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ABSTRACT

This study examines the leading businessmen in Vancouver, British Columbia, from 1886 to 1914. Its purpose is to define the economic and social character of the top portion of the business community in early Vancouver, and to explore the process by which this community was formed. The identities of businessmen associated with 'important' businesses operating in the city were determined at two different four-year points, from 1890 to 1893 and 1910 to 1913, to allow for an analysis of changes within the leadership group. A comprehensive examination of all businesses in Vancouver during the two periods in question was first undertaken before the 'relatively large' or 'important' businesses in Vancouver, and the businessmen associated with them, were identified. To facilitate a more intensive analysis of the 66 and 276 'business leaders' chosen during the two periods, businessmen who had headed the few largest companies in the city were categorized into another, more select group called the 'business elite'. An additional sub-group of business leaders who had lived in Vancouver from 1910 to 1914 and had achieved a position of high social status in the city was defined as the 'social upper class'.

The development of Vancouver's business community was closely linked to the changing character of the two principal economic systems which operated in coastal British Columbia between 1886 and 1914. While the C.P.R. was initially responsible for the emergence of Vancouver as a city in the 1880's, and while the C.P.R. was by far the most powerful business institution in the Terminal City during the decade after 1886, early Vancouver business leaders retained many ties with the maritime economic system, centered in Victoria, which remained predominant in coastal British Columbia into the late 1890's. Vancouver became a regional metropolitan centre, and its wholesalers and lumbermen finally emerged as the two most influential business groups in the city, only when the
coastal region of the province became fully integrated, a decade after the arrival of the C.P.R., into a transcontinental system centered in eastern Canada. The continentalization of the provincial economy was matched by the Canadianization of Vancouver's business leadership at the turn of the century.

Vancouver's leading businessmen were a distinctly regional business group. They had few ties with the business establishment of eastern Canada, either on the boards of national corporations or in the business and social clubs of the eastern elite. Most city enterprises operated within British Columbia alone, though lumber companies and several wholesale firms marketed products on the prairies. This regionalism found expression in particular in the structure of business in Vancouver, and in the types of economic activity that occupied city businessmen. Vancouver-centered businesses were small by national standards, and exhibited a simple form of internal organization based on the dominant proprietorship of one man, group of partners or family; this was the case despite the fact that most 'important' local businesses had been incorporated into limited liability companies by 1914. The individual entrepreneur owning his own company, rather than the finance capitalist or career bureaucrat, was still the most prominent type of business leader in Vancouver before the War. Particularly indicative of the regional character of business activity in Vancouver was the preoccupation of these entrepreneurs with speculation in, or the development of urban land and hinterland resources. National business trends had begun to influence the structure of business and the nature of business leadership in Vancouver by 1914, however. The consolidation of many small into a few large companies and the consequent internal bureaucratization of businesses was taking place in the resource industries of the province before the War; local companies were giving way to the branch offices of eastern-centered national corporations; and local representatives of national companies with major operations in Vancouver did tend to exert more influence in the city than did the average head of a local company.
The social characteristics of Vancouver's top businessmen were less distinctive than their occupational concerns. More British than the city as a whole in the 1890's, Vancouver's business leaders had by 1914 become more Canadian; in both periods the business community was solidly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. Business leaders' backgrounds conformed generally to a pattern now familiar in the historical literature on business elites at the turn of the century in both the United States and Canada. Leading businessmen in Vancouver, like business elites elsewhere, were a privileged group, coming from backgrounds of much greater economic and social advantage than the population as a whole. While economic mobility was slightly higher among the top businessmen in Vancouver before 1914 than among the elites at the national level, the career patterns of Vancouver business leaders was not characterized by dramatic 'rags-to-riches' mobility. In addition, status mobility did not conform exactly to economic mobility in Vancouver. While becoming a member of the city's economic elite did ease the way to inclusion into Vancouver's emerging 'social upper class' before 1914, the business leaders who were accepted into the inner circles of Vancouver 'society' were even more likely than successful businessmen to have come from privileged economic and social backgrounds.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Gilbert Stelter argues that Canadian historians have approached the urban history of Canada in two principal ways, through "studies which deal with historical processes or events in an urban setting...without too much worry about what is 'urban' in the subject," and through "a second group of publications...in which the city is regarded as a special kind of social environment with unique internal and external patterns of organization." The first category includes a range of studies from urban biographies, which "attempt to relate the complex facets of a modern city," and are concerned with "the totality of urban experience," to examinations of particular economic, social, political and physical themes in the urban context. The second encompasses works which, in the Canadian literature at least, either explore the metropolitan concept and the emergence of a metropolitan system in Canada, or focus on "the city building process"; publications of both types in the second category, Stelter says, "have been influenced by the tradition of the ecological sociologists and accept the necessity of studying the so-called 'ecological complex' -- the key variables of population, environment, technology, and organization."¹

The following study of leading businessmen in early Vancouver falls into the first of these two main historiographical categories. The growth of cities is viewed as part of the much larger process of economic and social change taking place in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus is squarely on the city in the larger society, rather than on the unique qualities of cities as cities. In addition, the urban
biography approach to the study of cities has been rejected in favour of a thematic method on the grounds that only through a concentrated analysis of particular groups in the city, or of particular themes in the urbanization process, will the limitations imposed on research and analysis by an attempt to examine "the totality of urban experience" be overcome. Only through a large number of such detailed histories of particular aspects of city life will a more meaningful analysis of the character of Canadian cities, including both the uniqueness and similarity of that experience from city to city, eventually be possible.

An examination of leading businessmen in one Canadian city provides an obvious choice of subjects for the exploration of Canadian urban history, and was selected as the topic of the following study on the basis of two generally accepted assumptions about Canada at the turn of the century. The first is the idea that Canada's businessmen emerged in this period as "the dominant class in Canadian society." English Canada, a business-oriented, philosophically liberal and expansionist society, passed from a rural and small town past into an urban and industrial future during this period. Businessmen were the agents of this radical transformation, the group which through its embodiment of values of rugged individualism, hard work and thrift and its close association with the geographic and material expansion of the country had become the cultural heroes of the new Canada.

The second assumption states that the changing role of the country's business class was closely linked to the rapid growth of Canadian cities. Business power became increasingly centralized in large cities as new marketing techniques, new communication and transportation systems and especially new forms of business organization extended the economic influence of leading cities over previously remote regional hinterlands. In the cases of Montreal and Toronto this influence stretched from coast-to-coast. The business influence which extended outward from the city was also a guiding force in the
development of the cities themselves; as J. M. S. Careless says of Winnipeg, "it is to do little more than to apply a truism to a particular case of urban development" to say that economic leaders of a city had "significant influence in shaping that city's growth." Coincident with the emergence of Canada as a modern urban society, then, was the formation of a new business class which, both within the context of Canada's various regions and of the cities which controlled those regions, had become symbolically and functionally the single most influential group in the country.

Vancouver's rise from a mere village on the Burrard Inlet shoreline in the early 1880's to the rank of Canada's fourth largest city and the metropolitan centre of one of Canada's five distinctive regions by 1911 provides a spectacular example of urban growth during this period of critical change in Canadian history. In addition, nowhere in Canada was business a more significant agent of urban growth, nor a more important determinant of the city's image. French historian Albert Métin's first impression of Vancouver was of a city "where everything is sacrificed to commerce." "It is purely a business town," English traveller J. A. Hobson wrote in 1906, "a thing of stores and banks and meagre wooden houses, with no public buildings of account; for, though the largest city of British Columbia, Vancouver is not the capital." Business, not government, had been the reason for Vancouver's incorporation as a city in 1886, and business continued to be the most important determinant of its size and character over the twenty-eight years that followed.

Vancouver, then, provides an excellent setting for an examination of the relationship between business and urban growth in turn-of-the-century Canada. Questions like the nature of economic activity in Vancouver, the relationship between Vancouver and its hinterland region, the migration patterns of goods, capital, branch businesses and entrepreneurial skills into and out of the city, the degree to which rapid urban expansion in a new city like
Vancouver offered opportunities for the social and economic advancement of migrant entrepreneurs, the character of social behaviour among city businessmen, and the political role of business leaders will constitute the framework for the following investigation of Vancouver's most prominent entrepreneurs. Of particular significance in the selection of a city like Vancouver is the opportunity it permits for exploring the influence of regionalism on the character and role of an important urban group in one of the outlying parts of the country.

* * *

The technique chosen for this study, a group biography of the 'leading' or 'most important' businessmen in Vancouver during the early period of the city's history from 1886 to 1914, has been applied by historians and sociologists for several generally related purposes over the past forty years, starting in 1925 with a study by Pitrim Sorokin of affluent Americans between 1761 and 1900. The majority of these biographical studies were motivated by a desire to test, through an examination of those who had made it to the top of the economic ladder in the United States, the national myth that America had been and still was an open society. Principal among them are studies of American business elites by C. Wright Mills in 1945, William Miller in 1949 and 1950, Francis W. Gregory and Irene D. Neu in 1952, Suzanne Keller in a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University in 1953, Mabel Newcomer in 1955 and Reinhard Bendix in 1959. Some, like Miller and Newcomer, focus more directly on the career patterns of top corporation executives, while others like Mills and Bendix are more concerned with patterns of elite recruitment over the long period of American history. Two studies of local business elites, by Norbert MacDonald of the elite in Seattle between 1880 and 1910 and by Eleanor Bruchey of the same group in Baltimore, between 1880 and 1914, stemmed from a similar concern about the openness of American society, but also
shared a wider interest in exploring the role of leading businessmen in the economic (and in Bruchey's case social) development of American cities.\textsuperscript{10} The tradition of group biography lives on in the United States, and includes of particular note recently-completed studies by John N. Ingham of the national iron and steel industry elite in the U.S. from 1874 to 1965 and by Jocelyn Ghent and Frederick Jaher of the Chicago business elite in the century before 1930.\textsuperscript{11} The three most significant collective biographies of Canadian elites are analyses of the structure of power in Canada in the 1950's and 1970's respectively by sociologists John Porter and Wallace Clement, and an examination of the country's leading industrial entrepreneurs between 1880 and 1910 by historian T. W. Acheson.\textsuperscript{12}

More important for the sake of my analysis of business leaders in Vancouver than the motives behind these preceding studies were the methods used to define the various elite groups.\textsuperscript{13} Two approaches predominated, one to define the elite as the top men in the biggest firms by the application of strictly objective or 'technical' methods of determining company sizes, and the other to take a broader point of view, "labelling those men as elite who were so deemed by the business community or even the community at large" by their inclusion in one or more reputable and contemporary biographical dictionaries.\textsuperscript{14} No single technique for defining important companies in an objective manner has been accepted by those following the first approach. Mabel Newcomer, who studies the top people (presidents or chairmen of the board) in the largest companies in three separate fields (public utilities, railroads and industrial enterprises) at three points of time between 1899 and 1953, defined the largest companies by the size of their assets, and used a different level of assets for each of the three periods.\textsuperscript{15} William Miller studied the men in the top corporate positions of four different categories of business during only one period, from 1900 to 1910; he used the capitalization of
companies as a measure of importance for manufacturing and mining, railroad and public utility enterprises, and deposits for banks and assets for life insurance companies. Gregory and Neu examined only three fields of business (textiles, steel and railroads) and determined the largest corporations in each by a complex formula measuring authorized capitalization, technology and equipment. John Porter in the *Vertical Mosaic* defined Canada's largest corporations of the 1948-1950 period by measuring production output, number of employees and assets in that order. Because Porter was concerned with the linkages between decision-making roles on the boards of directors of the country's largest companies, he then went on to analyze the directors of the various companies chosen; the others mentioned above, by contrast, focused only on those holding the top executive positions of the leading companies.

The second approach, which depended on the use of biographical dictionaries, was based on the assumption that being one of the most influential people in a certain category of activity (i.e., being one of the 'elite' in that category) was dependent upon factors other than the strictly technical ones, such as heading the largest companies. Elite status was also determined, argued Reinhard Bendix, "by prestige as well as by income, by social and political influence as well as by the assets or gross receipts of the firm, by strategic family connections as well as by the number of subordinates, by local or regional prominence as well as by national fame, by civic activities as well as by economic success." These presumably were taken into consideration by the editors of biographical dictionaries, even those dictionaries for which inclusion was based on a paid subscription. In addition, authors using the second approach assumed that only a sample, rather than a complete profile of all leading businessmen was required for the purposes at hand (in Bendix's and Mills' cases the study of social mobility); a broader sample could be obtained more conveniently through a random selection of businessmen.
included in biographical dictionaries than from the more objective method of choosing the top men in the largest companies. Norbert MacDonald also chose his leaders from biographical dictionaries, and so falls roughly into this second category. He was careful, however, to exclude businessmen listed in less than three of the eighteen sources of biographical information used, he did not sample in a random fashion, and he chose businessmen only in certain economic categories (such as wholesale, transportation, manufacturing and banking enterprises); thus his method also had some of the more 'technical' characteristics of the first approach.

Two recent studies are less easy to categorize. T. W. Acheson based his selection of leading Canadian industrialists on a very subjective analysis of men whose importance to their industry was indicated by their association with a major manufacturing firm, and who were "regarded by contemporaries as the major industrial leaders of the period" by being chosen for inclusion in one or more biographical dictionaries, who were "consistently referred to in trade journals as being significant to (their) companies," or who were "active in positions of leadership in trade organizations" such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Eleanor Bruchey combined both of the two main approaches, gathering the names of Baltimore businessmen mentioned in three biographical dictionaries, and then selectively reducing this number by picking out only the single most powerful individuals in companies which met an objective standard of importance (i.e., had assets greater than $100,000). She further altered her initial selection by including a number of additional businessmen who had been ignored (in part for ethnic reasons) by the biographical dictionaries.

The method used here for selecting the leading businessmen (sometimes referred to by another generic category called 'entrepreneurs') in early Vancouver is a function of both the overall purpose of the inquiry and the harsh
reality of limited alternatives. The purpose is to explore in as complete a manner as possible the character and role of leading businessmen in the city; only an objective analysis of all 'leading' businessmen based on an identification of as many as possible of their business connections above a minimum size can fulfil this function. Clearly, then, the sampling technique of the Mills-Bendix group would be inadequate, as would their use of biographical dictionaries to define business leaders. The less technical approach to defining elites was also rejected at the outset on the grounds that Bendix's definition of elites blurs the very real differences between economic function, social prestige and political role. Business leaders and elites are defined in this study in functional terms, as the 'top' or 'most influential' men in their particular category of endeavour. For this reason, then, leading businessmen had to be defined strictly in terms of their economic role. A further weakness of the biographical dictionary method for Vancouver is a very practical one; only two extensive series of biographical sketches of British Columbians had been published to 1914, J. B. Kerr's *Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians*, in 1890, and E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay's four volume *British Columbia From the Earliest Times to the Present*, two volumes of which contained biographical studies, in 1914. Few Vancouverites were mentioned in national biographical dictionaries of the period. In addition, the kind of trade journals used by Acheson for his examination of the national industrial elite provided little information that could be used to identify a broadly defined local business group in a regional centre like Vancouver. In short, available sources were too limited to permit the systematic application of the biographical dictionary approach to defining Vancouver's leading businessmen.

The desire to study as comprehensive a part of the upper portion of the business community as possible also led to the establishment of three ad-
ditional principles of selection. One is that the group should be broadly defined as the 'top' portion of the business community, those associated with a wide range of 'relatively' large companies operating in the city. A further distinction could then be drawn between 'business leaders', this broader, more numerous group, and 'business elite', a smaller, more select category made up of the most influential businessmen associated with Vancouver's few largest companies (see Chapter 6).

The second additional principle is that all kinds of business activity in the city should be included, and not just certain select types as in the Newcomer, Miller and Gregory and Neu studies of America's corporate elite, or in MacDonald's study of the business elite in Seattle; in the latter case, for instance, real estate businessmen, who played a critical role in new and rapidly expanding urban communities like Seattle or Vancouver but were of comparatively little influence on the national level, were left out.

The third is that more than just the single most influential figure in each of the 'important' businesses in the city (such as proprietors or senior partners of locally owned, unincorporated businesses; presidents of locally owned incorporated companies; or the local managers of outside companies with a major business operation in Vancouver) should be included. Based on John Porter's assumption that directors had been and were the ultimate decision-makers in modern, limited liability companies, a point system was devised whereby a total of three points merited inclusion in the business leadership group; three points are given for the position of local head of an 'important' business in Vancouver, two for the position of vice-president and one for that of director. Managers are not included in a systematic fashion on the grounds that with very few exceptions, businesses in Vancouver were still experiencing only the very first stages of administrative rationalization, and had not evolved to the point where ownership and management functions
were entirely separate. Thus many managers were also directors or owners, and are allotted points for these decision-making roles accordingly. In the case of B. T. Rogers, who was manager and undoubtedly the key figure in the British Columbia Sugar Refining Company in the 1890's, but not company president, a subjective decision was made to allot three points for his managerial role; the same was the case in the early 1890's for confectionary goods manufacturer James Ramsay. The three point system has the decided advantage of allowing for inclusion in the study many business figures who had developed associations with, and influence in, important Vancouver-based businesses which they did not head; it also makes possible at least a partial examination of the role of non-business personalities such as lawyers and doctors in the business life of the community.

Once the general guidelines for the selection of 'leading businessmen' had been established, the difficult problem of determining the businesses which exceeded certain minimum levels of presumed influence and economic power in Vancouver, and which therefore could be defined as 'important', remained to be dealt with. These important companies are defined in two four-year periods at either end of the twenty-eight years between 1886 and 1914 to allow for an analysis of changes in the character and role of leading businessmen. The specific times chosen, from 1890 to 1893 and 1910 to 1913, both included the two points of greatest business expansion in the city before the First World War. Companies are judged 'important' if they met the minimum standards required for at least four consecutive years, two of which had to be in the relevant 1890-93 or 1910-13 periods. The early years, when most businesses in Vancouver were relatively small and owned by single proprietors or partners, pose the greatest difficulties for choosing 'important' businesses in an objective fashion. This is much less the case for the pre-war years when, especially after implementation of the new provincial Companies Act of 1910, most British Columbia compan-
ies (which made up the vast bulk of the business affiliations of Vancouver businessmen) were incorporated, thus allowing for the systematic evaluation of their assets and lists of directors in the files of the British Columbia Registrar of Companies in Victoria. Assets of $50,000 for businesses of the 1890-93 period and $100,000 for those from 1910 to 1913 are designated as the basic minimum qualifications for companies deemed 'important' to the city economy. Final decisions about whether businesses were to be labelled 'important' were made after virtually every business mentioned in city directories during the 1890-93 and 1910-13 periods had first been noted and (for incorporated companies) checked in the British Columbia Gazette at the time of incorporation. A large number of obviously small and insignificant companies (measured by their initial authorized capitalization) had then been rejected, followed by an examination of the annual reports of the remainder. Each 'important' company (along with its executive officers and directors) is included separately in the study, even if a subsidiary of another 'significant' local firm.

When a company's assets are unknown, as is generally the case for the 1890-93 period, other evidence (such as contemporary newspaper comments about company significance, information about the number of workers employed, or evidence of achievements in bringing capital into the area) is used as the basis of a subjective interpretation of its role; this role is designated as 'important' if roughly equal to that of other businesses whose assets met the minimum requirements. The influence of local real estate companies defies anything but a most impressionistic interpretation, and is measured by independent standards. In the end the majority of companies designated as 'important' in the 1890-93 period are determined by this indirect and more subjective method, while in the pre-war years most are chosen on the basis of having acquired the minimum level of $100,000 in assets.
One problem in defining 'important' companies is constant for both the early 1890's and pre-war periods. Businesses with head offices outside the city, even if British Columbia companies, left no obvious record of the extent of their operations inside Vancouver. Any conclusion that a company's role in the city had met the minimum standards required of 'important' Vancouver-based, British Columbia-incorporated businesses is made subjectively on the basis of supplementary evidence. Some companies, such as the C.P.R., were obviously important to the city. Others, like the branches of Canadian Westinghouse, Ogilvie Flour Mills or the Travellers Life Insurance Company in the 1910-13 period, all of which were rejected as 'insignificant' Vancouver companies, were not. Every city banker of the early nineties is included for the first period; for the pre-war years only banks with four or more branches throughout the metropolitan Vancouver area are designated as 'important'. In the case of these banks, as with all outside companies of both periods whose operations met the minimum standards of significance in Vancouver, the top local official of the company (usually the manager) is designated as a business leader. Other evidence demanded that certain exceptions be made to this rule, however. The four top executive officers of the C.P.R. in Vancouver in the early 1890's were interpreted subjectively as Vancouver business leaders of this first period, as were the two principal officers in Vancouver before the war. R. H. Alexander, manager of the Hastings Sawmill, though not the top local official of the New Westminster-based British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company (headed in Vancouver by vice-president Charles Beecher), was a man of obvious influence in the city, and was included among the 1890-93 leaders. And bank manager William Murray, though a lesser figure in Vancouver than the Canadian Bank of Commerce's regional superintendent H. H. Morris, was for historical reasons an influential figure in the region's salmon canning industry between 1910 and 1913, and was included as a business leader for the pre-war period. 31
Despite the fact that the process of defining Vancouver's leading businessmen according to objective standards is fraught with difficulties, especially for the early years, the sum total of sources used for the 1890-93 period and the systematic application of a clearly defined methodology for the period from 1910-1913 does produce a comprehensive, if perhaps not perfectly accurate, division of city businesses into 'significant' and 'insignificant' categories, as desired. Thereafter a list of leading businessmen based on the previously defined three point system has been drawn up, and their business affiliations categorized into one of eighteen different types of economic activity (Appendices A and B). All told, sixty-six and two hundred seventy-six businessmen respectively were designated as Vancouver business leaders during the two periods; twenty of these individuals were included in both. An exhaustive search then followed for biographical information on the chosen businessmen, and an analysis was begun of the economic forces that had encouraged the development of a regionally powerful business community in Vancouver.
Chapter 2

THE ECONOMIC SETTING FOR VANCOUVER BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

British Columbia passed through a critical phase of economic development at the turn of the twentieth century when it was transformed from an outward-looking maritime community connected by the Pacific Ocean to California, Great Britain and various points on the Pacific Rim, into a transcontinental community subordinate to the larger economic developments of the prairie centre and industrial east of North America. This integration into a transcontinental economic system represented, at last, the economic entry of the Pacific province into the Canadian Confederation, coming twenty-five years after the initial constitutional dimension of that relationship had been formed in 1871. The critical factor during these two phases of development was transportation; the 'coastal' economy of the pre-1890's period was dependent on maritime shipping, while the 'transcontinental' system that followed was made possible by the building of railroads from the east to the Pacific. The westward penetration of the railway introduced into British Columbia a 'transcontinental' system in the broadest sense by destroying the coastal isolation of the previous period and opening the province to a wide range of North American influences, including new capital, technology and entrepreneurship from both eastern Canada and the United States.

The impact of the railroad was narrowed from this broader North American potential into a strongly Canadian force by another critical factor suddenly influential in B.C. at the turn of the century, the Canadian government's policy of economic nationalism. The Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Grand Truck Pacific and Canadian Northern Pacific that followed, were part of the
larger politico-economic system established in Canada in the 1870's and brought to completion at the turn of the century. British Columbia's new economic ties after the late 1890's were thus essentially a function of Canadian nationalism, though the broader North American influences of the new 'transcontinental' system to the south, where a similar national market had been formed, were also strong in B.C. throughout the 1900-1914 period. While the extraction and processing of natural resources provided the basic substance of economic growth in the province during both phases of development, the subsidiary factors of markets, technology and entrepreneurship and the relative economic importance of specific staples were subject to considerable change as the old maritime economic connections declined and the new transcontinental ones expanded. The shift from a coastal to a national economic system, in short, constituted a fundamental turning point in British Columbia's history. As such it provided the economic background for Vancouver's evolution from a relatively isolated coastal sawmill community in 1885 into the metropolitan centre of the Pacific region of Canada by 1914.

* * *

The most striking characteristic of the British Columbia into which Vancouver was born in 1886 was the province's overwhelming dependence on the extraction, processing and export of staple resources. The region's original export commodity of furs had ceased to be a factor of importance in B.C. by the 1860's, and the placer gold mining booms which had fostered a transition in the province from a sparsely populated and itinerant society before 1858 to a new and more stable settlement society afterwards had also long since ceased to be factors causing economic growth. Salmon, timber and coal had replaced gold as the most important staples by the 1880's, and of these salmon
canning had become the fastest growing resource industry along the coast. While the salmon processing industry had begun as a trade in salt-cured salmon to the Sandwich Islands and Asia after 1835, the successful application of new canning technology in B.C. in 1870 for the first time made possible a much more extensive exploitation of the fish resource. Spurred on by the opening of new markets among the industrial working class in Britain, production of canned salmon increased between 1877 and 1882, and jumped again later in the decade. The number of canneries in operation, most of which were located on the Fraser River, and the total number of cases packed increased sixfold between the big years of 1881 and 1897. The coal mining industry begun in the Nanaimo area of Vancouver Island by the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1850's grew more slowly, with production increasing by 270% between 1886 and 1897. Seventy-five percent of Island coal was marketed in California in 1887. Increased production of lumber was more dependent in the 1880's and 1890's on local markets than either salmon or coal, and only when a large demand for B.C. lumber developed on the prairies late in the 1890's did sawmilling emerge as the province's most important primary industry. Lumber for export in the 1880's came primarily from the Moodyville Sawmill and the Hastings Sawmill on either side of Burrard Inlet, both founded in the 1860's. Construction of the C.P.R. and growth in Vancouver and Victoria stimulated the industry along the coast, while the insatiable demand for lumber by the Kootenay mines after 1887 and the continued construction there of railways provided the basis for establishment of a sawmill industry in the south-eastern corner of the province. The amount of timber cut in B.C. increased threefold between 1888 and 1898 while lumber exports destined for Pacific markets doubled over the same period. Agriculture did not lead economic growth in B.C. but expanded in response to local demand for foodstuffs. Even so, however, the farms around Victoria and in the Fraser Valley were important sources of employment in the province. In
1881 between 2600 and 2800 persons were involved in each of B.C.'s largest industries of mining, fishing and agriculture.\textsuperscript{10}

Manufacturing and exports were also closely related to the extraction of staples. Each of the two manufacturing industries employing the largest number of labourers in 1881 were of this nature; the preserved articles of fish industry, mainly salmon canning, and the sawmill industry employed 1449 and 398 workers respectively that year.\textsuperscript{11} The importance of these industries to the province is revealed most clearly in the export statistics for the period.\textsuperscript{12} Eighty-five percent of B.C.'s exporting during the four year period from 1888 to 1891 were products of the mines, fisheries or forest.

British Columbia at the time of Vancouver's incorporation was also very much a 'Pacific' rather than 'North American' community. Until traversed by the Canadian Pacific the year before, the mountain ranges of British Columbia had made east-west lines of trade across Canada virtually impossible in the post-fur trade era. The Pacific coast had provided the principal transportation link between the north-west coast of North America and the outside world since the first arrival of whites to the area in the eighteenth century. Ocean shipping had become essential to the economy of the region especially after the decline of the overland fur trade. The sea lanes of the Pacific had been supplemented in 1869 by the Central Pacific Railway which was completed that year to the American west coast at San Francisco, making this transcontinental route the chief avenue of travel thereafter for politicians, traders and immigrants alike between British Columbia and the eastern side of the continent. Mail and telegraph service to B.C. also passed through the California centre.\textsuperscript{13} Even then, B.C. was tied to the system at San Francisco only by the sea.

Entrepreneurship, markets for the province's resources, commercial relations with the outside world and the flow of capital into B.C. were all determined in the mid-1880's by this dependence on ocean transportation.
British Columbia's most obvious economic ties were with Britain, a continuing heritage of the influence established along the north-west coast of the continent by the sea-faring British prior to Confederation. Industrial activity had been initiated almost exclusively by British-born entrepreneurs using British capital and British machinery. For instance, the sawmills organized by Captain Stamp at Port Alberni and by Stamp and Sewell Moody on Burrard Inlet in the 1860's were products of this tripartite influence of British entrepreneurship, capital and technology. These ties continued through the 1870's and 1880's, with British capital supporting enterprises in each of the mining, salmon canning and sawmill industries. The New Vancouver Coal Co. Ltd. and the reorganized Moodyville Land and Sawmill Ltd. were each controlled in Britain at the end of this period, in 1891. British capital also entered the area through land and financial institutions. Two of the three principal commercial banks in Victoria in the 1880's were London-based firms; the Bank of British North America had been established there in 1859 and the Bank of British Columbia in 1862. The latter was particularly important, with branches in both American and British Columbian west coast cities in 1864. By providing the return cargo for ships bringing a wide selection of consumer and industrial goods into the province, salmon exports reinforced existing commerce between Britain and the Canadian west coast. Turner, Beeton and Company, for instance, were engaged not only in the export of canned fish but were also active as representatives in B.C. for a range of wholesale goods, including liquors and canning supplies, almost all of which were British in origin. Consumer tastes in the province represented the traditional British rather than North American influence in the area, an influence reinforced by the lack of competition from eastern Canadian and American manufacturers until the 1890's. Victoria merchants like Moses Lenz and Gustave Leiser, "the largest importers and manufacturers of drygoods in British Columbia," continued to purchase most of their trade lines in Britain and on the continent at the time.
of Vancouver's incorporation.  

California was the other major source of social and economic influence in British Columbia during the 1880's. The British character of economic life in B.C. had been challenged by American interests in 1858 when the Fraser River gold rush brought a flood of miners and businessmen into the colonies from south of the border. Commercial ties between the principal cities of each region were firmly established during this period, and were strengthened by the completion of a railway to the American west coast in 1869. The coastal trade thereafter was broadened through the increased movement of consumer goods from San Francisco into B.C. and the reciprocal trade to California of coal, in addition to gold. Seventy-seven percent of the primary products exported from British Columbia in 1888 went to the United States, making it B.C.'s largest market. San Francisco capital also found its way into B.C.'s resource industries in the wake of these trade relations; thirty percent of the Fraser River canning industry in 1881, both of the large sawmills on Burrard Inlet and at least one coal mine on Vancouver Island during the same decade were financed from the California centre. The large amount of capital invested in Robert Dunsmuir's Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway in the mid-1880's by California railroad entrepreneurs exemplified the relationship between California demand for British Columbia's resources and the return flow of American capital into B.C. 

British Columbia's economic environment in the 1880's, then, was determined by the coincident factors of the west coast's isolation from eastern North America and the dominant reality of the Pacific Ocean. Imports of consumer and highly manufactured industrial products from American west coast cities and from Britain, exports for the urban and railway markets of California, and similar exports of canned salmon for the working class market of industrialized Britain were each dependent on ocean transportation. The forces which made
these economic ties possible likewise drew British Columbians into an even wider trade relationship among the communities on the Pacific, reinforcing the province's coastal rather than transcontinental character. An export trade in sawed timber had developed in the 1860's, and by 1871 B.C. lumber was finding its way into markets in Chile, Peru, Australia, China, New Zealand, California and the Hawaiian Islands, with Chile, Peru and China leading the way. These same Pacific markets continued to provide the principal stimulus for lumber exports from the province until the 1890's. The remainder of the lumber produced in B.C. was consumed in the local market. Demand for lumber in the Hawaiian Islands was a response to the growth there of the sugar industry in the 1860's, and lumber exports from B.C. soon prompted a reciprocal trade in sugar to the American and British Columbian west coasts; Welch of San Francisco and Rithet of Victoria took a leading role in developing this trade. The seal hunt in the Behring Sea also expanded into an important staple industry during the 1880's, with the Victoria-based sealing fleet increasing from six ships in 1880 to forty ships in 1891.

These two lines of influence tying British Columbia economically to Great Britain on the one hand and California on the other were not mutually exclusive. British interests were also strong in California, attracted there by the Pacific coast's largest export — wheat, and by an extension of British financial interests down the coast from British Columbia. Exports of California grain had attracted British shipping and financial houses to the American west coast in the 1870's and 1880's, linking California, in addition to British Columbia, with the common metropolitan centre of London. At least one of the British firms established initially to handle California grain later expanded northward into British Columbia. Balfour, Guthrie and Company had been established as a California branch
of the Liverpool shipping firm of Balfour, Williamson, and Company in 1869, and its tremendous success as an importer into California of British trade goods and capital, and exporter to Britain of California wheat led eventually to an expansion of branches up the Pacific coast to Portland in 1878, Tacoma in 1888 and Seattle in 1893. The San Francisco firm of Dickson, DeWolfe and Company which bought out Captain Stamp's mill on Burrard Inlet in 1868 (changing its name to the Hastings Sawmill Company) was another such example; it was linked with the firm of H. N. Dickson of London. The most important extension of British influence in the other direction, southward from British Columbia, occurred with the establishment of branches along the American west coast by the Bank of British Columbia, starting with a branch in San Francisco in 1864. The bank served as an 'umbrella' for entrepreneurial initiative on both sides of the border; Andrew Welch and Company of San Francisco, for instance, parent firm of Victoria's Welch, Rithet and Company, became one of the Bank of British Columbia's largest customers in the California centre. Entrepreneurship likewise followed this triangular pattern. The Lowe brothers established a commission merchant's business in Victoria in 1863 after gaining extensive experience along the American west coast. But the Scottish-born Lowes "never escaped their ties to the British Isles." In the words of B.C. historian Keith Ralston, British Columbia at the time of Vancouver's incorporation was locked in a complex triangular relationship with California and Great Britain which "involved direct and independent links" between the two west coast societies with Britain, "as well as cross-connections with each other." All three were drawn together by the common pursuit of economic interests along the western edge of the North American continent.

The economic system which had emerged along the B.C. coast during the previous half-century was seriously challenged between 1883 and 1893 by the completion of three transcontinental railways to the Pacific Northwest, linking
Puget Sound and Burrard Inlet with the rapidly developing and expansionist societies of central Canada and the midwestern and eastern United States. Though the completion of the Northern Pacific to Tacoma in 1883 and the Great Northern to Seattle in 1893 was to have an important influence on the economy of B.C., particularly in the southeastern portions of the province, the greatest threat to the 'old' British Columbia was presented by the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed at Craigellachie in the Selkirk Mountains in 1885. The C.P.R. brought with it a potential for broad and fundamental changes in B.C., a potential defined earlier in the Macdonald government's program to create a transcontinental economy based on the integration of the Canadian west with the metropolitan economy of the St. Lawrence basin. The realignment of British Columbia's economic interests from a coastal into a transcontinental system was clearly implied in the railway and tariff platforms of the Conservative Party's National Policy.

Such a basic change in the province's 'Pacific' outlook did not materialize in the first decade after the arrival of the C.P.R., however. "The development of lode mining in the Kootenays," which peaked in waves first at Nelson in 1887, and then in the Slocan Lake region in the early 1890's and at Rossland in 1895, "was a result of the construction of transcontinental railways" designed initially to handle transcontinental trade and to "develop traffic in agricultural products in the plains regions." But the B.C. coast was geographically isolated from this interior mining boom through the nineties. No direct rail links tied the coast to the area, and the long road and water connections between the C.P.R.'s main line at either Golden or Revelstoke with the southeastern corner of the province put both Victoria and Vancouver at a distinct disadvantage as service centres for the Kootenays, particularly when compared with Spokane, Washington. Spokane was the natural metropolis for the 'Inland Empire'
of the Kootenay region, and "was the chief centre of supplies" for the area until challenged from the Canadian prairies and central Canada after the beginning of the boom in 1896 and particularly after the opening of the Crowsnest Pass Railroad in 1898. The region's natural wealth was marketed to the south or east rather than to the west by way of British Columbia's coast cities. Before the successful establishment of smelters at Trail and Nelson in 1896, minerals were processed in the United States at centres like Butte, Montana or Tacoma, Washington, centres reached by water routes south from the Kootenay's and then by American railway. Lead continued to go to American smelters until the turn of the century. The most important new region of growth in the province after the arrival of the railways, then, did not have any immediate and significant influence on the economic system of coastal British Columbia. The isolation of the coast from the Kootenays and the dominant position of Spokane in the inland region of the province was increased by the fact that the cities of the B.C. coast showed only a languid interest in the Kootenays through the 1890's.

The failure of eastern Canadian businesses to accompany the C.P.R. into the Pacific coast market also retarded significant economic change in the province after 1885. The Canadian Pacific and companies affiliated with it, such as the Bank of Montreal, were obvious additions to the coast business communities after 1885, especially to the new C.P.R. city of Vancouver. A milling company, a wholesale firm and several machinery and equipment manufacturing companies from Montreal and the industrial belt of south-central Ontario established agencies in B.C. in the 1880's. In general, however, few Canadian financial enterprises, consumer goods manufacturing companies or service industries established business contacts on the west side of the country in the decade after the completion of the C.P.R. Particularly noticeable by their absence were branches of Toronto business firms.
Little new economic growth was stimulated in the rest of the province by the C.P.R. Salmon canning was the other staple industry in addition to mining which experienced sharp growth in the 1890's; the salmon pack tripled between the big years of 1889 and 1897. But salmon canning was clearly part of the old Pacific trade system, and not affected by the transcontinental railway; despite an increase in eastern Canadian demand, 75% of the 1897 canned salmon pack sold that year was exported to Britain. And the traditional California market still consumed 61.3% of the Vancouver Island coal produced in 1897. While the amount of timber cut in the province tripled between 1889 and 1897, half was shipped in the form of lumber to traditional Pacific Ocean markets, and much of the remainder was marketed locally in response to the demand for lumber by coast cities like Vancouver, and by the mining industry in the Kootenays. Lumber production in B.C. increased sharply only when the prairie market opened in the last half of the 1890's, a decade after the completion of the C.P.R. The railway influenced development along the C.P.R. main line, where a residue of new or rejuvenated communities like Golden, Revelstoke and Kamloops remained after construction was completed in 1885. Vancouver was the most important of these communities, and constituted the C.P.R.'s single most significant imprint upon the province's economic landscape during the 1880's. The announced extension of the C.P.R. to the site of the existing lumber village of Granville on Burrard Inlet ignited an urban boom there fuelled by the same speculative psychology which accompanied the founding of dozens of other 'Rapid Cities' across the west in the 1880's. But though the Terminal City had become a community of 13,685 people by 1891, and was but 3000 smaller than the province's largest centre at Victoria, Vancouver's tremendous prosperity before 1892 did not reflect a broader impact of equal intensity by the railway on the economy of the coast region as a whole. Vancouver, in fact, the child of the C.P.R.,
was an enclave of self-perpetuating growth during its early years as a city, built more on "optimistic expectations of the impact of the railway," and, of course, on C.P.R. money, than on substantial links with an expanding hinterland economy. While the C.P.R. also left behind 5000 new Chinese immigrants in the province after 1885, and while some new settlers were attracted to areas like the Okanagan by the opening there of the company's Shuswap and Okanagan branch line in 1892, large scale immigration into B.C., as well as the reorganization of traditional coast industries into a transcontinental market, would occur only as a by-product of the rapid development of the Canadian prairies later in the 1890's.

Victoria dominated the coastal society into which Vancouver was born in 1886, and continued to be the "commercial, political and social capital" of the province until well into the 1890's. It was the transportation hub of the coast region in the pre-railway era, during which Victoria businesses like Captain John Irving's Canadian Pacific Navigation Company controlled much of the local trade to the mainland and along the coast as far north as the Alaska boundary. The Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway tied the sawmill and coal mining industries of Cowichan, Chemainus, Wellington and Nanaimo to the Victoria suburb of Esquimalt after 1886. Victoria was the headquarters of the two London-based banks operating in B.C., and was the leading manufacturing centre in 1891, employing almost twice as many workers as each of its two rival centres of Vancouver and New Westminster. Victoria's most important business function, however, was its role as the centre of regional trade; the Island city controlled in particular the importation of products from Britain and California and the redistribution from this central location to points as far away as the Okanagan Valley and the Cariboo. 66.5% of all goods imported by sea into British Columbia in 1891 passed through the port of Victoria. Victoria merchants had become significant in turn as exporters
of capital, investing in "the more permanent industries of coal mining, fish
canning, lumbering and sealing," following the decline of the large and pro-
fitable gold mining trade of the earlier period. Salmon canning had been a
favourite preserve of the Victoria merchants since its inception. "Virtu-
ally every business house" in the city had become "either directly or indi-
rectly concerned with the prosperity of the canneries," serving as brokers,
money lenders, input suppliers, insurance and shipping agents, and the source
of much-needed short-term capital. The province's seal-hunting fleet was
also controlled from Victoria in the 1880's. The range of investments from
Victoria was broad enough, in fact, to include a flour mill at Enderby, the
smelter at Pilot Bay, the largest land and sawmill company in the Kootenays
in 1891, the Moodyville Sawmill Company on Burrard Inlet, coal lands in the
Queen Charlottes and numerous businesses in Vancouver in the early 1890's.
Given the Victoria entrepreneur's control of regional trade at the time of
the C.P.R.'s arrival and the strength of his established business contacts
throughout most of the settled parts of the province, it is not surprising
that the commercial and investment possibilities of the Victoria businessman
were greatly enhanced between 1880 and the early 1890's. Victoria merchants
like R. P. Rithet, Robert Ward, John Turner, Thomas Earle, E. G. Prior, Edgar
Crow Baker and Joshua Davies, supplemented by hinterland resource industry
and transportation giants like Robert Dunsmuir, J. A. Mara and Francis J.
and Frank S. Barnard formed together the core of business power in the pro-
vince during the period of coastal ascendency.

Large mansions, exclusive clubs and elitist private educational in-
stitutions bore witness to Victoria's additional function as the home for
"people of wealth and refinement" in British Columbia. English adminis-
trators and Hudson's Bay Company officials from the colonial period had
formed the solid core of Victoria's upper class since Confederation, with
the British naval establishment at Esquimalt and the city's expanding business community of the 1880's and 1890's providing substantial additions to the original group. Businessmen whose wealth had come from enterprises outside of the city, including Francis J. Barnard, British Columbia Express Company czar of the Cariboo region since the early 1860's, J. A. Mara, whose transportation enterprises near Revelstoke and Kamloops were said to have given him the power of government in that region, and Robert Dunsmuir, coal king from Nanaimo and nineteenth century British Columbia's most successful resource industrialist, all eventually sought social respectability as members of Victoria society. 'Society' was still very colonial in outlook, stressing the 'Englishness' of its clubs, schools and homes. As such, it was an exaggerated but realistic expression of the British factor which underlay B.C.'s uniqueness as a distinctive coastal community in late nineteenth century Canada.

British Columbia's most influential political leaders also represented either "the interests or sentiments" of the capital city until the turn of the century. The "administrations of Smithe, the Davies, Robson and Turner" from 1883 to 1898 reflected "a continued series of the same political ideals," the principal of which was the exploitation of regional resources through the provision of public concessions to private interests. Dozens of land bonuses, timber leases and mineral concessions were given out during these fifteen years, though few promotional schemes were successfully completed. The period came to a conclusion in 1898 with the collapse of the administration of Victoria merchant John Turner, whose "government of special interests -- of railway industrialists, coal barons, wholesalers and importers, lumber and salmon canning capitalists --" had become notorious for its alienation of the province's natural wealth. Most political leaders were Islanders, and even mainland representatives like John Robson, Forbes G. Vernon and Colonel James Baker became residents of Victoria, and thus sympathetic to its
interests. While Victoria merchants controlled hinterland trade and investment Victoria government promoted hinterland development, and individuals like John Turner, R. P. Rithet, Thomas Earle, E. G. Prior, Edgar Crow Baker and James Dunsmuir, men from the capital who were active in both business and government, represented the coincidence of the two pursuits. The decision of the Davie administration in 1893 to construct expensive new legislative buildings in Victoria and thereby 'anchor' the province's government in the Island city marked the symbolic high-point of the coastal system which Victoria had controlled for fifty years.

* * *

In the few years between 1896 and 1913 the structure of the Canadian economy was basically transformed from an "economically loose transcontinental area...into a highly integrated national economy." Canada experienced a stronger impulse towards the economic unification of its many disparate regions during this period than at any time in its history. The framework for this transcontinental economy had been established with the implementation of a national protective tariff in 1879 and the completion of the C.P.R. in 1885. But Canada's prosperity had always been predicated upon the successful exploitation of its tremendous natural wealth, and this open staple-based economy could develop only in relationship "to the special characteristics of the Atlantic and international economy." Almost a generation passed after the policies of economic nationalism had been conceived and implemented before these international factors began to favor Canadian development, producing the wheat boom which served as cornerstone of the new transcontinental economic system. The production of wheat not only attracted labour and capital to the land but "induced investment throughout the economy in major second-
ary and tertiary industries and, through these, in housing and other community facilities greater by many times than the investment on the agricultural frontier itself. Demand from the west for machinery, from the two transcontinental railways for construction materials and equipment and from the larger and more prosperous populations of the prairie west and urban east for consumer goods was met by the rapid growth of the country's industrial capacity in Quebec and Ontario. Manufactured products moving west from the industrial heartland were met by prairie grain moving east to the markets of Britain and Europe. The 'national' character of the economy was reinforced by the leading role of the federal government in Ottawa, which by controlling prairie land, immigration and much of the country's railway development was the centre of transcontinental development during this period. Even though regional economic growth based on the exploitation of provincially-controlled resources such as minerals, hydro-electric potential and forest wealth was already challenging this national east-west system before 1914, particularly in Ontario and B.C., expansion of the federally-controlled transcontinental economy continued to provide the principal component of Canada's very significant economic prosperity prior to World War I. So compelling was the influence of the larger movement across the country that even regions at the periphery of the nation, the maritime provinces on the one hand and British Columbia on the other, were affected by its pervasive force. British Columbia's integration into the wheat economy in the late 1890's and early 1900's, though less complete than the mutual integration of the prairie west and industrial east, marked a fundamental departure from the outward-looking maritime system which had dominated economic life in the Pacific province since the beginning of the fur trade.

The rapid growth of British Columbia's lumber industry was the 'chief' factor in the economic progress of the Pacific province from 1900 to 1913,
with lumber replacing salmon canning and lode mining as B.C.'s fastest growing resource industry. While the quantity of timber cut rose approximately 400% over the fourteen year span, the pack of canned salmon and the production of base metals, silver and gold during the same period contrasted sharply with increases of 8% and 50% respectively. By 1911, 17,241 workers were employed in the log and lumber products industries of B.C. while 5,788 were engaged in the preserved fish industry, a three-to-one ratio inversely proportionate to the number of workers in the same two leading manufacturing industries thirty years earlier. The divergent growth of these leading staple industries reflected the influence of the prairie wheat boom in British Columbia. More than one million people had moved into the prairie provinces between 1886 and 1911, and the total population of the three provinces had increased from 7 to 20 percent of the total population of the Dominion before the War. Such growth required large quantities of construction materials, and the principal source for lumber, the cheapest building material, was to be found in British Columbia. The importance of the new market was accentuated by a decline in the volume of foreign lumber shipments from B.C. ports to Pacific markets over the same period, when exports dropped from 84 million feet in 1900 to 70 million feet in 1907 and 46 million feet in 1913. While British Columbia had enjoyed more than thirty percent of the Pacific coast's export trade in 1894, this share had dwindled to five percent of the total by 1913. British Columbia's share of the Australian and New Zealand market, for instance, fell from 33 percent in 1902 to 3 percent in 1913, but was more than compensated for by the B.C. industry's shift to continental markets in British Columbia itself, particularly in Vancouver, and in the prairie provinces. Seventy percent of the lumber sold from British Columbia mills in 1913 was shipped to the prairies, while 24.5 percent was consumed locally and only 4.5 percent was exported by water (Table 1). "The Canadian prairies had become the most
Table 1

Approximate Figures of Production, Shipments and Stocks of British Columbia Lumber 1911-1914 (in million bd. ft.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lumber Cuts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Mfrs.</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Mfrs.</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lumber Shipments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(by rail)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Mfrs.</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Mfrs.</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Sales</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Mfrs.</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign Shipments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(by water)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Mfrs.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stocks on Hand</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Mfrs.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain Mfrs.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:


important, almost the only, outside market for British Columbia lumber."^84

The impact of the prairie demand was greatest in the lumber industry of the British Columbia interior. Lumber had traditionally been a coast industry, with production increasing in the Kootenays during the 1890's mainly in response to local markets provided there by railway construction and mine expansion. New railway connections had made the outside marketing of lumber from eastern British Columbia possible during the nineties, however, and this possibility had become profitable after the Kootenays were tied to the wheat boom by the Crowsnest Pass Railway in 1898. By 1909, 45 sawmills had been established in the interior^85 and by 1913 mountain manufacturers were cutting 385 million feet of timber, one-third of the provincial total (Table 1). Ship-
ments of lumber from interior mills to the prairies equalled 87 percent of the timber cut in the mountain region in 1913. The longer-established coast industry was likewise stimulated by this continental demand, beginning with cedar shingle production in the early 1890's and with lumber at the end of the decade. By 1913 more than one-half of the coast lumber production was also being shipped to the prairies (Table 1).

Capital and entrepreneurship in the British Columbia lumber industry also responded to continental forces during the fifteen years before the First World War. The influx of American capital and American entrepreneurs into the industry was perhaps the latter's most distinguishing feature during the decade after 1900. While earlier American capital and entrepreneurship in the salmon canning, coal mining and lumber industries during the 1870's and 1880's had moved up the coast from California, this new influx of money and men emanated from the very heart of the continent in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Lumbermen swept across these states after 1865, exploiting the vast pine forests of the area with reckless abandon and leaving the industry there in a serious state of decline by the early years of the twentieth century. Many of these entrepreneurs then moved across the continent into the west coast lumber industries of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, bringing with them both skills and seemingly "inexhaustible amounts of capital." This wave of Americans first entered British Columbia about the turn of the century, and had become a major force in the province's lumber industry by the middle of the decade. Entrepreneurs were encouraged to cross the border and establish sawmills in B.C., particularly after the provincial government banned the export of logs in 1901, but was also significant in the coast industry by the latter years of the decade. While total investment in the B.C. lumber industry did not exceed $2 million in 1900, American investment alone equalled $65 million ten years later. One
source estimated that 75% of the province's timber holdings were under American control and that 50% of the money invested in saw and shingle mills had come from the United States. Another suggested that by 1914 two-thirds of the lumber mills in the interior and one-third on the coast were backed by American capital.

Towards the end of this decade of American advance a more profound change began to take place in the British Columbia lumber industry, this time in its corporate structure, which held significant long-term implications not only for lumber but for all of the resource industries upon which the prosperity of the province depended, and for Vancouver's role as a resource industry management centre. Prior to this time sawmill companies had usually been organized by an individual lumber entrepreneur who continued to control and manage his own enterprise and who financed expansion through the reinvestment of accumulated profits. Lumber manufacturing was a locally- or regionally-controlled operation. The American entrepreneurs who entered the province throughout the decade after 1900 usually followed this pattern, becoming resident members of the British Columbia manufacturing community.

The change to a more complex form of corporate control exhibited several characteristics. The first was the tendency for "holders of crown grant leasehold and licensed timber-lands alike to amalgamate" these timber holdings into very large units, and to acquire timber land throughout the province, rather than in the readily accessible areas only as had been the tendency earlier. The new companies were heavily capitalized, often for more than one million dollars, with this large amount of fixed capital used to accumulate timber holdings, to expand horizontally through the takeover of existing mills, to establish totally new mills and to apply the latest technological advances to the industry. Much more capital now came from outside the region. Though the United States was still a principal source, large
amounts of eastern Canadian, British and German capital also entered the lumber industry in the few years before the War. British investment began about 1910, mainly in the form of debenture capital, and marked a contrast to the lack of interest shown by British investors generally in B.C. industries during the previous decade. Above all, this change to a more complex form of corporate control brought with it a division between control, which often resided at the source of capital outside the region, and management, which was local. Robert Mackay, president of the $20 million British Canadian Lumber Company, for instance, resided in Montreal after the company's formation in 1911 while the general manager, Frank L. Buckley, made his headquarters in Vancouver. The implications of the new corporate structure were particularly significant for the long-term future of the local entrepreneur.

The leading example of this new style of business organization in the B.C. lumber industry was the Canadian Western Lumber Co. Ltd., the Toronto-based company incorporated with a capital limit of $10,000,000 in June of 1910. The Fraser River Lumber Company had been reorganized in 1907 by a syndicate headed by Andrew D. Davidson of Toronto, his brother-in-law A. D. McRae of Winnipeg and Senator Peter Jenson of Nebraska, who had proceeded first to build a huge new mill on the Fraser River, and then to complete the largest lumber deal on record in B.C. by acquiring 75,000 acres of timber on Vancouver Island stretching from Comox to Campbell River. The transcontinental corporate ties established in 1907 were strengthened in 1910 with the introduction of additional capital from eastern Canadian railway promoters William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, when the Columbia River Lumber Company of Golden, B.C. and the Fraser River Lumber Company were amalgamated into Canadian Western Lumber. The timber limits controlled by the new corporation were the largest in the world, with the possible exception of those controlled by the Weyerhaeuser interests in the United States.
The closely-related pulp and paper industry in British Columbia was also established in the six years prior to the First World War, though the formation of a pulp industry in the province had been proposed as early as 1901. Because they required major investments in plant and equipment pulp and paper mills conformed from the beginning to the new form of corporate structure emerging during the same pre-war period in the lumber industry. A survey of pulp and paper industry in 1912 by the *Western Lumberman* showed four plants in the province either in operation or in the process of being completed. The most important was the Powell River Company Ltd. which eventually became the largest pulp and paper company in western Canada. The Powell River Company represented an extension into pulp and paper of the American penetration of the B.C. lumber industry. One of the principals of the company was M. J. Scanlon of Minnesota, reputed in 1908 to have been owner of the most extensive timber limits in the United States outside of Frederick Weyerhauser. His large-scale purchases of timber limits in British Columbia after 1905 had been followed by the erection of sawmills at Harrison Lake and Vancouver in 1909. In conjunction with fellow Minneapolis businessman D. F. Brooks he formed the Powell River Company in 1910, which by the end of 1913 had become the giant of the B.C. pulp and paper industry with assets of over $9 million.

The mining boom which had generated excitement and change in the south-eastern corner of the province throughout the decade of the 1890's had levelled off by 1900, and mining generally played a much less important role than lumber as an agent of economic growth in B.C. thereafter. Production of base metals, silver and lode gold increased by 50% from 1900 to 1914, but considerable fluctuation took place within this overall expansion. Copper led all other minerals with increases of 500% from 1900 to 1912 and 400% to 1914, despite considerable instability in prices and output, while silver, in contrast to copper and coal, had reached its production peak in 1897 and continued
to decline thereafter. 105 The Boundary District, which was the centre of the copper industry in the province and hence one of the principal areas of mining expansion after 1900, had begun to open up at the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the extension there of rail lines by the Canadian Pacific and Great Northern Railways. Copper smelters were established at Grand Forks in 1900, Greenwood in 1901 and Boundary Falls in 1902, 106 providing the basis of general mining growth in the district through the following decade. The coal mining industry in the Crowsnest Pass area had also grown between 1900 and 1914, particularly in the years immediately after the opening of the Crowsnest Pass Railway in 1898. Virtually all of the B.C. coal production increase of more than 100% between 1897 and 1914 came from this region, with coke marketed at smelters in Trail, Nelson and the Boundary District, in addition to those in Washington and Montana, while coal was sold principally to the Canadian Pacific and Great Northern Railways. 107 Mining also experienced a measure of decentralization away from the south-eastern corner of the province between 1900 and 1914; 108 development of copper properties on Howe Sound and coal in the Nicola Valley were especially important to Vancouver.

Mining in B.C. had been organized into firms and syndicates which were heavily financed, and thus controlled from outside the region since the production of placer gold had given way to the underground mining of lode gold and coal in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. 109 The organization of the mining business into large firms had therefore preceded the reorganization of the lumber industry along similar lines after 1900. This trend to larger units of control continued in mining from 1900 to 1914 and resulted in the emergence of several companies of international proportions, including the C.P.R.'s Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. 110 and the Granby Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. 111 The trend to larger mining organizations was also reflected in the vertical integration of mining and transportation
companies in B.C. The C.P.R.'s control of Consolidated Mining and Smelting and of coal mines in the Crowsnest Pass was an obvious example, but J. J. Hill's Great Northern Railway was also active in mining, with investments in the Crowsnest Pass coal mining industry and with ties to Granby Consolidated through interlocking directorships. The sale of the Dunsmuir coal interests on Vancouver Island to Mackenzie and Mann in 1910 tied these coal properties to the Canadian Northern Railway, soon to be built through the province from Edmonton to Vancouver and owned by the same two entrepreneurs.

While capital investment in the mining industry came from a combination of British, eastern Canadian and American sources in the early years of the twentieth century, a definite shift to British and eastern Canadian from American capital took place in 1897 and 1898, in the Canadian case reflecting the growing presence of eastern Canadian businesses generally in the Pacific province. The building of the Crowsnest Pass Railway, the C.P.R.'s purchase of the smelter at Trail, the organization of the $2 million War Eagle Consolidated Company in 1898 by a Toronto-based firm headed by George Gooderham, and formation of the $2 million Crows Nest Pass Coal Company headed by Senator George Cox of Toronto were the best examples of this Canadian penetration. American interests were still prominent in the province, however, and the largest copper mining companies in the Boundary District after 1900, the Granby Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company and the British Columbia Copper Company, were American controlled. British investment was reputed in 1914 to have been equal in extent to the American capital invested in British Columbia's mining industry prior to the War.

While the underground mining industry in the southeastern interior of British Columbia had since its inception been the product of transcontinental forces drawn into the region either directly or indirectly by continental railways, the coal mining industry on Vancouver Island had been very much a part of the maritime economic system predominant in coastal British Columbia into the
1890's. Over three-quarters of the Island coal sold in 1887 was marketed down the Pacific coast in California, a pattern of trade which continued to prevail through the succeeding decade (Table 2). But the extension of powerful continental forces into the province at the turn of the century was now also accompanied by a sharp decline in the importance of this traditional B.C. connection with California. The substitution of fuel oil for coal in California beginning about 1903 paralleled an upturn in the domestic consumption of coal during the same period, and by 1908 British Columbia had largely replaced California as the principal market for Island coal (Table 2). The appropriate conclusion to this shift away from the traditional coastal market came with the purchase of the Dunsmuir family's Wellington Coal Company in 1910 by William Mackenzie and Donald Mann of Toronto. Island coal would now find a ready market with the newest of Canada's transcontinental railways, the Canadian Northern, consummate symbol of the east-west economic system which had emerged triumphant in Canada during the early years of the twentieth century.

Of British Columbia's three principal resource industries, salmon canning, lumbering and mining, canning grew the least between the turn of the century and the First World War. Large profits (and the even greater illusion of profits), the small amount of fixed capital needed to establish a cannery and the ready availability of short-term financing had produced a record expansion in the salmon processing industry between 1889 and 1901, when the number of canneries in operation and the number of cases packed tripled. But the size of the market and particularly the nature of the resource put severe limitations on the continued long-term growth of canning, and these plus the factor of overexpansion during the nineties restricted increased production from 1901 to 1913 to a mere 106,000 cases, or 7.8% of the 1901 pack. Change, then, came not through overall growth but through a greater geographic distribution of canneries along the coast, the application of new technology,
### Table 2

Percentage of Vancouver Island Coal Exported to the U.S.A. and Sold in Canada, 1887-1908

(for selected years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Sales (Quantity in Tons)</th>
<th>Exports to the U.S.A. Quantity</th>
<th>Exports to the U.S.A. %</th>
<th>Sales in Canada Quantity</th>
<th>Sales in Canada %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>434,054</td>
<td>334,839</td>
<td>(77.1%)</td>
<td>99,215</td>
<td>(22.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>910,169</td>
<td>619,860</td>
<td>(68.1%)</td>
<td>290,309</td>
<td>(31.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>985,897</td>
<td>673,524</td>
<td>(68.3%)</td>
<td>310,765</td>
<td>(31.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>756,604</td>
<td>400,713</td>
<td>(52.9%)</td>
<td>353,166</td>
<td>(46.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,019,054</td>
<td>300,445</td>
<td>(29.4%)</td>
<td>688,726</td>
<td>(67.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures refer to the quantity of Vancouver Island coal actually sold in the U.S.A. and Canada during the specific years selected, and not to the volume of coal produced in those years. Virtually all of the Vancouver Island coal exported to the U.S.A. was sold in California, with 324,949 tons out of total exports of 334,839 tons going there in 1887, 558,372 of 619,860 tons in 1897 and all of the Island's exports in 1902. The 1887 and 1897 figures for exports to the U.S.A. include small but unspecified sales to other markets such as the British navy and South America, and thus are slightly inaccurate. The 1908 figures were complicated by the fact that 29,238 tons of coal were mined in 1908 in the Vancouver Island on the mainland, figures which were lumped together with Vancouver Island production for the same year. As no specific indication was given of the amount of this Vancouver Island coal actually sold, I assumed that the full 29,238 tons was sold in Canada (virtually no coal was exported from Vancouver or New Westminster during this period). The 29,238 tons was then subtracted from the 1,048,292 tons sold altogether in 1908 and the 717,904 tons sold in Canada.

Source:


and the reorganization of the capital and management structure of the industry.

Increased capitalization constituted the most important of these trends for Vancouver. The movement to greater fixed capital in the industry was uneven, partly because such changes as the use of the 'sanitary' can, bigger and more powerful boats, and the resultant centralization of canning facilities had
been only partially implemented before 1914.  

It was still possible to establish a cannery with capital of less than one hundred thousand dollars in the decade after 1900, as exemplified by the formation of the Strathcona Packing Co. Ltd. in 1905, the Kildala Packing Co. Ltd. in 1906 and the Kincolith Packing Co. Ltd. in 1908. With authorized capital limits of $50,000, $100,000 and $60,000 respectively, these companies were little bigger than the great majority of new canning companies established in the 1890's. But two significant exceptions to the old rule did occur after 1901; the large-scale capitalization of the British Columbia Packers' Association in 1902 and of the Wallace Fisheries Ltd. in 1911 paralleled the similar movement to larger more heavily capitalized units in the lumber and mining industries before the War. B.C. Packers was formed to solve the crisis of over-capitalization, over-production and declining profits which had plagued the salmon canning industry at the turn of the century as a result of the excessive expansion in the 1890's. It represented an attempt to solve the problem through an amalgamation of the entire industry into one large conglomerate unit, a form of business organization attempted earlier in the Columbia River and Alaska canning industries and becoming prevalent in eastern Canada. Though the $4 million British Columbia Packers' Association failed to achieve the monopoly of B.C. canneries intended, it did gain control of 29 of the 48 plants on the Fraser River as well as 12 canneries in northern waters, and became the readily acknowledged giant of the industry in B.C. It controlled over 50% of the Fraser River sockeye pack in the first year of operation. The $2 million Wallace Fisheries Ltd. was incorporated in 1911 by promoters whose intention was to dominate the salmon canning industry of the province's northern waters. The company soon acquired several existing canning plants and established two new ones, and by December of 1912 had increased its assets to $3.3 million. B.C. Packers and Wallace
Fisheries, like the Canadian Western Lumber Company in the lumber industry, were typical of the large units of management and control which have become the standard form of business organization in British Columbia's canning and lumbering industries since the First World War.

Though salmon canning was less subject to the pull of continental forces after 1900 than the lumber or coal mining industries along the B.C. coast, even canning was influenced by the larger shift in British Columbia from a coastal into a continental economic system. Markets, technological influences and entrepreneurship continued to be part of the old system, in which Britain remained the largest market for B.C. salmon and new techniques and management skills tended to move up the coast from the Columbia River industry or down the coast from Alaska. The influence of transcontinental economic forces in B.C. was reflected in the financial structure of the industry. The relationship began with the influx of eastern Canadian banking institutions into B.C. in the late 1890's when these institutions, anxious to break into a prosperous business in which they had had only a minor share prior to this point, joined the Bank of British Columbia and local merchant houses as industry financiers. The Bank of Montreal was the most important of these new financiers, but capital was also provided by the Merchant's Bank of Halifax, Molson's Bank from Montreal and the Imperial Bank of Canada. When over-capitalization forced a reorganization of the industry after 1900, it was the Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Bank of Commerce, which through the takeover of the Bank of British Columbia in 1900 had inherited the latter's extensive canning investments, which played an important role in organizing B.C. Packers. This new corporation was very much a transcontinental enterprise, promoted by a Toronto investment dealer and by banks in each of Toronto and Montreal, incorporated in New Jersey and backed by American and eastern Canadian capital. Wallace Fisheries Ltd. followed
much the same pattern as B.C. Packers when the assets of Peter Wallace, a west coast canning entrepreneur, were incorporated into a larger organization formed by lumber king A. D. McRae. Wallace Fisheries was also backed by capital from areas east of British Columbia, with the four largest shareholders in 1913 apart from Wallace and McRae coming from Minneapolis, Winnipeg and Idaho. Both B.C. Packers and Wallace Fisheries established regional headquarters in the Terminal City.

British Columbia's integration into the emerging national economy was not limited entirely to this regional response to transcontinental demands for primary resources. Business organizations of national scope also entered the province, some establishing independent branches and others absorbing previously autonomous local enterprises. The wheat boom on the prairies and the subsequent increase in population both of the prairie west and urban east had created a large demand for goods and services, and these were provided from within Canada under the protection of the national tariff. A combination of transcontinental facilities, better communications and growing demand had produced a national market across the country. Wholesale and retail commercial firms, manufacturing enterprises and financial institutions such as banks, insurance, mortgage and trust companies had quickly extended their activities from eastern Canada into the west to exploit this market, creating nation-wide organizations for the distribution of the required products and services. The westward thrust was also encouraged by the growing competitiveness of business in central Canada, competitiveness which produced in turn an outward push for new markets. Growing capital requirements and increased market competitiveness were both important factors behind the emergence of a consolidation movement in Canadian industry at the turn of the century, reaching a peak between 1909 and 1913. Advertising, the mail order catalogue, the sale of standard products for fixed prices and the emergence of department stores which
best exploited these new techniques also contributed to increased competition in the commercial sector of the economy. The end result of these forces during the period from the late 1890's to the First World War was the rise of a few great national business organizations with headquarters in Montreal and Toronto, organizations extending not only into the prairie provinces but into far corners of the nation, including British Columbia.

The establishment of local branches of national business organizations and the introduction of eastern capital became prevalent in B.C. at the end of the 1890's, following the earlier westward movement of a limited number of eastern corporations, led by the C.P.R. and the Bank of Montreal, in the 1880's. New companies and capital were attracted to the west initially after 1896 by the prairie boom and by events in the Kootenays and Klondike, and entered the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia mainly as a succession to this primary advance. The extension of central Canadian banks into B.C. in the 1890's, the involvement of these banks in the salmon canning industry leading to the formation of the British Columbia Packers' Association in 1902, the take-over of the London-based Bank of British Columbia in 1900, the growing presence of Montreal and Toronto capital in transportation and mining enterprises in the Kootenay and Crowsnest Pass regions after 1897 and 1898, and the later investment of eastern capital in new large-scale resource companies such as the Canadian Western Lumber Company, the British Canadian Lumber Corporation and Wallace Fisheries were examples noted earlier of this influx into the Pacific province of Canadian business and capital. Transportation advantages and its central location made the Terminal City the logical management centre for such eastern-controlled corporations; Vancouver rather than Victoria was the major beneficiary in B.C. of this growing network of national business affiliations.

* * *
The economic setting for Vancouver business development also included a wave of speculation throughout B.C. in minerals, timber, and urban and rural land which, beginning about 1905 and reaching a climax between 1910 and 1912, came to pervade almost every facet of economic and political life in the province. The trend towards strengthened economic ties between B.C. and the rest of Canada was now joined by another movement which was also essentially transcontinental in character, though qualified by strong independent regional characteristics. Canada's tremendous prosperity before 1914 had been founded upon the opening of the prairie west, on the growth of the industrial east, on the linkage effects of the construction of two new transcontinental railways, and on the inflow of large numbers of new immigrants into the country. But this very real growth had been accelerated in parts of the country into a speculative, economically unstable 'boom'. Several factors accounted for this change, including the policies of the provincial governments in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia which encouraged speculation in natural resources, the increased scale of urbanization which produced a rush for city land, the psychological influence of the railway building programs which reinforced across the country an atmosphere of unbounded confidence in the possibilities of future economic growth, and the massive importation of foreign capital, particularly from Britain and the United States, which made the financing of speculation possible. The international dimension of capital imports, the national dimension of railway policy and the regional dimension of railway promotion and resource exploitation combined in B.C. after 1907 to create one of the most hectic periods in the province's history.

Railroad mania was the first of these factors which helped turn an already high level of prosperity in British Columbia into a speculative craze. Two new transcontinentals entered the province between 1910 and 1914, the Grand Trunk Pacific from Edmonton through Fort George to Prince Rupert at the mouth
of the Skeena, and the Canadian Northern Pacific from Edmonton through the Yellowhead Pass, Kamloops and the Fraser Valley to Vancouver. Both served to extend the larger national prosperity into the Pacific coast province. They were accompanied by numerous other regional projects, all of which were aided handsomely by a provincial government committed to making railway construction the cornerstone of its expansive development policies. Extensive aid in the form of land and timber concessions and financial assistance was provided, encouraging in turn further resource speculation. So liberal were the terms given to one railroad, the Canadian Northern Pacific, that the financial assistance designed ostensibly to lighten the burden of railway construction was in fact channelled into the purchase of a completely separate entity, the Dunsmuir family's coal interests on Vancouver Island. Though the actual construction of railways was in itself a tremendous boon to the economy, the subsidiary effects, particularly the psychological ones, were equally important in producing the speculative atmosphere then enveloping the province. The *British Columbia Financial Times* noted in 1914, while explaining the exceptional rate of growth in Vancouver during the previous few years, that such growth had been founded not "upon the excellent future prospects for increased development of existing trade territory," but rather upon the "expectations" created by "the fact that enormous new areas of varied agricultural, mineral and timber resources in British Columbia were about to be opened by the building of two new Canadian transcontinentals...." Inflated expectations stimulated by railway development rather than realistic appraisals of the province's future economic prospects were important determinants of economic change both in the city of Vancouver and in the province as a whole during the 1907-1914 period.

The building of the Panama Canal further enhanced this climate of opinion in the province. It stimulated considerable discussion both in B.C.
and on the prairies about the establishment of the Port of Vancouver as an alter-
native to the St. Lawrence system for the movement of grain to Europe. This
discussion reached a peak in June of 1912 at a convention in Calgary of 150
delegates from B.C., Saskatchewan and Alberta organized to examine the impact
of the opening of the canal. Speculative investment in coast timber was
also encouraged "by the widespread expectation that stumpage values would ad-
vance at least two dollars a thousand feet upon (the canal's) completion."

Government policies fuelled speculation in many areas of the province,
particularly near the proposed routes of the approaching railways. A special
condition written into the agreement with the Grand Trunk Pacific had given
the province a half interest in many of the townsites being developed along
the line, thus putting the provincial government squarely on the side of
those who would profit extensively from railway-induced land speculation. The
Nechako, Upper Fraser, Bulkley and Skeena Valleys along the Grand Trunk
Pacific line formed the single most important area of land sales outside of
Greater Vancouver during the pre-war boom. Activity was most intense at
Fort George, where no less than three separate land promotions, two by land
syndicates and one by the Grand Trunk Pacific, combined to create "a very
riot of enthusiasm" over the centre's future prospects, and at the termin-
al sites for the two railroads, Prince Rupert for the Grand Trunk Pacific and
Port Mann in the lower Fraser Valley for the Canadian Northern. Two large
sales of government land were held at Prince Rupert, in 1909 and 1912. Land speculation was also prominent around the gold-boom town of Stewart at
the head of the Portland Canal and in the Queen Charlotte Islands, particu-
larly on Graham Island.

The land boom of the north-central region of the province joined an-
other in the Vancouver area, where sales of crown land at Point Grey,
Kitsilano and Hastings, to the east of the city, again added to the speculative
climate. More important in explaining the inflation of land prices in Vancouver, however, were the city's expanding role as a metropolitan centre, its rapid physical expansion and the impact of railroad fever on the community, leading to the spectacular appreciation of Vancouver land values beginning from 1904 to 1907 and reaching a climax of "wild speculation" in 1911 and 1912. Neither was Vancouver immune from the general trend to urban land speculation in Canada during the wheat boom, when according to one calculation an "army" of 10,000 real estate brokers plied their trade across the country. Typical of the many examples of profitable land speculation in Vancouver was the sale and resale of a 52 foot lot on Hastings Street for $26,000 in 1904, $90,000 in 1908 and the whopping sum of $175,000 only a year later, in 1909.

Extensive speculation in timber limits stemmed even more directly from the policies of the provincial government than speculation in land. In its attempt to increase timber revenue the government in 1905 abolished timber leases and established in their place a new special-license system under which all special timber licenses then in force or already applied for were to be made transferable and renewable for sixteen years, and all future licenses transferable and renewable for twenty-one. Whether because timber licenses were now transferable, thus allowing timber limits to be bought and sold for profit and accumulated by fewer and fewer large companies, or because the initial capital outlay now required of investors was low, the 1905 legislation produced a veritable avalanche of new demands for timber licenses. So spectacular was the impact of the 1905 legislation that the McBride government itself became concerned about the extent to which timber resources were being alienated, and withdrew all remaining unalienated timber lands from the market in December of 1907. Speculation in timber limits granted earlier continued, however, as existing licenses passed from owner to owner at considerable
profit. Typical of the dozens of timber speculators active in British Columbia during this period was W. E. Simpson of Iowa who purchased timber berths in the south-western part of Vancouver Island during the big 'grab' in 1907, and sold them again two years later for a tidy increment of 500%. Most of this timber passed into the hands of big timber syndicates, including some headed by industrial giants like the Rockefellers who in 1907 owned "over fifty thousand acres of some of the choicest fir and cedar" in the province.

