St. Paul's, Nanaimo

Prepared by Jesse Robertson (February 5, 2024)

Property Acquisition

Address	100 Chapel Street, Nanaimo, BC
Legal description	LOT 1 SECTION 1 NANAIMO DISTRICT PLAN EPP49398
First private landholder	Hudson Bay Company (HBC) purchases land through a subsidiary in 1855; Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC) purchases the land from the HBC in 1862.
Diocesan acquisition	Lot 1, Section 1: The HBC begins leasing the land to the Diocese in 1861; VCMLC conveys the land to the Diocese in 1864. Lot 1, Block 55 (historic): Diocese purchases the parcel in 1902.

Narrative Overview

St. Paul's is located in downtown Nanaimo in the territory of the Snuneymuxw people (Figure 1). The property was among 6193 acres of land purchased by a subsidiary of the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) in 1855 (Figure 2). The current property straddles two historic parcels (Figure 3). The majority of the property was granted to the Diocese in 1864. A smaller portion (formerly known as Lot 1, Block 55) sits on a parcel purchased by the Diocese in 1902.²

In 1861, the Anglican Diocese signed a five-year agreement to lease a church site (Figure 4) from the HBC at the nominal rate of one shilling per year. The company gave the Diocese right of first refusal to purchase, but declined to sell outright, perhaps out of concern that private landholdings would provide a foothold to competing traders.³ Bishop George Hills opened St. Paul's, Nanaimo on June 8, 1862. It could not be consecrated, however, as per Diocesan policy stipulating that consecrated buildings and land be "entirely the property of the church."⁴

The HBC sold its Nanaimo landholdings to the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC) around August 1862, leaving the future status of the leased property in question. ⁵ Bishop George Hills lobbied the VCMLC for title to the land. The company's board ordered that a deed of conveyance in favour of the Bishop be sealed on July 15, 1864. The original deed has not been found, but VCMLC

¹ The land was purchased through the subsidiary Nanaimo Coal Company. Vancouver Island House of Assembly, 'Report of the Committee on Crown Lands', 1864, 14, https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9 04198.

² Robert Hendy, St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo, BC: A Brief History since Its Foundation, 1859-1952 (Nanaimo, 1953), 23.

³ Indenture, Bishop and the Anglican Synod of the Diocese of BC (hereafter ASDBC), 21 Oct 1892, text 290; draft letter, Bishop George Hills to Charles Nicol (Manager, Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company), 3 Dec 1862, file 8, box 16, text 63, Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia, Victoria, BC (hereafter ADBC).

⁴ John Garrett, ed., *An Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission with Letters from the Bishop* (London and Dublin: Rivingtons; Hodges, Smith and Co, 1860), 13, https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/bcbooks/items/1.0221885.

⁵ 'Advertisement: The Vancouver Coal-Mining Co.', *British Colonist*, 4 September 1862; Jan Peterson, *Black Diamond City: Nanaimo, the Victorian Era* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2002), 104; A.W. Currie, 'The Vancouver Coal Mining Company: A Source for Galsworthy's Strife', *Queen's Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 50.

accounts indicate the land was likely granted to the Diocese without charge.⁶ The site was finally consecrated by Bishop Hills on August 27, 1865.⁷

Some uncertainty seems to have remained regarding the legal status of the property. In 1893, Rev. John Booth Good wrote to Bishop Hills for confirmation that the Diocese was in full ownership.⁸ In 1899, the New Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company signed a quit claim deed, confirming their surrender of any subsisting rights to the property.⁹

The Diocese appears to have begun subdividing, leasing, and selling parts of the church property by 1890 (Figure 5). ¹⁰ In 1902, the Diocese purchased an adjacent parcel of land formerly occupied by the colonial school (Lot 1, Block 55), allowing for the construction of a new, larger church. ¹¹ This church was destroyed in a fire in 1930. ¹² The third and present church, consecrated in 1932, straddles the original church parcel granted by the VCMLC and a portion of the former school lot. These have since been amalgamated under a single legal description: Lot 1, Section 1 (Figure 6). ¹³

