The main economic function of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1863 was the entrepot role of the city of Victoria. Imports for the year totalled \$3,860,433,²⁹ the majority originating in San Francisco and England (Table VIII). Probably as much as one-half of these goods was destined for the mainland in particular and to other parts of the island.³⁰

TABLE VIII

SOURCE AND VALUE OF IMPORTS: VICTORIA, 1863

	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Total
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
San Francisco	596,486	411,207	523,149	410,585	1,941,427
Portland	24,975	39,242	38,440	18,607	121,264
Puget Sound	101,317	69,980	34,356	65,389	271,042
British Columbia	3,998	7,745	21,043	38,991	71,777
Honolulu	12,918	35,380	25,092	40,096	113,486
China	-	-	44,434	1,000	45,434
England	<u>372,370</u>	<u>256,383</u>	<u>628,890</u>	<u>38,360</u>	<u>1,296,003</u>
	1,112,064	819,937	1,315,404	613,028	3,860,433

Source: The Daily British Colonist, February 4, 1864, supplement.

Most imports arrived in Victoria as finished products; the only raw materials imported other than foodstuffs were furs from British Columbia (Table IX).³¹

Very little processing or manufacturing took place in Victoria. A sense of prosperity existed mainly because of the large quantities of gold that passed through the city. Table X shows the export of gold by authorized dealers during six years since the start of the Gold Rush, and Macfie estimates that another five million dollars worth was exported by unauthorized means.³² Very little of this money was invested in the local region. The Victoria area could boast of relatively few industries, namely five breweries, several small sawmills, a tannery, and a sash and door manufacturer.³³ Except for the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural companies, the only companies with significant investment operating in the area were the Victoria Gas Company and Victoria Water-Works.

Victoria's position was further weakened by the growing strength of San Francisco. When gold was discovered in British Columbia in 1857, San Francisco was already established as a manufacturing and distribution center for the western frontier; British Columbia became part of San Francisco's hinterland and most of the gold was sent there to pay for manufactured goods. Victoria's role was largely that of redistributing goods manufactured in San Francisco or Great Britain. It was able to maintain this position over New

TABLE IX
SUMMARY OF IMPORTS: VICTORIA, 1863

	San Francisco	Portland	Puget Sound	British Columbia	Honolulu	China	England	Total
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Foodstuffs	616,841	56,891	38,831	-	84,064	28,791	64,832	890,250
Alcohol, Tobacco	250,732	-	1,575	-	6,142	2,160	229,985	490,594
Livestock	23,627	3,357	112,845	600	6,130	-	-	146,559
Clothing, Shoes	231,100	-	-	-	-	-	404,438	635,538
Furniture, Household Goods	180,962	6,232	175	-	-	974	243,590	431,933
Building Material	36,413	-	51,057	2,940	-	-	3,775	94,185
Machinery, Heavy Hardware	40,025	-	1,032	-	-	-	1,857	42,914
Industrial Material	7,932	-	2,823	-	-	-	6,305	17,060
Furs, Hides	-	-	100	51,227	-	-	-	51,327
Miscellaneous	496,435	6,087	10,330	8,695	2,149	13,365	271,694	808,755
Total of Imports Listed	1,884,067	72,567	218,768	63,462	98,485	45,290	1,226,476	3,609,115
Imports Not Listed	57,360	48,697	52,274	8,315	15,001	144	69,527	251,318
Total Imports	1,941,427	121,264	271,042	71,777	113,486	45,434	1,296,003	3,860,433

Source: The Daily British Colonist, February 4, 1864, supplement.

TABLE X
GOLD EXPORTS: VICTORIA, 1858-1863

Shippers	1858-1860	1861	1862	1863
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Wells, Fargo & Co.	2,459,719	1,340,395	1,573,096	1,373,446
Macdonald & Co.	(includ. in 1861)	1,207,656	335,379	-
Bank of British Columbia	-	-	-	824,876
Bank of British North America	-	-	-	585,618
H.B. Co. and other shippers (approx- imate calculation to the end of 1862)	-	-	349,000	-
Hudson Bay Co.	-	-	-	66,232
Other shippers	-	-	-	85,000
Total	2,459,719	2,548,051	2,257,475	2,935,172

Source: M. Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia; Their History, Resources and Prospects, p. 109.

Westminster largely because Governor Douglas, in 1858, had insisted that the miners obtain licences at the Fort before proceeding to the mines, and once Victoria developed services for the miners, its dominance over New Westminster was established. This position was strengthened when Victoria was made a free port in 1860.

Despite the large population of the Victoria region during the Gold Rush period, agriculture did not develop as had been expected. The better farm lands immediately around Victoria were still owned by either the Puget Sound and Hudson's Bay Companies or their employees and ex-employees (Figure 7).

The production of the company farms and those established by private settlers was unable to meet the demands of the city. Two hundred settlers had moved into the Lake and South Saanich districts of the Saanich Peninsula and occupied farms ranging in size from fifty to fifteen hundred acres, but production from these farms was still low.³⁴ Food-stuffs, particularly grains, had to be imported in considerable quantity to overcome this shortage (Table IX). Some of the farms carried up to one hundred head of cattle, and flocks of sheep of four and five hundred were common in the Lake and South Saanich districts, so that meat supplies were fairly good.³⁵ Little attention was paid to dairying and poultry; as a result dairy products and eggs were significant import items.

**DISTRICTS OF
VICTORIA
AND
ESQUIMALT
1863**

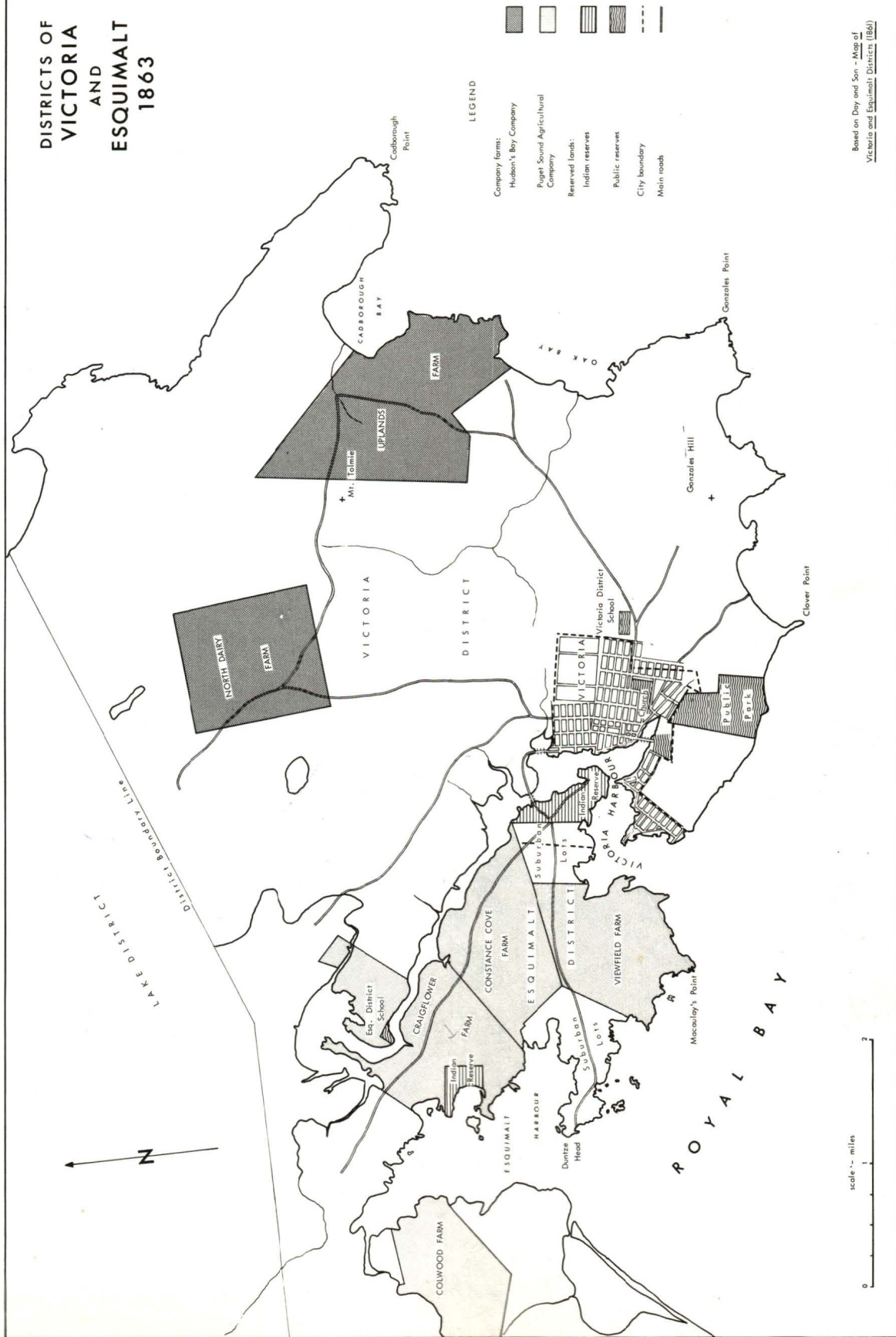


Figure 7

Two major problems seemed to hinder agriculture in 1863. First, there was the legacy of the fur trade period during which the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound companies and their employees occupied the better farm land in the immediate area around the fort and controlled what little market there was at the time. Thus, individual settlers were not encouraged to take up agriculture on a large scale. During the Gold Rush, the market quickly expanded, but Victoria soon was declared a free port and American produce flowed in. This lack of protection from the long established farms in the Puget Sound area and the Columbia River valley was a point of concern in the 1860's.

...the farmers of Vancouver cry out for Government protection, as agriculture being here still in its infancy, they find it impossible to compete with the wealthy and extensive farmers of Oregon.... At the present moment we believe that cereals can be introduced into the Port of Victoria at as cheap a rate as they can be produced in the colony of Vancouver.³⁶

Lumbering was much more developed at this time but most of the lumber consumed came from up-island or the United States. A number of lumber yards had opened in the city, especially in the vicinity of Wharf and Government streets, but most of their lumber came from the mills up-island, at Alberni and Cowichan. The only extensive operation in the local area was the mill operated at Sooke by John Muir and his sons. Muir had purchased Captain Grant's property in 1853 and two years later acquired the boiler and engine from the steamer Major Tomkins, which had run ashore at,

Macaulay Point.³⁷ By the late 1850's lumber was being exported from Sooke.³⁸ With the building boom of late 1862 and early 1863, however, lumber had to be imported on a considerable scale. During 1863, 4,319,000 feet were imported from Puget Sound and 744,000 feet from San Francisco, while 2,666,000 feet were brought down from Cowichan and Alberni and 325,000 feet from the mainland. The Muir mill at Sooke produced only 100,000 feet for the local market.³⁹

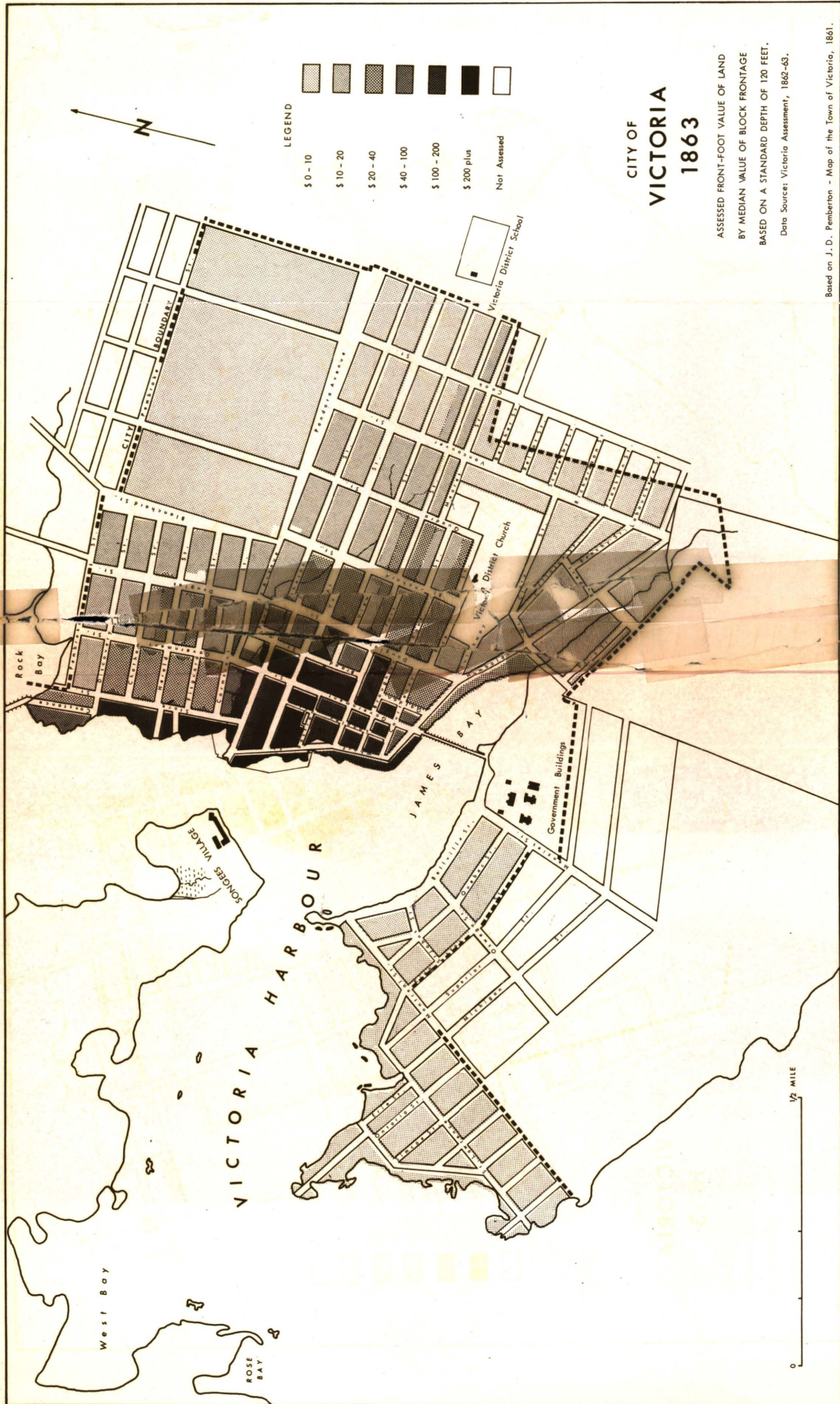
Surprisingly, little development had taken place in the fisheries of Southeastern Vancouver Island. One serious problem was the lack of a satisfactory means of canning the Pacific salmon; the only means of preserving them at the time was by drying or salting. A few people were engaged in fishing on a small scale, but the Vancouver Island Blue Book lists no regular fishery in operation in 1863.⁴⁰ The Indians are mentioned in most journals of this period as selling fish on the main streets and from door to door, and their catches evidently fulfilled the local market, as there were no fish listed under imports.

Urban Development and Functions

The change in function of Victoria from a fur trading fort to a supply center for the mainland gold rush was most strikingly reflected in the development of the city of Victoria, and in particular its commercial core (Figure 7). The area bounded by the harbour and Johnson, Government and

Fort streets, which in 1854 had held most of the fort and all of the town, was now the business center of the city. An assessment of the city was carried out during the first year of incorporation, and the results were published in November, 1863.⁴¹ The assessment has been generalized in Figure 8, which shows the city of Victoria in 1863 except for the small portion west of the Songhees Reserve, which was being subdivided at the time. Property values in the city had risen as much as seventy-five per cent since a previous assessment taken just prior to incorporation. The best business areas now rented at a rate from two to six dollars per front foot,⁴² while lots on Fort Street that had been purchased for £10 or £20 in 1858 were now assessed at £1,000.⁴³ The peak value block was that bounded by Government, Langley, Bastion and Yates streets, while lots on the east side of Government Street between Broughton and Johnson and on lower Yates Street were also highly assessed (Figure 8).

High land value in the commercial core of the city generally trended in a north-south direction parallel to the harbour. Outside the main retail section, the most valuable land was that on the waterfront, running the extent of Wharf and Store streets as far north as Discovery.⁴⁴ This resulted in the blocks between Store and Government streets being assessed at a rate considerably higher than one would expect, as they were largely undeveloped at the time.



Based on J. D. Pemberton - Map of the Town of Victoria, 1861.

Figure 8

Eastward from Government Street, however, high land values were influenced more by the thoroughfares that ran east-west, particularly Yates and Fort streets. Other than Government Street, these two streets were the most important roads in the city at the time.