The level of speculation attained in British Columbia during the pre-war period would have been impossible without the large volume of foreign capital which entered the province between 1907 and 1913. New British investment was particularly important, first because of a sharp increase in the overall amount of British capital entering Canada, and second because of the nature of this new investment. British capital investment in Canada rose dramatically after 1907, increasing six times during the boom period to 1913. Confidence in Canada's future among British investors had "hardened into virtual certainly" during these years, and those investors showing doubt were "dismissed as 'knockers'." Equally important for British Columbia was the shift from investment in relatively secure Canadian government bonds and government-backed railway issues and urban services to investment in securities from the 'private', i.e. non-governmental, sector of the economy. The value of private Canadian industrial securities marketed in Britain increased by 337% in the manufacturing sector, 780% in agriculture and mining and a tremendous 1175% in finance and real estate during the 1909-1913 period over the six years from 1902 to 1908. The fact that this new British investment continued to come "overwhelmingly in the form of fixed interest debt" rather than high-risk ownership capital did not preclude its important role in fuelling the economic expansion of the pre-war period. The three million dollar debenture issue of the Columbia River Lumber Company taken up
in London in 1911, 177 the two million dollar issue of E. H. Heaps and Company taken the same year 178 and the two million dollar bond issue of the Ocean Falls Ltd. marketed two years earlier 179 were just three examples of the kind of pre-war British investment which permitted significant expansion of the province's industrial capacity. New British investment especially favoured the real estate and related land mortgage and property loans section of business in western Canada before the War. 180 As land speculation was a central factor behind the boom across the west, this capital was of particular significance to the economies of British Columbia and Vancouver.

The United States constituted the other major source of foreign capital in British Columbia before 1914. American investment had traditionally come in the form of venture capital seeking the higher profits attendant to buying equity in the province's resource industries, with the largest portion of this capital finding its way into the province's lumber industry, as noted earlier. American investment had already become a major factor in the industry by 1906, 181 and was clearly the dominant source of all capital for lumber by 1909. 182 American investors had been so influenced by the investment possibilities in British Columbia that almost half of all American capital invested in Canada by 1909, amounting to $122.5 million of a total $254 million, had been attracted to the Pacific province. 183 The relative importance of British and American capital in the two sectors of the provincial economy most susceptible to speculation before the War, land and timber, is suggested by W. F. Field's calculation that roughly $70 million had come from the United States and $26 million from Britain. 184 Because of the generally high level of American investment throughout the period after 1900, increases in the volume of American capital imported into B.C. were perhaps less dramatic than those from Britain after 1907. Field concludes that between 1909 and 1913 American investment increased from $58 million to $71 million in B.C. mills
and timber, from $50 million to $62 million in B.C. mines and from $4 million to an incredible $60 million in B.C. land. Even if the latter figure is excessive, as Jacob Viner suggests, it does indicate that a large volume of American capital entered the critical B.C. land market during the height of the pre-war boom.

The investment of European capital in British Columbia also increased sharply before the War, adding to the already large flow of capital into the province from eastern Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Total investment from continental Europe in Canada jumped from $4.5 million in 1909 to $22 million in 1910 and $35 million by 1913. Field calculated that by the latter date, about $6 million had been invested in B.C. from the Continent, $1.5 million coming from France into real estate ventures and $5 million from Germany mainly into real estate and mining.

***

British Columbia had clearly passed through a period of important economic change between the mid-1890's and 1914, and a realignment of this magnitude naturally altered the metropolitan functions of its principal cities. Such was the case when British Columbia's shift from a coastal to a transcontinental economic system brought with it the decline of the Island city of Victoria and the rise of the new mainland centre of Vancouver. Victoria could dominate the economic life of B.C. as long as the community it centered was tied both economically and socially to the outside world by the sea. The Island location so strategically central to this coastal existence soon became a handicap, however, as the province became integrated with the vibrant, expansionist economies of the North American continent. The Terminal City's replacement of Victoria as the province's urban centre occurred when the
larger forces of change, of which the C.P.R. was merely a part, succeeded in tying Canada into a meaningful if incomplete national economic unit in the late 1890's and early 1900's. Maritime connections had created a Victoria; these transcontinental ones produced a Vancouver. The following chapters will explore this relationship between the changing economic environment in the province of British Columbia and the emergence of Vancouver as its new metropolitan centre. In so doing it will focus on the character of the business community which gave leadership to and controlled this reorganized provincial economy.
STAGES OF BUSINESS GROWTH IN EARLY VANCOUVER

(1) THE PRIMACY OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, 1886-1893

The business community in Vancouver passed through three stages of expansion between 1886 and 1914. The first was initiated by the arrival of the transcontinental C.P.R. to Burrard Inlet in 1886. The railway generated considerable development in Vancouver, and stimulated in addition a minor growth 'boom' which became the overriding feature of the first period of economic growth to 1892. The second and most important stage of economic development took place at the turn of the century. The shift from a coastal to transcontinental economic system in B.C. was paralleled by the emergence of Vancouver as the province's new regional business centre. The lumber industry and wholesale trade each acquired a far more significant role as forces leading rather than following city growth. Vancouver also replaced Victoria as the management centre for new businesses establishing regional offices or headquarters in B.C. These outside businesses, now more often with Canadian or American than British ties, dominated regional banking and became increasingly prominent in the salmon canning and lumber industries. A wide range of new consumer products and services and a lesser amount of producers' goods were also made available in Vancouver as the city economy broadened out, or 'matured', during this second stage of growth.

The third stage marked an amalgamation of the first two. The theme of internal city development, central to the business history of Vancouver before 1892, again became dominant between 1909 and 1912. Real estate
agencies, construction firms and mortgage financing companies were the fastest
growing businesses in the city during this short period of intense expansion.
City growth was paralleled by an unprecedented speculative boom throughout
B.C., and Vancouver as a regional business centre also participated actively
in this larger speculation in hinterland resources. Lumber mills, wholesale
companies and service businesses continued to expand in number and size in
response to the tremendous prosperity of the period. Rapid urban growth on
the one hand and the extension of metropolitan ties from its 'central place'
on Burrard Inlet to the British Columbia hinterland on the other provided the
two most substantial themes in the business history of early Vancouver.

* * *

Burrard Inlet in the twenty year period prior to 1886 was the centre
of British Columbia's lumber export trade. The industry had developed at two
points on the Inlet, one on the north side where the first mill was erected
in 1863, later to develop under the direction of Sewell Moody into the pros­
perous Moodyville Sawmill Company; and the second on the other side directly
across the Inlet where Colonel Edward Stamp's mill, known after 1870 as the
Hastings Saw Mill, first produced lumber for export in 1867. The lumber in­
dustry at both sites was based almost entirely on an export trade that ex­
tended to Australia, Hawaii, Chile and China during the 1870's and 1880's. The Burrard Inlet lumber industry was also an integral part of the Pacific­
oriented economic system predominant in B.C. during the pre-railway era.

Establishment of the first non-Indian villages on Burrard Inlet ac­
companied this growth in the sawmill industry. The north shore mill stimu­
lated the first white settlement in the 1860's, and the village at Moody's
Mill became the most important on the Inlet until the mid-1870's, and was
the largest centre of population until about 1882. Captain John Deighton, better known as 'Gassy Jack', established a hotel near Stamp's mill on the south shore in October of 1867, thus marking the establishment of the future city of Vancouver. The settlement at 'Gastown', or Granville as it was properly known after 1870, grew slowly over the next eighteen years, its saloon keepers, merchants and hotelmen responding to the needs of the nearby mill. Moodyville was almost exclusively a mill town, while Granville served in addition as a minor centre for Inlet trade and as the service centre for incoming sailors. Life on the Inlet was defined by the lumber industry, from the loggers and sawmill workers who constituted the largest portion of the working population, to the local white elite formed by the families of sawmill managers Benjamin Springer in Moodyville and Captain Raymur and R. H. Alexander at Hastings Mill. One source estimated that Granville contained about 400 residents and Moodyville about 200 during the period from 1884 to 1885.  

Granville remained a small one-industry outpost in a far-flung maritime economic system until the Canadian Pacific Railway announced its intentions in 1884 to come as far west as Coal Harbour. Though Port Moody had been designated initially as the C.P.R.'s Pacific coast terminus, the port potential at the head of Burrard Inlet was clearly much inferior to other points on the Inlet. Negotiations were thus initiated in the spring of 1884 to have the line extended to Coal Harbour west of the town of Granville, and agreement to this effect was reached between the provincial government and the C.P.R. in November of 1884, and signed on February 23, 1885. The sleepy lumber village of Granville experienced a sudden influx of railway personnel and new settlers, becoming a community of 2000 by the spring of 1886. On April 6, 1886, Granville was incorporated as the City of Vancouver. The advent of the railway age in the 'Terminal City' was signalled with the arrival
of the first through train from Montreal on May 23, 1887.

With the coming of the C.P.R. Granville entered a period of frenzied expansion which was to last until the end of 1892. The 2000 inhabitants of 1886 had become 6000 by the end of 1887 and 13,685 by 1891. Two hundred and fifty new buildings were constructed between February and June of 1886, but were reduced to ashes on June 13 in a fire which swept the city. This number was replaced by the end of 1886, and increased to 900 at the end of 1887, 1150 in 1888, 1956 at the close of 1889 and 2646 in 1890. The total assessed value of buildings in the city jumped from $2,639,877 to $11,977,375 over the four year period. Contractors in Vancouver paid out $450,000 in wages in 1890, more than any other type of business in the city, and the 700 workers employed in the construction industry were exceeded in numbers only by the 885 workers engaged by the lumber mills that year (Table 3, p. 56).

Real estate businessmen served as the prophets of future greatness and the promoters of immediate physical expansion in the Terminal City during the seven year period from 1886 to 1892, and ranked along with the railway executives as the most influential business group in the city during this initial phase of growth. Of the 68 leading businessmen in Vancouver between 1890 and 1893, 17 were engaged primarily in the sale of real estate, 11 served as wholesale and commission merchants, 10 were lumber manufacturers and 9 were employed in banking and finance, making real estate promoters the largest of these four groups of entrepreneurs (Table 3). The first two presidents of the Board of Trade were real estate businessmen, David Oppenheimer from 1887 to 1889 and his successor, Ebenizer Vining Bodwell. The first two mayors likewise were real estate men, including Malcolm Maclean from 1886 to 1888 and David Oppenheimer from 1888 to 1891. Oppenheimer's role in politics and in the Board of Trade reflected the importance of the land promoter in early Vancouver. Though engaged with his brother Isaac in
## Table 3

Secondary Entrepreneurial Activity of
Vancouver Business Leaders, 1890-1893

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Primary Occupation</th>
<th>No. in Each Primary Occupation Category</th>
<th>No. of Times as Promoter of Sig. Co.'s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pres., Chairman, Prop. or Mgr.</td>
<td>V.-P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>17(25.0%)</td>
<td>10(45.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce:Whol. b</td>
<td>11(16.2%)</td>
<td>2( 9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumber</td>
<td>10(14.7%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance c</td>
<td>9(13.2%)</td>
<td>1( 4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.R.</td>
<td>4( 5.9%)</td>
<td>2( 9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Goods Mfr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3( 4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce:Retail</td>
<td>3( 4.4%)</td>
<td>1( 4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional d</td>
<td>2( 2.9%)</td>
<td>2( 9.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Util.</td>
<td>2( 2.9%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing</td>
<td>2( 2.9%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon Canning</td>
<td>1( 1.5%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. Mfr.</td>
<td>1( 1.5%)</td>
<td>1( 4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1( 1.5%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1( 1.5%)</td>
<td>1( 4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>1( 1.5%)</td>
<td>1( 4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>68(100%)</td>
<td>22(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 'Business Leaders' and 'Significant Companies' are used here as defined in Chapter 1. 'Secondary Business Affiliations' refers to connections which were additional to the primary or principal business organization or occupation from which their livelihoods or wealth derived. The term 'promotion' refers to those 'significant' business organizations which existed for at least one year between 1890 and 1893 and which the businessman helped originally to organize, whether during this four year period or earlier. Such promotions refer only to secondary affiliations, however.

b 'Wholesale' and 'Wholesale Functions: Commission Merchants'.

c 'Bankers: Private and Corporate' and 'Finance: All Others'.
d 'Lawyers and Doctors.'
the largest grocery wholesale firm in Vancouver during the 1880's and early 1890's, David's attention was focused during this period on the family's considerable real estate interests in the city. David served as president of the Vancouver Improvement Co. Ltd., a Victoria-based syndicate formed in 1886 to control the largest block of land in Vancouver outside of the holdings of the C.P.R. While the Canadian Pacific Railway controlled the west side of the city the Vancouver Improvement Company controlled the east. Oppenheimer divided his attention between public duties and the promotion of Vancouver Improvement Company land. By the 1890's his holdings east of Carrall Street had become the industrial heart of the city, serving as the location for such industries as the British Columbia Sugar Refinery, the San Juan Lime Company and the Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works. An analysis of the assets of the Oppenheimers' wholesale business in 1897 confirms the important place of real estate among their business interests during these early years. Even though the firm of Oppenheimer Brothers had operated as a wholesale grocery business, $334,459.25 of the company's assets in 1897 were held in the form of real estate, and only $39,665.00 in that of merchandise.

The real estate businessman's function was to promote city growth. Only through continued expansion could he profit from the sale of land either controlled by his own company or held by his clients. With such a vested interest in promoting growth the real estate agent became the leading advocate of that kind of business development which would broaden the service base of the community and thus help to legitimize Vancouver as a successful 'city'.

This function meant that in Vancouver the local businessmen whose principal occupation was the sale of real estate formed the most active entrepreneurial group in the town. An examination of the secondary business affiliations of the sixty-eight leading entrepreneurs in Vancouver between 1890 and 1893, and the number of 'important' companies promoted by these businessmen, shows
clearly that it was the real estate promoter who led all other types of entrepreneur in furthering business development during the first phase of the city's history (Table 3). For the four year period in question leading real estate businessmen served more frequently as the head, as directors and as promoters of 'significant' businesses operating in Vancouver than did any other type of businessman. Almost fifty percent of all secondary entrepreneurial activity was carried out by that twenty-five percent of the business leaders who served as real estate promoters or, as in David Oppenheimer's case, who served as businessmen combining a real estate business with another type of economic activity. Vancouver lumbermen, in contrast, took virtually no part, in addition to the one company with which they were affiliated, in furthering new business development in the city.

The land promoters also took a leading part in channelling capital into the city's economy. Three of Vancouver's first financial institutions were each established in 1890 to organize local capital for investment in city land and buildings. All three of these companies, the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., the Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd. and the British Columbia Building Association were founded primarily upon the initiative of leading city real estate entrepreneurs. J. W. Horne was the first president in 1890 and the largest shareholder in 1894 of Pacific Coast Fire, and was the first president of the Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Company. The Ontario-born Horne had made a fortune in real estate in Winnipeg and Brandon before coming to Vancouver in 1886. Another real estate man, Edward Odium, was the early manager of the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company. The Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Company, which organized capital through a subscription of stock worth $200,000, and through a time deposit and trustee service, was mainly interested in the sale of real estate and in mortgage lending. In addition to
Horne, real estate men like H. T. Ceperley, the company's managing director, Robert Tatlow, its second president, and H. A. Jones were dominant figures in the firm. The British Columbia Building Association, like other building associations in late nineteenth century Canada, was an enterprise designed to make local savings available as loans for home buyers within the city. Its directorship was less dominated by early Vancouver's leading real estate entrepreneurs than Pacific Coast Fire or Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee, but the Association's secretary, H. T. Ceperley, provided an important link between the company and the rest of the real estate community.

Two Vancouver businessmen in particular were successful in encouraging the investment of outside capital in local enterprises and land. Nova Scotia-born Charles Rand was the leading real estate businessman in the city during the period from 1887 to 1893, while German-born Johann Wulffsohn, Vancouver's leading private banker rather than a real estate promoter, also sold real estate in the city. Both Rand and Wulffsohn established offices in London to facilitate the flow of British capital to the Canadian west coast, with Edward Rand presiding over the English branch of the real estate firm in London from 1887 to 1891. Both Charles Rand and Johann Wulffsohn travelled widely in search of potential investment capital. The Rands were generally "very successful" in attracting English capital to invest "extensively" in Vancouver property, one of their most notable achievements being the formation in 1890 of the Vancouver Land and Securities Corporation, Ltd., a loan and real estate investment company capitalized at £500,000. Charles Rand had played a prominent role in placing the company before British investors the year before. Edward Rand brought the first capital from the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corp., Ltd., a British investment company which later established an office in Vancouver in 1892. Charles Rand was also directly responsible, following an extended journey through
eastern Canada and the United States, for encouraging the Ross-McLaren Lumber Company of the Ottawa Valley to enter the lumber business on the Pacific coast in 1888.19

Perhaps Johann Wulffsohn's greatest success came as the product of a four month trip to England and the continent in 1891 during which time he completed deals that were to bring five million dollars worth of investment to B.C.20 Included in this total was the one million dollar sale of the Moodyville Sawmill Company to British investors, and the reorganization of his own banking firm into Wulffsohn and Bewicke Ltd. A large number of the shares in this latter company, capitalized at £200,000, came from the Mercantile Development Co. Ltd. of London.21 The $80,000 sale of the Dunn Block in Vancouver to English investors in 189122 was negotiated by Wulffsohn, and showed that he like the Rands was also successful in directing English capital into the local real estate market.

The largest land promoter of all, however, was the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. In return for making Coal Harbour rather than Port Moody its terminus the C.P.R. had been granted "six thousand acres of land, comprising all alienated lots in Granville Townsite not reserved for government offices or schools," as well as most of Shaughnessy Heights on the south slopes of False Creek. "Almost the entire waterfront from Gore Avenue to Stanley Park" and virtually the whole of the west side of the city had gone to the railway.23 With such immense land holdings the C.P.R. too had acquired a large vested interest in promoting Vancouver's expansion. It participated actively in the sale of city lots, clearing $102,000 alone for the quarter year ending January 31, 1888.24 To enhance the value of these holdings the company made an extensive investment during the first several years after its arrival in opening the city for development. It spent $235,000 on grades, forest clearing and street construction from April to
December of 1886, in addition to $36,000 for company buildings. It opened and graded Cordova, Hastings and Pender Streets west of Cambie and Granville through to False Creek in 1886, and in 1887 had Granville Street levelled and planked, with board walks laid as far south as Georgia Street. All of this took place on the C.P.R.-owned lands in the city. The company also proposed in January of 1888 to build a road through company property on the south side of False Creek linking the Creek to the south arm of the Fraser River, with the company paying the $10,000 required to build the road and the city and province paying for the connecting bridges at either end. Both governments agreed.

Particularly important in C.P.R.'s land development plans was the construction from 1886 to 1888 of the company's $200,000 Hotel Vancouver. As "the principal building in the town," and occupying the height of land at Georgia and Granville Streets near the middle of the C.P.R.'s holdings, this dominant structure added considerable prestige to the west side of the city. Construction of the equally prestigious Christ Church Cathedral shortly thereafter was likewise stimulated by the C.P.R., and the church was built on C.P.R. land.

Both the company and its officials furthered Vancouver's early growth through the investment of large amounts of capital in city real estate. The C.P.R. built a new opera house in the city in 1890 worth nearly $100,000, thus adding to its already considerable investments in the Hotel Vancouver, a railway station and company shops. Local C.P.R. officials Harry Abbott, Dr. Lefevre, W. F. Salsbury, J. D. Townley and L. A. Hamilton each put money into new buildings in the city before 1890, while C.P.R. directors from Montreal made at least three large investments in Vancouver property. The Donald A. Smith Block, estimated to have been worth $50,000, and the W. C. Van Horne Block, worth $40,000, were in 1889 the two largest buildings owned by private individuals in Vancouver. The value of buildings constructed in Vancouver to the end of 1887 by the C.P.R., its eastern Canadian officials
and its principal local employees amounted to $441,000, while by comparison the investment in buildings by non-C.P.R. business leaders of both the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods who resided in the city at this early date was approximately $205,000, less than half the C.P.R. total. 33

Quite clearly, however, the Canadian Pacific's impact on the economy of early Vancouver extended much beyond this role as a land developer. Because Vancouver was the western terminus of transcontinental railway, the company's operational staff and facilities in the city were greater than at any other centre in the west except Winnipeg. Being a terminus Vancouver also functioned as a break point between two different transportation systems, especially after the C.P.R. opened its trans-Pacific steamship service to the port in 1887. An expanded C.P.R. service was initiated in April of 1891 with the arrival in Vancouver of the first of the company's three new White Empresses. 34 For the year ending in November of 1888, the C.P.R. spent $294,299.81 on operational maintenance and freight handling, $134,934.84 on building projects and $180,000 for labourers and stevedores to service its steamship business. The News-Advertiser calculated that between the regular maintenance service and the building projects this expenditure represented a labour force employed directly by the C.P.R. in 1888 of close to 800 men, and this in a community of 8000 to 9000 people. 35 David Oppenheimer's survey of the city economy two years later showed that the C.P.R. employed 600 workers and paid out $400,000 in wages in Vancouver in 1890, making the railway the largest single employer of any business organization in the city, and placing its annual wage bill behind only that of Vancouver's lumber and construction industries (Table 4, pp. 63-65). By 1898 the company's annual expenditure in Vancouver had risen to $2,040,000, including a monthly payroll of $88,000. 36 The influence of C.P.R. officials in Vancouver was further enhanced by the company's decision to make Vancouver the management centre
Table 4
The Extent of Business Growth in Vancouver to the End of 1890

PART A: Vancouver Industries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>Invested Capital</th>
<th>Annual Wages</th>
<th>No. of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sawmills and Lumber Products&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$1,340,000</td>
<td>$462,000</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Hastings Mill</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Moodyville Mill</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Royal City Planing</td>
<td>$185,000</td>
<td>$72,000</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Commercial Mills (Leamy and Kyle)</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$36,000</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Morse and Boggs</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Vancouver Mill</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$24,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Cassady and Company</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Vancouver Shingle Mill (Slater and Co.)</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>$22,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co.</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>$18,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.R. Shops etc.</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>$400,000</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon Canneries</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundries and Machine Shops</td>
<td>$185,000</td>
<td>$95,000</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>$55,000</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$54,000</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Refinery</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>$60,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Gas Company</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>$60,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Tramway and Lighting Co.</td>
<td>$320,000</td>
<td>$36,000</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brickyards</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>$18,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. Canning Co.</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakeries&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breweries</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$15,500</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime Kilns</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Water Company</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Printing Offices</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairies&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$9,000</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmaking&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keefer's Quarry</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigar Factories&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steam Laundry</td>
<td>$5,500</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatbuilders</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookbinders</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candy Factory</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tannery</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap Works</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baking Power</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperage</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTALS**                                      | **$3,479,500**   | **$1,386,500**| **2357**        |
Table 4 (continued)

**PART B: Other Vancouver Businesses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Businesses</th>
<th>Invested Capital</th>
<th>Annual Wages</th>
<th>No. of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contractors</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$450,000</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groceries, Retail</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$135,000</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groceries, Wholesale</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steamship Companies</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td>$75,000</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drays</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Occupations^d</td>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>$77,000</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>$125,000</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission Merchants</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots and Shoes</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry Goods, Retail</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$25,500</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry Goods, Wholesale</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters and Decorators</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchering</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>$75,000</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books and Stationery</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbering</td>
<td>$8,000</td>
<td>$18,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Houses</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks (Office)</td>
<td>$21,000</td>
<td>$28,000</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Stores</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloons</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
<td>$13,000</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Merchants</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabs</td>
<td>$70,000</td>
<td>$10,050</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livery and Feed Stables</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Businesses with 15 Employees or Less^e</td>
<td>$272,500</td>
<td>$132,000</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>$54,000</td>
<td>$54,000</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**                               | $2,850,500       | $1,598,050   | 2625            

^While some mills like the Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. were more active in producing lumber products like furniture, doors and frames than others, every mill was engaged in the production of sawed lumber. The production of both lumber and lumber products has thus been included together under this one category. The Port Moody Saw Mill was included in the original list by Mayor Oppenheimer, but has been deleted here.

^Dairies, Dressmaking and Cigar Factories were originally included by Mayor Oppenheimer under the heading of Vancouver 'Businesses'. I have deleted them from the list of businesses and have included them here among the city's industries.
Table 4 (continued)

"Bakeries" were included by Oppenheimer in the category of 'Industry' while 'Bakers' were included under 'Business'. As there were 25 employed in each I have assumed that bakers were included twice, and have deleted them from the list of 'Businesses'.

d. These included Dentists (Cap: $15,000; Annual Wages: $12,000; and No. of Employees: 5); Civil Engineers ($15,000; $15,000; 18); Architects ($10,000; $20,000; 26); Barristers ($40,000; $30,000; 30); Medical Men, Official ($425,000; --; --).

e. These included Fish, Game, etc. (Invested Capital: $30,000; Annual Wages: $10,000; and No. of Employees: 15); Gunsmiths ($5,000; $2,000; 2); Saddlery ($10,000; $10,000; 10); Ice ($6,000; $5,000; 6); Japanese Stores ($15,000; $7,000; 10); Jewellery, etc. ($30,000; $15,000; 15); Fancy Goods ($10,000; $3,000; 15); Feed Stores ($10,000; $5,000; 10); Florists, etc. ($15,000; $2,500; 10); Fruit Stores ($10,000; $8,000; 15); General Stores (15,000; $5,000; 10); Glassware ($10,000; $5,000; 8); Building Materials ($10,000; $2,000; 3); Building Materials ($10,000; $8,000; 10); Confectioners ($10,000; $5,000; 10); Soda Water ($6,000; $3,000; 6); Agents ($3,000; $10,000; 12); Ship Chandlers ($20,000; $6,000; $6,000; 8); Second Hand Stores ($10,000; $5,000; 10); Photographers ($15,000; $4,000; 10); Tea Merchants ($10,000; $4,000; 6); and Tobacconists ($15,000; $8,000; and 10).

SOURCE:


for its regional operation in British Columbia. These various factors, then, the wealth generated in the city by the C.P.R.'s steamship and railroad operations, the management function of its local officials and the company's active role in promoting city growth combined after 1886 to make the Canadian Pacific Railway the single most important business enterprise in early Vancouver.

Massive log booms, screaming saw blades and the aromatic fragrance of freshly cut lumber each reminded visitors to the Vancouver waterfront that Burrard Inlet's heritage as centre of the British Columbia sawmill industry continued to survive after 1886 despite changes created on the Inlet by the arrival of the C.P.R. Sixty-four percent of the timber cut in B.C. in 1891
was logged by mills located there. The two traditional export lumber mills on the Inlet continued to dominate the lumber industry of the region after 1886, the Moodyville Sawmill and Hastings Sawmill employing together more than half of the total sawmill work force in Vancouver in 1890 (Table 4, pp. 63-65). Hastings Mill in particular was a large, heavily-capitalized plant during this period, and it became even larger in 1891 and 1892 when capacity was increased to ninety million feet of lumber per year. Thirty percent of Vancouver's lumber production was shipped by sea to Pacific Rim markets in 1891, providing a small but important export base for a city dominated by speculative and promotional economic development.

While the two Vancouver sawmilling companies of 1886 had become nine by 1890, these new mills appear to have been built primarily in response to a local rather than export demand. "...steadily growing local demand" had "practically prevented" the George Cassady and Company mill from exporting any of its product by sea in 1890, for instance. And though the Vancouver Sawmill Company claimed in 1891 that its business was "principally a foreign one," eighty percent of its production that year was sold in the Vancouver area. The seven new mills were all relatively small, each employing less than one-third the number of loggers or mill hands engaged in 1890 by the Hastings Sawmill Company (Table 4, pp. 63-65). At least seven of the nine were also involved in the secondary manufacturing of wood products such as sashes, doors and frames, again for a local rather than export market. The first shipments of lumber and especially shingles to the prairies began in the early 1890's; for instance, the relatively small George Cassady mill sent 75% of its production of five million shingles to markets in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1891. This prairie demand remained insignificant until the later 1890's, however. Thus while the export mills were the biggest industrial units in Vancouver after 1886, most expansion in
the city's lumber industry did not occur in response to new external markets. The new mills were a product rather than a cause of Vancouver's population explosion between 1886 and 1892.

Other business enterprises established in early Vancouver were, like the new lumber mills, formed mainly in response to the central forces of growth created by real estate promotion and railroad development. These businesses were generally controlled within the south-western corner of British Columbia, were supported by very limited resources of capital and were designed to serve only local, or at best regional, markets. Brickyards, lime kilns and a stone quarry joined the sawmills in manufacturing building materials required for the local construction industry. The British Columbia Iron Works Co. Ltd., which opened in February of 1891, was the most successful of several small foundries and machine shops established to serve the region's extractive resource industries. B.C. Ironworks, which produced boilers and engines for sawmill and mining enterprises, had increased its capital to over $175,000 and staff to more than 100 men by 1896. Foundries and machine shops, which were the principal manufacturers of "producers' goods" in early Vancouver, had a capital worth of $185,000 and an annual wage bill of $95,000 by the end of 1890 (Table 4, pp. 63-65). "Consumer's goods" manufactured in Vancouver ranged from canned fruit, bakery products and beer to candy, soap and baking powder. Manufacturing plants engaged in the production of such items were all very small. Only the British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., established by the Philadelphia-born Benjamin T. Rogers, was organized to exploit a broad hinterland market. Formed in 1890 with the financial support of Montreal directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway, B.C. Sugar was to process raw sugar imported from the south Pacific and market the refined product through the interior of British Columbia, and ultimately across western Canada. While the staff of B.C. Sugar had increased to 75 within months of
the company's initial production, the important period of company growth came later with the opening of the prairie market at the turn of the century. Salmon canning was centered on the Fraser River rather than Burrard Inlet, and thus brought very little money directly into the economy of early Vancouver. Canning industry wages amounted to only $12,000 in Vancouver in 1890 (Table 4, pp. 63-65).

The remaining service businesses established in Vancouver before 1893 included three newspapers, a multitude of small hotels, three important utility companies and a broad range of retail and wholesale commercial enterprises. Francis Carter-Cotton's Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser was formed in March of 1887 through an amalgamation of two earlier papers, and John McLagan's Vancouver Daily World made its first appearance in September of 1888. Both of these newspapers concentrated on local or provincial news and had in 1892 a limited daily circulation of about 1500. In keeping with the character of the early city, their principal function was the promotion of city growth through the use of editorial policy and advertising. The major utility companies to emerge in the town after 1886 were the Vancouver Water Works Company, which first distributed water into Vancouver from the north shore Capilano River in 1889, the Vancouver Gas Company, which manufactured commercial gas for the city from Vancouver Island coal, and the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company, which initiated its electrically-driven street railway system in June of 1890. They formed three of the largest business enterprises in early Vancouver, having an average capital investment in 1890 of $250,000, or about one-half the capital invested in the Hastings Sawmill (Table 4, pp. 63-65). They were still small enough to be controlled and financed within the lower region of British Columbia, however. The water and gas companies had originally been organized and financed in Victoria, while the street railway company was established by Vancouver real
estate businessmen in December of 1889 through an amalgamation of two exist­
ing street railway and electric light companies. Only two of the many commer­
cial firms begun after 1886 had grown to any appreciable size by 1893.54
Little evidence suggests that either Thomas Dunn and Company, wholesale and
retail hardware merchants, or Oppenheimer Brothers, wholesale grocers, had
developed extensive market hinterlands outside of the immediate region of the
Terminal City during this period.

* * *

Vancouver was a product of two competing economic systems, the trans­
continental one extending westward from Montreal and the maritime system still
dominate along the B.C. coast. Vancouver's ties with eastern Canada gave the
city a position unique among coastal communities of British Columbia in the
late 1880's and early 1890's. The C.P.R. had initiated and sustained the
growth boom in Vancouver after 1886, and the Montreal-based company had be­
come the dominant business organization in early Vancouver. Vancouver's early
history would clearly have been different without the westward penetration of
this national Canadian business enterprise. Yet the C.P.R. did not stimulate
an immediate influx of eastern Canadian capital and branch plant businesses
to the west coast. Apart from the Bank of Montreal, which was itself a close
affiliate of the C.P.R.,55 few other Canadian businesses entered the Terminal
City in the first decade after 1886. In other words, Vancouver's ties with a
continental east-west economy were far from complete, and much of the remain­
ing business activity in early Vancouver conformed very closely to a pattern
of economic growth which was still distinctly coastal in character. Early
Vancouver was as much a British Columbian as a Canadian city until the later
1890's.
The flow of investment capital into Vancouver reflected this regional influence on the city's development, with capital derived from sources other than the C.P.R. coming mainly from Great Britain on the one hand or the nearby business communities of Victoria and New Westminster on the other. British capital entered the city in several ways. Two of the three institutional banks in the city, the Bank of British North America and the Bank of British Columbia, were London-based financial institutions which had operated in B.C. since the 1860's. The Bank of British Columbia was the more important of the two, helping to finance the city's early street railway and light companies in addition to other business enterprises such as Oppenheimer Brothers. The Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company, for instance, was by 1894 indebted to the Bank for $261,000. A large number of cash advances were made to Vancouver businessmen by the Bank's local manager, J. C. Keith, advances secured only by real estate assessed at highly inflated prices. Through the role of its local manager, therefore, the Bank of British Columbia also helped fuel the speculative character of business development in the early years after 1886. The Yorkshire Trust and Guarantee Corp., Ltd. and the Vancouver Land and Securities Corp., Ltd., noted earlier, were joined in Vancouver in 1891 by another British investment company, the British Columbia Land and Investment Agency, Ltd. The B.C. Land and Investment Agency was the most important of these corporations designed mainly to channel British capital into mortgages and real estate in British Columbia. It had by 1896 become the largest business house of its kind in the province, having invested between $2.5 and $3 million in B.C., including large investments in Vancouver. The British Columbia Land and Investment Agency, Ltd. was an institution typical of finance in B.C. during this period, with its headquarters in London, operating only in B.C., and interested mainly in channelling capital into land. British risk capital was also available for several important early Vancouver
businesses, including in 1887 the Hastings Sawmill Company, in 1890 the Union Steamship Company, and in 1891 the Anglo-British Columbia Packers Co. Ltd., the Moodyville Land and Sawmill Company and Wulffsohn and Bewicke Investment Company.

Vancouver was also an investment hinterland for capitalists within the lower British Columbia region, especially for New Westminster businessmen interested in Vancouver's growing lumber industry. The largest lumber company on the Lower Mainland, the British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company, was established in 1889 with its head office in Vancouver, but was organized and controlled by prominent New Westminster business leader, mayor and Board of Trade president John Hendry. Hendry built the Royal City Planning Mills plant in Vancouver in 1886, and took control of the large export mill, the Hastings Sawmill Company, from Welch-Rithet of Victoria and San Francisco in 1889. These mills were then amalgamated with his two New Westminster plants to form the larger corporation. The Vancouver Sawmill Company was owned by New Westminster capitalists H. V. Edmonds and J. A. Webster, and Webster was president in 1891 of the Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Company, a furniture and sash and door manufacturing firm. James Leamy of the Leamy and Kyle mill also resided in New Westminster. Of nine lumber manufacturing plants in the Vancouver area in January of 1891, five were either controlled outright in New Westminster or were the products of considerable New Westminster capital. The Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company, linking the Royal and Terminal cities, was formed by Edmonds and Webster of New Westminster, along with David Oppenheimer of Vancouver.

Considerable Victoria money was invested in Vancouver real estate, particularly between 1884 and 1886. Included here was David Oppenheimer's important Vancouver Improvement Company, formed in 1886 by
five prominent Victoria business, administrative and political figures, Major C. T. Dupont, Dr. Israel W. Powell, George A. Keefer, Frank H. Barnard and Edward G. Prior, in addition to Oppenheimer. David Oppenheimer himself had been a Victoria businessman before moving to Vancouver in 1886. Two of Vancouver's utilities, the Vancouver Gas and the Vancouver Water Works Companies, were organized in Victoria soon after the arrival of the railway in 1886. In 1889 Victoria merchants financed the first salmon canning business with offices in Vancouver, the Garry Point Canning Co. Ltd. Victoria doctor, D. L. Milne, president of the Vancouver Gas Co. Ltd. in 1890 and a notable railway promoter in the Vancouver area in the nineties, also controlled Ramsay Brothers and Company, one of the Terminal City's few consumer goods manufacturing enterprises established during this early period.

Vancouver was clearly more of an investment hinterland than a regional metropolis before 1893, absorbing capital from London, Montreal, Victoria and New Westminster. The Terminal City failed, in fact, to develop any significant metropolitan functions of its own during these early years. The regional management role of Vancouver C.P.R. officials provided one of the few examples of such metropolitan activity. Local officials, for instance, served as representatives for Montreal capital on the boards of several hydraulic gold mining companies established in the Cariboo during the 1890's. Vancouver real estate men occasionally extended their promotional skills to development schemes in the Fraser Valley and the Interior. Shannon and McLachlan issued a promotional pamphlet in 1891 outlining the character of resources throughout the province of British Columbia. At least three companies were also incorporated by Vancouver entrepreneurs to promote the sale of land in the Okanagan Valley, and one of them, the $225,000 Okanagan Land and Development Co., Ltd., developed the townsite of Vernon, terminus of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway. Three hundred
people had settled in the community by 1891 and buildings worth sixty-five thousand dollars had been erected by 1892. One of the few other hinterland business ventures organized by the Vancouver business community before the mid-1890's was the Anglo-British Columbia Packing Co. Ltd., established in 1891 by Vancouver commission merchant H. O. Bell-Irving to consolidate nine coastal B.C. salmon canneries under one management organization. With the acquisition of two additional canneries in 1892 this British-financed and locally-managed firm had "become the largest producers of sockeye salmon in the world." Yet despite this important initiative from Vancouver, Victoria continued to control the coast salmon canning industry. Of the five different groups which controlled the salmon canning industry on the lower B.C. coast after 1891, three were centered in Victoria, and the fourth, the Ewen group of canneries, had ties with Victoria through the group's agent, Robert Ward and Company. Only Anglo-B.C. Packers had ties with Vancouver. Victoria, and not Vancouver, remained the metropolitan centre of coastal British Columbia into the 1890's.

* * *

The economic power of the C.P.R. was unequalled in early Vancouver. From the money it invested in the city to the jobs it created and to the psychological impact of its arrival on the real estate market, the C.P.R. fuelled the engine that propelled city expansion. Ironically, however, the limitations of Vancouver's business growth in this early period also stemmed from the role of the C.P.R. The arrival of the railroad had not stimulated a marked expansion of the hinterland resource economy, nor altered Victoria's traditional control of the existing coastal economic system in
B.C. A marked expansion of Vancouver's wholesale trade and lumber industry, and the city's emergence as a regional management centre would occur only later as a product of larger changes in the province's economic relationship with the outside world. As a result, city businesses remained essentially inward-looking in the 1886-1893 period, feeding on the community's own physical expansion. The importance of real estate businessmen in early Vancouver, the second most influential group of businessmen after the railroad executives, was exaggerated in part because the Terminal City remained primarily a local rather than regional business centre before 1893.
Chapter 4

STAGES OF BUSINESS GROWTH IN EARLY VANCOUVER

(2) THE EMERGENCE OF A METROPOLIS, 1894-1908

The relationship between Victoria and Vancouver changed sharply in the late 1890's when Vancouver entered its second period of business development, a much less dramatic phase of growth than the first. This second stage was not initiated by another cycle of rapid internal expansion in the city, though Vancouver's growth did outstrip Victoria's during the decade when the Terminal City's population doubled to 26,133 between 1891 and 1901, while Victoria's grew only by 4,000 people, to 20,816. Additional business activity in Vancouver resulted from the establishment of extensive new outward-looking ties between the city and its interior and north coast hinterlands, rather than from a resumption of the inward-looking, real estate-based expansion of the earlier period. Vancouver replaced Victoria in the late 1890's as a metropolitan centre for the resource industries of lumber and salmon canning, and for transportation, banking and trade in British Columbia. Vancouver's position throughout the twentieth century as the region's management and service centre was clearly defined in the decade after 1895, and particularly during the five-year period between 1898 and 1902.

* * *

A severe economic depression beginning in 1892 marked the transition between Vancouver's first and second stages of business growth. The depression
of the 1890's curtailed the inflow of investment capital upon which the business expansion of the earlier period had depended. Vancouver's real estate market was hit especially hard, having been at once the most speculative part of the city economy and the leading edge of city growth. Financial difficulties ensued for many of Vancouver's business enterprises, ranging from the small Union Steamship Company to the large British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company, and a number of businesses did not survive. Both of the city's street railway companies went bankrupt; in 1893 the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company was taken over by the trustees for the debenture holders and in 1894 the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company went into receivership. The profits of Oppenheimer Brothers plunged from 25% of working capital in 1892-1893 to 17.6% in 1894 and 10.5% in 1896. Vancouver Board of Trade membership declined from 135 in 1892 to 72 in 1896. And at least one group of Vancouver businessmen conferred in 1894 about whether to ride out the crisis or to abandon the city as a lost cause.

Vancouver's return to economic prosperity was closely tied to the broader changes taking place in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. The settlement of the prairie west and the industrialization of Ontario and Quebec established integrating forces that extended across the country into the far reaches of the maritime provinces at one end and British Columbia at the other. Vancouver benefitted most from this Canadianization of the coastal B.C. economy, profiting at last from its mainland location, its railway connections and its magnificent natural harbour. The most obvious beneficiary in Vancouver was the lumber industry. So great was the prairie demand for construction materials that lumber surpassed salmon canning and mining as British Columbia's leading resource industry after 1900, and has maintained that leading position in the province ever since. Burrard Inlet and the city of Vancouver prospered immensely from this new export market,
the production of lumber becoming again a leader rather than follower of urban growth on the Inlet. Lumber exports shipped inland by rail from Pacific coast mills increased by fifteen times between 1900 and 1913, jumping from 26 million feet to 392 million feet over the thirteen year period. Burrard Inlet remained the most important lumber centre in British Columbia, despite the rapid growth of the industry in the interior of the province. About 39% of the timber cut in B.C. in both 1900 and 1907 was logged by mills at Vancouver, and more than half of the B.C. coast lumber industry remained centered in Vancouver up to the time of the First World War. Lumber production became the one industrial process in Vancouver large enough to stimulate extensive additional growth throughout the remainder of the local economy. Over 6000 workers were employed in the log products and lumber industry around Vancouver in 1911 out of a total industrial work force in the city and immediate surrounding area of 9777. By contrast, the city's metal working industries, including boiler and engine making and foundry and machine shops, employed 580 industrial workers in 1911, or one-tenth the number engaged in the lumber industry. There was good reason, then, for the claim made in 1909 that lumber was the "king of the industries" in Vancouver.

Increased demand for cedar shingles in the Northwest Territories, eastern Canada and the United States stimulated the first changes in Vancouver's lumber industry in the 1890's. The shingle mills of James and Robert McNair and of H. H. Spicer were established despite the depressed economic conditions in the city after 1892, and the McNairs' Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company, formed in 1893, had become the largest shingle producer in the province by 1896. By the end of the nineties city lumbermen were faced with the first consistent prairie demand for Burrard Inlet lumber, and the resulting prosperity in the industry stimulated the formation of two new Vancouver sawmill companies, E. H. Heaps and Company and Robertson and Hackett. The biggest
increase in Vancouver's lumber manufacturing capacity came during the period from approximately 1903 to 1909, when new plants were established on both sides of Burrard Inlet and along the shores of False Creek. Of the 35 provincially-incorporated lumber manufacturing companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were affiliated, 19, or more than one-half, were founded during the four year period from 1905 to 1908 (Table 6, p.99). By the peak years of Vancouver's second major cycle of prosperity between 1910 and 1912, a number of very large lumber corporations had become firmly established in the city. Joining the British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company, the giant of the industry throughout the province since its formation in 1889, were new, heavily capitalized firms like the Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd., formed in 1903, the Rat Portage Lumber Co. Ltd., established as a branch of the parent Winnipeg firm the same year, E. H. Heaps and Company, the Pacific Coast Lumber Mills, Ltd., begun in 1907, and especially the Fraser River Lumber Company, which had emerged by 1911 as the largest lumber corporation in the province. Of the ten companies paying the largest royalties to the provincial government in the 1909-1910 for timber logged in the province, five operated mills in Vancouver and two others were managed from Vancouver, though operating outside of the city.¹⁴ Vancouver's lumber companies constituted, in fact, some of the largest corporations operating in the city before 1914. Of the eight largest provincially-incorporated companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were affiliated, three were lumber manufacturing firms and one was a timber-holding and logging company.¹⁵ E. H. Heaps and Company, the Fraser River Lumber Company, the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company, the Vancouver Lumber Company and the Vancouver Timber and Trading Company had become giants by British Columbia standards of the period, with assets ranging from $3 million in the case of B.C. Mills to over $8 million for E. H. Heaps and Company
and the Fraser River Lumber Company.

The lumber industry in Vancouver was essentially Vancouver-owned and controlled from the mid-1890's to the time of the First World War. The influence of New Westminster businessmen in Vancouver declined in the nineties and ended with John Hendry's move to a new residence in the fashionable west end of Vancouver in 1903. Of the twelve Vancouver lumber and logging companies which cut the largest amounts of timber in 1907, only one, the Rat Portage Lumber Company of Winnipeg, was controlled outside of the region, while one other, the Anglo-American Lumber Company, was headed by a Victoria businessman and probably controlled in the capital city. The Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company had also been financed in part with capital from Victoria, but was run by the McNairs of Vancouver.

Local entrepreneurship and financial control was challenged after 1907, however, by the emergence in B.C. of several large, heavily-capitalized and technologically-advanced lumber corporations organized by financial interests outside of the province. Such companies usually purchased locally-owned mills already in operation, thus reducing the degree of regional control previously enjoyed in the industry. They also made Vancouver their management centre, adding a new dimension to the city's expanding function as a regional metropolis. The local entrepreneur began to give way to the local manager in the lumber industry. The Fraser River Lumber Company, formed in 1907, the Canadian Pacific Lumber Company, formed in 1910, and the British Canadian Lumber Company formed in 1911 each followed this pattern. Though the Fraser River Lumber Company's sawmill was located at Fraser Mills, east of New Westminster on the Fraser River, A. D. McRae, local head of the company as well as one of its organizing entrepreneurs, became a prominent member of the Vancouver business fraternity and, along with his wife, a leading social figure in the city. Frank Buckley became managing-director in Vancouver
of the British Canadian Lumber Corporation in 1910. The Minneapolis-based Powell River Co. Ltd., which completed the province's largest pulp and paper complex in B.C. before the War at Powell River, also found in Vancouver the logical centre from which to manage its regional operation.  

Control of the coast salmon canning industry, long the preserve of the Victoria merchant community, also passed to Vancouver at the turn of the century. The process began in the early 1890's when Vancouver firms first competed with Victoria merchants as agents of finance, supply and distribution for the industry. By 1900 Evans, Coleman and Evans of Vancouver had surpassed R. P. Rithet and Company and Robert Ward and Company as the province's leading salmon canning agency. The agencies of George I. Wilson and Farrell, Tregent and Company had also become an important part of the Vancouver business community during the decade. Vancouver's role was further enhanced by the intervention of eastern Canadian banks into salmon canning after the establishment of bank branches in the Terminal City in the late 1890's. More than half of the new canneries established on the B.C. coast in the nineties had ties with Vancouver, and the canning entrepreneur, including men like Charles S. Windsor, Frank Burnett, C. G. Hobson, R. V. Winch, Michael Costello, N. H. Bain, F. J. Buttimer, George W. Dawson, George I. Wilson and William Farrell, took his place among the city's most active businessmen of the period. The culmination of Vancouver's emergence as the dominant centre of canning industry management and supply in B.C. came with the formation in 1902 of the British Columbia Packers Association. In addition to locating its regional headquarters in Vancouver, rather than on the Island, B.C. Packers was also to incorporate the canneries controlled previously by R. P. Rithet and Company, Victoria's largest agency. This erosion of the capital city's position was continued even further with the takeover in 1909 of Robert Ward and Company and the seven canneries under its financial control.
by Vancouver's R. V. Winch and Company. While canning agencies from Victoria such as J. H. Todd and Sons continued to be active throughout the next decade, the few new canning enterprises established after 1902, including the Strathcona Packing Company, the Kildala Packing Company and the Kincolith Packing Company, emanated primarily from Vancouver. When in 1911 another attempt was made by Canadian and American interests to form a salmon canning conglomerate in B.C., this time to control the salmon industry in northern waters, the clearly established pattern of resource industry management along the B.C. coast dictated that the regional headquarters of Wallace Fisheries Ltd. would be in Vancouver, and not in Victoria.

Changes in the financial structure of the salmon canning industry had been strongly influenced by transcontinental forces, beginning in the mid-1890's, and one of the most important of these was the westward movement of Canadian banks. This migration of eastern business institutions into B.C. was part of a general movement of Canadian businesses into the west before the turn of the century. Though the prairies and, for a short period, the Yukon and Kootenays exercised the principal attraction for these eastern companies, their extension westward also spilled over into coastal British Columbia. The Imperial Bank from Toronto established a branch on the coast in 1895, followed by the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Merchant's Bank of Halifax and Molson's Bank in 1898. When the Imperial Bank first announced its plans for a B.C. branch in 1894, doubts were expressed about whether this branch should be in Vancouver or some "other Provincial financial centre." The future growth of British Columbia was to be inward and transcontinentalist in character rather than outward and maritime, however, and Vancouver's natural advantages as a mainland centre gave it the distinct advantage in competition with Victoria. All four banks established their branches in Vancouver. Eastern insurance companies also began to flood the west coast market in the latter 1890's, and they too
were almost unanimous in their choice of Vancouver as the site for regional management offices. Three eastern Canadian banks established regional head offices in B.C. at the turn of the century, all of them in Vancouver. The Bank of Montreal was the first to follow this pattern, appointing Vancouver business leader Campbell Sweeny its superintendent of British Columbia branches in 1898. H. H. Morris was appointed B.C. inspector for the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1901, and superintendent of the bank's Pacific coast branches in 1907, and C. A. Crosbie became supervisor of the B.C. branches of the Royal Bank in 1903. Both Morris and Crosbie also lived in Vancouver. Establishment of a Bankers' Clearing House in Vancouver in 1898 had, in fact, signalled the city's new role as a regional banking centre. The event most symbolic of changes taking place in coastal British Columbia at the turn of the century was the absorption of the British-owned Bank of British Columbia by Toronto's Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1900. The Victoria-based British bank of the old system had been replaced by the Vancouver-based Canadian bank of the new. When the Bank of Commerce and Bank of Montreal took the lead in reorganizing the coast salmon industry the following year, it was no surprise that the new canning conglomerate they promoted should also establish its local headquarters in the Terminal City.

The geographic advantages provided by its mainland location, its natural harbour and its C.P.R. connections had been central factors behind Vancouver's emergence as a regional management centre, both in the lumber and canning industries and in banking, and these same advantages were critical to Vancouver's rise as a commercial metropolis in the late 1890's. Despite the fact that the Terminal City had enjoyed a cost advantage for freight of $4 per ton over Island cities to all Interior points as early as 1891, Vancouver had failed to break Victoria's traditional hold on the trade of the Fraser Valley, the Okanagan, the Cariboo and Vancouver Island during the first
ten years after 1886. But the residual strength of the established commercial
ties of the Victoria merchant community began to decline in the mid-1890s in
the face of Vancouver's obvious long-term advantages. The years between 1895
and 1898 were crucial. While at least two sources noted in 1895 that Victoria
was still "the chief centre of wholesale supply for the province," and that
the capital city continued to hold "its own against the strong rivalry of
Vancouver," the negotiations begun in 1896 by the Singer Manufacturing Com­
pany to have its local head office transferred to Vancouver from Victoria,
where it had been established in the 1880s, indicated that changes were tak­
ing place in this commercial relationship between the two cities. By 1897
The Year Book of British Columbia noted that "a number of large wholesale
firms" had established themselves in Vancouver, and were "competing success­
fully for a share of the business of the province." The Terminal City
benefitted considerably from this new competition, and its share of the import
trade in B.C. surpassed that of Victoria for the first time in 1898 (Table 5,
p. 84). The value of goods which entered through the two ports remained fairly close until 1901, but by 1903 Vancouver had become the principal port on
the B.C. coast. The tremendous economic expansion throughout British
Columbia during the next ten years simply reinforced Vancouver's new function
as the trade centre for the province.

Virtually all of the large wholesale houses operating in Vancouver at
the outbreak of the First World War had been established in the city by 1902.
Two of these firms had been organized during the first phase of city growth
in the 1880s. Evans, Coleman and Evans Ltd. was founded in 1888 by three
English immigrants, brothers Ernest and Percy Evans and cousin George
Coleman, as an agency to supply coal to the mainland from Vancouver Island.
The firm had then expanded into log towing, the import-export business and
trade in a wide range of industrial materials, including railway supplies,
Table 5

Value of Goods Imported and Exported Through the Ports of Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster, 1894-1904

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imports ('000's)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Export ('000's)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>New West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>443.8</td>
<td>2,862.8</td>
<td>155.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>1,504.5</td>
<td>2,691.7</td>
<td>875.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1,165.6</td>
<td>2,360.8</td>
<td>634.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,320.3</td>
<td>2,735.4</td>
<td>504.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1,900.8</td>
<td>2,787.8</td>
<td>586.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>2,983.4</td>
<td>3,460.2</td>
<td>841.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>3,111.7</td>
<td>3,034.9</td>
<td>879.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3,877.2</td>
<td>3,389.8</td>
<td>683.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,271.7</td>
<td>3,963.7</td>
<td>622.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>4,161.8</td>
<td>3,237.1</td>
<td>644.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>5,495.7</td>
<td>3,005.5</td>
<td>767.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>6,015.5</td>
<td>2,998.5</td>
<td>966.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>43,475.4</td>
<td>11,409.0</td>
<td>2,960.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Sources:

tin plate and mining supplies. In particular the company acted as a supplier, financier and selling agent for canneries in the coast salmon canning industry, and by 1900 had become B.C.'s largest canning agency. McLennan, McFeely and Company Ltd., which had established their first hardware business in Victoria in 1885 and had opened a branch in Vancouver in 1886, had become primarily a Vancouver business by the mid-1890's.

Three other important wholesale businesses emerged in the 1890's. The English-born W. H. Malkin had joined with Osmund Skrine in 1895 to form Osmund Skrine and Company, wholesale produce merchants. The firm was taken over by Malkin in 1897 and was incorporated as the W. H. Malkin Co. Ltd., a wholesale grocery and tea importing house, in 1900. The firm opened a new five-storey warehouse on Water Street in 1902, "the largest and best equipped warehouse west of Winnipeg." The grocery empire of Kelly, Douglas and Company began in 1895 when Robert Kelly, former salesman for the Oppenheimers, joined with William Braid to form a wholesale grocery house. Kelly, Douglas resulted from a new alliance between Kelly and Frank Douglas shortly thereafter. James Skinner and Company of Hamilton had first established an agency of their china and glassware business in Vancouver in the early 1890's. Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd. was formed when local entrepreneur Buscombe purchased the Vancouver branch of this business and reorganized it into a new wholesale enterprise in 1899.

The Evanses, Kelly, Malkin, Buscombe, McLennan and McFeely were all local entrepreneurs, and destined by 1910 to be among the most influential businessmen in the city. The growing presence of eastern Canadian businesses on the west coast also extended into the field of commerce, and at least three other 'merchant princes' in Vancouver were employed as managers of branch wholesale houses. Henry Pim, son of a long-time Toronto manufacturer of structural and ornamental steel, came to Vancouver in 1893 as representative
of the newly reorganized Canadian General Electric Company. General Electric and the Canadian Fairbanks Morse Co. Ltd., which entered the city as the Fairbanks Company in 1902, were the two most prominent machinery distributors to establish houses in Vancouver before the War. By 1914 both wholesale establishments occupied large warehouses in the city, with William Akhurst managing in 1911 what the Canadian Fairbanks Company's advertisement called the "Largest Machinery and Mill Supply House" in British Columbia. Henry Stone, son of a London merchant, arrived in Vancouver in 1902 as manager of Gault Brothers, a Montreal drygoods firm which had established a warehouse in the Terminal City in 1899. For forty years thereafter Stone served as a prominent business and social leader in the city, on the one hand an active member of the Board of Trade, and on the other a patron of the arts and founder of the city's art gallery. A wealthy Hamilton hardware firm, Wood, Vallance and Company also followed this general trend to the west coast by purchasing in 1902 Vancouver's first major hardware wholesale business, Thomas Dunn and Company Ltd. By 1912 they had grown to become a million dollar west coast business.

Apart from the general reorganization of the wholesaling trade in British Columbia during the 1890's, a reorganization which prompted both the founding of new commercial enterprises in Vancouver and the expansion of others, business in the Terminal City also benefitted after 1897 from the commercial impact of the Klondike gold rush. Vancouver had been decidedly less successful than Seattle in capturing the Klondike trade during the earliest, and most prosperous phase of the gold rush. But the Klondike did add a new market for Vancouver business, and steamship service was initiated in 1898 between Vancouver and the north to tap this market. Though the Vancouver Board of Trade still complained about inadequate transportation facilities between Vancouver and the north as late as 1901, from 75 to 80% of the goods
which entered the Yukon in 1900 came from Canada, almost a complete reversal of the trade two years earlier when the same proportion had entered from the United States. Vancouver merchants benefitted from this shift in trade, and at least two firms, Kelly, Douglas and Company and McLennan, McFeely and Company had actively pursued it through direct representation in the north. Frank Douglas of Kelly, Douglas drowned while returning from the Klondike in August of 1901 and R. P. McLennan of McLennan, McFeely spent five years after 1898 in Dawson City representing his firm, and served as that city’s second mayor. The Hudson’s Bay Company doubled the capacity of its Vancouver store in 1899 in response to the new Yukon trade.

Several retail and wholesale businesses continued to develop into very large and influential companies in Vancouver after the Klondike rush had passed. Extensive warehouses built by McLennan, McFeely and Co. Ltd., Kelly, Douglas and Co. Ltd., the W. H. Malkin Co. Ltd. and Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd. in 1907 symbolized the city’s ‘arrival’ as a metropolitan centre. Major retail businesses emerged in Vancouver as well, and large stores were built in 1903 by Charles Woodward and in 1907 by David Spencer and Gordon Drysdale. Markets for Vancouver wholesalers were limited mainly to British Columbia, though some businesses sought outlets beyond the Rocky Mountains. Gault Brothers and W. N. O’Neil and Company sold only in British Columbia and the Yukon, for instance, while Mackay, Smith, Blair and Company, dry goods merchants, sent travellers into Alberta and the W. H. Malkin Company sold goods 300 miles east of Calgary. By the time of the First World War, Kelly, Douglas and Company were known as the largest tea importers and distributors in western Canada and Frederick Buscombe and Company had become the largest china and glassware enterprise west of Toronto. Wholesale dealers in metal goods and hardware were especially prominent in Vancouver. By 1912 Evans, Coleman and Evans were acclaimed as "the principal commercial firm in the
province,\textsuperscript{72} and by 1914 McLennan, McFeely and Company had become the largest wholesale hardware enterprise west of Winnipeg, and the second largest in the country.\textsuperscript{73} The Canadian Fairbanks Company also boasted that its Vancouver warehouse was the firm's largest in Canada outside of Montreal.\textsuperscript{74}

The selection of trade goods offered in Vancouver continued to expand after 1900. New wholesale firms which entered the city's economy in the decade before the War were small, specializing in particular products like fresh produce, liquors, drugs and electrical supplies.\textsuperscript{75} As the city grew, a wider range of specialized services were also made available. In addition to the few big stores like Woodwards, the Hudson's Bay Company and David Spencer Ltd., the incorporated retail companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were associated included a motor car sales firm, a florist and nursery company, a storage business, a ceiling and roofing service, an ice and cold storage plant, and piano, firearms and stationery businesses,\textsuperscript{76} all of them oriented to the local market. By 1911 almost 8000 people out of a total work force in Vancouver of 50,000 were engaged in some form of commercial activity.\textsuperscript{77}

Transportation was the tie which drew metropolis and hinterland together, and as in the years immediately after 1886 the C.P.R. continued to be the most important transportation link between the two. Vancouver's emergence as a regional business centre owed as much to the working out of potential created earlier by the C.P.R.'s arrival at Burrard Inlet than to any new transportation facilities in the city. In 1902 a C.P.R. branch line joined Lulu Island with the city,\textsuperscript{78} and in 1904 the Great Northern Railway entered Vancouver via New Westminster from the south.\textsuperscript{79} The C.P.R.'s main line made possible the opening of markets in the Fraser Valley, the Okanagan, the Cariboo and the prairie provinces, the interior hinterland in which much of the city's potential as a metropolitan centre was to be found. The C.P.R. was also a
major force on the Vancouver waterfront, building two large piers in 1908 to accommodate trans-Pacific liners, and by 1911 having the largest fleet in Vancouver. The C.P.R. continued as Vancouver's most important business enterprise, and its chief executive, now the Welsh-born Richard Marpole, as one of the city's leading personalities.

Shipping service to points north along the B.C. coast changed more noticeably during the period after 1894 than rail service into the city. Increased shipping was particularly important in linking the expanding resource industries of the coast with the Terminal City. The Union Steamship Company, formed in 1889, continued to pursue this trade, and increased its service beyond the salmon canning sites to link Vancouver with the Yukon via Skagway. Captain J. W. Cates' Terminal Steamship Company was founded in Vancouver at the turn of the century to compete for the trade of the Sechelt Peninsula and Howe Sound areas. In 1901 Victoria's Canadian Pacific Navigation Company was taken over by the C.P.R., and though still operated out of Victoria was perhaps Vancouver's major shipping contract with coastal communities. Vessels sailed from the Terminal City to Victoria, Seattle, and the northern tip of Vancouver Island, to the salmon canneries of the Skeena and Nass Rivers and Rivers Inlet, to the Queen Charlotte Islands and to Skagway. An ever-increasing mosquito fleet of small steamers added to the coastal service of the regular lines. The growing number of commercial travellers sent out by Vancouver wholesale houses to northern lumber and mining camps after 1900 and the establishment of a general store at Prince Rupert by Kelly, Douglas and Company in 1906 were examples of the new contacts made possible between Vancouver and its coastal hinterland by this enlarged fleet of ships.
Transportation, the lumber industry and commerce were together chiefly responsible for Vancouver's continued economic expansion during the fifteen year period from 1893 to 1908. Such progress led inevitably to a further stage of economic growth in Vancouver, with the local economy 'filling out' in both the range and quality of its business and consumer services. The emergence of specialized wholesale and retail enterprises after 1900 reflected this growing economic maturity. The variety of goods manufactured in the city also expanded after 1900, as local plants produced more resource industry supplies and a wider variety of items for the local consumer market. In both cases the process had been initiated during the city's first phase of business growth.

Such producers' and consumers' goods manufacturing, though a sign of growing economic maturity in Vancouver, was also clearly a follower rather than leader of city growth. Most secondary manufacturing enterprises were small, particularly when compared with the dominant lumber industry in Vancouver. Only 3700 of a total of 9700 manufacturing employees in the Vancouver area were engaged in 1911 in some form of industry other than log or lumber products manufacturing. The average number of employees in the region's 23 log products plants was 240, compared to 88 in the boiler and engine manufacturing firms and 83 in the ship and ship repair industry. The $334,900 invested in the average sawmill in the area compared to $165,667 for boiler making and engines and $239,900 for ship building, and only a fraction of these for most other industries. Thus secondary manufacturing in Vancouver grew with the city, but was in turn severely limited by the population of that city and its hinterland region. As Sir William Priestley, a noted British woollen goods manufacturer, pointed out before the War, the size of the consumer market in British Columbia was simply too small to provide the economies of scale required for a much more extensive range of secondary manufacturing in B.C.
Iron foundries and machine shops were the principal manufacturers of producers' goods in the city, and had first appeared in the late 1880's. The B.C. Ironworks Company was the most successful of these in the 1890's, profiting from the steady growth in local steam shipping and cannery enterprises and the beginning of "scientific mining" in the up-country, mainly in the Cariboo. Machinery manufacturing also increased in Vancouver at Victoria's expense during the nineties. In the case of salmon canning machinery, Vancouver's Letson and Burpee had by 1900 replaced Victoria's Albion Ironworks as the province's chief producer. The Vancouver City Iron Works, organized in the early 1890's by the skilled artisans John F. Ross, a pattern maker, and James Howard, a moulder, joined the C.P.R.'s machine shops as the other important foundries in the city at the turn of the century. At least two Vancouver machinery manufacturers of note appeared after 1900; the Empire Manufacturing Co. Ltd. was established in 1907 by former Seattle lumberman J. F. Smith to build logging engines in the Terminal City, and the North Shore Iron Work(s) Ltd. was organized in 1909 to produce boilers and steel ships in North Vancouver. Ross and Howard Ironworks Co. Ltd., with assets of over $371,000 in 1910, had become the largest of these machinery manufacturers by 1914.

Agents and distributors for machinery made in the industrial areas of eastern Canada and the United States were also prominent in Vancouver, their success as local businessmen reflecting the inability of B.C. manufacturers to compete successfully in the production of sophisticated equipment with the large, efficient machinery industries of the east. Canadian machinery had been one of the first Canadian products sold extensively on the Pacific coast, becoming common in B.C. as far back as the mid-1880's. Robert Hamilton came as an early representative of such eastern machinery manufacturers to Vancouver, establishing himself as local manager of the
Hamilton Manufacturing Co. Ltd. of Peterborough, Ontario, in 1891. General manufacturers' agents like William N. O'Neil and E. H. Heaps developed prosperous businesses in Vancouver as distributors for these new eastern Canadian and American products in the 1890's. O'Neil's agency had grown into a half-million dollar enterprise by 1913, and Heaps' role as a distributor served merely as an intermediary stage for his emergence after 1900 as one of B.C.'s largest industrialists. Henry Pim and William Akhurst became prominent merchants in the city after 1900 as local managers of eastern machinery and equipment distributing companies. Machinery dealers like the A. J. Burton Saw Co. Ltd., formed in 1904 to carry a wide range of industrial equipment produced outside the city, or the Vancouver Machinery Depot Ltd., formed in 1908, were in fact more prosperous in Vancouver than local machinery manufacturing firms. While most machinery required for the resource industries in B.C. continued to come from the industrial heartland of the continent, local machinery makers did take on the role of modifying that equipment to local production specifications.

The displacement of imported goods by locally produced ones was more feasible for consumers' than producers' goods before World War I, since the bulk and perishability of many consumer items and the lesser amount of expensive technology required to manufacture them made successful competition in the consumer goods manufacturing field easier for Vancouver industrialists. Production of many items had already begun in Vancouver during the city's first phase of growth in the late 1880's and early 1890's. As a consequence, the manufacture of candy, confectionary goods and biscuits on the one hand and of beer on the other were still controlled in 1908 by the early Vancouver businessmen James Ramsay and Charles Doering. New entrepreneurs began to develop other lines of consumer products in the 1890's, however, including Fred Schooley who entered the soap making business, Francis H. Barber the
mattress business and Walter Taylor the manufacture of canned fruits and vegetables. Royal Soaps Ltd., Barber Mattress Manufacturing Co. Ltd. and the B.C. Fruit Canning and Coffee Co. Ltd. had become important new additions to the city's business life by 1900. In 1904 Taylor branched out into jams, jellies, pickles and sauces with the Empress Manufacturing Co. Ltd., by 1911 James Ramsay's new Dominion Biscuit Company (formed in 1906) had acquired assets of $443,000, and by 1914 Barber Mattress employed 200 workers at its three Vancouver and one Victoria plants.

Manufacturers from other centres were also encouraged to establish branches in Vancouver as the consumer market on B.C.'s lower mainland continued to grow. Brackman-Ker Milling Co. Ltd. of Victoria entered the city in the mid-1890's to mill flour and oats. More important to the Vancouver economy was P. Burns and Co. Ltd. of Calgary whose retail meat distribution business, begun in Vancouver in 1892, had expanded by 1913 to a network of sixteen shops and meat packing facilities worth more than $1.5 million. J. Leckie Co. Ltd. entered Vancouver in 1892 as a branch house of the parent boot and shoe distribution business in Toronto. The Vancouver branch later began to manufacture footwear for industrial use and competed so successfully with imported products that by 1909 a new six-storey building was required.

The one consumer goods manufacturing firm organized from the beginning to exploit a market beyond the local Vancouver region was Benjamin Rogers' British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd. Rogers had tried to capture the market of the entire prairie region for his sugar after 1891, and though thwarted in his initial design by Montreal interests was increasingly successful through the later nineties as far east as the Ontario border. B.C. Sugar was so successful in fact that it expanded vertically into other areas of the production process, forming the B.C. Cooperage and Jute Company of Vancouver in 1892 and entering into the sugar plantation business in Fiji in 1905.
The Vancouver Fiji Company, with an initial authorized capital of one million dollars, was operated successfully as the parent company's chief source of sugar until labour difficulties brought about the plantation's closure in 1922. B.C. Sugar's Vancouver plant alone employed over 300 people in 1914, and its assets of $2 million in 1913 were at least four to five times the capital worth of other consumer goods manufacturing firms in the city, with the exception of the new brewing conglomerate begun in 1912.

An important corollary to economic expansion in Vancouver was the increased role of eastern Canadian corporations in the city, some of them in turn the Canadian branches of American companies. Ironically, while the economy of Vancouver continued to mature after 1900, some of the companies established as part of this process of business expansion passed out of the control of local entrepreneurs. The changing nature of business organization generally in North America and of the greater demands for capital by modern business enterprises had been important factors behind the reorganization of much of the B.C. salmon canning and mining industries and some of the province's lumber industry before 1914, and behind the trend in resource industries to local management and external control. The same process was evident in the service sector of the Vancouver economy before 1914. The street railway systems of the coast cities had been reorganized in 1897 into the British Columbia Electric Railway Company, a British-controlled company which was one of the last new links in the old coastal economic system between British Columbia and Great Britain. Thereafter most of the new outside capital and control came from eastern Canada and the U.S.A., at least until the renewed interest of British investors after 1910. Thomas Dunn's wholesale business was purchased by Wood, Vallance and Company of Hamilton in 1902, the Vancouver meat packing firm of J. Y. Griffin and Company was absorbed by Swift and Company of Chicago in 1905, George Trorey's jewelry business was amalgamated into
Henry Birks and Son of Montreal in 1907, the large McDowell-Atkins-Watson Company, with more than ten retail drug stores and a large wholesale drug business, was taken over by the National Drug and Chemical Company of Canada Ltd. from Montreal, also in 1907, Royal Crown Soaps Ltd. of Vancouver had passed into the control of Lever Brothers by 1911, and the coast brewing industry was reorganized into a new conglomerate company with its head office in Montreal in 1912. Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd. was also taken over in 1912 by a Montreal firm, Cassidy's Ltd. British capitalists bought out both Mahon, McFarland and Proctor Ltd., one of the city's earliest and leading real estate firms, and the Union Steamship Co. Ltd. in 1911. And the Stave Lake Power Company, a project organized by local entrepreneurs in 1901 to provide hydro-electric power for industrial use in the Lower Mainland area, was finally taken over by Montreal interests and reorganized into the Western Canada Power Corporation in 1909 when the limitations of available capital prevented successful completion of the project. This integration of local businesses into the larger transcontinental business system, which had only begun before 1914, has continued in Vancouver through to the present day.

* * *

Vancouver assumed the role of a regional business metropolis in the late 1890's and early 1900's. Its wholesale and retail enterprises expanded in number, variety and size; its lumber industry once again became a force leading economic expansion in the city; and Vancouver replaced Victoria as the management centre for hinterland resource companies, and for eastern businesses establishing regional headquarters in B.C. The business community's expanded role was linked in turn to the significant rearrangement of
economic ties between British Columbia and the outside world at the end of the century. The continentalization of markets, capital and entrepreneurial skills in British Columbia was the essential cause of the Terminal City's enlarged business role during this second stage of business development.
Vancouver's third stage of economic development was closely tied to the wave of speculation in resources which swept the province after 1905, and which reached a peak between 1909 and 1912. As a result of massive new immigration into Canada after 1900 and the general movement of people from the countryside into the cities, urban land became one of the nation's most sought-after resources before World War I, especially in the rapidly growing centres of the west. In Vancouver the population jumped from 66,000 in 1908 to 122,000 in 1912, an increase of 85% in only five years. Internal growth, and the real estate and construction businesses associated with it, again became a focus of interest for city businessmen, marking a return to the centre theme of Vancouver's first period of business development. Urban land was only one of several resources subject to intense speculation in the province after 1908, however, and Vancouver's new role as a regional business centre meant that speculation in hinterland resources likewise became of major interest to city businessmen. After 1908 another cycle of frenzied and unstable business expansion was superimposed on the mature city economy which had evolved since the turn of the century.

* * *

The great majority of new companies formed in Vancouver between 1909 and 1913 were organized to promote and finance the sale of urban lands and
hinterland resources. Of the 129 'important' companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were associated, and which had been formed since 1909, the largest group of businesses (39) were real estate firms, or businesses designed to engage in real estate promotion in addition to some other activity, such as stock promotion or the sale of Interior lands (Table 6). Twenty-six of the companies formed between 1909 and 1913 were mining enterprises, again the product of renewed city interest in a hinterland resource. The third largest category of new companies was 'Finance: All Others,' meaning loan and trust companies, almost all of which were designed to organize capital for investment in local real estate. Even more revealing is the fact that in the case of each of these three categories, more 'important' companies were incorporated in Vancouver between 1909 and 1913 than had been formed in the city's entire history previous to that time. In the case of real estate companies the relationship was 10 before the end of 1908 and 39 after, for mining companies 11 before and 26 after, and for loan and trust companies 12 before and 18 after. The significance here is that for virtually all other categories of business in the city, incorporated business enterprises had been founded principally before, rather than after, the emergence of a new growth 'boom' in 1909. New consumer goods manufacturing firms with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910 to 1913 period was affiliated appeared most frequently between 1900 and 1904, for instance, and lumber and log products companies mainly between 1905 and 1908. Wholesale businesses had also become firmly established in the city over the eight year period after 1900.