Small adjustments to church property were made to facilitate management of public roads and sidewalks. In 1889, the Diocese agreed to sell a strip of land on Church Street to the City of Nanaimo for \$500 to enable the widening of that road (see Figure 5). ¹⁴ In 1931, the Diocese conveyed a strip of land along Chapel Street, in exchange for 1439 square feet next to Lots 1 and 2, Block 55 (Figure 7). The exchange settled unclarity regarding ownership of a portion of the sidewalk on Chapel Street. ¹⁵

Interpretive Summary

Decisions regarding future land-use should bear the following considerations in mind:

- ⇒ This church site, evidently gifted by the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC), represents a significant contribution from which the Diocese continues to derive benefit. In acquiring this land, the Diocese gained advantage from its privileged status in the Colony of Vancouver Island.
- ⇒ Early Diocesan ownership of the property and associated sites contributed to the cumulative dispossession of Snuneymuxw people from their territory. Land acquisition by grants and private purchase were central to the Diocese's mission. Early episcopal policy mandated that church properties be entirely owned by the Diocese prior to consecration. The delineation of Snuneymuxw land into private property through land surveys, legal pronouncements, and physical barriers gradually restricted the ability of Snuneymuxw people to move through their territory.

⁶ The conveyance is listed in a VCMLC ledger book. The column listing price was left blank. No archival records were found indicating that the Diocese purchased the land. "Deeds ordered to be Sealed with date of Board," 1884, page 1, file 3, box 1, MS-0102, Deeds and Survey Book, PR-1156, Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) fonds, BC Archives, Victoria, BC (hereafter BCA).

⁷ Columbia Mission Society, *Eight Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1866* (London: Rivingtons, 1867), 19.

⁸ T.D. Sale, St. Paul's Anglican Church, Nanaimo, BC: A History, 1861-1986 (Nanaimo: T.D. Sale, 1986), 43.

⁹ The VCMLC became the New Vancouver Coal Mining Company in 1889—part of corporate manoeuvre intended to protect shareholders from liability. Nanaimo trust notes, text 62, ADBC; Currie, 'The Vancouver Coal Mining Company', 54. ¹⁰ See, for example, Drake, Jackson, and Helmcken to S.M. Robins, 29 Jul 1898; St. Alban's Church Committee to Executive Committee of Synod, 2 May 1893, file 6, text 384; undated notes with chronology, file 7, text 384; draft lease, ASDBC to Canadian Bank of Commerce, c. 1901, text 63, ADBC.

¹¹ Hendy, St. Paul's Church, 23.

¹² Sale, 34.

¹³ Sentence of Consecration, 25 Jan 1932, text 63, ADBC.

¹⁴ Corporation of the City of Nanaimo to Rev. J.B. Good, 2 Dec 1889, text 385, ADBC.

¹⁵ Crease & Crease to F.W. Blankenbach, 6 May 1931, text 63, ADBC.

⇒ The alienation of land from the Crown has been a central factor limiting Indigenous access to land in BC. Indian Reserve commissioners deferred to settler property rights and interests when determining reserve boundaries and generally considered private land exempt from their considerations. Snuneymuxw access to land has been severely constricted by mining activity, settler incursion, and an 1887 grant that transferred much of their territory to the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company. Today, private property is considered "off the table" for Aboriginal treaty negotiations, such as those currently being pursued by Snuneymuxw First Nation. Arrangements and/or transfers from private landowners will likely be required for Snuneymuxw First Nation to regain stewardship and/or ownership over a significant part of its traditional territories.

⇒ In 1862—the year the Diocese acquired a lease to the site—Rev. John Booth Good was involved in an effort to remove Snuneymuxw away from town onto one of their reserves. Good felt the move would insulate Snuneymuxw from the influence of settlers and encourage them to adopt European family structures. The move also enabled improvements to coal mining operations overseen by Charles Samuel Nicol, a faithful Anglican and supporter of the church. Other tribes were removed around the same time, thereby erasing a permanent, Indigenous presence from the town.

