THE PURSUIT OF POWER, PROFIT AND PRIVACY: A STUDY
OF VANCOUVER'S WEST END ELITE, 1886 - 1914

by

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to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

Vancouver's West End, located between Stanley Park and the commercial/administrative enterprises of the central business district, quickly emerged as the city's prime residential neighborhood during the late 1880's. Until approximately 1912 Vancouver's leading citizens resided in the West End, shaping its growth and that of much of the city.

Coming predominantly from Eastern Canada and Great Britain and arriving in Vancouver before or just after the turn of the century, Vancouver's West End elite created a residential landscape that reflected the architecture, institutions and urban images of the late Victorian Age. The transplant of a sophisticated and established urban culture to a pristine urban environment allowed Vancouver's upper class quickly to create a comfortable residential environment in a new, West Coast urban setting. In short, the West End was an identifiable neighborhood that reflected the processes of social and spatial sorting common throughout the late nineteenth century industrial urban world, and it provided a secure social and geographical base where the ambitious upper class could build and maneuver to structure their future in British Columbia.

While the West End portrayed status and functioned as an environment in which upper class social interaction and cohesion could be initiated and sustained, it was only part of the larger civic arena within which the elite population operated. This larger setting included the elaborate institutional network of corporations, exclusive clubs and
recreational associations within which members of the elite consolidated their socio-economic ascendancy. An understanding of the institutional basis of elite power in Vancouver is essential to gaining an understanding of the elite's impact on the social and geographical environment of the city. Chapter three concentrates on the development of the elite's network of voluntary associations while chapter four examines the corporate connections and activities of the elite.

In conclusion, the study examines the beliefs and commitments that helped to endorse the vast socio-economic power of the business dominated elite in early Vancouver. It is suggested that most immigrants to pre-1914 Vancouver saw the city as the land of private opportunity, a place where prosperity could be attained by everyone who adhered to the rules of hard work, thrift and common sense. A widely shared commitment to material progress and urban expansion helped to inspire a deferential attitude towards those businessmen who were leaders of expansion in the city's private sector and, more specifically, it sanctioned the rapid demise of the West End as an upper class single-family neighborhood.
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CHAPTER ONE

THE WEST END BEFORE 1912 - VANCOUVER'S RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPE OF PRIVILEGE.

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way. That is not a mere bit of literary expression; it is absolutely and in verity a law that God has written in human history, you cannot get rid of it. I have visited every city of importance on this continent, and in the old country, and I give you this: Never does any city start in any part and not go westward. If you find me one that grows in any other direction, I will find you the reason why. While East London is in many ways rotten, West London is another world altogether. Here in Vancouver the western part is peculiarly important. I am not financially interested; I don't want to sell any lots in the West End. Mine is sold."

("The Future of Vancouver and Why," Address to the Vancouver Canadian Club by Dr. Roland Grant, June 7th, 1910, in The Canadian Club of Vancouver: Addresses and Proceedings, 1906-1917, Vancouver City Archives.)
CHAPTER ONE

THE WEST END BEFORE 1912 - VANCOUVER'S RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPE OF PRIVILEGE.

From the late 1880's until 1912 most successful Vancouverites settled into the West End, a fashionable residential district lying between Stanley Park and the commercial and industrial activity of the central business district (see Map 1). These individuals quickly established a residential landscape and urban life style characteristic of the cities they had left behind. Coming predominantly from Eastern Canada and Great Britain, and arriving in Vancouver before or just after the turn of the century, they transplanted general modes of architecture, institutions and urban images associated with the late Victorian Age in Eastern Canada and Great Britain. The aspirations of these West Enders were perhaps most clearly expressed in their homes. Differing little in style from those built at the same time in Southern Ontario, Britain or the United States, these mansions were contemporary urban statements of success and status. Along with architecture came techniques of landscape design and domestic gardening, approved modes of social interaction, such as "At Home" days and, in general, a way of life that reflected
MAP 1
THE WEST END - SITUATION

"THE NORTH SHORE"

STANLEY PARK
WEST END
ENGLISH BAY
CBD.

Burrard Inlet
Vancouver
Burnaby
established metropolitan social values and institutions, and that allowed Vancouver's upper class quickly to create a comfortable late Victorian residential environment in a new, West Coast urban setting. The West End was an identifiable neighborhood that provided a secure social and geographical base where the ambitious upper class could build and maneuver to structure their future in British Columbia.

BACKGROUND TO WEST END SETTLEMENT

The local urban setting

When incorporated in April, 1886, Vancouver was not an urban community with a local heritage. The act of incorporation formally marked a break from the inlet's earlier history as a pioneer resource village dependent on logging and sawmilling. Inhabitants of the tiny, sawmill-dominated settlement of Granville had felt little attachment to place as they logged the forest or labored in the mills that clung to the edge of Burrard Inlet. This predominantly male population comprised the backwash of the gold rush, disbanded members of the Royal Engineers, former Hudson's Bay Company trappers, Coast Salish Indians, and deserters from the sailing ships that serviced the small timber export trade conducted by the Hastings and Moodyville sawmills. Most of these early residents, like those who came after 1884 in anticipation of the CPR, had come simply to make some money. Frontier loggers were not concerned to establish a new and lasting community; their commitment to the area was determined by the availability of logs.

Social class and ethnicity were of minor importance in the daily operation of this society. With the exception of several mill managers and merchants, individual worth was measured by the
ability to perform and survive in the forest industry. Inter-
marrage between the white male population and female Coast
Salish was common. Money was spent in establishments such as
"Gassy Jack" Deighton's saloon, rather than invested in land or
houses. Only three lots had been sold at the government's first
land sale in Granville in 1870, for the thought of investing in
land made little sense to a transitory population of loggers.
By late 1884, however, when it became clear that the CPR would
by-pass Port Moody in favor of a terminus on Coal Harbor or
English Bay, the Burrard Peninsula began its sudden and rapid
transformation from a small logging settlement into a complex
commercial/industrial urban environment with the associated social
structuring and spatial sorting common to the late nineteenth
century city. Vancouver did not evolve out of the small resource-
based settlements established on the inlet in the 1860's; rather
it was created overnight by the arrival of the CPR. The development
of the West End was only one, but in many ways the most significant
manifestation of Vancouver's entrance into the late Victorian
urban world.

As a result of the negotiations between the CPR and the B.C.
government over the extension of the railway to Coal Harbor the
CPR acquired substantial land grants. As well as the provincial
government's grant of District Lots 541 and 526, the CPR received
title to one-third of the lots held by private landholders in
District Lots 185, 196 and 181 (see Chapter Four). When the
railroad's land commissioner, L.A. Hamilton, arrived to survey and
layout the peninsula's street pattern in 1885 he was confronted
with two registered grid plans - one in the old Granville Townsite
and one in D.L. 185 - around which he had to plan the CPR's future terminal city. In the Granville Townsite, surveyed and plotted in 1870, enough construction already had taken place to prevent any quick reploting of the streets. West of Burrard Street however, the old "City of Liverpool" survey, registered in 1882 by the original pre-emptors, was still forested in 1885. However, any hope Hamilton may have had of re-aligning the West End's streets to make them parallel to and more consistent with the CPR's envisioned commercial corridor along Granville Street was thwarted by the opposition of West End speculators and by the company's desire to complete surveying rapidly. Hamilton adapted his plan as best he could to the original 1882 survey and, as a result, the West End was left with only six streets running through into the heart of what soon became a dynamic commercial landscape. The other nine terminated at Burrard Street and the tenth, which ran along English Bay and False Creek, terminated at Granville Street. Consequently in a totally unplanned, even undesired manner, the West End was to manifest a relatively discrete grid on the edge of the city's future business center. In 1886, however, it was still an unsettled slash-and-burn landscape when a CPR clearing fire in the West End ran out of control to destroy most of the city.

Immediately after the fire the Granville Townsite area was re-established as the commercial nucleus of the city with the main residential areas growing up south of the Hastings Mill, along Oppenheimer and Alexander Streets and Westminster Avenue. But the CPR, whose major land grants on the Burrard Peninsula were located west of Hamilton Street, quickly took up the task of
promoting the westward expansion of the city's business and residential sectors. Company executives and shareholders such as Sir Donald Smith, William Van Horne and Sir George Stephen invested in building lots along Granville, and each financed the construction of a major office building (the Strathcona Block, the Van Horne Block and the New York Block respectively). The CPR built a temporary depot at the foot of Howe Street and midway between this building and their work yards on False Creek, on the highest point of land on the peninsula (Granville and Georgia), the CPR built the first Hotel Vancouver in 1887. This 100 room luxury hotel was "intended as the stopping place for the first-class tourist trade who transferred from the CPR Pacific Liner (Empress Ships) to the CPR trans-continental railway." Shortly thereafter, in 1890, the CPR constructed the elegant Vancouver Opera House next door to its hotel on Granville Street. Locally based CPR officials also engaged in the early creation of a prestigious business area west of the old Granville Townsite. The CPR's attempt to promote the development of their Burrard Peninsula land grant as a prestigious commercial and administrative sector was successful; within a short span of time of number of leading financial institutions, law firms and retail outlets had moved their operations into the center of CPR property.

West of the CPR depot on Howe Street company officials began in 1887 to purchase the lots deeded to the CPR as home building sites. On a very small scale the initial residential development in this area was also a direct result of a CPR building investment strategy. An elaborate General Superintendent's house was built for H.B. Abbott at the corner of Howe and Hastings. When he
retired in 1897, Abbott built his own West End home at Jervis and Georgia and his replacement, Richard Marpole, moved into the Hastings Street mansion. On the corner of Burrard and Georgia, another elaborate house was built by the CPR and occupied by a number of high ranking company executives, the first resident being J.M. Browning who had replaced Hamilton as CPR Land Commissioner in 1888. Other CPR executives, such as Chief Engineer Henry Cambie and Doctor J.M. Lefevre, constructed their own homes on lots which they obtained at a reduced price from the CPR. With the CPR and their executives setting relatively high residential standards in the area, and with the Hotel Vancouver, the Opera House, and later the Hudson's Bay Tea Room, creating a tone of refinement and prosperity along a readily accessible Granville Street, other successful Vancouverites soon began building their houses in the northeastern sector of the West End.

Once this process had been initiated, the West End rapidly became a status residential neighborhood. Whether or not a CPR executive previously had been socially influential, once in the terminal city he was immediately looked upon as a man of influence and power. Consequently, those who could afford to equal or surpass the houses built by the CPR executives tended to do so in the fashionable West End, rather than in East Vancouver or south of False Creek. In fact, many of the early West End elite residents were actually trading off accessibility to their east side commercial and development interests in order to enter more easily the social milieu of the West End elite society (see Chapters Three and Four).

In many respects, the West End was an obvious area for upper
class residential settlement. The life style of the mill hands and ethnic minorities in the East End contrasted sharply with the more sophisticated, genteel life style to which Vancouver's upper class aspired. Without any prior settlement activity, the West End was clearly more amenable to development in line with the contemporary image of an attractive upper class residential neighborhood. Moreover, the West End was conveniently located adjacent to but separate from the city's expanding central business district and the industries along False Creek and Burrard Inlet. This separation, coupled with the facts that the West End was high ground that offered a panoramic view of harbor and mountains and that it had a drainage pattern superior to that of the peninsula's low-lying east side, all helped to ensure that the West End would emerge as the city's first quality residential area. These same attractions also brought a substantial middle class population, mainly CPR clerks, agents and other downtown office employees, into the West End. However, the fact that the West End was not restricted to upper class home owners must not obscure the fact that between 1887 and approximately 1912 the West End was the geographical base of the city's elite. Powerful Vancouverites lived in the West End, shaping its growth and that of much of the city.

The late nineteenth century city and the suburban movement

Once the CPR had decided to make Vancouver its western terminus an established British and Eastern Canadian urban industrial society was transferred to the new city on the Pacific coast. Lessons about urban living and social organization that had been taught in other cities, techniques of promoting growth that had been worked out in Eastern Canada and the United States, and
images of what a comfortable and efficient urban environment should and should not be were quickly transplanted. This was the vicarious base upon which the city grew as, indeed, had virtually the entire urban system in Western Canada. But coming into existence later than most other western cities, at the strategic break-in-bulk point of a global transportation system, Vancouver was settled by immigrants having a particularly broad range of urban experience, industrial technology, and entrepreneurial expertise. This was true not only of upper class society but also of middle class white collar workers and, just as important, of the skilled labor classes. Most of these immigrants were well aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the industrial city, of its ability to create secure and profitable economic opportunities as well as social dislocation, alienation and environmental squalor. In short, Vancouver's late entry into the North American urban arena meant that most settlers arrived with a fear of the health and social problems associated with the urban industrial slum, as well as a common conviction that city life was most attractive in single family homes located away from the city's industrial core. This was the age of the new "science" of statistics; the facts and figures of urban poverty and deprivation were being widely reported, and the city was becoming the focus of all middle class theories of environmental control. The West End elite undoubtedly brought a fear of the slum and a distrust of the landless working classes to the task of city building, along with the conviction that a city of single family homes made for greater social stability and contentment, as well as profits for those who controlled the urban real estate market.

For the first twenty-five years of Vancouver's existence the
West End was a late Victorian single family suburb bound up in metropolitan social values and architectural styles that differed little from those in Eastern Canada or Britain. The major difference between Vancouver's West End and the single family suburbs of Britain or Eastern Canada was that the West Enders were not retreating from massive inner city degradation in Vancouver. If anything, they were retreating from the squalor of central cities experienced in or associated with other places at other times. As obvious as this point must seem, it underscores how deeply ingrained was the desire for a suburban life style among Vancouver's well-to-do population. The "cult of suburban living" was nurtured by more than the desire for work/residence separation, or the feeling that contentment could be found in a suburban "rural" atmosphere that would help balance the chaotic life in the city's business sector. Rather, the geographically discrete single family suburb had become an important dimension through which the upwardly mobile middle classes of the industrializing world were defining their social exclusiveness as a group as well as their individual self-importance in a rapidly changing world. As H.J. Dyos argues in *Victorian Suburb*:

> It was not only the seat of respectability but... a world of fantasy in which dreams of self importance could become tangible in the management of some doll's house estate and in the occupation of a unique social niche. 10.

Or, as Deryck Holdsworth has pointed out,

> ...the middle class felt equally alienated by the confusing dynamism of a fluid industrial order. One way to overcome such uncertainty was to be in control of some limited certainty; the social display of suburban villa, its management through a broad set of home standards, and through the regulation of social intercourse within a safe group. 11.
Looked at from a social perspective, therefore, it might be argued that the West End's importance as a neighborhood lay less as a retreat from the city center and more in the fact that it was a collective assault on personal alienation heightened in a new urban setting where strangers abounded and personal bonds had been weakened by time and distance. This does not mean that Vancouver's West End embodied a particularly distinctive attempt at late nineteenth century suburban living; clearly it did not. However, given the fact that Vancouver was a newly created and dynamic urban center, it does seem possible that many of the West Enders were particularly appreciative of the social implications surrounding the West End. The tendency of West Enders to view their setting as a geographical means to a social end rather than a geographical end in itself would, in the longer run, leave the West End totally vulnerable to redevelopment.

THE WEST END IN ITS PRIME

The shape of the West End's built landscape

The first and oldest residential environment in the West End consisted of the upper class homes that were constructed in the north eastern sector of the West End prior to 1898. The builders of these houses, like the vast majority of new Vancouverites, had arrived in the city with the conviction that single-family detached houses, isolated from the commercial and industrial sectors of the city, were requirements of a healthy and socially viable urban environment. The elegant row houses of London or New York, popular among the upper class until at least the 1860's, totally failed to penetrate Vancouver's status residential environment. Those few among Vancouver's upper class
who felt no desire to invest in their own home could find permanent and socially prestigious accommodation in the Hotel Vancouver or, by the mid 1890's, in the Vancouver Club. For most, however, investment in a West End home was an important, if not mandatory, step into Vancouver's elite social circles. The houses constructed during this early period were often expensive and ornate, yet the gardens associated with the houses rarely equalled the grandeur of the homes. Rarely set-back, the houses were often on the street border in an attempt to define a street pattern that, in reality, was little more than a system of narrow dirt roads (see Illustration 1). In a further attempt to bring some semblence of order to a rugged and chaotic landscape, houses were often fenced in, the fence enclosing only a small portion of the lot on which the house was located. In essence, the fence defined what was to be considered the domesticated residential landscape and divided it from adjacent, untamed land (see Illustration 2). Those with one complete lot (66 feet by 132 feet), and those with more than one lot, rarely created expensive, manicured grounds around their homes. During the first few years of Vancouver's development time was too short and money too valuable to spend on extensive landscaping. The house stood as the prime, visible symbol of position in the urban social hierarchy.

Between 1893 and approximately 1898 Vancouver suffered through its first economic depression and there was little upper class residential expansion outside of the West End's north eastern sector. To be sure, the depressed economy had only a minor impact on most of the established professional and managerial elite in Vancouver although it ruined many small
ILLUSTRATION 1.

VANCOUVER'S WEST END IN APPROXIMATELY 1891.

(Source: Vancouver City Archives)
ILLUSTRATION 2.

1100 HARO STREET, 1890.

(Source: Vancouver City Archives)
businessmen and land speculators. It did make the city less attractive to prospective upper class immigrants, as well as foreign and Eastern Canadian capital, and it obviously restricted the upward mobility of Vancouver's middle class. The ranks of the upper class did not increase significantly and the upper class residential environment did not expand dramatically during this period.

Early in the 1890's William Godfrey, manager of the Bank of British North America, and R.V. Winch, president of Ward and Company, had settled south of Nelson Street. In so doing, these powerful businessmen anticipated the extensive elite residential development that took place on the English Bay slopes during the late 1890's and early 1900's. Godfrey's house, at the corner of Nicola and Burnaby, was completed by 1893 and was one of only three houses south of Davie Street at this time. Further north, R.V. Winch's house at 1205 Comox exemplified both the extravagant taste and the degree of financial investment that went into the upper class West End mansions. Built in 1894, when others less fortunate were feeling the effects of the depression, Winch's house and furnishings included ten tons of steel beams, two 600 pound antique marble bathtubs, mahogany staircases, and solid oak billiard tables. The extensive gardens and lawns surrounding Winch's home were to become commonplace features of the elite residential landscape after 1898.

In 1898 prosperity had returned to the city. Built primarily along the English Bay - Stanley Park perimeter of the West End, the homes and landscapes established by the upper class after 1898 now conformed closely to a mansion-estate tradition with the large home located on one or more lots surrounded by garden
shrubs and carefully manicured lawns. Often a house would be located in the middle of several lots, set back from the street and above street level, thereby ensuring a degree of privacy from adjacent developments and curious pedestrians. Multiple level landscape settings became popular as the residents sought to attain the informal and irregular residential appearance associated with the Victorian period's picturesque style (see Illustration 3). A comparable effect was achieved by siting houses at irregular angles to the street. To further accent the picturesque characteristics of the house, and to help blend the natural with the man-made environment, the walls of the houses were often covered with vine. In the same vein, shrubs, hedges, and stone became popular as lot dividers, although small wooden fences continued to be used. Trees were planted around the houses and along the street borders (see Illustration 4). Monkey puzzle trees, evocative reminders of the foreign and exotic cultures that had been penetrated by British shipping and trade, became a popular feature of the domestic landscapes. Apparently upper class residents paid heed to imperialistic sentiments such as those espoused by a speaker at the Vancouver Canadian Club in 1910:

You are part of a world movement which will go on for hundreds of years. When you lay out your streets, when you erect your buildings, please make your lots larger with this in view. 16.

These lavish, single-family estates, created primarily after the turn of the century along the English Bay and Stanley Park perimeters, were the second upper class residential environment in the West End.
ILLUSTRATION 3.
LOOKING EAST ON BURNABY STREET, FROM JERVIS, 1906.
(Source: Vancouver Public Library)
ILLUSTRATION 4.

JUNCTION OF CHILCO AND ROBSON STREETS, BY STANLEY PARK (1942)

(Source: Vancouver Public Library)
The third single-family residential environment in the West End, that of the middle and lower income groups, was initially concentrated in the east-central portion of the West End. By 1910 however, after the expansion of street car service throughout the area, these houses had penetrated virtually all areas of the West End. Built by their owners or by speculative developers, these houses imitated, on a modest scale, the houses and landscapes of the upper class.

The fourth residential environment in the West End, that of apartments and comparable multiple dwelling structures such as lodges and converted houses, was of relatively minor importance in the West End until after 1910. Eventually such buildings were to dominate the West End but in 1910 only seven apartments were listed in the Vancouver City Directory, five of them in the West End (see Map 2). There were also several hotels and rooming houses in the West End - for example, the Glencoe Lodge, EarlsCourt, The Mansions, and the Bellview House - but before the first world war single-family structures easily dominated the West End's built landscape. With the exception of the Bellview House at 1560 Nelson, the multiple dwelling structures were confined to the north eastern sector of the West End. Further, these dwellings were occupied primarily by visitors to the city or by middle and upper class Vancouverites. These groups did not pose any threat to the belief that single-family homes were the key to social stability in Vancouver, especially since successful Vancouverites rarely took up permanent residence in an apartment. In fact, when comparing Vancouver apartment life prior to and after the first world war, Edwin Orr has argued:

The pre-war apartment houses were very
MAP 2.

MULTIPLE DWELLINGS IN THE WEST END, 1910.

- Apartments
- Boarding houses
- Hotels
different from the type which is erected now.... At that time apartments were regarded much as hotels - only built as a convenience for those people who might not be permanent residents of the city. They were never regarded as a home. 17.

Information obtained from the Vancouver City Building 18. Permits of 1904, 1909 and 1910 provide a useful guide to processes that were shaping the built landscape in the West End during this period. As the following maps indicate (Maps 3 and 4), by 1904 the more expensive single-family housing units were being constructed in two general areas, one adjacent to Stanley Park and the other on the slope overlooking English Bay, especially west of Bute Street and south of Comox Street. Building activity in 1909 and 1910 followed this same geographical trend. Very few single-family units were being constructed in the north eastern sector of the West End by 1904, and those that were tended to be valued at under $2500.00. Similarly, single-family developments in the strip of land between Burrard and Bute Streets were predominantly of a low cost nature in 1904. Yet it is quite clear that the overall tone of building activity was basically one of integration rather than segregation. The lack of zoning regulations, coupled with the firmly held belief that private property owners should be able to develop their land as they saw fit, created a landscape that, in retrospect, appears rather chaotic. Nevertheless, the landuse mix that developed during the first decade of the twentieth century was by no means severe enough to pose a threat to the function of the West End as a status neighborhood, especially along the Stanley Park - English Bay sector where contiguous mansions, each set in substantial grounds, served to repel any significant
VALUE OF SINGLE-FAMILY BUILDING PERMITS IN THE WEST END, 1904.

- Over $4500.00
- $2500.00 - $4500.00
- $1500.00 - $2499.00
- Under $1500.00
VALUE OF SINGLE-FAMILY BUILDING PERMITS, 1909 and 1910.

- Over $5,000.00
- $3,000.00 – $5,000.00
- $2,000.00 – $2,999.00
- Under $2,000.00
intrusions of lower income housing. Furthermore, landuse patterns are only one index of the manner in which the West End's environment was organized. Architectural styles and, to a far greater extent, the institutionalized social environment, were an integral part of the West End's existence as a comfortable, upper class neighborhood.

Vancouver's status as a dynamic, modern urban center was clearly reflected in the West End's residential architecture. Prosperous people could afford to build or purchase homes that met the contemporary criteria of success in the late Victorian Age. The ornate architectural forms of late Victorian England, frequently by way of Southern Ontario and California, dominated the West End landscape. In an age of optimism and prosperity, these Vancouverites sought to display their wealth and status as, from Los Angeles to Toronto, the newly wealthy families of the industrial era turned to the grandeur and excesses of eclectic Victorian architecture to demonstrate a new-found social prominence.

Victorian architecture emphasized diversity through stylistic contrast, an architectural mode that has been referred to as picturesque revivalism and eclecticism. Exuberant and often ostentatious Victorian architecture had sprung from a deliberate reaction against what was considered to be the dull, monotonous and uniform architecture of Georgian England. As Asa Briggs has explained:

They identified Georgian architecture not only with formal dullness but with lack of imaginative inventiveness, and once they had fought out inconclusively their own famous 'battle of styles' between the Greek and Gothic, they allowed for a limited
specialization... or settled down to a comfortable eclecticism.

This eclectic style, inspired by many places and times, aimed to suggest the passage of time and the continuity of human culture. While Greek, Roman, Egyptian and other styles were revived and often blended together on one building, the Gothic and Italianate forms of the Middle Ages eventually proved to be more popular than others. This diversity and blending of styles not only evoked a mood of romantic nostalgia for the past, but it expressed the exuberance and, to some extent, the individuality of the Victorian Age (see Illustrations 5 and 6). Buildings were "imposed" with pretension, symbolism was important, and both individuality and status seeking were expressed in the villas of the middle and upper classes. A variety of Queen Anne and Italianate houses, many finished with shingles, soon dominated the West End's landscape.

In the West End, as elsewhere in the urban world during this period, the height of the building, the amount of gingerbread trim, and the number of chimneys and stained glass windows were symbols of the owner's prestige in the community. The majority of homes were two and one-half stories, and the use of steep pointed gables, a tower, turrets and chimneys gave the illusion of added height. In addition, these features helped to create an irregular silhouette important to the picturesque style. Large verandas were common (see Illustration 7), as were bay windows. The majority of the homes were constructed of wood on stone foundations, a fact that made a deep impression on visitors to the city who were accustomed to the brick urban world of Eastern Canada or Britain. One English writer, after admiring the
ILLUSTRATION 5.

RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM SALSBURY (C.P.R.)
1340 BURNABY STREET

(Source: Vancouver City Archives)
ILLUSTRATION 6.

WEST END HOME NEAR STANLEY PARK (ca. 1910)

(Source: Vancouver Public Library)
ILLUSTRATION 7.

1100 BLOCK HARWOOD STREET (ca. 1909)

(Source: Vancouver Public Library)
fine craftsmanship in the West End's housing stock, thought it "almost a pity to build such beautiful structures in such an impermanent material as wood." Only a few structures, such as B.T. Rogers' "Gabriola" on Davie Street, used stone or brick throughout.

Designed and built separately or in small groups by speculative developers, the housing of the middle class generally echoed the style of the upper class, bringing a certain degree of standardization to the vernacular architecture of the West End. Within a short span of time the two and one-half storey timber building, with gable end presented to the street, a covered porch, often a corner turret, and one or more bay windows on the facade, dominated the West End landscape. While the amount of gingerbread and the number of turrets, porch supports and bay windows created variations on a common stylistic theme, and although many examples of ostentatious wealth dotted the landscape, there was an overall blending of styles that served to create an identifiable built landscape between Stanley Park and the central business district, a landscape that was one of the prides of early Vancouver.

The West End in its prime, replete with lush and expansive gardens, ornamental turrets, rich colors, striking architecture, stood as the clearest expression of all that was considered good and desirable in Vancouver's Victorian Age. When Dr. Roland Grant urged the Vancouver Canadian Club members to "see that this is to be a land of homes as well as commerce" he highlighted two basic goals that had been satisfied in the West End. The area was an affluent, single-family environment, and it was supported by
an expanding commercial and industrial infrastructure.

Expressing success and financial commitment in an age concerned with material achievement and in a new city obsessed with progress, the stately homes and landscapes of the West End captured the imagination of most Vancouverites. According to one reporter for the *Province*, the West End personified the quality of life attainable in Vancouver:

> Just as the raiment with which a man clothes himself presents a very fair index whereby the observant may study his character, so do the private dwellings in which the people of a city house themselves offer to the person who wishes to learn something about these people, a useful guide in formulating a true estimate as to their tastes, habits and aspirations.... In the area lying west of Granville Street, and extending between False Creek and the inlet, stand the stately homes of the Terminal City, all and singular presenting externally the chief attributes of prosperity - elegance, artistic refinement, and luxurious comfort. 24.

The external "attributes of prosperity" discussed by the writer were, of course, part of the highly organized and relatively visible life style through which Vancouver's elite society defined their social exclusiveness as a group as well as their individual sense of status and security in a rapidly changing world.

The West End's social milieu

The West End was described in 1900 as "That special portion of the city where dwell the 'upper ten,' the wearers of purple and fine linen, those upon whom the smiles of good fortune have fallen." A more precise measure of the high degree of localization of Vancouver's elite in the West End is provided by the *Vancouver Elite Directory*, published in 1908. Of those listed
in the Directory 86% were residents of the West End, 6% were residents of the downtown area, and the remaining 8% were scattered in Point Grey, Kitsilano, Fairview, and the East End sections of the city. Almost three-quarters (224) of the 307 members of the prestigious Vancouver Club resided in the West End in 1908, another 13% resided downtown between Hamilton and Burrard Streets, and three percent were scattered across Kitsilano, Fairview and Mount Pleasant. West Enders also dominated the Terminal City Club. Sixty-one percent or 234 of the 381 local members resided in the West End, another 61 (16%) resided downtown and 43 or 11.1% could not be located in the city directories in 1908. Nine of the 16 people who served as mayor between between 1886 and 1914 lived in the West End while in office, five lived downtown adjacent to the West End, one resided in Mount Pleasant and one in East Vancouver. Between 1893 and 1914 all but one of the 12 presidents of the Vancouver Canadian Club lived in the West End during his stay in office and, in 1910, 13 of the 14 living past presidents of the Board of Trade resided in the West End, as did four of the five men who would serve as president between 1910 and 1915. A slightly different view of the power anchored in the West End emerges when one examines the degree to which financial support for and administrative control of the newly created Vancouver General Hospital was concentrated in the West End. In 1903, the inaugural year of the V.G.H., 62 or 70% of the life governors and 82 or 62% of the V.G.H. governors were residents of the West End (see Table I and Maps 5 and 6).

The reasons for the West End's popularity as an upper-class residential area obviously went far beyond its attractive
### TABLE I

GOVERNORS OF THE VANCOUVER GENERAL HOSPITAL, RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

**Life Governors of the V.G.H. ($100.00 donations to the hospital, 1903)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West End</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>70.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East End</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairview</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Governors for 1903 ($10.00 donations to the hospital, 1903)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West End</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East End</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairview</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report of the V.G.H. for 1903, Vancouver City Archives, Uncatalogued.
DISTRIBUTION OF VANCOUVER GENERAL HOSPITAL LIFE GOVERNORS IN THE WEST END, 1903.

(Note: households with more than one governor have been recorded only once.)
MAP 6.

DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNORS OF THE VANCOUVER GENERAL HOSPITAL RESIDENT IN THE WEST END, 1903.

(Note: households with more than one governor have been recorded only once.)
natural amenities. Rather, the West End provided a setting in which Vancouver's wealthy residents could begin to organize themselves into a relatively cohesive social group. Private clubs and interlocking corporate concerns also fostered social cohesion among the elite, but the West End's role as an elite neighborhood was an integral part of this multifaceted process. "Elite Society" centered on the West End and on the West End houses; it was there that time and space could most readily be structured during Vancouver's formative years to provide a base for the elite's operations in the wider urban arena.

In the West End, Vancouver's upper and middle classes established an organized, Victorian life-style that served as a social "buffer" against the social and spatial confusion of a CPR "boom town." Elsewhere at the end of the nineteenth century the single family suburb had become an important means whereby the middle and upper classes of the industrial world found a measure of social cohesion and individual security in the face of what appeared to be the growing complexities of urban society. Vancouver's newness and its isolation from established society in Eastern Canada may have accentuated the concern with establishing social order, defining status groups, and regulating social intercourse through formal institutions and rules of social etiquette. Yet any difference in this respect was of degree rather than kind; West Enders adopted late Victorian social techniques to assert their individual and collective sense of geographical and social place.

The West End house was a focus of this activity. Here the break between public and private - between city and suburb -
reached its conclusion with the detailed regulation of social interaction within the protective confines of the private home. As Holdsworth has suggested:

...the house...was the umbrella for a private world of family life beyond the business of profit and public service with which the whole neighborhood concerned itself. Such a private world was breached only on strict rules: the home of family friendships became the monitored venue of public friendship, with codified rules for "home" behavior. 29.

And, as Davidoff explains in her excellent study of Victorian social mores and etiquette, "...Victorian gentlemen regarded their homes not as a temple to taste but to domestic virtues, one of which was engaging in Society functions." The sanctity of the private home was a serious matter; an individual's status in the community could be measured by the number of homes to which he had relatively free access. Status equals were "allowed" to visit one another on short notice or even unannounced if they were on friendly terms, and members of the top social stratum could initiate visits with those lower down the social hierarchy if they so desired. Conversely, it was considered to be in "bad taste" for someone to initiate a visit at a more prestigious household without having been formally invited, although it was acceptable to leave an "At Home" card in the hope that a formal invitation would follow or that the recipient of the card would act on the invitation to attend the sender's "At Home" function. Although Vancouver was a comparatively new city where wealth and business success were critical determinants of social standing, the institutionalized rituals that structured access to the private home were closely adhered to. "At Home" days
and garden parties quickly became important functions through which proper social interaction was generated with the West End neighborhood.

Garden parties, lawn bowling tournaments, and comparable functions in the gardens of the private home, became an important part of elite social life in England during the 1880's and 1890's. During these years, the hectic days of the late Victorian age, London society was expanding and problems of social definition were becoming more acute. The garden party allowed different categories of guests to be included in an event without the implication that full social acceptance would automatically follow since participants were denied the inner sanctum of the drawing room. There can be little doubt that garden parties fulfilled a comparable function in Vancouver's elite society, particularly after 1898 as the population rapidly expanded and many new applicants vied for full acceptance within the city's elite social network. Looked at from this perspective, it can be seen that the estates established in the West End after 1898 fulfilled a social function that went far beyond their pleasing picturesque qualities. Even the spacious verandas surrounding most upper class homes were an intimate part of this elegant lifestyle of garden parties, front lawn orchestral recitals, and bowling tournaments.

As a colorful part of the elite's summer "Social Season," the outdoor garden party also had an important and complex display function. On the one hand it impressed the general populace with the splendour and elegance of the successful
life and, hopefully, inspired the ambitious to work towards a comparable level of living. Similarly, it revealed proper and civilized social interaction, thereby serving as an example to the lower classes who were often regarded as unstable, uncivilized, a threat to the dominant social order. The tone of civilized refinement that the West End garden party attempted to portray to the city as a whole is captured rather nicely in the following excerpt from the B.C. Saturday Sunset. The hostess was Mrs. William Sully, wife of a very successful financier and manufacturer:

The first garden party of the season was given by Mrs. Sully at her lovely home, on (1335) Davie Street, on Wednesday. The grounds were looking their very best and with plenty of garden chairs and gaily decorated tables placed about a prettier sight would be hard to imagine. Many beautiful gowns were shown to advantage on the smooth green lawn.... The polished table was exquisitely done with lilies of the valley in silver vases on billows of chiffon.... Harpur's orchestra gave great pleasure to the guests. 33.

Thirty-eight of the 48 guests listed in the newspaper's report of the party were also listed in the elite directory of 1908. The other women at the party were perhaps taking part in a significant "Society" function for the first time, and their performance would have some bearing on their acceptance into the elite circles of the city. In turn, this would bear on the connections their husbands could make in their business and professional careers.

The "At Home" played a slightly different role in elite society although, like the garden party, it was not necessarily a vehicle for intimate social interaction
between close friends. In the first place, the "At Home" was somewhat more personal than the garden party in that the guests were brought into the privacy of the home, usually the drawing room, where tea and cakes would be served. Unlike the garden party however, attendance was not always controlled by an official invitation to a specific "At Home" event. "At Home" days were printed in the social directories and often in the newspapers so that those who felt entitled to attend might do so. Originating in London, this system had not always been so impersonal. During the mid-nineteenth century a host or hostess had issued calling cards to the people invited to an "At Home." With the growing size of London "Society" in the 1880's "At Home" days began to be printed in social directories such as Boyles Court Guide so that anyone might attend who wished to do so." This was essentially the system transplanted in Vancouver for, although calling cards continued to be personally issued, Vancouver's newness and its rapidly growing population presented problems of social definition that could most readily be handled through formalized social mechanisms. Certainly the pre-war publication of elite directories or 'Blue Books,' wherein socially acceptable names were chosen by committees of social leaders, indicates the concern to establish secure, defined and, to some extent, closed status groups.

Because Vancouver's upper class "At Home" system was a fairly formalized social ritual, the pattern of "At Home" days in the West End is an intriguing example of how the use
of time and space could be organized to promote social cohesion within the West End. As the following maps would indicate (Maps 7 and 8), "At Home" days can be divided into a relatively clear cut spatial pattern reflecting both the social makeup of and the pace of settlement within the West End. According to the Elite Directory of 1908, the old social core of the West End along the "Bluff" was dominated by Friday "At Homes." Along with high ranking CPR officials, such as Richard Marpole and Henry Cambie, this group included such long established elite families as the Campbell Sweenys, the Bell-Irvings, the F.C. Wades, the Boultebees, the Von Cramers and the S.O. Richards. The Tuesday group, concentrated south of Pendrell Street, and the Monday group, concentrated west of Bidwell, occupied the high amenity sections of the West End that experienced rapid elite settlement after the mid 1890's. It would seem clear that the early elite settlers in these two districts consciously decided to establish two separate "At Home" days that would not conflict with each other or with the Friday group in the old elite core of the West End. In circumventing any major clash of "At Home" days, the elite assured that no one sector of the West End would become socially isolated from the rest. This view is supported by a consideration of the residential and social profiles of the residents of the Stanley Park and English Bay sectors of the West End. Many of the earliest upper class settlers south of Pendrell Street had moved out of the north eastern sector of the West End, most notably William Godfrey, William Salsbury, B.T. Rogers, Osborne Plunkett and E.J. McFeely. These people
MAP 7.

DISTRIBUTION OF "AT HOME" DAYS IN THE WEST END, 1908.

- Monday
- Tuesday
- Wednesday
- Thursday
- Friday
MAP 8.

GENERAL DIVISION OF "AT HOME" DAYS IN THE WEST END, 1908.
were not a social network separate from the Friday group resident on the "Bluff" overlooking Burrard Inlet. Salsbury was treasurer of the CPR and Rogers and Plunkett were tied to the CPR by interlocking investments in the B.C. Sugar Refinery as well as by marriages. The fact that these families all had a Tuesday rather than a Friday "At Home" highlights the manner in which their social familiarity enabled them to order the use of time and space in a rational manner so as to facilitate social interaction across the entire West End neighborhood. That is to say, it was not particularly important if intimate friends living adjacent to each other shared the same "At Home" day, for private dinner parties and casual visits provided a convenient and more meaningful venue for social interaction. Rather, it was more important to maintain the opportunity to visit former neighbors and casual acquaintances during their "At Home" days along the "Bluff" on Friday or adjacent to Stanley Park on Monday.