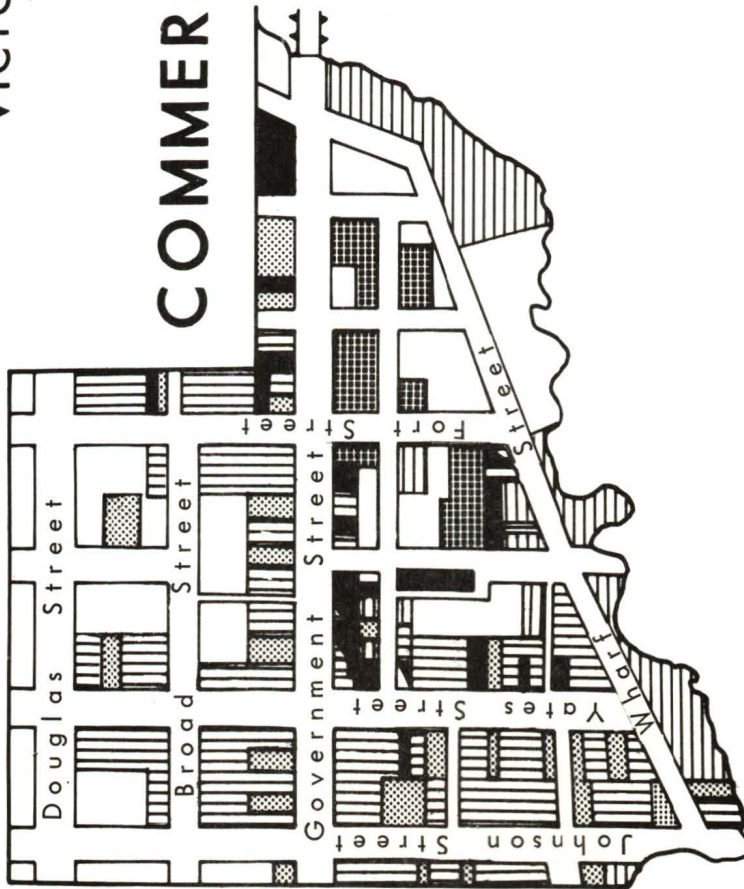
Property facing View Street, on the other hand, was assessed considerably lower, especially compared to Yates and Fort, the streets on either side. In the blocks between Government and Douglas, for instance, lots facing View Street were assessed at about half the rate of those facing either Fort or Yates. This difference of land value resulted largely because View Street ended at Broad, thus failing to provide direct access to the waterfront. As most products at this time arrived at the docks on Wharf and Store Streets, there was a distinct advantage in having direct access, even in the days of horse-drawn carts. One writer on Victoria in the 1860's recalled a continual battle in the form of letters to the editor and public meetings as irate citizens attempted to have View Street continued from Broad to Government where it would join Bastion.⁴⁵ Other factors which probably lowered land values on View Street were the occurrence of a swampy area in the vicinity of Quadra and Vancouver streets, and the ending of View at the Victoria District School Reserve one block east of Cook.

Commercial land use was concentrated in the area bounded by Johnson, Douglas, Fort and the harbour (Figure 9).

VICTORIA CITY CENTER

1863

COMMERCIAL LAND USE



LEGEND







-  Retail, service
-  Wholesale, storage
-  Hotel, restaurant, saloon
-  Office, financial
-  Public, semi-public
-  Remains of HBC fort property

Figure 9

There was a scattering of commercial buildings outside this core, but unfortunately the directory for this period did not give street numbers for them, so that their exact locations are difficult to determine. Street numbers were not in use at this time, and were not introduced until 1890; however, the 1863 Directory did assign numbers to the buildings and offices in the center of town. These numbers progressed in order along the street, which enabled the location of each building after reference to the assessment rolls. Wholesalers were concentrated along the waterfront side of Wharf Street, and only a few were situated inland. The greatest concentration of retail outlets was on Yates Street, although lower Johnson and Fort streets, between Government and Douglas, were also largely built-up with small stores. The more important offices and banks were concentrated in the block with the highest land value or were situated very close to it (Plates 3-6).

The city had a definite frontier atmosphere. Although there were a number of substantial brick buildings, the majority were still wooden, and few of the buildings in the commercial core had more than one story. There were hardly any substantial retail outlets; instead, the main streets were lined with small, crowded stores. The only retail outlets of any stature were those established on Wharf Street. Another feature lending a frontier atmosphere was the large number of hotels and saloons. The east side of



Plate 3. The north side of Yates Street in the 1860's. The exact date of the photograph is not known, but most of the stores in the photograph are listed in the 1863 directory.



Plate 4. Wharf Street in the 1860's. All of the buildings were listed in the 1863 directory except the one occupied by Wilkie, which opened in January, 1864. On the left is a portion of the Hudson's Bay Company store.



Plate 5. Government Street, looking north from the corner of Fort. The block contained some of the most important hotels in Victoria at the time.



Plate 6. The west side of Government Street, looking north from Fort. The first major building is the Theatre Royal, and next is the Bank of British Columbia, previously the residence of Thomas Harris, the first mayor of the city.

Government had the greatest concentration but lower Yates and Johnson were also well supplied. A few of the hotels, notably the St. Nicholas, St. George, and Colonial (Figure 6), were quite substantial; others were small and of a temporary nature.

Summary

The Gold Rush had completely transformed the settlement pattern of Southeastern Vancouver Island. Victoria, instead of being a small fur company outpost, was now the main distribution center for British Columbia as well as Vancouver Island. In place of the Hudson's Bay Company fort and the small cluster of buildings that were the town of Victoria in 1854, there was now a city of some five to six thousand persons. The area outside the city was only sparsely settled, however; the Saanich peninsula had changed very little since aboriginal times. The Indian population had also been greatly affected by the Gold Rush, but in a negative way. The influx of Europeans was followed by a sudden decline in the morale and numbers of the local tribes, particularly the Songish groups. The Indian population of Southeastern Vancouver Island was only about forty per cent of what it had been a decade before.

To the recent arrival, Victoria gave every impression of prosperity in 1863. As the hub of economic activity in the two Pacific colonies, its wharfs handled most of the trade,

which at the time amounted to over six million dollars annually. But the feeling of affluence was misleading; the only significant export from Victoria was gold, while almost all the imports were foodstuffs and manufactured goods. There was little manufacturing in the Victoria area as goods from San Francisco could enter the colony duty-free and undersell any local products. Farmers on Southeastern Vancouver Island faced a similar problem; it was cheaper to import agricultural products from the Puget Sound and Oregon than to produce them. The only possible exports that could replace gold were those of other primary industries, but success in the lumber industry was restricted by primitive technology, the resources of the Nanaimo coal-fields proved to be only moderate, and the fishing industry was limited by the lack of a satisfactory means of preserving the Pacific salmon.

The most significant change in the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island between 1854 and 1863 was the development of the city of Victoria. The rapid rise of the commercial area, particularly in 1862, had led to an inflated real estate market. The most important factor in determining high land value was nearness to the main intersection, although proximity to the wharfs in the inner harbour was also significant. The high cost of land did not deter development, but few of the buildings gave the impression of permanence; most of the hotels and retail outlets were small, crowded wooden structures typical of a frontier community.

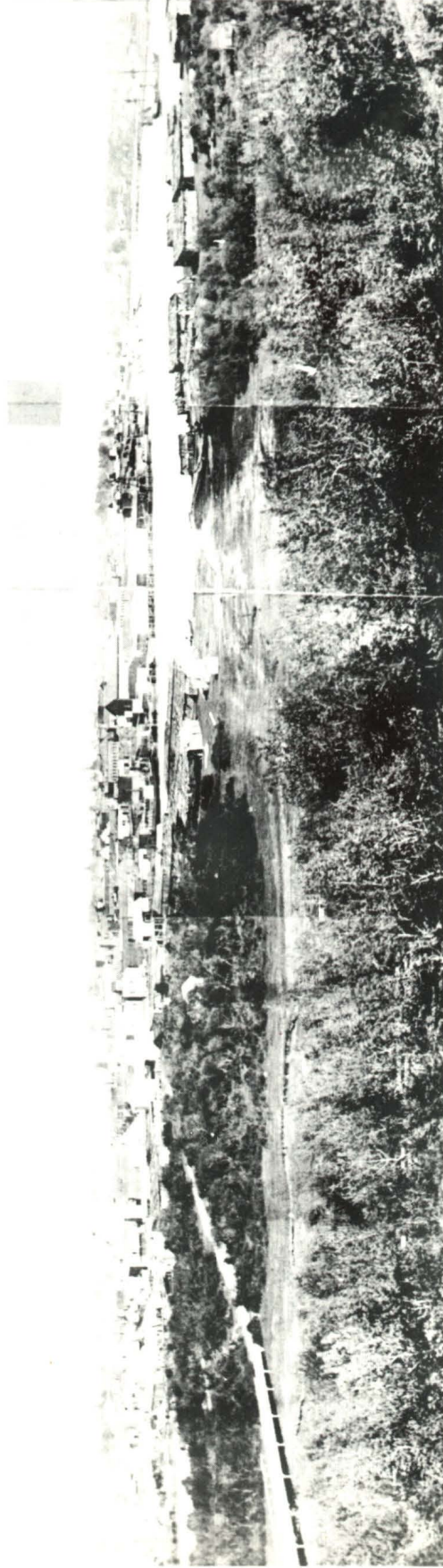


Plate 7. Victoria in the late 1860's, from behind the Songhees Reserve. The photograph shows the result of the building boom in the early sixties.

NOTES

- 1 Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia; Their History, Resources and Prospects. London, Longman, Green, 1865, pp. 100-101.
- 2 Most immigrants that arrived directly from Europe came from the British Isles, and were struck by the dryness of the summers on southern Vancouver Island, where there is a distinct summer drought.
- 3 C.E. Barrett-Lennard, Travels in British Columbia, London, Hurst, Blackett, 1862, p. 6.
- 4 Ibid., p. 23. A similar view is given in D.G.F. MacDonald, British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, Comprising a Description of these Dependencies..., London, Longman, 1862, p. 342.
- 5 R.C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island..., London, Murray, 1862, p. 28.
- 6 Macfie, op. cit., p. 62
- 7 Barrett-Lennard, op. cit., p. 24.
- 8 Macfie, op. cit., p. 78.
- 9 Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, p. 139.
- 10 Macfie, op. cit., p. 73.
- 11 The name of the mainland colony was changed from New Caledonia to British Columbia on August 2, 1858, to avoid confusion with the French colony in the southwest Pacific. Ormsby, op. cit., p. 151.
- 12 A conflict of interest occurred during the Fraser River Gold Rush when Douglas used his authority as Governor of Vancouver Island to force miners to purchase their goods from the Hudson's Bay Company in Victoria before proceeding to the gold fields. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869, p. 304.
- 13 Negotiations for the transfer of power from the company to the crown began as early as January, 1858, but the question of the payment of expenses to the Hudson's Bay Company dragged on until 1862. The question of profits from land sales was not settled until 1867. Ibid., pp. 305-306.

14 A.M. Gunn, "Gold and the Early Settlement of British Columbia, 1858-1885," Vancouver, University of British Columbia, unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1965, p. 31.

15 Macfie, op. cit., p. 78.

16 F.D. Howard and G. Barrett, eds., British Columbia and Victoria Directory, 1863, [Victoria?], Howard and Barrett, 1863, p. 49. The population figure was an estimate on the part of the editors of the directory.

17 Victoria's status changed from town to city upon incorporation. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 356, gives the results of a census taken by Governor Douglas [1860-61?] which gave the following population distribution:

Victoria Town	2,350
Victoria District	254
Lake District	65
Saanich District	26
Sooke District	24
Esquimalt and Metchosin (est. by MacDonald)	150
Total	<u>2,869</u>

The 1863 distribution was probably along very similar lines.

18 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 167.

19 Macfie, op. cit., p. 80.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., p. 185.

22 Any adult could acquire one hundred acres for himself, fifty acres for his wife, and ten acres for each of his children upon recording the area staked off. He was not required to pay until the area came within the official Government Survey, when a maximum price of 4s. 2d. would be charged. In 1863, 203 claims, totalling 22,709 acres, were made on Vancouver Island, but unfortunately no breakdown by district was made. The only significant official grant was one of one thousand acres in Metchosin. Vancouver Island, Governor, Blue Book, 1863, PABC, pp. 332-334.

23 Victoria City, Council, Minutes, April 6, 1863.

24 Reference to the use of the new route is made in The Daily British Colonist, June 11, 1861, p. 3.

25 Blue Book, 1863, PABC, pp. 54-55.

26 Ibid.

27 W. Duff, The Impact of the White Man, Victoria, Provincial Museum, 1964, pp. 42-43.

28 No census was made of the local Indian population until after British Columbia joined confederation (1871) and the Indian Affairs Department appointed an agent for the area.

29 At this time both British pound sterling and American dollars were used in Victoria. Dealings with Britain were always in the former, while local transactions were usually in dollars. The Blue Book, 1863, PABC, p. 247, gives the official rate of exchange as £1=\$4.85.

30 Unfortunately no figures of re-exports to B.C. are listed in either the Blue Book or the Colonist. An indication of the amount of goods shipped from Victoria to New Westminster is shown in the quarter ending June, 1864, when \$606,535 worth of goods were sent. Macfie, op. cit., p. 116. The Blue Book, 1863, p. 254, stated that "there is a large exportation of imported goods to British Columbia, of which no particulars can be obtained."

31 This summary was compiled from a detailed list in The Daily British Colonist, February 4, 1864, supplement. The total of the imports listed did not equal the total imports given in a table of value of imports given on the same page (Table VIII). Part of the discrepancy might be goods that were sent to Victoria to be re-exported to other ports, but this is only speculation. Exports to the United States, for the last six months of 1863, were given as \$191,960 (San Francisco, \$139,123; Port Angeles, \$42,024; Astoria, \$10,464; New York, \$349). Records were not kept for the first six months. Blue Book, 1863, PABC, pp. 279-280.

32 Macfie, op. cit., p. 109.

33 Ibid., p. 85-86.

34 Unfortunately there were no detailed statistics on agricultural production of Vancouver Island at this time, according to the Blue Book, 1863, PABC, p. 328.

35 A. Rattray, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, London, Smith, Elder, 1862, p. 64.

- 36 C.E. Barrett-Lennard, op. cit., p. 281.
- 37 W.K. Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island, Part II: 1855-1866," BCHQ, vol. 2(1938), p. 95.
- 38 The Daily British Colonist, October 10, 1859, p. 3, reported that on October 6 the ship Euphrates had sailed for London from Sooke with 157 spars and forty thousand feet of lumber.
- 39 The Daily British Colonist, February 4, 1864, supplement.
- 40 Blue Book, 1863, PABC, p. 329.
- 41 The assessment, apparently based on the market value of land, was carried out by the Colonial government, and was published in the Government Gazette, November 11, 1863. Lots sold by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1861 were assessed at close to twice their selling price, which indicates the degree of inflation in the real estate market.
- 42 Macfie, op. cit., p. 78.
- 43 Ibid., p. 88.
- 44 The value of the waterfront property north of Johnson Street had risen considerably since the removal of the old bridge which had crossed the harbour to the Indian reserve.
- 45 E. Fawcett, Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria, Toronto, Briggs, 1912, p. 206.

CHAPTER V

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE RAILWAY ERA, 1880-81

After the peak of the gold discoveries in the mid-sixties, Southeastern Vancouver Island was gripped in an economic recession that lasted over a decade. Victoria struggled to maintain the functions it had acquired during the Gold Rush, and managed to extend its administrative role, first as the capital of the united colony and then as the capital of the province of British Columbia. By 1880, however, there were signs that the recession was at an end; the transcontinental railway that had been promised when British Columbia joined Confederation was finally becoming a reality and the world-wide depression of the 1870's appeared to be over.

The year 1880-81 is important, therefore, because it marks the end of the recession period on Southeastern Vancouver Island and the beginning of prosperous times that accompanied the construction and completion of the transcontinental railway. Although a start had been made on the western end of the railway and the benefits of the construction period were being felt, the area as a whole still reflected the period of hard times. The population was only slightly larger than it had been in 1863, and the city center

had not changed significantly. Some developments had occurred in manufacturing and agriculture, but these largely resulted from the introduction of protective tariffs. Homes in the Victoria area had taken on a more permanent appearance, however, and the city was already being referred to as the "city of gardens" in the tourist booklets of that time. A brief look at the background of the recession period sets the stage for a detailed account of 1880-81, when South-eastern Vancouver Island was on the threshold of the railroad era.

