GROWING UP BRITISH IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: BOYS IN PRIVATE SCHOOL, 1900-1950

by

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Abstract

During the years 1900-50 about fifty non-Catholic private boys' schools existed in British Columbia. Most were small private ventures, a few large incorporations. Some survived only a few years, five endure to the present day. Virtually all the schools were premised on the principles and practices of private education in Britain.

Three factors coalesced to bring these schools into being. British Columbia possessed from the mid-nineteenth century a heritage of private education. While acquiescing in the necessity for common schooling for the mass of the population, some families continued to educate their own offspring privately in the province, in Britain, or elsewhere in Canada. The second circumstance behind the creation of boys' schools in British Columbia was the tremendous popularity in late-Victorian Britain of a form of class-based private education particularly amenable to replication, the "public" school and its counterpart for younger boys, the preparatory school. Thirdly, British Columbia society fundamentally altered as a consequence of the national immigration policy initiated in 1896. Over the three decades 1891-1921, about 175,000 British immigrants settled in the province, including upwards to 24,000 of suitable social background to have been supporters of private education.

Boys' schools on the British model were founded by enterprising British immigrants primarily to educate the offspring of fellow settlers. However, schools' clientele gradually extended to encompass established British Columbia

families of high socio-economic status. Such families were themselves responsible for the incorporation in Vancouver in the early 1930s of the province's last major boys' school, now its largest.

The significance of British Columbia's boys' schools extends beyond their clientele, which did not much surpass 7,500 over the years 1900-50. Families supporting private education were already a distinctive element in the society. Educating offspring apart from vast bulk of their contemporaries helped perpetuate that separate identity from generation to generation. Socio-economic divisions in the society were in effect consolidated and maintained from the top down.

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INTRODUCTION

> Did its effects--with chalk and pen, with cricket bat and cane--really achieve anything? At first glance, it might appear not. The governorship of some remote dependency of the crown never fell to my lot, no grateful blacks and browns ever called me Bwana, the kings of Israel and Judah remained difficult to introduce into everyday conversation. Yet I undoubtedly acquired a few things that are not too easily acquired today: some knowledge of both the major treasures of our language and the elements of everyday speech; a belief that if a thing is worth doing at all it is worth doing well; and a continuing awareness that there is no real substitute for knowledge, effort or character. So perhaps, after all, this is the ironic point of this story: that I did receive in the end from those resolute defenders of a now vanquished and vanished order what they promised I would: a preparation for life.[1]

Such was, for one individual, the consequence of growing up British in British Columbia. As did about 7,500 of his provincial contemporaries in the first half of this century, he attended not his local public school but a private boys' school founded on the principles and practices of Britain. Like the British boarding schools on which they were modelled, the fifty some boys' schools existing in British Columbia during the years 1900-50 were consciously intended to provide for a small minority of the population, distinguished primarily by their

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[1] Derek Pethick, "A Preparation for Life" (typescript in author's possession).

socio-economic status, a superior education especially preparing them to exercise leadership in the society. The significance of these schools is the subject of this thesis.

Private education has always existed. In Britain families of the upper-middle and upper class who patronize state schools remain to this day exceptions.[1] In the American Northeast and South, private education has long been a desirable concomitant of status.[2] Nor is Canada an exception. As studies like John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic and Peter Newman's The Canadian Establishment make clear, the national socio-economic structure is to a considerable extent dominated by men schooled apart from the bulk of their contemporaries.[3]

Within Canada, British Columbia has been unique. Its non-Catholic private schools, founded early in this century, were not connected with those existing in older parts of Canada but rather derived independently from Britain. Moreover, whereas boys' schools elsewhere in Canada depended primarily on Canadians for their teaching staff, British Columbia schools were dominated through mid-century by British immigrants.[4] In 1930, the earliest date for which data is available, fully three

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[1] See John Rae, The Public School Revolution (London: Faber & Faber, 1981); and "Parent's Guide to Private Education," Sunday Times Magazine, Nov. 22, 1981, pp. 31-55; Nov. 29, 1981, pp. 65-75; and Dec. 6, 1981, pp. 64-78.

[2] See James McLachlan, American Boarding Scools: a Historical Study (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970).

[3] Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, and Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

[4] See A.G.A. Stephen, ed., Private Schools in Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin for the Canadian Headmasters' Association, 1938). In the mid-1930s, almost three-quarters of staff in British Columbia had been educated in Britain, compared with only 30 percent of the staff in Ontario boys' schools.

Table 1
ESTIMATED PROPORTIONS OF PUPILS IN PRINCIPAL TYPES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1930-1931

Geographical area	Total number of private schools	Estimated proportion of total school enrollment in: All private schools	Catholic private schools	Religio-ethnic schools	Mainstream private schools
English Canada	343	2.3%	1.4%	0.2%	0.7%
Maritimes	48	3.2%	2.5%	0.2%	0.5%
Ontario	101	1.8%	1.0%	0.2%	0.6%
Manitoba	42	3.7%	2.9%	0.4%	0.4%
Saskatchewan	49	1.2%	0.8%	0.2%	0.2%
Alberta	45	1.7%	0.6%	0.4%	0.7%
British Columbia	58	4.4%	2.2%	negl	2.2%

SOURCE:
Historical Compendium of Historical Statistics from Confederation to 1975 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1978), Table 10, pp. 34-40; Annual Survey of Education (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), 1931, p. 117, and 1931, pp. 120-125. Sources are given for subsequent tables only when new data is used not previously identified in earlier tables.

NOTES:
"Total school enrollment" excludes institutions under federal control intended for native Indians. Proportions of enrollment in various types of private schools are calculated as the mean of two measures: (a) the number of schools of each type listed in Annual Survey, 1931, pp. 120-125; and (b) enrollments in 1935-36, the earliest year for which precise data has been located. "Religio-ethnic" schools are defined as institutions (a) maintained by a non-Catholic religious or ethnic group specifically to educate the offspring of that group, or (b) maintained by some other group similarly restricted, such as to Orientals or orphans. "Mainstream" schools are defined as institutions either not religiously affiliated or affiliated with a principal Canadian non-Catholic religious denomination (Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Baptist) without restriction of clientele.

times as great a proportion of the school-age population were

attending such schools in British Columbia as in any other part of the country. As indicated by Tables 1 through 3, only at mid-century did enrollments in British Columbia become consonant with those elsewhere in Canada.

Table 2
ESTIMATED PROPORTIONS OF PUPILS IN PRINCIPAL TYPES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1935-1936

Geographical area	Total number of private schools	Estimated proportion of total school enrollment in: All private schools	Catholic private schools	Religio-ethnic schools	Main-stream private schools
English Canada	333	2.1%	1.4%	0.2%	0.5%
Maritimes	47	2.8%	2.3%	0.1%	0.4%
Ontario	100	1.7%	1.0%	0.2%	0.5%
Manitoba	36	3.5%	3.0%	0.3%	0.2%
Saskatchewan	50	0.9%	0.7%	0.1%	0.1%
Alberta	41	1.8%	0.8%	0.4%	0.6%
British Columbia	59	3.8%	2.4%	0.1%	1.3%

SOURCE:
Annual Survey, 1936, pp. 150-156.

NOTE:
Due to lack of precise data, Saskatchewan and Alberta figures are approximated.

This study is concerned to explain the appeal exercised in British Columbia by private education on the British model, particularly that for boys, during the years 1900-50. Three levels of analysis are intertwined. The historical circumstances are examined whereby the ideal underlying private education in Britain was not only faithfully replicated in British Columbia but maintained virtually unchanged to mid-

Table 3
ESTIMATED PROPORTIONS OF PUPILS IN PRINCIPAL TYPES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1945-1946

Geographical area	Total number of private schools	Estimated proportion of total school enrollment in: All private schools	Catholic private schools	Religio-ethnic schools	Mainstream private schools
English Canada	272	2.6%	1.7%	0.2%	0.7%
Maritimes	35	2.9%	2.6%	negl	0.3%
Ontario	89	2.4%	1.4%	0.1%	0.9%
Manitoba	ca.31	3.7%	2.9%	0.5%	0.3%
Saskatchewan	ca.40	2.0%	1.4%	0.2%	0.4%
Alberta	ca.40	2.0%	0.8%	0.7%	0.5%
British Columbia	37	4.1%	2.8%	negl	1.3%

SOURCE:
Directory of Private Schools in Eight Provinces (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), 1944, pp. 2-13, and 1947, pp. 2-13; and Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistis), 1944/46, p. 112.

century. The study attempts, secondly, to recreate the texture of private school life as it was experienced by young British Columbians. Thirdly, the schools' relationship to social structure is analyzed. The thesis argues that the existence of viable class-based education helped to strengthen socio-economic divisions in British Columbia from the top down.

The study begins with an overview of the events through which British Columbia achieved in the nineteenth century an educational consensus premised on the co-existence of public and private schooling. The emergence in early twentieth-century British Columbia of private class-based education resulted from

three factors: indigenous support, changes in British private schools facilitating their replication elsewhere, and the arrival in British Columbia of a major new support group consequent on mass immigration from Britain.

The creation of boys' schools by enterprising Britons to educate the offspring of fellow British settlers is described, as are the schools' principles and practices. The study then examines a fundamental shift occurring during the Depression whereby the basis of schools' clientele became successful Canadian businessmen and professionals even though the institutions themselves remained uncompromisingly British. After a discussion of the fate of private education on the British model in the postwar years, the thesis turns to the pupils themselves. A discussion of their life style is complemented by an analysis of the impact of class-based schooling on the larger society.

The thesis does not, it should be emphasized, directly examine either Catholic schools or private girls' schools. Their exclusion, while due in part to pragmatic constraints of space and energy, is also based on theoretical considerations. Catholic schools appeared in nineteenth-century British Columbia due more to the Church's general commitment to separate education wherever Catholics might reside than to conditions peculiar to the province. The main teaching orders in British Columbia were centred in Quebec, the United States and Ireland, whence came educational priorities. The analytical framework necessary to study Catholic schools in British Columbia extends

far beyond the boundaries of the province or the years, 1900-50, the practical limitations on this thesis.

Private girls' schools in British Columbia, although sharing important socio-economic characteristics of clientele with those for boys, also demand independent treatment. While boys' education emanated from a confident tradition assuming male superiority and male leadership, British Columbia's girls' schools appear to have had a dual rationale. Some were premised on a complementary attitude of female deference, but others grew out of dissatisfaction with existing norms which viewed the academic content of female education as relatively limited and inconsequential. If not necessarily revolutionary, such schools were far more than mere shadows of their counterparts for boys and must have their own historian.

Certain abbreviations have been used in the text, footnotes and bibliography:

BC	Brentwood College
BCHQ	British Columbia Historical Quarterly
BCM	Brentwood College Magazine
NSC	North Shore College
NSCM	The North Shore College Record
OHS	Okanagan Historical Society
PABC	Public Archives of British Columbia
PSA	Private Schools' Association of British Columbia
SGS	St. George's School
SGSM	The Georgian (St. George's School magazine)
SLS	Shawnigan Lake School

SLSM	Shawnigan Lake School Magazine
UBC	University of British Columbia
US	University School
USM	The Black and Red (University School magazine)
VCA	Vancouver City Archives
VPS	Vernon Preparatory School
VPSM	The Chronicle of the Vernon Preparatory School
WWBC	Who's Who in British Columbia
WWWC	Who's Who in Western Canada

Chapter 1

THE EDUCATIONAL CONSENSUS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia was for the first two decades of its existence an isolated outpost caught between a British and a North American identity with conflict over education reflecting larger divisions. By 1871, when British Columbia joined the Canadian Confederation, the necessity for state schooling had been generally accepted. At the same time, private schools already in existence remained unobstructed. While the appeal of private education diminished considerably over the last quarter of the century the consensus itself did not alter: unregulated private schools seeking to maintain class and religious separation continued to be accepted as suitably co-existing with a state system based on the common school.

I

White settlement on the southern tip of Vancouver Island was initiated in 1843 as the Hudson's Bay fur trading company prepared to move its western headquarters northward following settlement of the boundary between the United States and British

North America. The handful of Scots and Englishmen settled around the fort at Victoria behaved as if they resided in Britain itself.[1] The Hudson's Bay personnel possessed a "fairly rigid class structure" with clear divisions between "officers" and "servants" of the Company, settlers come to work the Company farms, and officers of the Royal Navy ships periodically stationed at the nearby port of Esquimalt.[2] Schools were expected to reinforce these divisions.

A prime function of education in Britain was to maintain existing place in the social order from generation to generation.[3] Children from families of low socio-economic status were best prepared to acquiesce in their own inevitably inferior position through being given only rudimentary literacy training. Conversely, children in families of high status had to be extensively educated to take their expected positions at the forefront of their generation. In England opportunities for poor children were limited to charity schools of great simplicity, while families able to afford the fees could choose between local grammar schools derived from medieval church

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[1] On the colonial period, see Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 83-257.

[2] John Sebastian Helmcken, The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, ed. Dorothy Blakey Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia [hereafter UBC] Press, 1975), pp. 114-16 and 293.

[3] On England, see Brian Simon, The Two Nations & the Educational Structure, 1780-1870, v. 1 in his Studies in the History of Education (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1981), esp. pp. 277-367; on British Columbia, see Donald L. MacLaurin, "Education before the Gold Rush," British Columbia Historical Quarterly [hereafter BCHQ] 2 (1938), pp. 247-53; and his "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Washington, 1936).

schools and a wide variety of private schools, generally under the oversight of clergymen of the state Church of England. Only in Scotland, where local education was the norm, did social distinctions become subsumed within a single local school.

On Vancouver Island the Church of England, in the person of the Hudson's Bay chaplain, had responsibility for education. The first school established in 1849 was intended for children of company officers. By late 1851, with the arrival of agricultural settlers, the colony's governor initiated "district" schools for the "children of the laboring and poor classes" excluded from "the Companys [sic] school".[1] When a new chaplain was appointed in 1855, his instructions specifically encharged him to establish "a boarding school of a superior class" as well as take charge of the much simpler district schools.[2]

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[1] James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, Gov. of Hudson's Bay Co., Oct. 8, 1851, in Douglas' letter book, Public Archives of British Columbia [hereafter PABC], quoted in MacLaurin, "Education," p. 249. See also C. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," BCHQ 14 (1950), pp. 196-98. Parents had to arrange physical accommodation for a district school and meet part of the teacher's salary out of pupils' fees, the remainder paid by a government subsidy.

[2] "Memorandum of Salary Allowances for a Clergyman for Vancouver's Island," quoted in MacLaurin, "Education," p. 256; see also pp. 257-63 and J. Forsyth, "Early Colonial Schools on Vancouver Island," parts I-III, Times (Victoria), March 1922, located in Vertical Files, PABC.

II

In 1858 the tranquility of this British outpost with a white population of about six hundred was shattered by the discovery of gold on the adjacent mainland. The news having reached California just as its gold rush was in decline, the port of Victoria was inundated with American miners as well as adventurers from Britain and British North America. In just six springtime weeks of 1858 some two hundred shops were constructed to retail goods brought north from San Francisco. By the end of the year virtually 25,000 individuals had passed through Victoria on their way to the gold fields. The British Crown moved quickly to maintain administrative control. Hudson's Bay oversight of the mainland was terminated and a new Colony of British Columbia created on August 2, 1858. The Company's proprietorship of the colony of Vancouver Island was removed at the expiry of its grant on May 30, 1859, and that area also passed under administration of the Colonial office.

The effect of the gold rush on education was to expand options in three directions. The Catholic Church, already active in missionary work among the Indians, moved quickly. A girls' school was begun in June 1858 by the young, dynamic Quebec order of the Sisters of St. Ann, invited to the west coast by the local bishop. Its first prospectus stated boldly that "difference of religion is no obstacle to admission," and early pupils included not only "English, American and German" boarders with parents in the gold fields but various "girls of

Victoria's upper social class."[1] By 1861 nearly one hundred pupils were enrolled. Catholic boys' education fared less well. The apparent inability of the fathers of the French branch of the Oblate order, who dominated missionary activity along the coast, to teach in English restricted efforts to ephemeral schools until 1863. That year St. Louis College was established in Victoria by Oblates enticed from Ireland by the assurance that "hundreds of excellent Irish settlers in British Columbia will receive them with open arms."[2]

Secondly, the Church of England used the opportunity to further the British concept of class-based education. Up to the gold rush the Rev. Cridge had served as chaplain to both the Company and the colony, but shortly thereafter an Anglican bishopric was created in the two colonies through a special endowment by the English heiress, Angela Burdett-Coutts.[3] Just as opposition to this "embryo state church" was mounting among representatives of other Protestant denominations, newly-arrived Bishop Hills disclaimed any special religious status for the Church of England upon discovering, to quote his diary, that

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[1] Reprinted in Colonist (Victoria), April 21, 1908; see also Sister Mary Margaret Down, A Century of Service, 1858-1958: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Their Contribution to Education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska (Victoria: The Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966), pp. 28-41.

[2] Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960), pp. 99-101, 53 and 134. See also Down, Century, pp. 23-27 and 42-45; and Colonist, Sept. 1, 1863; Nov. 3, 1863; and May 3, 1925.

[3] Frank A. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959), p. 27; see also Colonist, Oct. 7, 1859. On Burdett-Coutt's motivation, see Edna Healey, Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1978), pp. 77-78 and 154-55.

"many here from Canada have come strongly imbued with the non-State-aid feeling".[1] At the same time he did not hesitate to use the Church's ample financial resources to strengthen existing educational structures with their dual assumption of religiously-based education and separate schools based on socio-economic distinctions.

Bishop Hills' concern was strengthened by two considerations. He simply could not abide "the zealous Church of Rome," so "forward in the matter of education."[2] The bishop reported home: "Boys of the upper class go at present to the Roman Catholic Bishop's school, ... The case is therefore urgent." Similarly, "the whole question of Female agency in the mission is most important, in order to prevent the sapping of the very lifeblood of the future population with unsound religion and infidelity."[3] Secondly, Bishop Hills, who had arrived at the crest of the gold rush, was convinced that the future of his diocese was unlimited. It would certainly be the next California "and within twelve years California has risen from being almost uninhabited to have within it over 60,000

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[1] Entry Aug. 1, 1861, in Rev. George Hills, Bishop of Columbia, Diary, 1860-1869, excepting 1867-68; typescript copy in British Columbia Provincial Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, [hereafter Anglican Archives], Vancouver School of Theology, UBC. See also entries Jan. 31, 1860, Feb. 12, 1861, Dec. 26, 1861; and British Columbia and Victoria Guide & Directory for 1863, ed. Frederick P. Howard and George Barnett (Victoria: Office of the Directory, 1863), p. 133.

[2] Anglican Church, Columbia Mission, Special Fund Obtained During a Ten Months' Appeal by the Bishop of Columbia (London: R. Clay, 1860), p. x; and Anglican Church, Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, June 1860, p. 14.

[3] Anglican Church, Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, pp. 14-15; see also Hills, Diary, Sept. 3, 1860, and Nov. 7, 1861.

people."[4]

While the district schools continued under the oversight of the Rev. Cridge, who served as government superintendent of education, Bishop Hills personally ensured that they adhered to Anglican doctrine. For example, a "farmer" who protested he "did not wish his children to be taught such trash as the Catechism" was given no alternative but to withdraw them.[1] Use of school buildings was denied such groups as the Quakers and Jews "on the grounds that we never allow our educational or religious buildings to be used for any religious objects not in connection with the Ch[urch] of England."[2] The bishop also approved new schools when petitions were received from outlying districts of Vancouver Island, from the tiny mainland capital of New Westminster, and from "the massed people of Yale," then the "headquarters of th Gold diggings."[3]

The district schools remained rudimentary and elementary, open only to children whose parents could afford the annual fee of about $5. In September 1860 Bishop Hills described the district school in the working-class coalmining settlement of Nanaimo about seventy miles north of Victoria as "old fashioned & inferior."[4] The Rev. Cridge found the district schools in August 1861 "in an imperfect and elementary state." Three years

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[1] Anglican Church, Columbia Mission, Special Fund, pp. iv & vi; see also Anglican Church, Diocese of Columbia [hereafter Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col.], Annual Report, 1879, p. 14, and 1907, pp. 9-10; and Helmcken, p. 143.
[2] Hills, Diary, April 25, 1861.
[3] Ibid, Jan. 30, 1860, and Aug. 20, 1860.
[4] Ibid, Feb. 4, 1860; see also Sept. 13 and 26, 1861, and Nov. 25, 1862.
[5] Ibid, Sept. 10, 1860. On fees, see Mar. 10, 1863.

later he acknowledged that enrollments in the Victoria school remained, for lack of space, "about the same number as '59."[1] Little incentive existed to improve the subsidized schools. They were, after all, to quote an 1865 description of Vancouver Island published in Britain, "designed for families unequal to the expense of a first-class education."[2] As Bishop Hills noted in his diary in March 1863, he and the colonies' governor were in agreement that "free schools were only for charity children."[3]

The Anglican Church focussed its attention rather on the creation of outstanding boys' and girls' church schools "for the better classes" intended to attract both local children currently sent out of the colonies for their education and clientele from a distance. In Bishop Hills' words:

> We shall have children from California, Mexico, and the Sandwich Islands; where English parents desire for their children English habits, feeling, refinement, and, above all, the pure and sober and evangelical religion of England's Church.[4]

Collegiate School for Boys opened on May 28, 1860. Ladies' College, subsequently renamed Angela College in honour of the diocese's benefactor, began in September of the same year. Intended "for girls of the middle & upper sort," Angela College was headed by the wife of a local Anglican cleric assisted by several worthy English ladies able "to provide careful religious

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[1] MacLaurin, "History," p. 38; and Colonist, April 11, 1864.
[2] Matthew MacFie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: Longman, Green, 1865), p. 84.
[3] Hills, Diary, March 10, 1863; see also March 8, 1861.
[4] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1860, p. 84.

training, in combination with a solid English education, and the usual accomplishments."[1]

Collegiate School was, according to its original prospectus, unique "along the shores of the Pacific." "Conducted on the principles of a superior English Grammar School" and intended "to fit the rising generation, as well for commercial and professional pursuits, as for the Universities," the school offered subjects ranging from classics and modern languages to advanced mathematics and architecture.[2] The bishop was correct, moreover, when he expressed "the satisfaction of knowing we have a teaching power in the College School of Victoria which will compare favourably with that of many first class grammar schools in the mother country."[3] Collegiate's head until 1868 was the Rev. Charles T. Woods, who held a degree from Trinity College, Dublin, and had spent a decade teaching in church schools in England and Quebec. His assistants were graduates of Cambridge University, mostly young clerics who also ministered in local churches. Salaries were paid by the bishop. The Rev. Woods, who was responsible for the school's other expenses, also received any profits accruing from lodging boarders in his home and a quarter of tuition fees, which ranged from $5 to $8 a month depending on age.[4]

The two Anglican church schools had immediate appeal. As

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[1] Ibid, 1860, p. 95.
[2] Ibid, 1860, p. 85; see also B.C. Directory, 1863, pp. 134 and 138-139, and Colonist, May 22 and 24, July 7 and 10, and Dec. 25, 1860.
[3] Colonist, Dec. 25, 1860.
[4] Hills, Diary, Sept. 29, 1860, and Jan. 19, 1863; on staff, see Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Reports.

one original Collegiate pupil, son of a Hudson's Bay surgeon, recalled in old age, "All boys whose parents could afford it were immediately sent on the opening of the institution."[1] Some four dozen boys and half as many girls were enrolled in the two schools by the end of 1860. The lesser appeal of Angela College was probably due to the competition of St. Ann's Academy and of several private-venture schools for girls, including one started by a French lady teacher who had arrived from San Francisco with the gold rush.[2]

The third direction in which education expanded consequent on the gold rush was toward the concept of common schooling. Dissatisfaction with denominational schools, which grew from 1858 among residents arrived from within British North America, exemplified a much larger discontent. The historian Allan Smith has argued that Ontarians already possessed a strong "sense of community and self-consciousness" which had come "increasingly to encompass all of British North America in their vision of the national future."[3] Many Ontarians and Maritimers of relatively modest background came to the west coast with the gold rush only to discover in this far corner of British North America a self-contained and closed social order which they could neither

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[1] Colonist, April 26, 1925; see also April 6, 1919.
[2] First Victoria Directory, ed. Edward Mallandine, 1860, p. 55; Down, Century, p. 27. See also B.C. Directory, 1863; p. 24; advertisements in Colonist, July 31, 1863; Aug. 1 and Sept. 1, 1864; Aug. 1, 1865; and Sept. 3, 1867.
[3] Allan Smith, "Old Ontario and the Emergence of a National Frame of Mind," in Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario, ed. F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson, and J.D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Universty of Western Ontario, 1974), pp. 197 and 209.

penetrate nor, indeed, provoke into confrontation. For all that Amor de Cosmos, the Nova Scotian who established the British Colonist newspaper in Victoria in December 1858, railed against the Island's monopolistic "Family-Company-Compact," he and his "Canadian" compatriots remained outsiders.[1]

In sharp contrast, newcomers from Britain were quickly absorbed into social life and coopted into administrative positions. As explained by the Anglican cleric of New Westminster, "meeting in the far country, whether they hailed from Oxford or Cambridge, some ready made affection joined them on the instant."[2] A travel account published in Britain in 1862 assured prospective settlers that "a similarity of race and character, of manners and customs, of sympathies in aim, in those among whom the newly-arrived emigrant from England is cast, all combine to make him feel at home."[3] "The general tone of society and style of life" was that of England. An account of 1865 remarked that "single young men, many of them well connected and possessing a good education, form a large part of the population." "The community instinctively makes way for

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[1] Margaret Ross, "Amor de Cosmos, a British Columbia Reformer" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1931) offers a vigorous defence of de Cosmos' position. See also James Gordon Reid, "John Robson and The British Columbian" (unpublished master's thesis , Department of History, UBC, 1950); F. Henry Johnson, John Jessop: Goldseeker and Educator (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971), p. 31; Helmcken, pp. 174-78; and Hills, Diary, Jan. 9, 1860.

[2] Rev. John Sheepshanks, A Bishop in the Rough, ed. Rev. D. Wallace Duthie (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909), p. 88. See also Dorothy Blakey Smith, "The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby, 1858-1859," BCHQ 21 (1958), pp. 83-198.

[3] Alexander Rattray, Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1862), p. 171.

their promotion," especially as "Government officials," the group who "constitute the centre of the social system."[1] Even Americans fared better than did Canadians, especially if they were Southerners. A longtime Hudson's Bay employee wrote that they "were very nice people, and associated with the best English here."[2] Canadians were by comparison "dubbed North American Chinamen" for their frugality and "looked down on as a poor mean slow people."

Social and religious differences intertwined. The Church of England had over the last two centuries become in Britain a bastion of the privileged consequent on the disaffection of large numbers of the lower-middle and working classes to the Non-Conformist denominations of Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Methodism. Not only was the Anglican Church's support socio-economically similar in British North America, but it possessed on the west coast both secure finance and almost total alignment with the dominant socio-administrative structure. By contrast, Presbyterians were, according to a contemporary, "chiefly settlers from Canada" and Methodists "Canadians almost exclusively."[3]

Moreover, whereas Anglican clergymen generally held university degrees from Oxford or Cambridge, the Canadians who ministered to Evangelical Protestants were educated at Canadian denominational colleges and hence lacked, by British standards,

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[1] MacFie, pp. 392-93 and 406-07.
[2] Helmcken, pp. 185, 242, and 247.
[3] MacFie, p. 83. See also Rattray, p. 171.

comparable claim to the attributes of culture.[4] Tensions frequently became explicit. In 1860-61 the head of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission initiated an angry newspaper exchange with Bishop Hills over his "princely endowments."[1] Another Methodist minister wrote of his Anglican counterpart: "He does not recognize me as having equal claims with him--looks upon his church as the only church and acts accordingly."[2]

The Church of England became increasingly anti-Canadian. While at first Bishop Hills only distinguished individuals as "Canadian" in his diary, by late 1862 he was adding caustic comments also reflecting larger political antagonisms in the colonies: for instance, "as usual they were discontented, abused the country, & spoke of having been deceived."[3] The bishop's most explicit characterization followed a conversation in February 1863 with Henry Pering Pellew Crease, a young English lawyer arrived during the gold rush who had in 1860 been elected to the Island's legislative assembly and was currently Attorney-General of the mainland colony:

> Mr Crease who has lived in Canada agreed to my remark that the Canadians who have come here are very deficient in courage & enterprise. He attributes their low tone to Methodism. I have observed they are deficient in spirit & energy,

[4] On the Canadian tradition of demoninational higher education, see D.C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History (Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press, 1966). On the attitude of the Church of England, see Karl Abshagen, King, Lords and Gentlemen: Influence and Power of the English Upper Classes (London: William Heineman, 1939), p. 183.

[1] Quoted in Walter Douglas Young, "Pioneer Methodist Missionaries in British Columbia, 1859-1871" (unpublished bachelor's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1955), pp 110-12.

[2] Rev. Ebenezer Robson, manuscript diary, June 25, 1862, PABC, quoted in Young, p. 54; see also pp 56-57, 74, 104-05, and 110-17; and Hills, Diary, Aug. 1 and 11, 1861.

[3] Hills, Diary, Nov. 5, 1862; see also Dec. 1 and 13, 1862.

> have but little acquaintance with the world, are wanting in all respect & reverence for authority, are ready with an impudent answer, & are conceited.[1]

The Canadian lack of deference toward the existing social order condemned by Bishop Hills was vividly exemplified in the matter of schooling. Settlers from Ontario and the Maritimes belonging to the Non-Conformist or Evangelical Protestant denominations campaigned relentlessly for the system of common education with which many of them were personally familiar. Across the United States and British North America, their religious contemporaries had repeatedly initiated common schooling along the frontier.[2] Such activity was consonant with their beliefs for, unlike the Anglicans and Catholics who considered good works and sacramental worship a concomitant of salvation, Evangelical Protestants believed salvation possible only through personal conversion. Consequently, less need existed for children to be educated separately into ritual than to grow up adhering to basic Christian morality.

Indeed, Evangelical Protestants had become so involved with the initiation of non-sectarian common schooling across North America that the resulting institutions took on many of the moral principles underlying their denominations. Thus, when Egerton Ryerson, an ardent Methodist minister who was Ontario's

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[1] Ibid, Feb. 10, 1863.

[2] See David Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School: Protestant Ministers and the Educational Awakening in the West," Harvard Educational Review 36 (1966), pp 447-69; and Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," Journal of American History 53 (1967), pp 679-95.

first Superintendent of Education, summed up the theoretical basis of the common schools, he came close to describing his church: "By religion and morality I do not mean sectarianism in any form, but the general system of truth and morals taught in the Holy Scripture." As a leading educational historian has concluded concerning the relationship, "the 'Good Book' and the school book formed a Holy Alliance."[1]

At first advocates of common schooling in British Columbia played within the rules established by the dominant society and attempted to create private common schools. In Victoria a Methodist schoolmaster from Ontario opened co-educational Central School in August 1861. "Conducted exclusively on non-sectarian principles" and based "on the admirable system of Canada West," or Ontario, Central School aimed at "placing the common school system here on a satisfactory basis."[2] The next spring a school run as "the Common Schools of Canada are conducted" was begun at the mainland capital of New Westminster by a missionary sent west by the Canadian Presbyterian Church.[3]

The necessity for government assistance became obvious were common schools to survive financially while maintaining their essential character of universal accessibility. The New

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[1] Johnson, Jessup, p. 2. On Ryerson's thought, see also Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, ed., Egerton Ryerson and His Times (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), and Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

[2] John Jessup to E. Ryerson, Victoria, Aug. 16, 1861, quoted in Johnson, Jessup, p. 38; see also pp. 36-43 and B.C. Directory, 1863, p. 137.

[3] Margaret Lillooet McDonald, "New Westminster, 1859-1871" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1947), pp. 356-59.

Westminster school early sought government aid to obtain a proper building and fee subsidies. As a district school it continued through the 1860s, complemented in that tiny settlement by fleeting private schools, by two abortive efforts of the Anglican Church, and by small Catholic schools established by the Sisters of St. Ann and the Oblates.[1]

Victoria's first common school survived about three years. Early enrollments reached some hundred pupils for reasons found reprehensible by Bishop Hills. The collegiate and district schools under Anglican oversight had resisted pressure by white American Southerners to exclude the offspring of "coloured" families from the United States who had settled in Victoria. Central School's head, John Jessop, agreed to exclusion and so attracted white youngsters away from the other schools.[2] Buoyed by success, he began major physical expansion. Due to the low fees, the plans became financially disastrous when enrollments suddenly declined, and the school was forced to close in March 1864.[3]

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[1] Margaret McDonald, pp. 353-67; Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1870, p. 16; Down, Century, p. 62; and Columbian (New Westminster), Jan. 18, 1926, and June 19, 1965.
[2] Hills, Diary, March 27, April 20, and June 13, 1862; see also March 18, 1860, Feb. 18 and March 21, 1861, and Jan. 20, 1862.
[3] Colonist, Jan. 10, 1863, and March 22, 1864; Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1863, p. 10. On the Catholic attitude to race, see Down, Century, pp. 48-50.

III

The demise of Jessop's Central School initiated a third and final phase in the educational development of colonial British Columbia. Thereafter, while existing structures premised on religious and socio-economic separation did not much alter, public opinion shifted to support a state system of common schooling. Acceptance across the society of the principle of common education came from two very different sources.

On the one side were most Canadian settlers, not only the active protagonists, including Jessop and newspaper editors in the two capitals, but many parents unable to afford school fees or, possibly, to tolerate denominational education.[1] Their position was expressed at a public meeting held in April 1864 to protest Central School's closure, which had left in Victoria only the two Anglican schools with some 100 pupils; the two Catholic schools with 90; the district schools with 75; and various private ventures with perhaps 150 pupils.[2] Of the 500 individuals at the meeting, only Collegiate's principal and the Rev. Cridge defended the current situation in which just 75 of more than 400 children in school were receiving any government assistance. Both were immediately denounced--the Rev. Cridge for having as head of the district schools "done nothing toward

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[1] See Johnson, Jessup, pp. 42-76; and Reid, pp. 114-18, reprinting edtorials in the New Westminster newspaper.
[2] Colonist, April 11, 1864; MacLaurin, "History," pp. 41-43; and F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: Publications Centre, UBC, 1964), pp. 29-30.

promoting education" but "come forward now and oppose the movement" for expansion. One parent reminded him caustically that "the District School is as full as it can hold." Another related how "he had a large family, and that if he sent them to the Collegiate School, it would cost him from $900 to $1500 for the same education which in Canada was free."

Parents at the meeting were especially dissatisfied with the hold exercised by denominational education in a city as cosmopolitan as Victoria had become since the gold rush. A father who stated "he was a member of the Church of England, and was strongly in favour of bible teaching," argued that "in a mixed community like this, where Jew, Turk, Roman Catholic and every other denomination was represented, a school system must be totally devoid of any religious teaching." Another parent added "that for his part he would wish to see denominational schools in every part of the colony and government aid extended to them all, but we must do here what can be done; in the present state of the colony an entirely non-sectarian system of education was necessary." A travel account published a year later summed up the attitude of many Victorians toward denominational education: "The bulk of the inhabitants are unwilling to accede to that arrangement in consequence of the mixed character of the community."[1]

The leadership of Evangelical Protestant missionaries in the campaign for common schooling stood out at a second public meeting called in Victoria in August 1867 after expanded

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[1] MacFie, p. 84.

government aid to education, granted two years previously, had been withdrawn due to economic recession.[1] By this date the district schools had been removed from the Rev. Cridge's oversight, but even the existence of Anglican and Catholic church schools offended the Rev. Arthur Browning, a Methodist missionary sent out in 1858 from Ontario. Arguing for the adoption of the non-denominational system existing "in Canada," he declared that "it was stuff and nonsense to talk of the necessity of teaching children religion in the schools." "What was the home circle, the Sabbath school, the Church for?" To "prolonged applause," the Rev. Browning attacked the British concept of education: "The age of exclusiveness was passing away, and if Britain expected to continue great she must make every effort to educate the young or she would be left behind."

The second group in the society accepting the need for a government role in education acted more out of a sense of social responsibility, with perhaps a touch of noblesse oblige. They acknowledged that the special conditions existing in a frontier society demanded government action but, all the same, remained personally committed to schools based on class and religious distinctions.

This group encompassed most individuals in leading socio-economic and administrative positions, particularly on Vancouver Island. As a pupil at Collegiate School recollected, his classmates in these years included sons of "the very earliest

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[1] Colonist, Aug. 12, 1867. See also Rev. F.E. Runnalls, It's God's Country: A Review of the United Church . . . in British Columbia (Ocean Park: n.p., 1974), pp. 10-11 and 20.

pioneers of our beloved city of Victoria and the Pacific Coast," boys with pioneer Hudson's Bay surnames like Helmcken, Finlayson, Work, Tolmie, Mouat and MacKenzie.[1] Angela College was even headed during these years by a sister of Attorney General Crease and then by a sister of Joseph Despard Pemberton, an early Hudson's Bay surveyor also from Britain.[2] The two schools together enrolled upwards to a hundred pupils who were, as Bishop Hills periodically affirmed, "from the middle and upper classes." While families of comparable status resident outside Victoria could not as readily maintain educational exclusivity, opportunities did from time to time appear. The Anglican rector in Nanaimo reported in 1868: "The mornings I devote to teaching my own boys, and those of the better class of parishioners who are not satisfied with the associations and the non-religious education of the public school."[3]

Acceptance of common education by such individuals was not unrelated to their continuing commitment to the British concept of education: they simply saw themselves as providing in this newer environment the charity schools maintained for the poor of Britain by churches and other voluntary associations. Thus the English-born governor of the United Colony, as Vancouver Island and British Columbia became in 1866, stated that financial support granted by the government should do no more, even in the

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[1] Times, Jan. 30, 1939. See Colonist, Aug. 21, 1949, on pupils attending Angela College. See Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Reports, and Hills, Diary, for development of the two schools.
[2] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1869, p. 76; Harriet Susan Sampson, "My Father, Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821-1893," BCHQ 8 (1944), pp. 121-122; and Colonist, Aug. 21, 1949.
[3] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1868, p. 85.

special conditions of the frontier, than "assist the parents in teaching their children to read, write and go though the simpler forms of arithmetic."[1] Crease agreed, arguing for the provision of only such moneys as would "permit to a cheap general common school of an elementary description in each Town or district." The colony's Surveyor-General Joseph Trutch, another Englishman, concurred. He suggested, however, that, regardless of "opinions on the abstract principle involved," common schools were advantageous "to attract immigration from the neighboring American Territories and to retain those families who had taken up their residence on the Island."

IV

By Confederation in 1871 general agreement existed on the necessity of common schooling. Its implementation had become only a matter of opportunity and finance. Union with Canada was itself purely economic. The province of some 7,500 whites emerged from the negotiations with debts paid and the promise of a transcontinental railroad. As the last colonial governor had reported home, "the most prominent Agitators for Confederation are a small knot of Canadians" who have "not contrived to impress their fellow Colonists with a prejudice in their favour."[2] The Anglican bishop considered that, since "the great

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[1] MacLaurin, "History," pp. 71-75; and Hills, Diary, April 4, 1865.
[2] Anthony Musgrave to Earl Granville, Oct. 30, 1869, quoted in Ormsby, p. 242.

heart of the people beats with that of England so fervently," the preferred course would have been "the closer union and protection of the mother country."[1]

Canadians, who controlled the province's newspapers, were jubilant over the imminence of state education now that the province's finances had been put in order. The implementation of common schooling epitomized a much larger victory. According to the Colonist, in the election for the first provincial legislature, "no candidate, be his private opinions what they might, volunteered to say a word against this form of education."[2] It only remained for the first assembly to pass a bill "for the establishment, maintenance, and management of Public Schools throughout the Province of British Columbia." They were, by paragaph 85 of the new Act, to "be conducted upon strictly non-sectarian principles." According to the minister in charge, the bill was "based on study of the system of Ontario and the United States."[3]

Where the British Columbia legislation possibly reflected American influence was in its disallowance of denominational schools. Separate Catholic and Protestant schools in existence in Ontario at Confederation in 1867 had been brought within the

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[1] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1868, p. 102. Bishop Hills was in England on leave 1869-71 and so came back to a fait accompli.

[2] Colonist, May 5, 1872; also June 26, 1871; March 14 and 20 and April 20, 1872.

[3] Colonist, Mar. 12, 1872. On the role of Ontario, see F. Henry Johnson, "The Ryerson Influence on the Public School System of British Columbia," BC Studies 10 (1971), pp. 26-34; on American influence, see Willard E. Ireland, "The Annexation Petition of 1869," BCHQ 4 (1940), pp. 267-87.

public system through section 93 of the British North America Act.[1] The 1870 Education Act in Britain, while establishing non-denominational state board schools, also recognized existing church schools as a fundamental part of the subsidized state system of elementary education.[2]

Comparable sentiment for financial assistance and regulation of denominational schools certainly existed in British Columbia, as indicated by Attorney General Crease's observations made in 1867 that "similar pecuniary aid, but at a much lower rate per head" be given denominational schools."[3] In 1871 the Inspector General of Schools in the United Colony had argued that church and private schools "should be certified to be efficient by the Inspector appointed by the government" and receive indirect financial assistance. The British Columbia legislation did not, however, even mention non-public education.

Implementation of British Columbia's educational consensus, in which non-denominational common schools were placed firmly under the aegis of the state while private schools remained unfettered but unassisted, occupied the next five years. The deliberate efforts of the principal socio-religious groups within the province--Anglicans, Catholics, and Evangelical Protestants--to secure special status within the consensus had first to be repulsed.

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[1] See J. Donald Wilson, "Education in Upper Canada: Sixty Years of Change," and "The Ryerson Years in Canada West," pp. 190-240 in Canadian Education: A History, ed. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philiippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970).
[2] See Simon, Two Nations, p. 365; also pp. 337-67.
[3] MacLaurin, "History,", pp. 72 and 118.

The Anglican attempt at cooptation grew out of the difficult relationship still existing between British and Canadian settlers within British Columbia. While Confederation did not alter the attitudes of British settlers, many Canadians considered it both a vindication of their discontent and the guarantee of a new, more acceptable status deemed theirs by right in a community now itself Canadian. Even the suggestion of opposition became viewed as a deliberate affront, as evidenced in a letter to the Colonist in April 1872 from "Citizen" concerning a rumour that the new Anglican rector in Nanaimo might open a parish school:

> Now to establish a denominational school in such a community is nothing more than to keep up caste distinctions in a country where "Jack is as good as his master"--where we are supposed to ignore the old fogy teaching of the old country where children are taught to regard the squire and the parson with dreadful and deferential awe.[1]

Direct confrontation occurred almost immediately on the education bill's passage in early 1872. Lieutenant-Governor Trutch requested reconsideration of the act by the Assembly after receiving a petition from 68 Victoria residents opposed to the clause prohibiting appointment of a clergyman as Superintendent of Education.[2] The Colonist was furious, asserting that Trutch planned either "sending abroad" or selecting a local Anglican cleric when there existed an eminently suitable candidate. The newspaper clearly meant

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[1] Colonist, April 13, 1872.
[2] Ibid, April 7, 9, 11 and 12, 1872. See Hills, Diary, Dec. 5, 1884, on Trutch's attitude to Canadians.

Jessop, who had helped draft the school act itself. The assembly was equally incensed, and the bill was returned unaltered for the lieutenant-governor's signature.

Less than two weeks later, the Colonist again charged interference. Certain individuals were refusing to sit on the new Board of Education, "thus seeking to block the wheels."[1] The newspaper stated that the government had "confined the invitations chiefly to those who are in reality at heart enemies of the system," men it termed "Canada haters." The spate of letters which followed made clear the antagonisms still existing between Evangelical Protestant Canadians and Anglican Britons. Among the most vocal was "Non-Conformist," who wrote that of the first six men invited on to the board, five were Anglicans, of whom "four are unbelievers in the free, nonsectarian system." Anglicans totalled less than a third of the province's population, "but I suppose the Cabinet being formed exclusively of members of the Anglican Church, it is considered proper that the Board of Education should be composed of similar material." With Jessop's appointment as first Superintendent of Education and changes in government, tensions were defused and--whatever the personal preferences of board members may have been--the new legislation was implemented in a fashion reconciling the different groups.

Acceptance of the province's educational consensus by Catholics, whose theological commitment to denominational

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[1] Colonist,, April 18 and 23-26, 1872; and Johnson, Jessup, pp. 77-149.

education was even greater than that of Anglicans, also took time. Their desire for tacit recognition and financial support similar to that given Catholic schools in Ontario came to a head in 1876 over a proposal in the provincial assembly to levy a $3 annual school tax on all adult males, the cost of education having up to this time come out of general revenue. Although the measure was directed against the province's growing Chinese population--"the present tax would really be a saving to the white population of some $17,000, which sum would now be paid by Chinamen"--it was the Catholics who protested.[1] A petition signed by 64 Catholic residents of Victoria, including the bishop, argued that Catholics be exempted since "your Petitioners cannot in conscience send their children to the socalled unsectarian schools, wherever they have schools of their own." The Colonist opposed the Catholic initiative, as threatening to "draw the lines of sectarianism." As participants in the assembly debate pointed out, "there are other denominations besides the Catholics that objected to secular education." The bill passed unaltered.

Even Evangelical Protestants were not all satisfied with the educational consensus and attempted to redefine the concept of "non-sectarianism" in the Public Schools Act more closely toward their religious tenets. In the spring of 1876 a Presbyterian minister was appointed principal of the new Victoria high school, the first public secondary institution in

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[1] Colonist, April 28, 1876; see also April 29 and 30 and May 2 and 3, 1876.

the province. Although Alexander Nicholson renounced his ordination before taking up the post and although he was in any case appointed several months before a new Public Schools Act disallowed clergymen as "Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent, Teacher, or Trustee," trouble soon erupted.[1] A letter from "Father" in a local newspaper shortly after the school opened in September composed a single sentence:

> Will you inform me why the Master of the High School (in contravention of the Public School Act) is allowed to perform the duties of Minister in one of our churches and also religious services at the school supposed to be non-sectarian?[2]

The subsequent outrage made clear public sensibilities were again offended. While maintaining he had spoken in church as a layman, Nicholson was soon forced to resign to defend his position that "a simple non-sectarian prayer to God" be allowed in the schools.[3] Both Victoria newspapers argued that such a practice would favour Protestants over Catholic, "Israelite," or "Spiritualist": "The Free School system would soon receive its death-blow." Education authorities concurred and thereafter school exercises were officially "limited to the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and it is optional with the various Trustee Boards whether the same shall be used or not."[4]

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[1] On the passage of the new Act, see Colonist, May 4, 6, and 11-13, 1876.
[2] Daily Standard (Victoria), Sept. 7, 1876. See also Colonist, Aug. 8 and 22, and Sept. 15, 1876; and Runnalls, p. 68.
[3] Colonist, Sept. 6, 7, 9, 15, and 16, 1876; see also Daily Standard, Sept. 2, 5-8, 11, and 12, 1876.
[4] British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Annual Report, 1876, Appendix B.

Jessop not only repulsed these three efforts at cooptation by the principal socio-religious groups in the province, but during his six-year tenure as Superintendent of Education established clear precedents concerning the status of private education. The Catholic issue had reaffirmed the original intention not to provide financial support to denominational schools. Through his actions, Jessop made clear that private schools would be completely unsupervised. His annual public reports virtually ignored these schools which had so bedevilled him but a decade previous. Only once, writing in 1877 about conditions in New Westminster, did he reveal any lingering antipathy: "There are several denominational and private schools in this city competing for pupils with the public school, notwithstanding which, the latter is decidedly gaining in attendance and the confidence of parents."[1]

After the first several years, Superintendents of Education did not even attempt to determine the number of pupils receiving private education. In 1876 Jessop estimated on the basis of partial responses to a questionaire that in the capital city of Victoria perhaps 325 pupils attended private schools, 550 went to public schools, and about 175 received no formal education.[2] Admitting that subsequent questionaires were not being returned, Jessop in his next reports simply placed beside the category, "Number of children attending private schools," "Not known." After 1883 even the category disappeared, and thereafter the

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[1] Ibid, 1877, p. 20.
[2] Ibid, 1876, p. 91; see also 1872, p. 31, and 1874, p. 7.

annual reports have in no way acknowledged the existence of non-public schools in the province of British Columbia.[1]

V

The lack of official attention given the activities of the private schools certainly played a role in their acceptance within the province's educational consensus. A family preference for a religious education did not cause much public controversy so long as that education remained privately financed. Overt attacks on the assumption of privilege underlying private schools, in particular those under the auspices of the Anglican Church, diminished gradually after Confederation, particularly from the mid-1870s. Increasingly rare were letters in the press such as that of spring 1876 still opposed to the membership of the Board of Education:

> Having arrived here with the prejudices against popular education of England of twenty years ago, they have retained their opinions and are at present only tolerant of the system of public education established here because of political pressure.[2]

The writer charged that board members were "of too high a social rank to condescend to have their children taught with Tom, Dick and Harry" but rather educate "their children in private schools." More representative of the new tolerance was the section on education in an 1877 provincial directory. After

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[1] Ibid, 1883, p. 92, for the last one.
[2] Colonist, May 7, 1876; see also May 9, 1876.

detailing at length how "PUBLIC schools are in the hands of the people," the directory acknowledged in very small print that "there are very good church schools and private schools" at which "an education befitting the children of gentlemen can be obtained."[1]

General acquiescence in an educational consensus which left private schools based on class or religious distinctions unfettered was furthered by their diminishing strength. Over the first quarter century of British Columbia's existence as a province only the Catholic schools remained strong.

Catholic education expanded steadily through the devotion of the Oblates and the Sisters of St. Ann to service the 15 to 19 percent of the white population of that faith. Not only were impressive physical structures constructed in Victoria and New Westminster, but additional schools were opened wherever settlement warranted.[2] In 1873 the Oblates began a boarding school in the Cariboo offering a "Thorough English and Commercial Education." Three years later the Sisters joined them. A girls' school opened in Nanaimo in 1877. In 1880 the two orders established a joint school in the interior settlement

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[1] Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-78 (Victoria: T.N. Hibben & Co., 1877), p.40.

[2] See Edith Down, St. Ann's: Mid Twin Rivers and Hills, 1880-1980 (Kamloops: Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, 1980); Down, Century, pp. 66, 68-69, 74-79, 82-87 and 92-96; Cronin, pp. 108-120, 134 and 136; Colonist, Nov. 21, 1879, Aug. 25, 1901, Aug. 28, 1907, April 21, 1908, April 19, May 3 and Aug. 9, 1925, Aug. 27, 1930, April 14, 1940, Nov. 3, 1960, and May 9, 1976; Province (Vancouver), May 28, 1938, and June 1, 1968; Columbian, Jan. 18, 1926; Nanaimo Daily Press, March 15, 1962; Cowichan Leader, Oct. 26, 1939; and Kamloops Daily Sentinel, Feb. 4, 1967.

of Kamloops in anticipation of the transcontinental railroad. The Sisters began a day school in Vancouver in 1888 just after that mainland community became the railroad's western terminus. While the schools in the Cariboo were abandoned in the 1880s, all of the others endured. Through the assistance of such other orders as the Sisters of Charity of Halifax and the Christian Brothers of Ireland, they became the basis of a provincial network of private and parochial education continuing strong into the mid-twentieth century.[1]

In sharp contrast, Anglican church education collapsed. The principal cause lay with the Church itself, which continued to view British Columbia society wholly in terms of Britain.[2] Indeed, so far as Bishop Hills and his diocese were concerned, such was the case. Not until the formal amalgamation of the Anglican Church across Canada in 1893 was the bishop brought into contact with the rest of the country. For over two decades after Confederation, the Church of England in British Columbia remained under the direct oversight of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, from which came all personnel, finance and direction. Bishop Hills' original perception of social structure, formed when the province was a British colony,

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[1] See, for instance, Journey into a New Century (Orangeville, Ont.: Christian Brothers, 1975?), pp. 24-26.

[2] Walter N. Sage, "The Early Days of the Church of England on the Pacific Slope, 1579-1879," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 2, no. 1 (1953), pp. 1-17; Peake; and Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1883, pp 37-38. On Bishop's Hills' opposition to the consolidation of the church in Canada, see Hills, Diary, June 25, 1891; on Canadian indifference to the church in British Columbia, see Nov. 10, 1892.

received constant reinforcement.

The Anglican Church assumed that British Columbia was a class-based society as was Britain itself and that parishioners gave the same priority as at home to the maintenance of social distinctions through separate education for their offspring. When a founding bishop was appointed to the new mainland Diocese of New Westminster created in 1879, one of his first acts was to set up local church schools. That conditions in British Columbia might differ from those of Britain had not even occurred to Bishop Sillitoe: Months "before I ever set foot in the country I occupied myself in laying plans for the education of both boys and girls."[1] Columbian College for girls and Lorne College for boys were created in New Westminster in 1880 and 1883, co-educational All Saints' Mission School in the interior Nicola Valley in 1882.

So far as the Anglican Church was concerned, common education was to be disparaged. On Jessop's appointment in 1872 Bishop Hills observed, "The Superintendent of Education is a third rate schoolmaster, cannot speak without making a blunder."[2] Twenty years later he still condemned the public system, noting that its "depressing and atheistical character" would certainly result "in criminality increasing by leaps and

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[1] Rev. Robert H. Gowen, Church Work in British Columbia, Being a Memoir of The Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D., D.C.L., First Bishop of New Westminster (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), p. 71; see also pp. 77 and 93; The Churchman's Gazette and New Westminster Diocesan Chronicle, 1883, p. 283; Anglican Church, Diocese of New Westminister [hereafter Ang. Ch., Dioc. N.W.], Quarterly Paper, no. 1 (1884), pp. 10-12, no. 2 (1884), pp. 8-10 and 29-35.

[2] Hills, Diary, Oct. 22, 1872; see also Jan. 12, 1876.

bounds."[3] In 1878 the Englishwoman heading Angela College even opened a separate "subsidiary" for "girls of poor parents" so as "to give a religious training to all classes" while still reserving the school itself for "girls of the upper and middle classes."[1]

The possible removal of fees at the public secondary level caused special alarm. According to Bishop Sillitoe, "the lesson of the dignity of labor" would be taught the poor "not by Free High Schools, full of Latin and Greek and the Higher mathematics and Dancing and Deportment, but by Free Industrial and Technical Schools, which will turn out clever mechanics and artisans and agriculturalists, and good wives."[2] Education's function was to ensure the maintenance of class distinctions between generations.

Important socio-economic differences did, however, separate Britain and British Columbia. As reports to the Church's London headquarters emphasized, "there are no wealthy people in British Columbia belonging to the Church," "no resident proprietors with means and leisure at their disposal."[3] These were the groups which supported private education in Britain itself. Moreover,

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[1] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1891, pp. 33-34. See also British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, "Memorandum," [1916] pp. 35-36 (typescript in Anglican Archives, Vancouver School of Theology, UBC), pp. 35-36.
[2] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1878, p. 18; see also 1871, p. 72, and 1872, p. 8.
[3] Churchman's Gazette, 1891, p. 823; see also Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W., Synod, Address, 1899, pp. 6-10; and Churchman's Gazette, 1886, p. 298; 1887, pp. 397 and 406-07.
[4] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1868, p. 9, and 1884/85, p. 7; see also 1876, p. 13.
[5] Ibid, 1874, p. 29.

unlike Britain, "all instruction is free" in the common school.[4] Bishop Sillitoe's experience pointed up the harsh reality. Having expended even his private income on the diocese's church schools, the bishop was especially "disappointed at finding Church children sent indiscriminately to Roman and to free schools, while our own are left to languish for want of support."[1] Columbia and All Saints' were reluctantly closed in 1885. Lorne, which probably never enrolled more than 20 to 25 boys despite its "exceptionally low" fees, was in 1887 "abandoned," to use the bishop's phrase.

While Victoria did contain numerous established families favouring class-based education even this support was dissipated by a theological dispute erupting in 1874 between Bishop Hills and the Rev. Cridge. The city's beloved longtime cleric promptly established the Reformed Episcopal Church, taking with him many Hudson's Bay families and the staff of Angela College.[2] The creation of competing church schools slashed enrollments--to 7 at Collegiate School in 1877. In 1880 Bishop Hills fortuitously secured a female parishioner interested in operating Angela College as a private venture. It finally closed in the economic recession of the mid-1890s.[3]

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[1] Gowen, pp. 137-39; and Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W., Quarterly Paper, no. 6 (1885), pp. 12-13. See also 4 (1885), pp. 13-14, 7 (1886), pp. 11-13; and Churchman's Gazette, 1883-1888.

[2] Colonist, Dec. 30,1874; Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-78 (Victoria: T.N. Hibben & Co., 1877), p. 270; and Hills, Diary, 1874-75, esp. Nov. 1 and 4, 1874. See also Jan. 3 and 6, and Dec. 19, 1877.

[3] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Report, 1881, p. 15; 1883, p. 17; 1887, p. 18; and 1895, p. 15. See also Colonist, Aug. 31, 1892; Aug. 29, 1893; and Aug. 21, 1949; and Victoria Illustrated (Victoria: Ellis & Co., 1891), pp. 26-27.

Collegiate's demise was hastened by a fire in 1882, whereupon the bishop launched a major rebuilding appeal to create "the great English Public School of the Pacific Coast," the "educational centre of Western British America."[1] Despite the support of Lieutenant-Governor Clement Cornwall, whom the socially conscious bishop considered his equal--"he belongs to an old Gloucestershire family"--the appeal did not even attract families committed to private education.[2] In 1885 Collegiate School, still in temporary quarters, closed for lack of pupils.

The sole Anglican school left in existence pointed up an important source of strength available to the Catholics but not generally to the Church of England. All Hallows' School was established at Yale in 1884 by an Anglican sisterhood from England as a boarding school for Indian girls, but would soon also accept "Canadian" girls.[3] This institution, whose "Canadian" element was financed by the sisters' unpaid labour together with donations raised by the order in England, closed only during the First World War when the order returned home.[4]

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[1] Collegiate School, Calendar, 1883; Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1881, pp. 13-14; 1883, pp. 17-22; Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Synod, Report, 1882, pp. 8-10; and Colonist, Aug. 4, 1882.

[2] Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1881, p. 30. On Hills' own background, see ibid, 1895, pp. 9-11; on the closure of Collegiate, see ibid, 1885, p. 12; 1886, p. 10; 1887, pp. 1-11; and 1889, p. 18.

[3] On All Hallows', see publications of Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W.; esp. Work for the Far West: A Quarterly Magazine for the Diocese of New Westminster, no. 1-54 (1896-1910); and All Hallows in the West, no. 1-15 (1899-1911). See also Sun (Vancouver), March 28, 1953; Columbian, July 25, 1968; and Colonist, June 22, 1969.

[4] See, for instance, Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W., Synod, Journal of Meetings, 1902, p. 21.

Otherwise, the Anglican Church limited itself to small parish schools and informal support of private schools with an Anglican ethos.[1]

VI

The collapse of Anglican church education coincided with a fundamental shift in British Columbia's socio-demographic structure which further strengthened common education. The British presence, so integral to early private schools, was numerically superseded upon the completion in 1885 of the promised transcontinental railroad and arrival of large numbers of new settlers from within Canada. Table 4 demonstrates how the proportion of British Columbians born elsewhere in Canada grew over the years 1880 to 1900 from a seventh to a third of the white population, whereas residents born in Britain slipped from a third to a quarter. Moreover, this increase occurred in a period of very rapid overall growth in which total white population increased almost sevenfold. By 1901, well over half of the white residents in British Columbia had been born within Canada compared with just a quarter in Britain.

A new Canadian ethos became evident. The two provincial histories published in these years are indicative. The American Hubert Howe Bancroft, who based his work on many interviews with leading British Columbians, considered the province's

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[1] See, for instance, Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W., Synod, Journal, 1902, p. 21.

Table 4
WHITE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1881, 1891 AND 1901

	1881	1891	1901
BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	7,265 (.37)	9,508 (.15)	30,876 (.24)
BORN ELSEWHERE			
IN CANADA	2,790 (.14)	20,587 (.33)	40,740 (.31)
Maritimes	784 (.04)	5,395 (.09)	9,575 (.07)
Ontario	1,572 (.08)	11,658 (.19)	23,642 (.18)
Quebec	396 (.02)	2,567 (.04)	4,329 (.03)
Prairies	38 (.00)	967 (.01)	3,194 (.02)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA			
Britain or possessions	5,997 (.31)	20,709 (.33)	31,982 (.25)
Continental Europe	840 (.04)	3,140 (.05)	9,400 (.07)
United States	2,295 (.12)	6,567 (.11)	17,164 (.13)
Other or not given	261 (.01)	1,447 (.02)	370 (neg)
TOTAL	19,448	61,958	130,532

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1881, v. 1, pp. 298-99 and 394-95; 1891, v. 1, pp. 363-64; 1901, v. 1, pp. 284-85 and 418-19; and 1951, v. 2, Table 12. Indians and Asians by "origin" are excluded.

NOTE:
Since the 1891 census contains no figures for Indians or Asians by origin, the number of Indians is estimated from figures for 1881 and 1901, of Asians as those born on the Asian continent. Individuals born in Newfoundland are included in the Maritimes rather than British possessions. Prairies also includes Yukon and Northwest Territories, whose population was minute. Percentages do not necessarily total 100, but are rather each rounded to the nearest percent.

"conditions and prospects" most closely linked "with the

Dominion of Canada."[1] The railroad he viewed as "the road built as a national highway." The author of the second history, Alexander Begg, termed the railway simply the "Union of East and West."[1] A later historian, Walter Sage, has argued that "by 1901 east and west in Canada was really joined and 'the West beyond the West' had become Canadian."[2]

Impressions left by travellers from eastern Canada are indicative of the new spirit. Struck by the number of Ontarians everywhere in the province, one visitor concluded, "Ontario is in many respects the progenitor of British Columbia, and from Ontario's broad shoulders the lusty and vigorous child has looked on to the future."[3] Dismissing the Englishness of Victoria as "delightfully old-timish," he queried, "Where are the stocks and ducking-stool, I wonder?" The province's future lay in its replication of Ontario: "There is a flavour and a finish about the East which the West will catch up to in the course of years, naturally." "He gets more like his dad every day."

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[1] Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of British Columbia, 1792-1887 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887), pp. ix and 661. On Bancroft's sources, see Historical Essays on British Columbia, ed. J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. xiii-xiv; and Florence Baillie-Grohman, "Her Unpublished Manuscript," B.C. Historical News, no. 3 (June 1968), pp. 7-22. See also Allan Smith, "The Writing of British Columbia History," BC Studies 45 (1980), pp. 73-102, which does not, however, recognize the distinctive character of the late nineteenth century.

[1] Alexander Begg, History of British Columbia (Toronto: William Briggs, 1894), p. 434.

[2] Walter N. Sage, "British Columbia Becomes Canadian, 1871-1901," pp. 56-69 in Friesen and Ralston; see also Hills, Diary, July 1, 1890, on celebration of Dominion Day.

[3] Bernard McEvoy, From the Great Lakes to the Wide West (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), pp. 184-86.

George Parkin, perhaps the most prominent Canadian intellectual of the day, visited western Canada in 1892-93 and described his impressions in a series of essays appearing first in the London Times and then as a separate work entitled The Great Dominion. Parkin viewed British Columbia solely in terms of "Eastern Canada." Labelling the railroad "the price Canada was ready to pay for confederation," he stressed how it was constructed "not to unite two great communities striving for closer intercourse," but rather "to complete and round off a national conception."[1] If the railroad had any other function in the west, it was "to draw those provinces out of their own narrow circle and give them the sense of a larger citizenship." Parkin had no hesitation in asserting the natural hegemony of east over west: "After all, the brains and pith and marrow of the country are still in the Eastern Provinces," which will, "for many years to come, chiefly mould its future."

British Columbia's Canadian orientation was reflected in education. The public system, created by settlers from Ontario and the Maritimes, had always reflected Canadian values.[2] An examination of the academic degrees of British Columbia teachers is indicative. Whereas even after the railroad's completion the Canadian-born proportion of the white population was just over half, virtually all teachers with degrees had studied in Canada.

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[1] George R. Parkin, The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada (London: Macmillan & Co., 1895), pp. 157, 159-160, and 190.
[2] Johnson, "Influence." For a good case study, see Peter L. Smith, Come Give a Cheer: One Hundred Years of Victoria High School, 1876-1976 (Victoria: Victoria High School Centennial Celebrations Committee, 1976).

As indicated by Table 5, the proportion peaked in 1900 at 94 percent. Since teachers holding degrees occupied virtually all positions of school inspector and secondary-level teacher as well as many at the primary level, a Canadian ethos clearly prevailed.

Table 5
GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF ACADEMIC DEGREES OF TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1890-1920

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Maritimes	8 (.53)	13 (.20)	54 (.36)	75 (.27)
Quebec	2 (.13)	10 (.16)	18 (.12)	36 (.13)
Ontario	2 (.13)	26 (.41)	48 (.32)	75 (.27)
Manitoba	0	11 (.17)	10 (.07)	22 (.08)
British Columbia	0	0	0	22 (.08)
Britain or possessions	3 (.20)	4 (.06)	19 (.13)	47 (.17)
TOTAL	15	64	149	277

SOURCE:
British Columbia, Department of Education, Annual Reports, corrolating teachers employed with academic degrees indicated at qualification examination. Teachers becoming school inspectors are considered still employed.

NOTE:
Virtually all Quebec teachers were from Montreal's McGill University, not from a French-language institution. Manitoba figures for 1920 include six teachers with Alberta degrees.

VII

The private schools in existence in the last decade and a half of the century to some extent reflected the province's

growing Canadian identity. The Victoria painter, Emily Carr, born in 1871, portrayed the changing sentiment in her observation concerning girls' schools that during her own childhood "the old ladies' type of private school faded out of existence because education required a certain standard set by our Public System if people expected to obtain positions in Canada."[1] Private schools had only been intended "to teach the young of English-born gentlemen how not to become Canadian." However, private ventures did continue to appear wherever enterprising genteel ladies forced to earn their own living garnered a handful of pupils whose parents were perturbed by the potentially detrimental influence of a co-educational public system open to all classes in the society.

Boys' schools in existence in Victoria in the late century remained British. The city, by 1891 containing some 15,000 whites, acquired two schools subsequent to Collegiate's demise. Corrig College was founded in 1886 by the Rev. C.J. Brenton, an Anglican cleric from the Maritimes who had earlier headed Lorne College.[2] In 1890 this "English and Classical Boarding School" was sold to an English grammar-school master, John Wesley Church. He attempted unsuccessfully to formalize a relationship with the Church of England as a successor school to Collegiate.[3] While pleased that Corrig's new head, a Methodist, sought to

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[1] Emily Carr, The Book of Small (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1966), pp. 116-18.
[2] Corrig School, Catalogue, 1886.
[3] Hills, Diary, Sept. 4, 1890; see also Helmcken, p. 217; Victoria Illustrated, pp. 28-30; Corrig School, Prospectus, 1891; and James K. Nesbitt, "Old Homes and Families," Colonist, Dec. 30, 1951.

become "a candidate for Holy Orders" in the Anglican Church, Bishop Hills considered him "not exactly a gentleman."

Two years later, the bishop gave approval to a successor school to Collegiate, including permission to resurrect the name. Its head was an Anglican cleric with a Cambridge degree and "much experience" in church schools.[1] Not surprisingly, Church "considered the step hostile to himself & might be the ruin of Corrig School." Nonetheless, both schools survived. Corrig apparently enrolled principally boarders, the revived Collegiate day boys. By the end of the century Collegiate contained some 50 boys under a new headmaster with an Oxford degree.[2]

Private education on the mainland reflected the province's new Canadian ethos. In New Westminster the Evangelical Protestants moved into the private field, principally to pressure the public system into needed expansion at the secondary and tertiary levels. In 1881, the Rev. Ebenezer Robson, a Methodist minister sent from Ontario in 1858, organized the city's first high school by public subscription.[3] When the school collapsed, the province did take the initiative and in 1884 opened a public secondary school under the same teacher who had headed the private institution.

In 1890, the Rev. Robson, now head of the Methodist Church in British Columbia, again returned to the fray after his

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[1] Hills, Diary, July 31 and Aug. 9, 1892.
[2] Colonist, July 23, 1893, July 31 and Sept. 23, 1894, and Dec. 14, 1900.
[3] Runnalls, pp. 49-50; and B.C. Directory, 1883, pp. 201 and 226-27.

brother, then provincial premier, failed in an attempt to establish a provincial university.[1] The Rev. Robson, inspired certainly by the affiliation of Methodist colleges in Ontario and Manitoba with their provincial universities, opened a comparable college in New Westminster as the forerunner of the university his brother still desired. Co-educational Columbian College was a combined senior secondary school and junior college with authority to grant degrees in theology and offer the first two years in arts through affiliation with the University of Toronto. As a secondary school with boarding facilities, Columbian did play a role in private education. In 1900 some 70 pupils, including numerous offspring of Evangelical Protestant families in the interior, were enrolled.

The first major boys' school in Vancouver was begun by James Whetham, a member of an Ontario commercial family who had made a fortune in land speculation in Manitoba and Spokane before reaching Vancouver. In 1889 Dr. Whetham, a physician by profession, was already the sixth largest real estate owner in Vancouver, an alderman, and a charter member of the newly created Board of Trade.[2] He determined to create an educational institution which would put Vancouver on par with older parts of

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[1] Runnalls, pp. 79-80 and 140-41; Masters, esp. pp. 94-95; and Columbian College, records in United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology, UBC.

[2] J.B. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians (Vancouver: Kerr & Begg, 1890), p. 322; Angus Everett Robertson, "The Pursuit of Power, Profit, and Privacy: a study of Vancouver's West End Elite, 1886-1914" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1977); Table 1 in Norbert MacDonald, "The Canadian Pacific Railway and Vancouver's Development to 1900," BC Studies 35 (1977); and typed notes on school in Vancouver City Archives [hereafter VCA].

North America.

Whetham College opened in 1891 with 38 boys. It was intended, according to its prospectus, "to afford to parents and guardians an opportunity of securing at home every advantage that could be obtained for their sons and wards at great expense and inconvenience in the older institutions in Canada and the United States."[1] The school promised to prepare its pupils--primarily the offspring of local railroad officials, land developers and other businessmen--"for the Army and Navy and Civil Service Examinations, for Matriculation Examinations into any university or college, and for First and Second Year Examinations in Arts to the degree of B.A. in any university." Whetham College's staff, headed by Whetham's younger brother Charles who had previously taught at the prestigious Toronto boys' school, Upper Canada College, was composed of Charles' fellow graduates from the University of Toronto.

Whetham College was innovative in private boys' education in British Columbia, not only for its reliance on North American models but for its explicit use of private education to forward the interests of a specific socio-economic, rather than socio-religious, group in the society. Whetham College's three trustees were David Oppenheimer, a leading wholesale merchant also city mayor and first president of the Board of Trade; Henry J. Cambie, chief engineer of the Pacific division of the Canadian Pacific Railroad; and James G. Keith, manager of the

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[1] Whetham College, Prospectus, 1891, pp. 7, 10, and 22-23. See also Whetham College, Miscelleanous materials in Special Collections Division, UBC Library.

Bank of British Columbia and charter Board of Trade member.[1] At virtually the same time as Whetham College was being launched, Keith, Oppenheimer and Whetham were also beginning the socially exclusive Vancouver Club.[2] Their concern to promote the city was matched only by that of Whetham's fifty "governors," men a local newspaper termed "prominent and influential."[3]

These individuals' interest in private education, while probably coinciding with personal needs, related closely to a desire to see the city in which their financial stake lay develop as rapidly as possible. Thus Whetham's prospectus, a glossy publication clearly intended for wide distribution, gave primacy of space not to the school but to the advantages of settlement in Vancouver now that it possessed such a splendid institution. For example:

> The population is composed largely of well-to-do citizens from eastern Canada, England and the United States. The moral tone is consequently much higher than in the average western city. The rowdy element is almost unknown. Churches are numerous and costly.[4]

It is not surprising that in the ensuing economic depression, which began late in 1893, Whetham College quietly disappeared.

Vancouver's successor boys' schools were less ambitious. Buckland College was begun as a "Day and Boarding School for Boys" in 1893 by an Englishman who had been "housemaster" at

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[1] Kerr, pp. 266-267; R.E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia (Vancouver: Hill Binding Co., 1906), pp. 578-79; Scholefield and Howay, v. 4, pp. 973-94; and Robertson.
[2] Robertson, pp. 131-32.
[3] Daily World Souvenir Edition, 1891, p. 6.
[4] Whetham College, Prospectus, p. 1.

Whetham and then master of a small Anglican parish school.[5] Charles Hill-Tout maintained Buckland College in his home, with offspring and boarders living side by side, until 1900 when he returned to his primary interest of Indian anthropology. By then Queen's School, headed by another Englishman, had been in existence for two years and was already enrolling some sixty boys.[1] As Buckland College closed, King's College School opened under the Rev. Brenton, the Anglican rector who had headed Lorne and Corrig schools. King's promised "lower" fees while still accepting "only a select class of boys."[2]

* * * * *

By the turn of the century the position of private education in British Columbia was tenuous. While the Catholic constant remained intact, the Anglican church schools which had formed the original basis of education on the west coast of British North America had disappeared. Only the Catholic schools and small private ventures served as reminders of the consensus still underlying the province's system of education wherein public, or common, schools co-existed alongside

[5] News Advertiser (Vancouver), Sept. 5, 1893. See also Churchman's Gazette, 1891, p. 866; Angl. Ch., Dioc. N.W., Monthly Record, 43/44 (1893), p. 6, and 47/50 (1893), p. 5; Judith Judd Banks, "Comparative Biographies of Two British Columbia Anthropologists: Charles Hill-Tout and James A. Tait" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, UBC, 1970), pp. 18-20.

[1] The Black and the Red (University School magazine) [hereafter USM] no. 1 (1906), p. 16.

[2] News Advertiser, Aug. 21, 1901; Aug. 10, 1902; Aug. 23, 1903; and Aug. 16, 1905.

unregulated private institutions.

Chapter 2

THE REVIVAL OF A PRIVATE-SCHOOL TRADITION

British Columbia's new Canadian identity of the late nineteenth century did not long endure. In the years between 1900 and the First World War, the province's Canadian character, including its public schooling, came under challenge. Three factors coalesced to revive the private concomitant of British Columbia's educational consensus. First, the original commitment had not completely disappeared. Numerous families regularly sent offspring to private school in Britain or eastern Canada. The second factor was the tremendous popularity in Britain of a new form of class-based education particularly amenable to replication. Thirdly, the socio-demographic structure of British Columbia fundamentally altered, returning the earlier preponderance of British born in the population.

I

The maintenance in British Columbia of a tradition of class-based private education related principally to the nature of established society in the capital city of Victoria.

Confederation little altered the city's orientation toward Britain and, to a lesser extent, the United States. For example, on "Monday, July 2" of 1877 Bishop Hills noted in his diary: "This is a public holiday called Dominion Day, but the feeling in Victoria is so strong against Canadian Confederation - that no notice is taken of the day in the business of the City - no flag is hoisted." Two days later he recorded, "A marked contrast to day the anniversary of American Independence. All Flags flying & holiday making." A British visitor to the city seven years later made a similar observation:

> To-day (July 4th) is Independence Day in the States, and is celebrated almost as much here as over the boundary. As far as I can ascertain, the British Columbian regrets that his country should have been included in the Dominion of Canada, and would have preferred its being constituted a separate Crown colony. There is certainly a want of sympathy with the Canadians on the part of the British Columbians, and the latter pretend to consider themselves a separate colony.[1]

A young girl of the turn of the century has recalled: "We weren't concerned with Canada; we were ourselves, and we talked about Canada. That was over there, yes. In spite of this paper that came out [declaring that B.C. joined Confederation] we

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[1] W. Henry Barneby, Life and Labour in the Far West (London: Cassell & Co., 1884), p. 150.

still didn't feel as though we belonged to it."[2] Another, the granddaughter of Attorney General Crease, has added, "Though I was born here, all the people that were here were English, you see, and we lived in just an English atmosphere. We knew nothing else."[1]

Victoria's leading families strengthened their British consciousness through the cooptation into their ranks of suitable newcomers. A summer visitor of the mid-1880s, Mrs. Clive Phillips-Wolley, reported, "In addition to dinners, I have had three invitations to dances, four picnics, a theatre, and any number of tennis-parties during my three weeks' sojourn in Victoria."[2] She observed that "all through the summer a stream of English visitors keeps passing through the town, bringing memories of, and messages from home to the settlers," described by her as "the same sort of people whom you would meet in English country towns, with the addition of a large body of naval officers on duty at Esquimalt, and a resident bar" of lawyers. Florence Baillie-Grohman, another young Englishwoman of good background, lived in Victoria with her adventurous husband during the years 1887-92 and was lionized by such

[2] Mrs. Winifred Lugrin Fahey, "Impressions of Victoria at the Turn of the Century," interviewed by Imbert Orchard, May 18, 1962, accession no. 1297 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC); reprinted in Janet Cauthers, ed., A Victorian Tapestry: Impressions of Life in Victoria, B.C., 1880-1914, v. 7, no. 3 (1978) of Sound Heritage, p. 65. Also see Roger Monteith, "Victoria, B.C., Before 1900 and Today," interviewed by Imbert Orchard, March 22, 1962, accession no. 1287, band 2 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC).

[1] Mrs. Margery Adelaide (Madge) Muskett, "Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century - The Crease Family," interviewed by Imbert Orchard, March 29, 1967, accession no. 1312 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC).

[2] Clive Phillips-Wolley, A Sportsman's Eden (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1888), pp. 183-84 and 258.

established families as the Creases, Trutches and Pembertons, by a society she termed "mostly old English or Scottish."[1] The Baillie-Grohmans' closest friends became the Tyrwhitt-Drakes, "as sporting a family in British Columbia as their relations and ancestors had been in England."

The ethos of Victoria's upper classes remained genuinely British. Visitors who through their own background could easily discriminate between the authentic and its imitation generally came away impressed. Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, visited in 1883 with her husband, the governor-general, and "observed that the English language was spoken in old country accent & not like Canada."[2] A decade later Lady Aberdeen, whose husband then held the same post, noted in her private diary, "We like Victoria very much . . . . The tone is decidedly English."[3] An experienced English traveller of about 1890 made a similar judgement in his description of a dinner party in a Victoria home:

> Here dwells a family of English people, English in every way, and yet I think it might be nigh thirty years since any one of them had seen Great Britain. The house was managed just as such a one would be at home; the very books and nicknacks round the room were identical with those we are familiar with in Britain. Punch and the Graphic lay upon one table--not last week's certainly, but thanks to the C.P.R., very recent numbers; the London Times was there and the Standard, neither of them more than three weeks old, I think. The only exception to this menage

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[1] Baillie-Grohman, pp. 10 and 13; see also Barneby, p. 97.
[2] Hills, Diary, Sept. 21, 1882.
[3] Lady Aberdeen [Ishbel Maria Gordon, marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair], The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898 ed. John T. Saywell. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1960), p. 147.