A similar process occurred along the Stanley Park perimeter where early settlers such as Fred Buscombe, Charles Douglas, Henry McDowell and William Dalton moved out of the old West End core area and established a Monday "At Home" pattern that would not conflict with visits to the more remote Friday and Tuesday groups. The Wednesday and Thursday "At Homes" were less spatially discrete than the others, but even here it is clear that geographical location played some part in determining one's "At Home" day. The basic point to appreciate is that the "At Home" ritual did not necessarily consist of
an intimate gathering of close friends, but it did provide an important means whereby West Enders structured access to their private homes. At a broader scale, it enhanced social interaction throughout the West End by conveniently partitioning the area into daily "At Home" sectors.

The private homes of the elite were the center of family life, a symbol of social standing, and an important location of proper social interaction. Their mansions also played an important role in the official entertaining of famous and influential visitors to the city. This, in turn, enhanced the prestige of the entire elite community and heightened Vancouver's perception of itself as a metropolitan center. Official entertaining is perhaps best illustrated by the social duties performed by H.B. Abbott while he was superintendent of the CPR. National and international figures who visited Vancouver were not expected to stay in the CPR's Hotel Vancouver, in spite of its prestigious reputation. Rather, they were given letters of introduction to Abbott and resided as his personal guest in the mansion constructed for Abbott on west Hastings Street. As a house guest, the visitor's status was properly acknowledged and his full acceptance into Vancouver's elite society was clearly stated. The CPR's hospitality was far from altruistic, however, as Abbott's son points out in a personal account of the Abbott family in Vancouver:

All travellers of note in the days when Vancouver was in its infancy were given letters of introduction to the CPR's chief executive on the west coast. The railway
company's policy was necessarily one calculated to enhance the road's reputation for hospitality. 37.

As the brother of Sir John J. Abbott, mayor of Montreal from 1887 to 1888 and Canadian Prime Minister from 1891 to 1892, H.B. Abbott was ideally suited for the role as host to famous Vancouver tourists, a task that helped to shape favorable world opinion about the railroad and the city as well as to generate capital and settlers for Vancouver. Guests at the Abbott household included Francis Ferdinand - Archduke of Austria, Sir Henry Stanley - explorer and author, Edward Blake - leader of the federal liberal party, and Sir Robert Baden-Powell. Not surprisingly, Bank of Montreal and CPR executives such as William Van Horne, Lord Shaughnessy and Lord Strathcona (Donald Smith) were also frequent visitors.

Without doubt the West End home was a key component of a complex social system that structured elite personal interaction and channelled information flows in Vancouver. Acceptable social interaction also took place within private clubs located in and adjacent to the West End. The private club complemented the privacy of the home for married men, without the same rigid formality of social etiquette imposed by women, and it allowed single men to operate in the proper social circles without the necessity of maintaining their own homes. The club also acted as an acceptable setting for formal dances and dinners that were too large to be held in the home. Unlike the home, the club was the exclusive space of a collectivity of defined status equals and in this respect
institutions such as the Vancouver Club or Terminal City Club acted as very crucial integrative elements in elite society. Recreational institutions such as the Vancouver Tennis Club and the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club served a similar function of defining social interaction within the proper social circle (see Chapter Three).

Private schools were another dimension of the elite's institutionalized control of social interaction, especially as they gave young women a proper English education and a sound background in the rules of social etiquette. Two of the more important private schools established in the West End during the 1890's were the Granville School, established at 1175 Haro in 1896, and Miss Gordon's School (later Crofton House), established in 1898 at 1219 Georgia. The curriculum circular for the Granville School notes that "Special attention is paid to the manners and general bearing of pupils" and that "The terms for board, instructions in the essentials of a sound English Education, with an extensive course of French, Mathematics, Music, Latin, Natural Science and Calisthenics are $25.00 per month." Crofton House was equally concerned with teaching social etiquette to its young students:

It has always been the aim of the staff to maintain a standard of proficiency and discipline which should compare favorably with that of the best schools in England and Eastern Canada. The preservation of a healthy tone among the girls is an object of special solicitude. Great attention is paid to manners and deportment, as well as to general health.

Indicative of the demand for private school education, Crofton House had to move into newer and larger quarters two years
after its founding in 1898. This new site, at the corner of Nelson and Jervis (see Illustration 8), was described as "The highest and healthiest portion of the West End, commanding a beautiful view of English Bay and the Mountains."

In conjunction with their private homes these social, recreational and educational institutions, all located in or adjacent to the West End, controlled social interaction to enhance the elite's exclusiveness and privacy. When one considers that charitable organizations and churches, the latter overwhelmingly Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist, were acceptable, even obligatory centers of elite activity, then it is clear that the use of time and space was highly ordered for members of Vancouver's upper class. Some sense of the manner in which a full social program made up the daily activities of the upper class comes through in The Innocent Traveller, Ethel Wilson's semi-autobiographical novel about a well-to-do English family who settle in Vancouver's West End at the turn of the century. Upon arrival in Vancouver from Stafford, England, Aunt Topaz quickly joined the Ladies' Aid, the Women's Auxilliary, the Women's Council of the Y.W.C.A., the Victorian Order of Nurses, the anti-Tuberculosis Society and the Ladies' Minerva Club. These club activities were rounded out by "At Homes," promenades, and lunches at the Hudson's Bay Lunch Room. Clearly, being "In Society" during the Victorian Age was a complex, time consuming business, particularly in Vancouver where familiar institutions and rules of etiquette were an important aspect of the elite's growing sense of place and security in
ILLUSTRATION 8.

CROFTON HOUSE SCHOOL, NELSON AND JERVIS.
an alien geographical setting.

Being an accepted part of elite society offered an individual security, a sense of belonging, and a feeling that he or she had attained an elevated niche within a clearly defined social hierarchy. For many, participation in the elite inner circle was important because it gave access to a vast and profitable information network: information about jobs, investment possibilities or backroom political decisions. To be an accepted member of elite society invariably advanced or consolidated an individual's well-being. Yet, to some extent at least, the elites justified their life-style and their conspicuous patterns of consumption in other than egocentric terms. Many assumed that there was a certain degree of social utility in extravagance, for if "all men were to turn misers, commerce would be blighted, and civilization would recede." That city boosters continually noted with pride that Vancouver was capable of supporting the West End's lavish mansions undoubtedly helped to reinforce the notion that an opulent life-style was virtually part of the elite's civic duty in Vancouver. For the West End did not simply express financial success and social security in Vancouver, rather, from its architecture to the "soufflé after the ball," the West End symbolized the progress of civilization:

Now is the glorious Indian clam-guzzle of the years gone by, on the beach at English Bay, or in the woods near by, superseded by the progressive euchre party, the stag dinner, the ice cream and soufflé after the ball. The transformation has been complete. Vancouver's West End attracts the attention of the cultured stranger, and high praise is heard when its residential architecture is mentioned. 44.
Conclusion

During the final decade of Queen Victoria's reign Britain attained its zenith as a world power, and Vancouver, an outpost of the British Empire and an urban by-product of the steam technology and global marketing system that sustained Britain's industrial revolution, began its climb to prosperity within the Canadian urban system. The emergence of the West End as Vancouver's elite residential sector represented a clear expression of the fact that the arrival of the CPR had catapulted Vancouver into the late nineteenth century urban world. Notions about the need for social structuring and spatial sorting in the hectic industrial urban arena had been transplanted in Vancouver once it became clear that the CPR's western terminus would be located on the Burrard Peninsula, and an uninhabited slash-and-burn landscape located west of the city center was quickly converted into an elegant single-family neighborhood. Reflecting the latest in high Victorian architectural design and social customs, the West End provided an identifiable geographical setting where members of the upper class could begin to define social exclusiveness as a group as well as their own individual security and sense of self-importance. To be sure, the West End represented only a small part of the stage upon which Vancouver's elite society acted. Yet, along with a wide array of formal institutions that were established in Vancouver, the West End's neighborhood function played a considerable part in nurturing the development of a relatively cohesive elite society in Vancouver.

To speak of the West End, therefore, is to speak of
much more than a geographical sector of the city where the elite population happened to reside. Rather, the West End neighborhood was an integral part of elite society and it reflected their confidence that Vancouver would be a great Canadian city within the British Empire. In fact, as Ethel Wilson so aptly portrays in *The Innocent Traveller*, to be part of the comfortable Victorian society that flourished in the West End prior to the first world war was to be assured of a secure present for oneself and a prosperous future for all members of the British Empire:

The houses all had wooden trimmings and verandahs, and on the verandah steps when day was done the families came out and sat and talked and counted the box pleats on the backs of fashionable girls' skirts as they went by; and visitors came and sat and talked.... And then they all went in and made cocoa. It was very pleasant and there seemed to be no trouble anywhere upon the face of the earth, that you could discern. 45.

Stable as it seemed, the West End was soon to disintegrate. To some extent, its rapid demise stemmed from the fact that it quickly became an outdated model of the very suburban ideal that the elite population had transplanted in Vancouver during the first decade of the city's growth. Not only was the West End after 1910 becoming outdated in the face of newer expressions of upper class suburbs that were emerging throughout the industrial world but, by the second decade of the twentieth century, its inner city location had made the area somewhat less attractive than the working class suburbs that the West Enders had helped to promote and finance.
on the outskirts of the city. Located adjacent to the expanding urban core, and representing the earliest significant expression of Vancouver's sudden entrance into the late nineteenth century Victorian world, the West End was also the first major casualty of Vancouver's growth and the on-going process of metropolitan "up-dating." This "up-dating" created new elite residential suburbs in Point Grey and, paradoxically, once the West End was no longer functioning as "home" to the majority of the urban elite its elegant single-family environment quickly crumbled, its land was turned over to the pursuit of private profit and the construction of apartments.

By 1911 there were 49 apartments listed in the City Directory, 25 of them located in the West End. Further, as Map 9 indicates, the apartment zone was making a concerted westward penetration along the central corridor of the West End. By 1913 there were 122 apartments in Vancouver, 51 of them in the West End (see Map 9). More important than their number however was the fact that by 1913 apartments had started to penetrate the previously exclusive Stanley Park - English Bay sectors of the West End.

With the exception of the 44 suite Englesea Lodge, constructed in 1912 at 2046 Beach, in 1913 all of the apartments west of Bidwell had less than 20 suites (see Map 10 and Appendix A). Nevertheless, the fact that smaller apartments spearheaded the westward penetration of the West End had very little to do with the ability or even the desire of the West End elite to protect the single-family quality of their neighborhood. For example, the massive Holly Lodge (1210 Jervis) was constructed
MAP 9.
WEST END APARTMENTS, 1911 AND 1913.

- In operation by 1911
- In operation by 1913
MAP 10.

SUITE CAPACITY OF WEST END APARTMENTS, 1913.

- Under 20 suites
- 20 - 45 suites
- 46 - 70 suites
- Over 70 suites
across the lane from John Hendry's Burnaby Street residence in spite of the fact that Hendry was one of the most powerful men in the city. Rather, there was a diminishing demand for apartment accommodation with increasing distance from the city center. This situation, coupled with the fact that the Davie Street tramline terminated at Denman Street, ultimately meant that the residential area west of Denman Street would maintain its upper class character longer than any other sector of the West End.

The apartment "boom" that had begun in approximately 1909 came to a virtual halt with the end of the land "boom" in 1913, and this depressed market continued throughout the war years. By the early 1920's however, the impact of a post-war recovery period was being felt in Vancouver and the West End underwent its most dramatic transformation as a residential neighborhood. By 1922 there were 62 apartments in the West End and, as Map 11 reveals, high density apartments were built adjacent to Stanley Park. Sylvia Court, Englesea Lodge and the Morton Apartments provided over 130 apartment suites in the area west of Denman and south of Comox streets. During the next five years apartment construction and home conversions proceeded even more rapidly until, by 1927, 107 apartments were scattered across the West End (see Map 12).

At the same time the central business district was expanding rapidly along several of the West End's major corridors. The city's financial and administrative sector had started to expand along west Hastings Street and Pender Street
MAP 11.

WEST END APARTMENTS, 1922.
MAP 12.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEST END APARTMENTS, 1927.
prior to the first world war, and this process was accelerated during the 1920's. Similarly, the arterial retail and service landuse patterns that had been initiated along the Davie, Denman and Robson tramlines prior to 1914 became much more intensive during the 1920's, and small speciality shops that catered to the various needs of the expanding West End population began to be constructed on the front lawns of houses that bordered the tramline, further mixing the landuse of the West End.

The transformation of the West End's built landscape between 1910 and the mid 1920's was accompanied by an equally rapid social transformation. Many of the elite abandoned their West End homes for more remote residences in Kitsilano, Point Grey and Shaughnessy Heights. Increasing residential density, conflicting landuse patterns, higher property taxes and, ultimately, the West Ender's basic commitment to urban growth, were all important "push" factors that contributed to the decline of the West End as an elite neighborhood. Land clearing, road building and land sales throughout the Point Grey peninsula by powerful private and public interests, most notably the CPR in Kitsilano and the Provincial Government in West Point Grey, were significant developments that started to attract the interest of prospective upper class settlers as early as 1905. The CPR's creation and promotion of Shaughnessy Heights as an elite residential district, beginning with landscaping and service installations in 1910, also helped to usurp the West End's residential primacy prior to World War I. Designed by L.E. Davick and Montreal landscape
architect Fred Todd, Shaughnessy's broad curving streets, attractive boulevards, large lots and $6,000.00 minimum building restrictions provided a concrete local example of what an ideal twentieth century upper class neighborhood should be like. By the time Vancouver's real estate and building market collapsed in 1913-14, the residential distribution of elite society already reflected a dwindling elite interest in the West End as a place of residence.

The extent of the West End's decline is revealed by a comparison of names in the Elite Directory of 1908 and in the Vancouver Social and Club Register of 1927. Whereas 86% of those listed in the Directory of 1908 were residents of the West End, only 21% of those listed in 1927 were West End residents. More than 70% of the members of the Vancouver Club were residents of the West End in 1908 and, six years later, just over one-half of the Vancouver Club's members still resided in the West End (see Table II). Club members who resided in Mount Pleasant, Fairview, Kitsilano and Point Grey had climbed appreciably from 3% in 1908 to 14% of the total in 1914, while the newly created Shaughnessy Heights had increased from zero to 16% of the membership. Although it is evident that the West End was still a popular residential area in 1914, the Point Grey suburbs in general, and Shaughnessy Heights in particular, had made significant inroads into the West End's elite status prior to World War I.

Approximately one third of the West End elite moved out of the West End between 1908 and 1914. For example, McAfee
TABLE II

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF VANCOUVER CLUB MEMBERS IN 1908 and 1914.

Vancouver Club in 1908 (307 local members)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West End</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Grey, Fairview, Kitsilano, Mount Pleasant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East End, South Vancouver</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>307</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vancouver Club in 1914 (477 local members)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West End</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point Grey, Dunbar Heights</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitsilano, Talton Place</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Drive, Kerrisdale, Southlands</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairview</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Pleasant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaughnessy Heights</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Heights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Van., South Van.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Vancouver, Burnaby</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>477</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
has compared the 1908 *Elite Directory* listings to those for 1914. Her calculations indicate that 48% of the elite who were listed in both the 1908 and 1914 directories remained at the same West End address, 22% moved to another address in the West End, and 30% moved to another location outside of the West End. Of those who moved out of the West End, 62% moved to Shaughnessy Heights, 18% moved to Kitsilano, 12% moved to Point Grey, and 9% moved to other areas of Vancouver and surrounding districts. Looking at the residential mobility patterns of Vancouver Club members during this same period fairly similar findings emerge. Table III provides a detailed breakdown of residential mobility patterns generated by those powerful men who belonged to the Vancouver Club in both 1908 and 1914. As the data indicate, 264 or 87% of the 1908 members were still members of the club in 1914 and, of this group, just under one-half resided in the West End in 1914. Of this group of 1914 West Enders only five had moved into the West End between 1908 and 1914, 70 were at the same West End address as in 1908, and 44 had moved to a new West End location between 1908 and 1914. Approximately 43% of the Vancouver Club members who had resided in the West End in 1908 had left the area by 1914. Of this group, 90 or 37% had relocated downtown (in an apartment, hotel or private club) or in a suburb of Vancouver, while 15 or 6% had left the city entirely. Shaughnessy Heights was by far the most popular destination of the 90 Vancouver Club members who had relocated in an alternative residential district, housing 47% of the former West Enders who still
TABLE III

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF VANCOUVER CLUB MEMBERS, 1908 to 1914.

264 or 87.1% of the 1908 Vancouver Club membership were still members in 1914. Of this group of 264, 22 or 8.3% did not reside in the West End in either 1908 or 1914. Of the remaining 242 individuals, the following residential mobility patterns occurred between 1908 and 1914:

Total number in West End in 1914 = 119 or 45.0% of all 1908 - 1914 members.  
Total number who moved out of the West End into Downtown or suburb = 90 or 34.1% of all 1908 -1914 members.  
Total number who moved out of the West End to another city = 15 or 5.7%  
Unknown = 18 or 6.8%

Of those who resided in the West End in 1914 (119):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of 242</th>
<th>% of 119</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remained at the same address as in 1908</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to a new address between 1908 and 1914</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved into the West End</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those who moved out of the West End into Downtown or suburbs (90):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of 242</th>
<th>% of 90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Shaughnessy Heights</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Point Grey</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Kitsilano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Marine Drive, Southlands Kerrisdale</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Fairview, Mount Pleasant</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To North Vancouver</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Vancouver Heights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Downtown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
resided in Vancouver in 1914. If the ten Vancouver Club members who moved into the downtown core are excluded from this analysis, then the relationship between Shaughnessy Heights and suburban migration out of the West End becomes even more striking. In this case, Shaughnessy Heights housed approximately 54% of all Vancouver Club members who had moved out of the West End between 1908 and 1914 in favor of a more geographically detached suburb of the city.

In brief, there can be no doubt that the West End underwent a dramatic transformation between 1910 and the mid 1920's. In fact, it is the pace of the change that is so striking. Beginning in earnest in 1912, with the opening of the CPR's exclusive Shaughnessy Heights, and culminating in 1927, with the passing of an interim zoning by-law which did not provide for single-family housing in the West End, the demise of Vancouver's first powerful elite neighborhood was largely consummated in a 14 year period.
CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND OF VANCOUVER'S ELITE, 1886 - 1915

"Canada today faces the greatest immigration problem that has ever confronted any nation.... Of the Anglo-Saxon we are not in the least afraid, but when we consider that last year over twenty-one per cent of all the incomers to Canada were non-Anglo-Saxon, who can not speak our language, have no sympathy with our ideals, and are foreigners in every sense of the term, then we begin to understand what a task is ours as a nation. One man out of every five who lands on our shores is a foreigner. He comes here with a foreign tongue, foreign ideals, foreign religion...with centuries of ignorance and oppression behind him, often bringing with him problems that the best statesmen of Europe have failed to solve."

(Reverend W. Reid, Montreal, "The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada - Their Christianization and Nationalization." Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1913, pp. 119-126.)
While Vancouver's West End was a diverse residential environment it was most noteworthy up to approximately 1912, as an upper class, single-family neighborhood of the late Victorian period. The genteel life style of the West Enders - their private clubs and social events, their ornate mansions and manicured landscapes - created an ordered and identifiable residential environment on the western border of the central business district. Within this setting, it is important to consider the extent to which Vancouver's elite society was a homogeneous and integrated social group. In this and the following two chapters the study focusses particularly on a segment of the upper class population of the West End, those who may be thought of as the institutional elite. The attempt will be made to examine this group's socio-economic background and the institutional context within which they interacted, made decisions, and through which they strove to extend their influence into the broader urban arena. Only in this light is it possible to assess not only the place
that was the West End prior to 1914 but also the West End's fit within Vancouver's overall development. Ultimately of course, it is only through understanding the workings and commitments of elite society that one can appreciate why the West End failed to survive as the elite's residential neighborhood.

**Institutional elites defined**

Whether in the form of corporations, political parties, social organizations, or voluntary associations of any type, institutions are capable of providing the organized social and financial support that is needed to get things done in a democratic capitalistic society. An individual's efficacy is largely determined by his position within a larger institutional framework and it is those individuals who skilfully use collective means to further individual ends who flourish in a democracy. In *The World of the Urban Working Class* Marc Fried highlights this basic irony of the democratic system when he suggests that the attainment of power and privilege relies primarily on the existence of institutions that structure and support individual initiative:

The amalgamation of privilege in industrial societies...is not merely a consequence of individual strivings. The availability of power, control, and influence in political, economic and social life is largely structurally determined and often fulfilled through organizations, associations and group affiliations. Such combined endeavors...may provide enormous funds and massive concentrations of effort to obtain legislation, preferential contracts, judicial decisions, or influence in local, regional and national political structures. 1.

Many others have also pointed out that even with a liberal
capitalistic democracy individual achievements generally rest on institutional supports. For example, in his discussion of the people who occupy the "command posts" in the major social organizations of the United States, C.W. Mills argues that it is over institutionalized means of power that the truly powerful are, in the first instance, powerful. Not all power, he points out, is anchored in and exercised by means of economic, political and social institutions, but it is only within them and through them that an individual's power can be a more or less continuous and important feature of the broader social structure and political economy. In The Vertical Mosaic John Porter emphasizes that the ability to implement, structure or inhibit change is anchored in a broad number of institutions of which politics is a powerful, but by no means unique, decision making sub-system of the total social system. "Rather it [power] is found in all the social institutions which over time have been created by a society as a means of getting certain essential tasks accomplished."

In brief, while the question of how power is attained and maintained in a democracy is very complex, these basic notions regarding the institutional basis of power and privilege can serve as useful guidelines in the selection of a study population whose characteristics are fairly representative of Vancouver's elite social spectrum.

For the purpose of this analysis, the elite is considered to comprise those people who assumed the major decision-making roles in institutions that were dominant parts of Vancouver's
socio-economic and political infrastructure. These elites can be considered as the most powerful and prestigious members of the larger upper class component of Vancouver's social hierarchy, individuals who had attained the recognized right to make effective decisions on behalf of others. As used here therefore, the term "powerful" means that the individual had direct access to important institutions which enabled him to influence a decision-making process, even if others resisted him. Such institutions may have been his own business enterprise, a number of important business and social clubs, and/or political institutions. In short, wealth and elite status are not necessarily synonymous in this study; a man is considered to be powerful, and hence to be among the elite, if he has the ability through his control or manipulation of institutions, to influence decision-making. Having selected a viable study population, the primary concern of this chapter will be the analysis of the socio-economic background of these decision-makers and an examination of their career patterns prior to and just after their arrival in Vancouver. Chapters three and four will consider the institutional context within which these powerful men operated and through which they consolidated their power and extended their influence over the social, geographical and financial growth of Vancouver.

The first step must be to identify the elite study population. This has been done as follows. Anyone who served as mayor of Vancouver, or as president or vice president of the Board of Trade, the Vancouver Club, the Terminal City
Club or the Canadian Club between 1886 and 1915 is considered to be among the elite. Those gentlemen who played a central role in organizing one of the above voluntary associations, yet who never served as its president or vice president, have also been added to the list for their actions had helped to create the structural basis for ongoing power in Vancouver.

The businessmen who joined together in 1907 to form the Vancouver Stock Exchange, an institution which helped to establish Vancouver's financial primacy in British Columbia, are also considered to have been among the elite. This selection procedure, which centered on influential voluntary associations and urban politics, gave altogether 102 people, and from a variety of sources it was possible to gather fairly comprehensive biographical data on 80 of them. Next the various biographical sources were consulted to gather data on businessmen who did not serve as mayor or on the top executive board of any of the above voluntary associations but who, because of the important businesses they controlled, deserve to be considered among the elite. Here lines were difficult to draw but, borrowing in part from the criteria used by MacDonald in "The Business Leaders of Seattle, 1880-1910," certain basic qualifications served as a guideline in selection. First, an attempt was made to include individuals who promoted and/or controlled some form of economic activity which had relatively significant consequences for Vancouver's total employment or productivity. Thus heads of manufacturing enterprises (such as B.T. Rogers - sugar, or John Hendry - lumber), investment and
trust executives (such as F. Carter-Cotton), bank presidents and wholesale merchants (such as the Oppenheimers, the Malkins, Robert Kelly) were included in our elite study population. Vancouverites who succeeded in establishing prominent and durable retail enterprises, such as Charles Woodward and Chris Spencer, were also included. Local chief executives of powerful national and international firms and enterprises (such as CPR executives, B.C. Electric Railway managers, managers of national and international banks) were also included, for the fact that these corporate executives were responsible to foreign or Eastern Canadian boards of directors did not detract from, and in many ways enhanced, the power and prestige they enjoyed in Vancouver. Individuals who promoted and/or served simultaneously on the directorship boards of a large number of corporate concerns were also considered to be among the elite. Heads of major real estate firms and contracting companies were included, but real estate agents and independent contractors were excluded. Professionals were not considered to be economic elites unless they met one of the above criteria. In sum, 84 leading businessmen who did not attain a "command post" in urban politics or in an important voluntary association were added to the study population, bringing the total group for whom biographical data are available to 164 (see Appendix B).

This study population is not a statistically rigorous sample, although the term "sample" will be used at various points in the discussion, nor is any claim made that every individual who deserved inclusion in the analysis has been
identified. It is felt that enough critical people have been analysed so that their characteristics, when aggregated, give a fairly accurate picture of the socio-economic background of Vancouver's elite. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study the somewhat subjective identification used here has the advantage of focussing attention on a group of influential people whose elite status has been operationally defined by their positions in the upper echelons of key urban institutions. Regardless of the method used to identify them, the 164 men considered here almost certainly would form the nucleus of any sample of the Vancouver elite between 1886 and 1915.

Social origins and background experience of the elite

One of the more outstanding characteristics of this group of powerful Vancouverites is the fact that native born British Columbians were completely outnumbered by Eastern Canadian and foreign-born immigrants to the city. As Table IV reveals, out of 164 men only two native British Columbians, R.H.H. Alexander and Chris Spencer, had attained positions of prominence by 1915. Both had been born in Victoria in the mid 1860's, both were the sons of successful British Columbian businessmen, and both had followed family tradition in their business careers. Appointed manager of the B.C. Lumber and Shingle Mills Ltd. in 1903, at the age of 36, R.H.H. Alexander complemented the role of his father who served as manager of the Hastings Sawmill and Secretary of the powerful manufacturing conglomerate known as the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company. A graduate of the prestigious Upper Canada College in Toronto,
TABLE IV
PLACE OF BIRTH - TOTAL ELITE SAMPLE, 1886 - 1915*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Native</th>
<th>% of total (164)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>60.39</td>
<td>37.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bruns.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.86</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>7.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub total</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>61.52</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Foreign</th>
<th>% of total (164)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.87</td>
<td>12.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.12</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub total</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.73</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number</strong></td>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>99.30</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td><strong>164</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Since data are missing for only one of the study population, percentages have been calculated on the basis of the total number of people in the sample (164).
as was his father, Alexander also served as secretary of the B.C. Lumber and Shingle Manufacturers Association, an organization presided over for many years by John Hendry, organizer and president of the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company. Chris Spencer, the son of prominent Victoria retailer David Spencer, entered into the full time employment of his father's firm after graduating from high school and in 1907, at the age of 39, he established a Vancouver branch of his father's department store business. Both Spencer and Alexander eventually assumed important positions in various institutions outside of their own business careers. Alexander served as vice president of the Canadian Club in 1912-13, as did Spencer in 1916-18. Spencer also served as Canadian Club president in 1918-19, during which time he was vice president of the Vancouver Board of Trade and the following year he became its president. Both Alexander and Spencer were also residents of the West End for a number of years. The fact that the only two native born British Columbians to penetrate the upper strata of Vancouver's social structure came from such privileged family backgrounds hints at the existence of a social hierarchy that was far less fluid than might be expected in a new urban setting.

Of the remaining 162 men in the study population, 99 were born elsewhere in Canada, 62 were foreign born, and the birth place of one cannot now be determined. As Table IV indicates, Ontario was the most heavily represented province among the Canadian born members of the study group, accounting for 61 members of the elite population. The Maritimes followed with
30, Quebec with seven and Manitoba one. In total, individuals from Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes accounted for 97.3% of the native born elite population. Of this group of Canadian born, just over half had been born into a Canadian family as defined by father's nationality. Immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland dominated the foreign born members of Vancouver's elite society, with 45 of the 62 foreign born in the study population being natives of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Of the remainder, only ten were from the United States, four were from Germany, one was from France, one was from Australia and one, of Scottish parents, was born in Japan. In short, British immigrants and Eastern Canadians of British descent clearly dominated the upper echelons of Vancouver's social hierarchy.

The data in Table V compare the birth place of the elite with that of Vancouver's total population in 1911. Compared to their numerical importance in Vancouver's total population it is clear that Eastern Canadians were disproportionately represented in the elite ranks of the city. People born in Ontario and the Maritimes accounted for approximately 50% of all Canadian born Vancouverites and 22% of the total population yet 90% of the Canadian born elites and 55% of the total elite study group were natives of Ontario or the Maritimes. The strong showing of these Eastern Canadians partially accounts for why the native born dominated the elite study group yet were outnumbered by the foreign born in the total population of the city. On the other hand, the proportion of foreign born among the elite corresponded closely
Vancouver population, 1911 = 100,401.
Native born = 43,978
Foreign born = 56,423

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native born</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Native</th>
<th>% of Total (100,401)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>5698</td>
<td>12.95</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>2170</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>16663</td>
<td>37.88</td>
<td>16.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairies</td>
<td>3925</td>
<td>8.92</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. and others</td>
<td>15522</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>15.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43978</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>43.78</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Foreign</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England and Wales</td>
<td>18414</td>
<td>32.63</td>
<td>18.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>9650</td>
<td>17.10</td>
<td>9.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2625</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>10401</td>
<td>18.43</td>
<td>10.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14334</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>14.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td><strong>56423</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>56.22</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>100401</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elite population</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Native</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native born</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>61.55</td>
<td>61.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>37.75</td>
<td>37.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE V.

BIRTH PLACE OF ELITE SAMPLE COMPARED TO TOTAL POPULATION OF VANCOUVER, 1911.
to their proportion of Vancouver's total population. In 1911 immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland accounted for 30.5% of Vancouver's total population and 27.4% of the elite sample. Nevertheless, it remains obvious that foreign immigrants did not share an equal opportunity to advance up the city's socio-economic hierarchy. This is underlined most sharply by the fact that immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland made up just over half of the city's foreign born residents yet they accounted for approximately 73% of the foreign born elite in the study population. Almost 90% of all foreign born elites came from Great Britain, Ireland and the United States. The remainder were four successful German entrepreneurs, three of whom were from the same family, a powerful Scottish financier born in Japan, an Australian businessman and a French financier. Whether among the native or foreign born therefore, power and influence were largely restricted to the white Anglo-Saxon segment of Vancouver's population.

As noted previously, the B.C. native born were dramatically outnumbered by the Eastern Canadians and foreigners among the elite strata of Vancouver society. The data in Table V would make this imbalance all the more noteworthy since the percentage of B.C. born in the total population of Vancouver in 1911 was roughly comparable to the percentages for Ontario or England and Wales. Further, in both 1891 and 1901 native born British Columbians had actually outnumbered immigrants from Ontario or England and Wales. A major factor in the under-representation of British Columbians among the elite was, of course, the
fact that they represented a relatively youthful demographic profile out of which few acceptable elite candidates could be expected to emerge. For example, if one considers that an individual born in 1885 would only be 30 years of age in 1915 and that, as will be discussed later, success was rarely attained this early in life, the lack of locally born elites becomes less surprising. Nevertheless, the relative under-representation of B.C. born in the elite ranks of Vancouver stands out as a basic verification of the city's metropolitan connections to Eastern Canada and Britain, particularly when it is remembered that both Victoria and New Westminster had developed reasonably mature urban economies prior to the CPR's creation of Vancouver in 1886. Yet, with the exception of Spencer and Alexander, the locally born offspring of residents of these urban centers had not penetrated Vancouver's elite society. As well as the age factor therefore, the upward mobility of the B.C. born was undoubtedly hindered by the steady flow of immigrants from Eastern Canada and Britain who were not only aggressive and experienced entrepreneurs, professionals and skilled tradesmen, but also financially solvent and in some cases well connected to extra-provincial sources of capital.

Frank Musgrove's study of British emigration patterns after 1860 shows that an expanding colonial outpost such as Vancouver would be likely to receive more than its share of skilled middle class emigrants from Britain, especially after the turn of the century. In *The Migratory Elite* Musgrove explains that by the 1860's rapid industrialization in Britain was beginning to "detach the professional, managerial and
white collar worker from local and family ties, from the locality of his early life and upbringing." As the process of social and geographical dislocation associated with industrialization gathered momentum migration became an acceptable outlet for middle class initiative; a burgeoning colonial city like Vancouver undoubtedly attracted many of this educated, monied and ambitious group. John Foster's analysis of industrial expansion and educational opportunities in B.C. tends to substantiate the interpretation that infill by immigration rather than upward mobility met much of the demand for management as well as skilled labor demands in B.C. prior to World War I. As Foster notes: "The early industries in B.C., based on foreign or eastern capital, almost always imported managerial and skilled staff from outside the Province, using local labor for unskilled and menial tasks." Such a process allowed for very little upward mobility among the vast majority of the B.C. native born, even within the skilled labor force, since financial investment in the training of skilled labor, technicians and managers was deemed unnecessary. Lacking local educational opportunities, expertise suited to an industrial economy, and investment capital, it is hardly surprising that few B.C. born had achieved elite status prior to 1915. The two who did so had been born into privilege, and represented an extension of existing family power rather than newly won prestige.

If the 80 men included in the elite sample because of their leadership role in urban politics or one of five voluntary associations are examined separately from the total
study population the place of origin percentages change only slightly. As Table VI indicates, individuals from Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes account for approximately 97% of the Canadian born elite (identical to their representation in the total sample of 164), and 52% of all the elites in this smaller study population (compared to 59.5% in the total elite study group). Again, individuals born in Ontario dominated the Canadian contribution to the elite ranks of the city. Just over half of the Canadian born were from Canadian families, the remainder being first generation Canadians of parents who had been born in England, Scotland or Ireland (see Table VII). Immigrants from the United Kingdom easily dominated the foreign born among the voluntary association elites, comprising 77% of the foreign born and 36% of the 80 voluntary association elites examined in this study (see Table VI).

Whether native or foreign born the elite population was overwhelmingly Protestant. Of the 129 people in the total study group for whom reliable data have been obtained 123 were Protestant, three were Catholic and three were Jewish. Among the Protestants 84 individuals can be identified by denomination and these included 42 Anglicans (including Church of England and Episcopalians), 28 Presbyterians, nine Methodists, four Baptists, and one member of the United Evangelical Church. The distribution of churches in the West End clearly reflects this religious breakdown. By 1910 there were two Anglican churches, two Presbyterian churches, and a Methodist church, whereas the only local place of worship for West End Catholics
TABLE VI

PLACE OF BIRTH OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION ELITE, 1886 - 1915.

Native born = 43
Foreign born = 36
Unknown = 1
Total = 80

Native born:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Native (43)</th>
<th>% of Total (80)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48.83</td>
<td>26.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.95</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bruns.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.95</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>53.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign born:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Foreign (36)</th>
<th>% of Total (80)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36.11</td>
<td>16.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>11.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.88</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>3.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>45.00</td>
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Unknown: 1

Total = 80
<table>
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<th>Country of birth</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Canada</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was in the Chapel of St. Paul's Hospital.

Data on the educational background of Vancouver's elite are available for 132 of the 164 individuals in the total study group. When specific information has not been available it has been assumed that anyone starting work by the age of 16 had attended grade school only. As Table VIII indicates, 55 of Vancouver's elite had attended university or college prior to moving to Vancouver. Another 17 had undergone apprenticeship training in specialized technical fields such as marine engineering, pharmaceutical work, or surveying. Those who had attended high school and elementary school appear to have been quite evenly divided although it is possible that the majority of "unknowns" had attended grade school only. Probably the most noteworthy and reliable statistic here is the relatively large number of individuals who had attended university or college prior to moving to Vancouver. These people account for 33.5% of the 164 people in the entire group and 42% of those for whom educational data are available. If the 80 voluntary association elites are analysed separately from the total study group the proportion of people with a university or college education is even higher (see Table IX): 36.3% of the whole group of 80 and 44.7% of the 65 people for whom educational level can be ascertained. The upper echelons of several of the formal voluntary associations examined here were dominated by university graduates. Eight of the 13 Vancouver Club presidents and vice presidents had graduated from university or college, as had 12 of the 19 Canadian Club presidents and
TABLE VIII
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED PRIOR TO VANCOUVER, TOTAL SAMPLE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or college</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(Including 8 individuals who had attended a teacher or business college)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized apprentice</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(Refers to apprentice training of over two years in &quot;non-labor&quot; occupational fields such as surveying, marine engineering)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>(Including private academies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(Age at which these people started work too vague to allow for an estimate of education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IX
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED PRIOR TO VANCOUVER, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION ELITE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or college</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>(Including teacher or business college)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized apprentice</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(Including private academies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vice presidents. Without doubt, the impressive educational credentials manifested by a significant proportion of the elite indicate that secure and even prosperous family backgrounds had provided favorable "take-off" positions for many of Vancouver's future leaders.

An examination of father's occupation also reveals that many of Vancouver's elite came from comfortable if not privileged family backgrounds. Although data on father's occupation was gathered for only 104 of the total study group, Table X clearly shows that many of Vancouver's elite were the sons of professional and businessmen. If these figures do not prove that Vancouver's elite came predominantly from wealthy backgrounds, they do indicate that the great majority were familiar with the values and aspirations of the urban middle class prior to starting their own personal careers. Relatively few brought only memories of life on the farm to the task of city building.

Regardless of family background, virtually everyone who attained elite status in Vancouver prior to 1915 was widely travelled and occupationally experienced (although not necessarily successful) before his arrival in Vancouver. Relatively few of the elite came directly to Vancouver from the country or province where they had been born. Looking at the 80 voluntary association elites, 20 had travelled directly to Vancouver while the rest had temporarily resided in a wide array of localities prior to settling in Vancouver. Although there is no easy method to conceptualize the aggregate geographical


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aristocracy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>29 (including army officers, lawyers, teachers, doctors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman, merchant, manufacturer</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>164</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mobility of these people, Table XI attempts to show the number of stopovers accumulated in various localities as the city's future leaders migrated to Vancouver. Because the table is concerned with the intensity of mobility rather than discrete mobility patterns the total number of intermediate stopovers is the sum of all the stops made by the elites as they travelled to Vancouver. Undoubtedly, Vancouver's elite were a widely travelled group. More important, perhaps, is the fact that their experience had been overwhelmingly urban.