Historical Context

Religion and land policy were two tools by which the Hudson Bay Company sought to justify its proprietary claims to the Colony of Vancouver Island. A prevailing theory of British colonization held that officials could allocate lands strategically so as to reproduce established social hierarchies, while resourcing religious bodies to encourage a "better order of people" to immigrate to new colonies. The HBC employed both strategies, to different degrees and with varying success.¹⁷

The loss of territory south of the 49th parallel under the Oregon Treaty (1846) convinced colonial officials that permanent and loyal settlers were required to prevent further American annexation.¹⁸ In 1849, the HBC was awarded title to Vancouver Island on condition that it foster "the advancement of colonization [...] by settlers from the British dominions." Encouraging religious observance in the new colony was one means by which the HBC sought to fulfill this requirement.

Under these circumstances, Chief Factor and Governor James Douglas tried to encourage church activity through land and financial grants. Rev. John Booth Good, first incumbent at St. Paul's, later wrote that the HBC was "anxious some years ago to procure for their people the services of a clergy man of our Denomination" and were prepared to alienate a house and large piece of property for the use of a chaplain. A Methodist missionary had arrived in early 1857, however, and locals soon petitioned Governor Douglas to secure a minister from that denomination. The parsonage originally

¹⁶ See Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 112, 170–73, 230–31, 244.

¹⁷ Richard Mackie, 'The Colonization of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858', *BC Studies*, no. 96 (1992): 7–9, 36; Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist* (Oxford, UK: The Clarendon press, 1914), 165, http://archive.org/details/aviewartcoloniz00collgoog.

¹⁸ Roberta L. Bagshaw, 'Church of England Land Policy in Colonial British Columbia', in *British Columbia: Geographical Essays in Honour of A. MacPherson*, ed. Paul Koroscil (Burnaby, BC: Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, 1991), 42.

¹⁹ Great Britain. Colonial Office, *Vancouver's Island: Copies and Extracts of Despatches and Other Papers Relating to Vancouver's Island*, Papers Relative to Vancouver's Island (London: House of Commons, 1849), 15, https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_01591/2; Mackie, 'The Colonization of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858', 34.

intended for Anglican ministry (according to Good's account) was given to the Methodists, in addition to "a beautiful site for the erection of a place of worship." ²⁰

Rev. Good arrived in Nanaimo in September 1861 and soon set about securing land. The Diocese received a parsonage site (Lot 2, Block 55) from the HBC—"one of their best town lots, over looking [sic] the Harbour & fronting a Public Square"—though it did not receive a deed of conveyance until some years later.²¹ In 1862, Bishop Hills secured a favourable lease to a nearby church site from the HBC, paying a nominal fee and receiving right of refusal to purchase at a later date (Figure 4). The property was centrally located, and, as Good noted some four decades later, "must steadily rise in value and will form a permanent endowment in time to come." It appears this land was ultimately gifted to the Diocese by the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC) in 1864, following, amidst other solicitations, Bishop Hills' complaint that his Methodist rivals had received favourable treatment.²³

Ecclesiastical policy provides an additional layer of context for early acquisition of land. The Diocese of British Columbia was established in 1859 amidst a period of global expansion for the British Empire and Church of England. Thirty-eight new dioceses were established worldwide between 1814 and 1859, facilitated by church reforms that sought to encourage episcopal oversight in the colonies. ²⁴ The Letters Patent creating the Diocese gave the Bishop power to hold property on behalf of the church. ²⁵ Wary of HBC interference, inaugural Bishop George Hills required consecrated chapels to be "entirely the property of the church." ²⁶ The acquisition of private property in emerging settlements thus became central to the mission of the church.

In 1862—the year the Diocese acquired a lease to the site—Rev. Good was involved in an effort to remove the Snuneymuxw from the land they were occupying adjacent to one of the mines. Charles Samuel Nicol, mine manager and faithful Anglican, considered these Snuneymuxw to be a nuisance, and "seriously in the way of contemplated improvements of the Company's property." Good supported the move, regarding it as an opportunity to induce the Snuneymuxw "to live separately in families" and at further remove from the influence of white settlers. The reverend helped convince Snuneymuxw chiefs to move to houses on their reservation, to the dismay of Methodists who had recently built a school near the former village. Good was engaged in efforts to vaccinate the Snuneymuxw from smallpox and later described the removal as mitigating its lethal spread.