Anglais was the Chinese servants.[4]

While the Chinese servants on whom virtually every Victoria family relied to maintain their desired life style could not be contained within traditional British class structure, the city still contained a sufficiency of white individuals of lesser status for its residents to maintain social divisions. Mrs. Baillie-Grohman noted that her landlady, an Irish widow of a ship's captain, "was not at all popular in Victoria as she was what people would vulgarly call 'no class'."[1] A young Englishwoman whose husband established a retail business on his arrival in the mid-1880s wrote somewhat wistfully:

> Government House had its receptions and dances to which we understood everyone was invited; but "everyone" did not, in those days, include shopkeepers. We were all very English and understood the conventional lines and did not relax them because we lived in a colony.[2]

Most Canadians probably fared worse than did Britons. An article in the Colonist in 1908 entitled "Social History of Victoria" recalled how "when the transcontinental railroad was completed Canadians saw new openings" and came west but "there was a strong prejudice against the new arrivals."[3]

The continuing antipathy of many affluent Victoria families toward common schooling was inextricably linked to their efforts to maintain a British life style. As the Phillips-Wolleys had inscribed above their front door in Latin when they moved

[4] Edward Roper, By Track and Trail: A Journey through Canada (London: W.H. Allen, 1891), p. 248.
[1] Baillie-Grohman, p. 10.
[2] Mary Edith Angus, Chapters of Life (Vancouver?: Clarke and Stuart, 1929), p. 108.
[3] Colonist, Dec. 13, 1908.

permanently to Victoria in the 1890s, "Those who cross the seas change their clime, not their mind."[1] The one or two non-Catholic private institutions for each sex which existed in Victoria through the nineteeenth century were not the only option for such families.

From Victoria's first years as an isolated outpost, offspring, especially sons, were sent away for their education. A contemporary noted in the 1860s that at the city's Anglican church schools "a superior elementary education may be had," to be followed by further education elsewhere.[2] Frequently, necessity and a desire to maintain an emotional attachment to the geographic place of origin coincided. As one observer put it, "They wish their sons to be brought up where they themselves were prepared for the battle of life."[3] Such a predilection was reinforced by the actions of new settlers from Britain. An immigrant guide published in the late 1880s pointed out:

> As to education, there is certainly some room for improvement; but the English gentleman who elects to reside in Victoria should be able to save enough money to send his boy home to one of the English public schools when the lad is old enough for it.[4]

While totals are impossible to calculate for lack of systematic data, examples abound in the biographical literature of sons of prominent families being sent to Britain for their education. The Tyrwhitt-Drakes and Creases are exemplary.

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[1] Nesbitt, Colonist, May 9, 1948.
[2] Rattray, p. 173.
[3] Colonist, Jan. 19, 1908.
[4] Phillips-Wolley, Eden, p. 259.

Montague William Tyrwhitt-Drake, "descended from a very old English family" that included the navigator Sir Francis Drake, arrived on the west coast with the gold rush.[1] Settling in Victoria, he practiced law, sat on the colonial legislative council, served on the provincial Board of Education from its creation in 1872 to 1879, was elected mayor in 1877, and was returned to the legislature in 1882. When Tyrwhitt-Drake's only son, born 1866, reached a suitable age, he was without hesitation dispatched to his father's old school of Charterhouse, a "public" school with origins in the seventh century.

Henry Pering Pellew Crease, whose sister had headed Angela College, had himself only acquiesced out of necessity to the principle of common schooling. As his granddaughter has related, Crease lived in Victoria as in Britain, in "a very large house, English-style, with 33 rooms on 5 acres of land."[2] From 1870 until his retirement near the end of the century Crease was a judge of the British Columbia Supreme Court; his brother-in-law in England was Lord Chief Justice.[3] Crease, himself educated at a small local school in England and at Cambridge, sent both his sons to a "public" school. Lindley, born 1867, and Arthur, four years younger, attended Haileybury, which had a special appeal to colonial families through its

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[1] Kerr, pp. 146-47; Scholefield and Howay, v. 3, pp. 1081-82, and v. 4, pp. 288-89.
[2] Muskett, typescript notes, Vertical Files, PABC
[3] See Nesbitt, Colonist, Oct. 17, 1948, and Kerr, p. 133.
[4] Who's Who in British Columbia [hereafter WWBC], 1931, p. 25; Times, July 9, 1946; and Sun, Jan. 3, 1968.

association with the old East India Company.[4] Arthur returned to marry a daughter of the Tyrwhitt-Drakes.

Other families, both in Victoria and elsewhere in British Columbia, made similar decisions. The Hudson's Bay physician, J.H. Helmcken, educated his offspring first at Collegiate School and from 1870 at a private school in Scotland.[1] Pemberton, whose sister had also headed Angela College, sent his son, born 1877, both to an English "public" school and to Cambridge.[2] Charles Edward Pooley, described on his death in 1912 by the Anglican bishop as "a fine type of the English country gentleman," was another lawyer turned government official.[3] Pooley dispatched his son, born 1878, to Bradfield College, one of the new "public" schools. A pioneer rancher of the British Columbia interior, Thomas Ellis of Penticton, sent his son in 1889 to the "public" school of Bath College.[4]

With the completion of the transcontinental railroad, Britain was no longer the only viable option. Travel to eastern Canada was a matter of days compared with the weeks it took to reach Europe. Toronto's Upper Canada College, founded in 1829 by Ontario's lieutenant-governor as a provincial grammar school without explicit religious affiliation, attracted numerous pupils from British Columbia.[5] Up to the railway's completion,

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[1] Helmcken, pp. 217-19.
[2] Scholefield and Howay, v. 3, pp. 743 and 152-53.
[3] Colonist, June 24, 1954; also Scholefield and Howay, v. 3, pp. 665-66; Nesbitt, Colonist, Sept. 11, 1949, Province, Nov. 21, 1934.
[4] Vernon News, April 6, 1893.
[5] Data taken from A.H. Young, ed., The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College, Toronto, January, 1830, to June, 1916. (Kingston: The Old Boys' Association, 1917).

only two boys had made the onerous trip from the coast, one of them the son of the early Vancouver lumber merchant, R.H. Alexander, who had himself attended Upper Canada College while growing up in Toronto. In the boom years of the late 1880s, culminating in the recession of 1893, sixteen boys attended Upper Canada College from British Columbia, principally the offspring of Victoria and Vancouver businessmen. Roderick Finlayson, a Scot who had come out to Victoria with the Hudson's Bay Company, moved his son from Collegiate School to the Toronto school almost immediately on the railway's completion. Other boys went elsewhere in Ontario. The future senator, George Henry Barnard, was, for instance, educated in the early 1880s at Trinity College School, begun by the Anglican Church at Port Hope in 1865.[1]

The appeal exercised by private schools elsewhere is evident from the advertisements these schools considered it advantageous to place in Victoria and Vancouver newspapers. In 1900 both Upper Canada College and St. Andrew's College, a boys' school with a Scots Presbyterian ethos founded the previous year in the fashionable Toronto suburb of Rosedale, were recruiting pupils through the press.[2] In each of the next two years, the head of Ridley College, an Anglican "Church School for Gentlemen's Sons" opened in 1880 in St. Catharine's, Ontario, announced impending visits to British Columbia to interview

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[1] WWBC, 1933/34, p. 17

[2] News-Advertiser, Aug. 29, 1960; on the foundation of St. Andrew's, see Carolyn Gossage, A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977), pp. 166-168.

prospective pupils.[1] By 1904 Upper Canada College, which had attracted seventeen boys from British Columbia in the last half dozen years, was terming itself "Canada's National School for boys."[2] A year later Western Canada College, a boys' school founded in Calgary in 1903 under informal Presbyterian auspices, placed advertisements which included a reference from British Columbia's Superintendent of Education.[3] Girls' schools across Canada and, indeed, private schools for both sexes in the American Northwest also advertised regularly, as did the much smaller schools in the province itself.

Thus, a tradition of private education did survive in British Columbia largely independent of the fate of local schools. Into the second and third generation, numerous British Columbians remained strong advocates of class-based schooling, ready to throw their support behind any concerted effort to strengthen private education within the province.

II

The second factor behind the revival of private education in British Columbia was the growing popularity in Britain of a form of class-based schooling particularly amenable to replication. Between 1860 and 1900 the number of "public" schools existing across Britain expanded from seven upwards to a

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[1] News-Advertiser, Aug. 20, 1901; Colonist, Aug. 16, 1902; and Gossage, pp. 139-42.
[2] Colonist, Aug. 21, 1904.
[3] Colonist, Aug. 16, 1905.

hundred.[4] In the last decades of the nineteenth century numerous British Columbia boys had attended these schools, so named because they were "publicly" incorporated rather than privately owned and open on a fee basis to all the "public" rather than serving local residents, as did the grammar schools they were superseding. Use of the term "public" was also restricted by contemporaries to institutions admitting boys.[1] Most "public schools" were large boarding institutions enrolling several hundred pupils, generally aged between 13 and 18 but possibly younger.

The rise of "public" schools in Britain related principally to the Industrial Revolution. Over the first half of the nineteenth century internal reform of the few long-established "public" schools, originally a bastion of the upper class, coincided with the emergence of a large new middle group anxious to use its material wealth to obtain social acceptability within the traditional class structure. As railroads faciltated travel and admission pressures intensified on the few "great" schools, "public" schools were created out of existing grammar schools or

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[1] Studies of the British "public" schools abound. Of most utility to this study have been J.R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School (London: Millington, 1977); J.A. Mangan, Atheleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); T.W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967); and Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenemonenon, 597-1977 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977). Also seminal were Brian Simon, The Two Nations; his Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1980); and Correlli Barnett, The Collapse of British Power (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972).

[2] The Public Schools from Within: A Collection of Essays on Public School Education, Written Chiefly by Schoolmasters (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1906), p. ix.

as new foundations.

The consequence was the emergence of a rigidly stratified system of education. A contemporary has summed up the transformation: "There was a healthy admixture of classes to be found in the [grammar] school, and society was not yet cut up, as far as education was concerned, into these horizontal layers, which the spread of the boarding Public School has done so much to bring about."[1] The popular middle-class British journal, Punch, recognized the significance of "public" schools in its 1865 comment that they had become responsible for "the training of the entire upper and upper middle classes of England."[2] "Public" schools were essentially limited to the upper-middle class, consisting of professionals and businessmen, and to the small upper class. Working class children had, in sharp contrast, to be content with simplistic charity schools or subsidized board schools and the lower-middle class, consisting largely of tradesmen and clerks, with private day schools and the remaining grammar schools.

From the onset, the emphasis in "public" education was on replication. Each new school being created had almost by definition to promise anxious parents an education comparable to that of the "great" schools, equally able to endow their offspring with the requisites of social status.[3] "Public"

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[1] William Spooner's manuscript autobiography, quoted in William Hayter, Spooner: A Biography (London: W.H. Allen, 1977), p. 21.
[2] Punch, April 15, 1865, p. 148.
[3] On proliferation see Donald Leinster-Mackay, "Victorian Quasi-public Schools: a Question of Appearance and Reality or an Application of the Principle of the Survival of the Fittest?" British Journal of Educational Studies 29 (1981), pp. 54-68.

schools were able to reproduce, virtually clone, at such great speed precisely because no originality or innovation was expected or, indeed, permissable. As schools proliferated, the principles and practices underlying the original "great" schools became increasingly formalized and even ritualized, a process measurably assisted by the existence from 1869 of a Headmasters' Conference organized precisely in order to promote standardization.

By the end of the century the principles and practices underlying the "public" schools had become generally accepted across the society as determinants of status. Not only could former pupils, or "old boys," of the different schools recognize fellow "public"-school men and thus associate only with others of their own kind, but popular literature so romanticized the image that virtually the entire society exercised suitable deference in their direction.[1]

The pressure for admission to "public" school also brought into existence a new junior level of education. "Preparatory" schools were intended to "prepare" boys from about age seven for entry a half dozen years later into their preferred "public"

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[1] Gathorne-Hardy, pp. 216-22; see also Richard Usborne, Clubland Heroes (London: Constable, 1953), and Gillian Freeman, The Schoolgirl Ethic: The Life and Work of Angela Brazil (London: Allen Lane, 1976).

school.[2] From perhaps a dozen in 1870, some 400 of these "public schools in miniature" existed by 1900.[1] Almost all were small private ventures, many founded by Anglican clerics. On average they enrolled some 15 to 50 boys, usually boarders. As summed up by a contemporary, "the function of the preparatory school is to remove and iron out the idiosyncracies acquired in the home so that a standardized product may be presented to the public school."[2]

The precise status acquired through attendance at preparatory and "public" school was complex. The goal was social acceptability in the upper-middle class, which meant status as a "gentleman."[3] In 1901 the Oxford English Dictionary defined a "gentleman" as "a man of superior position in society," preferably through "gentle birth," but also possibly through "having the habits of life indicative of this; often, one whose means enable him to live in easy circumstances without engaging in trade." Boys born into the gentility of the upper

class, consisting of the peerage, baronetcy and landed gentry,

[2] The literature on the British preparatory schools is sparse. See Alan Rannie, "The Preparatory School," pp. 61-90 in The Schools of England, ed. J. Dover Wilson (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1928); see also Donald Leinster-Mackay, "The Evolution of t'Other Schools: An Examination of the Nineteenth Century Development of the Private Preparatory School," History of Education 5 (1976), pp. 241-49. For a perceptive description of school life, see Philip Mason, A Shaft of Sunlight (London: Andre Deutsch, 1978); for a history of an individual school, Meston Batchelor, Cradle of Empire: A Preparatory School Through Nine Reigns (London: Phillimore, 1981).

[1] Rannie, p. 74.

[2] Alec Waugh, The Early Years (London: Cassell, 1962), p. 22.

[3] Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 223-32; J.B. Priestley, The Edwardians (London: Heineman, 1970), pp. 98-104; and Keith Middlemas, Pursuit of Pleasure: High Society in the 1900s (London: Gordon & Cremonesi, 1977), pp. 2, 34, 47-48 and 66.

were virtually assured that, whatever their life style, they would be accepted as gentlemen. For those of lesser background, it was essential not only to have learned well the lessons of speech, dress and behaviour inculcated by the "public" school but to maintain a suitable life style. University attendance, while not requisite, was an asset, especially if at one of the two most prestigious universities, Oxford or Cambridge. The lesser universities had potential drawbacks: Durham and King's College, London, were considered acceptable, for example, if from an Anglican clerical family, Edinburgh if in medicine.

Acceptable occupations for a gentleman requiring employment were limited. The professions, finance and company management were favoured. Agriculture was permissable if a member of the landed gentry or a "gentleman-farmer," a term recognized by the Oxford dictionary as "a farmer who holds a better social position than the generality of his class." While it was just possible by the end of the century for a gentleman to be an artist or even an actor, he could not engage in trade or in manual work with his hands, even in the skilled crafts.

By the end of the nineteenth century the shifts occurring

in British private education were being felt across the Empire.[1] The case of Ontario is indicative and suggests part of the reason why British Columbia families had become increasingly willing to send offspring to that province's boys' schools. While Toronto's Upper Canada College always contained some British elements alongside its dominantly Canadian ethos, concerted emulation of British practices began in 1895 under the headship of George Parkin, the author of The Great Dominion. A Maritime farmer's son who had in his youth embraced the "public"-school ideal with all the zeal of the convert, Parkin was, according to the school's historian, so deeply committed to class-based education that he even opposed the principle of common schooling: "Parkin believed that universal education meant that quality was sacrificed to quantity. It was only in the best private schools, Parkin thought, that quality education

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[1] Numerous examples of schools created on the British model are included in the series, "Famous Schools of Britain and the Commonwealth," Illustrated London News 232-41 (June 1958-Dec. 1962). See, in particular, King's School and Armidale School in New South Wales, Australia, 232 (Oct. 18, 1958), p. 647, and 238 (June 10, 1961), pp. 997-1000; St. John's College and Hilton College in South Africa, 236 (April 23, 1960), pp. 693-94, and 238 (April 29, 1961), pp. 719-22; and Malay College in Malaya, 239 (July 15, 1961), pp. 97-100. On Australia see also C. Turney, "The Advent and Adaption of the Arnold Public School Tradition in New South Wales," Australian Journal of Education 10 (1966), pp. 133-44, and and 11 (1967), pp. 29-34; on India, J.A. Mangan, "Eton in India: The Imperial Diffusion of a Victorian Educational Ethic," History of Education 7 (1978), pp. 105-18.

[1] Richard B. Howard, Upper Canada College, 1829-1979 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), p. 167, also pp. 128-33 and 163-66. For Parkin's views see also George R. Parkin, Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham School (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), especially v. 2, pp. vii-xi; and Terry Cook, "George R. Parkin and the Concept of Britanic Idealism," Journal of Canadian Studies 10, no. 3 (1975), pp. 15-31.

could still be found."[1] Parkin, who had earlier stressed the superiority of eastern Canada over the west, also assumed the superiority of Britain and the concept of Empire over his native Canada. As head of Upper Canada College, "he tended to look down on his subordinates, especially the Canadians." Upper Canada College was soon terming itself "The Eton of Canada."[1]

Other Ontario boys' schools increasingly emphasized their English connections. Trinity College School, founded as a fairly modest Anglican church school before the "public"-school phenomenon erupted in Britain, claimed in 1910 that "the object of the Founders of the School was to furnish a first class education on the general lines of the great Public Schools of England."[2]

At the same time, as Carolyn Gossage has emphasized in her vignettes of Canadian private schools, however much Ontario boys' schools might have adopted "public"-school rituals, they also continued to reflect the outlook of self-confident Ontario society from which came their governing boards and principal financial support.[3] After Upper Canada College's restructuring in 1900 as a completely private school, it came under the control of a board of directors impeccably establishment Ontario in composition. Their dissatisfaction with Parkin's successor,

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[1] Colonist, Aug. 5, 1908.
[2] "Contributed" description of Trinity College School in J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1910), v. 2, pp. 214-216. On the influence of British "public" education on boys' schools in the American Northeast, see McLachlan, pp. 155-56, 203-04, 226, and 254-55.
[3] Gossage, pp. 60-62.

an Englishman out of the "public" school who dared to suggest that the Ontario school was not sufficiently British in tone, soon brought his dismissal and falling enrollments. Only through emphasis on the school's Canadian identity alongside carefully selected British practices did Upper Canada College in the 1920s recover its earlier primacy of place.

In British Columbia the concept of the "public" school had in the last decades of the nineteenth century already prompted a few abortive attempts at replication. When Bishop Hills tried to rebuild Collegiate School after the fire of 1882, he termed his dream "the great English Public School of the Pacific Coast." An ephemeral private venture in Victoria in the early 1890s had declared itself conducted "on the English public school system."[1]

By the turn of the century, then, the concept of the "public" school and of its counterpart for younger boys, the preparatory school, was becoming known in British Columbia. Not only had the term, "public," already been applied to private schools in the province, but a number of British Columbians were themselves educated according to their precepts. It remained for a dedicated group of individuals to seize the initiative.

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[1] British Columbia Directory, 1892, p. 419.

III

The third factor responsible for the revival of the private-school tradition in British Columbia was the most significant, for contained within it were both the organizational impetus and the core of committed clientele necessary to create new institutions. In the first two decades of the twentieth century a major demographic shift occurred in British Columbia consequent on an active immigration campaign launched by the federal government in 1896.[1] The new policy, intended to populate the agricultural west, was propitious as to timing. Not only had the major depression of 1893 begun to lift, but the appeal of the western United States was finally dissipating due to a scarcity of homesteading land. The pace of immigration to Canada increased from some 40,000 arrivals in 1900 to over 200,000 in 1906 and 400,000 in 1913, the last full year before curtailment due to outbreak of war.

The population of Canada grew dramatically, from 5,500,000 in 1901 to almost 9,000,000 by 1921. As intended, new settlement was concentrated in the west. Table 6 makes clear that, whereas the population of the Maritimes remained constant and that of Ontario grew moderately, the area from Manitoba westward erupted. British Columbia's white population increased from 130,000 in 1901 to over 400,000 by 1914.

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[1] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 49-52.

As demonstrated by Table 7, immigration to western Canada

Table 6
WHITE POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL REGIONS OF ENGLISH CANADA, 1901, 1911 AND 1921

	1901	1911	1921	Growth rate, 1921 over 1901
Maritimes	890,017	933,434	995,523	.12
Ontario	2,156,894	2,494,895	2,899,526	.34
Manitoba	238,628	447,056	594,756	1.49
Alberta and Saskatchewan	132,816	839,851	1,311,504	8.87
British Columbia	130,532	345,318	469,556	2.60

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1941, v. 1, pp. 688-92; and 1951, v. 10, Table 1.

was not evenly dispersed as to national origin. While settlers into the North-West Territories--from 1905 the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta--came in large numbers from continental Europe and the United States, British Columbia attracted primarily immigrants from Britain. By 1911 the British born composed 34 percent of the white population of British Columbia as compared with 18 percent in Saskatchewan and Alberta, 21 percent in Manitoba and just 14 percent in Ontario. Indeed, during a decade in which British Columbia's white population increased over one and a half times, from 130,000 to 350,000, the proportion of British born grew from one in four to its earlier preponderance of one in three. By contrast, the proportion of white British Columbians born elsewhere in Canada fell, as indicated in Tables 4 and 8, from a third to a quarter,

Table 7
WHITE POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL REGIONS OF ENGLISH CANADA, DIFFERENTIATED BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1901-1921

	Own province	Elsewhere in Canada	Britain or possessions	Continental Europe	United States
MARITIMES					
1901	.92	.04	.03	neg	.01
1911	.91	.04	.03	.01	.01
1921	.89	.05	.03	.01	.02
ONTARIO					
1901	.82	.03	.11	.01	.02
1911	.77	.03	.14	.03	.02
1921	.74	.04	.16	.04	.02
MANITOBA					
1901	.35	.34	.14	.14	.03
1911	.36	.21	.21	.17	.04
1921	.47	.16	.19	.14	.04
ALBERTA and SASKATCHEWAN					
1901	.17	.32	.14	.26	.10
1911	.18	.28	.18	.18	.18
1921	.35	.22	.15	.14	.14
BRITISH COLUMBIA					
1901	.24	.31	.25	.07	.13
1911	.19	.25	.34	.12	.11
1921	.29	.23	.34	.07	.07

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1941, v. 1, pp. 654-64 and 686-92.

due primarily to a marked decline in new settlers from Ontario and the Maritimes.

The British born who came to British Columbia in these years included individuals born both in the British Isles and in Britain's overseas possessions. As suggested in Table 9, the great majority came either from England or Scotland: 82 percent in 1911, 87 percent by 1921. Some 60 percent were from England itself. Perhaps in part for that reason, the term, "English,"

Table 8
WHITE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1911, 1921 AND 1931

	1911	1921	1931
BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	66,000 (.19)	135,589 (.29)	209,481 (.33)
BORN ELSEWHERE			
IN CANADA	84,680 (.25)	107,953 (.23)	142,535 (.22)
Maritimes	18,569 (.05)	19,235 (.04)	20,853 (.03)
Ontario	45,518 (.13)	50,361 (.11)	54,486 (.09)
Quebec	7,496 (.02)	8,240 (.02)	9,226 (.01)
Prairies	13,097 (.04)	30,117 (.06)	57,970 (.09)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA			
Britain or possessions	116,529 (.34)	158,879 (.34)	187,843 (.30)
Continental Europe	40,131 (.12)	31,658 (.07)	58,809 (.09)
United States	37,548 (.11)	34,926 (.07)	34,706 (.05)
Other or not given	430 (neg)	551 (neg)	544 (neg)
TOTAL	345,318	469,556	633,918

was often used to refer to all the British born. Thus, one immigrant of these years caught himself during an oral interview and explained, "When I say 'England,' I mean Great Britain, because there were Scotchmen and Irishmen and Welshmen."[1] Use of the different appellations could also contain a hint of class bias, for many middle and upper-class Scots and Irish had by the end of the nineteenth century become very like their English

[1] Paddy (Patrick) Ackland, untitled interview with Imbert Orchard, Nov. 1964, accession no. 1085 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC), p. 15 of transcript; also in David Mitchell and Dennis Duffy, ed., Bright Sunshine and a Brand New Country: Recollections of the Okanagan Valley, v. 8, no. 3 (1979) of Sound Heritage, p. 32.

Table 9
BIRTHPLACE OF BRITISH-BORN POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1911 AND 1921

	England	Scotland	Total
1911			
British Columbia	69,036 (.59)	27,151 (.23)	116,529
Vancouver	17,754 (.55)	9,650 (.30)	32,375
Victoria	8,904 (.77)	1,413 (.12)	11,548
1921			
British Columbia	100,792 (.63)	38,000 (.24)	158,879
Vancouver	35,258 (.60)	16,199 (.27)	58,975
Victoria	10,388 (.68)	3,092 (.20)	15,173

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1911, v. 2, pp. 377-78; and 1921, v. 2, pp. 240-41 and 340-41.

counterparts, dressing similarly and speaking with the same accent consequent on their education at a "public" school. They were also quite possibly Anglican.[1] Contemporaries seem most often to have differentiated individuals as Scots or Irish when referring either to actual geographic origin or to a group encompassing persons of lower-middle or working-class background.[2]

The overwhelming majority of the some 175,000 English,

[1] See Middlemas, pp. 54-55. For British Columbia examples, see Hills, Diary, April 20, 1862; May 30 and Sept. 26, 1886; and Feb. 17 and April 24, 1891.
[2] See, for example, James Lumsden, Through Canada in Harvest Time: A Study of Life and Labour in the Golden West (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 243; and Sinclair Thomson Duncan, From Shetland to British Columbia, Alaska and the United States (Lerwick, Scotland: Charles J. Duncan, 1911), pp. 77-85.

Scots, Irish and Welsh who settled in British Columbia in the years preceding the First World War or in its aftermath played no role in the re-emergence of private schools.[1] Indeed part of the very reason they came related to the availability of state schooling. Canadian officials frequently played on that theme in promoting immigration. When being interviewed in 1910 by a British journalist, the premier of British Columbia specifically requested that he "assure the working men of England that the educational facilities of British Columbia were as fine as any to be got anywhere."[2] Moreover, state education in Canada did not possess the stigma of class attached to it in Britain. A British traveller to Canada about the turn of the century reported home to prospective immigrants:

> The children of the well-to-do go to the same school, and sit in the same forms as the children of the poor. There is not the contempt for the free public schools which, unfortunately, is noticeable at a certain stage of prosperity among my fellow-countrymen, and especially my fellow-countrywomen, at home. There is no silliness about it being "not quite the proper thing" to send children to the State schools[3]

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[1] The number of British born resident in British Columbia is detailed in Tables 4 and 8. Between 1891 and 1921 the total rose from 20,709 to 158,879, a net gain of 138,170. The actual number who arrived was, however, higher than indicated by the 1921 census figures, since (a) some of the individuals resident in 1891 certainly died before 1921, and (b) many individuals who came in these years left again to serve in the First World War. If 25 percent is added to the total to allow for these shifts, the figure rises to 172,713..

[2] R.E. Vernede, The Fair Dominion (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 279.

[3] John Foster Fraser, Canada As It Is (London: Cassell and Co., 1909), p. 273.

IV

A small minority of British settlers were of very different background from the bulk of immigrants to British Columbia, bringing with them a firm commitment to the concept of the "public" school. While their exact number cannot be determined, the proportion of settlers who were of appropriate social background to have been supporters of private education can be approximated. Of the 175,000 British immigrants to British Columbia in the three decades, 1891-1921, about 24,000 belonged to the middle or upper class.[1]

The circumstances whereby such Britons, possibly themselves possessing a "public" education, should have considered emigration derived in part out of that very schooling. A two-volume work published in 1874, entitled The Gentleman Emigrant, attributed the phenomenon to the existence in Britain of a

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[1] British authorities classified emigrants by occupation. One of the male categories, "Commerce, Finance, Insurance, Professional, Students," is accepted by Frank Musgrove as composing the "higher class," in effect, the middle and upper classes. See his The Migratory Elite (London: Heinemann, 1963), pp. 17-20, and Carrier and Jeffery, Tables 12, N/O(2), and N/O(4). Twenty-five percent of British emigrants to Canada, 1891-1900, belonged to this group, as did 8% the next decade and roughly 16%, 1911-20. About two-thirds of the 175,000 British settlers in British Columbia, 1891-1921, were male. On the basis of the overall occupational data for Canada, 13,500 of these male immigrants were middle or upper class. This figure is, however, low, for the province lacked the homesteading land which drew Britons of lesser means on to the prairies. A more judicious estimate would be about 20 percent higher, or 16,000. Assuming female immigrants to British Columbia were of complementary background, then the total was about 24,000.

[2] W. Stamer, The Gentleman Emigrant, 2 v. (London: Tinsley Bros., 1874).

surplus population adhering to middle-class values.[2] Out of the Industrial Revolution had come a major expansion in the number of individuals able to provide offspring with the basis for such status, including a "public" education for their sons, but not a socio-economic structure able to meet these children's expectations as adults. The acquisition of a private education of itself closed off all occupations involving trade or physical labour. A study published a decade later, in 1884, made the point even more firmly: "Since England's population is too big for her, and all her courts thronged with suitors for occupations she cannot give; . . . emigration is a necessary evil."[1] It continued:

> Unless a man insists on going about the world with his eyes shut, he must nowadays be struck with the number of young fellows of good family and education who are annually leaving our country to seek a competence elsewhere. You can hardly find a family in Great Britain to-day that has not got at least one member at work in one or other of our colonies.

These two observers each described likely gentlemen emigrants. Most common perhaps were the young men unable to become established, for lack of finance, in a suitable occupation, such as "the younger sons of country clergymen and squires, used all their days to village life, fond of farming and field-sports, who have been educated perhaps for the army, and only missed their commissions because they could not be

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[1] Clive Phillipps-Wolley, The Trottings of a Tenderfoot: A Visit to the Columbian Fiords, and Spitzbergen (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1884), pp. 224 and 231-32.
[2] Phillipps-Wolley, Trottings, pp. 225-26 and 234.

heroes at the same time of examinations and play-grounds."[2] Some indiscretion may have precipitated a decision to emigrate: "He had finally failed to get into Sandhurst, to obtain his degree, or had 'gone that terrible mucker' which led to a very bad quarter of an hour at home, and the final decision that the culprit should leave England, if not for his own benefit, at least to ensure peace of mind of his relations." There was also "the married man who has a family to provide for, and whose means are too limited to permit of his residing in England."[1] Another group of possible emigrants was composed of redundant middle-aged men "of small capital or limited incomes, the ruined landlords and soldiers, of whom England considers that she has no longer any need."[2]

A crucial variable in the lives of all these individuals was the maintenance of inherited or achieved social status. Being "more or less governed by appearances" and unable "to keep up their positions in England," the only hope lay in resettlement elsewhere.[3] The author of The Gentleman Emigrant recognized "three great fields of emigration--Canada, Australia and the United States," of which he considered Canada to be "one

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[1] Stamer, v. 1, p. 141.

[2] Phillipps-Wolley, Eden, p. 258. For an interpretation of gentlemen emigrants viewing them principally as young school boys, remittance men and adventurers, see Patrick A. Dunae, Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981).

[3] Stamer, v. 1, pp. 158 and 84, also pp. 43 and 131. On the economic aspect of emigration, see Frank Musgrove, "Middle-Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century," Economic History Review, 2nd ser., v. 12 (1959/60), pp. 99-111; and Leonore O'Boyle, "The Problem of an Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe, 1800-1850," Journal of Modern History 42 (1970), pp. 471-95.

of the best, if not THE best field," particularly for the married man.

The areas of Canada deemed suitable gradually extended westward. Highly recommended in the early 1870s for the emigrant interested in becoming a gentleman-farmer was Ontario, where a family with a little capital could "live much more comfortably than they could on twice the amount in England."[1] Farming on the prairies and ranching in southern Alberta soon became popular.[2] Almost immediately on the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1886, attention turned to British Columbia, as evidenced in a description published in Britain two years later:

> Our object in exploring this little known country was to test its capabilities as a home for some of the public-school and university men, who in this overcrowded old England of ours, every year find themselves more de trop . . . . They cannot dig . . . their soul is distinctly unfettered to an office stool; the Arts, the Professions, and the Services are all "Full inside." . . . Emigration is the one hope left.[3]

British Columbia's appeal to gentlemen emigrants encompassed several elements. The illustrations of snow-capped

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[1] Ibid, pp. 124 and 137.

[2] L.G. Thomas, "The Rancher and the City: Calgary and the Cattlemen, 1883-1914," The Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, v. 6, series 4 (June 1968), sect. 2, pp. 203-15; and Sheilagh S. Jameson, "The Social Elite of the Ranch Community and Calgary," pp. 57-70 in Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region, 1875-1914, ed. Anthony W. Raporich and Henry C. Klassen (Calgary: University of Calgary, McClelland and Stewart West, 1975). See also Lumsden, p. 169; Fraser, pp. 173, 221 and 231; and R.R. Whates, Canada, the New Nation (London: J.R. Dent, 1906), pp. 159-160.

[3] J.A. Lees and W.J. Clutterbuck, B.C., 1887--A Ramble in British Columbia (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1888), pp. 2-3.

mountains and lush valleys which graced much of the contemporary literature often included references to their similarity with well-known British beauty spots.[1] Together with the mildest temperatures in Canada, the province possessed opportunities for fishing, shooting and hunting only dreamt of by most middle and upper-class Britons. If a paucity of free or cheap land compared with the prairies deterred immigrants of modest means, genteel agriculture or retirement in the countryside nonetheless demanded considerably less capital than in Britain itself.[2] An enthusiastic traveller of the turn of the century assured his countrymen that "an Englishman can get more fun, sport and good living, for two hundred pounds per annum than he could get for a thousand pounds a year in the old country."[3]

Moreover, British Columbia's distinctly British heritage remained alive through such anomalies as traffic on the left hand side of the road and the London Times newspaper continuing to index articles on the province separately while grouping together those on the rest of the country under the single heading "Canada."[4] The existence of a special affinity between Britons and British Columbians was a common theme in the

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[1] See, for example, Vernede, pp. 268-270; and An Outpost of Empire: Victoria, B.C. (Victoria: Victoria Development and Tourist Association, 1908), p. 15.

[2] Wilhem Cohnstaedt, Western Canada 1909: Travel Letters. Canadian Plains Studies 7. (Regina: University of Regina, 1976), pp. 53 and 62; A.G. Bradley, Canada in the Twentieth Century (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), pp. 363 and 367-69; and Fraser, pp. 199-201.

[3] Bradley, p. 414.

[4] For a Canadian reaction to traffic patterns in British Columbia, see McEvoy, p. 167. British Columbia changed to the right side in 1922.

literature. A writer in the 1890s reported, "It is very curious how the British Columbian prefers the Englishman to the Canadian of the Eastern Provinces."[1] Another British traveller declared somewhat smugly that even though Vancouver was the province's most "distinctly Canadian town," "in Vancouver and to a certain extent all over British Columbia, the typical Ontario man would not feel at first quite at home."[2] A journalist from northern England wrote in 1903 that "the nearer you approach to the Pacific the greater are the influence of English example all around."[3] A popular account published the next year entitled its chapter on the province, "British Columbia: An Outpost of Empire."[4] A young German visiting this "English dependency on the Pacific Ocean" in 1909 described in the Frankfurter Zeitung newspaper how British Columbia "differed from the rest of the Canadian Dominion":

> Naturally it differs from French Quebec, certainly from Ontario which is said to have developed a new stereotype of Canadian, and it also differs strikingly and sharply from the American Canadian provinces of the West . . . . It is the English character of the people that is most obvious and indeed characteristic.[5]

Britain's foremost novelist of Empire, Rudyard Kipling, summed up the popular view in his declaration that "Were I rich . . . I would swiftly buy me a farm or a house in that country for the

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[1] Douglas Sladen, On the Cars and Off (London: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1895), p. 395.
[2] Bradley, p. 391, also p. 381.
[3] Lumsden, p. 169.
[4] Fraser, p. 192.
[5] Cohnstaedt, p. 52.

mere joy of it."[6]

British Columbia's appeal to middle and upper-class British emigrants also related to growing disenchantment with earlier options. A British visitor of the turn of the century cautioned that Ontario farms had "long ago reached their limit of value," while "the country towns of Ontario, with very few exceptions, have gone entirely to the dogs."[1] Genteel group agricultural ventures on the prairies, most notably Cannington Manor in Saskatchewan, had never been very successful.[2] In any case, vast unbroken stretches of land did not greatly appeal to the British aesthetic sense. Ranching in the Alberta foothills, so attractive to moneyed Britons of the 1880s, had also peaked, open range now giving way to enclosed settlement.[3]

Thus British Columbia came into its own as a preferred destination for gentlemen emigrants just about the time that the national immigration campaign was gathering force. Some middle and upper-class Britons would certainly have come in any case. However, the endless promotional literature scattered about Britain by government, railroad and land developer certainly brought to the province many additional settlers only vaguely

[6] Rudyard Kipling, Letters of Travel, 1892-1897 (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1941), p. 210.
[1] Bradley, pp. 146, also pp. 184-186.
[2] A.E.M. Hewlett, "England on the Prairies," The Beaver Dec. 1952, pp. 20-25.
[3] E. Way Elkington, Canada, the Land of Hope (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1910), p. 111; Bradley, p. 331; L.G. Thomas; and Jamieson.

dissatisfied with their present life style.[4] Unlike the overwhelming majority of British immigrants of limited means who came to improve their socio-economic position by adapting to a new environment, these men and women emigrated to preserve existing status.

V

The emphasis given by British middle and upper-class immigrants to social status largely determined their principal areas of settlement in British Columbia. Three main options existed--the bustling commercial metropolis of Vancouver, the older capital city of Victoria, and the countryside.

Residence in Vancouver had limitations. The city, including its social structure, was still largely dependent on the Canadian Pacific Railway, with company officials linked to eastern Canada functioning as the principal arbitrators of status and respectability.[1] The popular pastime of real estate

[4] On promotion see Opportunities (Vancouver) 1-3 (1910-11); Cohnstaedt, pp. 63-64; Fraser, p. 169; Archie Bell, Sunset Canada, British Columbia and Beyond (Boston: The Page Company, 1918), p. 203; C. R. Enock, The Great Pacific Coast (London: Grant Richards, 1909), p.241; Bradley, pp. 259 and 367-69; Henry J. Boam, comp., Twentieth Century Impressions of Canada: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources (London: Sells Ltd., 1914), p. 312; and J.S. Redmayne, Fruit Farming on the "Dry Belt" of British Columbia (London: Times Book Club, 1909), p. ix. More subtle promotion came through the Anglican Church; see Across the Rockies 1-5 (1910-14).

[1] See Robert A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver, 1886-1914" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1977); A. Robertson; Norbert MacDonald, "Railway"; and his "A Critial Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1941," BC Studies 17 (1973), pp. 26-42. See also Sladen, p. 378, and Bradley, p. 381.

speculation, while perfectly acceptable within the context of Vancouver's Canadian ethos, was not an occupation for gentlemen. Professionals, including lawyers and physicians, would probably have found ample opportunity in the rapidly expanding city. How many actually emigrated is uncertain since they were discouraged from so doing by the Canadian government if they wanted to pursue their careers.[1] Numerous Englishmen and Scots of reasonable background did reside in Vancouver as senior representatives of British companies.

The contemporary evidence suggests that Vancouver exercised its greatest appeal among determined immigrants of modest background seeking rapid improvement in their financial status through hard work. A British traveller of 1902 reported that "we met a wonderfully large number who a few years ago left England or Scotland as clerks or artizans, and are now in a flourishing condition in Vancouver, doing a big business and living in large residences in the far-extended suburbs."[2] A young gentleman arriving in 1911 at first expressed amazement how "everyone seemed to be greatly excited about 'real estate' and men made fortunes in a most remarkable way," but soon, to use his phrase, "turned tail" for more agreeable surroundings.[3] For the most part probably, true gentlemen emigrants chose

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[1] John Bensley Thornhill, British Columbia in the Making, 1913 (London: Constable & Co., 1913), pp. 130-138; and Bradley, p. 188.

[2] Lumsden, p. 251. On the influx of Maritimers, see P.M. MacDonald, Letters from the Canadian West (Truro, N.S.: Chronicle, 1903), p. 25.

[3] Norman Noel, Blanket-Stiff; or, A Wanderer in Canada, 1911 (London: St. Catherine Press, 1912), p. 183.

Vancouver only with good reason.

The appeal of Victoria to British middle and upper-class settlers was considerable. Travellers' accounts made clear that British Columbia's capital city had largely retained its original British ethos and that social structure was comfortingly familiar. To quote one observer, "It has its aristocracy and the ways of England are the ways of Victoria, and the language is the same."[1] Moreover, life was relatively economical. On Kipling's first visit in the 1890s to "that quiet English town of beautiful streets," he reported that "on a thousand [pounds] a year pension a man would be a millionaire in these parts, and on four hundred he could live well."[2] A fellow traveller summed up the general view:

> What Victoria also does is to afford a refuge for the man with social tastes and comparatively little means, who may or may not have completed his life's work, but at any rate wants to enjoy the advantages of a pleasant place, a splendid though not very bracing climate, agreeable society and ample scope for recreation, without feeling that he is regarded as a loafer for not having an office down town.[3]

Contemporary accounts make clear that many British immigrants of reasonable background did settle in Victoria. An article in the London Times in 1908 stated:

Victoria is the most "English" of all the towns

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[1] Elkington, p. 228. See also E. Alexander Powell, The End of the Trail: the Far West from New Mexico to British Columbia (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), pp. 364-71; Harry Brittain, Canada, There and Back (London: Bodley Head, 1908), p. 122; Sladen, pp. 388-89; and Lumsden, p. 201.
[2] Rudyard Kipling, From Sea to Sea and Other Sketches: Letters of Travel (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), v. 2, p. 58.
[3] Bradley, pp. 403-04, also p. 402.

> of Canada. The society of the place largely consists of Englishmen and Englishwomen of the better classes, and the English element is conspicuous in the clubs.[1]

A German visitor a year later termed the city "life's harbour for suprannuated English officers and employees."[2] The similarity in background between many of the immigrants is made clear in the comments of one new arrival:

> Before I had proceeded a quarter of a mile, I was hailed by three or four acquaintances whom I had last seen in the Old Country . . . . At the hotel I again found friends. In fact the longer I stayed in Victoria the more astonished I became at the quantity of people I met whom I knew and who resided there.[3]

The ongoing tendency of Victoria society to absorb suitable new British residents while excluding many Canadians is suggested in an article appearing in a Toronto magazine in 1909:

> The presence among her citizens of scions of the old families, of retired army and navy officers who have taken up their residence in the city, adds perceptibly to the feeling of exclusiveness which invests her inner circle . . . . Many of these old houses have their names at the gates, and at some the house of the lodge-keeper stands beside the gates . . . . and not unless you are to the manner born, and duly accredited, and a friend of the family and expected, will the vigilant sentinel of the gates allow you to pass.[4]

For all of Victoria's charms, the British Columbia countryside held the greatest appeal for British middle and

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[1] Times, Oct. 10, 1908.
[2] Cohnstaedt, p. 71.
[3] Nicholas Everitt, Round the World in Strange Company (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1915), p. 165.
[4] E. McGaffey, "Victoria the Aristocrat," Canadian Magazine 33, no. 4 (Aug. 1909), pp. 291 and 293-94. On how one British arrival fared, see Fred Barton, We'll Go No More A-Roving (London: Joiner & Steel, 1937).

upper-class immigrants. The life style of a gentleman-farmer was eminently respectable, rather like the traditional gentleman's pastime of gardening writ large. As the worried wife of an Englishman about to be dispatched to British Columbia because of a drinking problem lamented: "What could Willie do there? He knew nothing of farming; did not take an interest in gardening at home."[1] Several areas of the province were feasible. A few "Englishmen of means--some of the scions of England's nobility," opted for cattle ranching in the Cariboo or Chilcotin.[2] A young English gentleman arrived in the Chilcotin in 1909 to learn ranching from his uncle discovered at his remote destination "Mayfair in the Wilds."[3] Another handful turned to mixed agriculture in the Fraser Valley east of Vancouver, but that area's main appeal lay with farmers from eastern Canada.[4] The overwhelming majority of British aspirants to genteel farming either lived in semi-retirement on Vancouver Island or the Gulf Islands or grew fruit in an interior valley.

Semi-retirement on the land by Britons who had made a first career elsewhere had a long tradition in British Columbia going back into the nineteenth century. Genteel Englishmen and Scots early fanned out from Victoria northward some thirty or forty

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[1] M.E. Angus, p. 81.
[2] Boam, p. 756.
[3] Sidney Jackman and Gwladys Downes, "The Cariboo-Chilcotin Trail," pp. 33-36 in Myth and the Mountains, v. 5, no. 3 (1976), of Sound Heritage, p. 36.
[4] Hills, Diary, May 8, 1873; Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1878, pp. 36 and 48; Leslie J. Ross, Richmond, Child of the Fraser (Richmond: Richmond '79 Centennial Society, 1979); and G. Fern Treleaven, The Surrey Story (Surrey: Surrey Museum and Historical Society, 1978).

miles into the Cowichan Valley or eastward onto the small islands dotting the gulf beteen Vancouver Island and the mainland. In 1862 Bishop Hills noted a couple retired from India into the Cowichan, which he deemed "very eligible for Settlement."[1] In 1884 British residents founded the South Cowichan Lawn Tennis Club, believed to be the oldest in the world after England's Wimbledon, begun seven years previous.[2] Lady Aberdeen visited friends in the Cowichan in 1894 and found it "much favoured by English people."[3]

By the turn of the century the Cowichan valley had become a "favoured haunt of the gentlemen emigrants."[4] The Colonist in 1903 described its residents as principally "English settlers, including naval and military men, pensioned India civil servants, and gentlemen's younger sons."[5] The article recommended the area "to those in search of country life, where they can live cheaply and yet enjoy life and freedom from conventionalities, where they can potter about with a gun or rod, or make expeditions for big game." A traveller a year later noted that farming in the Cowichan was "an accessory rather than a main source of livelihood," since most residents also enjoyed "small private incomes or pensions."[6] A gentleman

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[1] Hills, Diary, Nov. 5, 1862. See also Arthur James Wright, "The Winter Years in Cowichan: A Study of the Depression in a Vancouver Island Community" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1967), esp. pp. 2, 9, 18, 41-45, and 56.
[2] Heritage West 3 (Summer 1979), p. 9.
[3] Lady Aberdeen, p. 146.
[4] Bradley, p. 414, also pp. 400 and 409-13.
[5] Colonist, Aug. 16, 1903. See also McEvoy, p. 225.
[6] Bradley, pp. 409-10. See also Vernede, pp. 268-70; and Boam, p. 760.

immigrant of these years termed fellow Cowichan residents "top middle-class or upper-class people."[1]

British settlement on the Gulf Islands paralleled that in the Cowichan Valley. Permanent white residents arrived on Saltspring Island, only a narrow bay across from the Cowichan, in the early 1860s and on the smaller islands within the decade. By the end of the century, according to an historical account, "the preponderance of settlers were British, many of them from the upper and middle classes."[2] Families frequently arrived intact, "complete with nurses and nannies, tutors and cooks, English magazines, and an income from home."[3] As one daughter recalled, her family "farmed in a gentle sort of fashion."

Fruit growing in the interior had special appeal to British middle and upper-class immigrants. The short story writer Saki acknowledged its acceptability in an account of a young Englishman undertaking a "round of visits to our Colonial possessions."[4] Bertie "had gone to grow tea in Ceylon and fruit in British Columbia, and to help sheep to grow wool in Australia," and "just returned home from some similar errand in Canada," the distinction here remaining between "British Columbia" and "Canada." In 1906 the governor-general Lord Grey termed the British Columbia fruit farmer "par excellence

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[1] Paddy Ackland, interview, band 2, p. 2 of transcript.
[2] Derek Reimer, ed., The Gulf Islanders, v. 5, no. 4 (1976), of Sound Heritage, p. 1. See also Angl. Ch., Dioc. Col., Annual Report, 1891, p. 23; and Hills, Diary, June 2, 1890, and May 7, 1891.
[3] Reimer, pp. 21 and 37.
[4] H.H. Munro, The Short Stories of Saki (London: Bodley Head, 1930), p. 494.

Nature's Gentleman."[1]

Fruit farming's reputation as a leisurely occupation enhanced its appeal to middle and upper-class immigrants. In the 1890s a contemporary characterized it as "a lotus-eating existence in which you idled away the sunny hours while the dollars grew on the trees."[2] A popular farming guide published in Britain of 1909 described the occupation as one "where school friendships can be continued unbroken, with joint sporting expeditions as happy interludes to lucrative fruit-farming operations."[3] A British writer two years later was even more evocative: "There are growing communities of luxurious families who--in both senses of the phrase--live on fruit ranches in British Columbia. They dwell in paradise and find it pays."[4] A somewhat cynical observer ranked most fruit farmers' priorities as "to shoot bear and catch salmon, and incidentally to grow a few apples."[5]

Fruit farming in the British Columbia interior was initiated by the Scottish aristocrat Lord Aberdeen. In the early 1890s he purchased land in the Okanagan Valley, then given over to cattle ranching, and began to experiment with irrigated fruit growing. Soon small plots on his Coldstream Ranch just outside the market town of Vernon were being sold to fellow

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[1] Early Grey to Sir Wilfred Laurier, Oct. 4, 1906, Grey Papers, Public Archives of Canada, quoted in Ormsby, p. 354.
[2] C.W. Holliday, The Valley of Youth (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1948), p. 180.
[3] Redmayne, p. 103.
[4] Arthur E. Copping, Canada To-Day and To-Morrow. (London: Cassell and Co., 1911), p. 259.
[5] Noel, p. 2.

Englishmen and Scots "of a very good class," settlers described approvingly by his wife in her private diary as a clergyman's son, relatives of an acquaintance in a good military regiment, "a very gentlemanly looking man," and a family which "had been in the North West for some years, then went home for their children's education."[1]

During Lord Aberdeen's tenure as governor-general, the family personally oversaw the creation of "a really high-class little community," to use Lady Aberdeen's phrase. A Vernon resident of the 1890s described the appearance of British class structure in a society until then largely "Canadian," to use his term:

> Social life in Vernon up to this time had been very free and easy and unspoiled by any sense of "class," but as English people from the so-called upper classes began to come in with their families, many of them seemed unable or unwilling to shed their prejudices; they formed a distinct exclusive "social set" among themselves, people who for some obscure reason thought they were superior to mere "colonials" . . . . In many ways it was like the social life in some Indian station, as described by Kipling in "Plain Tales from the Hills."[2]

The participants in this society he characterized as

> retired officers of the army and navy; retired Indian civil servants; men who had gone broke growing oranges or tea and thought apples and peaches might put them on their feet again; English school boys whose parents sent them to the "colonies" with their blessings because they would not fit into anything at home; professional men, fed up with their professions, who with

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[1] Lady Aberdeen, p. 141, also p. 294. See Jean Webber, "Colstream Muncipality," Okanagan Historical Society [hereafter OHS], Report 15 (1951), pp. 77-85.
[2] Holliday, pp. 189-90.
[3] Ibid, p. 183. See also Fraser, pp. 364-65.

dreams of a life of ease longed to be farmers.[3]

The Aberdeen enterprise, together with smaller ventures further south near Kelowna, initiated the breakup of the Okanagan Valley's large ranches into fruitlands.[1] The necessity for considerable venture capital to finance irrigation as well as purchase the land itself helped determine the nature of new settlement. In the interests of economy development companies generally concentrated their sales pitch at a single geographical area, often that from which their finance originated. Thus, dominantly British settlements grew up on the Coldstream, at Lavington to the east, along the shores of Okanagan Lake, and near Kelowna, whereas settlers from Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec were enticed into the southern Okanagan communities of Summerland, Peachland and Naramata and into the Glenmore district northeast of Kelowna.[2] Other nationalities also had their own communities, such as French-Canadian Lumby

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[1] See David Dendy, "One Huge Orchard: Okanagan Land and Development Companies Before the Great War" (unpublished honour's essay, Department of History, University of Victoria, 1976); his "The Development of the Orchard Industry in the Okanagan Valley, 1890-1914," OHS, Report 38 (1974), pp. 68-73; Mitchell and Duffy; and Ursula Surtees, Sunshine and Butterflies : A short History of Early Fruit Ranching in Kelowna (Kelowna: Kelowna Centennial Museum, 1979).

[2] See Dendy, "Orchard," pp 20-45; Mitchell and Duffy, pp. 56-65; Dorothy, Robinson, Gwen Robinson Hayman and William Robinson, untitled interview with Imbert Orchard, 1964?, accession no. 1111 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC); Glemore, The Apple Valley (Glemore: Glenmore Centennial Committee, 1958), pp. 10-13; and F.W. Andrew, W.H.B. Munn and H.V. Stent, The Summerland Story (Summerland: Ladies' Hospital Auxiliary, 1967), pp. 27-34. See also Fraser, p. 290; Cohnstaedt, p. 64; Noel, p. 167; Bradley, pp. 364-65; and and Frank Carrel, Canada's West and Farther West (Toronto: Musson, 1911), p. 156.

and largely Swedish Mabel Lake.[3]

The British immigrants arrived in the Okanagan to grow fruit during the first decade and a half of the new century differed little from their predecessors in the Coldstream. A 1909 account described the fruit farmers as "men of the better class, people of education and refinement."[1] An Anglican missionary on Okanagan Lake reported in 1911: "My whole parish has scores of young University and Public School men."[2] A semi-official description of British Columbia published in 1914 to promote settlement stated:

> Throughout the entire valley, from Sicamous Junction to Penticton, will be found retired professional and businessmen, ex-army and navy officers, and many others of similar social standing engaged in fruit ranching . . . . To the public school and university man, who looks in vain for a profession at home offering reasonable prospects, the Okanagan appears yearly more attractive, and the young Englishman of birth and education is found everywhere throughout the district.[3]

The enormous popularity of Okanagan fruit farming was not lost on enterprising promoters, who were soon searching out other areas of the interior to "boom," to use the common expression for land development. Indicative of the great--and often illusory--expectations generated by the Okanagan's success was a newspaper notice of 1912 concerning a desert area to the west:

[3] Rosemary Deuling, Beyond Shushwap Falls (n.p.: Parkland ColorPress, 1973); and Grassroots of Lumby, 1877-1927 (Lumby: Lumby Historians, 1979).
[1] Redmayne, p. 104.
[2] Across the Rockies 2 (1911), p. 102.
[3] Boam, p. 742. See also Bell, p. 201; Noel, p. 175; and Work for the Far West 50 (1909), pp. 6-7.

> Col. H.B. Morgan has secured 13,000 acres of land at Nicola Lake and intends to sub-divide it into 10 acre fruit farms, with golf and polo grounds and a race course to attract officers of the army and navy and civil service as immigrants. He maintains that the scheme will banish the loneliness and isolation, dreaded by this superior class of settlers![1]

One such settlement, Walhachin, did actually develop in a desert area about a hundred miles west of Vernon. Intended by its upper-class British promoters to attract only the wealthy, "a rather aristocratic assemblage"--to quote one resident just out of Haileybury--spent their days in leisure activities while Chinamen tended the young fruit trees.[2]

Numerous land developments in eastern British Columbia in the years just preceding the war were largely directed toward Britons of moderate or limited means already emotionally committed to emigration but unable to afford the Okanagan's escalating prices.[3] Areas along the Arrow Lakes; Kootenay Lake in the west Kootenay mountains; Windemere and Columbia Lakes and the Kootenay River in the east Kootenays; and the Boundary

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[1] Kelowna Courier, April 25, 1912, quoted in Art Gray, Kelowna, Tales of Bygone Days (Kelowna: Kelowna Daily Courier, 1963?), p. 25. See also Thornhill, p. 92.

[2] Vernon News, Feb. 1, 1968. See also Nelson Andrew Riis, "Settlement Abandonment: A Case Study of Walhachin - Myth and Reality" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography, UBC, 1970); his "The Walhachin Myth: A Study in Settlement Abandonment," BC Studies 17 (1973), pp. 3-25; and Joan S. Weir, "Walachin: A Romantic Adventure, or a Glorious Con?," Kamloops Daily Sentinel, June 18 and 25, July 2 and 9, 1977.

[3] Boam, pp. 748-50; Elkington, pp. 172-88; Thornhill, pp. 92-93; Carrel, pp. 143-44; Ella C. Sykes, A Home-Help in Canada (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1912), p. 139. For good case studies, see Edward L. Affleck, Kootenay Lake Chronicles (Vancouver: Alexander Nicolls Press, 1978), pp. 151-60; and his Kootenay Pathfinders (Vancouver: Alexander Nicolls Press, 1976), pp. 75-85.

region near the American border were all boomed as suitable for fruit growing by individuals generally unfamiliar with longterm climatic conditions in the region. Promotions for these "poor man's Okanagans" were often misleading: a 1912 story on the Kootenays in the prestigious Illustrated London News contained unidentified photos of full grown Okanagan orchards.[1]

In other cases, enthusiasm simply outdistanced reality. Having heard "that near Windemere, there was a great irrigation scheme in progress," two British travellers of 1910 arrived to discover "a few shacks, two small stores, a dirty little hotel (in the bar of which a man was shot the day after we left), and one presiding genius," who proudly showed them "the town site, the hotel site, the site of the bowling-green and the polo ground."[2]

All the same, such promotions did bring additional middle-class British settlers into British Columbia. By 1912 the Lake Windemere site was busily attracting immigrants who discovered its limitations only on arrival. As one young English couple wrote home, "It's a terrible place where fruit trees wont [sic] grow and where nothing that was advertised in the pamphlets is ready."[3] About the same time its "genius," a Scots engineer named Robert Randolph Bruce--who would end his career as lieutenant-governor of British Columbia--was assuring readers of The Field, a genteel English fishing and hunting magazine, that

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[1] Illustrated London News, March 9, 1912, supplement.
[2] Vernede, pp. 216 and 220-23. See also B. Pullen-Burry, From Halifax to Vancouver (London: Mills and Boon, 1912), pp. 309-10.
[3] John Noel Phillips to Mrs. F.W. Oxley, April 20, 1912, Oxley letters in PABC.

a settler "will find companions who have been at Eton; he will find golfers who have played at St. Andrew's; and in his hunts he will be joined by men who have shot tigers in India and the rhinocerous in South Africa."[1] An Anglican missionary on Kootenay Lake in 1913 oversaw a parish containing mainly "English people who have come out with but small capital to try and make a living growing fruit." The name of the launch in which he travelled the lake each Sunday, the "Floreat Etona"--named after its donors, old boys of that leading "public" school--indicated the extent to which consciousness of British settlement in British Columbia had penetrated Britain itself.[2]

VI

The effect for British Columbia--and for the course of education in British Columbia--of the arrival of British middle and upper-class settlers in the years preceding the First World War is not easily assessed. Contemporary sources and reminiscences make clear that British middle and upper-class immigrants in no way conceived of themselves as coming to a separate society but rather considered their destination only a distant part of greater Britain, "an outpost of Empire."[3] An

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[1] Reprinted in Windemere, British Columbia (Invermere: Columbia Valley Irrigated Fruit Lands, Ltd., 1912?).
[2] Across the Rockies 4 (1913), pp. 301-05; also 3 (1912), pp. 194 and 212. Harrow old boys donated a similar boat for use on Okanagan Lake.
[3] Work for the Far West 27 (1904), p. 5; and Fraser, p. 192; also Outpost.

Anglican cleric termed the province, "Britain of the Pacific."[1] As one Englishman rhapsodized on his arrival, "Here I am on the last mainland of the British Empire, at the western end of the English world on which the sun never sets."[2] A more poetic compatriot wrote of British Columbia: "Oh, seed of Empire! Stones on which we set that Greater Britain, which is yet to be."[3] An immigrant wife isolated on a ranch some thirty miles outside Vernon described her few neighbours as "those who have, by force of circumstances, been drawn together on the isolated fringes of an Empire in the making."[4]

British settlers self-confidently set out to recreate a familiar social environment. Even in the most primitive frontier conditions, the established practice of changing for dinner continued: "Father always donned a dark suit, and mother a suitable afternoon dress, for dinner, while Dorothy and I appeared at the dinner table garbed in tussore smocks."[5] As one woman resident on the edge of the Cowichan recollected, although her family worked so that "we thought we had never before known fatigue," each evening her brother came down "in his fresh white flannels and 'old school' tie."[6] Despite the availability of Canadian goods by mail-order catalogue, key items of clothing were regularly purchased from large London department stores.

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[1] Work for the Far West 27 (1904), p. 5.
[2] Sladen, p. 374.
[3] Clive Phillips-Wolley in Across the Rockies 3 (1912), p. 111.
[4] Phyllis Warren, untitled memoir [PABC title, West We Go] (n.p.: n.d., 1959?), p. 11.
[5] Affleck, Chronicles, p. 153.
[6] Alice Ravenhill, The Memoirs of an Educational Pioneer (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1951), p. 177.

As Dorothy's sister remembered, "The steamer whistle always held out the prospect of a long-awaited Army & Navy order."[1] Special care was taken to maintain a proper accent so as not to be "talking like a Colonial."

British newspapers, magazines, and topics of conversation remained the norm. As one child of these years has recalled, "Masses of English magazines of every kind were sent to us in great bundles from England - the Graphic and the Illustrated London News and the Sphere and Country Life and the Daily Mirror."[2] An English traveller of 1909 described her visit with acquaintances settled on the Gulf Islands: "In the sunset we talked we two moderns, in the primal glades discussing the Fabian society, eugenics, Brieux, Ibsen, Tolstoy."[3]

Social clubs whose membership was in essence limited to suitable British settlers came into being. The South Cowichan Lawn Tennis Club had begun in 1884. A men's social club was organized in Kelowna in 1903 to rectify a "shortage of old country papers," and the Kalamalka Country Club initiated as a shareholder company in the Coldstream in 1909.[4] In other cases, more informal methods of social separation were improvised. In the west Kootenays the hotel opened by the Canadian Pacific

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[1] Affleck, Chronicles, p. 156.
[2] Reimer, p. 25.
[3] Marion Free Cran, A Woman in Canada (London: John Milne, 1910), p. 202.
[4] E.M. Carruthers, "History of the Kelowna Club, 1903-1948," OHS, Report 13 (1949), p. 172; and J.R. Kidston, "Country Club is a Special Asset to District of Vernon," Vernon News, 1937 special edition, unpaginated. Also F. (Tommy) Wilmot, untitled interview with Imbert Orchard, 1964?, accession no. 1088, bands 1 and 2 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC); and Noel, p. 175.

Railway at Balfour in 1911 became the unofficial club of the "tennis set," while the bar of the simpler hotel in nearby Proctor served as "a working man's gathering place."[1]

Common membership of virtually all gentlemen emigrants in the Anglican Church, which still retained much of its original British ethos, provided another important social bond. The Bishop of New Westminster noted in 1901 that Anglicans were "mostly English born."[2] The parish list of St. Peter's, Quamichan, read like a local directory of British settlers in the Cowichan.[3]

Particularly in the countryside, contact with the host society could be largely selective. Canadian settlers of suitable social standing were in any case a minority. One British observer explained that the Canadian "of the same class" as the gentleman emigrant "with rare exceptions, does not touch farming, but goes into business or the professions to make money."[4] He "cannot in the least understand a preference for country life, except in the summer vacation."

Canadians of lesser social standing could often be avoided. In an area of the east Kootenays, for instance, "nearly all the English folk" shopped at the general store run by a fellow countryman on the grounds that his competitor was "a Canadian who does not like the newcomers on the bench," or fruitlands.[5]

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[1] Affleck, Chronicles, pp. 110-11.
[2] Work for the Far West 17 (1901), p. 10.
[3] David S. Williams, One Hundred Years of St. Peter's, Quamichan (Duncan: St. Peter's Church, 1976), pp. 55-60.
[4] Bradley, pp. 415 and 418.
[5] Margaret Oxley Phillips to her mother, Nov. 8, 1912, Oxley letters.

Local market towns were to be eschewed. A popular aphorism about the principal settlement in the west Kootenays was also applicable to Duncan or Vernon: "Nelson is all right for a bit of shopping, but I don't know how anybody can live there."[1] In Duncan even the hours of Saturday shopping were tacitly divided. In these years when Saturday was still considered a day of work, British gentlemen settlers arrived from the countryside in the morning to indicate their leisurely status, townspeople shopped in the afternoon, and loggers appeared in the evening.[2]

Often, British settlers went beyond simple separation and adopted what one contemporary termed a "condescending frame of mind" toward all Canadians, who were after all mere colonials, generally lacking "literary, cultured refinement."[3] The "scheme of life" of the average Canadian was easily scorned as "wholly material and that of a Government school."[4] A 1910 travel account published in Britain even took pains at the beginning to assure readers that the word "Canadian" referred only to "the average Canadian, the middle-class man," whereas "the Canadian aristocrats and some of the College men are very different from the man-in-the-street, they are highly educated, broad-minded, and in every sense of the word modern aristocrats."[5] A London Times article of 1908 summed up the prevailing attitude of

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[1] David Scott and Edna H. Hanic, Nelson: Queen City of the Kootenays (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1972), p. 106.
[2] Interview, July 9, 1980. Interviews are identified only by date to protect confidentiality.
[3] Emily P. Weaver, Canada and the British Immigrant (London: Religious Tract Society, 1914), p. 277.
[4] Bradley, p. 415.
[5] Elkington, p. ii.

British settlers in British Columbia as "a patronizing manner that is more galling to the Canadians than would be open insult."[1]

The reaction of Canadians to their treatment by British gentlemen emigrants and, more generally, to the settlements themselves was oftimes negative. As one article put it, there was simply no reason why "a man born in the 'right little, tight little island' is on a somewhat different plane from those of us who first saw light in what we have no objection to calling the Colonies."[2] An English visitor to British Columbia in 1910 reported, "I seem to become engaged in more of the England v. Canada quarrels there than in any other province of the Dominion."[3]

Part of the Canadian antipathy, while rebounding on all middle-class immigrants, was certainly precipitated by "remittance men." These were upper-middle-class or upper-class young men generally just out of "public" school who, very much like Saki's Bertie, were sent to the colonies with a regular income, or "remittance," either to remove them from Britain consequent on some social indiscretion or simply in the hope that they would find themselves in a newer environment. As the historian Patrick Dunae has demonstrated, many remittance men lived flamboyantly on the margin in a manner calculated to annoy

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[1] Times, Oct. 10, 1908.
[2] Across the Rockies 5 (1914), pp. 7-9, reprinting article in Colonist.
[3] Cran, p. 191.

poorer but ambitious Canadians.[4] The comment of a Toronto newspaper reporter in Vancouver was indicative: "With the manner and cultured voice of the well-bred, they live a life that is akin to the tramp's."[1]

Canadian antipathy was also directed against gentlemen-farmers and retired Britons, whose leisurely life style offended industrious Canadians imbued with the Protestant work ethic. As a British writer of 1912 explained, "Canadians are critical of the English fruit-growers, as they say that they spend many a working hour playing tennis, and by no means come up to the dour ideal of 'all work and no play.'"[2] A fellow Briton commented that "Canadians, speaking of course generally," view "the educated man who prefers the fresh air and sunshine, and daily contact with the best of nature, and has a sufficient income to grow grapes or apples ardently but unalloyed with carking care, as a sort of loafer."[3]

Not unexpectedly, a Canadian visitor of 1909 found that, after the "go-aheadness" of the prairies, "the apathy of Kelowna was killing to the extreme."[4] Victoria was in a "lethargic state," its only hope lying in the replacement of "retired naval, military and Hudsons Bay officers" with "a more vigorous

[4] Patrick Dunae, "Tom Brown on the Prairies: Public Schoolboys and Remittance Men in the Canadian West, 1870-1914" (paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, June 1979); and his Emigrants, pp. 123-46. For a vivid portrait of remittance men in the Okanagan, see Mitchell and Duffy, pp. 31-38.

[1] McEvoy, p. 156. For an American reaction, see A.L. Ridger, A Wanderer's Trail (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1914), pp. 72-73.

[2] Sykes, p. 140.

[3] Bradley, p. 417.

[4] Carrel, pp. 13 and 178.

stock." The Toronto reporter who so disliked remittance men wrote concerning "English gentlefolk" that while "they were everything to be desired socially" and "give a tone to local circles," "as assistants to the progress of British Columbia, their value is almost nil."[1] Canadians simply could not understand what one Englishwoman termed British "content with the happiness of 'enough' rather than the excitement of 'more.'"[2]

Certainly much of the animosity which grew up over the years of mass immigration was resolved by the war. As put by one settler, "it seemed to be the milepost of everything."[3] Western Canada was almost overnight cleared of its remittance men, who rushed headlong into this greater adventure. Many older gentlemen emigrants had already served in the military, if not as their first career then as a volunteer during the Boer War. They too went to Britain's defense. At the same time, others were too old to serve, some of the wounded soon returned, and so part of the tension persisted. Indicative was a highly confidential report issued in 1916 by a major Anglican mission society in British Columbia concerning "a somewhat distressing racial antagonism between the Canadian and English elements of the population" affecting "people of all sorts and conditions."[4]

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[1] McEvoy, pp. 156-157.
[2] Cran, p. 199.
[3] Mitchell and Duffy, p. 73.
[4] British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, "Memorandum," p. 56.

VII

The course of education in British Columbia was directly affected by the influx of British middle and upper-class settlers. Their continuing commitment to distinctly British forms of education denoting social status was strengthened both by socio-geographic circumstances allowing them largely to retain their life style and by antipathy toward Canadians, who were easily identified with government schools. As one English woman wrote from the east Kootenays concerning a neighbour's children attending the local school: "It would be absolutely wicked to send such charming mites to 'hob nob' with the school children at Athalmar - no - I am not a democrat!"[1] Even the far more measured attitude of an old Etonian settled for two decades in Canada contained a powerful argument against the public system. As he confided to an English visitor:

> "The Canadian schools are really very good, but of course they don't give the same facilities and stimulus of an English college. Please understand I am not regretting what one may call the 'social polish' side of the thing. God forbid that my children should grow up with any sense of class distinctions! But I should hate the idea of their missing the solid part of it--the developing of their minds and widening of their general outlook."[2]

Wealthy families frequently brought nurses, governesses and

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[1] M.O. Phillips to her sister Freda, Feb. 2, 1913, Oxley letters.

[2] Arthur E. Copping, The Golden Land: The True Story and Experience of British Settlers in Canada (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), p. 54.

tutors as part of their baggage. A woman growing up on the edge of the Cowichan recollected:

> We were brought up in that wilderness exactly as children in England. We had our nursery where we had our meals and each evening Emily put us into clean clothes--the boys in white sailor suits, and I (and later my sister) in little smocked silk dresses, and we spent the evening with our parents.[1]

Lord Loughborough, a young aristocrat come to South Pender Island to learn farming, simply brought his tutor with him from home.[2] Then, too, offspring could always be sent home to Britain for their education.

The most viable solution lay, however, in the creation of suitable educational facilities within British Columbia. A popular fruit farming guide published in Britain in 1909 reported that several companies "are now offering special facilities for the erection and establishment of local secondary schools (to be conducted on more or less English lines)."[3] The principal initiative would come, however, from British immigrants themselves. In concert with the small but well-established support group favouring private education already resident in the province, they would simply replicate in British Columbia established British models of the preparatory and "public" school.

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[1] Green Branches and Fallen Leaves (Shawnigan Lake: Shawnigan Lake Confederation, 1967), p. 18; see also Reimer, pp. 29-35.
[2] Reimer, pp. 14-15.
[3] Redmayne, p. 104.

Chapter 3

THE CREATION OF INSTITUTIONS

British middle and upper-class immigrants to British Columbia in the years preceding the First World War came in order to ensure for themselves and their offspring a socio-economic status difficult or impossible to maintain in Britain itself. For many of these settlers, preservation of position in the social structure depended as much in British Columbia as in Britain on their sons' attendance at a private boarding school inculcating suitable patterns of behaviour. At the beginning of the years of mass immigration, British Columbia lacked the requisite institutions. The few small boys' schools in operation in Victoria and Vancouver did not even satisfy many local families who chose rather to educate offspring in Britain or Ontario.

The creation of new institutions, while occasioned by the desires of British settlers and of established families, was facilitated by the extent to which the British models of the "public" and preparatory school had become formalized. Even the pattern of organization was singular: "public" schools assumed proprietorial, corporate or endowed form while their counterparts for younger boys were generally private ventures.

The existence in British Columbia of an established educational consensus wherein private schools were not only accepted but unregulated meant that the creation of new institutions demanded no consultation with the larger society or reference to the existing educational infrastructure. Indeed, almost all British Columbia's new private boys' schools would be founded and long maintained as British institutions largely independent of their Canadian environment.

The establishment of a private venture, while demanding individual initiative and some assurance of clientele, depended primarily on knowledgable commitment to the principles and practices underlying schools in Britain. This young British immigrants, themselves "publicly" educated, understood intimately. It was from such settlers, also anxious to guarantee in British Columbia a life style they could not achieve in Britain, that the new institutions garnered their founders and most devoted supporters. By comparison, incorporation entailed familiarity with the host society. In these cases the existence in British Columbia of a support group committed to private education became especially significant.

The great years of private-school creation in British Columbia extended from about 1905 to the Depression. Two periods of enthusiasm occurred, as measured by the number of institutions in operation. In the prewar years the total grew from 5 in 1900 to at least 16 by 1915. After sinking to 11 by 1918, the number rose again to 22 or more by the late 1920s.

At least three dozen boys' schools were in existence over

these three decades, some of them fleeting private ventures surviving only a matter of terms, others large enterprises still in operation. Since the foundation of schools required no official approval, the actual number created will never be fully determined. Moreover, "public" and preparatory schools in Britain did not consider public advertising genteel, relying for clientele on word of mouth among suitable segments of society. Schools in British Columbia following their example need have left as evidence of their existence only a brief entry in a local directory or the recollection of a former pupil.

I

The circumstances whereby specific schools were created in British Columbia's three major areas of settlement--Victoria, Vancouver and the countryside--in the years preceding the First World War reflected these regions' appeal to British middle and upper-class immigrants. In Victoria established society played a major role, in Vancouver a Canadian ethos pervaded some of the new structures, and in the countryside the impetus was self-confidently British.

The centre of private education in British Columbia had always lain in Victoria. If Bishop Hills' dream of "the great English Public School of the Pacific Coast" remained ephemeral, the city still possessed at the turn of the century three boys' schools--Corrig College, Collegiate School, and a school for

younger boys run by an Anglican cleric.[1] These institutions did not, however, long satisfy established Victorians watching their city grow from a white population of 18,700 in 1901 to 28,000 a decade later. Although they expanded steadily to accommodate new demand and by 1906 were together enrolling over a hundred boys, they remained unsatisfactory. In the words of a contemporary, "no small school of which there is an abundance in Victoria, it is generally felt, can supply what the larger schools of the east and British Isles do most efficiently."[1] The quest to create "the Great School of the West" began with the announcement in June 1907 that "a large boarding school, modelled after those which are common in England, will be established in Victoria."[2]

The new school would emulate British models, being intended to "maintain the best traditions of the English Public Schools at the same time keeping in mind the special needs of colonial life."[3] While accepting boys of all ages, it was principally intended, like British counterparts, "to enable a pupil to pass the University Matriculation examinations, or the entrance examinations of Medical, Military, Naval and other special colleges, or to enter business life." Incorporation under a board of directors with large capitalization in shares followed

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[1] See Colonist, April 28 and Dec. 18, 1903; Dec. 17, 1904; Dec. 17, 1905; Aug. 14 and Dec. 18, 1906; Dec. 18, 1907; and Dec. 20, 1908.
[1] Colonist, Jan. 19, 1908; also May 19, 1906.
[2] Times and Colonist, June 7, 1907; also Colonist, Feb. 16, 1908.
[3] Colonist, Aug. 16, 1908.
[4] Financial prospectus in Colonist, Feb. 16, 1908.

British practice.[4] The school's new brick facilities housing 175 boarders and 75 day boys were not unlike those of a modest British "public" school. The Victoria school was Anglican: "Unless otherwise desired, all boarders attend service (Anglican) every Sunday."[1]

University School--as the institution was named on the optimistic but mistaken assumption that a provincial university would soon be established nearby--was designed to attract both established British Columbia families currently sending offspring elsewhere and new arrivals. There would be available at home "that tone and discipline for which so many in the province and surrounding parts now pay almost any price and suffer the prolonged absence at great distance of their sons to obtain."[2] The new institution would also encourage prospective settlers. As the Colonist phrased it, "One of the first questions asked by persons contemplating residence in Victoria is as to the educational advantages."[3]

The men behind University School as founders or governors suggest the alliance of interests existing in Victoria between recent arrivals from Britain and older residents. The three founders were all immigrants. The Rev. William Washington Bolton, born in 1858 into an Anglican clerical family, had after attending Cambridge gone out as a missionary to Saskatchewan and in 1887 become rector at Esquimalt, where he also ran a parish

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[1] University School [hereafter US] Prospectus, 1912?.
[2] Colonist, Jan. 19, 1908; also Times, Jan. 3, 1908.
[3] Colonist, Aug. 16, 1908.

boys' school.[4] Married two years later to a granddaughter of Vancouver Island's first colonial governor, Bolton had angrily departed for San Francisco when St. Paul's parish refused to provide a rectory. In 1898 the Boltons returned, as he later wrote, "to bring up his own sons under the British flag."[1] Having decided to educate along with them a dozen little fellows as companions," the Rev. Bolton was soon running a small school.

In 1906 the Rev. Bolton was joined by J.C. Barnacle, who on leaving London University had emigrated to Victoria and taught very briefly in the public system before securing a position at Collegiate School.[2] The third partner was R.V. Harvey, educated at the "public" school of Liverpool College and at Cambridge.[3] After several years teaching in England, Harvey emigrated to Vancouver to assist at Queen's School, which he took over in 1901. When Harvey decided to join with the Rev. Bolton and Barnacle, he simply moved pupils and equipment across the strait to Victoria.

The "wealthy gentlemen," to use a contemporary description, who became University's first governors were the managing directors of Victoria's two newspapers, the speaker of the provincial legislature, and two leading businessmen.[4] The first three--J.S.H. Matson, John Nelson, and D.M. Eberts--had become

[4] Ada Barnes, St. Paul's I Century and 10 Years (n.p.: n.p., 1976), pp. 29-30; St. Paul's Royal Naval Station and Garrison Church, Esquimalt, Historical Sketch, 1866-1926 (Esquimalt: n.p., 1926), pp. 8-10; Hills, Diary, May 24, 1887, July 22 and Dec. 23, 1889; Colonist, Aug. 16, 1908; and Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, ed. C.W. Parker (Toronto: International Press, 1911) [hereafter WWWC], p. 114.

[1] USM 38 (1920), p. 43.

[2] Colonist, Aug. 3, 1906, and Aug. 16, 1908.

[3] Times, Jan. 3, 1908, and Colonist, Jan. 4 and Aug. 16, 1908.

[4] Times, June 7, 1907.

well integrated into Victoria society since arrival from Ontario as young men.[1] The two businessmen--D.R. Ker and F.B. Pemberton--belonged to pioneer Victoria families. The five all had young sons to educate, and three of them a commitment to private education deriving from their own schooling. Matson had attended Pickering College, a Quaker institution north of Toronto; and Ker Collegiate School. Pemberton had been sent back to England.

Support for the creation of University School went beyond its immediate backers. The lieutenant-governor James Dunsmuir became the school's patron. The cornerstone-laying ceremony was attended by Minister of Education Harry Esson Young and Premier Richard McBride, who had himself gone to Lorne and Columbian schools. The premier expressed the hope "that parents of the boys who are yearly being sent to schools outside the province" would find the new institution adequate, while the minister asserted that it would soon "compare favourably with the great schools of the Mother Land."[2]

The broad backing given University School indicates clearly that British Columbia's educational consensus was still in place. The rationale for the new institution put forward in Matson's Colonist demonstrated how little the commitment to

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[1] On Matson, see Colonist, Dec. 7, 1958; Aug. 27, 1967; and WWBC, 1931, p. 66. On Nelson, see WWWC, p. 296. On Eberts, see WWWC, p. 168, and Who's Who and Why, 1914 (Toronto: Canadian Press Assn.), p. 306. On Ker, see Colonist, July 14, 1923, March 19, 1967; Scholefield and Howay, v. 3, pp. 1018-19. On Pemberton, see Nesbitt, Colonist, March 14, 1948; Kerr, pp. 267-68; and Scholefield and Howay, v. 4, pp. 354-56.