Historical Background

The prosperity that characterized Victoria in 1863 lasted just over one year. Business was stimulated in 1864 by the discovery of gold at Goldstream and on the Sooke River, but by the end of the year there was a forewarning of things to come when a large number of property sales occurred because of tax defaults. In the spring of 1865 the usual rush of miners from San Francisco to the British Columbia gold fields failed to materialize, leaving the warehouses in Victoria jammed with imported goods. Many merchants extended credit only to see the debtors skip across the border to the United States.¹

At the same time the demand by local farmers for a protective tariff began to have some effect, and the Assembly passed an act placing a duty of ten to forty per cent on

some imported goods.² The act not only offered some relief to the farmers of Southeastern Vancouver Island but provided the colonial government with much needed revenue. The initial result, however, merely hastened the economic decline of the area; Victoria lost much of the economic advantage that she held previously over New Westminster, and the price of imported goods on Vancouver Island rose to cover the costs of the duty.³

Early in 1864 the Assembly of Vancouver Island admitted that union with the mainland might be economically advantageous. Originally, it wanted a form of federation that would give Vancouver Island freedom in decisions involving fiscal matters.⁴ As the economic situation declined during 1865, however, the demand for a complete union with British Columbia grew and the idea of a federation was abandoned. On November 19, 1866, the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia took place.⁵ At the time of union both colonies were suffering serious economic depression.⁶

Under such adverse economic conditions the choice of the location of the future capital was a vital concern of businessmen in Victoria and New Westminster. Economic prosperity was a far more important factor than political prestige; the city that acquired the function of the provincial administration would benefit, to a far greater extent than its rival, from government spending. Governor,

Seymour, who had become governor of the united colony, favoured New Westminster strongly, but in the end the Legislative Council voted in favour of Victoria.

The overall economic picture of the new British Columbia, however, showed little improvement over the old. At this time a tentative start was made in establishing two new industries, sealing and fish-canning, but little progress was made. In 1866, the first attempt at open-sea sealing was carried out by the schooner, Ino, from Victoria,⁷ and in the following year experiments were begun near New Westminster in the canning of fish, although production did not begin until 1870.⁸ Despite the advantage of being selected as the capital of the province and of continuing to be the main port in the British Northwest, Victoria remained in an economic recession. In late September, 1868, fire destroyed a large part of the business section of Government Street, adding to financial difficulties. A blow to the possible improvement of Victoria's economic position was the completion of the first trans-continental railway, giving San Francisco still further advantages over other west coast ports.⁹

What were the solutions to British Columbia's problems? The Gladstone ministry had given no indication that Britain was willing to help British Columbia with its financial difficulties, and the only roads left open were union with Canada or annexation to the United States. Those in favour,

of confederation prevailed and on July 20, 1871, British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada.

As part of the union agreement, Canada promised the new province a railway from the east within ten years. A battle quickly developed between the people on Vancouver Island and those on the mainland over the site for the western terminus of the railway; the choice was between Esquimalt Harbour and Burrard Inlet. In 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald named Esquimalt as the western terminus, but in December, 1877, the new Prime Minister, Alexander Mackenzie, announced adoption of the Fraser River route. Late in 1878 Macdonald, who had returned to power during the summer, renamed Esquimalt as the western terminus, but during the following year he decided on the Fraser River route, and on May 14, 1880, construction was finally begun at Yale, which marked the beginning of the railway construction from the western end.¹⁰

Side issues of the trans-continental railway question were the construction of a dry-dock at Esquimalt and a railway from Nanaimo to Esquimalt. Shortly after confederation the British, Dominion, and Provincial governments agreed that a dry-dock be constructed at Esquimalt, the costs being shared by the three governments.¹¹ Work on the dry-dock began in September, 1876 and the Mackenzie administration hoped at the time that it would appease those on Vancouver Island who were impatient for the commencement of work on,

the trans-continental railway. The scare of 1878, in which Great Britain considered assisting Turkey against Russia, resulted in some work on the defense batteries at the port, but little armament was added. The crisis quickly passed with the Congress of Berlin, 1878, and Esquimalt was no longer considered important; indeed, one report in the early 1880's said that it was "strategically indefensible and almost valueless."¹²

The Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway also was offered as a pacifier to those who were annoyed over the lack of action on the trans-continental railway but the bill for the immediate construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was defeated in the Senate.¹³ Nevertheless, the idea of the federal government constructing the island railway remained in the public's mind until the early 1880's.

The population of Southeastern Vancouver Island, which had steadily declined during the late 1860's from a figure close to seven thousand (including natives), had levelled off at about 5,800 in 1871.¹⁴ According to the unofficial census of 1871, the white population of Southeastern Vancouver Island was 4,354, of whom 2,842 lived in the city.¹⁵ The total colored population was 273, Chinese 281, and native Indians 913. Between 1871 and 1880-81 the population changed in composition and increased significantly.

Population and Settlement, 1880-81

The 1880-81 Census of Canada gave the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island as 8,075, an increase of approximately one thousand since 1863. The non-Indian population now totalled 7,814, 74 per cent being of British origin (Table XI). The Indian population for the area was given as 161 in the Census, but the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1881, gave a total of 661 for the tribes of Southeastern Vancouver Island.¹⁶ In any case the native population was well below that indicated in the 1871 census taken in British Columbia. The decline of the native population is best shown in comparison with the census taken by James Douglas about 1853; the figure given by the Indian Affairs Department is only one-third of that given by Douglas little more than a generation before.

The Indians still lived to a large extent on the reserves first established by James Douglas during the Hudson's Bay Company's administration, but the exact population and distribution is impossible to determine. When British Columbia joined confederation these reserves were surveyed and placed under the administration of the federal government. The Indian population given in the 1880-81 census probably included Indians living on the Songhees Reserve at Victoria Harbour, as well as those working in the town or on the surrounding farms. Obviously, it did not include Indians living on other reserves. The Indian

TABLE XI

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
1880-81

Districts	British	French	Other European	Indian	African	Chinese	Others or Not Given	Total
Victoria City	4,118	145	478	159	137	592	296	5,925
Yates Ward	854	32	112	2	80	84	96	1,260
Johnson Ward	1,651	60	217	115	54	466	102	2,665
James Bay Ward	1,613	53	149	42	3	42	98	2,000
Victoria District	550	11	15	86	14	73	13	762
Esquimalt/Metchosin	490	3	43	7	-	25	46	614
N. and S. Saanich	382	32	26	7	29	3	9	488
Sooke/Lake/Highland	236	25	7	2	9	-	7	286
Total	5,776	216	569	261	189	693	371	8,075

Source: Canada: Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 1, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1882-85, pp. 298-299.

Affairs Department census provided the population on each reserve, although in some cases the names given for the tribes only vaguely resembled the traditional ones.

Furthermore, it is not possible to determine whether these figures included members of the tribe who were working elsewhere or members of other tribes living at the village.

Also there undoubtedly were some Indians living on Southeastern Vancouver Island who were not native to the area. Nevertheless, the Indian population probably was close to the total figure given by the Indian Affairs Department.

While the Indians continued to find employment on road gangs and as farm hands, few were hired as domestic servants. These positions were taken by the Chinese, who had also opened a number of retail stores and such services as restaurants, tailor shops and laundries. Their stores and shops ranged from Fisgard Street to Yates, but most of the Chinese lived north of the gully that ran between Johnson and Cormorant streets. Among ethnic groups in the area, the Chinese population was gaining most rapidly. Most of them had come north from California, partly because of the lure of gold in British Columbia in the 1860's and partly to escape excessive prejudices they were forced to cope with in California.

As in 1863, the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island was highly concentrated in the city of Victoria.¹⁷ The city population was now close to 6,000, an increase of

TABLE XII

CENSUS RETURNS OF THE INDIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
1878-82

Linguistic Group	Tribe	Population
Songish	Esquimalt	77
	Songhees (including Discovery I.)	182
Sooke	Soke [Sooke]	39
Klallam	Tche-a-nook [Cheerno]	54
Saanich	Tsah-wit-ook [Tsaout?]	71
	Pau-kwe-chin [Paquachin]	93
	Tsi-klum [Tsaykum]	41
	Chak-thul-elp-il [Tsartlip?]	104
Total		661

Source: Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1881, Ottawa, Maclean, Roger, 1882, pp. 221-222.

2,300 in the last ten years. In contrast, the non-Indian population outside the city boundary had increased by only 429 in the same period. The cosmopolitan nature of the city population in the early 1860's still prevailed in 1880-81, although probably to a lesser degree, with American, German and French as the largest groups after the Chinese.¹⁸

The commercial core of the city had not increased in area significantly but the residential areas within the city boundary had developed considerably. The area of largely commercial use now reached Cormorant Street to the north, Douglas Street to the east, and Broughton and Kane streets to the south. Outward from this commercial core the built-up residential zone extended as far north as Chatham and as far east as Vancouver Street. Scattered residential development had occurred beyond Rock Bay to the north, as far as the old Fairfield estate to the east, and throughout the James Bay area. Plate 8 shows a "bird's-eye" view of the city as it appeared in 1878; the amount of development between then and 1880-81 was scant. The only portion of the city not shown in the view was the section west of the harbour, which in 1880-81 was fully subdivided but only slightly built up. Two important additions for the residents of the city since 1863 were the completion of a water pipeline from Elk Lake and the use of gas lamps on the main streets.¹⁹

Outside the city boundary the largest concentration of people was at Esquimalt village. The census did not provide a separate return for Esquimalt, but the population in and around the village was probably between two and three hundred at this time. The road between Esquimalt and Victoria, which had long been in poor condition, finally had been macadamized and now provided an excellent transportation route.²⁰ Other than the small area subdivided near Esquimalt Harbour, most of the land still was held by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (Figure 10).

Scattered development also had taken place in Victoria district, but the area was still one of large estates as it had been in 1863. The farms in the district were quite large on the whole, averaging just over 200 acres, with an average of 151 acres of improved land (Table XIII). Although there were sixty-one farms, the census lists only 147 dwellings, leaving at the most only 86 dwellings that were not on farms. A number of new roads were available, notably Cedar Hill Road, Moss Street, Mt. Tolmie Road, Mt. Douglas Road and Gordon Head Road (Figure 10). Cadboro Bay was one of the favourite pleasure spots, and was the site of the annual Agricultural Exhibition.

Outside Esquimalt and Victoria districts the population was sparsely distributed and engaged almost exclusively in agriculture. North and South Saanich now had close to five hundred settlers, and probably another one hundred or so,

TABLE XIII

FARM SIZE AND STATE OF LAND ON
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
1880-81

	Victoria City	Victoria District	Esq/ Metchosin	N/S Saanich	Sooke/ Lake/ Highland	Total
<u>Number of farms</u> (by size):						
0-50 acres	65	7	9	8	8	97
51-100 acres	1	25	5	26	25	82
100 plus acres	<u>3</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>147</u>
Total farms	69	61	46	80	70	326
<u>State of land</u> (in acres):						
Occupied land (Average)	2,499 (36)	12,297 (201)	8,997 (195)	16,346 (204)	15,487 (221)	55,626 (171)
Crops	1,094	2,238	1,974	3,099	771	9,176
Pasture	278	6,767	1,159	2,115	905	11,224
Garden/Orchard	<u>245</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>666</u>
Total Improved land (Average)	1,617 (23)	9,186 (151)	3,191 (69)	5,349 (67)	1,723 (25)	21,066 (65)

Source: Canada, Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 3, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1882-85, pp. 112-113.

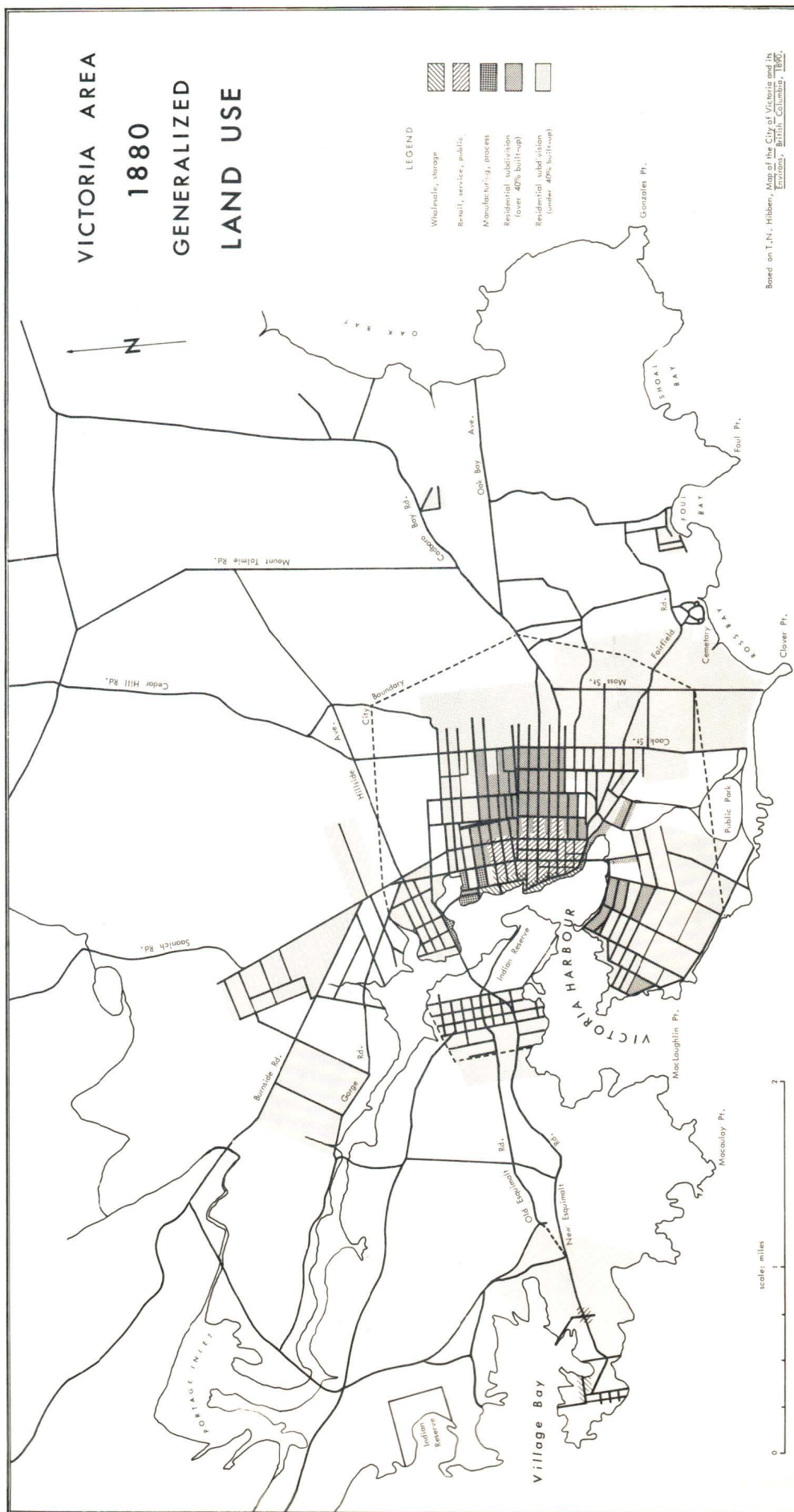


Figure 10

lived in the Lake District.²¹ The census listed ninety-one dwellings in North and South Saanich, and as there were eighty farms, almost everyone was engaged in agriculture to some degree. As in Victoria district farms in Saanich averaged over two hundred acres, but the amount of improved acreage was much smaller. The Saanich Peninsula was served by two roadways which met at Royal Oak, the site of a hotel and a few houses (Figure 11). Another hotel was situated at the junction of Mount Newton Cross Road and East Saanich Road. Sooke and Metchosin, each with a population of approximately one hundred, were also served by two roads. Farms in these districts tended to be large but generally unimproved.