**General patterns of success in Vancouver**

Upon arrival in Vancouver, most of the elite took up occupations identical or closely related to their previous employment. Nevertheless, if an individual's last known occupation prior to his Vancouver arrival is compared to his first known steady occupation in Vancouver it is evident that certain occupational categories did experience a relative shift in patronage. As Table XII indicates, 60 of the total elite study population had entered into different occupations shortly after they settled in Vancouver. To be sure, the figures give only a crude approximation of an extremely complex process. For example, none of the three individuals listed as unskilled laborers prior to their arrival in Vancouver remained in that category after they settled in the city. T.S. Baxter, the one man among the elite who worked as an unskilled laborer in Vancouver long enough to warrant inclusion in this category, had previously been a school teacher in Ontario. He eventually attained his B.C. Teacher's certificate, and later became a lawyer as well as mayor of Vancouver in 1913.
### TABLE XI

**STOPOVERS BEFORE VANCOUVER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Ont.</th>
<th>Queb.</th>
<th>Maritimes</th>
<th>Prairies</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Other Foreign</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect:</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more stops Ont. or Queb.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Maritimes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Prairies</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more B.C.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Western U.S.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Eastern U.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Britain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Europe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more Yukon/N.W.T.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data on 79 of 80 (20 direct to Vancouver, 59 indirect). Place of birth listed as a stopover if individual moved away then returned to province or country of origin prior to moving to Vancouver.*
### TABLE XII

**OCCUPATION BEFORE AND AFTER VANCOUVER ARRIVAL, TOTAL SAMPLE.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational categories</th>
<th>Last occupation before Vancouver</th>
<th>First occupation in Vancouver</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers, Corporate mgrs., (CPR, BCER, Banks)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Finance Contractors</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants Businessmen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountants Bookkeepers Clerks</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists Shipping Clerks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students Apprentices</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data on 147 of a possible 164 individuals.*
and 1914. Baxter's example points out the difficulty of deciding what constitutes an individual's first steady job in Vancouver. As far as possible, an attempt has been made to list the first job of more than one year's duration. Even so, the question of deciding when a carpenter such as Jonathan Rogers had attained the more prestigious position of contractor and developer poses problems, while people like the Oppenheimers were involved in many activities from the moment they arrived in the city. Keeping these difficulties in mind, it is felt that the data in Table XII still present a fairly valid picture of general occupational trends as the city's future elite settled into Vancouver.

Professionals were the most occupationally stable group in the elite in so far as only one lawyer, F.R. Russell, actually practiced law for the first time after moving to Vancouver. The most notable shift in occupational patronage was associated with the number of people who immediately became involved with Vancouver's property industry or related financial enterprises. To be sure, a number of individuals may have been associated indirectly with similar activities prior to their move to Vancouver, but in Vancouver these pursuits became their primary avocation. For example, R.K. Houlgate was manager of the London City and Midlands Bank at Morely, Yorkshire, England from 1894 to 1898. In 1898 he moved to Vancouver as assistant manager for B.C. of a powerful English trust and investment concern, the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corporation. Within the year he was appointed manager of the company and its subsidiary land development concerns. In fact,
the increase in the number of people associated with financial corporations and real estate companies was even more dramatic than the above data would indicate since a number of successful merchants, such as the Oppenheimers, or professionals, such as the Brydone-Jack brothers (one a lawyer, the other a doctor), were deeply involved in property and financial enterprises. Many others speculated privately in land, the extent of which is examined later in the study.

These data lend weight to the argument that the majority of Vancouver's future elite arrived in the city as a relatively experienced group of entrepreneurs and professionals. Perhaps only 12 men out of the total study group had to come to grips with the complexities of an entirely new career while they attempted to establish themselves in a new urban setting. This group was composed of students, unskilled laborers and one farmer. The rest, including the skilled laborers, re-established previous occupations or used familiar skills in slightly different occupations and enterprises. The sudden shift to occupations related to the property industry is indicative of the entrepreneurial experience of Vancouver's elite and their sensitivity to profit making opportunities. The city's creation as the western terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway had suddenly turned land into a profitable speculation and the new arrivals were quick to turn this to their advantage. Understanding the socio-economic structure of a modern city they were quickly able to assert their influence in the evolving landscape. In contrast many early landholders, such as the original pre-emptors of the city's future West End, were less
familiar with the techniques of a modern urban environment and were quickly outmanoeuvered by newcomers.

Although it is possible to develop a fairly precise picture of the elite's occupational background, it is far more difficult to determine how successful they had been before moving to Vancouver. Those who arrived as local executives of national and international corporations can be safely assumed to have been well established people who merely added to their socio-economic prestige in Vancouver. Bank managers, C.P.R. and B.C.E.R. executives would fit this group most clearly; these people had already attained a position of influence within a powerful institution which gave them immediate prestige in Vancouver's social hierarchy. It can also be argued that those who arrived as professionals, particularly the lawyers, were relatively successful people to the extent that their occupational category gave them a degree of social prestige and opportunity for rapid economic advancement. Whether or not professionals became elites in the sense defined here depended of course on their ability to attain top positions in the urban institutional framework. Individuals who had been connected with the management of successful manufacturing concerns prior to their Vancouver arrival, and who quickly established similar enterprises in Vancouver, also arrived as relatively successful men. For the rest however, it is far more difficult to evaluate previous levels of success.

One approach that might be used to give some indication of previous standing entails an examination of the "lag time" between an individual's date of arrival in Vancouver
and the date at which he first attained success in the city. The assumption made here is that a man who was successful enough to be considered among the elite within five or six years of moving to Vancouver likely arrived as a skilled administrator within a larger corporate body or had access to investment capital, his own or others, which he immediately put to work in the city. What is of specific interest here is the date at which the individual attained success in his business or professional career. Thus it is important to know when he established his own company, when he assumed a top managerial position in a national, international or local corporation, or when he set up his own legal firm or medical practice. Table XIII attempts to set out this information. In several cases, the date when an individual took over a top position in one of the voluntary associations is considered to be the date of success, but as much as possible the year of individual success in business or professional life has been selected.

Most of Vancouver's elite had settled in the city prior to 1898 (107 of 158 known). Of this group, 67 had attained success within the first five years of their arrival. Furthermore, Table XIII shows that the great majority of people in the total elite study group had attained success within approximately five years of their arrival in Vancouver (107 of 158). Compared to the other groups, early arrivals were the least quickly successful; only 53 of the 89 who arrived between 1886 and 1891 were immediately successful. Early arrivals had more
TABLE XIII
FREQUENCY CHART - DATE OF ARRIVAL BY DATE OF PERSONAL SUCCESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of arrival</th>
<th>1886-1891</th>
<th>1892-1897</th>
<th>1898-1902</th>
<th>1903-1908</th>
<th>1909-1915</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-91</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-97</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-02</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-08</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-15</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data on 158 of 164 individuals in the total study group)
time to move gradually up the socio-economic ladder and attain success by 1915, hence they dominated the total elite population. But it is also clear that the number of men who attained success each decade between 1886 and 1915 did not increase as the city grew in size and population. Ninety-three of the elite had attained success prior to 1898 compared with only 65 after 1898. This, considered alongside the fact that a greater proportion of post 1891 arrivals tended to attain success very rapidly, gives the impression that opportunities for upward mobility into the elite strata declined as the city expanded. In fact however, local upward mobility did not decline so much as it became a much more gradual and deliberate process while rapid success became increasingly restricted to those who arrived as successful, well-financed men. For example, between 1903 and 1908 27 people in the elite sample attained success in Vancouver. Of this group, 18 had arrived in Vancouver between 1903 and 1908, the same period in which they attained power. Only six of the individuals had been settled in Vancouver before 1898. Conversely, between 1892 and 1897 40 individuals in the sample first attained success. Out of this group, 26 had been here for over five years and only 14 had just arrived. As Vancouver's socio-economic structure grew in sophistication, the opportunities for rapid upward mobility were becoming more restricted. As early as 1898 it was becoming much more difficult than had been the case a few years before for an independent entrepreneur to turn a small business into a powerful firm. The pre-1898 arrivals either moved to Vancouver as successful men or enjoyed an opportunity to work their way to the top of
the socio-economic hierarchy by 1915. After 1898, a man either was successful when he arrived or stood very little chance of attaining elite status by 1915.

If the study of success rates is confined solely to the people who controlled the command positions in the city's political arena and voluntary associations several factors emerge which help to clarify the character of Vancouver's evolving social environment. The following frequency chart (Table XIV) compares the date of arrival with the date at which an individual was first elected to serve as president or vice president of the Board of Trade, the Vancouver Club, the Terminal City Club, the Canadian Club or as mayor of Vancouver. The data clearly show that individuals who arrived when Vancouver was a small community had a better opportunity to attain the top positions in institutions outside of their personal careers than did newer arrivals. Two-thirds of this group had settled in Vancouver before 1892. Three-quarters had arrived in the city before 1898, prior to the economic boom that stretched from the turn of the century until approximately 1912. The major paradox associated with this particular profile of elitism is that the city's institutional framework, and hence the opportunity to attain elite status as defined here, expanded quite dramatically between 1886 and 1915. The formation of a municipal government in 1886 was followed by the creation of the Board of Trade in 1887, the Vancouver and Terminal City Clubs in the mid 1890's, and the Vancouver Canadian Club in 1906. Yet the control of these formal associations was largely in the hands of the early arrivals, people who had settled in
TABLE XIV

DATE OF ARRIVAL BY DATE OF PUBLIC SUCCESS, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION ELITES.

Date of success

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of arrival</th>
<th>1886-1891</th>
<th>1892-1897</th>
<th>1898-1902</th>
<th>1903-1908</th>
<th>1909-1915</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-91</td>
<td>6 100</td>
<td>7 100</td>
<td>11 73.3</td>
<td>12 66.6</td>
<td>9 39.1</td>
<td>45 65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-97</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>2 18.1</td>
<td>2 11.1</td>
<td>4 17.3</td>
<td>8 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-02</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>2 18.1</td>
<td>4 22.2</td>
<td>2 6.8</td>
<td>8 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-08</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>6 20.7</td>
<td>6 8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-15</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>2 6.8</td>
<td>2 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6 100</td>
<td>7 100</td>
<td>15 100</td>
<td>18 100</td>
<td>23 100</td>
<td>69* 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(The nine founders who did not serve as a chief executive of a voluntary association have been omitted, as has the one B.C. native. One unknown.)
Vancouver when the city was a small and rather unstable commercial town. As Table XIV illustrates, it was not until the 1909-1915 period that post 1891 arrivals outnumbered the 1886-1891 arrivals among the city's newly successful voluntary institutional elites. None of those who arrived between 1892 and 1897 attained success within the voluntary institutional elite during this period. Two of the eight who arrived between 1892 and 1897 achieved success during the first five years of their Vancouver arrival, but the six who arrived between 1903 and 1908 did not attain a command position in a voluntary association until the 1909-1915 period. In short, the command positions in the city's powerful voluntary institutional network, including municipal government, remained mainly in the hands of the early arrivals. As examined later, this situation reflects the cohesive nature of elite society, and their tendency to recruit familiar and trusted faces for leadership positions. Not surprisingly, the great majority of these voluntary association elites had attained personal success in their profession or business prior to 1898 (61 of 76 known). The rest had settled after 1898 and attained personal success within a very short period after their arrival.

Comparing success rates to place of origin data, it seems apparent that immigrants from the United Kingdom were particularly successful in capturing the top positions in the city's voluntary associations during Vancouver's formative years. Of the six individuals who first attained power in a voluntary association between 1886 and 1891, three were from Britain, two from the Maritimes, and one from Germany.
Of the seven people who were initially successful between 1892 and 1897, two were from Britain, two from the Maritimes, two from Germany and one from Ontario. Out of the next group of 15, six were from Britain, five from Ontario and Quebec, three from the Maritimes, and one from the United States. In the next group of 18 there were eight immigrants from the United Kingdom, seven from Ontario and Quebec, two from the Maritimes, and one from the United States. It is not until the 1909-1915 period that Eastern Canadians clearly dominated the ranks of the newly successful voluntary association elites. In this case ten of the 23 individuals were from Ontario and Quebec, five from the Maritimes, six from Great Britain, and two from the United States. That arrivals from the United Kingdom were particularly successful in controlling the city's command posts during the early years of Vancouver's development strongly suggests that these immigrants were of greater importance to Vancouver's development than their numerical representation among the elite would indicate.

Given the prominent role that early arrivals played in the upper echelons of Vancouver's social hierarchy until at least 1915, it is appropriate that age be considered in some detail. Age not only helps to explain the durability of the early settlers among the elite, but also bears directly on any attempt to understand the actions and aspirations of Vancouver's elite and their attitude towards the urban environment. The great majority of the people who attained elite status by 1915 had been 40 years of age or younger.
when they first settled in Vancouver (Table XV). Well over half were between 25 and 40 years of age when they first arrived, another 21% were under age 25. Conversely, only 15% of the elite were over age 40 and only 4%, all Eastern Canadians, were over 50 when they took up residence in Vancouver. None of the foreign born elite were over 50 when they moved to Vancouver. It is quite clear that, as a group, the members of Vancouver's top social strata were occupationally experienced yet relatively youthful and presumably aggressive as they set out in pursuit of profit and security in Vancouver. In general they were a highly mobile, westward moving population that settled in Vancouver at a critical period of their life cycle. No longer young, but far from being old, their youthful dreams of eventual success somewhere were changing to a commitment to success in Vancouver. For many, a personal commitment to success was translated into a personal commitment to place for the first time in their lives, a determination to succeed in Vancouver rather than move on at the first sign of hardship. In turn, they began to associate their own opportunities for success with Vancouver's prosperity and expansion. Most were convinced that no new cities with Vancouver's economic potential would be created during their lifetime and the alternative of returning east and starting over grew less appealing with advancing age.

Isolating the 80 voluntary association elites from the total study group, but in this case also excluding the nine men who helped create but did not direct any of the city's formal voluntary organizations, some further insight can be
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Arrival</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-40</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 plus</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data on 148 of 164 people in sample
The two B.C. born were omitted.

TABLE XV
PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE AT ARRIVAL IN VANCOUVER, TOTAL SAMPLE.
gained into the structure of the developing social hierarchy. As with the total study population, the majority of this group settled in Vancouver between the ages of 25 and 40 (Table XVI). Settlers born in Eastern Canada made up approximately one-half of this age group and settlers from the United Kingdom accounted for approximately 40%. When age of success in the city's voluntary association network is measured against the place of origin data, it is interesting to note that arrivals from the United Kingdom were proportionately the youngest group of elites (Table XVII). Just over 86% of the British and Irish immigrants were under age 51 when they became the leader of an important voluntary association or mayor of the city, only 63.6% of the Maritimers fit this category, as did only 60.8% of the arrivals from Ontario and Quebec. Put another way, immigrants from Britain and Ireland accounted for 44.4% of all those who attained power between age 25 to 40 and 42.3% of those who first attained power between 41 and 50 years of age. Clearly, youthful and ambitious immigrants from the United Kingdom enjoyed a high degree of success in Vancouver's social hierarchy.

Conclusion

The above chapter has been concerned with the social background and career patterns of Vancouver's elite society between 1886 and 1915. In sum, the elite were overwhelmingly British or Eastern Canadian, they had fathers in business or professional fields, they were predominantly Protestant, and most were quite well educated. Most were broadly travelled and
# TABLE XVI
PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE AT ARRIVAL, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION ELITE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth place</th>
<th>Age at arrival</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tr>
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<td>25.0</td>
<td>6 14.3</td>
<td>1 14.3</td>
<td>2 40.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>11 17.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>3 7.1</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>3 4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gt. Britain</td>
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<td>25.0</td>
<td>17 40.5</td>
<td>3 42.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 2.4</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
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<td>3 4.8</td>
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<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>62 100</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

* The nine founders have been excluded, leaving a total of 71 presidents, vice presidents or mayors. Birthplace data are available for 70 of these people. However, for seven of these people information on birthdate or date of arrival is missing, leaving a total of 63. In this table the one B.C. native (R.H.H. Alexander) has also been excluded, leaving a total of 62.

# TABLE XVII
PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE AT PUBLIC SUCCESS, VOLUNTARY ASS'N ELITE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth place</th>
<th>Age at success</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>25-40</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>60 plus</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
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<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario &amp; Quebec</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>8 30.8</td>
<td>7 43.7</td>
<td>2 66.6</td>
<td>23 36.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
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<td>16.6</td>
<td>4 15.4</td>
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<td>11 17.9</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 4.8</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2 12.5</td>
<td>3 4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gt. Britain</td>
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<td>44.4</td>
<td>11 42.3</td>
<td>3 18.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18 100</td>
<td>26 100</td>
<td>16 100</td>
<td>3 100</td>
<td>63 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The nine founders have been omitted. Eight unknown. The B.C. native included here, unlike Table XVI.
and arrived in Vancouver as experienced businessmen or professionals and, based on the "lag time" between date of arrival and date of success, many arrived as successful men or at least with a substantial amount of personal or corporate investment capital. These conclusions, although important, represent only the first step in the analysis of the structure of power in Vancouver. For the data presented here prohibit all but the most tentative inferences to be made regarding the underlying subjective preferences that may have been influencing the elite recruitment process in Vancouver. However, it does seem clear that Vancouver was anything but an open society in which all people enjoyed an equal opportunity to rise to the top of the socio-economic hierarchy. Rather, certain groups of British and Eastern Canadian immigrants enjoyed a particular access to power that became more controlled and restricted as the city's socio-economic environment grew in sophistication and institutional completeness.
CHAPTER THREE

FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE ELITE, 1886-1914.

"The people of the upper class may be conceived of as members of a top social stratum, as a set of groups whose members know one another, see one another socially and at business, and so, in making decisions, take one another into account.... They form a more or less compact social and psychological entity; they have become self-conscious members of a social class.... They accept one another, understand one another, tend to work and think, if not together, at least alike."

In the West End the early elite created and lived in a familiar, identifiable residential environment, a world in which their relative isolation from other urban centers was diminished, the wilderness could be ignored, and their privileged positions in urban society could be clearly demonstrated. The familiar physical and social trappings of the West End established a sound basis for the development of upper class social cohesion in a rapidly changing urban arena. The lavish homes and lifestyles of the West End provided recognizable guideposts to the upper class edge of Vancouver society. To build or purchase a West End mansion was a clear indicator of the financial well-being that was central to attaining upper class recognition. Further, in the pre-automobile era, the spatial concentration and residential proximity of the elite within the West End facilitated local social interaction. This was important in developing familiarity and social cohesion for, in spite of their ethnic homogeneity, the upper class covered a wide spectrum of regional, social and occupational backgrounds. But while the West End portrayed status and functioned as an
environment in which upper class social interaction and cohesion could be initiated and sustained, it was only part of the larger civic arena within which the elite population operated. This larger setting included the elaborate institutional network of corporations, exclusive clubs and recreational associations within which the elite consolidated their socio-economic ascendancy.

For the elite there was no contradiction between their sense of individual achievement and their willingness to create, indeed their haste to create, a durable institutional basis for their power. While the members of this ambitious, business-oriented elite society firmly believed that every individual must be held responsible for his own success or failure in life, they were more than prepared to accept a collective institutional support for the pursuit of individual success. As such, Vancouver's leading businessmen invested a great deal of time, energy and money in the creation of organizations that they felt were needed to make Vancouver a viable business-like city, a city where private initiative would be adequately rewarded and success could be sustained and nurtured. The socio-economic organization of the elite, a process that went hand in hand with the development of the West End as an upper class neighborhood, was central to the development of a cohesive and influential elite society in Vancouver. An understanding of the institutional basis of the elite's power in Vancouver is essential to an understanding of its impact on the social and geographical environment of the city. In this chapter we shall concentrate on the development of the elite's network of voluntary associations while chapter four will focus on the corporate connections and activities of
Vancouver's elite population.

The institutional basis of the West End elite

In a new urban setting where personal bonds had been weakened by time and distance, institutions played an exceedingly important role in generating social cohesion among the elite. Kinship and friendship links were established within formal organizations of socially defined "status equals," such as the Vancouver Club, as well as within corporate structures where shared financial risks helped to create enduring personal bonds. The institutional power structure also helped to unify informally people in charge of the various sub-systems that comprised the total matrix of the city's institutional framework. This was stimulated, in part, from the fact that the elite population enjoyed their positions of power and privilege and they tended to share a common respect for the institutions that gave them power. In turn, the leaders of the diverse institutions within the total power structure tended to be unified in what Porter has labelled a "confraternity of power." This was not a conspiratorial coalition of elites, rather it was the recognition which men of power gave to each other and it served to reinforce the stability of the power structure in Vancouver. The "confraternity of power," which was generally enhanced by overlapping club memberships and/or family networks, was an important albeit very subjective attribute of elite unity in Vancouver.

The institutions of primary importance to the elite's power and city's growth were, of course, the corporations and large independent business enterprises that comprised the core
of the urban economy. Through the corporate infrastructure the elite generated jobs, accumulated and directed capital investment and, in large part, successfully promoted and consolidated Vancouver's position as the commercial entrepôt for the province. More than any other segment of the population, these men were able to transform Vancouver from image to reality - from an envisioned city of homes, jobs and individual well-being to a dynamic urban center. In an age committed to material progress, in a new west coast urban setting populated by individuals concerned with getting ahead in life, the economic elite and their aspirations occupied center stage in the city's collective consciousness (see Chapter 5, conclusion). But the availability of power and influence in economic, political and social affairs was not determined solely by one's position in the city's economic infrastructure. Private club affiliations and voluntary economic associations provided an important venue through which power could be enhanced and privilege could be amalgamated.

Businessmen who were connected with prestigious corporate structures quickly capitalized on their positions of financial power to extend their influence into a wide array of institutionalized voluntary activities that enhanced their own power and set an environment in which private initiative would be stimulated and adequately rewarded. Since the city's economic viability, indeed its very existence, was tied to its role as a break-in-bulk center on the CPR's international "All Red Route," the CPR was clearly the most important institution within Vancouver's entire economic infrastructure.
Not only did Vancouver's existence depend on the CPR, but a great deal of the city's evolving urban morphology reflected the CPR's desire to promote high rent land use developments on the city's west side and in Point Grey, areas where its substantial land grants were concentrated. The economic power wielded by the CPR was closely reflected in the makeup of Vancouver's upper class and, not surprisingly, early CPR executives were able to play a dominant role in promoting and directing institutions that would consolidate their elite status in Vancouver. The CPR's land commissioner, J.M. Browning, was a founding member of the exclusive Vancouver Club and served as its first president in 1893 and 1894. Harry Abbott, the General Superintendent of the CPR's Pacific Division, also served as president of the Vancouver Club from 1898 to 1901. William Salsbury, the Treasurer of the CPR's Pacific Division, was president of the Vancouver Club in 1911, president of the Board of Trade from 1892 to 1893, city alderman in 1893 and 1894, and was an important figure in the creation of the Vancouver General Hospital and its relocation to the Fairview slopes in 1905. As residents of the West End, the public and private activities of these gentlemen obviously contributed to the neighborhood's reputation.

Along with the CPR, key financial institutions based in Eastern Canada or Britain were established in Vancouver shortly after 1886 and the local executives of these corporations were also quick to assume leading roles in Vancouver's evolving network of voluntary associations. For example, the first manager of the Vancouver branch of the Bank of British Columbia was J.C. Keith and, by 1898, Keith had served as
vice president and president of the Vancouver Club, president of the Board of Trade, and reeve of North Vancouver. Campbell Sweeny, manager of the first Bank of Montreal office in Vancouver, was extremely influential in the corporate affairs of the city and served as a director of the B.C. Packers Association, the Royal Trust Company, the Western Canada Power Company and the Vancouver Improvement Company. But Sweeny's influence also went far beyond the corporate world. In order to help create an urban community whose physical and socio-economic environment met with his approval, Sweeny was a central figure in the development of the Vancouver Club, served on the Board of Trade Executive Council and Civic Committee, initiated the creation of the Brockton Point Cricket Field, and guided the development of the Vancouver General Hospital from conception to reality. William Godfrey, who took over the management of the Bank of British North America in 1889, served as president of the Board of Trade for two years (1897-1899), president of the Canadian Club, the Pioneer Club and the Vancouver Tourist Association.

The above examples should demonstrate that many of the men who controlled Vancouver's leading economic institutions were involved in a wide range of activities beyond their personal business careers. Some of these activities were intended to enhance private wealth, others were directed towards the establishment, maintenance and integration of elite society in Vancouver, yet others, relatively altruistic in nature, were aimed at improving the quality of the urban environment. In each case the individual operated through an institutional framework that enabled him to extend his influence into Vancouver's social
and civic world as well as its economic affairs. In so doing Vancouver's powerful businessmen became much more than the leaders of the business community. They became the leaders of the urban community, an urban as well as a commercial elite.

To a certain extent, the business elite's eager participation in a wide array of formal organizations stemmed from the fact that Vancouver businessmen, like most late Victorian businessmen, considered organization and co-operation to be a vital keystone of socio-economic success in an increasingly complicated world. Although the rapid proliferation of formal social and economic associations in Vancouver was likely enhanced by the city's newness and the need to structure social intercourse, it is clear that the trend towards organization was part of the same movement towards occupational specialization and social indentification manifested by the middle classes throughout the industrializing world at the turn of the century. As Robert Wiebe discusses in *The Search For Order*, as the older pre-industrial socio-economic order crumbled the specialized needs of the urban industrial system offered new opportunities to the middle stratum in the cities. But the complex dynamism of a fluid industrial order was also as confusing to the middle classes as it was profitable. Economic groupings based on common occupational identities and financial concerns provided an important vehicle, along with social clubs and shared residential patterns, to help overcome such confusion and at the same time ensure a continuity of their influence in urban industrial development.

That Vancouver's elite population organized in order to
structure an orderly city and institutionalize their positions of socio-economic prominence in no way implies that these people were not staunch individualists, for they clearly held that every man was personally responsible for his success or failure in life. Nevertheless, it is equally evident that they felt combination was necessary to ensure that individual effort received a decent award. Paradoxically, their belief in the value of social and economic associations did not extend to the working classes and their right to organize so as to improve their working conditions or wages. Michael Bliss has examined this theme in some detail and argues that one of the greatest contradictions in the thought of Victorian businessmen centered on their intense belief that the right to organize belonged solely to private entrepreneurs. "Individualism, though clearly insufficient for business success, was deemed perfectly sufficient for success as a worker or farmer.... Co-operation was the keynote of the new business philosophy; hard work and saving were to be others' code." While organizations were acceptable middle class means to ensure that individual effort received a proper return, institutionalized working class collectivism was seen as a direct threat to social stability and progress. As the following passage from the Board of Trade council minutes would indicate, Vancouver's leading businessmen obviously felt that unionism was antithetical to the interests of both labor and capital in British Columbia:

Whereas in consequence of a Boiler explosion in this City of Vancouver the Trades and Labor Council is petitioning the Legislature to pass an act for the inspection of Stationary Boilers and the compulsory
employment of certified engineers; and Whereas the Board of Trade is of the opinion that such legislation would be most detrimental to the interests of the country, and greatly retard its development; and Whereas such legislation has not been enacted in Great Britain or Eastern Canada; and be it therefore resolved that a councillor be appointed to place before the government such facts and information as can be gathered together to show how unnecessary and injurious the proposed Legislation would be to the general business and labor interests of the Country. And be it therefore resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent...to each member of the Government, and to the Boards of Trade of the province, asking for their co-operation. 9.

The elite's negative attitude towards working class collectivism stemmed primarily from their conviction that the well-being of every Vancouverite was directly related to the well-being of the business community and its ability to attract people and capital to the city. A dynamic business environment would produce high living standards for everyone and contribute to the successful functioning of a democratic social system in which every individual had an equal opportunity to attain the "good life." The fact that a successful free enterprise system creates an uneven distribution of wealth and depends on social stability and "institutions and hierarchies in which people know and keep their place" did not upset the elite's feeling that favorable conditions for private growth would create a healthy urban community. When the formula worked properly then both capital and labor were expected to be satisfied as they searched for socio-economic security in the newly created terminal city.

To summarize, institutions brought order and stability to the frontier, creating, in turn, an environment in which individual
initiative could be channelled and rewarded on a secular basis. Institutions helped to attract the upper class into the West End, they supported the elite's socio-economic power, and they helped to integrate elite society and co-ordinate its activities in a rapidly changing urban environment. The construction of this sophisticated urban institutional framework was, of course, an integral part of the urban culture transfer that created the West End. Corporate structures and organizational techniques that had been established elsewhere in the industrial world prior to 1886 were swiftly transferred to Vancouver with the completion of the CPR and served as the base upon which the city grew. Within a short span of time much of the institutional pattern through which Vancouver's urban life was organized and directed came to reflect the Eastern Canadian/British background and connections of the urban elite. But the metropolitan connections that helped to structure and propel Vancouver's development were exceedingly complex, particularly in the area of corporate land development strategies. In fact, as examined in Chapter Four, financial investment from British and Eastern Canadian corporations tended to be concentrated within geographically separate spheres of influence during Vancouver's early growth. Both the urban landscape and the makeup of elite society reflected this ephemeral yet significant geographical division of corporate power in early Vancouver. Gradually, as a result of ethnic homogeneity, growing corporate overlap, and the integrative impact of elite clubs and associations, the people in charge
of directing development within these two general spheres of operation blended together into a fairly cohesive elite society resident in the West End.

**Creation of an upper class network of voluntary associations**

Much of the early business elite's time and energy went to create and maintain a set of upper class voluntary associations that were modelled on organizations in Britain and Eastern Canada. Participation in these groups did not necessarily offer any immediate opportunity for financial advancement; rather they provided an organized setting for a broad range of recreational, social and political activities. Organizations such as the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club or the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club were basically recreational in nature. Private clubs such as the Vancouver Club or Terminal City Club were created primarily to provide a congenial setting where social interaction could be restricted to a clearly defined group of successful Vancouverites. The Vancouver Canadian Club and the Vancouver Board of Trade were less selective in their membership requirements and, in contrast to the exclusive social clubs, these organizations assumed a position of public advocacy. Most important in this respect was the Board of Trade for this organization served as a powerful collective voice for the Vancouver business community. Regardless of their specific functions, however, these organizations shared in common the capacity to promote social cohesion among the most powerful members of the urban community. Whether as a leading function of the organization, as in the
case of the Vancouver Club, or as a less premeditated corollary, as in the case of the Board of Trade, these associations all helped to structure and promote social interaction, friendships, and, at times, the corporate and family integration of men who were in charge of the most powerful institutions in Vancouver.

As formal co-ordinating mechanisms the elite's voluntary association network - including their more occupationally specialized groupings such as the Vancouver Clearing House - did not guarantee elite unity and co-operation, but they undoubtedly increased the degree of social interaction and hence the possibilities for financial coalitions as well as for social integration between the members of the elite population. The task of structuring an institutional framework within which social cohesion could be forged fell to the leading members of Vancouver's business community and, in turn, these people were more than willing to invest energy and capital in the formation of organizations that would ensure a continuity of their personal power and influence in Vancouver. They were fully aware that through collective means they would be much more likely to accomplish individual ends, that is, financial success and social eminence in a frontier city. While the Board of Trade was the most visible example of the manner in which the elite could join forces in a common cause so as to advance individual ends, the exclusive and publicity-shy private clubs also occupied a central role in this process. They served as organizations in which individual's status could be clearly
identified, they provided an opportunity for successful Vancouverites to meet, and they offered members a sense of social security and stability in a dynamic urban center.

Not every attempt to incorporate individual self-interest within a formal collective organization was successful in Vancouver. One of the more notable failures, that of the Vancouver Real Estate Board, is as informative as the successes. Established in March, 1888, the Board was disbanded after a mere three months in operation, a result of dissension among participating real estate firms and agents. In a setting where unrestricted land speculation and development was accepted as the unalienable right of property owners, the aim of the Board to structure and rationalize the real estate business was simply considered too restrictive. That another three decades were to pass before the property industry successfully established a central bureaucracy is indicative of the fact that individual control over private property was felt to be not only an excellent way to make money, but also the basis of the free enterprise system and the source of individual freedom and democracy. Hence, while Vancouver's elite successfully institutionalized a wide array of social and economic activities the real estate industry largely avoided any attempts to establish an integrating organization that might have interfered with an individual's control of his land. In this one area, at least, personal success and social stability were felt to be better served through the working of an individualistic, private market. As the following chapter will show, however, the lack of a central real estate agency
did not mean that the private market was chaotic or that land development in Vancouver was particularly competitive, at least when major landholding corporations were involved. Even in an area as potentially competitive and conflicting as land use development the elites preferred co-operation to competition, while small scale operators competed with each other and accommodated themselves as best they could to the activities of the major corporations.

If the Vancouver Real Estate Board was a dismal failure in its attempt to co-ordinate the activities of Vancouver's city builders, the Board of Trade was singularly successful. Incorporated on November 24th, 1887, it was an important integrative mechanism in elite society and, more significantly, it served as a potent vehicle through which the business dominated upper class society was able to exert its influence on the city's development. Established by an experienced group of promoters and entrepreneurs involved in a wide variety of commercial and political pursuits, the Board of Trade exhibited a consistent and intimate connection with Vancouver's civic affairs throughout the study period (see Figure 1). People critical in the formation of the Board of Trade included charter members such as David Oppenheimer, Thomas Dunn, E.V. Bodwell, A.H. MacGowan, R.H. Alexander, F. Carter-Cotton, H.T. Ceperley, J.W. McFarland, C.G. Johnson, E.J. McFeely, J.C. Keith, Campbell Sweeny, William Skene and James Whetham. Oppenheimer served as the first president of the Board and Thomas Dunn served as the first vice president. During its inaugural year membership in the Board quickly expanded to 58
CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BOARD OF TRADE OFFICERS (1887-1914), ELITE SOCIAL CLUBS AND CIVIC POLITICS.

1887-1914 Board of Trade Presidents and Vice Presidents
(In order of service)

- D. Oppenheimer
- T. Dunn
- E. Bodwell
- R.H. Alexander
- H.T. Ceperley
- J. Hendry
- G. Berteaux
- W. Salsbury
- J. Keith
- G. Major
- H. Bell-Irving
- W. Godfrey
- S. Oppenheimer
- C. Tisdall
- F. Buscombe
- F. Burns
- W. Malkin
- H.T. Lockyer
- A. Campbell
- H. McDowell
- A. Erskine
- W. McMillan
- R. McLennan
- E. Heaps
- H. Stone
- E. Buchan
- A. McCandless
- F.C. Cotton
- J. Rogers
- A. Shaw

*Complete membership listings for an earlier period not available.*
with the addition of such influential figures as J.M. Browning, H. Bell-Irving, C.D. Rand and James Leamy. As the following table would indicate (Table XVIII), these gentlemen encompassed a broad cross section of economic pursuits within a competitive commercial setting where informal links of kinship and friendship had had little time to develop. Nevertheless they quickly and successfully merged their power and interests within the Board of Trade. Clearly, the Board of Trade was seen as a viable collective mechanism through which individual ends could be attained without compromising the individual pursuit of profit. Put another way, the Board's basic commitment to commercial expansion and population growth enabled the leaders of diverse businesses to work towards a common goal which was accepted as being of equal benefit to each participant's personal pursuit of profit. As David Oppenheimer declared in his presidential address to the Board in 1889, Vancouver's prosperity and the prosperity of Vancouverites would undoubtedly grow along with the success of the Board's urban growth policies:

...I do not hesitate to predict that if we continue to use our exertions as we have hitherto done the realization of our most cherished dreams is not far distant and our phoenix-like young Terminal City will attain that prominent rank amongst her sisters on the Pacific Coast, to which she is entitled by her geographical and other natural advantages. 17.

As a voluntary economic association the Board of Trade stood at the forefront of a wide array of smaller and more occupationally specialized associations of Vancouver entrepreneurs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Economic Interests</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.W. McFarland</td>
<td>Vancouver Electric Illuminating Co. Vancouver Water Works Co. Real estate (Mahon, McFarland and Mahon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Dunn</td>
<td>Hardware merchant - Dunn-Miller Block. Real estate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.V. Bodwell</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. MacGowan</td>
<td>MacGowan and Company - General shipping commission and insurance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.H. Alexander</td>
<td>Manager - Hastings Sawmill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Leamy</td>
<td>Leamy and Kyle Sawmill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Carter Cotton</td>
<td>Editor and Manager - News Advertiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.T. Ceperley</td>
<td>Real estate and finance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.G. Johnson</td>
<td>C.G. Johnson and Company - shipping agents and insurance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. McFeely</td>
<td>McLennan and McFeely - wholesale hardware.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C. Keith</td>
<td>Manager - Bank of B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Sweeny</td>
<td>Manager - Bank of Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Skene</td>
<td>Local manager — Samuel Greenshield's Son and Co., Wholesale dry goods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Whetham</td>
<td>Real estate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Browning</td>
<td>CPR Land Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Bell-Irving</td>
<td>Anglo British Columbia Packing Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.D. Rand</td>
<td>Rand Brothers - real estate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By 1903, along with the Vancouver Clearing House, there were associations of shipowners, retail merchants, publishers, shingle manufacturers, lumber manufacturers, contractors, master plasterers and master plumbers. Beyond local organizations, various national organizations were also well patronized by leading Vancouverites. The most notable groupings in this respect included the Canadian Banker's Association, the Canadian Lumberman's Association, the Canadian Forestry Association and the Canadian Manufacturer's Association. With the exception of the Canadian Banker's Association, it should be noted that John Hendry, prominent Vancouver manufacturer and president of the Board of Trade from 1891 to 1892, also served as president or vice president of each of the above national associations prior to 1911. This penetration of the national arena by a West Ender not only added immensely to Hendry's personal stature, but it tended to endorse the growing sense of national power and prestige embodied in Vancouver's elite community.

Compared to the Board of Trade, exclusive social clubs such as the Terminal City or Vancouver clubs were less visible institutions in the public arena, yet they were equally important mechanisms for the socialization and co-ordination of elite activities in Vancouver. Within four or five years of Vancouver's creation the need to establish at least one exclusive social club in the city had become a fairly common topic of conversation among Vancouver's prominent citizens. This desire was in part a response to the fact that suitable
accommodation for wealthy travellers was lacking in Vancouver. There was no luxurious setting in the city that could adequately fill the void between the expensive yet public accommodation in the Hotel Vancouver and the private accommodation afforded by single-family mansions in the West End. But the rationale behind the creation of exclusive social clubs in Vancouver was much more complex than this for as the city's population expanded the upper class had begun to experience the problems of social definition that were common throughout the industrializing Victorian World. The private club could provide a congenial setting for controlled social interaction where rules of selection would guarantee the social acceptability of fellow members. Consequently, as one member of the contemporary Canadian establishment has explained, "Belonging to clubs 20. takes the guesswork out of friendships." Furthermore, the private club made it possible for single men to operate in the proper social sphere without the expense of maintaining a private home for entertainment. Out of this felt need to institutionalize social status and social interaction in Vancouver sprang two important private clubs: the Metropolitan Club (the forerunner of the Terminal City Club) and the Vancouver Club. While these two organizations were not mutually exclusive in membership or social function, it is worthwhile to examine each in turn for they initially expressed slightly different aims and connections in late nineteenth century Vancouver. Although the Vancouver Club was incorporated prior to the establishment of the Metropolitan Club, the latter began operations two years before the Vancouver Club opened
its doors to members and as such it is appropriate that the Metropolitan—Terminal City Club be considered first.