²⁰ The petition was written in February 1857. The HBC granted the Methodists approximately two acres of land in Nanaimo in 1859 or 1860. Rev. John Booth Good, "A History of the Episcopal Church from the Perspective of One of its Missionaries in that Place," 28 Jul 1862, in Register of Services (St. Paul's, Nanaimo), 1861-68, text 330, ADBC; Robert Janning, *The History That We Share: Nanaimo Indian Band, Methodist Church of Canada, Coqualeetza Home and School* (Robert Janning, 2023), 9, 54.

²¹ Good, "A History of the Episcopal Church," text 330, ADBC.

²² Rev. John Booth Good, "The Utmost Bounds of the West: Pioneer Jotting or Forty Years Missionary Reminiscences of the Out West Pacific Coast, AD 1861 to AD 190o," page 22, E/B/G59, BCA.

²³ Secretary (VCMLC) to Bishop George Hills, 7 May 1864, text 384, ADBC.

²⁴ Bagshaw, 42–50; G. Hollis Slate, 'New Light on Herbert Beaver', *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (January 1942): 14.

²⁵ "Letters Patent of the Bishop of Columbia, 1859" (copy), file 4, box 1, accession 85.36, ADBC.

²⁶ Garrett, An Occasional Paper, 13.

²⁷ Peter William Robin, 'Beyond the Bounds of the West: The Life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916' (MA Thesis, Victoria, University of Victoria, 1991), 44–47; Janning, *The History That We Share*, 69–70.

²⁸ Good, "The Utmost Bounds of the West," page 23, E/B/G59, BCA.

Encampments from other tribes were removed around the same time, according to Good, "and thus Nanaimo was thoroughly cleared of the natives." ²⁹

The Snuneymuxw referenced the removal and described the effects of dispossession, generally, in an 1864 address to a visiting Governor Arthur Kennedy:

We want to keep our land here and up the river. Some white men tell us that we shall soon have to remove again; but we don't want to lose these reserves. All our other land is gone, and we have been paid very little for it. God gave it to us a long time ago, and now we are very poor, and do not know where our homes will be if we leave this.³⁰

Snuneymuxw access to land was further reduced by a major land grant awarded for the construction of a railway on Vancouver Island. The Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company secured the contract in 1883, agreeing to lay 113 kilometres of line in exchange for \$750,000 and a twenty mile strip extending from Esquimalt to Seymour Narrows amounting to nearly 2,000,000 acres of land. (Figure 8). The land grant was executed in 1887, following completion of the railway.³¹

²⁹ Janning, *The History That We Share*, 70.

³⁰ The address was given in Council by unnamed chiefs and transcribed by Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby. Newspaper clipping, enclosed in Arthur Kennedy to Edward Cardwell, 22 Nov 1864, CO 305:23, no. 885, 432, *The Colonial Despatches of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1846-1871*, Edition 2.4, ed. James Hendrickson and the Colonial Despatches project (Victoria: University of Victoria): https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/V64196.html.

³¹ Kelly Black, 'An Archive of Settler Belonging: Local Feeling, Land, and the Forest Resource on Vancouver Island' (PhD dissertation, Ottawa, Carleton University, 2017), 104–5.

Indigenous Presence and Land Use

Languages	Island Hulquminum
Governance	Snuneymuxw First Nation
Land use	None identified.
Archaeological data	No known archaeological sites recorded on property. However, archaeological modelling suggests a high potential for previously unidentified archaeological sites on the property. ³²
Historic treaties	In 1854, Governor James Douglas signed a land agreement at Nanaimo to which 159 members of the "Sarlequin Tribe" affixed their mark. ³³ The agreement is unique among the "Douglas Treaties" in that the form describing its terms was either lost or never completed. It is possible the Snuneymuxw were simply asked to add their mark to a blank form.
	A later oral account by signatory Dick Whoakum suggests the agreement was strictly for coal rights (not land) and that no money was paid in return. ³⁴
Modern treaties	Snuneymuxw First Nation is in Stage 4 of the BC Treaty Process (Agreement-In-Principles negotiations)