An examination of the 1911 Census also reveals that by comparison with several other major Canadian cities Vancouver's economic prosperity was uniquely dependent on urban growth and hinterland resource speculation. By 1909 Vancouver had become an important centre of transportation, lumber manufacturing and trade. Yet each of these economic functions was relatively
Table 6
Period of Incorporation for 250 "Important"
B.C. Companies With Which Vancouver Business
Leaders of the 1910-1913 Period Were Affiliated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business Enterprise</th>
<th>Period of Incorporation:</th>
<th>No. of Co.'s. Incorp. Before 1909 &gt; or &lt; No. Incorp. 1909-1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before 1900</td>
<td>1900-1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: Real Estate.....</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: All Others.....</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Products: Fish.....</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Products: Timber..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Products: Minerals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Manufacturing....</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Goods Manuf.......</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale Functions................</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail............</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Whole, and Retail: Lumber.............</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Corporate and Private Banking............</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities.............</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation: Shipping..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation: Steam Railways.............</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction................</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Important Businesses.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹This table categorizes the incorporation dates of active B.C. companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were affiliated. These companies are listed in Appendix B. The term "important" is thus used as defined in Chapter 1 and in the introduction to Appendix B. This table refers only to companies incorporated in B.C. Companies incorporated outside the province and unincorporated businesses have been excluded.

²A detailed explanation of these categories is presented in the introduction to Appendix B.
more important in several other Canadian cities than in Vancouver. While 18.5% of the total work force in the Terminal City was employed in some form of manufacturing, the industrial work force in other cities, such as Hamilton (50.7%), Brantford (46.7%), Toronto (34.9%), Montreal (33.2%) and Quebec (31.4%), was much higher. 15.4% of the Vancouver work force served as 'Merchants and Dealers', or their employees. But the smaller market hinterland in B.C., compared to other regions of Canada, meant that commerce in Vancouver was also much less important to the city than to Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal or London, where 22.1%, 19.2%, 17.9% and 16.9% of the working population respectively were employed as, or by, city merchants. Even in the area of transportation, Vancouver (9.7%) followed considerably behind Montreal (14.3%) and Winnipeg (13.7%).

Vancouver was a leader among major cities, however, in the proportion of people employed in the building trades and in loan, trust and real estate companies as brokers and clerks. Both of the first categories of work depended on city growth, and their importance to the Vancouver economy reflected the rapid expansion of the city's population after 1901, and especially after 1908 (Table 7). The business of urban growth, whether it be the actual construction of new buildings, the sale of land, or the financing of local real estate transactions, had clearly acquired a central place in the economic life of Vancouver again by 1911. Only in a prairie boom town like Calgary was city growth a more significant source of business prosperity. The 'broker' had also become prominent in Vancouver since 1901, serving mainly as a vehicle for the investment of local capital into timber, land and mining companies throughout the province. Brokers were proportionately more numerous in Vancouver in 1911 than in any of seven other Canadian cities examined (Table 8), and were more than twice as important to Vancouver as to its nearest rival, Toronto.
### Table 7

Urban Growth in Vancouver as Compared to Seven Other Canadian Cities, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population Increase of Cities 1901-1911</th>
<th>Total Work Force 1911</th>
<th>Employment and % of Total Work Force</th>
<th>Building Trades Real Estate Co.'s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>39,306 (893.7%)</td>
<td>21,320</td>
<td>4,437 (20.8%)</td>
<td>847 (3.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>73,391 (271.7%)</td>
<td>50,628</td>
<td>8,916 (17.6%)</td>
<td>1,638 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>93,695 (221.3%)</td>
<td>62,265</td>
<td>10,715 (17.2%)</td>
<td>1,200 (1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>168,498 (81.9%)</td>
<td>169,520</td>
<td>20,808 (12.2%)</td>
<td>1,174 (.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>202,750 (75.7%)</td>
<td>183,257</td>
<td>24,554 (13.4%)</td>
<td>710 (.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>29,335 (55.7%)</td>
<td>37,428</td>
<td>4,059 (10.8%)</td>
<td>136 (.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>8,324 (21.9%)</td>
<td>19,615</td>
<td>1,496 (7.6%)</td>
<td>68 (.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>5,787 (14.2%)</td>
<td>17,909</td>
<td>1,711 (9.5%)</td>
<td>42 (.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The population statistics for Vancouver refer to Vancouver proper and do not include N. and S. Vancouver and Point Grey.

**Source:**

Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 6, Table VI, pp. 250-260, 262, 272, 276, 284, 286, 294, 306, 314, 326, 332, 334, 340, 342, and 348; and vol. 1, Table XIII, pp. 536-555.

### Table 8

The Brokerage Business in Vancouver as Compared to Seven Other Canadian Cities, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total Brokers and Clerks Force</th>
<th>% of Work Force</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total Brokers and Clerks Force</th>
<th>% of Work Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>50,628</td>
<td>570 (1.12%)</td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td>17,909</td>
<td>63 (.35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>169,520</td>
<td>848 (.50%)</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>183,257</td>
<td>457 (.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>21,320</td>
<td>83 (.38%)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>19,615</td>
<td>38 (.19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>62,265</td>
<td>217 (.35%)</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>37,428</td>
<td>36 (.10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**

Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 6, Table VI, pp. 250, 260, 262, 272, 276, 284, 286, 294, 306, 314, 326, 332, 340, 342 and 348.
The real estate market had passed through a long period of decline, followed by gradual improvement, before emerging again as a source of immense profits for Vancouver entrepreneurs. The collapse of real estate prices after 1892 continued with minor variations until 1904, and though the city began to grow again in the late 1890's, such growth was slow and irregular, and followed rather than led city expansion. Revenue returns at the Vancouver land registry office which had equalled a mere $5,500 in 1897 had increased only slightly to $9,477.78 in 1901, and did not expand noticeably until the return of prosperity to the real estate market in the middle of the decade, jumping to $41,407 in 1905. Few important real estate agents entered the business community through the nineties, in sharp contrast to the lumber and canning industries and wholesale trade. Some former real estate leaders such as Robert Tatlow began new careers, while others who stayed in the business attempted to broaden their interests into new speculative ventures such as mining. The leading real estate agents in the city in 1904 were still names familiar from the earlier decade, including H. T. Ceperley, Edward Mahon, C. S. Douglas, S. O. Richards, Edward Odlum and Edward Rand. One of the few examples of leadership by the real estate community during the years before 1904 occurred in North Vancouver, and the promoters involved, including Johann Wulffsohn, Edward Mahon and J. C. Keith, had all been Vancouver business leaders of the pre-1893 period.

Business expansion and the influx of new immigrants into Vancouver produced a healthier real estate market in the city between 1904 and the recession of 1907. Vancouver's population increased from 26,133 in 1901 to approximately 66,000 at the end of 1908, and the number of firms and individuals listed in the city directory as selling real estate expanded from 46 to 275 over the same period. Broad new areas of the city were opened up, including the east side of Vancouver, the West End, and the south slope of False Creek extending
west into Kitsilano. The value of building permits in the city jumped by
$1,650,000, or 62%, between 1905 and 1906 compared to $660,000, or 3%, the year
before (Table 9). But despite this expansion and the accompanying prolifera-
tion of real estate salesmen Vancouver's growth continued to be orderly and
controlled, and did not reach the limits of speculative hysteria characteris-
tic of several prairie centres at this time, limits that were to be reached
in Vancouver itself after 1909. Many of the real estate entrepreneurs who
emerged as economic leaders after 1909 entered the trade during this 1904-1908
period, including David Williams, Frank Murdoff, Ewen W. Maclean, David E.
Brown and the renowned Alvo von Alvensleben. Their businesses were generally
small, and their role in the business community a secondary one until internal
growth once again became the principal focus of economic life in the city be-
tween 1909 and 1912.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Permits</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>$833,607.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>1,426,148.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>1,986,590.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>2,653,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>4,308,410.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>5,632,744.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,697</td>
<td>5,950,893.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>2,052</td>
<td>7,258,565.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,260</td>
<td>13,150,365.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,775</td>
<td>17,652,642.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>3,221</td>
<td>19,388,322.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,020</td>
<td>10,423,197.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>4,484,476.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>1,593,379.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE:
Vancouver, Comptroller, Financial Statements and Annual Reports,
The 'balance' and 'reasonableness' of the real estate business in Vancouver over the previous decade all but vanished in 1909. The speculative craze gripping the province that year suggested such immense possibilities for the future of Vancouver that speculation in land "became a perfect fascination" for large numbers of new real estate agents "who swarm(ed) hungrily" about the city.\(^9\) The number of agents listed in the city directories rose dramatically from 275 in 1908 to 650 in 1910.\(^10\) Real estate advertisements filled the Vancouver World and Vancouver Province from 1909 to 1912, and promoted land which swept in a large arc around the central core of the city, from Point Grey in the west through Kitsilano, Kerrisdale and Shaughnessy Heights in the south, into the eastern parts of the city, including especially Vancouver Heights and Hastings Townsite, and ultimately into North Vancouver. One after another, new companies were formed between 1909 and 1912 to sell real estate, and also in many cases to finance real estate transactions. Several large real estate companies emerged during the period, including Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd. and the Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., both incorporated in 1907, and British Canadian Securities Ltd., a real estate and brokerage arm of the larger Dominion Trust Company, established in 1909.\(^11\) By 1913 each was worth over $1 million. More typical were the large number of businesses with assets no larger than $200,000 to $300,000, businesses which suffered first when speculation stopped in the latter part of 1912. Three such enterprises were the Alberta Financial Corporation Ltd., incorporated in 1911, the Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., formed in 1909 and Federal Investments Ltd., begun in 1910, with assets worth $122,000, $304,000 and $207,000 respectively by 1913.\(^12\) Virtually all of the 39 new real estate or combined real estate and small-scale finance companies incorporated after 1909, and with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were associated, were locally owned.

The 'boom' in Vancouver extended beyond the sale of land alone. Land
was improved with an impressive array of new buildings ranging from single family dwellings to many of the most outstanding public and commercial structures ever erected in Vancouver. The value of building permits issued in the Terminal City ranged from $7,258,565 in 1909 to $13,150,365 in 1910 and $17,652,642 in 1911, increasing by 265% between 1909 and 1912 (Table 9, p. 103). "In the peak year 1912, 224 houses, 217 factories and warehouses, 293 offices and stores, and 218 apartments were built." Almost 9000 workers out of a total work force of 50,000 in Vancouver were employed in the city's building trades in 1911 (Table 7, p. 101). The Norton-Griffiths Steel Construction Co. Ltd. (Canada), a British company which specialized in steel and concrete construction, became one of the province's largest employers of labour, with 4000 construction workers on its payroll in Vancouver and Victoria in 1912.

Tremendous profits could be made in construction, as the stories of men like Frank W. Killam were to show. Born into the well-known United Empire Loyalist Killam family of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Frank Killam had worked first in Boston and then as a real estate promoter in North Dakota for several years before coming to Vancouver in 1907. About two years later he built his first residential bungalow in Grandview, east of the central core of the city, and soon began two others. All three were sold before being completed. By 1911 Killam had contracts to build 184 houses in the city, and in 1912, with a staff including both architects and draughtsmen, he incorporated his real estate and construction business into the $250,000 Bungalow Finance and Building Co. Ltd. Like many entrepreneurs of the period, Killam was also interested in the profit potential of hinterland resources, and began to invest heavily in timber lands, controlling 6000 acres by 1914. His company claimed to have transacted over $1 million worth of business in one two-month period at the height of the boom.

So extensive was the building program in Vancouver during the few
years before World War I that the outstanding visual features of the city created during this period remained essentially unaltered over the next forty years. The massive new mansions in Shaughnessy Heights or the subdivision bungalows constructed from standard models in Kitsilano or Talton Place were distinctive legacies in the residential areas of the city of the pre-war construction boom. The face of a city is determined especially by its large commercial and public buildings, and the central core of Vancouver, where these structures were located, was completely altered before the War. Example after example of Vancouver's most notable physical structures of the present era were erected during the few years between 1909 and 1914. The provincial Court House, worth $750,000, the new federal Post Office at Granville and Hastings worth $600,000 and a new addition to the Vancouver General Hospital were constructed in 1909. The Bank of Commerce Building at Granville and Hastings, worth $500,000, the Carter-Cotton Building, estimated at $250,000 and the Winch Building next to the Post Office were prominent additions to the Hastings Street business district the same year. The Dominion Trust Building at Cambie and Hastings, a fourteen storey steel-framed structure, became Vancouver's most clearly identifiable office tower during this period, though the World Building on Pender, also built with a steel frame, soon emerged as a keen rival for the city's attention, and admiration. As might be expected in Vancouver, railway companies were major participants in the downtown building spree; in 1912 the Great Northern Railway announced a $1 million railway dock and the C.P.R. a new $1 million station and $3 million Hotel Vancouver. At the height of the boom the $1 million Birks Building, the $1.5 million Hudson's Bay Company Building and Dominic Burns' fourteen storey Vancouver Block, topped by a $12,000 clock, were either being constructed or planned at the corner of Georgia and Granville Streets. Virtually every business enterprise in the city appears to have made some effort to
construct prestigious new premises in the downtown area. Even a small but ag­gressive real estate and mortgage-lending firm like Canadian National Investors Ltd., a local company incorporated in 1910 and claiming assets of $315,000 by 1912, planned to build an eleven storey, half-million dollar tower on Hastings Street in the heart of the business district.  

A number of construction supply companies were established in the Vancouver area after 1907 to meet the large demand for materials created by this building outburst. Pre-war business leaders organized three brick manu­facturing and three sand, gravel and crushed rock supply firms between 1907 and 1912, with the assets of five of the six ranging from $100,000 to $200,000. The largest brick plant in B.C., the Clayburn Co. Ltd., was a business begun originally in 1905, incorporated in 1909, and headed by W. H. Armstrong of the half-million dollar Vancouver construction firm of Armstrong, Morrison and Company. Clayburn Company bricks were both exported to Washington state and sold locally, where they were used as facing for the new C.P.R. station and the Hotel Vancouver. At least two firms manufactured cement sewer pipes in Vancouver. Perhaps the most important materials supplier of all, however, was John Coughlan and Sons, founders of the structural steel industry in the city. The firm had begun as a heating and sheet metal working firm in Victoria in 1902, but established a structural steel distribution plant on False Creek in 1907. The company erected almost every steel frame for large buildings constructed in Vancouver during the boom, and by 1913 employed 200 workers. During the First World War it manufactured munitions and, starting in 1917, six steel-hulled freight vessels.

Vancouver's prosperity after 1908 was more than just a local city phenomenon, as it had been in the 1880's. The relative importance of brokers in the Terminal City in 1911 in comparison to other Canadian cities showed clearly the extent to which Vancouver entrepreneurs had been drawn into the
larger speculation in Interior lands, timber limits and mining properties.

Numerous enterprises designed to promote resources were established in Vancouver, almost all of them between 1909 and 1913. The locale of intended operations of these companies covered the length and breadth of the province, including the North Coast, Howe Sound, the Nicola Valley, the Similkameen, the North Kootenays, the Columbia Valley, Nimpkish Lake, the Nadena Valley, the Nass River and Graham Island in the Queen Charlottes. Several of the land and timber companies involved large investments of capital, more often from Britain or the United States than was the case with local city real estate firms. Two companies promoting farm land in the region of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, for instance, the B.C.-controlled Grand Trunk Lands Co. Ltd. and the English-backed North Coast Land Co. Ltd., each had assets of over $2 million by 1912. Vancouver had become the centre for brokerage firms promoting stock in these many hinterland resource ventures, especially after the formation of the Vancouver Stock Exchange in 1907.

One of the typical new entrepreneurs in Vancouver during this period of inflated prosperity was George H. Salmon. A chemist by trade, Salmon arrived in Vancouver in 1908, and immediately purchased 50 acres of property in North Vancouver for $10,000, paying $1000 cash at the time of the sale. The land was subdivided, netting a $90,000 profit within 90 days. Salmon then purchased 4000 acres of land on Lulu Island at the mouth of the Fraser River, and the large profits resulting from the subdivision of this land were in turn used to form the Dominion Stock and Bond Corporation of Vancouver Ltd., a real estate, mining and stock promotion company incorporated in July of 1909 with an authorized capital limit of $100,000. While Salmon held most of the stock, the provincial Minister of Finance in the McBride government, the Honourable Price Ellison, became president of the company. Like Frank Killam and many other Vancouver-based entrepreneurs, Salmon extended his business operations
beyond the city of Vancouver to take part in the growing speculation in hinterland resources. After purchasing 2700 acres of land for $79,000 at Fort Fraser, he then promoted the town by establishing a sawmill in the area, building a hotel and a general store, and grading several streets. The one million dollar return from land sold at Fort Fraser was reinvested into 64,000 acres of land in the Nechako Valley and in the Cariboo. At the height of the boom Salmon moved into a new home opposite B. T. Rogers' 'Gabriola' on Davie Street in the west end, a successful leader of the city's third phase of business growth.33

Speculation in resources generally in B.C. naturally included a renewed interest in the province's mining properties. The opening of the Vancouver Stock Exchange in 1907 had been designed to aid in the promotion of mining stocks in Vancouver, 34 and this aim was achieved with the arrival of the boom in 1909. The fact that 26 of the 37 'important' mining companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were affiliated had been promoted since 1909 was a clear indication of the very limited concern with mining in Vancouver prior to that time (Table 6, p. 99). Some interest had been generated in Vancouver by the growth in the Kootenay mining industry in the 1890's, stirred mainly among promoters and speculators who had fallen on hard times after the crash in real estate prices in 1892 and 1893. Many of the mining brokers in the city during the decade were, in fact, former real estate men, including C. D. Rand, R. D. Kinmond, F. C. Innes, C. S. Douglas, S. O. Richards and banker and real estate promoter Johann Wulffsohn. Early business leaders H. T. Ceperley, C. D. Rand, Edward Mahon and Wulffsohn all redirected their energies from promoting the city's own growth to attracting English capital into Kootenay mining, and Rand and Wulffsohn continued their forays to the Old Country for this purpose.35 The forty mining brokers listed as residing in Vancouver in 1897, 36 however, were far outnumbered by those in the Kootenays themselves and in Spokane.37
did not stay on the coast, and Charles Rand, for one, moved his mining brokerage business out of Vancouver to Sandon in 1897 and to Spokane in 1898. Of the 200 mining companies promoted for the Kootenay and Boundary regions between 1890 and 1900 which were still in existence at the beginning of 1901, a mere five had head offices at the B.C. coast. Three from Vancouver had been financed in part with capital from Terminal City investors, and two had been organized by Edward Mahon and Joseph McFarland with capital from England.

The few successful mining ventures organized in Vancouver by businessmen prior to 1909 were generally located in regions closer to the city. Mining and trade in the Cariboo had been exploited by Vancouver businessmen since the coming of the railway, and several small hydraulic gold mining companies there were controlled from Vancouver during the nineties. Mining broker J. M. Buxton joined local C.P.R. officials as the most prominent figures in Cariboo mining during the decade. Three of the largest mining companies organized by Vancouver businessmen prior to 1909 were to operate on Vancouver Island, in the Nicola Valley and in the Similkameen region and owed their existence to the accumulation of capital by the city's new manufacturing and wholesale elite. Most of the mining ventures promoted in Vancouver after 1909 appear to have been rather unsubstantial speculative schemes typical of the period. Considerable speculative capital was also made available by Vancouver investors at the height of the boom for petroleum exploration schemes in British Columbia, California and Alberta.

The development of indigenous financial institutions in Vancouver, including loan, trust, insurance and investment companies, was closely tied to the promotion of urban land and hinterland resources, and especially to the growth of the local real estate market. The first Vancouver loan and fire insurance companies had been founded in the early 1890's and the first loan trust company followed at the end of the decade. New loan, trust and insurance
companies continued to appear in the city after 1900, and of those with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were associated, twelve had been organized by 1908 and another nineteen were formed between 1909 and 1913 (Table 6, 99). These companies were small in size when compared with major businesses of a similar type outside of B.C., and were speculative in character. The companies established before 1909 were generally strong enough to survive the depression and war after 1912. Most of the new financial ventures founded after 1909 were so closely linked with speculation in land and resources that all but four of the nineteen had ceased to operate by 1919.

As noted earlier, the three financial institutions formed in Vancouver in the early 1890's were products of the city's first land boom, and had been organized by prosperous real estate entrepreneurs. While one of these, the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, survived the depression after 1892, it did not experience any significant new growth until the turn of the century. New financial companies were founded in Vancouver starting in 1898, and like their predecessors were organized to direct capital, both local and external, into the city's real estate market. The British Columbia Land and Investment Agency Ltd. of London and the Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Company Ltd. of Toronto had been the city's principal mortgage institutions through the nineties, but the founding of British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd. in 1898 broke this monopoly of outside lending companies in the city. B.C. Permanent was organized by three Toronto businessmen, Thomas Langlois, George Telfer and Arthur Leonard, whose arrival in Vancouver followed the pattern of new Toronto business interest in the Pacific coast province at the end of the 1890's. Their company was to acquire capital locally through the sale of stock and through an investment savings plan, and to invest in mortgages. Its assets rose from $200,000 in 1900 to over $2,000,000 in 1908, as a result of which B.C. Permanent could boast by 1905 that it was larger than any
other loan company west of Toronto. Almost all of this wealth was reinvested in first mortgage real estate loans.

Trust companies, which had the added advantage over loan companies of being able to accumulate capital through personal and corporate trust services, were the next type of financial organization to appear in the city. The British Columbia Trust Co. Ltd., begun in 1899, the Dominion Trust Company, Vancouver's most successful trust business prior to World War I, in 1903, the Vancouver Financial Corporation in 1906 and the Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd. in 1908 were the principal trust businesses organized in the city prior to the 1909-1912 boom. Their capital came primarily from the Vancouver area, though increasingly as the decade progressed trust companies, as well as loan companies like B.C. Permanent, acquired debt capital in England. These trust companies were also mainly in the mortgage business, and though not active in the actual sale of real estate were thus very dependent on the local real estate market. This tie was further strengthened by the Dominion Trust Company and B.C. Permanent through the establishment of additional real estate and resource promotion subsidiary businesses in Vancouver. The two million dollar British Canadian Securities Ltd. was a real estate affiliate of Dominion Trust. The group of companies headed by B.C. Permanent and controlled by Thomas Langlois and George Telfer included the five million dollar National Finance Company, an investment business formed in 1907 to channel local and British capital into city lands and hinterland resources, and the Prudential Investment Company, a real estate and mortgage company begun in 1907 to market corporate stocks and bonds, as well as Prudential Builders Ltd., the construction arm of the Langlois financial empire.

Vancouver also entered the banking field in 1907 when two banks were charted in the city, one of which, the Bank of Vancouver, opened for business three years later. As with other financial institutions organized
in the few years before the War, the establishment of a bank in the Terminal City reflected more the unbounded optimism of the period than a realistic appraisal of the capital-producing potential of the British Columbia economy. The Bank of Vancouver was the second smallest of twenty-four chartered Canadian banks operating in Canada in 1914. Its paid-up capital equalled a mere $874,669 that year, even though for prestige reasons many of the most important businessmen in the city had invested small amounts of money in the bank and had served as bank directors. The marginal nature of the bank was soon demonstrated by its collapse during the depression in 1914.

The building and land speculation boom after 1909 naturally encouraged the organization of new loan, trust and investment companies in Vancouver. These businesses were generally promoted and owned within the city itself, and were smaller than the financial companies begun before 1908, with assets ranging from $100,000 to $500,000 by 1913. The leading figures in these new financial ventures were closely associated with the speculative boom, having become established in real estate or brokerage businesses in the city. J. J. Banfield, an important figure in real estate and financial circles in Vancouver since 1891, was vice-president of the British Columbia Life Assurance Company and director of the Canadian Home Investment Company after 1910; Edward Studd, a financial broker in Vancouver after his arrival in the city in 1904, was by 1913 the principal shareholder and president of the Burrard Trust and Loan Company Ltd.; J. R. Seymour, active in city real estate since 1906, was president of Canadian Home Investment after 1911; Edwin Morgan, manager of the important British Columbia Land and Investment Agency in Vancouver after 1911 and head since 1908 of E. B. Morgan and Company, a real estate, loan and investment agency, served as president of the North West Trust Co. Ltd., formed in 1910; A. J. Welch, the leading shareholder of North West Trust, had been a prominent realtor in the city; and Jonathan Rogers, president of the
British Columbia Life Assurance Company from 1910 to 1912, had been long associated with the construction industry in Vancouver.\textsuperscript{71} One group of financial companies formed in Vancouver after 1909 were not funded locally, however, but rather from France; Paris money was channelled through the Franco Canadian Trust Company into at least two other local financial businesses, the Commonwealth Trust Co. Ltd. and the Bank of Vancouver.\textsuperscript{72}

The economic boom collapsed, beginning late in 1912, as it had after the city's first period of growth in the early 1890's. The new trouble started in Europe where the Balkan Wars gave rise to panic on European money markets, a decline in security prices and restriction of further lending abroad.\textsuperscript{73} British enthusiasm for investment in Canada vanished, the capital driven away by the additional knowledge that British money had financed many doubtful enterprises in that country over the previous several years.\textsuperscript{74} Canadian lending institutions followed suit, curtailling bank advances, scrutinizing loans and bringing a halt to further advances for speculative purposes.\textsuperscript{75} Above all investor confidence was shattered, and with it the essential force behind economic expansion throughout British Columbia. Western Canadian cities like Vancouver suffered the most, their prosperity overly dependent on the easy money and boundless optimism of the recent past.\textsuperscript{76} The real estate markets and construction industries in these cities were hit first, and hardest, when the financial stringency began. Real estate offices across Canada began closing in the fall of 1912 as credit became scarce and prices plummeted.\textsuperscript{77} The value of building permits issued in Vancouver declined from $19.4 million in 1912 to $10.4 million in 1913, to $4.5 million in 1914 and to a mere $1.6 million in 1915 (Table 9, p. 103), and the city's construction boom slowed to a virtual halt. The War accentuated economic problems throughout the province, deepening a depression which had produced mass unemployment and a relief riot in Vancouver by the summer of 1915.\textsuperscript{78} The number out of
work in and around Vancouver had reached a total of 15,000 by October of 1914, a total undoubtedly swollen by the influx of unemployed from other regions of the province. The largest number of unemployed in Vancouver came from the building trades which had provided the biggest proportion of the city's work force (17.6% in 1911) at the peak of the boom. Many of the people drawn to Vancouver by the vision of prosperity and material success only a year or two before were now forced to leave. Skilled workers like building tradesmen, mechanics, stenographers and factory operatives led the exodus, departing for Australia, New Zealand and England, as well as for the United States and eastern Canada. The War helped siphon off this surplus population, with construction workers and real estate agents alike joining the armed forces for economic reasons. When prosperity finally returned to Vancouver in the summer and fall of 1916, the population at the peak of the boom in 1912 of 122,000 had been reduced during the four years of depression by 26,000 people, to a much smaller community of 96,000. The business of urban growth which had dominated the city's third phase of economic development had been halted and dramatically reversed during the twenty month period before the War.

The collapse of two of the city's leading financial institutions, the Dominion Trust Company and the Bank of Vancouver, reflected the problems created by the depression within the Vancouver business community. Dominion Trust, like other trust and loan companies, fell into considerable difficulty because of the sharp decline in the value of land and buildings used as collateral for mortgage loans to city investors. Rents for commercial property in the city declined by 50% after 1912, and up to 80% of the space in offices and 50% in apartment buildings in the city was unrented in 1915. Many property owners could meet neither their tax nor their mortgage obligations. New provincial regulations for trust companies and the
outbreak of war made a bad situation worse for the trust companies; 15 of the 19 financial institutions with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were associated and which had been formed since 1909 did not survive the War. Confidence in the large Dominion Trust Company was further eroded when an investigation following the death of its manager in October of 1914 revealed that heavy, unauthorized loans had been made by the company to troubled clients, including financial support of more than one million dollars to the real estate and resource promoter, Alvo von Alvensleben. Following the collapse of Dominion Trust, investor confidence in Vancouver was so shaken that the Bank of Vancouver, which had no financial reserves, was forced to close on December 15. Other big companies like the National Finance Company, heavily involved in financing the sale of timber limits and urban land, also failed.

* * *

Business development in early Vancouver came to a critical turning point with the collapse of the city's second and most impressive surge of economic growth in 1912. While Vancouver experienced another period of sustained expansion in the 1920's, new business growth comparable to these early years would not occur again until after the Second World War. During the twenty year period since its first depression in the 1890's, Vancouver had developed a solid core of well-established and financially stable businesses in the lumber and salmon canning industries, the wholesale trade and the service sector of the economy. It had also become the predominant regional business and transportation centre in the province, and local companies, along with the growing number of national and American businesses which had established regional operations in the Terminal City, now tied much of the
provincial economy to this new business capital. While the large wholesale, transportation, lumber and canning, service and branch financial institutions were the enterprises best able to survive the pre-war depression, Vancouver's business history had also been strongly influenced by the expansion of the city itself, and especially by the sale and development of urban land.

The group of entrepreneurs who provided this early business leadership, developing a metropolitan economy on the one hand or promoting urban growth on the other, are the subject of the following chapter. In particular, the next chapter will attempt to define the relative influence and power of Vancouver's most successful businessmen at either end of the twenty-three year period between 1890 and 1913.
 Chapter 6

VANCOUVER'S BUSINESS 'ELITE': 1890-1893 AND 1910-1913

This study of the leading businessmen in early Vancouver starts from the premise that businessmen in a defined community can be organized into a hierarchical order, admittedly very imprecise, based on their assumed ability to influence the economic development of the community in question. While the criteria used to divide those potentially 'more' influential from those potentially 'less' in Vancouver is set differently for each of the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods, both divisions perform the common function of isolating the 'top' (i.e. potentially 'more influential' or 'leading') businessmen for each period. This process of selecting the 'leading' businessmen in Vancouver from 1890 to 1893 and from 1910 and 1913 is discussed in detail in Chapter 1, and the individuals who qualified as 'leaders' are listed (with their 'important' business affiliations) in Appendices A and B.

'Business leadership' is deliberately defined in a very broad manner to include a wide range of businessmen in the top portion of the business community for each period. Quite naturally then, if the initial assumption of a hierarchical order of businessmen based on their assumed influence still holds, some business 'leaders' were much more influential, and probably wielded a great deal more economic power in the city, than did others. Not all business leaders led equally. This chapter will try to isolate that group of individuals among the business leaders who, measured in terms of assumed economic influence and power, stood at the very top of their functional (business) hierarchy in the city, and who in this sense could be more accurately classified as Vancouver's business 'elite'. It will attempt to define,
then, with the help of the business histories of the province and city provided in the previous four chapters, the business 'elite' in Vancouver for each of the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods. This division between mere business 'leaders' on the one hand and the business 'elite' on the other will provide in turn a convenient means for comparing later the economic and social differences between men in two different levels of the business power structure in early Vancouver.

* * *

The same practical differences encountered earlier in defining the 'leading' businessmen of the 1890-1893 period exists for the selection of members of the elite. In both cases the problem is created by the nature of business organization in Vancouver during the early 1890's; unincorporated family businesses, partnerships and the branch offices of externally-controlled corporations predominated in the city, while very few local enterprises had yet been incorporated. Despite these difficulties, the idea that a businessman's probable influence and power should be defined in terms of the 'importance' of his principal business affiliations (and of his role in these businesses) is maintained here for the selection of the 'elite' as it was for the earlier selection of business leaders. The principal criteria for 'important' businesses is applied differently for the present selection of the elite only in the sense that it is applied in a more restricted fashion. Businessmen are chosen as members of the elite during the 1890-1893 period for their leading roles in the most 'influential' businesses operating in the city, with 'influential' defined mainly in terms of the amount of work their enterprises stimulated (and hence of the size of the work force they employed), or in terms of the amount of capital which they brought into the city. The
capitalization of incorporated businesses also suggests the identity of at least three of the largest, and hence potentially most influential, businesses in the city. Businessmen are assumed to have been members of the elite if they played a leading role, as president, local head, or the dominant personality in a firm, in these few largest and most influential businesses. Given the scattered and very uneven nature of the source material used, it is obviously impossible to select the 1890-1893 elite in a totally objective and systematic fashion. Thus, in addition to the criteria suggested above, other more qualitative information (such as newspaper stories or biographical accounts) which might help differentiate the very important from the less important business enterprises in the city has also been relied upon.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was without question the largest and most powerful business organization in Vancouver during the city's first phase of development, and the company's four principal officials in the city, Harry Abbott, J. M. Browning, W. F. Salsbury and J. D. Townley, were obvious members of the city's business elite. Harry Braithwaite Abbott had joined the C.P.R. in 1888 after a long career as railroad builder in eastern Canada extending back to the early 1860's. Following his appointments in 1884 as a supervising engineer for the C.P.R. and as manager for the construction of the C.P.R. main line west of Sudbury, Abbott was named in January of 1886 as General Superintendent of the company's Pacific Division.1 His subsequent role in Vancouver as regional manager of the British Columbia section of the transcontinental railway was, "owing to the nature of the Province, its extent, its varied interests, and its distance from the executive centre, the most responsible of its kind on the entire line...."2 In addition to this important functional role, Abbott had close ties with the C.P.R.-Bank of Montreal-Conservative Party establishment in central Canada through his brother, the Hon. John J. C. Abbott,3 for some years the solicitor-in-chief of the C.P.R.,
and subsequently, in 1891 and 1892, the Prime Minister of Canada, and through his wife, daughter of the former Hon. Justice Sicotte, co-leader of the Macdonald-Sicotte administration in the province of Canada prior to Confederation. Harry Abbott stood at the very centre of the business power structure in early Vancouver.

The C.P.R.'s two land commissioners in Vancouver between 1886 and 1895 were also men of considerable influence in the new community. The Ontario-born Lauchlin A. Hamilton is not included in this study of the early Vancouver business elite because he was transferred to Winnipeg in 1888, where he remained as the C.P.R.'s Land Commissioner for thirteen years. His influence had been especially significant in Vancouver during the period of rapid growth between 1885 and 1888, however. Hamilton had followed his earlier achievements in establishing the townsites of Regina, Saskatoon, Swift Current, Moose Jaw and Calgary by laying out in 1885 the street system in Vancouver. As the C.P.R.'s Land Commissioner he also represented the company's development interests on the City Council after 1886, serving as a city councillor and as chairman of the Board of Works between 1886 and 1888. The Scottish-born J. M. Browning followed Hamilton as the local C.P.R. land agent between 1888 and 1895, and served on the City Council for one year, in 1890. In addition to presiding over the company's extensive real estate interests in the city Browning also looked after the Vancouver investments of Bank of Montreal and C.P.R. officials from Montreal, including those of Sir Donald Smith, Sir William Van Horne and Lord Mount Stephen. As the representatives of private C.P.R. capital from Montreal J. M. Browning and Harry Abbott had both promoted the British Columbia Sugar Refining Company in 1890, and Browning had been named the company's first president. Browning's connections with the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Company and the Horsefly Hydraulic Mining Company in the Cariboo during the 1890's were likewise a product of close ties with Montreal capital.
William F. Salsbury remained the local C.P.R. Treasurer from 1887 until his retirement in 1921, and was a prominent member of Vancouver society throughout the period. In 1890 he was elected to the first permanent board of directors of the Union Steamship Company, and in 1893 was vice-president of the Okanagan Land and Development Company. Like Hamilton and Browning earlier, Salsbury was elected in 1893 to the City Council for Ward I in the C.P.R. half of Vancouver. He also served as Board of Trade president for one year, starting in 1892. Little is known about the social background of J. D. Townley, but his role between 1890 and 1893 as the Assistant Superintendent for the Pacific Division of the C.P.R., and second-in-command to Harry Abbott, was one of obvious importance.

Of the dozens of budding young entrepreneurs drawn to Vancouver between 1886 and 1892 by the prospect of substantial real estate and land development profits, three men in particular, James W. Horne, Charles Rand and David Oppenheimer, were to have immense influence on the early growth of the new city. Horne had already presided over one real estate boom in Brandon, Manitoba, beginning in 1881, before moving to Vancouver in March of 1886 to capitalize on the business prospects of yet another instant railway town. Horne's influence in Vancouver far surpassed his initial speculation in city real estate because he now brought with him the considerable capital resources generated from his earlier prairie enterprises. With investments in Vancouver which J. B. Kerr suggested were equal to $1.5 million by 1890, Horne became one of the city's leading capitalists. He promoted and became president of two of the city's first financial enterprises, the Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd. and the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, and for a time had financial control of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd. In addition, the Vancouver Daily World claimed in April of 1891 that Horne was "the heaviest individual property owner in
Vancouver," having "several large business blocks on Cordova, Granville and other streets...." Horne's influence extended from business into both local and provincial politics. He led the polls in the aldermanic elections of 1888 and 1889, and was successful in his bid for a seat in the provincial legislature in 1890. He served as chairman of the important Board of Public Works while a member of City Council, but twice refused to accept a cabinet post in the Davie government in Victoria, pleading the pressures of business. Horne was a leading member of the Vancouver business establishment and had ties with the province's governing political clique by the early 1890's.

Charles Rand was undoubtedly the Terminal City's most active entrepreneur. Born the son of a Nova Scotia shipbuilder, Charles Rand had settled in Vancouver in September of 1887 to take charge of the local branch of the family real estate business founded three years earlier in New Westminster. Rand Brothers soon carried out "numerous large and extensive real estate transactions" in the city, and also became agents for the Vancouver Improvement Company, of which Charles Rand was secretary. The Rands and Oppenheimers together were said to have owned or controlled the greater part of the area later known as Grandview. Rand's real estate interests extended to the Okanagan as well, where he promoted one land company and was vice-president of another in the early 1890's.

Charles Rand initiated more new businesses in early Vancouver than any other business leader of the 1890-1893 period. He promoted both the city's gas and street railway utility companies; he helped organize a local candy manufacturing company, a wholesale confectionary business, and served as chairman of the board of the B.C. Ironworks Ltd. in 1891 and 1892; and he promoted Vancouver's first important shipping company, along with the locally operated Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd. His interests extended to railways, and in 1893 he both incorporated and became president of the ill-fated Burrard...
Inlet and Fraser Valley Railway Company, formed by its backers to provide competition in the lower mainland of the province to the railroad monopoly of the C.P.R. Real estate, shipping, producers' and consumers' goods manufacturing, utilities, railways -- Rand's role as an entrepreneur ranged across a broad spectrum of business activity. None of these achievements overshadowed the importance of efforts by both Charles and Edward Rand to direct outside capital, particularly from Britain, into the Vancouver economy. The fact that the San Francisco Call selected Charles Rand as its source for an article on Vancouver in December of 1888 is a measure of his early success, and stature, within the Terminal City's business community.

Brothers David and Isaac Oppenheimer were both members of the business elite. These two sons of a Jewish Bavarian vintner had left Germany in the late 1840's, and after stops in Louisiana, California and both the Fraser Valley and city of Victoria in British Columbia had moved to Vancouver in 1886. David's business influence stemmed from his connections with the Victoria-based Vancouver Improvement Company, which, as noted earlier, controlled the largest block of land in Vancouver outside of the holdings of the C.P.R. David was the most active Vancouver businessman in the public sphere during the city's first phase of growth, serving for two years as the president of the Board of Trade (1887-1889) and four as the city's mayor (1888-1891). The name Oppenheimer was also associated with the largest grocery wholesale business in the city during this period, an enterprise incorporated with a capital limit of $1 million in 1893. While both brothers had served as city aldermen soon after the city's incorporation, Isaac dropped out of public life when David became mayor. Isaac was named president of Oppenheimer Brothers in 1893, and probably controlled this arm of the family's business interests. Both had ties with the city's two principal street railway companies; David was president in 1890 and Isaac was named president in 1892 of
the Vancouver street railway utility, likely at the same time as controlling interest was purchased by the Oppenheimer family.\(^4^1\) David and Isaac each held directorships in other local businesses as well, David serving as director of the Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd. and Isaac as director of the city's Union Steamship Company and of the B.C. Fruit Canning and Coffee Co. Ltd. during the 1890-1893 period.\(^4^2\) Isaac's high status within the local business community was further indicated by his election as vice-president in 1884 and then president in 1885 of the prestigious Vancouver Club.\(^4^3\)

Because most real estate businesses in early Vancouver operated as sales agencies rather than as land holding or development companies (and hence needed little capitalization and only a small sales staff), the influence of these individual agencies on the overall development of the city during the 1886-1893 period is difficult to assess. Evidence suggests, however, that two other real estate entrepreneurs, F. C. Innes and H. T. Ceperley, could also be considered as members of the early Vancouver business elite. F. C. Innes was the senior partner of Innes and Richards, a local business which specialized in land outside of Vancouver. Innes had been the first man to engage in real estate speculation in Vancouver after arriving in 1884 from his native Ontario. He formed a partnership in 1887 with S. O. Richards, a native of Toronto and "son of the late Sir William B. Richards, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada." Of the many real estate firms in Vancouver, said the Vancouver Daily World in 1891, "none are more prominent or occupy a higher financial position than that of Innes and Richards." They were agents for Vancouver's principal land promotion venture in the Okanagan Valley, the Okanagan Land and Development Company, and were agents for a large portion of the townsite of Nelson.\(^4^4\)
The American-born Ceperley had arrived from Montana in 1886 and joined with A. W. Ross, the M.P. for Lisgar, Manitoba, and a noted real estate speculator in Manitoba in the early 1880's, to form what became "the leading real estate and insurance firm" in the city. Ross and Ceperley was dissolved in 1890, and Ceperley then organized (along with J. W. Home) the important Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Company, a real estate and finance company with an authorized capital limit of $500,000 and subscribed capital of $200,000 at the time of incorporation. Ceperley remained the managing director, and undoubtedly the most prominent personality, in the new firm. He was also prominent in the city's street railway company, serving as both secretary and director of the company after 1890.

Frontier societies are characteristically short of development capital, and the companies, or individuals, which meet this deficiency by encouraging outsiders to invest in, or by investing their own capital resources in, the new community play a critical role in determining the extent to which economic development there is possible. Two real estate businessmen, Charles Rand and James W. Horne, had each provided important leadership in meeting this challenge for new capital, as noted earlier. They were joined by four other financiers as members of the business elite in early Vancouver. The Scottish-born J. C. Keith came to Vancouver as manager of the Bank of British Columbia in 1886, and remained in that position until removed in 1892. In addition to the fact that this British bank was the most important of the three institutional banks in early Vancouver, providing capital for such ventures as the city's two street railway systems, Oppenheimer Brothers and Bell-Irving and Paterson, J. C. Keith's influence was also enhanced by the free hand given him by his London directors. Keith was essentially a promoter rather than a conservative banker, and his outlook meshed perfectly with the speculative interests of the early Vancouver business community. A large portion
of the advances made by Keith were secured only by real estate, for instance, and Keith himself had acquired "a large personal interest in the shares of several of the most speculative concerns" in the city, including the Burrard Inlet and Fraser Valley Railway Company.

The Bank of Montreal was less prominent in the new city than the Bank of British Columbia, though its influence was to grow throughout the decade of the 1890's as Canadian capital generally became more prominent in B.C. However, the bank which Campbell Sweeney managed in Vancouver after 1887 did have ties during the 1890-1893 period with such major local institutions as the British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Company, of which Sweeny was a director, and with the British Columbia Sugar Refining Company. The Bank of Montreal was also the financial agent for the City of Vancouver. Perhaps the most important factor in determining Campbell Sweeney's elite status was the close relationship between the C.P.R. and the Bank of Montreal, a relationship which undoubtedly gave Sweeny access to the inner councils of the city's power elite. The C.P.R., for instance, determined the location of the Bank of Montreal's two successive offices in Vancouver in 1887 and 1892. Campbell Sweeney, in addition to being a close personal friend of the Abbotts, was also, along with J. C. Keith, one of the most prominent leaders of society in early Vancouver.

Private bankers provided financial services in the late nineteenth century to communities still small enough to avoid being dominated in the banking field by the large national or British banking institutions. Of the two such private banking enterprises in Vancouver during the early 1890's the firm of Wulffsohn and Bewicke Ltd. was of particular importance to the city's development. Before his arrival in Vancouver in 1886 Colonel Johann Wulffsohn, a German military officer as well as a multilingual banker, had engaged in the import-export business in Hamburg, Germany, developing...
important trading contacts around the world. After giving up this European business Wulffsohn had then founded in 1887 the banking, stock brokerage, real estate, loan and insurance business of Bewicke and Wulffsohn.\textsuperscript{58} Johann Wulffsohn was soon the dominant member of the new firm, and he along with the Rands successfully pursued both British and European investment capital for the Terminal City during the 1890's.\textsuperscript{59} While this function as a financier and banker was undoubtedly Wulffsohn's most important in Vancouver, he, like many other early Vancouver businessmen, was also an ardent land speculator and business promoter. He promoted a major land company in North Vancouver in 1890, and led the reorganization of the Moodyville Lands and Saw Mill Co. Ltd. in 1891;\textsuperscript{60} he was a director of the Union Steamship Company from 1890 to 1892;\textsuperscript{61} he became president of the Okanagan Land and Development Company in 1893, and served as either director or president of at least three other minor business enterprises in the Vancouver area during the 1890-1893 period.\textsuperscript{62} Johann Wulffsohn, as a member of the elite and head of the local German Society in Vancouver,\textsuperscript{63} was the most influential German immigrant in the Terminal City until the arrival in 1904 of his better known countryman, Alvo von Alvensleben.

The local managers of three other financial institutions were also potentially men of considerable business influence in early Vancouver. None of the sources used suggested that either the Bank of British North America or the Vancouver Land and Security Co. Ltd., a British investment company, played a significant economic role in the city, and their managers, William Godfrey and William Sully, consequently are not defined as members of the city's elite. On the other hand Edwin B. Morgan, the British-born son of a Nebraska rancher, and Vancouver manager of the British Columbia Land and Investment Agency Ltd. after 1891,\textsuperscript{64} is included because of the obvious influence of this mortgage and real estate investment company on the
development of the province's southwest corner. As noted in Chapter 3, the B.C. Land and Investment Agency introduced between $2.5 and $3 million into B.C. from the late 1880's to 1896, including considerable investment capital into Vancouver.65

Since Vancouver was not an important commercial centre in British Columbia during the 1890-1893 period, merchants did not form a conspicuous part of the young city's business elite. Two of the three most influential merchants of the period, Isaac and David Oppenheimer, have already been noted. Oppenheimer Brothers was joined as the city's other large wholesale enterprise by Thomas Dunn and Company, a wholesale and retail hardware firm established in 1886. Founded by the Scottish-born Thomas Dunn, this commercial house had become "the largest and heaviest dealers in hardware in British Columbia" by 1891.66 A huge new business block was opened to house the business in 1889, and the firm was incorporated with an authorized capital limit of $250,000 in January of 1894.67 Dunn was also a promoter and later vice-president of the Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Company,68 and was an active member of the Board of Trade; he was the first member elected as vice-president by the Board in 1887.

Another leading city merchant was Henry Ogle Bell-Irving, senior partner in the shipping agency and commission merchant firm of Bell-Irving and Paterson. Educated as an engineer in his native Edinburgh, Scotland and in Karlsruhe, Germany, H. O. Bell-Irving had migrated to Vancouver in 1885 after working for three years as a civil engineer with the C.P.R.69 Bell-Irving's prominence in Vancouver business circles stemmed from his leadership in reorganizing nine coastal B.C. salmon canneries into the large Anglo-British Columbia Packing Co. Ltd., incorporated in England with an authorized capital limit of £200,000 in April of 1891.70 Bell-Irving had been the 'moving spirit' behind the consolidation, acquiring options on the
nine original canneries for a total of $330,000, and organizing the required
capital from affluent relatives and wealthy friends in Britain. His func-
tion was as much that of a 'financial entrepreneur' as that of a 'merchant'.
Bell-Irving was also active in the Board of Trade, serving on the council
after 1892 and as president between 1895 and 1897.

The last five individuals included among the city's early business
elite were each associated with manufacturing enterprises in the city, and
four of the five were active in the lumber industry. Richard H. Alexander
was potentially the most influential of the group because of his functional
role in the city economy as manager of the huge Hastings Sawmill. The
Scottish-born Alexander, educated at Upper Canada College and the University
of Toronto in Ontario, was also a leading member of 'society' in the emerg-
ing railway city after 1886. The Alexanders had become one of the Terminal
City's 'first families' in the truest sense, having settled on Burrard Inlet
in 1870 following their trek to British Columbia with the Overlanders in
1862. Perhaps the clearest indication of R. H. Alexander's influence was
his role in the Board of Trade, where he served continuously on the Board
Council from the time of its inception in 1887 until 1913, and as president
in 1890-1891. The other three lumbermen in the elite are included for
straightforward economic reasons. The Indiana-born Charles M. Beecher was
the vice-president and assistant general manager of the B.C. Mills, Timber
and Trading Company in Vancouver, and as such that company's leading execu-
tive in the city through the 1890's. J. H. Ramsdell was the general manager
and local head after 1890 of the externally-controlled Moodyville Saw Mill
Company, and H. R. Morse, another lumber entrepreneur from the United
States, had organized one of the few large Vancouver-controlled lumber mills
of the period, employing 150 men in 1891. The American-born B. T. Rogers
was the only major figure among the city's industrialists to emerge in the
field of consumers' goods manufacturing. His B.C. Sugar Refining Company was incorporated for $500,000 in 1890, and was reorganized with a capital limit of $1 million and paid-up capital of $270,000 in 1893. Rogers also had close connections with the C.P.R. through financial ties between B.C. Sugar and C.P.R. directors in Montreal.

Twenty-one businessmen have been included here as members of the early city's business elite. Lack of adequate information about the activities of many members of the business community has resulted in the exclusion of several other businessmen from the list, men who might well have been more influential as economic leaders than some of those included. Francis Carter-Cotton, publisher of the News-Advertiser, William Farrell, local manager of the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corp. Ltd., William Godfrey, manager of the Bank of British North America, William Sully, manager of the Vancouver Land and Securities Corp. Ltd. and Robert Tatlow, prominent real estate businessman, are all potentially members of the elite. Given the sources available, the twenty-one men selected here form as close an approximation of the business elite for the 1890-1893 period as is presently possible to identify. Business leaders chosen as members of the elite have been organized in the list below into groups according to their primary occupations. A complete summary of the 'important' business affiliations of each business leader is presented in Appendix A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Elite</th>
<th>Primary Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.P.R.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Harry Abbott</td>
<td>Gen. Sup't., Pacific Division, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. J. M. Browning</td>
<td>Land Commissioner, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wm. F. Salsbury</td>
<td>Treasurer, Pacific Division, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. J. D. Townley</td>
<td>Ass. Sup't., Pacific Division, C.P.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Elite</td>
<td>Primary Occupation</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Real Estate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. J. W. Horne</td>
<td>Private real estate investor and capitalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. F. C. Innes</td>
<td>Partner, Innes and Richards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Charles D. Rand</td>
<td>Partner, Rand Brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. David Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Pres., Vancouver Improvement Co. Ltd. and Partner, Oppenheimer Brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finance</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. J. C. Keith</td>
<td>Mgr., Bank of British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Campbell Sweeny</td>
<td>Mgr., Bank of Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Johann Wulffsohn</td>
<td>Partner, Wulffsohn and Bewicke Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commerce</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Thomas Dunn</td>
<td>Prop., Thomas Dunn and Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. H. O. Bell-Irving</td>
<td>Partner, Bell-Irving and Paterson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Isaac Oppenheimer</td>
<td>Partner, Oppenheimer Brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(David Oppenheimer)</td>
<td>Pres., Vancouver Improvement Co. Ltd. and Partner, Oppenheimer Bros.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lumber</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. R. H. Alexander</td>
<td>Manager, Hastings Sawmill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. H. R. Morse, Sr</td>
<td>Prop., H. R. Morse and Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. J. H. Ramsdell</td>
<td>Manager, Moodyville Saw Mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consumers' Goods Manufacturing</strong></td>
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* * *

The selection of Vancouver's business elite for the second of our two periods of study, from 1910 to 1913, is based on the same assumptions as those
for the first phase of the city's history. Members of the elite are again defined primarily as men holding the top positions in the biggest business organizations operating within the local business community. Marked changes within the structure of almost all large businesses in the city had taken place since the early 1890's, with incorporated companies replacing the unincorporated partnerships or family businesses of the previous period. Through an examination of the assets of these incorporated businesses it is now much easier to determine the 'larger' from the 'smaller' business organizations in an objective manner. The dividing line between 'important' and 'unimportant' businesses, set at $100,000 for the selection of the business elite in 1890-1893, is now set at $500,000 for the selection of the elite for the 1910-1913 period. Once again the principal criterion for 'important' businesses is applied differently for the 'elite' compared to the 'leaders' of the 1910-1913 period only in the sense that it is applied in a more restricted fashion. Fifty-one of the ninety businessmen (57%) selected as members of Vancouver's business elite for the 1910-1913 period have been chosen in this objective fashion, having functioned for at least one year as presidents or chairmen of the boards of one or more local, incorporated companies with minimum assets of $500,000 during the four year period in question.

Unfortunately, many of the most influential businessmen working within the Vancouver business community cannot be identified by the application of this tidy definition. The role of branch managers of outside corporations operating within the city poses the greatest problem. These companies had not been incorporated in B.C., and hence the extent of their business operations within the local or regional economy cannot be determined in a systematic manner through an assessment of their corporate assets. In addition, some businessmen obviously headed large business organizations even though they had not as yet achieved the formal title of president of these firms; others
headed businesses such as private companies which were more influential within the city than the size of their assets would suggest. A third type of businessman who exerted potentially great influence in the city through directorships on the boards of several of Vancouver's most powerful business organizations is excluded from the elite by the formal definition presented above because he was only a director, rather than head, of these companies. Yet other businessmen undoubtedly exerted influence in the city above and beyond their direct business connections through their role in the Vancouver Board of Trade. Once again, then, a subjective appraisal of individual company operations in Vancouver and of the role of each Vancouver businessman during the 1910-1913 period is also required if these various factors are to be taken into consideration, and a reasonably complete selection of the business elite is to be attained.

Twenty-six branch managers and thirteen other businessmen in Vancouver have been selected on the basis of this additional qualitative information. The 26 managers chosen include the local heads of eight banks which had established four or more branches within the city and surrounding area, and eighteen other managers who controlled Vancouver business operations roughly equivalent in size to local companies with assets of $500,000 or more during the 1910-1913 period. The 39 businessmen selected for subjective reasons make up 43.3% of the 90 chosen for the four year period. Both the 21 members of the 1890-1893 elite and the 90 members of the 1910-1913 elite make up an almost identical 32% of the total number of business leaders (66 and 276) of the two respective periods.

With the shift from predominantly coastal to transcontinental economic ties in southwestern British Columbia at the turn of the century, Vancouver's wholesale trade and lumber industry emerged from the shadows of the C.P.R. to become leaders rather than followers of the city's economic growth. The role
of merchants and lumbermen in Vancouver expanded accordingly, and this change was reflected in the composition of the city's business elite. Vancouver's merchants contributed the largest number of businessmen to the pre-war elite, the 17 wholesale merchants and 3 retail merchants forming 22.2% of the second group compared to 14.2% for the earlier period from 1890 to 1893. Names like E. J. McFeely, R. P. McLennan, Frederick Buscombe, Robert Kelly, W. H. Malkin, William Akhurst, Henry Pim, H. A. Stone, R. J. Leckie and Charles Woodward were, as noted in Chapter 4, associated with some of the largest business enterprises in the city before the War. Other heads of large commercial enterprises in Vancouver included Wm. G. Mackenzie, local manager and vice-president of the Hamilton-based hardware firm of Wood, Vallance and Company; William N. O'Neil, the Ontario-born president of the half million dollar building supply firm of Wm. N. O'Neil and Company; H. T. Lockyer, English-born, but resident of Vancouver since 1891 and local manager of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1896; and William Farrell, a Vancouver business leader of the 1890-1893 period and by 1910-1913 president of both Evans, Coleman and Evans and the British Columbia Telephones Ltd. Two other merchants, R. V. Winch and H. O. Bell-Irving, functioned mainly as commercial agents and financiers for a significant section of the coast salmon canning industry.

The influence of leading Vancouver merchants extended beyond the particular commercial businesses which they controlled. Merchants were more active in the top positions of the Board of Trade than any other group within the elite. Of the twenty merchants in the 1910-1913 elite six had been Board of Trade presidents since 1900, including Frederick Buscombe (1900-1901), W. H. Malkin (1902-1903) and A. B. Erskine (1905-1906 and 1912-1913). Erskine in fact is included in the elite mainly because of his prominent role within the Board of Trade. Merchants also took an active part in promoting and directing other major non-commercial Vancouver businesses, and four merchants
are included for this reason. R. P. McLennan, vice-president of the $3 million McLennan, McFeely and Company, was president of the very prestigious Bank of Vancouver from 1910 to 1913. The Scottish-born William Braid, active in the wholesale tea, coffee and spice business after breaking with his business partner Robert Kelly in the mid-1890's, had founded British Columbia's first distillery in New Westminster in 1904, and continued to head the half million dollar B.C. Distillery Co. Ltd. in 1913. Retail clothing merchant W. H. P. Clubb, head of what was claimed in 1906 to have been the "largest clothing and men's furnishing goods established in the province of British Columbia," served after 1911 as president of the huge $5.4 million Dominion Trust Company, and of its $2 million real estate subsidiary, British Columbia Securities Ltd. And Harry Abbott, proprietor of a wholesale liquor business before the War, was also president of one of the few firmly established, indigenous financial organizations in the city, the Vancouver Financial Corporation.

The most influential merchants were a handful of Vancouver entrepreneurs who headed the city's largest companies, and who served, in addition, as directors or executive members of several of the other most prestigious businesses in Vancouver. R. P. McLennan, for instance, was a director, with other established business leaders, of the Vancouver Financial Corporation and the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, as well as being president of the Bank of Vancouver. Robert Kelly and William Braid served on the board of B.C. Packers, and W. H. Malkin was a director of B.C. Permanent, Pacific Coast Fire and the Bank of Vancouver. McLennan and Malkin had been two of the three initial Vancouver promoters of the latter institution.

The economic power and potential influence of lumbermen in Vancouver had increased even more dramatically than that of merchants between 1893 and 1910. Most lumber mills in the city in the early 1890's had been small, much of the local lumber industry had been controlled outside the city, and with
the exception of the very influential R. H. Alexander lumbermen in Vancouver had played virtually no role in the Board of Trade, or in promoting further Vancouver business development. By contrast, after 1910 the city's lumber mills constituted, with one or two exceptions, Vancouver's only really large industrial establishments, and lumber companies were some of the largest businesses in the city. As noted in Chapter 4, of the eight largest provincially incorporated companies with which Vancouver business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were affiliated, three were lumber manufacturing firms and one was a timber-holding and logging firm, all with assets of over $4 million. And the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company, which is not included here, was worth at least $3 million, and possibly double that amount. Lumber had indeed become big business, at least by local standards. Of the twelve business leaders included in the 1910-1913 elite whose principal occupation was the production of lumber, nine headed local enterprises worth more than $1 million. Also in contrast to the earlier period, 10 of the 12 members of the lumber elite were Vancouver entrepreneurs, and not simply managers of outside enterprises. A. D. McRae, Jas. A. McNair, John O'Brien and J. E. Tucker did head companies which had been financed with considerable outside capital, but each was still more an entrepreneur, active in the organization and control of his own lumber enterprise, than a company bureaucrat, like Frank Buckley of the Montreal-based British Canadian Lumber Corporation and William Robertson of Winnipeg's Rat Portage Lumber Company, the two lumber company managers included in the elite.

Leading Vancouver lumbermen also branched out into many secondary business enterprises after the turn of the century, and this entrepreneurial initiative provided the sharpest contrast between the lumbermen of the pre-war period and those of the 1890's. Lumber was by 1914 the principal resource industry in B.C., and the tremendous profits derived from lumber naturally
found their way into other business ventures, mainly in the resource field. Adventurous businessmen coming to B.C. with capital also tended first to enter the profitable lumber industry, before moving into other resource industries. Whatever the source of their capital, several lumbermen had become the top business organizers and promoters in the city by 1913. James A. McNair, for instance, commonly known as the province's "shingle king", had developed his Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company into a $1.1 million company between mid-1890's and 1910. The New Brunswick-born lumberman McNair had by 1913 also branched out into five other 'important' companies, and was president of the largest of these, the $3.8 million Grand Trunk Lands Co. Ltd. Harry L. Jenkins, in the lumber business in Blaine, Washington before coming to Vancouver, was president of a half million dollar North Vancouver lumber company, a $5.6 million timber holding company, an $800,000 land investment company and a Fraser Valley ranch before World War I, in addition to being, with another city lumberman, one of five local businessmen on the board of directors of the Bank of Vancouver.

E. H. Heaps, John Hendry and A. D. McRae deserve special attention as the three most successful lumbermen in pre-war Vancouver. Heaps, the son of an English architect and builder, had come to Vancouver in 1889, and after engaging in the furniture manufacturing and sawmill business had then added the machinery supply trade to his list of business endeavours. By 1913 his principal lumber enterprise, E. H. Heaps and Company, owned two large plants, the Cedar Cove Mills in Vancouver and the Ruskin Mills at the mouth of the Stave River in the Fraser Valley, and claimed assets worth over $8 million. Heaps had been an indefatigable entrepreneur, and through the accumulation of profits and the active pursuit of British investment capital had built a business empire that included by 1913 trust, investment, fire insurance, coal mining, taxicab and timber holding companies, all of which he headed as
president. He had also become known in local engineering circles through his Heaps Engineering Co. Ltd., and before the War had planned to build internal combustion engines in New Westminster. His membership on the board of the Bank of Vancouver and his term as president of the Vancouver Board of Trade from 1909 to 1910 provide some indication of his high stature within the city's business community.

"The history of the development of the lumber trade which gradually centered itself at Vancouver and New Westminster," R. E. Gosnell pointed out in 1913, "is to a very considerable extent the history of John Hendry...." The New Brunswick-born Hendry, whose father had earlier worked in the "milling business", had entered the British Columbia lumber industry in the mid-1870's, and with his purchase of the Hastings Sawmill in 1889 and the subsequent formation of the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company had established himself as the province's dominant lumber entrepreneur. Hendry's strong business connections to Vancouver after 1886 were emphasized in 1903 when he moved from New Westminster and took up residence in the fashionable west end of Vancouver. Like E. H. Heaps, Hendry moved after the turn of the century from lumber into other large business ventures in the Vancouver area. He was the principal supporter of the Stave Lake Power Company in the decade after 1900, and remained on the board of directors of the Western Canada Power Company after it purchased control of the Stave Lake hydro-electric project in 1909. Hendry supported the Burrard Inlet and Fraser Valley Railroad, formed in 1891, incorporated (with several others) the Vancouver Northern and Yukon Railway in 1898, and was prominent in the Vancouver, Westminster and Yukon Railroad of 1901. He was president of the $1.4 million Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd. after 1910, had ties with a land company and a gold mine, and had participated earlier in an oil drilling venture. His election as president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association for the year
1910 reflects his unquestionable position as the province's premier industrialist of the previous decade. Prominence in 'society' followed that in business, and Hendry held memberships in more than 20 social clubs and associations by 1914.

Hendry's industrial leadership was not, however, to remain unchallenged. By 1910, the Canadian Western Lumber Company, successor to the Fraser River Lumber Company which A. D. McRae had purchased in 1907, had replaced B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading as the province's largest lumber corporation. The Ontario-born McRae had brought with him to British Columbia part of the $9 million in profits which he, along with family friend and business partner Col. A. D. Davidson of Toronto, had accumulated since 1903 in the land promotion business in Saskatchewan. He also brought with him a close business relationship with railroad promoters William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, established earlier in Saskatchewan when he and Davidson had acted as sales promoters for over four million acres of Canadian Northern Railway Company land. McRae's role as vice-president of the Canadian Western Lumber Company, vice-president of the Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) Ltd. and president of the Canadian Northern Pacific Fisheries Ltd., each controlled by or partly financed by Mackenzie and Mann, was a product of his earlier business relationship with the two railroad builders. McRae's spectacular entry into the lumber industry in 1907 with the Fraser River Lumber Company was followed in 1911 by his reorganization of Wallace Brothers Packing Co. Ltd. to form the giant Wallace Fisheries Ltd., the largest salmon canning firm in northern B.C. On moving from their home in Winnipeg to the west coast the McRaes also soon became leading members of society in Vancouver.

The fields of banking and transportation in Vancouver were even more thoroughly dominated by outside corporations after 1910 than they had been during the early 1890's, and the fourteen members of the elite whose primary
occupations fall into these two categories were almost entirely local managers of externally-controlled businesses. Three of the five men in the field of transportation were local officials of the C.P.R., including Richard Marpole, the top railway official in Vancouver since Harry Abbott's retirement in 1896, and F. F. Busteed and Francis White Peters, both career C.P.R. men who shared the 'second-in-command' executive position of General Superintendent for British Columbia during the four year period from 1910 to 1913. The C.P.R. and its leading officials had faded from public scrutiny since the mid-1890's, and the company's role in the city is much more difficult to assess in this period. Needless to say, however, the C.P.R. remained an economic power in Vancouver, both because of its railroad operation and because of its continued influence on the city's land market. When the company opened the new elite residential area of Shaughnessy Heights in 1909, for instance, Richard Marpole became president of the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, one of the half dozen most prestigious social clubs in Vancouver. F. W. Peters also became president of the Vancouver Club within two years of arriving in Vancouver, another clear indication of the continued high status and influence of C.P.R. officials in the city. The American-born O. L. Dickeson, president of the British-controlled White Pass and Yukon Railway Company, moved to Vancouver in 1911, where the railroad made its headquarters. The fifth member of the transportation elite, Ernest H. Beazley, son of a Liverpool shipowner, came to Vancouver in 1911 to manage the Union Steamship Company on behalf of its new British owners.

Banking in Vancouver had passed almost entirely into the hands of eastern Canadians by the turn of the century; with the exception of the local Bank of Vancouver and the British-controlled Bank of British North America, all major banks in the city were controlled in other parts of Canada. Bankers are included in the elite on the same basis as for the 1910-1913
period, i.e., if they headed the local organization of any bank with four or more branches in the city and surrounding suburban area. Eight managers have been included on this basis, five of whom, C. A. Crosbie of the Royal Bank, T. F. McCaffrey of the Union Bank, H. H. Morris of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, J. P. Roberts of the Northern Crown Bank and Campbell Sweeny of the Bank of Montreal, were also provincial superintendents for their respective institutions. Three others, William Godfrey of the Bank of British North America, Ewing Buchan of the Bank of Hamilton and Andrew Jukes of the Imperial Bank of Canada headed their institutions' operations in the city. Godfrey and Buchan had both been very active members of the Board of Trade, Godfrey as president from 1897 to 1899 and an almost constant member of the Board of Trade Council since 1892, and Buchan as president from 1910 to 1911. Murray has been included in the elite for subjective reasons. Scottish-born, he had been appointed in 1894 to replace J. C. Keith as manager of the Bank of British Columbia, and continued as a Bank of Commerce manager in the city after the amalgamation of the two banks in 1900. Murray was a major force in the British Columbia salmon canning industry, where he had served as banker for the Anglo-British Columbia Packing Company and board member for B.C. Packers. He continued on the boards of B.C. Packers and the Vancouver Financial Corporation until 1913, "his advice...much sought after by men of affairs" in Vancouver. Campbell Sweeny, the only other banker with important secondary business connections in the city before the War, was on the boards of B.C. Packers and the Western Canada Power Corporation during the 1910-1913 period.

Business leaders whose primary occupations were in the related fields of real estate and land promotion, corporate stock and timber limit sales, insurance and non-banking finance formed the other large group within the elite from 1910-1913. Twelve of the twenty-one included here could be classified as real estate promoters, though many of these were also active
in the other related areas of business. Seven of the twelve were associated with the city's major real estate agencies during the pre-war boom. Edward Mahon and Joseph McFarland were principals in Mahon, McFarland and Procter Ltd., formed in the 1890's as Mahon, McFarland and Mahon and reorganized by British interests into the London and British North America Co. Ltd. in 1911, and Henry T. Ceperley and F. W. Rounsefell owned the long established real estate and insurance business of Ceperley, Rounsefell and Company. By 1910 McFarland and Rounsefell had gained managing control of their respective firms, but Mahon and Ceperley continued to have other important business connections. Mahon headed the $1 million North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., and Ceperley was president of the half million dollar Vancouver Milling and Grain Co. Ltd., organized earlier to export prairie grain and flour through Vancouver. David Williams, the Welsh-born son of a large smelter manager, has been included in the elite because of the prominence of his real estate agency, Williams and Murdoff Ltd., during the period of feverish city expansion after 1908. David E. Brown and Alvo von Alvensleben headed two of the city's other most active real estate firms, D. E. Brown and Macaulay Ltd. and Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd., which claimed assets of $577,000 and $1.78 million respectively before the War.

The fifteen promoters, twelve of whom are classified as 'real estate' and three as 'non-real estate' promoters, who have been included in the elite were primarily concerned with taking advantage of the speculative climate prevalent in B.C. between 1908 and 1913 by encouraging the investment of capital in mineral, land and timber resources throughout the province. Their businesses, while often very large, were generally speculative in nature, and did not have the substantial real assets of machinery, warehouses or inventory of manufactured goods which characterized the city's lumber, wholesale and retail, consumers' goods manufacturing and utility companies; instead, natural
resources valued at highly inflated prices comprised the bulk of their reported worth. For instance, Ewen W. MacLean, noted in 1914 "as one of the most prominent capitalists in Vancouver and on the Pacific coast of Canada," was president of E. W. MacLean and Company and the Western Development Company, vice-president of Investors Guarantee, director of British Canadian Securities Co. Ltd. and the Hendry Land Co. Ltd., all of them real estate, real estate financing or land promotion enterprises. MacLean also had ties with eight other companies at the end of this boom period in 1914. The most prominent promoter of all was Alvo von Alvensleben, held in esteem by his contemporaries not only because of his success in business, but also because of "the qualities of leadership" which he so prominently displayed. His principal firm of Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd. had been formed in 1908 for the purpose of dealing in real estate, farm land, first mortgages and general investments. Starting with an original capital of $25,000, the company within three years claimed a reserve fund of $400,000 and a total of $7 million secured for investment in the province from his clients, mainly in Europe. Alvensleben's empire in 1913 included a half million dollar fisheries company, a $5.6 million timber brokerage firm and substantial coal mining interests, in addition to his principal real estate business.

Six business leaders who worked primarily in the field of non-banking finance are also included in the elite. Three of these, H. N. Galer, J. Y. Griffin and E. B. Morgan headed the British American Trust Company, the Royal Financial Corporation and the North West Trust Company respectively, each worth between $500,000 to $700,000 before the War. English-born Robert Kerr Houlgate continued to serve as local manager of the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Ltd., a British mortgage company which he had managed since his arrival in Vancouver in 1898. By far the two most influential among the six were the former Toronto businessmen Thomas T. Langlois and George Telfer, who between
1898 and 1913 developed an interrelated complex of five finance, real estate and building companies.126

Three of Vancouver's most active entrepreneurs, classified as 'capitalists' during the 1910-1913 period, could also be included with the above members of the elite as men primarily concerned with profiting from the speculative boom in pre-war Vancouver. All three were long-established Vancouver businessmen, including J. C. Keith, prominent in the first elite group, and Francis Carter-Cotton, also an early Vancouver business leader. Keith had continued to pursue his development interests after leaving the Bank of British Columbia in 1892, concentrating on land holdings along the north shore of Burrard Inlet and up Howe Sound. Eight different companies are listed in Appendix B for the 1910-1913 period under Keith's name, and five of these, including the three he served as president, were land and real estate companies. Carter-Cotton had made his name in Vancouver as the anti-establishment editor of the Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser in the 1890's and as a long-time member of the provincial legislature from the city, beginning in 1890.127 His three most important company affiliations after 1910, the year he retired as proprietor and editor of the News-Advertiser,128 were in the fields of finance, construction and the production of construction materials. He served as president of the $1.6 million Franco-Canadian Trust Company, backed by French interests, and was also vice-president of the Norton-Griffiths Steel Construction Co. Ltd, the British construction firm so prominent in Vancouver before the War. Jonathan Rogers, the Methodist son of Welsh farmers, had made his money in the Vancouver construction industry since coming to the city in 1887.129 He too had branched out into finance and the construction materials manufacturing industry, heading after 1910 Vancouver's only significant life insurance company and a $428,000 brick manufacturing firm. Both Carter-Cotton and Rogers were active in the Board of Trade during this period; Carter-Cotton served as president
from 1913 to 1914, and Rogers for the two years thereafter.

While members of the elite occupied primarily in consumers' goods manufacturing industries, the salmon canning and fishing industry, urban utilities or construction were few in number, the companies they headed were far more substantial than the less stable businesses of the city's real estate, resource promotion and finance entrepreneurs. Vancouver was not an important secondary manufacturing centre, for instance, yet Charles Doering in the brewing industry, James Ramsay in biscuits and confectionary and B. T. Rogers in sugar had by 1910 established themselves as three of the most influential businessmen in the city. British Columbia Breweries and B.C. Sugar claimed assets of $1.3 million and $2 million respectively before the War. They were joined as leading consumers' goods manufacturing entrepreneurs by Domenic Burns, brother of Calgary's Patrick Burns and head of the family's large meat packing and distribution business in Vancouver. Only three men are included from the salmon canning and fishing industry, W. H. Barker, president of B.C. Packers, Peter Wallace, head of the McRae-backed Wallace Fisheries, and A. L. Hagar, the west coast manager of the New England Fishing Company. Commission merchants H. O. Bell-Irving and R. V. Winch, noted earlier, were also active in the salmon canning industry. The field of top utility entrepreneurs in Vancouver is similarly small. After 1910 the English-born Robert F. Hayward, trained in the very best schools in England, managed the newly reorganized, and now Montreal-controlled, Western Canada Power Company from Vancouver; R. H. Sperling headed the major utility company in the city, the British Columbia Electric Railway Company, formed in 1897 through an amalgamation of several small B.C. companies; and William Farrell, the president in 1910 of Evans, Coleman and Evans, also controlled B.C. Telephones Ltd. before the War. The three men at the top of the city's construction industry were William H. Armstrong, president of the long-established Vancouver construction firm of
Armstrong, Morrison and Company; A. R. Mann, himself a noted railroad builder, brother of the more famous Canadian Northern Railroad builder Sir Donald Mann, and president of the $5.4 million Northern Construction Company after 1912; and W. Burton Stewart, local manager of Norton Griffiths and Co. Ltd. John Coughlan, founder of the steel construction industry in Vancouver, was also a member of the city's elite. These sixteen men, by heading companies which in several instances commanded local company assets worth far in excess of $1 million and which together employed large numbers of workers in the city, had a major influence on the city's economic prosperity. With the exception of Ramsay, however, none of the sixteen were active as entrepreneurs in the more speculative fields of business in the city or surrounding region during the boom.