The Metropolitan Club was established in 1892 in a building owned by A.G. Fergusson of the southwest corner of Hastings and Richards Streets. The men behind the creation of the Metropolitan Club were primarily former Eastern Canadian or British businessmen who had established or were managing successful independent business concerns in Vancouver. These included merchants such as Fred Cope, Thomas Dunn and Fred Buscombe, manufacturers such as J.G. Woods (Leamy and Kyle Sawmill, Spicer Sawmill), and R.C. Fergusson (Royal City Sawmill) and realtors such as C.D. Rand and R.A. Anderson. A large number of the early supporters and promoters of this club had vested interests in land developments east of Hamilton Street and, in fact, many of the club's early members were "pre-CPR" businessmen who had settled in Vancouver (or Granville) prior to 1887 and invested heavily in land developments east of the CPR's major land grants (see Chapter Four). For example, C.D. Rand and R.A. Anderson were involved in real estate holdings throughout East Vancouver and South Vancouver, and Thomas Dunn's hardware store — the Dunn-Miller Block — had been built at 28 West Cordova in 1889. Interestingly enough, the Dunn-Miller Block also served as the headquarters of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Lighting Company, a transportation and lighting enterprise that involved a large number of established east side developers in its operations, including Dunn, Jonathan Miller and C.D. Rand. In short, the
Metropolitan Club took into its orbit a group of influential Vancouverites who were concerned that their interests might be undermined by the activities of the CPR. Prior to the turn of the century at least, this private club was tied very closely to municipal government as these early east side developers sought to assert their influence on public land use decisions (see Table XIX).

**TABLE XIX**

**CONNECTIONS BETWEEN METROPOLITAN EXECUTIVE AND MAYOR'S OFFICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mayors of Vancouver</th>
<th>Metropolitan Club Executive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fred Cope - 1892 and 1893</td>
<td>Fred Cope, President 1892 F. Buscombe, V.P., 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A. Anderson - 1894</td>
<td>R. Anderson, Pres., 1894 C.D. Rand, V.P., 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Garden - 1898, '99 and 1900</td>
<td>J. Garden, Pres., 1898 J.D. Hall, V.P., 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F. Buscombe - 1905 and 1906)</td>
<td>(Former V.P., 1892)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a short span of time, therefore, the Metropolitan Club reflected the fact that a number of East End developers, many of whom were pre-railway business leaders, felt that a formal organization would help to reinforce their connections with each other and protect their interests against the activities of the CPR.

The role of the Metropolitan Club as a low key yet politically connected social institution with east side development interests was short lived. By the late 1890's
its "raison d'être" as an interest group and an exclusive social club was slipping rapidly. A number of factors contributed to the decline of the Metropolitan Club. In the first place, many of the early "pre-CPR" businessmen quickly came to accept the fact that competition with the powerful CPR-Bank of Montreal coalition was futile. Consequently, many of the city's key pre-railway business elite, including the Oppenheimer brothers, E.E. Rand and Richard Tatlow, soon joined forces with the powerful men who arrived as part of the vast CPR network in order to create the prestigious Vancouver Club. Not only did the Metropolitan Club fail to maintain or even acquire the unbridled support of a number of powerful businessmen with east side development interests, but members of the newly arriving Eastern Canadian managerial and professional groups were hesitant to align themselves with a club dominated by a business network whose interests were partially opposed to those of the CPR. Accentuating the Metropolitan Club's difficulties was the fact that it had not been incorporated as a limited liability company and consequently it suffered from a shortage of investment capital essential to construct the luxurious accommodations of an elite private club. To rectify this situation the Metropolitan Club wound up its affairs in 1899, and the Terminal City Club was formed in its place as a limited liability company. This change improved the club's borrowing power but it was not until 1910 that the club was able to finance the construction of an elaborate club building, the Metropolitan Building at 859 West Hastings.
Long before the Metropolitan Building had been completed the Vancouver Club, which did not begin operations until 1894, had surpassed the Terminal City Club as the most prestigious and influential social institution in the city. Although relegated to second place in the hierarchy of local private clubs, the Terminal City Club continued to play an important role in the elite's social world; it provided an acceptable "stepping stone" to full elite status that was more readily accessible than in the ultra-exclusive Vancouver Club. Put another way, by the turn of the century the Terminal City Club had started to function as an important entry into an integrated and structured social system rather than as a separate, competitive nucleus of elite social activity. Given the fact that the early promoters of these two clubs were largely residents of the same West End neighborhood and, in the case of the Rand brothers, members of the same family, it was probably inevitable that this sorting out of relative status positions should have occurred so rapidly (see Map 13). The complementary role of these two institutions was symbolically portrayed in the landscape after 1910 when the Terminal City Club began to construct the Metropolitan Building adjacent to the Vancouver Club on West Hastings Street (Map 14).

Whereas a locally based group of successful merchant developers had been primarily responsible for establishing the Metropolitan-Terminal City Club, the Vancouver Club was tied much more closely to men who directed the local affairs of national and international corporations, most notably the CPR.
MAP 13.

1892 RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE CLUB PROMOTERS AND OFFICERS (1891-1897)

- Metropolitan Club promoter or officer
- Vancouver Club promoter or officer
MAP 14.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CENTER OF THE ELITE'S PRIVATE CLUB NETWORK, 1912

(Source: Goad's Insurance Atlas, Vancouver and Vicinity, 1912)
Vancouver City Archives
These men were as concerned that an elite private club provide attractive accommodation for international travellers to Vancouver as they were with its value as a prestigious social organization. They were prepared to invest personal funds to ensure that the club premises would be comparable in style and stature to the exclusive clubs of Eastern Canada, Britain, or Victoria.

The major impetus behind the movement to create the Vancouver Club came from several prominent pre-railway elite and key locally based CPR and banking executives such as J. Browning (CPR Land Commissioner), J.C. Keith (Bank of B.C.) and Campbell Sweeny (Bank of Montreal), people who felt that their connections with the CPR's national headquarters would enable them to acquire a suitable west side location for their club at a nominal cost. On October 27th, 1890, Jim Browning sent a letter to William Van Horne requesting the CPR's assistance in the matter. Signed by J.C. Keith, Richard Tatlow, F.C. Cotton and James Whetham, the letter read in part:

Some of our prominent citizens have been talking over the very great advantage the city would derive from the foundation of a first class social club. Under these circumstances a number of us - some 40 or 50 - are prepared to advance suitable capital - $20,000.00 to $25,000.00 - to put up suitable buildings, and purchase a site; and feeling sure you would be anxious to assist up in anything that would be a permanent benefit to Vancouver, we have thought it wise to apply to you to give us the plot of ground on Hastings Street...lying between Mr. Ferguson's and Mr. Innes' houses, as a site, and we would suggest that, under the circumstances, $50.00 a front foot would be a fair price.

The letter also goes on to explain that

We all feel that we are at a considerable disadvantage, as compared with Victoria, in this matter.... and there is no doubt a good
social club would tend to attract and retain visitors and travellers, who now mainly pass by. 26.

Although motivated primarily by the desire to establish a prestigious setting for social interaction, the above letter would indicate that the effort to establish the Vancouver Club was also another collective upper class strategy that aimed at advancing Vancouver's business acumen.

The proposed site of the Vancouver Club, on the corner of Hastings and Hornby streets, was considered desirable not merely because of its splendid view of Burrard Inlet but, as the records of the Vancouver Club indicate, because it was "an extremely convenient location, being close to the business center and also the residences of many of the members." 27.

While the CPR directors in Montreal were "...quite in sympathy with the movement to provide a first class social club at Vancouver" they were not prepared to make any "large concessions from the actual value of the ground required." 28.

However, they did offer to sell the land at $125.00 a front foot ($50.00 below market value), allow for a 20% building rebate, and "let the whole or the greater part of the purchase price stand over a reasonable term of years (7 to 10) at 6% interest." With these incentives in mind a certificate of incorporation was drawn up on May 27th, 1891, and signed by four trustees: David Oppenheimer, H. Bell-Irving, E.E. Rand and G.G. MacKay. The first directors of the club were J.C. Keith, D. Oppenheimer, H. Bell-Irving, E. Mahon, and E.E. Rand and the first president of the club was J.M. Browning of the CPR. C.O. Wickendon, popular among Vancouver's
establishment for his institutional architecture, was hired to design the club building. Wickendon's previous work had included the Lefevre Block (in 1888) for Dr. John Lefevre, the Innes-Richards Block (1889) for realtors F.C. Innes and S.O. Richards, the Federal Post Office at Pender and Granville (1891-92), and Christ Church Cathedral (1889-1895). In 1894 the Vancouver Club, which had cost $60,000.00 to build and furnish, opened its doors to members (Illustration 9).

In certain respects, the successful creation of the Vancouver Club grew out of the respect men of power give to each other, even when they are corporate competitors. Consequently powerful pre-railway businessmen with east side investment interests, such as Oppenheimer and E.E. Rand, found it relatively easy to work with high ranking CPR and Eastern Canadian bank executives in the creation of a shared private club. Moreover, given the active role assumed by several of the "pre-CPR" elite in the club's creation, it seems likely that a more subtle "confraternity of power" was also at work here. Recognizing the power of the CPR, the pre-railway business leaders were anxious to help create a prestigious private club along with the CPR executives so as to ensure that the CPR did not establish an elite social world in Vancouver that was distinct from their own. While this integrative process was initially spearheaded by leading businessmen from both the pre-railway community and the CPR, its momentum spread quite rapidly and quickly brought most elites into the West End and into the Vancouver Club's
ILLUSTRATION 9.
THE VANCOUVER CLUB, 901 WEST HASTINGS (ca. 1907)

(Source: Vancouver Public Library)
social network. In spite of the fact that the Metropolitan Club provided a center for the social interaction of east side developers it could only complement but not compete with the power of the Vancouver Club and its close connections to Vancouver's critical decision making circles.

The binding impact of power, coupled with a fear of being isolated from the influential upper class social milieu developing around the CPR on the city's west side, were undoubtedly key features that quickly attracted the "pre-CPR" elite away from their East End homes towards the West End. For example, by 1889 the Rand brothers had abandoned Cordova Street, one moving to the Hotel Vancouver and the other to 1020 Georgia Street. By this same point in time Walter Graveley and Thomas Dunn had vacated Cordova Street residences for Georgia Street and H.T. Ceperley had left for the Hotel Vancouver prior to his eventual move to Georgia Street. By 1890 David and Isaac Oppenheimer had moved from Oppenheimer Street to the Leland Hotel at 521 West Hastings and Sol Oppenheimer had moved to the corner of Pender and Homer Streets. In 1892 the Oppenheimers moved to the Hotel Vancouver, where they remained for many years. In 1891 John Boultbee relocated from 330 Oppenheimer to 830 Howe Street and R.A. Anderson moved to 1030 Melville from 107 Cambie Street. In brief, the pre-railway elite made virtually no attempt to maintain a distinct East End residential neighborhood and the speed of their residential succession to the west, rather than to the east or south, would indicate that the process was stimulated by more than a basic desire to escape the
growing population and industrial mix that developed in the urban core following the arrival of the CPR. Rather, there was a genuine desire to be part of the evolving West End elite social milieu and, in turn, residential and social integration dominated the world of the urban elite. Influential pre-railway businessmen worked closely with the CPR executives to establish the Vancouver Club, the East End merchant-developers who dominated the Metropolitan Club joined the Vancouver Club if the opportunity presented itself, and most successful Vancouverites, regardless of financial interests, moved into the West End. As noted in the first chapter, by 1908 over 70% of the Vancouver Club members and over 60% of the Terminal City Club members resided in the West End. Fifty-five people, including prominent West Enders such as Sir Charles Tupper, William Bowser, Robert Kelly, B.T. Rogers, C.D. Rand, H.T. Ceperley, J.L.G. Abbott and Clarence Marpole were members of both association in 1908.

The above analysis of Vancouver's two leading private clubs emphasizes the fact that the social and residential hierarchies of the upper class were sorted out and consolidated relatively quickly and smoothly in Vancouver. To be sure, this integrative process did not guarantee upper class co-operation and negate the fact that corporate and/or political competition could at times escalate into serious conflict between members of the elite society. Nor did the friendships established with neighbors and fellow club members necessarily prove to be of a durable nature, especially those that might have been rather hastily formed in Vancouver during the hectic
formative years of the 1880's and 1890's. For example, R.A. Anderson, West Ender, South Vancouver land developer, mayor of Vancouver (1894) and president of the Metropolitan Club (1894), was sponsored for membership in the Vancouver Club in 1894 by Jim Browning and William Salsbury of the CPR. However, in 1895 Campbell Sweeny, manager of the Bank of Montreal and a close friend of the local CPR executives, rather bluntly noted in his diary that: "City account taken from Bank of Montreal to Bank of British North America, a put up job by Bethune and Anderson." The following year Anderson no longer belonged to the Vancouver Club. Although it is impossible to determine whether Anderson's involvement in the bank transfer indiscretion stimulated his rapid departure from the Vancouver Club, the above example serves to point out that the growing social integration of elite society did not guarantee that diverse institutional leaders would always be in harmony with each other in Vancouver.

Less serious social indiscretions could also counteract the growing cohesion of the West End elite society, as exemplified by the difficulties Walter Graveley recalls having with his neighbor and fellow Vancouver Club member, B.T. Rogers:

Years ago when Georgia street was lined with lovely shady trees and bordered by beautiful private residences, I and my family lived at the corner of Nicola Street and Georgia Street. B.T. Rogers lived next door - our servants were very friendly and used to talk to each other across the gardens. Instead of telling me about it and asking me to put a stop to it, Rogers without any notice whatever put up a huge wooden fence between the two gardens - and from that time on we
solemnly worked in our respective gardens - he on one side of the fence and I on the other. 33.

In large part however, their interlocking private club network and common residential patterns, along with their basic love of power, their respect for the institutions which gave them power, and their shared commitment to structuring an orderly city on the urban frontier, all helped to stimulate the rapid development of a cohesive elite society anchored in the West End neighborhood.

A third social institution which played an important role in the evolving structure of the elite's social world was the Vancouver Canadian Club. Formed in August, 1906, the Canadian Club differed in several respects from other private clubs in Vancouver. The Canadian Club was openly committed to a role of advocacy in society, it did not seek to exclude its activities and beliefs from the general public, nor did it purport to be apolitical. Rather than social status and prestige, it attempted to offer its members social ideals, rather than contact with local business leaders, it offered exposure to the key issues surrounding Canadian development and the future of the Empire. Imperialistic, nationalistic and, at times, anti-organized labor and anti-American, the club generated and supported the upper and middle class' attitudes about Vancouver and its ultimate destiny as a leading Canadian city of the British Empire. Since much of the Canadian Club's appeal lay in its determination to promote Canadian wealth and a society guided by what was
assumed to be the inherently superior British race and culture, participation in the club was felt to be in the order of a service. As a newspaper report of the club's inaugural meeting in Vancouver pointed out:

One subsequent speaker...referred to the fact that all present were busy making money, and that most of them wanted a change now and than.... All men who are worth their salt feel the wish to do some work in the world of a character that promises no benefit to themselves. The religious, the national, or the social ideal may be uppermost in their minds; but unless they engage in work guided by such ideals, they end up by becoming intellectually sterile. 34.

The avowed objective of the Canadian Club movement, which began in Hamilton in 1893, was to encourage the study of the history, literature and resources of Canada and promote a Canadianism that was loyal to the British Empire. As Professor F.S. Osborne, member of the Winnipeg Canadian Club, stated at the initial session of the Vancouver branch of the organization,

...the club affords opportunities for hearing distinguished men, inculcates patriotism and in many ways helps to build up the provinces and bind them more closely together. 35

J.J. Banfield, second president of the Vancouver Canadian Club, summed up the purpose of the club in his 1908 Presidential Address:

The territory of Canada, its excellent geographical position and wealth, are such that when it is fully populated it alone would be the peer of most nations of the earth; but how much brighter its destiny as part of and partner in an empire the limit of whose powers would be subject alone to the will of its citizens. This high destiny is the ideal which
furnishes at once the inspiration and the aim of the Canadian Club movement. The practical result sought is the making of good imperialistic citizens of the people who will find homes in this country. The task we undertake is to mould these thousands into loyal subjects, and in short to people our vast and productive areas with a population of loyal, patriotic and affectionate British subjects. 36.

The Canadian Club's aspirations readily meshed with those of other elite-dominated institutions which advocated rapid urban growth for Vancouver. As a founding member of the Vancouver Tourist Association and influential member of the Board of Trade, Banfield was particularly adept at linking the Canadian Club movement to Vancouver's own well-being:

Our creed locally applied then, and as worked out by consistent members of the Canadian Club, consists in seeking the highest good of the race by working to make this city the greatest in British Columbia, the Province the greatest in Canada, and the country the greatest in the Empire, and the Empire the greatest that has ever been.... 37.

Without doubt, the Canadian Club provided a grandiose yet tangible justification for the elite's sense of individual achievement and material advancement in Vancouver.

One of the first guest speakers at a Canadian Club luncheon in Vancouver was Byron Walker, general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, who argued:

I do not believe that British Columbia can enter into its inheritance till it reaches a proper solution of the labor problem. B.C. needs more than any other part of Canada a plentiful supply of cheap labor. What I mean by cheap labor is the men who are willing to do an honest day's work for the lowest wages. 38.

While unlikely to endear him with the labor movement, this
type of "cheap labor" argument was a logical outcome of the Canadian Club's desire to enhance the ability of Canadians to use and process their own natural resources. The club's concern to disseminate knowledge about Canada's natural resources also helped to give it an anti-American flavor. While anti-Americanism rarely surfaced to the point where it served as a key plank in the Canadian Club's platform it is interesting to note that the inaugural speaker at the Vancouver Canadian Club explained

...that he had heard that four-fifths of the lumber of British Columbia was in the hands of Americans. If so, it seemed to him that it was a great shame, and if Canadian Clubs had been in existence here for 25 years such a condition would never obtain. 39.

Clearly the Canadian Club movement, both nationally and locally, was closely linked to the growing mood of nationalism in Canada and the impact of the National Policy and the protective tariff on Canadian business thought at the turn of the century. These connections begin to sort themselves out when one considers that a vast proportion of the Canadian Club's rhetoric was inspired by, or at least reminiscent of, Sir Leonard Tilley's budget speech of 1879 when the Canadian Government endorsed a strong protective tariff:

...the time has arrived when we are to decide whether we will be simply hewers of wood and drawers of water; whether we will be simply agriculturalists raising wheat, and lumbermen producing more lumber than we can use, or Great Britain and the United States will take from us at remunerative prices;... or whether we will inaugurate a policy that will, by its provisions, say to the industries of the country, we will give you sufficient
protection; we will give you a market for what you produce;... The time has certainly arrived when we must consider whether we will allow matters to remain as they are, with the result of being an unimportant and uninteresting portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, or will rise to the position, which I believe Providence has destined us to occupy, by means which... are calculated to bring prosperity and happiness to the people, to give employment to the thousands who are unoccupied, and to make this a great and prosperous country, as we all desire and hope it will be. 40.

The National Policy was national business policy and manufacturers were the most ardent supporters of tarrif protection. Keeping this point in mind, it is not co-incidental that the genesis of the Canadian Club movement was in Hamilton in 1893, a leading manufacturing center of Central Canada. Thirteen years later when prominent Vancouverites joined together to establish a branch of the organization in Vancouver, their action was likely stimulated by the fact that after the turn of the century east-west trade patterns began to add a genuine economic substance to Canadian nationalism. In sum, the establishment of the Canadian Club signified that the city, like the nation, had been caught up in the boundless confidence that Canada's day of greatness had arrived. And, while a substantial intelectual and idealistic effort went into the Canadian Club movement, both nationally and locally, the organization obviously served a very pragmatic educational purpose that intertwined with a growing mood of economic nationalism in Canada.

Considering the Canadian Club's basic concerns - the quality of Canadian society and the quantity of Canadian wealth-
it is not surprising to find that many of the people involved in creating and directing the Vancouver Canadian Club were members of the West End elite establishment. These people not only manifested a strong business orientation but, equally important, they had a strong belief that they had a special role to play in building Vancouver into a civilized and prosperous Canadian city in the British Empire. Individuals who assumed key roles in promoting the association in Vancouver included John Banfield, prominent realtor, developer, financier, director of the Vancouver General Hospital and influential member of the Vancouver Board of Trade. F.C. Wade, lawyer, politician, author (The Riel Rebellion, The History of Liberalism in the Dominion), and organizer of the Vancouver Sun in 1911 was also a key advocate of the Canadian Club. Alex Bethun (contractor and mayor of Vancouver in 1907 and 1908), F.R. Russell (lawyer, future director of the Vancouver Sun), J. Maguire (manufacturing agent and a founder of the Vancouver Stock Exchange) and D. Von Cramer (manager of the Royal Bank of Canada and future managing director of the Vancouver Trust Company) were all influential charter members of the association, as was Dr. A.S. Monro, who went on to serve as president of the Vancouver Medical Association in 1910 as well as a director of the Vancouver Trust Company.

Businessmen and professionals with some business interests were obviously the key promoters of the Canadian Club. Similarly, with the exception of Archdeacon Pentreath who served as a second vice president of the club from 1909-1911,
all the officers of the club between 1906 and 1914 fit the mould of the successful entrepreneur or the professional with entrepreneurial connections, as did most of the executive committee members who did not attain officer status prior to 1914. Notable representatives in this latter group included Fred Busoombe (financier, lumber manufacturer, mayor of Vancouver 1905 and 1906, president of the Board of Trade 1900-1901), John Hendry (lumber manufacturer, railroad promoter, realtor, past president of the Board of Trade 1899-1892) and Charles Tisdall (merchant, former president of the Board of Trade 1899-1900, chairman of the Parks Board 1904-1910, future mayor of Vancouver 1922 and 1923). Other Board of Trade presidents who served on the executive committee of the Canadian Club included Jonathan Rogers (contractor, president of the Board of Trade 1914-1916), A.G. McCandless (merchant, president of the Board of Trade 1911-1912) and H.A. Stone (merchant, president of the Board of Trade 1900-1910). Officers of the club included most of the key promoters mentioned earlier as well as W.H. Malkin (wholesaler, president of the Board of Trade 1902-1903, future mayor of Vancouver 1929), Ewing Buchan (bank manager, president of the Board of Trade 1910-1911), William Godfrey (bank manager, president of the Board of Trade 1897-1899), C.S. Douglas (real estate, mayor of Vancouver 1909), R.H. Alexander (manufacturer), and two of the leading military men in the city, Major W.H. McHarg (lawyer) and Col. J. Duff Stuart (merchant). These were extremely powerful Vancouverites and, even though their
specific occupational interests varied, they easily joined forces within the framework of the Canadian Club. They sincerely felt that it was their duty to accept the task of building a civilized and prosperous urban community in Vancouver and undoubtedly paid close heed to Dr. Roland Grant when he told that:

> Vancouver men must build well; you are not building for a day. You are part of a world movement which well go on for hundreds of years.... Build with a conception of your destiny. Long after you and I are dead and buried there will be a great city here.... Living comes to be a serious matter when you come to think about laying the foundation for coming years. 48.

Promoting nationalism, imperial destiny, and appealing to the "civilizing mission" that was needed on the Canadian frontier in a way that had economic as well as social overtones, the Canadian Club quickly established itself as a popular and important bond in the elite's voluntary institutional infrastructure (see Figure 2). Most interesting in this respect were the consistent interconnections between the upper echelons of the Canadian Club and the Board of Trade, once again indicating the manner in which the concerns and beliefs of the club could give momentum and justification to the ethic of growth and progress in Vancouver.

In terms of its membership the Canadian Club was virtually a West End neighborhood association, as were the other institutions discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, and as the following map would indicate (Map 15), the residential distribution of Canadian Club executives and promoters was
FIGURE 2.

MAJOR VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION LINKS OF CANADIAN CLUB OFFICERS*

1906-1913 Canadian Club Presidents and Vice Presidents

F.C. Wade
J. Banfield
Dr. A. Monro
D. Von Cramer
F.R. Russell
J. Ellis
W. Malkin
W. Hart McHarg
W. Godfrey
Bishop E. Pentreath
E. Buchan
Reverend McKay
C.S. Douglas
J.D. Stuart
R.H.H. Alexander

*Interconnections are those that existed between 1906 and 1913.
MAP 15.

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION OF CANADIAN CLUB OFFICERS AND INFLUENTIAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, 1906 - 1913.

- 1906 location
- 1914 location, if any change has occurred
not equally divided across the West End; rather the leaders of the association tended to live in one of the three prestigious West End residential sectors discussed in the first chapter. This residential pattern was maintained until approximately 1912 when various club executives began to migrate to Point Grey and Shaughnessy Heights. The point to appreciate here is that prior to 1914 the Canadian Club was controlled by a fairly select group of West Enders, in spite of the fact that its concerns might conceivably have appealed to geographically and socially extensive groups of British and Canadian residents in Vancouver. This restricted residential distribution of Canadian Club leaders highlights the obvious point that the club's public role did not entail broad public participation in its operation.

In addition to influential business and social organizations, Vancouver's West End elite institutionalized a wide array of recreational activities, such as yachting, golfing, cricket and tennis, into relatively exclusive social organizations. These institutions all served to structure elite activities and provide areas where acceptable social interaction could take place between those "in Society" and those on the periphery who wished to gain access to the heart of the city's elite social world. While it is not essential that every one of these semi-exclusive recreational organizations be examined in detail, some comment needs be made about them for they were an important part of the prestigious West End environment.

In the pre-automobile city, recreational land that was
controlled by and for private interests was extremely sensitive to three basic factors: (1) land costs, (2) the residential distribution of the population utilizing the facility and (3) the probable future residential location of the population utilizing the facility. If the second and third factors appeared to be congruent, then the directors of a private organization would generally attempt to absorb rising land costs so as to maintain a degree of proximity with their members. However, if a club's membership field began to shift it was to the advantage of club directors to relocate their facility before appropriate land for the new site became scarce and expensive. Consequently, recreational land use often stands out on the leading edge of residential mobility patterns. For these reasons, along with the fact that it was one of the first major recreational clubs to be organized by the upper class, the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club stands out as an important feature of the West End landscape.

The tennis club first began operations in 1887 at the "CPR Park," bounded by Granville, Georgia and Howe. Although it operated under the name of the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club it was an informal gathering of tennis players and the name of the club was rather grandiose in that the participants played on two wooden courts. In 1897 however, facing increasing pressure for court space and the likelihood that the park would soon be used for commercial purposes since City Council had refused to purchase the land from the CPR, the tennis club changed location and function. A meeting
was held in the Hotel Vancouver and it was decided to transform the club into a private organization and purchase a new site upon which the members would build a modern tennis club. Leading promoters of this scheme included C. Gardiner Johnson, H.J. Cambie, R.G. Tatlow (whose home at 1140 West Pender already boasted fine tennis facilities), J.H. Senkler, Richard Marpole, the Malkins, the Bell-Irvings, C. Marani, Andrew Jukes and A.P. Horne. These gentlemen sought a new home for their organization and eventually settled on a four lot site at Barclay and Denman Streets, on the border of the sparsely settled yet highly desirable western portion of the West End. Grass courts, cinder courts, a croquet lawn and a club house were constructed and the western section of the West End took on a relatively new social dimension as the residents of the "Bluff" strolled across to Denman Street for a relaxing afternoon of tennis and refreshments (Illustration 10). Within a remarkably short period, of course, the new tennis club was to be surrounded by a prestigious residential area that extended west to the border of Stanley Park. While the tennis club did not lead affluent Vancouverites to locate in this sector it clearly anticipated the residential mobility patterns of the elite population and it helped to certify the status orientation of the western portion of the West End.

It is interesting to note that the organizers of the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club tied in much more closely to the CPR hierarchy and to the Vancouver Club than to the Metropolitan Club, which in 1898 was in the process of discarding its East
ILLUSTRATION 10.

THE VANCOUVER LAWN TENNIS CLUB (1905)

(Source: Vancouver City Archives)
End developer stigma and reorganizing into what eventually became the more prestigious Terminal City Club. Marpole was general superintendent of the CPR, Cambie was chief engineer, Marani was vice president of the Vancouver Club in 1897 and 1898, H. Bell-Irving was an original member and director of the Vancouver Club and Duncan Bell-Irving was an original member and president of the Vancouver Club from 1902 to 1904. Marpole, Tatlow and Senkler had all joined the Vancouver Club in 1894 and Jukes had been successfully nominated in 1895. From this perspective, it can be seen that the tennis club's relocation to the West End in 1897 served as one more dimension through which the social supremacy of the West End was being re-inforced.

Another West End recreational facility which served to enhance the upper class orientation of the neighborhood, as well as the attractive natural amenities offered by Stanley Park and English Bay, was the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club in Coal Harbor. Established in 1903, its prime mover was Walter Graveley, a prominent realtor whose previous experience with yacht clubs dated back to 1877 when he was accepted as a member of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in Toronto. In spite of the fact that the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club naturally tended to attract members of the upper class with nautical aspirations it rapidly became a well patronized organization that tied in closely with other significant cornerstones in the elite's institutional framework (see Figure 3). As well as the yacht club, the Vancouver Cricket Club was based in Stanley Park,
FIGURE 3.

MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL VANCOUVER YACHT CLUB WHO SERVED AS PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT OF OTHER POWERFUL INSTITUTIONS PRIOR TO 1921.

Yacht club members - 1906

P.N. Thompson
R.H. Alexander
R.H.H. Alexander
T.E. Atkins
F. Buscombe
D. Bell-Irving
H. Bell-Irving
J. Banfield
C.S. Douglas
E.P. Davis
F. Chaldecott
R. Maitland
E. McFeely
R. McLennan
J.P. Malkin
C.D. Rand
W. Salsbury
P. Shallcross
G. Trorey
F.C. Wade

BOARD OF TRADE

CIVIC MAYORS

VANCOUVER CLUB

TERMINAL CITY CLUB

CANADIAN CLUB
as was the Vancouver Rowing Club. On the edge of Stanley Park, at the corner of Georgia and Chilco, the Vancouver Riding Club erected its large Horse Show Building in 1909. When the splendid beach and bathing facilities at English Bay are included in this picture, along with the large indoor ice skating arena built in 1911 on Georgia, it becomes clear that the West End presented a great variety of recreational attractions, many of which the upper class could pursue within the socially protected confines of an exclusive organization (see Map 16).

Creation of a specific elite social network

Once established, the above voluntary associations were well patronized by Vancouver's upper class population, and for obvious reasons. Members had access to a vast information network about investment possibilities and political decisions; in the case of private clubs, membership was a public seal of acceptance into elite status. Further, given Vancouver's "newness" and the fact that many residents were strangers or relatively new acquaintances, the links forged in formal associations played an important role in facilitating the development of informal links of kinship and friendship. In short, being "in Society" served a number of very pragmatic functions; it was a means to a number of secular goals that related to an individual's social and financial security. The practical benefits that accrued to being in the elite circle of Vancouverites meshed nicely with the fact that Vancouver's elite was a practical and hardworking business population. Businessmen and professionals with business interests
MAP 16.

THE COAL HARBOUR RECREATIONAL SECTOR OF THE WEST END, 1912.

Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club
Vancouver Arena
Royal Vancouver Yacht Club,
Rowing Club, Golf, Cricket, etc.
Vancouver Riding Club
played the key roles in creating organizations that institutionalized their power and social prestige, and businessmen determined who would be accepted into the protective elite society they established. Not surprisingly, they "screened" for other successful businessmen, people who had proven their worth as corporate leaders and successful risk takers in the private market place. In order better to understand how the early business leaders in Vancouver structured the social hierarchy, it is instructive to examine the manner in which a powerful elite social network evolved around the Vancouver Club.

The development of Vancouver's most exclusive social organization reveals several important characteristics of Vancouver's social environment during the early years. Firstly, while it is apparent that Vancouver society was less rigid than society in older Eastern Canadian centers, it is important to realize that this fluidity depended on the fact that newcomers could quickly attain elite positions in Vancouver on the basis of business achievement, and not on the fact that society was egalitarian or that elite entrance requirements were easily met by large numbers of people. In the case of the Vancouver Club the intensive membership campaign conducted by the club during its first year of existence quickly shifted to a very conservative selection procedure in order to preserve social exclusiveness. During 1894, the first year of the club's operation, 126 individuals were elected to the club's membership roll. Between this date and 1901 the largest group of new members elected
during a one year period was 65 in 1899, an upturn that likely reflected the club's need to revitalize its strength following the depression of 1895 to 1898. These figures indicate that, once established, an elite organization like the Vancouver Club used rigorous entrance requirements to guarantee exclusiveness.

The Vancouver Club's early selection process highlights yet another important aspect of the elite's social world, namely that the social standing of the club was in fact created by a relatively few individuals with power and status to "lend" to the organization. This process is common to the formation of all elite associations, as Seeley et al. discuss in Crestwood Heights:

Money, occupation, and family are essential to the "status lender," and with these he "backs" the associations of his choice. He then bands together with his fellow "lenders" rigorously to screen a selected number of members, also on the basis of money, occupation and, to a lesser extent, of family, although the applicant need not, and often must not, fully match the status lenders' assets in these respects. 56.

Compared to Seeley's discussion of status and selectivity in a post World War Two central Canadian City the critical difference in early Vancouver was that wealth and business connections largely replaced family connections as the mark of a "status lender." In particular, as Table XX reveals, the local CPR executives played an exceedingly active role in defining the initial Vancouver Club membership, as did several prominent business leaders from the "pre-CPR" era. Since the Vancouver Club was backed by extremely powerful
# TABLE XX

DOMINANT VANCOUVER CLUB NOMINATORS IN 1894*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Times as a Proposer</th>
<th>Times as a Seconder</th>
<th>Total Nominations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.Browning</td>
<td>CPR Land Agent</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.Shields</td>
<td>Wholesaler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Wholesaler/Real Estate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Campbell</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Abbott</td>
<td>CPR General Supt.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.Tatlow</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.Loewen</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Townley</td>
<td>CPR Asst. Supt.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Bell-Irving</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C.Keith</td>
<td>Financier, former manager, Bank of B.C.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Lefevere</td>
<td>CPR Doctor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.McFarland</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Richards</td>
<td>Lawyer, real estate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.McPhillips</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Cambie</td>
<td>CPR Chief Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Garden</td>
<td>Civil engineer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.E.Thomas</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.Murray</td>
<td>Mgr, Bank of B.C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Wholesaler/real estate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Wholesaler/real estate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.Bell-Irving</td>
<td>Doctor, capitalist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.Dunn</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Carroll</td>
<td>Doctor, real estate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.Mahon</td>
<td>Realtor, Mahon, McFarland and Mahon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Barnard</td>
<td>Victoria capitalist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.Johnston</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.Coleman</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.T.Rogers</td>
<td>B.C.Sugar Refinery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.Salsbury</td>
<td>CPR Treasurer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.Johnston</td>
<td>CPR Master Mechanic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Those who were involved in only one nomination, either as a proposer or a seconder, have not been listed.
"status lenders" from its inception, this organization immediately established itself at the apex of the private club network once it opened in 1894. In turn, the prestigious network that developed around the club, both spatially and socially, contributed to the West End's rapid development as the unchallenged elite neighborhood in the city. Of the "pre-CPR" elite who were active as dominant Vancouver Club nominators in 1894 (the Oppenheimers, the Bell-Irvings, Thomas Dunn, R. Tatlow, J McFarland) three still resided in the East End. One year later however, McFarland had relocated on Georgia Street and the following year the Bell-Irving brothers had moved to Seaton Street. While other factors obviously contributed to the early elite's abandonment of the East End, there can be no doubt that the creation of the Vancouver Club certainly expedited the spatial concentration and social integration of the upper class in Vancouver.

The Vancouver Club's establishment is also of interest from the point of view of the dominant nominating coalitions (proposer and seconder) that came into play during the club's first year in operation. In the following figure, pairs who acted together on three or more nominations were isolated from the total group of nominators during 1894, creating four separate nomination cells (see Figure 4). Three out of the four cells contained at least one individual with strong connections to the CPR, the exception being the Bell-Irving brothers. The most active (see previous table) and densely connected group centered on Jim Browning (CPR Land Commissioner),
PAIRS WHO ACTED TOGETHER ON THREE OR MORE NOMINATIONS, VANCOUVER CLUB, 1894.

D. Bell-Irving
H. Bell-Irving

I. Oppenheimer
S. Richards — J. Browning — A. Shields — C. Loewen

H. Abbott
H. Cambie
J. Townley
R. Tatlow

L. McPhillips
I. Oppenheimer (Oppenheimer Brothers Ltd.), and A. Shields (wholesaler of wines and liquor). Shields' role was primarily that of a "seconder" and one might fairly conclude that his occupation plus his residence in the Hotel Vancouver, along with the Oppenheimers, made Shields a rather willing and convenient participant in the nomination proceedings. The other CPR executives involved in dominant nominating coalitions were Abbott (General Superintendent), Cambie (Chief Engineer) and Townley (Assistant Superintendent). In the one cell that lacked any CPR connections, the Bell-Irving brothers, one was a civil engineer and president of the Anglo British Columbia Packing Company and the other a doctor and medical officer for the Hastings Sawmill. Their existence as a separate nominating coalition is of some interest when one considers that this is the only group composed entirely of "pre-CPR" elites (H. Bell-Irving arrived in 1885 and Dr. Bell-Irving in 1884), and that both gentlemen still resided east of the central business district in 1894.

The above diagram offers some picture of the close personal relationships that existed within the nucleus of the Vancouver Club, for one may assume that the Bell-Irving brothers or Cambie and Abbott were friendly with each other and as such would act together in nominating new members for the exclusive club. However, the personal connections revealed by the nominating coalitions are only part of a more pervasive set of interconnections that support the view that a relatively select circle of powerful friends set the initial tone of the Vancouver Club's membership. For example, L.G. McPhillips was
a director of the B.C. Sugar Refining Company, established in 1890 with capital from the CPR and the Bank of B.C., along with other sources. J.M. Browning was one of the five trustees in the certificate of incorporation, as was H.B. Abbott. H. Bell-Irving was a close friend of H. Cambie, and a former business associate of Richard Tatlow. Tatlow's father-in-law was Henry Cambie, Tatlow having married Elizabeth Cambie in 1893. Tatlow was also connected with I. Oppenheimer for he served as the real estate agent for the Vancouver Improvement Company during the late 1880's and early 1890's, a company established by the Oppenheimers. Finally, if any doubt remains that the individuals in the above nominating network constituted a powerfully interconnected and highly respected group of Vancouvers, it should be pointed out that four of the first five presidents of the Vancouver Club came from the above group of nominators (Browning, Oppenheimer, Abbott and D. Bell-Irving). H. Bell-Irving went on to serve as president of the Board of Trade from 1895 to 1897, and Tatlow was a successful politician and appointed Minister of Finance by Premier McBride in 1903. In short, it is clear that while certain close friends preferred to act together in nominating new members for the Vancouver Club these nominating coalitions were only superficially discrete from each other. Rather, corporate links and friendship links had united several of the top members of the urban social hierarchy prior to 1894 and, in turn, these people set about establishing an elite institution that would enhance their own prestige as well as the city's structural capacity to
formally integrate new elites into an established order.