Associated Properties

<u>Parsonage (Lot 2, Block 55)</u>: The Hudson Bay Company (HBC) signaled their intent to grant the Diocese "one of their best town lots, over looking [sic] the Harbour & fronting a Public square" for use a parsonage site by September 1861 (Figure 4). A legal certificate of title was not provided, however, leading Bishop George Hills to lobby the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC) for title after they acquired the HBC's Nanaimo landholdings in 1862. ³⁵ The Diocese appears to have acquired title from the VCMLC in July 1864. ³⁶

³² The Archaeology Branch describes archaeological potential modelling as "compiled using existing knowledge about archaeological sites, past indigenous land use, and environmental variables." Email, Erin Partridge (Archaeological Information Administrator, Archaeology Branch, Ministry of Forests) to Jesse Robertson, 8 Feb 2023.

³³ "Register of land purchases from Indians," MS-0772, BCA: https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/register-of-land-purchases-from-indians

³⁴ Neil Vallance, 'The Earliest First Nations Accounts of the Formation of the Vancouver Island (or Douglas) Treaties of 1850-52', in *To Share, Not Surrender: Indigenous and Settler Visions of Treaty Making in the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, ed. Peter Cook et al. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021), 140–43.

³⁵ Good, "A History of the Episcopal Church...," box 5, text 330; Bishop Hills to VCMLC, 17 Jun 1864, text 385, ADBC.

³⁶ Quit Claim Deed, New Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company Ltd. to ASDBC, 24 Oct 1899, file 12, box 16, text 64, ADBC.

Timeline

Italicized text indicates contextual information. **Bold** text indicates information specific to the property.

Date	Details
13 Jan 1849	Hudson Bay Company (HBC) awarded ten-year charter for the "advancement of colonization" on the Colony of Vancouver Island. ³⁷
24 Aug 1852	HBC Governor James Douglas instructs Joseph McKay to open a mine at Nanaimo and "formally take possession of the Coal bed lately discovered there." 38
Jan 1853	Douglas receives instructions to extinguish Aboriginal title and purchase land at Nanaimo, motivated, in part, by a desire to prevent coal fields from reverting to the Crown upon revocation of the HBC's charter. ³⁹
Jun 1853	Two-story octagonal bastion constructed and armed with two six-pound carronades for the defence of the HBC establishment at Nanaimo. ⁴⁰
23 Dec 1854	Governor Douglas signs a land agreement at Nanaimo in which 159 members of the "Sarlequin Tribe" affixed their mark. ⁴¹ The form describing its terms was either lost or never completed. ⁴²
7 May 1855	HBC purchases 6193 acres at Nanaimo and adjacent islands for \$29,726, or approximately \$4.70/acre. 43
May 1857	Rev. Edward Cridge conducts services in the colonial schoolhouse, located behind the present site of St. Paul's. 44
12 Jan 1859	Diocese of British Columbia established amidst global expansion of British Empire and Church of England (38 new dioceses established between 1814-1859). Letters Patent creating the Diocese give the Bishop power to hold property on behalf of the church. 45
1861	Reverend John Booth Good arrives in Nanaimo with a mandate to convert Indigenous people, build a church, and minister to the miners. ⁴⁶

³⁷ 'The Colonization of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858', 6.

³⁸ Elizabeth Norcross, *Nanaimo Retrospective: The First Century* (Nanaimo, BC: Nanaimo Historical Society, 1979), 2.

³⁹ Chris Arnett, *The Terror of the Coast: Land Alienation and Colonial War on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, 1849-1863* (Burnaby, BC: Talonbooks, 1999), 47.

⁴⁰ Arnett, 47.

⁴¹ "Register of land purchases from Indians," MS-0772, BCA: https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/register-of-land-purchases-from-indians

⁴² Vallance, 'The Earliest First Nations Accounts...', 140–41.

⁴³ Vancouver Island House of Assembly, 'Report of the Committee on Crown Lands', 14.

⁴⁴ Sale, St. Paul's Anglican Church, 5.

⁴⁵ "Letters Patent of the Bishop of Columbia, 1859" (copy), 85.36, ADBC; G. Hollis Slate, 'New Light on Herbert Beaver', *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (January 1942): 14.

⁴⁶ Peterson, *Black Diamond City*, 128.