[2] Colonist, Oct. 8, 1908.

class-based private education had altered among many Victoria families. The quality of schooling given each child was perceived as dependent not on individual needs and abilities but on the socio-economic status of parents, for public education could only be expected to provide basic knowledge to the offspring of families unable to afford more.

> Here in this busy west, where men are striving with things material, it is essential that there shall be provided, as far as possible, institutions where growing lads shall receive instruction that cannot be found in the books, instruction that comes from a personal interest by instructors in each individual under them . . . . It is impossible to supply this quality in any system established by law.

Such training, limited to the wealthy and privileged, would produce those in whose "hands the future of the state rests."

The success of University School, whose enrollment doubled by 1910 to 150 boys, was partially responsible for the creation of a second new boys' school in prewar Victoria.[1] However, while St. Michael's Preparatory School did gain some of its early clientele from parental dissatisfaction with the growing impersonality of University School, it was in essence the personification of a single individual, Kyrle C. Symons. Symons had been born in India in 1881 the son of a civil servant.[2] Sent back to London's Dulwich College, a recently established "public" school of some 700 pupils, Symons went on to Oxford

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[1] See Colonist, Dec. 18, 1909, and Dec. 17, 1910.

[2] On Symons and St. Michaels', see Kyrle C. Symons, That Amazing Institution: The Story of St. Michael's School, Victoria, B.C., from 1910-1948 (Victoria: n.p., 1948), a chronological account of the school's foundation and operation; see also Colonist, May 31, 1925, and March 31, 1957; and interviews, April 19, 1979, and April 15, 1980.

University and trained as an Anglican cleric. Disenchantment with the Church of England's preference for wealthy parishioners over work among the poor precipitated a decision to leave both the ministry and Britain. Symons arrived in Victoria in August 1908 with virtually no money, a pregnant wife and, in his own words, "the idea of starting a little school of his own."[1] In the interim, he secured position as a teacher of a small common school on the tip of Saltspring Island.

Symons' opportunity to begin his school came in 1910 when a summer resident offered him a holiday job tutoring his son and then a monthly fee greater than his salary to continue in Victoria in the autumn. Symons, now a father twice over, accepted the challenge, his evident ability slowly attracting additional pupils to his home. Among the first arrivals were sons of Matson and other disenchanted University backers. As Symon later wrote proudly, "we have never sought publicity and avoid advertising": "If parents are satisfied they will tell others, and that is the only kind of advertisement that I think is worth while."[2]

The opportunity to erect physical structures came in January 1912 from a chance remark over tea to an early parent. F.M. Rattenbury was an English architect who had designed both the provincial Parliament Building and the Canadian Pacific's Empress Hotel. When Symons commented on the lack of a playing field, Rattenbury responded, "'Look here, Symons, go round and

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[1] Colonist, March 31, 1957.
[2] Symons, p. 75.

find some level ground, build a house for yourselves and a school on it. I'll pay for it and you can repay me in so many years.'"[1] This Symons did in the prosperous suburb of Oak Bay, which was, according to a contemporary, "a favourite residential district with English people."[2]

The institution thus created emulated a British preparatory school. St. Michael's Preparatory School was a private venture with a dominantly Anglican ethos. It was run by Symons and his devoted wife with assistant masters hired as necessary to instruct the school's upper limit of 70 to 75 pupils aged between 7 and 14. The reliance of St. Michael's on local day boys, while setting it apart from the bulk of British schools, was consonant both with its location in a genteel residential suburb and with Symons' education at one of the few "public" schools admitting large numbers of day pupils. Indeed, St. Michael's Preparatory School was overtly patterned on Symons' own schools of Dulwich College and Dulwich College Preparatory School.

University School and St. Michael's Preparatory School were not alone in prewar Victoria in their conscious adoption of British models. Corrig College, which would be closed by its headmaster's illness in 1916, was operated largely as an English grammar school.[3] Collegiate School was in 1910 reorganized "on the lines of the Great Public Schools of England" consequent on

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[1] Symons, p. 16.
[2] Boam, p. 778; see also Hills, Diary, March 18, 1892.
[3] Colonist, Aug. 19, 1934; and Times, Dec. 28, 1917.

being taken over by a new headmaster.[4] A.D. Muskett was another Englishman, son of an Anglican parson, but well integrated into Victoria society through marriage into the pioneer Crease family. Collegiate's new prospectus promised to prepare boys "for the Universities of England and Canada, the Royal Navy, the English Public Schools, the Royal Military College, Kingston, Banks and Commerce." As Mrs. Muskett recollected approvingly in old age, it "was run completely on an English style."[1]

The expansion of Victoria boys' schools was matched by new creations for girls. At the turn of the century a lacuna existed, with girls having to be sent "away from home to become highly educated young ladies fit to adorn the highest circles of society."[2] In 1904 the former Superintendent of Education, an Ontarian named Stephen D. Pope, founded Queen's Academy for girls to accommodate "parents who do not care to send them out of the city." By the time Queen's collapsed following Pope's death in 1910, girls' private education, just as much as that for boys, had come firmly under the aegis of British immigrants.[3] The Poplars, St. George's School, and St. Margaret's School had already been founded by English ladies, as in the next several years were Norfolk House, St. Christopher's School and Uppingham House.

[4] Times, Oct. 22, 1909; Colonist, Dec. 18, 1910; and Collegiate School, Prospectus, 1911 and 1913.
[1] Muskett, "Victoria."
[2] Times, Sept. 12, 1903.
[3] Details on girls' schools taken principally from newspaper files in PABC and VCA.

II

In marked contrast to Victoria, where recent British immigrants played a dominant role in the creation of new educational structures, events in Vancouver reflected that city's Canadian ethos. Comparatively little interest in private education existed in the first decade of the new century despite phenomenal growth--the white population virtually quadrupling from 25,000 to 95,000. Together with a small parish school at St. James' Anglican Church in 1900-03, the existing schools of King's College and Queen's School were evidently considered adequate.[1] Co-educational Columbian College continued in nearby New Westminster.

Interest in boys' education in the greater Vancouver area began on the north shore of Burrard Inlet, where the community of North Vancouver took shape after 1900 following the opening of a shipyard and the start of regular ferry service to Vancouver.[2] The resulting real estate boom attracted considerable numbers of British immigrants: by 1921 North Vancouver's white population of 7,500 was 44 percent British

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[1] On St. James' School, see St. James' Church, Vancouver, The Church Record 5, no. 2 (1901), and 7, no. 6 (1903); St. James' Church, Year Book & Parish Directory, 1903, p. 15; Work for the Far West 25 (1903), p. 19; and News Advertiser, Aug. 29, 1900. On King's College School, see Work for the Far West 34 (1905), p. 12; and 36 (1906), p. 14.

[2] The social history of North Vancouver has yet to be written. The best source available is Kathleen Marjorie Woodward-Reynolds, "A History of the City and District of North Vancouver" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1943).

born compared with 37 percent in Vancouver itself.[1] The first boys' school, "a boarding school on the lines of the English public school," was begun in 1906 by an Anglican cleric with an Oxford degree.[2] When a year later his wife's illness forced a return to England, the value of the land and buildings of St. John's School had already reached $25,000.

St. John's had multiple successors. For a year or two another cleric maintained a school in the original buildings.[3] The more longlived Chesterfield School was begun near St. John's Church by Albert H. Scriven, who also managed a local business school.[4] Born in England in 1875, Scriven had as a child been taken by his estranged mother first to New York and then to the Maritimes. After receiving a bachelor's degree from the University of Manitoba in 1904, he abandoned his original intention to enter the Anglican ministry and taught a year in a public school in rural British Columbia before coming to the coast.

On Scriven's departure from North Vancouver in 1912 owing to his wife's poor health, two successor schools were again spawned. Scriven's assistant master ran a school known variously as Lynn College and Wykeham School until about 1916. The name, Chesterfield, was appropriated by another local Anglican cleric who began a school near his parish in North

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[1] Census of Canada, 1921, v. 2, pp. 354, 357, 542 and 548. No earlier data is available.
[2] Work for the Far West 36 (1906), pp. 14-15; 42 (1907), p. 8; and 46 (1908), p. 14.
[3] See B.C. Directories for details of pre-war schools.
[4] Interviews, March 7 and June 16, 1980.

Lonsdale, a residential community north of the city itself whose high altitude led to the proud self-appellation as "above the fog line."

In 1914 Chesterfield was incorporated as Vancouver Residential Schools.[1] The company's five directors included three Anglican priests, one of them the school's new headmaster just brought out from England.[2] The Rev. John Newton Sykes, a recent Cambridge graduate from a clerical family, gave Chesterfield its permanent personality as a preparatory school of some 50 boarders in the British tradition closely, although unofficially, aligned with the Anglican Church.

While boys' education on the North Shore slowly acquired stability, conditions in Vancouver deteriorated. King's College School, which in 1906 moved to the new residential district of Fairview, closed in 1909 due to its headmaster's illness.[3] The departure of Queen's School for Victoria in 1908 was followed only by a shortlived successor under two Queen's masters, appropriately named New College.[4]

Then, in 1911, a major new enterprise was launched in Vancouver. The incorporation of Western Residential Schools encompassed two schools, Langara for boys and Braemar for girls. Their inspiration, as had been that of Whetham College two

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[1] See Vancouver Residential Schools, materials filed with the Registrar of Companies.
[2] J.K. Sutherland, Rev. John Newton Sykes, William J. Twiss, Rev. William H. Vance, Rev. George H. Wilson. Biograhical data taken from Province, June 22, 1935; Feb. 3, 1953; and Oct. 18, 1955.
[3] Work for the Far West 51 (1910), pp. 6 and 10.
[4] News-Advertiser, Feb. 26, 1909.

decades previous, was distinctly Canadian. The rationale for the schools was given in the company prospectus:

> In recent years, with the increased prosperity of the people, there has been an enormous increase in the number and size of Residential Schools all over the North American Continent. In Toronto alone there are more than forty of these schools, . . . and every city of any size in Canada has one, or more, of such schools.[1]

"Fully $200,000 a year now goes out of Vancouver," due to "the large and increasing number of families in the Coast Cities who now send their children, at great expense, to be educated in the East or in the South."

Examination of the men behind Western Residential Schools makes explicit the educational tradition out of which the project emerged. Fourteen "well known educationalists and prominent professionals and businessmen" were directors of the company.[2] At least eleven were Presbyterian. Included were the head of Vancouver's new Presbyterian seminary, the minister of dynamic Mount Pleasant Church which had just enrolled a thousand new members, and the lay head of the board of managers of St. Andrew's, the established downtown church. Named principal of the two schools was a leading national Presbyterian, the Rev. E.D. McLaren, who had been founding minister of

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[1] Western Residential Schools, Financial Prospectus, 1911; information on schools taken from materials filed with the Registrar of Companies; see also News-Advertiser, Sept. 13, 1912.

[2] W.R. Arnold, William J. Baird, James J. Logan, W.H. McInnes, Rev. John MacKay, Robert Purves McLennan, P. McNaughton, Donald N. McTavish, Esli P. Miller, William Murray, Charles J. Peter, Francis R. Stewart, James A. Thomson, Rev. J.W. Woodside. Biographical data taken from newspaper files in VCA and PABC, biographical dictionaries, and almanacs.

St. Andrew's but most recently Superintendent of Home Missions across Canada.[1]

The relationship of Western Residential Schools to Presbyterianism was not straightforward. Contemporaries identified the dominant ethos. A 1912 English visitor to Vancouver reported the foundation of a "large Presbyterian school" for boys.[2] A provincial history published in 1914 stated that "the Presbyterian body has established two schools in Vancouver."[3] In reality, no official relationship existed between the church and the two schools, no hint of administrative oversight appearing in the church's records.[4] Rather, Braemar and Langara were, as stated in their prospectus, "strictly non-denominational."

The apparent anomaly repeated practice elsewhere in Canada. Ontario's St. Andrew's College for boys, founded in 1899, and Branksome Hall for girls, opened four years later, were both non-sectarian private schools Presbyterian in ethos.[5] While Branksome Hall began as a private venture, St. Andrew's was organized as a joint stock company by "leading members of the Presbyterian Church in Ontario." The first principal of

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[1] Province, Nov. 30, 1935.
[2] Gordon Mackie to George Mackie, Vancouver, June 24, 1912, in Mackie family, Correspondence, in PABC.
[3] Scholefield and Howay, v. 1, pp. 640-641.
[4] No materials exist in the United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology, UBC.
[5] Gossage, pp. 166-69 and 187-91; H.M. Ridley, "Famous Schools of Canada," Willisons Monthly 4 (Feb. 1928), pp. 338-39, and 4 (July 1928), pp. 66-67; St. Andrew's College, Prospectus, quoted in Geoffrey G. Watson, "Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools, 1830-1930" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Physical Education, University of Alberta, 1970), p. 141.

St. Andrew's was "an outstanding personality in Canadian Presbyterian circles," Branksome's founder the former headmistress of Ottawa Ladies' College, a Presbyterian church school. Calgary's Western Canada College, begun in 1903, followed the same pattern.[1] While "wholly undenominational," its trustees were chiefly Presbyterian and its founding head a Presbyterian minister from the Maritimes.

The reliance of Western Residential Schools on Canadian example did not preclude the indirect influence of British models. By the time St. Andrew's was founded at the turn of the century, Upper Canada College and Trinity College School were scrambling to emulate the "public" school. Although St. Andrew's devised judicious modifications, such as the division of boys into "clans" rather than the "houses" common in British schools, its educational priorities and rituals of operation were in reality little different. As recollected by a pupil of 1910, "like Upper Canada College, it was modelled on the English public school."[2]

The Western Residential project was consonant with the city's socio-demographic structure. In 1911, as indicated in Table 8, 34 percent of British Columbia's white population had been born in Britain, 25 percent elsewhere in Canada. Whereas 41 percent of Victoria's white population was British born with only 19 percent from elsewhere in Canada, Vancouver contained 34

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[1] See the school's records in Glenbow Archives, Calgary.
[2] Raymond Massey, When I Was Young (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 76, also pp. 77-80. See also Vincent Massey, What's Past is Prologue (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 14.

percent British born but also 32 percent born elsewhere in Canada. The Canadian influence was particularly strong in business and finance, occupations of prime importance in the rapidly growing commercial metropolis. Of the 176 "business leaders" of prewar Vancouver identified by the historian Robert A.J. McDonald, a full majority had been born elsewhere in Canada.[1]

The influence of the Canadian born was also evident in religious affiliation. The province's dominant denomination of Anglicanism, while attracting fully 36 percent of Victoria's white population, appealed to 26 percent across the province and 26 percent in Vancouver.[2] The next most popular denomination, Presbyterianism, encompassed 22 percent of the province's white population, just 17 percent in Victoria, but fully 26 percent in Vancouver. In other words, in Vancouver--and only in Vancouver--was the Presbyterian Church as strong as the Anglican.[3]

It was out of such a Canadian, Presbyterian, business ethos that Western Residential Schools emerged. Of the company's dozen lay directors, six were financiers and four merchants, including such Vancouver pioneers as the wholesale hardware merchant, Robert Purves McLennan. The "prominent" status accorded these men in the company's prospectus is confirmed by the inclusion of three of the six financiers and all four

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[1] R.A.J. McDonald, pp. 83-85.
[2] Census of Canada, 1911, v. 2, pp. 10-13 and 158-59; and 1951, v. 10, Table 36.
[3] See Work for the Far West 44 (1908), p. 21, for Anglican recognition of Evangelical Protestant dynamism.

merchants among McDonald's business leaders.[1] Birthplace has been determined for eleven of the twelve lay directors. Seven were born elsewhere in Canada--five in Ontario and two in the Maritimes. Two had emigrated from Scotland and one each from England and the United States. The majority arrived in Vancouver before or during the city's first boom of the early 1890s and were in their early fifties. A minority, those not in McDonald's list, had come only in the second boom commencing in 1904 and were young financiers.

Despite auspicious beginnings, the Western Residential project was shortlived. Langara and Braemar opened in October 1912. They were located a few blocks apart near Shaughnessy Heights, a new upper-middle-class residential district promoted by the Canadian Pacific Railway and described by a contemporary as standing to Vancouver "in the same relationship that Mayfair does to London."[2] While Langara's physical facilities were about to be constructed, Braemar was already housed in "magnificent buildings, with every modern appliance for health and comfort." By 1913 enrollments stood at 129 at Braemar, including 48 boarders, and 112 at Langara with 18 boarders. The nature of the schools' clientele paralleled Western Residential's directors. Of the 28 merchants who purchased shares through 1912, most probably on enrolling offspring, half were among McDonald's business leaders, as were 10 of the 22 financiers with shares.

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[1] R.A.J. McDonald, pp. 472-502.
[2] Boam, p. 771.

Like Whetham College, Western Residential Schools was too intimately tied to the Vancouver economy to withstand the next recession. When Langara and Braemar began, money flowed freely and private education provided an additional opportunity for its display. An Ontario visitor to Vancouver in 1911 was apalled by "an extreme of extravagance which is absolutely criminal" and "a general disposition to throw money around in a way which is not quite healthy."[1] The real estate market collapsed in the autumn of 1912. The rumors of war which became persistent over the next year accelerated disarray. Particularly for Evangelical Protestant Canadians who had long accepted the validity of common schooling, a private education rapidly became a luxury easily replaceable by their offspring's return to the public system.

The collapse of Langara and Braemar is most vividly measured through examination of their deteriorating financial condition. The men backing Western Residential Schools clearly assumed their investment would be profitable as well as socially advantageous. The company prospectus had assured potential investors that "all the respectable private schools in Canada are on a paying basis," those in Toronto "paying good dividends on the money invested." At full enrollment of 300 boys and 200 girls, half boarders, investors were assured of an annual profit of 15 to 20 percent. The prospectus had concluded, "As a business proposition the stock of Western Residential Schools

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[1] Rev. R.G. MacBeth, Recent Canadian West Letters (Brantford: Hurley Printing Co., 1912), p. 44; see also Vernede, p. 264.

Limited is a most desirable investment."

In 1913-14 the two schools saw their first--and only--profit, not the $58,000 projected at full enrollment but still a modestly respectable $3.000.[1] The next year, even with "the most rigid economy," Langara lost $5,500, Braemar $4,500. In 1915-16, despite a plea for "the most earnest co-operation of all the shareholders in securing pupils" so as to achieve "reasonable returns on our investments," deficits continued. By the end of 1916 not only did a third mortgage exist against the property, but a loan had been raised on the schools' "goods & chattels" and on the next term's anticipated fees. Langara probably closed in 1917, Braemar a year or two later, the company itself going into liquidation in February 1918.

Whereas Langara had at its formation been virtually the only boys' school in Vancouver, Braemar was but one of several schools for girls. Private ventures had existed since the city's inception, founded by such diverse women as the sister of a railroad official and the former headmistress of a South African girls' school. Granville School began in 1896 with a French and English staff. Two years later a young Englishwoman educated at Cambridge, Miss Jessie Gordon, opened a small school to be named Crofton House. Soon another Englishwoman, Miss M.L. Seymour, began a similar venture, which became St. Marina School. More ephemeral creations, including Burrard College and Guelph School, came and went.

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[1] Western Residential Schools, Financial Report, 1914-17, filed with Registrar of Companies.

III

Just as the major event in private education in prewar Vancouver reflected that city's Canadian ethos, so shifts in the countryside were closely linked to the influx of British middle and upper-class settlers. British immigrants found most compatible the Cowichan Valley, Gulf Islands, and Okanagan Valley; and it was in these three areas that boys' schools appeared.

Private education was initiated in the Cowichan Valley about 1893. A Scottish woman who had been teaching in a Victoria girls' school, and before that in Naples, began a school at "The Cliffs," her parents' home on the banks of the Cowichan River.[1] Day girls, almost all the offspring of fellow British settlers, and female boarders from as far away as Victoria and the Alberta foothills were joined by boys up to the age of ten.

The education of older boys remained a problem until 1904 when parents turned to a recent British immigrant teaching in the local public school.[2] P.T. Skrimshire, born in 1877 the son of an Anglican cleric, had studied at the minor "public" school of Highgate and at Cambridge. Having abandoned university over

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[1] Colonist, Dec. 10, 1961, and Cowichan Leader, Feb. 21 and 28, 1962.

[2] Shawnigan Lake School Magazine [hereafter SLSM], 1954, pp. 25-26; and Gordon Elliot, ed., Memories of the Chemainus Valley (Chemainus: Chemainus Valley Historical Society, 1978), p. 83.

family disagreement and escaped to Canada, he did not hesitate to accept the opportunity to teach as he pleased and began Quamichan Lake School. The difference between Skrimshire's old and new schools was described by one of his original private pupils: "We were taught Latin and French, algebra and trigonometry, none of which subjects was covered in the basic curriculum of western Canadian co-educational schools under government sponsorship."[1]

Quamichan Lake School remained simple, with perhaps 25 boys aged ten and up in a single classroom. After Skrimshire's marriage, the school occupied one room of the family home, another serving as a crude gymnasium. A third functioned as a small dormitory housing half a dozen boys who lived too far away to make the trip home daily but might take the local train on Monday morning with bicycle in tow and cycle home Friday afternoon. Quamichan Lake School composed, in the recollection of one pupil, "hours of patient tuition by P.T.S., and, in recess, instruction on how to kick a football and play on a team."[2] Standards were high. In 1911 a local boy, who was the grandson of a British admiral, was top in Canada in the entrance examination to the new Royal Naval College at Halifax. Thereafter one or two boys annually secured admission.

The communality of assumptions between British schoolmaster and British clientele which characterized Quamichan Lake School was also evident in a boys' school established in 1907 on

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[1] Sir Philip Livingston, Fringe of the Clouds (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p.15.
[2] SLSM, 1954, p. 25.

Saltspring Island. Ganges Private School was begun by Leonard G. Tolson, born in England in 1879 the youngest son of a cotton mill owner.[1] Tolson had been educated locally on the assumption he would join the family business, but desisted and gained admission to Cambridge. He then taught privately until family disagreement precipitated a decision to join his brother already settled on Saltspring. Upon discovering the lack of a suitable school in the Ganges area, Tolson began his enterprise.

The Ganges Private School differed little from Quamichan Lake School. Beginning as a day school educating a dozen or so local boys and a few girls, it gradually expanded to accept boarders, for whom separate quarters were constructed about 1911. In 1914 a competitor named Formby House was opened by a former master at University School with an Oxford degree, A.K.N. Oxenham. The two schools co-existed on Saltspring until 1917 when Tolson moved to Victoria to teach at University School.

Boys' education in the third major rural area of genteel British settlement, the interior, differed only in its greater sophistication. A boys' school existed briefly in Vernon in the north Okanagan in early 1893 subsequent to an announcement in the local newspaper that "if encouragement is given by our townspeople who have boys to educate a gentleman in town will

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[1] Interview, July 26, 1980. A photo of the early school survives in Richard Mouat Toynbee, ed., Snapshots of Early Salt Spring and Other Favoued Islands (Ganges: Mouat's Trading Co., Ltd, 1978), p. 62.

[2] Vernon News, Oct. 6, 1892; also Oct. 20, Nov. 24, and Dec. 8, 1892; Jan. 6 and April 6, 1893; and Aug. 9, 1894.

open a class for boys in higher education."[2] Although no local high school yet existed, the Vernon Private School, run by a "gentleman from Japan" with "twenty four years experience in teaching" did not long endure. A second ephemeral venture was initiated in Vernon in 1904-05 by the local Anglican rector.[1]

In 1907 a Baptist senior high school and junior college, not unlike Methodist Columbian College at New Westminster, was established in the largely Canadian settlement of Summerland in the south Okanagan.[2] The Baptist Church in British Columbia had originally been affiliated with the church in the United States and was now attempting to establish its Canadian identity. Co-educational Okanagan College, staffed by Maritimers, many from Acadia University, was patterned on such earlier Baptist institutions as Acadia and Manitoba's Brandon College. While almost forty students enrolled at the secondary level in the school's first year, numbers thereafter declined. The war brought a growing deficit and closure in 1915.

The impetus behind the first long lived school on the British model came through an experienced headmaster. Chesterfield's founder, A.H. Scriven, had in 1912 taken his ailing wife to the drier climate of the Okanagan. In Kelowna he opened a second Chesterfield, which was soon handed over to

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[1] Work for the Far West 32 (1905), p. 17.
[2] Frank Haskins, "Okanagan Baptist College at Summerland," OHS, Report 13 (1949), pp. 169-171; John Byron Richards, "Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain 'Sectarianism'" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, UBC, 1964), pp. 77-78, 83-86, 91-96 and 100-01; and Masters.

W.J. Bennett, his assistant in the North Vancouver school.[3] Bennett, younger son of a Welsh printer, had emigrated for his health after receiving a degree from University College, Wales, and taught briefly at Vancouver's King's College before joining Scriven. Kelowna's Chesterfield, remembered by pupils as "run on English lines," enrolled a dozen or two day boys and a handful of boarders, most the offspring of British fruit farmers in the Okanagan.

A truly British preparatory school was founded in January 1914 in the Coldstream fruit farming district a few miles outside of Vernon. Its impetus went back to 1912 when the head of a small English private school, interested in opening his own school in some far corner of Empire, asked his son who was homesteading in Saskatchewan to investigate the possibilities of British Columbia. Gordon Mackie visited Vancouver in July 1912 and talked at length with Scriven, who had recommended against Victoria, because of University's pre-eminence, and Vancouver, due to its "very poor climate for running a school here--too much rain."[1] Scriven urged--only months before he himself would so do--that Mackie examine the possibilities of the Okanagan from which came several Chesterfield pupils.

Mackie came away from the Okanagan convinced of the viability of a boys' school. He had talked with recent settlers and, as he wrote his father, "a large percentage of them are English all of the better class." These "English ladies &

[3] Interviews, Dec. 14, 1979, and July 20 and Sept. 4, 1980; and Jessica Francis Harding, "Chesterfield School," OHS, Report 39 (1975), pp. 115-17.

[1] G. Mackie to George Mackie, June 24, 1912, also July 21, 1912, Mackie family, Correspondence.

gentlemen" were themselves privately educated and "vowed" that, so far as their sons were concerned, they would "never send them to the govt [sic] school." Mackie concluded, "Everyone I have spoken to recognizes the fact that the education of their sons is going to be one of the difficulties of the future." Therefore, "I feel certain that if a small high class school were started in some central place - Vernon or Kelowna - there would not be the slightest difficulty in getting all the boys one wanted." An added enticement existed, for "a private school in this country is absolutely outside the control of the govt." "Private school teachers don't have to pass any govt examinations so a school of that class stands entirely on its own merits."

When the senior Mackie decided he was too old for such a venture, his younger brother took up the challenge.[1] The Rev. Austin C. Mackie, born 1879 into a large Anglican clerical family, epitomized the generation of dissatisfied young men in whom a "public"-school education had instilled expectations incapable of fulfillment in Britain itself. He had attended St. John's, Leatherhead, a modest "public" school for the sons of clergymen, and gained a scholarship to Cambridge. After a decade of unrewarding parish and tutoring positions, the

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[1] Hugh F. Mackie, "Private Schools in the Okanagan Valley," OHS, Report 12 (1948), pp. 160-65, and history recounted in The Chronicle of the Vernon Preparatory School [hereafter VPSM], Easter 1926, pp. 7-8; Summer 1926, pp. 11-12; Christmas 1926, pp. 8-11; Easter 1927, pp. 6-7; Easter 1928, pp. 6-8; Easter 1929, pp. 6-8; Summer 1929, pp. 11-12; Christmas 1929, pp. 9-12; Easter 1930, pp. 8-12; Summer 1930, pp. 13-14; Easter 1931, pp. 10-12; Easter 1933, pp. 6-8; Easter 1934, pp. 6-8; Easter 1935, pp. 9-11; and Easter 1936, pp. 14-15.

Rev. Mackie grabbed at the unexpected opportunity and within months of his arrival in the Okanagan in the autumn of 1913 had opened his school.

The Vernon Preparatory School, a boarding institution for boys ages 7 to 15, faithfully replicated its British counterpart. The school's prospectus even included as referees two English bishops and two lords, carefully chosen, as the Rev. Mackie later admitted, to appeal to "all the decayed nobility and disillusioned gentry in the neighbourhood."[1] The prospectus also detailed the school's principles:

> The school will be conducted, with necessary modifications, on the lines of an English Preparatory School; its aim will be to give boys an all-around education fitting them for an English public school or for Canadian life, and to train them to be God-fearing, well-disciplined, clean-minded and honourable."

The Rev. Mackie, together with his brother and sister-in-law who soon joined him in the enterprise, offered British families in the Okanagan precisely the kind of education they sought for their sons. The school rapidly reached its upper limit of 40 to 45 boys.

At the turn of the century two girls' schools were in operation in the interior--All Hallows' at Yale and a private venture established in Kamloops in 1893 by Miss Lily Beattie. St. Michael's School was founded in Vernon in 1913. Near the beginning of the war King Edward's School began at the railway junction of Cranbrook, but disappeared about 1916.

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[1] VSPSM, Easter 1929, pp. 6-7, and Vernon Preparatory School [hereafter VPS], Prospectus, 1913.

IV

The First World War had a traumatic effect on British Columbia boys' schools. Staff was disrupted. Enrollments plummeted. University School suffered an additional blow on the death of its co-founder, R.V. Harvey, in military service. With the war's end came the expectation that earlier enthusiasm would return. As University's magazine put it, "Our school will be throbbing with all its old-time vigour."[1] Although postwar stability did result in enrollment increases, it also brought a host of new schools jostling for clientele.

Victoria witnessed the creation of at least four private ventures as well as a major incorporation. Three of the small schools were intended, like St. Michael's, to appeal to prosperous Oak Bay families. St. Aidan's Preparatory School was begun in 1915 by F. Ashley Sparks, born 1882 in England and for the previous decade master at Corrig and University schools.[2] Cranleigh House opened five years later. Its founder was Charles V. Milton, born in England in 1883 the son of a brewer and educated at the newly created "public" school of Cranleigh.[3] On arriving in Victoria in 1915 Milton had taught a year at University School, then briefly at Oak Bay High School before

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[1] USM 34 (1919), p. 2.
[2] Times, Oct. 30, 1942, and Colonist, Oct. 31, 1942.
[3] Colonist, Nov. 22, 1958, and Admission Register, Cranleigh School, and Cranleighan, Dec. 1924. I am grateful to Rev. Dr. A.J. Megahey of Craneigh School for this information.

being persuaded by Symons to become his first assistant master at St. Michael's. Now Milton desired, in Symons' phrase, "to start a school of his own."[1]

Malvern House was begun in 1922 by Thomas P. Emmerson and named after what he claimed was his old school of Malvern in England.[2] On emigrating to Alberta, Emmerson had worked as an Anglican missionary and then begun theological studies in Vancouver before moving to Victoria. Malvern House was "conducted in the best English tradition."[3] A shortlived venture about which nothing is known, Selkirk School, opened in January 1921 under Philip Hughes. Collegiate School closed in 1929, unable to compete against its more dynamic counterparts.[4]

The incorporation in Victoria in January 1923 of a major new boys' boarding school, Brentwood College, was directly related to local disenchantment with the city's senior institution, University School.[5] In 1920 the Rev. Bolton retired to Tahiti, leaving Barnacle in charge. While admitting that "a few are fearful of the results," Barnacle thereupon turned the school into a military academy.[6] His reasons are unclear. University School did have an outstanding record in national shooting competitions, and pupils were regularly accepted at the Royal Naval College at nearby Esquimalt and at the Royal Military College in Kingston. Barnacle was clearly concerned

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[1] Symons, p. 47.
[2] Colonist, Aug. 29, 1943; Oct. 5, 1969; and Feb. 11, 1973.
[3] Province, Aug. 24, 1930.
[4] Colonist, April 26, 1925, and June 28 and 29, 1929.
[5] Times, Jan. 9, 1923.
[6] USM 39 (1920), p. 7.

with postwar permissiveness and considered that, were University School "a more efficient machine," it would better produce "stand out 'leaders' in the great life after school."

Nonetheless, Barnacle's critics were justified. Few families wanted their offspring trained for war in those first years of peace. Enrollments fell dramatically. Even the military authorities seemed little interested in inspecting the school's cadet corps. The naval college at Esquimalt closed, leaving University School further isolated.[1] University returned to civilian status under a new headmaster in the spring of 1923, but by then the damage was done and Brentwood a reality.

The foundation of Brentwood exemplified the continuing alliance of interests between established Victoria families of British origin and recent immigrants. The moving force behind the project was Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, who had come to Victoria in 1912 following his father's retirement as a judge in the India Civil Service.[2] Educated at the Esquimalt Naval College and at the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth in England, Holmes then attended Oxford's prestigious Balliol College. He returned after the war to marry into one of Victoria's oldest families, the Pembertons. Holmes' integration into Victoria society made him no less overtly British, being described in print as "an Englishman and a gentleman to the roots" with a

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[1] Colonist, Sept. 23, 1923; also April 10 and July 17, 1923; and Times, April 9 and July 16, 1923. See also The City of Victoria: An Educational Centre (Victoria: Victoria and Island Development Association, 1921), pp. 8-9.

[2] Colonist, April 5, 1953; Times, May 24, 1968; and WWBC, 1940/41, p. 102.

"military bearing," "short moustache and clipped English voice."

Gathered around Holmes as financial backers and governors of Brentwood College were representatives of colonial Victoria, the eastern Canadian establishment, and recent immigrants. Lindley Crease, son of the early attorney general, had been educated at Haileybury and was, like his father, a lawyer.[1] David James Angus, a fellow lawyer, was the son of a Scots Presbyterian immigrant to Montreal who had worked his way up to the presidency of the Bank of Montreal and been a partner in the syndicate which built the Canadian Pacific Railway.[2] The young Angus, educated privately in Montreal and at Cambridge, had come west in 1914.

Of the four British immigrants, Percy Falconer Curtis, an accountant, had been educated at the "public" school of Wellington founded in honour of the hero of Waterloo; E.A.M. Williams, another accountant, at the leading school of Shrewsbury; and William E. Scott-Moncrieff, a physician, at a Scottish "public" school and Edinburgh University.[3] Williams had recently arrived in Victoria after a career in Hong Kong, Scott-Moncrieff from the India Medical Service. The fourth man, Norman Yarrow, trained as a marine engineer before emigrating in 1914 to manage a Victoria shipyard purchased by his titled father, a prominent British shipbuilder.[4]

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[1] Colonist, Feb. 14, 1940, and WWBC, 1931, p. 25.
[2] Who's Who and Why, 1914, pp. 27-28; and Who's Who in Canada, 1923/24, p. 1625.
[3] Colonist, Oct. 3, 1936; WWBC, 1931, p. 29, and 1933/34, pp. 157-58 and 183-84.
[4] Colonist, June 26, 1955, and WWBC, 1940/41, p. 249.

Brentwood, housed in a former hotel situated on a bay about fourteen miles outside Victoria, was the most perfect replication of a "public" school so far achieved in western Canada.[1] Its rationale appeared in the company's financial prospectus:

> For some time a demand has existed in British Columbia for a school run on the lines of the great English and Scottish Public Schools. Parents who want to send their boys to England to get what is usually called an English Public School education are now faced with two serious obstacles; both fees and travelling costs have increased tremendously. To a lesser extent the same drawbacks apply to Eastern Canadian schools. These obstacles will be overcome by a school founded in British Columbia, for boys from 13 to 18, and run on English Public School lines.[2]

The expectation was that boys would come to Brentwood from one of the province's preparatory schools, such as St. Michael's, whose headmaster was an active supporter of Brentwood.[3]

The choice of headmaster was fortuitious, for it gave Brentwood a man uniquely able to pare all possible advantage from both the British "public" school and the British Columbia public system. Henry P. Hope had been sent by his physician father to the prestigious "public" school of Charterhouse and to Cambridge.[4] After heading two small private schools, Hope emigrated in 1907. As one of a tiny minority of British-trained teachers who remained in the public system, Hope rose rapidly to become founding principal of Oak Bay High School, established in

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[1] Colonist, May 26, 1923, and Brentwood College [hereafter BC], Prospectuses for 1920s.
[2] BC, Financial Prospectus, 1923, p. 3.
[3] Symons, pp. 54 and 73.
[4] Colonist, Jan. 23 and May 13, 1923, and June 4, 1937; and WWBC, 1931, pp. 51-52.

1915. Thereafter the annual prize given the best high school in the province had gone regularly to Oak Bay.[1]

By September 1923, when Brentwood was opened by the lieutenant-governor, backers were convinced that theirs was not only "the Great School of the West" but, indeed, "the greatest centre of learning in Canada."[2] As Yarrow, speaking on behalf of the school's governors, stated amidst applause, "We feel that right here the great men of tomorrow are going to be given their start in life." The timing was propitious. British Columbia was coming out of a postwar slump and the company's stock sold with little difficulty. Fifty boys enrolled immediately, and within the year Brentwood reached its maximum capacity of 100 to 110 pupils.

By contrast University School remained troubled. Enrollments did not rise above 75 boys until the last year of the decade, even though the school returned to its original British ethos. A prospectus issued in 1925 promised: "In all that appertains to the life and conduct of University School every effort will be made to reach the highest ideals of the finest type of similar schools in England and throughout the Empire."[3] Changes of headmaster and school directors were frequent, the latter usually parents of boys at the school.

Girls' education in Victoria changed little after the war. Sefton College was founded in 1920. A year later the primary

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[1] See BC, Prospectus, 1924? and 1926?.
[2] Colonist, Sept. 23, 1923.
[3] See also Colonist, May 10, 1925; Aug. 7, 1927; and Jan. 4, 1928.

division of St. George's was split off as Crosby Girls' School, which four years later moved to North Vancouver. While St. George's itself closed in 1928 on its headmistress' retirement, the other schools continued.

V

Boys' schools created in the Vancouver area in the postwar years were all private ventures. The local community was clearly unwilling to attempt again a major venture like Whetham or Western Residential, even though the area was growing faster than the overall province. While the white population of British Columbia increased by 35 percent in the decade, 1921-31, Vancouver grew by 46 percent, that of Victoria not at all.

The location of private ventures reflected the growth of residential suburbs differentiated by socio-economic status.[1] The first two schools were created in the West End, the city's original centre of business and residence. Near the beginning of the war James Lockington, about whom little is known, founded an "English Private School on English Bay," known variously as the Vancouver Grammar School and the Lockington Preparatory School. Through the 1920s it served local families who, for about $20 a month, acquired for their sons the privilege of learning Latin and French from age six and wearing a little

[1] Information on schools taken principally from advertisements appearing in August in the Province's weekly private-schools page.

black cap with red stripes to and from school.[1] On Langara's closure its last headmaster, Frederick S. Moody, founded the Vancouver Preparatory School. Moody, who had taught at a private school in England for a quarter of a century before coming to Langara in 1914, termed his venture, begun in 1919, run "on the lines of an English Public School."[2]

A small day school was begun in the upper-middle-class suburb of Kerrisdale in 1925 by a former master at St. Michael's. Lewis C. Vulliamy, born in England in 1886 the son of an engineer, had been educated at a local private school and in Switzerland.[3] In 1910 his widowed mother was persuaded to invest in farmland in Manitoba which on sight proved worthless, and the family moved on to the coast. Vulliamy's venture, known first as Church Hill and from 1928 as Dorchester House, attracted between a dozen and thirty day boys aged 7 to 12 who for some $50 a term were given "a thorough grounding in all usual junior school subjects" together with "a high sense of honour and good manners."[4]

In 1926 Shaughnessy College School was opened by two immigrants, C.B. Reid, a graduate of Cambridge, and F.J. Townsend, who had attended the "public" school of Warwick and universities in Canada, the United States and England.[5] Also in 1926 an Oxford graduate, Dennis Dennis, started Vancouver University School in Point Grey, a middle-class residential area

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[1] Interview, April 21, 1980.
[2] Province, Sept. 4, 1932, and Oct. 27, 1933.
[3] Interview, April 29, 1981.
[4] Dorchester House School, Prospectus, 1928? and 1929?.
[5] WWBC 1947/48, p. 212.

not yet amalgamated into Vancouver city. This venture, "after the model of the English Public School, adapted to Canadian condition," appears to have foundered within the year. South of Vancouver at Ocean Park, St. George's School was begun about 1927 by a "liberal Catholic" cleric espousing theosophy.[1] The new boarding school promised an "English staff." St. Andrew's School was opened about 1929 by a British Army captain in Kitsilano, a lower-middle-class district of Vancouver.

Two new boys' school appeared in North Lonsdale near Chesterfield School. In 1917 Scriven returned to North Vancouver. After teaching three years in the local high school, he opened his third private school. Kingsley, which accepted day boys and boarders of varied ages, grew rapidly to reach eighty boys by 1924. That year Chesterfield at Kelowna was closed, and Bennett joined Scriven in the North Vancouver school, whose enrollments then doubled.

Out of Kingsley's very success a competitor emerged. In late 1925 two Kingsley masters were approached by an influential parent desiring a smaller, more intimate school for his own offspring. When Paul T. Dale and Lance C. Storr learned to their astonishment that no external approval was needed to begin a school, they took up the invitation and in January 1926 opened North Shore College just blocks from Kingsley.[2] The friendship between Dale and Storr grew out of their attendance, a decade apart, at Nottingham University. Dale, born about 1885 the

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[1] Notes in Vertical Files, PABC.
[2] Interview, July 26, 1980.

youngest son of the headmaster of a church school, was educated at the local grammar school and taught in England until emigrating to North Vancouver in the 1920s.

Storr, another Anglican cleric's son, had studied at a minor "public" school and only briefly at Nottingham before securing admission to Sandhurst. Unexpectedly cut from the army after the war, Storr found himself in difficulty since his father lacked the resources to finance a second career. Intrigued by stories still circulating in England about Okanagan fruit farming, Storr emigrated in 1923 only to discover farming "a lot of hard work." A chance remark by a visiting Anglican clergyman that private-school teaching demanded no credentials led to Storr's application to various schools and employment by Scriven.

North Shore College's aura of exclusivity was facilitated by Dale and Storr's selection of their first pupils from among Kingsley's clientele. In Storr's words, "we virtually handpicked our pupils, got the type we wanted." From a dozen boys, the school soon reached its upper limit of 60 to 65 pupils, including a dozen boarders. Although all ages were accepted, North Shore College advertised itself as being, like Chesterfield, "run on the lines of the best English preparatory Schools adapted to produce good Canadian citizens."[1] Chesterfield itself continued unchanged, although in 1927 an English scouting enthusiast, Fred K.H. Bates, took over as headmaster on the Rev. Sykes' return to England.

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[1] North Shore College [hereafter NSC], Prospectus, 1940.

Girls' education in the Vancouver area was, like that for boys, characterized by a proliferation of private ventures. Of the earlier schools, St. Marina and Crofton House remained strong while Granville School closed about 1922. By the mid-1920s they were joined by St. Raphael's School, Cambria House and St. Anthony's College, run by an Anglican sisterhood. In the second half of the 1920s, University College for Girls, St. Clare School and Vancouver Collegiate joined the competition for clientele. New schools also appeared on the North Shore. Crosby Girls' School moved from Victoria in 1925. North Vancouver School operated from about 1918 to 1927 when it was apparently reconstituted in West Vancouver, an area of more recent settlement, as Bellevue School.

VI

In the postwar years boys' education in the countryside altered radically on Vancouver Island while changing little on Gulf Islands and not at all in the interior. Saltspring's Formby House was, on Oxenham's death in 1923, kept on by his widow with the assistance of Charles L. Cropper, a local poultry farmer with a degree from London University. In 1925 the Ganges Preparatory School was founded by Geoffrey B. Benson, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin.

The major shift in boys' education on Vancouver Island emanated from the creation in 1916 of a private venture at

Shawnigan Lake, a summer resort about thirty miles north of Victoria on the southern edge of the Cowichan Valley. The founder of the Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School was yet another Anglican parson's son come to Canada in the wake of family disagreement. C.W. Lonsdale, born 1886, had studied at London's ancient "public" school of Westminster and briefly at Durham University.[1] At odds over his disinclination to follow the traditional family calling of the priesthood, Lonsdale went out to the Orient and in 1907 to British Columbia. Restless years of varied employment across western Canada culminated with his management of a hotel at Shawnigan Lake in 1915 and purchase a year later of a small school from an Englishwoman in financial difficulty.[2]

From the beginning, Lonsdale was unswerving in his commitment that Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School be "maintained on the lines of an English Preparatory School, providing a thorough training to boys of 7 to 15 years of age."[3] Pupils were "prepared for Royal Navy, English Public Schools, etc."[4] Asked in old age why he had turned to teaching, Lonsdale gave a reply reported as: "When he emigrated to western Canada as a young man, he was apalled at the way sassy schoolboys talked to their elders. Since western Canada had no private school to turn out little gentlemen, Lonsdale started one."[5] Beginning with a "small frame building standing in two and a half acres of heavy

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[1] Interview, Sept. 8, 1980, and materials in SLSM.
[2] Green Branches, p. 41.
[3] Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, Prospectus, 1918.
[4] City of Victoria, p. 21.
[5] Time, Nov. 3, 1947, p. 28.

bush," Lonsdale gradually acquired 150 acres of uncleared land and a growing number of pupils, all boarders.[1] Like Symons at St. Michael's and the Rev. Mackie at Vernon, so Lonsdale was able to translate vision into reality in large part through endless hours of unstinting female labour. In his case, assistance came from an unmarried sister and a matron who in 1918 began a lifelong association with the school. The school's dynamism doomed the much simpler Quamichan Lake School, and in the summer of 1924 Skrimshire closed his doors to take up Lonsdale's invitation to be senior master.

In January 1926 a new boys' school, the Duncan Grammar School, appeared in the Cowichan. Located in the market town of Duncan just next to Queen Margaret's, a girls' boarding school begun in 1921 by two English ladies, the new school was founded by a longtime master at Collegiate School, an Englishman named Robert E. Honour.[2] His assistant was another Collegiate master, Richard Parker, born about 1897 the son of an Anglican cleric and educated at the great school of Rugby.[3] The Duncan Grammar School was, despite its name, patterned on the British preparatory school with an upper limit of about 50 boys between the ages of 7 and 14. A newspaper headline exemplified the school's appeal: "High Ideals are Taught: Duncan Grammar School Prepares Boys for English Public Schools."[4]

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[1] SLSM, 1942, p. 27.
[2] Interviews, July 9 and 19, 1980; Cowichan Leader, June 30, 1927; and Sun, Aug. 29, 1936.
[3] Interview, Nov. 25, 1980; Times, Feb. 11, 1961; and Province, Feb. 15, 1961.
[4] Colonist, Aug. 13, 1939.

In December 1926 the Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, then enrolling 90 boys, was destroyed by fire. A local newspaper reported, "By 10 o'clock what was perhaps one of the finest schools of its kind in the province was a heap of blackened ruins."[1] Within hours implored by parents to rebuild, Lonsdale used the opportunity to transform Shawnigan from a private venture into a true "public" school on the British model in direct competition with University School and Brentwood College. In little more than a year, dream was reality. The Duncan newspaper summed up the transformation:

> Quietly and without ostentation, the private venture, known locally as "Lonsdale's," has passed and Shawnigan Lake School has become--to quote its carefully chosen "charter"--"a fabric founded to endure for all future time."[2]

Every aspect of Shawnigan was, even more than previously, intended to replicate its British counterpart, in particular Lonsdale's old school of Westminster. A contemporary reaction to the school's new buildings was indicative:

> Who was it mixed the alchemy which transposes the air of an Elizabethan mansion into our forests? Who will not love the great entrance door of English oak, surmounted by a huge window which lights a hall of baronial proportions?[3]

Moreover, unlike most of the province's other boys' schools which were quietly Anglican, Shawnigan was overtly so. Its charter, modelled on those of British schools, had as a prime object to preserve "the principles of the Christian Faith as

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[1] Times, Dec. 17, 1926.
[2] Cowichan Leader, March 15, 1928.
[3] Ibid, Nov. 3, 1927.

professed and taught in the Church of England in Canada."[1]

Shawnigan's charter contained another innovation in boys' education in British Columbia. The school was incorporated as a non-profit society rather than as a company of shareholders anticipating monetary gain for their support of private education. As Lonsdale put it, "hereafter the school will 'own itself.'"[2] The advantages were several. A society paid no income tax and could give tax exemptions for donations. When Lonsdale told a meeting in 1930 that Shawnigan "is somewhat unique in that the profits go back to the school," the point was not lost on his audience.[3] Only at Shawnigan did educational quality and pupil well being transcend private advantage, be it that of the headmaster in a private venture or of shareholders in an incorporated school.

The new Shawnigan Lake School was also unique in that its board of governors was selected by Lonsdale and, so unlike other schools, only secondarily in control. Apart from their final power "to dismiss the Headmaster," they could in all other matters "act only in an advisory capacity."[4] The decision of the headmaster "shall be final, and there shall be no reference of appeal to the Governors." At Brentwood, by comparison, Hope was hired on a seven-year contract, and the governors retained the right of approval over curricular matters and a firm voice in

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[1] SLS, Charter and By-laws, Feb. 13, 1928.
[2] SLSM, 1927, p. 7, and Times, July 7, 1928.
[3] High River Times, Oct. 30, 1930.
[4] SLS, Charter and By-laws.

staff appointment and dismissal.[5] At Shawnigan Lonsdale held the initiative.

The board was composed of impeccable British gentlemen unequivocally committed to the concept of class-based education. Two of the five were parents of boys at the school. Captain J. Douglas Groves, educated at the "public" school of Rossall and at Cambridge, had succumbed in 1910 to the immigration rhetoric and deserted the family breweries to become a gentleman-farmer in the Cowichan.[1] The move only reinforced Groves' commitment to his British heritage. An obituary notice summed up, "His life was patterned on that of 'the English gentleman.'" The second parent was Sir Richard Lake, who had retired to Vancouver Island from Saskatchewan precisely because of the greater availability of suitable educational facilities.[2] Sir Richard, son of a British Army officer, studied at his local grammar school before becoming a gentleman emigrant. Settling in 1883 in Grenfell, a largely British farming community in Saskatchewan, he subseqently served in the North-West Territories' Legislature, in the federal parliament, and as lieutenant-governor.

The other three governors were childless. Sir Richard's brother, Lt.-Gen. Sir Percy Lake, was educated at the fashionable "public" school of Uppingham.[3] He had retired to

[5] BC, "Memorandum of Agreement between Henry Pollock Hope and Brentwood College, Limited, April 12, 1923," filed with the Registrar of Companies.

[1] Cowichan Leader, Jan. 21, 1960; SLSM, 1960, p. 90; and WWBC, 1931, pp. 46-47.

[2] Interviews, Sept. 8, 1980 a.m., and Colonist, April 26, 1950.

[3] Typescript notes in Vertical Files, PABC, and WWBC, 1933/34, p. 101.

Vancouver Island after a distinguished military career spanning the Empire. J.Y. Copeman of Victoria also served as school solicitor.[1] Viscount Colville of Culross, who had studied at the Royal Naval College, had retired to Vancouver Island from a naval career after the war.[2]

Shawnigan grew rapidly in numbers over the last years of the 1920s, Lonsdale unwilling "to remain stationary, when opportunity is so obviously waiting for us."[3] Pupils were attracted not only from British Columbia but from across western Canada and the American Northwest. The latter served as useful filler, accepted when needed to make up numbers but otherwise turned away. As Lonsdale reported to his governors in 1928, "This September will see us for the first time in a position to refuse practically every applicant from the States." Enrollments reached 150 by 1928 and over 200 a year later. Shawnigan had become the major boarding school in British Columbia, surpassing Brentwood with its upper limit of just over 100 boys and University School which could garner no more than 125 to 150 day boys and boarders. Indeed, as Lonsdale reported confidently to his governors, "This school holds the first place west of Winnipeg; I might say, west of Ottawa."

Education for girls also altered on the Vancouver Island countryside. The Cliffs closed during the war, but Queen Margaret's had begun in Duncan in 1921. Six years later another

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[1] Colonist, July 30, 1958.
[2] Undated obituary clipping in Vertical Files, PABC; and WWBC, 1937/39, p. 20.
[3] SLS, Report of the Headmaster, 1928.

Englishwoman opened Strathcona Lodge as a sister boarding school to Shawnigan.

VII

By the late 1920s British Columbia posssessed a number of private boys' schools united by their common reliance on a single educational model but largely unconnected on an individual basis. Only in Victoria was there any evidence of contact: in 1921 a brochure had been issued containing descriptions of 8 boys' and 5 girls' schools "modelled along the lines of the great public schools of the old country, than which there are no finer institutions in the world."[1] The circumstances whereby British Columbia schools formally joined together, much as British "public" schools had formed the Headmasters' Conference in 1869, derived out of their success.

In conditions where no external regulation whatsoever governed the operation of individual schools and where existing schools were operating profitably at full capacity, it is not surprising that enterprising promoters of dubious qualifications should also set themselves up as "schools" and through their behaviour threaten the reputation of existing institutions. According to contemporaries, this is precisely what occurred in Victoria in the 1920s with the consequence that established schools joined together "to try to establish minimum standards

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[1] City of Victoria, p. 7.

for private education."[1] The first meeting, held in December 1927, was attended by the heads of 5 Victoria girls' schools--Norfolk House, St. Christopher's, St. George's, St. Margaret's and Sefton College--and 5 boys' schools--Brentwood College, Collegiate, Cranleigh House, St. Michael's and University School[2] The list of 27 possible members from Greater Vancouver and the Okanagan then drawn up indicates through its overwritings and confusions in fact how little actual communication then existed between schools.

The first official meeting of the Private Schools' Association of British Columbia took place in May 1929. Representatives came from 3 Vancouver area girls' schools--Bellevue, Crofton House and University College--and 6 boys' schools--Dorchester House, North Shore College, St. George's at Ocean Park, Shaughnessy College, Vancouver Grammer School and Vancouver Preparatory School. Also represented were St. Michael's at Vernon, Strathcona Lodge and Shawnigan at Shawnigan Lake, and Queen Margaret's at Duncan. A constitution patterned on that of the British association was discussed.[3] Members expressed special concern over standards: new schools would be admitted only after two years' operation, close inspection and secret ballot. Regular meetings were to be held both of the entire association and of separate Island and Mainland divisions.

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[1] Interviews, May 7 and July 9, 1980; and SLS, Report, 1928.
[2] See Private Schools Association of British Columbia [hereafter PSA], Minutes, 1927-68.
[3] PSA, Constitution and By-laws; also Minutes, May 14, 1938.

No concern was expressed in establishing contact with private schools elsewhere in Canada. Indeed, the constitution stated firmly, "The operations of the Society are to be chiefly carried on in the Province of British Columbia." Such disinterest was probably mutual; certainly lack of communication was the rule. When the Director of Cadet Instruction of the Department of National Defense visited University School in 1926, he exclaimed how "it was very delightful to me to find such an exceptionally fine School in what my ignorance had led me to regard as the wild West."[1]

* * * * *

The bond between British Columbia's boys' schools, while institutionalized in the late 1920s, centred on their founders. These men of virtually identical background were all young Britons generaly arrived in British Columbia during the great years of immigration preceding the war or in its aftermath. Of the individuals whose paternal occupation has been determined, fully half were the offspring of Anglican clerics, the remainder of professionals or businessmen. Of those whose secondary education is known, three-quarters had attended a "public" school, the others generally a local private school. Almost all the men had gone on to university, over half to Oxford or Cambridge. The circumstances of their disenchantment with

[1] USM, 50 (1926), pp. 48-49.

Britain ranged from family disagreement to unsatisfactory career opportunities.

On arrival in British Columbia most turned almost immediately to teaching, possibly in a public school but more usually in an existing private school. Within no more than five years, during which these young immigrants remained fairly isolated in a social environment far more British than British Columbian, they were creating their own schools on the British model they knew so well. A new era in private education in British Columbia thus came into being.

Chapter 4

THE ACQUISITION OF CLIENTELE

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the number of pupils attending non-Catholic boys' schools increased steadily. As indicated by Table 10, only 140 boys were enrolled in 1900. By the beginning of the First World War the number had climbed to almost 600. After dropping by almost half during the war, it returned to 600 boys by 1920, 900 by 1925 and almost 1,300 by 1929.

The proportion of total public and private-school enrollment in British Columbia which these boys represented also expanded. From 1.6 percent in 1900, it rose to 2.2 percent by 1906, then dropped back as intensive immigration brought large numbers of new pupils into the public system. From 1911 the proportion again grew to 2.2 percent by 1914. In the years of declining private-school enrollment occasioned by the war, the proportion dropped to just 1.3 percent. Rising steadily after the war, it more than doubled to 2.9 percent by 1929.

The proportion of boys exposed to non-Catholic private schools at some time during their primary or secondary education far exceeded those enrolled at any one time. The average boy remained in a school about three years, and a third at most of

Table 10
ESTIMATED ENROLLMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1900-1929, COMPARED WITH TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Academic year beginning:	Estimated total enrollment, grades 3-12	Estimated enrollment in boys' schools	Enrollment in boys' schools compared with total enrollment
1900	9,000	140	1.6%
1901	9,300	155	1.7%
1902	9,625	170	1.8%
1903	10,125	185	1.8%
1904	10,750	205	1.9%
1905	11,175	225	2.0%
1906	11,800	260	2.2%
1907	13,125	285	2.2%
1908	14,250	290	2.0%
1909	15,700	320	2.0%
1910	17,700	330	1.9%
1911	19,725	390	2.0%
1912	22,650	470	2.1%
1913	24,600	585	2.4%
1914	24,875	555	2.2%
1915	25,525	400	1.6%
1916	25,675	325	1.3%
1917	26,725	385	1.4%
1918	28,550	450	1.6%
1919	31,375	490	1.6%
1920	34,200	600	1.8%
1921	36,625	570	1.6%
1922	37,875	575	1.5%
1923	38,800	650	1.7%
1924	39,600	760	1.9%
1925	40,450	900	2.2%
1926	41,250	960	2.3%
1927	41,950	1,120	2.7%
1928	43,275	1,225	2.8%
1929	44,375	1,275	2.9%

NOTE:
See annexed table.

[1] Calculated from enrollment data for Shawnigan, University and Vernon schools.

these boys went on to a second private school.[1] The mean length

Table 10 (Continued)
ESTIMATED ENROLLMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1900-1929, COMPARED WITH TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

SOURCES AND NOTES:

Figures for total school enrollments include only grades 3 through senior matriculation. Kindergarten and grades 1 and 2 are excluded to make the comparision as valid as possible. Boys' primary education, if private, occurred most frequently in kindergartens or in the junior division of girls' schools. The few boys who did begin grade 1 or 2 in a boys' school are probably counterbalanced by the number of boys remaining in a private kindergarten or girls' school an extra year or two.

Public school enrollments are taken from British Columbia, Department of Education, Annual Report, which were summary until 1925; divided between elementary and high school, 1925-26; by grade, 1926-29; thereafter by grade and sex.

Estimates of enrollment in Catholic schools are very approximate, based on comparision of partial enrollment data located for some schools with overall private-school enrollment data available in Annual Surveys, 1932-36 (retrospective data for 1921-32 in 1932, p. 117), and in Historical Compendium, Table 10, p. 39. Extensive communication with Catholic authorities did not result in the location of more accurate information.

Estimates of total enrollment in private boys' schools are based on complete data for Shawnigan and Vernon; extensive data for University, Brentwood, St. George's, St. Michael's, North Shore, and Qualicum; some data for Duncan Grammar School, Glenlyon, Kingsley, Collegiate and Langara; and limited data for remaining schools.

of attendance in private boys' schools was therefore about four years. Assuming for the purposes of calculation that the average pupil in British Columbia remained in school about eight years--a fair historical estimate--then over twice as large a proportion of boys attended a private school at some time in

[1] On time in school, see Annual Survey, 1933, p. xx.

their education than were so enrolled at any one time.[1] On that basis, at the beginning of the century just over 3 percent--one in every thirty boys--had some contact with non-Catholic private education. Thirty years later the proportion stood at almost 6 percent--one in every fifteen to twenty boys.

The significance of a small group of boys, whatever their exact proportion, having been removed from the public system for part of their education depends both on the nature of the alternative schooling received, to be discussed in a subsequent chapter, and on the characteristics of the boys so removed. The boys who went to private school in British Columbia were not representative of the population at large but rather shared common characteristics distinguishing them from the bulk of the population. Attendance at private school reinforced their communality and further separated them from their cohort.

The most fundamental difference between boys in private school and the overall population of British Columbia was a simple matter of economics. In 1911 the average male, with or without a family to support, earned about $725 a year.[1] In 1912 annual fees at University School totalled $470 for boarders, $150 for day boys.[2] In 1918 the new Shawnigan Preparatory School, which accepted only boarders, was charging $300 a year with such "Necessary extras" as "Stationery," "Laundery," and "Medical" totalling another $30.[3] "Optional extras" were

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[1] See Eleanor A. Bartlett, "Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Vancouver, 1901-1929," BC Studies 51 (1981), pp. 38-39.
[2] US, Prospectus, 1912.
[3] Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, Prospectus, 1918.

"Shooting" for $4.50, piano for $36 and violin for $45.

By 1921 the mean annual male wage had risen to somewhere between $1,050 and $1,200. Fees at University School stood in 1925 at $700 for boarders, $150 for day boys, plus such optional extras as $40 to $80 for music, $48 for riding lessons, $24 for dancing lessons, and $10 for tennis instruction.[1] Four scholarships were available, two for boarders of $250 each and two for day boys of $150 each. Brentwood College charged $825 with an additional $72 were music lessons desired.[2] According to oral recollections, fees at the Vernon Preparatory School in the 1920s were about $500. By 1929 the average male wage had possibly risen to $1300. In other words, the cost of boarding school in the first three decades of the century was between half and two-thirds the mean male wage. The cost of private day school was about a fifth.

Precise delineation of the clientele acquired by the three dozen boys' schools in existence in British Columbia during the first thirty years of this century is impossible. In most cases no records of any kind remain. In others, all that survive are the names of old boys who distinguished themselves at school or in later life. In two instances, however, sufficiently complete enrollment data exists to permit detailed analysis.

These two schools, the Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake School, shared certain characteristics. Their founding headmasters, the Rev. A.C. Mackie and C.W. Lonsdale,

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[1] US, Prospectus, 1925.
[2] BC, Prospectus, 1926.

placed very great emphasis on the emulation of their British counterparts, the preparatory and "public" schools. Only boarders were admitted. The two schools were located in rural areas dominated by British middle and upper-class settlement, from which they patently expected to secure much of their clientele. Their location helped isolate the two schools from British Columbia life, permitting them long to retain intact the principles on which they were founded.

Virtually all the other boys' schools attempted to achieve precisely the same goals as did Vernon and Shawnigan. Differences in degree were chiefly caused by the exigencies of survival. Geographical location is indicative. The main determinant in the location of a school was the existence of potential clientele. Just as Vernon and Shawnigan chose the countryside, so schools like St. Aidan's Preparatory School, Shaughnessy College School, and Dorchester House opted for middle-class urban residential areas. They consequently became day schools, drawing their pupils from nearby Oak Bay, Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale. If a reliance on day boys prohibited complete replication of the British model with its general assumption of a boarding environment, these schools nonetheless based themselves in all that they did do on their British counterparts. Willingness to found a day school was also possibly a natural outcome of headmasters having themselves been educated, as was Symons of St. Michael's Preparatory School, in that minority of recognized British "public" schools which accepted large numbers of day boys.

Thus the enrollment data from the Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake School is probably not significantly different from data, had it survived, for most other schools. At the least it represents what other schools would like to have been. Fortunately, some partial comparisons are possible. Minimal records exist for University School, while information on about half the pupils survives from Brentwood College.

I

The Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake School grew rapidly from their foundation in 1914 and 1916 with just 5 or 6 boys. Vernon reached its capacity enrollment of some 40 pupils by the end of 1920. By then Shawnigan had acquired 60 and 70 boys, an upper limit which it would maintain for the next several years.

In Vernon's formative years to 1920, over half its pupils, as indicated by Table 11, came from the Okanagan Valley, a third of all boys from the school's immediate vicinity. Another quarter were acquired from the Kootenay and Boundary regions of the British Columbia interior. Just under half of Shawnigan's pupils through 1920 came, as shown in Table 12, from central Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, with over a third of total enrollment from the Cowichan Valley. Another quarter were from Greater Victoria.

Examination of the birthplaces of the fathers of boys enrolled during the formative years of the two schools makes

Table 11
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1930

	1914-20	1920-25	1925-30	1914-30
OKANAGAN	33 (.53)	35 (.51)	27 (.34)	95 (.45)
Vernon area	20 (.32)	19 (.28)	17 (.21)	56 (.27)
Other	13 (.21)	16 (.24)	10 (.13)	39 (.19)
GREATER VANCOUVER	3 (.05)	16 (.24)	29 (.36)	48 (.23)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	23 (.37)	17 (.25)	13 (.16)	53 (.25)
Kootenays and Boundary area	16 (.26)	8 (.12)	7 (.09)	31 (.15)
Other	7 (.11)	9 (.13)	6 (.08)	22 (.10)
OTHER CANADA	0	0	11 (.14)	11 (.05)
UNITED STATES	3 (.05)	0	0	3 (.01)
Unknown	2	1	0	3
TOTAL	64	69	80	213

SOURCE:
Chronicle of the Vernon Preparatory School and VPS, List of pupils enrolled, 1914-72, in PABC. Residence was given at time of enrollment.

NOTE:
Greater Vancouver includes Vancouver city, New Westminster, North and West Vancouver and Burnaby. Greater Victoria includes Victoria city, Esquimalt, Oak Bay and Saanich.

clear the dominance of British immigrant fathers. Paternal birthplace has been located for about two-thirds of the boys resident in Canada enrolled at each school. As indicated by Tables 13 and 14, 93 percent of the fathers of boys at Vernon and 86 percent at Shawnigan had been born in Britain.

The socio-economic status of fathers is suggested by data on religion and occupation. While religious affiliation has been determined for only a proportion of boys at each school, this partial data, delineated in Table 15, is consistent. About

Table 12
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	1916-20	1920-25	1925-30	1916-30
CENTRAL VANCOUVER ISLAND	29 (.45)	20 (.19)	37 (.15)	86 (.20)
Cowichan	24 (.37)	10 (.10)	20 (.08)	54 (.13)
Other	5 (.08)	10 (.10)	17 (.07)	32 (.08)
GREATER VICTORIA	17 (.26)	28 (.27)	48 (.19)	93 (.22)
GREATER VANCOUVER	11 (.17)	32 (.31)	81 (.32)	124 (.29)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	6 (.09)	9 (.09)	22 (.09)	37 (.09)
OTHER CANADA	0	3 (.03)	35 (.14)	38 (.09)
UNITED STATES	2 (.03)	11 (.11)	28 (.11)	41 (.10)
OTHER	0	0	4 (.02)	4 (.01)
Unknown	26	12	2	40
TOTAL	91	115	257	463

SOURCE:
Shawnigan Lake, Admission cards, 1916-50, at SLS.

NOTE:
"Central Vancouver Island" also includes Gulf Islands.

90 percent of families whose affiliation is known belonged to the Church of England, the religion of upper-middle-class and upper-class Britain.

Paternal occupation, which has been obtained from local directories for virtually all Canadian boys attending Vernon and Shawnigan, is summarized in Tables 16 and 17. Over two-thirds of the fathers at Vernon were engaged in agriculture, the remainder principally professionals or in retirement. A third of the Shawnigan fathers were in agriculture, almost a third retired, and a quarter professionals.

Qualitative evidence on clientele supports the inferences

Table 13
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1930

	1914-20	1920-25	1925-30	1914-30
BRITAIN	37 (.93)	30 (.77)	32 (.58)	99 (.74)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	0	2 (.05)	3 (.05)	5 (.04)
OTHER CANADA	3 (.08)	6 (.15)	18 (.33)	27 (.20)
UNITED STATES	0	1 (.03)	2 (.04)	3 (.02)
Unknown	19	29	25	73
TOTAL	59	68	80	207

SOURCE:
School scrapbooks of clippings; Vertical Files in PABC; newspaper files in VCA and Glenbow Archives; other newspaper articles, especially obituaries; biographical dictionaries; local histories; and interviews.

Table 14
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	1916-20	1920-25	1925-30	1916-30
BRITAIN	32 (.86)	37 (.62)	60 (.54)	129 (.62)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	4 (.11)	7 (.12)	8 (.07)	19 (.09)
OTHER CANADA	1 (.03)	12 (.20)	35 (.32)	48 (.23)
UNITED STATES	0	3 (.05)	6 (.05)	9 (.04)
CONTINENTAL EUROPE	0	1 (.02)	2 (.02)	3 (.01)
Unknown	26	32	112	170
TOTAL	63	92	223	378

to be drawn from the quantitative data. The large proportion of fathers engaged in agriculture were principally composed of British born gentlemen-farmers lured into rural British Columbia during the great years of prewar immigration. Among such

Table 15
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930

	Vernon	Shawnigan
Anglican	125 (.93)	102 (.87)
Evangelical Protestant	7 (.05)	14 (.12)
Other	2 (.01)	1 (.01)
Unknown	73	261
TOTAL	207	378

SOURCE:
School magazines and newspaper items, especially parental obituaries.

NOTE:
Where pupils had a different affiliation that their father, father's was preferred. "Evangelical Protestant" includes United, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational denominations.

families at Vernon were the Kidstons and Grieves. The former had arrived in the Coldstream in 1904 "complete with cook, nurse and gardener."[1] John Kidston, educated at the Scottish "public" school of Loretto, had married the daughter of a Glasgow shipbuilder and gone out to Calcutta with a life insurance company. Home on leave, he had, to quote his son, fallen for

> the assurances of the Agent-General for British Columbia in London that all a man needed was enough money to buy his land, plant his orchard and live on for ten years when his orchard would be producing tremendous crops and he would be in clover for life.

[1] J.R. Kidston, "Anna Euphemia Kidston," OHS, Report 24 (1960), pp. 107-08; and Effie Kidston McGuire and Michael McGuire, untitled interview with Imbert Orchard, 1964?, accession no. 1121 (Victoria: Aural History Program, PABC); partially reprinted in Mitchell and Duffy, p. 19.

Table 16
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1930

	1914-20	1920-25	1925-30	1914-30
PROFESSIONS	5 (.10)	9 (.15)	19 (.28)	33 (.19)
Upper	3 (.06)	4 (.07)	13 (.19)	20 (.11)
Lower	2 (.04)	5 (.08)	6 (.09)	13 (.07)
BUSINESS	3 (.06)	11 (.19)	13 (.19)	27 (.16)
Finance	2 (.04)	3 (.05)	2 (.03)	7 (.04)
Company	1 (.02)	8 (.14)	11 (.16)	20 (.11)
SALES AND SERVICE	2 (.04)	8 (.14)	6 (.09)	16 (.09)
Sales	1 (.02)	5 (.08)	1 (.01)	7 (.04)
Government	1 (.02)	3 (.05)	3 (.04)	7 (.04)
Clerical	0	0	2 (.03)	2 (.01)
AGRICULTURE	33 (.69)	31 (.53)	23 (.34)	87 (.50)
TRADES	0	0	3 (.04)	3 (.02)
RETIRED	4 (.08)	0	2 (.03)	6 (.03)
TRANSIENT	1 (.02)	0	1 (.01)	2 (.01)
TOTAL	48	59	67	174

SOURCE:
Provincial and city directories for British Columbia and Alberta.

NOTE:
Includes fathers and stepfathers. See Appendix B for occupational specifications. "Retired" includes individuals given as retired or without occupation over an extended time period.

Major W.R. Grieve had after attendance at Rugby and Cambridge tried sheepfarming in New Zealand before settling on fruit farming just across the creek from the school.[1]

Other gentlemen emigrants sending offspring to Vernon were longer settled in British Columbia. George Barclay, member of the English banking family of that name, had gone out in 1890 on

[1] Vernon News, undated clipping, 1958, in VPS, Scrapbook, 1958-60, in PABC.

Table 17
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	1916-20	1920-25	1925-30	1916-30
PROFESSIONS	11 (.26)	24 (.32)	68 (.35)	103 (.33)
Upper	6 (.14)	20 (.27)	54 (.28)	80 (.26)
Lower	5 (.12)	4 (.05)	14 (.07)	23 (.07)
BUSINESS	2 (.05)	22 (.30)	63 (.32)	87 (.28)
Finance	0	9 (.12)	34 (.18)	43 (.14)
Company	2 (.05)	13 (.18)	29 (.15)	44 (.14)
SALES AND SERVICE	3 (.07)	3 (.04)	11 (.06)	17 (.05)
Sales	0	1 (.01)	5 (.03)	6 (.02)
Government	3 (.07)	2 (.03)	4 (.02)	9 (.03)
Clerical	0	0	2 (.01)	2 (.01)
AGRICULTURE	14 (.33)	17 (.23)	23 (.12)	54 (.17)
TRADES	0	1 (.01)	3 (.02)	4 (.01)
RETIRED	12 (.29)	6 (.08)	25 (.13)	43 (.14)
TRANSIENT	0	1 (.01)	1 (.01)	2 (.01)
TOTAL	42	74	194	310

completing his education at the "public" school of Cheltenham College.[1] Purchasing a cattle ranch in the south Okanagan, he then enticed out other young "public"-school men as pupils to be taught ranching for a fee. Barclay married into British Columbia's pioneer Cornwall family, which had long maintained British gentry traditions in the interior, and subsequently secured his fortune by selling the ranch to Canadian developers for the community of Summerland. Older Barclay sons were forced to travel to Victoria for a suitable education, but Guy and his brother John went only as far as Vernon.

[1] See Work for the Far West 21 (1902), p. 10; Andrew, Munn and Stent, pp. 22-23 and 28-29; and interview, April 6, 1979. Also see Edward Philip Johnson, "The Early Years of Ashcroft Manor," BC Studies 5 (1970), pp. 3-23.

While British immigration into the Kootenays was in general composed of individuals with slimmer finances, private education remained a priority for families like the Lees and Marples. Major Turner Lee, born 1861, had studied at Rugby and trained as a solicitor. Already restless on returning from the Boer War, he, as his daughter has recalled, "then read Bealby" and the die was cast.[1] The book in question was a folksy, popular manual on fruit farming in British Columbia published in Britain in 1909 with the intent, on the basis of J.T. Bealby's own experience, of luring precisely such vaguely dissatisfied individuals into the Kootenays.[2] The entire Lee family--including Major Lee's brother, who was an Anglican cleric, and Mrs. Lee's sister, persuaded to care for the three small children--emigrated in 1911 complete with "26 pieces of hand luggage," the family silver, a crated piano, and "boxes of books--quantities of books." When the property so eagerly purchased sight unseen in England turned out be a cliff, Major Lee persevered on more suitable land at Bonnington Falls, not far from Nelson. Soon the Lee's daughter was enrolled at All Hallows' School at Yale and, when it closed, at King Edward's at Cranbrook, which her younger brothers also attended before going to Vernon.

The Marples family had emigrated to Invermere, the Lake Windemere site being boomed by Randolph Bruce. Their new life style was described, not without a touch of envy, by a young

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[1] Interview, Feb. 4, 1980; VPSM, Summer 1921, n.p.; and undated clipping, 1950, in VPS, Scrapbook, 1950-52.
[2] J.T. Bealby, Fruit Ranching in British Columbia (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909).

immigrant wife visiting the Marples' home shortly after their arrival in 1912:

> They must have ample means. Everything is awfully nice, a real English home, with good big solid sofa, arm chairs, dining table, carpet, piano, lovely sideboard, their bedroom, quite English, even to goffered frills & monogram on pillow shams . . . . Mrs. Marples has a wonderful nurse, who is quite the old retainer & calls Mr. Marples "Mr. Norman" . . . . & then the nurses room, where the little girl has her cot, & her dolls & her toy-cupboard. "Molly" is her name. She is 2 1/2 & looked a rosy cheeked apple & very friendly in a brown velvet Liberty dress with blue embroidery, very short to show very pretty "unders." Nurse grieves & says she always wore white in England![1]

The elder Marples, educated in Bavaria by his financier father, did first give the local school a try but soon removed his offspring due to teacher incompetence.[2]

Representative of early clientele at the Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School were the Neels, Musgraves and Paynes. The elder Neel, educated at Haileybury and Oxford, had become a gentlemen-farmer in the Cowichan about 1908 after a first career in the British consular service.[3] Edward Musgrave, youngest son of an Irish baronet, had in the late ninteenth century sought his fortune by raising sheep--first in the Argentine and then on a 7,000-acre ranch on Saltspring Island.[4] In the 1890s the Musgrave family moved across the bay to farm in the Cowichan, whence two grandsons were dispatched to Shawnigan. The large

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[1] M.O. Phillips to her mother, Mrs. Oxley, Feb. 23, 1913, Oxley family, Letters.
[2] Interview, Feb. 19, 1979, and Cranbrook Courier, July 4, 1962.
[3] Cowichan Leader, Dec. 8, 1955.
[4] Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, 1913, p. 1420, and 1970, p. 1929; and Scholefield and Howay, v. 4, pp. 413-14.

Payne family lived on Saturna Island, where they had arrived in the 1880s--also to grow sheep--complete with servants and all the comforts of home. Their self-contained existence was ensured by the presence of an Anglican cleric among the four brothers, who held services in a boat house euphemistically called "St. Christopher's."[1]

Not all pupils were the offspring of British settlers. Eight percent at Vernon whose paternal birthplace is known and 14 percent at Shawnigan had fathers born in Canada. These boys came in large part from upper-middle-class families already committed to private education. Exemplary was Bruce Robertson, sent to Shawnigan from Victoria because his "parents believed in boarding school."[2] Robertson's paternal grandfather, a lawyer, came to British Columbia from Ontario in the early 1860s and, perhaps because of his occupation, had little difficulty integrating himself into the dominantly British society of Victoria: in 1870 he was elected mayor and the next year a member of the first provincial legislature. Family commitment to private education was already strong. Young Robertson's father and four uncles, including the senator G. Henry Barnard, had attended Trinity College School, to which he would also be sent after Shawnigan. Another uncle, the politician D.M. Eberts, was an original governor of University School.

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[1] Saanich Peninsula & Gulf Islands Gazette, April 16, 1952, and Reimer, p. 59; also pp. 21-47 and 58-60.
[2] Interview, Jan. 15, 1981; Colonist, Sept. 6, 1933; and Sun, Sept. 17, 1955, and June 8, 1961.

II

By 1920 the Vernon Preparatory School and the Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School had, through their acquisition of clientele aligned with the schools' principles and practices, acquired institutional stability. The next decade was characterized by both continuity and change. On the one hand, the level of commitment by British settler families remained numerically constant, even though immigration had ceased with the war and did not subsequently return to earlier levels: of the almost 200,000 British born living in British Columbia in 1931, over 70 percent had arrived prior to the First World War.[1] The overwhelming majority of pupils continued to be Anglican. The number of fathers engaged in agriculture diminished somewhat at Vernon but grew at Shawnigan, as did the number who were retired.

Neither did the reasons British families sent offspring alter. Vernon acquired the only son of its immediate neighbour, Capt. Thomas Brayshaw, who in old age allowed that he himself "was educated in the approved British manner."[2] At nearby Lavington several British settler families decided about 1920 that the "government" school would not do and, after hiring a young Irish girl to teach the basics, packed their sons off as a

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[1] Census of Canada, 1931, v. 4, pp. 414-18.
[2] Ed Meade, "Tom Brayshaw," Northwest Sportsman, Jan. 1959, p. 6. See also Stanley E. Read, Tommy Brayshaw: The Ardent Angler-Artist (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977).
[3] Interviews, March 5, a.m. and p.m., and April 18, 1979.

group to the Mackies' school.[3] Included were the offspring of a ranch manager, a retired physician, a gentleman fruit farmer, and a retired Royal Artillery major who had first become enchanted with British Columbia on his way to China to quell the Boxer Rebellion. One of these boys, asked why their families so acted, replied simply, "They didn't want their children losing their accents and mixing with ordinary farm types in the district."