Economic Functions

The main economic function of Southeastern Vancouver Island was the entrepot role of the city of Victoria. Victoria was still the main port of entry of goods into British Columbia, and also the main port of exports for the mainland. Unfortunately, neither the newspapers nor the Annual Report of the B.C. Board of Trade gave import figures for Victoria for the 1880-81 fiscal year, but they were probably about two million dollars.²² New Westminster, on the other hand, imported little over one-tenth that of Victoria.²³

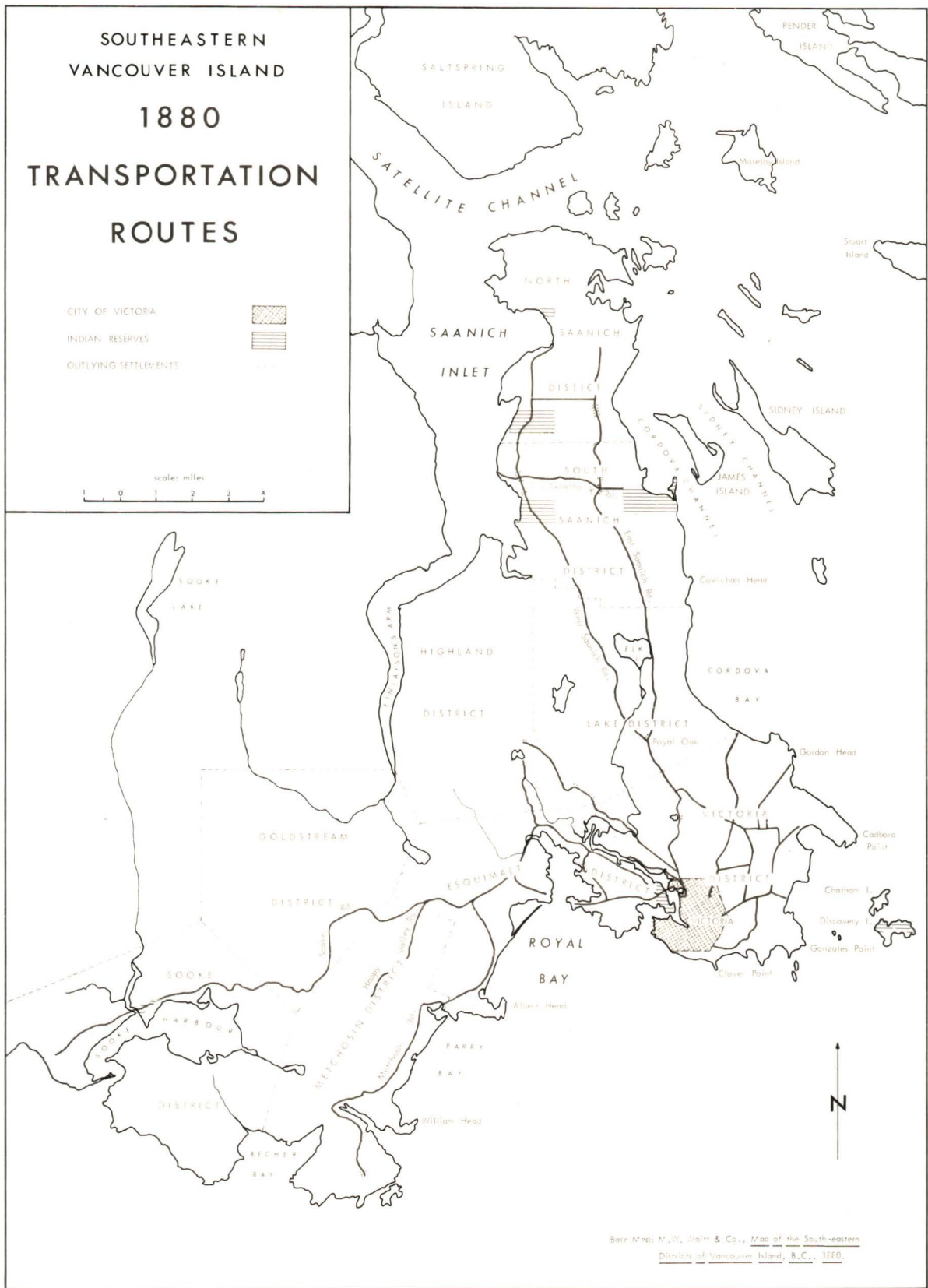


Figure 11

Exports from the port of Victoria also are impossible to determine exactly as the figures given for the port include the export of coal and timber products from Nanaimo.²⁴ For the fiscal year 1880-81, however, there were no timber exports listed, and the only likely exports from Nanaimo would be coal. This would give Nanaimo about \$739,351 worth of exports, and Victoria about \$1,245,194. Table XIV gives a breakdown of Victoria and Nanaimo exports from information published in the British Daily Colonist.²⁵ As the table indicates, exports from British Columbia in 1880-81 were almost entirely raw materials. The only processing done was the canning of fish. The exports from Victoria were essentially products which came originally from outside the area: gold from the interior, canned fish from the lower Fraser Valley, and seal furs from the northern waters. Imported goods, as in 1863, were mainly finished products.

The import duties that had been applied in 1865 and 1866 had enabled some industries to become established on Southeastern Vancouver Island. The census returns gave 169 manufacturing establishments for Victoria district in 1880-81, employing 811 people (Table XV). The largest manufacturing establishments in terms of employment at this time were the Albion Iron Works, which occupied the block bounded by Store, Chatham, Discovery and Government (see Plate 8) and was the largest establishment of its kind north of San Francisco,²⁶ another smaller foundry, one saw mill, a

TABLE XIV

EXPORTS FROM THE PORT OF VICTORIA
 (INCLUDING NANAIMO), YEAR ENDING
 JUNE 30, 1881

	\$	\$
Mines		1,317,079
Coal (Nanaimo)	739,351	
Gold	576,918	
Fisheries		392,523
Animal Produce		350,474
Furs	287,414	
Agriculture		248
Manufactures		22
Re-exports		24,199
Total		2,084,545

Source: Daily British Colonist, August 3, 1881,
 p. 3.

TABLE XV

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN
VICTORIA DISTRICT AND BRITISH COLUMBIA,
1880-81

Industrial Establishments*	Victoria District		British Columbia	
	No.	Employees	No.	Employees
Bakeries	16	35	23	44
Blacksmiths	1	3	59	58
Boots and Shoes	14	94	25	112
Breweries	5	15	8	20
Cabinets, Furniture	5	21	8	27
Carpenters, Joiners	16	61	28	78
Carriage Makers	8	19	10	24
Dressmakers	33	79	42	95
Foundries	6	74	8	79
Oil Refineries	1	30	2	32
Preserved Foods	3	69	17	1,449
Sash and Doors	2	24	3	47
Saw Mills	1	12	27	398
Ship Yards	4	26	4	26
Tailors	18	48	21	62
Tanneries	3	15	5	20
Tin/Sheet Metal	5	16	11	28
Tobacco Workings	1	21	1	21
Others*	27	149	113	241
Total	169	811	415	2,861

* Industries listed individually are those with 15 or more employees in Victoria or 50 or more employees for British Columbia.

Source: Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 3, pp. 324-496.

gas works, and two boot and shoe factories. Other important establishments included five breweries, numerous tailors and dressmakers, two sash and door companies and other similar light industries that served the local and, to a certain extent, British Columbia market. Table XV is a summary of the major industrial establishments in Victoria District compared to the totals for British Columbia. Except for some of the service industries, such as blacksmiths, the only industrial establishments in which Victoria did not have half of the employment were sawmills and food processing plants. Most of the sawmills at this time were on Burrard Inlet, while most of the food processing industries were fish canning plants on the lower Fraser River.

The industries of Southeastern Vancouver Island that served the province as well as the immediate local market were the Albion Iron Works, which produced a wide range of machinery and supplies, including fish canning apparatus, derrick equipment, and iron railings for piers and bridges, the Brackman-Ker flour mill in Saanich, the four small shipyards, and such light industries as breweries, clothing and shoe manufacturers. Most of the industrial output of Southeastern Vancouver Island, however, was for the British Columbia market; as noted in Table XIV, there were few manufacturing exports.

Agriculture on Southeastern Vancouver Island had also benefitted from import duties and the local market was largely supplied by local produce, supplemented by food-stuffs from the mainland. Agricultural exports from British Columbia were very small, and it appears that most of the provincial production was consumed at home.²⁷

The main areas of production on Southeastern Vancouver Island were North and South Saanich and Victoria districts. Of the land in crops on Southeastern Vancouver Island, one-third of the acreage was in the two Saanich Districts, and just over one-third was in Victoria District, including the city itself (Table XIII). These three districts produced over eighty per cent of all crops except turnips and hay, for which they produced sixty-seven and sixty-eight per cent respectively. The two Saanich districts by themselves produced over fifty per cent of the oats and peas of Southeastern Vancouver Island, sixty-four per cent of the spring wheat, and sixty-seven per cent of the barley (Table XVI).²⁸

Unfortunately, the 1880-81 Census did not give the returns of farm animals by sub-districts, and therefore all the land districts other than those in the Victoria census district were included under Vancouver Island. The Victoria census district, which included the city and Victoria, Esquimalt and Metchosin districts, had thirty per cent of the milch cows on the island and over forty per cent of the sheep. The fact that pasturing was more important in these

TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF CROPS ON
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND
1880-81

	Spring Wheat Bu.	Winter Wheat Bu.	Barley Bu.	Oats Bu.	Peas Beans Bu.	Potatoes Bu.	Turnips Bu.	Tons of Hay
Victoria City	112	95	500	-	333	25,060	2,719	290
Victoria District	3,697	6,295	2,700	21,159	3,760	45,075	24,488	2,241
Esq./ Metchosin	2,731	716	725	7,577	175	7,754	19,580	900
N. & S. Saanich	13,554	2,437	9,891	35,458	5,570	17,720	1,980	1,225
Sooke/Lake/ Highland	1,190	580	923	6,730	1,035	6,975	4,075	808
Southeastern Vancouver Island Total	21,284	10,123	14,739	70,924	10,873	102,584	70,627	5,464
Percent of B.C. Total	14%	50%	19%	28%	22%	22%	26%	12%
British Columbia Total	153,485	20,168	78,990	253,911	50,542	473,831	270,525	43,898

Source: Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 3, pp. 228-229.

districts than in others on Southeastern Vancouver Island is reflected in the number of acres devoted to pasture (Table XIII). It is difficult to estimate the number of head in the other districts, but the various farm animals probably were more evenly distributed than were the various crops.

Urban Development and Functions

The built-up commercial area of Victoria extended east to Douglas Street and north to Pandora Avenue, with ribbon development farther out the main streets. Within the heart of the commercial area there were a few new buildings, but only the block on Government Street between Fort and Yates was rebuilt to any degree. Many of the smaller structures on Johnson, Yates and Fort streets had been built in the early 1860's (Compare Plates 3 and 9). On Wharf Street there was almost no change, probably because most of the buildings erected in the 1860's were quite substantial (compare Plates 4 and 10). However, the amount of undeveloped waterfront along Wharf Street was evidence of the lack of substantial economic development in Victoria.

The economic uncertainty of Southeastern Vancouver Island was most evident in the value of property. Whereas in the early 1860's excessive optimism led to highly inflated land prices, in the 1870's economic skepticism caused a depressed land market. The assessment rolls for 1880 and



Plate 9. Lower Yates Street in the late 1870's, looking westward from the intersection of Government. The street was little changed since 1863, with the exception of the gas lamps on the corners and the small manufacturing establishments at the foot of Yates.



Plate 10. Wharf Street in the 1870's, looking south from Yates. The only changes since the 1860's were the addition of the slanted roofs on the tops of the Reid Building (corner of Bastion) and the Odd Fellows Hall (corner of Fort).

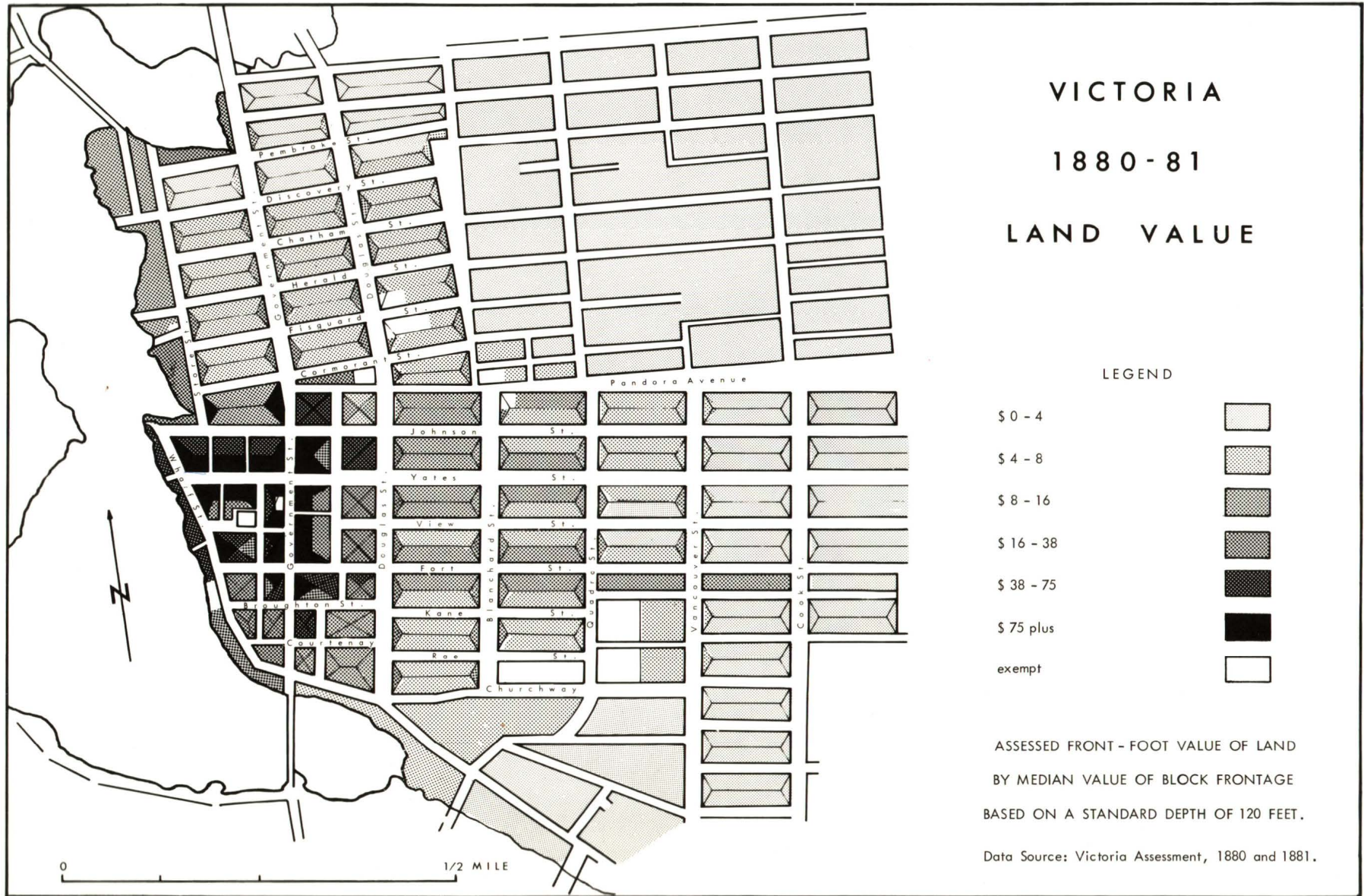


Plate 11. Looking north on Government Street from the intersection of Fort in the late 1870's. Large sections of this block had been rebuilt since 1863.

1881 reflected this situation; the peak value lot, still the southwest corner of Yates and Government, now was assessed at \$300 per front foot. Similarly, property along Government Street between Johnson and Broughton now was assessed at \$75 to \$225 per front foot.

The 1881 assessment has been summarized for the city center in Figure 12,²⁹ using the same percentage of peak value breakdown for establishing assessment categories as used in Figure 8 for 1863. The patterns established for the two years are very similar, reflecting the lack of change in the relative importance of any of the downtown areas. The peak value block was still the one bounded by Yates, Government, Bastion and Langley, while Government Street between Pandora and Broughton, and Yates Street between Wharf and Broad were the most highly assessed streets. Outside of the retail core, the most valuable property was the inland side of Wharf Street, particularly between Johnson and Fort streets. On the other hand, land valued at five per cent or more of the peak value lot did not extend as far north along the waterfront as previously, but included only the block on Store Street between Johnson and Fisgard. Similarly, the blocks north of Pandora Avenue between Store and Government were assessed much lower relative to the peak value than they had been in 1863. High land value in 1880-81, then, tended in an easterly direction from the peak intersection, particularly along Yates and Fort

Figure 12



streets. As was the case in 1863, property on View Street was assessed at a rate below that on Fort and Yates, although at this time the contrast was not so great as it had been previously.

With the pattern of assessment in 1880-81 very similar to that in 1863, it is not surprising that changes in commercial land use were insignificant. Unfortunately, block numbers had not been adopted yet, and the directories available were even less useful than the 1863 edition, which provided consecutive numbers for each establishment in the city center blocks. However, a general impression of land use can be gained from the photographs of the period, as well as from the "Bird's-Eye View of Victoria" completed in 1878 (Plate 8). The wholesale and storage area remained concentrated along the waterfront on Wharf Street between Broughton and Johnson, and on Store Street as far as Fisgard. A few wholesale establishments were situated on the other side of Wharf and Store streets as well. The zone of retail and service outlets extended from the wholesale area eastward to Government Street and southward to Courtney. Between Government and Douglas from Broughton to Cormorant there was an area largely used for retail and service establishments, and further ribbon development occurred along Yates and Fort streets.

One significant change since 1863 was the building of a few substantial manufacturing establishments. On the north

side of the city there was the Gas Works and a large planing mill on Rock Bay, and just to the south, the Albion Iron Works on Store Street. Across Rock Bay, a small match factory, which provided Victoria with one of its few manufacturing exports at the time, had been established. On the north side of James Bay there was a lumber mill and a soap factory.³⁰ Within the city the manufacturing establishments were less permanent; clothiers and shoe and boot manufacturers tended to use the upper floors of retail establishments.

Summary

The population of Southeastern Vancouver Island increased only slightly between 1863 and 1880-81, mainly because of the economic recession between 1865 and 1878. As in the earlier cross-section, the population was highly concentrated in the city of Victoria. The commercial core was unimpressive, but the residential area immediately surrounding it was largely built-up, often with stately homes. The population in the surrounding land districts remained small. Two notable changes were evident in the make-up of the population at this time, however. The Indians local to the area numbered less than seven hundred, about one-third of the total present when Fort Victoria was established. The Chinese also numbered about seven hundred, and were replacing the Indians in many occupations within the city.