19 Sep 1861	Diocese signs a five-year lease with the HBC granting it use of the site for one shilling per year and right of first refusal to purchase should the land be considered for sale. ⁴⁷
25 Dec 1861	Foundation stone laid by Charles S. Nicol (mine manager, HBC). ⁴⁸
Early 1862	Nicol decides to move Snuneymuxw from their village adjacent to one of the mines; Rev. Good encourages Snuneymuxw chiefs to comply, believing it would remove them from the influence of white settlers. ⁴⁹
4 May 1862	Snuneymuxw described as relocating to their reserve. 50
8 Jun 1862	Church opened, but not consecrated by Bishop George Hills due to the fact it stood on leased land not owned outright by the Diocese. ⁵¹
Aug 1862	Rev. Good opens a school and chapel on the Snuneymuxw Reserve. 52
Aug-Sep 1862	HBC sells its Nanaimo land holdings to the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company (VCMLC) for £40,000. ⁵³
15 Jul 1864	VCMLC board orders to sealed a deed conveying the church site to Bishop Hills. ⁵⁴
27 Aug 1865	Bishop Hills consecrates St. Paul's. 55
Aug 1883	Federal government awards the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company a contract to construct a railway on Vancouver Island in return for \$750,000 and nearly 2,000,000 acres of Crown Land. 56
1887	Grant lands are transferred to the E&N Railway Company following completion of the railway, thereby privatizing a substantial portion of Snuneymuxw territory. ⁵⁷

⁴⁷ Indenture, Charles Samuel Nicol (Hudson Bay Company) to Bishop Hills, 19 Sep 1861, text 384, ADBC.

⁴⁸ Good, "A History of the Episcopal Church...," text 330, ADBC.

⁴⁹ Robin, 'Beyond the Bounds of the West', 44–47; Janning, The History That We Share, 69–70.

⁵⁰ Janning, *The History That We Share*, 70.

⁵¹ 'Excursion to Nanaimo--Opening the Episcopal Church', *British Colonist*, 10 June 1862, 2, https://archive.org/details/dailycolonist18620610uvic/page/n1; Sale, *St. Paul's Anglican Church*, 8.

⁵² Copy of Columbia Mission Society, *Fourth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1862* (London: Rivingtons, 1863), text 206, ADBC; Brian Ray Douglas Smith, 'Some Aspects of the Social Development of Early Nanaimo' (BA Thesis, Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1956), 94.

⁵³ The VCMLC was formed on August 1, 1962. The company purchased the Nanaimo land sometime before September 4, when it began promoting its shares in the *British Colonist*. 'Advertisement: The Vancouver Coal-Mining Co.'; Peterson, *Black Diamond City*, 104; Currie, 'The Vancouver Coal Mining Company', 50.

⁵⁴ "Deeds ordered to be Sealed with date of Board," 1884, page 1, file 3, box 1, MS-0102, Deeds and Survey Book, PR-1156, Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) fonds, BC Archives.

⁵⁵ Copy of Columbia Mission Society, *Sixth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1864* (London: Rivingtons, 1863), text 206, ADBC

Peterson, Black Diamond City, 173.

⁵⁶ The land grant excluded lands that had already been pre-empted or otherwise alienated from the Crown. Many lands that informally occupied prior to 1883 were also excluded after a drawn out legal process. Black, 'An Archive of Settler Belonging', 104–5.

⁵⁷ Black, 105.

	The completion of the railroad soon increases the value of the VCMLC's Nanaimo land. ⁵⁸
6 Apr 1889	Anglican Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia (ASDBC) incorporated by Act of Provincial Legislature and empowered to acquire, hold, and sell property.
2 Dec 1889	Diocese agrees to sell strip of land along Church Street to the City of Nanaimo for \$500 to enable the widening of that road. ⁵⁹
21 Oct 1892	Indenture conveying title from Bishop Hills to ASDBC. ⁶⁰
3 Jun 1893	Bishop Hills writes to Rev. Good to assure him that Synod is in legal possession of the property. 61
24 Oct 1899	The New Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company signs a quit claim deed, confirming their surrender of all subsisting rights to the property. 62
c. 1901	Diocese begins leasing the corner portion of the St. Paul's property (at the intersection of Church and Chapel streets) to the Canadian Bank of Commerce. 63
1902	Diocese purchases parcel of land formerly occupied by the colonial school (Lot 1, Block 55). ⁶⁴
6 Sep 1906	Cornerstone laid for a second, larger church. ⁶⁵
11 May 1907	Second church consecrated. ⁶⁶
19 Jul 1930	Second church destroyed in major fire. ⁶⁷
24 Aug 1931	Cornerstone laid for the third and present church building, straddling the former church and colonial school parcels. ⁶⁸
25 Jan 1932	Third and present church building consecrated by Bishop Charles Schofield. ⁶⁹