Other boys, like Rupert Warren and Arthur Chetwynd, came from further away. The elder Warren, eduated at Haileybury, ranched about thirty miles beyond Vernon. Rupert was first "sent daily to have lessons" with a neighbour "about a mile away in the bush," but his young English mother worried that he would "grow up to be only 'Bush' conscious": "My husband and I would often talk to them of England, and what English homes were like."[1] Then, "a kind offer of help came from Home," and on a "bitterly cold" January morning Warren packed the nine-year-old "in the one-horse cutter" and took him off to school through a driving snow storm. Arthur Chetwynd's father, great nephew of a baronet, emigrated immediately upon leaving his "public" school of Clifton.[2] After taking an agricultural course at Pullman State University, just across the border from British Columbia, he became manager of Walhachin, initiated by a distant relative, the Marquis of Anglesey. On its collapse in 1920, the elder

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[1] Warren, pp. 22-23 and 25. Also see Eric D. Sismey, "Falkland, B.C.," OHS, Report 40 (1976), pp. 64-65; and Gosnell, pp. 659-62.

[2] Williams Lake Tribune, Aug. 16, 1972; undated clipping, 1957, in VPS, Scrapbook, 1954-57; and interview, Oct. 24, 1979.

Chetwynd turned to training polo ponies for the matches common in British upper-class ranching settlements across western Canada. To his death as a leading provincial politician, he would remain "a genial pleasant 'old school tie' sort of Englishman."

Exemplary of Shawnigan's British immigrant clientele in the 1920s were the Oldhams and Griffiths as well, of course, as the Groves and Lakes who sat on the board of governors. Lt.-Col. F.T. Oldham, also educated at Clifton, had as a Royal Artillery officer stationed in India, helped suppress the Boxer Rebellion.[1] In 1911 he was forced at the age of 41 to retire for reasons of health. This, as Lt.-Col. Oldham later recollected, posed a problem: in England "to live in even modest style on home pay, an officer of the old British Army almost had to have private means." Lacking such resources, he was forced to search out "a country where he could live cheaply on a pension," and in British Columbia "an Imperial pension went a long way." Lt.-Col. Oldham and his bride were able to acquire, not far from Shawnigan Lake, some land, a cow, and a home named "Balgonie," where were kept his treasured momentos of India including "a tiger skin, a medal and albums of sunlit photographs." Lt.-Col. Oldham remained true to the principles which had guided his own youth: when young Stuart Oldham reached the age of eight, he was sent to the Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, at the age of fifteen to his father's old school of Clifton. The elder Griffiths, son of an officer in the Royal Engineers, had

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[1] Colonist, July 5, 1959, and Cowichan Leader, Dec. 1, 1960.

attended the United Services College at Westward Ho, a minor "public" school for the offspring of military men immortalized by his classmate, Rudyard Kipling, in Stalky and Co.[1] "From humble beginnings in a London office," as Griffiths' obituary phrased it, he emigrated to become a successful Vancouver real estate broker.

Not all British-born fathers came from socio-economic backgrounds encompassing private education. Vernon enrolled the son of the local butcher, who had learned the trade in his native Somerset. In other cases fathers had risen markedly in status since their arrival in British Columbia. Exemplary were Edgar Osman Cornish and the Malkin brothers. Cornish, who began in the sample room of a Liverpool food company, was soon directing the company's exports of fruit from California and then of canned salmon from British Columbia.[2] His three sons attended Vernon, also Brentwood or Shawnigan. The Malkin brothers, who came proudly out of the English Non-Conformist tradition, had emigrated in their teens.[3] By 1895 they had organized in Vancouver the successful wholesale food company which would make their name virtually synonymous with the commercial success which was Vancouver itself. Two of the brothers dispatched offspring to Shawnigan.

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[1] Sun, Oct. 7, 1938, and Canadian Who's Who, 1936/37, p. 450.
[2] Interview, July 19, 1979, and Province, Dec. 31, 1952.
[3] Sun, Aug. 1, 1949, and March 19, 1952; Province, April 17, 1932, April 18 and 26, 1950, and July 14, 1975; Nanaimo Freepress, Oct. 13, 1959; and WWBC, 1937/39, pp. 101-02.

III

While the number and nature of British families sending offspring to Vernon and Shawnigan in the 1920s did not markedly alter, other circumstances served to diminish their relative influence in the lives of the two schools. Increased demand from other segments of the population encouraged both schools to expand numerically. Vernon raised its upper limit to 45 and then 50 boys, while Shawnigan grew dramatically after the 1926 fire to over 200 pupils on the eve of the Depression. As a consequence, the proportion of boys whose fathers had been born in Britain decreased even as their numbers remained constant. In the schools' first half decade, the proportion of fathers born in Britain stood at about 90 percent; by the years 1925-30 it had dropped to 55 percent.

The single most significant segment of the new clientele was composed of Vancouver business and professional families with their origins in eastern Canada. The number of boys at Vernon from Greater Vancouver grew from just 3 in the school's first half decade to 29 in 1925-30, at Shawnigan from 11 to 81. In the second half of the 1920s they composed a third or more of each school's clientele. The proportion of pupils with fathers born elsewhere in Canada expanded to a third. The proportion of professional fathers grew to between a quarter and a third, of fathers in finance and company management to a third at Shawnigan and a fifth at Vernon.

The particular characteristics of the schools' new

Table 18
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada
PROFESSIONS	49 (.24)	5 (.24)	36 (.51)
Upper	33 (.16)	5 (.24)	34 (.49)
Lower	16 (.08)	0	2 (.03)
BUSINESS	37 (.18)	11 (.52)	20 (.29)
Finance	15 (.07)	5 (.24)	8 (.11)
Company	22 (.11)	6 (.29)	12 (.17)
SALES AND SERVICE	8 (.04)	0	2 (.03)
Sales	1 (neg)	0	0
Government	7 (.03)	0	2 (.03)
AGRICULTURE	81 (.40)	3 (.14)	12 (.17)
TRADES	4 (.02)	0	0
RETIRED	19 (.09)	2 (.10)	0
TRANSIENT	3 (.01)	0	0
TOTAL	201	21	70

clientele are examined in Tables 18, 19 and 20, which differentiate paternal occupation, residence and religious affiliation by paternal birthplace. Over half the fathers born in British Columbia were businessmen, another quarter professionals. Of fathers born elsewhere in Canada, almost a third were in business, over half professionals. Of fathers from Vancouver, only a third were British born, compared with over 80 percent of those resident elsewhere in the province. Conversely, well over half the Vancouver fathers had been born in Canada, compared with only 13 percent of those resident elsewhere in the province. Table 20, which orders religious affiliation by paternal birthplace, demonstrates that whereas 96

percent of boys with British-born fathers belonged to the Church of England, just 78 percent of boys whose fathers had been born in Canada did so.

Table 19
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE COMPARED BETWEEN PUPILS FROM VANCOUVER AND PUPILS FROM THE REST OF BRITISH COLUMBIA ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada	Born elsewhere
VANCOUVER				
Vernon pupils	10 (.37)	3 (.11)	12 (.44)	2 (.07)
Shawnigan pupils	22 (.31)	9 (.13)	32 (.45)	8 (.11)
Both schools	32 (.33)	12 (.12)	44 (.45)	10 (.10)
REST OF BRITISH COLUMBIA				
Vernon pupil	85 (.86)	2 (.02)	11 (.11)	1 (.01)
Shawnigan pupils	97 (.79)	10 (.08)	12 (.10)	4 (.03)
Both schools	181 (.82)	12 (.05)	23 (.10)	5 (.02)

Table 20
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born Canada
Anglican	127 (.96)	59 (.78)
Other	5 (.04)	17 (.22)
Unknown	96	23
TOTAL	228	99

Offspring of British settler families attending Vernon and Shawnigan in the 1920s were not unaware of their schools'

changing clientele. A pupil at Vernon, 1921-26, described the influx of "very Canadian" sons of Vancouver parents wanting the school "to put on polish, veneer, perhaps discipline."[1] He and his fellows were "very scathing about the Vancouver boys," declaring, "'If not for us, the school wouldn't exist.'" One of these "vulgar North Americans from the coast," to use a self-appellation, has written that when he arrived in September 1923 boys "fell into two main groups, the ranch or 'rahnch' type from the Interior and the dread Canadian type from the Coast."[2] After having been "scolded for knowing the latest songs" and suffered "the suppression of all our Coast games, saying baseball would ruin our eye for cricket," he was finally "asked to leave."

By the late 1920s the psychological balance was clearly shifting in favour of Canadian boys. As remembered by a pupil at Vernon from the Alberta foothills, "we were country boys and they were city boys; we didn't know what they were talking about."[3] A Shawnigan boy of this period has a similar recollection: "You had a gang from Vancouver who spent their holidays together, who grew up together, whose parents knew each other."[4] No overt animosity existed. Rather, "you didn't get to know them because there was no point in their getting to know you."

Exemplary of the new Vancouver clientele were such families as the Wallaces, Woodwards, Cromies and Maitlands. For Clarence

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[1] Interview, March 5, a.m., 1979.
[2] Dave Brock, "The Private Schools of Forty Years Ago," Vancouver Life 1, no. 3 (1965), pp. 73-75.
[3] Interview, Sept. 25, 1979.
[4] Interview, July 3, 1980.

Wallace, whose eldest son was educated at Vernon and Kingsley, upward mobility had come a generation previous.[1] Wallace's father was a British immigrant out of the Non-Conformist tradition who by following the family trade became a successful Vancouver shipbuilder. Wallace, educated in the city's public schools and at St. Andrew's College, then took on attributes traditionally associated with British upper-middle-class status, including adherence to Anglicanism and a penchant for polo.

The Woodward family was achieving its commercial success even as Percy Woodward, who would send his only son to Shawnigan, was growing up.[2] Born when his father was still a small-town storekeeper in Ontario, he attended public school in Vancouver during the years the senior Woodward was establishing a large department store on the city's East side. By the mid-1920s success was certain, with the number of customers in the Vancouver store doubling in just four years to over nine million and a second store opening in Edmonton.

Cromie and Maitland, whose sons attended Shawnigan, achieved upward mobility largely through their own efforts. Born in Quebec, Robert J. Cromie had as a youth worked his way west with a stop in Winnipeg where he gained employment as a bellhop.[3] Through his "keen application to business," Cromie virtually created the Vancouver Sun as a major newspaper. Royal

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[1] Gosnell, pp. 584-85; WWBC, 1940/41, p. 235; Colonist, Feb. 1, 1953; and Coquitlam Herald, Feb. 10, 1970.
[2] Douglas E. Harker, The Woodwards: The Story of a Distinguished British Columbia Family, 1850-1975 (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1976), esp. pp. 28, 67-69, 105-06 and 301.
[3] Colonist, May 12, 1936, and Sun, July 14, 1958.

L. Maitland was brought west from Ontario by his Methodist minister father at the age of one.[1] After attending public school in Vancouver, he read for the bar. By the time his only son entered Shawnigan in 1928, he had been elected to the provincial legislature and would shortly join the cabinet.

IV

A second new group among Vernon and Shawnigan clientele in the 1920s comprised pupils from elsewhere in Canada, principally the neighbouring provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. In the years 1925-30, such boys made up 14 percent of each schools' enrollment. The phenomenon was not new among British Columbia's private schools. The Cliffs, Collegiate School and early University School had regularly enrolled pupils from the Alberta foothills. The creation in Calgary of Western Canada College in 1904, of Anglican St. Hilda's College for girls a year later, and of Anglican Bishop Pinkham College for boys in 1911 diminished the reliance on coastal schools.[2] However, Bishop Pinkham had closed during the war, and Western Canada fell victim to financial adversity in 1926.

Of pupils from Alberta whose paternal birthplace is known just under half had been born in Britain, the remainder in

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[1] Colonist, March 28, 1946; clipping, March 31, 1931, in newspaper file, VCA; and WWBC, 1937/39, pp. 100-01.

[2] Douglas Coats, "Calgary: The Private Schools, 1900-16," pp. 141-52 in Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region, 1875-1914, ed. Anthony W. Rasporich and Henry C. Klassen (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975).

Alberta or elsewhere in Canada. Exemplary were the Deane-Freeman brothers at Vernon and John Monkland Cross at Shawnigan. The Deane-Freemans' grandparents had emigrated from Ireland in 1886 to the Millarville district about twenty miles southwest of Calgary and "brought polo, cricket, hunting--everything out."[1] As this area filled up with fellow gentlemen emigrants, it was the Deane-Freemans who not only organized Anglican services in their home but provided facilities on their ranch for the various sports. The Deane-Freeman brothers went to Vernon in part because the nearest common school was miles away but also because their "ancestors always went to English private schools." Cross' father, son of a prominent Montreal lawyer, had attended Haileybury.[2] He then studied business, agriculture and veterinary science before coming west in 1884 as bookkeeper and veterinarian on a large ranch outside Calgary. Within two years A.E. Cross was homesteading his own "A7 Ranch" and within a decade had established the first brewery in Calgary itself. Cross, whose elder son had been sent to University School before the war, became one of the wealthiest and most influential men of southern Alberta.

Of boys from Saskatchewan, all the fathers whose birthplace has been determined were British born. The decision to expose a son to a British boarding education was not easily taken by such

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[1] Interview, Sept. 25, 1979, and Our Foothills (Calgary: Millarville, Kew, Priddis and Bragg Creek Historical Society, 1975), pp. 19-20 and 109-10.

[2] Leaves from the Medicine Tree (High River, Alberta: High River Pioneers' and Old Timers' Association, 1960), pp. 451-53, and Mosquito Creek Roundup (Calgary: Nanton and District Historical Society, 1976), pp. 36-37.

parents, virtually all of whom lived in rural areas surrounded by "Canadians" and recent immigrants from continental Europe and the United States. The case of the Hewlett family is illustrative.[1] Hewlett, from a family of "country squires," has explained how he happened to emigrate from Britain in 1894:

> My father called me in to his study one day and said: "You are seventeen, you aren't doing much at school except in sport--that won't get you a living. What do you want to be?" "I don't know." "How about a colony--Canada, for instance, farm, breed horses, and so on?" "I suppose so." That's all there was to it. I left school--Uppingham--that term.

Hewlett homesteaded at Cannington Manor, founded a decade previous as a genteel British group settlement: "the men have a common background of English homes of leisure and are 'public schoolmen.'" Social structure was divided between the "Canadians" and the "Dudes," with the few English women in the colony equally concerned to draw "a cloak of separateness . . . around their lives to maintain the social levels, quite usual at home." Recreation consisted of "football, cricket, tennis, foxhunting, boating and the occasional dance in one of the big houses, all in evening togs." Tournaments at the Cannington Manor Tennis Club drew participants "from many like-minded settlements, even from Winnipeg."

By 1912, when Hewlett married a wellbred English girl come to teach school, Cannington existed primarily on memories, early

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[1] A.E.M. Hewlett, A Too Short Yesterday: Cannington Manor, Saskatchewan (Saskatoon: Western Producer, 1970), pp. 3, 10, 17, 41, 44, 51, 95, 125, 129 and 149-58.

residents having gone to the "coast mainly, or some went home." The remaining bachelors would depart at the outbreak of war. Still, the Hewletts loved their quiet life: "All things one strives a lifetime for in England are here all the time--fresh air, utter quiet, blue sky, trees, wild flowers, birds, animals."

However, Mrs. Hewlett began to ponder as her sons grew older. "Through my mind, increasingly as the boys became more useful, one paramount dread: will they be doomed to life on the farm through lack of education?" To be a gentleman-farmer by choice was acceptable, to be forced though lack of proper education to become a working farmer not permissible. At first she met "a stone wall" from her husband. "'It's the best life on earth,' he'd say, and mean it. 'A farmer can have too much education.'"

Then Hewlett's father sent money from England with the admonition: "'In addition to learning, character should be ingrained and a gentlemanly bearing cultivated.'" Hewlett himself became enthusiastic to find a suitable school. Acting on the premise that "the sport should be good" and that the original Cannington life style "still must go on in British Columbia" where so many of "the old Cannington crowd" lived, he looked in that direction. Learning that "Shawnigan is a good English school," he made up his mind about the time his wife had second thoughts. She argued, "'There must be some prairie boarding school,'" for, "'after all, our boys are Canadian.'" If their son went to Shawnigan, "'he may come back with his nose a

bit in the air.'" "If he's going to spend his life here farming he should feel at one with his neighbours." In the end maintenance of her son's British heritage triumphed.

At Shawnigan 11 percent of clientele in the 1920s came from the United States. As indicated by Table 21, paternal occupations were similar to those of fathers born in Canada. Almost half were in business, over a third professionals.

Table 21
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF AMERICAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	1916-1930
PROFESSIONS	10 (.36)
Upper	8 (.29)
Lower	2 (.07)
BUSINESS	13 (.46)
Finance	4 (.14)
Management	9 (.32)
SALES AND SERVICE	3 (.11)
TRADES	1 (.04)
RETIRED	1 (.04)
NOT FOUND (smaller locations)	2
TOTAL	30

SOURCE:
City directories for Washington, Oregon and California available in Seattle Public Library.

V

The Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake School acquired clientele because families chose to purchase a private boarding education for their sons rather than avail themselves

of a free public system. These many individual decisions made in the years 1914 to 1930 were taken for three principal reasons--tradition, status and necessity.

The existence among British families settled in British Columbia of a tradition of private education was largely responsible for the original creation of boys' schools in the early twentieth century. For many immigrants, such schools embodied the cultural continuity deemed essential to maintain their existing life style in its British definition. In some instances the priority given the preservation of that life style had even precipitated emigration in the first place. Families like the Kidstons, Barclays, Oldhams and Groves probably never questioned that male offspring would be educated as their fathers before them.

The Rev. Mackie of the Vernon Preparatory School put the matter simply when he defined a major part of his clientele as "the Old Country type who are themselves the product of the private schools at home and are firm believers in the system of private education."[1] While these families have "usually some private means," others "are enabled to keep their boys at school through the generosity of relatives in the Old Country." "Such parents, generally speaking, are prepared to make any sacrifice rather than withdraw their boys."

Tradition could be present in other forms. For families like the Robertsons and Wallaces, a tradition of private schooling was acquired in Canada, although the education itself

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[1] VPSM, Easter 1931, p. 1.

had its original basis in Britain. Anglicans particularly concerned with the transmission of religious beliefs also found in these schools' commitment to the Church of England a desirable mechanism for generational continuity.

Table 22
PATERNAL SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born Canada
Educated British "public" school or Canadian private school	62	21
Educated at local school	21	19
Unknown	145	59
TOTAL	228	99

Determination of the proportion of fathers who had been privately educated is difficult. As indicated in Table 22, information has been located for only a third of the fathers with known birthplaces. This data has two possible interpetations. Perhaps, as is suggested at first sight, about three-quarters of fathers born in Britain had attended a "public" school and half of those born in Canada a private institution. A counter argument is very persuasive in the case of fathers born in Canada. Since fathers receiving a private education in Canada, where public schooling was the norm, did inevitably come from a better socio-economic background, they were more likely themselves to become successful and consequently leave behind the kind of biographical data on which

these calculations have perforce been based. If the figures are therefore taken as a proportion of all fathers, on the assumption that most of those for whom no information survives went to public school, then the proportion of fathers born in Canada who were privately educated drops to between 20 and 25 percent. The situation with fathers born in Britain is somewhat different, since an absence of biographical data is compatible with an assumption of private education. Moreover, the minority of British-born fathers who attended their local school probably went in any case to a grammar school or a private day school rather than to the state school.

In other cases status was a critical variable in a decision to educate offspring privately. British immigrant fathers of relatvely modest background, like Cornish and the Malkins, knew from their own youth the function played by "public" education in defining social position. Nor were Canadian fathers, such as Cromie and Woodward, ignorant that their sons' attendance at private school provided a visible confirmation of secure financial position. The wealth accumulated by some Vancouver families--and their penchant for its display--is suggested in a fictionalized account of a Vernon pupil of the 1920s going to visit a school friend living on Southwest Marine Drive:

> The grounds seemed all horizon: lawns rolling down to the Fraser delta land, merging off into a swamp. The house resembled a castle . . . . I had an impression of endless rooms (one, fitted out to resemble the saloon of a ship, greatly took my fancy), and of coming on a succession of

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[1] John Cornish, The Provincials (New York: William Sloan, 1951), p. 20.

vague people busied with vague tasks.[1]

The Rev. Mackie described a second major portion of Vernon's clientele as "those of British stock, born or long domiciled in Canada, unacquainted with Boarding School life yet fully alive to its advantages."[1] These were "generally successful men of business," who, the Rev. Mackie warned, could in times of economic adversity "withdraw their boys, not being, by inheritance, convinced believers in private education nor feeling called upon to deny themselves the normal pleasures of life in order to give their boys private education when the Government schools are available at no extra cost to themselves." In other words, a private education was a desirable but not an essential comcomitant of status, as the founders of Whetham College and Western Residential Schools had earlier discovered to their chagrin.

The assumption that a private education in a British Columbia boys' schools conferred status presumed an acceptance of the British values which so overtly underlay that education. To some families, all that mattered were the schools' patently un-American qualities.[2] As a visitor to British Columbia in the late 1920s discovered, widespread American influence existed "through business, agriculture, tinged news, literature and close personal associations."[3] Most school textbooks "are

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[1] VPSM, Easter 1931, p. 1.
[2] Such an attitude was not restricted to private education. See views of the Rev. Joshua Hinchliffe, Minister of Education, 1927-32, expressed in Colonist, Dec. 18, 1928.
[3] Marjorie Harrison, Go West--Go Wise! A Canadian Revelation (London: Edward Arnold, 1930), pp. 254-56.

identical with those used in the United States." She also reported "a body of conservative and strongly Imperialistic feeling which has an intense dislike of America and Americans."

The Vernon father noted above, who lived on Vancouver's Southwest Marine Drive, termed himself not a "Canadian," since "nobody knows, not even Ottawa knows," what they are. He was rather "a Scotsman resisting becoming an American": "Same with the boys--I'm seeing to that," referring to his decision to send them to a school "above all traditional English, run by traditional-English gentlemen to produce the traditional English-gentleman type his boys would resemble, by God."[1]

If some families only saw private education as an antidote to creeping Americanization, other British Columbians were true Anglophiles. Exemplary was Thorlief Larsen, a Professor of English at the University of British Columbia who sent his three sons to Shawnigan, one also to Vernon. Born in Norway, he came to New Westminster at the age of two.[2] After attending the University of Toronto, Larsen was in 1907 named Rhodes Scholar and studied at Oxford, to which he would several times return. Like Parkin of Upper Canada College, Larsen displayed the zeal of the convert in his devotion to the "public" school. Speaking to pupils at Shawnigan in 1930, he decried the public system as "vicious" for the "stress laid upon examinations" at the same time effusively praising "the public school system of England" as best preparing boys "to be a success afterwards."[3]

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[1] Cornish, p. 29.
[2] Province, March 24, 1950.
[3] SLSM, 1930, pp. 39-40.

While the explicit role played by status in a decision to place offspring in private school cannot be measured quantitatively, socio-economic characteristics consistent with a high priority being given to success were common among Vernon and Shawnigan's clientele. By the second half of the 1920s a fifth to a third of all fathers were in business, over a third professionals. As indicated by Table 23, professions of traditionally high prestige dominated: 14 percent of fathers practiced law or medicine. Of fathers born in British Columbia, a quarter were in law or medicine, of fathers born elsewhere in Canada almost 40 percent. Moreover, by the 1920s Shawnigan in particular was enrolling numerous offspring of political families, including at least a dozen sons of provincial or national legislators.

The priority given socio-economic success is also suggested by data on father's arrival in British Columbia, age at son's birth and family size. Most fathers, regardless of birthplace, had lived in British Columbia long enough to consolidate socio-economic position in their new environment. As indicated by Table 24, 85 to 90 percent of fathers, whether born in Britain or elsewhere in Canada, had come before the First World War. A third had arrived prior to 1906.

All the same, fathers waited to marry, probably until their socio-economic position was secure. As detailed in Tables 25 and 26, mean age at birth of sons to fathers born in Britain was about 37 years, to fathers born elsewhere in Canada 36 to 41 years. Only fathers born in the province felt free to have

Table 23
SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS OF PROFESSIONAL FATHERS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada	All fathers
UPPER PROFESSIONS	33 (.16)	5 (.24)	34 (.49)	100 (.21)
Academic	0	0	1 (.01)	3 (.01)
Legal	6 (.03)	4 (.19)	12 (.17)	31 (.06)
Medical	15 (.07)	1 (.05)	15 (.21)	41 (.08)
Science and engineering	10 (.05)	0	6 (.09)	22 (.05)
Other	2 (.01)	0	0	3 (.01)
LOWER PROFESSIONS	16 (.08)	0	2 (.03)	36 (.07)
Military	0	0	0	3 (.01)
Accounting	3 (.01)	0	0	7 (.01)
Creative	3 (.01)	0	0	8 (.02)
Teaching	7 (.03)	0	0	8 (.02)
Religious	0	0	2 (.03)	5 (.01)
Other	3 (.01)	0	0	5 (.01)
TOTAL FATHERS	201	21	70	484

NOTE:
"Medical" includes physicians and dentists.

children at a younger age. Thus, fathers were in their early or mid forties by the time sons reached school age, fifty or more by the time they were teenagers.

The necessity for sons to be imbued with all possible attributes of status was very probably enhanced by their scarcity. Perhaps in part because fathers waited to marry, they produced few male heirs. As indicated in Table 27, 38 percent of the pupils at Vernon and 26 percent at Shawnigan were only sons. Seventy to 75 percent had at most one male sibling.

Necessity was the third principal reason for sending

Table 24
YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN BRITISH COLUMBIA OF FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930

	Born Britain	Born Canada except British Columbia
1880-1896	27 (.18)	10 (.15)
1897-1905	18 (.12)	14 (.22)
1906-1914	89 (.59)	31 (.48)
1915-1930	17 (.11)	10 (.15)
Unknown	64	5
TOTAL	215	70

offspring to private school. Public education of inferior quality--or perceived to be of inferior quality--was often cited. For ranching families, like the Warrens, Marples and Deane-Freemans, local public facilities were often spartan at the primary level and non-existent at the secondary level.[1] There were only 50 public high schools in British Columbia at the beginning of the 1920s. When no local school existed, many families must have considered preferable a school where boarding was a closely supervised component of school life.

All aspects of public education could be cause for complaint. A "rationale" for private education published in 1926 asserted that "any medical man will stress the need for

[1] See, for example, Monica Storrs, God's Galloping Girl, ed. W.L. Morton (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1979), pp. 289-90, fn. 25; and Wellwood R. Johnson, Legend of Langley (Vancouver: Langley Centennial Committee, 1958), pp. 167-81.

Table 25
PATERNAL AGE AT BIRTH OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1930

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada	Total fathers
Mean age	36.8	35.8	40.7	38.1
Median age	37	34	41	37
Percentiles				
Youngest 1/4	23-31	27	28-30	22-30
Middle 1/2	31-42	34	30-44	31-43
Oldest 1/4	42-56	48	44-55	44-56
TOTAL NUMBER FOR WHOM AGE DETERMINED	45	4	23	74

NOTE:
"Total fathers" includes two fathers born in the United States whose mean age was 41.

more intensive physical training for our boys and girls, not the casual play which so many schools get at recess and after school hours."[1] The Rev. Mackie recognized that "many dull boys come to us because they have inevitably failed to get headway elsewhere."[2] In some instances, certainly, complaints against the public system were as much or more a convenient justification for a decision based in reality on a desire for status.

Necessity also arose in occupations demanding geographical mobility, in broken homes and in cases of poor health. Derek Pethick's father, although an Englishman educated at Clifton,

[1] Province, Aug. 29, 1926.
[2] VPSM, Summer 1930, p. 1.

Table 26
PATERNAL AGE AT BIRTH OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada	Total fathers
Mean age	37.3	28.4	35.6	36.0
Median age	37	27	35	35
Percentiles				
Youngest 1/4	19-31	23-25	21-30	19-29
Middle 1/2	32-43	25-29	31-39	29-42
Oldest 1/4	43-58	49-52	41-62	42-62
TOTAL NUMBER FOR WHOM AGE DETERMINED	64	10	41	124

NOTE:
"Total fathers" include 6 fathers born in the United States whose mean age was 41.2 and 3 fathers born in Continental Europe whose mean age was 28.7.

Table 27
NUMBER OF SONS IN FAMILIES ENROLLING OFFSPRING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1930

	Vernon (n=127)	Shawnigan (n=153)
Only sons	.38	.26
At most one male sibling	.76	.69
Up to two male siblings	.96	.83
Up to three male siblings	.98	.95
Mean number of male siblings	0.92	1.37

sent his son to Vernon primarily because his profession of

engineering involved frequent transfers about the province.[1] As

Table 28
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1930

	1914-20	1920-25	1925-30	1914-30
APPEARS COMPLETE	38 (.70)	56 (.92)	55 (.79)	149 (.81)
SOME IRREGULARITY	16 (.30)	5 (.08)	15 (.21)	36 (.20)
Mother at head	6 (.11)	2 (.03)	4 (.06)	12 (.06)
Stepfather	0	0	2 (.03)	2 (.01)
Other	10 (.19)	3 (.05)	9 (.13)	22 (.12)
Status unknown	5	7	10	22
TOTAL	59	68	80	207

NOTE:
"Other" includes families with longterm parental illness, mother deceased, father separated or away in military, neither parent present but pupil living with other relatives, or pupil a court ward.

delineated in Tables 28 and 29, the proportion of incomplete families rose to a third during the First World War, when many fathers were away in military service. Over the next decade, it still approached 10 to 20 percent. About 5 to 10 percent of all pupils had their mother as family head. Indicative was Mrs. Gertrude Dixon, a Victoria public-school teacher widowed in 1914 who sent her two sons to Shawnigan.[1]

Health could also precipitate a decision to educate a son privately, particularly in the case of the Vernon Preparatory School, located in the drier interior. Two leading Vancouver pediatricians regularly recommended, in this age predating sulfa

[1] Interview, April 18, 1979.
[1] Saanich Peninsula & Gulf Islands Gazette, Feb. 13, no year, in Vertical File, PABC.

Table 29
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1930

	1916-20	1920-25	1925-30	1916-30
APPEARS COMPLETE	35 (.65)	72 (.86)	186 (.89)	293 (.85)
SOME IRREGULARITY	19 (.35)	12 (.14)	22 (.11)	53 (.15)
Mother at head	12 (.22)	10 (.12)	14 (.07)	36 (.10)
Stepfather	2 (.04)	0	5 (.02)	7 (.02)
Other	5 (.09)	2 (.02)	3 (.01)	10 (.03)
Status unknown	10	8	15	33
TOTAL	64	92	223	379

drugs and penicillin, that children with asthma or bronchial conditions be removed from the damp coastal climate.[1] The North Vancover schools of Chesterfield, Kingsley and North Shore College, all fairly high up on a mountain side, took some pains to make known their location "above the fog line."[2]

VI

The characteristics of the clientele acquired by the Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake School by reason of tradition, status or necessity cannot, for lack of data, be compared with that at other boys' schools. However, the geographic residence of all pupils at University School and of about half those at Brentwood College is known, as are paternal

[1] Interview, Dec. 13, 1979; VPSM, Christmas 1932, p. 1; and WWBC, 1942/43, p. 287.
[2] See, for instance, News-Herald, Aug. 6, 1941.

occupation for most of the Brentwood pupils from British Columbia.

Table 30
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT UNIVERSITY SCHOOL, 1908-1930

	1908-15	1915-20	1920-25	1925-30	1915-30
GREATER VICTORIA	183 (.43)	86 (.35)	33 (.19)	94 (.32)	213 (.30)
CENTRAL VANCOUVER ISLAND	30 (.07)	11 (.04)	9 (.05)	0	20 (.03)
GREATER VANCOUVER	95 (.22)	28 (.11)	29 (.17)	50 (.17)	107 (.15)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	68 (.16)	35 (.14)	16 (.09)	8 (.03)	59 (.08)
OTHER CANADA	23 (.05)	15 (.06)	14 (.08)	57 (.20)	86 (.12)
UNITED STATES	22 (.05)	35 (.14)	54 (.31)	68 (.23)	157 (.22)
ASIA	3 (.01)	36 (.15)	15 (.09)	9 (.03)	60 (.08)
OTHER	3 (.01)	0	5 (.03)	5 (.02)	10 (.01)
Unknown	12	0	5	11	16
TOTAL	439	246	180	302	728

SOURCE:
University School, "Admission Roll Commencing Christmas Term 1906," 2 vol., located at school.

Table 30 delineates the geographic residence of pupils at University School from its incorporation in 1908 to 1930. In the prewar years almost 45 percent came from Greater Victoria. This high figure is not unexpected. The school regularly enrolled between 25 and 35 percent day boys, who accounted for the bulk of the Victoria clientele. Just over 20 percent came from Greater Vancouver and about that proportion from other parts of the province. The remainder were from elsewhere in

Canada or the United States.

While the University School data is not sufficiently detailed to permit systematic analysis of family backgrounds, one general observation is patent. A visual examination of pupils' names makes clear that well-known British Columbia families patronized the school, particularly in the prewar years when no viable competitor existed. Pioneer Victoria surnames--Finlayson, Helmcken, Ker, Pemberton, Tolmie--appear. So do those of early Vancouver families.[1] The Irishman Andrew C. Creery sent five sons as did his Scot counterpart, Henry Ogle Bell-Irving. Successful businessmen born in Ontario, like R.V. Winch, Frederick C. Wade, and Walter B. Ferrie, dispatched offspring. From Vernon came the sons of two bankers, two early mayors, a prominent irrigation engineer, the manager of a large ranch, and the postmaster, the latter also son-in-law of the pioneer Okanagan rancher Thomas Ellis and brother-in-law of the Calgary meatpacker Pat Burns. Virtually all these fathers were, not surprisingly, British born. Fathers of Calgary boys included the wealthy businessmen and politician, Sir James Lougheed, born in Brampton, Ontario; and the leading retailer, A.W. Pryce-Jones, from Wales.

After the First World War University School lost its primacy of place due both to increasing competition and to internal mismanagement. The proportion of pupils from the

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[1] For an analysis of this period in Vancouver, see R.A.J. McDonald and A. Robertson; for a lighter overview, Irene Howard, "High Tea Society in the West End," Westworld, Jan.-Feb. 1980, pp. 16-21 and 45.

interior of the province fell from 16 percent before the war to just 3 percent by the second half of the 1920s, due also certainly to improvement in local education. The shift to military status more than halved the number of pupils from Victoria. The only increase lay in boys from the United States, a country with an established tradition of private military academies.

University School was helped survive these difficult years by its acquisition of a new source of clientele--offspring of British businessmen resident in the Orient. These boys from Yokohama, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Singapore, some sixty in number, were especially important because, once arrived, they perforce remained for years regardless of changes in school direction. An eleven-year-old, whose "one link wth home" was a pet turtle brought with him on the ship, had to wait for his "second summer holidays" to see his family in Japan.[1] Previously, many such families had sent children back to Britain to complete their education. By comparison, the eight-day trip from Yokohama to Victoria on one of the Empress liners was a simple matter.

The clientele of Brentwood College from its foundation in 1923 to about 1930 is approximated in Table 31. The decline over the decade in the proportion of pupils from Victoria and increase in those from Vancouver is similar to the pattern at Vernon and Shawnigan. Paternal occupation has been located for

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[1] Heritage (St. Michaels University School alumni magazine) 1(1979), pp. 12-13.

Table 31
PROBABLE GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT BRENTWOOD COLLEGE, 1923-1930

	Estimated 1923-25	Estimated 1925-30	1923-30
GREATER VICTORIA	36 (.39)	22 (.15)	58 (.24)
GREATER VANCOUVER	24 (.26)	44 (.30)	68 (.29)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	15 (.16)	24 (.17)	39 (.16)
OTHER CANADA	4 (.04)	25 (.17)	29 (.12)
UNITED STATES	14 (.15)	30 (.21)	44 (.18)
Estimated unknown	27	45	72
ESTIMATED TOTAL	120	190	310

SOURCE:
Brentwood College Magazine, 1923-46, esp. old boys' lists and names of pupils given on departure. Brentwood register has disappeared in last two years.

NOTE:
Enrollment dates are estimated from other data. Total number enrolled is calculated from annual figures and fact that as of June 1931 a total of 375 boys had been admitted.

a majority of pupils from British Columbia. As detailed in Table 32, the largest number were, as at Vernon and Shawnigan, either professionals or businessmen. Over 20 percent of the total were upper-level professionals, principally lawyers or physicians.

The available data on father's background, while not sufficiently systematic to be quantifiable, suggests that Brentwood's clientele differed little from that at Vernon and Shawnigan. Indeed, a quarter of the Brentwood families also patronized one of the other two schools. An even greater

Table 32
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLING AT BRENTWOOD COLLEGE, 1923-EARLY 1930s

PROFESSIONS	45 (.27)
Upper	35 (.21)
Lower	10 (.06)
BUSINESS	58 (.35)
Finance	20 (.12)
Company	38 (.23)
SALES AND SERVICE	21 (.13)
Sales	12 (.07)
Government	8 (.05)
Clerical	1 (.01)
AGRICULTURE	19 (.11)
TRADES	3 (.02)
RETIRED	22 (.13)
TOTAL	168

proportion of fathers appear to have been British immigrants: of 57 fathers whose birthplace has been determined, 70 percent were born in Britain, 5 percent in British Columbia, and 25 percent elsewhere in Canada. Data on father's secondary education is similar. Of 30 British-born fathers whose education is known, almost 85 percent had attended a "public" school.

VII

The enrollment data available on the Vernon Preparatory School, Shawnigan Lake School, University School and Brentwood College contains several key variables which can be compared with a cohort group to determine how clientele differed from the

larger society. The three most useful comparisons relate to residence, paternal birthplace and paternal occupation.

Table 33
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF BOARDERS ENROLLING AT FOUR BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1920-1930

	1920-25	1925-30
GREATER VANCOUVER	101 (.24)	204 (.29)
GREATER VICTORIA	86 (.20)	107 (.15)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	121 (.28)	129 (.18)
OTHER CANADA	21 (.05)	128 (.18)
UNITED STATES	79 (.18)	126 (.18)
OTHER	20 (.05)	18 (.03)
Unknown	45	58
TOTAL	473	770

NOTE:
In order to limit the figures to probable boarders, only one quarter of the boys from Greater Victoria enrolling at University School were included. Other schools are Vernon, Shawnigan and Brentwood.

Pupils' residence is best compared with the overall distribution of the white population of British Columbia. To prevent possible bias toward Victoria, day pupils are excluded from the University data. The residence of boarders attending the four schools in the first and second halves of the 1920s are summarized in Table 33. Table 34 compares the proportions of British Columbia boys from the three major areas of the province--Greater Vancouver, Greater Victoria and elsewhere--with the 1921 and 1931 censuses.

The shifts which occurred in the four schools over the 1920s become understandable. The increase in the proportion of pupils from Greater Vancouver only served to make it

Table 34
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF BOARDERS FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA ENROLLING AT FOUR BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1920-1930, COMPARED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA WHITE POPULATION, 1921 AND 1931

	Greater Vancouver		Greater Victoria		Other	
1921 population distribution (469,556)	.41	(193,583)	.12	(55,529)	.47	(220,444)
Residence of boarders, 1920-1925 (308)	.33	(101)	.28	(86)	.39	(121)
1931 population distribution (633,918)	.48	(301,388)	.09	(57,562)	.43	(274,968)
Residence of boarders, 1925-1930 (450)	.45	(204)	.24	(107)	.31	(139)

NOTE:
Greater Vancouver encompasses Subdivision B of Census Division No. 4; Greater Victoria Victoria city, Esquimalt, Oak Bay and Saanich.

commensurate to its overall proportion in the province's white population: in the second half of the decade 45 percent of the boarders at the four schools were from Greater Vancouver as were 48 percent of the province's white population. The proportion of pupils from Greater Victoria remained between two and three times higher than the area's proportion of the white population, a consequence certainly of Victoria's traditional preference for private schooling and of the influx of new British immigrants. By comparison, the proportion of boys from elsewhere in the

province fell, due probably to improvement in local public education.

Table 35
WHITE MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1921 AND 1931

	1921	1931
BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	n.a.	6,274 (.04)
BORN ELSEWHERE IN CANADA	n.a.	39,853 (.26)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA		
Britain or possessions	55,017 (.51)	73,307 (.48)
Continental Europe	n.a.	23,208 (.15)
United States	n.a.	10,154 (.07)
Other or not given	n.a.	163 (neg)
TOTAL	106,989	152,959

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1921, v. 2, pp. 36-37, and 1931, v. 3, pp. 486-87. White males of unknown age are included.

NOTE:
In absence of precise data, numbers of native Indians and Asians are estimated from other sources.

The most viable cohort group against which to measure paternal birthplace is British Columbia's white male population aged 35 and over. As made clear by Tables 8 and 35, in both 1921 and 1931 the mature white male population differed sharply from the overall white population. While the British born composed 34 percent in 1921 and 30 percent a decade later of the total white population, they made up fully 51 and 48 percent of the mature white male population. In very sharp contrast, native-born white British Columbians composed in 1931 33 percent of the overall white population but only 4 percent of the mature white male population. Residents born elsewhere in Canada

composed in 1931 26 percent of the mature white male population and 22 percent of the overall white population. In other words, the decline in British immigration after 1914 caused the British-born segment in the population to become concentrated at the adult level. Conversely, the proportion of the population born in British Columbia consisted primarily of the very young, including offspring of prewar immigrants.

Table 36
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1920-1930, COMPARED WITH BIRTHPLACES OF WHITE MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1921 AND 1931

	Population, 1921	School enrollment, 1920-25	Population, 1931	School enrollment, 1925-30
BORN BRITISH COLUMBIA	n.a.	.09 (9)	.05	.07 (11)
BORN ELSEWHERE IN CANADA	n.a.	.19 (18)	.26	.31 (46)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA				
Britain or possessions	.51	.67 (65)	.48	.55 (82)
Cont. Europe	n.a.	.01 (1)	.15	.01 (1)
United States	n.a.	.04 (4)	.07	.05 (8)

NOTE:
1920-1925: n=97
1925-1930: n=148

When compared with mature white males rather than the overall white population, the large proportion of fathers of private-school boys born in Britain appears somewhat less skewed. As illustrated by Table 36, during the years 1920-25, two-thirds of the Vernon and Shawnigan fathers were British born

compared with half the mature white male population. By the second half of the decade the gap was narrowing: the proportion in the cohort declined marginally to 48 percent while the proportion of fathers dropped to just 55 percent.

Over the course of the decade the proportion of fathers born elsewhere in Canada moved above the proportion in its cohort. In 1925-30, 31 percent of fathers were born elsewhere in Canada compared with 26 percent of the cohort. The proportion of fathers born in British Columbia was above the proportion in its cohort, the proportion born in the United States and continental Europe much lower.

Two viable cohorts exist against which to measure paternal occupations of pupils at Vernon, Shawnigan and Brentwood. While the family occupations of pupils in British Columbia public schools are unavailable, comparable data exists for Ontario secondary schools during the years 1915-31. This information, summarized in Table 37, suggests that the public system was over these years becoming more equitable. The proportion of family heads in the professions almost halved in the decade and a half while the proportion in the trades or manual labour grew by 50 percent.

Table 38 compares the occupations of Ontario family heads with those of parents of boys in the three British Columbia private schools in three parallel classifications--the professions, agriculture, and trades and manual labour. The proportions in agriculture were virtually identical. However, only 5 percent of the Ontario public-school pupils were the

Table 37
OCCUPATIONS OF FAMILY HEADS OF PUPILS ATTENDING ONTARIO SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1915-1931

	1915-16	1920-21	1925-26	1930-31
PROFESSIONS	3,085 (.07)	2,614 (.06)	3,448 (.04)	4,120 (.04)
COMMERCE	9,268 (.20)	9,397 (.22)	16,473 (.21)	20,830 (.21)
AGRICULTURE	14,490 (.32)	12,131 (.28)	17,667 (.22)	17,491 (.18)
TRADES	8,105 (.18)	8,852 (.21)	18,810 (.24)	25,484 (.26)
LABOURERS	3,551 (.08)	3,559 (.08)	8,956 (.11)	11,764 (.12)
NO OCCUPATION	2,022 (.04)	1,608 (.04)	3,497 (.04)	5,361 (.05)
OTHER	4,705 (.10)	4,832 (.11)	9,806 (.13)	13,224 (.13)
TOTAL	45,226	42,993	78,657	98,274

SOURCE:
Annual Survey, 1934, p. 81. Totals corrected for mistakes in original calculations.

offspring of professionals against over five times as many, 27 percent, of the private-school boys. The contrast in the trades and manual labour is far sharper, composing just 2 percent of the private-school group, 34 percent of their cohort.

The second cohort against which to measure occupations is the employed male population of British Columbia aged 35 and over in the 1921 and 1931 censuses. Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish only the white population, which would compose a more accurate group. Because some of the percentages are so small, they are for this comparison broken down into tenths of a percent. As delineated in Table 39, in both 1921 and 1931 approximately 4.5 percent of the employed mature male population in British Columbia were professionals, between 6 and

Table 38
OCCUPATIONS OF FAMILY HEADS, COMPARED BETWEEN CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THREE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS AND PUPILS ATTENDING ONTARIO PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1914-1930

	Ontario	Shawnigan, Vernon and Brentwood
PROFESSIONS	.05	.27
AGRICULTURE	.23	.24
TRADES AND LABOURERS	.34	.02

NOTE:
Derived from the mean of the years used in previous table.

7 percent businessmen, about 10 percent in sales and service, 13 to 15 percent in agriculture, the remainder in trades and manual labour. The proportion in this latter group grew during the decade from 62.6 to 67.6 percent.

Table 40 compares the fathers of boys at Vernon, Shawnigan and Brentwood with the cohort group. In the first half of the 1920s almost six times as many fathers was in the professions, almost four times as many in business. The concentration grew over the decade. In the years 1925-30 eight times as many fathers were professionals, six times as many businessmen. In other words, over a period when the public system, at least in Ontario, was becoming more equitable, the private schools of British Columbia, although expanding in size, were becoming more exclusive. Their British Columbia clientele came increasingly from a small group composing little more than 10 percent of the total employed mature male population of the province. The only exception to the trend was a slight rise among private-school

Table 39
OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1921, 1931 AND 1951

	1921	1931	1951
PROFESSIONS	5,296 (4.4%)	7,371 (4.5%)	11,676 (5.6%)
Upper	3,034 (2.5%)	3,357 (2.0%)	3,751 (1.8%)
Lower	2,262 (1.9%)	4,014 (2.4%)	7,925 (3.8%)
BUSINESS	8,166 (6.9%)	9,795 (5.9%)	21,074(10.0%)
Finance	2,061 (1.7%)	3,289 (2.0%)	4,396 (2.1%)
Company	6,105 (5.1%)	6,506 (4.0%)	16,678 (7.9%)
SALES AND SERVICE	12,762(10.7%)	14,959 (9.1%)	23,708(11.3%)
Sales	7,162 (6.0%)	8,152 (5.0%)	11,296 (5.4%)
Government	1,783 (1.5%)	1,977 (1.2%)	3,102 (1.5%)
Clerical	3,817 (3.2%)	4,830 (2.9%)	9,310 (4.4%)
AGRICULTURE	18,403(15.4%)	21,264(12.9%)	17,457 (8.3%)
TRADES AND LABOURERS	74,554(62.6%)	111,294(67.6%)	135,913(64.8%)
TOTAL	119,181	164,683	209,828

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1921, v. 4, pp. 318-45; 1931, v. 7, pp. 168-70; and 1951, v. 4, Table 11. Data is not included in 1940 census.

fathers in trades or manual labour--from 0.8 to 2.6 percent. However, the proportion of the cohort rose by 5.1 percent in the same period.

The most significant occupational disparity between fathers and their cohort was in the professsions. Within that group of occupations the greatest disparity existed among the two upper-level professions of lawyer and physician. Table 41 indicates that in 1921 there were in British Columbia just under 4 lawyers and 4 physicians per 1,000 employed mature males. By 1931 that proportion had dropped to 3.4 lawyers and 3.4 physicians.

In the years 1920-25 there were 10 times as many lawyers

Table 40
OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS AT THREE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1920-1930, COMPARED WITH OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1921 AND 1931

	1921 population	Vernon and Shawnigan, 1921-25	1931 population	Shawnigan, Vernon and Brentwood, 1925-30
PROFESSIONS	4.4%	25.6% (32)	4.5%	35.9% (122)
Upper	2.5%	19.2% (24)	2.0%	27.4% (93)
Lower	1.9%	6.4% (8)	2.4%	8.5% (29)
BUSINESS	6.9%	26.4% (33)	5.9%	35.6% (121)
Finance	1.7%	9.6% (12)	2.0%	14.7% (50)
Company	5.1%	16.8% (21)	4.0%	20.9% (71)
SALES AND SERVICE	10.7%	8.8% (11)	9.1%	10.3% (35)
Sales	6.0%	4.8% (6)	5.0%	5.0% (17)
Government	1.5%	4.0% (5)	1.2%	4.4% (15)
Clerical	3.2%	(0)	2.9%	0.9% (3)
AGRICULTURE	15.4%	38.4% (48)	12.9%	15.6% (53)
TRADES AND LABOURERS	62.6%	0.8% (1)	67.6%	2.6% (9)

NOTE:
1920-25: n=125
1925-30: n=340

and 12 times as many physicians among Vernon and Shawnigan fathers. In the second half of the decade the proportions became 27 times greater in the case of lawyers and 31 times greater in the case of physicians. The proportion at the three schools in the second half of the decade was comparable: 28 times as many fathers were lawyers, 24 times as many were physicians. In other words, while the proportion of these two upper-level professions was shrinking in the overall mature male

Table 41
PROPORTION OF LAWYERS AND PHYSICIANS AMONG EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLED AT THREE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1920-1930, COMPARED WITH PROPORTION IN EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1921 AND 1931

	Lawyers	Physicians
1920-1925		
Male population, 1921	.39% (470)	.39% (476)
Fathers of boys at Vernon and Shawnigan, 1920-1925	4.00% (5/125)	4.80% (6/125)
Comparision of fathers with male population	10.3 times greater	12.3 times greater
1925-1930		
Male population, 1931	.34% (571)	.34% (574)
Fathers of boys at Vernon Shawnigan and Brentwood, 1925-1930	9.64% (33/342)	8.18% (28/342)
Comparision of fathers with male population	28.4 times greater	24.1 times greater
1925-1930		
Male population, 1931	.34% (571)	.34% (574)
Fathers of boys at Vernon and Shawnigan, 1925-1930	9.32% (18/193)	10.36% (20/193)
Comparision of fathers with male population	27.4 times greater	30.6 times greater

NOTE:
In 1921 there were also 1 female lawyer and 11 female physicians aged 35 and over, in 1931 4 and 12.

population, it was becoming more concentrated among private-school fathers.

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In the decade and a half between the First World War and 1930, British Columbia's private boys' schools not only attained institutional stability through the establishment of a symbiotic relationship with middle and upper-class British immigrants but also acquired a valuable new source of clientele. During the 1920s the proportion of pupils from Vancouver grew to reach Vancouver's proportion of the province's overall white population. Similarly, the proportion of fathers born in Canada reached its proportion of the total white population. The occupations of all fathers, concentrated originally in agriculture, became increasingly skewed toward business and the professions, particularly law and medicine. By the end of the 1920s the schools' future was tied as much to Vancouver business and professional families with their origins in Canada as to the British settlers responsible for the schools' creation.

Chapter 5

THE TRANSFER OF AN EDUCATIONAL IDEAL

By the 1920s British Columbia possessed a group of non-Catholic boys' schools which, independent in origin and operation, were linked by common adherence to the British tradition of private education. The schools for younger boys were, like the Vernon Preparatory School, "conducted, with necessary modifications, on the lines of an English Preparatory School." Those intended for their older siblings were, like Brentwood College, "run on the lines of the great English and Scottish Public Schools." Some were a compromise--accepting pupils of all ages, operating largely as day schools, yet relying in all that they did accomplish on British principles and practices.

The unity behind British Columbia boys' schools grew out of the commitment of their individual headmasters to a single educational ideal. These men, frequently physical strangers to each other, possessed similar backgrounds in Britain predisposing them to act alike in British Columbia. It was through these agents of cultural transfer that the schools acquired their singular identity.

I

The founding headmasters of British Columbia's boys' schools possessed as a group three attributes critical to their capacity to act as dependable agents of transfer. First, they were personally committed to the British tradition of "public" schooling, having been educated during its years of greatest self-confidence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A recent historian has argued that in general "what the public school boy did was to take his school world and its symbolic actions and trappings with him [in original] into the outside world."[1] Many British Columbia headmasters had also taught in Britain, usually in preparatory schools.

Secondly, these men were almost equally familiar with the calling of Anglican cleric, so intimately intertwined throughout the nineteenth century with that of private schoolmaster. Of the sixteen individuals for whom information is available, three quarters were either the offspring of clergymen or had themselves contemplated taking holy orders. Thirdly, they were generally uncontaminated, either by any occupation save for teaching or the church or by long exposure to a non-British life style. Those few who had taught in British Columbia public schools usually remained so briefly as to catch only a glimpse of that alien tradition. Almost immediately they joined the province's private-school community and so were immured among

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[1] Mangan, p. 145.

fellow immigrants of similar background.

These men's interest in creating their own school lay in their common background. Emigration from Britain had been essentially conservative in impetus. They came not to alter their life style through active participation in a different social order but rather to retain a predetermined way of life. For British immigrants, British Columbia was not alien but rather a physically distant, more primitive outpost of a single empire whose epicentre they represented. Opportunity lay--as their education had already led them to believe was their special responsibility--in developing that outpost more fully within the larger order. An intimate of British private education might have been describing any of British Columbia's future headmasters when he wrote in 1906 concerning the typical old boy: "Thus equipped, he goes out into the world, and bears a man's part in subduing the earth, ruling its wild folk, and building up the Empire."[1]

British Columbia's headmasters were greatly aided in the creation of their own schools by the emphasis on replication which underlay the phenomenon in Britain. Just as it was common practice in Britain for the founder of a new school to use as a model the institution he had attended, so headmasters in British Columbia copied as much as possible from their own experience. Symons created St. Michael's Preparatory School as a little Dulwich, taking on its motto, crest and school colours, together with as many of Dulwich's practices as were feasible in a school

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[1] Public Schools, p. 283.

for younger boys. He publicly ascribed any success St. Michael's might have to the influence of his own headmaster; indeed, the latter's portrait graced the flyleaf of the Victoria school's visiting book.[1] Other headmasters made their relationship to British "public" schools even more explicit; hence Cranleigh House and Malvern House in Victoria. Both the Rev. Mackie at Vernon and Lonsdale at Shawnigan copied from their old schools--St. John's, Leatherhead, and Westminster--the Shrove Tuesday ritual of "tossing the pancake" in which selected pupils would scramble for the largest piece of a pancake tossed in the air. Lonsdale once explained, "Transplanted traditions are hardly traditions, but in a new country they are the next best thing, the only thing possible."[2]

Underlying all the rituals so lovingly transferred to British Columbia was a single educational ideal--"building character." To build character was to turn young boys into Victorian "gentlemen." The "public"-school phenomenon had emerged out of the desire by groups rising from the Industrial Revolution to secure for their offspring social acceptance in the traditional ruling class. The status of gentleman, a requisite for membership in the upper-middle or upper class, epitomized their goal. As the Rev. Mackie reminded his pupils at the Vernon Preparatory School:

> I know no other word which can equal the word "gentleman" as expressing the ideals of courtesy, self-effacement, chivalry toward women, honour in business and a sense of noblesse oblige.

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[1] Symons, p. 15, and Colonist, May 31, 1925.
[2] Colonist, June 7, 1925.

> Therefore my dearest wish will be that each of you may grow up to be a Christian gentleman.[1]

The "public" school had as its sole function the development in the young of a range of characteristics associated by late Victorians with gentlemanly status. On the one hand were personal attributes, including accent and dress. On the other were suitable attitudes toward one's class and the rest of society. Class loyalty was crucial: every boy had to be taught "to play the game," to put the priorities of the larger group over personal aggrandisement. Moreover, no doubt existed in late nineteenth-century Britain that gentlemen were meant to rule. Each pupil had not only to be taught how to rule but to be given the expectation, self-confidence and obligation that he would and could rule. The hierarchical structure of the school was designed to replicate the structure of the larger society. Orderly advance within the school was viewed as the best preparation for advance within the larger society.

British Columbia headmasters were utterly devoted to building character. At Brentwood's opening in 1923, a principal speaker stated, "The aim of the college is character building."[2] Writing in 1928 in the University School magazine on "The Joy of Character Building," a master rhapsodized, "Is there any satisfaction that can compare with the solid satisfaction and

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[1] Rev. A.C. Mackie, Notebooks of sermons delivered at VPS, v. 8, in PABC.
[2] Colonist, Sept. 23, 1923. General data for this and the next chapter taken principally from interviews, school magazines and newspaper articles.
[3] USM 54 (1928), p. 54.

abiding joy of building up a character?"[3] When an ad for the North Vancouver school of Kingsley asserted, "Character Building Especially Emphasized," its competitor down the street, North Shore College, countered, "Character Building, Discipline, Physical Training."[1] The Rev. Mackie asserted: "The prime object of this or any other school should be to develop--send out in the world--men of character."[2] One Sunday in chapel he counselled his pupils that while their bodies would perish their characters would remain with them in heaven, "hence the enormous importance of developing our characters along the right lines."[3]

The relationship between character building and leadership was oftimes made explicit. As the speaker at Brentwood's opening stated: "We feel that right here the great men of tomorrow are going to be given their start in life."[4] An early pupil confirmed the school's outlook, recollecting that "it was the quality of leadership that you learnt at Brentwood."[5] A 1925 prospectus for University School explained character "moulding" as "respect for authority and discipline, smartness and punctuality, the discovery and development of leadership."[6] Lonsdale considered Shawnigan's "prime aim and object" to "provide opportunities for developing leadership in the West."[7] An old boy of St. Michael's who became a district commissioner in the British Sudan responsible for training native troops

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[1] Province, Aug. 3, 1931.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 9.
[3] Ibid, v. 3.
[4] Colonist, Sept. 23, 1923.
[5] Brentwood College Magazine [hereafter BCM], 1944, p. 47.
[6] US, Prospectus, 1925.
[7] SLSM, 1937, p. 55.

recalled that, when he himself had been drilled by Symons, the instruction was always, "'March as if you owned the world and had the receipt in your pocket.'"[1] Reflecting after many years as headmaster the Rev. Mackie reiterated, "Character will be the deciding factor more than ever--you from your training should take your place as leaders."[2] The final verse in the Brentwood school song summed up the message:

> So may all, a hardy breed,
> To one purpose steady,
> By obeying learn to lead,
> Self-controlled and ready.[3]

Headmasters in British Columbia as in Britain divided character building into three components--academic, moral and physical. Speaking to pupils at University School's Christmas ceremonies in 1908, the Rev. Bolton referred to "Matter, Manliness, and Manners": "By Matter he meant ordinary school studies; Manliness was gained in their games and drill; lastly he reminded them that Manners maketh Man."[4] A feature article on Brentwood considered the "three phases of the school's influence" to be "manly character, sound education, and physical fitness."[5] Chesterfield's headmaster termed that school's purpose to "make each boy's body strong and deft; his soul honest and generous; and his mind acquisitive and logical."[6] Malvern House chose "to emphasize building of character through

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[1] Colonist, March 3, 1957.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, undated notes.
[3] BCM, 1945, p. 42.
[4] USM 2 (1909), p. 3.
[5] Colonist, June 21, 1931.
[6] Chesterfield School, Prospectus, 1940?.

self-reliance, independence of thought, and consideration of others."[1] An editorial in Shawnigan's magazine summed up the three essentials as "manhood, learning, gentleness."[2] At the Vernon Preparatory School "sound moral, mental and physical grounding" were provided.[3]

Headmasters were in agreement on the relative priority of the three components of character building. Academics were least important. As early as 1856 Tom Brown's father had declared concerning his reasons for sending Tom to boarding school: "I don't care a straw for Greek particles . . . . If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman, and a Christian, that's all I want."[4] An English pupil of late century has recalled, "Intelligence was a deformity which must be concealed."[5] Responding to the complaint that the "English public school man's intellectual horizon" was limited, an Anglican cleric argued in 1906 how much more important it was that "he has learnt to obey and, by consequence, to command."[6] A British historian has concluded that "lack of respect for learning, contempt for 'book-worms' and admiration for active muscle have been constant features of many public school boys throughout much of the schools' history."[7]

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[1] Colonist, Aug. 29, 1943.
[2] SLSM, 1929, p. 2.
[3] Province, Sept. 4, 1932.
[4] Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1977; first pub., 1856), pp. 65-66.
[5] Cyril Connolly, Enemies of Promise, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 214.
[6] Public Schools, pp. 142-43.
[7] Mangan, p. 106.

British Columbia headmasters were in agreement with their British counterparts. The Rev. Bolton termed "Scholarship--after Character Building the second reason for our being."[1] Dale of North Shore College counselled his pupils, "We are not so much interested in whether you pass your University Entrance Examinations (though that is important) as we are in sending you out into the world, clean, truthful, reliable, God-fearing men."[2] Even the Rev. Mackie, a classical scholar, admitted late in life that "the longer I live the less importance do I attach to booklearning & head-knowledge."[3]

In a 1927 speech entitled "The Ideal Boy," Lonsdale probably came closest to summing up the sentiments of fellow headmasters in his statement that "the principal object of education should be that of social obligation."[4] "Describing the Shawnigan School method Mr. Lonsdale said that the physical side came first." Games were mandatory, "not with the idea of specializing in one sport but that the boys might be taught to play the game and play for the good of their team." "Having assured a healthy body, character was next in order," by which Lonsdale meant "an atmosphere of religious life" and "the creation of higher ideals." "Then, thirdly, and least important, came scholarship."

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[1] USM 49 (1925), p. 4.
[2] North Shore Collge Record [hereafter NSCM], Christmas 1945, p. 1.
[3] Mackie, Sermons, v. 9.
[4] High River Times, Oct. 30, 1930.

II

The limited importance given the academic component of character building was offset by pragmatic considerations. Boys had perforce to be prepared for their probable occupations, which as a Vancouver newspaper article acknowledged in 1926, tended "to the professions and the higher-paid walks of life."[1] British Columbia schools, like those in Britain, had originally limited themselves to a traditional classical curriculum emphasizing Latin, French and possibly mathematics. An early old boy recalled Shawnigan's curriculum as "Spartan British."[2] After the First World War a simplistic approach no longer sufficed if pupils were to be equipped for a society becoming increasingly technical and diverse. Crisis was averted in both Britain and British Columbia through headmasters patterning schools' curriculum on their state systems and so abrogating responsibility for curriculum and examinations. By 1928 a leading British headmaster was reporting, "In curriculum and organization of work the great boarding school does not now differ very much from the other secondary schools through England."[3]

The pressures for British Columbia headmasters to conform to the provincial system came not only through British precedent

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[1] Province, Aug. 29, 1926.
[2] SLS, "Historical Material," folder in SLS Archives containing reminiscences gathered, 1974-79, from pupils at Shawnigan Lake Preparatory School, 1916-27.
[3] Cyril Norwood, "The Boys' Boarding School," in The Schools of England, p. 119.

but from circumstances within the province. Up to the time of Brentwood's foundation in 1923, British Columbia possessed more preparatory schools for younger boys than it did "public" schools. By 1920 the most prominent institution, University School, had only a middling reputation. Its possible alternative, the Royal Naval College at Esquimalt, closed shortly after the war. As a consequence, many families sent sons from a preparatory school into a public high school, considering their offspring's character already satisfactorily formed. Admission into high school was, however, dependent on a general entrance examination in which success was not automatic: in 1911, for instance, over 40 percent of the candidates across the province failed, as did a third the next year.[1] While pupils in the largest public schools could after 1918 be passed into high school on recommendation, those in private schools remained subject to the provincial examination. Standardized examinations were also required to progress in high school and to matriculate into university.

The fundamental shift in which private-school pupils began to follow the provincial curriculum and take government examinations occurred in the mid-1920s. The foundation of Brentwood was significant, for its headmaster had for over ten years sat on the Provincial Board of Examiners for Senior and Junior Matriculation and knew the public system intimately. In late 1925 University School also decided "that our teaching

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[1] British Columbia, Dept. of Education, Annual Report, 1911, p. Aclxxxiii, and 1912, p. Acciv.

shall follow closely the syllabus of work laid down by the Provincial Educational Department."[1] "It is foolish policy," its headmaster declared, "to play the ostrich": "We must face facts. We have a name for fine manliness, we have won fame for athletics, but there are those who persistently proclaim that we fail in teaching." Such an "absurd" allegation would be disproven by "the yearly sitting of our boys alongside the rest of the Province in examinations."

Shawnigan Lake School faced a similar dilemma, especially after its expansion into a senior school. In 1928 4 out of 7 boys who took the provincial examination to pass into grade ten in the public system failed, as did 7 out of 8 attempting junior matriculation.[2] Lonsdale reported to his board of governors that "until now, considerable latitude has been allowed in the methods of teaching, marking and management of any class to the individual master." As a consequence, "we perhaps run a danger in our perfectly legitimate wish to educate rather than to cram, of neglecting the requirements laid down by the Educational authorities of the Province." Henceforth, not only would the provincial curriculum be closely followed, but examinations "of matriculation standard" would be given in the classroom.

There is some evidence that schools adjusted quickly to the provincial curriculum. The earliest year for which data exists to measure the provincial examination scores of private schools against the public system is 1931. As indicated by Table 42,

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[1] USM 49 (1925), p. 4.
[2] SLS, Report, 1928.

Table 42
COMPARISION BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF PUPILS TAKING JUNIOR MATRICULATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1931

	Number of pupils	Proportion of total	Mean score
PUBLIC SCHOOLS	2,982	88.8	56.4
PRIVATE SCHOOLS	320	9.5	52.1
Non-Catholic	198	5.9	53.7
Boys'	93		53.5
Girls'	105		53.9
Catholic	108	3.2	50.1
Boys'	62		48.9
Girls'	46		51.6
Coed private	14		45.7
B.C. SCHOOL OF PHARMACY	55	1.6	40.5
TOTAL	3,357		55.6

SOURCE:
British Columbia, Department of Education, Matriculation results, 1931; and Annual Report, 1931, pp. 20-21. I am grateful to W.J. Zoellner, Asst. Director of Examinations, for arranging access to this data.

the mean score of non-Catholic boys' schools was just 2.9 percent lower in junior matriculation than their public counterparts. As demonstrated in Table 43, a wide disparity existed between schools. Vernon, St. Michael's and Shawnigan ranked well above several very small schools and Brentwood.[1] The

[1] Brentwood's poor performance is not immediately explicable in view of its original headmaster's strong credentials. An old boy has asserted, however, that in 1926 only 4 of 32 passed matriculation examinations. To his view, "Brentwood was a mad-house, peopled by remittance-man types who pretended to teach us; rich American problem boys; wild Russian refugees; idlers from Shaughnessy with no brains and too many suits; and kids from broken homes. . . . . One of the masters was so drunk one morning at nine, he wrote on the window thinking it was the blackboard." Brock, p. 75.

data also makes clear that, whereas private schools had accepted the provincial curriculum, traditional biases toward certain subjects lingered. As indicated by Table 44, the major boys' schools did reasonably well in Latin, French and English although scores in mathematics diverged greatly.

Table 43
RANKING OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS ON BASIS OF MEAN EXAMINATION SCORES, 1931

	Composite mean	Number of boys	Grade 9 and 10 entrance mean	Jr. matric mean	Sr. matric mean
PUBLIC SCHOOLS				56.8 (2,982)	58.8 (658)
Vernon	61.7	17	61.7 (17)		
St. Michaels	61.3	10	61.3 (10)		
Shawnigan	57.6	24		56.8 (18)	60.0 (6)
University	56.1	76	55.7 (40)	55.7 (31)	61.7 (5)
Malvern	54.4	2	55.4 (2)		
Dorchester	52.8	3	52.8 (3)		
North Shore	52.6	7	43.7 (3)	59.2 (4)	
Brentwood	50.0	33		50.6 (26)	47.8 (7)
Duncan	48.4	4	48.4 (4)		
Kingsley	47.8	1		47.8 (1)	
Chesterfield	46.4	8	48.5 (5)	42.9 (3)	
Vancouver Prep.	40.5	3		40.5 (3)	
St. Aidans	39.0	6		39.0 (6)	
Cranleigh	38.0	2	38.2 (1)	37.8 (1)	

Scores in science are especially revealing. The traditional British view that a gentleman was distinguished by interest in non-practical subjects requiring leisure and contemplation remained: a major description of British

[1] Cyril Norwood, The English Tradition of Education (London: John Murray, 1929). Also see Honey, p. 137, and Bamford, p. 95.

education published in 1929 still ignored the study of science.[1]

Table 44
ACADEMIC STRENGTH OF PRINCIPAL BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1931, MEASURED BY PERCENTAGE DEVIATION FROM PROVINCIAL MEAN IN JUNIOR AND SENIOR MATRICULATION

Subject	Provincial mean	Brentwood	Shawnigan	University
ENGLISH total	56.1	- 6.1	+ 1.7	- 2.9
Compostion	55.2	- 2.6	+ 0.1	- 2.1
Literature	56.9	- 6.5	+ 3.3	- 3.6
HISTORY	59.8	- 0.3	- 2.9	+ 2.2
MATHEMATICS total	58.0	-14.3	+ 4.1	+ 6.1
Algebra	53.1	- 6.2	+10.0	+ 2.2
Geometry	58.6	-18.9	+ 0.7	+10.4
Trigonometry	66.5	-19.1	+ 3.3	+17.8
SCIENCE total	53.9	- 8.0	- 3.5	- 8.4
Chemistry	52.0	- 5.5	- 0.4	- 6.2
Physics	55.7	-10.2	- 6.1	-10.5
LATIN total	61.7	+ 0.6	- 0.1	+ 3.5
Authors	58.0	- 1.8	- 0.4	+ 3.2
Composition	65.4	+ 2.9	+ 0.2	+ 3.8
FRENCH total	54.8	- 1.6	- 1.9	- 1.0
Translation	55.2	- 0.2	- 0.4	- 1.8
Grammar	54.4	- 2.9	- 3.3	- 0.2
ALL SUBJECTS	56.7	- 6.8	+ 0.9	- 0.2

NOTE:
Approximately 33 pupils took matriculation examinations at Brentwood, 24 at Shawnigan and 35 at University School.

More importantly perhaps, while introductory science could be encompassed within nature study, matriculation courses in chemistry and physics demanded special equipment and expertise unavailable in small private-venture schools. Even schools providing such courses did so in a somewhat deprecating manner. Comments on "terrific smells" and the eccentricity of the "Stinks" master, as the science teacher was generally known, were commonplace, epitomized in the verse:

Chemistry period comes at last,
The pupil's spirits rise;
He thinks of stinks, perhaps a blast
To blow the classroom to the skies.[1]

In 1931 private schools were somewhat below the provincial mean in chemistry, markedly so in physics.

Subjects not formally a part of the provincial curriculum suffered an even worse fate, particularly if not "manly." One British Columbia schoolboy wrote of his headmaster, "he seemed secretly amused at art and music as though his mind lumped them with spaghetti, gush, and French dancing masters."[2] Art and music were easily condemned as effeminate, albeit Lonsdale's observation that singing improved the chest muscles.[3] Generally, they were available only as extras, to families willing to pay an outside individual to give private lessons. In the 1920s at Vernon and Brentwood about one boy in every four or five studied piano on this basis. Pupils at Shawnigan did somewhat better, since Lonsdale's devoted sister specialized in choral singing and orchestra. Although a local art teacher came weekly to Vernon, results were so minimal as to be excluded from pupils' academic averages.

In sum, British Columbia boys' schools seem to have been, like their British counterparts, largely relieved to have had responsibility for curriculum conveniently removed from their purview. Pupils could henceforth more easily transfer in and

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[1] The Millstream (SLS pupil literary magazine) 5 (1934), p. 6. Also see USM 46 (1924), p. 8, and Rupert Wilkinson, The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 69.
[2] Cornish, p. 9.
[3] High River Times, Oct. 30, 1930.

out of the private system--in when their families realized the limitations of the public schools, out perhaps for the final two years of high school. More importantly, reliance on standardized curriculum and examinations allowed headmasters to focus on the two more crucial components of character building--the moral and the physical.

III

"An atmosphere of religious life," to quote Lonsdale, took precedence over academics. By the time schools were created in British Columbia, religion referred less to personal conversion than to moral teaching.[1] The rise of the "public"-school monolith in Britain had undermined the hold of the organized church over private education. While most English schools were Anglican, headmasters were no longer necessarily clerics--as had been the case in the nineteenth century--and church theology was gradually replaced by a kind of boarding-school morality enrobed in traditional religious terminology. Thus, as a British headmaster explained shortly after the turn of the century, most non-Anglican parents no longer requested their sons be excused from daily chapel attendance, since:

> They desire for their boys sound moral teaching, and that stamp of character which is frequently

[1] Moral teaching was not absent from the public system. See Nancy M. Sheehan, "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House," pp. 222-25 in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, ed. David C. Jones and Robert M. Stamp (Calgary: Detselig, 1979).

> produced by the discipline and social life of a public school; and they are willing to believe that the "religious element" contributes to form such character[1]

Writing in 1928 another English headmaster summed up religion in the "public" school as "a faith that the basis of the world is spiritual, and that the eternal values are truth, goodness, and beauty, and these are revealed in the life of Christ, and that what matters is conduct."[2]

British Columbia schools adopted both the relgious form and substance of their British counterparts. While most schools were officially non-denominational, they were in practice Anglican. As the headmaster of North Shore College put it, the school was "Anglican in effect."[3] A few exceptions, like Shawnigan and Vernon, were overtly so. In every school resident or visiting clerics were virtually always Anglican, and only Anglican confirmation classes were ever held.

Attendance at daily chapel services was obligatory unless parents requested otherwise. At University School in 1914 morning chapel comprised a hymn, confession, the Lord's Prayer, a lesson and three collects. Symons of St. Michael's was probably more typical in using the service as "just a little time 'apart' each day when one can think of the finer things."[4] Where a school chapel existed, Sunday services were also conducted at the school; otherwise group attendance at a nearby Anglican church was common practice. At North Shore College the

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[1] Public Schools, p. 135.
[2] Norwood, "Schools," p. 127.
[3] Interview, July 26, 1980.
[4] Symons, p. 49.

few non-Anglican Protestants generally went along to the Anglican service, with only the one or two Catholic boys attending their own church. A description of practices at the Duncan Grammar School summed up the general attitude:

> Boarders are free to attend whatever denomination their parents desire. In ordinary cases, however, principles of the English Church are taught. Regular instruction in the Bible is part of each day's training and every effort on the part of the masters is made to develop manly and earnest Christian character in the boys.[1]

The reliance on religious services for exhortation in moral responsibilities made provison of a school chapel a high priority to British Columbia headmasters. The chapel at Shawnigan, dedicated in 1928, "stood slightly off the beaten track on a hill above the noise and activity of the weekday world."[2] Vernon's chapel, built in 1921 in part through parent contributions, contained memorial windows through which filtered "dim religious light."[3] Brentwood's chapel, constructed by the pupils themselves over the school's first fifteen years as financial contributions were received, is remembered with emotion by virtually every old boy as a "fitting symbol of the Christian way of life."[4]

In such buildings or in a classroom set aside for the purpose, British Columbia's headmasters, like the Rev. Mackie, reminded their pupils that "all privileges of brain, of birth,

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[1] Province, Aug. 26, 1939.
[2] "Part of Thunderbird" (anonymous manuscript in SLS Archives), p. 24.
[3] VPSM, Summer 1929, p. 2.
[4] Rev. Norman A. Lowe, "History of Brentwood College Memorial Chapel" (unpublished manuscript in Anglican Archives, UBC), p.1.

of wealth & of social position have tremendous responsibilities attached to them."[1] Each boy had an obligation to "grow up to be a Christian gentleman." Only on special holidays in the Church of England calendar did the Rev. Mackie touch on denominational or theological rather than simply moral topics. In the end, no pupil could remain unaware of his social obligation to live up to the expectations placed upon him by school and family.

IV

The third and most important dimension of character building, in the view of British and British Columbia headmasters, was the physical. The concept was a broad one, encompassing all physical activity but emphasizing team games. It is difficult to overstate the reliance placed on this aspect of character building. A British observer has suggested that from the turn of the century "of the life of the normal schoolboy at least half is devoted to athletics."[2] After all, as one English headmaster put it, "there is usually something which needs correction in the character of a boy who takes no interest in games."[3]

British Columbia headmasters accepted the value and priority given by their British counterparts to the various kinds of physical activity. A demanding life style was its most

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[1] Mackie, Sermons, v. 6 and 8.
[2] Public Schools, pp. 201-02.
[3] Rannie, p. 79.

general manifestation. A journalist has written of St. Michael's that "K.C. Symons believed in the Spartan life": "he flung windows wide in winter and stripped 'needless' blankets from boarders' beds."[1] Buildings which may have begun crudely out of financial necessity often remained virtuously simplistic. At Vernon outdoor toilets and unheated dormitories were one of the school's "assets" through the Second World War. A few of the older boys were selected each winter to sleep out on an open porch with one of the Mackies. One small boy reported home to his mother: "It was 30 below last night and the boys who sleep outside have their sheets and blankets frozen in the morning."[2]

Conditions in the original Shawnigan Prepratory School were similar. A pupil of the 1920s has recollected:

> There was no heat in the dormitories, and a window was left open except when rain or snow might blow in. . . . On a long table between the two rows of bed, each boy had an enamel basin and a tin jug of water. It got so cold in winter this water often had ice.[3]

Another boy has recalled

> outdoor latrines with rows of one holers--all open--each dormitory had its own cubicles--urinal a metal trough which cleaned with disinfectant each day--on wall a list of boys and had to put an "x" when performed--checked periodically--otherwise got medication.[4]

A third Shawnigan pupil from these years has added: "Throughout

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[1] Colonist, March 31, 1957.
[2] VPS, Letter home from pupil B (unpublished correspondence used with author's permission), Feb. 17.
[3] SLS, "Historical."
[4] Ibid. Identical British practice is described in Tom Driberg, Ruling Passions (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), p. 13.

the year we wore shorts with bare knees. My feet used to suffer a lot from chillblains, for which I would rub on coal oil." When Shawnigan was rebuilt after the 1926 fire, there was "greater comfort and even luxury," in part perhaps to compete with Brentwood which had taken over a resort hotel for its physical quarters.[1]

Opportunities to demonstrate physical manliness remained at Shawnigan, as at the other schools. "At 7 A.M. the younger ones had to get up to take a cold tub bath . . . . At the same time the older boys took a dive in the lake until it started to freeze over."[2] One year at Shawnigan the "usual keen competition for the honour of being first in--and first out" continued until "the ice is too thick to break." A small boy at Vernon wrote hopefully to his mother, "I have a cold bath every day when we get up; do you?"[3] Those boys who daily swam in that school's nearby creek the longest each autumn were "rewarded by a special treat of their own." One Christmas the Vernon magazine noted proudly that three pupils had "continued their icy dips in the creek right up to the end of the Term, despite deep snow, and at times a temperature not far from zero."