Victoria continued as the main port for British Columbia and had added the role of administrative center for the province. Tariffs protected agriculture and manufacturing, and in both fields limited activity was taking place. Southeastern Vancouver Island produced about one-quarter of the provincial field crops, and except for sawmills and food processing, the Victoria census district had the greater share of the industrial establishments in the province. Most of the production, however, was used locally or on the mainland; exports, although fairly diversified, were mainly primary products from up-island or the mainland.

The urban development in Victoria in 1880-81 reflected the period of recession. Most of the main streets differed very little from what they had been in 1863; only Government Street possessed many substantial new buildings. Land values were also affected by the economic uncertainty; property was assessed at less than half the rate in 1863. The city gave the impression of a quiet country town, and was becoming famous as a tourist attraction. Further economic development, however, depended on a greater exploitation of the lumber and mineral resources of the province, and this required a railway that would link British Columbia to the rest of the country.

NOTES

- 1 Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, p. 212.
- 2 F.E. Walden, "The Social History of Victoria, B.C. 1858-1871," Vancouver, B.C., University of British Columbia, Unpublished B.A. Thesis, 1951, p. 58.
- 3 Since 1864, when Governor Douglas resigned, New Westminster had assumed a much more important role in the administration of British Columbia. It now had its own resident governor, Frederick Seymour. The governorship of Vancouver Island had gone to Arthur Edward Kennedy.
- 4 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 217.
- 5 Ibid., p.219.
- 6 Ibid., p. 221.
- 7 H.F. Angus, ed., British Columbia and the United States; the North Pacific Slope from Fur Trade to Aviation, Toronto, Ryerson, 1942, p. 320.
- 8 Previously fish had been salted by the fur traders and settlers, and small quantities exported, notably to the Sandwich Islands. Ibid., p. 311.
- 9 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 230.
- 10 Ibid., p. 279.
- 11 During the Crimean War Esquimalt had become a Royal Navy base. D.M. Schurman, "Esquimalt: Defence Problem, 1865-1887," BCHQ, vol. 19 (Jan.-April 1955), p. 57.
- 12 Ibid., p. 66.
- 13 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 268.
- 14 E. Mallandaine, First Victoria Directory, Fourth Issue, 1871, Victoria, Mallandaine, 1871.
- 15 British Columbia was not included in the Dominion Census of 1870-71, although estimates were made by the Provincial Government.
- 16 Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1881, Ottawa, Maclean, Roger, 1882, pp. 221-22. The same totals, however, were given in reports from 1878 to 1882.

17 The boundaries of the city had been extended since 1863.

18 The Census of Canada did not give "American" as an ethnic category, but there were 651 people in the city who had been born in the United States. There were 308 people listed as German as well as the 145 Frenchmen.

19 Guide to the Province of British Columbia, 1877-78, Victoria, Hibben, 1877, p. 282.

20 Ibid., p. 283.

21 Unfortunately the census did not separate the population figures for Sooke, Lake, Highland and Goldstream districts.

22 Imports for 1879-80 were \$1,897,456 for all B.C. and for 1881-82, \$2,578,921 for Victoria only. Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1879-80, Victoria, Colonist, 1880, p. 20, and Annual Report, 1881-81, 1882, p. 28.

23 New Westminster imported \$320,302 worth of goods in 1881-82. Annual Report, 1881-82, loc. cit.

24 Nanaimo did not have its own port authority until August 1, 1884.

25 British Daily Colonist, August 3, 1881, p. 3. The Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1881-82, pp. 26-27, however, gives the Victoria port authority \$2,255,753 worth of exports for the year 1880-81, but does not provide a breakdown.

26 Guide to the Province of British Columbia, 1877-78, loc. cit.

27 Canada, Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol 3, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1884, pp. 228-229.

28 For a more detailed analysis of the distribution of farms on Southeastern Vancouver Island and their production see J.M. Wright, "The Settlement of the Victoria Region," chapter IV.

29 The parts of the city outside the map all fall within the lowest assessment category, with the exception of the waterfront property along Belleville and Erie Streets, which fall within the second category.

30 Pendray's soap factory was situated on James Bay at the foot of Douglas Street. The company soon expanded into the manufacture of paint, and eventually became the British America Paint Company.

CHAPTER VI

DURING THE RAILWAY BOOM, 1890-91

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 provided the first direct link between British Columbia and the rest of Canada. Victoria, as the main port in the province, received the initial benefits from the increased trade that followed. Its population tripled, new buildings shot up, and real estate values soared.

The prosperity of the railway era was felt mainly in the town itself. A bridge carried the railway line from Nanaimo across the harbour to the city side near the foot of Johnson Street. The harbour itself was plugged with shipping, and new wharfs jutted out from Wharf and Store streets. Outside the Inner Harbour two wharfs were built off Dallas Road to handle liners from the Orient. Beyond the city and its immediate environs there was little change; in the Saanich Peninsula in particular there was little development.

The year 1890-91 represents the peak of the post-railway development on Southeastern Vancouver Island. After that date Vancouver quickly overtook the island city, and before the end of the century had passed Victoria in trade, population and value of manufactured products. During the height of economic development on Southeastern Vancouver,

Island it was the urban area that benefitted most, and the human geography of the area reflected this.

Historical Background

Construction on the western end of the Canadian Pacific Railway began in May, 1880, and ushered in a decade of continuing prosperity for Southeastern Vancouver Island.

Victoria remained the main port of entry for the province, and during the early 1880's, imports and exports were fifty per cent higher than during the late 1870's. Local industries, particularly the various machine shops and manufacturers of wearing apparel, also benefitted from the construction. By the end of 1884, the railway was nearing completion and the city of Victoria had undergone a complete economic revival. The harbour thronged with shipping as it had during the height of the Gold Rush, and the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island was estimated to have increased over forty per cent since the 1880-81 Census.¹ The increasing prosperity was reflected in the changes taking place in the city and in 1884 alone over 250 new buildings were erected.² Recent developments in technology were indicated by the poles carrying telephone and electric wires.

The increasing prosperity on Southeastern Vancouver Island during the early 1880's did not end with the completion of the railway on November 7, 1885, but carried on for another ten years. The railway enabled British Columbia,

to be physically as well as politically part of the Dominion of Canada and the company set about developing trade with the Orient. For the decade immediately following the completion of the railway Victoria continued as the main port of British Columbia and thereby obtained the greater portion of the increase in trade. In August, 1886, the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was completed, providing further impetus for commerce in Victoria. At the same time, however, the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company decided to move the western terminus of the trans-continental railway from Port Moody to Granville, situated twelve miles to the west along Burrard Inlet. On April 6, 1886, a city was incorporated at this site, and named after Captain George Vancouver, the leader of probably the first British exploration of Burrard Inlet. Within weeks of its incorporation, the city of Vancouver had over eight hundred businesses and a population of two thousand.³ Two years later Vancouver's population had reached eight thousand, and there were twenty-six miles of paved roads.⁴

Despite the remarkable growth of Vancouver in the late 1880's, Victoria remained the economic as well as the administrative center for the province and thereby received the greatest returns from the expanding economy. Most of the imports and exports of the province still were shipped through Victoria while the new port of Vancouver had not yet reached significant size (Tables XVII and XVIII). Apart,

EXPORTS FROM MAJOR BRITISH
COLUMBIA PORTS, 1886-90

Fiscal Year	Victoria	New Westminster	Nanaimo	Vancouver
1886	\$1,778,077	\$197,082	\$ 975,155	*
1887	2,094,384	230,589	1,141,494	*
1888	2,122,939	96,250	1,240,393	\$ 553,539
1889	1,946,186	46,388	1,851,419	576,536
1890	3,143,178**	211,744	1,934,544	485,735

* Included in New Westminster.

** The increase between 1889 and 1890 was entirely the result of an exceptionally large salmon catch.

Source: Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Reports.

TABLE XVIII

IMPORTS THROUGH MAJOR BRITISH
COLUMBIA PORTS, 1886-90

Fiscal Year	Victoria	New Westminster	Nanaimo	Vancouver
1886	\$2,934,130	\$721,908	\$329,636	*
1887	3,066,310	398,533	156,533	*
1888	2,916,828	108,485	188,678	not given
1889	2,862,803	132,053	301,016	\$443,937
1890	3,193,225	255,355	233,391	698,170

* Included in New Westminster.

Source: Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Reports.

from Vancouver itself, Southeastern Vancouver Island remained the fastest growing region in the province, in terms of both population and economic development. The steady growth in prosperity in Victoria was reflected in both the post office revenue and real estate values. The post office returns grew steadily from \$9,528 in 1881 to \$31,000 in 1890,⁵ while the value of real estate also increased over three times during the same period. The latter value moved in large steps rather than in a steady progression, however, as changes in land assessment did not take place every year. The total value of real estate is shown in Table XIX, and it is evident that re-assessments took place in 1885 and 1889; the increases in other years would have been the result of additional improvements.

Population and Settlement

The most striking feature of the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1890-91 was the number of recent arrivals in Victoria. The total population jumped to 22,735, and most of the increase occurred in the city. In the other districts the population remained fairly stable; only in Sooke was there a notable increase, and most of this was probably only temporary (Table XX).⁶

One difficulty with the census return for 1890-91 was that it did not include a breakdown of the population along ethnic lines. A census taken by the provincial government,

TABLE XIX

TOTAL ASSESSED VALUE OF REAL ESTATE
IN THE CITY OF VICTORIA,
1881-90

1881 - \$2,749,075	1886 - \$5,644,410
1882 - 2,809,675	1887 - 5,750,895
1883 - 3,092,285	1888 - 5,758,445
1884 - 3,104,860	1889 - 8,948,903
1885 - 5,178,800	1890 - 9,367,600

Source: Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1890-91, p. 43.

TABLE XX

A COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF
POPULATION ON SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER
ISLAND BETWEEN 1880-81 AND 1890-91

Districts	1880-81	1890-91	Increase
Victoria City*	5,925	16,841	184%
Yates Ward	1,260	4,261	238%
Johnson Ward	2,665	8,707	226%
James Bay Ward	2,000	3,873	94%
Victoria District*	762	742	-3%
Esquimalt] 614	740] 56%
Metchosin		215	
N. and S. Saanich	488	610	25%
Sooke and Goldstream] 286	3,270**] 1,160%
Lake and Highland		335	
Total	8,075	22,753	182%

* 1890-91 figure is based on the new boundary established in 1891.

** This Figure is somewhat suspect (see text, p. 156).

Source: Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 1, pp. 298-99 and 1890-91, vol. 1, p. 8.

in 1891 and reported in The Year Book of British Columbia, 1897, however, gave the distribution of the population of Southeastern Vancouver Island according to White, Chinese, and Indian origin.⁷ This census gave a total of 1,977 Chinese for the city, and 2,533 for Southeastern Vancouver Island.⁸ Undoubtedly a large portion of the Chinese population was made up of workers laid off following the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Chinese had now developed a large, highly concentrated community centered on Cormorant and Fisgard streets, west of Douglas. The retail outlets on these streets were owned and operated by Chinese and catered almost exclusively to the immediate community.

The Indian population at this time is also difficult to determine. The provincial census gave a total of 2,041 Indians, but this figure seems highly questionable, particularly as 1,828 Indians were listed in the Esquimalt electoral district and only twenty in Victoria North, which included the Saanich Peninsula. The returns of the federal Indian Affairs Department, on the other hand, gave a total of only 523 (Table XXI). Part of the discrepancy between the two figures could be accounted for by the Indians living off the reserve and who would therefore not be included in the Indian Affairs census, but this does not explain the distribution in the provincial census. The provincial census probably did not include the reserve Indians, who in a sense did not occupy provincial land, but this in turn does not offer an

TABLE XXI

CENSUS RETURNS OF THE INDIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
FOR SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND
1891

Linguistic Group	Tribe	Population
Songish	Esquimalt	24
	Songhees	136
	Discovery Island	29
Sooke	Sooke	30
Klallam	Cheerno	72
Saanich	Tsar-out [Tsaout]	83
	Pan-que-chin [Paquachin]	69
	Tse-kum [Tsaykum]	31
	Tsartilp [Tsartlip]	49
Total		523

Source: Dominion of Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1892, pp. 249-250.

explanation for the 1,828 Indians in the Esquimalt electoral district. These may have been working temporarily in the Victoria region, however, as the Federal Census gave a population of 3,270 for Sooke district, which was part of the Esquimalt Provincial electoral district (Table XX). In any case, the totals shown in Table XXI are a reliable account of the Indian population living on the reserves, and represent a considerable decline in the native population (Table XII).⁹ Indeed, references to the Indians at this time assumed that they would die away within the next generation.

In 1890-91 the Indians filled only the least skilled occupations in the non-Indian economy. The women of the Songhees reserve competed with the Chinese in washing and charwork. The Saanich tribes were much better off, as a number of families grew fruits and grains for the Victoria market, while others laboured on some of the nearby farms. The fishing industry still offered the best means for the Indians to take part in the local economy and members of the Sooke and Cheerno tribes in particular were actively employed. Another source of income closely related to fishing was provided by the northwest sealing industry, which had its headquarters at Victoria during the late 1880's and which hired many Indians as hands.

With the population of the city of Victoria increased by ten thousand since the previous decade, it is not

surprising to find the developed residential area considerably enlarged. It now extended north from the commercial core past Rock Bay and included a large subdivision just beyond Bay Street. To the east, the built-up zone extended as far as Cook Street, while to the south the James Bay area showed about a fifty percent increase in its developed area. Plate 12 shows a "bird's-eye view" of the city in 1889, from a position similar to Plate 8 in the previous chapter.

A large number of new subdivisions had been opened within Victoria and its immediate environs. These included most of the land that would be within the boundaries of the city after 1891, as well as most of the eastern portion of Esquimalt district, including all of the old Viewfield Farm and most of Constance Cove Farm. The extent of subdivisions can be seen in Figure 13 (Compare with Figure 10).

Besides the subdividing of former agricultural land into residential subdivisions, the size of the average farm holding was greatly reduced. Although in 1891 the city had extended its boundaries to include much of what was formerly the developed part of the district, the number of farms listed in the census for Victoria district totalled 126. A better indication of farm sizes can be gained by noting the average farm size in the city and district. There were 619 farms which occupied 14,844 acres, an average of 24 acres per farm. (Compare Tables XIII and XXII). The average number of improved acres per farm had also declined

dramatically. The number of farms in Victoria city and district had increased almost five times, but the amount of occupied and improved acreage had increased very little.¹⁰

Apart from the city, the only other population concentration was Esquimalt village, which was joined with Victoria by an electric streetcar line. The total population for Esquimalt district was just over 700, and it is unlikely that the village itself was over 350.

Outside the village the population was largely engaged in farming. In contrast to Victoria city and district, where a large increase in the number of farms had not led to a measurable increase in total acres occupied, in Esquimalt and nearby Metchosin the area occupied increased in the past decade by 5,779 acres and the area of improved farm land by 4,238 acres (Tables XII and XXII). Esquimalt now had seventy-nine farms, and Metchosin forty-two.

The most remarkable changes appear in the Sooke district. The census gives a population over three thousand for Sooke and Goldstream, but this appears to be suspect. The various directories issued at this time give the population of Sooke as about two hundred, while Goldstream was less sparsely populated.¹¹ One might assume that the census was in error, and that the figure should be only 270 instead of 3270. However, the latter figure is repeated throughout the census, notably in the tables showing age and religious break-down of the population. Secondly, the census lists

699 dwellings for Sooke and Goldstream,¹² and 329 farms (Table XXII). It would appear, therefore, that the area did support this population at the time.¹³

The questions remains as to who made up the population of Sooke and Goldstream. It is likely that most of these people lived in Sooke district, as it had better farm land and access to fishing resources. Wright in his thesis made reference to the increase in Sooke between 1880 and 1890, and concluded that it was the result of a mining enterprise and agricultural speculation, both of which eventually failed.¹⁴ It is more likely, however, that most of the increase consisted of Indians living in the area temporarily. Two factors lead to this conclusion. First, of the 699 dwellings listed in the census for Sooke and Goldstream, 322 were classified as vessels or shanties.¹⁵ Secondly, the table on religious belief listed 1,568 Roman Catholics and 795 Anglicans.¹⁶ This is out of proportion compared with the other districts of Southeastern Vancouver Island, where there were no other large groups of Roman Catholics and Anglicans were not as prominent.¹⁷ However, as the missionaries working among the Indians in British Columbia were either Roman Catholic or Church of England, the Indians with whom they worked would be classified as one or the other.

Surprisingly, the four land districts on the Saanich Peninsula showed very little development in 1890-91. The population of the Highland and Lake districts was changed,

little since a decade earlier, and land development was slow. The amount of improved land was only a small fraction of the occupied land (Table XXII). The districts of North and South Saanich had an even slower rate of growth (Table XX). Despite the vast areas of potentially rich agricultural land in these two districts, the number of farms had increased only fifty per cent since the previous cross-section and the number of occupied acres just over twelve per cent (Tables XIII and XXII). More important is the fact that the number of acres under crops was down considerably.