Seven other Vancouver businessmen drawn from the legal profession, two producers' goods manufacturing enterprises, the retail lumber business, shipbuilding and a plant and nursery business round out the ninety members of the 1910-1913 elite. The ninety are listed below in categories defined by their primary occupations in the city. For those members who are included in the elite because they headed major companies in a category different from that of their primary occupation, the important business has been listed in brackets in place of the primary occupation. Where two or more major business affiliations would have made the business leader eligible for inclusion in the 1910-1913 elite, the additional business ties have also been included in brackets, but after, and in addition to, the principal company affiliation for which the businessman is included. A complete list of the 'important' business affiliations of each business leader is presented in Appendix B.
### Business Elite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commerce: Wholesale and Wholesale Functions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. William Akhurst</td>
<td>Mgr., Canadian Fairbanks-Morse Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. H. O. Bell-Irving</td>
<td>Pres., Bell-Irving and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Frederick Buscombe</td>
<td>Pres., Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. William Farrell</td>
<td>Mgr. and V.-P., J. Leckie Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pres., McLennan, McFeely and Co. Ltd. (and Pres., Canadian Coalinga Oil Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. R. P. McLennan</td>
<td>(Pres., Bank of Vancouver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Wm. N. O'Neil</td>
<td>Pres., Wm. N. O'Neil Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Henry Pim</td>
<td>Mgr., Canadian General Electric Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. R. V. Winch</td>
<td>Pres., R. V. Winch and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commerce: Retail</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. W. H. P. Clubb</td>
<td>(Pres., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd.; and Pres., British Canadian Securities Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. H. T. Lockyer</td>
<td>Mgr., Hudson's Bay Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Charles Woodward</td>
<td>Woodward Department Stores Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary Products: Timber</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and Pres., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd.; Pres., Anna L. Jenkins Estate Incorp. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Elite</td>
<td>Primary Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. A. D. McRae</td>
<td>Pres., Fraser River Lumber Co. Ltd. and V.-P., Canadian Western Lumber Co. Ltd. (and Pres., Wallace Fisheries Ltd.; Pres., Canadian Northern Electric Fisheries Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. T. F. Paterson</td>
<td>Mgr., Rat Portage Lumber Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Wm. Robertson</td>
<td>Pres., Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. J. E. Tucker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transportation: Steam Railways**

| 33. F. F. Busteed                    | Gen. Sup't., Pacific Division, C.P.R.                                               |
| 34. O. L. Dickeson                  | Pres., White Pass and Yukon Railway Co. Ltd.                                          |
| 36. F. W. Peters                    | Gen. Sup't., B.C. Division, C.P.R.                                                   |

**Transportation: Shipping**


**Finance: Banking**

| 38. Ewing Buchan                     | Mgr., Bank of Hamilton                                                               |
| 39. C. A. Crosbie                    | Sup't. of B.C. Branches, Royal Bank of Canada                                        |
| 40. Wm. Godfrey                      | Mgr., Bank of British North America                                                 |
| 41. Andrew Jukes                     | Mgr., Imperial Bank of Canada                                                       |
| 42. T. F. McCaffrey                  | Sup't. of B.C. Branches, Union Bank of Canada                                        |
| 43. H. H. Morris                     | Sup't. of Pacific Coast Branches, Canadian Bank of Commerce                          |
| 44. William Murray                   | Mgr., Canadian Bank of Commerce                                                     |
| 45. J. P. Roberts                    | Sup't. of B.C. Branches, Northern Crown Bank                                        |
| 46. Campbell Sweeny                  | Sup't. of B.C. Branches, Bank of Montreal                                            |

**Real Estate: Promotion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Elite</th>
<th>Primary Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H. T. Ceperley</td>
<td>Pres., Ceperley, Rounsefell and Co. Ltd. (and Pres., Vancouver Milling and Grain Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Donnelly</td>
<td>Pres., Canadian Financiers Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandler E. Edwards</td>
<td>Pres., North Coast Land Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewen W. MacLean</td>
<td>Pres., E. W. MacLean and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Mahon</td>
<td>Pres., North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. B. Mathers</td>
<td>Pres., British Canadian Securities Ltd. (and Pres., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. W. Rounsefell</td>
<td>M'ging Dir., Ceperley, Rounsefell and Co., Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. A. C. Studd</td>
<td>(Pres., Pollack Mines Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David G. Williams</td>
<td>Pres., Williams and Murdoff Ltd.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Promotion: All Others

| 60. Jas. A. Rear | (Pres., North American Securities Ltd.) |
| 61. T. J. Smith | (Pres., Diamond Vale Iron and Coal Co. Ltd. and Pres., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd.) |

Finance: All Others

| 63. J. Y. Griffin | Pres., Royal Financial Corp., Ltd. |
| 64. R. K. Houglage | Mgr., Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corp., Ltd. |
| 66. Edwin B. Morgan | Pres., North West Trust Co. Ltd. |
| 67. G. F. Telfer | V.-P., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd. |

Capitalist

<p>| 68. Francis Carter-Cotton | Pres., Franco-Canadian Trust Co. Ltd. (and Chairman, Kilgard Fireclay Co. Ltd.; V.-P., Norton-Griffiths Steel Construction Co. Ltd.) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation and Company Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>J. C. Keith</td>
<td>(Pres., Howe Sound and Northern Development Co. Ltd., and Pres., Vancouver Estates Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Jonathan Rogers</td>
<td>(Pres., Coast Shale Brick Bo. Ltd. and Pres., The British Columbia Life Assurance Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Consumers' Goods Manufacturing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Domenic Burns</td>
<td>Mgr., P. Burns and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Chas. Doering</td>
<td>Pres., Vancouver Breweries Ltd. and Pres., British Columbia Breweries Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>James Ramsay</td>
<td>Pres., Ramsay Bros. and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>B. T. Rogers</td>
<td>Pres., B.C. Sugar Refinery Co. Ltd. (and Pres., Vancouver-Fiji Sugar Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Primary Products: Fish</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Wm. H. Barker</td>
<td>Pres., British Columbia Packers Assoc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>A. L. Hagar</td>
<td>Mgr., New England Fish Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Peter Wallace</td>
<td>Pres., Wallace Fisheries Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Urban Utilities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>R. F. Hayward</td>
<td>Gen. Mgr., Western Canada Power Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>William Farrell</td>
<td>Pres., Evans, Coleman and Evans Ltd., and Pres., British Columbia Telephones Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Construction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Wm. H. Armstrong</td>
<td>Pres., Armstrong, Morrison and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>John Coughlan</td>
<td>Proprietor, John Coughlan and Sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>A. R. Mann</td>
<td>Pres., Northern Construction Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>W. Burton Stewart</td>
<td>M'ging Dir., Norton, Griffiths and Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Secondary Manufacturing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>H. W. Maynard</td>
<td>(Pres., Vancouver-Nanaimo Coal Mining Co. Ltd.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>W. H. Whalen</td>
<td>Pres., B.C. Sulphite Fibre Co. Ltd.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Business Elite | Primary Occupation
---|---
**Commerce: Lumber**
86. E. L. Kinman................. (Pres., Omenica Gold Mines Ltd.)

**Other N.B. Businesses**
87. Robert D. Rorison............. Pres., Royal Nurseries Ltd.
88. Alfred Wallace............... Pres., Wallace Shipyards Ltd.

**Professional**
89. J. A. Harvey................ (Pres., Colonial Lumber and Paper Mills Ltd.)
90. R. S. Lennie............... (Chairman, Slocan Star Mines Ltd.)

* * *

The period from 1890-93 to 1910-13 was one of transition for the Vancouver business community. Only seven of the twenty-one members of the early elite were still included among the city's most powerful businessmen a generation later. New resource entrepreneurs, merchants and regional managers of transcontinental companies entered the business elite as Vancouver replaced Victoria at the centre of the province's business system. The real estate entrepreneurs of Vancouver's original business elite were joined by businessmen involved in the promotion, development and financing of several additional resources as the city's business horizons expanded to encompass the regional hinterland. The C.P.R. elite which had exercised overwhelming power during the first ten years after 1886 was joined by an equally powerful group of wholesalers and lumbermen during the second ten. The Vancouver business elite also became more Canadian and less British during the twenty year period of transition.
Chapter 7

THE CAREER PATTERNS OF LEADING VANCOUVER BUSINESSMEN

Business in North America passed through a period of fundamental structural change between the 1880's and the First World War. Small, locally-based and individual or family-owned businesses gave way to large, incorporated, vertically or horizontally integrated and bureaucratic organizations generally described as 'big business'. American business historian Alfred Chandler calls this change in the structure of American industrial enterprises the "major innovation in the American economy between the 1880's and the turn of the century...." A similar movement towards large national businesses took place in Canada in the early twentieth century, with the consolidation movement which first began in the early 1890's and which resumed again between 1897 and 1903 reaching a climax between 1909 and 1913. While some of these new organizations were integrated only in a horizontal fashion, in which the several previous companies were now controlled loosely through a common holding company, other businesses in Canada, as well as in the United States, also became internally centralized and vertically integrated, with one company controlling from the centre the various functions of purchasing, processing, marketing and financing for the entire firm. This 'vertical' expansion of the industrial process backward to control inputs of raw materials and forward to control marketing of products through branch agencies, often on a national scale, has been a central feature of modern business. To control such vast enterprises these businesses developed huge bureaucracies, organized into a number of departments which each controlled one specialized function in the overall operation.

The centralization and bureaucratization of business which accompanied
the consolidation of many small into a few large enterprises had profound implications for the careers of young businessmen. While the typical businessman of the mid-nineteenth century was an independent entrepreneur who controlled his own or his family's business, the businessman of the twentieth is a 'professional', a man, usually well educated, who enters one of these large business bureaucracies near the bottom at a young age and spends his career working up through the ranks of the organization. Sociologist John Porter points out in the *Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, published in 1965, that one of the two salient features of the careers of Canada's economic elite in the mid-twentieth century has been "the virtual disappearance of the independent entrepreneur who strikes out on his own and builds up a firm large enough to be dominant on the national scene." Less than 8% of the entire national business elite in 1951 had "arrived at the top by being in business on their own account." The modern corporation needs specialists, and highly specialized training in law, engineering, science, chartered accountancy, commerce and finance rather than entrepreneurial ability now constitutes the basic requirement for business success. The transition from independent entrepreneurs to dependent professional career businessmen was an important product of the trend towards 'big business' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the career patterns of Vancouver businessmen during this same period must be examined primarily within the context of this larger change in the character of North American business.

* * *

Virtually all Vancouver businessmen associated with locally-based companies before 1914 were independent entrepreneurs rather than career bureaucrats.
Vancouver was a city bursting with entrepreneurial activity in the pre-war period, with 71.1% of the business leaders of the 1890-1893 period and an almost identical proportion of the 1910-1913 leaders falling into this category (Table 10). Business in Vancouver was small by North American standards. While local companies extended into the immediate hinterland region and in some cases into the neighbouring prairie region, no Vancouver-based companies had become national enterprises before the First World War. Partnerships of individual proprietors like Wulffsohn and Bewicke, Innes and Richards, Casement and Creery and Major and Eldridge, family partnerships like Evans, Coleman and Evans, Rand Brothers and Oppenheimer Brothers, and individually-controlled businesses constituted the dominant types of business organization in Vancouver in the early 1890's. Of the local or regional companies operating in the city only B.C. Mills was large enough to have an early form of bureaucratic administrative structure.

Table 10
Vancouver Business Leaders By Career Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation: General</th>
<th>Vancouver's Business Leaders of: 1890-1893</th>
<th>1910-1913a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Entrepreneur...</td>
<td>47 (71.1%)</td>
<td>190 (69.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Bureaucrat...</td>
<td>10 (15.2%)</td>
<td>23 (8.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employee...</td>
<td>6 (9.1%)</td>
<td>16 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional...</td>
<td>2 (3.0%)</td>
<td>25 (9.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family...</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
<td>11 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othersb...</td>
<td>1 (1.5%)</td>
<td>8 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS...</td>
<td>66 (100%)</td>
<td>273 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Three business leaders of the 1910-1913 period whose principal occupations could not be determined have been omitted from the table.

b The nine men whose primary occupations have been classified as 'Other' include two whose occupations are unknown, one listed as 'retired', one plumber, one harbour master, one sea captain, one newspaper editor, one bookkeeper and one who worked as secretary of the Vancouver School Board.
The modern joint-stock company had replaced these partnerships and unincorporated proprietorships as the dominant form of business organization in Vancouver by 1913, but this change was less fundamental than the new legal status would suggest. Most of these incorporated companies were still owned by one or two individuals, and the separation between capital and management characteristic of the modern corporation had not yet occurred. Men like C. M. Drayton of the Vancouver Financial Corporation, A. L. Dewar of the Bank of Vancouver, David von Cramer of the Vancouver Trust Company and George Telfer, at one time secretary-treasurer, then general manager and finally vice-president of the British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Company were both managers or executives on the one hand and organizing entrepreneurs of their respective firms on the other. In addition, many of the managers were also directors, combining the administrative and policy-making functions into one role. With the exception of one or two of the large resource companies in the city such as B.C. Packers or the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company, the structure of local business in Vancouver had still not reached the 'big business' stage of organization, and the career patterns of the businessmen associated with them were basically still the patterns of independent entrepreneurs rather than of professional career businessmen.

Not all business leaders were independent proprietors, however. Ten of the sixty-six business leaders of the 1890-1893 period and twenty-three of the leaders of the 1910-1913 period were classified as 'career bureaucrats' (Table 10, p. 155), defined here as Eleanor Bruchey used the term for the Baltimore elite, as "men who systematically pursued a career as salaried administrators in corporations, starting at or near the bottom, without detectable advantages of kinship." The most obvious characteristic of these businessmen in Vancouver was their association with businesses controlled outside of British Columbia. The career bureaucrats who were 'leaders' of business in Vancouver represented an
extension across the country of the recently formed 'big businesses' of eastern North America and Great Britain. Banks and railroads in Vancouver, with the exception of the Bank of Vancouver, were controlled by large national companies from eastern Canada or Britain during the 1910-1913 period. The local private bankers of the early 1890's had vanished by the end of the nineties in the face of new competition from westward-moving national banks of eastern Canada. Railroads operating out of Vancouver (meaning primarily the C.P.R.) had been eastern-controlled and bureaucratic from the very beginning. In the electric utility field the two major companies in the area were controlled in England and Quebec respectively, with B.C. Electric, the major utility business in the city since its formation in 1897, being also one of the city's most highly developed business bureaucracies.

The local heads of these corporations in Vancouver were the most bureaucratic of the career businessmen in the city. Campbell Sweeny, for instance, had begun his career with the Bank of Montreal as a junior clerk in Hamilton in 1863, and after a ten year stop in Winnipeg had come to Vancouver as the local manager in 1887; he was appointed Superintendent of B.C. branches in 1901. H. H. Morris had entered the service of the Canadian Bank of Commerce as a clerk in Toronto in 1875, and after becoming an accountant in Hamilton in 1880 and a manager in Barrie in 1886 had come to Vancouver as the bank's first manager in 1898, rising to Inspector in 1901 and Superintendent of Pacific Coast Branches in 1907. Francis White Peters had begun his administrative career as an assistant agent for the Intercolonial Railway in Newcastle, New Brunswick. After holding different positions with railroads in Michigan between 1880 and 1881 Peters joined the C.P.R., serving in Winnipeg, as an agent in Brandon and Port Arthur, as the assistant freight traffic manager for western lines, again in Winnipeg, after 1903, and ultimately as the General Superintendent of the British Columbia Division of the C.P.R. in Vancouver. The general manager of
B.C. Electric before the War, Rochfort Henry Sperling, had joined the company in Vancouver in 1896 after migrating to British Columbia from England, and had risen to the top local position in the operation by 1905.\textsuperscript{17}

While the banks, railroad companies and principal electric utility and street railway company were the most highly bureaucratized businesses in Vancouver before 1914, the least bureaucratic were those with the highest concentration of local ownership, including real estate and resource promotion companies, secondary manufacturing and consumers' goods manufacturing companies, retail commercial enterprises, retail lumber companies and non-banking financial firms. These businesses had the highest concentration of independent entrepreneurs among their business leaders, with 100\% of the real estate and non-real estate promoters, 88.9\% of the business leaders in construction, 83.3\% of the retail businessmen, 82.6\% of the business leaders in non-banking finance and 81.8\% of the consumers' goods manufacturers between 1910 and 1913 falling into this category.\textsuperscript{18}

Between these two groups of businesses was a middle group composed of fish and timber resource companies and wholesale commercial firms which were mainly owned in Vancouver but which included a growing segment of external ownership. Some of the local representatives of these external companies fell into the category of career bureaucrats, including F. L. Buckley of the British Canadian Lumber Corporation, A. L. Hagar of the New England Fish Company and Henry Pim of Canadian General Electric. Buckley had started his career working in a lumber mill in Montana, and after managing a mill at Enderby in the Okanagan for three years had been appointed managing-director of the huge British Canadian Lumber Corporation in 1909.\textsuperscript{19} Hagar had begun his career with the New England Fish Company in 1900 before coming to Vancouver as manager in 1908,\textsuperscript{20} and Henry Pim had joined the old Edison General Electric Company in eastern Canada before rising from the position of clerk in the sales department in
Toronto to become district manager in Vancouver for the reorganized Canadian General Electric Company in 1892. 21

Other businessmen in this middle group have been classified as 'salaried employees', defined as men who worked for a company other than their own but who had entered such positions at the top, usually after careers as independent businessmen. The existence of this category reflects the transitional position of business in Canada at this time, and especially in Vancouver, between the 19th and 20th century types of business organization. Several of the new resource companies in B.C. as well as the externally-controlled wholesale companies operating in Vancouver were of very recent vintage, and their managers as a result were drawn not from their own ranks but from other companies, or from the ranks of independent business. William H. Barker, for instance, hired to manage B.C. Packers in 1904, had served as general superintendent of the conglomerate Columbia River Packing Association between 1897 and 1900. He had also been an independent canning entrepreneur both before and after his position with the Columbia River Packers' Association. 22 And C. J. Peter had operated his own commission business in Winnipeg before coming to Vancouver in 1902 as the manager of C.F. and J. Galt Co. Ltd. 23 69.7% of the business leaders of the 1910-13 period whose primary occupation was in the wholesale commercial field were independent entrepreneurs, while 24.3% were either 'career bureaucrats' or salaried managers; the figures for the lumber industry were 67.9% and 14.3%, and for the fishing and fish canning industry 50% and 34.4%. 24 In all three cases, the proportion of company employees, whether career businessmen or recently appointed managers, was considerably higher than in the real estate, retail trade, construction, non-banking finance and consumers' goods manufacturing sectors of the economy.

Among business leaders in Vancouver as a whole career businessmen or
salaried employees were decidedly less numerous before 1914 than were independent entrepreneurs; the 24.3% who were paid administrators from 1890 to 1893 and 14.3% from 1910 to 1913 compared to approximately 70% of the business leaders who were independent entrepreneurs during each of the same two periods (Table 10, p. 155). But the role of corporate administrators among the city's business leaders appears far more significant when the careers of the elite and non-elite for each of the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods are compared (Table 11). This division between the more powerful and less powerful business leaders reveals that nearly all of the career bureaucrats among the city's business leaders were in the elite. Career businessmen made up 38% of the elite and only 4.4% of the non-elite for the 1890-1893 period, and 22.2% of the elite and only 1.6% of the non-elite from 1910 to 1913. One explanation for the sharp differences lies with the bias of the initial selection of the city's 'business leaders', a bias created by the difficult task of determining the 'importance' of branch businesses operating within the city. While the smaller external companies were probably excluded because of this lack of adequate information many of the smaller independent local companies were included because of the more accurate nature of financial statistics available for companies incorporated in British Columbia.25

Table 11
Vancouver Business Elite By Career Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occ.:</th>
<th>1890-1893 Period</th>
<th>1910-1913 Perioda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep. Entre.</td>
<td>11(52.4%)</td>
<td>36(80.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Bureaucrat</td>
<td>8(38.1%)</td>
<td>2(4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employee</td>
<td>2(9.5%)</td>
<td>4(8.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>2(4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>21(100%)</td>
<td>45(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aThree business leaders of the 1910-1913 period whose principal occupation could not be determined have been omitted from the table.
Another explanation is the scale of business in early Vancouver. British Columbia businesses were generally small by national standards, and the big national or international companies operating in Vancouver either dominated whole sectors of the economy, as did the railroads and banks, or made a significant impact once in the city, as did Canadian General Electric, Canadian Fairbanks Morse, Gault Brothers, the Hudson's Bay Company and B.C. Electric. This question of relative size was especially important during the city's first period of expansion before 1893, and helps explain the seeming contradiction of a city in which the 'career bureaucrats' formed a more significant proportion of the city's elite during the early 1890's than they did twenty years later, despite the general trend in North American business organization in the opposite direction. The biggest businesses operating in the hinterland town of Vancouver before 1893 were almost all externally-controlled, from the giant Canadian Pacific Railway Company to such major financial institutions as the Bank of British Columbia and the British Columbia Land and Investment Agency Ltd., and to the two largest lumber mills on Burrard Inlet, one of which, while controlled within the region, was still not at this stage a Vancouver-based enterprise. While the independent entrepreneur was the characteristic Vancouver businessman before 1914, career administrators along with a smaller group of salaried employees already played an important role in the city during this period, long before the full development of eastern-based 'big businesses' in Canada.

Of the two remaining types of leading businessmen in Vancouver the largest group was formed by men primarily occupied in one of the professions. The number of professional people active in business in Vancouver increased significantly between the early 1890's and the four year period before the First World War (Table 10, p. 155). Only two of the 66 business leaders of the first period were men from the professions, including one doctor and one lawyer. By 1910-1913 this number had jumped to 25, an increase from 3% of the total
number of business leaders in the early nineties to 9.2% of the 273 leaders whose primary occupations are known after 1910. The city's lawyers especially had become more active in business; 16 lawyers are included among the business leaders from 1910 to 1913, along with six doctors, one teacher, one architect and one engineer. 28

While the special corporate legal advice required by 'big business' resulted in a "growing representation of lawyers in business management" generally in North America after the turn of the century, 29 there is no direct evidence of this new management role by 'company lawyers' in Vancouver. None of the lawyers included among the business leaders of Vancouver worked entirely for one of the city's corporations; all were partners in their own firms. At the same time, however, six lawyers in Vancouver holding three or more directorships, but no executive positions, with local incorporated businesses may have been acting as corporate legal advisors for these companies, and have received their directorships as a consequence. Jas. H. Lawson Jr., for instance, a specialist in company law later in his career, 30 held directorships in two small local lumber companies and a Vancouver sewer pipe manufacturing firm before 1914; A. H. Douglas, noted at the time of his death in 1961 as a solicitor for the B. C. Electric Company for more than forty years, was a director of two small promotion and finance companies and a land company subsidiary of the Dominion Trust Company before the War; Major William Hart-McHarg held all three of his directorships in companies owned by Alvo von Alvensleben, and A. D. Taylor held all three of his in companies owned by lumberman H. L. Jenkins; and two ex-politicians, George Cowan and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, were also included among the business leaders by virtue of holding three 'important' company directorships. 31 Lack of any further evidence about the specific business roles of these six lawyers leaves only speculation that their more active role in business may have been a response to the need for specialized legal services
required by modern incorporated businesses.

A more likely explanation for the greater role by professional men within the business community by 1910 was the changed status of the professions in Vancouver since the turn of the century. In addition to becoming an economic metropolis after the late 1890's, Vancouver had also become a 'mother' city in the much broader sense of providing the principal source of specialized legal, educational, religious, recreational and medical services for the hinterland regions of the province. That Vancouver had become the province's legal centre by 1914 was shown clearly by Chief Justice Hunter's complaint in 1909 that B.C. was experiencing an exodus of lawyers from places like Rossland, Nanaimo and New Westminster and a concentration of its legal personnel in Victoria and Vancouver. This concentration was particularly marked in Vancouver, where the number of lawyers in 1910 was three times greater than on all of Vancouver Island. Prominent lawyer and Vancouver business leader Robie L. Reid typified this pattern of migration, leaving behind twelve years of legal experience in New Westminster to move in 1905 to Vancouver. The opening of the new Vancouver General Hospital in 1906 also reflected the city's function as a regional medical centre. Vancouver had become by 1910 more than a local business town, as it had been during the early 1890's, and the new prominence of professional men in business simply reflected their greater role generally in an expanding and more complex regional centre.

The business function of most doctors and lawyers who were business leaders was entrepreneurial rather than managerial in character. Lawyer J. A. Harvey, for instance, who was both a promoter and director of the Bank of Vancouver, also organized the Dominion Stock and Bond Co. Ltd. Lawyer Robert S. Lennie, noted for his promotional skills in the mining industry, became the largest mine owner in the Slocan after organizing the $2.5 million Slocan Star Mines Ltd. in 1911 and promoting the half million dollar Silver King Mines Ltd.
a year later. Dr. D. H. Wilson was closely associated with the Langlois group of finance companies after their formation in 1898, and had been a director of the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company since its inception in 1890. And Dr. William Brydone-Jack was well-known in Vancouver financial circles as a vice-president of Dominion Trust, in addition to being an active mining entrepreneur. Men in the professions, in short, were drawn into business like other Vancouverites, by the attractive prospects of large scale profit-making during the boom years before the War.

The last category used to define the careers of Vancouver businessmen is termed 'family', and refers to men and women who succeeded in business primarily within the confines of a firm previously well established by some other member of the businessman's family. None of the business leaders of the 1890-1893 period, and only 11 of the 273 leaders of the 1910-1913 period whose primary occupations are known fall into this category (Table 10, p. 155). Family businesses are important in a well-established society in which local business families have roots extending well back into the distant past. Vancouver, on the contrary, was a new community, and the complete lack of 'family' career patterns among the business leaders of the early 1890's reflected this obvious fact. Of the eleven business leaders of the 1910-1913 period with important family business connections five had ties with families established in Vancouver or New Westminster during the 1880's and 1890's, and three were affiliated with Victoria families established somewhat earlier. Frederick L. Beecher, a director and vice-president of the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company before the War, was the son of Charles M. Beecher, who had joined the same lumber company in 1891 as assistant general manager and the firm's leading executive in Vancouver; three of E. H. Heaps' sons were active in his business empire before the War; and Eric Hamber, after a career with the Dominion Bank, became president of the B.C.
Mills, Timber and Trading Company in 1913, the year after he married Aldyn Hendry, daughter of John. Christopher Spencer became the local head in Vancouver of his father's Victoria-based department store after moving to the Terminal City in 1911; and both R. J. and W. H. Ker were active in the Brackman-Ker Milling Co. Ltd., formed originally by their brother David. Both R. J. and W. H. Leckie had worked in their father's J. Leckie Co. Ltd., based in Toronto.

To place the occupational patterns of Vancouver's business leaders within the context of other business communities in North America these findings for Vancouver have been compared with two previous studies of business elites for the same pre-war period, one by Eleanor Bruchey of the business elite in Baltimore from 1880 to 1914, and the other by William Miller of the national American business elite for the decade from 1901 to 1910 (Table 12). Methods of selection and categorization varied somewhat in each of these studies, including for instance my use of an intermediary category called 'salaried employees', which was not employed by either Bruchey or Miller. The figures being examined, therefore, while comparable, can be used most profitably if taken only as rough general indicators of similarities and differences in the three business groups.

The relative unimportance of the family as a route to business success in Vancouver becomes particularly clear when the business elite in the Terminal City is compared with that studied by Bruchey in the old, established city of Baltimore. Only one member of the pre-war business elite in Vancouver achieved major business success in a family firm, while almost one-third of the top business groups in Baltimore before 1914 were 'family' businessmen (Table 12). The contrast is almost as sharp (27.5% to 1.1%) between the business elite in the largest American corporations, studied by Miller, and the elite in Vancouver. Unlike Vancouver, the family firm also provided an increasingly important avenue to business success for Canada's leading industrialists of the period before the
War. Almost half of all the industrialists studied by T. W. Acheson for the 1905-1910 period had first "entered businesses which were owned or controlled by their fathers or uncles."⁴⁹

Table 12
Vancouver's Business Leaders and Elite By Career Type Compared to Eleanor Bruchey's Baltimore Elite⁴ and William Miller's National American Elite⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occ.:</th>
<th>Vancouver's Business:</th>
<th></th>
<th>Bruchey's</th>
<th>Miller's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>273(100%)</td>
<td>90(100%)</td>
<td>168(100%)</td>
<td>185(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indep. Entre...</td>
<td>190(69.6%)</td>
<td>58(64.4%)</td>
<td>81(48.2%)</td>
<td>25(13.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Bureaucrat...</td>
<td>23(8.4%)</td>
<td>20(22.2%)</td>
<td>26(15.5%)</td>
<td>86(46.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employee...</td>
<td>16(5.9%)</td>
<td>7(7.8%)</td>
<td>6(3.6%)</td>
<td>23(12.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional.......</td>
<td>25(9.2%)</td>
<td>3(3.3%)</td>
<td>55(32.7%)</td>
<td>51(27.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family.............</td>
<td>11(4.0%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other...............</td>
<td>8(2.9%)</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The principal conclusion to be drawn from Table 12 is the importance of the individual entrepreneur as the predominant business type in Vancouver. The proportion of both the Baltimore and Vancouver elites made up of career bureaucrats was similar, with the greater percentage of bureaucrats among the Vancouver elite possibly reflecting the stronger metropolitan tradition in Canada in the field of banking. But the 'individual entrepreneur' formed a much larger proportion of the business elite in Vancouver than in Baltimore, with the difference
of 64.4% to 48.2% explained in part by the more established character of the business community in the American city, by the larger size of businesses in Baltimore, and by the fact that Vancouver was one of the fastest growing centres in Canada before the War, while the growth of Baltimore was declining relative to other major cities in the United States.  

In Miller's findings, which are markedly different from those for both Baltimore and Vancouver, only 13.5% of the American elite were individual entrepreneurs compared to 48.2% of the Baltimore elite and 64.4% of the elite in Vancouver. The proportion of 'entrepreneurs' at the top of the Vancouver business community becomes 69.6%, in fact, when the larger group of 'business leaders' is examined, and might have equalled 73 or 74% if the professional men who doubled as business promoters had also been included in the category of 'individual entrepreneurs'. By contrast, almost half of Miller's elite are career bureaucrats, compared to 15.5% in Baltimore and 22.5% in Vancouver. The structural changes which had taken place in the organization of business at the national level in the U.S.A., and probably to a lesser degree in Canada, had obviously had only a limited impact in regional centres like Baltimore and Vancouver. The reason again was a matter of scale; the very fact that businesses in Vancouver were not large enough to be national in scope meant that the bureaucratization of what were essentially small businesses had not yet been necessary. Business in Vancouver was still the business of entrepreneurs, especially in those fields controlled within the region. Beneath the inner circle of power in the city's business community, in which the bureaucratic national companies had a much larger voice, was a community full of individual entrepreneurs drawn into the world of business by the expansive and speculative climate of the period.

* * *
Vancouver's leading businessmen began their working careers most often in white-collar jobs as clerks in banks or commercial establishments. Only a small proportion of the business leaders whose first regular employment is known began their careers in unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled work, though the number who started at this kind of technical or manual labour appears to have increased between the early 1890's and the four year period after 1910 (Table 13). The number of men who began as farmers also increased over the twenty year period being compared, undoubtedly reflecting the considerable expansion of the farming frontier in the prairie provinces after the mid-1890's. Career bureaucrats, professional men in business and men working in family enterprises began their careers almost entirely in clerical, professional or business work. Virtually every one of the city's bankers, transportation executives and professional men for whom information is available began in white-collar jobs, with the principal exception of Harry Abbott, who started as a well educated engineer. On the other hand, three of twelve lumbermen of the 1910-1913 period for whom information is available began in semi-skilled or skilled work, as did five of twenty-four merchants of the same period. Two of the secondary manufacturers among the pre-war business leaders, including James Howard, who apprenticed in a foundry in St. John's, Newfoundland, also began as semi-skilled or skilled workers.

The conclusions drawn from Table 13 must be weighed against the incomplete nature of employment statistics upon which these conclusions are based. Information is available for only 23 of 66 businessmen of the 1890-1893 period and 129 of 276 for the period before the War. As such the figures in Table 13 are undoubtedly biased against the business leaders associated with more marginal companies, men who did not establish deep roots in the city and whose careers have not been recorded in detail. Bankers and other financiers, men of high status in the community who were more often included in biographical
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Character of First Employment</th>
<th>Career Type</th>
<th>1890-1893</th>
<th>1910-1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders</td>
<td>Leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Business, Prof. and Clerical</td>
<td>14(87.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>9(----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Skilled, Semi- and Unskilled</td>
<td>2(12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indep. Entre.</td>
<td>4(100%)</td>
<td>17(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Career Bur.</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>6(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sal. Employee</td>
<td>1(100%)</td>
<td>15(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>5(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>1(25.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16(100%) 4(100%) 2(100%) 1(100%) 0 0 32

82(100%) 17(100%) 6(100%) 15(100%) 5(100%) 4(100%) 129

---

a 'Business', 'Professional' and 'Clerical' as used here are defined in footnotes #26 and 50.

b 'Skilled', 'Semi-Skilled' and 'Unskilled' as used here are defined in footnote #51.
dictionaries or newspaper stories of the period than smaller real estate promoters, merchants or secondary manufacturers, were also more likely to have started in clerical than manual jobs. 'First employment' information is available for eleven of twelve bankers of the 1910-1913 period, for instance, but for only twenty-four of fifty-four real estate promoters, twenty-four of sixty-three merchants and five of nineteen secondary manufacturers. Determining the precise character of the first jobs of businessmen in a regional centre like Vancouver is also complicated by the vague nature of the information that is available. Did Peter Wallace, for instance, 'learn' the fishing business in Scotland as a fisherman or as a merchant? Did R. A. Mather's first work "for lumber merchants in Ottawa" take the form of labour in a mill, or of some category of clerical or managerial work for a lumber company?

Despite the obvious bias in Table 13 against men who might have started work in manual or technical occupations, conclusions about the first employment of Vancouver businessmen, if not precise, probably reflect accurately the fact that the majority did begin their careers in some kind of clerical or white-collar work. As such the careers of early Vancouver businessmen did not vary significantly from those of other centres like Bruchey's Baltimore, where 17.3% of the business elite from 1880 to 1914 first worked in technical or manual jobs, as opposed to 82.7% in managerial or clerical work, or Seattle, where a study by Norbert MacDonald shows that of the businessmen from 1880 to 1910 for whom information is available, 37.3% were first employed as semi-skilled or manual labourers, as opposed to 62.7% in professional, business or clerical occupations. Similarly, 24.7% of the business leaders in Vancouver between 1910 and 1913 are known to have started as unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled labourers or at farming, while 75.3% started in business, professional or clerical jobs.

* * *

* * *
The four year period from 1910 to 1913 was one of the most favourable for business development in the history of British Columbia. Immigration and railroad construction stimulated the economy as never before; money for speculative development was available in plentiful supply; and society viewed the work of businessmen with high esteem, and received it with praise. Above all, only a few sectors of the Vancouver economy, including banking, transportation and power utilities, had yet been lost to external control. The local company built around one man or group of men was the most prevalent business organization in Vancouver, if not the most powerful, and the individual entrepreneur rather than the salaried manager was still the city's principal business personality. Local companies were small, and economic conditions made the establishment of new business easy. Together these factors made entrepreneurial achievement, the promoting and building of businesses, a central feature of the career patterns of leading businessmen in early Vancouver.

Seventy percent of the business leaders in Vancouver between 1910 and 1913 were independent entrepreneurs, and these were the men most active in developing new business enterprises. A secondary business affiliation as president or head of a company was a particularly accurate expression of entrepreneurial achievement, and the independent entrepreneur was more than five times as likely as the career bureaucrat, and more than twice as likely as a salaried employee, to head a company which was additional to his primary business affiliation (Table 14). Professional men in business and family businessmen were even more likely than the individual entrepreneur to head at least one 'important' company over and above any business tie upon which their living depended. Individual entrepreneurs held an average of one directorship each in addition to their primary business affiliation, and salaried bureaucrats, professional men in business and family businessmen were even more active as company directors.
Table 14

Entrepreneurship\textsuperscript{a} of Vancouver Business Leaders: Average No. of Secondary Affiliations\textsuperscript{b} by Career Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Type</th>
<th>1890-1893 Leaders:</th>
<th>1910-1913 Leaders:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average No. of Secondary Affiliations\textsuperscript{c} as:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Company\textsuperscript{d}</td>
<td>Director of Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Entre....</td>
<td>16/47 (.34)</td>
<td>20/47 (.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Bureaucrat....</td>
<td>2/10 (.20)</td>
<td>4/10 (.40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaried Employee....</td>
<td>0/6 (----)</td>
<td>0/6 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional..........</td>
<td>2/2 (1.00)</td>
<td>0/2 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0/0 (----)</td>
<td>0/0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1/1 (1.00)</td>
<td>0/1 (----)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}Entrepreneurship' is defined here as the process of promoting and building businesses, a function in which both individual owner and company decision-makers (executives or directors) take part. This contrasts with the function of management, which is to make a "given pattern of flow move efficiently" (Lance E. Davis, et. al., American Economic History: The Development of a National Economy, Homewood, Ill., 1965, p. 130).

\textsuperscript{b}'Secondary Affiliations' are defined as those business connections with 'important' companies which were additional to the primary business organization or occupation from which the business leader earned his livelihood or wealth.

\textsuperscript{c}The number of secondary affiliations as head or director of companies is divided by the total number of businessmen of the period who fall into each of the six career categories.

\textsuperscript{d}'Head' means proprietor or principal partner of an unincorporated company, or president or chairman of the board of an incorporated one.
Career bureaucrats were also much more active as company directors than as company heads, but often, like William Murray, R. H. Sperling and Campbell Sweeny, as representatives of company rather than personal interests. Only three of the twenty-three company bureaucrats among the pre-war business leaders held directorships in companies independent of the one they worked for. Directorships held by four 'salaried employees' were also clearly company directorships, though seven other 'salaried employees' were active entrepreneurs. Clearly the managers of external companies, and particularly the bankers and railroad executives, were unwilling to engage in independent entrepreneurial activity. Entrepreneurship in pre-war Vancouver was the prerogative of businessmen representing local interests.

The career bureaucrats of the early 1890's were more active in Vancouver as entrepreneurs than their successors twenty years later. The average number of secondary companies which independent entrepreneurs headed was less than twice the number led by career bureaucrats, a ratio of .34 to .20 (Table 14), while the average number of secondary directorships held by individual entrepreneurs and career bureaucrats was almost identical. The reason for the comparatively more active entrepreneurial role by career businessmen in the early 1890's was of course the more active role in Vancouver during this period by the C.P.R. itself, whose executives had developed numerous secondary ties with both private and company business ventures.

Real estate promoters were the most active entrepreneurs of the 1890-1893 period, heading eight of twenty-one secondary businesses which leaders of the period served as president or head (Table 15). Only the C.P.R. executives could match the average number of secondary affiliations of the real estate men, with merchants a distant third. 'Primary Resource' entrepreneurs and managers in early Vancouver engaged in virtually no secondary business ventures at all.
Table 15
Entrepreneurship\(^a\) of Vancouver Business Leaders: Average No. of Secondary Affiliations,\(^a\) By Summarized Primary Occupation Category\(^b\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summarized Primary Occ. Category</th>
<th>Total No. of Businessmen In This Category</th>
<th>Secondary Affiliations as Head:</th>
<th>Secondary Affiliations as Director:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Average</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Number Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1893 Leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion...........</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8 ( .57)</td>
<td>12 ( .93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resource...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 ( .09)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Man...........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (1.00)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce...........</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4 ( .38)</td>
<td>3 ( .21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance...........</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
<td>1 ( .10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation.....</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 (.50)</td>
<td>4 (1.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction...........</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional...........</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (1.00)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalist...........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1913 Leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion...........</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29 (.45)</td>
<td>57 (.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resource...</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17 (.50)</td>
<td>46 (1.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Man...........</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3 (.16)</td>
<td>14 (.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce...........</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20 (.32)</td>
<td>59 (.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance...........</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9 (.26)</td>
<td>36 (1.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation.....</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
<td>0 (----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction...........</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3 (.33)</td>
<td>10 (1.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional...........</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9 (.38)</td>
<td>54 (2.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalist...........</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 (2.00)</td>
<td>10 (2.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Entrepreneurship', 'Secondary Affiliations' and 'Head' are defined in Table 14, p. 172.

\(^b\)The 'Summarized Occupation Categories' are defined in Table 19.
The changed role of the lumberman provides the most dramatic contrast in the entrepreneurial leadership of businessmen in Vancouver during the two periods being studied. By 1910-1913 lumbermen were the city's most active entrepreneurs, second only to a small handful of 'capitalists' as the presidents or owners of secondary businesses in the city, and more active even than real estate promoters in both the average number of secondary companies headed and the number of directorships held. Lumbermen dominate the 'Primary Resource' category of Table 15. The twenty-eight lumbermen in this group of thirty-four men were three times as likely as the leading businessmen in the fishing and fish canning industry, who make up the rest of the category, to have headed an 'important' secondary company during the pre-war period. Vancouver lumbermen also headed the city's largest companies (Table 16); more than 60% of the lumber and fishing companies which Vancouver business leaders of the pre-war period headed as their primary occupation claimed assets of over $1 million, compared to 38.5% over $1 million for secondary manufacturers and a mere 22% for men in the 'promotion' sector. Clearly the lumberman had since the turn of the century become the most influential business personality in Vancouver. He headed the largest local companies, and was among the city's most active entrepreneurs.

The real estate promoters, contractors, merchants, professional men in business and a handful of 'capitalists' in the city were also active as secondary entrepreneurs, extending beyond their principal businesses to take some part, as head or director, in other business ventures in the city (Table 15). The four groups of men least active as entrepreneurs were bank, power utility, shipping and railroad executives; only one of the twenty-one business leaders in these four categories headed a secondary business. Almost all of the major companies in these four sectors of the economy were externally controlled, particularly after the Montreal takeover in 1909 of the Stave Lake Power Company and the British takeover in 1911 of the Union Steamship Company. The local
managers of the big corporations that controlled these businesses were the least creative as entrepreneurs of all leading businessmen in pre-war Vancouver.

Table 16
Size of the Primary Business Affiliations\(^a\) of Vancouver Business Leaders From 1910 to 1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summarized Primary Occupation Categories(^b)</th>
<th>No. of Business Leaders With Primary Business Affiliations of the Following Sizes:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assets of $100,000 to $1 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>32/41 (78.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resource Industries</td>
<td>11/28 (39.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Manufacturing</td>
<td>8/13 (61.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>36/39 (92.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>12/16 (75.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The term 'primary business affiliations' refers to those company affiliations which (1) met the criteria of 'important' businesses for the 1910-1913 period and (2) were the principal occupations of the business leaders of the pre-war period. The primary occupation of a lawyer or teacher was obviously not a 'primary business affiliation', for instance, because neither a lawyer nor a teacher is primarily a businessman. The primary occupations of 183 of the 276 business leaders of the 1910-1913 period met these criteria, and the primary business affiliations of these 183 men form the subject of the study above. The sizes of the primary business connections of thirty-four leaders are unknown, however (these affiliations were mainly external companies not incorporated in B.C., and which local businessmen served as managers). Of the 149 companies about which information is know, 137 are included in the five categories of this table.

\(^b\)These summarized categories are defined in Table 19.

The exploitation of regional resources was the principal purpose behind this considerable entrepreneurial activity. Three of the four largest groups of businessmen among the leaders of the 1910-1913 period were primarily involved in the promotion and development of such resources, including fifty-four real estate men, twenty-eight lumbermen and twenty-three non-banking financiers. Even the fourth group, which made their living by serving the Vancouver area as merchants
or suppliers of locally required goods and services, were no less fascinated by the profit-making potential of speculation in the province's minerals, timber and land. 67

Businesses founded to develop or speculate in resources also form by far the largest number of secondary affiliations of the pre-war leaders (Table 17). Real estate promotion and land-holding companies top the list both of total secondary affiliations and of secondary companies which business leaders headed. Non-banking finance companies designed to finance the sale of resources, and particularly to provide money for mortgages, come second. Speculation in mining ventures is third, despite the fact that Vancouver was not an important mining centre; none of the 276 business leaders of the 1910-1913 period were primarily mining executives. Most commercial enterprises which were not branch businesses of external companies were controlled by local individuals or families, and while the product of local entrepreneurship, did not invite secondary business participation by the larger community. Areas of the economy controlled almost entirely from outside of the city, such as banking and transportation, likewise invited little entrepreneurial participation on the part of local businessmen.

Entrepreneurship in Vancouver took place within clearly defined geographic limits. Vancouver was a regional business centre, before 1914 extending its ties throughout British Columbia and into the western reaches of the prairie provinces. But business ties between east and west across Canada were limited in Vancouver's case to the extension of eastern-centered national companies into the city. With the exception of the Dominion Trust Company and B.C. Permanent Loan, which had offices in the east, 68 no Vancouver companies were national in scope. In addition virtually no integration of the local business elite with the economic power structure of Ontario and Quebec had yet taken place.
Table 17
Number of Secondary Business Affiliations\textsuperscript{a} of Vancouver Business Leaders From 1910 to 1913, by Business Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Secondary Business Affiliations</th>
<th>Total No. of Secondary Business Affiliations (Head, V.-P., Director)</th>
<th>Total No. of Secondary Affiliations as Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: Real Estate</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Minerals</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Timber</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other N.B. Businesses</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: All Others</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Manufacturing</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers' Goods M.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Fish</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation: Shipping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Lumber</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Banks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale Fun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation: Railways</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}The term 'Secondary Business Affiliations' is defined in Table 15, p. 174.

Vancouver business leaders held almost no directorships in eastern-based national companies.\textsuperscript{69} A survey of major Canadian businesses published in 1913 by Houston's Standard Publications of Toronto showed that Vancouver businessmen held only twelve directorships in companies with head offices in Ontario or Quebec.\textsuperscript{70} Eric Hamber, for example, was a director of the Dominion Bank, which he had worked for earlier in a managerial capacity; George Cowan served on the board of the Dominion Permanent Loan Company; and R. F. Hayward and Campbell Sweeny were directors of the Western Canada Power Company, of which Hayward was local manager.
and the Bank of Montreal an important investor. In contrast to Vancouver's twelve directorships, Winnipeg's business community held thirty-nine directorships in eastern corporations, including six in fire and life insurance companies, three in trust and loan companies, ten in Montreal or Toronto banks, eighteen in industrial enterprises and one in the C.P.R. The comparison suggests that leading businessmen in Vancouver were even more of a local, and less of a national elite than their counterparts in the most important business centre of the prairie provinces.

* * *

In general the careers of leading businessmen in early Vancouver were different from those at the national level in Canada and the United States before World War I. The principal contrast was the continued prominence of the entrepreneur in business in Vancouver; the vast majority of leading city businessmen in 1914 were still associated with enterprises which they had taken some part in establishing. The bureaucratization of business in the Terminal City had begun, especially in the resource industries, but had not advanced beyond the preliminary stages. Opportunities for entrepreneurial achievement within a clearly defined region of Canada were a hallmark of business life in Vancouver during its first twenty-eight years of development.

Signs of the larger changes taking place in business across the continent were however also evident in the careers of local businessmen. By 1914 national corporations dominated banking and transportation in Vancouver, and were becoming more prominent in consumers' goods manufacturing, retailing and wholesaling. The salaried, career businessman had taken his place in Vancouver business circles beside the local entrepreneur, and though in a minority provided some of
the city's most powerful business figures. These businessmen, who worked for externally-controlled and often nation-wide corporations, were the least likely before 1913 to take entrepreneurial initiatives. The increased prominence in Vancouver through the present century of both national corporations and their salaried managers has paralleled the decline of local entrepreneurhip from its high-point during the prosperous times before the First World War.
Chapter 8
THE RECRUITMENT OF BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN VANCOUVER

Early Vancouver was a city of migrants, a city which in the short span of a quarter century expanded from a village of several hundred to a community of many thousand people. Because of the limited size of the non-Indian population of British Columbia in the 1880's virtually all of this large population in Vancouver came from societies far removed from B.C., societies in which migrants had been born and educated, and in which future businessmen had most often begun their working careers. Only 6 of the 322 business leaders of the two periods being studied were born in British Columbia. Migration, and the subsequent patterns of temporary work and settlement along the way, were central features of the business careers of virtually every leading businessman in early Vancouver.

B.C.'s ties with the outside world changed substantially at the end of the nineteenth century. The province's outward-looking and seaborne links with Britain and various points around the Pacific Ocean had formed the basis of a distinctive system of economic relations through the nineteenth century. But British Columbia's coastal economic ties began to decline in importance in the 1880's with the arrival of the C.P.R., and this reorientation of economic life in the province was largely completed with the westward push of transcontinental businesses and capital in the late 1890's. The most important aspect of this change was a decline in the traditional isolation of British Columbia from the rest of the continent, and a substantial integration of B.C. with the aggressive and expansionist economy of Central Canada. The migration of prospective businessmen to the west coast was as much affected
by B.C.'s changing economic relationship with Britain and eastern Canada as was the inward movement of investment capital, or the emergence of new markets for provincial resources. The recruitment of business leadership in Vancouver, and the patterns of migration involved, must be viewed primarily within the context of these larger changes in the direction of economic development in the province at the end of the last century.

* * *

Vancouver's business leaders were recruited almost entirely from Anglo-Saxon backgrounds. With the exception of a significant minority from Germany, virtually all of Vancouver's leading businessmen came from English-speaking communities in Britain, Canada, the United States, or the British Empire (Table 18). Canadian-born businessmen, including those like Harry Abbott, Campbell Sweeny and William Akhurst from Quebec, were drawn from the country's Anglo-Saxon rather than French-Canadian culture. Only Dr. J. M. Lefevre of Brockville, Ontario, whose ancestors had pioneered in New France, is known to have had French and Catholic roots in Quebec. But like two others who carried French names, Thomas T. Langlois and Thomas T. Dauphinee, he was apparently raised in an English cultural environment.

Vancouver's business leaders came primarily from Britain and Canada, with 81.4% of the 1890-1893 leaders and 88.6% of the 1910-1913 group coming from these two countries (Table 18). Businessmen born in Britain comprised 47.5% of the fifty-nine business leaders from 1890 to 1893 whose places of birth were known, a figure 13.4% greater than the 33.9% born in Canada. An increasing Canadian and declining British presence provided one of the principal demographic changes in the business community during the seventeen year
Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Business Leaders of: 1890-1893</th>
<th>1910-1913</th>
<th>New West. Census Dist. 1891e</th>
<th>Vancouver City Census District, 1911f</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>2(3.4%)</td>
<td>14(6.4%)</td>
<td>1,134(4.0%)</td>
<td>2,968(2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>3(5.1%)</td>
<td>10(4.6%)</td>
<td>1,169(4.2%)</td>
<td>2,735(2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>3(1.1%)</td>
<td>346(1.2%)</td>
<td>1,085(.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>3(5.1%)</td>
<td>11(4.0%)</td>
<td>1,460(4.8%)</td>
<td>2,524(2.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>12(20.3%)</td>
<td>75(26.8%)</td>
<td>7,429(26.4%)</td>
<td>19,641(15.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(0.4%)</td>
<td>603(2.1%)</td>
<td>3,667(3.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>6(2.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,304(14.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Can. Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>20(33.9%)</td>
<td>119(54.3%)</td>
<td>12,226(43.7%)e</td>
<td>53,335(43.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Great Britain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>12(20.3%)</td>
<td>36(16.4%)</td>
<td>4,751(16.9%)</td>
<td>23,495(18.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>5(2.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>606(.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>9(15.3%)</td>
<td>27(12.3%)</td>
<td>1,787(6.4%)</td>
<td>12,085(9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>7(11.9%)</td>
<td>6(2.7%)</td>
<td>1,265(4.5%)</td>
<td>3,182(2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr. Britain</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brit. Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>28(47.5%)</td>
<td>75(34.3%)</td>
<td>7,838(27.9%)</td>
<td>39,583(31.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>United States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>1(3.4%)</td>
<td>3(1.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid. Atlantic</td>
<td>2(1.7%)</td>
<td>2(0.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EN Central</td>
<td>2(3.4%)</td>
<td>3(1.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN Central</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>4(1.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>2(3.4%)</td>
<td>1(0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.S. Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>7(11.8%)</td>
<td>14(5.9%)</td>
<td>2,681(9.5%)</td>
<td>12,435(10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>4(6.8%)</td>
<td>4(1.8%)</td>
<td>332(1.2%)</td>
<td>901(0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>5(2.4%)b</td>
<td>412(1.5%)</td>
<td>2,941(2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(0.5%)c</td>
<td>3,276(11.6%)</td>
<td>6,010(4.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>2(1.0%)c</td>
<td>1,479(5.3%)</td>
<td>12,823(10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>59(100%)</td>
<td>220(100%)</td>
<td>28,124(100%)</td>
<td>123,902(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The regional breakdown for the United States used here is the same as defined in the Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, vol. 1, p. 30.

b Included here are one from the 'British Empire', one from Australia,
and three from Newfoundland.

\[c\] Included here are one each from Russia, Rumania and Japan (the latter of British origin).

\[d\] Information is missing for seven business leaders of the 1890-1893 period and fifty-six of the 1910-1913 period, who have been excluded from these total figures.

\[e\] Data was unavailable for the city of Vancouver itself in the 1891 census. The nearest possible comparison for business leaders of the early 1890's was with the larger community in the census district of New Westminster (pop. 42,226), rather than with the city of Vancouver (pop. 13,709), which was part of the district (Third Census of Canada 1891, Table 5, p. 332). One change was made in the data for the census district used in my table to make the data more closely approximate the origins of the population of Vancouver. 14,102 of the 42,226 people in the district had been born in B.C. The census district covered a vast region up the B.C. coast, an area of 204,050 sq. miles. Of the four other census districts in B.C. in 1891, the next two largest were Cariboo, with 114,265 sq. miles and Yale, with 47,985 sq. miles of territory (ibid., Table 1, p. 2 and Table 2, p. 8). Most of the 14,102 British Columbia-born population was obviously native Indian. The Department of Indian Affairs census for B.C. in 1892 showed that 10,939 Indians lived between the B.C. coast and the upper Fraser Valley and Cariboo regions, areas which would have been included in the New Westminster census district (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1892, pp. 311 and 314-315). Only a small fraction of this 10,939 lived in Vancouver in 1891. Because the Indian population was such a minor part of the Vancouver population and a non-existent part of the city's business leadership, while such a major part of the census district of New Westminster, the native Indian population can logically be removed from the New West. district's figures to make the comparison between Vancouver's business leaders and the general population of the area more accurate.

The entire B.C.-born population of 14,102, both Indian and white, has been removed from the district figures for another reason. Few whites of provincial birth would have settled in Vancouver by 1891, five years after the incorporation of the city. While still not totally satisfactory (some Vancouverites such as Jonathan Miller's daughter or R. H. Alexander's son had been born in B.C.), this deletion from the New Westminster census district of both whites and Indians born in B.C. does allow for a more accurate comparison of the origins of Vancouver's business leaders with the population of the surrounding area than if the only other information available, Norbert MacDonald's figures for the origins of Vancouver's 1891 population, had been used. MacDonald's statistics for Vancouver were calculated by extrapolating the city's population from the figures for the entire census district, which fails to take into account the large Indian population of the hinterland (Norbert MacDonald, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960," Pacific Historical Review, vol. 39, number 3 (August 1970), p. 305). With the deletion of the 14,102 born in B.C., a new census district total of 28,124 has been created, and is used in Table 18.
Table 18 (continued)

The census district included North and South Vancouver and Point Grey, in addition to Vancouver (Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 1, Table 1, p. 39 and vol. 2, Table 15, p. 378).

period from 1890 to 1910. By 1910-1913 the ratio of 47.5% British-born to 33.9% Canadian-born business leaders had been reversed; 54.3% now came from Canada and 34.3% from Britain. This shift appears even more impressive when the origins of the businessmen and the general population of the Vancouver area are compared (Table 18). In 1891 Canadians were underrepresented by comparison with the general population, while British were far more numerous within the business community than in the population of the Vancouver area as a whole. By 1911 eleven percent more of the city's leading businessmen were born in Canada than was the case for the population of greater Vancouver, rather than ten percent less, as had been the case in 1891. The proportion of Canadians among the city's business leaders increased by more than twenty percent over the period of the two decades (from 33.9% to 54.3%), while the Vancouver-area population of Canadian descent remained proportionately stable at 43%. The 13% drop in British representation among business leaders between the two periods, on the other hand, was taking place against a trend in the opposite direction for the city, with the proportion of British-born residents in Vancouver increasing by 4% as a result of considerable new British migration into the area. Rather than being more British than the city as a whole, as was the case in 1891, the top portion of Vancouver's business community had by 1911 become more Canadian.

The Canadianization of business leadership in Vancouver also took place at the expense of American and German members of the business community. A significant 17.8% of the leaders from 1890 to 1893 were drawn from the United States and Germany, and both groups, particularly the Germans, were over-
represented by comparison with the population of the surrounding region. The proportion of business leaders recruited from the two countries had dropped sharply by 1911, the 17.8% of the earlier period now equalling only 7.7% from 1910 to 1913. American-born businessmen now formed a relatively small 5.9% of the business leadership in Vancouver, down from 11.8% earlier, and a much smaller proportion in 1911 than the total American-born population in the city (10.0%). The cultural groups most underrepresented among the business leaders were native Indians and immigrant Asians; neither was represented at all. Perhaps symbolically, even the one business leader born in the Orient was of British and Canadian parentage.

Recruitment into certain types of business in Vancouver was often a function of these national or regional origins. A comparison of summarized birthplace and primary occupation statistics for Vancouver business leaders (Table 19) reveals, for instance, that Canadians had been the dominant force in 'promotion' enterprises, including real estate and brokerage businesses, since the formation of the city in the 1880's. Half of all business leaders during the 1890-1893 period whose primary occupation was in the real estate business were from eastern Canada, this despite the fact that Canadians comprised only 34% of the total leadership group for the period. British-born businessmen, who formed half of those primarily occupied in secondary manufacturing, transportation, commerce and finance, were especially influential in finance. Recruits entering the primary resource industries were drawn in significant numbers from each of Canada, Britain and the United States during the 1890's and the pre-war period. Primary resource industries, and especially the lumber industry in Vancouver, was the one business sector in which business leaders from the United States consistently played a significant role. Half of the American-born business leaders in both the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods gained their prominence in the city's resource industries,
Table 19
A Summary of Primary Occupations of Vancouver Business Leaders, By Origins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890-1893</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>6(50.0%)</td>
<td>4(40.0%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>4(33.3%)</td>
<td>2(22.2%)</td>
<td>2(50.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>4(33.3%)</td>
<td>3(30.0%)</td>
<td>2(50.0%)</td>
<td>6(50.0%)</td>
<td>6(66.7%)</td>
<td>2(50.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>2(16.7%)</td>
<td>3(30.0%)</td>
<td>1(25.0%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>1(25.0%)</td>
<td>2(16.7%)</td>
<td>1(11.1%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS (100%)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>27(61.4%)</td>
<td>10(34.5%)</td>
<td>10(55.6%)</td>
<td>28(56.0%)</td>
<td>18(66.7%)</td>
<td>2(33.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>10(22.7%)</td>
<td>13(44.8%)</td>
<td>4(22.2%)</td>
<td>20(40.0%)</td>
<td>6(22.2%)</td>
<td>3(50.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>2(4.5%)</td>
<td>6(20.7%)</td>
<td>1(5.6%)</td>
<td>2(4.0%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>1(16.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5(11.3%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>3(16.7%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>3(11.1%)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS (100%)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a 'Promotion' includes the categories of 'Promotion: Real Estate' and 'Promotion: All Others'.

b 'Primary Resource Industries' includes the categories of 'Primary: Fish' and 'Primary: Timber'.

c 'Second. Man.' includes 'Secondary Manufacturing' (producers' goods and construction supplies) and 'Consumers' Goods Manufacturing'.

d 'Commerce' includes the categories of 'Commerce; Wholesale', 'Commerce: Wholesale Functions', 'Commerce; Retail' and 'Commerce; Lumber'.

e 'Finance' includes the categories of 'Finance; Banking' and 'Finance: All Others'.

f 'Transportation' includes the categories of 'Transportation: Shipping' and 'Transportation: Steam Railways'.

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including eight of the nine men who were lumbermen (Table 20).5

The Canadianization of business leadership in Vancouver, an ongoing process which gained considerable momentum in the late 1890's, had by 1913 resulted in large increases in the proportion of Canadian-born businessmen occupied in the city's 'promotion', 'secondary manufacturing', 'commerce' and 'finance' businesses (Table 19). More than half the leaders in each category were Canadian by 1910-1913; 61.4% of the real estate businessmen and resource promoters and 66.7% of the city's financiers now came from Canada. Seventy-one percent of the business leaders drawn from the professions were also Canadian-born by 1913. Five of eleven bankers of the pre-war period whose origins are known (45.5%) and eleven of twenty-one professional men (52.4%) had come from the seedbed for western expansion in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century, the province of Ontario (Table 20).

The most dramatic change in the national origins of particular types of businessmen between the early 1890's and the 1910-1913 period occurred in the field of finance. The Canadianization of business leadership in the 1890's was part of a larger trend in southwestern British Columbia away from the old coastal economic system that had continued to influence business development in Vancouver well into the last decade of the century. This coastal influence had been strongest in the canning industry and in finance. Two-thirds of the business leaders in the latter field in the 1890's had been of British origin (Table 20), including J. C. Keith and William Murray of the Bank of British Columbia, Edwin Morgan of the British Columbia Land and Investment Agency and William Farrell of Yorkshire Trust and Guarantee.6 By 1913 the ratio of British-born to Canadian-born businessmen in the financial field had been completely reversed; 66.7% were now of Canadian origin and only 22.7% of British (Table 19).
Table 20
Origins of Vancouver Business Leaders by Primary Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Leaders of 1890-1893:</th>
<th>By Country</th>
<th>By Selected Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>Brit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: Real Estate.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Fish.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Timber.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Man.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers' Goods Man.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Whol.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Whol. Fun.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Bank.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans: Railways.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other NB Businesses.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Leaders of 1910-1913:</th>
<th>By Country</th>
<th>By Selected Regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can</td>
<td>Brit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: Real Estate.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion: All Others...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Fish.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary: Timber.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Man.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers' Goods Man.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Whol.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Whol Fun.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Lumber.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Bank.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans: Shipping.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans: Railways.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other NB Businesses.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aThe categories used here are defined in detail in Appendix B.
The Canadianization of banking in Vancouver in the late 1890's had also extended into the related field of non-banking finance. Men with experience in eastern Canadian financial institutions began to break away from these large corporations after 1900, becoming entrepreneurs in their own right by forming locally-based trust and lending institutions. David von Cramer, organizer and later managing-director of the Vancouver Trust Company, had worked for more than ten years with the Bank of Commerce and the Royal Bank; the moving spirit behind the Bank of Vancouver was A. L. Dewar, former employee of the Bank of Commerce; and James Rear had been a regional general manager for North American Life and the Mutual Life of New York before branching out on his own in 1911 in North American Securities Ltd. Even men like C. R. Drayton, born in the West Indies, and William Germaine, born in England, were influenced by this Canadianization of finance. Drayton had been an official of the Canada Permenent Mortgage Corporation for twenty years before founding the Vancouver Financial Corporation, and Germaine had begun his business career with the Bank of Montreal before emerging eventually as general manager and vice-president of the British American Trust Co. Ltd.  

Business leaders of British origin still remained prominent in the fields of transportation, commerce and primary resources before the War; 50%, 40% and 44.8% of the leaders engaged in these three types of business respectively during the 1910-1913 period had been born in Great Britain (Table 19). One reason for this continued British prominence was the timing of British migration to B.C. The great majority of British-born businessmen in these occupations had arrived in the city before the turn of the century. Of the twenty British-born merchants who were business leaders in the city between 1910 and 1913, seventeen, or 85%, had arrived in Vancouver before 1901, and fourteen, or 70%, had arrived before 1896. Likewise, among the British-born lumbermen and salmon canners, ten of the thirteen (76.3%) had arrived before
1901, and nine, or 69.2%, had come before the middle of the 1890's. Scotsmen like Peter Wallace and Englishmen like William Sulley had come to B.C. as part of the old coastal system, avoiding a step-by-step movement across Canada. British businessmen in the field of commerce, on the other hand, had usually worked in central Canada before coming west in the 1890's and in this sense had become part of the broader westward movement of Canadian businesses and businessmen to Vancouver. The commercial success of early Vancouver business leader Thomas Dunn, for instance, followed earlier experience as a merchant in both Scotland and Toronto; Scotsman William Braid's eighteen year career as a wholesale merchant in Hamilton had preceded his move to Vancouver in 1892; Englishman Frederick Buscombe came west in 1891 as the employee of a Hamilton hardware house; Scottish-born merchant C. J. Peter had worked in Toronto and Winnipeg before being transferred to the Terminal City in 1902; and retail merchant James Stark, having left Scotland at the age of twenty, had worked in various capacities in the drygoods business in Brantford, St. George, Toronto and Ayr in Ontario prior to opening a business on Carrall Street in the early 1890's. British-born businessmen who had joined one of Canada's railway bureaucracies, men like William Salsbury and Richard Marpole, had also begun their careers in eastern Canada.

In addition to these several generalizations about the relationship of national origins and business activity in Vancouver, several other correlations between more specific regions and types of businesses can also be detected in Table 20. Two of the three brewers included among the business leaders of the two periods were continental Europeans, both from Germany. After founding a brewery in Spuyer, Germany in 1879, Henry Reiffel had moved to Portland, Oregon in 1886 and then to Nanaimo, where he promoted the Nanaimo Brewing Company in 1888. Charles Doering's occupational background in Saxony is unknown, but his major success in Vancouver stemmed from an alliance
in 1892 with Danish-born Otto Marstrand, who brought to the city twenty years of experience as the manager and director of a large brewing house in Copenhagen. 18

Three of four British-born salmon canners who were business leaders of the 1910-1913 period had come from Scotland, including Peter Wallace who had emigrated first to the American west coast to work in the salmon industry on the Columbia River, and then to Vancouver in 1892. 19 Business leaders Wallace and George I. Wilson of Vancouver followed in the tradition of one of the founders of the B.C. salmon canning industry, Alexander Ewen, a Scottish-born salmon fisherman whose arrival in New Westminster in 1864 preceded the establishment of his first Fraser River cannery in 1871. 20 The maritimes were also an important source of west coast canning entrepreneurs; early Vancouver businessman Benjamin J. Short, pre-war leader George W. Dawson and non-business leader Fred J. Buttimer had all come from New Brunswick. 21

Entrepreneurs from New Brunswick and Scotland were also prominent in Vancouver's early lumber industry; for example, two of the city's three Canadian-born leaders of the early period had come from New Brunswick and two of the three British-born from Scotland. New Brunswick was a particularly important source of entrepreneurs for the lumber industry in B.C. between the 1870's and 1890's. Early Vancouver lumbermen George Cassady and R. C. Ferguson had migrated to B.C. from New Brunswick in 1888 and 1879 respectively, 22 with Cassady bringing ten years of experience in the lumber industry of his home province. J. H. Ramsdell, general manager of the Moodyville Saw Mill Company after 1890, had moved to the Pacific coast from New Brunswick's Atlantic coast neighbour, the State of Maine, in 1862. 23 Other New Brunswick lumbermen, including Archie, Robert and James A. McNair, John McLean and John Hendry had also come west in the nineteenth century; 24 James McNair and Hendry, both prominent business leaders during the 1910-1913 period, were the province's
leading shingle manufacturer and lumber producer respectively by the turn of the century.

* * * * *

A long migration from these far-away locations to the Terminal City was part of the business careers of virtually every business leader in Vancouver between 1886 and 1914. The very fact of having to commit themselves to a new life in a completely alien region and city defined Vancouver's business leaders as an essentially footloose group of men. The extent of this quest for change can be measured by the number of places in North America where they stopped to work between the time of their departure from the home town, or at least from the place where their education had been completed, and the time of their arrival in Vancouver. As indicated in Table 21, less than one in five of the business leaders for 1890-1893 had come directly to Vancouver, while more than one in every four whose migration patterns are known had stopped to work at least three times at intermediary locations before settling in the Terminal City. Three-quarters of the pre-war group also stopped at least once for a period of time before arriving in Vancouver, though business leaders of the 1910-1913 period had a greater tendency to come directly to Vancouver and a lesser tendency to make a multiple number of inbetween stopovers. A comparison with the migration patterns of Seattle's business elite for the 1880-1910 period suggests that the westward movement of Vancouver's leading businessmen was not unique (Table 21). For the leading businessmen of the north Pacific coast, at least, a considerable degree of geographic mobility was an essential part of the businessman's climb to prominence in the major urban centres of the region.
### Table 21
Migration of Business Leaders to Vancouver and Seattle: A Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Intermediate Stopovers</th>
<th>Van. Business Leaders: b</th>
<th>Seattle Elite c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890-1893</td>
<td>1910-1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct to Van. or Seattle...</td>
<td>9(18.8%)</td>
<td>45(24.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Stop.</td>
<td>15(31.3%)</td>
<td>66(35.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Stops.</td>
<td>12(25.0%)</td>
<td>44(23.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or More Stops.</td>
<td>12(25.0%)</td>
<td>29(15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS (100%)</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a A 'stopover' or 'stop' in Tables 21 and 22 is defined as an interlude of indeterminate duration during which the businessman was employed, at least temporarily, before moving on.

*b The statistics for Vancouver business leaders here, as in other tables in the chapter, are calculated only for those men about whom some information is available.


*d This table refers only to stops in North America. Thus immigrants may have worked in Europe or elsewhere, but still have come 'direct' from outside of North America to Vancouver.

A more detailed examination of this migration to Vancouver is presented in Table 22, which explores the relationship of birthplace and the various regions in which Vancouver businessmen had worked. It confirms that the migration of British-born citizens into the Vancouver business community was essentially a phenomenon of the first ten years after the arrival of the railway, while Canadian businessmen arrived throughout the twenty-eight year period.
Table 22

Migration of Business Leaders to Vancouver, By Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>No. of Bus. Leaders Whose Migration Patterns Are Known</th>
<th>One or More Intermediate Stops In:</th>
<th>Direct to Vancouver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1893 Leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Can.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6(46.2%)</td>
<td>6(46.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6(27.3%)</td>
<td>4(18.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1913 Leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2( 8.7%)</td>
<td>6(26.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Can.</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>27(38.6%)</td>
<td>20(28.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17(27.9%)</td>
<td>12(19.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders of Both Periods Who Arrived Before 1896</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>2(16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Can.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13(41.9%)</td>
<td>10(32.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13(28.3%)</td>
<td>8(17.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders of Both Periods Who Arrived From 1896 to 1914</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2(15.5%)</td>
<td>4(30.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Can.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14(32.6%)</td>
<td>11(25.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8(33.3%)</td>
<td>8(33.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. 'Maritimes' includes Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P.E.I.

b. 'Central Can.' includes Ontario and Quebec.

c. This table refers only to stops in North America. Thus immigrants may have worked in Europe or elsewhere, but still have come 'direct' from outside of North America to Vancouver.
being studied, gaining in numbers after 1896. Of the total number of British-born business leaders in Vancouver during the two periods from 1890 to 1893 and 1910 to 1913, two-thirds had arrived before 1896, while 58% of the Canadian-born business leaders came after the mid-1890's. The most important period of migration for businessmen born in Ontario occurred just before the turn of the century, with 22 business leaders known to have arrived between 1896 and 1900 compared to 19 between 1886 and 1890 and 11 between 1906 and 1910. The late 1890's was a period of transition, both in the business relations of Vancouver with Britain and Canada and in the corresponding recruitment of new Vancouver businessmen. Business leaders from central Canada like F. H. Barber, Frank R. Begg, Homer Galer, C. A. Godson, Wm. N. O'Neil, Fred Schooley, F. W. Tiffin, T. T. Langlois, George Telfer and H. H. Morris all settled in the city between 1898 and 1900, a part of the growing network of business ties between Ontario and British Columbia.

British-born businessmen came to B.C. before 1896 by way of both the coastal and continental routes. More than one-quarter of the 1890-1893 leaders of British origin for both periods who arrived before 1896 had worked in central Canada. As noted earlier, British-born merchants in particular had worked first in eastern Canada before moving west. But probably half of the British-born business leaders who arrived before 1896 avoided the central continent as a place of work altogether. Less than one in five British-born business leaders from 1890 to 1893 had worked on the prairies, for instance, compared to almost one in two of those from central Canada (Table 22). A high proportion of these British-born leaders came directly to Vancouver (31.8%), or worked in B.C. before moving to Vancouver (40.9%), high at least when compared to businessmen from central Canada (7.7% and 15.4% respectively). Early Vancouver business leaders of British origin were far more likely to
have come directly to the Pacific coast, crossing the U.S. or Canada by train or arriving on the coast by sea, than to have crossed the continent with intermediate stops along the way. Men like Peter Wallace and William Sulley in resource industries, A. L. Russell, H. T. Lockyer, P. W. Evans and George Coleman in commerce, and William Farrell, William Murray and J. C. Keith in finance all migrated in this fashion. Keith, for instance, had come to work with the Bank of British Columbia in Victoria in 1876, and was transferred to Vancouver in 1887. Murray had worked for the same bank in San Francisco and Victoria before moving to the Terminal City in 1894. Evans, Coleman, Russell, Farrell and Sulley had come directly to Vancouver. In the case of this substantial group of British-born businessmen, 'coastal' refers to a pattern of migration based on long-established economic and social ties between British Columbia and the outside world, ties which had continued to be distinctive and unique to British Columbia despite the former colony's entry into the Canadian Confederation in 1871.