⁵⁸ Currie, 'The Vancouver Coal Mining Company', 55.

 $^{^{59}}$ Corporation of the City of Nanaimo to Rev. Good, 2 Dec 1889, text 385, ADBC.

⁶⁰ Indenture, Bishop to ASDBC, 21 Oct 1892, text 290, ADBC.

⁶¹ Sale, St. Paul's Anglican Church, 43.

⁶² Nanaimo trust notes, text 62, ADBC.

⁶³ Copy of loan contract, William Munsie to ASDBC, 10 Jun 1901, file 10, box 16, text 63, ADBC.

⁶⁴ Hendy, St. Paul's Church, 23.

⁶⁵ Sale, St. Paul's Anglican Church, 31.

⁶⁶ Sale, 31.

⁶⁷ Sale, 34.

⁶⁸ Sale, 34.

⁶⁹ Sentence of Consecration, 25 Jan 1932, text 63, ADBC.

Figures

Figure 1. Map showing current extent of St. Paul's, Nanaimo and adjacent town lots.

PMBC Parcel Cadastre 029547300, iMapBC, Province of British Columbia.

Figure 2. Map showing extent of land in Nanaimo purchased by Hudson Bay Company (and subsequently sold to the Vancouver Coal Mining & Land Company) outlined in red. The small red plots show land alienated to Methodist and Anglican churches and a private settler. The yellow plots indicate Indian Reserves.

Unknown, "Map or Tracing of Land at Nanaimo Vancouver Island Victoria V.I. 3 February 1863, Hudson's Bay Company Archives," A.11/79 fo. 38. *The Colonial Despatches of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1846-1871*, Edition 2.4, ed. James Hendrickson and the Colonial Despatches project (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria): https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/A11-79 fo 38.html

Figure 3. Satellite image showing the approximate extents of the current property (green) and former church and parsonage properties (red).

Google Earth Pro 7.3. 49º10'06.76" N, 123º56'15.06" W. 19 Aug 2016.

Figure 4. Undated plan showing two parcels granted to the Diocese for a church and parsonage. The parcels are separated by Lot 1, purchased by the Diocese in 1902.

Certificate of Title slips, 10632-N Nanaimo, Text 278, Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia.

Figure 5. 1927 plan showing the prior subdivision of the original church property (Lots A-E) and a strip along to the City of Nanaimo to enable the widening of Church Street.

Plan of Subdivision of Lot B, Block LV, Map 584, Nanaimo District. Office files, Anglican Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia.

Figure 6. 2015 plan showing contemporary parcels, including the amalgamed Lot 1, Section 1 on which the current church stands. The boundary separating the original church and colonial school properties is shown with a dotted line bisecting Lot 1.

Reference Plan of Lot A, Section 1, Nanaimo District Plan VIP53855 and Lot A, Section 1, Nanaimo District, Plan 3549, except Part in Plan 13272. Office files, Anglican Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia.

Figure 7. 1931 plan showing the 1439 square feet added to Lots 1 and 2 along Chapel Street.

Reference Plan of Lot A, Section 1, Nanaimo District Plan VIP53855 and Lot A, Section 1, Nanaimo District, Plan 3549, except Part in Plan 13272. Office files, Anglican Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia.

Figure 8. Map showing extent of land granted to the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Company in 1887.⁷⁰ The grant measured approximately twenty miles from the eastern shore of Vancouver Island, from Muir Creek to Crown Mountain.