Economic Functions

Despite the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the rapid rise of Vancouver, Victoria in 1890-91 still controlled over half the trade of British Columbia. Imports, especially, still entered the province largely through Victoria's docks, with an increasing amount landing at the new wharfs erected outside the harbour itself between Ogden and Shoal points (Figure 13). Concern was being expressed over the loss of the Orient trade to Vancouver, however, particularly after the inauguration of the Empress steamers.¹⁸ In the fiscal year 1890-91, the Victoria Board of Trade complained to the Canadian Pacific Railway (operators of the ships) about the cost and inconvenience of having Victoria freight from the Orient shipped back from Vancouver, when the Board claimed that ships with draughts

Figure 13



Based on T. N. Hibberd, Map of the City of Victoria and its Environs, 1890, Victoria, 1890.



Figure 13

TABLE XXII

FARM SIZE AND STATE OF LAND ON
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND,
1890-91

	Vic. City*	Vic. Dist.	Esq.	Met.	N. & S. Saanich	Sooke/ Gold.	Lake/ Highland	Total
<u>Number of farms</u> <u>(by size):</u>								
0-50 acres	461	91	55	16	33	264	20	940
51-100 acres	16	15	4	7	31	15	15	103
100 plus acres	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>206</u>
Total farms	493	126	79	42	116	329	64	1,249
<u>State of land</u> <u>(in acres):</u>								
Occupied land (Average)	6,189* (13)	8,655 (69)	6,662 (84)	8,114 (193)	18,465 (159)	17,262 (52)	11,259 (176)	76,606 (61)
Crops	575	1,057	279	295	2,096	537	636	5,475
Pasture	4,266	4,496	3,825	2,851	3,456	4,805	1,269	24,968
Garden or Orchard	<u>582</u>	<u>238</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>1,464</u>
Total improved land (Average)	5,423 (11)	5,791 (46)	4,249 (54)	3,180 (76)	5,712 (49)	5,539 (17)	2,013 (31)	31,907 (26)

Source: Census of Canada, 1890-91, vol. 2, pp. 244-45.

* The Census return lists the total occupied acres for the Yates Street Ward of Victoria City as 2,001,419, an obvious error of 2,000,000 acres. Somehow this error was repeated throughout the table on Occupied Land.

up to twenty-four feet, such as the Empress of India and the Empress of Japan, could dock at the Outer Wharf.¹⁹

Victoria's wharves handled just under half of the province's exports in 1890-91, and the largest part of the exports from Victoria consisted of raw materials which originated outside Southeastern Vancouver Island. By far the most important single category was fish products, which had been processed mainly on the lower Fraser River. The only other significant exports were gold from the interior and fur seals from the northern waters (Table XXIII). The exports also included over twelve thousand dollars worth of manufactured goods but this was only a tenth of the manufacturing exports of Vancouver at this time.

Manufacturing in Victoria was more important than the figures on exports suggest (Compare Tables XV and XXIV). The leading establishment still was the Albion Iron Works on Store Street, which had benefitted considerably from the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the mainland and the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway on the island. This foundry, together with two smaller ones, employed close to two hundred men. Across the street from the Albion Iron Works was a new industrial plant, the Rice and Flour Mill. Rice was imported from Bangkok, Saigon and Hong Kong by the one thousand-ton Thermopylae, and the processed flour was exported to Hong Kong and Yokohama. Another flour mill was established in the city by Brackman and Ker, who formerly

TABLE XXIII

TRADE STATISTICS FOR THE MAJOR
BRITISH COLUMBIA PORTS,
1890-91

	Victoria	New Westminster	Nanaimo	Vancouver
<u>Imports</u>	\$3,545,044	\$488,598	\$287,904	\$1,157,337
<u>Exports:</u>				
Mines	406,261	459	2,501,589	21,920
Fisheries	1,872,586	379,639	245	22,216
Forests	-	10,155	3,095	381,746
Animal Products	277,908	15	-	16,723
Agriculture	295	3,413	-	1,308
Manufactures	12,522	5,085	-	121,823
Miscellaneous	14,494	340	1,930	3,670
Re-exports	195,307	2,414	-	-
<u>Total Exports</u>	<u>\$2,779,373</u>	<u>\$401,520</u>	<u>\$2,506,859</u>	<u>\$569,406</u>

Source: Victoria Illustrated, Victoria, Ellis, 1891, p. 16.

TABLE XXIV

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN
VICTORIA DISTRICT AND BRITISH COLUMBIA,
1890-91

Industrial Establishments	Victoria District		British Columbia	
	No.	Employees	No.	Employees
Bakeries	12	62	28	95
Blacksmiths	8	36	99	171
Boat Building	4	27	14	61
Boots and Shoes	15	42	39	79
Breweries	7	27	18	58
Brick, Tile Making	5	137	17	484
Cabinets, Furniture	9	128	23	235
Carpenters, Joiners	7	51	18	69
Carriage Making	6	33	16	59
Dressmakers	22	136	40	201
Electric Light	2	55	3	60
Fish Canning	0	0	32	5,464
Fish Oil Refineries	0	0	21	97
Flour and Grist Mills	1	18	24	78
Foundries	3	195	8	322
Plumbers, Gas Fitters	5	52	5	52
Potteries	1	30	1	30
Sash and Doors	6	205	12	630
Saw Mills	2	115	67	1,542
Shingle Factories	0	0	9	98
Ship Yards	3	59	6	107
Tailors	32	220	56	326
Others*	95	462	214	1,189
Total	245	2,090	770	11,507

* Industries listed individually are those with 25 or more employees in Victoria or 75 or more employees in British Columbia.

Source: Census of Canada, 1890-91, vol. 3, pp. 2-382.

operated a mill in North Saanich.

The majority of manufacturing establishments were concerned with construction and wearing apparel. With the large increase in population and business in the Victoria area, construction was booming and building materials industries had benefitted accordingly. Employment in brick making, cabinet making, carpentering, plumbing, sash and door construction, and sawmills was almost seven hundred. Employment of tailors and dressmakers also was increasing, but to a lesser extent, and now totalled over 350, while employment in boot and shoe manufacturing had actually declined. Nevertheless, Victoria employed over one-half the provincial workers in these fields, and supplied a considerable portion of the British Columbia market.²⁰

Victoria was the main wholesale and supply center for the province. The various trading posts throughout the province obtained their supplies there.²¹ The city also functioned as the center for the Canadian-owned portion of the Pacific sealing industry. Most of the fleet was owned and operated by Victoria investors. In 1891 there was a fleet of 49 vessels, valued at \$452,150, which employed 678 whites and 439 Indians.²² Concern for the sealing industry was being voiced, as the United States government called for the cessation of sealing in May, 1892, as it feared depletion of the seals. The British Columbia Board of Trade (as the Victoria Board called itself), fearing that such a move would

lead to considerable financial difficulties in the province, advocated the continuation of sealing.²³

Despite the substantial growth in population in South-eastern Vancouver Island during the past decade, agricultural output did not keep pace. The total improved farm land was slightly under 32,000 acres, or 26 acres per farm. More significantly, the acreage used for crop production was merely seventeen per cent of the improved land (compare Tables XIII and XXII). With little acreage used for the raising of crops, it is not surprising that crop production was small, and in many cases was considerably below that of the previous period (compare Tables XVI and XXV). Whereas in the earlier period local production had been about one-fifth of the provincial total, it was now about one-eighth.

The main areas of crop production were those of the previous period: North and South Saanich and Victoria districts. These districts were the only ones with a significant acreage in crops, producing well over half of most types, but they did not dominate crop production to quite the extent that they had in 1880-81.

The Lake and Highland districts dominated the production of sheep and cattle. These two districts raised 8,222 sheep, whereas the number raised in all the districts on the island other than the Victoria census district in 1880-81 had been only 8,087.²⁴ Although figures were not published for each district, one would expect that most of the

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF CROPS ON
SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND
1890-91

	Spring Wheat Bu.	Winter Wheat Bu.	Barley Bu.	Oats Bu.	Beans Peas Bu.	Potatoes Bu.	Turnips Bu.	Hay Tons
Victoria City	2,000	274	50	10,442	460	21,590	10,186	1,334
Victoria District	4,896	3,453	826	21,930	1,084	38,572	55,100	1,904
Esquimalt	1,800	170	-	3,180	-	4,250	4,460	709
Metchosin	665	270	185	5,890	185	4,122	5,269	596
N. & S. Saanich	13,965	2,653	3,697	48,337	6,525	11,776	12,913	1,617
Sooke/Goldstream	1,278	60	128	11,620	967	12,990	3,552	1,334
Lake/Highland	1,274	383	510	15,226	240	9,155	2,700	1,332
Southeastern Vancouver Island Total	25,878	7,263	5,396	116,625	9,461	102,455	94,180	8,826
As a percentage of B.C. Total	8	10	7	12	10	15	18	9
British Columbia Total	318,453	69,847	79,024	943,088	90,662	685,802	516,242	102,146

Source: Census of Canada, 1890-91, vol. 4, pp. 8-9.

production occurred in the Lake district. Southeastern Vancouver Island raised over one-third of the sheep in British Columbia. The same districts also dominated beef cattle production, but the area total was merely a fraction of the provincial total. The production of milch cows and swine was more evenly distributed. Table XXVI shows the distribution of stock on Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1890-91, and also indicates that, except for the raising of sheep, the area produced but a small fraction of British Columbia's stock.

Urban Development and Functions

The extent of the commercial development in Victoria can be seen in the "bird's-eye view" of the city which was sketched in 1889 (Plate 12; compare also with Plate 8). The area of most recent growth was between Broad and Blanshard streets, north from Broughton to Cormorant. Some of the most prominent structures in the city were found here, particularly along Douglas Street. A number of impressive buildings had been recently added to the area between Government Street and Wharf Street as well and some construction had finally taken place in the area south of Fort Street, which had previously been largely undeveloped. Plans were also under way for a new post office for the block bounded by Government, Wharf, and Courtenay streets. The area occupied essentially by commercial activities now,

TABLE XXVI
 DISTRIBUTION OF FARM STOCK ON
 SOUTHEASTERN VANCOUVER ISLAND
 1890-91

	Milch Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Horses
Victoria City	684	478	4,309	386	1,782
Victoria District	594	299	1,460	413	312
Esquimalt	197	204	465	140	128
Metchosin	137	134	1,292	115	76
N. & S. Saanich	357	423	965	1,076	288
Sooke/Goldstream	544	798	1,324	335	428
Lake/Highland	267	1,695	8,222	716	180
Southeastern Vancouver Island Total	2,780	4,031	18,037	3,181	3,140
As a percentage of B.C. Total	16	4	37	10	7
British Columbia Total	17,504	106,784	49,163	30,764	44,521

Source: Census of Canada, 1890-91, vol. 4, pp. 116-117.

extended eastward from the waterfront to Douglas Street, and northward from Broughton to Fisgard Street.

The development in the downtown area can be further appreciated by a comparison of the buildings on some of the major streets. Plate 13 shows a view of Yates Street and the first poles and wires that began electrical street lighting service for the city in December, 1883.²⁵ By 1890 the electric wiring in the city had become much more elaborate (Plates 14-16). The scene of Wharf Street also shows the new bridge over the harbour near the foot of Johnson Street that carried the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway tracks across to the city side of the harbour. The changes made on Government Street can be seen by comparing Plates 15 and 16 with Plate 11. The former photographs probably were taken in the late 1880's, as the streetcar lines had not been established.

Streetcars were introduced to Victoria in February, 1890, and it became the third city in Canada to operate electric cars.²⁶ At first they served only a few areas in the Victoria region. The longest route was from the city center to Esquimalt village via Store Street, the Point Ellice Bridge and the New Esquimalt Road. Other routes went from Government Street up Fort as far as Mt. Tolmie Road [Richmond Street]; south along Government Street to Superior, and west to St. Lawrence; and from Government to Douglas via Yates, and then north to Hillside Avenue. The meeting area



Plate 13. Yates Street in the 1880's. Electric lighting had been introduced early in 1884; other than this, the street had changed very little since the 1860's.



Plate 14. Wharf Street near the end of the century. On the left is the Custom House, and in the background are the E&N swing bridge and the Point Ellice bridge.



Plate 15. Government Street in the late 1880's,
looking north from Fort.



Plate 16. Government Street in the late 1880's,
looking south from Yates. The photograph was
probably taken just before the introduction of
street cars in 1890.

for all lines was on Government Street between Yates and Fort.

The business boom that struck British Columbia as a result of the completion of the transcontinental railway was best illustrated in Victoria by the fantastic inflation in the assessed value of property. The total assessed value of real estate in Victoria in 1890-91 was \$17,700,000, based on the old city boundaries, an increase of six times since 1880-81.²⁷ The lot on the southwest corner of Yates and Government, still the peak value lot in the city, was now assessed at \$1,800 per front foot, while lots on both sides of Government Street between Broughton and Johnson were assessed at \$800 to \$1,300 per front foot (compare with the 1880-81 figures, p. 136).

Another dramatic change in the assessed value of city property was the movement of the area of highest assessment eastward from the blocks between Wharf and Government streets to the blocks between Government and Douglas. Figure 14 summarizes the 1890-91 assessment on the same system of percentage of peak value used in Figures 8 and 12 for 1863 and 1880-81. It shows a definite increase in the value of property along Douglas Street from Broughton to Cormorant, and particularly between View and Johnson, where lots increased in assessed value from \$17 to \$50 per front foot in 1880-81, to \$350 to \$600 per front foot in 1890-91. The area of relative increased assessed value extended only as

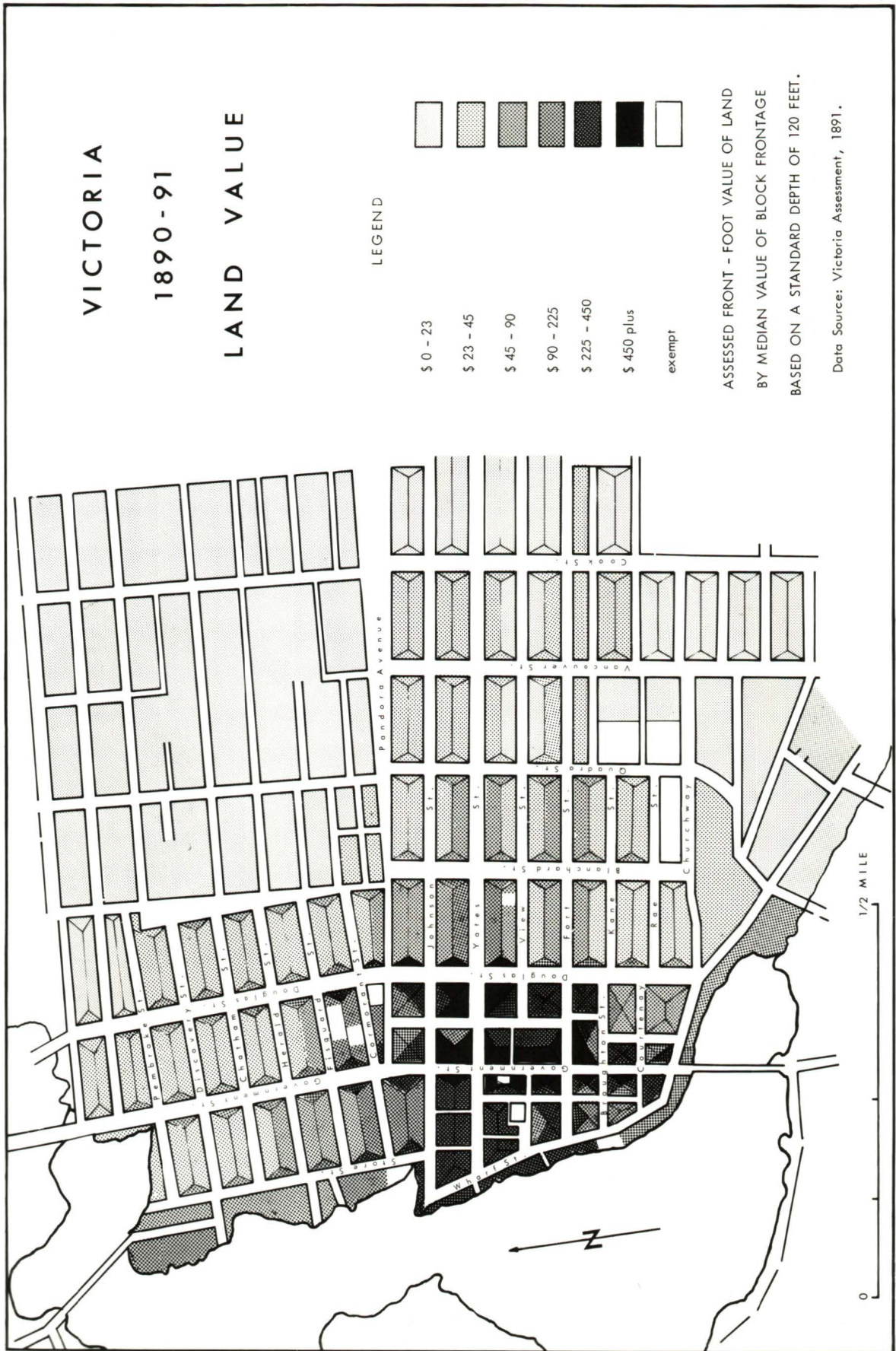


Figure 14

First, the presence of two streetcar lines in the area could well have led to an overall appreciation of land values as had occurred elsewhere. The rapid increase in the Chinese population in the city would have been an additional factor. Although the census returns did not indicate the ethnic origin of the population in 1890-91, contemporary accounts indicate that the vast majority of Chinese lived in the area north of Pandora and west of Douglas (see above, p. 150). The sudden influx of Chinese laid off after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 would have placed considerable pressure on the land in "China Town", and could have led to a further inflating of land values. Thirdly, the real estate market in 1890-91 was highly inflated as it had been in 1863, and in both cases the area occupied by blocks valued at five per cent or more of the peak value was much larger than the area occupied by blocks of similar relative value in 1880-81, a period of a depressed real estate market. It is most likely that all three factors contributed to the increase in the relative value of property in this area between 1880-81 and 1890-91.