The high value accorded hardy physical conditioning was reflected in the schools' attitude toward health. While accepting the danger and, indeed, inevitability of occasional epidemics of infectious disease in this age predating

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[1] SLSM, 1927, p. 3.
[2] SLS, "Historical," and SLSM, 1924, p. 15, and 1925, p. 14.
[3] VPS, Letter home from pupil A, Feb. 17, and VPSM, Christmas 1931, p. 6, and Christmas 1936, p. 3.

antibiotics and sulfa drugs, schools remained slightly scornful of routine illness. A woman trained in nursing was part of the staff of every boarding school, as matron in charge of the boys' physical care. An early Brentwood prospectus assured parents:

> The school medical officer visits the College weekly. Boys are carefully examined, general health and development noted, and once a term a Medical Report is sent to parents, who can thus feel assured that no overstrain at games or overpressure at work is allowed.[1]

Voluntary complaints of physical discomfort were another matter. Shawnigan's longtime matron is widely remembered for her disinclination to believe reported symptoms. One pupil recorded wryly: "In attendance at the surgery at different hours of the day in the certainty that my temperature was abnormal. Mrs. Stanton adamant. She is more hard-headed even than Pharoah."[2] The Vernon magazine advised parents "that this climate is not especially fitted for pansy-growing" and on another occasion reported that the victims of a flu epidemic were "mainly such as were sadly lacking in intestinal fortitude."[3] Speaking in chapel the Rev. Mackie informed boys that "nearly all disease comes from over-eating or over-drinking or unchastity." In sum, to be seen to be unhealthy was to lack character.

Regular exercise was integral to the maintenance of a spartan ethos. Outdoor Swedish drill or "P.T."--physical

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[1] BC, Prospectus, 1924?.
[2] Millstream 1 (1932), p.2.
[3] VPSM, Christmas 1942, p. 1, and Easter 1942, p. 1; and Mackie, Sermons, v. 7.

training--opened each day. Such activity provided, according to a British exponent, "a mode of expending accumulated energy" which would otherwise lead to "the formation of morbid imaginations."[1] Moreover, as University School informed parents about 1925, "Boys at school, working and leaning over their desks at their daily studies, can be expected in time to develop stooping postions." Hence, "our daily P.T. is really a system of corrective exercises to bring about Presence of Mind, Absence of Fussiness and Promptness of Action."[2] In inclement weather, P.T. was often replaced by a "long wet run" or a "grind," as the carefully marked out course used at Vernon was termed.[3] Boys at Kingsley ran up and down the city blocks surrounding the North Lonsdale school.

Organized athletic activities in which pupils participated as individuals rather than as members of a team were considered of limited value in building character. Boxing had fairly high remedial worth, in a British estimate, because of the "valuable qualities of self-control and resource to be learned through punching and being punched."[4] A number of British Columbia schools, including Shawnigan, Vernon and University, made regular participation compulsory and held an annual spring tournament. In a "Rationale for Boxing," the Rev. Bolton argued that "boys are combative by nature."[5] If the insinct was

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[1] Public Schools, p. 183.
[2] USM 49 (1925), p. 32; also US, Prospectus, 1925.
[3] The "grind" also existed in British schools; see Mangan, pp. 84-85.
[4] Norwood, p. 107.
[5] USM 51 (1926), p. 6.

suppressed "with a high hand" it "will break out in later years with a virilence in other forms, which is known under the heading of Bad Temper." The "corrective" of boxing showed each pupil "the need and value of self-control even in the moment of his fury." Track and field sports ranked fairly high for their endurance value. Most schools held a Sports Day in the autumn or late spring, to which parents and public were invited and prizes awarded for performance in various events.

Other individual sports--tennis, badminton, swimming, golf, archery, skiing, skating, shooting, sailing, rowing, riding, fencing, polo--were generally optional, for, as a British headmaster proclaimed, "they have no character-building value."[1] On the other hand, these "individualist activities" did provide, to quote a British Columbia school magazine, "a solution to the problem of occupations on wet afternoons and long winter evenings."[2] Their availability varied. In the late 1920s Chesterfield chose to construct an indoor swimming pool and "stabling for six horses."[3] At Shawnigan riding became available only because an old boy of the Scottish "public" school of Glenalmond set up a riding school in its vicinity, but the option then moved to the Vernon Preparatory School when proprietor and horses returned to the interior. Fencing was introduced at Shawnigan simply because a master with that expertise joined the staff. The explanation of a leading

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[1] Norwood, p. 105.
[2] SLSM, 1923, p. 4.
[3] Frederick K.H. Bates, "The Story of My Life in North Vancouver" (typescript in North Shore Archives).

British headmaster that such activities were "all of them good in their place, good games, but mainly hygenic in their value" was used by Lonsdale in 1930 to explain the school's ad hoc policy.[1]

Participation in individual sports often entailed membership in a club whose fees offset costs to the institution. Boys generally had to provide their own equipment. Thus, a Vernon pupil wrote his mother in great haste: "Please send me a Badminton racquet because the one you gave me broke when I was playing; otherwise I won't be able to play in the tournament."[2] An "official notice" to Vernon parents stated, "Parents wishing their boys to play lawn tennis are asked to send them back both with a racquet and two dollars for the subscription."[3] Even Brentwood, whose reputation was based on its idyllic rural location "tucked away in the remotest corner of a sheltered inlet," organized its celebrated water sports of rowing and sailing on a subscription basis.[4] Pupils owning their own vessels were requested to moor them at the school further to relieve it from expense.

In both Britain and British Columbia the physical component of character building centred on organized team games. Tom Brown, back in 1856, had concluded that soccer and cricket "are such much better games than fives or hares-and-hounds, or others where the object is to come in first and to win for oneself, and

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[1] SLS, Report, 1930.
[2] VPS, Letters A, March 8.
[3] VPSM, Easter 1929, p. 1.
[4] BCM, 1924, p. 29; 1926, pp. 21 and 25; 1927, p. 8; and 1929, p. 29.

not that one's side may win."[1] By late century the catchphrase, "playing the game", had become "the foundation of all that is best in the English character," "the real reason why we have been successful in foreign politics and in governing backward races."[2]

Lonsdale reported to his new board of governors in 1928: "With regard to games it is well to emphasize the necessity for Team games only for School games, with individual games such as golf, tennis, squash, etc., for boys' spare amusements."[3] At Malvern House, "games are played every day, including Saturdays."[4] The Rev. Mackie explained in a chapel sermon why Vernon so strongly supported team games:

> The importance of regular, organized, supervised games cannot be exaggerated; it is on the playing field that a boy learns to play the game of life by giving & taking hard knocks & nasty falls without whimpering or losing his temper, by putting the honour of his side before his own, by scorning to win except by fair means, by disdaining to employ mean or underhand tricks such as tripping or fouling, by taking defeat cheerfully like a good sportsman & by being modest in victory.[5]

So would boys be equipped to "play the Game of Life in the true sporting spirit, struggling to our feet as often as we are knocked down, giving forth every ounce of all that is best in us until the final whistle blows and we leave the ranks of the Church Militant here on earth & join the Church Expectant in the Great Beyond."

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[1] Hughes, p. 271.
[2] Rannie, p. 78.
[3] SLS, Report, 1930.
[4] Province, Aug. 20, 1933.
[5] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8 and 3.

Team games formed the heart of school life both in Britain and in British Columbia. Every boy played every game. When the school team performed, every boy not playing was expected to participate by watching. A Vernon old boy still remembers having asked the Rev. Mackie for permission to study during Saturday afternoon cricket matches only to have the headmaster, in his distress, write to the pupil's father, a well-known Vancouver cricketeer, over the matter.[1] Permission was refused. Details of each school game formed the most prominent part of school magazines, with every individual's contribution to the team analyzed in detail: "Sound in the field, a useful change bowler and a fair bat with a weak defence on the leg peg."[2] Cups, medals and colours were awarded for outstanding performance as a team member. In 1925 University School even initiated a Sports Honour Cap--blue velvet with a red tassel--to be awarded to any boy who won his colours in nine out of twelve possible team and individual sports.[3] The headmaster noted proudly that it was, "in measure, like the 'Blue' at Home," the system of athletic awards at Oxford and Cambridge.

The various team games were ranked as to their character

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[1] Interview, Aug. 3, 1979.
[2] USM 48 (1925), p. 42. Mangan has, in his recent study of athleticism in the British "public" school, used school magazines to measure its importance. In his sample years from the 1920s, 48 percent of magazines' contents were devoted to team and individual sports; see pp. 243-50. The proportion was even higher in British Columbia: in 1927-28, for instance, 53 percent of Shawnigan's magazine and 59 percent of Brentwood's were given over to sport. In 1934 North Shore College published a school magazine for the first time; fully two-thirds was devoted to athletics.
[3] USM 48 (1925), p. 8.

building value. North American games such as baseball were forbidden, to quote a former pupil, as "fit only for public school brats."[1] The three principal team games were, in order of increasing importance, soccer, rugby and cricket. The first two were played in the autumn, the latter in the spring and summer. Matches in each of these games were arranged preferably with other private schools. Schools also played against local amateur teams composed of young British settlers and, as time passed, nearby old boys. From time to time, but not regularly, games were arranged with public schools in the same community. Large schools also set up house teams.

Soccer, in Britain "Association football," was in decline by the time British Columbia's schools were being established. While acceptable for younger boys, its utility in the "public" school had become suspect. As explained by a British headmaster in 1929, not only did it lack the "speed, endurance, courage, or chivalry" of rugby football, but it was increasingly being played by professional teams, "and professionalism is the complete antithesis of the English tradition of sport."[2] To have value in building character, games had to be played as an end in themselves, for their inherent value as a team sport, and certainly not for financial gain. Soccer was, moreover, becoming popular in both Britain and British Columbia across all levels of society, including the lower classes, which may have further turned gentlemen against the sport.[3] Lonsdale faced the

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[1] Brock, p. 75.
[2] Norwood, p. 104.
[3] See Priestley, p. 104.

soccer issue on Shawnigan's expansion after the 1926 fire to include older boys.

> As an old "soccer" player, with a large majority of "soccer" men on the staff, with the "soccer" traditions of the greatest of the old English Public Schools behind us, it is with extreme reluctance, actuated only by the consideration of the future welfare of our Old Boys, that I have suggested that the school should become a "rugger" school.[1]

North Shore College soon followed Shawnigan's lead.

Rugby was valued both for its amateur status and because its participants were forced to choose: rugby could be played either with "courage and daring" or in a "'rough' or unfair" manner.[2] Since the second alternative "ruined" the game, the decision itself became "a test of character." As a British headmaster phrased it, "It is one of its many merits that it can only be played by those who are in the only real sense of the word gentlemen." Every British Columbia boys' school with enough older boys to form a Rugby XV, or team, played rugby.

Cricket formed the pinnacle of team games, not only in British schools but throughout British society. Tom Brown's Schooldays termed cricket "the birthright of British boys old and young, as habeas corpus and trial by jury are of British men": "it merges the individidual in the eleven; he doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may."[3] A half century of glorification culminated in Henry Newbolt's paean of praise with its immortal refrain, "'Play up! Play up! And play the game!'"

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[1] SLS, Report, 1928.
[2] Norwood, p. 104.
[3] Hughes, p. 271.

A modern critic has concluded, "Cricket's influence on the upper-middle-class British mind, with its sense of orthodoxy and respect for the rules and laws and the impartial authority of umpires, can hardly be exaggerated."[1]

No British Columbia headmaster even conceived that his pupils, young and old, would not all play cricket. During St. Michael's first year, paucity of numbers and lack of a playing field made the lack of organized games Symons' "main anxiety"--hide-and-seek "has never struck me as quite the game to win the battle of Waterloo"--but by 1925 cricket had pride of place with "five nets, all much in use."[2] An old boy of Malvern House has recollected about its headmaster: "He was very sports minded, and of course, being an Englishman, he was keen on the boys doing well at soccer, gym, and especially at cricket."[3]

British Columbia schools carefully copied the minutiae of the cricket rituals that had grown up in British schools. Members of the Cricket XI, or senior school team, were permitted to wear especially designed blazers and caps in the school colours. At Vernon, "they are optional but it is hoped that parents will sanction the purchase of one or both by boys eligible, as they are a valuable aid to esprit de corps and tend to engender keenness."[4] Games were usually held on Saturday afternoon to give every opportunity for attendance by pupils, local parents and other supporters. A cricket pavilion bordered

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[1] Barnett, p. 35.
[2] Symons, p. 15, and Colonist, May 31, 1925.
[3] Colonist, Feb. 11, 1973.
[4] VPSM, Easter 1930, p. 3; Easter 1929, p. 5; and Summer 1935, n.p.

the field wherever finances permitted. Vernon's pavilion, subsidized by special contributions, included "conveniences for changing, preparing teas, storing cricket appliances, seating spectators." The extent to which cricket permeated the atmosphere of both the schools and their surrounding communities is indicated by an advertisement for a local company appearing in the Vernon magazine headlined, "'Play Cricket'":

> This expression is significant and has a great deal of meaning. It stands for everything that is straight-forward, honorable, square and fair dealing throughout one's life . . . . The Vernon Garage, Monk Bros., Proprietors, "Play Cricket. . . . Cricket lovers buy Chevrolet and Oldsmobile cars.

The significance of the game for British Columbia boys' schools is well summed up in an intimate anonymous memoir of Shawnigan, thinly disguised as "Thunderbird School." The day before the game "the names of the cricket eleven were posted above the mantel" in the assembly hall. Then came Saturday.

> Cricket! To a strange degree cricket represents Thunderbird to me. The general excitement in the school on the morning of a match. The first team looking very attractive in white flannels, black blazers and school or house colors. Special tables in the dining room for the visiting eleven. A leisurely walk up the hill to the cricket field, with an occasional backward glance at the panorama of school buildings and gardens . . . . Cricket was vital and exciting. Cricket was sportsmanship and fair play. Cricket, I was beginning to realize, was Thunderbird.[1]

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[1] "Part of Thunderbird," pp. 48-49, also p. 46.

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British Columbia headmasters took from Britain, and more specifically from their own experience, an educational ideal to which they themselves had aspired, one which they deemed equally relevant in what was after all only an outpost of Empire. Education to build character, to turn small boys into gentlemen, comprised mental, moral and physical dimensions. All three headmasters transferred to their nascent schools in careful replication of the British original. They offered traditional academic subjects meeting provincial requirements. They exhorted pupils in their moral responsibility to the larger society, and they emphasized team games to give practice in playing for the good of the side, putting the interests of the group over self will. To make the educational ideal work also required something more--an intricate structural framework--and this too headmasters transferred from Britain to British Columbia.

Chapter 6

IMPLEMENTING THE IDEAL

Underlying the British concept of character development lay the conviction that character could, indeed, be shaped through education. While implicit in every statement of principle by headmasters in Britain and British Columbia, the crucial assumption was only occasionally made explicit. The Rev. Mackie of the Vernon Preparatory School evoked some of the most vivid imagery:

> A school is a little world of its own--self-contained--with the same strange mixture of character & talents as we find elsewhere--with this difference. The citizens are in a plastic form like moist clay which can be moulded according to the will of the potter into vessels of beauty or usefulness or both.[1]

On another occasion the "potter" became the "orchardist":

> A schoolmaster is like an orchardist; his trees are his boys and tho' some may wither & die, others be backward & stunted in growth, others just miss the full measure of health or vigorous growth, some will have deep root & show beauty of form and symmetry, abundance of foliage and in due time a bounteous harvest.

In an interview with Time magazine given in old age, Lonsdale of Shawnigan Lake School compared his job as headmaster with that

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[1] Mackie, Sermons, loose notes and v.3.

of training his dog, Judy:

> "If I had let Judy run wild and do as she damn well pleased as a pup, she'd be a vicious, savage beast today. You can't develop leaders by letting them do as they damn please when they're boys. If nothing else, we're training boys to be less obnoxious.[1]

Neither of these men guaranteed success. Two caveats held. First, character building was most possible during a certain time of life, when dogs were pups and men boys. A general consensus existed among headmasters that the ideal age lay between seven and fourteen, this a partial explanation for the proliferation of preparatory schools in both Britain and British Columbia. Symons once explained that whereas St. Michael's had originally accepted boys to age eighteen, he lowered the upper limit precisely because the younger years were the "essential time to mould their characters."[2] Collegiate School explained in 1907 to parents how it was "more satisfactory to train a boy from the outset of his school days and to pass him step by step through the school."[3] A 1925 prospectus for University School urged "boys enter at an early age, as it affords such a splendid opportunity for moulding them in mind and character." In 1931 Brentwood began its own preparatory school, soon aborted by the Depression, on the grounds that "it is only by coming to Brentwood young and going right through the mill that a boy can hope to reap the full

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[1] Time, Nov. 3, 1947, p. 28.
[2] Colonist, March 3, 1957.
[3] Ibid, Dec. 18, 1907.
[4] BCM, 1931, p. 3.

benefits of a public school training."[4]

The second caveat concerned what British headmasters termed boys' "barbaric" qualities.[1] Lonsdale and the Rev. Mackie acknowledged that despite their best efforts some boys would, like trees, "be backward & stunted," others even "wither & die." The Victorian religious tradition out of which these schools emerged lingered in the reliance on the concept of sin to explain failure. According to the Rev. Mackie, "every child of men is born into this world with a bias or tendency to choose the evil or reject the good."[2] A British headmaster writing at the turn of the century explained, "Respect for law does not come by nature; it must, therefore, be superimposed on nature by habit."[3]

Character development therefore required more than simply making available its three components of academics, morals and physical training. Structural conditions were critical. Whatever the positive value derived from class work, chapel attendance or games playing, these benefits came only to the boy in a receptive and accepting frame of mind. To induce that perspective in individuals born with the "tendency to choose the evil," headmasters looked to three structural elements: controlled environment, contact only with exemplars personifying the gentlemanly ideal, and systematic reward or punishment of behaviour. As with the educational ideal itself, these structural components were incorporated into British

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[1] Rannie, p. 74.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 3.
[3] Public Schools, p. 126.

Columbia schools in the forms their headmasters had experienced them during their own education in Britain.

I

The concept of a controlled environment was premised on boarding. After all, as Tom Brown had concluded, the most important part of education "'must be done, or not done, out of school hours.'"[1] The Rev. Mackie once described all that needed doing if small boys were to become gentlemen:

> You have also come here to mix with other boys of your age & station in life, to make innocent and happy friendships, to have the corners rubbed off by contact with others, to learn to give & take & to subordinate your own wishes to the wishes of others, to be helpful by helping others, to learn to be independent & to do things for yourselves instead of expecting others to do them for you, to be patient toward the weak, the champion of the oppressed, to be courteous toward ladies, to be respectful toward your seniors--in a word to be a gentleman.[2]

A British headmaster put the argument more succinctly: "The boarding school is responsible for the whole life of the boy, both sleeping and waking."[3] Shawnigan reiterated the sentiment in its admission policy: "No day boys are admitted, the principle being that it is simpler to work toward the ideal in character formation by a supervised standard out of the classroom as well as in it."[4] Chesterfield defended its

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[1] Hughes, p. 58.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8.
[3] Norwood, p. 131.
[4] Colonist, June 7, 1925.

limitation to boarders as "a policy that ensures continuity of training, eliminates to a great extent epidemics of infectious diseases and produces more internal harmony amongst the pupils."[1]

The argument for boarding school frequently involved an efficiency model wherein the orderly life of the school was compared with "the average home." Chesterfield explained that in school "everything is carried on by clockwork," whereas "such regularity in the average home is not possible."[2] Parents were warned that even "a few hours' association daily with the undesirable type of boy may be sufficient to blight the future health, happiness and success of your son." Cranleigh House's headmaster was convinced that "many parents find it increasingly difficult to exercise that amount of supervision over boys that is absolutely necessary in an age when character is being moulded."[3] In this "modern life" "the interests of each individual man and woman become bound up in those of the community at large" rather than "exclusively to the home." By contrast, in "a school for boys only, and one conducted by men," there existed "constant watchful but unobtrusive supervision which, while effective, does not in any way take from a boy his self-respect, yet which assures the straight way." In 1929 an article in the Vancouver Province newspaper put the argument against the home even more boldly:

In the stress and excitement of modern life, the

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[1] Chesterfield School, Prospectus, 1940?.
[2] Province, Aug. 17, 1940.
[3] USM 49 (1925), p. 44-45.

> number of ideal homes grows fewer and fewer, and this is especially true in the ranks of the successful. In this day of "big business" and interlocking interests the successful man is not only head of his own business, but also is director of this, president of that . . . . The mother has to face social and public demands nearly as great with the result that the old-fashioned home--the haven of the harassed, the quiet scene of domestic happiness and the only proper environment for the child--is fast disappearing.[1]

British Columbia schools accepting day boys usually argued that these pupils were partaking in what was in essence a boarding experience. Collegiate stated explicitly that "day scholars are required to conform in every respect to the regulations," which were designed with the school's boarders in mind.[2] A longtime University master has recalled that the school "always stressed that they were primarily a boarding school and day boys would have to conform to boarding school rules, including attendance on Saturdays."[3]

School uniforms helped maintain psychological distance between day boys and their contemporaries in public school. All headmasters agreed with Emmerson of Malvern House in insisting on "students being properly dressed in the school uniform when outside on the way to and from home or boarding-house, including the wearing of the school cap."[4] As put by Symons of St. Michael's, which relied heavily on day boys, "'I have always thought that if you put kids in uniform, you have a far better

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[1] Province, Aug. 4, 1929; reprinted, Colonist, Aug. 13, 1939.
[2] Collegiate School, Prospectus, 1911. On British schools accepting day boys, see Public Schools, pp. 126-27.
[3] Interview, May 5, 1980.
[4] Colonist, March 31, 1957.

chance of controlling them than if they are togged up in red sweaters with yellow stars, and tight-fitting jeans.'"[1]

Just as British Columbia headmasters attempted to control the total lives of day boys, so they were concerned to maintain oversight of boarders outside the school. At Vernon, "Parents are asked to co-operate in teaching loyalty and esprit de corps by insisting their boys wear their school cap and tie on the return journey."[2] The Rev. Bolton suggested pupils "should be proud to wear their caps through the holidays."[3] Boys from private school certainly did cling together from the time they began the trip back to school each term. A pupil travelling to University for the first time in 1925 has recollected:

> Forty-eight hours after leaving Winnipeg, another little boy and his father boarded the train at Kamloops. There is a peculiar instinct for recognition which exists between small boys who are headed for the same boarding school. Possibly, I sensed his reluctant acceptance of impending doom.[4]

A pupil returning to the Vernon Preparatory School was equally explicit:

> In the early evening we would begin to collect in the vast, impersonal waiting room in the C.P.R. station at the front of Granville street in Vancouver; each of us a frightened little boy, but determined not to show it in front of the other boys or their grave, upper-middle class parents. In our school uniforms we naturally attracted some attention, but having been taught that between us and the nether herd there was a great gulf fixed, we bore it stoically.[5]

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[1] Colonist, March 31, 1957.
[2] VPSM, Summer 1926, pp. 8-9.
[3] Colonist, Dec. 20, 1908.
[4] Jim Coleman, A Hoofprint on My Heart (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 28.
[5] Pethick.

The extent to which schools did retain control over pupils during holidays depended largely on the degree to which parents could be intimidated. As summed up in a British essay from the 1920s carefully preserved by Lonsdale in his personal scrapbook, "One great difficulty is that so few parents seem willing to recognize that the schoolmaster is after all an expert in his own line."[1] Lonsdale once elaborated: "Parents as a majority permit late hours and general self-indulgence to an almost incredible degree, and in order to cover their own laziness and selfishness they discuss 'modern psychology,' 'inhibitions,' 'vitamins and hygiene,' all of which are synonyms for self-indulgence and selfishness."

In a chapel sermon directed toward parents, the Rev. Mackie declared:

> When parents and staff pull together, success is almost inevitible; when they are pulling in different directions, the boy almost invariably follows his parents; thus the heaviest responsibility very properly belongs to you & not to us. . . . If we check his faults & you condone them; if we keep a watchful eye on his leisure & you let him go his own way among undesirable companions, the responsibility is yours not ours.[2]

On another occasion, while admitting that "if the boy is torn between the conflicting claims & standards of home & school, he will probably adopt those of the home," the Rev. Mackie again urged "parents in the higher interest of their boys to cooperate with us in all matters that together we may produce the desired

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[1] "Parent and Schoolmaster: A Plea for Co-operation," The Queen, Jan. 26, 1927, in SLS, Scrapbook, 1916-31, in SLS Archives; and SLS, Report, 1929.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8 and 10.

effect upon the boy's character." Even parents in day schools were not immune from gentle intimidation. Symons stressed: "A parent's duty does not end, as some would seem to think, when he sends his boy to school. That is but the beginning of a new and very serious responsibility."

In order to maintain the initiative, familial contact during term time, some 36 weeks of each year, was largely restricted to such formal occasions as Speech Day, Sports Day, confirmation services and public sports matches. Pupils' mandatory weekly letters home were usually "corrected," to use the University School phrase.[1] Improvement in grammar and prevention of mistruths was the ostensible reason: the letters of a Vernon pupil contain such emendations as, "This is questionable," concerning a statement that a friend's boat was "safe" and, "NO," after a suggestion that his father request one of the school dog's puppies.[2]

The practice of correction, serving as a useful monitor of boys' attitudes and sparetime activities, caused pupils to be circumspect in their descriptions of school life. One account of a dispute with the matron concluded, "I will tell you the rest at the end of the term as this letter is 'censored.'"[3] At his mother's frantic reply, he was forced to reassure her: "Another thing you said was that I may be expelled. Expelled for a thing like that which happens every day to a boy! (I dont [sic] mean to me every day)" The consequence was, as one

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[1] US, Prospectus, 1925.
[2] VPS, Letters C, n.d. and May 24.
[3] Ibid, Nov. 23 and Dec. 3.

English schoolboy has recalled concerning letters to his mother, "I did not tell her a great deal about school."[1] Headmasters like the Rev. Mackie certainly reinforced such circumspection in their admonitions to boys who in their letters "take no pains to give pleasure to their parents" by "writing nicely."[2] Another pupil remembers being asked to rewrite a letter which was not "cheery enough."[3] Even today old boys of British Columbia boys' schools generally dismiss the value of their school letters as historical evidence on the grounds they bore little relationship to the actual life of the school.

More direct communication with family was no easier. Telephone conversations were actively discouraged or prohibited. The warning to parents in the University School prospectus was indicative:

> No student will be permitted to use the telephone except in emergency cases, and parents are cautioned against calling students to the 'phone just for the sake of chatting with them. All such calls take boys from their work and cannot be permitted.[4]

Physical contact was limited. At a British school boys could only at half term see their families, who "were not permitted to take their children to their own houses or to any but one privileged hotel."[5] At Vernon parents were allowed to visit their sons "on no more than one Sunday per Term from 1:30 to 4:00, by giving notice."[6] Even then, "in no case may boys be

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[1] Mason, p. 30.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 7.
[3] Interview, Dec. 14, 1979.
[4] US, Prospectus, 1918?.
[5] Mason, p. 32.
[6] VPSM, Summer 1926, p. 8.

taken into private homes or to Vernon, or given picnic meals except in the case of long-distance parents by special permission." Pupils whose families lived near the school fared no better. One boy remembers being able only to wave to his mother in passing whenever school walks took them through the family orchard.[1]

Schools with older boys sometimes gave leave on weekends. University boys were permitted a few hours away from the school on Saturday, "subject to good conduct during the week."[2] At Collegiate in 1911, "Boarders are only allowed to go down town on Saturday mornings from 10:45 to 12:15 p.m., when roll is called by the Prefect on duty."[3] According to Brentwood's prospectus of 1930, "Boys are allowed leave one Saturday in each month from 9:45 a.m. to 4:45 p.m."

The goal was clear. The primacy of the school had to be accepted by both parent and pupil. The boarding school had to become each boys' entire life so that the microcosm of the larger society which it effected did in fact become his reality. For a boy's total energies to be directed toward learning how to rise within this closed hierarchy as he would later rise within the larger society, no other existence could be allowed to intrude into the world which was the school.

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[1] Interview, April 19, 1979.
[2] US, Prospectus, 1912?.
[3] Collegiate School, Prospectus, 1911.

II

The control exercised over outside contact was matched by even closer regulation over boys' time within the school. Personal choice had to be minimized and the corporate life take precedence over individual initiative. As the University School magazine phrased it, "We believe that the real self can only develop in and through social relations and therefore we endeavor to see that boys are made to subordinate self for the good of the whole."[1] Moreover, such control minimized the natural inclination, so headmasters believed, to opt for evil over good.

The imposition of unrelenting routine was essential from the moment of a boy's arrival at school also in order to counter that inherent concomitant of boarding-school life: homesickness. Every British Columbia pupil experienced the same inevitable moment of departure from family, often in a large impersonal train station:

> Finally the great clock in the waiting room would signal that it was time for the condemned to proceed to the place of execution . . . . There were a few last-minute promises--to write, to be the top of the classs (or "form") in the coming term--and then the dread cry, "All aboard!" A first convulsive tremor of the train a few minutes later was echoed in a score of tear-stained hearts; then, with gathering momentum, the little train began to move, the awful gap between us and the little group on the platform inexorably widened, and in a minute more we had rounded a curve and were speeding away into the

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[1] USM 65 (1935), p. 39.
[2] Pethick.

night.[2]

Then came arrival at Vernon, in this account mildly disguised as Valley School.

> School trucks at the station, schoolmasters in khaki shorts, quipping, fussing, calling out strings of names; a dusty ride, packed in an open truck, between the apple-laden orchards; a vision of the Valley School buildings, ugly and institutional, wooden houses and passageways spread about the yellow dirt schoolyards, focal point of all my powers of hatred. Back to school.[1]

Headmasters, having been at boarding school in their own childhood, were especially conscious of what one modern scholar has termed "that terrible piercing loneliness of small children cast out from their homes."[2] A very young Austin Mackie, sent away to school for the first time, had written to his brother Hugh, still at home:

> Only 5 weeks and 3 days more and I shall be able to be once more at home, won't it be fine . . . . We shall be able to go to the minnow farm shall we not in the holidays. Oh! I wish they would hurry up & come don't you, only 38 days more never mind.[3]

A much older Rev. Mackie was thus able to counsel his pupils:

> There is a trial which every boy must pass through at some time or another & you have the consolation of knowing that once your first pangs of homesickness are past you will never again experience them in anything like the same degree.

The danger to boys, he explained, lay in permitting these feelings to take possession, "to allow the thoughts of their

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[1] Cornish, p. 35.
[2] Gathorne-Hardy, p. 181.
[3] No month 6, 1892, in Mackie family, Letters in PABC; and Mackie, Sermons, v. 6 and 8.

parents & home to fill their minds to such an extent that they can give no thought to the things of school."

Some boys did remain ever longing, counting the days until they would be home again. A pupil at Vernon is exemplary. His first year, aged nine, he cajoled his mother: "I think you had better come at half-term. I think the blossoms will be out then too."[1] The next spring: "There are only 66 days left until the end of the term," and two months later, "There are only 12 days until we get home and then!!!" The third year: "Will you please be able to come up for half-term please try? As I want to tell you something very important which nobody else here must know please tell me in your next letter if you will be able to come up."

For most boys, however, the unceasing and unchanging routine of school life soon took precedence over thoughts of home. A Vernon boy lamented in a letter, "P.S. School is very, very dull."[2] A University pupil put the thought to verse:

> Locked in a cell of monotony,
> Clutching heavenward for a breath of diversion
> Slowly choking with a raucous cry of boredom in my throat.
> Such is the inevitable fate of a schoolboy.[3]

The unrelenting daily routine was designed to accustom each boy to the legitimacy of external authority, to the primacy of the group over self. The process was described by a boy at the English "public" school of Wellington:

> One ceased completely to be an individual, to

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[1] VPS, Letters A, May 2, April 20, June 14, and May 9.
[2] Ibid, n.d.
[3] USM 66 (1936), p. 39.

> have any but a corporate identity . . . . In addition one was deprived of all initiative of action or occupation. The masters took a pride in feeling that not only did they know what any given boy should be doing at that particular moment, but that they knew exactly what the said boy would be doing at 3.30 p.m. six weeks hence. We had thus no privacy and no leisure.[1]

A novel about twins at the Vernon Preparatory School made the same point:

> The twins clung to their familiar world, scornful of their strange new habitat, resisting its pressures for as long as they could (to the last they played a baseballer's cricket). But time passes, . . . the school bell tolling out study-periods, meals, and prayers--and time worked its changes on the twins. Gradually they assumed the special traits of the boarding-school boy . . . for whom the world of his fellows is intense and real and all around him.[2]

In British Columbia schools boys were wakened each morning at 7 or 7:30, often by a school bell--at University School by the "Chink Bell," so named because it was long rung by a Chinese servant. Generally, pupils lived in dormitories with perhaps eight to twenty beds in rows along two walls. A nightstand by each bed held such personal items as, in the case of Shawnigan, "mug, toothbrush, comb and brush."[3] A boy's trunk would rest at the foot of his bed. In it were items on the school's clothing list, usually so closely specified that whether dressed for church or games each pupil was virtually indistinguishable. Uniformity was enhanced through a standard hair cut by a local barber who would come out to the school, his fee charged

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[1] Harold Nicolson, Some People (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), pp. 31-32.
[2] Cornish, p. 12.
[3] SLS, "Historical."

parents. Boys were, moreover, addressed only by their last name with brothers usually differentiated by "major" and "minor" or "One" and "Two" after their surname, in print often "I" and "II."[1]

A few British Columbia schools had different living arrangements. At Brentwood, which was previously a hotel, two to four boys occupied each room, some former suites with connecting bathrooms. Smaller schools, located in converted private houses, varied number of boys per room as size dictated. As in larger schools, they were generally divided by age. Dormitories were traditionally considered preferable, since they permited closer supervision over boys' nocturnal activities. As a British headmaster put it, unless such "moral control" was exercised, "dire consequences must infallibly ensue."[2]

Once boys were awake, a rigid schedule ensued. As a University pupil recorded, "Each boy grabbed his towel, his tooth-brush and paste, and tore for the bathroom, in dire need of haste."[3] In most schools, as at Shawnigan, "a dozen or more wash together in individual bowls (and no quarrelling for the soap)."[4] Each boy dressed quickly in regulation shorts and, having perhaps grabbed a quick cup of cocoa, rushed to an exercise period. Then came an outdoor dip or cold morning shower and time to dress properly, make the bed and put personal possessions into order.

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[1] BCM, 1924, p. 9; SLSM, 1925, p. 18, and 1929, p. 38; and Heritage 2 (1980), p. 37.
[2] Public Schools, p. 184.
[3] USM 31(1918), p. 46.
[4] Cowichan Leader, Nov. 3, 1927.

When the breakfast bell rang, boys had two or three minutes to, as at Brentwood, "get from the upper floor dormitories, down around the outside of the main building and up into the dining room in time for Grace."[1] It was often mercifully short: "Bene edictus, bene edicat." Permanent places were alloted at long tables, each presided over by a master or possibly a senior pupil, who supervised manners and led suitable conversation.

Breakfast, like the other meals, tended to be monotonous, usually composed of hot porridge and large slabs of homemade bread, with butter or jam, but not both. A pupil at Shawnigan even composed an ode to a food of special occasions, poached eggs, which contained the line: "Who can describe the glory of coming down to breakfast and finding two eggs nestling side by side on a warm plate?"[2]

Dormitory inspection followed with pupils often standing at attention beside their beds. Dormitories were thereafter generally off limits through the day. Then came morning prayers by which time any day boys would have arrived. Classes began at 9 a.m. and continued until midday with perhaps a short break.

The noonday meal was usually the largest of the day, a highpoint for virtually every boy at boarding school. As reported in exciting detail to one mother,

> For lunch yesterday, we had a huge helping of chicken mixed with vegetables, and a large salad. We had apricots and cake for dessert. For dinner at night, we had another tremendous meal.

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[1] "Brentwood College, 1923-1973," The Brentonian 1972/73, unpaginated.
[2] SLSM, 1936, p. 46.

> Potatoes, carrots, leeks, and lamb piled high on the plate made up the first course. Dessert was made up of apple tarts and cream.[1]

The more ordinary fare was, as pupils from virtually every British Columbia school have recollected, "rather plain," "adequate if sometimes skimpy," "reasonably predictable from week to week." Even new pupils soon learned whether to anticipate, depending on the day of the week, a large roast or "the strong resistant thing called liver."[2] "Vegetables, horrible stuff," provided the greatest challenge to most boys, for "we aways get more if we don't take enough."

In the interests of economy, schools relied on what they could obtain most readily or grow themselves. Thus, a certain seasonable rhythm existed in such items as turnips and cabbage, rhubarb and apples. At Vernon autumn brought pheasant, shot in great quantity by the headmaster, plucked by the boys, and appearing on the table suitably "ripe" from being hung a goodly time.

Boys at most schools could supplement their meals with "tuck," a British tradition whereby certain items of food were brought or sent from home. At Shawnigan "many boys had Empress strawberry jam and cakes to add to their supper menus, usually shared with others at the table."[3] An "official notice" to Vernon parents stated: "No tinned goods, potted meats, eggs or other food requiring to be cooked may be brought or sent. Cake

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[1] VPS, Letters C, Nov. 2.
[2] SLSM, 1931, p. 50, and 1934, p. 29.
[3] SLS, "Historical."
[4] VPSM, Summer 1926, p. 8, and Christmas 1935, n.p.

and jam are put on the table to be shared."[4] An advertisement in the Vernon school magazine for the Hudson's Bay Company offered to "send birthday gifts, cake or fruit"; one for a local grocer to deliver "chocolate bars, biscuits, oranges, peanuts and chocolates." Most boarding schools also ran, regularly or sporadically, a "tuck shop." Ranging from a storefront stand to a suitcase, the tuck shop offered a weekly opportunity for boys to spend their allotted pocket money--five or ten cents--on candy or soft drinks, profits from whose sale accrued to the school.

The large noonday meal was followed by more classes until about 3 p.m. Then came compulsory outdoor activities, with some schools reversing the order in winter to take advantage of daylight hours. Outdoor activities centred on the organized school game designated for the particular term. One or more days a week some other physical activity might be substituted. At Brentwood one afternoon went into chapel construction. Boys at Shawnigan, whose afternoon period was known as "Occupations," regularly cleared land, picked stones, and in the first years chopped firewood. Rubber boots, overalls and an axe were mandatory items on early clothing lists.

Between the end of the outdoor period at about 5 p.m. and supper an hour or so later was one of the few unstructured times of the day for boarders, day boys having gone home. A relatively small evening meal was followed by "prep," which was an hour or two of supervised homework. Younger boys were excused first for bed, but by 9 or 9:30 p.m. everyone was asleep

about to repeat the process the next day. For some pupils bedtime brought their greatest "pleasure" of the day: "retiring to my bed each night--where I could withdraw into myself, dream & be alone."[1] As another boy phrased it, "Then everything faded in sleep; the dusty smells, the loves and hates, the expectancy of pain, the tyrannies of a code, schoolmasters with an air of priggish schoolboys, institutional life. School."

Certain breaks in this routine helped to make it somewhat more palatable. One night a week prep might be replaced by "improving activities," such as a lecture, movie or concert. Saturday and Wednesday afternoon were often "half holidays," which meant that classes and the outdoor period were replaced by individual recreation or perhaps a game against another school. The time between Sunday dinner, which followed church services, and late afternoon was also generally free, although a letter home had to be written at some point over the weekend. The Rev. Mackie advised his pupils, "You are free to go for a walk, or a bicycle ride, or play cricket or tennis or otherwise enjoy your leisure--then tea, a little study of Scripture & bed to close the day."[2]

In addition, special events such as a birth in the Royal family, a visit by the Anglican bishop, or outstanding class performance might result in an extra half holiay. As recalled by a Vernon old boy, "October, being a splendid month for saints, was consequently in a school of high-church

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[1] Interview by correspondence, Fall 1979, and Cornish, p. 37.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 6, and Cornish, p. 41.

predilections, a splendid month for half holidays."[1] While the headmaster's birthday was possibly acknowledged with a special treat, perhaps an ice cream cone, those of individual boys probably passed unnoticed.

Seasonal events also helped break up the academic year. Rugby and soccer became badminton or perhaps basketball and then cricket as spring appeared. Every school had its Sports Day and Speech Day, when parents were invited to see awards presented for outstanding behaviour. Individual school traditions created other special occasions, such as Shawnigan's "rag concert," or amateur talent night, and its periodic dances with the neighbouring girls' school of Strathcona.

The unplanned time in late afternoon plus several hours on the weekend and possibly on Wednesday were especially valued by pupils. Judicious oversight of this "free" time greatly concerned headmasters in both Britain and British Columbia. As pointed out by the Rev. Bolton, "the hours of play and recreation, from 4 p.m. to 9 a.m., count infinitely."[2] Generally headmasters looked to two key elements--nature and organized recreation--to keep pupils away from harmful influences outside their control and from the "inclinations of our lower nature," to quote the Rev. Mackie.[3]

The utility of nature depended on a school's location. As a British headmaster stressed, proper nature study could occur only "in real country, not in a dubious region on the outskirts

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[1] Cornish, p. 41.
[2] USM 52 (1927), p. 6.
[3] Mackie, Sermons, v. 2.

of a big town."[1] Through the 1920s most British Columbia schools retained a natural setting in at least one direction: boys in the North Vancouver schools had paper chases up Grouse Mountain or down Lynn Valley; pupils at Vernon explored range and orchards; those at University tramped up Mount Tolmie; while boys in the rural Vancouver Island schools walked or cycled about hills and shoreline. Given a suitable environment, headmasters were willing to leave boys unsupervised so long as they obeyed a general rule not to enter any built up area without special permission. Frequently boys could bring bicycles to school which gave greater mobility.

Nature activities with a purpose were preferred, such as the collection of birds' eggs or nests and identification of animal footprints. At St. Michael's in 1925 attention focussed on "beetle-hunting, butterfly collecting, the amassing of minerological and geological specimans."[2] Each half holiday at Vernon the Rev. Mackie took a small group of interested boys on a special activity. On one occasion they "identified 45 species of birds, killed a rattle snake, caught a magnificent Emperor moth, and returned home healthily and happily tired."[3] Nature and pure adventure could intertwine, as on a Sunday afternoon at Shawnigan:

> After dinner I away to the Millstream, where do make grisly find of a mauled deer: do admiringly watch son of distinguished surgeon remove unborn fawn which we do then triumphantly present to the

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[1] Public Schools, pp. 96-97.
[2] Colonist, May 31, 1925.
[3] VPSM, Summer 1927, p. 2.
[4] Millstream 10 (1936), p. 1.

taxidermy club[4]

In at least two British Columbia schools, Shawnigan and Vernon, acceptance of the inherently beneficial value of nature extended to boys' being encouraged to maintain "forts" in the surrounding countryside. These rudimentary structures, whose appeal lessened as boys grew older and took on responsibilities within the institutional hierarchy of the school, were constructed by groups of three or four boys out of logs or bits of lumber appropriated from some nearby building site. They often contained "a small stove built either from an oil drum or an Eaton's cabinet heater."[1] Sunday afternoon feasts were concocted from scraps of food surreptitiously removed from the table during meals--"thoughtfully I pocketed a boiled onion in my shorts"--provisions brought from home, or choice items secretly purchased at the local store.[2]

The actual construction of forts occupied incredible amounts of recreational time which would otherwise have been spent in potentially detrimental activities. Plans were often grandiose, as in the announcement by one small boy to his family:

> I am in a fort with three other boys (----, ----, & ----). We are building it about half a mile from the school. It is a stockade fort with a small house inside it, and will be about twenty feet high. When we get the sides built there will be a platform all around the walls at about fifteen feet high, were [sic] we through [sic] from.[3]

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[1] SLS, Founder's Day Speech, 1977, in SLS Archives.
[2] Cornish, p. 13.
[3] VPS, Letters C, Nov. 20 and Feb. 8; and Cornish, p. 11.

A less reassuring missal followed:

> There is another thing which you may think pretty shocking. It is about our Fort. I only just realized it the other day. I AM DEAD BROKE. I have only about ten cents (10c) left . . . . The other day all the boys in our fort gave about $1.30 each to buy some lumber . . . . Now here is the part which you are not going to like. Could you please send me about three dollars up as quick as possible as Mr. Mackie doesn't like us being broke. I had to help buy that wood or get kicked out, and I didnt [sic] want that to happen.

As another pupil recalled, the plans were in any case far more important than the actual result:

> What resulted was a log cabin of sorts, well concealed in the woods along the creek about ten minutes from the top of the gulch. We dreamed of making it the best fort in the school, the biggest, the best stocked, the most impregnable. Our boyhood lasted an eternity but its dreams were never fulfilled. There wasn't time. . . . As term progressed, Saturdays and Sundays--the only days that mattered--we would sit in our den feasting on bully beef and smoking leaves, wrestling, comparing our buttocks for welts, and talking our heads off.

The recollections of many old boys make clear that the emotional release forts afforded from school pressures was immense.

Schools encouraged organized recreation in the form of clubs which put boys under a regular obligation to participate in a larger group. Club activities included stamps, chess, radio, photography, model airplanes, and taxidermy. Debate, drama and editing of a school magazine or newspaper also demanded systematic participation. Younger boys at University and Vernon competed to create the best springtime garden, which, according to the Vernon magazine, "provided a daily source of

innocent interest."[1] A pupil was more realistic in his letter home: "My carrots are just showing above the ground. So are the weeds."

The suitability of scouting as group recreation caused some ambivalence in both Britain and British Columbia. Enthusiasts, such as Chesterfield's headmaster who had worked with the movement's founder in Britain, stressed how Baden Powell derived inspiration from his years at the "public" school of Charterhouse as well as from his army experience in the Boer War.[1] However, the movement originated not to improve institutions like the "public" school but to spread their values to "boys from all classes, all creeds, etc." The Canadian Governor-General Earl Grey considered that the prime function of the scouting movement lay in teaching the average Canadian boy "the ideals they do not seem to learn in their schools."[2] As he put it, "there is no reason why every man should not be a gentleman." The issue, as put by a British headmaster, was whether the promotion of scouting within private schools duplicated or enchanced existing activities:

> It is not so much that our boys need scout training, for our whole system is intended to teach the principles which underlie scouting, and though it will certainly do them good, the school programme may be overfull without it. It is rather that here is a great common ideal and a meeting ground for boys of all classes and conditions in life.[3]

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[1] VPSM, Summer 1928, p. 1, and VPS, Letters C, May 3.
[1] Frederick K.H. Bates, "Lord Baden Powell of Gilwell" (typescript in North Shore Archives), and his "Story."
[2] Over the Rockies 2 (1911), p. 77, reprinting article from Colonist.
[3] Rannie, p. 87.

British Columbia schools started scout troops soon after their foundation and several initiated contact with local troops. However, by the late 1920s many headmasters were agreeing with Lonsdale that benefits did not outweigh costs:

> I consider that the entire moral tone of the school, the entire ideals of life, promulgated as stepping-stones to the future, are such that there is no need to duplicate them by introducing this system. Again, if it is to be efficient, it will be at the expense of other necessary subjects.[1]

While day schools like St. Michael's maintained their interest in scouting, many troops at boarding schools quietly disappeared.

III

The second structural element requisite to building character were exemplars. However effective might be the control achieved over pupils' time and energies, it was equally essential that the individuals with whom they were allowed contact personified the gentlemanly ideal underlying their education. Headmasters also attempted to create a miniature society within the school which was so far as possible "a little England," to quote a frequent old boy appellation for their schools.

All the schools maintained an exemplary world based on the assumption that "British," or possibly "British Empire," was

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[1] SLS, Report, 1928.

best; "Canadian" passable; and "American" unacceptable. A Vernon pupil has suggested that "the two great supporting beams on which the framework of the school was raised" were "the Christian religion and the British Empire." The latter he summed up as "the Royal Navy and huge red volumes of 'Chums,'" an English boys' magazine popularizing the "public"-school ethos.[1]

Reading material in the schools is indicative. The three newspapers and fourteen journals ordered for Brentwood's library in 1923 did include the two Victoria newspapers, four American technical and boating magazines, and a cultural magazine in French, but the bulk--three magazines on sport, three on culture, three with news, and one newspaper--were British.[2] In 1924 Shawnigan held subscriptions to six journals, all British news or cultural magazines.[3] The school chapel contained "the Public School Hymn Book," designed for use in British "public" schools. When North Shore College decided to require boys in each form to read "certain books" over a term, every one was a British classic.[4]

Symbolism was important. On the death of Lord Aberdeen, owner of the Coldstream Ranch, his place as patron of the Vernon Preparatory School was accorded another British aristocrat with

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[1] Pethick.
[2] BCM, 1924, p. 34. British influence was certainly not absent from the Canadian public school system; see, for instance, Robert M. Stamp, "Canadian Education and the National Identity," pp. 29-37 in Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, ed. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald (Toronto: Gage, 1977).
[3] SLSM, 1924, p. x, and 1929, p. 30. See also Public Schools, p. 95.
[4] NSCM, Christmas 1938, p. 11.

local connections, Lord Woolavington. Referring to the books which University School annually awarded outstanding pupils, the Rev. Bolton noted in 1925: "We are conservative enough to have our prizes sent yearly from the Old Land. . . . they are a real prize, worthy of lifelong companionship amid a man's well-furnished library."[1] Through the 1920s Brentwood proclaimed that "in all cases the accommodation conforms, in so far as hygiene is concerned, with the maximum requirements of the British Board of Education."[2] Lonsdale, who after the 1926 fire procured donations of school chairs from various English and Scottish "public" schools, thereafter pointed them out to his pupils as "a constant reminder of our public schools in England."[3] Shawnigan's buildings were themselves constructed as "a bit of old England."

Visiting Britons were frequently persuaded to address pupils, as did a Royal Air Force commodore who in 1926 reassured Shawnigan boys that "it was a wonderful thing to see a tip-top school in one of the Dominions."[4] Cultural excursions outside a school were usually British--Shakespeare plays, Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, British naval vessels, exhibitions by touring cricket or rugby teams. A Vernon pupil has recalled being taken only to see movies with "an Imperial theme," but once, perhaps inadvertently, viewing "The Private Life of Henry the Eighth" starring Charles Laughton, "which provided in

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[1] USM 49 (1925), p. 5.
[2] Colonist, June 21, 1931; also BC, Prospectus, 1923.
[3] SLSM, 1928, p. 28, and Colonist, April 3, 1928.
[4] Cowichan Leader, July 8, 1926.

subsequent weeks much material for puzzled discussions."[1]

The use of British example extended to casual conversation. A Vernon pupil has remembered: "Both the Rev. & Mrs. Mackie were constantly reminding us & correcting many of us to speak with a middle class English accent & manner--'Please may I have'--'say water, not warter.'"[2] A half century after the event a descendent of one of British Columbia's pioneer families from Ontario wrote: "One thing that I hold against both Mr. and Miss Lonsdale was their constant pointing out how much better everything was in England than in Canada."[3] Other Shawnigan boys recall learning, even after the provincial curriculum was adopted, "English history, English literature, English everything."[4] A pupil attending St. Michael's in the mid-1920s remembers, when drilling, being told, "'Imagine that is the facade of Buckingham Palace'" and act accordingly.[5]

Whereas the exemplary world of Britain represented the ideal, that of the United States was anathema. The "problem of the prevalence of slang, Americanese, and such other 'wild tongues'" was regularly condemned.[6] The Rev. Mackie could not contain his distaste for fancy sweaters in "Yankee taste," "vulgar American so called comic supplements" or newspapers filled with "American slang."[7] One poor Vernon pupil wrote

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[1] Pethick.
[2] Interview by correspondence, Fall 1979.
[3] SLS, "Historical."
[4] Interview, June 1, 1980.
[5] Interview, June 24, 1980.
[6] SLSM, 1925, p. 27.
[7] VPSM, Christmas 1926, p. 9, and Summer 1927, p. 4; and VPS, Letters A, Feb. 3.

hopefully to his mother, "If the Funny pappers [sic] were English please send them on." The prohibition on the popular American sport of baseball summed up the attitude.

The role accorded Canadian influence was more complex. Schools related easily to the physical dimension of British Columbia, "the beauty of its hills & valleys."[1] The heroic component of Canadian history was easily accepted. Thus Shawnigan boys were told of "the deeds of Jacques Cartier, Samuel Champlain, and others long since dead."[2] Deeper interest was usually lacking. When the future founder of North Shore College was asked in his first teaching job at Kingsley to take charge of the provincially prescribed course in Canadian history, he recollects having replied, "'Canadian history, what history? I didn't think Canada had a history!'"[3] A boy at another school remembers being told it was "a short and dull history that no one would involve himself in."

Topics chosen for the debates held periodically at University School are indicative of headmasters' concerns. In 1912 the two Canadian subjects were whether Canada "should contribute to the Imperial Navy" and whether "Orientals should be prohibited from entering Canada."[4] Through the 1920s the only

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[1] Mackie, Sermons, v. 10; and Hugh F. Mackie, "Reminiscences of a School Teacher," OHS, Report 38 (1974), p. 35.
[2] SLSM, 1923, p. 21.
[3] Interviews, July 26 and June 24, 1980. On the ethos of the public system, see George S. Tomkins, "Canadian Education and the Development of a National Consciousness: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," pp. 6-28 in Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, ed. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald (Toronto: Gage, 1977).
[4] USM 14 (1912), pp. 20-22; 36 (1919), pp. 20-22; 43 (1923), pp. 28-29; and 58 (1930), pp. 72-74.

distinctly Canadian topics were immigration and prohibition. Concern with immigration, while certainly reflecting interest in the larger society, also related to the schools' perceptions of non-British elements in the society. A short story written by a Kamloops pupil at University School in the late 1920s was indicative. In the waiting room for the train to school, "my room-mates consisted, as well as I could judge, of Swedes, Poles, Germans, Slavs and Chinamen--all such people call themselves Canadians; so my malodorous room-mates, ostensibly, were Canadians."[1] At University's debates, those who argued for immigration "of the right type" condemned the willingness of "foreign" continental Europeans "to accept lower wages than the Britishers." The Doukhobors were considered especially "undesirable and hard to assimilate." Even the proponents of Oriental immigration assumed they would fill only unwanted positions and so stressed "the horrors of housekeeping and menial work that a shortage of Chinese servants would throw upon householders." The opponents of all immigration argued that not only could servant girls be brought from England but "plenty of 'Coons' in the States would come over."

The inferior position assigned all non-British elements in British Columbia was reinforced in pupils' minds by the reliance of virtually all the schools on Oriental servants. Shawnigan had Ah Tan, St. Michael's Ah Gain, and University a long succession of individuals including Hong, Tong, Bang, Hoi, Tim and Chong. While at Brentwood "the 'Emperor of China'" in the

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[1] USM 54 (1928), pp. 55-56.

kitchen was replaced by an Occidental in 1929, elsewhere Orientals remained a subject of ridicule by pupils, as in a school alphabet in the Shawnigan magazine:

> C stands for Chink, they're a comical race,
> Who make funny noises while we're saying grace.[1]

On the other hand, headmasters recognized the indispensibility of Oriental labour. As Symons wrote in his autobiography:

> We secured a very good Chinamen--Ah Gain--who was a great ally and stayed with us for twenty-eight years, cleaning house, school, chopping wood, doing garden, even some washing on occasion, and always good natured. . . . It was a great blow when last year he calmly announced, "I no come next Saturday--I go China."[2]

The comfortably British world created by British Columbia headmasters depended for its validity on the human exemplars who were its inhabitants. In the ordered hierarchy which was the school, the headmaster visibly exercised ultimate authority, ideally "with a charisma," to quote a modern scholar.[3] As Tom Brown had mused over his headmaster, "there wasn't a corner of him left which didn't believe in the Doctor."[4]

Lonsdale exercised precisely that role at Shawnigan. A cartoon in the school magazine in 1927 depicted him as a giant dispensing wisdom to pupils attempting only to be able to look up onto his countenance.[5] According to one observer, Lonsdale "was a born leader and had an aura of greatness about him; so much so that when he entered a room where people who knew him

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[1] SLSM, 1934, p. 29.
[2] Symons, p. 31.
[3] Honey, p. 12.
[4] Hughes, p. 287.
[5] SLSM, 1927, p. 23, and SLS, "Historical."

were assembled, a hush fell over the gathering and all eyes turned to him and then the great man spoke in that deep, sonorous, clear voice that had so often chilled the hearts of young boys and mesmerized their parents." Lonsdale gradually become less a human presence and more an an abstract authority figure: while early boys remember him as "Mr. Lonsdale," those in the 1920s recall him as "C.W." and later ones only as "The Head."

The teaching staff was one step down in the hierarchy. Masters were generally British immigrants or suitable old boys. University School proudly proclaimed in 1925 that "all the masters on the staff received their education in the Old Land, the object of the founders being to establish a school on English lines adapted to Canadian requirements."[1] Six of the nine held degrees from British universities. Of Shawnigan's eight-member teaching staff in the late 1920s, all had attended "public" school in Britain, half also Oxford or Cambridge.[2] As was established British practice, the French and German master had instead studied on the continent. Three of the masters came from jobs at other private schools; two were hired upon giving up their original intention of going into agriculture.

The suitability of individuals as staff members depended

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[1] USM 48 (1925), p. 16. Names and education of teaching staff are found in US, "Admission Roll Commencing Christmas Term 1906 (typescript at US), v. 2, pp. 1-9.

[2] The staff, 1927-30, composed Lonsdale (Westminster School and Durham), Martin H. Ellis (Shrewsbury and Oxford), Miles A. Ellissen (Malvern), Robert Ivan Knight (Oundle and Cambridge), E.D. Levien (Mill Hill), P.T. Skrimshire (Highgate and Cambridge), Frederick J. Stanton (The Forrest and Lausanne), and the Rev. E.M. Willis (Eastbourne and Oxford).

not only on their academic background but on qualities of character, in particular, ability at games. As put by the Rev. Mackie, individuals who "are with the boys from their rising to their lying down" must be "themselves examples of all that is manly."[1] Thus Martin Ellis, who had very impressive academic qualifications, was described by Lonsdale in his first report to the governors after Ellis' appointment principally as "having stroked the Oxford crew in 1920 and 1921, and rowed bow in 1922."[2] A longtime master at St. Michael's was characterized on his death--in clear order of precedence--as an "old Oxford Blue for Rugby, Corinthian for cricket, master at Durham and many years a master with us."[3]

The Victorian ambivalence toward the female lingered on and created practical difficulties as to their proper place in the school.[4] On the one hand, the vision of perfect womanhood, of the female on the pedestal, was held up to pupils in the person of their own mothers. The Rev. Mackie cautioned pupils to treat their mothers with special delicacy on their holidays, for "she needs a holiday far more than you."[5] "Many a mother's holiday is spoilt because all the work is thrown on their shoulders & when the holidays are over she herself is worn out in the service of her children." Contacts with neighbouring girls' schools were equally genteel, consisting of chaparoned dances, picnics and

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[1] On British practice, see esp. Mangan, pp. 113-34.
[2] SLS, Report, 1928.
[3] Symons, p. 157.
[4] See Ian Weinberg, The English Public Schools: The Sociology of Elite Education (New York: Atherton Press, 1967), p. 98.
[5] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8 and 7.

tennis or badminton matches.

The danger arose when the female was allowed off her pedestal. The Rev. Mackie warned his pupils in chapel never to look "leniently upon the grosser sins of the flesh," for "unlawful sexual indulgence is responsible for more disease & sickness of body than all other vices."[1] Preparation for confirmation was, according to a leading British headmaster, generally used to point out "the dangers of adolescent life."[2] At Vernon the confirmation class received weekly "exhortations to virtue," followed by "toast and cocoa."[3] The last installment, "even more valuable and important than what had gone on before," culminated one year in the prohibition, "Never have anything to do with fallen women!" One boy has retailed his class's puzzlement. They finally concluded it to be an admonition against visiting the kitchen and talking to the school's Japanese cook, since she was "the only person we could think of differing markedly from other members of her sex." Pupils in any school caught in unauthorized association with a female always had the worst interpretation put on their actions and were disciplined harshly.

To these two diametrically opposed roles for the female was added a third as superior servant destined, quite happily, to wait on the male of the species. While women could not by definition "teach" the boys, many of the schools literally owed their survival to unstinting female labour--St. Michael's to

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[1] Ibid, v. 9 and 7.
[2] Norwood, p. 36.
[3] Pethick; also interview, April 18, 1979.

Symons' wife, Vernon to the Rev. Mackie's sister-in-law, Shawnigan to both Lonsdale's sister and a longtime matron, Kingsley to Scriven's wife, North Shore College to a devoted matron. As Shawnigan's matron recalled about her forty-three years at the school, "Why, at 7 a.m., I would be down in the lake for my morning swim, and at 2 a.m. that night, I would often still be darning the boys' socks."[1] Conversely, a longtime master at University has suggested that if headmasters' wives had been "active in the life of the school," it "would have made a lot of difference."[2]

The devotion of countless other women also went into making British Columbia boys' schools. Symons described "a tiny Lancashire woman" who was a longtime janitress: "I think her creed could be summed up as 'The British Empire and St. Michael's School.' . . . She cleaned the School, served teas for the School, ran the School, and lived for the School."[3] The matron, who was in charge of boys' physical care, was especially important to any school's survival. For the most part she did not have extensive emotional contact with pupils, who saw her principally in conditions of service. One boy has remembered: "She darned socks, spoon-fed us sulphur and molasses and regulated bath-night traffic ('The bath water's quite clean, Menzies--there's only been two before you'); she parried our questions at pubescence and she nursed us when we were sick."[4]

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[1] Vancouver Times, Oct. 28, 1964.
[2] Interview, May 5, 1980.
[3] Symons, pp. 43 and 133.
[4] Cornish, p. 16.

It was usually in the latter case--and then only if a boy could demonstrate he was really ill--that opportunity ensued for emotional contact between pupil and matron. As a modern scholar has pointed out, even in the case of the very young boy in preparatory school where the matron might serve as "a mother-surrogate," "he has to learn to share her with many others."[1]

Adult role models also included numerous shadowy individuals in inferior positions whose presence helped reinforce the fundamental principle of an ordered social hierarchy with everyone in their proper place. In many schools janitors, cooks and maids were the only "true Canadians," to quote a pupil.[2] Their position in the hierarchy was often visible to pupils:

> There was also a relative of the Clarkes who kept the furnace in order and gave us "Swedish drill" to the tune (invariably "Valencia") of an old gramaphone with a huge tin horn. He was evidently considered of lower social standing than the Clarkes, for even we could perceive that he did not associate with them on completely equal terms.[3]

British schools called such an individual a "sergeant-major," a term also used at University School: "A qualified sergeant-major is in charge of all gymnastic work, and boxing is also done under his personal supervision."[4] In addition he undertook minor repairs and his wife ran the tuck shop. The sergeant-major, generally a former regular soldier in the British Army and of relatively low social status, also helped define for pupils the

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[1] Weinberg, p. 97.
[2] Interview, Aug. 7, 1979.
[3] Pethick.
[4] USM 48 (1925), p. 15. Also see Heritage 1 (1979), p. 13.

"proper" relationship between class status and manual labour.

The exemplars closest to the boys themselves were their fellow pupils. As boys progressed upward through the school, they were publicly distinguished for adherence to its norms, whether in the classroom or on the games' field. Awards on Sports Day and Speech Day, "colours" for outstanding performance in games, the captaincy of the Rugby XV or Cricket XI--all were designed to make boys conscious of who best "played the game." The names of outstanding pupils were added to wood and silver plaques hanging prominently in the school so that boys were made aware not only of those who had recently acquired the honour but of the larger tradition.

The most explicit juvenile role models were the "prefects," older pupils chosen by the headmaster to help maintain order either in a dormitory or in the school as a whole, with a "head boy" in charge of the prefects. Virtually every British Columbia school of any size replicated the prefect system characterizing their British counterparts. Selected for "Strength of Character, Ability to Control and Leadership," to quote the Rev. Bolton, these boys were, in the words of Collegiate's headmaster, "expected by their influence and example to maintain the best traditions of the school."[1] The Rev. Mackie advised them, "Make your office easy by keeping yourselves somewhat aloof from your charges--let them learn to respect you & you will have no difficulty in leading them."[2] He

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[1] USM 49 (1925), p. 5, and Colonist, Dec. 17, 1905.
[2] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8, 1 and 4.

explained:

> Your position is one of pecular difficulty--you have not of course the power or weight which the Staff has, owing to your youth, yet by living among the boys you know their weaknesses perhaps better than we do; your duty is to study the character of the boys & learn to handle them wisely--never driving when you can lead--nor using your authority in a highhanded way, but proving yourselves examples that those committed to your charge may find easy to follow the straight lead you give them.

Both prefects' responsibilities and their privileges set them apart. Usually prefects had studies to which they could retire during prep if not on duty supervising the younger boys. They could possibly go beyond the school grounds, had special places during meals and school assemblies, might occupy a separate dormitory with a later bedtime, and often wore distinctive blazers. When Vernon pupils were taken to a special event outside the school in its large open flatbed truck, little boys sat in the centre, older ones around the edge with legs dangling, prefects "in the place of honour standing behind the cab."[1] As argued by a modern scholar, the prefect system was "the ultimate step in an internal ladder of social mobility" which "co-opts the senior, most mature and articulate boys into the authority structure at a stage when they could cause infinite trouble if excluded."[2]

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[1] Pethick.
[2] Weinberg, pp. 123-24.

IV

The third structural element necessary to turn young boys into gentlemen related to the general acknowledgement in late Victorian Britain as well as early twentieth-century British Columbia of the concept of sin, of "the inclinations of our lower nature."[1] Headmasters believed that, just as Lonsdale trained his dog Judy, boys could through force of habit be taught the value of right action. A fundamental component of education lay therefore in the systematic reward of correct behaviour and punishment of incorrect behaviour. As put by Symons of St. Michael's, it was necessary "to keep discipline and establish a manly respect for other people's feelings, by means of precept and example, ridicule and--when all else failed--by physical violence."[2]

Reward for right action, which extended through every aspect of school life from games' cups to prefectures, put great emphasis on "tradition." Each British Columbia school had its colours, reproduced in stripes on a school tie and possibly edging an official blazer. University chose black and red, Shawnigan black and gold, St. Michael's blue and black, and Kingsley Oxford blue with Cambridge blue. Most schools had crests which appeared on blazers, caps and stationery. There might also be a school song and certainly a motto, usually some virtuous Latin platitude. Translated, University School

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[1] Mackie, Sermons, v. 2.
[2] Colonist, March 31, 1957.

counselled "A sound mind in a sound body," Shawnigan "Let only him who deserves it have the crown of glory," St. Michael's "Nothing big unless it is good," and the Duncan Grammar School "Do What Thou Doest." North Shore College once declared that whereas "most schools have a motto, which is blazoned forth wherever possible and promptly forgotten by the pupils," it advocated only "'Play the Game,' not written but carried out by the boys in every department, work or play."[1]

Systematic punishment for wrong action was as much, or more, a part of school life. Each school's "constant, watchful but unobtrusive supervision," to quote the headmaster of Cranleigh House, meant that little went disregarded.[2] An examination of the use of negative reinforcement in the academic dimension of character building is suggestive. In both British and British Columbia schools, boys in a form, or class, competed both against their own best ability and each other. In the English school attended by the novelist Evelyn Waugh, each week "the Headmaster stood in Great School and read out the class placings; as he did so, the boys formed themselves into lines in order of achievement," with those considered to have worked below capacity subsequently disciplined.[3]

At Vernon boys were not only seated in class according to their relative academic standing but assembled each Tuesday

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[1] NSCM, Christmas 1934, p. 2.
[2] USM 49 (1925), p. 45.
[3] Evelyn Waugh, The Diaries of Evelyn Waugh, ed. Michael Davie (London: Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 43, fn. The practice also characterized other schools; see Alec Waugh, Early Years, pp. 30-31.

morning to be lined up in a new order on the basis of the previous week's marks.[1] The practice ensuing as their names were read out by the Rev. Mackie was little different from his own experience at St. John's, Leatherhead. The first week a pupil's performance was considered unsatisfactory, he was told, "You have been warned." At a subsequent occurrence he would be requested by the Rev. Mackie to see him in his study that evening. In turn each boy knocked and entered. After a discussion of his shortcomings, which might include mention of the pupil's responsibility to live up to the expectations of his parents, he was caned thrice.

Boys also had to report their standings in weekly letters home, which then made them directly susceptible to family coercion. A boy who was generally giving his parents bad news once reported in hopeful tones: "My percent last week wasnt to [sic] bad compared with others in lower and higher forms. I came 10th (bottom) with 40%."[2] On another occasion, he wrote, perhaps gratuitously, "Tuesday, you remember, is the day which the percents are read out and all naughty boys dealt with!!!?!"

Rituals at other British Columbia schools were possibly less harsh. As described by the headmaster of St. Michael's:

> We also started "Collections"--a survival of Oxford days. . . . We sit in an awe-inspiring row one side of a room, and the forms are ushered in by a prefect. Each boy in turn comes up, hears from me just exactly what we think of him and his term, and is given his report. We then shake

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[1] Pethick, as well as virtually every interview with a Vernon old boy.
[2] VPS, Letters C, Oct. 5 and Dec. 3.
[3] Symons, p. 49, and Colonist, March 31, 1957.

hands all round.[3]

Old boys remember such appraisals as "You have had a very poor term, have been lazy, untidy, not always quite honest," and "You'll end up selling shoelaces on the street." At North Shore College term standings were not only read out to the assembled boys but posted in the entry way so no boy could forget his position in the larger order.

Shawnigan pupils whose weekly performance did not meet Lonsdale's expectations went on "satis." They would receive a special card which during the following week had to be signed "Satisfecit" by each master who considered class performance to have been so. An unsigned square foretold a stroke of the cane from the headmaster. The significance of the "satis card" was suggested in a contribution to the school literary publication:

> The afternoon period wore to a close. Came the bell with its message of salvation for 20 boys. Not so the 21st. With stumbling step and downcast eye he staggered to the dais of doom. There stood Fate in the guise of the pedagogue. No. He refuses to sign the proferred piece of paper, referring unkindly to work which has not been satisfactorily done. The doomed wretch turns away, his body wracked with sobs. That night will be enacted the closing scenes of this domestic tragedy.[1]

In Shawnigan's early years a more functional form of "satis" was employed. As related by a pupil of the early 1920s:

> Each room was heated by a wood stove. There were lists posted each week showing the standing of each boy in the class. The two lowest had to keep the fire going and the room swept for a week. This had a remarkably beneficial effect.

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[1] Millstream 1 (1932), p. 5, and SLS, "Historical."

Three critical aspects of the use of punishment are demonstrated in the example of academic performance. The relationship between cause and effect was explicit. If Symons employed ridicule, the Rev. Mackie corporal punishment, and Lonsdale a combination, no excuse remained to any boy that he was ignorant of the consequence of allowing individual will to triumph over the expectations of the corporate society. As put by a Shawnigan pupil:

> Read, mark, learn and keep each rule
> Which directs your life at school,
> Or you'll find you're a Defaulter,
> Rules aren't made for you to alter.[1]

Secondly, negative reinforcement did not immediately follow the offense. Any semblage of hasty and imprudent action was thus averted. Moreover, the expectation of discipline was generally deemed a far greater deterrent than the act itself. Such recognition is evident in a newspaper account of "a black rubber strap" which "used to live in the top-right drawer of 'the Head's Study'" at St. Michael's:

> "On the first transgression," recalls a St. Michael's old boy, "he would take the fingers of the right hand, bend them back, and without administering any blow, he would lay the strap on the boy's hand in warning of what was to happen if the boy found himself on the Head's report again. Many of us found his description of the pain that would follow if he found it necessary to use the strap on any subsequent occasion just as frightful as the beating when it came, as it almost inevitably did."[2]

Thirdly, a pupil was not to indicate through emotion that

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[1] SLSM, 1929, p. 40.
[2] Colonist, March 31, 1957.

the punishment was not within his power to bear. As Tom Brown's Schooldays noted about the schoolboy bully, Flashman had "the power of saying cutting and cruel things, and could often bring tears to the eyes of boys in the way which all the thrashings in the world wouldn't have wrung from them."[1] A British Columbia master who recounted for the benefit of his pupils being beaten by his own headmaster recalled how "'I must not blub.'"[2] Once it was over,

> I forced myself to meet his glance. His face was stern. "Thank you, sir," I said. "You may go," said he. I swung to the door, bracing myself for the last phase. I must grin as I passed the other fellows outside.

The four levels of punishment common in British and British Columbia schools were ridicule, detention, corporal punishment and expulsion. Ridicule was a prerogative of both masters and pupils if used with circumspection. Lonsdale possessed, to quote one old boy, "a gift for sarcasm that could make an offender shrink until he felt he was a midget looking up at the granite face of a mountain at whose summit thunder rumbled and lightning roared."[3] Ridicule was frequently part of the classroom experience, used to draw attention to inadequate performance. Ridicule from fellow pupils was particularly potent. The boy who dared to be different, either by choice or through some physical circumstance such as wearing glasses or being overweight, was in constant danger of being ostracized by

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[1] Hughes, p. 140.
[2] The Georgian (St. George's School magazine) [hereafter SGSM], 1934, pp. 18-19.
[3] SLS, Founder's Day Speech, 1975.

his fellows.

Bullying--in effect the systematic application of ridicule combined with physical abuse--was present in every school. Schools opposed the practice but, as a Shawnigan pupil has recalled, "you knew the boys that were prey--not liked by the head."[1] Once begun, bullying was difficult to stop, as evidenced by a Vernon pupil who gained a half day respite only on the school's learning of his grandfather's death.[2] At another school a victim acquired respect when, on being cornered by four fellow pupils, "he took what we had to give pretty well, and I have to hand it to him for neither bawling or blabbing to a Prefect."[3]

Detention was generally a deterrent for small misdemeanors whose cumulative effect would lead to undesirable personal characteristics, such as slovenliness. A poorly made bed or misplaced toothbrush were deplored not so much for their own sake as for the attitude they implied toward the authority of the school. Similar offenses included tardiness, chewing candy, inattentiveness in class, forgetting books, talking in prep, noisiness in the school library, pocketing or throwing food at meals, swearing during games' practice. Each offense was noted by school authorities--at Vernon by a "black mark," at Shawnigan and Brentwood by a "defaulter." The number accumulated during a week determined the punishment, usually a period of detention if one or two, corporal punishment if three or more.

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[1] Interview, June 1, 1980.
[2] Douglas E. Harker, Saints: The Story of St. George's School for Boys, Vancouver (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1979), p. 220.
[3] SGSM, 1936, p. 35.

Detention was generally meted out on Saturday afternoon when boys were enjoying a half holiday. The traditional British practice of writing lines was used less than physical labour or extra academic work. At Kingsley and Brentwood boys in detention worked on the school flower garden. At University pupils could be asked to "net up tennis lawns" or "roll the cricket pitch."[1]

Corporal punishment was generally a specific reaction to a specific action, its intention being to deter repetition. In theory, as a Shawnigan master wrote, "The 'Hickory Stick' is employed only on those rare occasions when persuasion and extra work fail to impress a boy that egocentric behaviour which interferes with the working of the group cannot be tolerated."[2] The emphasis was on conscious, premeditated misbehaviour.

Many of the acts considered to merit corporal punishment were little more than boyish mischief, as in an incident recalled by a University pupil of the 1920s:

> Late that evening, I tied one end of the rope to the doorknob of Ian Simpson, Room Master to Dormitory 7 and 8, and the other end to the doorknob of another master's room, leaving about six inches of slack in the rope. It caused a terrific stir in the morning as the masters pulled back and forth on their doors for about 20 seconds.[3]

In another case, boys at Shawnigan who had become aware that Lonsdale flipped cigarette ashes outside the window as he talked to them in the dormitory then dropped burning matches on the

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[1] USM 38 (1920), p. 49.
[2] SLSM, 1948, p. 17.
[3] Heritage 2 (1980), p. 12.

window awning until it caught alight so they could righteously yell, "Fire, sir!"[1] Other offenses included slipping out of the dormitory after hours and promoting disrespect, as when younger boys at Shawnigan were persuaded to sing "What's it to you?" In place of "Hallaluiah!" Smoking was a serious offense, as suggested by the admonition in the Brentwood magazine, "When engaging in a 'drag' in a rowboat far out to sea," remember you can be viewed with binoculars.[2]

In schools for older boys prefects as well as staff had the right to administer corporal punishment. Prefectorial discipline could be more preemptory than in other cases. At Brentwood, first came the prefect's voice at 9:30 announcing, "'Stop talking. That's the last warning.'"[3] At 9:45, as related by a pupil, "'I hear a rustle of paper unwrapping. A smell of roast chicken pervades the air.'" The inevitable result was, at 10 p.m., "the crash of the prefect's cane."

In most cases prefectorial discipline was also accompanied by considerable ritual. Two complementary poems by Shawnigan pupils are indicative.[4] First came the apprehension of the waiting pupil:

> To descend to this fate on the floor down below
> Is hard, to be sure, but there you must go.

The scene in the prefectorial study room was not reassuring:

> Though this little room is crammed in all nooks
> With prefects' old nicknacks and musty
> text-books,

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[1] Interview, June 1, 1980.
[2] BCM, 1930, p. 22.
[3] Ibid, 1928, p. 35.
[4] Millstream 2 (1932), p. 4, and 6 (1934), p. 6.

Your eyes, as you enter, see the gleam from afar
Of the fate which will come when you bend o'er
the chair.

A boy's crimes had to be detailed to him:

"Why did you fool in chapel to-day?
Why did you fool? Why didn't you pray?
Why did you copy and cheat in form?"
Why did you fool last night in dorm?

After "you then in despair try to argue your case," the only remaining option was appeal to the headmaster. Since appeals were usually a lost cause, the boy who did so was characterized thusly:

He did appeal, the poor darn fool!
Think of appealing at Shawnigan School!
It was refused, he had no chance.
Those extra swats, how they burned his pants.

His compatriat in the second poem knew better.

For a moment you play with this thought of
appeal,
Then inwardly cursing you turn on your heel,
And with one long stride you reach for the chair
And gaze at its bottom in tight-lipped despair.

A silence ensues you could cut with a knife
And you ponder upon the unfairness of life.
There's a swish of the backswing, the crash of
the blow
And for twenty tense seconds that's all you will
know.

A headboy's record book, accounting misdemeanors and punishments at Shawnigan, demonstrates how the etiquette of prefectorial justice formed part of the general rationale underlying the use of punishment.[1] Prefects could cane, not only for three or more "defaulters" accumulated in a week but for premeditated offenses, such as bringing back candy from leave,

[1] SLS, "Headboy's Logbook," 1937/38-1960/61, in SLS Archives.

returning late, smoking, or going out of bounds. In addition, prefects could discipline for less precise offenses infringing on the concept of hierarchy and deference underlying school life, including "cheekiness," "general slackness," "thinking too much of himself," "gross impertinence," "making a general nuisance of himself," and--a very frequent offense--"being above himself in general." The manner in which a boy reacted to corporal punishment was critical, whether "he took it badly." The reverse could be cause for commendation: "We also beat ----- for being in defaulters three times and in general being above himself. He was beaten very hard and took it well."