German-born businessmen in Vancouver also followed the coastal pattern of migration to the Terminal City. David Oppenheimer had moved from Louisiana to California and up the Pacific coast to B.C. in a typical pattern of pre-railway migration to the former British colony. Henry Reiffel moved from Germany to the American coast city of Portland before settling on Vancouver Island in 1888. Charles Doering had emigrated to the U.S. before arriving in Victoria in 1879. Johann Wulffsohn, like Alvo von Alvensleben eighteen years later, came directly to Vancouver from Europe.

Table 22 suggests that another group of businessmen also moved to B.C. in a coastal pattern similar to British and European businessmen of the pre-1896 period. Vancouver business leaders who arrived from the maritime provinces before 1896 generally passed across North America from one coast to another without stopping in the centre of the continent. Only two of twelve
maritime-born leaders who arrived before the middle of the 1890's (16.7%) had stopped in either the prairie provinces or the U.S., and none had come west after stops in Ontario or Quebec. In addition, a high proportion of early Vancouver business leaders from the maritimes, or of later business leaders who arrived before 1896, worked somewhere in B.C. before settling in Vancouver. John Hendry, for example, had stopped in California, Port Gamble, Nanaimo and even for a brief period in Manitoba (going there from B.C.) before becoming a major business figure in New Westminster, and eventually, after 1903, in Vancouver. Following his uninterrupted migration from Nova Scotia to British Columbia in 1879, Charles Rand had taught school in Victoria and on Salt Spring Island and sold real estate in New Westminster before finally settling in Vancouver. This coast-to-coast pattern of movement for maritimers is corroborated by an additional study of business and professional people, none of them business leaders, who arrived in Vancouver from the maritimes before 1896. Of the sixteen included here, fourteen had come to B.C. without working in the central or prairie regions of Canada. Eight of the thirteen had come directly to B.C., and five had stopped in the U.S., four of them in towns or cities along the American Pacific coast. The tendency of maritimers to come to B.C. across the U.S. rather than through Canada continued after 1896, though with an increasing tendency to stop in the U.S. to work before arriving in B.C. (16.7% before 1896 and 46.2% after). While 30% of the post-1896 maritime group also stopped in the prairie provinces, suggesting some integration of the maritime movement with the general migration across Canada, maritimers coming to Vancouver still made very few stops in the central region of the country. Together these various statistics suggest a strong affinity between the two coastal regions on either side of the North American continent in the nineteenth century.
The zigzag migration of future Vancouver real estate entrepreneurs across the west in the 1880's was one of the most distinctive features of the transcontinental pattern of recruitment. Men in real estate, newspaper and construction businesses who followed the railway across the country in the 1880's led the way in establishing an urban network from Emerson and Winnipeg in the east to Vancouver on the Pacific coast. They were largely a central Canadian group; six of the ten Vancouver real estate business leaders of the 1890-1893 period who were known to have stopped on the prairies and ten of the twenty business leaders of both periods who had worked there, and who arrived in Vancouver before 1896, had come from Ontario or Quebec (Table 22). They included men like J. W. Horne, the Toronto-born land promoter who came to Vancouver in 1886 after making a fortune in Brandon by successfully anticipating in 1881 the location there of the C.P.R. townsite; or fellow-Torontonian B. B. Johnston whose dream of substantial real estate profits in the west had led him to Emerson, Manitoba, in 1881 and Vancouver in 1889. A. W. Ross, like Horne, had also come west following active participation in the Manitoba boom of the early 1880's. He had cleared over $500,000 in profits in a one-year period in Winnipeg, and had become reputedly "the largest operator and owner of real estate in the Northwest," for a short period at least. Edward Cooke of Perth County, Ontario, an early Vancouver contractor and business leader, had also pursued the westward route to Vancouver in 1884 via a stop in Winnipeg six years earlier. American-born Charles Dunbar had gained his real estate experience in St. Paul, Minnesota as general agent for the Union Land Company, "one of the largest in the country," before coming to the Canadian west coast in 1888. And Scottish-born J. C. McLagan and Wisconsin-born C. S. Douglas had played their part in the prairie land boom as newspapermen, having worked in Winnipeg from 1880 to 1882 and Emerson from 1878 and 1889 respectively before completing the trek to the Pacific coast.
While prairie stops continued for Vancouver-bound businessmen after the mid-1890's, attracting major land promoters like A. D. McRae, the significance of this route in the 1880's lies in its contrast with the coastal alternative chosen by so many other Vancouver businessmen during the first ten years of the city's history.

One other notable feature of this transcontinental pattern of recruitment was the significant number of resource industry entrepreneurs in Vancouver who had worked in the U.S. before coming to B.C., especially those in the lumber industry who arrived after 1896. Six of ten business leaders in the lumber industry whose employment histories are known and who came to B.C. after 1896 had worked in the United States, including Canadian-born J. D. McCormack whose valuable experience in the industry in Minnesota had been an essential part of his climb to a high executive position with the A.D. McRae interests in B.C. after 1910. The number of lumbermen who had worked in the U.S. is also closely related to the significant number of new lumber entrepreneurs in Vancouver after 1900 born and educated south of the border.

* * *

The striking feature about the recruitment patterns of future Vancouver business leaders was the degree to which they paralleled the movement of other economic resources, such as capital and technology, into the city. Vancouver was caught between two competing economic systems in the 1880's and 1890's, and the origins and migration routes of its leading businessmen reflected this dichotomy. Despite the westward movement of the C.P.R. in the 1880's and the unequalled power exercised by company executives in Vancouver through the 1890's, the largest number of early business leaders were British in
origin and experience. They reflected in Vancouver, just as Edgar Crow Baker and R. P. Rithet reflected in Victoria, the British character of the coastal economic system which still prevailed in British Columbia into the 1890's.

The marked upturn in the recruitment of business leaders from central Canadian backgrounds at the turn of the century closely followed the significant new movement of Canadian capital and businesses into British Columbia during the same period. By 1914, the Vancouver business community had become more Canadian than the community at large, rather than more British as had been the case in the early 1890's.
American scholars have shown a much greater interest in studying social mobility than have their Canadian counterparts. The idea that wealth, prestige and power were available to people of all levels of the social hierarchy attained a central place in the national mythology of the United States in the nineteenth century, providing its citizens with "a scheme for comprehending and accommodating themselves" to the new social and economic order then replacing the older, more cohesive social system of pre-industrial America. This assumption that American society was "distinctively open" provided in turn the basic impetus for a series of studies undertaken in the mid-twentieth century, primarily between 1945 and 1959, which sought evidence for the assumption by testing the alternative hypothesis that the American social structure had in fact "become more rigid in the course of its history." They approached the problem through an examination of the social origins of large numbers of the country's most successful businessmen. In the mid-1960's Stephen Thernstrom looked at the same problem from a different angle, studying the degree of social mobility among unskilled labouring families of Newburyport, Massachusetts, between 1850 and 1880.

The idea that their country's social system was open, providing opportunities for social advancement by all, has never been emphasized in the same way by Canadians as a distinctive part of the Canadian national character, and thus has largely been ignored until very recently as a social phenomenon of importance by Canadian sociologists and historians. Two
studies by sociologists John Porter and Wallace Clement have examined the social origins of Canada's business elite in the years 1948-50 and 1972 respectively. Only T. W. Acheson's recently completed study of the social character of Canada's principal industrial entrepreneurs between 1880 and 1910, and the large-scale study of society in Hamilton, Ontario in the middle of the nineteenth century, have approached the subject of social mobility in Canada from an historical perspective.

While the question of social advancement may be of lesser importance in Canada than in the United States, it must still remain of central concern to anyone examining the process of Canada's evolution from a rural and pre-industrial to an urban and industrial society. In a new urban community like Vancouver, where geographic mobility was an experience shared by large numbers of the city's population, such interest in social mobility is especially relevant to explaining the process by which this particular urban society was created. The present chapter therefore will focus on the question of whether the westward migration of early Vancouver's leading businessmen was also accompanied by an equivalent advance in their economic and social status.

The term 'social mobility' implies the relative improvement of a family's social position either in the lifetime of the man at the head of the family, or over the span of two or more previous generations. This position can be defined broadly in terms of a family's social prestige within the community, or as is more likely the case in terms of the income and occupational status which various economic functions usually provide. Social mobility in Vancouver will be discussed first in strictly economic terms, and then in terms of changes in the business family's social status.
The two types of social mobility will be compared at the end of the chapter.

* * *

All of the Vancouver businessmen being studied can be assumed from their success in business to have achieved relatively high economic status, with some, the elite, having achieved more than the others. An examination of the change in a family's economic position before and after this Vancouver business success would provide one indication of social mobility, with this change ideally measured through a comparison of family incomes in the two periods. Lack of accurate income data for virtually all of Vancouver society in the pre-1914 period makes this clearly impossible. Economic mobility among Vancouver businessmen can only be approached by a more indirect method, through an examination of indices of former economic status such as the father's occupation and the businessman's education.

A comparison of the occupational status of the father with that of his successful son has often been employed as a standard, if still rather 'crude' and 'uncertain' guide to social mobility by scholars who have examined elites, including Reinhard Bendix, Eleanor Bruchey and T. W. Acheson. William Miller in his study of the national American business elite also talks of examining changes in family 'social status', but in fact focuses on the occupation of fathers as a basic index of changed economic and social position. An examination of fathers' occupations assumes that occupations can be ordered in a rough general way from high to low status, thus making it possible to see changes in occupational status from one generation to the next, or over the period of an individual's career. Bendix divides his list into three categories or 'classes', with businessmen and gentry farmers in the
first category, professionals, white collar workers, government officials, small entrepreneurs and master craftsmen in the second, and farmers and manual workers in the third. Acheson assumes a hierarchy with professional and non-manufacturing businessmen at the top, followed by manufacturers, plant managers and civil servants, farmers, craftsmen and labourers. William Miller assumes a list starting from businessmen down to professionals, farmers, public officials and workers. With the exception of Bendix's 'gentry farmers' and 'master craftsmen', whose high positions reflect the fact that his study of business elites stretched back into the eighteenth century, and Miller's 'farmers', which he places ahead of rather than behind 'public officials', a general consensus about occupational status emerges from these various studies. The occupational hierarchy for fathers of Vancouver businessmen, listed in Table 24, is patterned on this consensus.

Education also provides a rough guide to family economic status by giving a partial indication of the size of the family pocketbook. As Reinhard Bendix points out, "it is probable that the person whose parents are well-to-do had more education...than the person whose parents are poor." Despite her reservations about blandly equating a family's economic position with the level of their children's education, reservations based on questions about the motives of the children to be educated, or about the relative economic sacrifice made by different families to provide such education, Eleanor Bruchey in her study of Baltimore elites also worked from the assumption that businessmen who had received only a limited education would be "prime suspects for low(er) class origins." This additional assumption that levels of education provide another clue to a family's economic status has also been accepted for the present study of Vancouver businessmen (Table 25).
Data relating to fathers' occupations is missing for 71.2% and 64.9% of the Vancouver business leaders in the 1890-93 and 1910-13 periods respectively, and to education attained by businessmen for 56.1% and 45.3% of the two groups. At worst, the occupations of only 29% of the fathers of business leaders in the 1890's are known, while at best the educational record of 55% of the business leaders of the later period is available. While the unknown factor here is large, and must inevitably qualify any conclusions drawn from this evidence, the data is in fact stronger than it first appears, particularly for the 1910-1913 period. The principal reason is that the number of business leaders in pre-war Vancouver for whom education and father's occupation data is known compares very favourably with the number of cases examined in several previous studies of social mobility among business elites. The 151 Vancouver businessmen of the 1910-1913 period who have left some record of educational attainment compares with the 85 business leaders of Seattle between 1880 and 1910 included in Norbert MacDonald's sample, the 156 studied by Eleanor Bruchey in Baltimore from 1880 to 1914, the 122 and 164 industrial entrepreneurs in Canada examined by Acheson in the 1880-1885 and 1905-1910 periods respectively, and the 183 members of the United States' national business elite between 1901 and 1910 studied by William Miller (Table 29, p. 217). While the number of unknown cases in Vancouver is much larger than in these previous studies (45.3% in the pre-war Vancouver sample compared to 2.3% in Seattle, for instance), the number of pre-war business leaders for whom information "is" available is clearly large enough to permit valid general conclusions about lifetime changes in the economic status of the top group of Vancouver businessmen.

Information about fathers' occupations was much more difficult to obtain than about education, and as a consequence data relating to the family occupational background of Vancouver business leaders is more limited in
extent. The more restricted group for whom fathers' occupation data was recorded does not appear to have been more exclusive (coming from well-to-do-families) than was the larger group of businessmen whose educational background is known, however. Quite to the contrary, any inference drawn from this limited data which suggested that the businessmen whose fathers' occupations are known were a more exclusive group than those who left only a record of their educational attainment would be incorrect. If the seventy-nine business leaders of the pre-war period for whom both types of evidence is available were compared with the seventy-two for whom educational background is known, we would find that the latter group had received a higher level of education than the former. Only 30.3% of the former group of seventy-nine businessmen had received some university or professional training, while 38.9% of those about whom educational background alone is known had reached this post-secondary level. This difference suggests that higher education is an even more accurate index of the higher economic position of a family than is father's occupation. In addition, if we look at the relationship between the father's occupation and the son's education for those businessmen for whom both types of information is available (Table 23), we find that university level or professional training was far more likely to have been made available to children by business or professional families than by farm families. Yet one-third of the fathers of Vancouver business leaders who had themselves been engaged in business still had either not been able to, or had not thought it important enough to educate their sons beyond the grade school level. It seems that a Vancouver business leader was more likely to have come from a background where the father had attained a position of relatively high economic status, but where only a limited education had been made available to the children, than from a background of low family occupational status and high educational achievement. If this argument is valid, then the larger
sample of educational data for the pre-war Vancouver business leaders provides a more-than-adequate indicator of at least one type of economic environment in which they may have been raised, that of fairly high economic status, and makes less significant the smaller size of the data sample for father's occupation.

Table 23
Business Leaders of the 1910-1913 Period:
Father's Occupation Compared by Level of Education Attained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education Attained(^b)</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Other(^c)</th>
<th>Farm</th>
<th>Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or Prof.</td>
<td>9(30.0%)</td>
<td>6(46.2%)</td>
<td>3(27.3%)</td>
<td>4(19.0%)</td>
<td>2(50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>11(36.7%)</td>
<td>4(30.7%)</td>
<td>4(36.4%)</td>
<td>6(28.6%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less.</td>
<td>10(33.3%)</td>
<td>3(23.7%)</td>
<td>4(36.4%)</td>
<td>11(52.4%)</td>
<td>2(50.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS (100%)</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Only the 79 business leaders for whom both father's occupation and education data were available have been included in this table.

\(^b\) The 'Level of Education Attained' categories used here are defined in detail in Table 25, p. 211.

\(^c\) The 'Father's Occupation' categories used here are defined in Table 24, p. 210; the one exception in this table is the category called 'Other', which was defined in Table 24 as 'Clerical/Public Official/Military'.

The small number of early Vancouver businessmen for whom information was recorded poses much greater difficulties for interpretation. Father's occupation and level of education information is known for only nineteen and twenty-nine Vancouver businessmen respectively for the 1890-93 period. As a consequence, conclusions about changes in the economic status of business leaders of the early 1890's during their lifetimes will be weaker than conclusions about the careers of Vancouver business leaders at the end of the
Laurier period (when father's occupation and level of education data is known for 97 and 151 business leaders), or about the rate of economic mobility among the top businessmen in Vancouver over the twenty year period from 1890 to 1910.

* * *

A comparison of the rates of economic mobility experienced by leading Vancouver businessmen in the 1890-93 and 1910-13 periods (Tables 24 and 25, pp. 210 and 211) suggests first that social mobility was greater during the pre-war years than it had been during the new city's first phase of expansion. While a higher percentage of fathers were businessmen during the pre-war than in the early 1890's periods (41.2% vs. 31.6%), a much lower percentage of fathers in the 1910-13 period had followed professional careers (17.5% vs. 42.1%). Taken together, these two highest occupational categories accounted for almost a full three-quarters of the fathers in the 1890-1893 period whose careers are known (73.7%), 15% greater than for businessmen's fathers two decades later. Likewise the proportion of businessmen of the first period educated at the university or high school level was greater in both cases, by 4.8% and 6.6% respectively, than of businessmen in the pre-war period. At the bottom end of the status scale, a higher percentage of businessmen in the pre-war period had come from farm backgrounds (22.7% vs. 15.8%), while the number of businessmen whose fathers had been semi-skilled or skilled workers was very small, and constant for both periods. None of the businessmen of either period are known to have been raised in families of unskilled labourers. A significantly higher proportion (11.5%) of the businessmen after 1910 had received only a grade school level education than
Table 24
Vancouver's Business Leaders by Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>1890-1893 Period</th>
<th>1910-1913 Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman: Large or Noted Co.</td>
<td>4(21.1%)</td>
<td>23(23.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman: Co. Size Unknown</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
<td>17(17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>8(42.2%)</td>
<td>17(17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>1( 1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Official</td>
<td>1( 5.3%)</td>
<td>6( 6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/Diplomatic</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>6( 6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>3(15.8%)</td>
<td>22(22.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or Semi-Skilled Worker</td>
<td>1( 5.3%)</td>
<td>5( 5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Worker</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summarized Categories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>6(31.6%)</td>
<td>40(41.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>8(42.1%)</td>
<td>17(17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/P.O./Military</td>
<td>1( 5.3%)</td>
<td>13(13.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>3(15.8%)</td>
<td>22(22.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or Semi-Skilled Worker</td>
<td>1( 5.3%)</td>
<td>5( 5.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| No. Whose Father's Occ. Is Known | 19(28.8%) | 97(35.1%) |
| No. Whose Father's Occ. Is Unknown | 47(71.2%) | 179(64.9%) |

*a, Businessmen' are defined as both entrepreneurs and salaried managers in the many fields generally referred to as 'business', including commerce, manufacturing, transportation, finance, construction and resource promotion.

*b, 'Professional' includes lawyers, doctors, engineers, clergymen, architects and teachers.

*c, Public Officials' are defined as both elected officials and salaried civil servants.

*d, Sea captains are also included in this category.

*e, 'Skilled' and 'Semi-Skilled' workers are defined here as Peter Coheen has defined them in Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth, Chicago, 1970, p. 229.
Table 25
Vancouver's Business Leaders by Highest Level of Education Attained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Level of Education Attained</th>
<th>1890-93 Period</th>
<th>1910-13 Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Original Categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University: Graduated</td>
<td>4(13.8%)</td>
<td>17(11.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University: Unknown If Graduated</td>
<td>2(6.9%)</td>
<td>18(11.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University: Did Not Graduate</td>
<td>1(3.4%)</td>
<td>2(1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. After Private School (High Status)</td>
<td>3(10.3%)</td>
<td>3(2.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawa</td>
<td>1(3.4%)</td>
<td>9(6.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy a</td>
<td>0(3.4%)</td>
<td>1(0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Or Business School</td>
<td>3(10.3%)</td>
<td>21(13.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private School (High Status)c</td>
<td>3(10.3%)</td>
<td>11(7.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private School (Not High Status)c</td>
<td>2(6.9%)</td>
<td>4(2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Plus Apprenticeship</td>
<td>2(6.9%)</td>
<td>6(4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Lessd</td>
<td>8(27.6%)</td>
<td>46(30.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School Plus Apprenticeship</td>
<td>0(----)</td>
<td>13(8.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summarized Categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University or Law a</td>
<td>11(37.9%)</td>
<td>50(33.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School e</td>
<td>10(34.4%)</td>
<td>42(27.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less</td>
<td>8(27.6%)</td>
<td>59(39.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Whose Education is Known</td>
<td>29(43.9%)</td>
<td>151(54.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Whose Education is Unknown</td>
<td>37(56.1%)</td>
<td>125(45.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Students of law studied in either an academic setting (such as Osgoode Hall) or in an informal private setting, "reading in law." Both types followed a high school education or its equivalent, as did training in accountancy. Law and accountancy have both been equated with a university education in the summarized category of 'University or Law'.

b 'High School' is taken to include 'academies' and some 'colleges', the latter being especially business colleges which usually provided the equivalent of a high school education.

c Private schools are classified as being of 'high status' if they had an obvious reputation as such (including, for example, Upper Canada College in Canada and Phillips Andover Academy in the U.S.). Otherwise, private schools are classified as 'Not High Status'.

d The term 'Grade School' refers to 'grade', 'public', 'common', 'district' and 'grammar' schools.

e The summarized category of 'High School' includes both 'High Schools' and 'Private Schools'.
was the case for business leaders of the 1890's. Both at the top and bottom of these two scales of data, then, the limited evidence available suggests that opportunities for economic advancement in the field of business increased over the twenty-eight year period between 1886 and 1914. Such a trend in Vancouver ran counter to developments in industry at the national level in Canada during the same period, where "the high degree of social mobility which had marked the leaders of the 1885 (industrial) elite" had narrowed by 1910.¹⁹

A comparative examination of these two factors for the economic elite and non-elite during the 1910-1913 period yields a similar impression about the relative openness of Vancouver society before the War (Tables 26 and 27). It would be logical to expect that a greater portion of the elite than of the non-elite had come from business and professional families, and had received a significantly higher level of education; such was not the case, however. A higher proportion of the non-elite had come from business families (44.4% and 37.2%), and more of the elite than the non-elite from farm backgrounds (27.9% to 18.5%). While more of the elite had grown up in professional families and more of the non-elite in working class homes, the overall impression left by these statistics is that businessmen who had made it into the inner circle of business power in Vancouver by 1901 were no more likely to have started from an advantaged position than their somewhat less successful business acquaintances within the city.

This impression is reinforced by differences in the educational attainment of the two groups. Businessmen who had made it into the elite were less than half as likely as non-elite business leaders to have received a university level education, or professional training in law or accountancy (20.3% vs. 41.3%), and more likely to have received only grade school instruction (42.4%
### Table 26
The Vancouver Business Elite By Summarized Categories of Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>1890-1893 Period</th>
<th></th>
<th>1910-1913 Period</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>4(66.7%)</td>
<td>2(15.4%)</td>
<td>16(37.2%)</td>
<td>24(44.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>1(16.7%)</td>
<td>7(53.9%)</td>
<td>10(23.2%)</td>
<td>7(13.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/P.O./Military</td>
<td>0(------)</td>
<td>1(7.7%)</td>
<td>4(9.3%)</td>
<td>9(16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1(16.7%)</td>
<td>2(15.4%)</td>
<td>12(27.9%)</td>
<td>10(18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled or Skilled Worker</td>
<td>0(------)</td>
<td>1(7.7%)</td>
<td>1(2.3%)</td>
<td>4(7.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Available For 6(28.5%) 13(28.9%) 43(47.8%) 54(29.4%)
Data Unavailable For 15(71.5%) 32(71.1%) 47(52.2%) 130(70.6%)

### Table 27
The Vancouver Business Elite By Summarized Categories of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Level of Education Attained</th>
<th>1890-1893 Period</th>
<th></th>
<th>1910-1913 Period</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Non-Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University or Law</td>
<td>4(36.4%)</td>
<td>7(38.9%)</td>
<td>12(20.3%)</td>
<td>38(41.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School or Business School</td>
<td>6(54.5%)</td>
<td>4(22.3%)</td>
<td>22(37.3%)</td>
<td>20(21.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less</td>
<td>1(9.1%)</td>
<td>7(38.9%)</td>
<td>25(42.4%)</td>
<td>34(37.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Available For 11(52.3%) 18(40.0%) 59(65.6%) 92(50.0%)
Data Unavailable For 10(47.7%) 27(60.0%) 31(34.4%) 92(50.0%)
vs. 37.0%). The very fact that over 40% of the members of the 1910-1913 elite had not progressed beyond the grade or grammar school level suggests a fair degree of opportunity for economic advancement in Vancouver during the pre-war boom. Lack of adequate statistical data unfortunately makes difficult a comparison of this pre-war elite with the elite of the earlier period of economic development in the 1890's.

The greatest opportunities for economic advancement in Vancouver were provided by speculative real estate and brokerage businesses in the city. More than one-third of the farmers' sons who had succeeded in business in Vancouver by 1913 were active in real estate and related activities (36.4%), while such was the case with only four of seventeen business leaders from professional families (23.5%) and six of forty entrepreneurs from business homes (15.0%). On the other hand, continuity in the business field over two generations was greatest among the pre-war Vancouver business leaders in the fields of commerce and manufacturing, where manufacturers like B. T. Rogers, William Sulley and John Hendry, and merchants like William Akhurst, W. H. Malkin, R. J. and W. H. Leckie, F. R. Stewart and H. A. Stone had all come from business backgrounds. Commerce in Vancouver, especially at the wholesale level, did not provide the same avenue for economic mobility as real estate; 37.5% of the business leaders whose fathers had been merchants, industrialists or entrepreneurs of some sort had entered the commercial field in Vancouver, compared to only three of twenty-two business leaders from farm families (13.3%), and one of those from professional backgrounds. The sons of doctors, lawyers, clergymen and engineers were more likely to have pursued a professional career as their primary occupation, or to have entered the field of banking, than others from business or farm environments.

The suggestion that Vancouver was a 'relatively' open society in the period before the War, perhaps providing even more opportunities for economic
advancement than had been possible twenty years earlier, can best be tested through a comparison of the business leaders in Vancouver with other elites of the same period (Tables 28 and 29). While a comparison with the top businessmen in a number of Canadian cities at the height of the pre-war boom would provide an ideal perspective for an examination of social mobility in the Terminal City, want of such information leaves studies by Norbert MacDonald and Eleanor Bruchey of elites in Seattle and Baltimore in the U.S. as the best available substitutes. Seattle, in fact, provides more than just a substitute, because as Vancouver's sister city it followed a pattern of development similar to that of its northern neighbour, and over approximately the same period of time. T. W. Acheson's study of the national industrial elite in Canada and William Miller's examination of the American business elite will provide a somewhat broader perspective for comparison. All four studies covered at least part of the period from 1900 to 1914.

Business leaders in pre-war Vancouver appear to have experienced a rate of economic mobility very similar to that of the business elite in Seattle, and considerably greater than that of the elite in Baltimore. The strikingly similar proportion of businessmen in each of the west coast cities who had come from business and working class families at either end of the social spectrum contrasts sharply with the figures for Baltimore. The social fabric of the older Maryland city had clearly hardened to a much greater extent than in the newer centres of Seattle and Vancouver; continuity of business families within the topmost levels of the economic power structure appears, in fact, to have become the former's most significant characteristic. Economic opportunity was obviously greater on the west coast, particularly for young men moving off the farm into the urban world of the big city. Whether such opportunity was greater in Seattle or Vancouver is unclear. While 13% more of Seattle's business elite had come from farm backgrounds,
Table 28
Vancouver Business Leaders by Father's Occupation Compared to Four Other Studies of Business Elites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Vancouver Business Leaders 1890-93</th>
<th>Vancouver Business Leaders 1910-13</th>
<th>MacDonald's Seattle Elite 1880-1910&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Bruchey's Baltimore Elite 1880-1914&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Acheson's National Can. Industrial Elite 1880-85 1905-10&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Miller's National Amer. Elite 1901-1910&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
<td>55% 60%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>8% 15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/P.O./Mil.</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>5% 9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>26% 15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled or Skilled</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>6% 1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total No. in Study | 66 276 | 87 168 | 168 | 168 231 | 190 |
Data Available For  | 19 97 | 56 143 | 105 129 | 167 |
DataUnavailable For | (28.8%) (35.1%) | (64.4%) (85.1%) | (62.5%) (55.9%) | (87.9%) |


<sup>e</sup>The category of 'businessman' is a standard one to describe fathers' occupations in each of the studies. Acheson has categories for both the 'businessman' and 'manufacturer', and these have been combined under 'Businessman' in the above table.
This category is the least satisfactory of all for the sake of comparison. Included among the fathers of Seattle's businessmen were an artist and a musician, which have been classified by MacDonald along with four skilled workers in a category called 'White Collar or Craftsman'. I have put the artist and musician in my category of 'Clerical/P.O./Military', though they do not fit neatly into any of the categories. MacDonald's four skilled workers have been included in the 'Semi-Skilled or Skilled Worker' category above. Miller and Bruchey have no category for clerical or military personnel, but do have one for 'public officials'. Acheson has no categories for clerical workers, public officials or the military, but does have one for 'Managers' which he says includes 'sea captains, army officers, supervisory personnel in any institution, and most civil servants.' This conforms almost entirely to my combined category of 'Clerical/P.O./Military', and has been compared with it in the table. Acheson's use of the term 'supervisory personnel' is ambiguous, however. He probably includes supervisors in business here, though such managers have been included under 'business' in other studies, including mine. If so, the equation of his 'Manager' category with my 'Clerical/P.O./Military' will be slightly inaccurate.

Table 29

Vancouver Business Leaders by Highest Level of Education Attained Compared to Four Other Studies of Business Elites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or Law</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School or</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business School</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. in Study</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Available For</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Unavailable For</td>
<td>(43.9%)</td>
<td>(97.7%)</td>
<td>(72.6%)</td>
<td>(96.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*a* The four studies being compared are listed in Table 28.

*b* Miller, Bruchey and MacDonald each divide 'University' into college-attended and college graduated categories. These have been combined into one category here. None of the other studies isolated 'law' into a separate category.
14% less of this Seattle elite than of Vancouver's pre-war business leaders had attained only a grade school level of education. On balance, the similarities between the two west coast centres are much more significant than these differences, reflecting a parallel relationship in both centres between immigration to the west and economic opportunity.

If father's occupation is used as the principal criteria, economic mobility appears to have been more prevalent in the two western cities than among the national elites of either county. Just 53.6% of Seattle's business elite and 58.9% of Vancouver's pre-war business leaders had come from business and professional families, figures that are low when compared to the 75% of Canada's industrial elite after 1905 and the 79% of America's business elite after 1901 who had come from similar backgrounds. Opportunities for business success were also considerably greater for the sons of farmers or working men in the west coast cities than in the larger corporations at the national level, though the number of men from working class families who made it to the top was still very small in both centres. T. W. Acheson's conclusion that social mobility was greater in Canada for industrialists in the west than in the country as a whole, where it was declining, seems to be corroborated by these statistics on father's occupation for Vancouver.

If business opportunities were 'relatively' greater in Vancouver than at the national level in Canada or the U.S., this difference nonetheless had clearly defined limitations, which are indicated by the data on education. Vancouver business leaders had almost as much access to higher education as elites in Baltimore, or in national businesses in the U.S., and much greater access than the industrial leaders of Canada as a whole. While the proportion of Vancouver business leaders (39.1%) who had received only a grade school education was much greater than the 16.7% in Baltimore, 25% in Seattle, or 24% and 22% at the national levels of the two countries, suggesting a fair
degree of economic opportunity in Vancouver, the proportion of Vancouver business leaders who had gained a superior level of education closely paralleled the above-average educational attainment of these other business elites. The significant number of Vancouver business leaders who had attended university, or studied in law, indicates that many of the city's business leaders did have much better educational opportunities than the population as a whole. Economic prosperity in B.C. between 1900 and 1914 may have provided greater access to business opportunities in Vancouver than elsewhere on the continent, but such access was only 'relatively' greater in the Terminal City; a privileged family background was still a necessary determinant of success for many who made it to the top in business.

* * *

The degree of upward social mobility experienced by Vancouver businessmen has so far been defined primarily in economic terms. The men who succeeded as businessmen in the 'important' business enterprises in Vancouver have been divided into two groups, the larger group of 'business leaders' and the more restricted group at the top of the economic hierarchy called the 'business elite'. Mobility resulting from business success in Vancouver has been compared for these two groups, one of which was relatively more successful in economic terms than the other. With such emphasis on economic achievement the social behaviour of these leading businessmen has been ignored. Yet an understanding of the relationship between social status and business success is necessary if the nature of social mobility is to be fully explained. Did economic success bring with it an equivalent increase in social status for leading city businessmen? And if not, is the difference to be explained by
the varying 'social', as well as 'economic', backgrounds of the individuals involved?

Any examination of social behaviour inevitably involves the use of the analytical concept of 'social class'. C. Wright Mills, Max Weber and Marxist sociologists have considered class to be determined in an 'objective' manner by sheerly economic forces, with social roles corresponding naturally to the place which individuals maintained in the economic structure. The upper class in Vancouver would be defined, then, as those who controlled and hence benefited most from the economic system in the city, as those already defined as the city's business elite. Other social analysts, led by the Warner School of sociology in the United States, have argued that class is mainly a 'subjective' phenomenon, dependent upon some kind of shared identification by people with others of the same social level. According to this interpretation, class association is a subjective phenomenon closely related to the social status (prestige, honour and esteem) which individuals have been accorded by others in the community. Economic role is an obvious factor which helps determine such status (and hence class position), but is only one factor among many.

E. Digby Baltzell has provided an alternative view of class in his historical study of the social and economic leaders of Philadelphia, published in 1958. In Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class, he clearly differentiated between the 'economic elite', those who were most successful as businessmen and who stood at the top of the functional (objective) class hierarchy, and the 'upper class', those who had developed a "consciousness-of-kind and a distinctive style of life" in the city, and who stood at the top of the social (subjective) class hierarchy. He, like several other sociologists, assumed that the social behaviour of many new business leaders
would not correspond with their economic position in the short run, though the economic elite or their descendants would eventually acquire the social status to become social leaders after a certain lapse of time. Baltzell separated the objective and subjective aspects of class position stressed by other social theorists, and by working on the premise that the economic and social leaders were not necessarily the same set out to define the two groups, and to show the extent of correlation between them.

His assumption about the existence of an upper class in large American cities, and the techniques he used to examine this social group in Philadelphia, were adopted by Eleanor Bruchey in her study of the business elite in Baltimore. Baltzell's argument that the separate upper classes in various cities had become interconnected into a national upper class at the turn of the century was further developed by G. William Domhoff in Who Rules America?, a study of national wealth and power in the United States. The validity of the 'upper class' concept has not been tested in a systematic fashion for Canadian cities in the pre-World War I period, though Canadian historical literature is filled with random comments about the character and existence of social elites. The most provocative comment on the lifestyle of those who stood at the top of the social class hierarchy in a pre-war Canadian city is provided by Stephen Leacock in Arcadian Adventures With the Idle Rich, a satirical study of 'society' in Montreal.

The Baltzell model of a dual class hierarchy, one economic and the other social, will be used as an analytical tool to explore the relationship between economic leadership and social prominence among the top businessmen in Vancouver. More specifically, it will be used to explore the different rates of social mobility between the two groups. The socially prominent among early Vancouver's leading businessmen must first be identified. Rates
of social change can then be compared for the more prominent and less prominent social leaders. Beyond that, the central question of whether the degree of economic mobility, already discussed, was different from the rate of change in social status for leading Vancouver businessmen can then be examined.

* * *

The Baltzell concept of a 'social class' hierarchy assumes from the beginning that economic criteria alone will not define the way in which a society is organized. The concept assumes that people also identify with one another outside of the marketplace according to shared values, attitudes and customs, with this identification given concrete expression in a modern society in clubs, charities, churches and other social organizations where social interaction takes place. One such group of people who most clearly identified with one another in the new metropolitan centres of the United States in the nineteenth century were those at the top of the social scale, people both Baltzell and Domhoff defined as the 'upper class'. Baltzell found that the socially prominent in Philadelphia consciously associated with one another in a number of social, cultural and charitable organizations on a basis of equality, and as a result of this intimate association developed a distinctive style of life and a self-conscious collective identity. They achieved their high status and their cohesiveness as a group through association. Members of the upper class controlled the associations with the highest social status in the community, and maintained their distinctive identity by regulating the entrance of new families into these associations. Upper class status was ascribed to new members by others who were already
part of a self-consciously aware and distinctive group. While cohesion among the 'upper class' was undoubtedly less developed in a new city like Vancouver than in an older centre like Philadelphia, evidence suggests that those who aspired to social prominence in the Terminal City did follow a similar pattern of group association in the period before the First World War.

The Social Register was taken by Baltzell, Bruchey and Domhoff as the "one best guide" to membership in the upper classes of American cities, and was used by each as the sole criteria for defining social leaders. Social Registers first appeared in New York in 1888, in Boston and Philadelphia in 1890, and in a succession of large North American cities thereafter. Begun as an attempt by the established upper class to draw a line between themselves and the large number of newly rich families emerging during the period of industrialization, the Social Registers became the final stage of several possible routes by which the assimilation of this new wealth into the social upper class could take place.

Vancouver's first index of social prominence, the Elite Directory of Vancouver, appeared in 1908, and was followed by the more complete Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory in 1914. While the Social Register undoubtedly included the names of most Vancouver families who aspired to high social status in the city, at least two differences between the Vancouver Social Register and the registers of other metropolitan centres in North America raise questions about the exclusive use of the Vancouver volume as an index of pre-war social prestige in the Terminal City. Little is known about the criteria used for inclusion in the Vancouver Social Register. In addition, the logic for using Social Registers as indices of high social status in other cities stemmed from the role of
socially prominent families in regulating the inclusion of new members in subsequent volumes. The yearly publication of volumes, and hence the possibility of adding new members, led to the important class-defining function played by the Social Registers. Such a function was not possible in Vancouver, with only two apparently unconnected volumes published before the War.

The most clearly observable guide to high social status in Vancouver before the War, in addition to the Social Register, was provided by the city's leading social and business clubs. Vancouver "like other large cities in the English-speaking world" had a "well-structured club hierarchy," and memberships in the most prestigious of these constituted the principal form of group association in the Terminal City's upper class. At the top of the hierarchy was the Vancouver Club, which like other leading metropolitan clubs in Canada such as the Mount Royal and St. James's Clubs in Montreal, the Toronto and York Clubs in Toronto, the Ranchmen's Club in Calgary and the Manitoba Club in Winnipeg was a symbol of power and influence in the city. In addition to the important business functions of such an elite club, the Vancouver Club also ensured a high social standing for its members. Both "the social and business" positions of prospective members were thoroughly investigated before acceptance into the Vancouver Club was approved. Sponsorship by two men already in the club was required before an aspiring member could be considered for inclusion, and membership proposals were rejected after 1893 if opposed by one in six of the members who voted, and after 1914 by one in eight. The Vancouver Club was exclusive, and entry into it tightly controlled. As such its membership lists provide an excellent supplement to the Social Register for identifying the city's socially prestigious businessmen of the pre-war period.
Two methods have been used to determine the identity of Vancouver business leaders who had become part of the city's upper class by 1914. By the first, business leaders who were members of both the Vancouver Club after 1909 and the *Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory* of 1914 have been defined as pre-war social leaders in the Terminal City. This technique of combining the two most important indices of social prominence obviates the potential problem posed by the exclusive use of the *Vancouver Social Register* as a measure of high social status. Ninety-one businessmen are defined as social leaders by this technique. Eighty-five were business leaders of the 1910-1913 period, of whom twelve had also been leaders from 1890-1893. Six other business leaders of the early 1890's who were no longer important in business by 1910, but who continued to be prominent socially in the city, are also included.

A second technique to measure social prominence is also used, this time focusing on family memberships in the eight most prestigious social clubs in the city. Socially prominent business leaders are identified through an examination of their collective association with other upper class members in the city's most status-conscious social clubs. This supplementary technique makes it possible to recognize social leaders who might otherwise have gone unnoticed because of some inexplicable omission from either the *Social Register* or the Vancouver Club. The former in particular was a possibility, given our lack of knowledge of the criteria used for inclusion in the *Social Register*. The eight leading social clubs themselves are identified by examining the club affiliations (listed in the 1914 *Social Register*) of six families who appeared (from a subjective point of view) to have been the most obvious members of the upper class, and who, through our previous study of *Social Register* and Vancouver Club memberships, had already been identified as part of Vancouver 'society'. The club affiliations of Sir
C. H. Tupper, Harry Abbott, Richard Marpole, John Hendry, B. T. Rogers, Campbell Sweeny, and their wives indicate that the Vancouver Club, the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club, the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, the University Club, the Vancouver Rowing Club and the Vancouver Hunt Club for men, the Georgian Club for women and the Connaught Skating Club for both were probably the most prestigious in the city. The final decision about which clubs were more exclusive than others inevitably requires a further measure of subjective interpretation. For instance, of these six men, John Hendry alone belonged to the Terminal City Club, while all six were members of the Vancouver Club. The Terminal City was clearly a second rank 'social and business' society by comparison with the Vancouver Club, and thus is not included as one of the city's most exclusive social organizations.

Families which held memberships in three or more of these clubs are identified as being part of 'society', with the number 'three' chosen arbitrarily to eliminate casual affiliates with the city's social upper class. Eight additional business families are defined as socially prominent by this technique, bringing the total number determined by the two methods of identification to ninety-nine. Each of the new men were business leaders of the 1910 to 1913 period, with William Farrell also a business leader in the early 1890's.

* * *

The education, father's occupation and religious affiliations of these ninety-nine business leaders are set out in Tables 30, 31 and 32 under the heading of 'Social Upper Class'. This category is divided into two parts, the fifty-four members of the economic elite of either the 1890's or
1910-13 periods who were still living in Vancouver in the year 1914, and who had become part of the social upper class, and the forty-five additional upper class business leaders who were not members of the business elite in either period. The business leaders not included in the social upper class are likewise divided into two comparable categories, those in the economic elite of either period, and those not. In all cases a businessman of the 1890-1893 period who had ceased to be a business leader after 1910, but was still living in Vancouver in the year 1914, is included in one of the relevant categories.

The evidence presented in Tables 30 and 31 reveals two patterns of recruitment into the social upper class. The elite in the upper class had come from somewhat different backgrounds than the 'non-elite business leaders' in 'society'. Fifty-one members of the 1910-13 elite and three others of the 1890-93 elite are included in the pre-war upper class, while thirty-four members of the 1910-13 elite and one other of the earlier elite still living in Vancouver in 1914 are not. The elite who made it into 'society' did come from more advantaged homes than the elite who did not. Eighty-seven percent of those in the economic elite had come from business and professional family backgrounds, compared to 36.6% of those who did not. Chances were slim that a member of the economic elite from a farm background would make it into the city's upper class; only 8.7% of the elite in the social upper class are known to have come from farm backgrounds, compared to 47.4% of the economic elite who had failed to gain entry into 'society' by 1914.

But perhaps more revealing is the fact that the members of the elite who made it into 'society' did not have the benefit of an exceptional education, as did the second group in the upper class, the 'non-elite business leaders'. A university education did not give the elite a greater chance to be accepted socially than the elite who were not members of 'society';
Table 30
Vancouver's Pre-War Social Upper Class in 1914\(^a\) Compared to Non-Upper Class Business Leaders, by Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Economic Elite Included in the Upper Class</th>
<th>Economic Elite Excluded From the Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Included in Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Excluded From Upper Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>12(52.2%)</td>
<td>5(26.1%)</td>
<td>8(40.0%)</td>
<td>15(46.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>8(34.7%)</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
<td>7(35.0%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/P.O./Military</td>
<td>1(4.3%)</td>
<td>2(10.5%)</td>
<td>4(20.0%)</td>
<td>5(15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>2(8.7%)</td>
<td>9(47.4%)</td>
<td>1(5.0%)</td>
<td>9(28.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/Semi-Skilled Worker</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(5.3%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>3(9.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Available For</td>
<td>23(42.6%)</td>
<td>19(54.3%)</td>
<td>20(44.5%)</td>
<td>32(24.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Unavailable For</td>
<td>31(57.4%)</td>
<td>16(45.7%)</td>
<td>25(55.5%)</td>
<td>101(75.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Because the Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory, a major source used in this chapter to define the social upper class, was available only for the year 1914, the four categories in the table include only businessmen who were still living in the city that particular year. This means that for the categories of economic elite and non-elite businessmen excluded from the upper class, several business leaders prominent in the 1910-13 period are left out of the table because they were no longer in Vancouver in 1914. While thirty-nine members of the 1910-13 elite were not members of the upper class, for instance, five of these thirty-nine had left town or died by 1914; therefore, only thirty-four of the thirty-nine pre-war economic elite members are included in the category "Economic Elite Excluded From the Upper Class." The 35th member is J. W. Horne, who had been a member of the 1890-1893 elite, and was still living in Vancouver in 1914, but was no longer among the city's leading businessmen after 1910.

\(^b\)These categories of fathers' occupations have been defined in Table 24.

a relatively low proportion of both groups, 22.9% and 19.2%, had received some university level training. By comparison, 74.3% of the 'non-elite business leaders' in the social upper class had received training at university, or in law or accountancy. This education factor in particular separates the business elite from business leaders of a lower economic rank who were members
of the upper class; it suggests that despite the fact that the elite in the upper class had come from a more privileged family occupational background than the elite left out, economic success was a powerful enough force in the city to make possible an improvement in the social status of Vancouver's top businessmen, despite their less than exceptional educational attainments. Economic success, and presumably the additional wealth that went with it, did help ease the path to social acceptance.

Table 31

Vancouver's Pre-War Social Upper Class in 1914 Compared to Non-Upper Class Business Leaders, by Highest Level of Education Attained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Level of Education Attained</th>
<th>Economic Elite Included in the Upper Class</th>
<th>Economic Elite Excluded From the Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Included in Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Excluded From Upper Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or Law</td>
<td>8(22.9%)</td>
<td>5(19.2%)</td>
<td>26(74.3%)</td>
<td>11(20.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>15(42.8%)</td>
<td>8(29.3%)</td>
<td>4(11.4%)</td>
<td>15(27.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less</td>
<td>12(34.3%)</td>
<td>13(50.0%)</td>
<td>5(14.3%)</td>
<td>29(52.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Data Available For</td>
<td>35(64.8%)</td>
<td>26(74.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Data Unavailable For</td>
<td>19(35.2%)</td>
<td>9(25.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These categories of educational attainment have been defined in Table 25.

Those businessmen who followed the second pattern of recruitment into the social upper class, coming from a level of the business community below that of the economic elite, were drawn from a much more restricted economic and social group; an examination of these additional forty-five non-elite business leaders in the upper class leads to the inescapable conclusion that for any but the most successful businessmen in Vancouver, mobility upward
into the city's social upper class was much more restricted than were opportunities for economic success in the field of business. Non-elite business leaders included in the upper class were much more likely than the 'non-elite business leaders' excluded from 'society' to have come from business or professional backgrounds (75.0% to 46.9%) and much less likely to have come from farm or working class families (5.0% to 37.5%). An advance into the social upper class from a working class background was in fact virtually impossible for either elite or non-elite business leaders in pre-war Vancouver.

The advantage of a good education was particularly helpful to the social aspirations of business leaders below the rank of the economic elite. A comparison of the educational attainments of the business leaders included in the social upper class with those not included reveals striking differences in the educational attainments of the two groups; 74% of the non-elite business leaders in the upper class had received at least some training at university, or in law or accountancy, while only 20% of both the business leaders and the elite who had not been accepted into 'society' had enjoyed a similar educational advantage. On the other hand, business leaders excluded from the upper class were more than four times as likely as leaders accepted into 'society' to have received only a grade school education (52.7% to 14.3%). The relationship between a background of relatively high economic and social status and membership in Vancouver's social upper class was particularly close for business leaders trained in high status private schools. Of the sixteen business leaders still living in Vancouver in 1914 who are known to have attended such schools as Upper Canada College in Canada, or Phillips Andover Academy in the United States, 49 thirteen, or 81.2%, were part of the city's upper class. Education statistics, even more than those for father's occupation, suggest that, with the exception of the city's most
successful businessmen, economic improvement was easier to attain in Vancouver than was a parallel increase in social prestige.

Religious affiliation also sharply differentiated the top businessmen in the community along class lines (Table 32). Two-thirds of the social upper class, whether from the economic elite or the lower group of non-elite business leaders, belonged to the Anglican Church (63.0% and 67.6%), compared to 14.3% and 31.8% respectively of the economic elite and non-elite business leaders who were not prominent in 'society'. Presbyterians could be found in almost equal proportions among the various groups of top businessmen in the city; Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic affiliations, on the other hand, very definitely carried lower social prestige. Chances that a member of the economic elite would belong to one of these latter denominations were four times greater than for a socially prominent business leader. Because of the virtual absence of evidence to the contrary, we can assume that for the majority of businessmen (though probably not for all), religious affiliation was traditional and inherited, and not something acquired according to changes in their economic and social position through life. If so, statistics on religious affiliation suggest that mobility upward from the lower status background of a Methodist, Baptist or Roman Catholic family into the upper reaches of Vancouver's economic power structure was easier to achieve than was a similar rise into the city's upper class; continuity of status from past to present in the Anglican, and to a lesser extent Presbyterian, Churches was an important criterion for entry into 'society'.

* * *

Westward migration to Vancouver did seemingly open the doors of economic opportunity for some Canadians and immigrants who entered the field of
Table 32

Vancouver's Pre-War Social Upper Class in 1914 Compared to Non-Upper Class Business Leaders, by Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Economic Elite Included in the Upper Class</th>
<th>Economic Elite Excluded From the Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Included in the Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Elite Business Leaders Excluded From the Upper Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>29(63.0%)</td>
<td>4(14.3%)</td>
<td>23(67.6%)</td>
<td>21(31.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>9(19.5%)</td>
<td>8(28.6%)</td>
<td>9(26.5%)</td>
<td>20(30.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1(2.2%)</td>
<td>4(14.3%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>8(12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniteda</td>
<td>4(8.7%)</td>
<td>3(10.7%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>8(12.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalist</td>
<td>1(2.2%)</td>
<td>1(3.6%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1(2.2%)</td>
<td>2(7.1%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>5(7.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prot.: Other</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(3.6%)</td>
<td>1(2.9%)</td>
<td>1(1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1(2.2%)</td>
<td>5(17.9%)</td>
<td>1(2.9%)</td>
<td>2(3.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Available For: 46(85.2%) 28(80.0%) 34(75.6%) 66(49.6%)
Data Unavailable For: 8(14.8%) 7(20.0%) 11(24.4%) 67(50.4%)

*aOnly business leaders who died after 1925 could be classified as 'United'. Such leaders may have been Methodists, Presbyterians or Congregationalists prior to 1925. The religious affiliation of sixty-four of the 175 business leaders of the 1910-1913 period (36.5%) was revealed at the time of death, either in obituary references or by the location of the funeral. Such sources are obviously the least reliable for an accurate assessment of religious affiliation during the two periods being studied, but were the only sources available. The use of such obituary references and funeral locations as sources accounts for the United Church category in the table.*

business. The son of a Welsh farmer like Jonathan Rogers, without any special education, could do well in Vancouver in the contracting and real estate field; so too could William O'Neil, son of a Brampton, Ontario area farmer, who left school at the age of fourteen to make his fortune in Canadian cities, passing through Toronto and then westward to the coast where he built himself a half million dollar wholesale building supply business in the Terminal City. If economic mobility among leading businessmen was greater in pre-war
Vancouver than elsewhere on the continent, as has been suggested, such a possibility can be explained by the boom-like quality of the regional economy, offering possibilities for quick, though often short-lived gains in the fields of resource promotion and financing; it can also be explained by the fact that, because of its smaller size in Vancouver than at the national levels in Canada and the United States, business in Vancouver had just begun to develop beyond the stage of family, or entrepreneurial capitalism into that of finance capitalism.

Even if economic opportunity was greater in Vancouver than elsewhere, the majority of the city's business leaders still did not experience any significant increase in their status by engaging in business on the west coast. Perhaps more typical than Jonathan Rogers or William O'Neil in Vancouver were B. T. Rogers, W. A. Akhurst and E. H. Heaps. Rogers, the son of an important sugar refinery manager, had attended the prestigious Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, taken a technical course in the science of sugar chemistry in Boston, and gained practical experience with his father before moving to Vancouver in 1890; Quebec-born William Akhurst, son of an agricultural implement dealer, had used his high school education and a special course in mechanical engineering to become manager of the Canadian Fairbanks-Morse Company's large wholesale business in Vancouver; and E. H. Heaps, the son of an English architect and builder, trained at Egremont Academy and through a seven year apprenticeship with a cotton brokerage firm in Britain, had capped a life of business adventure in the United States, Britain and Canada by becoming one of Vancouver's leading industrialists. For business leaders in Vancouver, as for elites elsewhere during this period, a favourable family background was an immense asset in the development of their business careers.

Access to upper class status was not as readily available to leading
Vancouver businessmen as opportunities for business success, as shown clearly by the pattern of recruitment of 'non-elite business leaders' into the social upper class. The social upper class was a much more exclusive group than the business elite, and had an identity of its own; we cannot say for Vancouver, as Alan Artibise has said for Winnipeg, that the "commercial and social elites were indistinguishable."^57

At the same time, 56% of the pre-war business elite had gained entry into the social upper class by 1914. The fact that they had come from less privileged backgrounds than the non-elite members of the upper class, especially if measured by educational attainment, suggests that Vancouver's emerging upper class was still relatively open to new money. The city's social upper class and business elite may not have been one and the same, but the materialistic values of the society generally in Vancouver meant that economic success would probably bring social acceptance, in the second or third generations of family life in Vancouver if not in the first.
Chapter 10

THE SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR OF LEADING VANCOUVER BUSINESSMEN

The hypothesis established in the preceding pages that Vancouver's business community was not a monolithic entity, but rather a complex group divided along social lines, will be examined in greater detail in the present chapter. The extent to which different types of social background conditioned the social behaviour of leading businessmen once established in the city will be the principal focus of concern. In particular, an examination of the social behaviour of leading businessmen in this one Canadian city will hopefully provide some insight into the process by which the fabric of urban society, particularly in its upper reaches, evolved generally in the country during the pre-war period.

* * *

While the C.P.R. was the single most influential business enterprise in early Vancouver, Canadian business interests did not totally dominate the city's economic landscape in the decade after 1886. Business influence was shared between the two principal Canadian institutions, the railroad corporation and its financial affiliate, the Bank of Montreal, and a number of coastal business enterprises, particularly in the fields of resource development, finance and commerce. Vancouver's business community maintained an intermediary position between the old regional economic system in B.C. and the new transcontinental one, represented by the C.P.R.
Much less of a compromise between Canadian and non-Canadian forces was apparent in the formation of a social elite. While education, religious affiliation and family background were all factors essential to determining membership in the city's upper class, many of the socially prominent in the first years of Vancouver's history were also defined by their association with the C.P.R., and with the Canadian Conservative Party that had built it. The social role of C.P.R. executives, which appears to have more than equalled the corporation's economic function in the city, was very significant in the decade after 1886, exaggerated by the fact that an entrenched class of 'old' families had not as yet been established in the new community and by the fact that the company was early Vancouver's wealthiest institution. Erecting opera houses and financing churches were as much a part of the company's initial function as the construction of roads, hotels, bank buildings and railway facilities. An additional factor which added to the social influence of the Canadian faction, however, was its association with the nation-building process, begun in Canada in the 1850's and 1860's. Ties with the Macdonald Conservative government, the government of Confederation and the transcontinental railroad, implied for a handful of local Canadians a link to the fount of national greatness. The two families which formed the central core of 'society' in Vancouver during the first twenty-five years after 1886, the Harry Abbotts and the Sir Charles Hibbert Tppers, were both intimately connected with this larger process to establish and consolidate the nation.

Harry Abbott was both the single most powerful businessman in early Vancouver, and the leading social figure of the period. His influence was the product of an obviously powerful economic role combined with a family background that linked him to prominent social and political families in Quebec. His father, a graduate of Glasgow University, had been an
Anglican minister in Abbotsford, in the Eastern Townships, and Harry himself had received an engineering degree at McGill. His brother, the lawyer J.J.C. Abbott, had been legal advisor to Sir Hugh Allan (head of the first C.P.R. Company), Mayor of Montreal, a Conservative Member of Parliament, a Senator and the Prime Minister of Canada in 1891 and 1892; and his wife, born Margaret Amelie Sicotte, was daughter of Judge Sicotte, co-leader of the Macdonald-Sicotte administration of the 1860's. Harry Abbott himself had been an unsuccessful Conservative candidate for Brockville in the federal election of 1872.

The Abbott family's social prominence was unparalleled in early Vancouver. By commissioning the construction of a new brick residence in 1886, Abbott had immediately established the Seaton Street area along the bluff overlooking Burrard Inlet as the city's first socially prestigious neighborhood. He was part of a small group of leading citizens who met in May of 1888 to plan the construction of an Anglican church on the C.P.R. side of the city, near the company's Hotel Vancouver. When the Governor-General and Lady Aberdeen came to town in November of 1894, it was Harry Abbott who escorted them about, and the Abbott family who dined with them in the privacy of their home. Abbott's prestige was such that he was asked to head virtually every social and cultural organization of note in the city between 1886 and 1900. He was one of the founding organizers of the Vancouver Club in July of 1889, and was on the club's first managing committee. He was listed in the city directory as president of the Vancouver Club in 1892-93, was vice-president in 1895-96, and served again as president from 1898 to 1902. He was the first president of the Vancouver Boating Club, organized in June of 1887, and first president of the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club, begun nine months later and second only to the Vancouver Club in social prestige in early Vancouver. His wife was a
member of the Art, Historical and Scientific Society in the city in 1892, and he was president of the Vancouver Chess and Draughts Club in 1888. He also served in 1887 as a trustee for the first city-run library, inspired by Father Clinton, the Rector of St. James Church, as an alternative to saloons for workingmen in the city. In 1897-98 Abbott was both president of the Vancouver Philharmonic and Orchestral Society, and honorary president of the Vancouver Operatic and Dramatic Society.

The social group which centered around the Abbott family extended outward in a complex network of corporate and family ties. The American-born B.T. Rogers was linked to the central C.P.R. elite in Montreal, whose interests in the sugar company were represented by J.M. Browning, C.P.R. Land Commissioner in Vancouver, and B.C. Sugar's first president. A family alliance between the two groups followed in 1892 when Rogers married Isabella Angus, the daughter of James Angus of Victoria, and niece of the prominent C.P.R. executive R.B. Angus of Montreal. Browning, like Abbott, added a prominent social to his already influential economic role in the city, serving as president of the Y.M.C.A.'s Building Committee in 1889, and president of the Vancouver Club in 1893 and 1894. The Abbotts were linked through marriage with two other notable families in the city in the 1890's; their son J.L.G. Abbott, a lawyer and business leader in his own right in pre-war Vancouver after 1910, married the daughter of R.H. Alexander, manager of the Hastings Sawmill Company, in the mid-1890's, and an Abbott daughter married the prominent Conservative Party worker and Vancouver lawyer Osborne Plunkett, creating one of the city's most active 'society' families during the early years of the present century. Dr. J.M. Lefevre, a noted telephone company entrepreneur in Vancouver in the nineties, was linked to the C.P.R. group through his primary occupation as Surgeon for the Pacific Division of the C.P.R. from 1886 to 1906. He in turn
had married Lily Alice Cooke, daughter of early street railway promoter, foundry manager and Vancouver business leader R.P. Cooke, in 1893.\textsuperscript{18} Richard Marpole joined the C.P.R. business and social elite in 1897, replacing the retiring Harry Abbott as the company's chief executive officer in Vancouver.\textsuperscript{19} The Marpole family's natural social influence, reflected in the fact that Richard Marpole was made an Honorary President of the Vancouver Tennis Club after only two years in the city, was extended in 1901 when son Clarence married the daughter of leading New Westminster business-man H.V. Edmonds.\textsuperscript{20} The Marpoles and their wives, along with two additional leading business families, each belonged to more high status social clubs than any other upper class business leaders in Vancouver in the 1910-1914 period.\textsuperscript{21}

At least five other families could be classified as part of this C.P.R.-centered social elite in early Vancouver. The names of George McLaren Brown, who served in a series of roles with the C.P.R. in the city between 1887 and 1902, and William F. Salsbury, Treasurer for the C.P.R.'s Pacific Division between 1887 and 1921, were both prominent on the social pages of the city's newspapers. Brown came from a solid Conservative Party background in Ontario where his father had been a Conservative M.P. for Hamilton after 1887, and the Postmaster of Hamilton after 1891.\textsuperscript{22} More influential socially were the H.J. Cambie family, especially the daughters of C.P.R.'s Chief Engineer in Vancouver whose presence at the endless processions of 'At Homes', which marked the growing self-awareness of 'society' in Vancouver at the turn of the century, was clearly very much in demand. The marriage of Elizabeth Cambie to R.G. Tatlow, real estate promoter and business leader of the early 1890's, and Minister of Agriculture and Finance in the provincial McBride Government from 1903 to 1909, was the city's gala social event of 1894.\textsuperscript{23} The families of Campbell Sweeney, local manager of
the Bank of Montreal, and of Donald B. Charleston, the principal C.P.R.
contractor in Vancouver in the 1880's, were also part of the city's early
social elite.24

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper and his wife, Lady Tupper, became for
society in Vancouver after 1900 what the Harry Abbotts had been before, the
family whose pre-eminent social prestige set the standards of social conduct
for the city's emerging upper class. A reading of the social pages of the
Vancouver Province after February of 1900,25 leaves the clear impression that
the presence of Lady Tupper at one of the opera parties, 'At Homes', 'ping-
pong teas', or croquet and tennis tournaments which had become so fashion-
able at the turn of the century was the ultimate measure of success for such
social ventures.26 The Tuppers' very handsome new home on the edge of
Stanley Park, known appropriately as 'Parkside', was constructed soon after
their arrival in Vancouver in 1898,27 and set the pace for the westward move-
ment of 'society' families into the west end after 1900. Lady Tupper was
one of a small group of women who organized a grand ball for Vancouver's
"400" in October of 1901,28 thereby giving a lead to the process of class
definition in Vancouver through emulation of the established social conduct
of older metropolitan upper classes on the eastern side of the continent.
The Tuppers took a more active part in private charitable work than any
other single family of business leaders in the city. In October of 1902
the Board of Management of the Vancouver General Hospital called for the
establishment of a woman's committee to raise funds for the erection and
equipping of a new hospital; Lady Tupper was subsequently elected the first
president of the hospital's Woman's Auxiliary.29 When the ladies of
'society' established the Royal Margarete Club, a charitable auxiliary for
St. Paul's Hospital, ten years later, Lady Tupper again received the honour
of being elected its first president.30 Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper was
president of the provincial Red Cross Society in 1900, and personally led the formation of a Vancouver branch that year, was active on the Board of Directors of the Vancouver General Hospital in 1904, and was president of the Children's Aid Society from 1903 to 1907. The ultimate recognition of their pre-eminent social status in Vancouver came for the Tuppers before the War when he was elected president of the Vancouver Club in 1909 and 1910 and she was named Honorary President of the newly formed and prestigious Connaught Skating Club in 1912.

More than the occupational role of the Tuppers is required to explain this instant social prominence in Vancouver. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper had established a law practice upon arrival in Vancouver, and developed a number of important connections with the local business community by 1913. He was president of the British Columbia Trust Company after 1899, the director of three 'important' companies after 1910, and one of the business leaders of the 1910-1913 period. More important in explaining their high social status, however, was his own and his family's political background. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper had served as a Conservative Member of Parliament in the House of Commons after 1882, and had been Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Minister of Justice between 1889 and 1896. His father, Sir Charles Tupper, was one of the founders of the nation in the 1860's, the Macdonald government's minister in charge of railways during most of the period of C.P.R. construction (between 1880 and 1884), Canadian High Commissioner to London from 1884 to 1887, and again after 1888, and Prime Minister of Canada for a short period in 1896; he was still the Leader of the Opposition in the Commons in the late nineties. Lady Tupper, like Mrs. Harry Abbott, had also been raised in a prominent political family. Her father, the Hon. James McDonald, had supported Charles Tupper politically in Nova Scotia in the 1860's, had sat as a supporter of the Macdonald
Conservatives in the House of Commons in the 1870's, and had been appointed the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in 1881. The Tupper family's association with the nation-building process in Canada and the extension of that process into the west had given them, like the Abbott family, a large measure of added prestige upon their arrival in British Columbia.

Upper class social behaviour in early Vancouver was not limited entirely to this C.P.R.-centered elite, however. Other families as well were drawn into a social network that slowly, over the city's first quarter century, evolved into a recognizable upper class. The factors of occupation, education and family background all worked after 1886 to initiate the selection of Vancouver's population into distinctive social groups. One example of this selection process was the formation of a private school in 1890 designed "especially for the secondary education of gentlemen's sons". Whetham College was formed by Charles Whetham, a Master of Arts graduate from the University of Toronto whose credentials for such a class-defining role included an earlier two-year term as master of Upper Canada College in Toronto. The founders of the Vancouver Club, the most significant upper class institution in Vancouver between 1886 and 1914, were also drawn together in this organization by very particular economic and social interests. Club organizers did not include shingle mill operator William Tait, the son of a blacksmith educated in public schools in Scotland and Canada; or William Shannon, the Methodist real estate promoter whose education had been limited to public schools in Lindsay, Ontario; or James Ramsay, the public school-educated son of a Scottish farmer whose candy and biscuit manufacturing business had made him one of the economic leaders of the city in the early nineties. They were drawn, rather, from certain prestigious business groups like bankers and railroad executives, including the C.P.R.-centered group of Harry Abbott, J.M. Browning, D.B. Charleson,
Dr. Lefevre and B.T. Rogers, and the bankers J.C. Keith and Campbell Sweeny; they also included men with high status family backgrounds like S.O. Richards, the Upper Canada College-educated real estate promoter whose father, the Brockville-based Sir William B. Richards, had been the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, and whose uncle, Albert N. Richards, had been Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia; J.G. Woods and R.H. Alexander, both sawmill managers, and both graduates of Upper Canada College; R.P. Cooke, the son of a former Crown Solicitor for King's County in Ireland whose training as an engineer at Trinity College in Dublin had followed the earlier completion of a B.A. degree in 1848; and A. St. George Hammersley, a lawyer and business leader in early Vancouver trained at Marlborough College and the Middle Temple in London.  

The failure of Vancouver's elites to sustain Whetham College beyond the first full year of economic depression in 1893 provided a clear indication that the city's upper class, such as it was during these formative years, was still a very small group. Much of the social activity of business leaders in early Vancouver represented little more than the social interaction of functional leaders in a small community where only time and a much broader social and economic base would make possible the emergence from their ranks of a more clearly defined social class. Major social events of the 1880's and 1890's like the huge assembly of 250 guests at the Oppenheimer's 'At Home' in November of 1888, or the Opera House Ball, described as a scene of "bewildering brilliancy", in April of 1895, were mere assemblies "of the city of Vancouver's elite" (italics used in the original), as the News-Advertiser's story of the Oppenheimer soirée at the time pointed out, and not of a large and cohesive upper class.

The previously established core of upper class families began to expand at the turn of the century. The city's new role as a regional
metropolitan centre meant that both its business and professional elites increased rapidly in numbers during and after the late nineties, attracting to the city an educated class who empathized naturally with one another in social behaviour. By 1902 the socially prominent were no longer so exclusively tied to the city's major business enterprises. The legal profession in particular provided at least a dozen leaders of 'society' by the 1900-1902 period, including Charles Wilson and J.H. Senkler of Wilson, Senkler and Bloomfield; George Cowan and Arthur J. Kappel of Cowan, Kappel and McEvoy; E.P. Davis and C.B. MacNeill of Davis, Marshall and MacNeill; L.G. McPhillips and Adolphous Williams of McPhillips and Williams; as well as Henry W.C. Boak, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, J.L.G. Abbott and A. St. George Hammersley.

The very idea of 'society' was more prominent at the turn of the century than it had been earlier. Observers of the social scene talked about the 'upper ten', "the wearers of purple and fine linen" who now lived in the city's new "residential quarters", its "Nob Hill" in the west end; 44 or about the "socially eminent" in the city; 45 or about "Vancouver's '400'". The very fact that 'society' was 'observed' after 1900 reflected the concerted effort by a portion of the Vancouver community to define its superior social status through mutual association and group activity. The Province in particular played a major role through its version of what Stephen Leacock would have called the local "Boudoir and Society Column" 46 in focusing attention on the new social elite. The endless rounds of teas and tournaments referred to earlier were the daily fare of the paper's social page, begun as a special feature at the turn of the century. 47

Construction of large new homes in the west end like the $25,000 'Gabriola', built by B.T. Rogers on Davie Street in 1900, 48 or the nearby mansion of E. Hinde-Bowker with its "well appointed" interior and its spacious grounds "laid out with tennis and croquet lawns, . . . a handsome conservatory and
comodius stables" \(49\) likewise served as essential agents of the class-defining process. They were supported by both the Vancouver Club and the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club, the latter in particular, "ever" giving a lead to the fashionable behaviour of 'society' at the turn of the century. \(50\)

An upper class lifestyle continued to evolve in Vancouver over the next dozen years, with new clubs, residential areas and fashionable pastimes adding to a pattern of social behaviour already established in its essential form by 1902. New clubs in the 1910-14 period like the Georgian Club, begun in December of 1910 as the "first ladies' social club" in Vancouver, \(51\) the Connaught Skating Club and the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, added to the number of social institutions available to the city's social elite. Upper class group association was further facilitated by the publication of the *Vancouver Elite Directory* of 1908 and the *Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory* of 1914.

Vancouver's upper class had two outstanding characteristics in the pre-war period. It was neither an aristocracy of inherited wealth whose economic base had ceased to expand in the distant past; nor was it closed to new recruitment. Vancouver's was a practical aristocracy, an upper class that worked in business and professional occupations. A privileged economic and social background were indeed essential factors that separated upper class from merely "successful" families in Vancouver; but such inherited advantages did not preclude the necessity for a continuing functional role within the community. \(52\) In this sense, only the greater significance of their economic role distinguished the ninety-nine upper class business leaders from other members of the upper class as a whole.

Some of Vancouver's leading 'society' families had begun to merge into a tightly self-contained social group by 1914. Particularly important were marriage ties among 'old' Vancouver families, led by the C.P.R. elite
in the 1890's, and followed by several additional families after 1900. Included among the latter were the marriages of two of B.T. Rogers' sons to daughters of socialite business leaders George H. Cowan and Dr. D.H. Wilson; of R.V. Winch's daughter Gertrude to J. Victor Spencer, son of Victoria's leading merchant prince, David Spencer; of a daughter of Jonothan Rogers to a son of J. Fred Malkin (brother of W.H.); and of two of Campbell Sweeny's sons to a Bell-Irving of Vancouver and a Pooley of Esquimalt. High status private school educations also promoted the integration of several of these same families into a larger network of upper class families. S.F. Campbell Sweeny and S.C. (Bimbo) Sweeny went to Haileybury College in England, and Campbell continued on at the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario; two of B.T. Rogers' sons attended the Royal Military College at Kingston, and sons of R.H. Alexander and J.H. Senkler studied at Upper Canada College; Frederick L. Beecher followed in his father's footsteps at Phillips Andover Academy, and daughters of John Hendry and J.W. Stewart were sent to private schools in Britain and Paris respectively. Daughters of the social elite were expected to attend finishing schools either abroad or at home before "coming out" into local society.

The upper class in Vancouver as a whole was less cohesive than this, and still relatively open and fluid by comparison with similar classes in older, larger and less regional metropolitan centres like Philadelphia, where 'old' families ran back as far as the eighteenth century. One-third of Vancouver's upper class business leaders of the 1910-14 period had come to the city after 1900, and 16 after 1905. Most of the latecomers brought backgrounds or business connections which made integration into the upper class a relatively easy task; the C.P.R.'s F.W. Peters was president of the Vancouver Club within two years of his arrival in 1912,
attesting to the continuing prestige of the railroad corporation in the
city; graduates of high status private schools like Ewing Buchan, E.A.C.
Studd, Donald von Cramer and R.F. Hayward had no trouble finding immediate
access to Vancouver's inner social circle; 61 nor did Alvo von Alvensleben,
whose aristocratic background and ties to the German royal family 62
undoubtedly contributed much to his high social standing before the out­
break of war. The very fact of such continued access, however, including
the late entry of a handful of top businessmen who had not come from high
status backgrounds, reflected the still incomplete and transitional nature
of class development in the city before 1914. For the majority of upper
class business leaders in Vancouver, upper class status was achieved
through membership in exclusive social clubs rather than the more advanced
form of class integration provided by intermarriage and private schools.

* * *

Business leaders were active 'joiners'; by the 1910-1913 period
more than 200 of Vancouver's 276 top businessmen belonged to at least one
social or business club in the community. Clubbing started in Vancouver
almost from the very inception of the city, and by 1892 social leaders had
formed a series of recreational clubs under one umbrella organization, the
Brockton Point Athletic Association, covering interests from cricket,
lacrosse, boating and rowing to the more genteel sporting pastimes of
lawn tennis, riding and golf. Hockey, gun and rifle clubs had also been
formed by the end of the 1890's.

The fact that Vancouver business leaders, especially those with
socially prominent backgrounds and upper class pretentions, provided
almost all of the principal organizers and top executives of these early
recreational clubs reflected the overwhelmingly 'commercial' tone of life in Vancouver during its first ten years as a city. Percy Evans, for instance, was founder of the Burrard Inlet Rowing Club in 1892, and five of the seven organizers of the B.C. Jockey Club in June of the same year were early Vancouver business leaders. The Vancouver Boating Club, in addition to being headed by Harry Abbott, included among its first executives socially prominent businessmen like C. Gardiner Johnson, J.W. McFarland, Johann Wulffsohn and W.E. Gravely, as well as other C.P.R. executives like L.A. Hamilton, W.F. Salsbury and A.J. Dana. The Brockton Point Athletic Association, formed in June of 1888, included among the eight members of its organizing committee the names of Vancouver business leaders J.C. Keith, Campbell Sweeny, Thomas Dunn, C.D. Rand, A. St. George Hammersley and R.G. Tatlow. David Oppenheimer was joined as president of the Vancouver Cricket Club in 1889 by prominent business names like Sweeny, Keith, Johnson and Hammersley on an executive committee of eleven. Campbell Sweeny and A. St. George Hammersley were Honorary Presidents of the first Vancouver Golf Club in 1892, while Sweeny had been elected vice-president of the first Lawn Tennis Club four years earlier, along with Harry Abbott as president. The central role of socially prominent businessmen in these recreational clubs in the 1880's and 1890's was perhaps best represented by the club affiliations of Charles Beecher at the end of the decade; in the year 1897-98, he was president of no less than four sporting clubs in the city, including the Vancouver Rugby Club, the Vancouver Hockey Club, the Vancouver Lacrosse Club and the Vancouver Gun Club.