The Vancouver Club was an important source of "weak ties" between old and new elites, as well as between elites who were in charge of different institutional hierarchies within the urban system. Less personal than family ties and less intense than the links forged in a corporate undertaking, the club still played an important role in establishing the familiarity necessary for the formation of more intense linkages. In order to function successfully in this integrating role the members of the club were prepared occasionally to act with other than close friends in a nomination in order to ensure that they captured as many appropriate, that is, successful, members as possible. If all the people who were involved in three or more nominations in 1894 are arranged in a connectivity diagram this feature of the club's membership expansion becomes more apparent. With the exception of Dr. J. Carroll and O. Evan Thomas, everyone who was involved in a total of three or more nominations shared at least two of them with another dominant nominator (see Figure 5). As one would expect, linkages were particularly intense around the dominant nominating coalitions discussed above. This re-emphasizes the fact that the most active nominators of new Vancouver Club members were a tightly interconnected group of people who had little trouble recruiting members who would be acceptable to all concerned. In spite of the density of this network, however, it is also important to realize that the number of shared nominations linking any two voting coalitions
*All members who were involved in three or more nominations have been included in this diagram. Solid line indicates that the members shared two or more nominations in common.
was rarely equivalent to the total number of nominations that a member had participated in. For example, Tatlow had been involved in 11 nominations in 1894. Four of these had been with Townley, the rest were the result of Tatlow having voted once with seven different people. Of these seven different people six were part of the dominant nominating network while the seventh had only participated in one nomination during 1894. In short, members of the Vancouver Club were prepared to participate occasionally in a nomination with someone who was not necessarily a close friend in order to ensure that the club maintained a proper breadth of membership. To be sure, strong nominating links between a core group of close friends were responsible for the majority of new members, but these were balanced somewhat by weaker connections in the nomination process so that the club did not become an overly exclusive and parochial clique of close friends.

Once the Eastern Canadian and British corporate elite's positions had been somewhat consolidated and expressed socially through the framework of organizations like the Vancouver Club, the ease of access into elite society became more difficult. The previous chapter's data on "success rates" in various voluntary associations highlights the manner in which the "command posts" in powerful organizations like the Vancouver Club or the Board of Trade gradually became less accessible to newcomers to the city. Over 65% of the mayors and directors of elite organizations between 1886 and 1915 had settled in
Vancouver prior to 1892, and over 76% had settled here prior to 1898. Beyond any desire to retain power and exclusiveness several factors helped to nurture the growing conservatism in elite society in general and the Vancouver Club in particular. Most important is the fact that the number of potential candidates from which to draw appropriate elite members did not increase dramatically each year. Furthermore, as the city's social environment matured, it gradually became more difficult to penetrate the inner elite circles because factors such as kinship, friendship and an awareness of social background began to play a more pervasive role in defining new members of the elite.

Conclusion

The elite's shared and interlocked social and economic groupings and their common residential pattern were critical dimensions through which they attempted to regulate the complex social dynamism associated with an industrial city that had been abruptly created near the end of the turbulent Victorian Age and at the end of a new trans-continental railroad. Once created, the list of clubs and associations to which an individual belonged defined his place in society just as precisely as a prestigious West End address or occupation. In a newly created city where prestigious family names and personal friendships were relatively rare, the ability of these voluntary associations to structure and promote acceptable social interaction, friendships and marriages was critical. Beyond assimilating and co-ordinating the life styles and activity patterns of the upper class, these
organizations served as agents of the elite's "civilizing mission" on the Canadian frontier. Not only were they concrete reminders of familiar features of urban life in the East or in Britain, but their existence nurtured the belief that Vancouver was an ordered and structured community, a metropolitan city on the frontier rather than a frontier city, a center of civilized British culture that would never be allowed to lapse into the social chaos that most of the elite associated with the volatile settlement of the American frontier. One visitor's appraisal of Vancouver would indicate that the elite's perception of the city had some basis in fact:

It is so fresh and young and full of youthful pluck and spirit, but withal so absolutely home-like in its orderliness, the newest of new cities, unforgettable of an old world ideal. Vancouver was never like Seattle, There has been no Pacific Coast rowdyism, no revolverying, no instance or need of lynch law. 61.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE ELITE CORPORATE WORLD, FINANCIAL CONNECTIONS AND INVESTMENT PATTERNS IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE.

"In Vancouver, it is the great thing to be connected with the real estate or the railway station; it assures your position in society, these being the two excitements of existence."

A basic argument in this study has been that the elite population was much more than a statistical class; rather the individuals who attained the summit in Vancouver's socio-economic hierarchy exhibited a remarkably high degree of ethnic homogeneity and, after a brief sorting out process, a high degree of social connectivity. To be sure, not every elite association comprised identical promoters and supporters. Vancouver's elite society was not a single monolithic establishment, in spite of the power wielded by the CPR executives resident in Vancouver or the residential propinquity of the upper class population. Rather there were several centers in the elite's social world which crossed, interconnected and reinforced each other as they brought elites from different institutional orders into a common social world. The task in this chapter shall be to move further inside this interconnected West End elite social world in order to examine its financial interests and the nature of
its corporate power, the *sine qua non* of elitism in Vancouver. In so doing the attempt will be made to demonstrate the manner in which Vancouver's elite population co-operated with each other in the economic world and to indicate the extent of their control over Vancouver's economic development before World War I.

In chapter three it was demonstrated that many of the city's early corporate elite were active in the creation or management of voluntary elite associations that were outside the boundaries of the corporate world. Important as these associations were, they were not the leading integrative mechanisms within an elite society that was defined by business success and dominated by successful businessmen. This is particularly true when one considers that Vancouver's early corporate world was fairly dichotomous, with the pre-railway business leaders and their British financial connections representing a nucleus of corporate activity that was quite discrete from that of the Eastern Canadian corporate elite representing institutions such as the CPR or the Bank of Montreal. The initial split between pre-railway businessmen, who were primarily east side land developers, and the Eastern Canadian corporate elite, who were primarily west side land developers, probably would have been sufficiently strong to undermine, or at least retard, the integrative powers of the elite voluntary associations had it not been for the early development of corporate links that generated cohesion rather than conflict.
within the financial fabric of elitism in Vancouver. In the blending of these separate geographical spheres of corporate influence can be seen the affirmation of a cohesive and durable West End elite society, a group of people who amalgamated their investment interests and development strategies so as to maximize their profits in the most efficient manner in Vancouver and throughout British Columbia.

THE CORPORATE WORLD OF 19th CENTURY VANCOUVER

The Eastern Canadian corporate elite

In the late 1880's and early 1890's successful Vancouverites moved onto the "Bluff" overlooking Coal Harbor and established an elite residential enclave that stretched south to approximately Georgia Street. Among the leading participants in this residential development were the newly arriving Eastern Canadian managerial elite, people who began settling in Vancouver primarily after the CPR's extension to Burrard Inlet was completed in 1887. As corporate executives these people arrived in Vancouver as reasonably successful individuals with a great deal of personal power as well as potential community influence. The degree to which these people participated in institutions and urban affairs outside of their personal corporate life varied from individual to individual, but every Eastern Canadian corporate executive who settled in 19th century Vancouver was virtually guaranteed to be offered quick access to the inner circles of Vancouver's
The nucleus of this Eastern Canadian elite population was tied to the CPR and the Bank of Montreal, and the formal and informal links between these two Eastern Canadian corporations, both at the national and local level, presented a formidable decision-making apparatus in early Vancouver. As the "most powerful financial institution in Canada" the Bank of Montreal had been closely connected with the original financing of the CPR and, by the late 1890's, the top directors of these two institutions were virtually identical. R.B. Angus, Donald Smith, C.R. Hosmer and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy were the key links in an overlapping corporate network that enabled Shaughnessy, Van Horne's successor as president and later chairman of the CPR, to build the company into the leading transportation system on the globe. The Bank of Montreal established its first branch office in Vancouver in 1887, under the management of Campbell Sweeny. Correspondence between the CPR's H.B. Abbott and Campbell Sweeny prior to the latter's arrival in Vancouver points to the existence of a long standing friendship between these two individuals that enhanced the formal corporate link between the bank and the CPR in Vancouver. By the same token, their correspondence clearly highlights how tightly interwoven were the corporate interests of the CPR and the Bank of Montreal in Vancouver. In reply to Sweeny's question about the housing situation in Vancouver for example, Abbott replied:

As to a house I think you should make the bank furnish you one. They talk of taking a warehouse we are building.
and rooms might be had in the second storey or we might build to suit them if they agree to take it for a term of years — I will keep this in view in the plans. 4.

The Bank of Montreal and the CPR obviously worked out an equitable arrangement for, upon arrival in Vancouver on July 20th, 1887, Sweeny notes in his diary that he found premises that had been secured in the CPR building, south east corner of Hastings and Seymour Streets, not ready for occupation but managed to get them in order by the end of the month, and opened office on August 1st, 1887. 5.

Reflecting the manner in which the financial heart of the city was beginning to shift westward into the CPR's landholdings, the premises adjoining the Bank of Montreal were occupied by the Bank of British Columbia.

The intimate connections between the CPR and the Bank of Montreal were again expressed in the landscape when the decision was made in 1892 to construct a larger and more prestigious Bank of Montreal building in Vancouver. Sweeny's diary reveals that CPR general manager Van Horne decided the new bank should be located on the north east corner of Granville and Dunsmuir. Sweeny himself had contended

...that site corner (North east corner of Dunsmuir and Granville) not the best. Wanted north west corner of Hastings and Granville, but the CPR influence too strong.... Mr. Van Horne said we would live to thank him for putting us where we are. 6.

As a real estate and investment branch of the CPR and the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Trust Company was an important
part of this Eastern Canadian corporate nucleus in Vancouver. The Royal Trust and Fidelity Company had been incorporated by an act of the Quebec Legislature in 1892; in 1895 its name was changed to the Royal Trust Company, one of three such institutions incorporated in Canada at the time. The company did not begin operations until 1899 however, at which time an office was opened on the ground floor of the Bank of Montreal building in Montreal. This location reflected the fact that the nine directors of the Bank of Montreal were on the 16 member board of directors of the Royal Trust, and that the Bank of Montreal directors had been intimately involved with the trust company from its inception. The purpose of the Royal Trust was to act as the executor of trusts and to administer estates, as well as to provide the services of a general financing company. In 1903 the Royal Trust Company was also appointed as the sole agent of the Bank of Montreal for the issue and registration of new shares in the bank. In 1904 the Royal Trust was established in Vancouver and the local director of this Eastern Canadian company was Campbell Sweeny of the Bank of Montreal. In Vancouver, the Royal Trust acted as a critical real estate agency for the CPR's landholdings on the Point Grey peninsula, that is, District Lot 526.

As a result of the land grants made to the CPR (Map 17) the railroad elite, along with the Bank of Montreal and later the Royal Trust Company, controlled a great deal of Vancouver's west side real estate and, given their direct access to Eastern Canadian investment capital, they had the ability to
MAP 17.

LAND GRANTS TO THE C.P.R.

DISTRICT LOT BOUNDARIES
WITHIN THE
CITY OF VANCOUVER
BRITISH COLUMBIA

(One-third of the
lots from private
interests)

Provincial
Government grant
to the CPR
control the promotion of this property as a high rent commercial and residential landscape. Around the perimeter of the CPR-Bank of Montreal corporate nucleus in Vancouver stood a wide array of Eastern Canadian corporations such as banks (Canadian Bank of Commerce, Merchant's Bank of Halifax, The Molson's Bank), wholesale companies (for example, Samuel Greenshield's Son and Company) and industrial concerns (for example, Waterous Engine Works of Brantford, Ontario). It seems clear that these corporations identified their best interests in Vancouver with those of the CPR even though they were not directly connected with the railroad corporation or its local land development policies. In fact, since they lacked any major land holdings, it seems likely that these newly arriving Eastern Canadian corporate executives were initially ambivalent about the shape which Vancouver's future morphological growth should take. However, in recognition of the CPR's financial power, these corporations tended to invest in property west of the old Granville Townsite so as to locate their main office buildings in the center of the CPR's land development and investment activity. Socially, most of the newly arriving Eastern Canadian professional and managerial elite readily identified with, and quickly became part of, the genteel life style that was evolving around the CPR executives resident in the prestigious West End. Much as Gibson has defined his "founding group of Eastern Canadians" therefore, the Eastern Canadian corporate elite refers to a loosely knit yet identifiable group of Eastern corporate executives who settled in Vancouver after the CPR had completed its Burrard Inlet extension from Port Moody in 1887. The most powerful
were associated with the railroad corporation, but there were many other influential new arrivals associated with Eastern Canadian businesses, as well as successful independent entrepreneurs, who tended to merge quickly with the CPR's west side land investments as well as the upper class social milieu that was developing in the West End during the late 1880's.

The "pre-CPR" elite

Successful Eastern Canadians were not the only powerful people who moved into the West End during the late 1880's and early 1890's. In fact, outside of the newly arriving CPR and Eastern Canadian bank executives, the most important representatives in the upper class residential penetration of the West End were not Eastern Canadians as defined here. Rather, members of Vancouver's pre-railway business community made an extremely important contribution to the development of the West End as an upper class landscape, and Georgia Street's "Blue Blood Alley" image was as much their creation as it was that of the CPR executives and other Eastern Canadian corporate elites. For example, Thomas Dunn, Henry Ceperley, Joseph McFarland, C.D. Rand, E.E. Rand and J.C. Keith resided on Georgia Street, R. Tatlow was on Pender Street, the Bell-Irving brothers resided on Seaton Street, the Oppenheimer brothers, J.W. Horne and C.T. Dunbar lived in the Hotel Vancouver. These people represented the nucleus of a business community that had established itself before Eastern Canadian institutions began to move into Vancouver. Their existence as a discrete social group in early Vancouver stemmed from their longer residency in the city and their shared east side land investments, and their power derived in large part from their links to an
older business establishment in Victoria and New Westminster as well as to British corporations and British investment capital. Collectively, the land holdings of these businessmen rivalled those of the CPR and the fact that their pursuit of profit through east side land development ultimately served as a focus of integration rather than conflict with Eastern Canadian corporations had an immense bearing on the rapid development of a cohesive elite society in the West End.

The core of the "pre-CPR" elite consisted of the relatively small group of businessmen who had purchased or pre-empted a substantial amount of property throughout Vancouver's East End, South Vancouver or Mount Pleasant (see maps 18 and 19) prior to the arrival of the first CPR train in 1887. While this land had initially been alienated from the Crown for a number of purposes (particularly farm pre-emptions and Crown Grants to Royal Engineers), it had quickly been converted into speculative real estate during the mid 1880's in anticipation of the CPR extending its line into Coal Harbor or English Bay. Although the people who had gained control of this property by the mid 1880's came from somewhat different social and occupational backgrounds they had quickly developed into a fairly cohesive social group with formidable corporate powers and virtually absolute control over land development in the alienated property lying between the CPR land grants and the Hastings Townsite. Until approximately the turn of the century these shrewd entrepreneurs dominated land speculation and money lending in Vancouver, and occupied a central role in the creation of a physical infrastructure essential to urban land
MAP 18.

VANCOUVER CITY TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1886 - 1952.

From U.E.L. £

Hastings Townsite
Reserved 1861
Joined city 1911

Reserved 1861
Joined city 1911

Original city of Vancouver
Incorporated as a city 6th April 1886

King Edward Ave.

D.O.L. 301
Joined city 1911

Ex-municipality of Point Grey
Incorporated as a district 1908
Joined city 1929

Ex-municipality of South Vancouver
Incorporated 1892. Joined city 1929

development, quickly building facilities such as a tramway, a lighting system, a gas system and a water works. It is imperative, that the make-up and activities of this early business community be closely examined, for the fact that the pre-railway business leaders blended in with a centralized West End corporate world is of little importance unless it is appreciated that the "pre-CPR" elite had established a tightly integrated and relatively powerful corporate world separate from Eastern Canadian corporations and Eastern Canadian venture capital.

The "pre-CPR" elite as a "landed aristocracy." The city's pre-railway business leaders comprised several different groups of people who had joined forces around common land holdings and development interests. The first group consisted of individuals who had pre-empted or purchased land in the 1860's and 1870's and held onto it during the hectic scramble for property that ensued during the mid 1880's. The most notable examples in this category include H.V. Edmonds, a New Westminster merchant and realtor who had pre-empted District Lot (D.L.) 301 in 1870 and maintained control of the property until 1890, at which time he subdivided and sold the land for single family housing; Jonathan Miller, a Granville merchant, teamster and policeman, who purchased D.L. 352 in 1878 and retained control of the property in 1886; Joseph Mannion, co-owner of the Granville Hotel in Granville and owner of D.L. 393 in 1893; John Morton, Sam Brighouse and William Hailstone, the original pre-emptors of the West End (D.L. 185) who still controlled a considerable portion of this property which they
had pre-empted in 1867 and subdivided as the "City of Liverpool" in 1882; and George Turner and William Rowling, both former Royal Engineers, who had considerable east side property holdings that stemmed in part from land they had been granted for military service in the colony. Many of these land holdings were located along the False Creek Road, a narrow trail that connected the logging community at Granville with the commercial/administrative center at New Westminster, and had probably been acquired as speculative farm lands. Being primarily entrepreneurs rather than farmers however, these land owners had quickly adjusted to the changing circumstances of land development on the lower mainland. This is not to say that all the early land pre-emptors and purchasers who still held property in 1886 automatically attained business elite status in the newly created city. Some, such as the initial pre-emptors of the West End, lacked the business expertise needed to capitalize fully on the fact that they had established themselves on the "ground floor" of the lucrative urban land game. At this stage of the discussion however, the question of eventual business success is incidental to the fact that several early pre-emptors and land purchasers made a substantial contribution to the land base upon which the "pre-CPR" elite operated, especially with respect to the West End and suburban property south of False Creek.

The second group of people in the "pre-CPR" category are perhaps the most important in that they include the nucleus of the city's first corporate elite as well as the critical connecting links in an investment chain that channelled venture
capital into Vancouver from Victoria and New Westminster, and ultimately, from Britain. Operating out of Victoria and New Westminster, these entrepreneurs and land speculators had started to purchase land in and around the Burrard Peninsula during the early 1880's in the hope that the CPR would eventually establish its terminus at Coal Harbor or English Bay. One of the leading figures in this speculative penetration of the peninsula was C.G. Major, a New Westminster merchant and realtor. In 1883 he started to purchase land in District Lots 13 through to 182 as a "front man" for Marcus Smith, government engineer for the CPR construction taking place between Emory's Bar and Port Moody. Major held Smith's property in trust, and he also invested a considerable amount of capital in personal speculative holdings. John Robson, editor of the New Westminster Columbian, M.L.A., future premier, and prominent Victoria landowner, also became involved in land purchases along the inlet at this time. As a close friend of Premier William Smithe, Robson probably was well aware that the provincial government was prepared to offer the railroad syndicate a substantial land grant if it would locate its terminus in the vicinity of the Granville Townsite. Other people who were well connected with the political and entrepreneurial elite of Victoria and New Westminster also began at this time to invest in Burrard Inlet property. Dr.I. W. Powell of Victoria, a close friend of influential people such as Sir. John A. MacDonald and William Smithe, entered the speculative land game on the Burrard Peninsula, as did David and Issac Oppenheimer, successful Victoria wholesale merchants.
with branch offices located along the expanding CPR line in B.C. Rather than competing for property with other land speculators who had access to capital and "inside" information about where to invest it, the Oppenheimers joined forces with a number of powerful Victoria entrepreneurs to purchase approximately one-half of the shares in the Hastings Sawmill Company, an enterprise that had been taken over by San Francisco interests in the late 1860's. As examined below, this transaction gave the shareholders direct access to the massive landholdings of the sawmill company. During this same period speculators such as the Oppenheimer brothers, Robson, Major, Powell and Smith acquired many lots in the D.L.185 from the original pre-emptors. By virtue of their willingness and capacity to invest substantial sums of money in an untested and relatively risky market, these entrepreneurs from Victoria and New Westminster joined the early pre-emptors on the "ground floor" of what shortly became one of the most lucrative real estate markets in Canada.

When William Van Horne of the CPR made his first trip to Burrard Inlet in 1884 he confirmed what most of the leading speculators on the inlet had anticipated. Not only was the proposed Port Moody terminus located too far up the inlet to provide convenient connections with oceanic shipping activities, but the railroad did not own any property outside of the land which has been set aside for railyards. Consequently Van Horne and Smithe entered into negotiations over the terms that would extend the railway further along the inlet; eventually the Provincial Government agreed to grant the company D.L.541, D.L.526, and all the unsold lots in the
old Granville Towniste. The company was also given a right-of-way along the waterfront from Port Moody to the terminus site, and most of the waterfront from Gore Street to Stanley Park. In order to protect their land investments, large private landowners joined together and contributed one-third of the lots in each block they owned in District Lots 185, 181 and 196 (see Map 17). In return, the railroad syndicate agreed to include these lands in their official townsite and construct some of their docks and warehouses on the property. The agreement with private speculators was signed on February 14th, 1885, and the agreement with the government was signed on February 13th, 1886.

While the above negotiations and activities were taking place during 1884 and 1885 entrepreneurs, speculators and venture capital flowed into the inlet from Victoria and New Westminster at an unprecedented rate. A notable example of the ongoing speculative penetration of the inlet is provided by Premier William Smithe, who purchased a substantial portion of D.L. 302 adjacent to the forthcoming land grant to the CPR south of False Creek. With the growing certainty that the railroad was to terminate its line in Coal Harbor however, capital tended to be accompanied by capitalists as entrepreneurs from Victoria and New Westminster began to establish their homes and businesses in Granville so as better to participate in the expected real estate "boom." The land investment interests of these newer arrivals from New Westminster and Victoria quickly became integrated with those of the earlier speculators, especially since the CPR did not begin selling its land in D.L.
541 until March, 1886. Following closely behind the Oppenheimer brothers, speculators who moved to the inlet during 1884 to early 1886 included the Rand brothers and J.Z. Hall from New Westminster and R.G. Tatlow, Thomas Dunn, F.C. Innes, Walter Gravely, E.V. Bodwell and H.P. McCraney from Victoria. If not close friends, there can be no doubt that most of these entrepreneurs and speculators were well acquainted before they invested in and/or moved to the site of the terminal city.

The speculative landscape that was developing in and around the Granville Townsite by 1884 was not entirely the product of New Westminster and Victoria interests, although these "British Columbians" did dominate the ranks of the emerging pre-railway business community. Rather a number of newcomers to B.C., many of whom had come directly to Granville from the Winnipeg real estate "wars," also accumulated property and assumed important positions within the ranks of the "pre-CPR" elite community. A.W. Ross, who had won and lost a real estate fortune in Winnipeg, was one of the first "Eastern Canadians" to invest in land along Burrard Inlet. Arriving in Port Moody in 1884, Ross quickly headed westward and purchased all the property he could afford in and around the Granville Townsite. A real estate agent and property advisor for the CPR, Ross was likely aware of Van Hornes's discontent with the proposed Port Moody terminal. In 1885 Malcolm MacLean, Ross' brother-in-law and the first mayor of Vancouver, moved to Granville from Winnipeg and joined forces with Ross in the real estate business. J.W. Horne, a native of Toronto, also arrived in Granville in 1885 after successfully exploiting CPR induced
land booms in Winnipeg and Brandon. Horne quickly became one of the leading property holders and developers in the city (see Table XXI) constructing the Horne Block at 311 West Cordova in 1889 and the Yale Hotel (originally the Colonial Hotel) at 1300 Granville in 1890. As with a number of other Vancouver businessmen who had established themselves prior to the arrival of the CPR, Horne was also very active in the political arena, serving as an alderman from 1888 to 1890, M.L.A. for Vancouver Center from 1890 to 1894, and Vancouver Park Commissioner from 1889 to 1894. Other prominent businessmen who moved to Granville at this time included H.T. Ceperley from Montana, who entered the real estate business with A.W. Ross, and Joseph McFarland, who immediately became involved in several projects that were crucial to the land development process in Vancouver.

In a general fashion the above discussion outlines the basic composition of the "pre-CPR" elite community, a powerful land owning and merchant developer class whose existence derived in the first instance from the timing and secondly from the location of their capital investments in Vancouver's real estate. With the exception of the Eastern Canadian corporate elite who began arriving after 1886, particularly the CPR and the Bank of Montreal executives, this pre-railway business community represented the most readily identifiable elite network in early Vancouver, an influential social group whose internal cohesion was reinforced by their overlapping land investments. Working with a set of corporate and financial links to London and San Francisco - extra-provincial financial connections that were
TABLE XXI.

PRINCIPAL PROPERTY OWNERS IN VANCOUVER, 1887.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Assessed value of property</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPR Company</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1,000,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings Sawmill</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>250,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppenheimer brothers</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>125,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighouse and Hailstone</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>100,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major C.T. Dupont</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>75,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. I. Powell</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>75,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Morton</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>60,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.V. Edmonds</td>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.W. Horne</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>40,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.E. Courbould</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.G. Major</td>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>25,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City of Vancouver, Terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway; British Columbia Handbook. (Vancouver: Daily News Office, 1887), compiled by M. Picken.
much older than the east/west Canadian links that evolved after the CPR arrived in the city - the "pre-CPR" elite became much more than prominent land speculators or even successful land developers. Like the CPR executives they were also a land endowed corporate elite in the sense that they not only owned and sold land but also institutionalized their ability to develop their property by concentrating effort and investment capital within a number of crucial land development corporations. Some of these land development corporations served primarily to mobilize investment capital in B.C., others provided formal links with extra-provincial sources of venture capital. In either case the members of the pre-railway business community expanded their ability to realize personal profit through co-operative efforts and, more significantly, these early business leaders enhanced their capacity to direct the over-all manner in which the prime urban resource in early Vancouver, real property, was moulded into a finished product. As the prime money lenders in the city it might well be argued that their control over urban land development actually extended through to the level of the individual home purchaser and the specific lot and/or house he was able to purchase. While we are not particularly concerned with examining the impact of elite development activities at this scale, several examples will indicate the pervasiveness of the elite's urban development strategy as land and capital were manipulated in the pursuit of profit.

The nucleus of the "pre-CPR" elite's corporate power, the genesis of their extensive land holdings, and the basis for
what eventually became a land development strategy that focused on establishing industry and providing houses for the working classes all centered on the Hastings Sawmill, located at the foot of Dunlevy Street in D.L. 196. The mill, originally known as the B.C. and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company, had been established in 1865 by Captain Edward Stamp, a former mill owner at Port Alberni on Vancouver Island. In order to establish a mill on Burrard Inlet, Stamp had requested and received from the Provincial Government assurance that Burrard Inlet be made a port of entry; that the company be allowed to purchase 100 acres at $1.00 per acre adjacent to the mill site (this became D.L. 196, the original grant to the sawmill company); that the company be allowed to select 15,000 acres of Fraser River, Burrard Inlet, Howe Sound and adjacent coast and 1,000 acres of spar land at Port Neville to lease for 21 years at one cent per acre; that the company be allowed to purchase 12,000 acres as pasture land for its oxen; that the company be provided with a free right-of-way from lake to mill for their fresh water supplies. In approximately 1869, when George Campbell and E.D. Heatley acquired the controlling interest in the sawmill company, they capitalized on certain previously neglected terms in the sawmill agreement. Perhaps inspired by the thought that confederation would reduce land availability along the peninsula, the new owners began to purchase property to supplement their timber leases, most of which were due to expire in 1886. In 1869 the sawmill purchased D.L. 181 from Robert Burnaby; in 1871 the company purchased a large portion of D.L. 200A, in 1872 the company acquired D.L. 264A and in 1875 D.L. 195 was purchased in order to
protect the mill's water supply from Trout Lake (see map 20). Based on the provisions for water rights and pasture land that had been included in Stamp's original contract with the Provincial Government, the company's directors were able to acquire most of this property for 1.00 per acre.

In approximately 1884 or 1885 a group of Victoria entrepreneurs, led by David Oppenheimer, purchased a large number of shares in the Hastings Sawmill. As table XXII indicates, controlling interest in the concern was divided between London, San Francisco and Victoria, reflecting the prevailing pattern of financial investment in B.C. during this period. British Columbian investment in the mill had been stimulated by the company's extensive land holdings, although the anticipated demand for finished lumber in an expanding terminal city obviously played some part in the activities of these venture capitalists. Nevertheless, the prime interest was the land, and shareholders in the company quickly purchased most of the mill's land endowment so as to exploit its newly created value as real property rather than timber land or pasture. In 1888, when the first assessment rolls are available for Vancouver, the implications of the above transactions are readily apparent. For even though a substantial amount of the sawmill's old property had been re-sold to other members of the pre-railway business community, and purchased for individual home sites by an expanding urban population, the shareholders in the sawmill company still dominated the speculative landscape that had been created within the sawmill's old land holdings. As such, the sawmill stockholders provided a corporate nucleus that
*Excluding the company’s timber leases between English Bay and the Fraser River.
TABLE XXII

THE HASTINGS SAWMILL COMPANY-1887 DIRECTORS AND SHAREHOLDERS

Directors
F.S. Barnard - Victoria
C.T. Dupont - Victoria
J.Nicholson - San Francisco
R. Alexander - Vancouver
W.C. Ward - Victoria

Shareholders (Number of shares @ $5.00)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shareholder</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.D. Heatley</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>7425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Walton</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>7425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Nicholson</td>
<td>Broker</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Alexander</td>
<td>Lumberman</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.C. Ward</td>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.R. Harris</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>2625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Barnard</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>2250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Dupont</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.G. Prior</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.A. Keefer</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>2250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.J. Jackson</td>
<td>Barrister</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Dunlevy</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Soda Creek</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Stours</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
helped to centralize and to some extent to rationalize what could easily have been an exceedingly fragmented speculative real estate landscape, and this expedited integrated land development on the city's east side. The fact that members of the sawmill company also engaged in land speculation beyond the old limits of the sawmill's domain (in areas such as D.L. 182 and 185) enhanced the power as well as the co-operative spirit of the pre-railway businessmen since their shared land investments extended across all the property in Vancouver and environs that was not owned by the CPR or the Provincial Government. In 1888 the dominant land owners in D.L. 196 were the Oppenheimer brothers, D.R. Harris, H.F. Keefer and, of course, Richard Angus and Donald Smith, trustees of the property granted to the CPR by private owners in 1885. Others who owned a considerable number of lots in this District Lot included George Keefer, John Nicholson, C.T. Dupont, R.H. Alexander (all of whom were shareholders in the Hastings Sawmill), George Turner and W.H. Rowling (both former Royal Engineers involved in real estate and land development), and Walter Graveley and E.J. McFeely. District Lot 181 was dominated by the Oppenheimer brothers, D.R. Harris and Angus and Smith. District Lot 264 A, which had only been subdivided into blocks in 1888, was dominated by Oppenheimer, Dupont and Keefer from the Hastings Sawmill shareholding network, along with Dr. I.W. Powell, F.H. Davis, C.G. Major, G.S. Milne, Jonathan Miller, E.J. Clarke, G.E. Courbould and Walter Gravely. District Lot 200A was in large part divided between C.T. Dupont, Dr. Powell, H.V. Edmonds (who also owned D.L. 301), Oppenheimer, C.G. Major
and G. Milne. People who owned a substantial number of lots in this district included Walter Graveley, Hugh Keefer, G.E. Courbould and John Hendry (who, at the time, was preparing to expand his manufacturing empire by purchasing the Hastings Sawmill Company). Beyond the old property holdings of the Hastings Sawmill Company the speculative landscape was controlled by a fairly consistent set of entrepreneurs, as figure 6 attempts to show.

In this amalgamation of investment interests around the Hastings Sawmill and East End landholdings can be seen the genesis of the strategy that propelled much of the east side's early development as an industrial and working class sector of the city. Rather than competing directly with the CPR for prestigious residential and commercial land use developments, east side developers focused on an alternative path and concentrated on establishing an industrial nucleus and providing lots, houses and transportation for the large working class population that would arrive in Vancouver to operate these enterprises. They supported the CPR's high rent landuse development on the west side of the city by building their own houses in the West End and working closely with the CPR elite to establish the Vancouver Club adjacent to the West End.

The landholdings of the pre-railway community extended well beyond the legal limits of Vancouver (16th Avenue), and were to be important in stimulating the early residential penetration of what became the working class municipality of South Vancouver (incorporated in 1892). H.V. Edmonds, Jonathon Miller and other early pre-emptors owned considerable
FIGURE 6.
THE DOMINANT LANDHOLDING NETWORK IN 1886 VANCOUVER

Very dominant landholder within the District Lot.
--- Owned a substantial number of lots within the D.L.

Source: City of Vancouver Assessment Rolls, 1888. V.C.A.
tracts of property in the area south of 16th Avenue and east of the CPR grant, and were anxious to capitalize on the value of the land as real property. In 1888 the extent of this speculative real estate landscape was greatly expanded and the degree of land control was further concentrated when the Provincial Government sub-divided and auctioned off a large section of property located to the east of the CPR land endowment (see map 21). The newly created District Lots between Ontario Street and Nanaimo Street had previously been part of the Hastings Sawmill Timber Leases, but by 1888 these leases had expired and the Provincial Government capitalized on the new demand for real estate by subdividing the property into small District Lots and auctioning them to the highest bidder. East of Nanaimo Street larger District Lots that had not been legally pre-empted prior to 1888 were also put up for sale. Members of the pre-railway community purchased substantial portions of this property. For example, J.W. Horne, who already owned land in D.L. 391 and D.L. 392, purchased D.L.'s 631 through to 637 adjacent to the CPR land grant. W.H. Rowling acquired D.L. 328, Thomas Dunn purchased land in D.L. 337, and E.V. Bodwell acquired D.L.'s 668 to 670. By 1893, the date for which the first assessment data are available for South Vancouver, a significant portion of the land was owned by members of the "pre-CPR" elite, investors who by this time were linked together within common corporations and voluntary associations (see figure 7).

With a few exceptions, the land endowed, pre-railway elite were shrewd businessmen with prior real estate experience who
MAP 21.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT LAND AUCTION, 1888.
(Sold by George Byrnes, auctioneer)

Extent of property offered for sale.
FIGURE 7.

SOME MAJOR SOUTH VANCOUVER LANDHOLDERS AND THEIR INTERCONNECTIONS (1893-1896)
were well aware of the CPR's ability to shape urban growth to meet its own ends. In particular, people such as Graveley, Innes, MacLean, Horne, Oppenheimer, Mara and various other prominent Vancouver landowners who had been involved in land speculation along the B.C. or prairie route of the CPR knew that Van Horne would not tolerate opposition from local merchants and speculators in matters of real estate profits. Former employees of the CPR, such as Victoria based realtor D.R. Harris (James Douglas' son-in-law), J.McFarland or E.V. Bodwell, undoubtedly were equally aware of the CPR's determination to "...give the greatest possible value to our lands and therefore the least to any other."

As long as there was the possibility that the CPR might locate all its major facilities in and around its land grant at English Bay, the pre-railway business community had to exercise a degree of caution in their dealings with Van Horne. Consequently, after donating West End and East End property to the railroad syndicate, the "pre-railway" elite made little effort to counteract the high rent land use policy established by the CPR for its west side landholdings. More than corporate intimidation was involved of course. Logistically, the CPR rail lines and wharves along the East End's waterfront virtually demanded industrial land use development, a fact that the "pre-CPR" elite quickly capitalized on. The existence of the Hastings Sawmill at the north end of Dunlevy Street and the Royal City Planing Mills at the south end of Carrall Street not only provided an established industrial/working class land settlement nucleus, but they mitigated against any dreams of
establishing a durable upper class residential neighborhood in the East End. The very fact that the pre-railway business community also controlled two-thirds of the West End also helped to structure the type of investment strategy that they would use in the East End. In large part therefore, the pre-railway elite directed their attention and energies towards creating an industrial landscape in the East End and making available reasonably priced and accessible residential property that would be attractive to the working class. Not only did this strategy complement the high-rent lanuse policy favored by the CPR on the west side of the city, but it meshed readily with the fact that the city's east side landowners were absentee speculators and developers, living primarily in Victoria, New Westminster or, after 1887, in the West End.

Given their place of residence, it is not surprising that the major land holders in the East End and South Vancouver were not overly concerned with the purchasers of their land or the quality of development that took place on it. The concern was that development of some sort occur across as much of the city's east side as possible within as short a time as possible so that they would get a return on their personal investments. By quickly building tramlines and installing lighting and water works systems they actively encouraged land-extensive single-family housing as a means of expediting the disposal of their sprawling real estate holdings. Moreover, they undoubtedly felt that providing land for single-family working class housing was a key to establishing social stability in the city. While this can hardly be considered the prime factor
in the elite's land development strategy, it is clear that they had no desire to re-create in Vancouver's East End the tenement slums of London, Montreal or Chicago.

The developing landscape on the east side of the city in the 19th century contrasted sharply with that on the Point Grey peninsula, particularly in what became the municipality of Point Grey in 1908 (see map 18). In Point Grey the Provincial Government and the CPR controlled most of the land, held it back from development during the 19th century and, after the turn of the century, released and developed these unsettled property holdings in a relatively controlled and rational manner. As the sole owners of these large parcels of land, the CPR and the Provincial Government were able to establish an integrated and orderly physical infrastructure within which individual speculators could compete for profits. To some extent, the character of speculative developments in Point Grey were also constrained by the fact that many of the dominant speculators dealt with land that they perceived as being their future home or the home of their well-to-do friends. South of False Creek, within the city limits of Vancouver, the CPR had followed much the same policy of surveying and gradually releasing parcels of land for development as demand for residential property escalated. The company did not begin to auction off its Fairview property until July, 1890, and followed with Kitsilano property sales in approximately 1905 before shifting its attention to the sale and development of Point Grey and Shaughnessy Heights in approximately 1908. However, the fact that the east side of the city developed in a more
scattered and unorganized manner as absentee landowners quickly subdivided and marketed their property must not obscure the fact that the successful pursuit of individual profit was made possible through the integrated efforts of various east side landowners and their determination to establish landuse patterns that would remain viable after the CPR initiated the full-scale promotion of their own property. Working from the industrial core at the Hastings Sawmill, the pre-railway business leaders initiated an industrial/working class development policy that quickly gained the support of the CPR and the other Eastern Canadian corporations that arrived in Vancouver after 1886.

When the Vancouver Wharfage and Storage Company established piers and wholesale warehouses at the foot of Carral Street in 1886, the major investors were David Oppenheimer and Joseph McFarland. The facilities of this company were used for a time by the Union Steamship Company, formed through the amalgamation of the Burrard Inlet Towing Company and the Moodyville Ferry Company in 1889. Under the direction of Henry Darling, son of John Darling of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand, the major capital behind the development of this concern came from Scotland and the critical formal link between this company and British investment funds was provided by J.C. Keith and the Bank of B.C.. The Oppenheimer brothers, along with John Morton, one of the original pre-emptors of the West End, also owned shares in this company. By 1890 the Vancouver Improvement Company, presided over by David Oppenheimer, had attracted a number of industries to its East End property, the most notable being the San Juan Lime Company, the Vancouver City Foundry
and Machine Works Company, and the B.C. Sugar Refining Company. Oppenheimer also invested funds in the B.C. Iron Works Company, which located at the corner of Alexander and Gore Avenues. The Oppenheimer brothers constructed their wholesale grocery warehouse at 100 Powell Street, and Thomas Dunn built his first hardware warehouse at the corner of Powell and Carrall. In 1889 Dunn joined with Jonathon Miller to construct the Dunn-Miller Block at 28 West Cordova, a retail hardware outlet that also rented space to tenants such as Henry McDowell's drug store, the Knights of Pythias, the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company, and the city's first synagogue.