By 1890-91 the Victoria directories had begun to identify buildings by numbers, and so an accurate picture of land use for the city can be obtained for the first time. Figure 15 shows a summary of this information for the built-up area of the city. The general pattern established earlier still prevailed, with wholesaling, storage, and manufacturing

along the waterfront, and the area of retailing, service, and office buildings eastward from Wharf and Store streets. Two significant changes, however, were the greatly expanded commercial center and, not surprisingly, the considerably increased area in office buildings. The area of dominant commercial land use now included the blocks bounded by the waterfront to Rock Bay, south along Government to Cormorant, east to Douglas, and south again to Courtney. As well, ribbon development extended eastward along Fort and Yates streets beyond Blanshard.

Within the commercial core, a clearer pattern of land use was emerging. The area immediately around the Court House and Police Barracks at the corner of Langley and Bastion was dominated by professional office use, as was the block bounded by Government, Yates, Broad, and Fort. Retail and service outlets tended to dominate on Fort, Yates and Johnson streets, and especially in the Chinese Community, while hotels and restaurants generally were located within a block or two of the main intersection, Government and Yates. In general, the pattern of land use in the commercial core of Victoria in 1890-91 followed the market process. Lots of the highest assessed value were used for specialized retail outlets, such as drug stores and tobacco shops, better class restaurants and hotels, saloons, professional offices and banks. Other retail stores, service outlets, most business offices, and wholesale establishments occupied the lots of lesser value.

Summary

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the major factor in the tripling of the population of South-eastern Vancouver Island between 1880-81 and 1890-91. About three-quarters of the population continued to live in the city of Victoria, which had once again extended its boundaries. The increase had led to a significant development in the residential areas in and around Victoria and to the opening of a number of new residential subdivisions. Outside Victoria and its immediate environs the only significant increases in population occurred in the Sooke and Goldstream districts.

Besides its traditional role as the administrative center for the province, Victoria in 1890-91 continued as the economic hub of British Columbia. The city's wharves handled about half of the province's trade, which was steadily increasing as a result of the completion of the railway. The construction boom had led to a considerable increase in the number of industrial establishments in the Victoria area, particularly in the fields of construction and wearing apparel. The city and its environs had more manufacturing establishments than any other center in the province. Other important economic enterprises included the sealing fleet and the rice mill; the latter processed rice from Southeast Asia and re-exported flour for Hong Kong and Japan. Finally, the city continued its role as the wholesale and distribution

center for the province. The only economic activity that had not advanced since 1880-81 was agriculture; while South-eastern Vancouver Island had increased its production only slightly, the province's production had tripled.

The economic prosperity of Southeastern Vancouver Island in 1890-91 was most apparent in urban development. The commercial core of Victoria had increased in size and quality; the buildings on the main street gave every indication of a growing and prosperous center. One of the best indicators of the economy of any city is real estate value. Using the pre-1891 boundaries, the total assessed value of real estate in Victoria in 1890-91 was six times that of 1880-81. The assessed value of land by itself showed a similar increase. Land values vary mainly because of supply and demand and changes in the value of the local currency. As the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar was apparently stable in the late Nineteenth Century,²⁹ the dramatic increase in land values at this time must have been largely the result of increased local demand.



Plate 17. Government Street at the end of the century, looking south from Pandora.



Plate 18. Douglas Street at the end of the century, looking north from Yates. At the right is the Clarence Hotel, built in 1886. In the left background is the City Hall.

far eastward as Douglas Street; after that, values dropped sharply.

The shift in relative land values can be attributed to two main factors. One was the completion of the first streetcar lines in the city. As noted above, one line came south along Douglas Street, turned west at Yates, and continued south on Government Street. Except for Government, the only other major street affected was Fort. The impact of the new streetcar lines on real estate value undoubtedly was significant, and was recognized at the time.

There are within the city limits upwards of five miles of electric street railways and the system extended beyond has done much towards the advancement of the city, as it has made all the points easy of access....Property has largely increased in value along the line of the tramway, and residences are being built further out of town.²⁸

Douglas Street, as the main route to the rapidly developing north end of the city, had assumed much greater importance in the past decade. The second probable reason for the shift in the area of highest land values was the relative decline in the importance placed upon nearness to the harbour.

Besides the shift in the area of highest assessed value, the other new feature in the pattern of land assessment was the relative increased value of the blocks west of Douglas from Johnson to Herald. This area, which had declined in relative value between 1863 and 1880-81, had assumed its earlier importance in 1890-91. A number of factors likely contributed to the rise in relative value of these blocks.

NOTES

¹ The British Columbia Directory, 1884-85, Victoria, Williams, 1885, p. 9.

² Ibid.

³ Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, p. 297.

⁴ Ibid., p. 300.

⁵ City of Victoria, Victoria Illustrated, Victoria, Ellis, 1891, p. 22.

⁶ The 1890-91 Census for the City of Victoria was based on the new boundary established in January, 1891, therefore, Victoria district appeared to have lost population since 1880-81. Comparisons with the Sooke and Goldstream districts are difficult because in the 1880-81 returns they were included with the Lake and Highlands districts.

⁷ Unfortunately the Provincial census used provincial political divisions rather than the federal census divisions. The total population given for Southeastern Vancouver Island in the provincial census did not equal that of the federal census, despite including a slightly larger area, as Victoria North included parts of the Gulf Islands.

Provincial Political Divisions	Whites	Indians	Chinese	Total
Victoria City	14,690	173	1,977	16,840
Esquimalt	1,481	1,828	332	3,641
Victoria South	1,096	20	161	1,277
Victoria North	<u>860</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>943</u>
Total	18,127	2,041	2,533	22,701

R.E. Gosnell, The Year Book of British Columbia and Manual of Provincial Information, 1897, Victoria, Government Printing, 1897, p. 426.

⁸ The totals given for the Chinese in the Victoria area correspond closely to the 2,080 people born in China, listed as living in the Victoria census district by the Federal Census, 1890-91. These figures represent a considerable increase since 1880-81.

⁹ According to the Department of Indian Affairs, the report for 1891 included the first reliable census for Indians on Vancouver Island; previously there had been errors in assigning people to their proper tribes. This probably accounts for the change in distribution on South-eastern Vancouver Island between 1880-81 and 1890-91. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1891, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1892, p. 115.

¹⁰ In 1880-81, the city and district farms averaged 114 acres, of which 83 acres were improved.

¹¹ It is not possible to determine the population of each of the two districts, but general descriptions of the period indicate that the population of Sooke district was much the larger.

¹² Canada, Census of Canada, 1890-91, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1892-95, vol. 1, p. 8.

¹³ This population must have been temporary, however, as the 1900-01 census return listed only 318 persons for Sooke.

¹⁴ Wright, "The Settlement of the Victoria Region, British Columbia," pp. 83-84.

¹⁵ Census of Canada, 1890-91, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Census of Canada, 1890-91, vol. 1, pp. 224-225.

¹⁷ There were only 1,704 Roman Catholics on Southeastern Vancouver Island outside the Sooke district. Ibid.

¹⁸ The Canadian Pacific Railway Company began the run of the Empresses of India, China and Japan between the Orient and Vancouver in 1891. Ormsby, op. cit., p. 301.

¹⁹ Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1890-91, Victoria, Colonist, 1891.

²⁰ Victoria Daily Colonist, August 12, 1906, Section 2, p. 1.

²¹ Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892, Victoria, Colonist, 1892, p. 407.

²² Victoria Daily Colonist, August 12, 1906, Section 2, p. 7.

²³ Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1890-91, p. 16.

24 The number of head of stock for the land districts that made up the Victoria Census District in 1880-81 were: 1,175 cows, 1,187 cattle, 6,442 sheep and 1,248 swine. In 1890-91, the same districts had 1,612 cows, 1,115 cattle, 7,526 sheep, and 1,054 swine.

25 T.R. Myers, 90 Years of Public Utility Service on Vancouver Island, 1860-1950, [Victoria, British Columbia Electric Railway Company, 1953], p. 7.

26 The others were Windsor and St. Catharines, Ibid., p. 12.

27 The new boundaries were estimated at the time to have added about seven million dollars to the total assessed value of real estate in Victoria. Victoria, Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1890-91, p. 43.

28 Williams' Directory, 1892, p. 408.

29 During the period 1873-1897 the wholesale price level in Canada declined considerably, although there were temporary rises in the late seventies and in the eighties. Therefore, throughout this period the value of the Canadian dollar in purchasing power rose. See Figures 12-A and 12-C in M.K. Inman, Economics in a Canadian Setting, Vancouver, Copp Clark, 1962, p. 226 and p. 234.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this study was to describe and analyze the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island after each change in economic function during the Nineteenth Century. The paper is offered as another chapter in the small but growing field of historical geography in Canada. The cross-section approach was used because broader geographic insight can be gained for each significant period than is possible with a purely genetic approach. While the cross-sections are, to a great extent, complete in themselves, a number of themes run throughout the study, and are worthy of further comment.

Economic Functions

The changes in the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island in the Nineteenth Century were largely the result of the abrupt alterations in economic function. These resulted from, initially, the introduction of a new economic system, and later from external economic factors and technological innovations.

The first dramatic change occurred with the settlement by Europeans. The aboriginal economy was essentially one of fishing and gathering; the Indians worked in harmony with

nature and did little to modify the physical environment. Their work cycle followed the pattern of resource availability, with the peak of activity occurring during the summer months and a lull during the winter. Although at first the Europeans did not compete with the Indians in the exploitation of resources, they did introduce trading goods. Because the acquisition of goods for use in the potlatch ceremony was an important incentive in the Indian culture, the introduction of an abundance of trading goods resulted in inflation in the Indian economic system. In other respects, however, the two systems complemented one another; the Hudson's Bay Company was interested in developing agriculture near Fort Victoria, while the Indians obtained most of their resources from the sea.

External economic factors led to the next two changes in economic function. The Gold Rush of 1858 and further gold discoveries on the mainland in the 1860's brought a rapid influx of Europeans, and more important, resulted in the beginning of Victoria's role as the center for the distribution of goods for British Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company was only one of many distributors; the fort became an anachronism and was soon removed to permit expansion of the commercial district. The tremendous influx of material goods into Victoria completely disrupted the economic system of the Indians, especially the Songish, who lived closest to the town. The gold period was quickly followed by a recession

that began in the mid-sixties and lasted just over a decade. During this period the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united, and later joined confederation. Victoria was the administrative and commercial center for the new province, and the introduction of tariffs during this period permitted limited development in manufacturing and agriculture.

The final change in economic function in the Nineteenth Century occurred with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, providing a direct link between British Columbia and the other provinces. The completion of the railway coincided with the development of larger ocean liners, and these two technological developments combined to engender considerable economic expansion. Victoria, as the only large center in the province, received the initial benefit from this expansion. The early 1890's represented the peak of the post-railway development in the Victoria area; by the end of the century Vancouver had passed Victoria in population, trade and value of manufactured products.

Population and Settlement

The dramatic changes in the economic function of Southeastern Vancouver Island resulted in a number of distinctive population structures and settlement patterns. In each of the cross-sections the population distribution reflected the dominant economic activities.

Prior to the European settlement the Indians were evenly distributed in villages along the coastline. Their economy was basically subsistent and centered mainly on marine resources. The villages were usually at the heads of well sheltered bays, and probably contained no more than three or four hundred inhabitants. The total population of the area was about 2,000 in 1842; some estimates have placed the pre-contact population at 2,700, but it is likely that the effects of the smallpox epidemic of the early 1780's had not been overcome.

The settlement of Southeastern Vancouver Island by the Europeans greatly altered the size and distribution of the Indian population. During the fur trade period the population remained fairly stable, but a rapid decline followed the Gold Rush, especially after a new smallpox epidemic swept British Columbia in 1862. By the end of the century the Indian population listed by the Indian Affairs Department was less than one-fifth the number estimated for 1842. Soon after the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company's employees many of the Songish left their traditional winter villages and moved to a location at Victoria harbour opposite the fort. By 1854 the original Songish sites had been largely abandoned. The Sooke and Saanich, on the other hand, maintained their traditional villages.

The first European settlers came to Southeastern Vancouver Island mainly as employees of either the Hudson's

Bay Company or its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. The choice of site for Fort Victoria was based to a large extent on the expectation that an important agricultural industry could be developed, and the early settlement pattern of the Europeans reflected this. The company farms were failures, however, as were the limited attempts to foster independent settlement. It was not until the Gold Rush of 1858 that the European population outnumbered the Indian.

During and after the Gold Rush the urban area grew, but rural development lagged. About three-quarters of the population lived in the city. The dominant economic functions after the Gold Rush were the administrative and distributive roles of Victoria, but during the railroad era there was increasing emphasis upon manufacturing. Agriculture played an important role only during the recession period, and even at that time population density in the outlying districts was limited.

Urban Development

The town plan for Victoria was drawn up by Joseph Despard Pemberton in 1852, but six years followed before any extensive development took place. In 1854 the town consisted of less than one hundred buildings, scattered along the dirt streets just outside the fort. The Gold Rush of 1858 turned the fur trade settlement into a bustling frontier town over-

night, and over two hundred buildings were erected within weeks. Although the initial impact of the lure of gold passed swiftly, by 1863 the city had developed a distinct commercial core around the site of the old fort. Ribbon development also took place eastward along Yates and Fort streets toward Douglas.

It was not until the mid-eighties that urban growth accelerated again. During the recession of the 1870's the face of Victoria changed only slightly. Few buildings were added to the commercial core, except on Government Street, where a fire had destroyed some of the original structures, and the only significant additions were a few substantial manufacturing establishments. The period of prosperity that occurred during the building of the railways resulted in considerable change within the city. The town moved away from the waterfront in all possible directions and many lots within the commercial core that had previously been vacant now were occupied. The period of expansion corresponded with a number of technological innovations such as electric lighting and street cars that were introduced at this time.

The varying economic fortunes of Victoria during the first thirty years of its development were revealed clearly in the real estate assessments. Throughout the study the same lot (the southwest corner of Yates and Government streets) had the highest assessed value. In 1863 it was

valued at eight hundred dollars per front foot; in 1880-81, three hundred dollars; in 1890-91, it jumped to eighteen hundred dollars. The overall assessments followed the same trend, although certain areas of the city varied in relative value from one period to the next. Allowing for a certain amount of subjectivity on the part of the assessors, a clear pattern can be seen.

The blocks which remained consistently high in all three cross-sections were those closest to Yates and Government streets. The block bounded by Yates, Government, Langley, and Bastion was the highest valued in each of the cross-sections. Lower Yates was also valued highly in the first two cross-sections, but less so in the final one.

Other areas of high land value in one period varied from one period to the next. The general trend was one of declining values along the waterfront, and after 1880-81, significantly increasing values in the central areas between Government and Douglas. In 1863, lots along the waterfront side of Wharf Street were assessed at \$200 to \$300 per front foot, or twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of the peak value. In contrast, in 1880-81, waterfront lots in the same area were assessed at \$20 to \$60 per front foot, or seven to twenty per cent of the peak value. In 1890-91, the same lots were valued at \$150 to \$350 per front foot, or eight to nineteen per cent of the peak value. During the latter interval the area between Wharf and Langley also declined in relative

value. The high value of land on the waterfront in 1863 was likely the result of speculation, as many of the lots were vacant. During the 1880's the value of waterfront property on Wharf and Store streets was undermined further by the development of the wharves near Ogden Point.

During the 1880's the lots on Broad and Douglas between Broughton and Cormorant increased tremendously in relative value. This resulted from the expansion of the commercial core, which shifted eastward most conveniently. Possibly a secondary reason was the introduction of streetcars in 1890, which gave a distinct advantage to the streets served by them.