⁷⁰ The date provided on the image (1884) indicates the year in the land was conveyed from BC to the Dominion of Canada. The E&N Railway Company received these lands in 1887 after completing the railway. See Black, 'An Archive of Settler

"Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway Crown Grant." In Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, *The Great Land Grab in Hul'qumi'num Territory* (2007), page 5.

References

Primary

Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia.

British Columbia Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Secondary

- Arnett, Chris. The Terror of the Coast: Land Alienation and Colonial War on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, 1849-1863. Burnaby, BC: Talonbooks, 1999.
- Bagshaw, Roberta L. 'Church of England Land Policy in Colonial British Columbia'. In *British Columbia: Geographical Essays in Honour of A. MacPherson*, edited by Paul Koroscil, 41–65. Burnaby, BC:
 Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, 1991.
- Black, Kelly. 'An Archive of Settler Belonging: Local Feeling, Land, and the Forest Resource on Vancouver Island'. PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 2017.
- British Colonist. 'Advertisement: The Vancouver Coal-Mining Co.' 4 September 1862.
- British Colonist. 'Excursion to Nanaimo--Opening the Episcopal Church'. 10 June 1862. https://archive.org/details/dailycolonist18620610uvic/page/n1.
- Columbia Mission Society. *Eight Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1866*. London: Rivingtons, 1867.
- Currie, A.W. 'The Vancouver Coal Mining Company: A Source for Galsworthy's Strife'. *Queen's Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 50–63.
- Garrett, John, ed. *An Occasional Paper on the Columbia Mission with Letters from the Bishop*. London and Dublin: Rivingtons; Hodges, Smith and Co, 1860. https://open.library.ubc.ca/collections/bcbooks/items/1.0221885.
- Great Britain. Colonial Office. Vancouver's Island: Copies and Extracts of Despatches and Other Papers Relating to Vancouver's Island. Papers Relative to Vancouver's Island. London: House of Commons, 1849. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_01591/2.
- Harris, Cole. *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.
- Hendy, Robert. St. Paul's Church, Nanaimo, BC: A Brief History since Its Foundation, 1859-1952.

 Nanaimo, 1953.
- Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group. 'The Great Land Grab in Hul'qumi'num Territory'. Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, 2007. http://www.hulquminum.bc.ca/pubs/HTGRailwayBookSpreads.pdf.
- Janning, Robert. The History That We Share: Nanaimo Indian Band, Methodist Church of Canada, Coqualeetza Home and School. Robert Janning, 2023.
- Mackie, Richard. 'The Colonization of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858'. *BC Studies*, no. 96 (1992): 3–40. Norcross, Elizabeth. *Nanaimo Retrospective: The First Century*. Nanaimo, BC: Nanaimo Historical Society, 1979.
- Peterson, Jan. Black Diamond City: Nanaimo, the Victorian Era. Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2002.

Belonging', 105; Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, 'The Great Land Grab in Hul'qumi'num Territory' (Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, 2007), http://www.hulquminum.bc.ca/pubs/HTGRailwayBookSpreads.pdf.

- Robin, Peter William. 'Beyond the Bounds of the West: The Life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916'. MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1991.
- Sale, T.D. St. Paul's Anglican Church, Nanaimo, BC: A History, 1861-1986. Nanaimo: T.D. Sale, 1986. Slate, G. Hollis. 'New Light on Herbert Beaver'. British Columbia Historical Quarterly 6, no. 1 (January 1942): 13–30.
- Smith, Brian Ray Douglas. 'Some Aspects of the Social Development of Early Nanaimo'. BA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1956.
- Vallance, Neil. 'The Earliest First Nations Accounts of the Formation of the Vancouver Island (or Douglas) Treaties of 1850-52'. In *To Share, Not Surrender: Indigenous and Settler Visions of Treaty Making in the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, edited by Peter Cook, Neil Vallance, John Lutz, Graham Brazier, and Hamar Foster, 123–54. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021.
- Vancouver Island House of Assembly. 'Report of the Committee on Crown Lands', 1864. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9 04198.
- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. A View of the Art of Colonization in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist. Oxford, UK: The Clarendon press, 1914. http://archive.org/details/aviewartcoloniz00collgoog.