Corporal punishment by masters or the headmaster was a different matter. Masters most frequently caned in the classroom or in a dormitory. Corporal punishment by the headmaster was reserved, according to a British headmaster, for "inveterate idlers or rule-breakers, or those who have cheated, and for those who are bullies."[1] A Shawnigan pupil has summarized the practice in that school:

> For serious infractions of the rules, one was put on the headmaster's report and in the evening summoned to the headmaster's study. All of the rulebreakers would be lined up outside his study and one by one would enter. There would be a muffled conversation on the other side of the door and then the preemptory demand to bend over whereupon the offender received anywhere from 2 to 6 of the best from Mr. Lonsdale's cane. It happened to me as to most but it was usually accompanied by a small lecture and the lecture usually related to respect for the discipline and good order of the school and respect for those in authority who are trying to administer the

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[1] Norwood, p. 73.
[2] SLS, Founder's Day Speech, 1977.

school.[2]

A private caning in the headmaster's office was far less significant than one administered in public, before the assembled school. The latter was reserved for what one modern scholar has termed "an unpardonable crime, like stealing from a store in the village."[1] Precisely that incident occurred at Shawnigan where a boy was publicly caned and then expelled for a combination of theft and running away. The crime need not be quite that severe, as recorded by an old boy of St. Michael's caught playing catch in the back of a classroom "with one of the old glass inkwells that never spilled, no matter how you turned them around":

> I threw a wild pitch, the inkwell hit a fan that was revolving in the ceiling, and the result was not good. As a matter of fact, it was disastrous. I had a flitting moment of glory the next morning but I received three whacks of the cane on my bare bottom in front of the whole school![2]

The most severe punishment was removal from the school. Since immediate expulsion was an overt admission of failure of the school's ability to develop character, it was reserved for very serious offenses. A private variant existed. A Brentwood pupil of the mid 1920s related, "I wasn't expelled, but simply asked not to come back. Expelled boys were not asked to leave, they were told to leave."[3]

Immediate expulsion occurred, to quote a British

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[1] Weinberg, p. 104.
[2] Heritage 1 (1979), p. 16.
[3] Brock, p. 74.

headmaster, in the case "of open indiscipline or of active immorality."[1] Expulsion in the first circumstance was essential, according to a modern scholar, "to prevent the mobilisation of power by the boys."[2] Pupils who ran away were a serious threat, particularly if on their forced return they began to brag about their exploits. A school letter is exemplary: "During the show a boy named ----- ran away from school and went along the railroad track but he didn't go very far because he came back to school."[3] The school magazine in this case reported, "He was duly brought back a sadder and, it is to be hoped, a wiser boy."

Expulsion to prevent "active immorality" was a difficult matter. Publicly, most schools acted as if masturbation, emotional relationships between pupils, attraction between boy and master, or unchaperoned encounters with females did not occur. The close routine and heavy reliance on physical activity were viewed as pragmatic preventatives. To a considerable extent beauty was in the eye of the beholder. Old boys involved can retail a long series of incidents, while contemporaries at the same school remain convinced that no illicit activity occurred. Thus, one Vernon pupil described what to another would have passed unnoticed:

> Across the dormitory Trevor-McMarty, to whom love, fantastically, had come between prep-time and lights-out, arranged his pillow so that he lay where he could watch Bud's face. I felt a

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[1] Norwood, p. 74.
[2] John Wakeford, The Cloistered Elite: A Sociological Analysis of the English Public Boarding School (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 100.
[3] VPS, Letters A, March 10, and VPSM, Easter 1935, p. 3.
[4] Cornish, pp. 37 and 48.

little contemptuous, more than a little jealous.[4]

The substance of this courtship was irrelevant except to those involved in the little triangle:

> I remembered how McMarty would offer Bud absurd presents, a piece of a horseshoe, colored chalk, a bit of fluff-covered toffee, with the dinner-jacketed gravity of a penguin dropping pebbles at his love light's feet. I felt a familiar jealous twinge.

A certain amount of juvenile sexual activity occurred at every school, often in cycles centring on a small group of devotees. Masturbation at night, experimentation in forts, emotional attraction toward a physically attractive, "manly" master were inevitable, and schools clearly had to turn a blind eye most of the time. The danger arose when activity became overt, when a boy was caught out and the incident became known to the other pupils. Then expulsion became a possible deterrent.

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The central importance given by British and British Columbia headmasters to moulding pupils' characters toward predefined ends brought into being an intricate structural framework. The waking hours of each day were carefully regulated. Boys' contacts were limited to individuals embodying the gentlemanly ideal. Positive behaviour was rewarded and negative action systematically punished. Pupils had to be taught not only the nature of the behavioural norms to which

they were expected to adhere but become convinced that conformity brought greater rewards than did individualistic action. Rise to leadership in the school depended on acceptance of the "rules of the game," just as rise to leadership in the larger society would depend on adherence to class norms. The overriding goal remained little different in British Columbia from its formulation in late Victorian Britain--the maintenance by each succeeding generation of the existing order.

Chapter 7

THE CANADIANIZATION OF CLIENTELE

The buoyant 1920s, in which private education came of age in British Columbia, ended with the financial crash of October 1929. The ensuing Depression not only took clientele away from existing schools but witnessed the foundation in Vancouver of a major new boys' school on the British model--the last of the province's "great" schools. The shift toward Canadianization of clientele evident by the late 1920s accelerated. Both at the older schools and at newly created St. George's, the balance shifted decisively away from British settler families to successful Canadian businessmen and professionals.

I

The economic collapse of 1929 took some time to filter down to private education. As estimated in Table 45, total enrollment in British Columbia's non-Catholic boys' schools, which had peaked at almost 1,300 in 1929-30, remained over a thousand through 1931-32. Indeed, in 1930 and 1931, Shawnigan Lake School and Brentwood College separately made plans to open

Table 45
ESTIMATED ENROLLMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Academic year beginning:	Estimated total enrollment, grades 3-12	Estimated enrollment in boys' schools	Enrollment in boys' schools compared with total enrollment
1930	46,200	1,155	2.5%
1931	48,025	1,015	2.1%
1932	48,900	800	1.6%
1933	48,900	650	1.3%
1934	49,550	600	1.2%
1935	48,975	575	1.2%
1936	49,350	700	1.4%
1937	49,675	840	1.7%
1938	50,625	840	1.7%
1939	50,900	840	1.7%
1940	49,850	925	1.9%
1941	48,950	1,025	2.1%
1942	47,250	900	1.9%
1943	48,400	850	1.8%
1944	50,825	850	1.7%
1945	52,675	980	1.9%
1946	55,425	970	1.8%
1947	59,000	960	1.6%
1948	61,075	900	1.5%
1949	64,500	840	1.3%

their own preparatory schools for younger boys, which were aborted only when Shawnigan's numbers fell from over 200 to just 80 by 1932, Brentwood's from 100 to less than 30.[1] Other schools experienced similar declines. The total at St. Michael's Preparatory School dropped from about 75 to 40, at Kingsley from 75 to 35, and at the Vernon Preparatory School from 50 to between 30 and 35. Estimated total enrollment in the province's

[1] SLS, Report, 1929; Times, Feb. 1, 1930; Colonist, June 21, 1931; and BCM, 1931, pp. 3 and 30.

boys' schools fell to just under 600 boys by 1935-36.

Loss of clientele most severely affected the major incorporated schools with their fixed costs in salaries and mortgage repayment. The case of Brentwood is indicative. The year 1931-32 was the turning point. Not only, as indicated in Table 46, did annual profit turn to loss but the school was forced to secure a new headmaster, as a consequence of Hope's retirement at the expiry of his seven-year contract. Chosen was Martin Ellis, an Anglican parson's son educated at the established "public" school of Shrewsbury and at Oxford who had taught three years in London's prestigious Westminster School before emigrating to farm in Alberta.[1] On moving to the coast in 1926, Ellis had made contact with Lonsdale, a Westminster old boy, who hired him at Shawnigan, whence he came to the attention of the Brentwood governors.

The necessity for Ellis to establish his credibility at Brentwood in the midst of financial uncertainty was at first mitigated by a monetary surplus built up under Hope: annual deficits could therefore be absorbed without sacrificing staff essential to maintain the illusion of a successful, dynamic school. Whereas enrollment and fees fell by two-thirds between 1929-30 and 1932-33, the amount expended on masters' salaries only declined by half. Eventually, however, the property had to be remortgaged to various governors in exchange for much needed cash.

Even the handful of pupils enticed to Brentwood were not

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[1] SLS, Report, 1928, and interview, July 9, 1980.

Table 46
FINANCIAL CONDITION OF BRENTWOOD COLLEGE, 1928-1938

Academic year beginning:	Pupil enrollment	Profit or loss (+ / -)	Fees	Masters' salaries
1928	100	+$5,671	$76,575	$21,065
1929	100	+$8,847	$77,966	$18,017
1930	80	+$3,225	$63,415	$18,950
1931	60	- $74	$48,212	$15,204
1932	30	-$8,729	$25,896	$10,450
1933	25-30	-$6,015	$14,904	$6,017
1934	25-30	-$4,853	$14,410	$5,917
1935	30	-$4,960	$20,140	$7,688
1936	n.a.	-$3,388	$23,650	$6,880
1937	80	- $596	$29,737	$7,780

SOURCE:
Brentwood College, Financial Report, 1928-38, filed with Registrar of Companies.

without their financial problems. An ad in the Colonist in August 1933 offered "reduced fees," clearly necessary if the school was to maintain sufficient numbers for classes and team games.[1] Many parents so enticed were in fact unable to afford the school: by June 1935 unpaid fees totalled $6,000, of which more than $5,000 was over a year in arrears. In the next year only $145 of this amount was obtained, and Brentwood's auditor noted glumly, "The balance appears to be extremely doubtful of collection." The $185 garnered in 1936-37 and the mere $111 the following year were more than offset by new delinquencies. As the auditor noted in June 1938, it made little sense to pursue debtors when half the sum obtained the last year had gone on

[1] Province, Aug. 5, 1933.

legal fees. Only in 1939 was the school again "practically full," at which point the company was reorganized to reflect its current financial condition.[1]

The other two large incorporated schools, Shawnigan and University, also suffered. Shawnigan's popularity in the late 1920s had prompted Lonsdale to construct a large new dormitory which then stood empty even as its costs demanded repayment. At the same time he recognized that it was "more necessary than ever for us to appear prosperous, and I should not like to suggest any apparent curtailing of upkeep."[2]

University School was still afflicted with the administrative disarray which had characterized much of the 1920s. Control now lay with the Rev. Bolton's son who held almost all of the company's stock and the title of Managing Director.[3] In January 1930, the current headmaster, an Oxford man recruited from a boys' school in Shanghai, was abruptly replaced by the mathematics master. J. Ian Simpson, a Scottish schoolmaster's son with a degree from the University of Glasgow, had immigrated to Alberta after the war to recover his health.[4] Soon, like Ellis, disenchanted by farming, Simpson took a teacher training course and taught at a prairie public school before answering a newspaper ad for a position at University School. Despite Simpson's credentials, Bolton was unwilling to

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[1] Brentwood College, "Notice of Voluntary Liquidation, Feb. 1939," filed with Registrar of Companies.
[2] SLS, Report, 1930.
[3] US, List of Directors and Shareholders, filed annually with Registrar of Companies.
[4] Colonist, July 18, 1969.

delegate administrative authority, demanding, for instance, that boys' illnesses be reported to him before the headmaster.[1]

Even this ambivalent sharing of control did not long endure. In January 1931 young Bolton abruptly sold his interest in University School to two Ontarians who had built up a successful chain of business schools in British Columbia advertised as "a blend of Eastern Canadian conservatism with the western eagerness for new trends and better techniques."[2] The owners of Sprott-Shaw Schools began actively to manage University School, and in a little more than a year Simpson found himself fired by telegram while on a recruiting trip in Alberta. His predecessor became his replacement.

The consequence was the formation of a new competing school and the near demise of University itself. With the encouragement of unhappy parents, Simpson rented a house and in September 1932 opened Glenlyon Preparatory School, named after his home district in Scotland.[3] Thirteen boys enrolled, including what Simpson later termed "a couple of decoys," pupils of good background whose parents could not afford the fees but whose names could be used when prospective families asked who would be attending the new school. The future of Glenlyon was assured in 1935 when Simpson and his bride, an executive secretary legendary for her hard work and business acumen,

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[1] Letter of appointment, printed in Heritage 2 (1980), p. 36.
[2] Sun, Sept. 3, 1935, and Province, Sept. 3, 1938. Also see Scholefield and Howay, v. 3, pp. 321-22, and WWBC, 1942/43, p. 36.
[3] Times, Nov. 20, 1975; Colonist, Oct. 2, 1977; interviews, May 5, 1980; and Glenlyon Preparatory School, Scrapbooks of clippings at school.

purchased the Oak Bay waterfront home of the architect Rattenbury, who had withdrawn to England.[1] Glenlyon thereafter admitted some 50 to 70 boys, including two dozen boarders, to be educated in "character, leadership, and physique."

University's diminishing credibility culminated in forced bankruptcy in December 1934 by which time enrollments stood at just 19 boys.[2] That permanent closure did not result was due to the dedication of two longtime masters, R.C. Wenman, an old boy who remained at small salary, and G.H. Scarrett, a prewar British immigrant who took on the unenviable job of headmaster.[3] Scarrett had studied at Queen's University and taught briefly at Collegiate School before coming to University in 1920. University School was re-organized into a non-profit society with a board of governors consisting of old boys, members of pioneer Victoria families, and self-made Ontarians.[4] Scarrett, a demanding and unyielding taskmaster pushed up enrollments by 1937-38 to 80 boys, and soon the school was once again proclaiming its aim to be "the education of boys in accordance with the best traditions of the British public school."

British Columbia's private-venture schools, premised on intimacy rather than grandeur, could more easily maintain their programs with reduced numbers. They were, in the Rev. Mackie's

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[1] See Terry Reksten, Rattenbury (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1978).
[2] US, Notice of Bankruptcy, Jan. 5, 1935, filed with Registrar of Companies; and Colonist, June 28, 1935.
[3] On Wenman, see Times, June 8, 1971, and Nov. 21, 1971; on Scarrett, Colonist, July 30, 1948.
[4] US, List of Directors and Shareholders, and Province, Aug. 3, 1940.

words, "self-contained and self-supporting" without "debts or interest or debentures to meet."[1] Only Kingsley was affected by administrative disruption, its survival due to the tenacity of a single woman. In the mid-1920s Scriven had married an English widow previously a matron at Vernon and Kingsley.[2] With his subsequent illness and then death in 1932, Mrs. Scriven took over the school's management assisted by Bernard Round as headmaster. An Englishman educated at the University of Birmingham, Round had taught with Scriven both at North Vancouver High School and at Kingsley before being lured away by Brentwood on its formation in 1923. The demise of the projected Brentwood Preparatory School, of which Round would have been headmaster, probably influenced his decision to return to Kingsley.

Certainly, all the schools had to scramble for clientele. At Kingsley each new application was "a big thing." If the prospective pupil were from the area, Mrs. Scriven and Round would immediately jump into her car and drive around to welcome the family into the school before they had an opportunity to change their mind.[3] One summer Round even cruised the Sechelt peninsula in the yacht of a wealthy parent hoping to turn up a pupil or two in a remote inlet. Symons, who for two decades had determinedly not promoted St. Michael's, temporarily forsook his principles in 1934: "For the only time in our history we did some rather extensive advertising in Vancouver, Edmonton,

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[1] VPSM, Easter 1931, p. 1.
[2] Interview, June 16, 1980.
[3] Interviews, June 16 and 18, 1980.

Calgary, as well as our own papers. I cannot remember it produced one result."[1] Most schools continued to rely on "word of mouth" among socio-economic groups already familiar with private education. As one headmaster phrased it, Victoria's Union Club and the Vancouver Club were "still where the best people meet." Public advertising might by comparison bring the "wrong kind of boy."[2] All of the British Columbia schools probably carried on from term to term much as did Shawnigan. According to a staff member, once the fees such as they were had been collected, outstanding bills were gathered together and the minimum amount judged necessary to keep each creditor from the door for another few months paid out.

II

The economic difficulties experienced by British Columbia's boys' schools were exacerbated by the appearance of new institutions in Victoria, central Vancouver Island and Vancouver. Glenlyon drew clientele both from University and from such established Oak Bay preparatory schools as Malvern House, Cranleigh House and St. Michael's. When Glenlyon moved into its waterfront setting in 1935, the physical contrast with a school like St. Michael's became patent. What may have been an admirable philosophy in the buoyant 1920s--"the actual school buildings are nothing: character and conduct are everything"--

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[1] Symons, p. 111.
[2] Interviews, July 9 and May 31, 1980.

became a liability a decade later as Glenlyon began to be extolled in the press for such amenities as "the most up-to-date equipment in the way of lockers, hot and cold showers, lavatory accommodations."[1] By 1936 Glenlyon's enrollment reached 52 boys, while St. Michael's stood at only 41. Significantly, in the second half of the 1930s Glenlyon was invited to play cricket against Shawnigan, Brentwood, the Duncan Grammar School and even Malvern House but not St. Michael's.

The impact on existing schools of a second new institution, Qualicum Beach School, was less severe, for it was established in an area not yet directly served by private boys' education. Located on a bay 30 miles north of Nanaimo, Qualicum was founded in 1935 by a former science master at Shawnigan with the financial assistance of relatives in Britain. Robert Ivan Knight, son of an educational administrator in India and grandson of the founder of the Calcutta Statesman newspaper, had been educated at the innovative "public" school of Oundle and at Cambridge.[2] Deterred from a research career by poor eyesight, Knight emigrated to Vancouver Island in 1925 to help a relative run a chicken farm, whence he had been recruited by Lonsdale. "Conducted along English lines," Qualicum Beach School was patterned on "the spirit and ideals of that great educational prophet, the late F.W. Sanderson of Oundle School, England."[3] Knight considered "the foundation of good character" to be the

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[1] Colonist, May 31, 1925; Aug. 29, 1937; and March 31, 1957.
[2] WWBC, 1949/50, pp. 104-05; and interviews, July 2 and 23-25, 1980.
[3] School Supplement," Sun, Aug. 3, 1935.

"Seven 'C's'": "Christianity, classics, cricket, cadet corps, cold baths, courtesy, and corporal punishment."[1]

Qualicum's effect was as much to uphold the image of private education on the British model as still viable despite the Depression as it was to take away pupils from existing schools. Admission applications indicate, as summed up in Table 47, that over 70 percent of early pupils were from central or northern Vancouver Island. Qualicum drew its clientele primarily from area families probably reconciled to a public education for their sons but persuaded otherwise by the appearance of an accessible private alternative.

By comparison, the consequence of the foundation of Vancouver's St. George's was traumatic. Not only was clientele attracted from existing schools, but the circumstances of its creation made clear that the principal clientele group promoting private boys' education on the British model was no longer British but Canadian. The school began in January 1931 in an entrepreneurial fashion similar to so many other small schools that had from time to time sprung up in the city. Indeed, just the previous autumn, the proprietor of the Ganges Preparatory School, G.B. Benson, had moved to the upper-middle-class residential district of Kerrisdale and opened Trinity House, probably named after his old university of Trinity College, Dublin.

The founder of St. George's Preparatory School was a

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[1] Parksville-Qualicum Beach Progress, April 7, 1976, and Colonist, Jan. 12, 1969.

Table 47
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS APPLYING FOR ADMISSION TO QUALICUM BEACH SCHOOL, 1935-1950

	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1935-50
CENTRAL AND NORTHERN VANCOUVER ISLAND	37 (.71)	34 (.52)	71 (.61)	142 (.61)
North central Vancouver Island	32 (.62)	28 (.43)	61 (.52)	121 (.52)
Northern Vancouver Island	5 (.10)	6 (.09)	10 (.09)	21 (.09)
GREATER VICTORIA	6 (.12)	7 (.11)	6 (.05)	19 (.08)
GREATER VANCOUVER	3 (.06)	10 (.15)	17 (.15)	30 (.13)
OTHER BRITSH COLUMBIA	0	4 (.06)	9 (.08)	13 (.06)
OTHER CANADA	4 (.08)	2 (.03)	4 (.03)	10 (.04)
UNITED STATES	0	1 (.02)	10 (.09)	11 (.05)
OTHER	2 (.04)	7 (.11)	0	9 (.04)
TOTAL	52	65	117	234

SOURCE:
Qualicum Beach School, Admission applications in possession of Robert I. Knight. Other evidence makes clear that virtually all applicants were accepted and almost all attended.

flamboyant English promoter, F.J. Danby-Hunter, who had earlier run a girls' school in Mandalay.[1] St. George's he located in a private house in suburban Point Grey near a flourishing Catholic girls' school, the Convent of the Sacred Heart. "Maintained on the lines of a British Preparatory School, but adapted to Western requirements," St. George's promised to prepare boys from about age six not only for provincial high-school entrance examinations but "for the Royal Navy, the English Public

[1] The history of St. George's School is lovingly recorded in Harker, Saints.
[2] SGSM, 1931, p. v.

Schools, and private schools in the Dominion if desired."[2]

At first everything went in Danby-Hunter's favour. His personal charm was immense, and an initial enrollment of 26 boys more than doubled by the following September as parents rushed to remove offspring from other private schools. However, the realities of Vancouver life soon began to intrude on Danby-Hunter's fashionable little fief. Wealthy parents demanded greater amenities than he could with his own resources provide, and he was loathe to give up his independence through accepting proferred funds or administrative assistance. Vancouver's business and professional families were ready for a "great" school, and they became determined not to let this new opportunity slip through their fingers.[1] Twice before, during booms occurring at twenty-year intervals, attempts had been made to create a major school befitting a major commercial metropolis; but Whetham College, founded in 1890, and Western Residential Schools, begun in 1912, had each flitted away in the next recession for lack of adequately committed clientele.

By the late 1920s Vancouver had come of age. The city was still economically dynamic. Its 1931 white population of 230,000 had during the past decade grown by almost half whereas that of the province only increased by a third. More importantly, the ambitious young men come to a frontier community in search of their fortune were reaching the fullness of life. Not unlike their earlier counterparts who had prospered during the Industrial Revolution, many such

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[1] See SGSM, 1958, p. 11.

individuals found themselves highly desirous of transforming material wealth into secure social status for their offspring. For a good twenty years, private boys' schools on the British model had existed in British Columbia, confidently training for leadership. To many in Vancouver they must have provided convincing proof, as possibly also did their own private education, where lay the best method of ensuring sons' genteel status.

Danby-Hunter's ambition proved his undoing. He finally permitted parents to buy into his joint-stock company although still refusing offers of administrative assistance. While deflecting maternal concerns through his "extraordinary charm over women, especially young and wealthy mothers," he could not prevent unhappy fathers from organizing his ouster as soon as a suitable replacement was found.[1] In March 1933 a letter signed by five parents announced that "Captain F.J. Danby-Hunter has resigned his position as Headmaster, to return to England," "the present Bursar and Director will become Headmaster," and "we the undersigned have accepted the position of governors of St. George's School." Of the school's 75 pupils, only 15 "left suddenly and silently at short notice." St. George's had become the creature of the city's power structure.

The five men engineering the coup were soon joined by another eleven as governors or shareholders.[2] These sixteen individuals were distinguished by certain key characteristics.

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[1] The Dragon (St. George' Old Boys' Association magazine) 7 (1978), n.p.; Harker, Saints, pp. 25-26; and SGSM, 1952, p. 41.
[2] Harker, Saints, pp. 24-25 and 43-44.

First, they stood at the very centre of the city's socio-economic mainstream and, to a considerable extent, also that of the province. The five men behind the coup were James P. Fell, longtime major real-estate developer; A.E. Jukes, president of the Vancouver Stock Exchange; E.T. Rogers, president of the large B.C. Sugar Company; Reginald H. Tupper, leading lawyer and grandson of a Canadian prime minister; and W.C. Woodward, member of the department store family.[1] The other eleven men were the Anglican archbishop, a former member of parliament also Chief Justice of the B.C. Supreme Court, another former parliamentarian, a provincial cabinet minister, the head of pediatrics at Vancouver General Hospital, the superintendent of the Bank of Montreal in British Columbia, the president of the B.C. Telephone Company, a member of the Spencer department store family, a leading mining entrepreneur, a city financier, and a major wholesaler.[2]

Secondly, these sixteen men shared a common background which was Canadian rather than British. A dozen came from eastern Canada, eight of them from Ontario. Two had been born in British Columbia, but neither was from the province's traditional support group for private education. Of the two who were British born, one had come to British Columbia as a child.

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[1] On Fell, see Province, Jan. 9, 1960; on Jukes, Province, Dec. 30, 1954; on Rogers, Mary Isabella Rogers, B.C. Sugar (Vancouver: n.p., 1958); on Tupper, Sun , Oct. 16, 1972; and on Woodward, Harker, The Woodwards, and S.W. Jackman, The Men at Cary Castle (Victoria: Morriss, 1972), pp. 149-54.

[2] The Most Rev. A.E. De Pencier, Hon. Chief Justice Auley Morrison, Brig.-Gen. J.A. Clarke, Hon. Royal L. Maitland, Dr. C.F. Covernton, Copley W. Chesterton, Gordon Farrell, Victor Spencer, David Sloan, J.W. MacDougall, and Bryce Fleck.

Thirdly, the men behind St. George's belonged to a public as much as to a private or higher educational tradition. At least half had attended their local public school, generally in Ontario. Four had some private education in British Columbia, another had been sent to St. Andrew's in Ontario. J.P. Fell, raised in Britain, had attended a "public" school. Only the five professionals appear to have remained in school beyond the secondary level.

All the same, fourthly, a significant degree of commitment to private education already existed among these men so far as their own sons were concerned. Of the thirteen with school-age sons, six had already sent older offspring to Shawnigan or Brentwood while younger sons had been attending St. George's since its inception. Twelve of the thirteen backers with male offspring of suitable age would at some time in the 1930s enroll them in a boarding school on Vancouver Island or in the interior as well as at St. George's.

The typical promoter of St. George's was, then, born in eastern Canada and very possibly educated at his local school. Coming to Vancouver as a young man, he had risen in his business or profession largely through his own energy and determination. By the late 1920s he was so well placed that the onset of depression, instead of causing irrevocable personal disruption, strengthened an existing desire to consolidate socio-economic status through the provision of a suitably class-based education for his offspring. This St. George's, firmly under the control of likeminded men and now headed by an outstanding British

headmaster of impeccable credentials, would provide.

The individual installed at St. George's in 1933 was John Harker, son of a well-to-do London financier. Educated at prestigious Rugby, Harker had seen his plans to enter Oxford aborted by the war, after which he became a company representative in the Orient.[1] Transfer back to a less exciting England precipitated his decision in 1928 to join a speculative venture in Vancouver. On its collapse in 1932, Harker was about to withdraw his two stepsons from St. George's when approached by anxious parents familiar with his business acumen. As one of these men later wrote, "Johnny's introduction to the School was in the guise--or disguise--of the hard businessmen, who must turn the misery of deficit into profitable joy."[2] Danby-Hunter not only accepted the arrangement by which Harker became bursar but was soon persuaded also to hire his younger brother. Douglas Harker, educated at the "public" school of Cheltenham, was teaching at an English preparatory school and so seemed an ideal addition to the staff. Thus had been laid the groundwork for the coup.

The genius of the Harker brothers lay in their ability to give the school's Canadian backers precisely what they wanted, in effect, a socially prestigious day school modelled on the British "public" boarding school. As demonstrated by Table 48 based on the school's admission records, two-thirds to three-quarters of pupils in the 1930s were day boys. Eighty-five to

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[1] Dragon 2 (1975), n.p.
[2] Reginald Tupper in SGSM, 1958, p. 11.

Table 48
BOARDING PUPILS ENROLLING AT ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL, 1931-1950

	1931-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1931-50
BOARDERS	63 (.33)	48 (.24)	163 (.57)	160 (.56)	434 (.45)
Full	54 (.29)	39 (.20)	124 (.44)	123 (.43)	340 (.35)
Weekly	9 (.05)	9 (.05)	39 (.14)	37 (.13)	94 (.10)
DAY BOYS	126 (.67)	151 (.76)	122 (.43)	125 (.44)	524 (.55)
TOTAL	189	199	285	285	958

SOURCE:
St. George's School, Admission cards, 1931-50, at the school.

90 percent were, as indicated in Table 49, from Greater Vancouver. The Harkers never lost from sight the fundamental reality that they were educating not the offspring of genteel British settler families but "the Canadian boy," as clientele were termed in the 1938 school magazine.[1]

The Harkers' commitment to the superiority of British class-based education and, indeed, to all things British was absolute: leaving on a holiday in 1935, John termed himself "bound for England, Home and Beauty."[2] Just as St. Michael's had been patterned on Dulwich, Shawnigan on Westminster and Qualicum on Oundle, so St. George's looked to Rugby. As the elder Harker phrased it, "When I took over here, I automatically tried in a modest way to inculcate something of the fundamental quality of Rugby into St. George's." Like his fellow headmasters in

[1] SGSM, 1938, p. 35; also 1961, p. 10.
[2] SGSM, 1935, p. 12; 1948, p. 30; 1934, p. 6; 1935, p. 21; and 1955, p. 12.

Table 49
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL, 1931-1950

	1931-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1931-50
GREATER VANCOUVER	168 (.89)	166 (.83)	180 (.63)	201 (.71)	715 (.75)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	16 (.08)	20 (.10)	51 (.18)	53 (.19)	140 (.15)
OTHER CANADA	3 (.02)	2 (.01)	9 (.03)	9 (.03)	23 (.02)
UNITED STATES	2 (.01)	0	10 (.04)	21 (.07)	33 (.03)
Other	0	11 (.06)	35 (.12)	1 (neg)	47 (.05)
TOTAL	189	199	285	285	958

British Columbia, Harker believed firmly that "the biggest function of education is the building and development of character" with "the academic element subservient to this." Returning from his 1935 trip to England with "new School Blazers and Rugger Shorts," Harker observed: "Though they cost a great deal, we realize that such things have to be, in the building of our School, and that we have in more senses than one, out-grown and out-worn the local products we have been wearing for the last three years." The school's masters shared, moreover, "the common denominator of the English Public School," and often experience at another boys' school in the province, from which they were recruited by the more successful Vancouver school.

All the same the Harkers realized that parents would tolerate only as many advantages of a British "public" school as were compatible with stringent business conditions in the harsh 1930s. Organized activities were limited to the hours when day

boys--known euphemistically as "Day Boarders" if they ate meals at the school--were in attendance. While boarding remained theoretically preferable, "particularly for boys who get as much freedom as the Canadian," it became at St. George's more a question of practical necessity: as indicated by Table 50, only 10 to 25 percent of pupils from Greater Vancouver, who formed the heart of the school, were boarders in the 1930s and many of these remained only during the week.[1]

There is some suggestion that concern with day boys may have resulted in less attention being given the school's few boarders than at schools like Vernon and Shawnigan. A story in the 1936 school magazine related how over the weekend the five junior boarders "mooch around the place, bullied by the Duty Master for jumping on the ping-pong balls, cursed by the Matron for running over the beds." Their care was as much an extra burden as an integral component of school life. An article on the matron from 1932 to 1956 told how she "could be seen on winter evenings in the Matron's Room playing snakes and ladders and Chinese checkers with small, rather home-sick boarders, chain-smoking and listening to the radio at the same time."

Among other accommodations were St. George's religious orientation and attitude toward educational change. While a majority of pupils were Anglican, not unexpectedly in view of the high socio-economic status of its backers, themselves principally Anglican, the school was officially "inter-denominational." The Harkers believed, as Douglas phrased it,

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[1] Ibid, 1938, p. 35; 1936, pp. 29-30; and 1972, p. 112.

Table 50
BOARDING PUPILS FROM GREATER VANCOUVER ENROLLING AT ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL, 1931-1950

	1931-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1931-50
BOARDERS	42 (.25)	15 (.09)	58 (.32)	76 (.38)	191 (.27)
Full	33 (.20)	6 (.04)	21 (.12)	41 (.20)	101 (.14)
Weekly	9 (.05)	9 (.05)	37 (.21)	35 (.17)	90 (.13)
DAY BOYS	126 (.75)	151 (.91)	122 (.68)	125 (.62)	524 (.73)
TOTAL	168	166	180	201	715

"in the virtue of every faith that is observed sincerely."[1] St. George's drew a larger proportion of pupils from other denominations than did the boys' schools for which data is available. As indicated by Table 51, 38 percent were non-Anglican compared with 13 to 29 percent at Vernon, Shawnigan, Kingsley and Qualicum. Almost 30 percent of its non-Anglicans were Catholic. Indeed, St. George's made a special effort to encourage Catholic clientele through provision of a small chapel and employment of a master educated at the leading British Catholic "public" school of Downside to oversee their religious education.[2]

"Modern educational research," to quote a 1937 article on St. George's, was not rejected out of hand as in most other boys' schools.[3] While teaching in England, Douglas Harker had become enamoured with the Dalton Plan, in which pupils received weekly assignments in each subject to be completed at their own

[1] Province, Aug. 19, 1939.
[2] SGSM, 1938, p. 10, and 1939, p. 26; and Dragon 5 (1977), n.p.
[3] Province, Aug. 3, 1937, and SGSM, 1934, p. 40.

pace with masters consulted on an individual basis. This method, popular also in some British Columbia public schools of the day, was partially implemented at St. George's.

Table 51
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLED AT FIVE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS'S SCHOOLS, 1930-1950

	Vernon 1930-46		Shawnigan 1930-50		Kingsley 1932-46		Qualicum 1935-50		StGeorges 1931-50	
Anglican	130	(.87)	62	(.73)	180	(.80)	152	(.71)	535	(.62)
Evangelical Protestant	14	(.09)	19	(.22)	26	(.12)	47	(.22)	228	(.27)
Catholic	2	(.01)	2	(.02)	7	(.03)	6	(.03)	66	(.08)
Other	3	(.02)	2	(.02)	11	(.05)	9	(.04)	29	(.03)
Unknown	57		195		51		0		20	
TOTAL	206		280		275		214		878	

SOURCE:
Kingsley data from Kingsley School, Register, 1932-46, in North Shore Archives.

St. George's offered Vancouver families value for money--what one early pupil has termed "rugby and social pretension."[1] Facilitites were steadily expanded through purchase of adjoining private houses. By the autumn of 1935, while other schools were still pondering survival, St. George's attracted over a hundred pupils at the primary and secondary levels. As indicated by Table 52, almost half those enrolling 1931-35 and over a quarter 1935-40 came from another private school.

Smaller boys' schools in Greater Vancouver were soon closing their doors. Methodist co-educational Columbian College

[1] Interview, Oct. 18, 1979.

Table 52
PREVIOUS EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL, 1931-1950

	1931-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1931-50
Public school only	77 (.42)	89 (.49)	160 (.70)	155 (.60)	481 (.56)
Private school or private and public school	76 (.41)	50 (.27)	66 (.29)	99 (.38)	291 (.34)
None or kindergarten only	31 (.17)	44 (.24)	4 (.02)	4 (.02)	83 (.10)
Unknown	3	5	10	5	23
TOTAL	187	188	240	263	878

in New Westminster, which had limped along since its exclusion from the provincial university system, folded in 1932.[1] By 1933 Dorchester House, Shaughnessy College School and the Vancouver Grammar School had disappeared. The Vancouver Preparatory School, while closing in 1935, was effectively refashioned by its last headmaster, an Englishman named J.J. Irvine, as Lion's Gate School. Lion's Gate apparently survived because it functioned as a cheap compromise for families eschewing the public system but unable to afford the fees of a more reputable school like St. George's. In 1938 Trinity House closed.

Only the three North Vancouver schools--Kingsley, North Shore College, and Chesterfield--held out, in part because they retained much of their North Shore clientele. Table 53, based

[1] Information on schools derived primarily from newspaper ads and B.C. Directories.

on Kingsley's admission register, indicates that almost a third of the pupils enrolled in the 1930s came from North or West Vancouver. Even then, as the headmaster of North Shore College has recalled, "We didn't feel any competition until St. George's which had the backing of the Woodward family--what we did feel was St. George's!!"[1]

Table 53
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT KINGSLEY SCHOOL, 1932-1946

	1932-35	1935-40	1940-46	1932-46
GREATER VANCOUVER	33 (.58)	56 (.64)	109 (.66)	198 (.64)
North and West Vancouver	17 (.30)	25 (.29)	33 (.20)	75 (.24)
Vancouver	14 (.25)	31 (.36)	75 (.45)	120 (.39)
Other	2 (.04)	0	1 (.01)	3 (.01)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	18 (.32)	21 (.24)	31 (.19)	70 (.23)
Fraser Valley	6 (.11)	4 (.05)	12 (.07)	22 (.07)
Vancouver Island	4 (.07)	4 (.05)	9 (.05)	17 (.05)
Other	8 (.14)	13 (.15)	10 (.06)	31 (.10)
OTHER CANADA	3 (.05)	1 (.01)	3 (.02)	7 (.02)
UNITED STATES	3 (.05)	6 (.07)	23 (.14)	32 (.10)
OTHER	0	3 (.03)	0	3 (.01)
TOTAL	57	87	166	310

As indicated by Tables 54-57, boarding schools at a distance were also affected by the new Vancouver school. A Vancouver newspaper article of about 1934 praising local private schools was headed, "Few Pupils Sent to Outside Educational Institutions."[2] The proportion of Vancouver pupils at both

[1] Interview, July 26, 1980.
[2] Undated clipping in St. George's School, Scrapbook, no. 1, at the school.

Table 54
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT UNIVERSITY SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
GREATER VICTORIA	47 (.36)	85 (.52)	88 (.49)	112 (.48)	332 (.47)
CENTRAL VANCOUVER ISLAND	4 (.03)	6 (.04)	8 (.04)	9 (.04)	27 (.04)
GREATER VANCOUVER	35 (.27)	29 (.18)	16 (.09)	28 (.12)	108 (.15)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	8 (.06)	6 (.04)	16 (.09)	18 (.08)	48 (.07)
OTHER CANADA	23 (.18)	17 (.10)	17 (.09)	18 (.08)	75 (.11)
UNITED STATES	11 (.09)	9 (.06)	25 (.14)	35 (.15)	80 (.11)
ASIA	0	6 (.04)	8 (.04)	5 (.02)	19 (.03)
OTHER	1 (.01)	4 (.02)	3 (.02)	7 (.03)	15 (.02)
Unknown	2	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	131	162	181	232	706

University and Shawnigan fell steadily over the 1930s. University's survival was due to acquisition of local boys, a shift reflecting the school's administrative stability after mid-decade. Shawnigan turned, by contrast, to pupils from the United States, who by the second half of the 1930s composed 40 percent of clientele compared with just 10 percent a decade previous. As a consequence, although the proportion of Vancouver boys fell at Shawnigan, they still composed the biggest group of Canadian boys.

Of the schools for which data is available, only Vernon was unscathed by the ascendency of St. George's, perhaps because it uniquely provided younger boys with a secure boarding environment in a healthy climate. Vancouver pupils composed

half Vernon's enrollment through the 1930s. However, Vernon, like Shawnigan, lost local pupils through the effect of the Depression on agriculture: that proportion, who would have been primarily offspring of British settler families, halved at each school.

Table 55
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1930-1946

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-46	1930-46
OKANAGAN	14 (.25)	12 (.16)	22 (.21)	48 (.21)
Vernon area	5 (.09)	5 (.07)	2 (.02)	12 (.05)
Other	9 (.16)	7 (.10)	20 (.19)	36 (.15)
GREATER VANCOUVER	27 (.49)	39 (.53)	38 (.36)	104 (.44)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	10 (.18)	21 (.28)	13 (.12)	44 (.19)
Kootenays and Boundary area	3 (.05)	3 (.04)	2 (.02)	8 (.03)
Other	7 (.13)	18 (.24)	11 (.10)	36 (.15)
OTHER CANADA	4 (.07)	2 (.03)	5 (.05)	11 (.05)
UNITED STATES	0	0	1 (.01)	1 (neg)
OTHER	0	1 (.01)	27 (.25)	28 (.12)
TOTAL	55	74	106	235

The extent to which St. George's took Vancouver boys away from other schools in the 1930s is underlined when the geographic origins of boarders at five British Columbia boys' schools are compared with the residence of the province's white population. By the second half of the 1920s, as was demonstrated in Table 34, the proportion of boarders from Greater Vancouver had virtually reached its proportion of the overall white population. As indicated by Tables 57 and 58, in the first half of the 1930s the proportion actually surpassed

Table 56
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
CENTRAL VANCOUVER ISLAND	9 (.07)	8 (.07)	10 (.08)	19 (.12)	46 (.09)
Cowichan	6 (.05)	7 (.06)	6 (.05)	15 (.09)	34 (.06)
Other	3 (.02)	1 (.01)	4 (.03)	4 (.02)	12 (.02)
GREATER VICTORIA	18 (.14)	16 (.13)	13 (.10)	16 (.10)	63 (.12)
GREATER VANCOUVER	29 (.23)	18 (.15)	11 (.08)	23 (.14)	81 (.15)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	16 (.13)	15 (.13)	13 (.09)	8 (.05)	52 (.10)
OTHER CANADA	12 (.10)	8 (.07)	8 (.06)	10 (.06)	38 (.07)
UNITED STATES	39 (.31)	48 (.40)	43 (.33)	79 (.48)	209 (.39)
OTHER	2 (.02)	7 (.06)	33 (.25)	9 (.05)	51 (.09)
Unknown	0	0	8	2	10
TOTAL	125	120	139	166	550

its geographical cohort. By the mid-1930s, as St. George's expanded, the situation reversed: whereas 45 percent of the province's white population resided in Greater Vancouver, just 40 percent of the boarders at these five schools were from the city.

The institutional shifts in non-Catholic girls' schools occasioned by the Depression were similar to those affecting their counterparts for boys. A new school was founded in Vancouver by seven female teachers "with fervor" whose marital status prohibited employment in the public system. York House was intended, like St. George's, to appeal particularly to Canadian families compared, for instance, with a school like Crofton House which remained impeccably British. Numerous other

Table 57
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF BOARDERS ENROLLING AT FIVE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
GREATER VANCOUVER	99 (.32)	103 (.26)	102 (.20)	68 (.16)	372 (.23)
GREATER VICTORIA	32 (.10)	45 (.12)	44 (.09)	50 (.12)	171 (.11)
OTHER BRITISH COLUMBIA	77 (.25)	124 (.32)	148 (.30)	134 (.31)	483 (.30)
OTHER CANADA	42 (.14)	32 (.08)	35 (.07)	32 (.07)	141 (.09)
UNITED STATES	53 (.17)	63 (.16)	93 (.19)	124 (.29)	333 (.20)
OTHER	3 (.01)	23 (.06)	78 (.16)	21 (.05)	125 (.08)
Unknown	2	0	8	2	12
TOTAL	308	390	508	431	1637

NOTE:
In order to limit the figures to probable boarders, only one quarter from Greater Victoria enrolling at University and one quarter from Greater Vancouver at Kingsley were included. Other schools are Vernon, Shawnigan and Qualicum.

schools came and went. Taunton House and Queen's Hall opened in Vancouver, St. Patricia's in West Vancouver and Naramata School in the Okanagan. Among casualities were Uppingham House in Victoria, St. Michael's in Vernon, Miss Beattie's in Kamloops, Bellevue School in West Vancouver, and a host of Vancouver private ventures, including St. Raphael's, St. Marina, St. Clare's, Sefton College, Vancouver Collegiate and St. Anthony's College. The last, which remained highly successful despite the Depression, was shut in 1939 only because the Anglican order which owned it discovered, on converting to Catholicism, that the Church expected the school's lay staff to

Table 58
GEOGRAPHIC RESIDENCE OF BOARDERS FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA ENROLLING AT FIVE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA WHITE POPULATION, 1931, 1941 AND 1951

	Greater Vancouver		Greater Victoria		Other	
1931 population distribution (633,918)	.48	(301,388)	.09	(57,562)	.43	(274,968)
Residence of boarders, 1930-1935 (204)	.50	(101)	.16	(32)	.35	(71)
1941 population distribution (768,727)	.45	(344,783)	.10	(74,733)	.45	(349,211)
Residence of boarders, 1935-1940 (269)	.40	(107)	.17	(45)	.43	(117)
Residence of boarders, 1940-1945 (286)	.39	(111)	.15	(44)	.46	(131)
1951 population distribution (1,121,911)	.44	(489,670)	.09	(102,438)	.47	(529,803)
Residence of boarders, 1945-1950 (252)	.31	(77)	.20	(50)	.50	(125)

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1931, v. 2, pp. 482-93, 497-98 and 738-41; 1941, v. 2, pp. 498-503, 516-17, 702-03 and 707; and 1951, v. 2, Tables 6 and 39, and v. 10, Tables 20 and 31. Numbers of Asians have been estimated.

be Catholic even though just 7 of its 260 pupils were of that faith.

III

The creation of St. George's by Canadian professionals and businessmen reflected a more general Canadianization of clientele in boys' education in the 1930s. Enrollment data for Vernon and Shawnigan point up the shift. As indicated previously in Tables 13 and 14, through the 1920s the proportion of fathers born in Britain had, albeit diminishing, remained well over half those with known birthplaces. In the 1930s, as demonstrated in Tables 59 and 60, the proportion slipped to about 40 percent.

Table 59
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACES OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1930-1946

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-46	1930-46
BRITAIN	13 (.38)	9 (.24)	14 (.37)	36 (.33)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	6 (.18)	15 (.41)	11 (.29)	32 (.29)
OTHER CANADA	11 (.32)	9 (.24)	9 (.24)	29 (.27)
UNITED STATES	2 (.06)	3 (.08)	1 (.03)	6 (.06)
CONT. EUROPE	2 (.06)	1 (.03)	3 (.08)	6 (.06)
Unknown	21	36	40	97
TOTAL	55	73	78	206

Tables 61 and 62 point up related shifts in parental occupation. At Vernon the proportion of fathers in agriculture declined from a third in 1925-30, demonstrated in Table 16, to just 3 percent a decade later. During the years 1930-35 a third of fathers were in the top professions. By the second half of the decade, as the Depression began to lift, they were

Table 60
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACES OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
BRITAIN	18 (.40)	14 (.44)	15 (.68)	5 (.28)	52 (.44)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	6 (.13)	1 (.03)	1 (.05)	6 (.33)	14 (.12)
OTHER CANADA	20 (.44)	14 (.44)	5 (.23)	3 (.17)	42 (.36)
UNITED STATES	1 (.02)	1 (.03)	1 (.05)	3 (.17)	6 (.05)
CONT. EUROPE	0	2 (.06)	0	1 (.06)	3 (.03)
Unknown	39	33	33	58	163
TOTAL	84	65	55	76	280

superseded by fathers in business, whose proportion doubled to well over 40 percent. The proportion of Shawnigan fathers in agriculture had, as delineated in Table 17, become minimal by the mid-1920s. As at Vernon, the proportion of businessmen fathers declined in the early 1930s but then rose to fully half. Paternal occupations of American pupils at Shawnigan differed little. As demonstrated in Table 63, virtually a third were professionals, half businessmen. A typical Vernon or Shawnigan father of the 1930s was, then, a professional or businessman born in Canada, likely resident in Vancouver.

As in the previous decade, British settlers' sons were especially aware of the different groups patronizing the two schools. A Vernon pupil's division of clientele was typical: "(a) those of well-to-do parents (the Rogers, Belyeas, Cherniavskys, Bell-Irvings, McGeers, Woods (U.B.C.), Angus (U.B.C.) from Vancouver & (b) the rest: not so well-to-do

parents from Vancouver Island, the Fraser Valley, other towns in B.C."[1] There was "no outward rivalry between them; the former had a common interest--Vancouver & its social life, the latter were non-Vancouver, usually poorer, we were the country types."

Table 61
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1930-1946

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-46	1930-46
PROFESSIONS	20 (.38)	21 (.34)	17 (.26)	58 (.32)
Upper	17 (.32)	14 (.23)	11 (.17)	42 (.23)
Lower	3 (.06)	7 (.11)	6 (.09)	16 (.09)
BUSINESS	11 (.21)	27 (.44)	24 (.37)	62 (.34)
Finance	4 (.08)	5 (.08)	9 (.14)	18 (.10)
Company	7 (.13)	22 (.35)	15 (.23)	44 (.24)
SALES AND SERVICE	9 (.17)	4 (.06)	1 (.02)	14 (.08)
Sales	4 (.08)	0	1 (.02)	5 (.03)
Government	4 (.08)	4 (.06)	0	8 (.04)
Clerical	1 (.02)	0	0	1 (.01)
AGRICULTURE	10 (.19)	2 (.03)	11 (.17)	23 (.13)
TRADES	1 (.02)	1 (.02)	1 (.02)	3 (.02)
RETIRED	1 (.02)	1 (.02)	1 (.02)	3 (.02)
TRANSIENT	1 (.02)	6 (.10)	10 (.15)	17 (.09)
TOTAL	53	62	65	180

The three principal motives for choosing private education in the earlier period--tradition, status and necessity--were often intertwined in the 1930s, as in the large Bell-Irving clan.[2] The Vancouver branch was descended from two brothers arrived from Scotland in the 1880s. One became a successful cannery owner, the other a well-known city physician. Both educated their sons privately at such early century schools as

[1] Interview by correspondence, Fall 1979.
[2] Province, Feb. 19, 1931; Colonist, Feb. 20, 1931; and Sun, Dec. 22, 1950, and Jan. 5, 1974.

Table 62
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
PROFESSIONS	18 (.23)	13 (.25)	15 (.33)	11 (.18)	57 (.24)
Upper	9 (.12)	8 (.15)	5 (.11)	5 (.08)	27 (.11)
Lower	9 (.12)	5 (.09)	10 (.22)	6 (.10)	30 (.13)
BUSINESS	22 (.28)	26 (.49)	8 (.17)	18 (.30)	74 (.31)
Finance	11 (.14)	5 (.09)	0	4 (.07)	20 (.08)
Company	11 (.14)	21 (.40)	8 (.17)	14 (.23)	54 (.23)
SALES AND SERVICE	6 (.08)	4 (.08)	8 (.17)	7 (.11)	25 (.11)
Retail	2 (.03)	1 (.02)	4 (.09)	5 (.08)	12 (.05)
Government	3 (.04)	3 (.06)	3 (.07)	1 (.02)	10 (.04)
Clerical	1 (.01)	0	1 (.02)	1 (.02)	3 (.01)
AGRICULTURE	14 (.18)	7 (.13)	7 (.15)	11 (.18)	39 (.16)
TRADES	1 (.01)	0	1 (.02)	3 (.05)	5 (.02)
RETIRED	16 (.21)	3 (.06)	6 (.13)	8 (.13)	33 (.14)
TRANSIENT	1 (.01)	0	1 (.02)	3 (.05)	5 (.02)
TOTAL	78	53	46	61	238

Queen's, St. James' and University. At least three young Bell-Irvings were also sent to the Scottish "public" school of Loretto. By the 1920s these second-generation Bell-Irvings were all prominent Vancouver businessmen and simply followed the parental lead by dispatching their numerous male offspring to Shawnigan or Vernon, in one case also to Loretto.

Third-generation Bell-Irvings were joined in school by their cousins. A daughter of one of the two original brothers had married Ben Sweeney, the Haileybury-educated son of the first Bank of Montreal superintendent in Vancouver.[1] Their son attended Shawnigan in the 1920s. A daughter of the other

[1] Province, Nov. 23, 1940, and Harker, Saints, p. 27. Sweeney taught at St. George's during the 1930s.

Table 63
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF AMERICAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
PROFESSIONS	9 (.32)	9 (.27)	9 (.28)	18 (.31)	45 (.30)
Upper	8 (.29)	6 (.18)	6 (.19)	7 (.12)	27 (.18)
Lower	1 (.04)	3 (.09)	3 (.09)	11 (.19)	18 (.12)
BUSINESS	14 (.50)	19 (.58)	17 (.53)	20 (.34)	70 (.46)
Finance	6 (.21)	7 (.21)	8 (.25)	7 (.12)	28 (.18)
Company	8 (.29)	12 (.36)	9 (.28)	13 (.22)	42 (.28)
SALES AND SERVICE	3 (.11)	2 (.06)	4 (.13)	6 (.10)	15 (.10)
Retail	2 (.07)	1 (.03)	3 (.09)	4 (.07)	10 (.07)
Government	1 (.04)	1 (.03)	1 (.03)	2 (.03)	5 (.03)
Clerical	0	0	0	1 (.02)	1 (.01)
TRADES	0	1 (.03)	1 (.03)	3 (.05)	5 (.03)
RETIRED	2 (.07)	3 (.09)	1 (.03)	11 (.19)	17 (.11)
NOT FOUND (smaller locations)	3	9	6	10	28
TOTAL	31	41	38	68	180

brother married J.W. Manson, a prominent Scottish-born city lawyer, and their only son went to Vernon in the 1930s.[1]

Also present in British Columbia schools were Bell-Irving cousins from the Alberta foothills, descendants of the two brothers' sister who had married the son of a Confederate Army officer escaped to that equally genteel society.[2] In the case of the ranching Kerfoots, necessity also played a role in their decision to educate offspring in boarding school. Second-generation Kerfoots had been sent to Collegiate and University

[1] Province, April 1, 1960.
[2] Big Hill Country: Cochrane and Area (Calgary: Cochrane and Area Historical Society, 1977), pp. 388-92, and interview by correspondence, Sept. 6 and Oct. 20, 1979.

schools early in the century, while the third generation attended Vernon and University from the late 1920s.

A reliance on private education to maintain tradition or status also encompassed British Columbia families with origins in eastern Canada. In the early 1930s alone Shawnigan enrolled at least nine boys whose fathers had attended Toronto's Upper Canada College. Representative were the Nivens and Goldies. The elder Niven, son of an Irish immigrant physician settled in Ontario, had worked as a hardware wholesaler on the prairies before settling in Victoria, where he became active in local polo and shooting circles.[1] Both Niven sons were sent to Shawnigan at about age twelve to remain a half dozen years, one of them becoming head boy. The elder Goldie had worked for the family milling company in Ayr, Ontario, before being enticed west by the prospect of fruit farming. Goldie's only son was sent from their Rainbow Ranch at Okanagan Centre to Vernon for five years and then to Shawnigan.[2]

The force of tradition, status or even necessity in a decision to educate offspring privately was often heightened during the 1930s by antagonisms existing toward state education, some of which reflected changes occurring in the public system. Pupils were being retained longer, in part a consequence of the introduction of vocational courses earlier in the century. Thus schooling had increasingly to be shared with individuals of

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[1] A.H. Young, p. 461, and WWBC, 1937/39, pp. 112-13.
[2] A.H. Young, p. 265; Kelowna Daily Courier, June 26, 1971; and Brian Wilson, K'lakokum (Kelowna: Win Valley Crafters, 1976), pp. 12 and 28.

disparate social backgrounds: in 1931 7 percent of the province's population was "by racial origin" Asian, 18 percent continental European by birth. While families living in Vancouver's exclusive Shaughnessy district did possess a completely academic high school comparable in clientele to a co-educational private school, even they were not immune from unwelcome change.[1] Throughout North America education was becoming "progressive"--less structured with greater attention given the individuality of the child. To many this shift only reflected the growing pervasiveness of things American, exemplified by coloured comics, sloppy accents, and chewing gum.[2]

Antagonism toward public education was especially overt in the Kidd Report of 1932, commissioned by the provincial government to determine areas for reduction of public

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[1] Prince of Wales School, which opened in 1919, was "a purely academic high school, and thus is unique in the Vancouver School System." As a study of the city's high schools published in 1940 continued, "In the community which it serves, the great majority of pupils look forward to a university career. The school, therefore, fills a particular need." See F.A. Waites, First Fifty Years, 1890-1940 (Vancouver: n.p., 1940), p. 116.

[2] The extent to which progressivism actually affected public education in British Columbia is uncertain. For two contradictory assessments, see Robert M. Stamp, "Canadian High Schools in the 1920s and 1930s: The Social Challenge to the Academic Tradition," Historical Papers, 1978 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1979), pp. 76-93; and Jean Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" pp. 91-118 in Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia, ed. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1980). Also see her "Progressive Education and the Depression in British Columbia" (unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Education, UBC, 1978).

expenditure.[3] Its recommendations would have, if implemented, so emasculated the public system as to make private schooling virtually the norm at the secondary level. The five men composing the Kidd comittee were almost certainly biased toward private education: two had already educated sons at St. Michael's, Brentwood and Shawnigan, another two would become governors of St. George's.[1] The Kidd Report argued that "the faith of the people in modern education" had "become distorted and abused, resulting in an expenditure which we cannot possibly continue."[2] Among numerous recommendations to curtail the public system was the limitation of free schooling to the elementary level. As the report put it, not only did conditions of Depression make current levels of assistance prohibitive, but:

> We further question in the interests of many of the pupils themselves, the wisdom of their taking up the study of the more advanced branches of learning when their time might be spent with more ultimate advantage to themselves in acquiring some proficiency in agriculture or some other industrial occupation in which their lives are to be spent. Once the elementary stage of education has been passed the sooner the majority of the students commence to assist in producing the wealth now lying dormant in our natural resources, the better will it be for themselves and the society in which they live . . . . The capacity of society, as it is at present constituted, to absorb aspirants whether qualified or not to the scholastic, professional, executive, and similar occupations is limited.

In other words, once the offspring of individuals already

[3] Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government to Investigate the Finances of British Columbia (Victoria: King's Printer, 1932). See also David C. Jones and Timothy A. Dunn, "'All of Us Common People' and Education in the Depression," Canadian Journal of Education 5, no. 4 (1980), pp. 41-56.

[1] George Kidd, A.H. Douglas, W.L. Macken, R.W. Mayhew, and Austin Taylor.

[2] Report, pp. 33-34.

in positions of high socio-economic status had been accommodated, no room remained--nor need it remain--for "aspirants." True to the British tradition of class-based education, these men believed firmly that a prime function of schooling lay in the maintenance of existing class divisions from generation to generation. Fee-based education, accessible only to families already possessed of economic resources, was preferable. Indeed, a sophisticated system of free public education was a liability due both to its cost, inevitably borne by the wealthy in society, and to its encouragement in the young of ideas above their station consequent on their access to "the more advanced branches of learning."

The dispatch to the Vernon Preparatory School in September 1933 of young Michael McGeer would appear to have been directly linked to the existence of anti-public-education sentiment. His father, Gerald McGeer, epitomized the self-made man.[1] Son of an Irish Catholic immigrant milkman, he had dropped out three months into high school in Vancouver and been apprenticed at an ironworks. By age nineteen Gerry McGeer had decided that the path to power lay for him not in class action through the labour movement, in which he was already active, but in upward mobility via a legal career. Within a decade he had not only achieved his professional goal but been elected to the provincial legislature and married into the province's Spencer department store family of Welsh Evangelical Protestant background. In

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[1] Scholefield and Howay, v. 4, pp. 1124-28; WWBC, 1937/39, pp. 89-90; and Sun, Nov. 23, 1946.

1933 McGeer was in the midst of an election campaign and clearly became convinced that denunciation of public education was politically advantageous. About the same time his only son was enrolling at Vernon, he asked rhetorically at a rally, "Can you imagine me sending my son to a school which propagates Socialism and atheism?" to be met with lusty cheers.[1] By contrast, the private school chosen for his son Gerry McGeer later characterized approvingly as having "maintained the best traditions of English schools for boys."[2]

Certainly, not all fathers of 1930s pupils at Vernon and Shawnigan were Canadian born: Britain was still the paternal birthplace of about 40 percent. Some fathers, like Guy Rothwell and Donald S. Montgomery, were well integrated into the Vancouver upper-middle class. Rothwell, younger son of a British Army officer, had after his education at Wellington been given the choice: "army, clergy or Canada."[3] Dispatched in 1906 to Manitoba to learn farming, he soon gravitated to the more genteel Cowichan. While supposedly selling real estate, Rothwell also lived off his inheritance and in the process managed to marry the daughter of the Speaker of the House, D.M. Eberts, a founding governor of University School. After the war Rothwell became a successful Vancouver stockbroker. Montgomery, son of an Anglican bishop and grandson of Dean Farrar, British popularizer of the "public"-school ethic, was

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[1] F.H. Soward, "British Columbia Goes Liberal," Canadian Forum 159 (Dec. 1933), p. 88.
[2] VPSM, Summer 1935, p. 4.
[3] Interview, Sept. 27, 1979.

educated at St. Paul's School and at Cambridge.[1] Unlike his younger brother, who would make a successful military career in Britain as Field-Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery, Donald escaped from parental expectations to British Columbia in 1908, where he became a well-known Vancouver lawyer and sportsman.

Despite the crippling economic effects of the Depression on agriculture and more particularly on fruit growing, a few rural British families did still send offspring to Vernon and Shawnigan. Such decisions were certainly reinforced by the tenacity with which areas of the Okanagan and Cowichan held onto their British ethnicity. An English visitor to the Okanagan in the mid-1920s had found "retired Indian army people, blissfully happy in the belief that they are heaven-born orchardists, account-books notwithstanding," and "English people who cannot remember that they are not still in England, who never fail to apologize for the climate, the silver, and the lack of servants, and end up asking you to tea next Thursday."[2] A newspaper display of 1937, illustrated with a sketch of riding to hounds and headed "The delights of Rural England at one-tenth the cost" characterized the Coldstream as an area "where Anglo-Saxon settlement is thoroughly predominant and has been for forty years."

Duncan's Chamber of Commerce was especially active in maintaining the Cowichan's British identity. A 1939 article in

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[1] Sun, June 12, 1970; interview, Aug. 1, 1979; and WWBC, 1940/41, p. 169.
[2] H. Glynn-Ward, The Glamour of British Columbia (London: Hutchinson, 1926), p. 214; and Vernon News, 1937, Special Edition, n.p.

an Indian military journal pointed out to British officers about to retire the availability not only of cheap Chinese servants but of "good private schools . . . . comparable to the English public school of the smaller type and costing about the same or less."[1] A brochure intended for families in Britain and across the Empire seeking "a place of settlement where the cost of living is moderate and life is really worth living, on an income which, elsewhere, is cramping" stressed the plentitude of "Private schools (conducted on English lines) for boys and girls."

A description of Shawnigan's 1939 Speech Day attests to the area's continuing British ethos in its reference to "the local visitors, the retired colonels and commanders and Indian Civil Servants, who set the standard of aristocratic Duncan and its neighbourhood, many of them involuntarily a little patronizing in tone so that one could almost hear the unspoken comment, 'This was not quite how we did it at Eton.'"[2] According to the reporter, "these sprigs of Old England" were all "wearing the old school tie as the badge and insignia of their caste."

Representative of rural British families were young Arthur Venables at Vernon and the Anderson brothers at Shawnigan. The Venables had homesteaded in Manitoba in 1885 and a decade later settled on the Aberdeen's Coldstream property. In the interim, as Lady Aberdeen noted approvingly in her diary, they "went home

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[1] Sir Ernest Walker, "Vancouver Island on a Pension," Journal of the United Service Institution of India 69 (1939), pp. 523-24; and The Cowichan District and Duncan (Duncan: Chamber of Commerce, 1940), pp. 3-4.
[2] News-Herald, June 29, 1939.

for their children's education."[1] The Venables' son, sent to the "public" school of Hurstspierpoint, became a federal entomologist in the northern Okanagan and so was probably better able to afford the Mackies than were many other local families. Colin Anderson's two sons were dispatched to Shawnigan immediately on his retirement to the Cowichan in the late 1930s after a career in British woollen manufacture.[2] Certainly influenced by the active promotion still being carried on, the elder Anderson recollected, "I chose this area because of the Shawnigan Lake School for boys, which is run very much like the English school that I attended as a youth." Anderson had gone to Repton and then to Cambridge.

IV

British Columbia headmasters were not unwilling to play on prejudices against public education in their desire to recruit pupils. The Harker brothers, whose school epitomized the general Canadianization of clientele, were in the forefront. They were clearly aware that whereas British settlers were, even before their arrival in the province, committed to class-based schooling Canadian families could be so encouraged. The initiative was undertaken primarily through the Private Schools' Association, of which John Harker became president in May 1937.

During the Depression the organization had become fractious

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[1] Lady Aberdeen, p. 141, and Vernon News, Oct. 27, 1966.
[2] Times, Sept. 29, 1971, and Aug. 28, 1974.

and dispirited, its meetings limited to the two issues of declining enrollments and government regulation. At first falling numbers were blamed on "the unbusinesslike methods of parents not giving notice," but soon members realized they were each others' worst enemies, all recruiting from the same diminishing pool of clientele.[1] Thus, in 1933 they had resolved "that any member of the Association show extreme care in canvassing pupils who may be already at other Private Schools." In 1936 Chinese pupils were even considered, but "it was practically unanimously decided that their admission would be detrimental to the Private Schools owing to the strong feeling here on the colour question."

Members had also become aware during the onerous 1930s that official recognition of private education might be to their advantage, for they were experiencing the brunt of new regulations without corresponding advantages. While government officials were willing to give friendly advice, requests for action on such matters as school inspection and the authority to promote pupils on the same basis as public high schools were ignored. The association unhappily concluded in 1937 that they "seemed unable to obtain recognition from the Department of Education."[2]

The dispirit by members was summed up in the assessment of the head of Lion's Gate "that Boarding Schools were held out as a threat to badly-behaved children, that only 1% of the public

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 2, 1932; April 22, 1933; and May 11, 1935.
[2] Ibid, May 15, 1937.

knew anything of them at all & that the other 99% regarded them as Schools for Anglicizing Canadians, children's lodging-houses, or homes for the troublesome or subnormal."[1] Members agreed that the best method of increasing the overall pool of clientele was to make the public "Private School minded."

The offensive took several forms. Sports' Days and Speech Days, to which each school invited leading personages as well as parents, were to be used to laud private education "not by eulogizing any one School but by supporting our common objective and building up the good name of the Association and its members." Harker "undertook to see what could be done through the Press & the Service Clubs," and was soon counselling the Vancouver Rotary Club against regarding local private schools "as establishments for fostering English snobberies in the children of good Canadians, as lodgings for boarding boys and girls who are in the way at home, or as the last resort for the difficult child."[2]

"Display advertising" in the press was condemned, and member schools agreed to restrict announcements to "one column inch" within an overall display under the heading of the association.[3] At the same time they approved "the development of letters and articles in the Press affecting the work and good name of the Association." In reality, the descriptive "articles" published in these years praising individual schools

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[1] Ibid, May 14, 1938.
[2] SGSM, 1938, pp. 34-35.
[3] PSA, Minutes, May 14, 1938; April 15, 1939; and April 6, 1940.

were planted and paid for by the schools themselves.[4] As one participant queried in preparing such an article: "What would the mothers go for?"

The private-school page which had for some years appeared on each Sunday in August in the Province newspaper, as well as smaller features in other Vancouver and Victoria papers, were changed from a combination of large ads and bland general articles to a vehicle for active promotion of private education in British Columbia. In 1938 John Harker and "a committee of the Private Schools Association of B.C." contributed essays, as did his brother Douglas a year later. The social activities of local schools were given prominence on society pages, such headings as "Prize-Giving Today" and "Dance Tonight" being accompanied by long lists of well-known individuals in attendance who could thereby be considered supporters of private education. Even the names of leading Vancouver parents visiting offspring at Vernon at half term found their way into a column.

The thrust of the offensive lay in convincing Canadian families of the advantages of a private education as a preparation for an upper-middle-class life style in British Columbia, most probably in Vancouver. Articles usually under the byline of one of the Harkers firmly acquitted "the English Public School" of such charges--from the context clearly current in Vancouver--as "hot-bed of snobbery," "temples of games-worship," and "challenge to Canadian democracy."[1] One article

[4] Richard Westmacott to A.D. Muskett, July 17, 19 and Aug. 4, 1936, in Qualicum Beach School, Correspondence, in possession of R.I. Knight.

[1] Province, Aug. 13, 1938; and Aug. 12 and 26, and Sept. 3, 1939.

related a conversation with "a prosperous businessman who had just bought his 15-year-old son a motorcar, but grudges spending a cent on his education." Douglas Harker explained to him the advantages of a private school: "boys are not educated side by side with girls, . . . nor do they rub shoulders with Doukhobors." To the businessman's assertion that such education "'makes sissies of them,'" Harker responded that a private school gave not "merely academic instruction," but "the fullest development of the moral, mental and physical capabilities of each child." In a private school "our football coach must be as carefully chosen and as thoroughly trained as our Greek professor . . . and far more adaptable and understanding." "Many leading firms," in his view, "give the first choice of vacancies to successful athletes."

The Harkers were not unwilling to lay blame for the Depression on public education, denounced as a "system which makes no further demands than a daily concentration on certain academic subjects of questionable utility."[1] "We must afford not only preparation for life, but practice in living. This is the secret of the English public school." Only thus would Canada acquire "men who have been trained in statesmanship, educated to leadership, men of unquestionable utility, politically and morally." The "present ills," according to John Harker, were the result of "having moved away with increasing momentum from those safe and steady fundamentals of the civilized state, religion and home life." "Canada today is in need, as she has

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[1] Ibid, Aug. 26, 1939, and SGSM, 1934, p. 6.

never been before, of leaders." "It is our children who must recover those ideals we have lost," and this they would do only in a school giving primacy not to academic knowledge but to "practice in living."

The effect of the initiative was mixed. The Depression was in any case slowly lifting and enrollments in the province's boys' schools were rising, from under 600 boys to almost 900 by the end of the decade. However, the schools which benefited most were probably those outside of the association, whose advertisements now overwhelmed the private-school pages, and St. George's itself. Ontario institutions such as Trinity College School and Ridley College had no scruples in "displaying" their wares in British Columbia newspapers. North Vancouver's Chesterfield, which had never joined the association, cheerfully described itself as the "Oldest Boarding School for Boys in B.C.: Health, Happiness, Efficiency," while St. Francis, a boys' boarding school founded in 1934 "Amongst Pine Trees on the Seashore" of West Vancouver proclaimed "Individual Tuition--Results Guaranteed."[1] Vancouver's Catholic St. Patrick's School even printed matriculation results. In 1939 the head of Seagram College, an ephemeral West Vancouver school, announced, complete with large photo of himself, that he had "recently returned from England where for some months he has been studying English boarding school methods." The association was soon denouncing "the unfair competition of certain Schools

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[1] Province, Aug. 12 and 26, 1939; Aug. 20, 1938; and Sept. 2, 1939; and PSA, Minutes, April 6, 1940, and April 19, 1941.

in West Vancouver who are accepting pupils at purely nominal rates, and are in other ways bringing discredit on Private Schools generally."

The biggest winner was St. George's, whose recruitment territory of Greater Vancouver composed by the end of the 1930s over a third of a million inhabitants, fully 45 percent of the province's white population. By 1940 enrollments reached 150 pupils whereas no other boys' school had yet acquired a hundred. Resentment against Harker and St. George's may well have underlain a 1939 incident fragmenting the association. A request for information on schools was received by the association's Mainland division from the British Trade Commissioner in Shanghai, already occupied by the Japanese.[1] The next general meeting resolved "that a booklet be prepared embodying facts, fees, and location of all Private Schools in the B.C. Association for distribution to the Orient and other distant points." Thereupon the Island division went ahead and quickly printed its own brochure "without the knowledge or collaboration of the Mainland." Included were not only details of Island schools but a long glorification of that area's peculiar advantages: "throughout Canada it is recognized as the outstanding centre for Private School education."[2]

While Mainland members were incensed, the Island brochure made a critical point. As a consequence of the rise of

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[1] PSA, Minutes, Mainland Branch, March 16, 1939; and, PSA, Minutes, April 13, 1939, and April 6, 1940.

[2] The Private Schools of Victoria and Vancouver Island (Victoria: Vancouver Island Group of the B.C. Private Schools Association, 1940), n.p.

St. George's, only Vancouver Island still contained a sufficiency of schools to give legitimacy either to the association or to the notion of a provincial tradition of private education. As the brochure proclaimed, "There are Boarding Schools and Day Schools . . . . strictly Residential Schools in the country, Schools by the sea, and by the lakes; Schools for Kindergarten only; Pre-preparatory, Preparatory, and Senior Schools." The fourteen Island members included eight boys' schools: University, Brentwood, St. Michael's, Glenlyon and Malvern House in the Victoria area together with Shawnigan, the Duncan Grammar School, and Qualicum further north. Victoria's Cranleigh House and Formby House on Saltspring Island had by this date disappeared. In contrast, only four member boys' schools remained on the Mainland: St. George's, Lion's Gate, North Shore College and Kingsley. Vernon, like Chesterfield, did not belong to the group.

In addition a new Vancouver school existed from September 1940. Athlone was founded by Mrs. B.O.W. Dryvynsyde, whose English husband had until his recent death been a master at St. George's.[1] Finding herself a widow with a small son and no pension, Violet Dryvynsyde set about fulfilling her husband's dream of opening his own school. Beginning with her own son and four other boys in a single kindergarten class, she annually added another year up to grade nine. Initial resentment by the Harkers over her impertinence was for a time replaced by their

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[1] Harker, Saints, pp. 56-57; Province, Oct. 31, 1969; and interviews, Jan. 21 and 29, 1980.

cooptation of Athlone as a feeder school, St. George's eliminating the first three grades.

V

Growing friction among British Columbia's private schools was swept away with a single stroke by the declaration of war in September 1939. For aging heads the war was traumatic, at one and the same time making unbearable demands on limited energies and affording, through the heroism of former pupils, the triumphant vindication of their lives' work. Almost immediately enrollments rose, due both to family disruption and the arrival of British children evacuated from Britain and the Orient. The evacuees, while giving schools a desirable renewed British ethos, created financial difficulties, since official regulations prohibited the export from Britain of funds for their support. Schools accepted evacuees as their duty to Empire, and subsidized through general economies costs not borne by relatives in Canada. By April 1941 "well over 100 Guests" were attending Island schools, unpaid fees exceeding $8,000.[1]

An upsurge of boarders due to family dislocation created ambivalence, for, as Vancouver schools acknowledged, they were frequently "not due to their outstanding merits--but to the housing shortage and to Vancouver being a military centre. We

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[1] PSA, Mainland Branch, Minutes, Oct. 2, 1942, and, PSA, Minutes, April 19, 1941.
[2] PSA, Minutes, May 1, 1943.

are being used as lodging houses in a good many cases."[2] The

Table 64
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1930-1946

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-46	1930-46
APPEARS COMPLETE	48 (.89)	54 (.79)	51 (.70)	153 (.78)
SOME IRREGULARITY	6 (.11)	14 (.21)	22 (.30)	42 (.22)
Mother at head	1 (.02)	6 (.09)	8 (.11)	15 (.08)
Stepfather	1 (.02)	3 (.04)	1 (.01)	5 (.03)
Other	4 (.07)	5 (.07)	13 (.18)	22 (.11)
Status unknown	1	5	5	11
TOTAL	55	73	78	206

Table 65
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	1930-35	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1930-50
APPEARS COMPLETE	73 (.87)	52 (.83)	39 (.72)	54 (.71)	218 (.79)
SOME IRREGULARITY	11 (.13)	11 (.17)	15 (.28)	22 (.29)	59 (.21)
Mother at head	6 (.07)	10 (.16)	8 (.15)	15 (.20)	39 (.14)
Stepfather	5 (.06)	1 (.02)	0	2 (.03)	8 (.03)
Other	0	0	7 (.13)	5 (.07)	12 (.04)
Status unknown	0	2	1	0	3
TOTAL	84	65	55	76	280

number of incomplete families at British Columbia's boys' schools did move upward during the war. As delineated in Tables 64-67, 30 percent of clientele at Vernon and Shawnigan were in such a category, as were 40 percent at Qualicum, and a quarter

at Kingsley.

Table 66
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS APPLYING TO QUALICUM SCHOOL, 1935-1950

	1935-40	1940-45	1945-40	1935-50
APPEARS COMPLETE	46 (.92)	35 (.61)	82 (.77)	163 (.76)
SOME IRREGULARITY	4 (.08)	22 (.39)	25 (.23)	51 (.24)
Mother at head	2 (.04)	16 (.28)	18 (.17)	36 (.17)
Stepfather	0	1 (.02)	3 (.03)	4 (.02)
Other	2 (.04)	5 (.09)	4 (.04)	11 (.05)
TOTAL	50	57	107	214

Table 67
FAMILY STATUS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT KINGSLEY SCHOOL, 1932-1946

	1932-35	1935-40	1940-46	1932-46
APPEARS COMPLETE	34 (.67)	61 (.81)	97 (.74)	192 (.75)
SOME IRREGULARITY	17 (.33)	14 (.19)	34 (.26)	65 (.25)
Mother at head	14 (.27)	13 (.17)	30 (.23)	57 (.22)
Stepfather	2 (.04)	0	1 (.01)	3 (.01)
Other	1 (.02)	1 (.01)	3 (.02)	5 (.02)
Status unknown	3	3	12	18
TOTAL	54	78	143	275

Growing fear of Japanese invasion brought some decline in numbers as well as practical inconvenience. The head of Victoria's St. Michael's recalled in early 1941: "As the tensions increased out here, several parents gave provisional notice in case they should leave to seek a safer place."[1] The

[1] Symons, p. 135.

governors of Brentwood, University and St. George's sent their headmasters into the interior to seek alternative accommodations.[1] On February 7, 1942, the headboy of Shawnigan wrote in his logbook: "Trenches were started to-day by the Cadet Corps. They are placed on the right of the road going up to the football fields, overlooking the open country."

Then in April 1942 the Private Schools' Association was addressed by a military official who stressed that while "it is just possible that the Japs might exert pressure on this Coast," the schools should not move unless absolutely essential: "The 'Old School Tie' has been vilified--stuffy and impractical but it still had influence--the wearers have learnt how to play for the side and also self control. If a large body were to evacuate, it would influence others."[2] So the schools stayed put while taking air raid precautions also recommended to the public schools. At St. Michael's, "we got our scheme for disposing of the boys in a hurry, if need arose, down to a fine point by use of fire drill, etc., and found we could get them all outside in 45 seconds and out of sight (if bombers should be looking for us) in two minutes flat."[3] Over the war years enrollments averaged about 80 at Shawnigan, 60 at Brentwood, 85 at University and 145 at St. George's. Of the major preparatory schools, St. Michael's attracted about 60 pupils, Glenlyon 65 and Vernon 45 to 50.

The practical exigencies inflicted by the war were

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[1] VPSM, Easter 1942, p. 1.
[2] PSA, Minutes, April 11, 1942.
[3] Symons, p. 151.

enormous. Fortunately for schools' survival, headmasters excepting Ellis of Brentwood, who resigned in 1939, were too old for active service. Ellis' replacement was Brentwood's bursar, Arthur C. Privett, an Englishman who after attendance at the progressive "public" school of Bedales and at Cambridge had gone out to the prairies as a missionary teacher. Schools attempted to maintain a normal routine while also participating in such patriotic efforts as "Bundles for Britain, Red Cross, War Savings, Cadet Corps, etc."[1] One small boy wrote home from Vernon in 1942: "There are about 50 war pictures, posters and calendars in our classroom now. About half of them are something to do with Victory bonds or War Savings stamps. There are a lot of Free French ones to do with De Gaulle also."[2]

While University School had had a cadet corps from its foundation, other schools hastily created them by 1940 "in keeping with the General Policy that all boys over 12 years of age shall become cadets."[3] North Shore College's magazine reported in December of that year, "At present broomsticks are being used instead of rifles and there is no uniform."[4] Additional demands were created by such diverse factors as the introduction of rationing with some parents unwilling to give up their sons' sugar allowance to his boarding school and by the imposition of a 30-day limit on credit at department stores, from which most schools purchased uniforms in quantity to be

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 19, 1941.
[2] VPS, Letters C, April 19.
[3] SGSM, 1940, p. 28.
[4] NSCM, Christmas 1940, p. 9.

repaid by parents over a much longer time period.[1]

The scarcity of domestic and teaching staff became acute. As a consequence of the employment of females in the war effort, the association in May 1943 "unanimously decided that pupils who are called upon to help in the domestic running of the school should not be paid for it--that in these times they must look upon it as war work."[2] In October 1942 the headmaster of Kingsley reported "that after searching for 8 weeks he was still without a Science & Maths teacher. If one of his young masters is called up it will be impossible for the School to carry on." Chesterfield closed permanently in 1942 for precisely that reason, its headmaster unwilling to resort even temporarily to the expedient of women teachers.[3] The traditional prejudice against females was lifted at St. George's to be reimposed after the war. As the school magazine would explain in 1947 on the school's forcing three women to resign: "

> They did so well for us that we allowed things to continue as they were even after we were back on a peace-time footing, and it was only last June that we finally decided to revert to our former male status and, theoretically speaking, dispense with the soft answer and the lighter touch."[4]

All the same, the war was a time of great vindication. Many former pupils caught up in battle looked to the security of their school days for moral support. One former pupil wrote

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[1] VPSM, 1940-45; PSA, Mainland Branch, Minutes, Dec. 13, 1941, and Oct.2, 1942; and, PSA, Minutes, April 11, 1942.
[2] PSA, Minutes, May 1, 1943, and Mainland Branch, Minutes, Oct. 2, 1942.
[3] Bates, "Story," and Sun, Dec. 8, 1965.
[4] SGSM, 1947, p. 48.