Because the amount of data concerning commercial land use varies considerably from one cross-section to the next, it is difficult to make detailed comparisons. Throughout the study, however, the land with the highest assessed value was used mainly for professional offices, banks, specialized retail outlets, and better quality restaurants and hotels. Wholesaling and storage was concentrated along Wharf Street, with some development on Store Street. In the 1880's a number of establishments opened near the wharves built at Ogden Point. Manufacturing establishments also tended to concentrate along the waterfront, particularly north of Johnson Street. By 1890 much of Store Street was used for this purpose. Within the commercial core, often occupying the upper floors of retail outlets, were a number of smaller works, mainly clothiers, boot and shoe manufacturers, and sash and door companies.

Conclusions

The study of the human geography of Southeastern Vancouver Island in the Nineteenth Century is particularly suited to the cross-section approach in historical geography. While various historical and geographical works have considered aspects of the changes in economic function of the area, none has provided a detailed account of the impact on the overall geography. A succession of cross-sections clearly illustrates the change from one period to the next. This approach also allows study in depth for each period, and reveals geographic interactions that are often obscured in a genetic approach. The use of a single year rather than a longer period for each cross-section increases the likelihood that certain information might be missing for some cross-sections and available for others, but permits clearer comparisons between cross-sections.

The study also illustrates the role that culture plays in changing the landscape. The cross-sections provide a brief glimpse of the landscape changes, and are somewhat analogous to the accounts of a fictitious visitor who arrived for a short stay during each of the years studied. The role of culture is revealed in the attitude a group has toward the environment. At each stage the dominant economic group had a different view of the value of Southeastern Vancouver Island, and attempted to shape it to meet the group's needs.

For the Indians the area provided the resources for what was essentially a hunting and gathering society. The only change in the landscape brought about by the Indians was the occasional burning of the forests.

The employees of the Hudson's Bay Company saw South-eastern Vancouver Island in terms of its agricultural potential and as a safe headquarters for their northwest coast trading activities. Within a decade the landscape immediately around Fort Victoria reflected these interests. The abundance of fish and game that was so important to the Indians was used by the Europeans only for limited local consumption and was not considered seriously for export.

Most of those who arrived during the Gold Rush were interested in getting rich quickly. Other than finding gold, the best opportunities were in wholesaling and retailing in Victoria. Farming engaged few people, and a large proportion of the colony's food requirements had to be imported, despite the abundance of fish and good agricultural land.

The optimism of 1863 vanished with the depressed economic conditions of the late sixties and early seventies, but there was a greater interest taken in agriculture. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway brought renewed enthusiasm, however, and interest now centered on the role that Victoria could play in the development of trade between Canada and the Orient.

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PABC for the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
BCHQ for the British Columbia Historical Quarterly.

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APPENDIX A

CONVEYANCE OF LAND TO HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
BY INDIAN TRIBES

Source: British Columbia, Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, Victoria, Government Printer, 1875, pp. 5-10.

Teechamitsa Tribe
Country Lying Between Esquimalt and Point Albert

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the Teechamitsa Tribe, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the twenty-ninth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between Esquimalt Harbour and Point Albert, including the latter, on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and extending backwards from thence to the range of mountains on the Saanich Arm, about ten miles distant.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this, that our village sites and enclosed fields are to be kept for our own use, for the use of our children, and for those who may follow after us; and the land shall be properly surveyed hereafter. It is understood, however, that the land itself, with these small exceptions, becomes the entire property of the white people for ever; it is also understood that we are at liberty to hunt over the unoccupied lands, and to carry on our fisheries as formerly.

We have received, as payment, Twenty-seven pounds ten shillings sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, 29th April, 1850.

(Signed) See-Sachasis his x mark,
and 10 others.

Done in the presence of
(Signed) Roderick Finlanson,
Joseph William McKay.

Kosampsom Tribe
Esquimalt Peninsula and Colquitz Valley

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the Kosampsom Tribe, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Island of the Dead, in the Arm or Inlet of Camoson, and the head of the said Inlet, embracing the lands on the west side and north of that line to Esquimalt, beyond the Inlet three miles of the Colquitz Valley, and the land on the east side of the arm, enclosing Christmas Hill and Lake and the lands west of those objects.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

.....

We have received, as payment, Fifty-two pounds ten shillings sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Hookowitz his x mark,
and 20 others.

Done in the presence of

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Swengwhung Tribe
Victoria Peninsula, South of Colquitz

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the family of Swengwhung, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Island of the Dead, in the Arm or Inlet of Camoson, where the Kosampsom lands terminate, extending east to the Fountain Ridge, and following it to its termination on the Straits of De Fuca, in the Bay immediately east of Clover Point, including all the country between that line and the Inlet of Camoson.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

....

We have received, as payment, Seventy-five pounds sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Snaw-nuck his x mark,
and 29 others.

Done before us,

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Chilcowitch Tribe
Point Gonzales

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the family of Chilcowitch, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Sandy Bay east of Clover Point, at the termination of the Swengwhung line, to Point Gonzales, and thence north to a line of equal extent passing through the north side of Minies' Plain.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

....

We have received, as payment, Thirty pounds sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the thirtieth day of April, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Qua-sun his x mark,
and 11 others.

Done in the presence of

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Whyomilth Tribe
North-west of Esquimalt Harbour

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the family of Whyomilth, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the thirtieth day of April, on thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the north-west corner of Esquimalt, say from the Island inclusive, at the mouth of the Saw-mill Stream, and the mountains lying due west and north of that point: this District being on the one side bounded by the lands of the Teechamitsa, and on the other by the lands of the Kosampsom family.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,
....

We have received, as payment, Forty-five pounds sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the thirtieth day of April, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Hal-whal-utsin his x mark,
and 17 others.

Done before us,

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Che-ko-nein Tribe
Point Gonzales to Cedar Hill

Know all men, we, the chiefs and people of the tribe or family of Che-ko-nein, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between Point Gonzales and Mount Douglas, following the boundary line of the Chilcowitch and Kosampsom families, the Canal de Haro, and the Straits of Juan de Fuca, east of Point Gonzales.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,
....

We have received, as payment, Seventy-nine pounds ten shillings sterling.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the thirtieth day of April, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Chayth-lum his x mark,
and 29 others.

Done before us,

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Ka-ky-aakan Tribe
Metchosin

Know all men, we, the chiefs of the family of Ka-ky-aakan, acting for and with the consent of our people, who being here present have individually and collectively confirmed and ratified this our act. Now know that we, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between Point Albert and the Inlet of Whoyung, on the Straits of Juan de Fuca and the snow covered mountains in the interior of the Island, so as to embrace the whole tract or District of Metchosin, from the coast to these said mountains.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

....

We have received, as payment, Forty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the first day of May, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Quoite-to-kay-num his x mark.
Tly-a-hum his x mark.

Descendants of the Chiefs - ancient
possessors of this District, and
their only surviving heirs - about

Done in the presence of 26 in number.

(Signed) Alfred Robson Benson, M.R.C.S.L.
Joseph William McKay.

Chewhaytsum Tribe
Sooke

Know all men, we, the chiefs of the family of Chewhaytsum, acting for and on behalf of our people, who being here present have individually and collectively ratified and confirmed this our act. Now know that we, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Inlet of Whoyung and the Bay of Syusung, known as Sooke Inlet and the snow covered mountains in the interior of the Island.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,
....

We have received, as payment, Forty-five pounds ten shillings.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the first day of May, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed Al-Chay-nook his x mark.
We-ta-noogh his x mark.
Cha-nas-kaynum his x mark.

Chiefs and representatives of the family of Chewhaytsum, who collectively have ratified the sale - about 30 in number

Sooke Tribe
North-west of Sooke Inlet

Know all men, we, the chiefs of the family of Sooke, acting for and on behalf of our people, who being here present have individually and collectively ratified and confirmed this our act. Now know that we, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Bay of Syusung, or Sooke Inlet, to the Three Rivers beyond Thlowuck, or Point Shirringham, on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and the snow covered mountains in the interior of Vancouver Island.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

.....

We have received, as payment, Forty-eight pounds six shillings and eight pence.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the first day of May, One thousand eight hundred and fifty.

(Signed) Wanseea his x mark.
 Tanasman his x mark.
 Chysimkan his x mark.
 Yokum his x mark.

Chiefs commissioned by and representing the Sooke Tribe here assembled.

Saanich Tribe
 South Saanich

Know all men that we, the chiefs and people of the Saanich Tribe, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the sixth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, do consent to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying between Mount Douglas and Cowichan Head, on the Canal de Haro, and extending thence to the line running through the centre of Vancouver Island, North and South.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

.....

We have received, as payment, Forty-one pounds thirteen shilling and four pence.

In token whereof, we have signed our names and made our marks, at Fort Victoria, on the 7th day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty two.

(Signed) Whut-say-mullet his x marr.
 and 9 others.

Witness to signatures,

(Signed) Joseph William McKay,
 Clerk H.B.Co's. service.
 Richd. Gollledge, Clerk.

Saanich Tribe
North Saanich

Know all men, that we the chiefs and people of the Saanich Tribe, who have signed our names and made our marks to this deed on the eleventh day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, do censure to surrender, entirely and for ever, to James Douglas, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, that is to say, for the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of the same, the whole of the lands situate and lying as follows, viz: - commencing at Cowichan Head and following the coast of the Canal de Haro North-west nearly to Saanich Point, or Qua-na-sung; from thence following the course of the Saanich Arm to the point where it terminates; and from thence by a straight line across country to said Cowichan Head, the point of commencement, so as to include all the country and lands, with the exceptions hereafter named, within those boundaries.

The condition of or understanding of this sale is this,

....

We have received, as payment amount not stated .

(Signed) Hotutstun his x mark.
and 117 others.

Witness to signatures,

(Signed) Joseph William McKay,
Clerk H.B. Co's. service.
R. Golledge, Clerk.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM THE POWER OF COUNCIL, INCORPORATION ACT, CITY OF VICTORIA, 1862

Power of Council.

XX. The Council shall have power to make ordinances for any of the following purposes:

1. The prevention and removal of nuisances within the city.
2. The regulation of the traffic within the city.
3. To regulate the maintenance, repair and construction of the highways, footpaths, public wharfs and bridges situated within the said city.
4. To provide for the inspection of diseased and unwholesome cattle, meats, poultry, fish and vegetables, and to prevent the sale or exposure of the same.
5. To accept, purchase and hold such real estate as may be required for corporate purposes, and to erect such buildings thereon as may be requisite for corporate purposes.

The Council shall also have power to pass By-Laws for any of the following purposes:

1. To regulate the public market.
2. To regulate and provide for the drainage and sewerage of the said city.
3. To make regulations with regard to the preservation of the said city from fire, and to regulate all matters affecting the liability of the said city to fire.
4. To regulate the public lighting of the said city, and to regulate the public lights in the said city, but no streets shall be lighted with gas if one-half of the resident property holders in that street object to the same.
5. To establish and maintain landmarks in the said city.
6. To establish a general grade in the said city.
7. To regulate the sanitary conditions of the said city.
8. To regulate the use of weights and measures in the said city.
9. To appoint an inspector of gas-meters.
10. To regulate the sale, carriage or storage of gunpowder.
11. To accept, purchase and hold land for public cemeteries beyond the limits of the municipality, and to lay out, improve, and manage and convey every part of the same.

If holders of seven-tenths in value of the lots on any street of the City of Victoria shall sign a requisition calling upon the Council to grade, macadamize, pave, drain or otherwise improve the said streets, the said Council shall be empowered to make a rate upon the lots abutting on such street in order to carry out such improvements, and may apply the rate when collected according to the prayer of such requisition; the Council approving such requisition in such manner as they may appoint by By-Laws....

The Council may, by resolution passed in manner herein-after provided, devote any portion of the municipal revenue, not exceeding in the course of the year one-third part, towards defraying the ordinary expenditure of the corporation in the conduct of its general business, and by a resolution passed as aforesaid may devote the unappropriated portion of the revenue, and any accumulations of past revenue, to any of the purposes to which the Council is authorized to pass By-Laws or Ordinances, and also to any of the purposes following:

The supply of said city with gas and water.

The improvement of the approaches to the city, including bridges across Victoria Arm from Point Ellis.

The maintenance of hospitals....

XXII. A resolution devoting any portion of the municipal funds to any of the purposes aforesaid shall be passed by the vote of at least four members present at a meeting where at least five members shall be present; such resolution shall be afterwards confirmed by a like vote at some meeting summoned after the lapse of seven days from and before the expiry of one calendar month at least from the original meeting, and summoned also for the specific purpose of confirming the resolution:

Provided always, that the Council, save as hereinafter mentioned, shall have no power to incur any personal liability or any liability beyond the municipal revenue for the current year:

Provided always, that the Council may, by resolution passed as aforesaid, if confirmed by the electoral vote hereinafter mentioned, bind one-third or any less part of the municipal revenue for the space of three years from the date of the final passage of a resolution in that behalf, for any of the purposes following:

The improvement of the highways, footpaths, bridges and public wharfs within the said city and the improvement of the approaches thereto aforesaid.

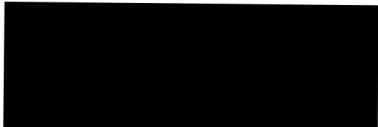
The supply of the city with gas or water....

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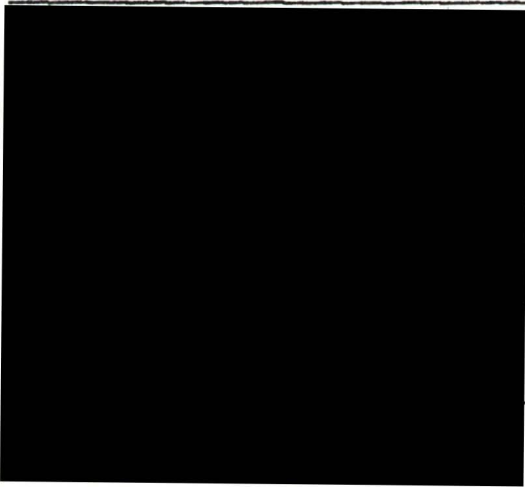
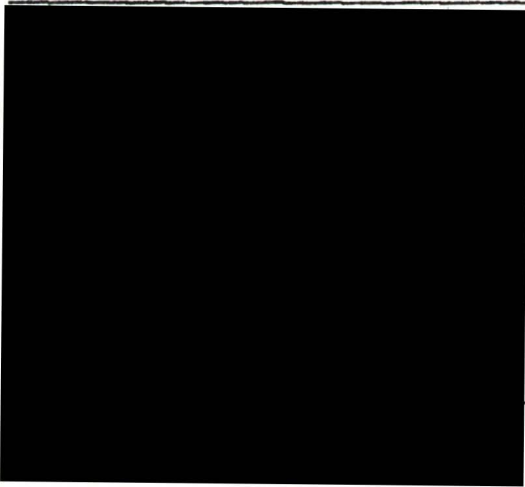
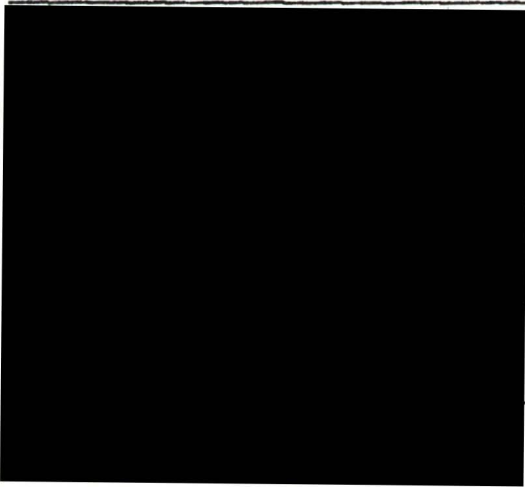
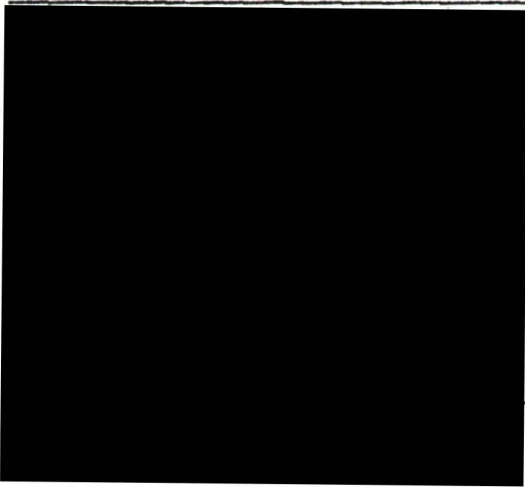
(b) With the restriction that, for a period of five years (until _____) the written approval of the following is required:

(1) The Chairman, School of Graduate Studies _____

(2) The Author _____

(3) both the Chairman, School of Graduate Studies, and the Author _____

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_____ to _____

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