These predominantly sports-oriented clubs of the 1890's had given way to a broad range of social clubs by the time of the First World War. The Vancouver Club, begun in 1889, and the Metropolitan Club in 1892, were the first in the city which combined a business and social function; by
1914 they had been joined by the Terminal City Club, successor to the
reorganized Metropolitan Club in 1899, the Commercial Club, the Western
Club and the more intellectual Canadian Club, with over 1300 members. The country club phenomenon appeared after 1900, providing practical
recreational facilities with the socially integrative services of a social club. The Jericho Golf and Country Club, formed in 1905, the Vancouver Golf and Country Club in 1911 and the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club in 1912 joined earlier sporting clubs like the Vancouver Lawn Tennis, Vancouver Hunt and Vancouver Rowing Clubs of the pre-1900 period, and the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club established in 1903.

The expansion of club activities among women was particularly indicative of the growing importance of clubs as agents of social integration in the community. One observer, B. Pullen-Berry, noted in 1912 that "the intellectual and sociological interests" of women were "more to the fore" in Vancouver than anywhere else in the Dominion. Club interests ranged from the intellectual in the Athenaeum Club, the Women's Canadian Club and the 450 member Women's Musical Club, to the more strictly social in the Georgian and Connaught Skating Clubs. A $200,000 building to house various women's organizations in the city was proposed for Vancouver in the spring of 1911.

Vancouver's business community operated within a clearly defined geographical region of the country, and this regionalism found expression in the club affiliations of the city's top businessmen. Only a handful belonged to clubs outside of Vancouver, and even fewer were members of clubs in other provinces. Nineteen pre-war business leaders were members of the Union Club of Victoria, the favourite outside club of the local elite. Seven belonged to the Manitoba Club in Winnipeg, two to the Albany
and Rideau Clubs in Toronto and Ottawa, and one each to the Mount Royal and St. James' Clubs in Montreal. An examination of the club affiliations of leading businessmen in Montreal and Toronto in 1909 reveals that the same isolation noted earlier between Vancouver and eastern Canadian business communities in economic matters was also evident in their social relations. Of the twenty-one members in what Nathaniel Fineberg called the 'Canadian Financial Triangle' who were listed in two national biographical dictionaries published in 1912, only one, C.P.R. president Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, belonged to the Vancouver and Union Clubs in B.C. As was the case with directorships in national corporations during this period, the eastern Canadian and Winnipeg business communities were more closely connected than were those of the east and Vancouver. Eleven of the twenty-one Montreal and Toronto businessmen identified by Fineberg were members of Winnipeg's Manitoba Club.

To test the assumption that club affiliations provide, for the social historian, one of the best available windows onto the social cleavages which divided businessmen in a city like Vancouver in the pre-war period, four categories of club affiliations have been compared in Table 33, and five business and social questions have been asked of each category. Members of the Vancouver and Terminal City Clubs have been examined separately; both clubs served a similar function for its members, but one was clearly an institution of high social prestige, and the other was not. These in turn were compared with business leaders of the 1910-13 period who belonged only to low status clubs, and with others still who belonged to no clubs at all.

The economic and social differences between members of the Vancouver and Terminal City Clubs in the pre-war period are quite striking. Both were essentially metropolitan social clubs catering to the interests
Table 33
Social and Business Club Affiliations\textsuperscript{a} of 1910-1913
Business Leaders, by Primary Occupation, Size of Primary Business Affiliation, Religion, Education and Father's Occupation

A. Club Affiliations, by Primary Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation Categories</th>
<th>Member of Vancouver Club</th>
<th>Member of Terminal City Club</th>
<th>Member of Low Status Club(s)\textsuperscript{c} Only</th>
<th>No Record of Membership in Any Social or Business Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>15 (14.9%)</td>
<td>25 (24.5%)</td>
<td>18 (26.8%)</td>
<td>18 (28.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resources</td>
<td>13 (12.9%)</td>
<td>10 (9.8%)</td>
<td>9 (13.4%)</td>
<td>7 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Man</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
<td>9 (8.8%)</td>
<td>8 (11.9%)</td>
<td>6 (9.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale</td>
<td>22 (21.8%)</td>
<td>19 (18.6%)</td>
<td>6 (8.9%)</td>
<td>6 (9.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
<td>10 (9.8%)</td>
<td>10 (14.9%)</td>
<td>10 (15.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Banking</td>
<td>11 (10.9%)</td>
<td>5 (4.9%)</td>
<td>1 (1.1%)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
<td>10 (9.8%)</td>
<td>5 (7.5%)</td>
<td>6 (9.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>5 (5.0%)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
<td>0 (-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
<td>3 (2.9%)</td>
<td>2 (2.9%)</td>
<td>2 (2.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other N.B. Bus</td>
<td>1 (1.0%)</td>
<td>4 (3.9%)</td>
<td>3 (4.5%)</td>
<td>1 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>15 (14.9%)</td>
<td>4 (4.0%)</td>
<td>1 (1.5%)</td>
<td>3 (4.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1 (1.0%)</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
<td>4 (5.9%)</td>
<td>5 (7.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>101 (100%)</td>
<td>102 (100%)</td>
<td>67 (100%)</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Club Memberships, by Size of Primary Business Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Primary Business Affiliation (Assets)</th>
<th>Member of Vancouver Club</th>
<th>Member of Terminal City Club</th>
<th>Member of Low Status Club(s)\textsuperscript{c} Only</th>
<th>No Record of Membership in Any Social or Business Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$100,000-$1m.</td>
<td>21 (48.9%)</td>
<td>44 (73.3%)</td>
<td>35 (77.8%)</td>
<td>35 (87.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1m. +</td>
<td>22 (51.1%)</td>
<td>16 (26.7%)</td>
<td>10 (22.2%)</td>
<td>5 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>43 (100%)</td>
<td>60 (100%)</td>
<td>45 (100%)</td>
<td>40 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 33 (continued)

#### C. Club Memberships, by Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Member of Vancouver Club (%)</th>
<th>Member of Terminal City Club (%)</th>
<th>Member of Low Status Club(s) Only (%)</th>
<th>No Record of Membership in Any Social or Business Clubs (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>52(61.9)</td>
<td>26(33.8)</td>
<td>9(20.5)</td>
<td>6(26.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>22(26.2)</td>
<td>23(29.9)</td>
<td>12(27.3)</td>
<td>9(39.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1(1.2)</td>
<td>7(9.1)</td>
<td>7(15.9)</td>
<td>3(13.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>5(6.0)</td>
<td>9(11.7)</td>
<td>5(11.4)</td>
<td>2(8.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1(1.2)</td>
<td>5(6.5)</td>
<td>4(9.9)</td>
<td>1(1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalist</td>
<td>1(1.2)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(2.3)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>1(1.3)</td>
<td>1(2.3)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1(1.2)</td>
<td>5(6.5)</td>
<td>4(9.9)</td>
<td>2(8.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prot.: Other</td>
<td>1(1.2)</td>
<td>1(1.3)</td>
<td>1(2.3)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>84(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>77(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>44(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>23(100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### D. Club Memberships, by Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education Attained$^d$</th>
<th>Member of Vancouver Club (%)</th>
<th>Member of Terminal City Club (%)</th>
<th>Member of Low Status Club(s) Only (%)</th>
<th>No Record of Membership in Any Social or Business Clubs (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University or Law...</td>
<td>36(50.0)</td>
<td>12(18.4)</td>
<td>3(6.9)</td>
<td>7(35.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School...</td>
<td>19(26.4)</td>
<td>27(41.6)</td>
<td>16(37.2)</td>
<td>2(10.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School or Less...</td>
<td>17(23.6)</td>
<td>26(40.0)</td>
<td>25(55.8)</td>
<td>11(55.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>72(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>65(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>43(100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>20(100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 33 (continued)

E. Club Memberships, by Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Club Affiliations 1910-14</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Member of Vancouver Club</td>
<td>Member of Terminal City Club</td>
<td>Member of Low Status Club(s) Only</td>
<td>No Record of Membership in Any Social or Business Clubs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>17(39.5%)</td>
<td>18(45.0%)</td>
<td>9(37.5%)</td>
<td>5(31.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>15(34.9%)</td>
<td>7(17.5%)</td>
<td>3(12.5%)</td>
<td>0(------)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/P.O./Military</td>
<td>5(11.6%)</td>
<td>4(10.0%)</td>
<td>3(12.5%)</td>
<td>1( 6.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>5(11.6%)</td>
<td>10(25.0%)</td>
<td>8(33.3%)</td>
<td>7(43.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled or Semi-skilled Worker</td>
<td>1( 2.3%)</td>
<td>1( 2.5%)</td>
<td>1( 4.2%)</td>
<td>3(18.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>43(100 %)</strong></td>
<td><strong>40(100 %)</strong></td>
<td><strong>24(100 %)</strong></td>
<td><strong>16(100 %)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* Ethnic, cultural and charitable clubs and associations have been excluded from this table.

*b* These categories are defined in Table 34, page 257

*c* The 'High Status Clubs' of pre-war Vancouver are defined in the previous chapter as the Vancouver Club, the Vancouver Yacht Club, the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, the University Club, the Vancouver Rowing Club, the Vancouver Hunt Club, the Connaught Skating Club and the Georgian Club. Affiliations with prestigious clubs outside of Vancouver, also noted in Chapter 9, have been considered in this table as 'High Status'. All other social and business club affiliations are defined as 'Low Status'.

*d* These summarized categories are defined in Table 24, Chapter 9, page 210.

*e* These summarized categories are defined in Table 25, Chapter 9, page 211.
of business and professional men in the city. Yet by the 1910-14 period 71.2% of the city's business leaders who belonged to the Terminal City Club were not members of the Vancouver Club, and 73.4% of those in the Vancouver Club were not members of the Terminal City. Each clearly attracted its members from different sections of the business community. Terminal City Club business leaders were more active in speculative real estate and resource promotion businesses, in financing these speculative schemes through one of the many smaller trust or loan companies prevalent in Vancouver between 1907 and 1913, and in the retail trade, while Vancouver Club members were drawn more from the banking, urban utility and transportation sectors of the economy, and from the professions. Most revealing is the fact that over 50% of the Vancouver Club members were primarily occupied in companies with assets greater than one million dollars, almost twice the proportion of businessmen in the Terminal City Club. These figures actually understate the difference, because the category of primary business size includes only B.C. companies for which assets are known, and excludes those larger national corporations, like the C.P.R. and the banks, whose chief executives in the city were most likely to have belonged to the Vancouver Club. These clubs were not differentiated entirely on the basis of occupation, however, as the fairly even proportion of resource entrepreneurs and wholesale merchants in each reveals. Many of the leading merchants in the city, such as Frederick Buscombe, Robert Kelly, Wm. G. MacKenzie, W.H. Malkin and A.L. Russell belonged to both clubs.

Class background rather than occupation was a more compelling agent of differentiation. Social lines had been drawn between the two clubs as early as the 1890's. While the Vancouver Club had always defined itself as "a first class social club", the large-scale resignation of many of its most socially prominent members within months of the club's
establishment in December of 1892 had precluded any such pretensions for
the rival Metropolitan Club. Social differences by 1914 were such that
while half of the Vancouver Club business leaders of the pre-war period had
received some university training, only 18.4% of those in the Terminal City
Club had reached a similar level. Vancouver Club members were more likely
by 1914 to have been Anglicans by a proportion of 61.9% to 33.8%, and less
likely to have been Methodists, Roman Catholics or Baptists by a significant
difference of 3.6% to 22.1%. Terminal City Club members were only half as
likely to have come from professional families, and more than twice as
likely to have been raised on farms.

Vancouver business leaders who belonged only to low status clubs
in the 1910-14 period, or to none at all, were the least likely to have been
members of the business elite, associated with the biggest and most success-
ful enterprises in the city, and the most likely to have been members of
the middle rather than upper class. Business leaders in these two cate-
gories, even more than Terminal City Club members, were associated with
the smallest and most speculative of the city's 'important' businesses
(i.e. those having assets larger than $100,000). A mere 12.5% of the
business leaders with no club affiliations were associated with large com-
panies worth more than one million dollars. While almost as many were
engaged in resource companies as Vancouver Club members, the land, lumber
and fish companies they headed were small, speculative, and very much the
products of Vancouver's pre-war economic boom. Businessmen in the low
status and no club categories were typical of many entrepreneurs in the
Terminal City during the period, men drawn to the coast by opportunities
to profit from speculation in the province's resources, or to provide
services for the rapidly expanding local economy, and the first to suffer
when the boom collapsed. Those with no club affiliations included men like A.J. Anderson, president of the Anderson Logging Company, worth $194,000 in 1911; George E. Davenport, president of the Jervis Inlet Lumber Company, which had assets in 1913 of $298,775; R.S. Sills, president of the real estate and brokerage firm Federal Investments Ltd., with assets the same year of $227,000; and Albert J. Passage, president of the Western Canada Trust Company, worth just over $300,000 before the collapse in 1913. Also included were a number of retail and service industry entrepreneurs like Frank Webb, Philip A. Wilson, John A. Douglas, J.B. Campbell and James Brown, each controlling businesses in the pre-war period worth under $320,000. 83

Businessmen in these same two categories were also the least likely to have left behind in Vancouver a record of their existence in the city, or of their economic and social backgrounds. The limited evidence that is available suggests that over half had received only a grade school education, that more than half were from farm or working class backgrounds, and that up to one-third belonged to the three principal low status religious denominations in the city, far different from those who had been accepted into the Vancouver Club and other high status social clubs of the period.

The occupational differences between Vancouver Club and non-Vancouver Club members closely matched the occupational differences between business leaders in the upper and middle classes. Occupation may have been less of an 'agent' of differentiation between members of the various social and business clubs than family background, but it did reflect in turn the same social divisions within the business community. As Tables 33 (Part A) and 34 suggest, a close parallel existed between the businesses dominated by Vancouver Club and upper class members on the one
Table 34
Primary Occupations of Upper Class and Non-Upper Class Business Leaders of the 1910-1913 Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation Categories</th>
<th>Business Leaders of the 1910-13 Period in the Upper Class</th>
<th>Non-Upper Class Business Leaders of the 1910-13 Period</th>
<th>Total in Occup. Categories (100%)</th>
<th>Prop. of Each Occup. Group in the Upper Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Banking</td>
<td>9 (9.7%)</td>
<td>3 (5.0%)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions</td>
<td>15 (16.1%)</td>
<td>9 (5.0%)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale(^a)</td>
<td>20 (21.5%)</td>
<td>17 (9.4%)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation(^b)</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
<td>3 (1.7%)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resources(^c)</td>
<td>10 (10.8%)</td>
<td>24 (13.3%)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion(^d)</td>
<td>15 (16.1%)</td>
<td>49 (27.2%)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2 (2.2%)</td>
<td>7 (3.9%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: All Others</td>
<td>5 (5.4%)</td>
<td>18 (10.0%)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other N.B. Businesses</td>
<td>1 (1.1%)</td>
<td>4 (2.2%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail(^e)</td>
<td>5 (5.4%)</td>
<td>21 (11.7%)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(^f)</td>
<td>2 (2.2%)</td>
<td>9 (5.0%)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Manufacturing(^g)</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
<td>16 (8.9%)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS 93(100%) 180(100%) 273

\(^a\) 'Commerce: Wholesale' includes the categories of 'Commerce: Wholesale' and 'Commerce: Wholesale Functions'.

\(^b\) 'Transportation' includes the categories of 'Transportation: Shipping' and 'Transportation: Steam Railways'.

\(^c\) 'Primary Resources' includes the categories of 'Primary Resource: Fish' and 'Primary Resource: Timber'.

\(^d\) 'Promotion' includes the categories of 'Promotion: Real Estate' and 'Promotion: All others'.

\(^e\) 'Commerce: Retail' includes the categories of 'Commerce: Retail' and 'Commerce: Lumber: Wholesale and Retail'.

\(^f\) 'Other' includes the categories of 'Capitalist', 'Clerical', 'Semi-Skilled or Skilled Worker' and 'Other'.

\(^g\) 'Secondary Manufacturing' includes the categories of 'Secondary Manufacturing' (producers' goods and construction supplies) and 'Consumers' Goods Mfg.'.
hand, and between the types of enterprises dominated by entrepreneurs of lower status social club affiliations, and the middle class, on the other. The principal conclusion to be drawn from this relationship, given the significant social differences between upper and middle class backgrounds discussed in the previous chapter, is that banking, utility, transportation and professional sectors of the economy recruited leading business figures more often from families in which considerable economic and social advantage had been provided than did manufacturing industries, service businesses and resource promotion enterprises. In short, the kinds of enterprises leading businessmen engaged in once established in Vancouver, like the club memberships they held, were also partially a function of their social status.

Ethnic associations were much less important as vehicles of social interaction among Vancouver business leaders than were social, business and recreational clubs. Of the 322 business leaders included in both the 1890-93 and 1910-13 periods, only thirty-one are known to have been affiliated with ethnic associations. Scots led the way (fourteen), followed by Germans and Americans (six), English (four) and Irish (one). Business leaders were noticeably active in only two societies, the St. Andrews's and Caledonian Society of the Scots and the Deutsche Gesellschaft of the Germans. By contrast the American Club, with which six business leaders primarily engaged in resource industries after 1900 were associated, does not appear to have functioned energetically in either a social or benevolent capacity. Strong ethnic traditions were most prevalent among the Scots in the 1880's and 1890's, when ten of the fourteen business leaders associated with the club were actively involved. As the upper levels of the business community became more Canadian after 1900, and as the social distance between the Scottish metropolis and the New World increased with
the passage of time, the St. Andrew's Society declined in significance for Vancouver business leaders. The German Society was dominated from 1886 to 1914 by two prominent Vancouver businessmen, Johann Wulffsohn and Alvo von Alvensleben. Ethnic associations generally, however, and the St. George's Society in particular, drew their members from a much broader spectrum of the social scale than did the city's more status-conscious social clubs. While ethnic loyalties had "frequently" acted as "the primary focus of identification" for industrial entrepreneurs at the national level in Canada in the early 1880's, they were no more than a secondary focus for most business leaders in pre-war Vancouver.

* * *

"Residential propinquity", states E. Digby Baltzell, "...serves the function of creating and preserving the social heritage and style of life of the various subcultural units" within a society. In a community like early Vancouver, the function of residence was more one of 'creating' than 'preserving' such heritage and lifestyle, a fact emphasized by the continuous evolution of neighborhoods for leading businessmen between 1886 and 1914. No less than four residential areas were dominated by the business and professional classes in the twenty-eight year period after 1886, as the study of residential distribution in Table 35 shows. The areas along Seaton Street (now West Hastings Street) on the west side of the city overlooking Burrard Inlet, and along Georgia Street west for a half dozen blocks from the site of the Hotel Vancouver at Granville, were the first distinctive areas of residence for important businessmen in the city. Large homes had begun to appear in the west end towards English
## Table 35
**Residential Distribution of Vancouver Business Leaders**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1900-93</td>
<td>1(3.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>1(2.6%)</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>2(2.2%)</td>
<td>1(1.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>4(1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-93</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>1(2.6%)</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>2(2.2%)</td>
<td>1(1.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>4(1.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1910-13</td>
<td>3(5.2%)</td>
<td>1(1.7%)</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>1(1.6%)</td>
<td>4(6.9%)</td>
<td>8(13.7%)</td>
<td>27(46.6%)</td>
<td>10(17.2%)</td>
<td>4(6.9%)</td>
<td>58(100%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1910-13</td>
<td>3(2.2%)</td>
<td>2(4.4%)</td>
<td>1(1.8%)</td>
<td>1(1.8%)</td>
<td>5(11.5%)</td>
<td>2(4.4%)</td>
<td>16(34.8%)</td>
<td>5(10.9%)</td>
<td>16(34.8%)</td>
<td>46(100%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1910-13</td>
<td>1(0.7%)</td>
<td>1(4.0%)</td>
<td>1(3.8%)</td>
<td>1(4.0%)</td>
<td>3(6.5%)</td>
<td>2(4.3%)</td>
<td>16(34.8%)</td>
<td>5(10.9%)</td>
<td>16(34.8%)</td>
<td>46(100%)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Point Grey: on the north and east bounded by Kitsilano from Alma to Arbutus along 16th, up Arbutus to King Edward (25th) to Cambie, and south on Cambie to the Fraser River; and on the west by the University Endowment Lands.

Shaughnessy Heights: bounded by 16th Ave., Cambie St., King Edward Blvd. and Arbutus St.

Kitsilano: bounded by Alma St., 16th Ave., Granville St. and Burrard Inlet.

Fairley Heights: bounded by Granville St., 16th Ave., Bridge St. (Cambie St.) and False Creek.

Hastings Townsite is defined as the area south of Burrard Inlet to 25th Ave., between Nanaimo and Boundary Rd.; Grandview Heights as the area between Burrard Inlet, Clark Drive, 15th Ave. and Nanaimo St.; Burnaby as the area east of Boundary Rd., between Burrard Inlet and the Fraser River; and South Vancouver, including Cedar Cottage and Esquimalt, as the area east of Cambie, south of the Grandview and Hastings Townsite districts, and west of Boundary Rd.

Mt. Pleasant: bounded by Cambie St. (formerly Bridge St.) on the west, 16th and 15th Avenues on the south, Clark Drive on the east and False Creek (including the part east of Main St. that is now Terminal Ave.) on the north.

All business leaders who were residents of the North Shore lived in North Vancouver.

Strathcona is the area between Burrard Inlet, Westminster Ave., (now Main St.), False Creek (now Terminal Ave.) and Clark Drive; Gastown is the area between Burrard Inlet on the north, Cambie St. on the west, Westminster Ave. on the east and Georgia St. on the south.

Hastings St. cor. Richards: the area in the middle of the peninsula bounded by Burrard St. on the north, False Creek on the south, Gastown and Strathcona on the east, and the Seaton St., Burrard St. cor. Georgia and West End districts on the west, though centered at Hastings near Richards.

Burrard St. cor. Georgia: centered on an axis along Georgia from Seymour to Jervis Streets and south along Burrard from Dunsmuir to Nelson.

Seaton Street (now West Hastings): the area centering on Seaton Street and bounded by Burrard Inlet, Granville St. on the east, Dunsmuir and Nelson Streets on the south and Jervis Street on the west.

West End: the area between Stanley Park on the west, Coal Harbour on the north, False Creek on the south, and the Seaton St. and Burrard cor. Georgia districts and Burrard St. south of Nelson on the east.

**Note:** Date Ship Grey: Dates listed refer to the five-year intervals from 1889 to 1914.
Bay and Stanley Park in the 1890's, but increased rapidly in number there only later with the opening of Davie Street at the turn of the century. By 1904 the old "Blue Blood Alley" along Georgia, and the original elite area along Seaton had been replaced as "the home of the merchant and professional men" by the west end. Yet just when the west end's pre-eminent social position had become firmly established, the C.P.R. in 1909 announced its decision to open another fashionable residential area on the rise of land to the south of False Creek, a new "exclusive area" designed to unsettle "all previous ideas of where a fine house should be built". By 1914 the west end had begun to decline as the home of the socially prominent and economically prosperous, already superseded in prestige if not yet in numbers of residents by Shaughnessy Heights, and beginning to fill up with cheaper homes and apartment blocks. While the rise and fall of socially prestigious neighborhoods was not untypical of large cities in North America at the turn of the century, the rapid rate of change in Vancouver before 1914 revealed a society in which the bonds of social cohesion among the elite groups were still in a very incomplete state of development.

The thread which tied this changing pattern of high status neighborhoods together was the C.P.R. The railroad corporation, in addition to providing several of the leading upper class families in Vancouver after 1886, also set standards of social behaviour for the city's business and professional classes by determining the location of each of these prestigious residential areas. The Seaton Street, Georgia Street, west end and Shaughnessy Heights districts, as well as the less heavily settled Point Grey to the west of Shaughnessy Heights, were all situated on C.P.R. land. The Abbots had started the trend to Seaton Street in 1886, and by
1889 socially prominent businessmen like A. St. George Hammersley, F.C. Innes, R.G. Tatlow, Johann Wulffsohn and R.P. Cooke, along with C.P.R. executives W.F. Salsbury and J.D. Townley had established homes there. Less prestigious initially, but the most heavily populated area of residence for top businessmen by the mid-1890's was Georgia Street, where the C.P.R. hotel at Granville, the Anglican church constructed on C.P.R. land at the corner of Burrard, and the nearby home of J.M. Browning had clearly established the area as one of high social status. The move to the west end after 1900 continued to take place in the C.P.R. half of the Vancouver Peninsula, on land controlled by the C.P.R. By 1909 more than half of all business leaders lived in this one residential area.

The opening of Point Grey and Shaughnessy in particular represented the deliberate attempt by the corporation to manipulate standards of social style for the "wealthy" of the city, and of course to profit from the sale of company land. The C.P.R., with a special concern to establish Shaughnessy Heights as a unique "aesthetic environment" that would ensure the neighborhood's pre-eminent social status, spent more than $1,000,000 "in creating the appropriate suburb conditions before construction began". Curving streets and broad boulevards based on a "unified landscape design", and the very extensive use of open space quickly made Shaughnessy the most aesthetically pleasing residential area in the city. The development of Point Grey at the same time had also "... received the encouragement, co-operation and financial support" of the C.P.R. Between the two of them Point Grey and Shaughnessy Heights had become by 1914 the home for one in every five of the city's pre-war business leaders, an increase from only 1.4% five years earlier. The proportion of pre-war business leaders in the west end dropped as a consequence by a full 10% over the same period.
Through its land development policies the C.P.R. also determined the location of many of the prominent social clubs in the city. Virtually every major club in early Vancouver was established on the west side of the city, where the business and professional classes that belonged to them happened to live, and where the land had originally been owned by the C.P.R. While the company had refused to give the founders of the Vancouver Club a plot of free land in the west end for their clubhouse, the site finally chosen in 1891 at the Corner of Hastings and Hornby put the club in "an extremely convenient location . . . close to the business centre and the residences of many of the members", and still within a matter of blocks from Harry Abbott's Seaton Street home. By 1919 the C.P.R. owned the grounds of the Vancouver Tennis Club, located on Sixteenth Street, next to Shaughnessy Heights. The Vancouver Bowling Club, the Terminal City Bowling Club and Connaught Park in the Shaughnessy and Point Grey areas had each received C.P.R. help, as had the cricket club on Fifteenth. Above all, the new Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club had been laid out on ninety acres of company land at a cost of $50,000. Little wonder the company's chief executive officer, Richard Marpole, was named the club's first president.

By the mid-1890's Vancouver had already emerged as a city divided into a "series of distinctive environments", with business and professional class sections clearly separated from working class and immigrant areas of the city. Over 70% of Vancouver's leading businessmen lived in the west end, Georgia Street or Seaton Street areas in 1894. The attempt by east side developers to vary lot sizes and introduce alley accesses and parks had failed to produce land values that ran as high as those in the west end. The proximity of the waterfront and railroad, "the ungainly smokestack" which pierced the eastern sky and the early
presence of working class immigrants had marked off the area east of Cambie in the 1880's, and east of Seymour after the mid-nineties as the city of narrow twenty-five foot lots, "wooden homes", immigrants and industrial operatives, in contrast to the city of stone and brick, spacious homes, C.P.R. prestige and business and professional families to the west. Such divisions continued into the twentieth century; the Anglo-Saxon working class spread from their original residential areas of Yaletown, at the foot of Granville Street on the Vancouver Peninsula, and, east of Main, into the early working class suburb of Mount Pleasant, south of False Creek, and the new suburbs of Grandview and South Vancouver to the east and south; business and professional classes followed the trend to suburbanization by moving into Shaughnessy Heights and Point Grey. In 1914 over 62% of the 1910-13 business leaders lived in the three most prestigious areas of the city, Shaughnessy, Point Grey and the west end, and more than two-thirds resided in distinctive business and professional class areas if long-time businessmen of note still living in former high status, but now declining areas, men like Francis Carter-Cotton, Harry Abbott, J.C. Keith and J.J. Banfield along Georgia and Edward Mahon and Dr. D.H. Bell-Irving on Seaton, are also considered.

Only during the first half dozen years of the city's history were economic classes less clearly segregated from one another. The homes of Vancouver business leaders were strung along Hastings from Seaton Street on the west into Gastown and Strathcona on the east in 1889; only 42.4% of the city's business leaders lived in the two most prestigious residential areas that year, compared to 63.8% in 1894. A number of economically and socially prominent businessmen lived on the east side of the city in 1889, outside of the first elite residential areas to the west;
their Gastown and Strathcona homes were close to the commercial and industrial heart of the community, and close to work. Lumber kings like R.H. Alexander and Charles Beecher lived side by side with the mechanics they employed at Hastings Mill. H.O. Bell-Irving resided in the same east side area, close to his shipping interests, as did J.W. McFarland, manager of the Vancouver Water Works Company and Walter Thomas, manager of the local gas company. This partial integration of areas of residence and work was of short duration, however. The Bell-Irvings and McFarland had left Strathcona and Gastown for Seaton Street by 1899, and the Alexanders and Mrs. Beecher for the west end after 1904. Alexander migrated again at the end of the decade, landing this time in Shaughnessy Heights.112

As the differentiation between places of work and residence became clearer during the 1890's, top businessmen clustered into high status areas on the west side of the city. Not all business leaders were destined to make this move. As Table 36 points out, corporate executives in the banking, utility and transportation fields showed the strongest tendency by 1914 to reside in the three most prestigious neighborhoods, as did wholesalers and leading primary resource entrepreneurs, while independent entrepreneurs in the speculative fields of resource promotion and financing, and in secondary manufacturing, were more likely to be found in Kitsilano, Fairview Heights, Mount Pleasant or Grandview. Despite this difference, however, over 50% of the business leaders in every business category lived in the three most prestigious areas in 1914. More revealing are the statistics in Table 37 which show that three-quarters of the business leaders in the elite and upper class lived in the high status areas, compared to 50.8% of the non-elite and non-upper class business leaders and only 47.5% of those who belonged exclusively to low status social clubs,
Table 36
Residential Distribution in 1914 of Pre-War Vancouver Business Leaders Inside and Outside of High Status Areas, By Primary Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation Categories</th>
<th>No Living Outside High Status Residential Areas in 1914&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>No Living in High Status Residential Areas in 1914&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Total in Occup. Categories (100%)</th>
<th>Prop. of Each Occup. Group in High Status Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Utilities..................</td>
<td>0(-----)</td>
<td>3( 2.0%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance: Banking..................</td>
<td>1( 1.1%)</td>
<td>10( 6.6%)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other N.B. Bus....................</td>
<td>1( 1.1%)</td>
<td>4( 2.6%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation....................</td>
<td>1( 1.1%)</td>
<td>3( 2.0%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Wholesale..............</td>
<td>10(10.6%)</td>
<td>24(15.7%)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional......................</td>
<td>8( 8.6%)</td>
<td>15( 9.8%)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce: Retail...................</td>
<td>9( 9.7%)</td>
<td>14( 9.1%)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resources.................</td>
<td>12(12.9%)</td>
<td>18(11.8%)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction......................</td>
<td>2( 2.2%)</td>
<td>3( 2.0%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion..........................</td>
<td>24(25.8%)</td>
<td>35(22.9%)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing: All Others.............</td>
<td>10(10.6%)</td>
<td>12( 7.8%)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Manufacturing..........</td>
<td>8( 8.6%)</td>
<td>9( 5.9%)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other...............................</td>
<td>7( 7.5%)</td>
<td>3( 2.0%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>93(100 %)</td>
<td>153(100 %)</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>These categories are defined in Table 34, page 257.

<sup>b</sup>The three 'High Status Residential Areas' were Point Grey, Shaughnessy Heights and the West End; these and the remaining 'Residential Areas' referred to are defined in Table 35, page 260.

Table 37
Residential Distribution in 1914 of Seven Summarized Categories of Pre-War Business Leaders Inside and Outside of High Status Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Leaders of 1910-1913</th>
<th>Inside High Status Res. Areas</th>
<th>Outside of High Status Res. Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Social Upper Class..............</td>
<td>78.4%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Vancouver Club..............</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Economic Elite..............</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All 1910-13 Business Leaders........</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Neither the Economic Elite Nor the U.C.</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Only Low Status or No Club Affil's.</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or to no clubs at all. Neighborhood locations for Vancouver business leaders in 1914 were less a product of occupation than of success in these occupations, or of status associations within the community.

The fact that so many business leaders lived in the best residential areas of the city, and that elite and upper class businessmen could be found there in almost equal proportions, indicates that 'neighborhood' was a much less distinctive part of upper class behaviour in Vancouver than 'club affiliations'. No clear difference had emerged between upper class and elite residential areas by 1914, as it had in older metropolitan cities like Philadelphia. Vancouver's upper class was too new, and neither exclusive enough nor wealthy enough to produce such sharply defined upper class residential districts. Wealth, in fact, was perhaps the single most important factor determining the location of business leaders' homes in the Georgia Street and Seaton Street neighborhoods in 1894, and in the west end, Shaughnessy Heights and Point Grey districts twenty years later. Even for non-elite business leaders who were not part of the upper class, residential location was not as effective a barrier against social intercourse between the middle and upper classes as were club affiliations. Money was more accessible to all business leaders during these boom years than was social acceptance, and it was money rather than acceptance which determined the size and location of one's home. William L. Tait, an early Vancouver business leader who had been neither a member of the city's business elite nor a part of its emerging upper class, had made enough money as a shingle manufacturer and in real estate to build one of the largest and most unique mansions in Shaughnessy Heights before the War.
The social composition of new churches provides a further indication of the migratory patterns of various occupational and class groups about the city. While the denominational ties of the majority of Vancouver business leaders had been inherited at birth, the particular congregations that would become the focus of their religious lives most certainly had not. For middle and upper class families in particular, integration into a network of meaningful social relationships within the community was also achieved through church affiliations; the church, like the home and the club, provides an additional clue to the economic and social forces which tied the city together.

Of the four churches boasting the largest number of leading businessmen among their parishioners in early Vancouver, three were Anglican and one was Presbyterian. The exclusion of Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic churches from among this number clearly reflected the lesser importance of these denominations generally within the business community (Table 38). Eighty percent of Vancouver's business leaders in the 1890-93 period were either Anglicans or Presbyterians, and over 70% of the business leaders twenty years later were of the same religious persuasions. Anglicans in particular were overrepresented among business leaders by comparison with the community as a whole, while Roman Catholics were underrepresented by a factor of two to one. Methodists were also largely underrepresented, in the early 1890's by the very significant difference of seven to one. Vancouver did not have a large Jewish community, and the lack of Jewish business leaders, with the one exception of the Oppenheimer family, accurately reflected this fact.
Table 38


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Business Leaders of 1890-93</th>
<th>Vancouver City Census District 1891&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Business Leaders of 1910-13</th>
<th>Vancouver City Census District 1911&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>26(59.1%)</td>
<td>3,754(29.0%)</td>
<td>74(42.5%)</td>
<td>33,053(27.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>9(20.5%)</td>
<td>3,369(24.8%)</td>
<td>48(27.6%)</td>
<td>32,155(26.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>1(2.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16(9.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1(2.3%)</td>
<td>2,215(17.3%)</td>
<td>13(7.5%)</td>
<td>17,665(14.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>3(6.8%)</td>
<td>1,552(12.1%)</td>
<td>9(5.2%)</td>
<td>12,645(10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2(4.5%)</td>
<td>696(5.4%)</td>
<td>8(4.6%)</td>
<td>7,370(6.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congreg.</td>
<td>0(---)</td>
<td>406(3.2%)</td>
<td>2(1.1%)</td>
<td>1,297(1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>0(---)</td>
<td>499(3.9%)</td>
<td>1(0.6%)</td>
<td>3,880(3.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>2(4.5%)</td>
<td>83(0.6%)</td>
<td>0(---)</td>
<td>1,000(0.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0(---)</td>
<td>225(1.8%)</td>
<td>3(1.7%)</td>
<td>13,040(16.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS 44(100%) 12,799(100%) 174(100%) 122,105(100%)

Data Avail. for 44(66.7%) 174(63.0%)
Data Unavail. for 22(33.3%) 102(37.0%)

<sup>a</sup>Third Census of Canada 1891, vol. 1, Table 4, pp. 224-225. The 'Unspecified' category of the 1891 and 1911 census tables has been deleted from the totals used in this table.

<sup>b</sup>Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 2, Table 4, pp. 148-149.

<sup>c</sup>The 'United Church' category was explained in Table 32, Chapter 9, p. 292.
Christ Church was the most important businessman's church in pre-war Vancouver. Formed in 1888, its establishment reflected the growing segregation of occupational classes into distinct neighborhood groups, a process that was clearly underway by the third year after the city's incorporation. The original Anglican parish had been established on the east side of the city, where St. James' Church had united worker and entrepreneur alike in common religious communion. St. James' pre-eminent position was short-lived, however, and with the founding of Christ Church on West Georgia it was left as the neighborhood church of laborers, artisans, small merchants and a handful of leading businessmen from the east end. The trend for people with money was to the west, a trend led by the indomitable C.P.R. Founders of Christ Church included Harry Abbott, W.F. Salsbury, J.D. Townley, D.B. Charleston and H.J. Cambie of the C.P.R., and numerous other leading business and professional men, among whom Fred Cope, F.C. Innes, J.C. Keith, H.T. Ceperley, J.W. McFarland, Frederick Buscombe and E.P. Davis were included. Christ Church attracted both the functional elite and the socially prominent of the city. Sixty-five percent of the upper class business leaders of the pre-war period were Anglicans, and the largest single number of these were members of the sandstone church at Georgia and Burrard, renowned for its interior of "fine stained-glass windows" and "magnificent roof of Douglas fir", which had been completed in 1895. Christ Church, home of the Anglican elite, had also emerged as one of the city's leading upper class institutions of the pre-war period.

Christ Church's hold on the allegiance of Anglicans from the west side was challenged by St. Paul's, established in 1898 at Jervis and Pendrell in the west end. St. Paul's had been formed originally in 1889, with a permanent church building erected soon after at the south
end of Hornby Street in Yaletown, a working class area comprised of railroad laborers and lumber mill hands. In 1898 the church moved to the more prestigious and expanding area of the west end, and announced its growing prosperity with the construction of an impressive new stone building in 1905. St. Paul's too had become the neighborhood church of business and professional families like those of B.T. Rogers, William Armstrong and W.A. Ward, though never equalling the pre-eminent status of Christ Church among Anglicans in the city before 1914.

St. Andrew's Presbyterian was no less prominent in the 1880's and 1890's as the church of leading Presbyterian businessmen, but differed from Christ Church in being less exclusively the church of the elite and socially prominent classes from the west side of the city. Virtually all of the Presbyterian business leaders of the early period were members of St. Andrew's, though First Presbyterian in the east end and a suburban church in Mount Pleasant had been formed by the early 1890's. Only after the turn of the century did the expanding number of new Presbyterian churches, including by 1914 Central, St. John's and Chalmers, begin to draw off significant numbers of business leaders from the city's largest Presbyterian congregation. The location of St. Andrew's, three blocks east of Granville on Georgia Street, with mainly working class residents in 1892 living nearby, symbolized the broad social character of its membership, drawn from both higher and lower status groups within the city. Its congregation was united more by their common ethnic heritage and less by class than was the case with Christ Church. The Scottish-born J.M. Browning, "a pillar" in St. Andrew's who also served as president of the St. Andrew's and Caledonian Society in the 1890's, best represented this ethnic bond among the church members. On the other hand, of the many business leaders who
belonged to St. Andrew's before 1914, including Browning, G.I. Wilson, George Cassady, Thomas Dunn, J.C. McLagan, J.J. Banfield, F.F. Burns, William Tait, C.D. Rand, James Ramsay, James Stark, W.B. Cooke, F.R. Stewart, J. Duff Stuart, David Robertson and George Telfer, only Browning, Dunn, McLagan, Stewart, Stuart and Burns, or six of the sixteen named, would have been considered members of the upper class.

* * *

Businessmen in the early years of the century were driven by strong social pressures to display evidence of their economic success, despite contrary hymns of praise for the work ethic and the value of thrift. Money carried little status unless its existence was made evident by expenditures on material goods and leisure activities. Only through such "possession" of goods would respectability, along with the esteem and envy of one's peers, be granted as recognition of economic success; and to possess, one had to spend. In their pursuit of such recognition the business leaders of Vancouver engaged in a life-style during the pre-war years based on 'conspicuous consumption', creating what one contemporary writer called a "money spending and pleasure loving class" in the city. This money spending class included Vancouver's emerging upper class, but was at the same time broader than this more limited and somewhat exclusive group. Social pressures plus the tremendous wealth temporarily available during the boom produced a great many big spenders in pre-war Vancouver.

Possession of a fine new home in one of the high status residential districts was the most significant manifestation of this drive to consume.
While the value of these homes varied, the cost of an average house in the Shaughnessy Heights area before 1914 was probably in the $10,000 to $25,000 range. Some homes, however, like the $250,000 'Hycroft' built by lumber baron A.D. McRae, "the most conspicuous residence in the Shaughnessy Heights", exceeded in cost and extravagence the standards of consumption of all but the wealthiest in the community. The home was the centre of social life during the period, made possible by the plentiful supply of cheap domestic labour. The broad croquet lawns and tennis courts of private homes were the focus of recreation for family and friends, and the wide verrandahs were still socially necessary, though already threatened by the greater mobility provided by the automobile. The 'At Homes' and 'Teas' which had become so popular at the turn of the century continued as standard forms of social behaviour before the War.

The garden party held by Alvo von Alvensleben at his "country home" in Point Grey in August of 1912, and described as follows on the social page of the [Vancouver Province](#), stands as evidence of the style of home entertainment the wealthy in pre-war Vancouver strove to emulate. The many "cars . . . driven over suburban roads" to von Alvensleben's Kerrisdale home had begun to deposit their occupants in the middle of the afternoon, writes the social observer, and as afternoon turned to evening additional parties arrived, "each soon to be carried away by the spirit of cordiality and revelry which pervaded the scene". Lawn tennis, the novel contest of clay pigeon shooting and walks about the spacious lawns and gardens entertained the guests until seven, at which time dinner was served. At dusk the gardens "were illuminated with Japanese lanterns swung in graceful lines among the trees and shrubbery", and dancing followed, accompanied by the music of two orchestras. "...tete-a-tete tables" also formed a
"very charming ... 'Parisian cafe!'" in the garden where ample refreshments invited talk and merriment among the guests to a very "late hour" of the evening. A long list of Vancouver's notables had attended.

Despite the importance of the home, the wealthy were increasingly fond of extending the venue of their entertainment activities into the city. The growing popularity of social and business clubs was the primary manifestation of this trend. The Opera House on Granville, where "excellent travelling theatrical companies" performed, had always been a popular diversion of the elite, occasionally followed by dining and dancing at the Dutch Grill. The Pacific Coast Lawn Tennis Championships held on Denman Street courts were popular as well, though apparently superseded during the 1910-14 period by riding. The number of "society men and women" for whom riding horses was "considered a necessary accomplishment" increased sharply before the War, the product in part of the institution of a horse show in Vancouver in 1908, the establishment of a riding academy on West Georgia in 1909, and of the ever-changing tastes of fashionable society. The horse shows held in April and November of 1913 were attended by virtually everybody who was anybody in the city.

The motor car was also the toy of the rich during the first ten years of the century, and hence a further mark of significant economic achievement. Business leader W.H. Armstrong is reported to have acquired the first automobile in the city in 1899, and both B.T. Rogers and Alvo von Alvensleben gained notoriety by roaring about in their "snorting motor(s)" at allegedly fast speeds. At least a dozen pre-war Vancouver business leaders belonged to various automobile clubs, including the Vancouver Motor Club, though none could match the exceptional interest of John Hendry who was a member of no less than six automobile and touring clubs.
stretching from Vancouver to London, Paris and Milan. With the jump in automobile registrations in the province from 594 in 1909 to 6,138 in 1913, the auto rapidly ceased to be the exclusive possession of this very wealthy elite.

No such erosion of status befell the owners of yachts. Boats were very expensive, and within the reach only of the very wealthy; yacht owners in Vancouver, in fact, were almost entirely members of the city's upper class. The purchase of new yachts increased in frequency during the pre-war boom years, as evidenced by R.H. Alexander's announced plans for a new "auxiliary yacht" in 1909 and by John Hendry's order for a seventy-foot, eighty-ton craft to be built at a cost of $25,000 in North Vancouver the same year. Thomas Langlois of the B.C. Permanent Loan Company also broke "into the yachting game on an ambitious scale", ordering a sixty-foot, twin-screw, crude oil-fuelled boat in 1912.

Perhaps the best indication of the considerable wealth available to successful businessmen during the pre-war period, and of their desire to display it, was the veritable "epidemic of wanderlust" that broke out among them in 1910. The socially prominent and the wealthy suddenly found that a long, extended vacation was the fashionable thing to do. The ability to abstain from labor, Thorstein Veblen has argued, was "the conventional mark of pecuniary achievement and the conventional index of respectability". For many business leaders in pre-war Vancouver, vacations provided "the readiest and most conclusive evidence" that they had succeeded in the marketplace, and thus could afford long periods of non-productive, leisure time away from the job.

California was a particularly popular spot, both for resort vacations and motor car trips. John Hendry, James McNair, J.J. Banfield and
S.G. Faulkner holidayed at Pasadena in the early months of 1910, and at least twenty-eight other prominent business and professional families from Vancouver went to the Golden State the following winter. Charles Woodward moved to California permanently in 1912, and John F. Ross of Ross and Howard Ironworks died at a California resort the same year. Equally popular were trips in western Europe, often of six to twelve months' duration. The Campbell Sweenys spent the winter of 1911 moving from one continental resort to another, as did Mr. and Mrs. F.J. Proctor, while the Richard Marpoles wintered in Egypt and W.H. Malkin and family continued to enjoy their year-long stay at a vacation home in Devon. Harry Abbott, his daughter Mrs. Plunkett and Mrs. Hinde-Bowker wintered at the Hotel del Coronado in Spain in 1912, and John Hendry took a motor trip through Italy. Only his daughter's impending marriage to Eric Hamber kept Hendry from returning home in 1912 on the Titanic as planned; Thomas McCaffrey, Superintendent of the Union Bank in Vancouver who had also been staying in England, was not so lucky. The most adventurous of all was Mrs. E.P. Davis, who with her two sons passed through India in 1913 on an around-the-world trip; perhaps she crossed paths with Mr. and Mrs. J.J. Logan, who in 1911 had planned a future voyage to Honolulu and Australia.

* * *

The same quest for public esteem provides a partial explanation for the active role of certain wealthy business families in both charitable and cultural work in the city. The provision of basic social and cultural amenities was still considered the private responsibility of the
individual rather than the public responsibility of the state during the first years of the century, and leadership in both fields came from private groups of middle and upper class citizens. The charitable and cultural work of leading businessmen exhibited a stronger upper class character than did other forms of social behaviour, such as patterns of residence, but was by no means limited exclusively to those already in the upper class. Involvement with socially prominent women and men in particular charities and cultural organizations was one way for less prominent business and professional families to increase their ties with the upper class, and thus gain a greater measure of social acceptance.\[152\] Patronage of the arts was more exclusively an upper class phenomenon than was charitable work, which like club life was divided into organizations of perceptively different if not clearly defineable levels of social prestige. Some business leaders, particularly those involved in less prestigious charities, were probably motivated more by religious conviction than by a quest for social recognition. Above all, it is clear that leaders in Vancouver's charitable and cultural life were drawn disproportionately from leading business families in the 1880's and 1890's, and from business and professional families after 1900.

The class character of both types of activity was made clear by Lady Tupper, president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Vancouver General Hospital, in a statement soon after the group's formation in 1902. "We ... have realized from the first", she said, "that the women of Mount Pleasant, the East End and the Hastings manufacturing sector must be part of our organization, and we recognize the fact that a special effort will have to be made to this end".\[153\] Whether the effort was made or not, hospital work, both for men on the boards of directors and governors of the city's two main hospitals, and for women in the auxiliary
organizations remained the most popular charitable work in the city, dominated by business and professional families of upper class or near upper class status. 

Society names were also very prevalent before the War among the officers of the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Red Cross, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Seaman's Institute and the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Interest in art was even more the preoccupation of the upper class. The first move to establish an art gallery in the city was taken in 1890 by business leaders C.D. Rand and J.C. Keith with the presentation of a painting of Captain Vancouver to the recently formed Art Association. Interest in art languished until a group of socially prominent women, including Mrs. Harry Abbott, her daughter Mrs. Plunkett, Mrs. Lefevre, Mrs. J.C. Keith, Miss Charleson and Miss Marstrand formed the Studio Club in February of 1904, a group which Emily Carr described sarcastically as nothing more than "a cluster of society women who intermittently packed themselves and their admirers into a small rented studio to drink tea and jabber art jargon". A new art society was formed in 1908, its patrons again drawn from the inner circle of Vancouver society. When a concerted effort was made between 1925 and 1931 to establish a long-awaited art gallery for the city, socially prominent business families of the pre-1914 period provided almost every one of the gallery's founders. The provincial university being organized in 1912 and 1913 also drew heavily upon the local business community to fill both the office of Chancellor and positions on the board, though Francis Carter-Cotton, R.P. McLennan, Campbell Sweeny and George I. Wilson were likely chosen as much for their place in the city's economic elite as for their social standing in the community.
Not all charitable and cultural work was limited to such a confined social group. Work for the Children's Aid Society and the Y.M.C.A. clearly was less glamorous than charitable work for the hospitals, and directors of these organizations were drawn less exclusively from leading business and professional families. Business leaders like Dr. D.H. Riggs, Edward Odlum, E.B. Morgan, W.B. McKechnie, Capt. J.J. Logan, Charles Knight, A.A. Jones, G.W. Dawson, J.J. Banfield and James Ramsay, men who were not part of the upper class, who rarely held memberships in high status social clubs, and who with two exceptions were not part of the economic elite, were very active in these less prestigious organizations. The characteristic they shared in common, in addition to their lower social status, was a religious affiliation different from that of the social elite. Of the sixteen business leaders associated in some capacity with the Y.M.C.A. in Vancouver from 1887 to 1914, seven were Presbyterians and only two were Anglicans. Executives of the Y.M.C.A. included the Baptist E.B. Morgan, Presbyterians James McNair, James Ramsay and J.M. Browning, and the Methodist Jonathan Rogers. Of the eight upper class business leaders associated with the Children's Aid Society before 1914, seven were Anglicans and one was Methodist; only one of seven non-upper class members of the association was Anglican, compared to four Presbyterians, one Methodist and one Baptist. Odlum and Ramsay were two of less than a half dozen business leaders who sat on the city's Library Board, which attracted very little active business participation.

The important question of the extent of philanthropic activity among Vancouver business leaders as a whole remains largely unanswered. Michael Bliss has argued that philanthropic and community service was expected of the wealthy during this period, and that all but four of a
group of forty-eight national businessmen he studied had been involved in some kind of philanthropic or community activity. Eleanor Bruchey estimates that half of the business leaders in Baltimore during this period made substantial charitable gifts or bequests of $5,000 or more. Much less is known about the philanthropic activities of Vancouver businessmen. More than seventy of the three hundred and twenty-two business leaders being studied did take part in some such activity, ranging from participation in charitable organizations to making donations to the new Vancouver General Hospital. For some this amounted to little more than a $100 donation, for which the honorary title of 'Life Governor' of the hospital was granted. For others like businessman F.F. Burns who left $3,755 to the hospital in his will, charitable beneficence was somewhat larger. There is no evidence of large sums over $5,000 being given by businessmen either for charitable or cultural purposes during the 1886 to 1914 period.

* * *

Variations in the social behaviour of leading businessmen in Vancouver can best be defined by the analogy of a series of concentric circles extending outward from an inner core, each circle measuring behaviour increasingly different from and of lower status than that of families at the centre. Differences in social behaviour among the businessmen studied here provide a valuable guide to the social behaviour which characterized the larger society in Vancouver as a whole, ranging from the upper to middle classes. As is often the case with elite studies, the most prominent families in the inner circle of Vancouver 'society' left a much more complete record of their lives in the city than did those at the periphery.
The families of highest social prestige in Vancouver in the 1880's and 1890's were those with the most important functional roles in the community, led by the C.P.R. and banking elites, and including in addition a small but influential group of lumber and utility entrepreneurs, wholesale merchants and real estate promoters. Gradations of social prestige among leading businessmen continued to be partially a function of occupation through to 1914. The socially prominent were drawn more from the transportation, utility, financial and professional sectors of the economy, and from among the most successful wholesale and resource manufacturers, while the less prominent were engaged mainly in the more speculative enterprises of the period, particularly in the sale and financing rather than development of resources. Vancouver's upper class of 1914 had evolved from the first group of socially prominent businessmen in the city, centered by families associated with the C.P.R. In this sense, Vancouver's upper class before 1914 could also be called a 'business aristocracy'.

Social background played an even larger role in determining the various levels of social behaviour among leading businessmen. Socially prominent business leaders, themselves highly educated and from business, professional and often Anglican Church backgrounds, continued to pursue a prominent social position for their families through active membership in certain club, church, charitable and cultural institutions in the city, and, for more clearly upper class families, through the private school education of their children. The club memberships of business leaders in particular reflected the social nature of their origins and upbringing, and provide an excellent index of the class dimension of their social role in the community.

The "growth of luxury, the piling up of money" which Lucullus
Fyshe had found so "appalling" in Leacock's city of Plutoria was also a feature of life among the business class in pre-war Vancouver. The prosperity of the period had made wealth a less discriminating determinant of status among the business leaders than economic and social background, as indicated by the location and cost of the businessmen's homes, though not all business leaders had found the "huge fortunes" of a John Hendry or B.T. Rogers readily within their grasp. George Ward, a director of three resource promotion and finance companies in the city, was wealthy enough to afford new homes in the west end at the turn of the century and in Kitsilano after 1909, but probably not wealthy enough to afford the active club and social life required of the ninety-nine business leaders who associated with one another in an upper class manner. In the final analysis, however, Ward's middle class status was more a function of his family background, and of the social desires conditioned by his public school education, his apprenticeship as a builder and his Methodist training than by any financial limitations he might have experienced during the prosperous boom years of the pre-war period.
Chapter 11

THE EXERCISE OF BUSINESS AUTHORITY IN EARLY VANCOUVER

Business control of civic affairs was greatest in Vancouver during the first years after incorporation in 1886. Construction of buildings and a service infrastructure and the establishment of an economic base, itself closely tied to the sale and development of land, formed the dominant focus of urban life from 1886 to the early 1890's. This economic focus placed enormous power in the hands of those entrepreneurs who directed capital into the community, and who generally gave leadership to the city-building process. Having the largest personal interest in promoting economic development, businessmen also served as the town's leading promoters. They associated their economic leadership with the idea that they as businessmen held a prior claim to prominence through superior qualifications, an assumption reinforced by the natural tendency of the community at large to view businessmen as the embodiment of their own fundamental beliefs in growth and progress. Armed with both economic power and symbolic authority, businessmen extended their influence over virtually every important institution in the city.

While their desire to control the physical growth of the city and to enhance their own economic position in the process had drawn businessmen of all kinds, from corner grocers to railroad and lumber corporation executives into local government during the first period of expansion, the nature of civic leadership changed sharply after 1890, especially with the onset of depression in 1892 and 1893. Growth had stopped, and indirect participation in the decision-making process was no longer of the same
importance to leading entrepreneurs. Political life became more decentralized; businessmen with community-wide economic interests gave way on City Council to representatives of the more local concerns of particular wards. The renewal of rapid physical expansion in the decade before 1913 again attracted large numbers of self-interested businessmen into civic government, but few were as powerful economically as the civic politicians of the 1880's and early 1890's. This difference stimulated a number of substantial businessmen, led by the city's principal merchants, to establish a movement of 'reform' designed to return local government to the control of leading entrepreneurs. Their ultimate failure reflected both the success of the ward system in decentralizing the political process in the city, and the shift in preference among leading businessmen generally during this period from political parties to special interest-group organizations as vehicles for the exercise of business influence.

The most important of these functional organizations was the Board of Trade, which lobbied consistently for such policies as the expansion of the city's market hinterland, a modification of the country's freight rates and lumber tariffs, and closer economic ties with the rest of the empire. The Board of Trade along with business organizations representing manufacturers and town boosters pressured decision-makers at all three levels of government to consider the views of the Terminal City's business community. While the political preferences of leading businessmen ran clearly in favour of the Conservative Party, especially at the provincial level, the federal government's control of railroad charters and coastal waters made ties with the Liberal Party very useful after 1896 for several Vancouver resource industry entrepreneurs. As was the case with civic politics after the 1880's, however, the vast majority of leading businessmen, either
too involved with their own business interests or lacking firm roots in the community, preferred an indirect to a direct role in the political process of the province and the nation.

* * *

The active involvement of the city's most powerful businessmen in civic politics was unique to the first few years of rapid physical expansion in Vancouver. More important than the fact that over 63% of the aldermen victorious at regular yearly elections between 1886 and 1894 were businessmen (Table 39) was the degree of economic power these men exercised within the local community. The election of David Oppenheimer, one of the city's half-dozen most influential businessmen, and president of the Board of Trade, to the mayor's office for four terms between 1888 and 1891 best reflected this involvement of the city's economic elite in local politics. He was joined by the city's leading lumber entrepreneur, three of the top five C.P.R. officials in Vancouver, the city's two leading merchants and one of the other two most influential real estate entrepreneurs, in addition to himself, on Council between 1886 and 1893. While an even larger proportion of all city councillors elected during the prosperous years from 1905 to 1914 were businessmen (76.9%), only three of the aldermen and none of the mayors of this pre-war period were members of the business elite. Active involvement in civic politics was now of interest mainly to entrepreneurs operating small and medium sized business enterprises, especially real estate businesses, in limited areas of the city; substantial businessmen heading city-wide and provincial operations now rarely played a direct role in the local political arena, in sharp contrast to their predecessors of the 1880's.
Table 39

Representation by Occupational Groups on Vancouver City Council from 1886 to 1914, Measured by Election Victories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Groups</th>
<th>Period of Aldermanic Election Victories</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1886 to 1894</td>
<td>1895 to 1904</td>
<td>1905 to 1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.: Contractors.....</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.: Real Estate and Non-Banking Fin.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.: Commerce &amp; Service</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.: Manufacturing.....</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.: Banking &amp; Transport...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professions...............</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical...................</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled &amp; Semi-Skilled....</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled..................</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Means...............</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown....................</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion of Victories by Business Leaders of:

(1) The 1890-93 Period........ 18(21.1%)
(2) Both Periods................ 6(6.1%)
(3) The 1910-13 Period........... 24(18.5%)

Proportion of Victories by Business Elite of:

(1) The 1890-93 Period........... 13(15.3%)
(2) Both Periods................. 0(-----)
(3) The 1910-13 Period........... 11(8.5%)

a The business groups included here are a reorganized version of the more detailed business categories defined in Appendix B. The remaining occupational categories are used as defined by Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900, Chicago, 1970, p.229. 'Private Means' includes 'retired', 'gentlemen' and 'capitalist'.

b Each election victory is counted separately, regardless of the individual's length of tenure on Council. Only the aldermen victorious at regular city elections are included. These elections were held in May of 1886, each December from 1886 to 1890, and yearly in January from 1892 to 1914.
The politically active business leaders of the early period fall into two general categories, those who represented the interests of the C.P.R., and the coalition of principal real estate and commercial interests led by David Oppenheimer. The former group was the more clearly defined of the two; its members included C.P.R. Land Commissioners L.A. Hamilton and J.M. Browning, C.P.R. Treasurer W.F. Salsbury, C.P.R. doctor J.M. Lefevre, C.P.R. Agent H.E. Connon and a lesser C.P.R. official, H.J. Painter, who together were elected a total of twelve times to the aldermanic board between 1886 and 1898, eleven from Ward 1 in the west end of the city. Their role, quite simply, was to represent the interests of Vancouver's largest property owner on City Council, a function which Lachlan Hamilton, the company's first Land Commissioner in Vancouver and a member of the first and second City Councils had openly defended during the December elections of 1886. He was "perfectly justified" in holding a C.P.R. seat on Council, Hamilton had maintained, "because next year the C.P.R. would pay $12,000 in taxes, more than one-third of the whole levy, ... and the C.P.R. had a perfect right to know how this money was to be expended and to see that a fair proportion was spent in ward one". After all, had the company not spent $25,000 in street improvements in Ward 1 last year, and the city not a cent?  

C.P.R. representatives on Council also acted as a liaison between the private authority of the corporation and the public authority of the city government. So great were the resources of the company by comparison with those of the community as a whole during these early years that the C.P.R. was able to operate as a semi-autonomous jurisdiction within the community, sometimes at the behest of and at others in competition with the public jurisdiction of the Council. The company took upon itself the task of grading streets, building sidewalks and clearing land, all of which
were rightfully the prerogatives of the civic authorities. In the first few months of 1886 the C.P.R. opened streets even on the east side of the city, outside of the area of its property holdings to the west. By 1889 it was still upgrading Georgia Street in front of the C.P.R. hotel, "at the request of his worship the Mayor". Probably the largest single road building endeavour undertaken by the company during this early period was the construction of the North Arm Road through C.P.R. property both inside the city limits and out, from False Creek south to the North Arm of the Fraser River. Harry Abbott used the Vancouver business community's urgent desire to have this new access to the delta area of the valley completed to pressure the city to fulfill its part of the bargain with the company, the construction of a road bridge across False Creek to connect the Vancouver peninsula with the projected road, and hence to influence the city government's public spending priorities. Both the city and the Board of Trade continued to look to the company to maintain the North Arm Road after completion.

The power of the C.P.R. in early Vancouver was best exemplified by its reaction to issues of conflict between the two jurisdictions. Despite demands by the City Council and Board of Trade that the C.P.R. add a draw to its proposed railroad bridge across the entrance to the Creek, the company decided on March of 1888 to build a permanent bridge, without the draw. When the City Council raised the issue of the "great danger to both life and property" posed by the unattended street crossings of the railroad through the business core of the city, and asked that the company provide "proper and modern gates" to protect the public, the company replied with an unqualified 'no'. The company was not liable to provide such protection, it said, and furthermore, why should it when the company had
received so little from Vancouver, and the community so much from the railroad? Had the railroad not created benefits for the city which far outweighed any reciprocal economic advantages in the other direction, particularly in the case of city property which owed its "value almost entirely, if not solely, to the existence and operation of the C.P.R..."? City Council was still pressing the C.P.R. to protect the public at level crossings in 1904.14 When the city built an access road up to and over the C.P.R.'s rail line embankment along the shore of Burrard Inlet at the bottom of Gore Street in the early nineties to provide public access to the harbour, the company took the city to court claiming that by its charter it had been given the exclusive use of the harbour shore for railroad purposes. Counsel for the city claimed before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1894, in its appeal of an earlier, unfavourable decision, that a victory for the railroad would not only block public access to the waterfront on this specific street but would in effect give the C.P.R. "the keys to the harbour", the virtual "control of the whole harbour along which the City of Vancouver is built". The company's case was upheld, the justices claiming that the city should have determined the legality of its actions "before" trying to provide an access route across the C.P.R. line.15 By 1899 the city and the C.P.R. were again at odds over the public's right to harbour access free of C.P.R. control.16 When the city indicated an interest in purchasing the Vancouver Wharfage and Storage Company's wharf at the foot of Cambie Street in 1889, the C.P.R. made clear that this facility was situated on company-controlled beach, and any use of it by the city would be subject to the "rights" of the C.P.R.17 But when a piece of foreshore further east was required a year later to make possible the construction of a spur line into the new B.C. Sugar Refining Company factory, financed by C.P.R. money, the
railroad was only too willing to donate a parcel of its waterfront property. The company's sense of public good, in short, was closely bound to its own pursuit of private profit. Its tremendous economic power in Vancouver had made possible the success of this pursuit in the 1880's and 1890's, which it carried out through a variety of means, including the use of the courts and the representation of its interests on City Council. The company's will was carried out in early Vancouver despite growing opposition in the nineties to its arrogant assumption of semi-autonomous jurisdiction within the community.

The second group of politically active business leaders were larger in number and more diverse in interests than the C.P.R. employees on Council, but represented business interests of enough similarity and acted with sufficient common purpose to be identifiable as a distinctive force in local politics. David Oppenheimer's candidacy for the mayoralty in 1887 established the coalition of leading businessmen as an identifiable political group; by December of 1888, at the time of his first re-election, it included almost every major business figure in the city. R.E. Gosnell defined the mayor's supporters as "a number of enthusiastic boosters, principally real estate men and others interested as promoters", and could have named among the Oppenheimer-led coalition such influential real estate entrepreneurs as J.W. Horne, Robert Tatlow, E.V. Bodwell, the Rand brothers, H.T. Ceperley and F.C. Innes. The ties between Mayor Oppenheimer, Horne and C.D. Rand were such that the three formed the Daily Telegram in 1890 to "sponsor their policies and point of view", though the paper slowly died over the next two years. The city's top merchants and lumbermen, including Thomas Dunn and R.H. Alexander, joined these real estate promoters in support of Oppenheimer and his running mates for
aldermanic positions. At least four of the five men who served after Oppenheimer as president of the Board of Trade from 1888 to 1893 were to be found among his political allies. Even the C.P.R. which had taken a very independent stand politically in 1886 and 1887 was supporting David Oppenheimer by December of 1888, and continued to endorse the Oppenheimer forces until the January election of 1892, despite previous conflict between the Council and the company over the draw bridge and street crossings issues. Between 1888 and the early 1890's, in short, two very influential business factions were not only active in city politics, but came together to form a loose-knit but very potent political combination.

The "point of view" which these politically active business interests shared was the belief that local government could play an important role "in promoting prosperity, in building the city" by improving the environment for business growth "with public commitments...at public expense". The granting of loans, bonuses, tax exemptions, free land and subsidized free water to industrial and transportation enterprises, to be paid for by taxpayers throughout the city, was considered by the development-minded councillors of early Vancouver a legitimate means of promoting both the public good, and not coincidentally the private prosperity of its leading citizens. Taxpayers appeared to agree. Council granted a ten-year tax exemption for the lands, foundry and workshops of the Vancouver City Iron Works Company in September of 1887. A year later Council, with the approval of the electorate, granted a bonus of $25,000 to an English syndicate for the construction of a smelter works in the city; the plant was erected in the winter of 1888-89, but technical problems prevented its successful operation, and the bonus was never paid. In 1891 Council and the ratepayers, with the strong encouragement of the Board of Trade, approved
a $100,000 bonus for the establishment of a graving dock in the city; it was followed by another agreement the following year for the transfer of $300,000 worth of city debentures to the proposed Burrard Inlet and Fraser Valley Railroad Company which was to connect Vancouver with the Northern Pacific Railway at Sumas, Washington, and provide an additional transcontinental rail link into the city. In both the graving dock and Fraser Valley Railroad cases the promise of financial aid by the city failed to promote the successful completion of these major enterprises. The C.P.R. had no such problems establishing itself, and was thus in practice one of the major beneficiaries of the Council's development policies. The electors approved a Council initiative to grant the C.P.R. a tax exemption for thirty years on the land and works of its planned workshops, round-houses and offices in 1887, and did the same, this time for eighteen years, for the company's proposed new terminal buildings, wharves and land improvements along the waterfront in 1898. In Vancouver as in other western Canadian centres public aid to private enterprise was clearly a cornerstone of government policy during the city's initial stage of physical development.

Council's response to the idea of a sugar refinery for the city perhaps illustrates best the motives behind active business involvement in early Vancouver politics. A bylaw to grant substantial aid to the proposed British Columbia Sugar Refining Company's operation in Vancouver was approved by Council and the ratepayers in March of 1890. The city was to provide a free site for the plant, with the land and improvements not "to exceed in whole" $30,000; the buildings and land were to be exempt from municipal taxation for fifteen years; the company was to receive free water for ten years, if the waterworks system was purchased by the city, and a reduced water rate for the ten years thereafter; and the city was to provide
a loan to the company of $30,000, repayable in 1930. Only a $10,000 performance bond was required of the company. In part this generosity can be explained by the considerable favour with which town promoters viewed industrial companies. Manufacturing plants would add substance to an economy which all too often in the case of new cities like Vancouver were too heavily dependent upon the sale and development of land. Here was an industry backed by the wealth and power of the C.P.R., a solid bet to become a successful enterprise. Private motives were also a factor, however. The land for the plant was purchased by the municipal government from the Vancouver Improvement Company, for a sum of $15,000; the president of Vancouver Improvement just happened to be Mayor Oppenheimer, representative of the most active development interests in the city, and an ardent proponent of the B.C. Sugar bylaw. In addition, the chairman of the Finance Committee which introduced the bonusing agreement in February of 1890 was Alderman J.M. Browning, the C.P.R. Land Commissioner whose ties with the Montreal-based financial supporters of B.C. Sugar, themselves C.P.R. executives, led to his appointment as president of the new company in April. Brownings dual role as both a grantor and a recipient of the city's largess was not considered a significant enough conflict of interest by the development-minded councillors to deny him his continued position on the aldermanic board.

The business leaders' role in local government did not go unchallenged. A third political group emerged during Oppenheimer's tenure as mayor in opposition to the development policies of the Oppenheimer and C.P.R. factions. It was led by Francis Carter Cotton, the editor of the News-Advertiser, whose role as newspaperman and critic was far more significant than his function as publisher, and consequently business leader, in early Vancouver. Cotton's supporters were not leading businessmen, but rather the
smaller businessmen, clerical workers and artisans who were to become the dominant force in local politics in the 1890's. The group included William Templeton, a grocer who battled Oppenheimer for the mayoralty in 1889; William Brown, editor from 1887 to 1888 of the unsuccessful newspaper, the Evening Herald, partner in the small real estate business of Mutrie and Brown thereafter, representative of Ward IV (the working and lower middle class ward of Mount Pleasant) on Council for nine years between 1890 and 1903, and unsuccessful candidate for the mayoralty against the Oppenheimer candidate, Fred Cope, in January of 1893; John McDowell, proprietor of a draying business in the city, and unsuccessful mayoralty candidate in 1895; Charles L. Queen, liveryman; C.G. Hobson and George I. Wilson, prominent canning entrepreneurs in the later 1890's; Charles W. Murray, accountant; and Dr. J.T. Carroll, medical doctor. They became clearly recognizable as an opposition group in the civic election of December, 1889, in support of Templeton against Oppenheimer, and developed into a stronger political force during the provincial election of June, 1890, when under Cotton's leadership they took a clear stand as the city's leading opponents of the provincial government. Cotton topped the polls in his own bid for a legislative seat in Vancouver that year. This organization was then put to good use in the December civic elections of 1890 when the Cotton forces routed Oppenheimer's supporters at the aldermanic level, failing to dislodge only the mayor, who was elected for the final time. Six of the aldermen elected in December of 1890 had been on Cotton's general committee during the provincial election in June, including the chairman of that committee, William Brown.

This opposition group stood against the exploitation of resources at both the local and provincial levels for the enrichment of the few,
especially the giving away of lands to speculative companies. They stood as friends of the workingman, and espoused causes like the condemnation of monopolies, the exclusion of Chinese labourers from public works, and the need for shorter hours of labour. Cotton and the News-Advertiser condemned Oppenheimer and his political friends as "the speculative and jobbing element" in Vancouver, promoting unstable and speculative growth for personal advantage. They accused Oppenheimer of a conflict of interest in his dual role as mayor and president of the Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Company, which had been granted the right to use the city's streets; they charged Oppenheimer with self-interest in his 1889 promise to grant the Westminster Southern Railway a subsidy of $100,000 for coming to Vancouver, a company which the News-Advertiser said was in fact being promoted by Oppenheimer himself; and they accused Oppenheimer and R.H. Alexander with favouring the use of Oriental labour, and thus with being the enemies of the workingman in the city. The opposition forces under Cotton's leadership which had stood on an anti-government and pro-labour platform in 1890 emerged again in the 1894 provincial election, this time supporting lawyer Adolphus Williams, Cotton himself, and carpenter Robert MacPherson, the candidate of Reverend George R. Maxwell's new workingman's party in the city, the Nationalists. Whereas the opposition forces had elected only one of their candidates in 1890, losing the other position to J.W. Horne, all three Vancouver seats fell to the opposition in 1894.

Many of Vancouver's leading businessmen stood against Cotton and his supporters at the provincial as well as the local levels during the period to 1894. David Oppenheimer, real estate business leader C.S. Douglas and Vancouver's first mayor, Malcolm MacLean, all supported Horne's campaign for a legislative seat in 1890. The News-Advertiser called Horne
the "recognized candidate" of both Mayor Oppenheimer and Premier Robson, though Horne himself maintained that he was an Independent, with no ties to Victoria. By 1894 leading Vancouver businessmen were no longer reluctant to support the provincial government, campaigning openly for it under the 'Citizen's Ticket' banner against combined opposition and labour forces in the city. The Citizen's Ticket of 1894 was made up essentially of the same alliance of development-oriented businessmen which had been formed at the civic level in 1888, and had regrouped under the first Citizen's Ticket label during the civic elections of 1891-92. Its supporters included businessmen like Oppenheimer, Horne, Tatlow, Dr. Lefevre and brewer Charles Doering, the business community's two successors to David Oppenheimer as mayor, Fred Cope and R.A. Anderson, and two later mayors, J.F. Garden and Dr. McGuigan, each sharing a common belief in the need for rapid economic expansion based on the development of the province's resources. While Cotton railed against "avaricious corporations" and land speculators, Tatlow commended the provincial administration from 1890 to 1894 for their "liberal policies as regards the opening up of the Country", and Horne extolled the Robson and Davie governments for the "progress of the Province" under their leadership.