Services that were essential to the general success and organization of urban landscape development were also quickly established by the "pre-CPR" elite. C.D. Rand, one of Oppenheimer's associates in the Vancouver Improvement Company, established the Vancouver Gas Company in 1886 after closing out his New Westminster real estate office and moving to Vancouver in 1885. Prior to establishing his New Westminster real estate office Rand had resided in Victoria and his partners in the Gas Company, A.A. Green, G.L. Milne (prominent East End landowner), and D.R. Harris (prominent East End landowner and shareholder in the Hastings Sawmill) were all residents of the provincial capital. In 1886 Joseph McFarland joined his father-in-law, George Keefer, in the organization of the Vancouver Water Works Company and McFarland served as Secretary and General Manager of the enterprise until the city purchased the system in 1892. Also in 1886, McFarland joined
with David Oppenheimer, R.H. Alexander, Thomas Dunn, Hugh
Keefer, Jonathan Miller and John Boultbee in order to organize
the Vancouver Electric Illuminating Company. Dunn, who
was president of the Electric Illuminating Company, was
instrumental in promoting the merger of this company with
the Vancouver Street Railway Company, incorporated in 1889,
the provisional directors being George Turner, R.P. Cooke
and F.C. Innes. In 1890 the Vancouver Electric Railway and
Light Company came into being, with Dunn, R.P. Cooke and C.D.
Rand serving as trustees for this critical urban transportation
system. The president of this new company, R.P. Cooke, was
a civil engineer, contractor and capitalist who had established
the Vancouver Foundry and Machine Works Company to the east
of the Hastings Sawmill in 1888.

Beyond the city's physical infrastructure, the pre-
railway business community also worked closely together to
create financial institutions that would expedite the
residential settlement of their landholdings. While British
corporations and venture capital played a crucial role in
this aspect of property development, as examined below,
several local institutions also helped to finance residential
settlement in 19th century Vancouver. The most important of
these local organizations was Oppenheimer's Vancouver Improvement
Company, and its activities are examined in some detail in the
following section of this chapter. Close behind the Vancouver
Improvement Company was the Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings
and Guarantee Company. Incorporated in 1890, the organizers
and directors of this concern were J.W. Horne (president),
R.G. Tatlow (vice president), H.T. Ceperley (secretary and managing director), Harry McKee and F. Carter Cotton. In 1891 George Turner was added to the board of directors. The company managed estates, sold and purchased property, invested funds on mortgages, insured houses, collected rents and loaned money to home buyers. Since many of the directors of this company were involved in Vancouver's street railway system (Horne, McKee, Tatlow, Turner) it can be seen that the pre-railway business community was concerned to establish both the physical and the financial infrastructure necessary for property development in Vancouver. This point is underscored by the fact that Vancouver's building societies, intended primarily to enable the working classes to acquire single-family homes, were also created and controlled by an interlocking network of pre-railway business leaders (see Figure 8). In brief, the "pre-CPR" elite worked closely together to create an attractive development climate within which individual competition for real estate profits could take place.

The early business leaders' success in organizing land development in 19th century Vancouver stemmed partly from their shared interests in major east side land holdings which expedited cohesive efforts, as did their common respect for the corporate power of the CPR. The fact that close personal links had been established between various members of the pre-railway elite prior to their arrival in Vancouver also helped set the stage for successful integrated efforts to promote and develop land. However, the crucial support in the pre-railway elite's
INTERCONNECTIONS OF SEVERAL 19th CENTURY LOAN AND BUILDING SOCIETIES.

Terminal City Building Society
(Inc. 1888, Templeton Block)
Pres.- W. Ralph
V.P. - Thomas Dunn
Treas.- G. Gordon

B.C. Building Association
(Inc. 1890, Inns of Court Building)
Pres.- Henry Ceperley
V.P. - H. McDowell

Pacific Building Society
(Templeton Block)
Pres. - J.N. Jarrett
Sec. & Treas.- T.F. Neelands (Alderman)*

City of Vancouver Building Society
(Inc. 1889, Templeton Block)
Pres.- Thomas McGuigan**
Sec. - G. H. Geary

Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co.
(Inc. 1890)
J.W. Horne
Harry McKee
F.C. Cotton
H.A. Jones
R.G. Tatlow
H.T. Ceperley
G. Turner

* Alderman from 1897 to 1901, mayor in 1902 and 1903.
** Brother of Dr. William McGuigan, alderman from 1893 to 1903, mayor of Vancouver in 1904.
corporate world was its connection with British venture capital.

The "pre-CPR" elite and the British connection. The east side land development activities of the pre-railway elite were stimulated by and closely connected to British financial investments. In the first instance these ties were primarily in the form of investment capital generated by personal links between British capitalists and Vancouver investors; that is, the process relied very heavily on personal connections between local entrepreneurs and metropolitan capitalists. If family connections or business associates in Britain could not convince British investors about the merits of a given project, local entrepreneurs would often travel back to Britain to bring their personal influence to bear on prospective investors. Much of the capital that had been used to establish the Hastings Sawmill had been accumulated by Captain Edward Stamp in this manner, and the same process had supplied the initial capitalization of the Union Steamship Company. Similarly, H.O. Bell-Irving secured subscriptions for his Anglo B.C. Packing Company by personally advertising the prospectus in London. To lend further credibility to the enterprise, a wealthy British relative participated in Bell-Irving's promotional tour of London's financial circles. The ability of local entrepreneurs to mobilize investment capital in this manner was obviously a key factor in determining the degree to which they shared in the developing economy of the city and the province. Remembering that only two members of the elite study population examined in chapter two were B.C. born, it is perhaps understandable that personal and business
connections between local entrepreneurs and investors in metropolitan centers would be quite strong. The crucial point to note here is that personal social connections were an important stimulant of British investment capital in Vancouver. For the first several years of the city's existence the only major exceptions to this personalized foreign investment network were provided by the Bank of B.C. and the Bank of British North America, both of which provided formal links between British capital and local investment networks. As the scale of development broadened however, the links between local investment opportunities and the British capital investment market became much more structured as British investment companies established branch offices in Vancouver and in some cases sent out managers to oversee their interests. One of the most significant developments in this respect centered on the British connection to real estate and property development enterprises on the east side of Vancouver.

Real estate, and the transportation facilities that increased the value of real estate, were popular British investments in Canada (for example, note the investment portfolio of the British Empire Trust Company in Illustration 11). This investment was concentrated in "B.C. and the western provinces," although Ontario also attracted considerable sums. British insurance companies were particularly active in Canadian real estate; while American companies owned practically no real estate in Canada in 1910 British companies owned land with an appraised value of $2,832,147.00. Besides purchasing land, a great deal of British investment capital went into loan,
The British Empire Trust Company Limited.

Registered Offices:—
34, NICHOLAS LANE,
LOMBARD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

25th April, 1910.

Interest and Dividends Paid during APRIL.

1 April The Sao Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company, Ltd.,
    Common Stock. Registered at this Office ... ... ... ... ... 10%
1 " The Toronto Railway Company,
    Common Stock ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 7%
1 " The Winnipeg Electric Railway Company,
    Common Stock ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 10%
1 " Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company, Ltd.,
    $5 Shares. Registered at this Office ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 10%
2 " The Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Company,
    4% Perpetual Consolidated Debenture Stock. Registered in London ... ... 4%
2 " The Winnipeg Electric Railway Company,
    4 1/2% Perpetual Consolidated Debenture Stock. Registered at this Office ... ... 4 1/2%
15 " British Columbia Electric Railway Company, Ltd.,
    4 1/2% First Mortgage Bonds ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 4 1/2%
20 " Shawinigan Water and Power Company,
    Common Stock ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 4%
30 " British Columbia Electric Railway Company, Ltd.,
    Deferred Ordinary Stock. Registered in London ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 8%

Interest and Dividends. Payments due during MAY.

15 May The British Empire Trust Company, Ltd.,
    Preferred Ordinary Shares. Registered at this Office ... ... ... ... 5%

NOTE.—All information concerning the above Companies, Dividends, &c., supplied on application free of charge.
mortgage and trust companies. British investments in Vancouver property and mortgages, coupled with the eventual take-over of the electric railway systems in and around Vancouver, placed British capital and investment corporations at the forefront of land development in Vancouver. The most important of these institutionalized conduits of British capital into the Vancouver land market were the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Company (established in Vancouver in 1888, head office in Huddersfield, Yorkshire), the B.C. Land and Investment Agency (established in Vancouver in 1891, head office in London), the Vancouver Land and Securities Corporation (established in Vancouver in 1891, head office in London), and the London and British North America Company (closely linked with the real estate firm of Mahon, McFarland and Proctor and incorporated together in 1911). After 1902 the British Empire Trust Company of London also played a critical role in land development in Vancouver as a result of its control over British capital investments in the B.C. Electric Railway Company. The activities of these British based corporations were supplemented by a wide array of smaller locally based organizations themselves tightly connected with British financial institutions, but the corporations identified above were the critical formal sources of British capital in Vancouver's 19th century land development. Linked with the land holdings and corporations of the pre-railway business leaders these institutions provided much of the capital needed to develop east side land. In many respects, the formal links between the on-going land development activities of the pre-railway elite and British investment
capital can be clarified by focussing on the Oppenheimer brothers, the Vancouver Improvement Company, and the city's first electric railway system.

Established in 1886 by David and Isaac Oppenheimer, the Vancouver Improvement Company represented the corporate heart of the "pre-CPR" elite's residential development strategy. It complemented the role of the Hastings Sawmill as the nucleus of their industrial development, and set the tone for much of the land development that occurred throughout East Vancouver, Grandview and Mount Pleasant. Although it is impossible to determine precisely the company's initial ownership and land investments, it seems clear that the company started off as a real estate arm of the syndicate that Oppenheimer had organized to purchase shares in the Hastings Sawmill Company. By 1891, the company owned approximately 300 acres of land between the Granville Townsite and Boundary Avenue (Glen Drive), that is, District Lots 196 and 181, the two contiguous District Lots south of the Hastings Sawmill. Whether or not the land owning elite merely pooled their property in this part of the city or actually sold all or part of their holdings to the Vancouver Improvement Company is of little importance. The salient point is that the Vancouver Improvement Company acted as a centralized land development force in this area of the Burrard Peninsula and, given the connections between this company and landholdings across the rest of Vancouver, the momentum of its activities had a pervasive impact on east side residential development. The Vancouver Improvement Company, probably in conjunction with the Hastings Sawmill Company, implemented a
residential development scheme intended to provide single-family lots and small houses for blue collar workers. Lots and houses could be purchased on a ten year installment plan with a relatively small cash downpayment. As one newspaper article explained:

It (the ten year installment plan) has proven a great success, not only here but in the populous cities in Eastern Canada and the States, and it is looked upon as a boon by those desirous of owning homes and who, unless such an opportunity was offered, never would possess one.

This scheme clearly appealed to the city's working class population; by 1891 District Lots 196 and 181 were being described as a "thickly settled" residential property upon which "numerous manufacturing enterprises are located...in fact the largest and most important in the city." Although a great deal of the property was divided into 33 foot and even 25 foot lots, and commercial and industrial developments grew up cheek-by-jowl with single-family homes, the area quickly established itself as a comfortable residential neighborhood. As an English observer remarked during a visit to the city:

The less fashionable districts are also very pleasant, every house being detached in its own garden.... in fact, a working man generally owns the house in which he lives, and the lot on which it stands, having invested his savings in this way, instead of continuing to have to pay high rent.... The East End of the city is not very attractive, it is true, until you get some distance out. But what a paradise in comparison with the dingy monotony of the endless rows of brick houses occupied by the same class in the Old Country towns! Slums are unknown in Vancouver, and the city is determined that they shall always remain unknown.
The Vancouver Improvement Company was incorporated as a limited liability company in 1896, with the original shares being divided between David Oppenheimer, William Farrell, Henry Town and E.B. Morgan. Shortly thereafter, the company was renamed the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company (1898). The people involved in this incorporation indicate the manner in which British investment formally linked to the "pre-CPR" elite's corporate world. William Farrell was manager of the British based Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corporation, established in Vancouver in 1888 with the purpose of lending money for home building and property development, and E.B. Morgan was manager of the London based B.C. Land and Investment Agency, established in Vancouver in 1891. Both of these firms also carried on their own real estate businesses and acted as executors and managers of estates, as trustees for debenture holders and, in the case of the Yorkshire Company, as an insurance agency (Yorkshire Insurance Company of York, England). Further accentuating the British connection of the Vancouver Improvement Company was the fact that Oppenheimer's banking business was handled by the Bank of B.C. until 1898. One of Oppenheimer's early associates in the Vancouver Improvement Company was C.D. Rand, and the fact that Rand's brother (E.E. Rand) is reputed to have brought in the first capital from the Yorkshire Company hints at the likelihood that this formal link between the land endowed Vancouver Improvement Company and English capital had evolved from what had initially been a personal link between Yorkshire investors and local developers.

The Vancouver Land and Securities Corporation, another
London based financial institution, also linked in with the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company and the Yorkshire Guarantee Company. Established in Vancouver in 1891, the manager of the concern was W.E. Green and the real estate firm that initially acted as agents for the company was Rand Brothers. In 1893 William Sulley was sent out to Vancouver to take over as managing director of the company but by 1897 he had joined E.H. Heaps, a native of Yorkshire, in the operation of a thriving sawmill at Cedar Cove (D.L. 184, Powell and Semlin streets). The activities of the Vancouver Land and Securities were eventually taken over by R.K. Houlgate, who had succeeded William Farrell as manager of the Yorkshire Guarantee Company at the turn of the century. By the late 1890's, therefore, two institutionalized conduits of English capital had been formally integrated with Oppenheimer's Vancouver Improvement Company and a third, the Vancouver Land and Securities, closely overlapped with this central land development nucleus (see Figure 9). There can be no doubt that these connections with British capital were an important reason for the on-going success enjoyed by the pre-railway elite in developing their landholdings, with the Vancouver Improvement Company carrying over $50,000.00 in East End mortgages alone in 1898.

The Vancouver Improvement Company was one of the first and one of the strongest formal links between British venture capital and east side property development. Perhaps an even more important link centered on the development of the electric streetcar systems in Vancouver and its suburbs. The history
FIGURE 9.


The Vancouver Improvement Co. --- Rand Brothers

British Capital

Yorkshire Guarantee Corporation --- B.C. Land Investment Agency

Vancouver Land and Securities

R.K. Houlgate
of the B.C. Electric Railway and its forerunners has been treated in detail elsewhere, but it is useful to indicate the manner in which the creation and development of Vancouver's public transportation facilities tied in with the pre-railway business elite and with their connections to British capital.

In June, 1890, the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company (V.E.R. & L. Company) began operating the city's first street railway, with the line running from the power house at Westminster Avenue (Main Street) and Barnard Street north to Powell, through the old Granville Townsite and south along Granville Street to the foot of the Granville Street bridge. Within a few weeks of its inaugural run the company also began building a belt line through Mount Pleasant and Fairview, along Ninth Avenue. The Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company had been formed through the amalgamation of the Vancouver Electric Illuminating Company (established in 1887) and the Vancouver Street Railway Company (incorporated in 1889). The trustees of the Vancouver Electric Illuminating Company had been Jonathon Miller, R. Balfour, John Boultbee, H.F. Keefer and Ben Springer; and shareholders included David and Isaac Oppenheimer, Richard Alexander and Thomas Dunn, who also served as president of the enterprise. The provisional directors of the Vancouver Street Railway had consisted of George Turner, R.P. Cooke and F.C. Innes. Trustees of the newly created Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company, incorporated on April 26th, 1890, were George Turner, H. McKee, R.P. Cooke, C.D. Rand and Thomas Dunn. Directors of the company included Cooke (president), Dunn (vice president), C.D. Rand and J.W. Horne, prominent
realtor and associate of David and Isaac Oppenheimer on city council. Most of the capitalists involved in the operations of one or both of the companies that merged to form the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company remained as shareholders, making this enterprise a cornerstone of the pre-railway elite's corporate world. The viability of this corporate world largely depended, as we have seen, on British capital, and the V.E.R.& L. Company was no exception.

The participants in the creation of railway and lighting facilities in Vancouver were principally connected with British capital through the Yorkshire Guarantee Company. It has already been noted that the Vancouver Improvement Company interlocked with the Yorkshire Company, thereby bringing tramway capitalists such as David and Isaac Oppenheimer and C.D. Rand within its sphere of operations. Another prominent participant in the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company, F.C. Innes, was also intimately connected with the Yorkshire Company. Innes, of the real estate firm Innes and Richards, had attracted British capital to Vancouver from the time of his arrival on the mainland from Victoria in 1885, but this investment had proceeded very informally. In 1890 however, the link between Innes and British investment capital was formalized in the Okanagan Land and Development Company, incorporated in 1890. Innes and Richards were the sole agents for this company, which owned the townsite of Vernon (the terminus of the Shushwap and Okanagan Railroad), and the mortgagors for the company was the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corporation. These connections between British capital and local tramway promoters
proved critical in 1892 as revenue from the tramway began to fall sharply behind operating costs, a situation compounded by the beginnings of an economic depression that slowed housing starts in Mount Pleasant and Fairview. The street railway company obtained money from the Bank of B.C. through loans, overdrafts and bonds, but an attempt to float a $250,000.00 bond issue in London, Boston and Montreal failed completely. Emphasizing the important role that connections with specific British investment concerns played in the pre-railway elite's corporate affairs, the Yorkshire Guarantee Company agreed to accept the bonds on the condition that it nominate a director to the Vancouver Electric Railway and 70. Light Company. Consequently, William Farrell, local manager of the Yorkshire Company, was appointed to the board of directors of the street railway company.

The Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company was, of course, only one part of Vancouver's early public transportation system. This urban system was complemented by the inter-urban line that began operating between Vancouver and New Westminster in September, 1891. Incorporated on April 26th, 1890, the original promoters of the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company were David Oppenheimer (president) and three New Westminster entrepreneurs, Henry Edmonds, Benjamin Douglas and 71. Sam Mackintosh. As noted previously, both Edmonds and Oppenheimer owned substantial pieces of property throughout South Vancouver and Mount Pleasant and knew that a tramway would expedite its settlement. Most notably, H.V. Edmonds owned all of District Lot 301, which he subdivided and put up for
sale in 1890, the same year that the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company was incorporated (see Map 22). Since this District Lot remained legally separate from Vancouver and South Vancouver until 1911, when it was annexed by Vancouver, the property was attractive to people of lower income who wanted to build single-family homes yet were anxious to avoid taxes for municipal services.

Near the end of 1892 the street railroad capitalists encountered serious financial difficulties. Suppliers and creditors of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company were pressing for overdue payments, and by 1893 the company faced imminent collapse, in spite of the fact that the directors included the nucleus of the most powerful men in the city outside of the CPR framework (see Figure 10). In June, 1893, the trustees for the debenture holders took over control of the company and local capitalists, more concerned with land development than tramway operations, began to search for another method of financing adequate streetcar service in Vancouver. The Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company faced similar financial problems and in January, 1894, the Bank of B.C. filed a claim against the company for more than $250,000.00. In order to help balance the growing gap between assets and liabilities the company solicited land grants from the Provincial Government and received 196 acres of public land, including South Vancouver District Lots 36 and 51, on the northern edge of the Hastings Townsite. The financial situation did not improve however, and in August, 1894, the company was placed in receivership. An April, 1895, the assets
(See Map 18 for relative location of this District Lot)
FIGURE 10.

VANCOUVER ELECTRIC RAILWAY AND LIGHT COMPANY, DIRECTORS, 1893.

Directors

I. Oppenheimer — Vancouver Improvement Co.
W. Farrell — Yorkshire Guarantee Co.
C.D. Rand — Rand Brothers
Thomas Dunn
H.T. Ceperley — Vancouver Loan, Trust, Co.

Westminster and Vancouver Tramway

D. Oppenheimer (pres.)
of the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company were sold at a public auction to Frank Barnard, acting on behalf of the Consolidated Railway and Light Company.

The Consolidated Railway and Light Company (C.R.& L. Co.) had been incorporated on April 11th, 1894, in large part as a result of the initiative of the Yorkshire Company and the Bank of B.C. (the major creditors of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company and the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company). The charter had been secured in the name of William Farrell (Yorkshire Company), William Sulley (Vancouver Land and Securities) and A.G. Fergusson, and the declared purpose of the corporation was to acquire the V.E.R.& L. Company. By 1895 the C.R.& L. Company had acquired both the V.E.R.& L. Company and the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company. Frank Barnard, a prominent Victoria businessman and politician, assumed the presidency of the new corporation. The major capital behind the C.R.& L. Company came from Sperling and Company, London stockbrokers who had acquired the bonds of the Victoria Electric Railway and Light Company in early 1894. The officers of the C.R.& L. Company included Barnard as president, R.M. Horne-Payne (of Sperling and Company) as vice president, William Farrell, R.G. Tatlow and C.J. Loewen as directors. David Oppenheimer also acquired a substantial number of shares in the company. Loewen, a successful financier and realtor in Vancouver, was the son of successful Victoria businessman Joseph Loewen and Barnard's brother-in-law. Tatlow was a large landowner in Vancouver and a former real estate agent for the Vancouver Improvement Company while, by 1896,
Barnard, Farrell and Oppenheimer were all shareholders in the Vancouver Improvement Company. With the possible exception of Horne-Payne, this was a closely knit group of powerful businessmen. The C.R.& L. Company was controlled locally, yet financed mainly by British capital and British corporations that were involved in east side property development. Pre-railway business leaders now seemed assured that an adequate transportation system would be maintained within the city limits and across the speculative real estate landscape that existed between Vancouver and New Westminster.

But suddenly, in 1896, when a large number of damage claims were placed against the C.R.& L. Company after a major accident on the Victoria line, British capitalists withdrew financial support, debenture holders foreclosed against the company, and on October 13th, 1896, William Farrell of the Yorkshire Corporation became the receiver of the company. Farrell attempted to auction its assets in Vancouver but there were no buyers. Local capitalists, many of whom were having difficulty maintaining their extensive property holdings at this time, were not willing to put more money into the tramway. The pre-railway corporate world was dependent on the infusion of British capital and, at this particular time, business leaders were prepared to let British capital assume complete control of the tramway. At the end of 1896 Farrell sold the assets of the Consolidated Company to the Colonial Railroad and Investment Company which, in turn, sold out to the B.C. Electric Railway Company, organized by Horne-Payne.
and registered in England on April 3rd, 1897. The capital and the control of the new firm now came from London. Barnard was retained as managing director but before the year was out he had been replaced by Johannes Buntzen, a former bookkeeper with the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company and a man more likely to accept the limited decision-making powers that the London board of directors granted to their local managers. Barnard remained on the board of directors and, between 1905 and 1911, served on the local advisory committee to the B.C.E.R. along with R.G. Tatlow and W.H. Keary.

Although control of the urban and inter-urban streetcar systems had been transferred to London, the major landholders of the city's east side could remain relatively confident that the new company would continue to encourage the suburban expansion of residential settlement in Vancouver and environs. Not only did the viability of the streetcar system depend on increasing the traffic flow, but the B.C.Electric Railway also had a vested interest in property holdings in South Vancouver and Fairview. This property included the bonus lands in District Lots 36 and 51 as well as 68 lots in Fairview, property which the CPR had promised the V.E.R.& L. Company if it agreed to run a twenty minute service between Fairview and the downtown area. Hence, while the directors of the B.C.E.R. were less directly involved in real estate than the original tramway capitalists, they promoted settlement in South Vancouver in general and in their Collingwood subdivision in particular. In co-operation with local real estate agents, the B.C.E.R.
also offered special inducements such as free transportation passes and easy terms to home buyers in order to enhance the residential appeal of its bonus lands in Vancouver's suburbs. The most important connection between the B.C.E.R. and local real estate interests was initially forged with the firm of Mahon, McFarland and Mahon, who acted as agents in selling the B.C.E.R. bonus lands at Collingwood. Land prices were reasonable, taxes were comparatively low, transportation was good and South Vancouver quickly attracted a substantial number of settlers, both single-family home owners as well as small orchard and dairy farmers. By building lines along Fraser and Main Streets, routes that connected the ever growing east side suburbs with the city center, the B.C.E.R. merely extended the activities of the "pre-CPR" business leaders and their attempt to provide a competent transportation infrastructure which would permit families of modest means to attain the coveted single-family home on its own plot of land. By the summer of 1905, when the B.C.E.R. penetrated the Point Grey Peninsula by building its Kitsilano line and taking over the CPR's Vancouver and Lulu Island Railway, much of Mount Pleasant, Fairview and a great deal of South Vancouver had been settled. Although local capitalists had not sustained control of the street railways they created, the British takeover had not posed any serious threat to the dispersal of their east side landholdings.

In sum, the pre-railway business leaders were a tightly integrated group of people who invested in east side land, and who left an indelible imprint on Vancouver's urban landscape,
an imprint that was much broader and ultimately more enduring than their West End mansions. To a certain extent these people were the products of Vancouver's frontier setting in that their existence as an elite depended, initially, on the abundance of cheap land in a developing urban setting, land which they acquired, developed and marketed. But the success of the "pre-CPR" elite, indeed the very fact that there was a pre-railway business community, depended on their connections to businessmen in Victoria and New Westminster and, particularly, on their links with British financial corporations. The importance of these external connections in a corporate world without a substantial indigenous basis ultimately meant that the pre-railway elite's position was fragile. But it was because of these external connections that the "pre-CPR" elite was able to play an aggressive, if temporary, role in creating the physical and financial infrastructure essential to land development in 19th century Vancouver. They were not idle speculators; indeed they could not afford to adopt a purely speculative stance in the face of the powerful CPR conglomerate with its west side land endowments. Given their extensive landholdings, in an infant city, the "pre-CPR" elite established industry in the East End and made available reasonably priced and readily accessible property that would attract speculative money as well as working class and, to some extent, middle class residential settlement to the east side of the city.

**Blending of "pre-CPR" and Eastern Canadian corporate activities**

The pre-railway elite's existence as a relatively separate social group proved to be ephemeral, but these people did not
disappear. Instead they gradually merged with the Eastern Canadian corporate elite who began arriving in Vancouver in 1887. They joined forces in institutions such as the Board of Trade, the Vancouver Club, the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club and, in spite of early basic differences in land investment patterns, soon linked together in the corporate world. This is not to say that competition between east side and west side land developers was non-existent for, in certain cases, it was relatively intense during the early stages of urban development in Vancouver. CPR treasurer William Salsbury hinted at its existence when he pointed out that the CPR's decision to move its general offices from Cordova Street to Sir George Stephen's New York Block on Granville was

...a diplomatic move to encourage traffic towards Granville Street which, at the time, was considered discouraging and not to be holding its own against developments in other parts of the city, especially the East End. 82.

Salsbury's concern over the success of Granville Street as a commercial corridor points to one area in which east/west conflicts could flare up in Vancouver, for the CPR hierarchy, many of whom had invested in Granville Street lots, were determined that Granville Street quickly become the prime business street in the terminal city. However, the degree of east/west conflict easily can be overstated; it is certainly an exaggeration to claim that a "battle royal for supremacy raged in the 1880's and 1890's between the East End and the West End." To a large extent there were two complementary strategies at work, with the CPR focussing on the establishment
of a high rent commercial, financial and administrative sector in D.L. 541 and east side landowners concentrating on developing industry, warehouses and land extensive residential settlement. Within this pattern, conflicts were most intense over locational decisions for main public buildings like the Post Office or the Carnegie Library owing to the fact these public facilities were equally advantageous to development policies on either side of the old Granville Townsite. Without denying the role that conflict played in shaping parts of the urban landscape, it is exceedingly important to realize that corporate coalitions and integration quickly became a basic feature of the elite society that was moving into the West End.

To a certain extent, land development interests were actually a source of early integration within elite society. The "pre-CPR" elite were extremely sensitive to the type of development that would likely take place in D.L. 541 once the CPR's massive commercial apparatus was established in Vancouver. By 1888 pre-railway business leaders had invested in a large number of lots throughout the CPR's D.L. 541 and, most significantly, there was a clear concentration of interest in lots along Granville Street. Furthermore, by the late 1880's the "East Enders" had started to move into the West End. Not only did residential proximity enhance social interaction with newcomers of wealth and power, but it also indicates the manner in which the "pre-CPR" elite were prepared to acknowledge that the city's prestigious homes and offices would be located on the west side, where, of course, they held a good deal of property. The East End developers
may have entertained fleeting notions of developing Strathcona as an upper class residential district, but by the early 1890's most prominent Vancouverites with east side development interests lived in West End homes or in the Hotel Vancouver.

The land continued to serve as an early binding force in elite society when the CPR auctioned off part of its Fairview property in July, 1890. Major lot purchasers were primarily members of the pre-railway establishment: Oppenheimer, Rand, Tatlow, Graveley, Ceperley, J.Z. Hall and H.A. Jones, although CPR executives such as J.D. Townley and J. Lefevre were also purchasers. Not only did this auction give early business leaders the opportunity to expand their own property holdings into the CPR land grant but, more significantly perhaps, it confirmed their role as the prime suburban land developers in 19th century Vancouver and convinced them that it was necessary to finance the construction of the Fairview portion of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company. Put another way, the CPR was a negligible force in suburban land development until after the turn of the century, and this basic fact helped to minimize the potential for conflict that existed within the ranks of elite society.

A common residential pattern, coupled with the beginnings of an overlapping speculative landscape, were important to the development of a cohesive elite society. However, the most pervasive bonds were forged within the corporate structure itself. Once financial links developed between powerful men and their corporate affairs, then the division that existed in elite society between groups with relatively discrete land
investments quickly blurred, then disappeared. This fusion within the corporate world is clearly revealed in the evolution of several major "pre-CPR" corporations, and in the manner in which Eastern Canadian corporations such as the Bank of Montreal and the CPR supported the industrial development of the East End. One of the more outstanding examples of this integrative process centers on the corporate history of Hastings Sawmill.

The Hastings Sawmill, as already pointed out, was the focus of East End industrial development, and until 1889 it was controlled by a conglomerate of British Columbian, American and British investors. In November, 1888, two successful New Westminster industrialists considered purchasing this enterprise as part of their expanding wood products operation. John Hendry and C.M. Beecher, both long-time residents of New Westminster, already owned the Royal City Planing Mills (with branches in New Westminster and False Creek) and in August, 1889, they concluded the arrangements to buy the controlling interest in the Hastings Sawmill Company. Shortly thereafter the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company came into being, consolidating the Hastings Sawmill and the two Royal City Planing Mills into one manufacturing conglomerate. John Hendry became president and general manager, C.M. Beecher served as vice president and assistant general manager, and R.H. Alexander, who remained as general manager of the Hastings Sawmill, served as secretary of the larger controlling corporate body. Edwin Mahony, pioneer of the B.C. Mills' popular prefabricated housing system, served as manager of the Royal City
Mills. On a superficial level, Hendry's corporate expansion would seem to be another example of the older B.C. establishment working together on the east side of Vancouver. In fact, however, Hendry's acquisition of the Hastings Sawmill was financed through the Bank of Montreal and in December, 1899, Campbell Sweeny of the Bank of Montreal was elected a director of the sawmill company. This was the first significant occasion when a major Eastern Canadian corporation joined forces with the older B.C. elite around an East End industrial activity. It was far from the last.

In January, 1890, B.T. Rogers arrived in Vancouver with plans to establish a sugar refinery in the city. Rogers, who was backed by American capital and assurances of financial support from the CPR, met with Campbell Sweeny at the end of January to discuss the investment structure of the operation. The city council, dominated by early business leaders such as Mayor David Oppenheimer and alderman J.W. Horne, was anxious that the refinery be established as part of the evolving East End industrial nucleus and offered a free grant of land and an interest free loan of $30,000.00 to induce Rogers to construct the refinery quickly and on the east side of the city. CPR directors, local CPR executives, and the Bank of B.C. (J.C. Keith) joined with Rogers and his American capital to incorporate the enterprise on March 26th, 1890. The five trustees in the certificate of incorporation were J.M. Browning (CPR Land Commissioner), H.B. Abbott (CPR General Superintendent), J.C. Keith (Bank of B.C.), B.T. Rogers (capitalist) and Forrest Angus (Victoria capitalist). J.M. Browning was president of
the company, Angus was vice president and Rogers was managing director and treasurer. CPR directors who purchased shares in the concern included Van Horne, Donald Smith, Duncan MacIntyre, W.D. Mathews and E. Osler. Large local shareholders in the company during the first year of its existence included Abbott's son-in-law, Osborne Plunkett, and George Coleman of Evans, Coleman and Evans. The sugar refinery was a critical addition to the urban economy in general and the industrial development of the East End in particular. With the exception of the Bank of B.C., the capital involved in the project came from individual and corporate sources that had not previously been involved in any major east side land development programs. In short, elite investment activity was beginning to coalesce around a common view of land use in the East End.

Although a relatively minor employer compared to the Hastings Sawmill or B.C. Sugar Refinery, the Union Steamship Company also became a focus of elite integration within Vancouver's 19th century corporate world. The Union boats provided coastal shipping services and could easily complement the CPR's international shipping activities. Since the Union Company was not a direct competitor of the CPR, it is not surprising that local CPR executives were prepared to support the company when it could not repay a $32,000.00 loan to the Bank of B.C. in 1895. However, while the financial collapse of the company appeared to be certain, the service it provided was likely to be continued because the B.C. Navigation Company, under Captain J. Irving of Victoria, was prepared to buy out the Union Company once it went into receivership. For this
reason it is intriguing that the Union Company was able to remain solvent because of a loan from the Bank of Montreal, a transaction made possible when J.M. Browning, Land Commissioner for the CPR and past president of the B.C. Sugar Refinery, co-signed for the loan. Other CPR executives, such as J.D. Townley and William Salsbury, also invested in company shares although controlling interest remained with British, especially Scottish, investors. Just why the CPR officials kept the Union Company afloat is difficult to determine; perhaps they were concerned that the B.C. Navigation Company would move the Union Company's operations to Victoria. Whatever the case may be, Browning's actions enhanced the prestige of the CPR in Vancouver and provided one more channel through which the financial interests of the elites were beginning to interlock. Since Browning had also played a central role in the formation of the Vancouver Club, along with pre-railway elites like Oppenheimer and Tatlow, and served as the club's president in 1893 and 1894, the multifaceted dimensions of growing elite cohesion in Vancouver are apparent.

The link between the pre-railway business community and Eastern Canadian corporations took on a particularly significant dimension at the end of 1897. At this time the Bank of Montreal, under the astute guidance of Campbell Sweeny, took over the financial affairs of the Oppenheimer's, an account previously handled by the British-based Bank of B.C.. This move brought the affairs of the powerful Vancouver Improvement Company under the scrutiny, and eventually under the influence, of the
Bank of Montreal. By 1910, and probably earlier, Sweeny was a director in the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company and he stood as the third largest shareholder in the corporation, behind William Murray and the holdings of the Vancouver Land and Securities Corporation. True to the form it had maintained virtually from its inception in 1886, this company remained a vital touchstone in the corporate affairs of elite society in 1910. In contrast to its 19th century financing however, it was now a focal point of Eastern Canadian as well as British and local investment funds (see Figure 11). Murray, the president of the company, was also general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce (which had absorbed the Bank of B.C. in 1901), R.K. Houlgate, the managing director of the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company, was also manager of the Vancouver Land and Securities Corporation as well as manager of the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corporation. Campbell Sweeny of the Bank of Montreal was also the local director of the Montreal-based Royal Trust Company, whose interests centered primarily on the CPR's Point Grey landholdings. Hence it is quite apparent that control over the larger patterns of urban land investment was becoming centralized within an integrated elite social network, a network that transcended older investment barriers in Vancouver. In spite of the many changes that had taken place in the corporate structure of the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company, it is also noteworthy that the old connection with the Victoria elite continued through Barnard and his brother-in-law, J. Mara.
FIGURE 11.

VANCOUVER LAND AND IMPROVEMENT COMPANY, 1910.
(Directors and shareholders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No. of shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Murray (Director &amp; Pres.)</td>
<td>1094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Houlgate (Director)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Sweeny (Director)</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van. Land &amp; Securities</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Mara (Victoria)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. S. Barnard (Victoria)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Inman (London)</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed Haggard (London)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Judge (Vancouver)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire Guarantee</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corporate link —
Family link ———

Canadian Bank of Commerce
Bank of Montreal
Royal Trust Co.
B.C.E.R.
Columbia Estate Agency
Though far from being comprehensive, these examples illustrate the manner in which Eastern Canadian corporations began to merge with the corporate concerns and land development policies of Vancouver's early business community. This intertwining of corporate affairs went hand in hand with the social integration that was taking place within various voluntary associations until, by the turn of the century, elite society was taking on a cohesive appearance. The corporate structure was an integral part of this growing cohesion. If few corporations could link as many elites together as could the Vancouver Club, few voluntary associations could forge the intense personal bonds that were often created within a common corporate concern.

THE ELITE CORPORATE WORLD, 1900-1914

Once links developed between major east side and west side land development interests, economic power became increasingly concentrated within a central elite social network resident in the West End. The concentration of expanding corporate power, and the fact that the degree of corporate overlap both reflected and had a direct impact on the social cohesion of the elite, makes this an exceedingly crucial area of investigation to pursue during Vancouver's "critical growth cycle" of 1900 to 1914. For, although Vancouver's population expanded dramatically during this period, and although the city experienced one of its greatest financial "booms" between 1905 and 1913, a central core of powerful
West Enders were able to dominate much of Vancouver's development and maintain their privileged positions as the economic and social leaders of the city.

If it seems incongruous to speak of an establishment existing in a city less than three decades removed from the frontier mill town of Granville, it must be recalled that by 1900 the West End elite society already represented a powerful amalgam of British and Eastern Canadian corporate elites along with the older "pre-CPR" population and their connections in Victoria and New Westminster. This was a socio-economic force to be reckoned with as Vancouver entered the twentieth century, and it certainly was fully capable of gradually absorbing new elites into its ranks rather than being overtaken and ignored by the men of wealth and power who arrived on the inlet after the turn of the century. The task in the remainder of the chapter is twofold. First, to locate, as far as possible, the centers of corporate power within elite society and examine the type of interconnections that developed between several of Vancouver's leading pre-war corporate concerns. Second, the effort will be made to point out how the West End elite, caught up in the exuberance of sustained urban expansion and financial prosperity, attempted to expand the indigenous basis of corporate power that would enable it to participate more fully in Vancouver's urban development.