Shawnigan's headmaster, "Any success I may have had in the 'Service,' Sir, I owe to my School and the lessons I learnt in discipline and responsibility."[1] Headmasters expected old boys to do well in the war and they did. As Lonsdale phrased it, "The Public-school boy enters the army with a long course of training behind him which enables him successfully to suppress, not only expressions of fear, but also the emotion itself."

Certainly, each death in war of an old boy was a personal loss. As put by Symons, "Blow upon sledge hammer blow again and again, but there was nothing one could do except carry on and try to do so worthily of these boys, and so the service, sports, matches, etc., all came off as usual."[2] Yet, as emphasized by Harker in 1942, "the Private Schools had justified their existence by their War Effort and by the enlistment in various services of the boys and girls."[3] Lonsdale summed up in a letter to his former pupils: "This type of school which has been described as outmoded and anachronistic in this country has been justified of her children."[4]

VI

The Canadianization of clientele occurring in British Columbia boys' schools in the 1930s was, while disrupted by the war, consolidated in its aftermath. To a considerable extent

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[1] SLSM, 1948, p. 19, and SLS, Report, 1930.
[2] Symons, p. 153.
[3] PSA, Minutes, April 11, 1942.
[4] SLSM, 1945, p. 5.

the shift from British settler families to Canadians occurring in the years 1930-50 only reflected demographic changes in the province's population. As indicated by Table 68, the proportion of British born finally began to decline, to 23 percent by 1941 and just 17 percent by mid-century. The principal area of numerical growth was composed not so much of native British Columbians but of arrivals from the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan: in 1931 only 9 percent of the white population had been born on the prairies, by 1951 it had risen to 22 percent. As shown in Table 69, the proportion of the white male population aged 35 and over born in Britain also slipped downward, from almost half to just under a third.

Table 68
WHITE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1941 AND 1951

	1941	1951
BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	290,943 (.38)	438,209 (.39)
BORN ELSEWHERE IN CANADA	199,053 (.26)	359,300 (.32)
Maritimes	19,639 (.03)	24,906 (.02)
Ontario	54,160 (.07)	69,818 (.06)
Quebec	9,627 (.01)	14,968 (.01)
Prairies	115,627 (.15)	249,608 (.22)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA		
Britain or possessions	180,515 (.23)	192,911 (.17)
Continental Europe	61,716 (.08)	88,734 (.08)
United States	35,903 (.05)	41,845 (.04)
Elsewhere or not given	597 (neg)	912 (neg)
TOTAL	768,727	1,121,911

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1941, v. 1, p. 662; and 1951, v. 10, Tables 3 and 20.

Table 70 compares the birthplaces of the mature white male

Table 69
WHITE MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1941 AND 1951

	1941	1951
BORN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA	14,038 (.08)	35,904 (.14)
BORN ELSEWHERE IN CANADA	47,623 (.26)	83,255 (.31)
Maritimes	9,614 (.05)	10,098 (.04)
Ontario	23,797 (.13)	26,989 (.10)
Quebec	4,257 (.02)	5,658 (.02)
Prairies	9,878 (.05)	40,510 (.15)
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA		
Britain or possessions	81,746 (.45)	86,072 (.32)
Continental Europe	32,220 (.18)	43,900 (.17)
United States	12,195 (.07)	16,169 (.06)
Other or not given	223 (neg)	267 (neg)
TOTAL	188,045	265,567

SOURCE:
Census of Canada, 1941, v. 3, pp. 330-31; and 1951, v. 2, Table 6.

population with the paternal birthplaces of British Columbia pupils enrolled at Vernon and Shawnigan, 1930-50. Two trends are evident. First, the proportion of pupils' fathers born in Britain, which fell drastically during the Depression, was by 1950 again above its cohort. It was not that British immigrant families no longer patronized the private schools, but rather that there were no longer that many of them in the overall population. Secondly, support among fathers born in Canada was not evenly dispersed. The proportion of pupils whose paternal birthplace was the prairies was far below its demographic cohort. The principal support group for private education, at least at Vernon and Shawnigan, had become Canadian families

established in British Columbia a generation or more with long proximity to private education. It might be argued that the province was creating its own socio-economic elite.

Table 70
PATERNAL BIRTHPLACES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH BIRTHPLACES OF WHITE MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1931, 1941 AND 1951

	Population in 1931	School enrollment, 1930-40	Population in 1941	School enrollment, 1940-50	Population in 1951
BORN BRITISH COLUMBIA	.04	.20 (27)	.08	.26 (18)	.14
BORN ELSEWHERE					
IN CANADA	.26	.34 (47)	.26	.21 (14)	.31
Maritimes	.06	.04 (6)	.05	.04 (3)	.04
Ontario	.15	.19 (26)	.13	.09 (6)	.10
Quebec	.03	.04 (6)	.02	.04 (3)	.02
Prairies	.02	.07 (9)	.05	.03 (2)	.15
BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA	.22	.09 (12)	.25	.12 (8)	.23
Britain or possessions	.48	.37 (51)	.45	.41 (28)	.32
Continental Europe	.15	.03 (4)	.18	.06 (4)	.17
United States	.07	.06 (8)	.07	.06 (4)	.06

NOTE:
1930-1940: n=140
1940-1950: n=68

Other characteristics of clientele support such speculation. Even fathers born outside of British Columbia were generally long resident in the province. As demonstrated by Table 71, the majority had, like their counterparts sending offspring prior to the Depression, arrived on the west coast

Table 71
YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN BRITISH COLUMBIA OF FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950

	Born Britain	Born Canada except British Columbia
1880-1896	5 (.07)	5 (.10)
1897-1905	8 (.11)	11 (.21)
1906-1914	40 (.55)	19 (.37)
1915-1930	13 (.18)	11 (.21)
1930-1940	5 (.07)	5 (.10)
1940-1950	2 (.03)	1 (.02)
Unknown	10	9
TOTAL	83	61

before the First World War. Three-quarters of the British-born fathers and two-thirds of those born elsewhere in Canada were settled by 1914. Fathers also had, as previously, generally waited to have children until they were well established. As indicated by a comparison of Tables 72 and 73 with 25 and 26, age at son's birth of British-born fathers actually rose from about 37 to 40 years. The birth age of fathers born elsewhere in Canada remained at about 37 years. The age of fathers born in the province was still considerably younger at 32 to 34 years. Fathers of boys did not, moreover, have many children. As indicated by Tables 27 and 74, an even greater percentage than previously--fully three-quarters of pupils--either were single sons or had just one male sibling. Over 90 percent had at most two male siblings.

Table 72
PATERNAL AGE AT BIRTH OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1930-1946

	Fathers born Britain	Fathers born British Columbia	Fathers born elsewhere in Canada	Total Fathers
Mean age	38.5	32.1	38.4	36.6
Median age	37.5	31.5	37.5	34
Percentiles				
Youngest 1/4	22-31	26-29	25-34	22-31
Middle 1/2	31-43	29-34	34-44	31-41
Oldest 1/4	49-58	34-41	44-54	41-58
TOTAL NUMBER FOR WHOM AGE DETERMINED	24	24	22	81

NOTE:
"Total fathers" includes 7 fathers born in the United States whose mean age was 40, and 4 in Europe whose mean age was 36.5.

Other paternal characteristics of Vernon and Shawnigan pupils also suggest the emergence of a cohesive socio-economic elite. A comparison between Tables 22 and 75 indicates that fathers born in Britain were even more likely than previously to have been "publicly" educated. While the partial nature of the data makes possible only minimal inferences, a fifth and probably more of Canadian-born fathers had also attended a private school. The overwhelming proportion of fathers were still affiliated with the Anglican Church. Table 76 demonstrates that 88 percent of Vernon and Shawnigan fathers born in Britain were Anglican, as were 77 percent of those born in Canada.

Table 73
PATERNAL AGE AT BIRTH OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1930-1950

	Fathers born Britain	Fathers born British Columbia	Fathers born elsewhere in Canada	Total Fathers
Mean age	41.2	33.8	36.8	38.2
Median age	40	32	35.5	37
Percentiles				
Youngest 1/4	24-34	20-27	25-31	20-32
Middle 1/2	35-45	27-37	32-41	32-43
Oldest 1/4	46-74	37-56	41-55	43-74
TOTAL NUMBER FOR WHOM AGE DETERMINED	43	14	34	99

NOTE:
"Total fathers" includes 5 fathers born in the United States whose mean age was 37.8, and 3 born in Europe whose mean age was 32.7.

Table 74
NUMBER OF SONS IN FAMILIES ENROLLING OFFSPRING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950

	Vernon (n=121)	Shawnigan (n=87)
Only sons	.50	.33
At most one male sibling	.75	.76
Up to two male siblings	.92	.91
Up to three male siblings	.99	.99
Mean number of male siblings	0.85	1.00

Paternal occupations provide the most significant measure of the existence of a cohesive socio-economic group supporting

Table 75
PATERNAL SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born Canada
Educated British "public" school or Canadian private school	43	22
Educated at local school	10	25
Unknown	35	70
TOTAL	88	117

Table 76
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born Canada
Anglican	56 (.88)	65 (.77)
Other	8 (.12)	19 (.23)
Unknown	24	33
TOTAL	88	117

private education. As detailed in Tables 61 and 62, occupations had become concentrated in the professions and business, although in the decade 1940-50 a growing proportion of Shawnigan fathers were in sales and service, particularly retail trade. Paternal occupations at Kingsley and Qualicum, delineated in Tables 77 and 78, were similar. While the proportion of Shawnigan fathers in sales and service moved up to 15 percent, at Kingsley and Qualicum it rose to double that proportion. By

the end of the war, virtually a quarter of fathers at these two schools were engaged in sales, generally retail trade.

Such a shift was directly related to the Canadianization of clientele. In Britain retail trade long remained an unsuitable occupation for aspirants to genteel, or upper-middle-class, status. As demonstrated in Table 79, which differentiates paternal occupations of pupils at Vernon and Shawnigan by paternal birthplace, individuals born in Canada were less concerned with such distinctions: four of the five fathers engaged in retail trade whose birthplace has been determined were Canadian born.

Table 77
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLING AT KINGSLEY SCHOOL, 1932-1946

	1932-35	1935-40	1940-46	1932-46
PROFESSIONS	3 (.10)	10 (.15)	19 (.20)	32 (.17)
Upper	1 (.03)	3 (.05)	5 (.05)	9 (.05)
Lower	2 (.06)	7 (.11)	14 (.15)	23 (.12)
BUSINESS	5 (.16)	20 (.30)	16 (.17)	41 (.21)
Finance	2 (.06)	5 (.08)	7 (.07)	14 (.07)
Company	3 (.10)	15 (.23)	9 (.09)	27 (.14)
SALES AND SERVICE	11 (.35)	17 (.26)	28 (.29)	56 (.29)
Sales	5 (.16)	8 (.12)	21 (.22)	34 (.18)
Government	3 (.10)	2 (.03)	3 (.03)	8 (.04)
Clerical	3 (.10)	7 (.11)	4 (.04)	14 (.07)
AGRICULTURE	1 (.03)	1 (.02)	5 (.05)	7 (.04)
TRADES	4 (.13)	5 (.08)	13 (.14)	22 (.11)
RETIRED	6 (.19)	7 (.11)	6 (.06)	19 (.10)
TRANSIENT	1 (.03)	6 (.09)	8 (.08)	15 (.08)
TOTAL	31	66	95	192

Table 79 points up another occupational distinction between fathers born in Britain and in Canada. As in the earlier

Table 78
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS APPLYING TO QUALICUM SCHOOL, 1935-1950

	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50	1935-50
PROFESSIONS	6 (.14)	7 (.19)	10 (.12)	23 (.14)
Upper	6 (.14)	4 (.11)	5 (.06)	15 (.09)
Lower	0	3 (.08)	5 (.06)	8 (.05)
BUSINESS	11 (.25)	10 (.27)	20 (.24)	41 (.25)
Finance	3 (.07)	1 (.03)	2 (.02)	6 (.04)
Company	8 (.18)	9 (.24)	18 (.21)	35 (.21)
SALES AND SERVICE	8 (.18)	5 (.14)	27 (.32)	40 (.24)
Sales	6 (.14)	3 (.08)	22 (.26)	31 (.19)
Government	1 (.02)	1 (.03)	4 (.05)	6 (.04)
Clerical	1 (.02)	1 (.03)	1 (.01)	3 (.02)
AGRICULTURE	9 (.20)	4 (.11)	7 (.08)	20 (.12)
TRADES	3 (.07)	5 (.14)	11 (.13)	19 (.11)
RETIRED	6 (.14)	3 (.08)	5 (.06)	14 (.08)
TRANSIENT	1 (.02)	3 (.08)	5 (.06)	9 (.05)
TOTAL	44	37	85	166

period, summarized in Table 18, fathers born in Britain were primarily engaged in agriculture or in the professions. Business remained largely a Canadian prerogative. The preference of fathers from elsewhere in Canada for the top professions continued. Table 80 indicates that fully a quarter of fathers from elsewhere in Canada were in law or medicine, compared with 16 percent of fathers born in British Columbia and just 10 percent of those born in Britain. As in the earlier period, few clerics, whatever their birthplace, educated offspring privately.

Tables 81-84, together with Table 39, compare paternal occupations with their cohort, the employed mature male population of British Columbia. While some similarity to the

Table 79
PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada
PROFESSIONS	25 (.32)	13 (.30)	24 (.38)
Upper	12 (.15)	11 (.25)	20 (.31)
Lower	13 (.17)	2 (.05)	4 (.06)
BUSINESS	18 (.23)	21 (.48)	17 (.27)
Finance	7 (.09)	5 (.11)	6 (.09)
Management	11 (.14)	16 (.36)	11 (.17)
SALES AND SERVICE	3 (.04)	3 (.07)	7 (.11)
Sales	1 (.01)	2 (.05)	2 (.03)
Government	2 (.03)	1 (.02)	5 (.08)
AGRICULTURE	24 (.31)	5 (.11)	11 (.17)
RETIRED	6 (.08)	1 (.02)	4 (.06)
TRANSIENT	2 (.03)	1 (.02)	1 (.02)
TOTAL	78	44	64

cohort was emerging, private-school clientele still composed a very distinct socio-economic stratum in the society. As indicated by Table 84, the proportion of top professionals among Vernon and Shawnigan fathers gradually halved from 15 times their occupational cohort in 1925-30 to just 7 times by 1940-50. The proportion of financier fathers slipped in the same period from 8 to 5 times their occupational cohort. The proportion of company managers, which had peaked in 1930-40 at 7 times their occupational cohort, moved downward in 1940-50 to 3 times.

Some change also occurred in the proportion of physicians and lawyers among fathers as compared to the proportion of the employed mature male population who were physicians or lawyers. As indicated by Tables 41 and 83, not only did the proportion of

Table 80
SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS OF PROFESSIONAL FATHERS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ENROLLING AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada	All fathers
UPPER PROFESSIONS	12 (.15)	11 (.25)	20 (.31)	71 (.17)
Academic	0	2 (.05)	1 (.02)	5 (.01)
Legal	7 (.09)	4 (.09)	10 (.16)	27 (.06)
Medical	1 (.01)	3 (.07)	5 (.08)	21 (.05)
Science and engineering	3 (.04)	2 (.05)	3 (.05)	16 (.04)
Other	1 (.01)	0	1 (.02)	2 (neg)
LOWER PROFESSIONS	13 (.17)	2 (.05)	4 (.06)	46 (.11)
Military	1 (.01)	0	3 (.05)	15 (.04)
Accounting	1 (.01)	1 (.02)	0	5 (.01)
Creative	1 (.01)	0	1 (.02)	4 (.01)
Teaching	5 (.06)	0	0	7 (.02)
Religous	2 (.03)	0	0	10 (.02)
Other	3 (.04)	1 (.02)	0	5 (.01)
TOTAL	78	44	64	418

NOTE:
"Medical" includes physicians and dentists.

physicians increase among the overall employed mature male population from .34 percent--or 3.4 per thousand--in 1931 to .45 percent two decades later, but the proportion of fathers of Vernon and Shawnigan pupils who were physicians declined from 30 times to just 8.5 times their occupational cohort. By contrast the proportion of lawyers in the employed mature male population steadily diminished from .39 percent in 1921 to .34 percent in 1931 to just .28 percent by 1951. The decrease in the proportion of fathers compared with their occupational cohort was also less, from 27 to 19 times. In other words, not only

Table 81
OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLED AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1931 AND 1951

	1931 population	Fathers of boys, 1930-1940	1951 population	Fathers of boys, 1940-1950
PROFESSIONS	4.5%	32.1% (63)	5.1%	27.7% (36)
Upper	2.0%	20.9% (41)	1.8%	13.1% (17)
Lower	2.4%	11.2% (22)	3.8%	14.6% (19)
BUSINESS	5.9%	39.8% (78)	10.0%	36.9% (48)
Finance	2.0%	10.2% (20)	2.1%	10.0% (13)
Company	4.0%	29.6% (58)	7.9%	26.9% (35)
SALES AND SERVICE	9.1%	11.7% (23)	11.3%	10.0% (13)
Sales	5.0%	3.8% (7)	5.4%	6.2% (8)
Government	1.2%	7.1% (14)	1.5%	2.3% (3)
Clerical	2.9%	1.0% (2)	4.4%	1.5% (2)
AGRICULTURE	12.9%	14.8% (29)	8.3%	21.5% (28)
TRADES AND LABOURERS	67.6%	1.5% (3)	64.8%	3.8% (5)

NOTE:
1930-40: n=196
1940-50: n=130

did the number of lawyers proportionate to the population actually decline, but the profession still exercised considerable self-differentiation as evidenced by their continued prediliction for private education.

A broader basis of comparison is possible using composite occupational data for the four schools--Vernon, Shawnigan, Kingsley and Qualicum. As shown in Table 82, the most interesting shift was the growing proportion of fathers in sales and service, which was double their occupational cohort through

Table 82
OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLED AT FOUR BRITISH COLUMBIA BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1931 AND 1951

	1931 population	Fathers of boys at Shawnigan, Kingsley, Vernon and Qualicum 1930-40		1951 population	Fathers of boys at Shawnigan, Kingsley, Vernon and Qualicum 1940-50	
PROFESSIONS	4.5%	26.5%	(82)	5.1%	23.8%	(72)
Upper	2.0%	16.5%	(51)	1.8%	10.2%	(31)
Lower	2.4%	10.0%	(31)	3.8%	13.5%	(41)
BUSINESS	5.9%	36.8%	(114)	10.0%	31.0%	(94)
Finance	2.0%	9.7%	(30)	2.1%	7.6%	(23)
Company	4.0%	27.1%	(84)	7.9%	23.4%	(71)
SALES AND SERVICE	9.1%	19.0%	(59)	11.3%	22.4%	(68)
Sales	5.0%	8.4%	(26)	5.4%	16.8%	(51)
Government	1.2%	6.5%	(20)	1.5%	3.3%	(10)
Clerical	2.9%	4.2%	(13)	4.4%	2.3%	(7)
AGRICULTURE	12.9%	12.9%	(40)	8.3%	13.2%	(40)
TRADES AND LABOURERS	67.6%	4.8%	(15)	64.8%	9.6%	(29)

NOTE:
1930-40: n=310
1940-50: n=303

the two decades. From 1940, over three times as many fathers in sales, generally retail trade, were sending sons to private school as was their proportion in the total employed mature male population. While remaining comparatively miniscule, the proportion of fathers in trades and manual labour did double from one fourteenth to one seventh as large as their occupational cohort. All the same, the proportion of

Table 83
PROPORTION OF LAWYERS AND PHYSICIANS AMONG EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLED AT THREE BRITISH COLUMBIA BOYS' SCHOOLS, 1930-1950, COMPARED WITH PROPORTION IN EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1931 AND 1951

	Lawyers	Physicians
1930-1940		
Male population, 1931	.34% (571)	.34% (574)
Fathers of boys at Vernon and Shawnigan, 1930-1940	6.96% (17/244)	3.68% (9/244)
Comparision of fathers with male population	20.5 times greater	10.8 times greater
1940-1950		
Male population, 1951	.28% (605)	.45% (951)
Fathers of boys at Vernon and Shawnigan, 1940-1950	5.34% (7/131)	3.81% (5/131)
Comparision of fathers with male population	19.1 times greater	8.5 times greater
1940-1950		
Male population, 1951	.28% (605)	.45% (951)
Fathers of boys at Vernon, Shawnigan, Kingsley and Qualicum, 1940-1950	2.51% (8/318)	2.83% (9/318)
Comparision of fathers with male population	8.96 times greater	6.29 times greater

NOTE:
In 1951 there were also 19 female lawyers and 34 female physicians aged 35 and over.

businessmen and professionals sending offspring to the four schools remained much larger than its proportion of the overall employed mature male population.

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Table 84
PROPORTION OF PROFESSIONALS, FINANCIERS AND COMPANY MANAGERS AMONG EMPLOYED FATHERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ENROLLED AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1920-1950, COMPARED WITH PROPORTION IN EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER

	1920-25	1925-30	1930-40	1940-50
UPPER PROFESSIONALS				
% among population	2.5%	2.0%	2.0%	1.8%
% among fathers	19.2%	30.1%	20.9%	13.1%
Number of times greater	7.7	15.1	10.5	7.3
LOWER PROFESSIONALS				
% among population	1.9%	2.4%	2.4%	3.8%
% among fathers	6.4%	9.8%	11.2%	14.6%
Number of times greater	3.4	4.1	4.7	3.8
FINANCIERS				
% among population	1.7%	2.0%	2.0%	2.1%
% among fathers	9.6%	15.5%	10.6%	10.0%
Number of times greater	5.6	7.8	5.3	4.8
COMPANY MANAGEMENT				
% among population	5.1%	4.0%	4.0%	7.9%
% among fathers	16.8%	16.6%	29.6%	26.9%
Number of times greater	3.3	4.2	7.4	3.4
TOTAL				
% among population	11.2%	10.4%	10.4%	15.6%
% among fathers	52.0%	72.0%	72.3%	64.6%
Number of times greater	4.6	6.9	7.0	4.1

While becoming predominantly Canadian, the support group for private education remained distinctive in the years to mid-century. About two-thirds of fathers at Vernon and Shawnigan,

as well as over half at the four schools, were in occupations of high socio-economic status shared by only 15 percent of their counterparts across the province. The Canadianization of clientele served principally to make private schools an agent of exclusivity no longer predicated on an immigrant group largely isolated in the countryside but rather on one at the centre of the province's socio-economic mainstream. The emergence of St. George's, with its strong board of governors and forceful headmaster, concentrated that mainstream in British Columbia's commercial metropolis of Vancouver. Private education on the British model had become a powerful vehicle reinforcing socio-economic divisions within the British Columbia mainstream.

Chapter 8

THE END OF AN ERA

British Columbia's private schools emerged from the Second World War into the reality of the mid-twentieth century. Their educational goal of building character, creating gentlemen according to late Victorian precepts, was almost by definition anachronistic. Changes in British Columbia society whose first effects had been obscured by the Depression and then the war were fully formed. Demographic composition had fundamentally altered. The emphasis in public education was shifting.

While the survival of individual private schools depended upon maintenance of economic viability during inevitable leadership transitions, survival of the concept of education which underlay their foundation demanded compromise with a changing environment. The reaction of the Private Schools' Association was mixed, positive in attempting once again to join the educational mainstream by seeking official recognition but negative in its inability to become reconciled to a changing society. An era in private education gradually came to an end. Left in existence were a handful of schools justifiably proud of their heritage but no longer dominantly British in ethos or independent of Canadian society.

I

Two of the most significant shifts of the years 1930-50 in British Columbia were in demographic structure and public education. As demonstrated by Tables 8 and 68, the number of white British Columbians increased by over three quarters during the two decades. Of most direct relevance to province's private schools was a shift in the character of new settlement from British born to prairie born. At mid-century the British born were still composed principally of residents arrived by the First World War or in its aftermath: in 1951 67 percent had lived in the province at least thirty years, 37 percent forty years or more.[1] Their average age was 58, compared with a mean of 32 across the province. As the overall population expanded, so the proportion of British born had diminished, from almost one in three in 1931 to less than one in six by mid-century.

The proportion born in the province itself had grown moderately from 33 to 39 percent, their mean age still very young at just 12 years. The great increase had come through migration from the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Their proportion of the white population expanded two and a half times from just 9 percent in 1931 to 22 percent two decades later. These quarter of a million new British Columbians--many undoubtedly the offspring of earlier immigrants

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[1] Census of Canada, 1951, v. 2, Tables 41 and 54. For age data, see v. 2, Table 11.

to the prairies from continental Europe, the United States and Britain--had a mean age of 25 and hence combined the impetus of youth with the maturity of adults. Such larger changes in mid-century British Columbia society as the rise of the Social Credit Party, with its ideological roots firmly in the prairies, were certainly related.

The consequences for private education were significant. Of the province's almost quarter of a million school-age children in 1951, over two-thirds had been born in the province, almost a third on the prairies, just 2 percent in Britain. Of British Columbians between the ages of 20 and 44, less than 10 percent had been born in Britain compared with well over 70 percent born on the prairies or in the province itself. Although the British born were still part of the dominant socio-economic structure, they were increasingly past the age of active parenthood. While numerous British Columbia born, as well as British born, were supporters of private education, their counterparts from the prairies--described by the historian Margaret Ormsby largely as "working men"--expressed little interest: as indicated by Table 70, their proportion of clientele at the Vernon Preparatory School and Shawnigan Lake Schools in the decade 1940-50 was far below their proportion in the province's overall white population[1]

More importantly, the province's boys' schools were intimately linked in their very origins with that single massive generation of British immigrants now finally losing their

[1] Ormsby, p. 481.

demographic primacy. The schools' core of clientele had traditionally come from this group and, as a journalist wrote of the Cowichan, "even here a generation of new Canadians, sons of the old English settlers, cannot be prevented from growing up."[1] Schools' headmasters were, despite changes in personnel occurring during the 1920s and 1930s, still all British born..

Headmasters, having arrived during those buoyant years preceding the First World War or in their aftermath, were no longer young men: by the close of the Second World War the Rev. Mackie of the Vernon Preparatory School was 66, Symons of St. Michael's Preparatory School 64 and Lonsdale of Shawnigan Lake School 59. The headmasters of Kingsley School, North Shore College, University School, Malvern House and Glenlyon Prepratory School were all in their mid or late fifties. Harker of St. George's School was about to turn 50. Although Knight of Qualicum Beach School and Privett of Brentwood College were still in their mid-forties, even they had emigrated more than two decades previous. As was the case with the British born across the population, the younger men who should have become their successors had not arrived.

During the Depression and war years, the public system of education increasingly diverged from its private competitor. Until then, elementary education had been characterized in rural areas by the one-room common school, whereas its secondary counterpart was, as summed up by the province's educational

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[1] Bruce Hutchison, The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People (New York: Coward-McCann, 1942), p. 342.

historian, "still predominantly an academic institution educating most of its students for university matriculation."[1] At both levels private education not only competed directly but frequently offered a superior option.

Thereafter the public system was increasingly affected by what has been termed "the experimental spirit," a move toward child-centred education based on the theories of John Dewey.[2] Rural education was improved through consolidation into larger districts with centralized schools. The range of subjects at the secondary level was expanded to retain pupils with varied interests. Written examinations based on academic knowledge, originally required at each level of promotion at the secondary level, were gradually de-emphasized: in 1926 large elementary schools were given authority to recommend pupils for high school; in 1931 high-school teachers gained the right to promote between grades; in 1937 accreditation of high schools was introduced whereby pupils with a certain academic standing were exempted from written examinations for university entrance.[3] While private schools could also become accredited--and the two Vancouver girls' schools of Crofton House and York House soon did so--private education was in general passed over, its pupils remaining bound to the rigors of written examinations from which their public-school counterparts had been exempted.

By the end of the Second World War private schools realized

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[1] Johnson, History, p. 69.
[2] Ibid, pp. 101-22. For a more critical view, see Mann, "Education" and "Weir."
[3] MacLaurin, "History," pp. 272-77, and Johnson, pp. 68-69 and 110-11.

fully the extent to which they had been not only bypassed but surpassed by the public system. Increased salaries and pension programs given public-school teachers aroused both resentment and envy among aging heads having to acquire postwar staff. The increased emphasis of the public system on such less traditional subjects as science and technical training had led to a great expansion in physical facilities. Private schools, many still in their original makeshift quarters, were by comparison shabby with age and woefully inadequate in equipment.

Underlying frustration over specifics was a fundamental disagreement with the general direction of public education. Headmasters remained committed to an educational ideal with its basis in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain.[1] The Rev. Mackie declared proudly in 1945:

> V.P.S. has always been run on the lines of an English Prepratory School with results apparently acceptable both to parents and boys. We believe the English Private School System to be the finest in the world. We are unblushing and unrepentent champions of the "Old School Tie" and all for which it stands.[2]

A staff member at Shawnigan in the postwar years wrote: the school "was not located in England, but this made no apparent difference," for "the Headmaster was a product of Westminster School; most of the masters were Englishmen;" and it "carried on

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[1] Even "public" schools in Britain may have by this date moved away from their British Columbia counterparts wedded to a past era. Mangan has suggested that so far as athleticism was concerned, "individualism" became visible from the late 1930s; see pp. 214-16 of his "Epilogue." Also see Gathorne-Hardy, pp. 271-94 and 305-55.

[2] VPSM, Christmas 1945, p. 3.

[3] Part of Thunderbird , p. 2.

the British public school tradition."[3] As Symons phrased it, "some people may think the word is old-fashioned, but we want them [pupils] to behave like gentlemen."[1] When he decided to write his autobiography after nearly forty years as head of St. Michael's, the first title considered was "An Englishman in Canada."

The proponents of private education varied in their degree of denuncation of the public system. Interviewed in 1947, Shawnigan's Lonsdale termed it "so much 'poppycock.'"[2] Simpson of Glenlyon was more conciliatory in his statement that, while they "fail in the matter of discipline," "Progressive Schools and their ideas must not be dismissed with a wave of a hand."[3] Prof. Larsen of the University of British Columbia, a longtime supporter of private education, was particularly scathing in his remarks to the Private Schools' Association in 1950:

> New type of Education as opposed to old is merely an extension of kindergarten methods to the University . . . . Secondary education is a mess & progressively "messier"; the trend deplorable. Ball Room & Ping Pong as a training for life. Millions spent on buildings, not on education. Generation of illiterates.

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[1] Colonist, March 31, 1957, and Symons, p. ix.
[2] Time, Nov. 3, 1947, p. 28.
[3] PSA, Minutes, April 19, 1941, and April 15, 1950.

II

In the postwar years British Columbia's private schools, separately and through their association, reacted both positively and negatively to change. On the one hand, they made a concerted effort to enter the educational mainstream through official recognition. On the other, problems in schools were increasingly attributed to faults within the society rather than dealt with constructively as an inevitable concomitant of a new postwar mentality.

By the end of the Second World War the unregulated condition of private education was still perturbing few British Columbians outside of the private schools themselves. From the province's inception any individual had the right to define himself as a "school" and instruct in whatever fashion he chose children henceforth excused from attendance at a public school. In 1909 a Vancouver alderman had become concerned over "a number of Japanese schools" "under the direction of foreigners."[1] "The authorities have no means of knowing what is taught in these schools, and it may be that the scholars are taught along lines which are far from proper, from a Canadian standpoint." In 1922 a Presbyterian minister representing Comox raised in the provincial legislature "the advisability of having the private schools of the Province inspected" in order to determine "how its youth are being taught, what is being taught and the results

[1] Province, Feb. 17 and 20, 1909.

of such education."[1] The only public response seems to have been a biting Colonist editorial suggesting that the sole justification for inspection would be "for the purpose of obtaining inspiration as to better methods" to replace "the stereotyped mediocrity in control and purpose which are the characteristics of State education."

The association's postwar recognition campaign grew out of several factors. British "public" schools were coming within the purview of the state, as evidenced by the Fleming Committee appointed in 1942 "to consider means whereby the association between the public schools . . . and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended."[2] A member of the British Columbia association warned in 1944 "that in Britain the Private Schools were in cooperation with the Department of Education and that very soon we may expect the same here."[3]

The impetus was the treatment of Vancouver boarding schools during the war when, according to association minutes, "various schools had been subjected to inspections by Labour, Housing and other Inspectors."[4] The Mainland division was informed: "No such things as Private Schools exist therefore we come under the heading of rooming houses or Apartments. The Health Inspector under these conditions states that each child must have so many

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[1] Colonist, Nov. 8, 1922; also letters to the editor supporting the newspaper' position, Nov. 8-10.
[2] Quoted in Michael Hyndman, Schools and Schooling in England and Wales: A Documentary History (London: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 249.
[3] PSA, Minutes, April 15, 1944.
[4] Ibid, and Mainland Branch, Minutes, Feb. 18, 1943.

cubic feet--this would prohibit the use of dormitories." To deal with "the many government restrictions under which schools are now operating and also the fact that in all the legislation enacted there was no provision made for the Private Schools," an "advisory council" was established in 1944. This council, composed of "certain influential gentlemen," primarily lawyer fathers or governors of the various schools, was intended both "to safeguard the interests of the Private Schools" and "to help and guide the Association in its dealings with municipal and provincial authorities." The informal advocacy of an influential element of the province's socio-economic mainstream was to be brought to bear on the Department of Education.

At first circumstances appeared propitious. Dr. S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education since 1919, informally assured two Mainland members that "there was a place in the future for Schools like ours in this country" and that he "thought the time most opportune" for recognition.[1] In November 1944 the Minister of Education, H.C.T. Perry gave a delegation headed by Lonsdale the proposed substance of a Private Schools' Bill:

> No Private School to be established without Government permission. The proposed school site must be suitable. The equipment, sanitation &c must meet requirements. The Staff shall be adequate. Any certificate from Great Britain, Ireland or any Dominion or any Province thereof shall be recognized. Three years after the Act comes into force all Private Schools now in existence must meet the requirements laid down in the Act both as regards equipment and course of

[1] PSA, Minutes, April 15, 1944, and April 28, 1955. On Willis, see Peter Smith, pp. 39-42.

> studies. The Inspector shall inspect curriculum, school, site, library, equipment &c. The Schools shall pay for the Annual inspection. The Schools shall have the power to grant High School Graduation Diplomas. Any Principal who does not carry out registration and neglects to carry out the 3 year Clause or contravenes any regulation laid down by the Council of Public Instruction shall be liable to a fine of $100 or 2 months imprisonment.

At the next association meeting all members expressed themselves in favour of the legislation.

The bill was, however, never introduced due almost certainly--for reasons which remain unexplained--to Catholic opposition. A letter of December 13, 1944, from Minister Perry gave the first warning: due to "the question of how best to deal with denominational schools," the bill would have to be delayed in order "to arrive at some formula which will enable the Government to meet your wishes and at the same time avoid any controversy that might rise in connection with the desired changes."[1] An association member active in provincial politics reported being told by three cabinet ministers that "the R.C.'s were the objection." In March 1945 Mrs. Dorothy Steeves, a legislator for North Vancouver, publicly backed the proposed bill, arguing that "good private schools" were being "held back by bad ones."[2] Minister Perry agreed with the need for "some control," but again admitted his perplexity over denominational schools. Although the president of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation endorsed the association's position, no action ensued.

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 28, 1945.
[2] News-Herald, March 7 and 13, 1945.

After three years of recurring expectations and disappointments, an association delegation reported in April 1948 that now "we really are going to get somewhere."[1] The new Minister of Education, W.T. Straith, had told them that "there must be legislation--& soon." However, when the earlier difficulty was brought to his attention, Straith admitted that "he had not previously thought of this problem" but "did not think the Roman Catholic Schools need provide a stumbling block, & he would consult with their educational directors." Although the minister announced publicly in October that recognition was being considered, like his predecessor he was soon postponing introduction of a bill.[2]

With the new disappointment association members slowly lost their nerve. The headmaster of Qualicum had queried in 1948, "Are we putting our heads in the lion's mouth?"[3] By April 1950 the tide turned in his favour. The perpetual question--"Do we wish to go ahead with our quest for Recognition and take the consequences?"--was again posed at a meeting. Island representatives were now opposed. As one of them candidly admitted, "some of our best schools have not got proper buildings & some of our best teachers no official qualifications." A possible geographical split was averted when the headmaster of Vancouver's St. George's began to speak:

> Mr. Harker stated that Miss Gordon [of Crofton House] was the first to get accredited & we

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 17 and Oct. 16, 1948.
[2] Province, Oct. 19, 1948.
[3] PSA, Minutes, Oct. 16, 1948, and April 15, 1950.

> thought then that we should go further. But now he feels that recognition & control can not be divorced - & doubts if we could exist under the latter. What are we getting in comparison with what we are risking? . . . He feels we have gone far enough.

The meeting's secretary summed up, "Spade work is done; let sleeping dogs lie!" And so they did.

III

The decision to abandon the quest for official recognition may have been in part an expression of frustration over repeated postponement of promised action but was also a reflection of the growing defensiveness of private education in postwar British Columbia. The optimism at the war's end had gradually given way to a realization that the triumphant years of the 1920s or the late 1930s were not about to be repeated. Even cricket, that mainstay of school life, came under challenge. While asserting "that the future of cricket in this part of the world is to a great extent in our hands," St. George's nonetheless introduced softball in 1943 on the pretext that "it offers excellent practice in the field for cricket."[1] In 1945 the Rev. Mackie noted sadly that Vernon had "tried, without much success, to generate some degree of keenness in cricket into a somewhat somulent and apathetic generation of boys."[2] "This is due in part to many boys being baseball players at heart and such find

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[1] SGSM, 1943, p. 15.
[2] VPSM, Summer 1944, pp. 4-5, and Summer 1945, p. 2.

it hard or irksome to develop what is good in baseball and use it in the service of cricket." A year later St. Michael's reported, "April saw the cricket nets set up, though we observed cynically enough that marbles and air balls were really more popular."[1]

More fundamentally, families were increasingly sending offspring to private school as much for negative as for positive reasons. As noted in Tables 64-67, during the war years at least 24 to 40 percent of Canadian pupils who enrolled at Vernon, Shawnigan, Qualicum and Kingsley schools had some irregularity in their family structure. In the years after 1945 a quarter or more of pupils at Shawnigan and Qualicum, the two schools for which data is available, came from an incomplete family. As demonstrated in Table 85, at least 14 percent of the pupils entering St. George's from a public school in the second half of the 1940s had failed all or part of their previous grade.

Qualitative evidence also suggests the importance of negative factors. A Vernon pupil in the mid-1940s has recalled how each new boy was asked, "What are you in for?," and then "pestered for a reason until he presented one."[2] Reasons given could almost always be divided into two categories: family breakdown, including divorce or death, and disciplinary problems. They were "never scholastic," for by that date pupils exposed to the eclectic curriculum of most boys' schools had

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[1] Symons, p. 162.
[2] Interview, Feb. 12, 1980.

Table 85
PREVIOUS ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF PUPILS ENROLLING AT ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL, 1935-1950

	1935-40	1940-45	1945-50
PREVIOUSLY AT PUBLIC SCHOOL			
Passed grade	21 (.23)	59 (.36)	36 (.23)
Failed whole or part of grade	8 (.09)	14 (.09)	22 (.14)
Not given	62 (.68)	89 (.55)	99 (.63)
TOTAL	91	162	157
PREVIOUSLY AT PRIVATE SCHOOL			
Passed grade	4 (.08)	19 (.30)	17 (.18)
Failed whole or part of grade	0	4 (.06)	5 (.05)
Not given	44 (.92)	41 (.64)	75 (.77)
TOTAL	48	64	97

difficulty returning to the public system without being behind in less traditional subjects. Pupils at University in these years argue that "if you weren't pretty mean and pretty tough, you'd never survive it there," for "the bulk of the kids were unmanageable in public institutions" and "had parents with money to send them" to that private alternative.[1]

Divergence between heads' standards of behaviour and parental practice became increasingly overt. Taste in literature was one example. By the late 1930s a headmaster like the Rev. Mackie was incensed with the "polluted stream of salacious and pornographic sewerage" from "across the line"

[1] Interviews, May 2 and 6, 1981.

finding its way not only on to "Canadian book stalls" but into his school.[1] Having discovered in magazines "sent by parents" "harrowing close-ups of a lynching and a complete set of pictures depicting the birth of a baby," he queried: "Do parents and friends peruse the printed matter they send to their boys?" Henceforth, "we reserve to ourselves, standing as we do in loco parentis, the right to censor all printed matter sent to boys from whatever source and to preserve as long as possible such child-like innocence as the lower standards of to-day permit." Subsequent condemnation of "many Parents" who act, "unwittingly, as purveyors of pernicious literature" was followed by a warning in 1945 against "Comic, Detective or (worst of all) Biblical magazines printed on cheap paper, illustrated by tawdry inartistic pictures and accompanied by a letter-press destructive of all good English style and diction." That autumn at Vernon was "marked by two dark shadows--the detection of many boys in unfair work & the circulation of indecent literature & pictures."

The problem of discipline became acute. Institutions like St. Michael's, Glenlyon and St. George's which relied primarily on day boys were premised on the assumption that behaviour at home would follow the school's lead. Pupils at St. George's were even expected, as Harker reminded them in 1944, "to remedy juvenile delinquency in Vancouver" by "showing the way, by your leadership of the misguided to a change of heart; a revived

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[1] VPSM, Summer 1938, p. 4; Summer 1940, p. 6; and Summer 1945, p. 4; and Mackie, Sermons, v. 10.

order of chivalry, going to battle, like those knights of old for the decencies of life."[1] By 1947 Harker was, however, raising the matter of "Discipline" in an association meeting in reference to "conduct at week-ends, wild parties, liquor, etc." Problems at his school--then enrolling 180 pupils, more than half over fifteen and more than half day boys--included "Vandalism, Drink, Petty thieving, Impurity." According to Harker, "the weapons of these were the car, too much money, too much freedom: the causes - soft-living, too little religion, the fact that many parents were accessories." "There were 2 ways of dealing with it: (1) Psychology (2) the 'Hair-brush.'" Harker came out "in favour of the latter--for either sex."

The schools' conviction that parents needed only be given firmer direction in order to secure their support behind traditional solutions was reinforced by the attitude of many old boys, such as the former Shawnigan pupil who wrote Lonsdale, "I should somehow feel let down to learn that your discipline had softened out of some sort of consideration . . . to indulgent parents."[2] Headmasters' confidence in their own judgment was reflected in Symons' observation of 1947: "Of course there are many who idolize their boys and think them more wonderful than they really are. I venture to think our judgement is likely to be less biased and more sound."[3] Harker urged the association to establish rules and "insist on parental support," since

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[1] SGSM, 1945, p. 30; and PSA, Minutes, Oct. 25, 1947, and April 17, 1948.
[2] SLSM, 1948, p. 20.
[3] Symons, p. 172.

"discipline is the greatest challenge we could have." Members concurred, one noting that "the week-ends are the most difficult time," another condemning "'breakfast parties' from 3-5 a.m."

The association's proposed rules harked back to an earlier date.[1] Day boys were to be "brought in line" with boarders as to bedtime and restriction of evening activities during the week to "those of educational value." No pupil was to "be allowed out after dark unchaperoned." "Comic papers" and alcoholic beverages were forbidden, spending money and use of cars strictly limited, scouts and "serious or sensible reading" to be encouraged by parents. The schools would "insist that religion be practiced at home" along with "faithful attendance at Sunday School or Chapel." The "code of behaviour" distributed by 1950 did not have noticeable results for, as Harker put it, "parents are weak." Through the 1950s the "question of parties & social life" continued to be raised at meetings.

The inflexible approach to changing parental standards was paralleled in such areas as staff and curriculum. Unlike boys' schools in Ontario and elsewhere in Canada, which principally employed Canadians, British Columbia schools still relied on staff recruited from Britain, together with a few trusted old boys.[2] The "points on engagement of staff" discussed in a 1953 association meeting were "salaries; fares from England; living quarters; agreement for 2 or 3 years."[3] Even the recruitment of

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 23 and Nov. 5, 1949; April 15 and Oct. 6, 1959; Oct. 26, 1956; and Nov. 21, 1959.
[2] See staff lists in Stephen.
[3] PSA, Minutes, Oct. 17, 1953.

what were known as "the young, pink-cheeked masters" began to have disadvantages. One of these well-educated Englishmen of good background who did come out on contract to Shawnigan has recalled his utter amazement at how traditional and old-fashioned the British Columbia school was compared with his own "public" school of Lancing.[1] He never reconciled himself to what was for him a relic of a past age and soon left. The headmistress of Crofton "found a disconcerting attitude of restlessness in teachers coming from England. She felt they had no sense of permanence & used the school as a stepping stone to the next country they wished to visit."[2] Yet the practice continued. In 1962, "it was revealed that as far as B.C. boys' schools were concerned the vast majority of their masters were recruited from England, which is contrary to the procedure in Eastern Canada." As explained by the headmaster of St. George's, "he invariably engaged an English-trained man, if there were any choice, in the belief that an English master was prepared to work harder and do more than his Canadian counterpart."

Official changes in the provincial curriculum were judged by traditional standards and condemned, never viewed as possibly necessary accommodations to a changing environment. A typical reaction ran: "Accuracy not stressed--'book need not be mastered'--the Project Method 'gone mad.'"[3] At one meeting the

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[1] Interview, Dec. 13, 1981.
[2] PSA, Minutes, Oct. 13, 1956, and Feb. 9, 1962.
[3] Ibid, Oct. 25, 1947; Nov. 5, 1949; Jan. 19, 1952; and Oct. 17, 1953.

Crofton headmistress "spoke of the swing toward vocationalism; of the elaborate equipment for this in the Government Schools; of repeated requests for Stenography courses; of the attractions of Commercialism for the teen-age girl." A new course in "Effective Living" "was generally considered a bad mistake, a great waste of time, & largely outside the province of the school," this a particularly ironic observation from the heads of schools premised on complete control over pupils' lives. Another change was condemned because "languages are not begun early enough, & Latin is unwisely being dropped."

The brief submitted by the Mainland division of the association to the Chant Commission, appointed in 1958 to examine public education across British Columbia, summed up heads' desire not only to return their own schools to the happier world of their youth but to have the clock also turned back in the public system. They urged the re-imposition of mandatory examinations for both matriculation and high-school entrance. The elementary grades should compose "more factual information," as well as "a continuous course in the History of Britain" from grades 4 through 7, leading to a single year of Canadian history in grade 8.[1] "Some religious and moral training should be incorporated" at all levels. "The morale of schools should be raised by introducing uniforms." The heads recommended, further, the "reduction of co-education to a minimum" from grade 7, "as we believe the system stimulates the

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[1] Independent Schools of the Mainland of British Columbia, "Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, Jan. 19, 1959" (typescript in PABC), pp. 12, 5, 34 and 41.

interest of both boys and girls at this level in a precocious social life."

By mid-century an era in private education was coming to an end. Schools founded so optimistically in early century in proud replication of a dynamic British tradition could not of themselves accommodate to postwar British Columbia society. Although possessed of a viable association, members were unable to persuade either provincial educational authorities or in the end themselves of the necessity for integration into the mainstream. They remained committed to a world which had, at least in North America, largely disappeared and would not for all their lashings of protest come again. The end of an era came in the form of defensive retreat.

IV

Certainly, some of British Columbia's boys' schools did survive within a new, more Canadian context. Indeed, accommodation was beginning even as retreat continued. Two inevitabilities could not be withstood. For British Columbia schools and their association to become viable, they had to acknowledge their identity of interest with private institutions elsewhere in Canada and with Catholic schools within the province. Secondly, the heads of individual schools would all soon have to be replaced with younger individuals.

In the years of mid-century British Columbia private schools were gradually forced away from an identification solely

with British private education to an acceptance of their Canadian environment. Up to the Second World War interest in Canada had been minimal. The non-profit status of many Ontario schools, as well as that of Shawnigan and University, probably influenced British Columbia schools to reorganize. As Scarrett pointed out, not only were there tax advantages but "the School is on a permanent footing and thereby continuity was ensured."[1] In acknowledgement of the desirability of moving away from a private profit status, the name of the provincial Private Schools' Association was changed in 1949 to "The Independent Schools' Association of British Columbia." From 1963 only a "School, not operated for private gain," could be admitted into the association.

The initiation of systematic contact with Canadian independent schools began in 1950 with the visit to British Columbia of several Ontario headmasters to address various organizations on the advantages of private education. As Harker admitted, the encounter made him realize how much "we are a part of Canadian life."[2] A decade later, in 1961, Harker became president of the Canadian Headmasters' Association, of which the principal British Columbia boys' schools had become members just as their female counterparts belonged to the Association of Headmistresses of Canada. Douglas Harker aptly summed up the new Canadian perspective when he wrote concerning this event: "St. George's now held an indisputed place among the major

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[1] PSA, Minutes, April 15, 1944; Nov. 5, 1949; and Oct. 26, 1963.
[2] Ibid, Oct. 6, 1950.

independent schools of Canada."[1]

Within the province the association and its members were discovering in these same years that they were not the only spokesmen for non-public education. Exhausted by the unsuccessful quest for recognition, the association became moribund in the 1950s, at a time when British Columbia's Catholic schools were launching their own, very strident offensive for both recognition and financial assistance.[2] The Catholic Church had two thrusts in its campaign to achieve a status comparable to that enjoyed in Ontario where Catholic schools had always formed part of the provincial system of education. Two longtime parochial schools in Maillardville, a largely French-Canadian suburb of Vancouver, were twice closed in protest--in 1951 over official refusal to provide school bus grants, again in 1953 over a first-time assessment of property tax. The complementary tactic was the accelerated construction of new schools to demonstrate to the government that in this rapidly expanding parochial system lay an educational dynamic to be ignored by the province at its peril. In September 1954 British Columbia had 40 Catholic private and parochial schools enrolling 10,000 pupils; by January 1959 there were 65 schools with 16,000 pupils.[3]

While the Catholic offensive did not accomplish its goal immediately, victory came in the long term. In the 1950s the

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[1] Harker, Saints, p. 117.
[2] Details taken principally from press clipping collections in Vancouver Public Library, Sociology Division, and VCA.
[3] Province, Sept. 13, 1954, and Jan. 19, 1959.

parochial system was greatly strengthened and the British Columbia Catholic Educational Association created. Moreover, although no union, political party or major group publicly endorsed the Catholic position, they were all forced as never before to confront the issue of non-public education.

The most important result was the affiliation in January 1966 of the Catholic group, the Independent Schools' Association, and other non-public religious schools to create the Federation of Independent Schools' Association of British Columbia. The Independent Schools' Association had revived in 1960 and recognized shortly thereafter the advantages of "a joint approach" suggested by the Catholic archbishop.[1] The consequence was a new, greater offensive by a group representing 121 schools enrolling 26,000 pupils.

So far as the Independent Schools' Association was concerned, "the sole object" of the federation was "to obtain Government recognition and support."[2] The campaign lasted a full decade, a difficult time which saw the withdrawal of the Independent Schools' Association from the federation in the years 1972 to 1975. The culmination was the Independent Schools' Support Act of 1977, which accorded non-public schools official recognition and regular financial assistance, if

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[1] PSA, Minutes, Oct. 26, 1963; April 2 and Oct. 3, 1964; and Feb. 6, 1965.

[2] Ibid, Feb. 4 and Oct. 27, 1966; May 24, 1967; and March 15, 1968. On the recognition campaign, see L.W. Downey, "The Anatomy of a Policy Decision: B.C.'s Bill 33--The Independent Schools Support Act" (unpublished paper prepared for the Study of the Consequences of Funding Independent Schools, Sept. 1979); and press clipping collection in Vancouver Public Library, Sociology Division.

desired. Unregulated private education had after 120 years finally come to an end in British Columbia.

V

The survival of individual boys' schools, as well as those for girls, depended on their effecting leadership transitions while maintaining economic viability. At most schools physical facilities were far below the level in postwar public schools, their improvement necessitating the outlay of funds generally unavailable to a single individual. Reorganization as a non-profit society and the assistance of old boys became critical. Virtually all the schools except University and Brentwood were still strongly identified with their founding headmaster. As the Rev. Bolton had recognized as early as 1927 concerning the "Permanency" of schools, "if Personality, which largely brings these about, alone is depended on, it is sand in place of rock, for no man lives forever."[1] When aging headmasters died or retired, the available options were succession by--in rough order of preference--a relative, a British bred individual, a trusted old boy, and some other Canadian bred individual. The alternative was closure.

No perfect solution existed. The generation of men who had founded British Columbia's boys' schools was inspired by the British ideal of the "public" school at its zenith. They

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[1] USM 53 (1927), p. 4.

carried through their lives an ideal which, if tarnished by reality, never disappeared. Their successors, recruited from a much more limited pool of interested personnel, would often lack the commitment, constancy of character and administrative expertise necessary to maintain schools' integrity in an increasingly diverse society. Of the fifteen boys' schools in operation at the end of the Second World War, only five survived into the 1980s.[1]

The three schools at which succession by a relative was possible--St. Michael's Preparatory School, St. George's and Glenlyon--demonstrate its advantages. Symons decided to retire in the spring of 1946. His wife, so vital to St. Michael's, had died during the war and their two sons were already active in its operation. In Symons' words: "For some time I had felt that the old man was beginning to wear out. You will forgive this personal note but it is hard to avoid it. I felt that I hadn't much left to give."[2] Kyrle Symons, educated at St. Michael's, Brentwood and the University of British Columbia, became headmaster assisted by his younger brother Ned, similarly schooled.

In the next two decades Kyrle Symons effected two changes fundamental to the survival of St. Michael's. The school, which had been incorporated as a limited company in 1933 to avoid

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[1] Two new boys' schools also existed in these years. Cliffside, 1959-77, was intended as a preparatory school to Shawnigan Lake School. St. David's School existed at Squamish in the early 1970s "as a break from the mold of the British private School system." Sun, Sept. 18, 1971; Aug. 29, 1973; and Aug. 29, 1977.
[2] Symons, p. 163.

death duties, was in 1957 reorganized as a non-profit society, the two brothers turning over most of their financial interest without compensation.[1] Secondly, physical facilities were brought into parity with the public school. Built as demand grew, St. Michael's was by mid-century "a maze of annexes and additions, at different levels, joined by curious passages and stairways--usable but drafty and inconvenient, its desks of antique design, its floorboards pitted by years of scrubbing and sweeping." The impetus to action was externally imposed:

> Came a day, says son Kyrle, just when he was organizing the Christmas term concert, that word was brought to him that five purveyors of doom waited outside . . . [in original] the fire chief, the building inspector, and three others of their ilk. "Sorry," they said, in effect, "but these buildings are condemned. Out."

With the encouragement of devoted old boys, a building appeal was launched in 1959 and new quarters constructed through donations and "a substantial mortgage."

A similarly smooth transition began at St. George's even before Harker left the headship. In 1948 the school became a non-profit society, its original backers surrendering their shares without compensation. Two years later, when enrollments dropped for the first time in Harker's tenure, he re-extended St. George's downward to grade one to make it "self-sufficient and no longer dependent on any other school to provide any portion of our population."[2] The shift was consonant with St. George's commitment to the British ideal of character

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[1] Ibid, p. 105, and Colonist, April 26, 1959; March 31, 1957; June 20, 1960; and March 29, 1970.
[2] SGSM, 1952, p. 41; 1949, p. 27; and 1950, p. 36.

building. As put by the head of the new junior school, "little can be done to mould a boy if he comes to school late in his boy life." "Boys from Private Schools should be expected to lead when they go out into the world, and it is in the Junior School that the seed of leadership is sown."

Nonetheless, it remained for Harker's successor, his brother Douglas, to redefine the school in mid-century terms. Douglas had through his postwar experience as personnel manager for Woodward department stores acquired practical knowledge of a changing society from which his older brother was largely sheltered. Reginald Tupper, a longtime intimate of the school, put it well: "As Headmaster he will be a professional schoolmaster who has been out in the world and knows the way of modern man and business."[1] During the younger Harker's years as head, 1963 to 1971, the school gave prominence to academic achievement, modern teaching methods, salaries and physical facilities. The group of private houses which composed the original school had become inadequate. John Harker recognized as early as 1952: "With new subdivisions and roads to right and left of us, and building projects and one-family-dwelling restrictions encroaching more and more on our former freedoms, we are indeed 'fenced in' . . . . Dunbar and 29th no longer seems the place for heroes." Encouraged by his board of governors, Douglas Harker built a modern senior school near a large wooded area a few blocks away, thereby doubling school capacity to over 500 pupils.

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[1] SGSM, 1961, p. 10, and 1952, p. 41.

The third school where succession by a relative occurred was Glenlyon Prepratory School. In 1964 Simpson turned the school over to his only son Hamish, educated at University School, the University of British Columbia, Princeton and Oxford, where he studied education.[1] Hamish Simpson's first major decision came in 1969 on his father's death. While Glenlyon remained a highly popular Oak Bay day school with an enrollment of some 170 boys, it was still family owned. To ensure subsequent succession, Simpson decided--even though he was himself just over thirty--to reorganize Glenlyon as a non-profit society with old boys and parents taking over the school through a longterm low interest mortgage. Simpson has successfully continued as headmaster into the 1980s.

VI

The second transition option was the selection of a British bred individual whose educational perceptions were compatible with those of British Columbia schools. In the four instances where such succession occurred--Vernon, University, Shawnigan and Malvern House--the outcome was not always satisfactory. The sequence of events at Vernon contained genuine pathos. Through the 1930s the future had seemed assured in the person of the Rev. Mackie's nephew Geoffrey. Then in 1941 young Mackie was killed in a flying accident in the Canadian Air Force. As the

[1] Colonist, June 25, 1964, and interviews, May 5, 1980.

Rev. Mackie reflected:

> His death has been more than a personal loss for it was common knowledge that Geoffrey was being nursed for the post of headmaster which he was admirably fitted to fill. We had hoped in the near future to retire, happy in the conviction that there was available one who would build, upon the foundations we had laid, a School outstanding among the educational institutions of B.C.[1]

At war's end the Rev. Mackie began an arduous search for a suitable successor. After resorting to "advertisements in Canadian and English papers," he selected a Cambridge man teaching in an English preparatory school on the grounds that it was necessary to go "out of Canada for a Headmaster" if Vernon was to be maintained "on the lines of an English Preparatory School."[2] At first the transition, which occurred in September 1946, appeared smooth; but less than two years later the new headmaster was caught out in a personal indiscretion necessitating his immediate removal. While the Rev. Mackie secured as interim successor a retired Indian Army officer, the damage was done and enrollments plummeted by half to just twenty boys.

Vernon survived the debacle largely because another Englishman and his wife were willing to take over the damaged school. Unlike his predecessor, hired on the basis of paper credentials, Charles W. Twite was a respected private-school master in British Columbia.[3] Sent by his engineer father to the

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[1] VPSM, Easter 1941, p. 1.
[2] Ibid, Christmas 1945, pp. 2-3.
[3] Interview, July 9, 1980; SLSM, 1932, p. 3; and C.W.N. Twite, taped interview in SLS Archives.

"public" school of Charterhouse and to Oxford, Twite had subsequently registered with a London placement agency for an overseas teaching position and in 1932 been hired by Lonsdale to replace Ellis. Once it became clear to Twite he was not Lonsdale's choice as successor, he looked elsewhere for his own school.

Twite's strong identification with Shawnigan and commitment to its principles almost predetermined that his fifteen years at Vernon would not witness complete accommodation with modernity.[1] In 1953 the school was incorporated as a non-profit society under a board of governors. Construction of needed new facilities was fortuitously accelerated in 1957 by a fire which destroyed the original buildings, termed by Twite a "rabbitwarren." However, the school's continuing reliance on the traditional British model of education and its isolated location, which made boarding inevitable at a time when parents were increasingly unwilling to part with younger offspring, made survival problematic from Twite's departure. In 1972 the school closed.

University School was in July 1948 faced with the necessity of finding a new headmaster on Scarrett's sudden death. The governors turned to John J. Timmis, a postwar British immigrant who had been teaching at Shawnigan and Glenlyon.[2] Educated "publicly" and at Oxford, he had during the 1930s taught at the minor "public" school of Canford, and so seemed an ideal choice.

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[1] Vernon Preparatory School, 1914-1964 (Vernon: n.p., 1964).
[2] Colonist, April 16, 1972; Times, Sept. 28, 1954; Sun, Jan. 15, 1955; and Heritage 1 (1979), p. 9, and 2 (1980), p. 22.

In the early years of Timmis' tenure, physical facilities were updated, pensions introduced and school life made more tolerable for older pupils through such accommodations as permission to smoke in a special room with parental approval. However, Timmis could not persuade Victoria families to patronize the school in large numbers: while total enrollment peaked at 250 pupils, local boys never exceeded 80. A year after Timmis' death in 1970, financial difficulties forced University's amalgamation with St. Michael's to form what is today St. Michaels University School.

Shawnigan was more astute, selecting as transition headmaster a reputable Englishman with proven financial ability and contacts with a secure source of clientele. There the difficulty lay in persuading the school's founder to retire. Although Shawnigan had been incorporated in 1928 as a non-profit society under a board of governors, Lonsdale had ensured that power would long remain in his hands. While increasingly distant from the school's daily operation, he was loathe to abandon his life's work until the future could be assured according to his own specifications.

A drop in enrollment from some hundred boys in the immediate postwar years to just 70 by mid-century forced the governors, now enriched by several concerned old boys, to take action. In April 1952 Lonsdale was forcibly replaced by G. Peter Kaye, father of two boys at the school.[1] Educated at

[1] Cowichan Leader, Feb. 21 and Aug. 4, 1952; Canadian Who's Who, 1948, p. 497; and E.R. Larsen, taped interview in SLS Archives.

what one newspaper termed the "strict Old Country school" of Repton and an accountant by profession, Kaye had been resident in Vancouver since his transfer there in 1934 by a British investment company. The job at Shawnigan was accepted because he had become, to use his own words, "vitally interested in the future of the school." As well as rationalizing finances and increasing enrollments to 150 pupils through his "many connections in Vancouver," Kaye made an important contribution simply by demonstrating that Shawnigan could exist apart from its forceful headmaster of well over a third of a century.

The fourth school taken over by a British bred individual was Victoria's Malvern House, purchased in 1963 by Col. P.T. Sealy, a retired British Army officer. Malvern and a sister institution for girls, already owned by Col. Sealy and his wife, retained their economic viability into the 1970s not because of modernization but rather due to their recruitment of the majority of the schools' 60 to 100 pupils from the Orient.[1] Still operating on the traditional British model, the schools were sold in 1978 to be closed shortly thereafter.

VII

The experience of Vernon, University, Shawnigan and Malvern make clear the difficulty of acquiring a suitable British bred headmaster in postwar British Columbia. An equally acceptable

[1] Interview, Oct. 31, 1981; Colonist, Nov. 26, 1972, and Aug. 26, 1975; and The Victorian, Dec. 27, 1972.

alternative was the selection of a capable old boy. Indeed, Rev. Mackie had after the war approached at least two former pupils before settling on a British import.[1] Both Shawnigan and St. George's looked, after their first transition headmasters, to former pupils for leadership.

The selection of Edward R. Larsen to succeed Kaye at Shawnigan in 1958 was no sudden decision, for he was Lonsdale's chosen heir. The problem had lain in his extreme youth. Born in 1925, Larsen was the youngest son of Professor Thorlief Larsen, a longtime supporter of private education on the British model consequent on his own years as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford. Young Larsen had been sent to Vernon and Shawnigan, where as headboy he earned from Lonsdale the rare commendation, "Excellent in every respect--." After attending the University of British Columbia, he returned as housemaster. Once it became "very clear to me that he wanted me to follow him," Larsen went to Oxford better to prepare himself, only to have Lonsdale unable to retain the position until his return.[2]

Larsen's decade at Shawnigan witnessed a transformation in rhetoric from British to Canadian comparable to Kaye's modernization of financial structure. Young, dynamic and athletic, Larsen was an exemplar without par, and from that strong personal base he refashioned Shawnigan from a "private boarding" school to an "independent residential" institution. His argument for the "independent" school was premised on the

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[1] VPSM, Summer 1945, p. 2.
[2] Larsen, taped interview.

necessity to "encourage the development of the individual and so oppose a new machine psychology which can only produce set patterns"; his argument for the "residential" school on the necessity to learn "to live together in a community," acquire "a religious attitude to life," and obtain the "first lesson in that most difficult of all arts, the control and leadership of others."[1] All this was best obtained, according to Larsen the ultimate exemplar, from example:

> The boy is a natural-born hero-worshipper and he will try to be like his hero--the man he admires, whether he be his teacher or an older boy. Thus if a group of masters in a residential school show their boys that they admire the right things, that they know what is meant by playing the game, and they know what constitutes good form, the boys will respond.

While refashioning Shawnigan's vocabulary in mid-century terminology, Larsen did not completely abandon the school's British heritage. Indicative was a feature article in 1961 in the Star Weekly with a circulation of 900,000 across Canada, which described Shawnigan both as "The Eton of the Island," "B.C.'s answer to Britain's best boys' school," and as "an outstanding school in Canada."[2] According to a contemporary, by the time of Larsen's unexpected departure in 1968, there was emerging "a trend toward progressive liberalization, a willingness to consider pupils as people, not just pupils."[3] "It is no longer just a place to learn lessons, but a place to think

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[1] Undated articles, Feb. 1959, from a Victoria newspaper in SLS, Scrapbooks.
[2] "The Eton of the Island," Star Weekly, Aug. 26, 1961, pp. 12-15.
[3] Inside Cooking Pot (SLS pupil magazine), May 25, 1968, n.p.

about them as well, weighing the ideas that they contain." Under a series of successors of varying talents, Shawnigan continues today still in the shadow of Larsen's decade of leadership.[1]

The second school taken over by an old boy was St. George's. The choice of Alan Brown to succeed Douglas Harker in 1971 came after a wide-ranging national search even employing a Toronto management consultant to organize interviews in eastern Canada. The unanimous selection of Brown as "an exceptionally dynamic young man of rare abilities and potential" was based both on his education at the University of British Columbia, Oxford, Brown and the University of Toronto and on his teaching experience at Shawnigan and in Malaya. Brown possessed another highly desirable quality. As put by Douglas Harker, "Alan Brown, the new headmaster, came from a family who had lived in Canada for two hundred years and in Vancouver almost since its inception."[2] Indeed, his father already served on the school's board of governors, making young Brown almost as much a part of the Vancouver power structure as was St. George's itself.

Brown's tenure at St. George's, which continues, has centred on a shift from social to academic exclusivity. Convinced the school should not expand beyond the 1971 enrollment of some 600 boys, he moved rather to raise academic standards and improve facilities. In 1978 St. George's acquired

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[1] See Sun, May 29, 1976, and Cowichan Leader, Nov. 8, 1978.
[2] Harker, Saints, p. 218.

the massive stone quarters vacated by its longtime neighbour, the Convent of the Sacred Heart. The creation there of a new junior school severed the last physical link with the school's foundation under Danby-Hunter in a converted private house. Today St. George's is the largest non-Catholic boys' school in the province.

VIII

The least satisfactory choice as transition headmaster was a Canadian outsider. All three schools so taken over--Brentwood, Kingsley and North Shore College--closed shortly thereafter. At the end of the war Brentwood was faced with the resignation of its third headmaster in just two decades of operation. The school's governors selected as Privett's successor W.K. Molson, an eastern Canadian who after attending McGill had taught for three years at Trinity College School. Although possessed, as a contemporary cynically phrased it, with "the magic name of Molson," he was by all accounts not a judicious choice and proved unable or unwilling to cope after a fire destroyed the school's premises in August 1947.[1] Nor were the governors capable of mobilizing old boys behind rebuilding. In November 1948 the school closed permanently after a year of ad hoc operation in temporary quarters. The name Brentwood was, however, revived for a new school which opened in 1961 with the

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[1] Colonist, Aug. 17, 19 and Sept. 18, 1947, and Nov. 6, 1948; and interviews, June 11, 1980, and Feb. 26, 1981.

support of old boys of the original Brentwood.[1]

The two North Vancouver schools, Kingsley and North Shore College, had remained privately owned. In 1946 Kingsley was sold by Mrs. Scriven to Ernest C. Allen, a Vancouver native educated at Catholic Vancouver College and at the University of British Columbia who had for a decade operated fringe boys' schools on the North Shore.[2] After giving up on shortlived West Vancouver College, Allen opened Caulfeild in 1942, both schools raising the ire of the Private Schools' Association through their large advertisements including fees--"Boarders $40 per month"--and the promise of such amenities as "English rugby, Canadian rugby, soccer, coaching in swimming and diving, badminton and table tennis, physical training and tumbling, cadet corps, rifle range, rowing, boxing, drama and music, debates." Having "incorporated" Caulfeild into Kingsley, Allen was soon advertising his new school in equally enthusiastic language. The question of Kingsley's economic viability over the longterm became moot with Allen's death in 1950. Kingsley closed shortly thereafter.

The probability that Kingsley could not have survived under private ownership is suggested by the fate of nearby North Shore College. On the death in 1947 of Dale, sole headmaster since Storr's departure during the war, the school was purchased by an elderly Canadian classicist. A.D. Winspear had emigrated as a

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[1] Colonist, Feb. 23 and April 9, 1961; Province, Dec. 23, 1972; and Cowichan Leader, Nov. 13, 1975.
[2] Province, May 20, 1946; Aug. 11, 1945; Aug. 27, 1942; Aug. 30, 1947; Aug. 14, 1948; and Aug. 27, 1949; and Sun, Sept. 6, 1950.

child from Britain to Calgary and studied at Bishop Pinkham College.[1] Upon graduation from Queen's University, he went to Oxford as Ontario's Rhodes Scholar and then taught briefly at Calgary's Western Canada College before making his career at Swarthmore College and the University of Wisconsin. Winspear came to North Shore College with the enthusiastic support not only of his wife, a trained nurse, but of the school's old boys and of Kingsley's former headmaster, Bernard Round. Despite a clientele base encompassing the entire North Shore, an area accustomed to educating offspring privately, Winspear could not make the school financially viable. In 1956, with enrollments at just 50 boys, North Shore College gave up, due ostensibly to "differences with the district over building standards."

Other schools closed even under their founding headmasters. The Duncan Grammar School shut its doors in 1950 after Honour tried without success to secure a successor from among leading masters at other Island boys' schools.[2] The end of Lion's Gate in Vancouver came in the early 1960s when its founder retired to England. By 1970 the founding headmaster of Qualicum College, as Qualicum Beach School had been renamed in 1950, was also ready to retire. The school's beautiful shoreline setting in a holiday area of Vancouver Island made it unlikely any devoted schoolman could afford purchase, and in the end Qualicum became

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[1] A.D. Winspear, "Bishop Pinkham College," Golden West, March-April 1966, p. 31; interview, June 18, 1980; Province, June 23, 1956; and PSA, Minutes, Oct. 13, 1956.
[2] Colonist, Aug. 24, 1951, and interviews, May 7 and July 9, 1980.
[3] Colonist, June 21, 1970, and Sun, July 29, 1972.

a seaside resort hotel.[3]

Athlone in Vancouver, also located on property which had escalated in value, was in a similar position by 1970. Although incorporated, the shares were held by its founder, Mrs. Violet Dryvynsyde, and on her death in 1969 by her son. While the school's operation could be maintained, Athlone was not a viable business proposition. As the board minutes stated in January 1972, "The income of the School is not sufficient return on capital," much less to finance needed "structural repairs."[1] Although concerned parents of the 180 pupils at Athlone attempted to arrange purchase, the school closed in 1973.

British Columbia girls' schools, having virtually all been founded by genteel unmarried British ladies, were deprived of the most viable form of leadership transition--by a close family member. A school's survival depended on the acquisition of an equally dedicated individual, either recruited from staff or through a larger search, most successful candidates being fellow Britons. In part a consequence of expanding opportunities for women, the postwar years witnessed considerable turnover in headmistresses with only five schools surviving into the 1980s--St. Margaret's School and Norfolk House in Victoria, Queen Margaret's School in the Cowichan Valley, and Crofton House and York House in Vancouver. The latter occupies a unique status as the only girls' school under male leadership. Moreover, just as

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[1] Athlone School Company, Minutes, Jan. 4, 1972, in its scrapbook in possession of B.O. Dryvynsyde; Sun, Feb. 5 and 24 and April 7, 1973; interview, Jan. 29, 1980; and Harker, Saints, pp. 200 and 238.

St. Michaels University School and Brentwood now admit girls at the senior level, so York House accepts boys through grade six.

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The series of events whereby the fifteen British Columbia boys' schools on the British model existing in 1945 diminished to five centred on several critical factors. Their association was unable to secure official recognition at a critical moment or to accommodate adequately to postwar society. The survival of individual schools depended on the success of transition headmasters in maintaining economic viability while separating a school's ethos from the personality of its founder. Among essential changes were the acquisition of non-profit status, modernization of physical facilities, and probable increase in size. Most importantly, the original commitment to mould young boys into gentlemen had to be restructured in recognition of the schools' Canadian environment.

Chapter 9

LIFE AS AN OLD BOY

During the half century, 1900-1950, about 7,500 British Columbia boys were for all or part of their education removed from the bulk of their contemporaries in the public system and enrolled in a private school patterned on the principles and practices of Britain.[1] The effect of this experience can be assessed in two ways. Discussions with former pupils from a single school reveal the range of reactions among individuals who underwent a similar experience. Secondly, the subsequent lives of old boys as a group can be examined quantitatively.

Forty-seven, or roughly 10 percent, of the 448 pupils enrolled at the Vernon Preparatory School, 1914-1946, have been interviewed, men selected to reflect a variety of time periods, places of residence, lengths of attendance, and personal backgrounds. The average boy came to Vernon at about age ten to

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[1] The number of British Columbia boys attending a non-Catholic private school during the years, 1900-50, can only be approximated. The sum of estimated annual enrollments is about 32,500 boys. Assuming, as was done in chapter 4, an average length of attendance of about 4 years in one or more private schools, then a total of some 8,000 boys received some private education. Upwards to 10 percent of these pupils--more at boarding schools but far less in day schools--came from outside the province. If this proportion is removed, then approximately 7,500 British Columbia boys received some private education.

remain there between three and four years. However, neither the relative youth of pupils nor the time elapsed since attendance detracts markedly from the validity of their separate appraisals of the experience: indeed, the strong consistency between recollections of school life and of the three Mackies gives heightened significance to assessments of the institution's influence.

Table 86
CONTACT MAINTAINED BY BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS WITH VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS

	Vernon At least minimal contact	Vernon Ongoing contact	Shawnigan At least minimal contact	Shawnigan Ongoing contact
Years Attended				
5 plus	.91 (70/77)	.70 (54/77)	.75(110/147)	.35(63/147)
3 to 5	.88(107/122)	.59(72/122)	.73(130/179)	.35(63/179)
2 to 3	.78 (61/78)	.37 (29/78)	.55 (59/107)	.21(23/107)
1 to 2	.70 (51/73)	.26 (19/73)	.35 (39/110)	.10(11/110)
Under 1	.42 (19/45)	.13 (6/45)	.15 (7/47)	.00 (0/47)

SOURCE:
Notes in VPSM and SLSM on former pupils.

NOTE:
Minimal contact defined as one or two notices, ongoing as more than two.

For Canadian pupils at Vernon and at Shawnigan Lake School, 1916-1950, subsequent education, marriage, career and residence have been quantified to determine the extent to which their lives differed from the overall population. Data utilized was obtained from school magazines and scrapbooks, newspaper files, and the individuals themselves. Of 413 pupils at Vernon, some

information has been obtained for about 95 percent; of 658 at Shawnigan 83 percent. The data is patently skewed. As indicated by Table 86, the longer a boy remained in school the more likely he was to maintain contact and hence have his career followed in the school magazine. The information is also biased toward established families, whose offsprings' lives were often covered in the provincial press due simply to their parentage.

I

An English headmaster has written of the "public" school: "The school stands, and continues to stand, in the consciousness of its Old Boys for his better self, and it remains a tie through life which he will not lightly dishonour."[1] British Columbia boys' schools maintained their influence over former pupils by two methods. During each boys' time at school he was repeatedly given clear guidelines as to the principles upon which his subsequnt life should be patterned. Secondly, as in Britain, old boys' associations were encouraged.

As previously discussed, each aspect of school life was intended to develop predefined character traits in pupils. At certain times their relationship to boys' futures was made explicit. Pupils at St. Michael's Preparatory School were told on Speech Day in 1920 that "many of you here today are destined

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[1] Norwood, "School," p. 115.

in the years ahead to become leaders of our economic and social life."[1] The Rev. Bolton of University School was equally forthright: "It is the quality of the minds and characters of our boys that will decide the future of the country."[2] The Rev. Mackie of Vernon was fond of using Sunday chapel sermons to share his expectations for the school's pupils. Boys were remonstrated to "be thankful that you are receiving an education which will equip you to take your proper place as cultured men, moving as equals among others of your own status in life."[3] Or, "we should be ambitious to rise high so that our influence for good may reach out to a great number of our fellow men." As the Second World War closed, the Rev. Mackie told his pupils that "character will be the deciding factor more than ever--you from your training should take your place as leaders of the new world." Pupils attending North Shore College were reminded in 1945 of the school's concern in "sending you into the world clean, truthful, reliable, God-fearing men." "There are many youths at the present time, who, given the opportunities that you have, should become the leaders of this province."[4]

The expectations put on pupils while at school were reinforced on their departure by the existence of old boys' groups. University School started an association in 1915, Vernon in 1920, St. Michael's in 1922, Shawnigan in 1925 and Brentwood in 1927. St. George's had an old boys' club by 1936,

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[1] Heritage 1 (1979), p. 17.
[2] USM 65 (1935), p. 39.
[3] Mackie, Sermons, v. 1, 4 and undated.
[4] NSCM, Christmas 1945, p. 1.

as did North Shore College four years later. Former pupils of St. George's were told that "Old Boys' Societies have two objects: first that the old boys may keep continued touch with their school; secondly that friendships formed at school may be preserved."[1]

The headmaster of Brentwood was more forthright concerning the potential hold such groups exercised over former pupils: "As the lives of old boys are the test of the school's ability to produce Men, we should like to know very much more about their activities when they leave here."[2] Lonsdale of Shawnigan was equally overt: "One of the great interests of a School is to watch over the careers of Old Boys . . . . The success of an Old Boy is an example to those still at School. It is an encouragement to others to follow in his steps. It tells the School that its efforts are worth while."[3] On another occasion he put an even greater sense of obligation onto his former pupils: "The life blood of the School is the Old Boys. Your entirely enviable record is our proud heritage, your conduct in the world our justification and in your hands the future as our past must largely lie." Symons of St. Michael's viewed his old boys "as what St. Paul calls 'the cloud of witnesses.'"[4]

The methods whereby old boys' associations maintained contact among pupils were several. Periodic meetings took place

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[1] SGSM, 1936, p. 37.
[2] BCM, 1926, p. 7.
[3] SLSM, 1930, pp. 2-3, and 1945, p. 37.
[4] Symons, p. 62.

at the school, often also in Vancouver and Victoria. Cricket or rugby teams made up of a school's old boys might also exist in each city. Old boy ties, pins and blazers were created. Former pupils would frequently play an annual game of cricket, rugby or soccer against the school team, possibly on a weekend when all old boys were especially encouraged to visit the school. School magazines regularly devoted a special column to news of past pupils. Headmasters maintained personal contact by correspondence with many of their former pupils. At St. Michael's, "records of each old boy's achievements are kept in a book."[1]

The Rev. Mackie maintained, virtually to his death in 1965, voluminous scrapbooks containing not only news from the boys themselves but clippings daily gleaned from both local and Vancouver newspapers.[2] Like fellow headmasters, he was not above using such information to maintain his influence over former pupils. In 1922 he wrote, "It is with profound thankfulness that I am assured by others or by letters or by personal contact that the majority of the old boys are true to the traditions of the school." A decade or two later he was remonstrating with those who "have fallen below the standards which they set before them."