* * *

By the middle of the 1890's politics in Vancouver had clearly reverted to the pattern defined by American historian Samuel Hayes as normal in American cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Leading businessmen and their political associates had given way on Council to the representatives of particular wards whose outlook was more regional.
than city-wide in nature. Gone were the days when downtown entrepreneurs like the Oppenheimer could sit on Council for one of the outlying areas of the city, as they had done from 1886 to 1888. Aldermen now reflected more precisely the social and economic character of the wards they represented. Wards I and II in the west end and central core of Vancouver continued to send businessmen and socially prominent figures to Council, though these were generally less prominent than during the 1880's, while skilled and clerical workers were now more common among aldermanic representatives from the eastern and southern parts of the city. A full 30% of the representatives on Council between 1895 and 1904 were white collar, skilled or semi-skilled workers, more than double the proportion before 1895 (Table 39, page 286). Leading businessmen simply refused to run as candidates, even in the west end. Business leaders of either the early 1890's or the pre-war years provided a mere 6% of the aldermanic representation of this middle period compared to 21% for the period to 1894; none of this 6% included representation by the business elite. The business clique which had "controlled to a very great extent the government of the city" in the 1880's and early 1890's had abandoned the civic arena by 1895, failing even "to venture a candidate in the field for the mayoralty" that year. 60 The anti-Oppenheimer victory of December 1890 rather than the "rising of the really prominent citizens" of the city in support of David Oppenheimer's successor as mayor in 1892, 61 had foreshadowed the future development of civic politics in Vancouver.

Two separate but interrelated movements for reform worked against this flow of events after the late 1890's to bring a minority of prominent businessmen back into local politics, in supporting if not elective roles. One movement was preoccupied with moral reform. The question of whether
Vancouver was to be a "wide-open town" or a "decently-run city" was of concern to a growing number of citizens at the turn of the century as Vancouver acquired what to them were the evil accompaniments of urban life. The proper handling of amusement areas such as music halls was debated by interested parties in 1897, and was an issue in the 1898 election. The issues of gambling, prostitution and liquor distribution dominated campaigns between 1901 and 1904, contrasting sharply with the absence of moral issues and the concentration by politically active citizens on problems of physical growth in the 1880's.

A handful of leading businessmen, usually of Presbyterian, Methodist or Baptist religious affiliations, became actively involved on the reform side of these issues through a new organization called the Vancouver Electoral Union, established in 1901 and influential as a pressure group in local politics until 1908. Its leading participants included wholesale hardware merchant Fred F. Burns (Presbyterian), wholesale grocer W.H. Malkin (Methodist), shingle manufacturer James McNair (Presbyterian), loan company entrepreneur Thomas T. Langlois (Methodist), mortgage company manager Edwin Morgan (Baptist), wholesale company manager A.B. Erskine (United-1932), retail merchant W.H. Clubb (Methodist), real estate promoter and nursery entrepreneur R.D. Rorison (United-1934) and confectionary manufacturer James Ramsay (Presbyterian). They were primarily concerned with the "proper enforcement of existing laws" against vice in the city, endorsing candidates who supported their call for moral reform. They claimed major victories in the municipal elections of 1902, 1903 and 1904, including the success of eighteen of their twenty-five candidates for various civic offices in the last of these three campaigns. Even between elections their vigilence continued. At a mass gathering of Vancouver citizens in
February of 1904, organized in protest against the rumored appointment by the McBride Government of anti-reform members to the Police Commission, a resolution moved and seconded by Union members Ramsay and McNair and supported by the meeting called upon all who were in authority "to fearlessly enforce all laws" against "haunts of vice" which, it said, had been allowed in the past to "flourish openly and contrary to law" in the city.

The second reform group to emerge at the turn of the century was the Citizen's Association, an organization of leading businessmen formed in 1900 and dedicated both to promoting the commercial prospects of the city and to returning successful businessmen to positions of influence in local government. Its object was to bring "Progress and Prosperity" back to Vancouver by re-establishing a civic government, led by the city's leading businessmen, which would once again be vital, active and efficient. In accordance with the long-established tradition of business leadership in local government by the merchant class, Citizen's Association members were drawn primarily from the commercial section of the business community, and included Thomas Dunn, Robert Kelly, R.P. McLennan, E.J. McFeely, Isaac Oppenheimer, W.H. Malkin, Frederick Buscombe, W.J. McMillan, Charles Woodward and Charles E. Tisdall. The Association, while separate from the Board of Trade, was led by many of the Board's most prominent members, and shared the Board's desire for an improved network of communications and transportation between the city and its market hinterland. It clearly reflected the Board of Trade's opinions, and represented its interests. The Board was the first to cheer when a top businessman, Frederick Buscombe, running on the Citizen's Association reform platform, was elected mayor in January of 1905.

The Association met with little initial success. Implimentation of
its reform program depended on successfully placing "businessmen in command of civic affairs"; only with the replacement of the "old fossils" who had come to dominate Council, men of parochial vision immune to the needs of the larger community, could the Council govern effectively and promote the growth of the city more energetically. But the Association's choice for mayor in 1901, Thomas Dunn, refused to enter the election unless supported by "a strong body of representative businessmen" at the aldermanic level. Neither the support nor Dunn's candidacy materialized. Other leading businessmen also refused to run in 1901, as did Harry Abbott in 1902. Stymied by the business elite's unwillingness to enter the political arena the Citizen's Association remained in a near-dormant state until the end of 1904.

Initially this failure was made less significant by the emergence of the Vancouver Electoral Union. It too was led by prominent and "influential" businessmen, including three of the six Board of Trade presidents between 1901 and 1906 (Burns, Malkin and Erskine). In addition the Union, like the Citizen's Association, argued for government run according to "sound business principles" and advocated such expansionist policies as the need for railroad competition and the establishment of an annual exhibition in Vancouver. Its primary commitment remained to moral rather than business reform, however. The Union's leaders would not run for office themselves, and many of the candidates they supported as moral reformers were the very antithesis of the successful businessman, trained in business methods, whose election the Citizen's Association felt essential for the institution of better municipal government. The Union's mayoralty candidates from 1901 to 1904, Thomas Neelands (an accountant) and James McQueen (an agent), were both more concerned with creating a "clean city" than with establishing an efficient civic administration.
Frustrated by the continued dominance of parochial problems, distracting moral issues and public apathy in local politics, the business community finally succeeded in mounting a reform campaign in January of 1905, electing practically the entire Citizen's Association ticket in the different wards of the city. The wholesale glassware merchant, former Board of Trade president and member of the business elite, Frederick Buscombe, was "selected...by the business community" as its candidate for mayor, and won an overwhelming victory. He was joined on Council by George H. Halse, provincial manager of the Great West Life Assurance Company, "a large property owner", and the Association's candidate in Ward I; E.H. Heaps, one of the city's most successful lumbermen, and future president of the Board of Trade; and C. Gardiner Johnson, a prominent shipping broker and social leader of long standing in Vancouver. Of particular satisfaction to the business community was the defeat of alderman Robert MacPherson, the carpenter from Ward IV who best typified to them the small-minded politician of the past. Even the Electoral Union, expressing the business rather than moral side of its reform program, now endorsed the Citizen's Association slate, rejecting in the process one of its own more outspoken advocates of moral purification, business leader James Ramsay.

The platform of Vancouver's Citizen's Association in 1905 was the platform of business reformers in towns and cities across the country during this pre-war period. Its principal argument was that businessmen on Council, drawing from their own day-to-day experiences in business, would provide a systematic and efficient administration of public affairs. In addition Council would become active again, countering the prevailing "policy of drift" with a "vigorous policy" of urban development. Under business management government would would once again be expansionist, led
by a strong mayor, rather than cautious, led by a mere figurehead. Whereas James McQueen had argued the year earlier against the destruction of the city's waterfront and warned that "the city's interests must be guarded" when additional and needed railway facilities were sought, Buscombe now talked of the great importance that should be attached to the encouragement of new industries, and strongly advocated the reclamation and improvement of False Creek to provide sites for manufacturing establishments. Evoking the spirit of the 1880's, Buscombe called for a government that would expand parks and playgrounds and give aid both to commerce and industry. Additional costs would be met by "discounting the future", by financing with debentures spread "over a much longer period of time".

Like reformers elsewhere, Vancouver's business reformers also reflected the biases of the upper middle and upper classes. Buscombe opposed remuneration of either aldermen or mayors, and by implication favoured government by the city's more restricted group of wealthy ratepayers. In an extension of the same logic the Citizen's association, supported by the Board of Trade, advocated the abolition of wards. Such a centralist policy would put an end to sectionalism in the allocation of money and would reduce the presence on Council of those socially and economically less prominent people who were the least 'progressive' in outlook, and whose political influence stemmed most directly from the ward system's decentralized distribution of power.

Supporting the Citizen's Association and its reform program was yet another organization established to co-ordinate and exercise the power of leading Vancouver businessmen. The Property Owners' Association had been organized in May of 1900 to defend the property interests of Vancouver's most prominent taxpayers. Though it claimed to speak for both large and
small property owners, the V.P.O.A. was undoubtedly controlled by Van-
couver's largest landholders, including, as the Province charged in 1901, such major realtors as the Vancouver Land and Improvement Company and the B.C. Land and Investment Company. By its own account the V.P.O.A. represented the owners of between 60% and 65% of the assessable realty in Van-
couver at the turn of the century, not counting the real estate controlled by the C.P.R. The Association was led by its founder and secretary Alexander N. Tregent, land valuator for the Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corporation, and by business leaders like former banker and now insurance company manager A. McCreight Creery (1904), banker William Murray (1905) and prominent real estate entrepreneur Edward Mahon (1906). It succeeded an earlier Property Owners' Association which in 1896 had represented the major property-owning class in the city in opposition to the Ratepayers' Association, agent of the city's smaller taxpaying interests.

The V.P.O.A. fought to defend land property holders against unfavour-
able legislation at both the provincial and municipal levels. In 1901 it argued against the Council's decision to reduce the tax rebate for prompt payment of municipal taxes from 20% to 10%, thus ending what in effect had been an involuntary loan of high-priced capital to the city by those large taxpayers who paid early. Three years later a delegation from the Association argued before a provincial government commission for changes to the 1904 Assessment Act. It succeeded the same year in having the Municipal Act amended to define the term 'householder' more precisely to exclude all but bone fide taxpayers, and successfully prevented a move intended to permit electors to cast only one vote per municipality in civic elections, rather than one vote for each ward where property was held; as its secretary pointed out in his year-end survey, "one man one vote" had been defeated.
The V.P.O.A.'s ties to the Citizen's Association predated the reform movement of 1904-05. The Property Owners' Association's proposal in 1901 that the principal interest groups in the city meet to discuss the Stave Lake Power Company franchise for Vancouver, groups that would include the Citizen's Association, Property Owners' Association and "some of the leading Wholesale and Retail Merchants and Manufacturers of the City", had indicated that the V.P.O.A. like the Citizen's Association was comprised of the most influential business interests in the city, perhaps even of the same men. This suggested link was confirmed in September of 1904 when, according to Tregent's own account, the Citizen's Association was given new life by leaders drawn from the Property Owners' Association, resulting in the reform victory of January 1905. The two associations were no less united in their hostility to the economic restrictions imposed by transportation and utility monopolies than in their support for greater efficiency in municipal government. The V.P.O.A. strongly endorsed the Stave Lake Power Company's plan for an alternative source of electrical energy in Vancouver, and attacked the telephone company's presumption of sovereign authority over the streets of the city; Frederick Buscombe in his 1905 campaign called for government ownership of public utilities; and the Citizen's Association, in addition to its primary commitment to political reform, was a harsh critic of the C.P.R.'s control of the waterfront and an ardent proponent, like the Board of Trade, of new railroad access to Vancouver. Leading businessmen soon turned to more radical proposals for altering the structure of government as their declining enthusiasm for elective office made clear that councils controlled by the business elite would not, in fact, provide a viable long-term method for achieving reform. Ideas put forth by American progressives for decreasing the power of ward
representatives, not necessarily by abolishing the wards themselves, but by establishing a highly-centralized executive branch to replace the now-influential council committees, found ready acceptance among businessmen and reform-minded municipal officials across Canada during the early years of the century. Toronto innovated in 1896 with a Board of Control whose members would be elected on a city-wide rather than ward basis and presumably from the business and educated rather than lower middle and lower classes, followed by Winnipeg in 1906, while "Edmonton...adopted a commission form of civic executive in which administrators were to be hired to guide (the) Council" in 1904.\footnote{111} The issue of structural reform was soon raised in Vancouver, and continued to resurface periodically in the Board of Trade and City Council during the next several years. Mayor Bethune, the Board of Trade and business leader James Ramsay led the first serious call for a Board of Control in 1907 and early in 1908.\footnote{112} Plebiscites on a Board of Control were taken in January of 1908, November of 1910 and January of 1914, and a larger one on both the commission government and Board of Control alternatives went to the electorate in 1911.\footnote{113} The plebiscites of 1908 and 1910 received small majorities, while an advisory commission and Board of Control were endorsed by substantial margins in 1911 and 1914 respectively. Council failed to act on either of these reforms, a failure explained perhaps by the less pressing nature of problems facing local government in Vancouver and hence the less pressing need for structural reform than was the case in other centres like Winnipeg during the period.\footnote{114}

Rather than being members of the business elite, the many businessmen who did take seats on Council from 1905 to 1914 were contractors, real estate agents, mortgage company managers and local merchants of small to medium-sized enterprises whose prosperity was tied to the sustained expansion
of Vancouver during the first twelve years of the century. While almost a third of the aldermen elected to Council during this period were engaged in real estate and non-banking finance (Table 39, page 286), only Malcolm McBeath was a leading businessman of this type, and even his Pacific Loan Company, with assets in September of 1912 of $189,516.12, was relatively small. The only member of the business elite other than business reformer E.H. Heaps and retired contractor Jonathan Rogers elected as an alderman after 1905 was James Ramsay, who had always taken a keen interest in city affairs as much for moral as for business reasons.

L.D. Taylor and H.H. Stevens were two such businessmen who sought office at the municipal level during the pre-war period. Stevens, elected to Parliament from Vancouver for the first of many times in 1911, was an accountant by profession. Before going to Ottawa he had been drawn into the real estate business, and onto City Council, by the tremendous opportunities for influence and wealth offered by the city's rapid expansion. Having served formerly as an accountant and secretary for the Dominion Trust Company, he branched out into his own real estate business between 1909 and 1910. He also served as director or president of at least four other companies, including the Western Canada Trust Company, which like Dominion Trust was in liquidation by 1915. American-born L.D. Taylor, Vancouver's mayor in 1910, 1911, 1915, and again in the 1920's and 1930's, had worked first as an assistant auditor of the Wabash Railroad in Chicago. After a term with the Canadian Pacific Railroad in Revelstoke he had moved to Vancouver, serving as circulation manager of the Vancouver Province before purchasing control of the Vancouver World in 1905. As the Seattle Star pointed out in 1909, Taylor was "An Enthusiastic Booster" of Vancouver, a man who through his newspaper epitomized the rather shrill promotional
spirit which pervaded much of the city's business community before the collapse in 1912. Stevens too had become involved in the publicity side of the business boom, serving in 1911 as editor of a small Mount Pleasant-area publication known as the Western Call, and as director of the Terminal City Press. 123

Like the majority of businessmen who ran for and were elected to Council after 1906, both Taylor and Stevens were divided from the city's top businessmen by the speculative and somewhat less respectable character of their business interests, and by the middle class and somewhat less prestigious character of their social position. Taylor and Stevens belonged to social organizations like the Terminal City Club and the Loyal Sons of England rather than to the Vancouver, Shaughnessy Heights Golf and Royal Vancouver Yacht Clubs, like former mayor Frederick Buscombe. 124 Stevens, a Methodist who lived in the Grandview district of East Vancouver, served on City Council in 1910 and 1911 for the city's east-side Ward V. Taylor in particular drew political strength from his social position below that of the upper class, posing as the "people's candidate", as the man who dared "to speak on behalf of the masses of the people". 125 During his second bid for the mayoralty in 1910 he lost Wards I and II in the west end and central core of the city by 647 votes, but swept the remainder of the city with a majority of 920. 126 So frightened was the Province, organ of the business elite in Vancouver, of his class appeal in 1910 that it openly labelled him a dangerous demagogue while viewing his opponent, Mayor C.S. Douglas, a former business leader and now a very respectable member of the city's upper class, as a "safe man". 127 The appeals of Taylor and Stevens were often very different, the populist Taylor standing as the workingman's friend, arguing for a single tax and opposing the bonusing of new industries, 128 while Tory Party member
Stevens supported the business reformers' idea of a Board of Control; typically, however, they both shared backgrounds and business interests which clearly set them apart from the social and economic leaders in the city, now generally excluded from municipal government.

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The majority of leading businessmen who revealed a preference supported the Conservative Party in federal and provincial politics. Of the one hundred and fourteen business leaders of the 1890-93 and 1910-13 periods whose political affiliations are known, eighty-one, or 71.1%, were associated with the Conservative Party. Twenty-three of the city's business leaders of the 1890-93 period supported the Conservative Party at some point before 1914, compared to only five for the Liberals. The strength of these connections with the Tory Party in the nineties was a product of the dominance since Confederation of the Conservatives, as the government party, in federal politics in B.C., and of the close association of Canadian businessmen generally with Macdonald's party during the period. Business leaders who showed obvious preference for the Conservatives in the 1890's, usually acting as delegates to a local party nominating meeting or convention, included Harry Abbott, R.H. Alexander, Fred Cope, C.S. Douglas, A. St. George Hammersley, J.C. Keith, E.J. McFeely, the Oppenheimer brothers, R.G. Tatlow, J.D. Townley, Dr. D.H. Wilson, Edward Cook, David Robertson, J.W. Hackett and George I. Wilson. Others of note in the nineties such as Edward Rand and the American-born H.T. Ceperley and B.T. Rogers also defined themselves as Conservatives, but later, in biographical sketches before the War. Both the majority and the most prominent of Vancouver's early
business leaders were Conservatives.

The business community remained a source of Conservative Party strength after 1900, though the ratio of support for the two parties among pre-war business leaders was only slightly more than two Conservatives to one Liberal compared to the five-to-one relationship among leaders of the early 1890's. 132 Vancouver was an especially strong bastion of Conservatism at the provincial level after 1903, electing McBride Conservatives in all five city seats in each of the 1903, 1907, 1909 and 1912 elections. The vote in Vancouver was "controlled not by labour but by commercial interests", Liberal T.R.E. McInnes told Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1909, 133 with the McBride Government's political organization in the city, headed by lawyer W.J. Bowser, closely tied to this "commercial" community. 134 Business leaders Charles Tisdall and R.C. Tatlow were elected to the provincial legislature from Vancouver, Francis Carter-Cotton from Richmond and Bank of Vancouver vice-president Lytton W. Shatford from the Interior riding of Similkameen during the 1903 to 1912 period; and two other local businessmen, A.H.B. MacGowan, former secretary of the Vancouver Board of Trade, and H.H. Watson, partner of business leader Henry McDowell in a local drug store business, were also elected to Victoria as part of the Bowser machine's 'Solid Five'.

Prominent Vancouver Liberal F.C. Wade claimed in 1909 that "most" of the Board of Trade was Conservative. 135 In addition, provincial Conservatives were strongly backed by the Vancouver Province, "the organ of the McBride Government...in Vancouver" and the leading exponent of business interests among Vancouver newspapers. 136

The staunchly imperialist sentiment of the Vancouver business community closely paralleled this association with the Conservative Party.

Members of the Board of Trade like businessmen generally in Vancouver viewed
Vancouver's central place on the All-Red Route, linking "the distant branches of the great British family into one vast system of interchange in commodities and communications", as an essential element in the Terminal City's future destiny as a great international city. For the Vancouver Board of Trade, the fulfilment of this dream through the implementation of a fast Atlantic steamship service, the construction of a Pacific cable to link Canada and the empire of the east, and the erection of a preferential system of imperial trade was a major concern from the time of the Board's inception in 1887 to the First World War. Its plans for a stronger empire were advanced regularly by Vancouver delegates to the Congresses of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire. H.O. Bell-Irving, Board of Trade president from 1895 to 1897, was perhaps the Terminal City's most outspoken advocate of closer imperial ties, and fought hard for the idea of imperial preference at the Chamber of Commerce Conference in London in 1903. The Board gave unqualified support to the Laurier Government's policy of a tariff preference for Great Britain, announced in 1897, endorsed the British role in South Africa in 1899, and resolved unanimously that Canada meet Britain's request for a grant of money to build a dreadnought in 1909. Vancouver businessmen were also leaders in the local Imperial Federation League which advocated a closer union of the various parts of the empire, and in the Men's Canadian Club which strongly supported a Canadian nationalism that was enthusiastically British in character. Most of the first executive of the Imperial Federation League, including prominent businessman R.H. Alexander (president), Francis Carter-Cotton, Fred Cope, A.H.B. MacGowan, William Downie, Harry Abbott and A. St. George Hammersley, were Conservatives.

While Vancouver remained a Conservative stronghold at the provincial level, support for the national Liberal party did become more evident
among the city's top businessmen at the turn of the century. Fourteen business leaders of the 1910-13 period were active members or supporters of the Conservative Party before 1900, and twenty-four after, compared to four before and twenty-one after for the Liberals. New interest in the Liberal Party was directly related to the fact that as the party of power in Ottawa after 1896 it now controlled federal patronage in British Columbia. In addition, the reservoir of latent party support among Vancouver business leaders who had previously supported the Liberal Party elsewhere in Canada changed to open support following the Laurier victory of 1896 and the decision of the British Columbia Liberal Association in October of 1901 to call for the use of national party labels in provincial politics. Merchants Robert Kelly, William Clubb, Charles Woodward, W.H. Malkin and William J. McMillan, for example, had each arrived in Vancouver before 1896, but openly supported the Liberal Party only after the turn of the century. The Liberal Party's ties with the business community were stronger at the federal than the provincial levels, with the federal organization in Vancouver headed by Robert Kelly, described by the *Victoria Colonist* in 1905 as the "king and the king-maker" of the local party, and staunchly supported by the city's most prominent industrialist, John Hendry.

Despite increased ties with the local business community, the Liberal Party was still less the party of business and more the party of labour than the Tories. In 1896 Liberals in Vancouver had supported Nationalist Party candidate Reverend George Maxwell, who was elected again on a fusion ticket of the Vancouver Independent Labour Party and the Liberal Party in 1900. Robert MacPherson, the Vancouver carpenter elected to the provincial legislature in 1894 and 1898 as an Opposition member, was a Liberal federally. And L.D. Taylor, who appealed to the working class rather than business elite
and upper sections of society in the mayoralty election of 1910, had also found a home in the Liberal Party, having become the "dominant power" in the party organization by 1909. Not coincidentally, Taylor's opponent in 1910 was Charles S. Douglas, early Vancouver business leader, member of 'society', and an active Conservative.

The quest for political favours obviously determined the assistance which some Vancouver businessmen extended to government parties in Victoria and Ottawa. Liquor interests gave active support to the McBride Government, for instance, in return for its favourable disposition of liquor licenses to party friends. F.C. Wade, in his analysis of the defeat suffered by the Liberal Party in Vancouver in the provincial election of 1909, claimed that the liquor interests had "furnished about nineteen hundred votes" in Vancouver, and that licensed victuallers had "managed" government organizations "everywhere" during the campaign. Vancouver's most successful brewer, Charles Doering, had according to his own account "succeeded in enlisting the support of practically every man in Vancouver engaged in the liquor and allied businesses" for the McBride Conservatives in the previous election of 1907. Doering, the ardent supporter of a provincial Conservative administration after 1903, had been an active member of the Vancouver Liberal Party in 1901 and 1902.

Government control of resources was of particular interest to Vancouver businessmen. At the provincial level, real estate and investment company managers in the city pursued the government's favour to gain distribution rights for crown land. Early Vancouver business leader C.D. Rand was given control of the sale of crown lands at Prince Rupert, for example; and McBride carefully manipulated the sale of Point Grey lands near Vancouver during the 1909 provincial election to encourage a general climate
of boosterism in the city, and to place "hundreds of...real estate operators
and citizens in close touch, if not at the mercy" of his government. 154

The Laurier Government made especially good use of its jurisdiction
over coastal waters to reward business friends in the city. Prominent
Liberal businessman Robert Kelly and William Hickey received an exclusive
seining license for Quascilla Creek, near Smith Inlet, at the time of the
license renewal in 1901 for an area that had previously been fished since
1884 by the R.P. Rithet interests of Victoria. The previously-held license
was now withdrawn. 155 The federal Department of Marine and Fisheries granted
title in 1906 to a section of the False Creek foreshore to the B.C. Mills,
Timber and Trading Company, owned by prominent Liberal John Hendry, despite
earlier opposition from the city and other business interests on False
Creek. 156 And in another waterfront case, the federal government passed an
order-in-council in January of 1910 permanently alienating the water lots
in front of a small piece of property on Burrard Inlet, recently purchased
by a group of local businessmen which just happened to include local Liberal
Party boss Robert Kelly. The previous owner of the land, J.B. Tiffin, had
also asked in 1905 for a similar grant of the water lots at the front of
the property on which the Red Cedar Lumber Company had erected a mill, but
had been granted only a limited-term lease. 157 Tiffin was a prominent
Conservative. 158 In the summary conclusion of one commentator writing to
Prime Minister Robert Borden's private secretary in 1916, "...the late
Government (had) alienated from the people and practically handed away to
their party healers all the valuable water lots in this harbour", allowing
these private persons and interests to make huge profits "at the expense
of the people's treasury". 159

John Hendry's close ties with the federal party and personal accord
with Sir Wilfrid Laurier were of substantial advantage to his resource-
based industrial empire. The water lots acquired on both False Creek
and Burrard Inlet were but one product of his considerable political influence.
Hugh Guthrie, the Liberal member for Wellington South, lobbied within the
federal government for Hendry interests in the Western Canada Power Company
and the Vancouver, Westminster and Yukon Railway Company, guiding charter
renewals for the railroad through Parliament and succeeding in acquiring a
federal subsidy of $300,000 for a bridge across Burrard Inlet and $6,400
per mile for a V.W. and Y. line to Fort George in 1908. The subsidy
was subsequently renewed to 1912 despite competing demands from the Burrard
Inlet Tunnel and Bridge Company, headed by Conservative M.L.A. Francis
Carter-Cotton, for federal aid to his group's proposed Second Narrows
Bridge. Whatever the original source of John Hendry's Liberalism, his
enthusiastic support of Laurier was clearly motivated by practical self-
interest. As his assistant William McNeill pointed out in 1910 while
preparing, on Hendry's behalf, to make the Prime Minister's upcoming visit
to the west coast "a pleasant one": "There is no saying what help we will
need in Ottawa this winter(;)...we must'be careful to keep on the right side
of things...". Hendry's automobile was made available as the official
limousine for Sir Wilfrid while he was in Vancouver.

* * *

For the majority of leading Vancouver businessmen political involve-
ment provided neither an important part of their community identity nor a
vehicle for the meaningful exercise of business influence. Perhaps more
striking than the fact that only one hundred and fourteen of the three
hundred and twenty-two business leaders of both periods (35.4%) are known to have supported the Liberals or Conservatives (either actively or passively) is the fact that a mere fifty-five (or 16.5%) played a role in one of the two parties beyond simply expressing their political preference in a contemporary biographical dictionary. The limited extent of this active political involvement which contrasted very sharply with the prominent role of Victoria businessmen in provincial politics in the 1880's and 1890's may perhaps be explained by the inadequate data available about partisan political activity, or perhaps by the fact that some in the business community had arrived too recently to have secured firm roots in Vancouver politics. More convincing is the argument of American historian Robert Wiebe that members of the expanding middle class in this new scientific-industrial age in the U.S. now defined themselves less in terms of family and politics, as in the past, and more in terms of the uniqueness of their occupation. "Joining an occupational organization", he points out, had become "a defining as well as an identifying act" in late nineteenth century America, and appears to have served a similar function in Vancouver. More than half of all business leaders of the 1910-13 period are known to have belonged to at least one business organization after 1900 (one hundred and sixty of two hundred and seventy-six business leaders, or 57.9%), three and one-half times more than the number of pre-war leaders who took an active part, whether it be going to a party meeting or running for office, in Conservative or Liberal Party politics.

The associations they belonged to were as varied in character as their business interests. The largest and most influential business organization in Vancouver was the Board of Trade, formed in September of 1887. Beginning with thirty-one founders, its membership reached peaks of one
hundred and thirty-four in 1892 and two hundred in 1899, declined and remained relatively stable at about one hundred and fifty for most of the next decade, and surged forward again during the pre-war boom to a total of five hundred and forty-seven in 1914. Of the city's two hundred and seventy-six leading businessmen during the 1910-13 period, one hundred and thirty-one were Board members; at least sixteen others, including W.H. Armstrong, David E. Brown, H.C. Clarke, William Farrell, D.G. Williams and Charles Woodward were represented in the Board of Trade by secondary company officials. While all types of businessmen held memberships in the Board, its chief purpose, as president William Godfrey stated in 1899 and wholesalers R.P. McLennan and H.A. Stone reiterated six years later, was to advance "the commerce" of the city and "the commercial interests" of the merchant community. This commercial character was especially clear after 1900 when the Board's previous role as virtually the only spokesman for the city's business community was challenged by the formation of a number of rival organizations representing specific, and less strictly mercantile, business interests. Of the fifteen Board presidents between 1900 and 1914, eleven were either wholesale (eight) or retail (three) merchants; the other four included two capitalists, one banker and one lumber manufacturer. While the first four presidents from 1897 to 1892 had been prominent real estate entrepreneurs and lumbermen, the rapidly expanding lumber manufacturing, real estate, real estate finance and construction sectors of the pre-war economy were represented at the top of the Board executive after 1900 by only two men, lumber entrepreneur E.H. Heaps and the former contractor and now prominent property owner and 'capitalist' Jonathan Rogers.

This suggestion that the Board of Trade was concerned primarily with the 'trading' interests of Vancouver businessmen, even in the 1880's
and 1890's, is confirmed by an examination of the policies it espoused. Its work fell into three prevailing categories, the opening of new markets, the facilitation of goods and services into those expanding markets through Vancouver, and the fight against discriminatory government policies, particularly the country's freight rates, which worked to the detriment of west coast businessmen. The Board fought hard to have the avenues of trade into Vancouver expanded, whether this involved deepening the channels of False Creek, the Fraser River or the First Narrows, building railroads to the Kootenays, the Yukon, Lulu Island, the Nicola Valley and Peace River, encouraging new water transportation to Vancouver Island or the North Coast, or expanding (after 1899) the system of wagon roads up the Fraser Valley and eventually inland from Hope to Princeton and on to Alberta. Immigration, by which the Board meant "white immigration from European sources", was favoured, and the better accommodation of new arrivals in Vancouver and the more active settlement of agricultural lands in the railroad belt, which would encourage it, were urged. Advertising campaigns aimed at expanding the outflow of goods to new markets and the inflow of immigrants and capital to create them were also recurring features of the Board of Trade's program, extending from the pamphlet on mining resources in B.C., published in 1889, through the major campaign to capture the Yukon market, begun in 1897, to the Board's urgent request for federal money to finance a Canadian pavilion at Seattle's Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1906.

Like other businessmen in Canada at the turn of the century, Board of Trade members found their philosophical commitment to the free enterprise system no hindrance to continuous demands for government subsidies. They called on both the city and provincial governments to bonus a shipbuilding industry and a drydock in Vancouver in the early 1890's.
Their call for a subsidized mail service to San Francisco and railroad to the Kootenays in March of 1888 was reiterated many times before 1914, especially during the Yukon gold rush from 1897 to 1901 when subsidized steamship, mail and railroad services to the north were viewed as the city's best hope to recapture the Yukon trade lost initially to Seattle.\textsuperscript{183} The Board's interest in the possible movement of grain from Alberta through Vancouver, first expressed in 1902, had evolved into a proposal for a government grain elevator on Burrard Inlet by 1906.\textsuperscript{184}

Its struggle against unsatisfactory tariffs and freight rates consumed a great deal of the Board's energy. The Board of Trade combined support for a high tariff with an enthusiastic belief in the value of empire to make imperial preference its most distinguishing policy. As early as 1892, however, the question of discriminatory tariffs which allowed American lumber into Canada at a lower rate than Canadian lumber into the U.S. had emerged as an additional tariff issue.\textsuperscript{185} Concern reached a peak in 1904 when temporarily declining markets and rising unemployment in the lumber industry focused new attention on the favoured position of American lumber and shingle manufacturers in the continental lumber market. More than any other issue it engaged the attention of the Board of Trade in 1904 and 1905, and resulted in a joint delegation of B.C. lumbermen and representatives of the Board of Trade to Ottawa with demands that the federal government impose "the same rate of duty of these (lumber and shingle) products on entering Canada" as is charged by the Americans "on entering the United States".\textsuperscript{186} A Board resolution to the same effect, passed in July of 1908, testified to the continued existence of the lumber tariff problem.\textsuperscript{187}

The freight rates issue was as easy for the Board to explain as it was difficult for Board leaders to resolve. Ideally, stated Board of Trade
president Ewing Buchan in his year-end report of 1911, "a given sum of money should transport a ton of freight as far east from Vancouver as the same sum would transport a ton from Montreal west...". At worst, the Vancouver business community deserved equal rates with Winnipeg to Calgary, MacLeod and the Kootenays. Instead, R.P. McLennan had pointed out a year earlier, "We ship goods as far as Revelstoke, where the Montreal people meet us with the same rate". Not only were British Columbians being "milked... for the benefit of the east", but the structure precluded any manufacturing industry of substances in B.C. outside of lumber. Faced with such discrimination, the Board mounted a number of initiatives, beginning in the late 1890's when a "Freight Rates" committee of the Board was established, and which included major efforts to force rate concessions from the Board of Railway Commissioners in 1907 and from William Mackenzie and Donald Mann on their proposed new transcontinental line into B.C. in 1910. With the exception of a "very material reduction" in the eastbound rates won from the C.P.R. in 1907, no major changes in freight rates were achieved.

At times the Board exerted considerable influence over civic affairs, particularly during the 1880's and 1890's when the Board joined the C.P.R. and City Council as part of the predominant power alignment within the community. The three came together in April of 1888 when the Board and Council united in opposition to the C.P.R. 's plans for a railroad bridge without a draw across False Creek, and again in October of 1897 to discuss the proposed expansion of C.P.R. facilities in the city; the Board gave Council its approval a year later for a bylaw to exempt these new improvements from taxation. Council and the Board formed joint committees to examine other problems of mutual concern, including the possibilities of bonusing another smelter and refinery venture in 1896 and of hiring an industrial
The Board was always in the vanguard of the fight for new public institutions in the city such as a custom's house, assay office and post offices. It had also been a leading advocate of government reform in Vancouver after 1900.

Committed as it was to the philosophy of economic growth, the Board of Trade naturally assumed a prominent role as booster of the town's interests; its advertising campaigns, encouragement of immigration, demands for additional shipping and rail links to the hinterland and call for government aid to new industrial and transportation enterprises were consistent with the promotional function of Boards of Trade generally in Canadian cities during the period. But while the Board continued to serve as the business community's strongest pressure group, the public relations side of its role as agent of economic development was strongly challenged after 1901 by a series of new businessmen's organizations more concerned with the advertising function of civic boosterism than with the defence of business interests in the halls of government. They were much more aggressive than the Board in selling the city to the outside world, and more in sympathy with the land promotion and construction-based, and often speculative, nature of economic expansion in Vancouver. They drew members from the real estate, non-banking finance, newspaper, hotel and small business sections of the business community, and to a limited extent, in the Tourist Association at least, from among the leading merchants and transportation executives; virtually none of their members were manufacturers. From 1902 to 1913 they displaced the Board of Trade as Vancouver's 'leading' booster organization.

Perhaps the most important of these new organizations was the Vancouver Tourist Association, formed in 1902 to encourage tourism in
Vancouver and to promote "the commercial and industrial growth of the city and development of the Province".\textsuperscript{197} What Vancouver needed, the Association's founders argued, was a more ambitious program of publicity designed to sell the city to tourists and investors alike; it was, in other words, to be a civic advertising agency, promoting Vancouver through newspaper and magazine ads, booklets, pamphlets, postcards and subsidized lecture tours.\textsuperscript{198} The \textit{British Columbia Magazine}, begun as the \textit{Westward Ho! Magazine} in 1907, was "practically the official publication of the Vancouver Tourist Association",\textsuperscript{199} and served along with L.D. Taylor's \textit{Vancouver World} as one of the two leading organs of civic boosterism in Vancouver. The Tourist Association claimed a distribution of 80,000 booklets, pamphlets and other forms of literature throughout the English-speaking world in 1907.\textsuperscript{200} Its greatest triumph came in Seattle in 1909 where the Terminal City's majestic, neo-classical style arch and the Association's very ambitious publicity campaign combined to impress many thousands of Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition visitors with the most favourable side of life in B.C.\textsuperscript{201}

The Tourist Association worked with rather than against the Board of Trade during the first ten years of operation.\textsuperscript{202} Board president W. H. Malkin had been skeptical about the idea of a tourist organization in 1902, arguing that Vancouver, as "a commercial city", did not require tourists.\textsuperscript{203} He obviously recanted and joined the new organization, as did Richard Marpole, F.J. Proctor, R.H. Sperling, Frederick Buscombe, William Godfrey and Robert Kelly,\textsuperscript{204} the latter three of whom, like Malkin himself, were active in the Board of Trade. The driving force behind the Association came primarily from the real estate and related interest groups in the city rather than from leading merchants, however. The division inherent between the two types of businessmen became clear when the Tourist Association
and Vancouver Ad Club joined to form the Progress Club in 1912, with the leading commercial interests no longer a part, and was finally completed in November of 1913 when the boosters challenged the Board of Trade outright with a plan to amalgamate all business organizations in the city into a new super organization modelled on the American Chamber of Commerce.

The collapse of the boom and consequent financial distress of much of the Progress Club's constituency, combined with the very hostile reaction of the Board of Trade to its possible new rival, led to the quick disposal of the promoters and their Chamber of Commerce idea.

Two other publicity-oriented organizations of note emerged during the decade before the War. The Hundred Thousand Club, formed in 1905, was concerned with boosterism pure and simple, promoting the kind of irresponsible speculative fervour denounced by the Board on at least one occasion, in 1910. Its founders included B.F. Dickens, the first advertising manager of the Vancouver Province, proprietor of the first professional advertising agency in Vancouver, and part owner of the Vancouver World with L.D. Taylor and Victor Odium in 1905; and urban land promoter and business leader Alvo von Alvensleben. While several business leaders were associated with the Vancouver Exhibition Association, organized informally in 1907 and formally in 1908, the founders and subsequent builders of the exhibition were men like J. Field-Johnson, "an old agriculturalist" and newspaper writer, and Thomas Duke, George McSpadden, Edward Odium and J.J. Miller, small Vancouver real estate company entrepreneurs. After the ratepayers' initial rejection of a money bylaw for $25,000, subsequent debenture bylaws were passed leading to the erection in 1909 of the first show building and the opening in 1910 of the first Vancouver Exhibition. This significant challenge to the existing Royal Agricultural Society Exhibition in New
Westminster, which helped consolidate Vancouver's position as the business metropolis of the region, owed its inception and success to the leadership of the speculative and promotion-oriented fringe of the business community, and only peripherally to the support of the Board of Trade.

Like civic boosters, manufacturers also branched off into new organizations more closely representing the unique character of their occupational interests. While Vancouver shingle manufacturers E.H. Heaps and W.L. Tait had signed an agreement for the purpose of "working together for mutual interests" as early as 1894, forming the B.C. Shingle Manufacturers' Association, this trend to organizational specialization among the city's manufacturers was mainly a phenomenon of the early twentieth century. Lumbermen and loggers were the most active in industrial associations, reflecting the pre-eminent position of lumber among coast industries after 1900.

They belonged to organizations of two general types, those drawing members from several regions of the country, and those representing only local or regional manufacturing interests. The handful of Vancouver manufacturers who participated in national organizations was comprised almost entirely of the owners and managers of large enterprises worth over one million dollars. John Hendry and R.H. Alexander of the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company, A.D. McRae of the Canadian Western Lumber Company, J.E. Tucker of the Vancouver Lumber Company, W.H. Barker of B.C. Packers and B.T. Rogers of B.C. Sugar each participated in organizations extending beyond British Columbia, with Hendry serving as president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1910, president of the Canadian Forestry Association in 1910 and 1912 and vice-president of the Canadian Lumbermen's Association in 1911, and again the following year. Regional associations
like the British Columbia Lumbermen's Association, British Columbia Lumber and Shingle Manufacturers' Ltd. and British Columbia Lumber, Logging and Forestry Association, though frequently led by the same members of the manufacturing elite, derived their support from a broader constituency of B.C. industrialists. Vancouver manufacturers T.F. Patterson, George Davenport and E.G. Baynes, heading companies with assets no greater than $508,000, were active in regional but not national associations. Regional lumber organizations were concerned with government policy at the provincial level, watching over legislation such as the insurance bill of 1909 to bar outside insurance companies from carrying on business in B.C., and fighting to secure the permanancy of title to timber lands. Organizations of British Columbia lumbermen were especially concerned about federal tariff discrimination against the western lumber industry; the national Canadian Forestry Association, on the other hand, led the fight for the conservation of forest resources.

The establishment of separate manufacturers' organizations in B.C. was also a product of regional alienation. Complaints in 1908 that the Canadian Lumbermen's Association represented only eastern interests and showed no concern for the tariff problems of local lumbermen was undoubtedly a factor behind the reorganization of the British Columbia Timber and Forestry Chamber of Commerce into the larger and more powerful British Columbia Lumber, Logging and Forestry Association in 1908 and 1909. The same sentiment led to the formation in 1913 of the British Columbia Manufacturers' Association, which by the end of the year included representatives of almost all of the city's manufacturing establishments except large-scale and C.M.A.-affiliated corporations like B.C. Mills, Canadian Western Lumber and B.C. Packers; the local branch of the C.M.A., established in Vancouver by
1901 and led regionally in 1910 by industrialists John Hendry, W.H. Barker and B.T. Rogers, now "for all intents and purposes" ceased to be active.223

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How decisive was the influence of leading businessmen in shaping the character and development of early Vancouver? The evidence presented has suggested a complex pattern of leadership which evolved from a high point of influence in the 1880's to a role modified by increased division within the business community itself and by the emergence of countervailing sources of authority from the more clearly-articulated middle and lower stratas of Vancouver's maturing society. The reduction in influence was relative rather than absolute, however. The growth ethic prevailed as the guiding philosophy of both civic and provincial politics; federal government attitudes towards resource development were entirely compatible with the expansionist philosophy of local party supporters; the Board of Trade remained the single-most important "advisor to the City Council";224 and the McBride Government continued to draw political strength in Vancouver from the business community to which it was so closely affiliated, both spiritually and organizationally.

A less easily substantiated but persistent impression emerges of a business community in Vancouver which, apart from the C.P.R., was much less decisive in guiding the destiny of its city than were leading businessmen in rival centres. The question of low membership rolls and poor attendance was the "hardy annual" among topics of discussion at the Board of Trade through much of the period before 1914.225 The chagrin expressed by the News-Advertiser in 1890 at the apathy of Vancouver businessmen in promoting economic expansion, especially by comparison with businessmen of Victoria and New West-
minster, was reiterated eighteen years later in a column by the same paper strongly deprecating "the seeming lack of interest by merchants and professional men in the interests of the city". Vancouver's businessmen looked especially lethargic by comparison with their counterparts in Seattle. "The people here get what they get after", explained the Secretary of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce in 1907; "That is the Seattle spirit".

Seattle had indeed outflanked its northern rival on at least two occasions, in organizing the giant Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909, and in first capturing the bulk of the profitable Yukon trade a decade earlier. Puget Sound cities had captured "the initial advantage (in the Yukon trade) by being energetic and unscrupulous", explained W. McCraney in February of 1898 after encountering agents of Puget Sound and northern U.S. railroad companies "in almost every town in the Dominion" on his recent trip across Canada; "the sense of urgency that permeated the Seattle scene was never quite as intense in British Columbia", however. Perhaps its English cultural heritage was decisive in determining a business method in Vancouver different from that suggested for Seattle, a method in Vancouver noted for its later daily starting time, leisurely pace and gentlemanly conduct of business affairs. Or perhaps its superb natural location made Vancouver's destiny as the region's principal metropolitan centre appear inevitable, rendering aggressive leadership by principal businessmen superfluous; as one English traveller noted while drawing a comparison with the recently-visited Montreal, "Vancouver will go ahead in spite of itself". In the final analysis, the impression is reinforced by one very definite conclusion about the role of business leaders in early Vancouver; despite numerous instances when Vancouver businessmen did influence government policy at the local and provincial level, collective business action did not intervene to
change the direction of the city's economic development decisively at any one point during the period before 1914. Only the C.P.R., rather than the business community as a whole, could make that claim.
Chapter 12

CONCLUSION

Vancouver's leading businessmen in the early period of the city's history conformed generally to a pattern now familiar in the historical literature on business elites at the turn of the century in both the United States and Canada. Almost three-quarters of the business leaders of the 1890-1983 period in Vancouver for whom information is available had come from business or professional backgrounds, and a lesser, but still significant 57% of the leaders of the pre-war period from the same. The educational opportunities they had been offered in particular marked the city's top businessmen as a privileged group. One-third of Vancouver's leading businessmen between 1886 and 1914 had received some training in university, or in law or accountancy, at a time when such higher education was still a prerogative limited to the wealthier upper middle and upper portions of society. The career patterns of Vancouver's leading businessmen were not characterized by dramatic 'rags-to-riches' mobility. Only 6 out of 116 businessmen in both the 1890-1893 and 1910-1913 periods from whom information is available had come from working class families. The city's business leadership was drawn almost entirely from Protestant Anglo-Saxon backgrounds. Eight German-born immigrants provided the only noticeable deviation from the business community's homogeneous British and Anglo-Canadian ethnic character. A mere 5.5% of all business leaders were Roman Catholics, and only two businessmen, David and Isaac Oppenheimer, were of the Jewish faith. The higher status Anglican Church claimed the adherence of 59% and 42% of the leaders of the early 1890's and pre-war periods respectively, while by comparison only 13.6% and 17.3% of
the city's top businessmen were associated with the lower status Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic denominations. Vancouver's leading businessmen, like other business elites of the period, were drawn from a much more restricted, and more advantaged, social and economic base than was the population of society as a whole.

Despite this conformity to a known pattern, however, the evidence presented, while not conclusive, does suggest that opportunities for economic improvement were greater in Vancouver than was the case with national business elites, or with elites in older, more socially stable cities. Fifteen percent more of the business leaders of the 1890's period had come from business or professional backgrounds than had the business leaders of the 1910-13 period, and a slightly higher portion of the earlier group had received some university-level education than had the city's leaders a generation later; both trends indicate that chances to rise into the top portion of the business community increased slightly during the city's first quarter century of development, rather than decreased, as had been expected. The same conclusion is suggested by a comparison of the backgrounds of the small group of most successful Vancouver businessmen, called the 'economic elite', and the larger group of businessmen, called the 'non-elite business leaders', who headed less successful enterprises in Vancouver before the War. Slightly higher proportions of the elite than of the non-elite had come from farm backgrounds and had received only a grade school education, while more of the less successful 'business leaders' had been raised in business or professional families, or had been exposed to a university-level education. Again these findings contradicted original expectations.

The authors of a recent study of the business elite in Chicago to 1930 argue that local elites in younger settlements in newer regions of the United States, like that in Chicago in the nineteenth century, included more self-made
men than did the national business elite, even though both types of elite
groups exhibited more privileged characteristics than the population of the
country as a whole. ¹ The same observation can be made about Vancouver in the
early part of the twentieth century. Just as the rapidly expanding Chicago
of the nineteenth century provided greater opportunities for new men to be­
come wealthy in business than did older centres like Boston or New York, so
too did business in Vancouver before 1914 offer greater opportunities for
economic advancement to the top of the local business power structure than
did business in national metropolitan cities like Montreal or Toronto.

The nature of business enterprise in British Columbia before the
War provides one explanation for this phenomenon in Vancouver. The trends
in business so evident at the national level in Canada during the pre-war
period towards the consolidation of many small into fewer large companies,
towards the internal reorganization of such large companies along specialized
functional lines and towards the evolution of business decision-making from
unincorporated family or partnership firms to larger, impersonal corporations
run by highly educated career employees were also evident before 1914 in
certain areas of business in B.C., particularly in the largest lumber, mining
and salmon canning industries, in externally-controlled companies like B.C.
Electric, and of course in national banks and the C.P.R. But the most strik­
ing feature of the large number of British Columbia businesses with which
Vancouver business leaders were associated was their small size, at least by
comparison with giant corporations in the east, and their simple form of
internal organization. British Columbia was still the land of the individual
entrepreneur before 1914, despite the fact that new forms of business organi­
zation were clearly evident in the resource industries, and the fact that the
consolidation of small local companies into larger, externally-controlled ones
was already under way in the province. The inflated prosperity of the pre-war
years and the ready availability of investment capital provided ample opportunity for local entrepreneurial initiative in the urban and hinterland resource fields, and in supporting service businesses, and hundreds took the chance to exploit these possibilities by incorporating relatively small, locally-controlled companies. The vast majority of leading businessmen in Vancouver were either individual entrepreneurs or men who combined managerial with entrepreneurial business functions. Because Vancouver was a new city without a previously entrenched business elite, only a handful of Vancouver's business leaders before 1914 inherited their business positions in family firms. Company officials of the C.P.R. exercised inordinate authority over Vancouver's development during the first few years after 1886; but individual entrepreneurs, rather than the career bureaucrats who served primarily as the local managers of eastern-controlled banking, transportation and to a lesser extent wholesale companies, set the tone for business life in Vancouver from the turn of the century to the First World War.

The small scale of business in Vancouver by comparison with other major business centres in North America during this period was a critical factor in determining the relatively greater economic mobility experienced by the city's business elite. The smallest American companies included by Mable Newcomer in her study of the national American elite in 1900, for instance, had assets of $25 m.; but the largest company owned in Vancouver during the 1910-13 period possessed assets of only $8 m., and the average business headed by a member of the city's elite was worth less than one million dollars, twenty-five times smaller than the smallest companies examined by Newcomer. Mobility may have been greater in Vancouver, then, not only because of the boom-like character of the business climate in British Columbia before the War, but also because the structure of business in Vancouver was less fully developed, or less 'mature', than at the national level. Economic mobility was taking place in
Vancouver at an intermediate, rather than at the highest level of the national business hierarchy.

Symptomatic of the smaller scale of business in Vancouver and of the greater opportunities for success in business before the War was the provincial character of the city's business leadership. Vancouver was a regional business centre with influence clearly limited to the western end of the country. Vancouver-centered trade in lumber seldom extended beyond the prairie region; that in wholesale goods stopped at Calgary; and few of the city's leading business figures were represented either on the boards of national corporations or in the business clubs of the eastern elite. Particularly indicative of the regional character of business activity in Vancouver was the preoccupation of all but the career bureaucrats managing eastern or British-controlled bank, railroad and utility company branches with speculation in, or the development of provincial resources. Transcontinental economic ties linking B.C. with eastern Canada were primarily associations moving inward from the east rather than outward from the west. In the hierarchy of metropolitan relationships in Canada, pre-war Vancouver was very much a hinterland centre serving a regional economy.

Business opportunities in a new and rapidly growing city like Vancouver were not matched by corresponding chances for improvement in social status. Evidence in this study suggests that in Vancouver before World War I, as in other large metropolitan centres of the period, a collection of citizens had come to form, through restricted and self-regulated social interaction, a definable sub-group in the city called the 'social upper class'. While this class in Vancouver was too new to have formed a tightly-knit social group bound together through intermarriage, those involved defined their unique social identity primarily through participation in high status social clubs; such 'class'-defining social behaviour indicated a mutual desire by people of
particular interests and background to associate with one another in an upper class fashion, and a willingness by those already in the core group of the emerging upper class to accept them. Being very successful in business, i.e. being one of the economic elite, did ease the way to inclusion in the city's 'social upper class'; but as the 45% of the upper class business leaders who were not members of the economic elite were to show, the inherited advantages of a relatively affluent family background, a privileged education and family membership in a high status Protestant church were more important determinants of social acceptance than mere success in business for almost all but the most successful city businessmen. The average business leader in the 'social upper class' had come from a more restricted social environment than had the average businessman in the city's economic elite.

Canadian historians have long held as commonplace the observation that the forces of national integration were stronger across Canada in the early years of the twentieth century than at any other point in the country's history, yet seldom have they examined the broad implications of these tendencies on the economic development of the country's most westerly region. An analysis of the economic forces which accompanied Vancouver's emergence before 1914 as Canada's fourth largest city has revealed that those same integrative forces defined both the process of Vancouver's development into a regional business centre and important aspects of the character of its leading businessmen. The business history of early Vancouver was closely bound to the larger shift in British Columbia at the turn of the century from an outward-looking and maritime economic system to an inward-looking and transcontinental one. While the completion of the C.P.R. in 1886 may have prescribed Vancouver's future destiny as B.C.'s largest business centre, the city's metropolitan role was fulfilled only a full ten years later when the railroad was joined by a much larger movement of business interests into the Pacific coast province. Vancouver's
function as a wholesale entrepot, as a management centre for the salmon canning and lumber industries and as the hub of a regional transportation system after the mid-1890's were all linked to this larger shift in the pattern of economic ties between British Columbia and the outside world. Even the highly inflated prosperity of the land development and timber industries of the period after 1900 were largely a product of national prosperity.

Just as the business functions of many leading Vancouver entrepreneurs were determined by the transcendent influence of a maritime economic system in B.C. in the 1880's and 1890's and a transcontinental one in the new century, so too did the recruitment of business leadership in Vancouver reflect the changing importance of these outside forces. Vancouver's business community exhibited a marked British character in the early 1890's despite the predominant economic and social role of the C.P.R. in the city. Thereafter, however, the influx of Canadian money and businesses into B.C. in the late 1890's was joined by a corresponding movement of Canadian businessmen to Vancouver. By the time of the First World War business leadership in Vancouver was decidedly, though by no means totally Canadian. Of considerable significance was the fact that this Canadianization of the city's business community took place in the face of considerable British immigration into Vancouver, and of a small increase between 1891 and 1911 in the proportion of British-born citizens in the city as a whole.

The national influence was perhaps strongest among those members of the business community who formed the core of Vancouver's emerging upper class. The C.P.R. served as the practical and symbolic embodiment of the nation-building process in B.C., and its chief executives in the city assumed a mantle of social superiority consistent with the company's national role, and with its unparalleled local power. The Abbott and Tupper families set the standards for
those who aspired to positions of high social prestige in Vancouver, and determined that both the leading figures in the emergent social upper class and the patterns of social conduct they established would draw heavily from eastern North American, and especially eastern Canadian models.

One other conclusion can be drawn from this examination of leading businessmen in early Vancouver. Stated simply, it is that Vancouver's business community was not a monolithic entity, and any discussion of its 'business leaders' must take into consideration the important differences in their economic, social and political roles. In part such differences were a product of economic and social heritage. Thus, as argued above, not all business leaders, or even members of the business elite, either wanted to or were able to achieve a position of high social status in the city; social behaviour, and the consequent social status achieved by leading businessmen, was more a product of heritage than was the achievement of business success. The different types of business which migrants engaged in upon coming to Vancouver were also partly determined by this economic and social background. Career employees of the large banking, railroad and utility companies in the city were recruited more frequently from backgrounds that made access to the local upper class relatively easy than were individual entrepreneurs in the urban land, hinterland resource, non-banking finance and small service businesses, where greater opportunities to prospective entrepreneurs for economic mobility were accompanied, because of their less prestigious economic and social backgrounds, by fewer opportunities for social recognition.

The diverse character of businessmen's roles was also partly a function of occupation. For instance, after the initial period of city growth when the economic and civic political elites were essentially one and the same, leading businessmen generally abandoned active involvement in local politics. Although more than seventy-five percent of the Council members in the ten year period
before the War were businessmen, real estate agents, retail merchants, contractors and small businessmen with interests in one area of the city rather than top businessmen operating on a city-wide or provincial level formed the business constituency from which this local political leadership was drawn. Business associations became more diversified after 1900, representing the special interests of specific types of businessmen. The Board of Trade became more exclusively the agent of the city's commercial interests, while the development sector of the business community, and particularly those interested in speculation in resources such as urban land, adopted a different form of boosterism, relying more on the media and the techniques of advertising to promote their business ends. The different roles of businessmen both in local politics and in business after 1900 reflected in part the growing separation of one type of businessman, whose economic horizons stretched beyond the city to encompass the entire region, from another, whose interests were more limited to concern about the expansion of the city itself. A full examination of the various political and promotional roles of leading Vancouver businessmen, or of businessmen generally in the city, has not been undertaken in this study; the evidence presented makes clear, however, that any future project with this in mind, either for Vancouver or for some other Canadian city, must take into consideration the very different interests which have often divided Canadian businessmen.²
FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION


8 This idea is discussed in the introduction to Chapter 9. For an excellent examination of the most important of these studies see Reinhard Bendix, "Social Mobility and the American Business Elite," in Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1959, pp. 114-143.

Notes for Chapter 1...cont'd.


13 For an analysis of the different methods used in the various American studies mentioned above (with the exception of those by MacDonald and Ingham) see Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," chapter 2.

14 Ibid., pp. 82 and 90-92.

15 Ibid., pp. 82-84.


18 Porter, Vertical Mosaic, Appendix II, pp. 570-578.


24 Ibid., p. 116. The degree to which economic and social prestige were qualities independent of one another among leading Vancouver businessmen is discussed below in Chapter 9.


27 When a firm was owned by more than one partner in the 1890-93 period, all major partners were included as business leaders.

28 C.P.R. Land Commissioner J. M. Browning, who was president of B.C. Sugar, represented C.P.R. capital in the company; Dr. George L. Milne of Victoria was president of Ramsay Brothers and Company in the nineties, also as representative of his capital investment.

29 Assets were chosen over capitalization on the grounds that the assets listed in yearly annual reports would reflect more accurately each company's actual worth. They would also give some indication of whether the company had acquired real assets, or existed only on paper. Companies were included only if they had in fact been viable, operating enterprises. Using assets as an objective standard of company size is not without its hazards, however. As Mable Newcomer points out, the generous stock watering of the early years often distorted any realistic appraisal of company worth (Newcomer, The Big Business Executive, p. 11). Despite this reservation, she concluded that "no better measure appears to be available"; her assessment is equally applicable for early Vancouver.
Notes for Chapter 1...cont'd.

30 Real estate companies were judged important if they controlled the promotion and sale of a significant portion of the city or hinterland region; or if they played a role of obvious importance in encouraging the investment of outside capital in the city.

31 The reasons for including Alexander and Murray among both the city's 'business leaders' and 'business elite' are presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2. THE ECONOMIC SETTING FOR VANCOUVER BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT


2 Resource industry statistics used in this chapter were located as follows: for gold, silver, copper and base metal production, the Report of the Minister of Mines of the Province of British Columbia, 1937, Victoria, 1937, pp. A15-A16; for coal, ibid., p. A28; and for the production of canned salmon, J. N. Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 4th ed., 1930, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries, Fisheries Document No. 1092, p. 579. No reliable statistics for the production of lumber in B.C. during these years could be found. For the period 1888 to 1910 R. E. Gosnell, The Year Book of British Columbia, 1903, Victoria, 1903, p. 256 and Gosnell, The Year Book of British Columbia, 1911, Victoria, 1911, p. 250 were used. Figures published in the Vancouver Board of Trade's Annual Report, 1912-1913 were virtually identical for the year 1910 with those given by Gosnell. As a result, statistics for the years 1911-1914 were drawn from this Report, p. 65, and the Board of Trade's Annual Report, 1914-1915, p. 34.

3 Canada, Department of Fisheries, The Salmon Fishery of British Columbia, Ottawa, 1931, p. 3.


Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

7. W. A. Carrothers, "Forest Industries of British Columbia," in A.R. M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest, The Relations of Canada and the United States Series, Toronto, 1938, p. 271. The big increase in the amount of timber cut in B.C. between 1898 and 1899, from 124,000,000 bd. ft. to 217,000,000 bd. ft. reflected this prairie demand. B.C. exports to the prairies had begun on a limited scale earlier in the 1890's, however, particularly the export of shingles.


11. Ibid., p. 220.


One important British land company operating in B.C. was the British Columbia Land and Investment Agency Ltd., incorporated in 1887 to take over the Victoria real estate firm of Thomas Allsop and Henry S. Mason. The company was formed with an initial stock of $200,000, and by 1891 was reported to have directed investment worth between $2.5 million and $6 million into B.C. This investment was "partly on mortgages and partly in the development of real estate" in Victoria and Vancouver (Victoria Illustrated, p. 93, and the Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser, May 11, 1895, p. 6).


Victoria Illustrated, p. 73.


Victoria Illustrated, p. 87.


British Columbia Board of Trade (Victoria), Annual Report, 1888, Victoria, 1888, p. 71.

Ralston, "Patterns of Trade and Investment," p. 41; Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," pp. 26-29; and Victoria Illustrated, p. 64. The mining company was the East Wellington Coal Company of San Francisco. The Moodyville Sawmill Company between 1879 and 1891 and its predecessor between 1869 and 1879 had included B.C. as well as California capital.

Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

25 Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," pp. 11-15, and Carrothers, "Forest Industries of British Columbia," p. 268. For a detailed examination of the destinations of lumber exports from one of the principal mills on the coast during the early 1870's see the Hastings Saw Mill Company letterbook, Hastings Saw Mill Company Papers, Add. Mss. 27, Vancouver City Archives. For the destination of lumber exports in the latter 1890's see British Columbia Board of Trade (Victoria), Annual Report, 1896, Victoria, 1896, p. 50 and Annual Report, 1898, Victoria, 1898, p. 76.


27 Ibid., p. 74.


30 Ralston, "Patterns of Trade and Investment," p. 44.


34 Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, pp. 312-313.


Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

37 Ibid., p. 281, and Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, pp. 281 and 308-309.


39 Ibid., pp. 96-99.

40 Angus, ed., British Columbia and the United States, p. 265. The Nelson Miner, for instance, complained on February 16, 1895 that Victoria and Vancouver merchants did not advertise in the Kootenays (Roy, "Railways, Politicians and the Development of the City of Vancouver as a Metropolitan Centre, 1886-1929," p. 37).

41 See Victoria Illustrated, pp. 81, 78, 82, 85 and 86. For the role of the William Hamilton Manufacturing Company of Peterborough in B.C. after it had established an agency in Vancouver in 1891 see Taylor, Timber, pp. 43 and 72-74.

42 Of the 1,015,477 cases of canned salmon in 1897, 4823 were marketed locally and 130,815 went to eastern Canada, 28,579 to Australia and New Zealand, 777,034 to the United Kingdom and 226 to other markets. 74,000 cases were on hand at the end of the year (Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage; the Story of a Province and an Industry, Vancouver, 1969, p. 212).


44 The timber cut and the lumber exported is calculated from statistics referred to in footnotes #2 and 12.

45 Vancouver's population in 1891 was 13,709 while Victoria's was 16,841 (Census of Canada, 1901, vol. 1, p. 22).


Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

49 The province's population increased by 48,714 in the 1880's, from 49,459 in 1881 to 98,173 in 1891, and by 80,484 in the 1890's, from 98,173 in 1891 to 178,657 in 1901. Of the 80,484 in the 1880's, 12,424 came to Vancouver and 34,070 to the Kootenays. While population increases are difficult to calculate accurately on a yearly basis, the largest proportion of new immigrants who came to B.C. in the 1890's undoubtedly did so during the last five years of the decade.

50 Victoria Illustrated, p. 6.


52 Ibid., p. 36.


54 British Columbia Board of Trade (Victoria), Annual Report, 1891, Victoria, 1891, p. 61.

55 Victoria Illustrated, p. 60.


57 Ibid., p. 46, from Victoria Illustrated, p. 48.


Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, p. 139.

Ibid., p. 131.


Ormsby, British Columbia; a History, p. 318.

Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, p. 143.

Ibid., p. 139.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

70 See footnote #60 above. For James Dunsmuir see Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, pp. 52-55.


78 Sources for these statistics were noted in footnote #2.


80 Canada, Rowell-Sirois Commission, Report, Book I, p. 68.

81 Vancouver Board of Trade,"Board of Trade Reports of Lumber Shipments for the Years 1897-1915," unpublished manuscript, Provincial Library of British Columbia, and Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1913-1914, Vancouver, 1914, p. 57.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.


83 Ibid., p. 101. This reduction was partly due to the successful domination of lumber exports from Pacific coast ports after 1900 by Puget Sound producers whose control of both shipping and freight rates worked against the interest of British Columbia sawmill owners (C. W. Beecher to R. G. McPherson, M. P., May 4, 1905, Laurier Papers re: British Columbia, Doc's. #97480-97482, Roll 3 (microfilm), University of British Columbia).


85 British Columbia Board of Trade (Victoria), Annual Report, 1909, Victoria, 1909, p. 79.

86 For a discussion of the impact of this lumber trade on the new mill towns of the Kootenays see Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," pp. 43-52.

87 The Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., the largest shingle manufacturer in the city of Vancouver in the nineties, had sold first to the prairie and eastern parts of Canada and to the U.S.A. The company had been established in 1893 (World, June 20, 1896, p. 17). Coast shipments to the east by rail equalled 26 million feet of lumber and 190 million shingles in 1900. By contrast, exports by water equalled 84.2 million feet that year, three times the amount shipped by rail (Vancouver Board of Trade, "Board of Trade Reports of Lumber Shipments for the Years 1897-1915"). Also see Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," p. 92.

88 This thesis is developed in ibid., pp. 38-100.

89 Ibid., pp. 41-42 and 37. For instance, pre-war Vancouver business leader H. L. Jenkins was introduced to Premier Prior by the manager of the Bank of Montreal in Chicago in 1903 as a man of "sterling integrity" whose financial standing equalled between $300,000 and $400,000, and who was interested in making extensive investments in the B.C. lumber industry (J. W. de C. O'Grady to Hon. E. G. Prior, January 8, 1903, B. C. Premiers' Papers, Official Correspondence In, Box of Letters #1-199, PABC).


91 Lawrence, "Markets and Capitals," p. 43.

92 Ibid., pp. 85-86.

Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.


99 A more detailed discussion of capital investment in the lumber industry is presented below.

100 Information about the British Canadian Lumber Corporation was drawn from the British Columbia Financial Times, vol. 12 (Nov. 7, 1914), p. 12; and the Western Lumberman, vol. 8, no. 4 (April 1911), p. 25; ibid., vol. 9, no. 5 (May 1912), p. 29; and ibid., vol. 9, no.10 (Oct. 1912), p. 21.


103 Vol. 9, no. 3 (March 1912), p. 25. Also see Taylor, Timber, chapter 6.

104 For the Powell River Co. Ltd. see Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," pp. 73-74; British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration Files (hereafter cited as B.C. Reg. of Cos.), File 590 (1910), active; and Taylor, op. cit.

105 See footnote #2.


107 Ibid., p. 19.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

108 Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, p. 293.


111 Angus, ed., British Columbia and the United States, pp. 284 and 286-287; and Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, p. 284.


114 The relationship of American, British and Canadian capital in the Kootenays during the 1890's was examined in John Spencer Church, "Mining Companies of the West Kootenay and Boundary Region of British Columbia 1890-1900, --Capital Formation and Financial Operations," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961. For a discussion of his findings see Tripp, "Transportation and Lead Smelters in the Kootenays; a Reconsideration," pp. 5-6 and 9.


116 Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, p. 282.


118 Field, Capital Investments in Canada, p. 21.


120 See footnote #56.


122 Cobb, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, p. 579.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

123 For the increased importance of the northern fishery see loc. cit. and Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, pp. 265 and 282; for a discussion of technological change in the west coast salmon industry of both the United States and British Columbia see "Foundations First," Pacific Fisherman (50th Anniversary Number), vol. 59 (August 1952), pp. 5-16, and Homer E. Gregory and Kathleen Barnes, North Pacific Fisheries, San Francisco, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1939, pp. 84 and 90. For British Columbia see Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, pp. 221, 248 and 300. Gregory and Barnes discuss the changing financial structure of the west coast salmon canning industry in North Pacific Fisheries, pp. 85-86.

124 This was especially true of the important double seamed or 'sanitary' can which was introduced into the B.C. industry for the first time in 1913 (Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, p. 300).

125 The Strathcona Packing Company was organized by George Wilson and N. H. Bain in 1905 (Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory For 1910, p. 237); George Dawson and Fred Buttimer formed the Kildala Packing Co. Ltd. in 1906 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1415 (1897), Roll 8, microfilm); and Henry Doyle began the Kinscolith Packing Co. Ltd. in 1908 (ibid., File 1983 (1897), Roll 1, microfilm).

126 Though the typical canning company of the 1890's had become an incorporated company rather than the individual proprietorship of the earlier period (Ralston, "The 1900 Strike of Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen," p. 38), most new companies were little more than an incorporated form of the old partnership or proprietorship, and remained small. While most canning companies in the 1890's had an authorized capital of less than $60,000, the difference between these and the likes of the Strathcona or Kildala Packing Companies was marginal, especially when compared to the new giants like B.C. Packers. There were also a number of exceptions to the under $60,000 rule even in the 1890's, such as the Gulf of Georgia Canning Co. Ltd, incorporated in 1894 at $100,000 (B.C. Gazette, January 25, 1894, p. 88) and the Fraser River Packing Co. Ltd. in 1895 at $250,000 (ibid., October 24, 1895, p. 972).


129 For a summary of the distressed condition of the salmon canning industry before the amalgamation of 1902 see Ralston, "The 1900 Strike of Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen," pp. 170-171, and Henry Doyle, "Report on (the) British Columbia Salmon Industry," December 5, 1901, Henry Doyle Papers, Box 1, Dockett 3, p. 2, Special Collections, University of British Columbia. David Reid in his essay, "Company Mergers in the Fraser River Salmon Canning Industry,
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

1885-1902," argues that the desire to restrict output, competition and hence costs was the principal motive behind the merger of the B.C. salmon canning industry in 1902. He gives too little consideration to the fact of overcapitalization and the desire by eastern Canadian banks to recoup at least some of their investment.

130 Gregory and Barnes, *North Pacific Fisheries*, pp. 89, 92-93 and 95.


133 *Provincial Tribune*, January 10, 1911, p. 8 and *Western Lumberman*, vol. 8, no. 2 (February 1911), p. 27.


135 Lyon, *Salmon: Our Heritage*, pp. 232 and 300; Gregory and Barnes, *North Pacific Fisheries*, pp. 84, 90 and 92-95; and "Foundations First," pp. 5-16, William Barker, who replaced Henry Doyle as manager of B.C. Packers in 1904, had had extensive experience south of the border as an independent canner and as superintendent of the Columbia River Packers' Association (Lyons, *Salmon: Our Heritage*, p. 246).


137 The Canadian Bank of Commerce, which had acquired the Bank of British Columbia in 1901, was considered to have had 40% of the salmon canners' accounts in 1902, the Bank of Montreal 50% and Molson's Bank most of the remainder (Lyons, *Salmon: Our Heritage*, p. 232). The Merchants Bank of Halifax had lent R. V. Winch money to purchase the Anacortes Packing Co. Ltd. in 1898 and 1899 (Doyle, "The Rise and Decline of the Pacific Salmon Fisheries," vol. 2, p. 254), and the Imperial Bank had become involved with at least one company, the United Canneries of British Columbia Ltd., which owed the Bank the huge sum of $325,000 in November of 1900 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 384 (1897), Roll 2, microfilm, p. 51).


139 Aemelius Jarvis.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

140 Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, pp. 283-285, and the Province, January 10, 1911, p. 8. It appears that McRae, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann organized the Canadian Northern Fisheries Ltd. first, in 1910, before using this company to take over Wallace Fisheries Ltd. first, in 1910, before using this company to take over Wallace Fisheries, though the evidence here is merely suggestive (B.C.S.P., "Tabulated List of Companies," 1913, p. B85; Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, p. 283; J. Castell Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1912, Toronto, 1913, p. 620; and Roy, "Railways, Politicians and the Development of the City of Vancouver as a Metropolitan Centre, 1886-1929," p. 160).

141 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 244 (1910), Roll 63, microfilm.


145 See footnote #131.


147 Canada, Rowell-Sirois Commission, Report, Book I, p. 79.

148 This is more a suggestion than a proven fact. The movement into B.C. of the Canadian Bank of Commerce appears to have followed this pattern, however. Its entry into Vancouver was closely linked to the attraction of the Yukon gold rush. Commerce officials felt that western conditions, particularly in connection with activities in the Yukon where a branch of the Bank was to be opened at Dawson, called also for a branch at Vancouver (The Caduceus, December, 1920, p. 10 and Ross, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, vol. 2, pp. 126-127).

149 Vancouver's obvious advantage was that it rather than Victoria was the terminus of the transcontinental railway. As a result Vancouver enjoyed a cost advantage for freight of $4 per ton over Island cities to all Interior points as early as 1891 ("Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 20).  


151 Ibid., pp. 109-114 and 119-121.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.

152 M. B. Cotsworth, Railway Bungling (And Worse) in British Columbia, Vancouver, 1918, p. 11. Besides the extensive B.C. investments of Mackenzie and Mann in the Canadian Northern Pacific Railway, the Wellington Coal Company, the townsite of Port Mann, the Canadian Western Lumber Company and Canadian Northern Fisheries, Donald Mann was investing in coal lands at Ground Hog Basin in northern B.C. during this period (Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1910, pp. 525-526, and ibid., 1910, p. 616. For the Mackenzie and Mann interest in Canadian Northern Fisheries Ltd., a whaling company, see Roy, "Railways, Politicians and the Development of the City of Vancouver as a Metropolitan Centre," p. 160).


154 Province, June 28, 1912, p. 1.


156 Cail, Land, Man and the Law, p. 54.


159 Cail, Land, Man and the Law, p. 54.


161 Cail, Land, Man and the Law, p. 54.

162 Jacob Viner, Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness 1900-1913, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, footnote #5, p. 129.


164 The comment on the number of real estate brokers active across the country comes from the Economist, February 21, 1914, p. 392, quoted in Ruben C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958, p. 234. Bellan discusses the role of real estate promotion in Winnipeg from 1907 to 1914

165 Ibid., p. 33.


170 Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," pp. 81-82.