The on-going concentration of economic power in Vancouver

There can be no doubt that in spite of the expanding size and growing complexity of the urban economy, after the
turn of the century several of the city's leading corporations became increasingly interwoven. They shared between them directors who were responsible for a wide array of economic activities that brought a diverse group of powerful men into a cohesive corporate structure. The heart of this network, indeed the heart of the West End elite society, was the interlocking industrial interests of the CPR, the B.C. Sugar Refinery and the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company. In 1905 the directors of the B.C. Sugar Refinery were B.T. Rogers, H.B. Abbott, John Hendry, George Coleman and Osborne Plunkett. Hendry was also president of the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company and the secretary of the company was Richard Alexander. Alexander's daughter was married to H.B. Abbott's son, John L.G. Abbott, a prominent lawyer in Vancouver, and H.B. Abbott's daughter was married to O. Plunkett, director of B.C. Sugar and another prominent corporate lawyer in Vancouver (see Figure 12).

This central network expanded into many sectors of the urban economy, but one of its most interesting social consequences was its connections with the older B.C. establishment in Victoria and New Westminster. Abbott's successor as General Superintendent of the CPR in B.C. was Richard Marpole. Marpole's son, Clarence Marpole, was president of MacDonald and Marpole Company, formed in 1899 and incorporated in 1901. This company was a shipping agent for the Canadian Collieries Limited (owned by James Dunsmuir) and they handled most of the Vancouver Island coal required by the CPR through their wholly owned subsidiary, the Vancouver Tug and Barge Company, of which Marpole was president. In 1901 Marpole further consolidated
THE "HEART" OF THE WEST END ELITE CORPORATE WORLD, 1905.

Bank of Montreal  C.P.R.  B.C.Sugar Refinery (Directors, 1905)  B.C.Mills
C.Sweeny  H.Abbott  B.T.Rogers  J.Hendry
H.Abbott  B.T.Rogers  R.Alexander
R.Marpole  H.Abbott  J.Hendry
W.Salsbury  G.Coleman  O.Plunkett

Family tie
Corporate tie

Evans, Coleman and Evans
E.E.Evans
G.Coleman
P.Evans
his connections with the older B.C. establishment when he married Mary Edmonds, a daughter of realtor and tramway capitalist Henry V. Edmonds of New Westminster and sister of Henry L. Edmonds, director of the Edmonds Land Development Company and the Quesnelle Lake Timber Company. In 1912 Marpole also helped to organize the B.C. Breweries Limited, which brought about the consolidation of the breweries in Vancouver, Nanaimo and Cumberland. When Marpoles's activities are tied in with those of the CPR/B.C. Sugar/B.C. Mills triumvirate, a picture begins to emerge of the interconnections within the elite's corporate world (see Figure 13). So many diverse activities connected into this central network that it is impossible to portray the entire picture in a precise manner. Figure 13 focusses on what might be called the industrial dimension of their activities, temporarily leaving aside their real estate and finance activities. Although it proved impossible to gather consistent data on all the companies shown, the diagram still is a relatively accurate illustration of the interlocking corporate interests emerging within West End elite society.

Whatever their other occupations the West End elite had always been closely involved with real estate speculation and land development and the members of the corporate elite network depicted in Figure 13 were no exception. Osborne Plunkett was instrumental in forming the East Vancouver Land Company in 1906, a company that shortly thereafter included directors such as Plunkett's brother-in-law, J.L.G. Abbott, J.C. Keith (one of the Sugar Refinery's original trustees), and George Harrison of the Merchant's Bank of Canada. John
Abbott was also a director of the British Canadian Homebuilder's Company, and a shareholder in the Issaquah and Superior Coal Mining Company, part of Alvo Von Alvensleben's corporate empire. J.C. Keith, who retired as a wealthy man from the Bank of B.C. at the age of 40 and "spent the remaining 22 years of his life unobtrusively speculating in a thousand enterprises," was involved in a number of real estate endeavors, especially on the North Shore where he owned large tracts of property. John Hendry incorporated the Hendry Land Company in 1909, an enterprise that was primarily concerned with Hendry's landholdings in Burnaby. Directors in the company included John Hendry (president), E.W. MacLean (vice president), C.D. Rand and E.E. Rand, William McNeill and Alex Buchannan of the Bank of Montreal. Again, the arms of this one corporate structure wound throughout the urban economy, often linking apparent competitors in an indirect yet tangible manner (see Figure 14).

The Hendry Land Company was only one of several real estate companies in which the Hendry family pariticipated after the turn of the century. In fact, as Figure 15 reveals in more detail, the Hendry family's land activities extended across the face of the city through its connections with corporations that had been established to handle real estate in geographically discrete areas of Vancouver and its suburbs. The Hendry family's activities were by no means unique within elite society, but they do serve as a clear example of the degree to which West Enders were able to maintain a prominent position in urban land development and speculation after the turn of
FIGURE 15.

REAL ESTATE CONNECTIONS OF THE HENDRY FAMILY.

Point Grey Estates Ltd. (Inc. 1909, shareholders in 1911)
- A.N. Wallbridge
- Clubb & Stewart
- George Turner
- J.A. Hendry
- Miss. A. Hendry
- Mrs. M. Hendry
- F.T. Schooley
- G. McCoombe
- C. Nelson
- W. Montelius
- J. Wray & W. Evans
- R.J. Lockhart
- J. Phim
- D.G. Williams
- Frank Murdoff
- Mrs. Williams
- Dr. W. Spencer
- J.M. Patullo

Hendry Land Co. (Inc. 1910, shareholders in 1912)
- John Hendry
- J.A. Hendry
- E.E. Rand
- C.D. Rand
- J. Inman
- S. Thompson
- W. McNeill
- E.W. MacLean

Grandview Heights Co. (Inc. 1910, shareholders in 1913)
- F. McTavish
- G. Buttimer
- A.B. Erskine
- J.A. Hendry
- A. Hendry
- F. Murdoff
- D. Williams
- A. McNair
- W.H. Ker
- M. Schooley
- J. Patullo

--- Corporate overlap

--- Family connection
the century. To a certain extent the increasing private wealth of elite society, their organizational experience, and their aggressive commitment to land development throughout Vancouver and its suburbs, meant that land development in twentieth century Vancouver was slightly less dependent on formal connections to extra-provincial investment, particularly British investment, than had been the case in the 19th century.

Growth of local corporate power

A great many of the financial and land development companies that were established in Vancouver during the early 1900's were locally inspired and controlled, although the people involved in their creation were often connected with national or international corporations such as the CPR, the B.C. Sugar Refining Company, or the B.C. Electric Railway. Nevertheless, the corporate land development activities of local businessmen deserve careful consideration, particularly during the 1905-1913 real estate "boom," for one can clearly delimit an attempt to establish a broader indigenous basis of corporate land financing in Vancouver. The booming real estate market, the expanding commercial reach of the city, and the increasing private wealth of West Enders, coupled with an expanding middle class with savings that could be converted into investment capital, convinced the West Enders that the time was ripe to assert more regional autonomy within the land investment market. This trend did not reflect any hostility to extra-provincial sources of capital, but it did reflect a maturing sense of place as well as increasing
personal and collective power among elite society, a feeling that also manifested itself in the creation of the Vancouver Canadian Club in 1906 and the Vancouver Stock Exchange in 1907 (see Figure 16).

Because of the restricted role that banks could play in funding land development, trust companies, which would lend money using real estate as the principal collateral, occupied a key position in the elite's attempt to expand its land development power between 1900 and 1913. A leading concern in this field was the Dominion Trust Company, organized in 1908 by lawyer A.C. Brydone-Jack, brother of alderman William Brydone-Jack (M.D.). Until its devastating collapse at the end of 1914 the Dominion Trust was one of the most influential corporate concerns in B.C., and constructed a lavish 13 storey office tower at the corner of Hastings and Cambie to symbolize its importance in B.C. investment circles. As the following diagram indicates, the Dominion Trust was linked to many corporations in Vancouver but one of its most interesting connections was with the old "pre-CPR" interests represented by the Major and Pearson Realty Company. Major and Pearson Realty had been incorporated with the Dominion Trust Company in 1908, thereby bringing to a close the era in which the east side property interests of New Westminster entrepreneur Charles Major had been among the most influential on the lower mainland. This connection undoubtedly helps to explain why the Dominion Trust was somewhat more active on Vancouver's east side, although its Point Grey property dealings were also substantial. Charles Major retired in 1908.
FIGURE 16.

FOUNDERS OF THE VANCOUVER STOCK EXCHANGE
(Incorporated April 12th, 1907)

Founders

D. Von Cramer—Vancouver Trust Company
E.W. MacLean—Dominion Trust Company
—Investors Guarantee Co.
—Western Pacific Development
—Hendry Land Company

C.D. Rand—Rand Bros.
Hendry Land Company

R.B. Johnson—Okanagan Land and Development Company

A.B. Diplock—Diplock-Wright Lumber Co.
W.P. Germaine—British American Trust Co.
J. Kendall

C. Loewen—Loewen and Harvey Real Estate
—Barnard corporate empire
—J. Loewen corporate empire

J. Maguire—Anglo-British Columbia Investment Company

—North Vancouver Land Improvement Company (Proctor, vice president)
—Local board of directors of London and British North America Company

H.E. Robertson—Robertson and Company, real estate

J. Waghorn—Waghorn, Gwynn and Co.

---Family connection
—Corporate and club connection
but his son, Harry Major, continued in business with Thomas Pearson, Major's partner from the late 1890's. Pearson was also a director in the Pacific Loan Company, incorporated by Joseph Cornyn and A.C. Brydone-Jack's law partner, Joseph Bird, in 1905. The Pacific Loan Company owned a large amount of acreage in the Hastings Townsite, much of which had been purchased by Malcolm McBeath, president of the Pacific Loan Company since 1907. Joe Bird also organized the Vancouver Real Estate Company in 1905 along with several other West Enders, including A.C. Brydone-Jack of the Dominion Trust Company. This company served as yet another link to the old "pre-CPR" interests in that Henry Rowling, son of Royal Engineer and land speculator William Rowling, became a director in the company in 1907 and assumed the presidency in 1909 (see Figure 17).

Again, it is clear that the corporate structures that were formed to develop land were integrative forces in elite society in spite of the competitive nature of the real estate and finance field. For example, the corporate matrix around the Dominion Trust included east side developers such as Major and Pearson Realty (mainly in the East End), the Vancouver Real Estate Company (mainly in South Vancouver), the Pacific Loan Company (mainly in the Hastings Townsite), and it also included west side development interests such as the Point Grey Estates Company and the Prudential Investment Company (Talton Place subdivision). Yet the leaders of these diverse corporations were able to amalgamate their interests around the Dominion Trust Company, among other corporations, so as
CORPORATE CONNECTIONS OF THE DOMINION TRUST CO.

- Imperial Trust
- Dominion Trust Company
  (Directors and officers in 1910)
  J.B. Mathers, Pres.
  D.H. Brydone-Jack, 1st V.P.
  F.E. Stewart, 2nd V.P.
  J. Thompson
  W. Clubb
  Dr. H. Riggs
  J. Ramsay
  E. Keenleyside
  Dr. E. Drew
  J. Gray
  D. Spencer
  W. Henderson
  T.R. Pearson
  W.S. McLennan
  W. Arnold
  E.P. Miller
  A. Brydone-Jack
  (Founder and solicitor)

- Prudential Investment Company
- National Finance Company
- B.C. Permanent Loan Company
- Investors Guarantee Company
- Major and Pearson
  (Directors in 1910)
  Harry Major
  T.R. Pearson

- Pacific Loan Co.
  (Directors in 1910)
  H. McBeth, Pres.
  T.R. Pearson, V.P.
  Joe Bird
  H. Baker
  H. Taylor

- Point Grey Estates Ltd.
- Vancouver Real Estate Company (Directors)
  H. Rowlands, Pres.
  A. Brydone-Jack, V.P.
  Joe Bird

- Hendry and Pearson
- Western Pacific Development Company
- Western Canada Lands Coop.
- Joe Bird, Director

- Vancouver Real Estate Company
  Joe Bird, Director
to maximize profits in the most efficient manner in Vancouver. To be sure, not all of the above companies were in direct competition with each other. The Vancouver Real Estate Company was not attempting to sell its South Vancouver property to the same middle class population that the Prudential Investment Company was attracting to its Talton Place development adjacent to Shaughnessy Heights. Others, such as the Pacific Loan Company (and its connections to Hastings Townsite—Vancouver Heights' property), was competing with the Talton Place development for the same sort of middle class home purchaser. The fact that these competitors also linked in with a common corporation, the Dominion Trust, clearly demonstrates the manner in which the corporate world could help produce a cohesive and durable elite society in Vancouver. Similarly, the expansion of the urban economy, indeed the very growth of the city itself, did not necessarily bring a sudden new wave of new faces and new corporate elites into the forefront of urban development. Inevitably, the abundance of land continued to mean first and foremost an abundance for those with capital and an understanding of where to invest it. The trust company, a sophisticated mechanism for the elite's money lending activities, merely enhanced the establishment's control over the allocation of urban resources in Vancouver.

The Dominion Trust Company was only one of a large number of trust and financial corporations organized by the elite between 1898 and 1913. In chronological order, the leading concerns in the field were the B.C. Permanent Loan Company,
established in 1898; the B.C. Trust Company (1899), an enterprise that was organized by such eminent West Enders as Sir Charles Tupper, Joseph McFarland, Ed Mahon and W.H. Armstrong; and the British American Trust Company, incorporated in 1901. As the real estate "boom" gathered momentum, there was a rapid upsurge in the number of newly incorporated local trust and finance corporations including: the B.C. Finance Company (1905), the Imperial Trust Company (1907), which later merged with Dominion Trust, the Dominion Trust (1908), the Western Canada Trust (1909), the Vancouver Trust (1909), the Standard Trust (1909), the British Pacific Trust (1909), and the Northwestern Trust (1911). As Figure 18 shows, many of these corporate structures were interconnected. This fact is not too surprising for, not unlike their role in the creation of elite social clubs, the participation of one or more established figures from Vancouver's successful business circles lent prestige to a new corporate undertaking and ensured its credibility as a reliable investment opportunity. Further, the elite's aggressive participation in urban land development made it extremely unlikely that the directorships of major trust and finance corporations would not overlap to some extent.

Although the above investment network did connect into a broader foreign investment market via overlapping directorates, such as that of Carter Cotton's connection to the Franco-Canadian Trust or McFarland and Mahon's connection to the London and British North America Investment Company (see B.C. Trust in Figure 18), it is quite clear that after the turn of
INTERCONNECTIONS OF SEVERAL LOCALLY BASED TRUST AND INVESTMENT CONCERNS.

FIGURE 18
the century local entrepreneurs had made a concerted effort to increase the degree of local control over urban land development in Vancouver. Their various investment corporations had not been established to discourage capital investments from Europe, Britain, the United States or Eastern Canada. Rather, their existence reflects the growing financial power of Vancouverites, and their main purpose was to compensate for the remoteness of Eastern and foreign financial institutions and for the shortage, in spite of investment from British, German and French sources, of development capital during the real estate "boom" years. Contemporary observers readily appreciated Vancouver's growing financial maturity; A.J. Cunningham optimistically wrote in the Saturday Sunset:

> The trust companies of B.C. have placed themselves upon such a sound financial foundation that large corporations, municipalities and the Provincial Government have now the necessary financial facilities at home for floating bond issues, holding railway securities in escrow and performing other financial functions heretofore available only in the East or the Old Country. 118.

The Bank of Vancouver, incorporated in 1910, was another manifestation of Vancouver's growing wealth and the elite's determination to expand the local basis of corporate power. Officers and directors of this corporation included long established business leaders such as R.P. McLennan of McLennan and McFeely Company, E.H. Heaps of Heaps Sawmill Company and president of Columbia Trust Company, W.H. Malkin of W.H. Malkin Company and director of the B.C. Permanent Loan Company, C.S. Douglas of Douglas Real Estate Company, and Victoria
capitalist and contractor the Honorable T.W. Paterson of the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company and the Victoria and Sydney Railway. McLennan, Malkin and Heaps were all past presidents of the Vancouver Board of Trade, Douglas was a former mayor of Vancouver (1909), and Paterson was Lieutenant Governor of B.C... Somewhat surprisingly, as Figure 19 shows, several of the Bank of Vancouver's directors were closely connected with the Franco-Canadian Trust Company, a powerful French investment corporation organized in Paris in 1910. It is impossible to determine the degree of importance which French capital assumed in the bank's operations but, clearly, the era in which foreign financial connections were almost certainly with British or American investors was drawing to a close by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Confident that Vancouver's rapid growth rate was permanent, the Bank of Vancouver had expanded to 12 branches by 1914, four in Vancouver, and the rest scattered throughout the province. In many respects, the creation of the locally controlled Bank of Vancouver represented a culmination of the elite's desire to extend their own power throughout the city and the province.

Of course, Vancouver's local financial foundation was not as sound as it appeared during the height of the real estate "boom" years. The efforts of local entrepreneurs had not made Vancouver significantly less dependent on foreign capital or less sensitive to fluctuations in the international economy than during the 1890's. As rumors circulated of impending war in Europe, as reports of real
FIGURE 19.

BANK OF VANCOUVER, OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 1910-1914.

R.P. McLennan——McLennan and McFeely Co.
M.B. Carlin
L.W. Shatford——Vice President of B.C. Portland Cement Company. President of B.C. Financial and Investment Co.
J.A. Mitchell——Franco-Canadian Trust Co.
Andre Istel
T.W. Patterson——Timber Investments
W.H. Malkin——Malkin Wholesale Co.
A. Dewar——Director of B.C. Permanent Loan Company
E.H. Heaps——E.H. Heaps and Co.
Selected B.C. shareholders in 1912——
F.C. Cotton
J.A. Mitchell
L.W. Shatford
E. Francis
C.W. Cowan
A. Istel
L. Noyer
G. Ivor Gwynn
estate swindles involving misguided English purchasers began to circulate through the province and in Britain, and as coal strikes on Vancouver Island began to undermine British confidence in the B.C. investment picture, British and European capital flows dropped off and real estate speculation and building activity declined dramatically in Vancouver. Trust companies that had avoided public regulation under the loose Companies Act began to collapse once the speculative money market began to tighten. The Dominion Trust Company, a highly respected institution, collapsed in 1914 and a subsequent inquiry exposed the directors in a long list of unethical investment activity and unauthorized loans. Caught up in the certainties of the late Victorian/Edwardian Age and the feeling that nothing could halt Vancouver's pre-destined growth into a major metropolis, the directors of the Dominion Trust had been exposed taking risks that were common practice in a poorly regulated speculative market. The sudden failure of the powerful Dominion Trust had a direct impact on the subsequent failure of the Bank of Vancouver in 1914, for public confidence in locally controlled financial institutions had been badly shaken by the collapse of the Dominion Trust. Other companies also failed at this time, most notably T.T. Langlois' National Finance Company, which had been directly involved in the creation of Talton Place on the outskirts of Shaughnessy Heights.

**Conclusion**

In a newly created late nineteenth century industrial city located at the end of a trans-continental railway, it was
probably inevitable that the aspirations and activities of the entrepreneurial elite would shape the city's growth. But if the socio-economic ascent of the business elite was inevitable in Vancouver, it was hardly inevitable that the corporate world would become an important focus for the growing social cohesion of the elite population. That this process did occur quite rapidly, especially in the critical area of urban land development, was a critical factor in the emergence of an integrated and durable elite society resident primarily in the West End.

To a certain extent, the nineteenth century blending of east side and west side development interests set the stage for the eventual creation of a fledgling yet sophisticated local base of corporate financial power during the first decade of the twentieth century. This movement was not allied with any particular source of extra-provincial capital, nor was it connected with any particular area of land development in Vancouver. Rather, it served as a focus for the elite's attempt to establish the best possible business acumen in an industrial city that was far removed from the "heartland" of British or eastern North American financial circles. As such, the expansion of the indigenous basis of corporate financial power was not so much a reaction against metropolitan dominance from Britain or the east as it was an attempt to improve Vancouver's local financial posture and the city's corporate decision-making capabilities.

That a number of Vancouver's locally controlled trust, investment and banking corporations quickly collapsed after the land "boom" ended, and even the fact that several of these
companies had been floated on "watered stock," does not detract from the fact that between the turn of the century and 1914 an upsurge of locally inspired investment corporations helped to further the cohesion of elite society by broadening its shared financial concerns. This is not to say that the elite did not compete with each other - they assumed that competition was essential to individual and social progress. The elite competed for status by building new and bigger mansions, by joining and directing prestigious clubs, and by financing the construction of downtown office buildings that often bore their name. They competed at all levels of politics. Competition within the private sector of the urban economy was a basic fact of life within the West End elite society. Whether in the social, economic or political arena, however, competition between members of the elite never posed any threat to two of the basic foundations of the capitalistic system, that is, the assumption of the validity of profit making and of private property. Beyond their common ideological commitments, their interlocking social and corporate networks helped to minimize the possibilities for serious financial conflict and, if need arose, modified the extent to which corporate conflict would be able to upset the economy. While it would be absurd to claim that elite society was always in harmony, it is equally misleading to over-emphasize specific examples of elite discord and ignore the fact that the predominant mood was one of cohesion and that even as potentially volatile an activity as the pursuit of private profit through land development could be an integrative force within elite
society.

Looked at from a broader perspective, most of these people adhered to rather subdued versions of individualism and privatism. To be sure, individual initiative and material progress were key elements of their philosophy, but few were liberals in the classic sense that individual achievement and freedom were perceived as being more important than and independent of community, both in the narrow sense of their upper class peer group and in the broader sense of the city itself. They associated their personal opportunities for success with the well being of the city as a commercial entrepot, and they were quick to create a number of voluntary associations that would sustain and support their individual drive to socio-economic success and security. Just as they combined together in several voluntary social and economic associations, co-operation was a basic element in their business philosophy. In part, this co-operative spirit stemmed from the respect that men of power tend to give each other, even when they dominate competitive institutional orders. It also reflected a basic tenet in late Victorian business thought, namely that integrated efforts and even financial combination were essential to individual success in the hectic industrial market place. Vancouver's newness, and its physical isolation from other major urban centers, undoubtedly served to enhance these basic feelings.

In sum, Vancouver's elite community was dominated by aggressive and pragmatic businessmen, and a "rush for spoils" ethic was a pervasive part of their business life-styles. But
there also was a great deal of co-operation and respect between elites, as well as a conservative sense of community that could find expression in the market place as well as in philanthropic activities. The following statement by six of the leading members of the Board of Trade exemplifies the fact that the pursuit of private wealth did not overrule all other considerations in elite society:

We, the undersigned, members of the Vancouver Board of Trade, request that you will call a special meeting of the full Board to be held on Friday, 13th November, at 8:00 p.m., to consider the following resolution, viz:

In view of the unsettled conditions relating to the Government of the Province of British Columbia that have prevailed for some years past, and in view of the critical position which has been reached in the financial affairs of the Province...the Vancouver Board of Trade considers that the time has come when personal feelings and ambitions of individuals should be left aside, and the best interest of the state alone should be considered, and any attempt to interfere with the efforts at present being made by the Provincial Government to bring about improved conditions, is dangerous and detrimental, not only to the Province in general but to the City of Vancouver in particular.

Signed: H. McDowell
W.H. Malkin
Frederick Buscombe
Robert Martin
William Braid
Charles Tisdall

While these sentiments were by no means shared by all members of the elite community, the fact that they existed at all is worth remembering when one considers the cohesiveness of a business dominated elite society and the notion that the pursuit of private wealth could be a source of cohesion rather than discord in their daily lives.
CHAPTER FIVE

WEST END ELITE SOCIETY AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF PRIVATE OPPORTUNITY.
Most immigrants to pre-1914 Vancouver saw the new city as the land of private opportunity; its absent past presented an open future, a place where prosperity could conceivably be attained by all but the least vigorous. The rapid socio-economic ascent of the business elite, and the rapid decline of the West End as Vancouver's residential landscape of privilege, both stemmed from this salient commitment to urban growth and the determination of Vancouverites to live up to and profit from their dreams about the future of the new terminal city that they had adopted as their home. Prior to examining the relationship that existed between the elite and the general urban community, it is appropriate that some comment first be made about the inevitable collapse of the West End as an elite neighborhood within this growth-conscious urban setting.

**Elite society and the demise of the West End**

The decline of the West End as an elite neighborhood presents a very complex story which cannot be handled in detail within
the scope of this conclusion. At the heart of the matter, however, is the fact that the West End largely came apart as a result of the aspirations and continuing momentum of those who created it. This facet of the West End's demise is worthy of close consideration in so far as it represents a very specific manifestation of the elite's broad commitment to rapid urban growth and personal economic success in Vancouver.

As an elite neighborhood, the West End had largely derived its prestige from the substantial number of individual environments of domestic splendour and status that had been created on the west side of Burrard Street prior to 1910. Without the aid of civic authority and zoning by-laws the West Enders had established a suitable late Victorian elite neighborhood on an individualistic basis and, without zoning by-laws, the durability of the elite's West End was entirely at the mercy of the individuals who had created it. As the demand for more economically efficient landuse patterns intensified in the West End, the personal environments of wealth that centered on the large private home and the picturesque garden quickly fell apart. Not every West Ender contributed to the decline of the neighborhood by moving to another residential setting, sub-dividing his property, or building a West End apartment, but most, if not all West Enders, were supportive of the urban growth and commercial expansion which undermined the West End's viability as a low density prestige neighborhood.

Some critical observers of the changing West End landscape
have been quick to claim that the indiscriminate construction of apartments and stores west of Burrard Street forced the elite population to abandon their homes prematurely. For example, J.W. Allan has argued that:

A tragedy has taken place in the West End. Beautiful homes have been abandoned for other purposes within five years of their erection. This decline was not due to conditions or elements beyond our control but, on the contrary, the factors that made for this condition were all controllable and enormous loss was easily avoidable had we shown any foresight. Indiscriminate building of apartments, stores, garages, and invasion of industries are responsible for the loss of millions. 1.

Although Allan was basically concerned with the decline in West End land values due to a lack of zoning regulations, his argument would indicate that single-family homes were abandoned because of the landuse mixture that evolved in the West End after the turn of the century. While there is some basis in fact to this line of argument, it is somewhat misleading to claim that apartments and commercial developments were the prime causal factors in the decline of the West End's residential stature.

The influx of apartments and commercial developments obviously had some impact on the breakdown of the West End as an elite neighborhood but it is extremely difficult to define the extent to which apartments actually stimulated the early, upper class exodus out of the West End. At a general level, it seems clear that the rarity of apartments west of Denman Street partially explains why the West End's Stanley Park perimeter sustained an upper class orientation until the late 1920's. Conversely, the fact that apartments
did make an early thrust into the upper class housing sector along the English Bay slopes helps to explain why this region experienced a more precipitous decline in status than did the area west of Denman Street. In spite of any general patterns that may emerge however it is evident that the elite's reaction to West End apartments, in so far as the decision to move was concerned, varied a great deal from individual to individual. For example, John Hendry applied for a building permit in Shaughnessy Heights in 1913, the year after the Holly Lodge apartment block was completed adjacent to his Burnaby Street mansion. On the other hand R.V. Winch, whose elaborate Comox Street home was bordered by the massive Alexandra Apartments and the smaller Mayfair Apartment block by 1912, remained in his West End home until the late 1920's. J.J. Banfield built the 20 suite Stadacona Apartment building on the corner of Melville and Bute in 1909, virtually across the street from his residence at 644 Bute Street, yet he remained at his Bute Street home until at least 1927. Realtor and manufacturer W.L. Tait began to build the 54 suite Manhattan Apartments across the lane from his Thurlow Street home in approximately 1910. When completed Tait sold his Thurlow Street residence, described by Gosnell as "a very commodious one...indicating the good taste and refinement of the family," and moved into his "Glen Brae" mansion in Shaughnessy Heights.

The elite's involvement with West End apartments, and the question of whether an adjacent apartment block was viewed as a noxious intrusion that destroyed the West End's residential
appeal, obviously presents an extremely variegated picture at the individual level. More consistent, and by far the more important variable in the West End's decline, is the fact that the vast majority of Vancouver's elite shared in a common admiration for development, even if development entailed the replacement of what had just been built. For example, the fact that W.L. Tait razed three single-family homes in order to build the Manhattan Apartment block most likely served to reinforce the notion that Tait was, as one contemporary explained, "putting forth every effort in the improvement and development of the city." For, in spite of the fact that many upper class West Enders viewed an adjacent apartment development as anathema to a quality residential district, it is equally true that most residents viewed the proliferation of West End apartments as a symbol of urban progress and prosperity in Vancouver. In brief, the West End's single-family environment was doomed less by apartments as such than by the values and aspirations of upper class society. Their determination to live up to and profit from their dreams about the future of Vancouver quickly converted the single-family, low density West End into a perceived economic liability that did not mesh with their broader visions of the city or the conception held by many of a proper twentieth century suburban neighborhood that was spatially detached from the urban core. Paradoxically, therefore, an attempt to maintain the West End as a status neighborhood adjacent to the urban core would actually have posed a threat to the goals that the majority of Vancouver's upper class held for the city as a
whole. With alternative elite neighborhoods opening up in West Point Grey and Shaughnessy Heights, and automobile transportation becoming more common for the upper class, the simplest way to resolve any conflict that might exist between neighborhood image and urban aspirations was to promote, or at least to accept, the social and physical transformation of the West End.

The attitudes and beliefs that played havoc with the West End's single-family environment came into sharp public focus during the mid 1920's as the movement to establish comprehensive zoning and planning in Vancouver neared fruition. At issue was the question of whether West Enders, and absentee West End landlords, were prepared to preserve single-family residential districts in the West End. Although the fate of the West End as a multiple dwelling district was virtually sealed by the mid 1920's, the debate that grew up around zoning in the West End provides a revealing commentary on the manner in which the West End had been destroyed between approximately 1912 and the mid 1920's.

Although most successful Vancouverites, and the powerful institutions they controlled, supported the planning movement in Vancouver, it is clear that the majority of influential West End landowners were opposed to any zoning by-laws that would hinder their ability to realize the maximum profit from their West End property. Hence, when the Vancouver Town Planning Commission developed an interim zoning by-law that aimed at prohibiting apartment growth west of Denman Street and south of Davie Street (see Map 23), property owners in the
MAP 23.
INTERIM ZONING MAP FOR VANCOUVER'S WEST SIDE, 1926.

affected areas quickly mounted a concerted campaign to reverse the decision. Sir Charles Tupper declared the zoning by-law "an amorphous botch" and, at a public hearing at City Hall, argued that the proposed regulations represented "an outrageous monopoly to those who have already built apartments in the area." Mrs. J.H. Senkler, wife of a former Vancouver Club president, argued:

If the by-law goes through it will greatly reduce West End property values. I cannot break my house up into apartments, yet the people on the north side of Alberni can do anything they wish. We are encouraging tourists to come here, and this area, being close to Stanley Park, is an ideal location for those coming here to rent a suite for a few months. Yet we are to be restricted from this business.

Residents south of Davie Street made equally strong protests against the by-law. For example, A.E. Bull, Tupper's law partner, pointed out that his house on Bidwell Street was only one block from eight apartment houses yet he was to be forced to maintain or sell his home as a one or two family residence.

In order to ensure that the city council and the planning commission would be impressed with the quantity as well as the quality of the zoning protest, F.R. Russell, president of the Canadian Club, circulated a petition among property owners west of Denman Street. This petition, stating that "the district is past the stage of a 'residential district and area,' as defined in the by-law, and cannot be restored by any plan," was signed by the owners of 140 of the 218 lots west of Denman Street. Support for the petition came from absentee West End property owners such as Russell (who had moved to Shaughnessy
Heights in 1914) and Sir Charles Tupper as well as a substantial number of influential West End residents such as Tupper's son (Reginald Tupper), H. St. James Montizambert, Mrs. Senkler and J.W. McFarland.

As a result of the protests from property owners in the areas west of Denman and south of Davie, the city council requested that the planning commission hold a special public meeting to discuss the situation. After due advertisement, the meeting was held at Lord Roberts School on December 29th, 1926. At this meeting the planning commission attempted to explain that zoning for apartments far in advance of demand could create numerous problems for the property owners. In particular, it was pointed out that property owners would be forced to pay heavy taxes on property zoned for business or apartment uses which likely would not materialize for many years. Although a small minority group supported the commissioners and expressed the wish that "the portion of the West End between Denman and Stanley Park should be reserved exclusively as a residential district similar to the CPR property in Shaughnessy Heights and parts of Point Grey," the majority of owners objected to civic interference in their private property development schemes. As a report on West End zoning explained:

The owners...wished to have the opportunity of either building an apartment on their property or to have the privilege of selling to apartment builders. These owners were enthusiastically in favor of front, side and rear yards as these regulations made the apartment, as they themselves expressed it, "a good neighbor during the time we are living in the West End, awaiting a buyer for our property."
As a result of the protests by West End landowners the view that the whole of the West End should be available for apartments was adopted as part of the interim zoning by-law, passed on February 5th, 1927. On December 17th, 1928, a comprehensive zoning by-law was passed as part of the "Town Plan" developed by H. Bartholemew and associates. As Map 24 reveals, the West End was the only sector of the city to be zoned for six storey, as against three storey, multiple dwellings.

Much more detailed analysis is needed to sort out the elite's relationship to planning in general as well as the various implications surrounding zoning in the West End in particular. However, the above discussion does illustrate how West Enders, and former West Enders who still controlled property in the West End, felt that the area had fulfilled its purpose as a single-family environment. Since the West End was no longer functioning as home for the majority of Vancouver's elite there was little support for any proposal that might interfere with the right of the remaining single-family home owners to develop their land as they saw fit. In this one particular case, residential zoning in the West End was seen as a threat to the elite's ability to attain financial security through private land investments in an expanding city.

These points made about the demise of the West End as Vancouver's residential landscape of privilege in the environment of private opportunity, it is appropriate that the study conclude with a few brief comments on the relationship
MAP 24
ZONING MAP FOR VANCOUVER'S WEST SIDE, 1927.

ZONING MAP

DISTRICTS

A  ONE FAMILY DWELLING
B  TWO FAMILY DWELLING
C  THREE STORY MIDDLE DWELLING
D  SIX STORY MIDDLE DWELLING
E  LOCAL COMMERCIAL
F  THREE STORY COMMERCIAL
G  SIX STORY COMMERCIAL
H  SIX STORY LIGHT INDUSTRIAL
I  GENERAL BUSINESS
J  HEAVY INDUSTRIAL

VANCOUVER
BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION 1927

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW & ASSOCIATES
TOWN PLANNING CONSULTANTS
between elite society and the general urban community which sanctioned the ascent of business interests into the elite strata of the urban social hierarchy.

**Elite society and the general urban community**

The wealth and institutional power vested in the hands of the elite gave them a great deal of influence over the urban development of Vancouver. Besides the corporate world and their voluntary social organizations, they dominated such diverse fields as politics, health and education. To a certain extent, given their multi-faceted activities in urban life, the elite were in a position to make their ideology pervade the entire urban society until it became identified with the common good of the city. Until 1927, however, when the interim zoning by-law was passed and a business dominated town planning commission began to shape the direction and character of Vancouver's growth, no single institution existed to translate any one ideology into the urban development process. Rather Vancouver's growth was the product of many thousands of individual decisions made outside the direct sphere of influence of any political, economic or social institution. The decision to migrate to Vancouver, to invest in property, to buy a home, to start a business, to raise a family, to move to a new home, to cultivate a backyard garden and raise chickens or to landscape property with hedges and monkey puzzle trees and hold garden parties, and so forth, were individual decisions made by hundreds, then thousands, of Vancouverites during each year of the city's development. Yet each stage of the city's demographic, economic and spatial
expansion brought further wealth into the hands of the West End elite who, in turn, became more exclusive and selective in the recruitment of new elite members.

Suburban expansion, be it the annexation of the Hastings Townsite, or the development of property in South Vancouver, Point Grey or North Vancouver, invariably involved West Enders regardless of the socio-economic profile of the population actually settling the land. The expansion of the city's private sector benefited the West End elite who not only dominated the corporate world but built the business blocks that were needed to accommodate office space demands in the city's business district. Even the transition of the West End from a single-family residential landscape to a multiple dwelling and commercial environment proved financially rewarding for those members of the elite who subdivided their West End property, converted their homes into rental units, and/or financed the construction of apartment buildings. The fact that much of the financial benefits accruing to Vancouver's urban growth found its way into the hands of the West Enders is a tribute to their ability to grasp a potentially lucrative situation and shape it to meet their own ends. But obviously no group of elites, regardless of their institutional power, socio-economic cohesion, and access to investment capital, could dictate by fiat the total growth process and the multitude of decisions that entered into the expansion of a city in a democratic, capitalistic society. The West Enders were no exception in this respect, yet one cannot avoid the fact that they successfully set the larger patterns of geographical development in Vancouver and received the greatest
financial returns from the wide array of decisions that went into the building of the city. Part of the reason for their success in this respect lay outside any specific institutional framework, and even outside the ability of the elite population to concentrate financial resources so as to shape urban growth trends in their favor. Rather it stemmed from the fact that the greater proportion of the urban population embraced many of the basic values, commitments and aspirations of the West End elite.

Created by and for business purposes, Vancouver's rapid development from a small terminal city into a modern metropolis was sustained by a loose yet viable "partnership" that existed between the land endowed and institutionally powerful elite population and the general urban community. No single institution tied all members of these two general groups together in any formal manner. Rather common hopes and attitudes about the ability of the city to offer personal economic opportunity generated a considerable degree of collective identification with the city's growth and, to some extent at least, inspired a deferential attitude towards those individuals and groups who were the leaders of expansion in the city's private sector. In Vancouver, as well as in the vast majority of the new cities of Western Canada, boosterism, materialism and optimism regarding future material prosperity stand out as dominant urban attitudes at virtually every level of the socio-economic spectrum prior to the first world war. The basic task at hand was felt to be the achievement of a reasonable standard of living, hopefully higher than that left behind, and this commitment was readily translated into a shared enthusiasm for urban expansion
and material progress. Virtually all immigrants to Vancouver, rich or poor, professional or laborer, were excited by the potential for upward socio-economic mobility, that they associated with Vancouver, and were reassured by the growing size of the city's built environment and the expanding reach of its commercial power. The following comments by a resident of South Vancouver, a working class municipality, exemplify the manner in which the basic notions of the growth ethic were supported as ardently by the working class as they were by the middle and upper classes:

...the majority of owners (in South Vancouver) kept singing the song of progress and chanted the tune of expenditures and improvement. This was the new spirit of the times.... Every owner of a 33 foot lot was a capitalist in those days, and the Socialists had to hold their meetings in shacks, and on the corner of the streets with half a dozen people for an audience. No one could live and thrive in this atmosphere unless he was a booster, so we must not blame the reeves and mayors for the extravagant expenditures.... 13.

That the growth ethic and its essentially liberal outlook enjoyed such extensive patronage in Vancouver is a direct reflection of the city's newness and the transient history of its inhabitants. Having left their homes and friends in Eastern Canada, Britain and the United States, and having invested their capital and energy in a relatively small and unstable commercial center, the new inhabitants of Canada's western frontier had a strong desire to justify their actions by success. It is not surprising to find that visitors to Vancouver from more established settings commonly emphasized the extent of materialism and commercialism throughout western
life. Following his visit to Vancouver in 1905 one British traveller remarked:

It is a purely business town, a thing of stores and banks and meagre wooden houses, with no public buildings of account.... The stranger is amazed at the profusion of solid banking houses; it would seem as if the inhabitants must be a race of financiers, concerned purely with money and stocks and shares.... And, in point of fact this is a land of speculation, in mining properties, lumber lands, fruit lands, and, above all, in city lots, the pick of which has doubled in value in the last two years. 14.