There is considerable evidence that British Columbia boys' schools maintained their influence over former pupils, whether or not they had enjoyed school life. The attitudes of those who

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[1] Colonist, March 31, 1957.
[2] VPS, Scrapbooks, and Mackie, Sermons, v. 3 and 9.

vehemently liked or disliked Vernon are equally revealing. Of the 47 pupils interviewed, half a dozen both contemporaneously and retrospectively made the school their life.[1] These individuals are distinguished by common attributes which certainly facilitated their adaption to the standards expected by the school. Five of the six were outstanding athletes, at the forefront of the teams which formed the emotional heart of the school. At least four of the six found Vernon and the Mackies a substitute for an unsatisfactory home life, due either to the illness or death of a parent or to some other circumstance. In one case, the Rev. Mackie became a lifelong surrogate father; with a boy of more literary temperament it was Hugh Mackie who gave needed direction. For these pupils the school encompassed their entire being; they internalized its principles which then became the basis of their subsequent lives. One such individual runs a large business on the hierarchical plan of Vernon; another patterns each day from cold shower to human relationships on the precepts of the Rev. Mackie. As one of these old boys put the lesson gained from the school, "Learn to display admirable qualities and things will come your due."

In some cases, certainly, the hold exercised over old boys was based largely on sentiment. Letters to the Rev. Mackie are indicative. For example, "I got the School Magazine which never fails to make one homesick for the old School and envious of the

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[1] Interviews, Feb. 2, April 5, Oct. 24 and Dec. 14, 1979; Feb. 16, 1980; and May 2, 1981.

boys who are lucky enough to be with you now."[1] And another: "I would like nothing better than to go back to the old school and stay with you for a few days again. I should even enjoy a caning, like I had during my first week at V.P.S. It was with a toy hoe-handle." A third was somewhat more realistic: "I am beginning to miss the school a lot now, especially the games and chapel. However, I still look back with a shudder on a few things, such as cheese and crackers, onions, going to bed at 8.00." The fictional attempt of one former Vernon pupil persuading another to attend an old boys' dinner was almost cynical: "Most people love boarding school once they're out from under. I believe the Army's the same, and prison. Benevolent tyranny. You'll enjoy coming."[2]

Pupils who detested school life were not immune from its influence. At the fictionalized Vernon old boys' dinner just mentioned, one participant mused,

> Believe me, for years I hadn't a good word to say for boarding schools. Changed my mind during the war though. I've come to think they are perfectly justified in being the squalid little holes they are. They toughen up a kid quite wonderfully. Especially a sensitive kid. After boarding school he can just coast through life.

A Vernon pupil, sent there in 1942 at the age of eight for talking back to his father--"Look, you old bastard, I'll go to bed when I bloody well feel like it"--has concluded: "They ran the place like, well, I think a jail would be nicer. I was there for six years; the food was atrocious, the conditions were

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[1] VPSM, Christmas 1944, p. 7; Summer 1935, p. 20; and Christmas 1946, p. 5.
[2] Cornish, pp. 253-54 and 255.

atrocious but it was life."[1] Another old boy was more succinct: "It taught me to be lonely at quite an early age," "to make a psychological life in my head."

Of the 47 Vernon old boys interviewed, six were vehemently opposed to the school.[2] As put by a former pupil who would have achieved the rare feat of successfully running away had it not been for the breakdown of the nightly passenger boat on the nearby lake, "By God, I hated it!" A second was more philosophical concerning the longterm utility of his education: "Lesson for life? Learn to enjoy a most monstrous despicable self-imposed universe. VPS was pure hell and has provided me with an anchor for life, no matter how awful it is it is better than that."

These half dozen Vernon pupils are to some extent distinguished by common characteristics. As evidenced by family background or subsequent career, four were highly artistic, intellectual, and innovative. Not only did Vernon, like the other boys' schools, give only secondary priority to such individualistic pursuits as art and music but the overriding concern for physical manliness made boys so interested easy prey. The prime target for bullying in one pupil's time was a boy who persisted in spending each Saturday evening listening to a concert of classical music on the radio. The remaining two pupils possibly did not fit into the school because of their

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[1] Ron Starr, "Blythe Rogers, Industrial Innovator," Western Living, Jan. 1982, pp. 9-10; and interview, Feb. 20, 1979.
[2] Interviews, Feb. 20, July 16, Aug. 26, Sept. 27, Oct. 18 and Nov. 28, 1979.

background. One had a very Canadian small-town upbringing, the other a continental European working-class heritage. In each of the six cases, dislike of school was to an extent due to the inability, or unwillingness, to suppress individuality in the interests of predefined group norms.

II

Whatever the influence of private school in fashioning identity, British Columbia's old boys would have in any case been distinctive. Not only were their families by occupation, religion and social ambition predominantly upper-middle class, but the mere fact of school attendance into the secondary level had already separated them from the bulk of young British Columbians. The expectations of both family and school made it highly probable most would continue their education.

Up to the early 1920s headmasters still assumed that pupils would go on to an English "public" school. Symons mused in 1920, "I like to think that very many of our boys have gone into the great English public schools and found themselves quite at home there."[1] As recalled by a University pupil, "A lot of boys from University School in those days went to England, generally to Haileybury, or Harrow, to finish their education."[2] The foundation of Brentwood in 1923 was a general acknowledgement that such a course was no longer economically feasible for many

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[1] Symons, p. 46.
[2] Heritage 1 (1979), p. 12.

families, and thereafter most boys remained in Canada.

Table 87
SUBSEQUENT SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS LEAVING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1950

	1914-20	1920-30	1930-40	1940-46
PRIVATE SCHOOL	13 (.45)	49 (.35)	43 (.31)	19 (.26)
British Columbia	7 (.24)	40 (.28)	30 (.21)	11 (.15)
Other Canada	0	0	8 (.06)	8 (.11)
United States	0	0	2 (.01)	0
Britain	6 (.21)	9 (.06)	3 (.02)	0
PUBLIC SCHOOL	4 (.14)	43 (.30)	45 (.32)	28 (.39)
PROBABLY NONE	2 (.07)	2 (.01)	0	0
DIED	0	4 (.03)	0	1 (.01)
UNKNOWN	10 (.34)	43 (.30)	52 (.37)	24 (.33)
TOTAL	29	141	140	72

SOURCE:
School magazines, newspaper files, biographical dictionaries, and interviews.

Tables 87 and 88 detail information concerning the subsequent secondary education of about two thirds of the Canadian pupils leaving Vernon and Shawnigan schools prior to the Depression. In the years before 1920, at least a fifth of all pupils from Vernon and a third from Shawnigan did go on to an English school. Another quarter continued their education at a private school in British Columbia or in Ontario. Less than 15 percent are known to have gone on to their local public school, although a sizable proportion of those whose subsequent education is not known certainly also did so. In the 1920s the proportion of all pupils known to have gone on to a private school slipped to about a third with the proportion entering a school in Britain declining even more markedly.

Table 88
SUBSEQUENT SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS LEAVING SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL BEFORE COMPLETION, 1916-1930

	1916-1920	1920-1925	1925-1930
PRIVATE SCHOOL	11 (.61)	25 (.29)	10 (.09)
British Columbia	0	6 (.07)	1 (.01)
Ontario	5 (.28)	4 (.05)	3 (.03)
United States	0	0	0
Britain	6 (.33)	15 (.17)	6 (.06)
PUBLIC SCHOOL	1 (.06)	3 (.03)	2 (.02)
PROBABLY NONE	0	3 (.03)	2 (.02)
DIED	0	0	1 (.01)
UNKNOWN	6 (.33)	56 (.64)	78 (.73)
TOTAL	18	87	107

NOTE:
Data for years after 1930 is incomplete.

In the 1930s the proportion of Canadian pupils at Vernon known to have gone on to another private school remained about a third, slipping to just over a quarter during the war years. Shawnigan had by this date expanded to include the secondary level. At noted in Table 89, about a half of Shawnigan's Canadian pupils in the 1930s completed their secondary education at the school, compared with a somewhat smaller proportion of Americans. In the postwar years the proportion of both Canadians and Americans completing their education declined to just over a quarter, possibly a reflection of the school's deterioration under an aging headmaster.

Having completed their secondary education, British Columbia old boys looked, in the words of the Rev. Mackie, to

Table 89
PUPILS COMPLETING THEIR SECONDARY EDUCATION AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1928-1950

	Canadian Pupils	American Pupils
Completing		
1928-30	.32 (29/90)	.08 (1/12)
1930-35	.38 (67/175)	.36 (8/22)
1935-40	.55 (44/80)	.44 (16/36)
1940-45	.45 (30/67)	.22 (6/27)
1945-50	.27 (20/74)	.28 (15/53)

NOTE:
"Completion" is defined as junior matriculation or equivalent. The data for the years before 1928 is omitted, since the school was intended mainly for younger pupils.

Table 90
IMMEDIATE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946

	Reached age seventeen in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
UNIVERSITY	36 (.36)	36 (.31)	52 (.44)	39 (.50)
MILITARY	22 (.22)	14 (.12)	23 (.20)	2 (.03)
OTHER EMPLOYMENT	9 (.09)	6 (.05)	3 (.03)	3 (.04)
DIED	1 (.01)	4 (.03)	3 (.03)	3 (.04)
UNKNOWN	32 (.32)	58 (.49)	36 (.48)	31 (.40)
TOTAL	100	118	117	78

the "wider sphere which a University offers".[1] In 1931 Brentwood noted proudly that of the school's 295 old boys 151 had gone to

[1] Mackie, Sermons, v. 8.

one of 13 different universities in Canada, England, and the United States.[1] Pupils from Vernon and Shawnigan enrolled in university in the 1920s in high numbers. Tables 90 and 91, which are organized for consistency by pupils' age, indicate that--even though the post-secondary activity of a third or more of the two schools' pupils is unknown--at least a third from Vernon and a quarter from Shawnigan entered university. In respect to pupils about whose post-secondary activity something is known, half or more, as at Brentwood, went on to university. The proportion increased over time. Of boys reaching the age of seventeen during the Depression, a third or more began university. Of only those whose post-secondary activity is known, 1930-37, virtually two thirds went on to university.

Table 91
IMMEDIATE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1950

	Reached age seventeen in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
UNIVERSITY	38 (.25)	109 (.38)	29 (.27)	24 (.22)
MILITARY	29 (.19)	42 (.15)	24 (.22)	3 (.03)
OTHER EMPLOYMENT	18 (.12)	15 (.05)	1 (.01)	1 (.01)
DIED	0	8 (.03)	4 (.04)	2 (.02)
UNKNOWN	69 (.45)	111 (.39)	50 (.46)	71 (.64)
TOTAL	154	285	108	111

Not all boys remained to complete a degree. Tables 92 and 93, organized by age of adulthood, summarize the level of post-

[1] Colonist, June 21, 1931.

Table 92
LEVEL OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Attended a post-secondary institution	20 (.31)	40 (.35)	45 (.43)	64 (.53)
Received degree	12 (.18)	32 (.28)	34 (.32)	52 (.43)
Received master's or professional degree	2 (.03)	10 (.09)	24 (.23)	28 (.23)
Received doctorate	1 (.02)	3 (.03)	7 (.07)	9 (.08)
Died	1	4	3	3
TOTAL	65	117	108	123

secondary education attained by Canadian boys who had attended Vernon and Shawnigan. Even though nothing is known about a third or more of former pupils, at least 13 to 15 percent of old boys coming of age in the 1920s did receive a bachelor's degree. The proportion moved steadily upward, to about a quarter of those reaching adulthood during the Depression, and to almost a third of those reaching adulthood during the Second World War. Of pupils reaching adulthood after the war, the proportion rose to over 40 percent of Vernon pupils, but declined at Shawnigan, due certainly to a lack of data on fully two thirds of the pupils. The proportion receiving a master's degree also grew in the postwar years to at least 10 percent at Shawnigan and to virtually a quarter at Vernon.

While the lack of complete data permits only tentative

Table 93
LEVEL OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1950

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Attended a post-secondary institution	12 (.16)	77 (.29)	56 (.35)	32 (.23)
Received degree	10 (.13)	56 (.21)	43 (.27)	27 (.19)
Received master's or professional degree	3 (.04)	21 (.08)	13 (.08)	14 (.10)
Received doctorate	0	3 (.01)	2 (.01)	2 (.01)
Died	0	8	4	2
TOTAL	77	271	166	144

conclusions concerning the extent to which Canadian pupils at Vernon and Shawnigan attended university, the availability of the alumni records of the University of British Columbia allows precise determination of the proportion of boys from British Columbia receiving degrees from that university. As outlined in Table 94, 15 percent of Vernon old boys reaching adulthood in the 1920s received a bachelor's degree from the University of British Columbia, a proportion climbing steadily to fully 41 percent of those coming of age after the Second World War. At Shawnigan, as detailed in Table 95, the proportion of old boys receiving a degree increased from 6 to 24 percent. Average age was about 23 years, but rose to 25 after the Second World War, indicating most boys attended university after military service.

Table 96 summarizes the education of all British Columbians

Table 94
ATTENDANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS AT THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Known to have attended	17 (.28)	25 (.25)	49 (.51)	59 (.50)
Received degree	9 (.15)	21 (.20)	37 (.38)	48 (.41)
TOTAL	60	105	97	117
Mean age at which degree received	22.5	23.5	25.4	23.2

SOURCE:
UBC, Alumni Office, computer printouts on degree holders.

Table 95
ATTENDANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS AT SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1950

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Known to have attended	9 (.11)	61 (.26)	46 (.33)	33 (.29)
Received degree	5 (.06)	35 (.15)	31 (.22)	27 (.24)
TOTAL	85	234	140	114
Mean age at which degree received	23.1	23.1	24.9	24.3

reaching adulthood between 1921 and 1951. Of individuals coming of age in the 1920s only 16 percent reached the last year of high school and just under a quarter of these then enrolled at

the University of British Columbia. Sixty percent of those entering, or 2.2 percent of their total age cohort, received a bachelor's degree. While British Columbians reaching adulthood during the Depression were more likely to attain the last year of high school, a smaller proportion went on to university, certainly for economic reasons. By the postwar years over a third of the age cohort was reaching the last year of high school, with almost a third of those entering the University of British Columbia. Eighty percent of those enrolled, or 8 percent of their age cohort, received a bachelor's degree. The proportion of their age cohort receiving a degree had almost quadrupled in the three decades.

The academic achievement of Vernon and Shawnigan old boys is compared with the overall British Columbia population in Table 97. Use of the entire age cohort would only demonstrate that a far, far greater proportion of private-school boys entered university. The more interesting comparison is with only that proportion of the population reaching the last year of high school. Somewhat surprisingly, while a marginally greater proportion of Vernon old boys of the 1920s received a degree from the University of British Columbia than did their age cohort, less than half as many Shawnigan old boys as their cohort even entered the university. However, the proportion of both Vernon and Shawnigan boys receiving degrees became considerably larger than their cohort during the Depression and through the Second World War, economic stringencies and military service clearly having less effect on the longterm academic

Table 96
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED BY BRITISH COLUMBIA POPULATION, 1921-1951

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
British Columbia population aged 19-22 in decennial census	26,681 (1921)	45,505 (1931)	57,149 (1941)	61,941 (1951)
Number reaching high school	9,681	26,021	39,665	41,791
Proportion of age cohort reaching high school	36.3%	57.2%	69.4%	67.5%
Number reaching last year of high school	4,180	11,620	16,195	21,147
Proportion of age cohort reaching last year of high school	15.7%	25.5%	28.3%	34.1%
Number enrolled at UBC in year of decennial census	962	2,044	2,658	6,432
Proportion of age cohort enrolled at UBC	3.6%	4.5%	4.7%	10.4%
Proportion of age cohort reaching last year of high school enrolled at UBC	23.0%	17.6%	16.4%	30.4%
Number receiving degree at UBC	579	1,448	1,713	5,081
Proportion of age cohort receiving degree	2.2%	2.5%	3.0%	8.2%
Proportion of age cohort reaching last year of high school receiving degree	13.9%	12.5%	10.6%	24.0%
Proportion of age cohort enrolling at UBC receiving degree	60.2%	70.8%	64.4%	79.0%

NOTE:
See annexed table.

goals of boys whose families had been able to afford private school. The proportions again equalled out in the postwar

years. In other words, whereas private-school pupils were radically different from the overall population, they were not that distinguishable from the small proportion of their age cohort reaching the last year of public high school.

Table 96 (Continued)
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED BY BRITISH COLUMBIA POPULATION, 1921-1951

NOTES:
"Number having reached high school" is calculated as number in grade 9 four to seven years previous in British Columbia, Department of Education, Annual Report, plus number estimated to have been enrolled in private schools, Catholic and non-Catholic, as reported in Annual Survey. "Number having reached last year of high school" is tabulated as number in last year one to four years previous in Annual Report, plus number estimated to have been in last year in private schools. Up to 1930 the highest year was grade 11, thereafter grade 12. "Number receiving a degree at UBC" is number receiving bachelor's degree during census year and three subsequent years.

Apart from the educational achievement itself, boys from private school shared important socio-economic characteristics with that part of their age cohort also reaching the University of British Columbia. Table 98 summarizes the parental occupations of students enrolled in 1928-29, the only year for such such data is available, and compares them with those of the province's mature male population and of fathers of Vernon and Shawnigan old boys. While nine times as many private-school fathers were professionals as in the overall population, so were over six times as many parents of students at the provincial university. Three and half times as many fathers of both old boys and of all students were in business. Differences between

Table 97
POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY BRITISH COLUMBIA POPULATION REACHING LAST YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL, COMPARED WITH LEVEL ATTAINED BY PUPILS AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in:			
	1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Proportion of British Columbia age cohort enrollled at UBC	.04	.05	.05	.10
Proportion of age cohort having reached last year of high school enrolled at UBC	.23	.18	.16	.30
Proportion of Vernon cohort enrolled at UBC	.28	.25	.51	.50
Proportion of Shawnigan cohort enrolled at UBC	.11	.26	.33	.29
Proportion of age cohort having reached last year of high school receiving degree	.14	.13	.11	.24
Proportion of Vernon cohort receiving degree	.15	.20	.38	.41
Proportion of Shawnigan cohort receiving degree	.06	.15	.22	.24

the groups did lie in sales and service and in trades and manual labour, which composed the occupations of several times as many students' parents as old boys' fathers. Attendance at the provincial university clearly played a role in strengthening socio-economic distinctions virtually as significant as did the private schools themselves.

Table 98
PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS ENROLLED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA , 1928-1929, COMPARED WITH OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALE POPULATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA AGED 35 AND OVER, 1931, AND WITH PATERNAL OCCUPATIONS OF PUPILS AT VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1925-1930

	Male population aged 35 & over	UBC parents, 1928-29	Fathers of private-school pupils 1925-30
PROFESSIONS	4.4%	28.4% (378)	39.9%
Upper	2.0%	17.3% (230)	30.1%
Lower	2.4%	11.1% (148)	9.8%
BUSINESS	6.0%	20.7% (275)	22.1%
Finance	2.0%	6.1% (81)	15.5%
Company	4.0%	14.6% (194)	16.6%
SALES AND SERVICE	9.1%	20.8% (277)	7.2%
Sales	5.0%	13.4% (178)	2.6%
Government	1.2%	4.1% (55)	3.6%
Clerical	2.9%	3.3% (44)	1.0%
AGRICULTURE	12.9%	8.6% (114)	17.6%
TRADES AND LABOURERS	67.6%	21.5% (286)	3.1%
TOTAL		(1,330)	

SOURCE:
UBC, Annual Report of the President, 1928/29, pp. 9-11.

NOTE:
In addition, 90 parents of UBC students were retired, 83 deceased, and 165 in unspecified occupations.

III

The lives of young old boys centred not only on further education but on personal relationships. Pupils going into a public high school or entering university were sharply differentiated from their contemporaries by a woeful inexperience and even ignorance about the opposite sex. As

already discussed, British Columbia headmasters were ambivalent concerning the proper attitude to impart to pupils, at one and the same time placing the female on a pedestal and warning against her sexuality. For boys at boarding school, relationships with girls of their own age were limited to chaperoned occasions and holidays. Harker at St. George's believed, for instance, that "girls in the classroom distract boys from their work and encourage romantic friendships that should not exist at that age."[1] At the same time St. George's was not adverse to the image of females as a future sexual challenge, as in a poem published in the school magazine in 1946 entitled, "The Perils of Lipstick (A Warning to Young Men)." An English critic has suggested that "as a result, one suspects, the schools produced better leaders than lovers, men of duty and friendship rather than men who took easily to family warmth and feminine intimacy."[2]

Interviews with old boys of Vernon, Shawnigan and other British Columbia boys' schools attest that establishment of satisfying relationships with the opposite sex was one of their most difficult and time-consuming challenges on entry into a co-educational institution. Boys academically well ahead of their public-school contemporaries who could therefore "coast" through high school were often even more distracted by the presence of girls in the classroom. In some cases academic work suffered disastrously as they rushed headlong into the new experience,

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[1] Sun, June 22, 1963, and SGSM, 1946, p. 25.
[2] Wilkinson, p. 116.

and more than one erstwhile university student "discovered girls and failed," to quote an individual who underwent the experience.[1]

Old boys from Vancouver could most easily retreat into a familiar social environment where personal relationships largely coincided with parental expectations. Newspaper accounts of fraternity and sorority parties at the University of British Columbia and coming out dances are littered with the names of old boys and their female siblings, generally educated at Crofton House or York House. Inter-marriage soon intensified the original linkages based on residence, paternal occupation, and private-school attendance. For instance, two Vernon old boys, one the son of a Vancouver financier, the other an Okanagan fruitfarmer and politician, both British born, became brothers-in-law when they married sisters from British Columbia's pioneer judicial family, the Robertsons.[2] The son of Gerald McGeer married the sister of his Vernon contemporary, a member of the Rogers family; while another member of that Vancouver sugar family married into the city's pioneer merchants, the McLennans, backers of Western Residential Schools but later clients of Shawnigan and St. George's. Even the offspring of two participants in the coup at St. George's became man and wife. As explained by an intimate, young Woodward "married Rosemary Jukes whose brother Budge had been

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[1] Interview, Sept. 8, 1980.
[2] Marriage invitations and press clipppings of Vernon old boys are prominently included in VPS, Scrapbooks.
[3] Dragon 3 (1976), n.p.

his contemporary at St. George's."[3]

The influence of school precepts on the choice of spouses is suggested by the customary practice for young couples to make a pilgrimage back to the groom's old school at the first opportunity, almost as if to secure the headmaster's blessing. The new head of Brentwood remarked with some amazement in 1941 on the number of returning pupils, "it seeming the tradition that Old Brentonians pay a call to the school on their wedding tour."[1] Symons for one was pleased with the choices of St. Michael's old boys: "May was a month of marriages and I must say our Old Boys do choose the very sweetest wives, all of whom seem like daughters to me."[2] A master at Vernon has suggested that the "Mackies acted as surrogate parents for many boys, particularly perhaps those from Vancouver whose parents were too busy or unhappy to make much of an impression on their children."[3] A Shawnigan pupil has recollected, "I didn't have a home life; the school was my whole life."[4]

While patently impossible to measure the basis upon which spouses were in fact selected, a degree of rationality appears to have underlain many decisions. As indicated by Tables 99 and 100, mean age of marriage of old boys reaching adulthood in the 1920s through the Depression was about 28 years, declining to 26 years only during the Second World War. Thus marriage was generally no hasty matter but rather a logical stage in the life

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[1] BCM, 1941, pp. 31-32.
[2] Symons, p. 136.
[3] Interview, Oct. 24, 1979.
[4] Interview, June 1, 1980.

Table 99
MEAN AGES AT MARRIAGE AND FIRST SON'S BIRTH OF PUPILS ATTENDING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946, COMPARED WITH PATERNAL MEAN AGE AT FIRST SON'S BIRTH

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1939-45)	Postwar
Pupil's mean age at marriage	30.4 years	28.4 years	26.8 years	25.9 years
Number of cases	25	49	54	65
Pupil's mean age at birth of first son	35.7 years	32.3 years	30.9 years	28.3 years
Number of cases	12	39	29	30
Mean time period between marriage and birth of first son	5.3 years	3.9 years	4.1 years	2.4 years
Father's mean age at birth of first son	35.5 years	36.2 years	34.7 years	36.6 years
Number of cases	22	40	45	44
Age of pupils at birth of first son compared with father's age at birth of first son	0.2 years older	3.9 years younger	3.8 years younger	8.3 years younger

NOTE:
See annexed table.

cycle following university education and career preparation. Neither did old boys have offspring overly rapidly. Up to the war the mean period between marriage and birth of first son was between three and five years. Even so, old boys did tend to have first sons somewhat younger than they themselves had been born.

Table 99 (Continued)
MEAN AGES AT MARRIAGE AND FIRST SON'S BIRTH OF PUPILS ATTENDING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946, COMPARED WITH PATERNAL MEAN AGE AT FIRST SON'S BIRTH

SOURCE:
Newspaper accounts of marriages and births collected by schools and announcements sent headmasters by old boys.
NOTE:
The data on father's age at first son's birth has been created from data on paternal age at pupil's birth. Information on number of male siblings in families makes clear that approximately half the pupils were first or only sons; to be precise, 57 percent at Vernon pre-1930 and 62 percent thereafter, 44 and 56 percent at Shawnigan. Assuming two years age difference between children and a 50 percent posibility that offsping would be male, then subsequent sons were on average three years younger than their elder brothers, a figure which corresponds to actual data from the two schools. Therefore, to accomodate the approximately half the cases where the father's age referred to a second male offspring, mean age at pupil's birth has been scaled down 1.5 years to obtain mean age at first son's birth.

IV

The tendency toward caution suggested by marital decisions is also reflected in career patterns. Only rarely had schools given explicit direction. Shawnigan boys heard in 1934 the merits of chartered accountancy and law.[1] A North Shore pupil recalls being counselled on the acceptability of becoming anything "except tradesmen."[2] The much more important career advice given by the schools derived rather from their general

[1] SLSM, 1934, p. 9.
[2] Interview, March 15, 1979.

Table 100
MEAN AGES AT MARRIAGE AND FIRST SON'S BIRTH OF PUPILS ATTENDING SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1950, COMPARED WITH PATERNAL MEAN AGE AT FIRST SON'S BIRTH

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
Pupil's mean age at marriage	28.4 years	27.8 years	25.7 years	23.8 years
Number of cases	17	79	47	12
Pupil's mean age at birth of first son	31.4 years	30.9 years	27.2 years	n.a.
Number of cases	9	25	6	--
Mean time period between marriage and birth of first son	3.0 years	3.1 years	1.5 years	n.a.
Father's mean age at birth of first son	29.3 years	34.6 years	35.8 years	39.8 years
Number of cases	17	105	61	36
Age of pupils at birth of first son compared with father's age at birth of first son	2.1 years older	3.7 years younger	8.6 years younger	n.a.

admonitions for pupils to fulfil the obligations placed on them by school and family.

Data on the careers of Vernon and Shawnigan old boys suggests that many lived up to external expectations simply by following paternal careers. As detailed in Tables 101 and 102, virtually half the Canadian boys whose occupation has been determined turned to the professions, up to a third to business.

Table 101
OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING THE VERNON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, 1914-1946

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
PROFESSIONS	12 (.27)	42 (.55)	50 (.59)	49 (.55)
Upper	4 (.09)	16 (.21)	27 (.32)	29 (.33)
Lower	8 (.18)	26 (.34)	23 (.27)	20 (.22)
BUSINESS	13 (.30)	17 (.22)	17 (.20)	25 (.28)
Finance	8 (.18)	8 (.11)	5 (.06)	7 (.08)
Company	5 (.11)	9 (.12)	12 (.14)	18 (.20)
SALES AND SERVICE	8 (.18)	2 (.03)	11 (.13)	7 (.08)
Sales	4 (.09)	1 (.01)	7 (.08)	5 (.06)
Government	4 (.09)	1 (.01)	4 (.05)	2 (.02)
AGRICULTURE	11 (.25)	9 (.12)	6 (.07)	6 (.07)
TRADES	0	6 (.08)	1 (.01)	2 (.02)
Died	1	7	6	3
Not found	20	34	17	31
TOTAL	65	117	108	123

SOURCE:
School magazines, newspaper files, city directories, and interviews.

The relationship between generations is examined in Tables 103 and 104, limited to British Columbia cases where occupations of both fathers and sons have been determined. Half the pupils entering the professions had fathers who were professionals. Half to two thirds of those going into business had fathers in business. Three quarters to nine tenths of those becoming farmers had fathers so occupied. Conversely, fully three quarters of the offspring of professionals became professionals. Half to two thirds of the sons of businessmen went into business.

Tables 105 and 106 examine generational continuity in the

Table 102
OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING SHAWNIGAN LAKE SCHOOL, 1916-1950

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in: 1920s	Depression (1930-37)	Second World War (1938-45)	Postwar
PROFESSIONS	26 (.43)	66 (.45)	48 (.62)	22 (.50)
Upper	8 (.13)	29 (.20)	22 (.28)	15 (.34)
Lower	18 (.30)	37 (.25)	26 (.33)	7 (.16)
BUSINESS	18 (.30)	63 (.43)	17 (.22)	10 (.23)
Finance	13 (.21)	33 (.22)	10 (.13)	2 (.05)
Company	5 (.08)	30 (.20)	7 (.09)	8 (.18)
SALES AND SERVICE	8 (.13)	10 (.07)	7 (.09)	6 (.14)
Sales	4 (.07)	3 (.02)	4 (.05)	4 (.09)
Government	4 (.07)	7 (.05)	3 (.04)	2 (.05)
AGRICULTURE	6 (.10)	8 (.05)	5 (.06)	5 (.11)
TRADES	3 (.05)	1 (.01)	1 (.01)	1 (.02)
Died	0	12	6	2
Not found	16	111	82	98
TOTAL	77	271	166	144

two upper professions of lawyer and physician. As indicated previously by Tables 41 and 83, about twenty times as many private-school fathers were lawyers and physicians in the three decades, 1920-1950, as in the overall mature male population. Moreover, while the proportion of physicians in the overall population gradually expanded the proportion of lawyers had actually contracted by a quarter.

In the case of law, old boys were clearly aware of the advantages to be gained from following that relatively closed profession. Of old boys with lawyer fathers, 55 percent also became lawyers. Over 80 percent became professionals.

Table 103
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL OCCUPATION AS A PROPORTION OF ALL BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS IN THAT OCCUPATION WHOSE PATERNAL OCCUPATION IS KNOWN

	Vernon		Shawnigan	
PROFESSIONS	.42	(49/118)	.59	(59/100)
Upper	.48	(29/61)	.62	(26/42)
Lower	.18	(10/57)	.21	(12/58)
BUSINESS	.56	(35/63)	.66	(43/65)
Finance	.24	(6/25)	.35	(11/31)
Company	.61	(23/38)	.59	(20/34)
SALES AND SERVICE	.38	(9/24)	.22	(4/18)
Sales	.29	(4/14)	.13	(1/8)
Government	.40	(4/10)	.10	(1/10)
AGRICULTURE	.92	(24/26)	.75	(9/12)
TRADES	.20	(1/5)	.00	(0/5)
TOTAL OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS	.43	(101/236)	.40	(80/200)

Conversely, of pupils who did become lawyers, 55 percent had lawyer fathers, 70 percent professional fathers. Perhaps because medicine was expanding, it had less appeal. Only a quarter of the offspring of physicians followed the paternal profession, although over 80 percent did become professionals. Conversely, 40 percent of old boys who became physicians had fathers in medicine.

An important variable in determining career was paternal birthplace. Tables 107 and 108 diffferentiate occupations of Vernon and Shawnigan old boys by paternal birthplace, while Tables 109 and 110 examine generational continuity. Old boys with fathers born in Canada were most likely to follow the paternal occupation. Over 40 percent of the pupils whose

Table 104
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL OCCUPATION AS A PROPORTION OF ALL BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS IN THAT OCCUPATION WHOSE SON'S OCCUPATION IS KNOWN

	Vernon		Shawnigan	
PROFESSIONS	.72	(49/68)	.74	(59/80)
Upper	.58	(29/50)	.44	(26/59)
Lower	.56	(10/18)	.57	(12/21)
BUSINESS	.47	(35/75)	.64	(43/67)
Finance	.26	(6/23)	.39	(11/28)
Company	.44	(23/52)	.51	(20/39)
SALES AND SERVICE	.60	(9/15)	.40	(4/10)
Sales	.80	(4/5)	.25	(1/4)
Government	.44	(4/9)	.17	(1/6)
AGRICULTURE	.32	(24/74)	.22	(9/41)
TRADES	.25	(1/4)	.00	(0/2)
TOTAL OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS	.43	(101/236)	.40	(80/200)

Table 105
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL PROFESSION OF LAWYER OR PHYSICIAN AS A PROPORTION OF ALL BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS IN THAT PROFESSION WHOSE PATERNAL OCCUPATION IS KNOWN

	Pupil became lawyer	Pupil became physician
FATHER WAS		
Same	.55 (24)	.41 (9)
Lawyer or physician	.61 (27)	.55 (12)
Professional	.70 (31)	.68 (15)
TOTAL SONS	(44)	(22)

fathers were born in British Columbia became businessmen. Three quarters of these, as indicated by Table 109, already had fathers in business. Conversely, of businessmen fathers born in

Table 106
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL PROFESSION OF LAWYER OR PHYSICIAN AS A PROPORTION OF ALL FATHERS IN THAT PROFESSION WHOSE SON'S OCCUPATION IS KNOWN

	Father was lawyer	Father was physician
SON BECAME		
Same	.55 (23)	.27 (8)
Lawyer or physician	.62 (26)	.37 (11)
Professional	.81 (34)	.83 (25)
TOTAL FATHERS	(42)	(30)

Table 107
OCCUPATIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada
PROFESSIONS	114 (.50)	26 (.45)	58 (.55)
Upper	44 (.19)	22 (.38)	27 (.25)
Lower	70 (.31)	4 (.07)	31 (.29)
BUSINESS	59 (.26)	25 (.43)	29 (.27)
Finance	27 (.12)	10 (.17)	17 (.16)
Company	32 (.14)	15 (.26)	12 (.11)
SALES AND SERVICE	20 (.09)	3 (.05)	10 (.09)
Sales	9 (.04)	1 (.02)	5 (.05)
Government	11 (.05)	2 (.03)	5 (.05)
AGRICULTURE	29 (.13)	4 (.07)	8 (.08)
TRADES	7 (.03)	0	1 (.01)
Died	11	1	5
Occupation Unknown	76	11	35
TOTAL	316	70	146

British Columbia well over half their offspring went into business. Almost 40 percent of the pupils whose fathers had

Table 108
SPECIFIC PROFESSIONS OF CANADIAN PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain	Born British Columbia	Born elsewhere in Canada
UPPER PROFESSIONS	44 (.19)	22 (.38)	27 (.25)
Academic	6 (.03)	9 (.16)	0
Legal	12 (.05)	6 (.10)	18 (.17)
Medical	8 (.03)	4 (.07)	3 (.03)
Scientific or technical	17 (.07)	3 (.05)	5 (.05)
Other	1 (neg)	0	1 (.01)
LOWER PROFESSIONS	70 (.31)	4 (.07)	31 (.29)
Military	36 (.16)	2 (.03)	8 (.08)
Accountancy	11 (.05)	1 (.02)	9 (.08)
Creative	7 (.03)	0	5 (.05)
Teaching	7 (.03)	1 (.02)	0
Religious	2 (.01)	0	1 (.01)
Other	7 (.03)	0	8 (.08)

been born in the province entered the upper professions. Over 60 percent of those had fathers in the upper professions. Of fathers born in the province who were upper professionals, 85 percent of their offspring also became upper professionals.

Pupils whose fathers had been born elsewhere in Canada were even more inclined to follow the paternal lead. Over half became professionals. Of these, more than three quarters had professional fathers. Conversely, of professional fathers born elsewhere in Canada, over 80 percent of their offspring became professionals. Of the quarter who entered business, almost 85 percent had businessmen fathers. Conversely, 80 percent of the fathers in business were so followed by their sons.

Generational continuity within British immigrant families

Table 109
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL OCCUPATION AS PROPORTION OF ALL BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS IN THAT OCCUPATION WHOSE PATERNAL OCCUPATION IS KNOWN, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain		Born British Columbia		Born elsewhere in Canada	
PROFESSIONS	.44	(36/82)	.50	(11/22)	.77	(34/44)
Upper	.40	(13/30)	.61	(11/18)	.95	(21/22)
Lower	.19	(10/52)	.00	(0/4)	.14	(3/22)
BUSINESS	.43	(19/44)	.73	(16/22)	.81	(21/26)
Finance	.21	(4/19)	.25	(2/8)	.47	(7/15)
Company	.40	(10/25)	.79	(11/14)	.73	(8/11)
SALES AND SERVICE	.33	(5/15)	.00	(0/3)	.22	(2/9)
Sales	.14	(1/7)	.00	(0/1)	.25	(1/4)
Government	.50	(4/8)	.00	(0/2)	.20	(1/5)
AGRICULTURE	.87	(20/23)	1.00	(4/4)	1.00	(1/1)
TRADES	.00	(0/5)	nil		.00	(0/1)
TOTAL SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS	.37	(62/169)	.55	(28/51)	.52	(42/81)

was more complex. Of the 50 percent of sons who became professionals, almost half either joined the military, became scientists, or had technical careers. As noted previously in Tables 90 and 91, fully 20 percent of the Vernon and Shawnigan pupils reaching adulthood in the 1920s had joined the military directly on completing their secondary education. This tendency is explicable. Most of these boys were the offspring of British immigrants in the Cowichan or Okanagan, many having settled there after a first career in the British military. Thus, while paternal occupation in British Columbia was not that of military man or professional, sons were in fact maintaining generational continuity.

The apparently tiny proportion of sons following their

Table 110
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS FOLLOWING PATERNAL OCCUPATION AS PROPORTION OF ALL BRITISH COLUMBIA FATHERS IN THAT OCCUPATION WHOSE SON'S OCCUPATION IS KNOWN, DIFFERENTIATED BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Born Britain		Born British Columbia		Born elsewhere in Canada	
PROFESSIONS	.73	(36/49)	.79	(11/14)	.81	(34/42)
Upper	.41	(13/32)	.85	(11/13)	.54	(21/39)
Lower	.59	(10/17)	.00	(0/1)	1.00	(3/3)
BUSINESS	.56	(19/34)	.59	(16/27)	.84	(21/25)
Finance	.31	(4/13)	.29	(2/7)	.78	(7/9)
Company	.48	(10/21)	.55	(11/20)	.50	(8/16)
SALES AND SERVICE	.56	(5/9)	.00	(0/2)	.67	(2/3)
Sales	.50	(1/2)	.00	(0/1)	1.00	(1/1)
Government	.57	(4/7)	.00	(0/1)	.50	(1/2)
AGRICULTURE	.28	(20/72)	.50	(4/8)	.09	(1/11)
TRADES	.00	(0/5)	nil		nil	
TOTAL SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS	.37	(62/169)	.55	(28/51)	.52	(42/81)

fathers into agriculture is thus also partially explained, although depressed economic conditions certainly played a role. While almost 90 percent of the old boys who became farmers had fathers so occupied, under 30 percent of fathers in agriculture were joined by their sons. A quarter of the offspring of British immigrants became businessmen. Of these, 40 percent had fathers already in business, while well over half of the businessmen fathers were so followed by their sons.

The significance of the relatively high degree of generational continuity is difficult to assess in the absence of comparative data, for instance, on individuals of similar socio-

economic background who attended public school. An important, unanswerable question is whether the career decisions of this handful of boys reflected attitudes common to the province's upper-middle class or were a unique consequence of their education. An old boy who spent nine years between Vernon and University schools has suggested that their education did have an effect: "boys tended to go into insular occupations where the boundaries were already established," like the professions or family business.[1] An English scholar has concluded that "public school life mitigated against entrepreneurial qualities--creative imagination, friendliness to innovation."[2] The schools' influence is also suggested in the reluctance of a University old boy to be interviewed on the grounds that his career had not measured up to the school's expectations and would therefore reflect badly on the reputation of private education.[3] At the least, it is certain that private schooling, with its emphasis on the maintenance of the existing order, reinforced whatever tendencies toward conservatism were inculcated by class origins and parental expectations. Regardless of the basis of old boys' career decisions, the consequence was to maintain the existing socio-economic order across generations.

A discussion of careers would not be complete were it to ignore the choices not made. Even though such careers were of relatively high status, boys did not, as indicated by Table 108, opt for creative professions, become teachers, or enter the

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[1] Interview, May 2, 1981.
[2] Wilkinson, p. 119.
[3] Interview, Oct. 3, 1980.

ministry. Lack of interest in creative fields can easily be viewed as confirmation of the schools' emphasis of the group over the individual and their disinterest in arts and music. Lack of interest in teaching or the Church could, however, imply rejection of the role models governing boys' lives while at school. At the same time, disinclination toward teaching might have resulted from lack of contact with--or possibly respect for--the public system, in which old boys would most likely have had to seek employment.

Neither did old boys become active in elective politics in as great a proportion as had their fathers. So far as can be determined, only one old boy from each school out of a total of well over a thousand Canadian pupils have gained election provincially or nationally. By contrast, at least 22 fathers had served in provincial or national legislatures--17 of them in British Columbia, 4 on the prairies and one in Britain.

A number of old boys interviewed were asked to speculate on the divergence between generations. An individual completely atune with Vernon and the Mackies emphasized how inherently anti-political were the school's priorities: the Mackies taught boys not to put themselves forward, particularly not in what was presented as a rather crass, self-seeking pursuit.[1] Another knowledgable old boy, asked to explain the apparent contradiction between the political activity of old boys in Britain, where they dominate politics, and British Columbia, replied simply, "Politics is an honourable profession in

[1] Interviews, Dec. 14, Oct. 19 and April 23, 1979.

Britain, in British Columbia it's not." A third former pupil simply dismissed politics as of "low prestige, low status." Responses did not, it should be noted, vary by paternal birthplace. What is suggested is that headmasters like the Rev. Mackie and Lonsdale, who as Englishman perhaps did view colonial politics as inferior or even shoddy, passed their perceptions on to many of their pupils. Thus, a Vernon old boy writing to the Mackies in the mid-1960s felt compelled to explain his interest in national politics with the statement: "Politics is not the dishonourable profession that most people think it is."[1]

V

Given the relative occupational security many old boys possessed through generational continuity, it is not surprising that most were unwilling to leave the province in pursuit of their career. As indicated by Table 111, 28 percent of British Columbia pupils whose place of adult residence has been determined did leave, half for elsewhere in Canada, the remainder principally for Britain or the Empire. Just 4 percent moved to the United States, indicating perhaps the effectiveness of headmasters' admonitions concerning American influence.

Only professionals left British Columbia in significant

[1] John Nichol to Hugh and Grace Mackie, April 1, 1966, in VPS, Scrapbook of miscellaneous memorabilia, and Sun, April 2, 1972. Nichol subsequently resigned from the Canadian Senate.

Table 111
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS WHO LEFT THE PROVINCE TO PURSUE THEIR OCCUPATION, DIFFERENTIATED BY OCCUPATION AND DESTINATION

	Remained in British Columbia	Left for elsewhere in Canada	Left for Britain or Empire	Left for United States	Total whose occupational residence is known
PROFESSIONS	175 (.60)	76 (.26)	29 (.10)	11 (.04)	291
Upper	94 (.70)	29 (.21)	3 (.02)	9 (.07)	135
Lower	81 (.52)	47 (.30)	26 (.17)	2 (.01)	156
BUSINESS	141 (.90)	7 (.04)	8 (.05)	1 (.01)	157
Finance	68 (.91)	2 (.03)	4 (.05)	1 (.01)	75
Company	73 (.89)	5 (.06)	4 (.05)	0	82
SALES AND SERVICE	45 (.87)	6 (.12)	1 (.02)	0	52
Sales	25 (.89)	3 (.11)	0	0	28
Government	20 (.83)	3 (.13)	1 (.04)	0	24
AGRICULTURE	40 (.83)	1 (.02)	7 (.15)	0	48
TRADES	12 (.92)	0	1 (.08)	0	13
Occupation unknown	107	14	19	18	158
TOTAL OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS	520 (.72)	104 (.14)	65 (.09)	30 (.04)	719

numbers. Of the 40 percent of professionals who departed, almost two thirds moved elsewhere in Canada. Their motives are suggested in Table 112. Fully half the professionals leaving for another part of Canada and almost two thirds of those moving to Britain were in the military, a profession which prohibited permanent residence on the west coast. Also departing were scientists and engineers, physicians and academics, all professions in which upward advance may well have compelled residence in eastern Canada or even the United States.

Necessity, not choice, seems to have motivated most decisions to leave British Columbia.

Table 112
SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS OF PROFESSIONALS LEAVING BRITISH COLUMBIA AFTER ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS, 1914-1950

	Left for elsewhere in Canada	Left for Britain or Empire	Left for United States	Total
Military	37 (.49)	18 (.62)	1 (.09)	56 (.48)
Scientist or engineer	10 (.13)	1 (.03)	3 (.27)	14 (.12)
Physician	5 (.07)	2 (.07)	3 (.27)	10 (.09)
Academic	5 (.07)	0	3 (.27)	8 (.07)
Lawyer	7 (.09)	0	0	7 (.06)
Creative	5 (.07)	2 (.07)	0	7 (.06)
Other	7 (.09)	6 (.21)	1 (.09)	14 (.12)
TOTAL	76	29	11	116

The role played by necessity is also suggested in Table 113, which differentiates departing old boys chronologically. As the British Columbia economy became more complex, fewer businessmen left: the proportion declined steadily from 23 percent among those reaching adulthood in the 1920s to just 3 percent of those coming of age after the war. Old boys who left to pursue an agricultural careeer or one in sales or service principally reached adulthood during the Depression. Not unexpectedly, the proportion in the lower professions who departed steadily declined as fewer sons of British immigrants went to private school and thence into the military. Only the proportion in the upper professions remained high, suggesting that opportunites in such fields as science, engineering and

university teaching long remained limited in British Columbia.

Table 113
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS WHO LEFT THE PROVINCE TO PURSUE THEIR OCCUPATION, DIFFERENTIATED CHRONOLOGICALLY

	Reached adulthood (age 20) in:							
	1920s		Depression (1930-37)		Second World War (1938-45)		Postwar	
PROFESSIONS	.58	(21/36)	.45	(47/104)	.37	(32/87)	.25	(16/64)
Upper	.45	(5/11)	.24	(10/42)	.27	(11/41)	.37	(15/41)
Lower	.64	(16/25)	.60	(37/62)	.46	(21/46)	.04	(1/23)
BUSINESS	.23	(7/31)	.09	(6/67)	.07	(2/28)	.03	(1/31)
SALES AND SERVICE	.00	(0/15)	.22	(2/9)	.18	(3/17)	.18	(2/11)
AGRICULTURE	.12	(2/17)	.33	(4/12)	.22	(2/9)	.00	(0/10)
TRADES	.00	(0/3)	.00	(0/6)	.00	(0/2)	.33	(1/3)
Occupation unknown		(11/29)		(18/59)		(10/35)		(12/35)
TOTAL	.31	(41/131)	.30	(77/257)	.27	(49/178)	.21	(32/154)

Table 114
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS WHO LEFT THE PROVINCE IN ADULTHOOD, BY PATERNAL BIRTHPLACE

	Vernon		Shawnigan	
FATHER BORN				
British Columbia	.19	(7/37)	.22	(6/27)
Other Canada	.17	(8/46)	.18	(12/65)
Britain	.33	(38/114)	.34	(45/131)

Geographical mobility is differentiated by paternal birthplace in Table 114. Most evident is the extent to which the influence of the British born in British Columbia was

vitiated in the second generation by the departure of offspring into the military or other occupations entailing residence elsewhere. Whereas 20 percent or less of the sons of the Canadian born left British Columbia, fully a third of the offspring of British immigrants departed.

Table 115
GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY WITHIN BRITISH COLUMBIA OF BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS

	From Greater Vancouver	From Greater Victoria	From elsewhere in province
REMAINING AT HOME	165 (.67)	39 (.35)	77 (.23)
LEFT FOR			
Greater Vancouver	- - -	24 (.21)	57 (.17)
Greater Victoria	13 (.05)	- - -	38 (.11)
Elsewhere in province	24 (.10)	12 (.11)	45 (.13)
Outside of province	43 (.18)	38 (.34)	119 (.35)
TOTAL	245	113	336

NOTES:
The table is restricted to pupils for whom both home area and location of occupation is known. Pupils from Greater Victoria are limited to those from Shawnigan Lake School. "Home" refers to an area of geographical homogenity, such as Cowichan, northern Okanagan or west Kootenays.

Geographic mobility did not necessarily involve a residential shift outside of the province. As demonstrated by Table 115, whereas two thirds of Vernon and Shawnigan old boys from Greater Vancouver remained at home, only a third of those from Greater Victoria and less than a quarter of those from

Table 116
EFFECT OF GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY WITHIN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY BRITISH COLUMBIA PUPILS ATTENDING VERNON AND SHAWNIGAN SCHOOLS

	From Greater Vancouver	From Greater Victoria	From elsewhere in province
Pupils originally resident in area	145	113	336
Pupils remaining in area or coming to area from another part of the province	149	70	158
Numerical change	+ .03	- .38	- .53

elsewhere in British Columbia did so. About 20 percent of pupils from outside of Greater Vancouver later settled in the city. Moreover, while less than 20 percent of Greater Vancouver pupils moved out of the province in pursuit of a career, over a third of boys from elsewhere left British Columbia. The demographic effect of these residential shifts is summarized in Table 116. Greater Vancouver gained as many private-school boys as it lost, whereas both Greater Victoria and the rest of the province suffered significant diminuation. More importantly, to the extent that old boys did cling together into a network preserving socio-economic status across generations, the centre of that network clearly lay in Greater Vancouver.

* * * * *

British Columbia's old boys, as exemplified by pupils attending Vernon and Shawnigan schools, were essentially conservative in decisions concerning education, marriage, career and residence. They did not as a group deviate significantly from the standards of behaviour instilled by their education and family background. The assessment recently made concerning British "public" schools would not be amiss:

> While they provided a certain class confidence, a confidence that their pupils should and could lead, and the useful disciplines and stability that go with self-control and conformity, they led on the whole to a far too great loss of individuality, too great a conventionality.[1]

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[1] Gathorne-Hardy, p. 228.

CONCLUSION

Viewed in a narrow focus, this thesis is only about some fifty non-Catholic private boys' schools existing in British Columbia during the first half of the twentieth century. While several of the schools were large incorporations, others were tiny private ventures surviving only a year or two. Numerically, the schools hardly impinged on the public education system. Some 7,500 boys attended a private school for all or part of their education over the years 1900-50, but virtually a quarter of a million passed through the public system. By the end of the Second World War, fifteen schools remained. Today there are only five.

The study represents more, however, than an idiosyncratic foray into the periphery of educational history. As noted in the introduction, the proportion of pupils in non-Catholic "mainstream" private schools was far greater in British Columbia than in any other part of English Canada, even Ontario whose boys' schools were much older. Moreover, the creation of boys' schools in British Columbia did not replicate practice elsewhere in Canada, but was largely indigenous to the province. It is in examination of why schools came into being and how they affected the larger society that the thesis acquires broader relevance. Educational history becomes social history.

The study has argued that three principal factors were

responsible for the creation of non-Catholic boys' schools in British Columbia. First, while overt tensions between Britons and Canadians existing in colonial British Columbia diminished with Confederation, loyalties had not themselves necessarily altered. In particular, the consensus achieved concerning public education did not mean that all British Columbians thereupon sent their own children to the local common school. Numerous families, particularly those of British origin, continued to educate offspring privately in the province, in Britain or elsewhere in Canada. The second circumstance behind the creation of boys' schools in British Columbia was the tremendous popularity in late Victorian Britain of a form of class-based private education particularly amenable to replication--the "public" school and its counterpart for younger boys, the preparatory school. Thirdly, British Columbia society fundamentally altered as a consequence of the national immigration policy initiated in 1896. The three decades, 1891-1921, witnessed the settlement in the province of some 175,000 British immigrants, including about 24,000 belonging to the middle and upper classes.

The boys' schools created in British Columbia by middle-class British immigrants replicated their British counterparts. Founders were themselves privately educated and committed through that schooling to its extension across the Empire. Schools in both Britain and British Columbia were premised on a class-based society. Indeed, "public" schools had acquired their great popularity in Britain precisely because they

promised to turn small boys with well-to-do parents into "gentlemen," and gentlemen by definition were acceptable members of the classes that ruled the society. While schools were begun in British Columbia primarily to educate the offspring of middle-class British settlers, their clientele gradually encompassed Canadian families of high socio-economic status. Such families were themselves responsible for the creation in Vancouver of the province's last major boys' school, now its largest.

Several aspects of the study have larger significance. The assumption that British Columbia's emerging Canadian identity was fixed with the completion of the transcontinental railroad is not borne out by the socio-demographic evidence. The importance of the years of mass immigration preceding the First World War extends beyond the settlement of the prairies by continental Europeans and Americans. British Columbia was more than an adjunct or a footnote to "western Canada." In reality, the province underwent a unique experience, acquiring in the years, 1891-1921, over three times as many new residents born in Britain as it did continental Europeans and Americans combined.

The actual creation of boys' schools on the British model by middle-class immigrants has implications beyond British Columbia itself. Most of the schools were begun without financial resources and survived only because profits were returned to fledgling ventures. Through the Depression and into mid-century, headmasters held on to their dream and remained unwilling, even unable, to adapt to a changing society. As the

Rev. Mackie wrote in 1945, "We are unblushing and unrepentent champions of the 'Old School Tie,' and all for which it stands." Commitment to the ideal of the "public" and preparatory school outweighed all practical considerations of time and place.

Such devotion half a world away from Britain demands further exploration. In December 1924 the magazine of the English "public" school of Cranleigh noted proudly that one old boy, C.V. Milton, had founded Cranleigh House in Victoria and another old boy Cranleigh School in St. Petersburg, Florida.[1] About half a million upper and middle-class male Britons emigrated in the years 1881-1921, about 40 percent to the United States, 20 percent to Canada, 15 percent to Australasia, and the remainder elsewhere.[2] If half a hundred schools were begun in British Columbia, which absorbed 16,000 upper and middle-class males, then as many as 1,500 similar schools may well have been created elsewhere. Educational historians, so far concerned with the influence of the "public" school in Britain and the public school in North America, need extend their frame of reference.

The necessity for educational historians--indeed, all social historians--to rethink their perceptions concerning the role played by public and private education is underlined so far as British Columbia's old boys are concerned. As indicated by the careers of fathers and sons, schools' pupils composed a very distinct element in the socio-economic structure of the

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[1] The Cranleighan, p. 881.
[2] Thomas, pp. 60-61 and 63, and Carrier and Jeffery, Table D/F/G(1)

province. Strong continuity existed between generations in marriage, career and residence. Families hoping either to retain status transferred from Britain or to secure upper-middle-class status in British Columbia itself could not have been disappointed with the life styles of their privately educated offspring.

Several well-known studies have examined the role of private education in the formation of socio-economic structure in Canada. In The Vertical Mosaic John Porter determined that 30 percent of English Canada's "economic elite" in 1950 attended private school.[1] Wallace Clement in The Canadian Corporate Elite demonstrated that 36 percent of English Canada's "socio-economic elite" in 1972 were similarly educated.[2] Peter Newman in The Canadian Establishment has similarly emphasized the importance of private schools.

This thesis would be congruent with such findings were it not that Porter, Clement and Newman all argue (a) that the significant private schools are in Ontario, and (b) that western Canadians are not really a part of the national elite. Clement has, for instance, not only stressed how "the fee-paying schools of eastern Canada" have provided the "common class experience for many generations of Canada's upper class" but asserted that "an established upper class," in which he includes the privately educated, did not exist in "the West" prior to the Second World

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[1] Porter, pp. 386-87.
[2] Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 244.
[3] Ibid, pp. 227 and 244, and Porter, p. 284.

War.[3] Newman was so convinced that elite members resident in British Columbia would have been privately educated in Ontario that his first act when researching in Vancouver on a successor volume to The Canadian Establishment was to invite local Upper Canada College old boys to a special gathering.[1] Perhaps significantly, only 17 showed up.

While this thesis does not directly examine British Columbia's socio-economic or political elite, it does demonstrate both that private schools did exist in the province and that some families of high status were among their clientele. The reason why these schools and their old boys did not then influence national Canada, it is possible to speculate, had less to do with exclusion at the national level than with a disinclination of privately educated British Columbians to become involved with the rest of the country. Not only did the province possess a long tradition wherein "Canadians" were inferior, but its boys' schools were so premised. When privately educated British Columbians left the province, it was generally out of occupational necessity. The plurality of those who departed to pursue a military career chose that profession in part because of generational continuity. What Porter, Clement and Newman characterize as "Canada's upper class" is in reality a phenomenon with regional appeal.

British Columbia boys' schools, founded out of a heritage of ambivalence toward the rest of Canada, further diminished emotional dependence by providing the support structure for a

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[1] Denny Boyd in Sun, Oct. 24, 1980.

separate identity among an influential group in the population. Numerous fathers who had themselves attended such prestigious Ontario boys' schools as Upper Canada College sent offspring to local private schools. The formation of an indigenous socio-economic elite was facilitated. In the sense that class defines individuals sharing common values and traditions in isolation from other groups in the society--in effect, an exclusive life style--a separate class was consolidated.[1] Class structures were created in British Columbia from the top down.

The careers of old boys have been particularly concentrated in occupational areas of high status, including business and the professions, especially law. Not surprisingly, a recent master's thesis on "the ruling class of British Columbia" has determined that 58 percent of the province's "socio-economic elite" in the mid-1970s was privately educated.[2] Such a finding is compatible with the inferences that can be drawn from this thesis, whose independent variable is education rather than the elite group. Private-school boys, urged by their headmasters "to take a high & honoured position in the community," did precisely that.

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[1] The overall development of class structures in British Columbia has been little examined. For an introductory overview, see Peter W. Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," BC Studies 45 (1980), pp. 17-35; and the reply to Ward by Rennie Warburton in 49 (1981), pp. 79-85.

[2] Theresa Ann Kerin, "The Power of Indigenous Capital in a Company Province: An Analysis of the Ruling Class of British Columbia" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, 1977), pp. 56-57 and 134-37. I am grateful to Alan Brown for bringing this thesis to my attention.

However, certain career paths which would have been followed by old boys of British private schools were not taken in British Columbia. In Britain leadership has encompassed not only the socio-economic but the political structure; in British Columbia it has in general not done so.[1] The study just mentioned found that only 12 percent of the province's "political elite" was privately educated, and among that number were included such non-elective positions as senator, judge and deputy minister.[2]

Relative political non-involvement has possibly characterized private-school boys elsewhere in Canada. Porter determined that whereas 30 percent of the economic elite of English Canada had attended private school only 18 percent of its political elite had done so.[3] A study of Ontario boys' schools in the nineteenth century has concluded that old boys did not in general enter politics, since it was "a rough and tumble affair not always regarded, in certain social circles, as a proper sphere of activity for a gentleman."[4] The observations made by Vernon old boys are similar.

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[1] See, for instance, David Boyd, Elites and Their Education (New York: Humanities Press, 1973), and Philip Stanworth and Anthony Giddens, Elites and Power in British Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[2] Kerin, pp. 56-57 and 135-37. A handful of pupils enrolled in private schools up to 1950 have been active in electoral politics. These include Rafe Mair, Art Phillips and Bill Clarke, all day boys at St. George's; E. Davie Fulton, Alastair Gillespie, Eric Martin and George Gregory from St. Michael's; and Alex MacDonald from the Vernon Preparatory School.

[3] Porter, pp. 388-89.

[4] J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario, ed. F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 248.

A uniquely British Columbia explanation also exists to explain the relative indifference of old boys to elective politics and, more generally, to careers demanding strong assertion of personality. The province's boys' schools were patronized during the first half of this century by two principal groups referred to by pupils themselves as "English" and "Canadian," or as "city" and "country" boys. While lack of leadership may have been due generally to the schools' conservative view of suitable behaviour, it was possibly exacerbated by factors peculiar to the two groups.

Boys from rural areas, generally the offspring of British immigrants, have not been assertive, it can be postulated, because they became emotional outsiders in their native province. Frequently born during their parents' aging years after a more dynamic first career elsewhere, they gained little sense of place from their family. School life reinforced their Englishness while at the same time making clear the extent to which another world also existed in British Columbia. Vancouver society, as represented by its offspring in private school, may have been less genteel according to the precepts by which country boys were being brought up and therefore personally unacceptable, but it was nonetheless very self-assured and self-confident.

By adulthood, country boys realized that the economic basis of many of their parents' lives in British Columbia, genteel agriculture, had little viability. A search for occupation, and possibly also for emotional roots, took a third of them away

from the province. Many chose a military career, which possessed in Britain far more prestige than it ever acquired in Canada.[1] Another 40 percent moved about British Columbia, thus losing whatever sense of place might have been acquired in childhood without necessarily gaining much in return. Most importantly, residence in Vancouver did not bring easy access to its old boy network. A country boy who went on to the University of British Columbia with many of his Vernon contemporaries found Vancouver "an enclave, an island, isolated."[2] A Shawnigan old boy who grew up near the school discovered Vancouver to be "a socially closed community, incredibly tight," which could not be penetrated unless "brought up there as a boy."[3]

Country boys of British parentage may have found themselves in an increasingly ambivalent position as the province became more diverse socio-demographically after the Second World War. A Shawnigan pupil has stressed how he "deliberately lost an English accent": "I tried to Canadianize myself."[4] Of the half dozen Vernon old boys interviewed who retain pronounced British middle-class, almost Edwardian, accents, all were born in British Columbia, the offspring of immigrants. Half remain convinced that their accent together with its accompanying cultural characteristics has worked to their disadvantage. To quote one, "I feel I lack the common touch; I'm too polite; I'm

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[1] See Jeffrey V. Brock, The Dark Broad Seas, v. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), pp. 17 and 179.
[2] Interviews, Aug. 7, 1979, and July 3, 1980.
[3] Interview, July 9, 1980.
[4] Interviews, June 24, 1980, and Aug. 17, 1979.

snubbed or rudely misunderstood by Canadian B.C.'ers for not speaking Canadian English." As the British born became in British Columbia an aged adjunct to the province's population, so were their sons turned into emotional aliens. Survival, not assertive leadership, became the dominant motif of many lives.

By contrast, the other major group attending British Columbia's boys' schools simply had it too good. The milestones in the lives of Vancouver boys served only to deepen satisfaction in an existing order whose control they possessed by the mere accident of birth. Social relationships in place through family and neighbourhood were continued in school. Self-confidence was enhanced by the disparate nature of fellow pupils, many of whom may have been envious, possibly a little deferential. Nor did university break the pattern, for a majority of students were almost as socio-economically exclusive as they themselves. Thereafter came a suitable marriage within a familiar social environment. Entry into a career was paternally facilitated if not ensured. Continuity in occupation and geographical residence was complemented by common membership in social clubs continuing friendships begun at school. As one Vancouver old boy has phrased it, "Afterwards I became fast friends with numerous old boys . . . and there has always been an 'old boy network' if you will. And fast friends we are

today."[1]

The real world of elective politics or individualistic leadership need not impinge on the life style of Vancouver old boys. While membership in the legislative assembly or parliament may have been for fathers a useful mechanism for consolidation of status in British Columbia, such has been unnecessary for their privileged offspring. Most importantly, they had been educated to believe that politics in Canada was not quite the business of a gentleman.

To speculate why old boys have not asserted political leadership to the extent they may dominate the socio-economic structure is not to discount the influence of British Columbia boys' schools. Rather, headmasters did their job too well. In Britain the class-based nature of society was--and is--generally accepted. The expectation has remained that the upper-middle and upper class play a major role in both the political and socio-economic structure. "Public" schools in Britain taught their pupils the concept of orderly rise within a deferential society, and that society has made way for their accession.

British Columbia was in the final analysis not a part of Britain but rather a Canadian province. However great the influence of British settlement in the nineteenth and early

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[1] SLS, Founder's Day Speech, 1979. The nature of social linkages in Vancouver has received little attention apart from the theses of R.A.J. MacDonald and Angus Robertson on the period before the First World War. For two impressionistic appraisals, see James Holt, "Who Runs Vancouver? The Establishment, of course," Vancouver Life 3, no. 6 (March 1968), pp. 16-23 and 55-57; and Keith Bradbury, "The Establishment," Sun, Dec. 5, 7 and 8, 1970.

twentieth centuries, British Columbia was nonetheless premised on the ethos of the public school, not the "public" school. The principles inculcated in boys' schools based on the British model held only where compatriots also knew how "to play the game," be it the Okanagan, Shaughnessy or the legal profession. Elective politics demanded, in sharp contrast, individual interaction with a larger society often unaware that a game was underway, much less cognizant of its rules. From mid-century certainly, British Columbia old boys were in effect all dressed up with nowhere to go.

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Appendix A: BRITISH COLUMBIA NON-CATHOLIC PRIVATE SCHOOLS ADMITTING BOYS, 1860-1950

All Saints' Mission School, Nicola and then Kamloops, 1882-85

Operated by Anglican Church, Diocese of New Westminster

Both sexes admitted

Athlone School, Vancouver, 1940-73

Founded by Mrs. Violet Dryvynsyde

Preparatory school

Bilton House, West Vancouver, ca.1928-34

Headed by K.B. Foyster

All levels

Rev. Bolton's School, Victoria, 1898-1908

Private venture of Rev. W.W. Bolton

Anglican ethos

Became University School

Brentwood College, Victoria, 1923-48

Incorporated at foundation

Limited to secondary level

Successor school with same name established 1961

Buckland College, Vancouver, 1893-1900

Private venture of Charles Hill-Tout

Primarily day school with some boarders

Probably all levels

Caulfeild School, West Vancouver, 1942-46

Intended for younger boys

Private venture of Ernest George Allen

All levels

Amalgamated into Kingsley in 1946

Central School, Victoria, 1861-64

Private venture of John Jessop

Elementary level

Both sexes admitted

Non-sectarian, based on Ontario common schools

Chesterfield School, North Vancouver, 1907-43

Founded as private venture by A.H. Scriven

Incorporated in 1914 as Vancouver Residential Schools

After incorporation boarding preparatory school

Officially Anglican after incorporation

Chesterfield School, Kelowna, 1912-24

Private venture founded by A.H. Scriven

Preparatory school

Primarily day boys

Anglican ethos

Church Hill School, Vancouver, 1925-28

Private venture of L.C. Vulliamy

Day school for younger boys

Located in Kerrisdale district

Became Dorchester House in 1928

Collegiate School, Victoria, 1880-ca.85 and 1892-1929

Founded as Anglican Church school by Diocese of Columbia

Originally based on English grammar-school model

From recreation in 1892 primarily a private venture

Located in Esquimalt 1892-97

Collegiate School for Boys, Vancouver, ca.1900-03

Apparently parish school of Christ Church Cathedral

Columbian College, New Westminster, 1892-1932

Operated by Methodist Church

Secondary and post-secondary institution

Both sexes admitted

Day and boarding school

Corrig College, Victoria, 1886-1916

Founded as private venture by the Rev. C.J. Brenton

Boarding and day school

Known as Victoria College during part of 1890s

Anglican ethos

Cranleigh House School, Victoria, 1920-ca.41

Private venture of C.V. Milton

Boarding and day school

Located in Oak Bay

Anglican ethos

Dorchester House, Vancouver, 1928-ca.34

Previously Church Hill School

Private venture of L.C. Vulliamy

Primarily day school

Located in Kerrisdale district

Duncan Grammar School, Duncan, 1926-50

Private venture of R.E. Honour

Day and boarding school

Preparatory school

Anglican ethos

Formby House School, Ganges, Saltspring Island, 1914-40

Founded as private venture by A.K.N. Oxenham

Anglican ethos

Girls admitted in some time periods

Ganges Preparatory School, Ganges, Saltspring Island, 1925-30

Private venture of Geoffrey B. Benson

Ganges Private School, Ganges, Saltspring Island, 1907-17

Private venture of L.G. Tolson

Girls admitted in some time periods

Day school with some boarders

Anglican ethos

Glenlyon Preparatory School, Victoria, 1932-

Founded as private venture by J. Ian Simpson

Day school with some boarders

Located in Oak Bay

Highfield House, Vancouver, ca.1910-ca.11

Preparatory school

Ingelborough School, Victoria, 1914-ca.15

Founded by Edward P. Ward

Preparatory school

Day school with some boarders

Located in Oak Bay

King's College School, Vancouver, 1900-09

Private venture of the Rev. C.J. Brenton

Day and boarding school

All levels

Moved to Fairview district

Kingsley School, North Vancouver, 1920-51

Founded as private venture by A.H. Scriven

Day and boarding school

Generally all levels

Langara School, Vancouver, 1912-ca.17

Incorporated as Western Residential Schools

Presbyterian ethos

Located in Shaughnessy district

Leinster Preparatory School, Shawnigan Lake, ca.1922-ca.25

Founded by Odo A. Barry

Boarding and day school

Lion's Gate School, Vancouver, 1935-ca.64

Private venture of J.J. Irvine

Day school with some boarders

All levels

Lockington Preparatory School, Vancouver

See Vancouver Grammar School

Lorne College, New Westminster, 1883-87

Operated by Anglican Church, Diocese of New Westminster

Lynn College, North Vancouver, 1912-ca.13

Private venture of Reginald H. Bates

Became Wykeham School

Mabyn School for Boys, Vancouver, ca.1914-ca.1915

Private venture of John Shearer

Located in West End

Malvern House School, Victoria, 1923-78

Founded as private venture by Thomas P. Emmerson

Preparatory school

Boarding and day school

Anglican

New College, Vancouver, 1908-ca.12

Private venture of Cyril H. Jackson

Founded as successor to Queen's School

Boarding and day school

Located in West End

North Lonsdale Private School, North Vancouver, ca.1931-33

Headed by W.F. Pringle

North Shore College, North Vancouver, 1926-56

Founded as private venture by P.T. Dale and L.C. Storr

Boarding and day school

All levels

Anglican ethos

Okanagan College, Summerland, 1907-15

Operated by Baptist Church

Secondary, commerical and post-secondary levels

Both sexes admitted

Qualicum Beach School, Qualicum Beach, 1935-70

Private venture of Robert Ivan Knight

Boarding school

Anglican ethos

Renamed Qualicum College in 1950

Quamichan Lake School, Cowichan, 1904-24

Private venture of P.T. Skrimshire

Day and boarding school

Primarily secondary level

Anglican ethos

Queen's School, Vancouver, 1898-1908

Founded as private venture by H.W. Colebrook

Boarding and day school

Preparatory school

Amalgamated into University School in 1908

Reformed Episcopal Grammar School, Victoria, ca.1877-ca.80

Operated by Reformed Episcopal Church

Day school

St. Aidan's School, Victoria, 1915-ca.32

Private venture of F. Ashley Sparks

Preparatory school

Anglican ethos

Originally known as Victoria Preparatory School

Moved from Oak Bay to Langford

St. Andrew's School, Vancouver, ca.1929-ca.30

Founded by Capt. F.J. Somerscales

Located in Kitsilano district

St. Francis School, West Vancouver, 1934-ca.41

Private venture of Eric Lynas-Grey

Boarding preparatory school

Anglican ethos

St. George's School, Ocean Park, ca.1927-ca.37

Founded by the Rev. P. Chapman of "Liberal Catholic Church"

Boarding school

All levels

St. George's School, Vancouver, 1931-

Founded as private venture by F.J. Danby-Hunter

Incorporated in 1934

Day and boarding school

All levels

St. James' School, Vancouver, ca.1886, ca.1900-ca.04

Parish school of St. James' Anglican Church

St. John's Boys' School, North Vancouver, 1906-ca.09

Founded by Rev. Richard S. Marsden of Anglican Church

Boarding school

St. Michael's Preparatory School, Victoria, 1910-71

Founded as private venture by Kyrle C. Symons

Incorporated in 1933

Primarily day school

Located in Oak Bay

Anglican ethos

Amalgamated in 1971 with University School to form St. Michaels University School

St. Michaels University School, Victoria, 1971-

Formed in 1971 from amalgmation of St. Michael's Prepratory School and University School

St. Paul's School, Esquimalt, 1887-ca.89 and probably 1905

Parish school of St. Paul's Anglican Church

St. Stephen's Lodge, Langford, ca.1930

Headed by the Rev. Charles J. Cherry of Anglican Church

Residential school

Seagram College, West Vancouver, ca.1939

Founded by Bernard E. Cooper

Selkirk School, Victoria, 1921-28

Founded by Philip H. Hughes

Day and boarding school

Shaughnessy College School, Vancouver, 1926-32

Founded by F.J. Townsend and C.B. Reid

Day preparatory school

Probably Anglican ethos

Shawnigan Lake School, Shawnigan Lake, 1916-

Founded as private venture of C.W. Lonsdale

Incorporated in 1928 as non-profit society

Preparatory school until 1928, thereafter all levels

Boarders only.

Officially Anglican

Swinton House, Vancouver, 1908-ca.09

Headed by Albert W. Lloyd

Located in West End

Trinity House School, Vancouver, 1930-38

Private venture of Geoffrey B. Benson

Preparatory school

Day boys and boarders

Located in Kerrisdale district

University School, Victoria, 1906/08-71

Founded by the Rev. W.W. Bolton, J.C. Barnacle, and R.V. Harvey

Incorporated on foundation

Boarding and day school

All levels

Anglican ethos

Located near Mount Tolmie

Amalgamated in 1971 with St. Michael's Preparatory School to form St. Michaels University School

Vancouver Central Private School, Vancouver, 1929-ca.48

Affiliated with Seventh Day Adventists

Both sexes admitted

Located on East Side

Vancouver Grammar School, Vancouver, 1914-ca.32

Also known as Lockington Preparatory School

Private venture of James Lockington

Preparatory day school

Located in West End

Vancouver Preparatory School, Vancouver, 1919-34

Founded by Frederick A. Moody

Day school

Located in West End

Probable Anglican ethos

Vancouver Residential Schools

See Chesterfield School, North Vancouver

Vancouver University School, Vancouver, 1926-ca.27

Founded by Dennis Dennis

Located in Point Grey

Probable Anglican ethos

Vernon College, Vernon, 1903-ca.04

Anglican parish school

Vernon Preparatory School, Vernon, 1914-72

Founded as private venture by the Rev. A.C. Mackie

Boarders only

Officially Anglican

Vernon Private School, Vernon, 1893-ca.95

Private venture of F. Adrian Meyer

Primarily secondary level

Victoria College

See Corrig College

Victoria Preparatory School

See St. Aidan's School

Western Residential Schools

See Langara School

Whetham College, Vancouver, 1891-93

Founded through initiative of Dr. James Whetham

Possessed board of trustees

All levels

Non-denominational

Wykeham School, North Vancouver, 1913-16

Previously Lynn College

Founded as private venture by Reginald H. Bates

Appendix B: CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

The occupational classification used in the thesis is based on the Blishen scale, as defined in Bernard R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada," pp. 741-53 in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, ed. Bernard R. Blishen et al, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968). Certain modifications were necessary. The scale excluded farm owners (see fn.8, p. 742), who were made a separate category in the thesis' classification. Officers in the armed forces have been removed from their general classification with all servicemen to a rank comparable with unspecified professionals. Graduate nurses have been raised from their relatively low classification to rank with other health professionals. No category existed for hotel owners, who were made equivalent to owners and managers of miscellaneous services. Other changes from Blishen grouped together equivalent occupations into single categories. Changes made to Blishen's ranking are noted with a "*" in the following table, which is limited to classifications found among British Columbia private-school fathers and sons.

The classification of separate occupations into groups of occupations relied both on Blishen's numerical ranking and on their interpretation in Yves de Jocas and Guy Rocher, "Inter-Generation Occupation Mobility in the Province of Quebec," pp. 711-23, and Anthony H. Richmond, "Social Mobility of Immigrants in Canada," pp. 724-40, in Canadian Society. Both the occupations of individuals examined in the thesis and the occupational data extracted from Canadian censuses were classified into the same groups of occupations.

The occupational groupings derived from the census data are only approximate between decades, since the data itself is inconsistent. In 1921 large occupational groups included both managerial and clerical employees as subcategories. In 1931, managerial personnel were still included within large occupational groups, but clerical employess had been removed and grouped together into their own large occupational group. The 1941 census was the most detailed, each major classification broken down into minute subsclassifications, including not only managerial and clerical personnel but also professionals and sales personnel, previously within their own large occupational group. The 1951 census contained new major classifications. In addition managerial personnel were given their own large grouping.

Classification

Upper Professions

7669 Chemical engineer

7644 Dentist

7601 Professor

7557 Physician or surgeon

7542 Mining or geological engineer *

7541 Lawyer

7516 Civil engineer

7452 Architect

7446 Veterinarian

7434 Electrical engineer

7427 Unspecified professional engineer

7322 Biological scientist

7294 Unspecified physical scientist

7287 Pharmacist

Lower Professions

7025 Chiropractor

7014 School teacher

6880 Accountant

6697 Agricultural professional *

6604 Air pilot

6423 Author, editor or journalist

6093 Military officer *

5981 Radio or television announcer

5920 Clergyman or priest

5827 Nurse or other health professional *

5821 Artist, art teacher or actor *

5782 Draughtsman

5562 Social welfare worker

5406 Commercial artist or photographer

5325 Surveyor

Finance

6452 Owner or manager, finance, insurance, real estate and banking *

5519 Insurance salesman or bank clerk *

5474 Broker, agent, or appraiser

Company management

6679 Owner or manager, chemical and chemical products industries

6529 Owner or manager, primary metal industries

6478 Owner or manager, paper and allied industries

6302 Owner or manager, petroleum and coal products industries

6199 Owner or manager, mines, quarries and oil wells

6175 Owner or manager, transportation equipment industries

6007 Owner or manager, health and welfare services

5969 Owner or manager, printing, publishing and allied industries

5829 Owner or manager, miscellaneous manufacturing industries

5385 Owner or manager, transportation, communication and other utilities

5380 Owner or manager, wholesale trade

5170 Owner or manager, food and beverage industries

4695 Owner or manager, construction industries

4552 Owner or manager, wood industries, including lumber companies *

4540 Owner or manager, hotel *

4400 Owner or manager, forestry and logging

Sales

5522 Purchasing agent or buyer

5268 Commercial traveller

4369 Owner or manager, retail trade

Government service

6094 Diplomat

5960 Owner or manager, federal administration

5454 Owner or manager, provincial administration

5329 Owner or manager, local administration

3965 Postmaster

3580 Policeman or fireman

Clerical Personnel

5196 Stenographer or secretary

4761 Ticket, station or express agent

4298 Unspecified clerical occupations

Agriculture

6696 Farmer *

Trades

5817 Inspector or foreman, construction

5151 Radio and television equipment operator or x-ray technician *

4911 Foreman, primary metals industries

4675 Foreman, electric power, gas and water utilities

4599 Locomotive or boat engineer *

4432 Foreman, trade

4420 Telephone operator

4230 Compositor or typesetter

4068 Electrician, wireman or electrical repairman

4022 Railroad brakeman

3986 Ship engineering assistant *

3982 Inspector, grader, sampler or timekeeper *

3714 Sales clerk

3338 Miner or prospector *

3279 Welder

3217 Unspecified service worker

3214 Shipping or receiving clerk

3130 Mechanic or repairman

3048 Butcher

2943 Cook, carpenter or painter *

2701 Logger or fisherman *