Although an apparently harsh statement when compared to the genteel life-style affected by the West Enders, the above observation cuts to the base of the platform that was supporting Vancouver's pre-war Victorian facade. While members of the upper and middle socio-economic groups were the strongest supporters of this ideology of individual initiative and material progress - and established the sophisticated social and financial institutions essential to its success in a new urban setting - the vast majority of the urban population agreed that individual betterment was tied to Vancouver's growth and that Vancouver's growth was tied to the expansion of the city's private sector.

During the first three decades of Vancouver's development few movements or ideologies developed to pose any distinct threat to the basic assumptions that generated Vancouver's "partnership" in growth. To be sure, there were certain basic ideological differences between labor and capital, especially with respect to labor's right to organize versus the right of landowners to have total control over their property and those who worked on it. After the turn of the century unions
gradually started to limit the freedom of capital as strikes and walkouts took place over working conditions, the use of "foreigners" as cheap labor, the right to have a closed shop and so forth. Nevertheless, the tension that was building between labor and capital in certain pre-war enterprises in Vancouver was slight when compared to the problems that were evolving in the mining towns of Vancouver Island or the Kootenays. At most they created relatively minor disturbances within a predominantly stable urban arena. Very few questioned the basic assumptions of the free enterprise system; most felt secure in the belief that the ownership of private property was the key to socio-economic mobility, and most were convinced that inequalities of wealth and privilege were neither inherent to the system nor a permanent fixture of dynamic capitalistic society. The West Enders who had accumulated wealth and wielded immense power were not seen as mysterious and obscure figures who were out of touch with the needs of the urban community, people whose corporate concerns over-ruled community concerns, or, people without ability who had inherited wealth and power. Rather, for most Vancouverites, the West End elite epitomized what was desirable and attainable in the land of opportunity.

Immigrants had come to Vancouver seeking economic opportunity and the great majority had found it to some degree. Although the greatest financial rewards associated with urban growth were channelled into the hands of the West End elite, and although the upper echelons of the socio-economic hierarchy quickly became more exclusive and inaccessible, there was a
widespread feeling that if only they were frugal and hard-working the system was capable of providing most people with a considerable part of what they wanted and deserved. A young immigrant off a farm in northern Scotland might arrive in Vancouver without any particular occupational experience and minimal education yet he could quickly find work in any number of endeavors, perhaps as a longshoreman for the CPR, a conductor for the B.C. Electric Railway, or a sweeper for the B.C. Sugar Refinery. His transition to the ways of the modern urban world might be aided through ethnic associations such as the Highland Society or the St. Andrews and Caledonian Society or unions such as the Street Railwaymen's Union. Wages might not keep pace with the cost of living, yet ways would be found to save and invest in the future. Money would be sent home to bring out a wife or relatives that had been left behind in the "Old Country" when he embarked on his exploratory journey to the land of opportunity. Wages would be "squandered" on rental accommodations for as short a time as possible, then would be invested in a building lot or a house, both of which were readily available in pleasant suburbs such as Grandview or Mount Pleasant. Less grand than the mansions of the West End elite, the single-family home he eventually built or purchased was also a symbol of success in the New World, and certainly constituted the most conspicuous evidence of social mobility that the working class immigrant could acquire within four or five years of his arrival in the city. He might look in awe and with a touch of envy at the highly visible mansions of the West End elite and realize that
his personal opportunities for upward mobility were limited but, having succeeded this far, there was always the hope that one's off-spring would enjoy a better opportunity to ascend higher up the socio-economic ladder. Progress was real, opportunity was genuine and, from the outside looking in, the West End elite population was simply one or two steps ahead in the amalgamation of privilege that could be available to anyone who adhered to the rules of hard work, thrift and common sense.

In summary, therefore, it is argued that Vancouver's elite society was powerful not only because they amalgamated their interests in various social and economic pursuits, but also because they presided over an urban setting that sanctioned the emergence of a business dominated elite society and endorsed the extension of their ideology throughout society and across the urban landscape. At one level, this "partnership" in growth stemmed from the fact that the availability of land for commerce, industry and, most importantly, single-family housing, acted as a critical cohesive element in the city. Everyone, from the unskilled laborer upwards, could find security, a sense of belonging and, to some extent, a feeling of control over his individual circumstances through the purchase of a home. For the elite population that controlled the land and established the infrastructure essential to its development, the availability of land for single-family housing also offered profits and it provided an important method of establishing social stability in Vancouver, a prerequisite of financial viability. At a more general level,
much of this "partnership" in growth rested on the city's newness and the fact that Vancouverites were vigorously engaged in the task of carving out a new life for themselves in the urban hinterland of Canada. Vancouver's setting in time and place, a newly created late nineteenth century city at the end of a trans-continental railroad, virtually demanded that the values, aspirations and goals of the entrepreneurial world shape the city's growth and dominate the decision-making matrix within which men worked, built, schemed and dreamed.
FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER ONE


2. As Hardwick argues, "Had the process common to other areas of the coast persisted, then, once the logs were gone, the people would have moved on to the next inlet of the sea where resources abounded." W. Hardwick, Vancouver (Collier-MacMillan Canada Ltd., 1974), p.3.


5. For example, Dr. John Lefevre, a physician for the CPR and the first doctor employed in the City Hospital, built the four storey Lefevre Building at the corner of Hastings and Seymour in 1888. Designed by architect C.O. Wickendon, the structure was the first in Vancouver to reflect the Chicago-centered commercial style of H.H. Richardson. See H. Kalman, Exploring Vancouver (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1974), p.73.


8. In several respects, positing a parallel between the urban histories of Vancouver and Los Angeles helps one to understand the attitudes that were shaping the late nineteenth urban landscape in Vancouver. As with Vancouver, Los Angeles was a city where local environmental degradation was minimal when rapid urban development began in the mid 1880's. Due to its relatively late start on urban growth the city was populated by immigrants who were cognizant of the strengths and weaknesses of other major urban centers in the United States and, building on this knowledge, the citizens faced the task of developing a new city that replicated many of the basic social institutions.
and economies of scale of the contemporary industrial urban system, yet they attempted to minimize the urban squalor and population densities of older industrial cities. As Fogelson points out in his excellent study of urban growth in Los Angeles, "the unique dispersal of Los Angeles reflected ...the exceptional character of its population. It was not like Chicago - a typical concentrated metropolis - inhabited largely by impoverished and insecure European immigrants.... The model of the dispersed metropolis, Los Angeles was populated principally by native Americans with adequate resources and marketable skills, who faced the problems of adjustment confidently because of a common language and similar background." See Robert Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p.139.


13. "Observations on Residential Settlement in Vancouver," (Comments by J.S. Mathews), West End Docket #1, Vancouver City Archives.


15. As against the classical attitude that nature was something to be conquered, disciplined and shut out, the Victorian ideal was to have elements from the world of nature drawn into the world of man. Referred to as the picturesque, the aim was to imitate the broken textures and varied shapes one found in an idealized natural setting by integrating buildings and streets with the surrounding open spaces through the use of terraces, fountains and vegetation screens placed close to surfaces. The Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol 10 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), pp.338-339. Referred to in Edward Gibson, "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change: A Geographical Study of Vancouver," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Dept. of Geography, U.B.C., 1971, p.43.


18. Vancouver City Building Permits, 1904, 1909 and 1910. Vancouver City Archives (Other dates not available)


20. Briggs, op.cit., p.44

21. Ibid.


23. Dr. Roland Grant, op.cit.


25. Ibid.


27. 31 or 10.1% could not be located in the city directories. As with other clubs and associations, directory traces were hindered by the fact that membership listings consisted of surnames and initials only.

28. Until 1902 the City Hospital was controlled by City Hall via the Health Department. In 1902 however, the Vancouver General Hospital Act was passed, incorporating the hospital as a private, non-profit, medical institution whose affairs would be directed by a board of 15 persons, eight elected from the corporation's membership list, three appointed by the city, three by the Provincial Government, and the Chief of the Hospital's Medical Staff.


31. The rules of etiquette that determined the manner in which the private world of the family home could be entered had several implications for the city, not the least of which centered on the elite's "noblesse oblige" activities and the fact that only the top strata of Vancouver's society enjoyed the socially approved opportunity to personally solicit funds for charitable causes at all levels of the social spectrum.

32. Davidoff, op.cit., p.67.


34. The open-ended nature of the event could lead to a great deal of anxiety over lack of attendance, a fact nicely captured in Ethel Wilson's novel, *The Innocent Traveller* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1944).


36. Unfortunately, the directory does not specify whether an individual held an "At Home" every week, once every two or three weeks, or once a month. See *The Elite Directory of Vancouver 1908* (Vancouver: Thompson Company, 1908).


38. Ibid.,


40. "Granville School," Undated pamphlet No. 269, V.C.A.


42. Ibid.


44. "The Stately Homes of Vancouver's West End," op.cit.

45. E. Wilson, op.cit., p.125.

47. A. McAfee, *op.cit.*, p.50.
CHAPTER TWO


4. Biographical data are from the following sources: F. Howay and E. Scholefield, B.C. From the Earliest Times to the Present (Vancouver: Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), Vols. III and IV; D. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well Known British Columbians (Vancouver: Kerr and Begg, 1890); R.E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia (Victoria: Lewis Publishing Company, 1906); E. Scholefield and R. Gosnell, History of British Columbia (Vancouver: B.C. Historical Association, 1913); Who's Who and Why, C.M. Parker (Ed.), (Canadian Press Association, 1912); Who's Who in Western Canada, C.M. Parker (Ed.), (Canadian Press Association, various dates); Who's Who in British Columbia, C.M. Parker (Ed.), (Canadian Press Association, various dates); Newspaper Clipping Dockets, Vancouver City Archives.


6. Precise information on the nationality of the fathers was available for only 68 of the 101 known Canadian born. The birthplace distribution of the fathers of native born was as follows: Canada - 36; England - 14; Scotland - 10; Ireland - 7; Wales - 1; Unknown - 33; Total - 101.


9. According to Musgrove's study, middle class men in white collar occupations have been over-represented among British emigrants since the the 1890's. To paraphrase
Musgrove, a prime cause of this development relates to the fact that economic and social development in new countries overseas created appropriate jobs and social statuses that appealed to the young, ambitious and growing British middle class. Also important was the fact that higher education and professional training in Britain produced an ever-expanding supply of trained people willing and able to meet the growing demand for professional and technical expertise in the Dominions, as well as in the United States. Musgrove, Ibid., p.17.


11. Where religion was not specified, masons were considered to be Protestant.


13. In his study of the Seattle business elite, MacDonald found that just under 30% of the elite had attended college. However, since he did not include business college in the college category, it would seem that the figures compare rather favorably to the present study. MacDonald, "The Business Leaders of Seattle," op.cit.

14. Intermediate stopovers on the way to Vancouver were calculated on the basis of phrases such as: "established a real estate business in Winnipeg;" "practiced law in Hamilton;" "apprenticed as a carpenter in Toronto;" and so forth.


16. As Porter has noted, one must exercise a great deal of caution in equating the objective characteristics of an elite population with underlying subjective preferences that may have influenced the ability of certain people to attain elite status. However, he also suggests that it "is not unreasonable to assume that if certain segments of social structure are over-represented in the background of the elite that subjective preferences are at work." Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op.cit., pp.265-266.
CHAPTER THREE


6. Wiebe's discussion of this theme as it relates to the American scene during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is excellent, especially pp. 129-135 in The Search For Order, Ibid.

7. Michael Bliss, A Living Profit (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), especially the concluding chapter, pp. 139-144

8. Ibid., p. 141.

9. Vancouver Board of Trade Council Minutes, March 4th, 1898, Add. MSS. 300, V.C.A.


11. To a large extent therefore, J.M. Careless is correct when he suggests that western cities such as Winnipeg and Vancouver had sprung from and were tied to eastern metropolitanism. J.M. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914," in Prairie Perspectives, A.W. Rasporich and H. Klassen (Eds.), (Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973), p. 8.

12. The Vancouver Clearing House was formed in 1898, primarily as a result of the efforts of Sweeney (Bank of Montreal), Godfrey (Bank of British North America), and Murray (Bank of B.C.)
13. With respect to the security offered by private clubs, Seeley et. al have suggested: "Though mixed with other attractions, the element of intimacy in clubs and associations is none the less significant. Together with occupation, they have become important auxiliaries in creating a solidarity which cannot...be achieved solely within the primary group.... Indeed, the club or association is in itself a form of psychological shelter, almost equivalent in potency to the protection afforded by the office or home." John Seeley, R.A. Sims and E.W. Loosley, Crestwood Heights (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), p.293.

14. Vancouver Real Estate Board, Add. MSS. 101, Vancouver City Archives.

15. "The link here," as Newman argues, "seems to be that if the individual has private property, it is more difficult for the state to deprive him of liberty." Peter Newman, The Canadian Establishment, op. cit., p.144.

16. Second Annual Report of the Vancouver Board of Trade, March 9th, 1889, Vancouver Board of Trade Collection, Add. MSS. 300, V.C.A.

17. David Oppenheimer's Presidential Address to the Vancouver Board of Trade, Ibid., p.9.

18. Monetary Times, 26 September 1903, as referred to by Michael Bliss in A Living Profit, op.cit., p.93.

19. Personal letter from Jim Browning and others to William Van Horne, October 27th, 1890. C.P.R. Collection, Add. MSS. 42, V.C.A.


23. Once established, the relative status positions of these two clubs never altered. For example, in The Canadian Establishment Newman lists the Terminal City Club as one of Canada's most important business clubs but points out that "...the clubs that really count, the only national institutions, are the York, Toronto, and National in Toronto, the Mount Royal and St. James in Montreal, the Rideau in Ottawa, and the Vancouver Club." (p.367).

25. Personal letter from Browning and others to Van Horne, October 27th, 1890. CPR Collection, Add. MSS. 42, Vancouver City Archives.

26. Ibid.

27. The Vancouver Club: Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, 1936 (Quote taken from 1891 sources), V.C.A.

28. Letter from Van Horne to Browning, December 24th, 1890, Add. MSS. 42, V.C.A.

29. Ibid.

30. "Vancouver Club, Ltd.," Company Records File, list of subscribers and directors, (1890) #52, Provincial Archives of B.C.


33. Walter Graveley, "Recollections of a Long Life," The Graveley Family Collection, Add. MSS. 95, V.C.A.

34. The Canadian Club, Organization and Early Addresses, 1906-1907. The Canadian Club Collection, Add. MSS. 95, V.C.A.

35. Ibid.


37. Ibid.

38. Vancouver Daily Province, 16 October 1906, p.22.


41. Michael Bliss' discussion of the impact of the protective tariff deserves consideration in this respect for he points out that the trans-continental connections forged by the CPR did not and could not establish
immediate east-west trade routes in Canada: "Few of the business contemporaries of John A. MacDonald and the protectionist politicians seem to have grasped the connection between the National Policy and the government's other national policies. Until markets in the West actually started to appear in the early 1900's they were more interested in the possibilities of foreign markets and government encouragement of Canadian exports. Only in the twentieth century, following almost exactly upon a Canadian Manufacturers Association excursion to Western Canada in 1903, did east-west, sea-to-sea arguments begin to appear as reinforcement of the National Policy." Bliss, A Living Profit, op. cit., p.102.

42. An English visitor's appraisal of Canadian nationalism in 1906 neatly captures the spirit of materialism and patriotism that sustained the Canadian Club movement and its diffusion into the Canadian hinterland: "It is this spirit one feels everywhere throbbing in Canada: its main outlet at present is frankly 'materialistic,' making for the development of natural resources in field, forest, fishing, mine.... This faith in Canada is visibly unifying the diverse sections, races, and religions, and is taking shape in a 'nationalism' which, at present mainly economic, is certain to have important political bearings when Canada has leisure to think out her political career." J.A. Hobson, Canada Today (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), pp. 3-9. Abstracted in Confederation to 1949, op. cit., pp.128-130.

43. For a listing of individuals involved in the club's preliminary meeting see The Minutes of the Vancouver Canadian Club, August 22nd, 1906, V.C.A.


45. Reverend John McKay, head of Westminster Hall, comes close to breaking this pattern. However, as promoter and president of Western Residential Schools, Ltd., which built and conducted Braemar School for Girls and Langara School for Boys in Shaughnessy Heights, it is difficult to remove McKay entirely from the professional/entrepreneurial category.

46. Other notable executive committee members included J.P. McConnell (managing editor of Saturday Sunset, director of the Vancouver Sun), J.P. Nicholls (real estate with Charles Macaulay), R. McKay Fripp (architect) and John Malkin (wholesaler).
47. C.S. Douglas was also chairman of the first finance committee established in the predominantly working class municipality of South Vancouver.


49. Organizational Meeting of the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club, Add. MSS. 130, V.C.A. Also see Newman, op. cit., p.374.

50. The club repeated this anticipatory performance in 1915 when it relocated to Fir and 16th, on the edge of Shaughnessy Heights, after purchasing the property from the CPR.


52. R. Bower, "Heyday of the West End," Vancouver Daily Province, 30 May 1942, p.3.


54. Newman's research on the contemporary Canadian establishment would indicate that, more than elsewhere in Canada, business establishment and the social establishment remain synonymous in Vancouver. Newman, op. cit., p.239.

55. Information on Vancouver Club nominators and candidates has been obtained from the Vancouver Club Nomination Book, 1894-1901 (Uncatalogued at the V.C.A. at time of research). The figures used are not completely accurate in that several signatures could not be deciphered. However, since the unknown factor consisted of several different illegible signatures, rather than one or two dominant ones, it is felt that the basic conclusions drawn here remain valid.

56. J. Seeley et al., op. cit., p.297.


59. For a discussion of the role that weak ties can play in the survival of social institutions and communities see Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," Volume 78, No. 6, American Journal of Sociology (1973), pp. 1360-1380. In particular, see pp. 1373-1376.
60. Porter's discussion of elite recruitment in Canada is rather appropriate here, for he notes that: "Not only can certain formal qualifications be imposed, but so can other selective devices to establish the appropriateness of any particular candidate for entrance. The process of like recruiting is widespread in all social institutions. Kinship links, similarity of social background...all help to establish appropriateness from the psychological point of view quite apart from any desire an elite might have to retain its social composition. Elites, then, can be exclusive, and most of them are. Exclusiveness can be extended to a variety of formal and informal groupings beyond elite roles, thus making for greater social homogeneity." Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, op. cit., p.218.

1. It must be emphasized that Vancouver's leading corporations have been studied to shed light on the constitution of elite society and the extent to which the members of this ostensibly individualistic society successfully pooled their diverse talents and financial resources around land investments and corporate enterprises that enhanced the city's growth and their own pursuit of personal profit. Related questions about the degree, if any, of monopoly control of the private economy or the use of corporate mergers to restrict competition in the private market have largely been left aside for those more qualified to analyse.


4. Ibid.

5. "The Diary of Campbell Sweeny," Undated pamphlet, #449, V.C.A.

6. Ibid.


8. Point Grey Assessment Rolls, 1910, Vancouver City Archives. Also see 1913 Statutes of B.C., c.96 regarding the re-alignment of the city's boundary on the northern perimeter of Shaughnessy Heights.


10. The major exceptions to this pattern centered on the relatively successful farms that had been established along the North Arm of the Fraser River in the 1860's and 1870's. For example, Magee - D.L. 194, Sam and Fitzgerald McCleery - D.L. 315, 316 and 317.

11. It has proven impossible to ascertain the date at which Mannion first acquired control of this property.

12. For example, William Rowling, a former corporal in the
Royal Engineers, had been granted D.L. 258 for military service and some time later he also purchased D.L.'s 328 and 329. He was also a prominent land speculator in the East End during the 1880's.

13. District Lots 182 and 183 had initially been owned by Henry P. Crease, prominent Victoria lawyer, member of the Legislative Council and Justice of the Supreme Court. Crease lived in the Rockland Avenue area of Victoria, as did several other Victoria elites who were to play more important roles in Vancouver's development (Barnard, Prior, Spencer).

14. Since CPR General Manager Van Horne disapproved of land speculation being conducted by anyone associated with the railroad, Smith had deemed it advisable to have Major purchase property for him along the anticipated right-of-way. See P. Berton, op. cit., pp.305-306.


16. Premier Smithe was obviously prepared to deal with the CPR in a very liberal manner in order to have the railroad line extended past Port Moody. A Granville terminus would immediately enhance the real estate value of unalienated land along the Point Grey Peninsula, property which hitherto had been tied up in timber leases which were producing relatively little revenue for the province.


18. Ibid., p.296.

19. According to some reports, Oppenheimer and associates acquired property in the West End simply by promising the original pre-emptors that they would use their influence to convince Van Horne to extend the rail line into Coal Harbor. See for example The Vancouver Daily Province, 8 March 1924, p.15.


21. Of course the actual terms of the CPR - Provincial Government agreement had been worked out prior to this date and the Port Moody to Granville extension was a fait accompli by 1885 when L.A. Hamilton, the CPR's first land commissioner in Vancouver, arrived to survey and subdivide the land lying between Stanley Park and Glen Drive (originally known as Boundary Avenue, being the eastern limit of the "official" CPR Townsite).
22. City of Vancouver Assessment Rolls, 1888. Vancouver City Archives.

23. For example, Innes and Gravely had been business partners in Winnipeg and Victoria before moving to Granville, and Tatlow initially came to Granville so that he could help Oppenheimer deal with his vast property holdings.

24. Obviously, the term "British Columbians" is used in a rather general descriptive manner here since none of these people were native British Columbians and only a few had been in B.C. for more than five or six years.

25. Other prominent pre-railway businessmen who assumed political roles in early Vancouver included David and Isaac Oppenheimer, Malcolm MacLean, Thomas Dunn and Richard Alexander (manager of the Hastings Sawmill).

26. In 1887 a new arrival in the city cannot be considered a pre-railway elite but it should be stressed that the activities of the early land owners and developers were supported by a large number of well-to-do Eastern Canadians and British entrepreneurs who arrived after 1886. This takes us beyond the scope of the present argument however, and the notion that for the first several years of Vancouver's existence a small and fairly cohesive group of businessmen controlled virtually all the land in Vancouver and its environs that was not controlled by the CPR or the Provincial Government.


29. D.L. 200A had been pre-empted in 1860 by New Westminster merchant William Peacock and purchased in 1869 by H.V. Edmonds, who also owned D.L. 301. Given the amount of D.L. 200A property which Edmonds is still listed as owning in the 1888 Vancouver Assessment Rolls, it seems likely that the Hastings Sawmill did not purchase all of this District Lot in 1871.

30. J.P. Nicolls, Real Estate Values in Vancouver (Vancouver City Archives: 1954), pp.13-14. Also see A.G Smith, op.cit.

32. D.L. 195 was retained by the company for its water supply, as was property adjacent to the mill site that was needed for the operation of the enterprise. Shareholders in the company did not completely monopolize the acquisition of the sawmill's property. For example, I.W. Powell of Victoria is reported to have purchased a substantial portion of D.L. 264A in 1884. See A.B. Smith, "Mount Pleasant, A Neighborhood History," Vancouver Historical Society Newsletter, Volume 15, No 6, 1976, p.7.

33. As examined in Chapter Three of the thesis, even the Metropolitan Club, which tended to attract its greatest support from the "pre-CPR" community, was located adjacent to the West End rather than in the East End.

34. For example, J. Mara, prominent absentee land speculator in the East End (D.L. 183), was well aware of the CPR's manner of operating in the real estate field. Mara, a powerful politician, former speaker of the B.C. Legislature, a leading land speculator and capitalist in Kamloops and Revelstoke, and a central figure in Victoria's elite society, had asked the CPR to establish a terminal on property that he owned in Kamloops. Van Horne was willing to do so, but only if Mara gave the company free land for all shops, sidings, stations and warehouses, together with a half interest in all his other property. See Berton, op.cit., p.408. More generally, the CPR was infamous for relocating station sites if local land owners did not deal liberally with the railroad.

35. Letter from Van Horne to Major Rogers, CPR surveyor. As quoted in Berton, op.cit., p.408.

36. One month prior to the date at which private land owners agreed to turn over one-third of their holdings (in D.L.'s 185, 196 and 181) to the CPR, Van Horne let it be known that he had asked the Dominion Government to give the CPR approximately one-half of the military reserve located west of D.L. 185. This request undoubtedly helped to substantiate the fear that the CPR would its major shops and terminal works away from private land holdings unless the pre-railway landholders cooperated with the CPR. For a copy of Van Horne's proposal to acquire what eventually became Stanley Park see The Naming, Opening and Dedication of Stanley Park (Vancouver City Archives Publication: 1964).


40. The Oppenheimer Collection, Add. MSS. 108, Vol. 13, V.C.A.

41. McDowell, like Dunn, was a charter member of the Board of Trade and went on to become president of the organization in 1904.


46. As Dyos explains with respect to the British arena: "...building societies...were of crucial importance in the Victorian suburb because they were one of the principal means of financing its development by advancing money both to builders and to the occupiers of houses.... Building societies had been formed since about 1775 for limited objectives, mostly in order to use pooled resources for the building of a specific number of houses for their members...." J. Dyos, Victorian Suburb (Leicester University Press, 1966), p.114.


48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., p.35.

50. The manner in which these personal financial links operated in Vancouver's development will only be indirectly dealt with here for the complete anatomy of foreign capital investment in B.C., although important, is far too complex to handle in detail within the scope of this study.

52. Ibid., p.33. Conversely, timber lands were virtually monopolized by U.S. Capitalists. It should also be pointed out that American land companies were very active in the northern interior of B.C., with capital investments reportedly as high as eight million dollars. Field, Ibid., p.30.

53. This is particularly true when one includes the fact that the City of Vancouver floated a number of loans on the London stock market.

54. For example, as a representative of the Liverpool Western Canadian Land Company Ltd. of Liverpool, J.J. Banfield is reported to have invested large sums of English and Scottish money in Vancouver property and mortgages.

55. The most pressing problem in this respect, given the scarcity of assessment roll data for early Vancouver (1888 and 1889 only), relates to the difficulty of differentiating between land held by the Oppenheimer Brothers Ltd., and that held by the Vancouver Improvement Company.


57. Given the fact that many of the large landowners in this area were residents of Victoria it seems likely that for ease of management they agreed to integrate their holdings in a central concern controlled by Oppenheimer.


59. Ibid.


61. "Vancouver Improvement Company Ltd.," Company Records (1897) #78, Provincial Archives of B.C.


63. F. Howay and E. Scholfield, B.C. From the Earliest Times to the Present (San Francisco and Vancouver: Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), Vol. IV, p.844.

64. Farrell had invested funds in the New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Company along with other local entrepreneurs, including Dr. John Lefevre. In 1904 Farrell became president of the B.C. Telephone Company, formed through the amalgamation of several smaller concerns operating in B.C.


68. F.C. Innes Collection, Add. MSS. 38, Vancouver City Archives.

69. "Okanagan Land and Development Company, Ltd.," Company Records, (1890) #17, Provincial Archives of B.C.

70. Roy, op.cit., p.25.

71. Ibid., p. 28.


73. Green, op.cit., p.158.

74. Initially known as the National Electric Tramway and Lighting Company.

75. Green, op.cit., suggests that Barnard and Horne-Payne became quite friendly during the latter's visit to B.C. in the early 1890's.

76. As discussed in the previous chapter, Tatlow, Oppenheimer and Loewen had also been very active in the creation of the Vancouver Club and the development of the club's membership list in 1894.

77. A case in point was R.A. Anderson who, in 1898, lost most of his South Vancouver property in D.L. 701 because of tax arrears.

78. Green, op.cit., p.160

79. Barnard's resignation stemmed from a disagreement with the London directors over his unilateral move to incorporate the Vancouver Power Company as part of the B.C.E.R. operations. As one of the most powerful men in B.C., Barnard found it very difficult to fit into the local advisory role that the London directors demanded of their B.C.E.R. managers.

80. Roy, op.cit., p.69. The B.C.E.R. did not actually receive title to the CPR property in Fairview until after the turn of the century. Beginning in 1901, the CPR began to gradually hand over lots in Fairview to the B.C.E.R. and, as one would expect, most of this property was concentrated along Ninth Avenue, See Register of City Lots - CPR Company, Add. MSS. 42, Vol.19 (1890-1905), v.c.a.
81. Roy, op.cit., p.70. Holdsworth, op.cit., has also pointed out that the B.C.E R.'s bonus land was controlled from London as the St. Nicholas Estate Company, and that this land was eventually transferred to the Columbia Estate Company, managed locally by R.K. Houlgate. In turn, this brought the B.C.E.R. land development bureaucracy within the spectrum of the Yorkshire Corporation.

82. William Salsbury memo, included in the unpublished manuscript of C.W. McBain (CPR Land Agent), June 2nd, 1947. Vancouver City Archives.


84. City of Vancouver Assessment Rolls, 1888(D.L. 541). V.C.A.

85. Gibson, op.cit., p.79.

86. CPR Land Auction in Fairview, July, 1890. List of participants included in the real estate listings of Robertson and Company, an early real estate firm in Vancouver. Add. MSS. 19, V.C.A.


88. The B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company also purchased the Moodyville Sawmill in North Vancouver prior to the turn of the century.


91. Rogers was a close friend and former employee of Theodore Havemeyer of the Havemeyer and Elder Refinery of Brooklyn. Not only did Havemeyer support Rogers financially but he also wrote a letter of recommendation to Van Horne on Rogers' behalf. The CPR favored the proposal to establish a sugar refinery in Vancouver because of the import/export requirements of such an operation. For an intimate look at the history of the refinery see Mary Rogers, The B.C. Sugar Refinery (1958).

92. Vancouver City By-law No. 94 (1890), V.C.A. When the contracts were signed the B.C. Sugar Refining Company deposited a promissory note in the Bank of B.C... ($10,000.00) as a guarantee of the contract with
the city to be in operation by February, 1891. The refinery had to cost not less than $100,000.00 and give employment to at least 100 men. See the discussion in Williams' Vancouver and New Westminster Directory, 1890.

93. "The B.C. Sugar Refining Company Ltd.," Company Records, (1890) #133, Provincial Archives of B.C.

94. Since the Bank of B.C. had also refused to give local directors an extension on the loan so that they could travel back to Britain and raise the necessary funds from the majority shareholders, financial collapse appeared certain. See "The Diary of Campbell Sweeny," op.cit., January 15th, 1895.

95. Browning had resigned as president of the B.C. Sugar Refining Company in 1892.

96. The Vancouver Gas Company, established by several East End property holders in 1886, went through a more blatant transition in corporate control. By 1898 Campbell Sweeny of the Bank of Montreal was one of the top three shareholders in the company, along with G.L. Milne and his wife, although Milne remained as president of the concern.


98. The records are incomplete but it seems likely that when the Vancouver Improvement Company was re-organized into the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company in 1898, following David Oppenheimer's death, Campbell Sweeny began to acquire shares in the company. See "The Vancouver Improvement Company Ltd.," Company Records, (1897) #78, Provincial Archives of B.C.


100. Concentrated economic power refers to the notion that a relatively small group of firms were responsible for a disproportionate amount of economic activity and were linked together through interlocking directorates and family ties. For a fuller discussion of this concept see J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p.231.

101. Studies by Patterson and Armstrong have indicated the type of reciprocal relationship that often existed between intimate social groups and corporate entities during the early stages of modern corporate capitalism.
For example, Patterson argues that knowing one's fellow investors on a personal basis helped to defer apprehensions about the degree of risk involved in any given enterprise and consequently was a crucial variable in mobilizing investment capital during the formative stages of a project (Patterson, op.cit., p.39). Armstrong has suggested that the other side of the question be given equal consideration, and argues that while the corporation was generally established by a family or small social group, the corporate structure itself would often develop into a "sort of pseudo-family with its interconnections going out to other corporate families." (F.H. Armstrong, "The Family: Some Aspects of a Neglected Approach to Canadian Historical Studies," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1971, pp. 112-123). In short, social groups and corporate entities can build upon and reinforce each other, with an intimate social grouping of some sort often being essential to the successful formation of a corporate enterprise. Similarly, although corporate structures could serve as the institutionalized basis of financial competition between elite social groups, they could just as easily serve as a source of social integration to the extent that they could quickly broaden the number of financial concerns that members of the elite society held in common.

102. Norbert MacDonald captures the dynamism of the period rather succinctly: "The quadrupling of population, the massive influx of migrants from the British Isles...the disappearance of the intimate small town quality...the construction of an elaborate street railway system and the subsequent expansion of the physical city,...the establishment of well-defined commercial, industrial and residential districts with distinctive shadings in price and prestige,...all combined to make this one of the most significant periods in Vancouver's history. Indeed the basic character and appearance achieved by 1914 would still be clearly recognizable not only in 1924, but in 1934, as well as in 1944." N. MacDonald, "A Critical Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1914," B.C. Studies, No. 17, 1973, pp.26-42.

103. Company records at the Provincial Archives are a very rich but disorganized and often incomplete source of data. Any sort of rigorous analysis via systematic sampling procedures would prove very time consuming and perhaps impossible. The approach used here, given the basic concern with the decision-making environment of the elite, was to focus on the companies that the elite study population examined in Chapter Two had been involved with.

105. Abbott remained active within the CPR bureaucracy as president of the Vancouver and Lulu Island Railroad.


109. Keith was also Reeve of the Municipality of North Vancouver from 1893 to 1895.


111. Banks were forbidden by the Dominion Banking Act to advance money on real estate. See H. Boam, British Columbia, Its History, People, Commerce, Industry and Resources (London: Sells Ltd., 1912), p.186. Also see the discussion of bank activities on page 60 regarding the fact that "Banks may not accept real estate as security for a loan until repayment thereof is overdue."


113. See the Point Grey Assessment Rolls, 1910. V.C.A.


115. McBeath, who resided on Pendrell Street in the West End, was an important lobbyist for the city's annexation of the Hastings Townsite in 1911 and he represented the newly created Ward 7 on City Council from 1912 to 1915. He served as mayor in 1916 and 1917.


118. A.J. Cunningham, "Why B.C. Finances are Sound," op.cit., p.35.


121. M. Robin, op. cit., p. 149.


123. Vancouver Board of Trade General Minutes, November 13th, 1903. Add. MSS. 300, V.C.A.
CHAPTER FIVE


2. The Manhattan Apartment, designed by Parr and Fee, was one of the first in the city to utilize high site coverage and a deep courtyard for light and ventilation. See H. Kalman, Exploring Vancouver: Ten Tours of the City and its Buildings (University of B.C. Press, 1974), p.108.


4. Ibid.


8. Ibid.

9. The Vancouver Sun, op.cit. Also see the file of protest petitions in the V.T.P.C. Documents, Vol. 22, File #2, Vancouver City Archives.


15. In 1903 for example, workers at the Vancouver Engineering Works went on strike for a closed shop and this was countered by capitalists who formed a city-wide organization that refused to hire any of the striking workers. Monetary Times, Sept. 26th, 1903, p. 388, referred to in M. Bliss, A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p.93.

16. The inspiration for much of this concluding statement comes from discussions held with a number of Vancouver "old-timers," particularly former residents of the East End and Grandview. Special thanks to Mr. A.M. Robertson (retired conductor for the B.C. Electric Railway), Mr. E. Burney (retired B.C. Sugar Company employee), Mr. A. Irwin (retired druggist) and Mr. E. Irwin (retired school teacher and principal), the sons of pioneer Grandview teamster Mr. W. Irwin.
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William Hailstone Add.MSS. 119.

William Malkin, Add. MSS. 237.
APPENDIX A.

APARTMENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WEST END, 1909 to 1910.

Building permits, coupled with data obtained from Town Planning Commission documents at the Vancouver City Archives, shed a great deal of light on the manner in which apartment buildings penetrated the West End landscape. In the first place, as Maps A and B indicate, there was a general increase in the investment cost of apartment construction between 1909 and 1910 and this increase was linked to the increasing size of the apartments as much as it was the result of inflation. In 1909, 14 building permits were issued for West End multiple dwellings, including the $95,000.00 Elysium Hotel on Pender Street. Of these, five were valued at under $20,000.00, six were valued at between $20,000.00 and $50,000.00, and three were cost estimated at more than $50,000.00. Since the seven storey Elysium Hotel, constructed on the site of R.G. Tatlow's former Pender Street home, was not converted into apartments until the World War Two era, it is fair to say that only two purpose designed apartments were valued at more than $50,000.00 in 1909. In 1910, 15 new apartment building permits were issued for the West End and one, for Victoria Court on Thurlow Street, was carried over from 1909 with an increased cost estimate. Of these 16 permits, four were valued at less than $20,000.00 and three at between $20,000.00 and $50,000.00. The other nine, including the renewed permit for Victoria Court, were valued at more than $50,000.00 (map B).

The westward expansion of apartment buildings across the
MAP A.

WEST END APARTMENT BUILDING PERMITS, 1909.

▲ Under $20,000.00
● $20,000.00 - $50,000.00
■ Over $50,000.00
WEST END APARTMENT BUILDING PERMITS, 1910.

- Under $20,000.00
- $20,000.00 - $50,000.00
- Over $50,000.00
West End was in large part spearheaded by the less expensive structures. Since dwelling capacity tended to be directly related to the cost of the building, it seems apparent that smaller and relatively unobtrusive apartments were the first to penetrate the high amenity Stanley Park - English Bay sectors of the West End. This notion is substantiated to some extent by the following maps which indicate the suite capacity of apartments whose building permits were issued in 1909 and 1910. In 1909, nine of the permits were for apartments with less than twenty suites and five were for buildings with twenty to forty-five suites. Three of the four permits that were issued for apartments west of Broughton Street were for buildings with fewer than twenty suites (Map C). In 1910, the suite capacity of West End apartments experienced an overall increase along with the increase in cost estimates examined above. As Map D indicates, five permits were for buildings with fewer than twenty suites, six had 20 to 45 suites, one was for 49 suites, two permits were for buildings with more than 70 suites, and two permits were not acted upon. The Royal Alexandra Apartment building at 1086 Bute and the Holly Lodge Apartments at 1210 Jervis set new suite capacity standards for apartment blocks in Vancouver. The first, built by prominent West End speculative developers J.V. and T.E. Lightheart, had over 90 suites, twice the capacity of any other apartment in the city except the Holly Lodge. The Holly Lodge, built by the Pacific Investment Company, had an 82 suite capacity and was the first major West End apartment to be constructed by an investment syndicate rather than an individual or family group.
SUITE CAPACITY OF APARTMENT BUILDING PERMITS, 1909.

- Under 20 suites
- 20 - 45 suites
SUITE CAPACITY OF APARTMENT BUILDING PERMITS, 1910.

- Under 20 suites
- 20 - 45 suites
- 46 - 70 suites
- Over 70 suites
# APPENDIX B.

**ELITE STUDY POPULATION, 1886-1915**

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