171 Ibid., pp. 83-84.

172 Viner, *Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness, 1900-1913*, p. 126.


175 Calculated from *ibid.*, Table III, p. 246.


177 *Western Lumberman*, vol. 8, no. 6 (June 1911), p. 26.

178 Ibid., vol. 8, no. 11 (Nov. 1911), p. 36 and the *Province*, September 27, 1911, p. 1.

179 Ibid., April 19, 1972, p. 2 and the *Western Lumberman*, vol. 7, no. 7 (July 1910), p. 22.
Notes for Chapter 2...cont'd.


181 Viner, Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness 1900-1913, p. 132.

182 See footnote #93.

183 Viner, Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness 1900-1913, Table XXXIX and footnote #1, p. 129.

184 The $70 million figure refers only to mills and timber, while the $26 million includes both land and timber (Field, Capital Investments in Canada, p. 137).

185 Viner, Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness 1900-1913, p. 129.

186 Loc. cit.

187 Ibid., p. 139.

188 Field, Capital Investments in Canada, p. 70.

Chapter 3. STAGES OF BUSINESS GROWTH IN EARLY VANCOUVER
(1) THE PRIMACY OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, 1886-1893


2 Lawrence, "Markets and Capital," p. 11.

Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.


7 John P. Nicolls suggests that the depression first began in Vancouver in 1891 (John Pethybridge Nicolls, Real Estate Values in Vancouver, Vancouver, 1954, p. 20). Another source indicates, however, that a period of considerable trade depression did not set in until the early months of 1893, later than it had begun in the east and to the south in the U.S.A. (Vancouver Daily World, June 20, 1896, p. 5).


9 For an example of David Oppenheimer's daily concern with the real estate side of the family's business interests see the Daily News-Advertiser, January 31, 1888, p. 4.

10 Sources relating to the origin and development of the Vancouver Improvement Co. Ltd. include E. O. S. Scholefield and R. E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia (together with Sixty Years of Progress), Vancouver and Victoria, 1913, part 2 by R. E. Gosnell (hereafter cited as Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, footnote #3, p. 194; "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 15; and M. Picken, comp., City of Vancouver, terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. British Columbia Handbook, Vancouver, 1887, p. 29.


12 Information about the three companies discussed in this paragraph is drawn from the following sources. For the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company see the News-Advertiser, September 3, 1890, p. 1; Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, Our Fifty Years, 1890-1940, Vancouver, 1940; British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration Files (hereafter cited as B.C. Reg. of Cos.), Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd,
Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.

Private Act, 1890; and Williams' Official British Columbia Directory 1893, Victoria, 1893, p. 801. For the Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd. see B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 9 (1890), Roll 1, microfilm, p. 6; News-Advertiser, December 25, 1890, p. 3, June 22, 1892, p. 3 and March 22, 1894; and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 14. For the British Columbia Building Association see the News-Advertiser, September 11, 1890, p. 8, January 1, 1891, p. 1, December 29, 1891, p. 5 and June 22, 1892, p. 5.


15 Ibid., pp. 5 and 11.

16 Loc. cit.

17 News-Advertiser, July 24, 1890, p. 8.


20 News-Advertiser, June 23, 1891, p. 1. This capital came from both Germany and Great Britain.

21 Loc. cit. Some of the Mercantile Development Company money was invested in the Vancouver-controlled Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd., formed in 1890 to develop the townsite at Vernon (David R. B. Dendy, "One Huge Orchard: Okanagan Land and Development Companies Before the Great War," unpublished Honours Paper, Department of History, University of Victoria, 1976, p. 10).

22 World, May 29, 1891, p. 2.

23 Morley, Vancouver, p. 67.

24 News-Advertiser, February 9, 1888, p. 4.
Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.


27 News-Advertiser, August 28, 1887, p. 4; January 6, 1888, p. 4; and March 18, 1888, p. 1.


31 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 5.

32 World, December 31, 1889, p. 5. The other building financed with capital from C.P.R. officials in Montreal was the Lady Stephen Block, worth $20,000.

33 Loc. cit. These estimates include only the value of real property, and not the value of land. The figures also exclude C.P.R. property involved with the running of the railroad, such as rail yard property, as well as other industrial property along the waterfront such as the buildings of the Hastings Sawmill Company.


35 News-Advertiser, January 1, 1889, p. 2. L. G. Henderson estimated the city's population in January of 1889 to be 8,893 people (L. G. Henderson, Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory for the Year 1889, Victoria, 1889, p. 36). He arrived at this figure using a multiplier of three for the number of names listed in the 1889 directory. R. T. Williams estimated the 1889 population of Vancouver to be 12,000 and the probable 1891 population at 15,000 (R. T. Williams, Williams' Vancouver and New Westminster City Directory, 1890, Vancouver, 1890, p. 66). The Census of Canada 1891, vol. 1, p. 8 showed the population of Vancouver in 1891 to be 13,685, indicating that the Williams figures were inflated. I have accepted the Henderson figures as being the more authentic.
Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.


40. Ibid., p. 10.


42. The limited evidence available suggests that of the nine mills listed in Table 4 (pp. 63-65), all but the Moodyville mill and the small Vancouver Shingle Mill manufactured wood products. See "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, pp. 9-10; and Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892, p. 780.

43. Ibid., p. 782.


46. Information about the early history of the British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd. is drawn from M. I. Rogers, B.C. Sugar, Vancouver, 1958, pp. 5-18.


51. Ibid., March 26, 1889, p. 1.
Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.

52 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 29 (1878), Roll 1, microfilm, and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 8.


54 Thomas Dunn and Company were considered in 1891 to have had "the largest stock of hardware in the province" (ibid., p. 20), and Oppenheimer Brothers, early "Vancouver's leading and most prominent wholesale house" (ibid., p. 17), was one of the city's first businesses to be reorganized into a limited liability company, being capitalized in 1893 for one million dollars (The British Columbia Gazette, December 21, 1893, p. 1002).

55 Close corporate ties between the C.P.R. and Bank of Montreal in the east appear to have influenced relations between the two companies in Vancouver as well. Despite Campbell Sweeny's objections, for instance, the "C.P.R. influence (was) too much for him," and in April of 1892 he was forced to accept their desire to locate the new Bank of Montreal building on the north-east corner of Dunsmuir and Granville Streets (Sweeny Diary, April 1892, Campbell Sweeny Papers, pp. 9-10, VCA).


58 Green "Some Pioneers of Light and Power," p. 158.


60 See Chapter 2, footnote #16.

61 World, June 20, 1896, p. 27. The much larger estimate of $6 million worth of investment in B.C. was suggested in Victoria Illustrated, Victoria, 1891, p. 93.


Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.


66 Loc. cit.

67 Ibid., September 13, 1889, p. 8 and October 19, 1887, p. 1.

68 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 9.

69 Ibid., p. 10.

70 The name of this mill was changed to the Commercial Mills, but the owners remained the same.

71 The five plants belonged to the Hastings Mill, the Vancouver Sawmill Co., the Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Company, the Commercial Mills and the Royal City Planing Mills.


74 Dupont was an Inspector of Inland Revenue for B.C. in 1887; Powell was federal Indian Superintendent for B.C. in 1887; Keefer was a civil engineer; Barnard was manager of the B.C. Express Company from 1880 to 1888, and was elected as Conservative M.P. for the Cariboo in 1888; and Prior, a former businessman and Government Inspector of Mines for B.C., was a member of the B.C. Legislature from 1886 to 1888 and was elected as Conservative M.P. for Victoria in an 1888 by-election (Edward Mallandaine, The British Columbia Directory, 1887, Victoria 1887, pp. 31, 52 and 75, and Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 95 and 270-271). The Hastings Saw Mill site had been purchased first by a Victoria-based syndicate in 1884 (Brooks, "Edgar Crow Baker," pp. 191-192).

75 News-Advertiser, January 1, 1898, p. 5.
Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.


78 R. E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia, n.p., 1906, p. 744. James Ramsay had been secretary and managing director since 1891. Milne, president in 1906, had likely been president since the company's inception in 1891.

79 Capital for both of the most successful Vancouver-based companies in the Cariboo, the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd. and the Horsefly Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd., each incorporated in 1893, came from officials of the C.P.R. in Montreal (B.C. Gazette, December 3, 1893, p. 945 and March 30, 1893, p. 232; and The British Columbia Mining Record, vol. 1 (June 1896), p. 31). All three promoters of the Horsefly Hydraulic Mining Co. were C.P.R. officials in Vancouver (Harry Abbott, J. M. Browning and W. F. Salsbury), while one of the three organizers of the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Co., J. D. Townley, was yet another C.P.R. official from Vancouver. Vancouver C.P.R. connections with these companies continued after they had become operational, with former Vancouver Land Commissioner J. M. Browning serving as president of both the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Company, from 1895 to 1897, and the Horsefly Hydraulic Mining Company in 1896 and 1897 (The Williams' Official British Columbia Directory, 1895, Victoria, 1895, p. 540, and the News-Advertiser, March 11, 1897, p. 7).

80 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 13.

81 Loc. cit.

82 Ibid., p. 12.

83 Three of the 'trustees' at the time of incorporation were Vancouver real estate men George G. MacKay, Charles D. Rand and F. C. Innes. The other two were Dr. James Whetham of Vancouver, and Victoria businessman F. S. Barnard (B.C. Gazette, October 30, 1890, p. 907). MacKay remained president until 1892, and was followed in 1893 by Vancouver banker Johann Wulffsohn (News-Advertiser, February 8, 1893, p. 2). The other two companies were The Penticton Townsite Co. Ltd. (B.C. Gazette, September 15, 1892, p. 937) and The Okanagan Falls Townsite Co. Ltd. (ibid., January 12, 1893, p. 33). Also see Dendy, "One Huge Orchard," pp. 9-12, 59 and 96-100.

84 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 12.

Notes for Chapter 3...cont'd.

86 Ibid., pp. 26-27. The three centered in Victoria were the British Columbia Canning Co. Ltd., the Victoria Canning Co. Ltd. and J. H. Todd and Company.

Chapter 4. STAGES OF BUSINESS GROWTH IN EARLY VANCOUVER

(2) THE EMERGENCE OF A METROPOLIS, 1894-1908


3. These included the British Columbia Building Association, The Oriental Traders Co. Ltd., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., Casement and Creery, private bankers, Vancouver Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd. and the Michigan Lumber Co. Ltd. These companies disappeared during the depression, their demise presumably linked to the city's economic difficulties.


8. Vancouver Board of Trade, "Board of Trade Reports of Lumber Shipments for the Years 1897-1915," unpublished manuscript, Provincial Library of British Columbia, and Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1913-1914, Vancouver, 1914, p. 57.


Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.


11. The Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., established in 1893, had developed its first markets in eastern Canada, and in the north western and eastern United States (Vancouver Daily World, June 20, 1896, p. 17).

12. Loc. cit.


14. The five mills operating in Vancouver were the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company, the Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company, E. H. Heaps and Company, the Rat Portage Lumber Company and the Vancouver Lumber Company. The two others were the Fraser River Lumber Company, with a huge mill east of New Westminster on the Fraser River, and the Vancouver Timber and Trading Company, a timber holding company ("Timber Inspector's Report," B.C., S.P., 1911, pp. H.75-H81.)

15. The three lumber manufacturing firms (with the largest assets for the 1910-1913 period in brackets) were E. H. Heaps and Co. Ltd. ($8,065,354.60), The Fraser River Lumber Co. Ltd. ($8,208,831.64) and the Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd. ($4,360,342.68). The timber-holding company was Alvo von Alvensleben's Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd. ($5,650,677.13). Because shares in the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Co. Ltd. were privately held, the value of company assets was not published. The company, however, was worth far more than the $3 million stated in Appendix B (the $3 million figure was an evaluation of the property values of the company's four mill sites only). The other four large companies were the National Finance Co. Ltd. ($5,530,110.65), the Dominion Trust Co. Ltd. ($5,416,455.72), the Vancouver Harbour and Dock Extension Co. Ltd. ($5,418,323.25). B.C. Packers and the B.C. Permanent Loan and Savings Company followed, with each worth slightly over $4 million.


17. These twelve companies, ranked according to the timber cut by each were the B.C.M. and T. Co. Ltd., 75.6 million ft.; the Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd., 21.3 m. ft.; the Pacific Coast Lumber Co. Ltd., 15.5 m. ft.; the Rat Portage Lumber Co. Ltd., 14.7 m. ft.; E. H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 11.2 m. ft.; Robertson and Hackett, 11.1 m. ft.; the Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 7.9 m. ft.; the Anglo-American Lumber Co. Ltd., 6.2 m. ft.; Cooke and Tait, 5.4 m. ft.; the False Creek Lumber Co. Ltd., 3.5 m. ft.; the Alberta
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.

Lumber Co. Ltd., 3.1 m. ft.; Joseph Chew, 2.5 m. ft.; W. F. Huntting Lumber Co. Ltd., 2.4 m. ft.; the Lynn Valley Lumber Co. Ltd., 2.4 m. ft.; and Robert McNair, 2.0 m. ft. ("Timber Inspector's Report," B.C., S.P., 1908, pp. H46-H54).


19 See Chapter 2, p. 34. The Fraser River Lumber Company did not follow this pattern entirely. The Ross-McLaren Company had been owned in eastern Canada, and the reorganized company, formed in 1904, was controlled by Lester W. David of Seattle.

20 McRae was a transitional figure among local businessmen, both an entrepreneur in the Fraser River Lumber Company and the local managing-director of the corporation. The capital for the company, and hence control, came primarily from outside the province of British Columbia.

21 See Chapter 2, pp.

22 Henry Doyle, "Rise and Decline of the Pacific Salmon Fisheries," unpublished manuscript, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, vol. 1, pp. 25 and 194.

23 George I. Wilson had been a principal of the Brunswick Canning Co. Ltd. and of the Pacific Coast Packing Co. Ltd. since 1893, and an agent of both of these and of the Alliance Canning Company at the turn of the century. Farrell, Tregent and Company were agents for at least two canning companies at the turn of the century, the Atlas Canning Co. Ltd. and the Provincial Canning Co. Ltd. Farrell had also organized another, the Columbia Packing Co. Ltd., in 1898 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 155 (1897), Roll 1, microfilm). Other information is from Vancouver city directories, 1899 to 1892, and from Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage; the Story of a Province and an Industry, Vancouver, 1969, pp. 199-230.

24 See Chapter 2, p. 35, and especially footnote #137.

25 A list of the canneries which were established on the Fraser River each year from 1870 to 1909 is given in Appendix 1B of David J. Reid's "Some Economic Thoughts on Early Merger Activity in the Fraser River Salmon Canning Industry," unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meetings, 1973. A rough summary of the residential locations of the owners and of the financial ties of the canneries found in this list was made from other sources on the companies or individuals involved.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.

26 See Chapter 2, pp. 39-42.

27 Also included in the merger were the Alexander Ewen group of canneries which had been tied to Victoria rather than Vancouver.


29 J. H. Todd and Sons opened one new cannery in 1905 at Esquimalt and another in 1906 at Rivers Inlet (ibid., pp. 249 and 261).


33 For the American and eastern Canadian insurance companies active in Vancouver in 1901 and 1902 see Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory For 1901, Vancouver and Victoria, 1901, and Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory For 1902, Vancouver and Victoria, 1902.

34 Sweeny Diary, May 28, 1898, p. 18.

35 For Morris see C. W. Parker, ed., Who's Who and Why: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Men and Women of Western Canada, Vancouver, 1912, vol. 2 (1912), p. 121; information about Morris is from a letter to me of May 19, 1972 from C. F. E. Carpenter, Assistant Secretary, Canadian Imperial Bank of Canada.

36 The Daily News-Advertiser, October 6, 1898, p. 4.


40 World, June 20, 1896, p. 19. Another source noted that although Vancouver had become a distributing centre in 1886, "it was not until ten
years later that it gained any considerable recognition as a wholesaling depot...." (Lower Mainland University Committee, University Location in British Columbia, n.p., 1910, p. 7).

41 R. E. Gosnell, The Year Book of British Columbia, 1897, Victoria, 1897, p. 200.

42 Henry J. Boam, British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industry and Resources, London, 1912, pp. 180-181 points out that "It was not until about 1900 that the exodus of business houses from Victoria to Vancouver became pronounced...."

43 Vancouver Sun, October 22, 1943, p. 1.

44 Boam, British Columbia, p. 177.

45 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, pp. 1157-1158, and Victoria Illustrated, p. 89.


48 The Vancouver Daily Province, November 22, 1902, p. 11.

49 News-Advertiser, January 11, 1895, p. 8.

50 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 927. Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd. was incorporated on January 24, 1901 for $125,000 Henderson's British Columbia Directory For 1912, Vancouver, 1912, vol. 13 (1912), p. 163.


52 The Canadian Fairbanks Company of 1902 had become the Canadian Fairbanks Morse Co. Ltd. in 1912.

53 Western Lumberman, vol. 8, no. 4 (May 1911), p. 47.


55 Boam, British Columbia, p. 216.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.


57 World, May 7, 1902, p. 4.

58 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 796 (1897), d.1952. The assets of the provincially incorporated company equalled $1,250,860.59 in December of 1912.


60 Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1900-1901, Vancouver, 1901, p. 22.

61 MacDonald, "Seattle, Vancouver and the Klondike," p. 244.

62 Province, September 17, 1946, p. 24 and The Morning Star, June (or July?) 28, 1927.


64 Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1907-1908, p. 57.

65 Province, November 3, 1902, p. 1; and Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, pp. 145-146.

66 Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1907-1908, Vancouver, 1908, p. 57.

67 Boam, British Columbia, pp. 216 and 220.

68 Ibid., pp. 183 and 188; and Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1902-1903, p. 13. The Empress Manufacturing Co. Ltd. had also established distributing branches in Calgary and Prince Rupert by 1912 (Boam, British Columbia, p. 182).


70 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, 927.

71 The Fraser Valley Centennial Edition, The British Columbian, November 27, 1912, p. 82.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.

72 Boam, British Columbia, p. 177.

73 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, pp. 1157-1158.

74 Western Lumberman, vol. 8, no. 7 (July 1911), p. 81.

75 These would include Parsons-Haddock Co. Ltd., wholesale produce merchants, Hose and Brooks Co. Ltd., wholesale liquor dealers, and J. A. Teeporten and Co. Ltd., wholesale druggists. Several specialized wholesale firms had begun earlier. William N. O'Neil had entered the building products agency business at the turn of the century; Fred T. Cope had started his electrical supply business in 1897; and Mackay Smith of Mackay Smith, Blair and Co. Ltd. had begun importing drygoods into the city in 1897.


77 Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 6, Table 6, pp. 286 and 294.


83 Ibid., p. 31.

84 Ibid., pp. 18-21 and 24-25.

85 Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1901-1902, Vancouver, 1902, p. 60.

86 Province, October 2, 1900, p. 7.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.


88 This "filling out" stage of urban economic development is called the "Stage of Economic Maturation," or "Local Service Sector Puberty," by Wilbur R. Thompson in his book A Preface To Urban Economics, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 12-17.

88a Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 3, Table 9, p. 214.


90 News-Advertiser, March 22, 1895, p. 7.


92 World, November 18, 1901, p. 2. The firm was incorporated as Ross and Howard Ironworks Co. Ltd., with an authorized capital limit of $250,000, on July 23, 1904 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1151 (1897) active).

93 The Empire Manufacturing Co. Ltd. was formed October 9, 1907 and had assets of $65,619.15 by 1911 (ibid., File 1905 (1897), d.1956; and Western Lumberman, vol. 5, no. 3 (1908), p. 15).

94 Boam, British Columbia, p. 207.

95 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1151 (1897), active.


97 News-Advertiser, March 1, 1889, p. 8; March 21, 1889, p. 8; and June 10, 1891, p. 8; and the Province, April 9, 1927, p. 7. Also see Taylor, pp. 43 and 73.

98 Included among the companies represented by E. H. Heaps as indicated in city directories for the years 1899 to 1902, were C. M. Bullock Manufacturing Company, of Chicago; the E. R. Burns Saw Company, of Toronto; Cowan and Company, manufacturers of engines, boilers and woodworking machinery, of Galt, Ontario; the Robb Engineering Co. Ltd. of Amhurst, Nova Scotia; the Weber Gas and Gasoline Engine Co. Ltd.; the West Wellington Coal Co. Ltd.; and the A.R. Williams Machinery Co. Ltd. of Toronto and Montreal.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.

99 The company's assets equalled $507,757.11 in December of 1912 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 754 (1910), d.1963).

100 Heaps' principal business interests for the 1910-1913 period are listed in Appendix B.

101 The A. J. Burton Saw Co. Ltd. was formed March 2, 1904, and had assets of $220,558.24 by 1911 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1087 (1897), Roll 6, microfilm). The Vancouver Machinery Depot Ltd., which was formed in 1908 and managed by Geo. A. Walkem, had assets of $352,485.47 in September of 1913 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 2223 (1897), Roll 13, microfilm).

102 For Royal Crown Soaps Ltd. see the Vancouver Sun, January 29, 1945, p. 4, and Industrial Progress, vol. 1, no. 6 (December 1913), p. 11; for Barber Mattress Manufacturing Co. Ltd. see the Province, August 2, 1954, p. 8, Industrial Progress, vol. 1, no. 9 (March 1914), p. 24 and B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 2356 (1897), d.1921; for the B.C. Fruit Canning and Coffee Co. Ltd. see News-Advertiser, January 20, 1892, p. 8 and November 1, 1895, p. 3, and Boam, British Columbia, p. 182.

103 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1149 (1897), Roll 18, microfilm.

104 Ibid., File 1471 (1897), d.1935.


106 World, June 20, 1896, p. 18.

107 E. O. S. Scholefield and R. E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia (together with Sixty Years of Progress), Vancouver and Victoria, 1913, part 2 by R. E. Gosnell (hereafter cited as Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress), footnote #1, p. 186.


110 News-Advertiser, October 27, 1892, p. 5.

111 Rogers, B.C. Sugar, pp. 17 and 23-25.

112 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
Notes for Chapter 4...cont'd.

113 Industrial Progress, vol. 1, no. 8 (February 1914), p. 23; and B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 330 (1897), Roll 2, microfilm.


115 World, May 7, 1902, p. 4.

116 Province, October 25, 1939, p. 16.


119 Industrial Progress, vol. 1, no. (December 1913), p. 11.

120 B.C. Gazette, November 13, 1912, p. 10818.

121 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 593 (1897), Roll 18, microfilm, p. 65.

122 Monetary Times, June 10, 1911, p. 2316.

123 Roy, "The British Columbia Electric Railway Company, 1897-1928," pp. 164-170; Province, October 1, 1900, p. 1; and Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, pp. 182-183.

Chapter 5. STAGES OF BUSINESS GROWTH IN EARLY VANCOUVER

(3) THE TRIUMPH OF THE SPECULATOR, 1909-1914


2 The percentages given for each of these occupation categories have been calculated from statistics for the various cities presented in Table VI of the Fifth Census of Canada 1911, vol. 6.

3 There appears to have been a small building boom in 1898, for instance. "Over two million dollars worth of buildings" were constructed that year, the "chief amongst them being the magnificent Canadian Pacific Railway Station, the Molson's Bank, the Bank of Commerce, the Fairfield
Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


5 Two exceptions were Charles H. Macaulay of Macaulay and Nicolls, and J. J. Banfield.

6 Edward Mahon had been chairman of the North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd. since the early 1890's (The Vancouver Daily Province, April 18, 1956, p. 2 and British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration Files (hereafter cited as B.C. Reg. of Cos.), File 60 (1890), Roll 1, microfilm). Johann Wulffsohn promoted the largest real estate deal in Vancouver to that time when he acquired 8200 acres in North Vancouver and two miles of shoreline on the north shore of Burrard Inlet for $85,000 cash in 1901 (Province, December 14, 1907, p. 1). For Keith's role see Kathleen Marjorie Woodward-Reynolds, "A History of the City and District of North Vancouver," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1943, pp.52 and 54. A minor land boom began in 1900, and the area had a population of about 1500 in 1905 (ibid., pp. 56 and 61).


8 Monetary Times, January 26, 1907, p. 1226.


11 For Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd. see B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1907 (1897), Roll 11, microfilm; for the Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., ibid., File 1848 (1897), Roll 11, microfilm; and for British Canadian Securities Ltd., ibid., File L552 (1897), Extra-Provincial, active.

12 For the Alberta Financial Corporation see ibid., File 560 (1910), Roll 5, microfilm; for the Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd. see ibid, File 2321 (1897), d.1944; and for Federal Investments Ltd. see File 2854 (1897), Roll 19, microfilm.

Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


17. Kalman, Exploring Vancouver, pp. 181-182; and Major J. S. Matthews, "Early Vancouver: Narratives of Pioneers in Vancouver, B.C.," unpublished manuscript, Vancouver City Archives, vol. 1 (1932), p. 112, and vol. 5 (1945), p. 188, from an interview with J. C. McPherson, Pres. of Pemberton Realty Corp. Ltd. According to the latter interview, the development of 'ready-made' California bungalows in Talton Place in Vancouver (located from 13th to 16th Avenues between Cyprus Street and the Marpole Interurban Line) was patterned after a similar development by Los Angeles Investment Company in Los Angeles, California. The idea was introduced by the local real estate developer and financier Thomas Talton Langlois.


19. Ibid., p. 75.


21. Ibid., November 2, 1912, p. 32.

22. Ibid., June 1, 1912, p. 40; August 17, 1912, p. 21; and November 10, 1913, p. 7.

23. One report claimed the Birks Building would be worth $1 million (Province, January 9, 1912, p. 34) while another listed the cost at half that amount (ibid., September 28, 1912, p. 28). For the other two buildings see ibid., April 12, 1912, p. 1 and ibid., August 10, 1912, p. 22.


25. These six companies (with the dates of corporation in brackets) were the Clayburn Co. Ltd. (1909), the Anvil Island Brick Co. Ltd. (1910),
the Port Haney Brick Co. Ltd. (1907), the Capilano Rock and Gravel Co. Ltd. (1911), the J. A. Dewar Co. Ltd. (1909) and the Howe Sound Gravel Co. Ltd. (1912).


28 The Dominion Glazed Cement Pipe Co. Ltd. and the Pacific Coast Pipe Co. Ltd., incorporated in 1909 and 1914 respectively.


30 The companies associated with these names (with the dates of incorporation in brackets) were the North Coast Land Co. Ltd. (1908), the Howe Sound and Northern Development Co. Ltd. (1909), the Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd. (1906), the Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. (1906), the North Kootenay Land and Timber Co. Ltd. (1909), Columbia Valley Orchards Ltd. (1911), the Nimpkish Lake Logging Co. Ltd. (1908), the Nadena Valley Land Co. Ltd. (1912), the Nass River Lumber Co. Ltd. (1908), the Graham Island Coleries Ltd. (1909) and the Graham Island Development Co. Ltd. (1909).

31 British money was predominant in the B.C. General Development Syndicate Ltd. (incorp. in 1912), the Nimpkish Lake Logging Co. Ltd. and the North Coast Land Co. Ltd. American money controlled the North Kootenay Land and Timber Co. Ltd. and the Red Cliff Land and Lumber Co. Ltd., and financed a significant proportion of the Nadena Valley Land Co. Ltd.

32 B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 3067 (1897), Roll 21, microfilm; and ibid., File 570 (1910), Roll 63, microfilm, and Boam, British Columbia, p. 201.

33 Information in this paragraph is drawn from a letter sent by George H. Salmon to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, n.d., found in the Vertical File, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.

35 Ceperley, Loewen and Campbell were reported in 1895 to have had command of English capital to be reinvested in the Kootenays (The Daily News-Advertiser, July 31, 1895, p. 8). Edward Mahon and Joseph McFarland of Mahon, McFarland and Mahon organized at least two successful Kootenay mining companies backed by British capital. The Vancouver Group Mining Co. Ltd. and the Prospecting Syndicate of British Columbia Ltd. were formed by Edward Mahon and Joseph McFarland in 1896 and 1897 respectively. The Edward Mahon family held £6,000 of the £21,000 of the shares issued by 1901 in the latter company, and the rest were held in England (John Spencer Church, "Mining Companies in the West Kootenay and Boundary Regions of British Columbia, 1890-1900, -- Capital Formation and Financial Operations," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, p. 90 and 110, and B.C. Gazette, August, 1895, p. 783). Rand spent seven months in the Kootenays and England prior to 1896 trying to interest British capitalists to invest in Kootenay mines (News-Advertiser, May 19, 1896, p. 3), and spent more time in eastern Canada and the U.S.A. early in 1897 doing the same (ibid., May 19, 1897, p. 7). Wulffsohn was active in both the Kootenays and England during 1895 and 1896 for the same reason (ibid., October 15, 1895, p. 8 and June 2, 1896, p. 3).


38 News-Advertiser, May 19, 1897, p. 8; February 11, 1898, p. 8; and July 26, 1899, p. 8. He returned to Vancouver in 1902 (Vancouver Daily World, January 15, 1902, p. 8).

39 Church, "Mining Companies in the West Kootenay and Boundary Regions," p. 204.

40 The Western Prospecting and Promoting Co. Ltd., begun in 1895, the Boundary Falls Mining Co. Ltd., in 1896 and the Boundary Creek Developing and Mining Co. Ltd., in 1897 (ibid., pp. 87-88, 166 and 174).

41 See footnote #35.


43 The Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd. and the Horsefly Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd., with which local C.P.R. officials were connected, were noted earlier (Chapter 3, footnote #79). Both were small, with an authorized capital limit at the time of incorporation of $300,000 and $200,000 respectively (B.C. Gazette, December 7, 1893, p. 945, and ibid., March 30, 1893,
p. 232). Another successful company of the period, the Montreal Hydraulic Mining Company of Cariboo Ltd., of which Harry Abbott was president in 1901, was also small, with an authorized capital of $250,000 in 1895 (The Canadian Mining Manual, vol. 11 (1901), p. 232). Two larger companies also had ties with Vancouver, but were controlled elsewhere. The Consolidated Cariboo Hydraulic Co. Ltd., organized in 1898 with authorized capital of $5 million, was backed by C.P.R. officials and was centered in Toronto. Vancouver's B. T. Rogers was the local attorney (B.C. Gazette, April 7, 1898, p. 839 and British Columbia Mining Record, vol. 3 (November 1898, p. 15). The Lillooet, Fraser River and Cariboo Gold Fields Ltd. was organized in 1894 with British capital of £50,000, expanded soon after to £350,000. Its head office was in Vancouver, but William Farrell was the only Vancouver director. R. M. Horne-Payne was chairman in 1896 (News-Advertiser, September 24, 1896, p. 5).

Buxton was an organizer of the Cariboo Hydraulic Mining Company in 1893 (B.C. Gazette, December 7, 1893, p. 945), vice-president of the Van Winkle Consolidated Hydraulic Co. Ltd. in 1893 (News-Advertiser, March 2, 1893, p. 8), managing-director of the Nip and Tuck Gold Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd. in the Kootenays in 1896 (ibid., August 4, 1896, p. 1), president of the Maud Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd. in 1896 (British Columbia Mining Record, vol. 1 (June 1896), p. 32, and the only B.C. director of a new American company, the Yukon-Cariboo British Columbia Gold Mining Co. Ltd. in 1897 (News-Advertiser, September 2, 1897, p. 7). With the exception of Cariboo Hydraulic it is not known if any of these mining companies reached the production stage, however.

These three companies included the West Wellington Coal Co. Ltd., begun in 1896 (News-Advertiser, August 8, 1896, p. 8), the Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., formed in 1906 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1615 (1897), Roll 9, microfilm), and the Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., established the same year (ibid., Roll 8, microfilm).

See the World, February 2, 1901, p. 7; the Province, October 3, 1902, p. 1; the News-Advertiser, December 23, 1909, p. 1; the Province, July 16, 1910, p. 28; ibid., September 22, 1910, p. 15; and William McNeill to John Hendry, June 25, 1910, William McNeill Papers, Dockett 1, Add. Mss.46, VCA.

This included the Bank of Vancouver plus the eighteen companies falling under the category of "Finance: All Others."

The Vancouver Financial Corporation, the Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, the British American Trust Company, the Hudson Bay Insurance Company, the Vancouver Trust Company and the British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Company were founded before 1909 and survived to 1919. The Dominion Trust Company, the Bank of Vancouver and the National Finance Company were important exceptions to this rule. Four Vancouver financial organizations begun after 1909 did not continue to 1919, including the Franco-Canadian Trust Company, Investors Guarantee Corporation, the Royal Financial Corporation and the very small Home Loan and Contract Co. Ltd. Other businesses incorporated between 1909 and 1912 and classified as 'financial' apparently ceased to function by the end of World War I.
Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


52. Province, February 27, 1909, p. 6.


54. Ibid., pp. 1080 and 1088.


57. The majority of shares in the Vancouver Financial Corporation in 1911 were held by Vancouver people, with a small minority held in England. 420 shares had been issued at $500 each, and company assets in 1911 equalled $566,373.67 (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 1608 (1897), d.1946).

58. British money began pouring into Canada in 1908 (see Chapter 2, pp. 48-49). Though figures to substantiate the exact amount of British investment in Vancouver during these years are not available, Vancouver companies did acquire an increasing amount of capital in Britain after 1908. J. B. Mathers sold a debenture issue for Dominion Trust in England in 1909 (Monetary Times, August 28, 1909, p. 950), and Thomas Langlois made a trip to Britain to sell B.C. Permanent debentures in 1908, and planned to do the same in 1909 (B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1909, Official Correspondence In, Private, Documents #312 and 512, Public Archives of British Columbia).


60. Two banks, the Bank of British Columbia and the Bank of Vancouver were initiated in 1907, but by 1908 they had amalgamated. The organizers of the Bank of British Columbia controlled the new organization, though they adopted the name of their rival, i.e. the Bank of Vancouver. The provisional
Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


61 The Bank of Vancouver did not list a permanent office in the Vancouver street directory until 1910.

62 Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, paper no. 6, vol. 48 (1914), no. 3.

63 For instance, J. A. Harvey had 170 shares (worth $100 each), H. L. Jenkins 145, E. L. Kinman 100, E. J. McFeely 100, R. P. McLennan 176, W. H. Malkin 50 and L. M. Shatford 150 in 1914. The Commonwealth Trust Co. of Vancouver held the only block of shares, controlling 2145 (ibid., pp. 601-610).


65 See footnote #88.


68 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 856; and B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 2922 (1897), d.1936.


70 Loc. cit.; and B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 176 (1910), Roll 2, microfilm.
Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


72 For the Franco-Canadian Trust Co. Ltd. see the B.C. Reg. of Cos, File 713 (1910), Roll 7, microfilm; the Franco-Canadian Corporation controlled 2508 of 2514 shares of Commonwealth Trust issued by 1912 (ibid., File 308 (1910), Roll 3, microfilm; and Commonwealth Trust held 2145 of the 11,747 shares issued in the Bank of Vancouver up to 1914 (Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, paper no. 6, vol. 48 (1914), n. 3, p. 602).


74 Ibid., pp. 229-230.


76 Bellan noted that the 'recession' on the prairies was experienced in the cities, rather than in the wheat economy of the prairie hinterland (Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre," p. 237). Vancouver may have suffered more than other western Canadian urban centres because the economy was depressed not only in Vancouver, but throughout the British Columbia hinterland as well.

77 Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1913, p. 36.


79 Ibid., vol. 15, October 1914, p. 461.

80 Ibid., vol. 15, September 1914, p. 367, and vol. 16, September 1915, p. 280; and the B.C. Federationist, March 5, 1915, p. 2; March 6, 1915, p. 2; and February 12, 1915, p. 1.

81 Ibid., April 17, 1914, p. 1; and Labour Gazette, vol. 15, July 1914, p. 44; vol. 15, August 1914, p. 183; and vol. 16, August 1916, p. 1459.

Notes for Chapter 5...cont'd.


85 B.C. Federationist, July 9, 1915, p. 2.

86 J. Castell Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1907, Toronto, 1908, p. 696.

87 Ibid., p. 698. Also see Martin Nordegg, The Possibilities of Canada Are Truly Great: Memoirs, 1906–1924, ed. and intro. by T. D. Regehr, Toronto, 1971, p. 120.


Chapter 6. VANCOUVER'S BUSINESS 'ELITE': 1890–1893 AND 1910–1913


3 Loc. cit.

4 The Vancouver Daily Province, February 16, 1903, p. 1.

5 Ibid., February 11, 1941, p. 12.

6 The Daily News-Advertiser, March 8, 1888, p. 2. He had been elected for Ward I in the city's first election of May 3, 1886 (Alan Morley, Vancouver: From Milltown to Metropolis, Vancouver, 1961, p. 74), and elected again for 1887 in the elections held on December 13, 1886 (The Vancouver News, December 7, 1886, p. 1).
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

7 The Vancouver Daily World, June 20, 1896, p. 28.


9 World, June 20, 1896, p. 28.

10 The British Columbia Gazette, March 27, 1890, p. 291 and World, June 20, 1896, p. 28.

11 See Chapter 3, footnote #79.

12 Province, February 27, 1936, p. 12.

13 News-Advertiser, February 8, 1893, p. 2 and March 5, 1890, p. 2.

14 Ibid., January 6, 1893, p. 3.

15 Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1918-1919, Vancouver, 1919, p. 2. All presidents from 1887 to 1919 are included here. Future references to Board of Trade presidents, which are drawn from this list, will not be footnoted.


17 Loc. cit.

18 News-Advertiser, September 3, 1890, p. 1; British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration File (hereafter cited as B.C. Reg. of Cos.), File #9 (1890), Roll 1, microfilm; News-Advertiser, January 1, 1891, p. 1; and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 14.

19 Province, February 22, 1922, p. 1; News-Advertiser, April 5, 1892, p. 5; and World, March 3, 1890, p. 1.

20 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 19.

21 C. W. Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, Vancouver, 1911, vol. 1 (1911), p. 213. He ran only twice (in December of 1888 and 1889) but not in December of 1890, as this biographical sketch suggests (News-Advertiser, December 2, 1890, p. 2). For the final vote in the 1890 provincial election in which Horne was elected, but ran second to Francis Carter-Cotton, see the World, June 14, 1890, p. 4.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.


23 Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 271 and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 11.

24 Ibid., pp. 11 and 15.

25 Taken from an obituary of Isaac Oppenheimer found in the Vertical File, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria. No date or source was given.

26 He was one of the original trustees for the Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd. in 1890 (B.C. Gazette, October 30, 1890, p. 907) and was a vice-president of the Okanagan Falls Townsite Company in 1893 (News-Advertiser, May 7, 1893, p. 8).


28 For the Vancouver Candy Co. Ltd. see the News-Advertiser, November 6, 1890, p. 8; for Ramsay Brothers and Company see the B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 89 (1890), Roll 1, microfilm; and for the B.C. Ironworks Company see the News-Advertiser, March 27, 1892, p. 8.


30 News-Advertiser, September 16, 1892, p. 1.

31 See Chapter 3, p. 59.

32 News-Advertiser, December 8, 1888, p. 3.

33 The News-Advertiser's obituary of David Oppenheimer of January 1, 1898, p. 5 is a much better source for his early life than is Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 266.

34 See Chapter 3, p. 57.

35 Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 266.

36 B.C. Gazette, December 21, 1893, p. 1002.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

Both were elected as aldermen in December of 1886, and Isaac again in December of 1887 (The Vancouver News, December 7, 1886, p. 1 and the News-Advertiser, December 4, 1887, p. 4).

Ibid., January 1, 1898, p. 5.

Loc. cit.

World, June 30, 1890, p. 1.

A story in the News-Advertiser of February 7, 1892, p. 8 said that Isaac Oppenheimer had been made president of the Vancouver Electric Street Railway and Light Co. Ltd. Another on April 5 told of the controlling interest in the company being purchased by David Oppenheimer from J. W. Horne (Ibid., April 5, 1892, p. 5).

Ibid., October 9, 1890, p. 8, March 5, 1890, p. 2, February 10, 1892, p. 1, and January 20, 1892, p. 8.

Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, List of Members, Amended to 31 May, 1936, Vancouver Club Papers, Vancouver City Archives, pp. 8-9.

Information in this paragraph is drawn from "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 12.


Loc. cit.; News-Advertiser, January 1, 1891, p. 1; and B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 9 (1890), Roll 1, microfilm.


News-Advertiser, June 23, 1892, p. 8.

See Chapter 3, footnotes #56, 57 and 58, and the Sweeny Diary, November 28, 1892, Campbell Sweeny Papers, p. 11, VCA.


Loc. cit.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

52 News-Advertiser, September 16, 1892, p. 8.

53 Sweeny Diary, December 20, 1889, p. 5; March 26, 1891, p. 8; and July 29, 1892, p. 10. The financial ties between the Bank of Montreal, B.C. Sugar and B.C. Mills are only suggested here, though Sweeny's appointment to a B.C. Mills directorship is stated clearly.

54 Ibid., July 28, 1888, p. 2 and September 24, 1888, p. 3.

55 Ibid., 1887, p. 1 and April, 1892, p. 9.

56 This suggestion of a close social relationship between the Sweenys and Abbots is based on several references to Abbott in the Sweeny Diary. As for Sweeny's social leadership, he was a founding member of the Vancouver Club in 1890, the Honorary President of the Vancouver Golf Club after 1892, a member of the Committee of the Brockton Point Athletic Club in 1892, and a member of the club since 1888, and vice-president of the Vancouver Cricket Club in 1889 (Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, p. 7; F. M. Chaldecott, Jericho and Golf in the Early Days in Vancouver, 1892-1905, Vancouver, 1935, p. 9; News-Advertiser, June 3, 1888, p. 1 and February 28, 1889, p. 8; and R. T. Williams, Williams' Illustrated Official British Columbia Directory, 1892, Victoria, 1892, p. 796.


58 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 5.

59 See Chapter 3, pp. 59-60.


61 Ibid., March 5, 1890, p. 2 and February 10, 1892, p. 1

62 Ibid., February 8, 1893, p. 2. The others included the Nanaimo Telephone Company, the Vancouver Dynamite and Powder Company and the Vancouver Stone Quarrying, Mining and Transportation Company (ibid., August 14, 1890, p. 1; December 1, 1891, p. 8; and January 20, 1892, p. 8).


Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

65 See Chapter 3, p. 70.

66 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 20.


70 See Chapter 3, p. 73.


72 Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 80-82.

73 Alexander was founder of the Vancouver Club in 1889 and 1890, trustee for the Vancouver Library in 1887 and active in the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club before 1890 (News-Advertiser, July 18, 1889, p. 8; Miles Cotton, History of the Vancouver Public Library, n.p., February 1926, p. 2; and News-Advertiser, July 25, 1888, p. 8).

74 See Chapter 3, p. 54 and Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 80-82.

75 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 934.


77 The B.C. Gazette, December 27, 1890, p. 1038, and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 10.

78 The B.C. Gazette, March 27, 1890, p. 291 and May 11, 1893, p. 376.

79 See Chapter 3, pp. 67-68 and Chapter 5, footnote #43.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

80 F. W. Rounsefell of Ceperley, Rounsefell and Co. Ltd. was included for this reason. He controlled the actual running of the company after Ceperley’s retirement from active participation in 1910 (Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, vol. 3, p. 296).

81 Frederick Buscombe was included for this reason. The shares issued in Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd. equalled only 1250 (at $100 each in 1912. Because it was a private company, Buscombe controlled virtually all of the shares, but the number issued did not even approximate the total value of the company (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 593 (1897), Roll 18, microfilm).

82 William Murray of the Bank of Commerce is a good example here; his role is discussed below on p.142. William Braid, James Ramsay, J. C. Keith and Jonathan Rogers, each of whom headed a company which did not quite meet the technical requirement of having assets greater than $500,000, but who were also affiliated as directors with other influential businesses in the city (see Appendix B).

83 A. B. Erskine, local manager of the Ames-Holden-McCready Ltd. was included for this reason. An active role at the executive level of the Board of Trade was also a factor in the subjective decisions to include bankers William Godfrey and Ewing Buchan and capitalist Jonathan Rogers in the elite.


The thirteen included for subjective reasons were J. W. McFarland, Jas. Ramsay, William Braid, Frederick Buscombe, F. W. Rounsefell, A. B. Erskine, G. F. Telfer, E. W. MacLean, J. C. Keith, John Coughlan, Jonathan Rogers, H. O. Bell-Irving and William Murray. Erskine and Murray were both managers of companies controlled outside the city, but they were included for other subjective reasons, and not because they were the top local officials of major branch companies in the city, as was the case with the 26 managers listed above.

85 See Chapter 4, pp. 82-88 and 93.

86 Ibid., pp.85-88 and 91-92. For Lockyer's role in the Hudson's Bay Company see Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, p. 242; and the Vancouver Sun, March 27, 1941, p. 2. Little is directly known about the size of the Hudson's Bay Company operation in Vancouver, but the announcement in 1912 of a new $1.5 million store would suggest that local assets were at least equal to the $500,000 minimum being used here (Province, April 12, 1912, p. 1).
Winch's company had assets of $757,974.71 in 1913, and is listed in Appendix B. The major company affiliations of the 1910-1913 elite (with assets of these companies) are listed in Appendix B, and will not be footnoted hereafter when referred to in the text. Because Bell-Irving and Company had assets equalling only $322,148.30 in 1910, Bell-Irving was included in the elite for subjective reasons. Bell-Irving and Company Ltd. were the agents in B.C. for the Anglo-B.C. Packing Company, and as such were the major decision-makers for the canning company's in B.C. operation. Anglo-B.C. Packers had assets in 1910 of at least $830,000 (Unsigned letter of March 21, 1910, Canada, Department of Fisheries, File 6, Roll 4, microfilm p. 4). Bell-Irving, therefore, controlled a business operation in excess of the $500,000 minimum size required for inclusion in the elite.

These secondary business affiliations can be referred to in Appendix B.


See Chapter 4, p. 78.

See Chapter 4, footnote #15.

The three who didn't were Jas. W. Hackett, Thomas Paterson and William Robertson. The value of the local assets of the Rat Portage Lumber Company which Robertson headed are not known, and could in fact have been greater than one million dollars.

The financial history of the Fraser River Lumber Co. Ltd. and the Canadian Western Lumber Co. Ltd. is discussed in Chapter 2, p. 34. For McNair's Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd. see Chapter 3, footnote #104. John O'Brien held the only Vancouver shares in Brooks-Scanlon-O'Brien Co. Ltd. in 1910 (1237), with the remaining 3736 being held in Minneapolis. O'Brien was one of the principals in the firm, and not just a manager, however (B.C. Reg. of Cos., File 2246 (1897), d.1944). 12,500 of the 30,000 shares issued in J. E. Tucker's Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd. in 1912 were held in Texas, but Tucker himself held 12,000, and the rest were owned in Vancouver (*ibid.*, File 628 (1910), d.1946).


*Western Lumberman*, vol. 7, #2 (February 1910), p. 18.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

97 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 82 and the Vancouver Sun, March 5, 1940, p. 13.


99 Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, footnote #3, p. 194.

100 Western Canada Lumberman, vol. 5, #10 (October 1908), p. 24.


102 See Chapter 4, p. 79.

103 Hendry had taken over the project in 1905 (Gosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, pp. 182-183). He was still a director of the Western Canada Power Co. in 1912 (Parker, ed., Who's Who and Why, 1912, p. 241).


105 The Hendry Land Co. Ltd. and the Dundee Gold Mine Ltd. are referred to in Appendix B. He joined a syndicate of Vancouver businessmen in exploring for oil in southern Alberta in 1912 (Province, October 3, 1902, p. 1).


109 The Searchlight, no. 1, p. 9.

110 See Chapter 2, footnote #152.

111 By 1914 the McRaes were associated with the most prestigious social clubs in the city, with A. D. McRae a member of the Vancouver Club and the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club and Mrs. McRae a member of the Georgia Club and the Women's Exchange (Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory, Vancouver,
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

1914, pp. 89, 100, 114 and 134). Their new home in Shaughnessy Heights was also one of the most luxurious in the city (Province, August 31, 1912, p. 33).


113 He took up his duties as General Superintendent of the British Columbia Division of the C.P.R. in 1912 and was president of the Vancouver Club by 1914 (*ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 500 and *Province*, May 13, 1933, p. 1).


115 Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, vol. 4, p. 274; the British takeover of the Union Steamship Company is discussed in Chapter 4, p. 95.

116 Of the various managers of outside companies operating in Vancouver, the role of the bank managers has consistently been the most difficult to assess. Logically the number of bank managers included in the elite should have been less than the number included as business leaders for the 1910-1913 period. One way of doing this would have been to include only those managers within the group of business leaders who had been appointed as regional superintendents in British Columbia. Five bankers would have been included in the elite on this basis (instead of the eight finally selected). However, two other 'business leaders' who were not superintendents (Ewing Buchan and William Godfrey) had also been the two bankers most active in the Board of Trade, with both having served as board presidents. Both could have been included in the elite on this basis, with only Andrew Jukes and Philip Vibert now being excluded. The role of Buchan and Godfrey in the Board of Trade indicates clearly the difficulty in determining the potential influence of these local bank managers, given the fact that virtually no hard information about the activities of the individual banking companies in Vancouver is available. As a result, the old principle that the local heads of the banks with 4 or more branches in the Vancouver area was maintained as the basis for inclusion in the elite. The one exception was the exclusion of Philip Vibert on the grounds that T. F. McCaffrey had served longer during the 1910-1913 period as the chief representative of the Union Bank in Vancouver.


118 Henry Doyle to Aemilius Jarvis, June 7, 1904, Henry Doyle Papers, Correspondence, Box 1, Special Collections, University of British Columbia.


120 Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, vol. 4, pp. 1003-1004.
Notes for Chapter 6...cont'd.

121 Ibid., vol. 4, p. 708.

122 Two of these eight are listed in Appendix B, the A. J. Burton Saw Co. Ltd. and the Graham Island Collieries Ltd., which he served as president and director respectively before 1914. The other six companies are listed in Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 708, and include the Pacific Marine Insurance Company (director), the Riverside Land Company (chairman), the Southeast Kootenay Railway (vice-president), the Dominion Trust Company (director in 1914, but not in 1913, and hence not listed in Appendix B), the Exchange Bld. Ltd. (vice-president) and the Burrard Inlet Tunnel and Bridge Co. Ltd. (provisional director).


126 See Chapter 5, pp. 112.


130 Province, June 19, 1933, p. 1 and Cosnell, Sixty Years of Progress, footnote #1, p. 186.


132 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 40-42; Province, October 25, 1948, p. 28; and Sun, October 25, 1943, p. 15.

133 These seven included lawyers J. A. Harvey and R. S. Lennie, secondary manufacturers W. H. Whalen and H. W. Maynard, retail lumber merchant E. L. Kimman, Robert D. Rorison, real estate promoter and nursery and floral company entrepreneur, and Alfred Wallace, Vancouver's leading shipbuilder.
Chapter 7. THE CAREER PATTERNS OF LEADING VANCOUVER BUSINESSMEN


2 The general movement away from entrepreneurial capitalism to what T. W. Acheson calls 'finance capitalism', and the merger movement in Canada which attended it, were touched upon in Chapter 2, pp. 42-43. In addition to the Stapells and Epp sources cited in Chapter 2, footnote #152, the theme is also dealt with at length by Acheson, "The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study in the Structure of Entrepreneurship," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972, pp. 1-19, 145-153 and 163-182. Wallace Clement provides an overview of the changes taking place in Canadian business at the turn of the century in his recently published book, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power, Carleton Library Series, Toronto, 1975, pp. 71-80, though he adds little that is new, drawing heavily from Acheson. None of these authors deal with the internal bureaucratization of Canadian business which accompanied consolidation, as Chandler does for the United States.

3 For instance, see Acheson, "The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism," pp. 3-4, 8-9 and 119.


6 Loc. cit.

7 Ibid., pp. 276-283, and Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, pp. 172-189.


Notes for Chapter 7...cont'd.

10 This was the case with Drayton, von Cramer and Telfer, for example. L. W. Shatford became both vice-president and general manager of the Bank of Vancouver in 1912, having been a director earlier (ibid., vol. 4, pp. 537-538).


12 The private banker provided banking services in the nineteenth century to communities before they were large enough to attract national banks. By the late 1890's Vancouver had clearly become important enough to merit the attention of eastern banks, and the private banker was no longer able to compete (E. P. Neufeld, The Financial System of Canada: Its Growth and Development, Toronto, 1972, pp. 165-175).

13 In addition to having a fairly complex managerial structure, B.C. Electric also clearly differentiated the functions of decision-making and management. "The manager in Vancouver was only an official of the company. His task was to interpret the needs of British Columbia to the directors as best he could and to execute the decisions of the London Board" (Patricia E. Roy, "The British Columbia Electric Railway Company, 1897-1928: A British Company in British Columbia," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970, p. 52).


15 Information about Morris is from a letter to me of May 19, 1972 from C. F. E. Carpenter, Assistant Secretary, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.


17 Ibid., vol. 4, p. 774.

18 The following number of business leaders in each primary occupation category during the 1910-1913 period were independent entrepreneurs: 53 of 53 real estate promoters (100%), 10 of 10 non-real estate promoters (100%), 8 of 9 in construction (88.9%), 15 of 18 retail merchants (83.3%), 19 of 23 in non-banking finance (82.6%) and 9 of 11 in consumers' goods manufacturing (81.8%).

19 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 137.

20 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 605. Hagar's obituary in the Vancouver Daily Province of January 16, 1948, p. 2 stated that Hagar had begun his career with the New England Fish Co. in 1891 and had come to B.C. in 1898. There is no mention of his name in city directories until 1909, suggesting that Scholefield and Howay are correct on at least the date of his arrival in Vancouver. Their version of his early career has also been accepted, though it is unsubstantiated.
Notes for Chapter 7...cont'd.

21. Ibid., vol. 4, p. 939.

22. Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage; the Story of a Province and an Industry, Vancouver, 1969, p. 247; and Henry Doyle to Aemelius Jarvis, May 17, 1904, Doyle Papers Correspondence, Box 12, Special Collections, University of British Columbia.


24. The following number of business leaders in each primary occupation category during the 1910-1913 period were independent entrepreneurs, career bureaucrats or salaried employees: 23 of 33 commercial wholesalers were independent entrepreneurs (69.7%), 2 were career bureaucrats and 6 were salaried employees; 19 of 28 in the lumber industry were independent entrepreneurs (67.9%), 1 was a career bureaucrat and 3 were salaried employees; and 3 of 6 in the fishing industry were independent entrepreneurs (50%), and 1 each were career bureaucrats and salaried employees.

25. This problem is discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 10-11.

26. The 'professions' are defined in this study as lawyers, doctors, dentists, the clergy, engineers, architects and teachers. None of the 322 business leaders in the 1890-1893 or 1910-1913 periods were dentists or clergymen.

27. A. St. George Hammersley was the lawyer and Dr. J. M. Lefevre the doctor.


30. Vancouver Sun, December 5, 1955, p. 12.

31. These directorships are listed in Appendix B.
Notes for Chapter 7...cont'd.

32 This definition of metropolitanism as the centralization of services in a 'mother city', and the extension of these services to its satellites, is developed by Wilbur R. Thompson, A Preface to Urban Economics, Baltimore, 1965, p. 14.

33 Chief Justice Hunter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, September 15, 1909, Laurier Papers re: British Columbia, Roll 5 (microfilm), documents #159803-159807, University of British Columbia.

34 Loc. cit.; and the Lower Mainland University Committee, University Location in British Columbia: A Summary of the Arguments Presented by the Lower Mainland University Committee to the University Sites Commission Appointed to Fix the Location of the Provincial University of British Columbia, n.p., 1910, p. 28.


36 Vancouver General Hospital, Fifty Years of Progress, 1902-1952, Vancouver, 1952.


40 Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 1106-1107; British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration Files (hereafter cited as B.C. Reg. of Cos.), File 1416 (1897), d.1944; and ibid., File 565 (1910), Roll 5, microfilm.

41 For instance, Wallace Clement has found that the proportion of Canada's business elite whose main careers are centered in family businesses has increased slightly since the earlier study by Porter in 1951, an increase from 16.8% to 18.8% among Canadian-born members of the elite and 14.9% to 17.2% among the foreign-born (Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, Table 19, p. 174).

42 The five connected with New Westminster or Vancouver families were F. L. Beecher; Eric W. Hamber; and Arthur R., James W. and John Heaps; and the three with Victoria ties were R. J. Ker, W. H. Ker and Christopher Spencer. The other Vancouver business leader connected with a family firm, in addition to Robert J. and W. H. Leckie was Tina M. Cuthbertson, wife of Thos. B.
Notes for Chapter 7...cont'd.

Cuthbertson of Thos. B. Cuthbertson and Co. Ltd., a men's furnishings business.


44 Vancouver Sun, January 11, 1960, p. 2.

45 Province, November 2, 1973, p. 5.


48a Both Bruchey and Miller have only one category for the salaried employees of large corporations. They use the term 'career bureaucrats' for those businessmen who had "lifetime, salaried careers in business bureaucracies, though not always in the same business corporation" (ibid., p. 287 and Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," pp. 120 and 135). My category of 'career bureaucrats' is similar, but I have added the intermediate group of 'salaried employees' who worked for salaries during the 1910-1913 period, but who had not always been salaried employees, and whose careers in business bureaucracies were not "lifetime" occupations. My category of 'family' businessmen is also more flexible than that of the other two. Miller stresses the idea that careers in family firms are "inherited" (Miller, "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies," p. 289). Bruchey defines her family firm as one where sons, nephews or sons-in-law "entered directly into the firm without previously having established a business on their own...." (Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," p. 132). She also talks of them working in "inherited businesses"(ibid., p. 134). I have defined the family career as one based on work in a firm established by some other member of the family, whether a father or uncle on the one hand or a contemporary such as a husband or brother on the other. Bruchey usually includes men who had entered the firms of their brothers or brothers-in-law as 'independent entrepreneurs' (ibid., p. 125).


50 Baltimore's population increased by only a moderate 68.1% between 1880 and 1910, a figure which does not include metropolitan growth around Baltimore, but does include some territory annexed to the city over the 30 year period. By contrast, Vancouver's population increased by 271.7% from 1901 to 1911. Baltimore was also slipping in economic growth relative to other American cities, dropping from 4th to 5th in foreign trade and from 8th to 11th as a manufacturing centre, as measured by value of product. Bruchey's thesis does not provide concrete information about the size of businesses in Baltimore, and the differences between...
business sizes in the two centres may not have been very large. Baltimore, like
Vancouver, was not developing into a head office city for the large, national
corporations. Baltimore, unlike Vancouver, was also not experiencing an urban
growth boom or presiding over a similar speculative boom in hinterland resources
(Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," pp. 6, 8-9, 27 and 70-
71).

The term 'white collar' refers to clerical, professional or business
jobs rather than jobs based on the application of technical or manual skills.
'Clerical' refers principally to the work of accountants, non-elected public
officials and administrators, bookkeepers and various types of 'clerks', most
often found in financial or commercial establishments. 'Business' as a category
of first employment refers to work of an entrepreneurial, executive or manager­
nial nature. The term 'professional' is used here as defined in footnote #26.
The equation of 'white collar' with 'professional' does create a potential con­
flict when applied to engineers, who were also highly trained technicians. Men
like H. O. Bell-Irving, Harry Abbott and R. F. Hayward, each of whom worked
first as trained engineers, were classified as professionals in the 'First Regu­
lar Employment' table (Table 13).

The terms 'unskilled', 'semi-skilled' and 'skilled' are used here as
defined by Peter G. Goheen in his Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900: Pattern and

Eleven of eleven bankers among the 1910-1913 business leaders whose
first employment is available began in clerical work; two of four transportation
executives began in business, and the other two began in clerical jobs; and
thirteen of fourteen professional men for whom information is available began in
clerical work, with the other in business.

J. B. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well-Known British Columbians,
Vancouver, 1890, p. 77.

Of the remaining lumbermen, one began in farming, three in clerical
work, one in a professional job and four in business; of the remaining nine­
ten real estate promoters three started in farming, seven in clerical jobs,
five in professional work and four in business; and of the remaining nineteen
merchants, four began their work on farms, eight in clerical jobs, two in pro­
fessional positions and five in business.


Ibid., vol. 3, p. 587.

Ibid., vol. 4, p. 1086.
Bruchey divides the first employment of Baltimore's business elite into two general categories, 'technical and manual' and 'managerial and clerical,' as does William Miller (Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914," p. 148 and Miller, "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies," p. 301). Her 'technical and manual' would be roughly equivalent to my category of 'skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work,' with the exception that I have defined first employment as engineers as 'professional' work, while she and Miller appear to categorize this as 'technical' work and include such men in the category of 'technical and manual.'


This refers to work on farms or ranches other than the home or family farm.

The directorships of William Murray and Campbell Sweeny in British Columbia Packers' Association Ltd. represented the considerable Canadian Bank of Commerce and Bank of Montreal capital in the fish packing company; B.C. Electric controlled the Vancouver Gas Company, in which B.C. Electric general manager R. H. Sperling was also a director.

The three were F. H. Buckley, R. K. Houlgate and C. G. Pennock. Directorships in companies related to the one they worked for were held by A. L. Hagar, Campbell Sweeny, A. L. Russell, R. H. Sperling, P. Vibert and William Murray.

The four holding company directorships were William Barker, J. G. Fordham, J. D. McCormack and Henry Reiffel. The seven active as independent entrepreneurs were William Akhurst, H. Davidson, William Henderson, H. A. Stone, A. H. Wallbridge, William Germaine and A. B. Erskine.

Company-related affiliations included the executive positions of both Harry Abbott and J. M. Browning with the Columbia and Kootenay Railway Co. and J. M. Browning's presidency of B.C. Sugar, though in this case he served as representatives of C.P.R. directors rather than the company itself. He was also independently a director of the British Columbia Building Association, and William Salsbury held entrepreneurial ties with the Okanagan Land and Development Company and the Union Steamship Company.

The one exception was L. W. Shatford who was not an executive at all, but rather an independent entrepreneur who served as both an executive officer and manager of the Bank of Vancouver. He was the only one of twelve business leaders whose primary occupation was listed as 'Finance: Banking' during the 1910-1913 period and who was not a career bureaucrat.
Notes for Chapter 7...cont'd.

67 Wholesale merchants were the second largest group of businessmen among the 1910-1913 business leaders; thirty-seven business leaders were primarily engaged in one of the two categories of wholesale commerce.


69 The few they did hold included Sweeny's directorship in the Western Canada Power Company, George Cowan's directorship in the Dominion Permanent Loan Company and Eric Hamber's directorship in the Dominion Bank, noted in the text. In addition, A. D. McRae had ties with Mackenzie and Mann of Toronto, including a directorship in their Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) Ltd. Philip Vibert held a directorship in the Union Mortgage Company, and Fred Proctor in the Crown Life Insurance Company of Toronto. Homer Galer was a director of the International Coal and Coke Co. Ltd. of Spokane, Washington, and Jonathan Rogers was director of the Canadian National Fire Insurance Company of Winnipeg. E. E. Evans and Francis Carter-Cotton each held a directorship in a British company operating in Vancouver. Vancouver business leaders undoubtedly held some directorships in other less well-known companies in other parts of the country, which have not been included in Appendix B as 'important' company affiliations simply because of a lack of adequate information about them. Vancouver business leaders clearly held few directorships in large national companies, however.


71 Loc. cit.

Chapter 8. THE RECRUITMENT OF BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN VANCOUVER


3 T. T. Dauphinee, born in Petite Rivière, Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, had gone to school in Liverpool, Nova Scotia and to college at Dalhousie Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 206-207); and T. T. Langlois, born in Gaspe, P.Q., had been educated in Port Hope and Beaverton, Ontario (C. W. Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, Vancouver, 1911, vol. 1 (1911), p. 233). Dr. Lefevre had received his medical training at McGill University, but the nature of his primary and secondary education is unknown.
This was Ewen MacLean, born in Nagasaki, Japan. His father, a Scot, had worked in Japan for a number of years as superintendant of lighthouse service. His mother was born in Prince Edward Island of Scottish ancestry (Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, vol. 4, p. 708).

The eight American-born lumbermen were Charles M. Beecher, James H. Ramsdell, Edward F. Allen, F. L. Beecher, F. L. Buckley, C. S. Edwards, E. L. Kinman and J. E. Tucker. H. R. Morse was undoubtedly an American as well, though no proof of this is available. Alvah L. Hagar of the New England Fish Company was also from the U.S.


Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, vol. 4, p. 927.


Ibid., February 27, 1936, p. 12; and Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia*, vol. 3, p. 744.
Notes for Chapter 8 cont'd.

16 The third brewer, in addition to Henry Reiffel and Charles Doering, noted below, was John Williams of London, England (Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, p. 381).


18 For Doering see the Province, April 16, 1927, p. 2; and for Marstrand's background see the News-Advertiser, January 19, 1892, p. 5 and the Province, December 27, 1911, p. 14.

19 See footnote #8 above.


21 For Short see Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage, p. 197; for Buttimmer, Henry Doyle, "Rise and Decline of the Pacific Salmon Fisheries," unpublished manuscript, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, vol. 1, pp. 220 and 222; and for Dawson, the Province, November 29, 1935, p. 4. For Dawson and his brother-in-law Fred J. Buttimmer also see Doyle, "Rise and Decline of the Pacific Salmon Fisheries," vol. 1, p. 220.


23 Ibid., April 11, 1891, p. 9.

24 Sources for each of the five respectively are the News-Advertiser, August 5, 1899, p. 8 and the World, June 20, 1896, p. 17; ibid., p. 17 and Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, p. 278; loc. cit., and Gosnell, A History of British Columbia, p. 664; the Coquitlam Herald, May 25, 1956, p. 1; and Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 720.

25 Ontario-born business leaders for whom migration information is available arrived from 1880 to 1914, measured in five year periods, as follows: before 1880, 1; 1880-1885, 3; 1886-1890, 19; 1891-1895, 8; 1896-1900, 22; 1901-1905, 9; 1906-1910, 11; and 1911-1914, 2.

26 Sources for each of the eleven respectively are: Barber, the Province, August 2, 1954, p. 8; Begg, the Sun, September 17, 1953, p. 2; Galer, Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, p. 181; Godson, Parker, ed., Who's Who and Why, 1912, p. 201; O'Neil, Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, p. 261; Schooley, the Sun, January 29, 1945, p. 5; Tiffin, the Province,
Notes for Chapter 8 cont'd.

November 4, 1947, p. 15; Langlois, the News-Advertiser, April 19, 1898, p. 8; Telfer, Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, pp. 775-778; and Morris, a letter to me of May 19, 1972 from C. F. E. Carpenter, Assistant Secretary, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

27 For Wallace and Sulley see footnotes #8 and 9.


30 News-Advertiser, January 1, 1898, p. 5.


32 Province, April 16, 1927, p. 2.

33 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 5.


35 See footnote #24 above.

36 Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 271; and "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 11.

37 The two who worked at least once in eastern Canada or the prairies were John Rounsfell (ibid., April 11, 1891, p. 12) and W. S. McDonald (World, January 14, 1901, p. 1). The other fourteen were J. A. Allen (Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, p. 465); Thomas E. Atkins (ibid., vol. 3, pp. 383-385); G. E. Berteaux ("Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 21); Captain Alfred R. Bissett (Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 3, p. 471); Wm. C. Brown (ibid., vol. 4, p. 231); Arthur C. Brydone-Jack, ibid., vol. 3, p. 166-167); Chester B. MacNeill (ibid., vol. 4, p. 153); John McLean (the Coquitlam Herald, May 25, 1956, p. 1); Robert McNair (Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, 1911, p. 278); A. L. Olts (Henry J. Boam, British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industry and Resources, London, 1912, p. 186); John S. Rankin (Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol. 4, p. 507); E. S. Scoullar (News-Advertiser, March 17, 1889, p. 2); and Seth T. Tilley
Notes for Chapter 8 cont'd.

(Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 305-307).

38 Ibid., p. 197.

39 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 12.

40 Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p. 280.


42 "Vancouver City," World, April 11, 1891, p. 12.

43 Ibid., p. 21; and ibid., p. 12 and J. A. Gemmill, ed., The Canadian Parliamentary Companion, 1887, Ottawa, 1887, p.


45 See footnote #5 above.


Chapter 9. THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

1Stephen Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City, New York, 1969(1964), p.58. The idea that a more open and democratic society in the United States was made possible by the frontier has also been an enduring part of American mythology. See Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage, New York, 1966, chapter 5, especially pp.115-116.

Notes for Chapter 9 cont'd.


4Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress.

5Perhaps this is only because national self-awareness has never developed to the same extent in Canada as in the United States, lessening the importance here of such national myths. The lesser emphasis in Canada on the openness of the country's social system may also be explained by the fact that the frontier ideology has not "had the same influence on the public mind" in Canada as in the United States (Michael S. Cross, ed., The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment, Toronto, 1970, p.3). Canadian values have also perhaps been more conservative, stressing communal ideals rather than the competitive individualism central to the frontier myth. For a discussion of the relative weakness of the 'agrarian myth' in Canada see H.V. Nelles, The Politics of Development: Forest, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941, Toronto, 1974, pp.40-45. The thesis that Canada has emerged from a more conservative tradition than the United States is stated in W.L. Morton, The Canadian Identity, Toronto, 1968(1961), and Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation", C.J.E.P.S., vol.33 (1966) pp.143-171.


9Taussig and Joslyn first examined social mobility by comparing one group of business leaders "with their fathers and grandfathers...thus emphasizing the importance of the family in the social mobility of the elite" (Bendix, "Social Mobility and the American Business Elite", p.116); most other studies, including those by Newcomer, Keller, Mills and Bendix, have identified business leaders at more than one period, comparing each group with the others as the principal technique for examining social mobility. In these latter studies, only one generation of family change was emphasized (ibid., pp.115-121 and 128-131). William Miller in his examination of the American business elite between 1901 and 1910, and Norbert MacDonald in his study of the business elite in Seattle between 1880 and 1910, identify the leading businessmen over one period of time, and compare occupational mobility for the chosen businessmen through one generation (William Miller, "American

10 Mabel Newcomer tried to measure social mobility by comparing "the family class position of each of the men before their own career entered the picture" with their class position at the time of the study (Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914"). She did this by classifying businessmen into classes, in the present and in the past, according to the level of their family income (Mabel Newcomer, The Big Business Executive: The Factors That Made Him, 1900-1950, New York, 1955, pp.61-62).


16 As sociologists Kurt B. Mayer and Walter Buckley point out, "the chance to complete an intermediary or higher educational grade'...(is) crucially influenced by one's position in the economic class structure" (Kurt B. Mayer and Walter Buckley, Class and Society, 3rd. ed., New York, 1969(1955), p.45). Mabel Newcomer concludes from her study of American business executives in the twentieth century that "the relationship of family status to the extent of formal education is very marked... Among the 1900 group no member of the executives from poor families got beyond high school, although more than half of the wealthy group had some college education" (Newcomer, The Big Business Executive, p.74).


The primary occupations of Vancouver business leaders in the 1910-1913 period who were sons of farmers, businessmen and professional men are listed in that order respectively after each business category as follows:

- Promotion: Real Estate (7, 5, 2); Promotion: All Others (1, 1, 2); Primary Products: Fish (0, 1, 0); Primary Products: Timber (2, 8, 2); Primary Products: Minerals (0, 0, 0); Secondary Manufacturing (1, 0, 0); Consumer Goods Manufacturing (1, 1, 0); Commerce: Wholesale (1, 8, 0); Commerce: Wholesale Functions (0, 1, 1); Commerce: Retail (1, 4, 0); Commerce: Wholesale and Retail Lumber (1, 2, 0); Finance: Corporate and Private Banking (0, 0, 4); Finance: All Others (2, 1, 0); Urban Utilities (0, 0, 0); Transportation: Shipping (0, 2, 0); Transportation: Steam Railways (0, 0, 1); Construction (3, 2, 0); Other N.B. Businesses (0, 0, 1); Professions (1, 3, 4); Capitalist (1, 0, 0); Other (0, 1, 0); Totals (22, 40, 17).

Rogers' father had organized and managed a sugar refinery in New Orleans (M.I. Rogers, B.C. Sugar, Vancouver, 1958, pp.5-9); William Sulley was the son of a "prominent merchant" in England (R.E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia, n.p., 1906, p.404); John Hendry was the "son of a New Brunswick miller" (T.W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study in the Structure of Entrepreneurship", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971, p.309); William Akhurst's father had been engaged in the "agricultural implement business" in Quebec (E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present, Vancouver, 1914, vol.3, p.475); W.H. Malkin was the son of "a prominent earthenware and tile manufacturer" in Britain (Prince Rupert News, October 13, 1959, p.1); the father of R.J. and W.H. Leckie, had founded J. Leckie and Company, boot and shoe manufacturers, in Toronto in 1896 (Vancouver Sun, December 5, 1950, p.15); F.R. Stewart's father had published a Southport newspaper in England (Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.3, p.561); and H.A. Stone was the son of a London merchant (ibid., vol.3, pp.67-68).

Acheson states very clearly that the careers of the leading industrialists "of the Lake Peninsula (region) and the West demonstrated a far greater degree of social mobility" than of those from the maritimes and the St. Lawrence (Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", p.209). 33% of the industrial elite from the west had come from the families of 'businessmen' or 'manufacturers', compared with 43% from the Lake Peninsula, 77% from the St. Lawrence and 72% from the maritimes regions. The differences were much less if the families of professionals were included as well, however. Part of the problem with Acheson's study of the Canadian industrial elite generally is that his sample from the west is rather small. Thus, these conclusions about the occupations of the fathers of the industrial elite in the west between 1905 and 1910 are based on only 12 cases.


Ibid., p.7; Bernard Barber pointed out in 1957 that, "while the correlation between social and economic stratification is likely to be large, there is also likely to be some inconsistency between the two" (Bernard Barber, Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process, New York, 1957, pp.53-54). Mayer and Buckley also made the same point. "A close correspondence is...often found between class (economic) position and rank in the status hierarchy", they noted, "with wealthy people generally possessing high prestige. But no exact correspondence, and, in fact, frequent discrepancies exist between an individual's class (economic) position and his standing in the prestige hierarchy" (Mayer and Buckley, Class and Society, p.47; also see ibid., p.143).


G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America?, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967, espec. ch.1. In a recent article John N. Ingham argues against this notion that the local upper classes in American cities were merging at the turn of the century into a cosmopolitan, national upper class ("The American Urban Upper Class: Cosmopolitans or Locals?" Journal of Urban History, vol.2, no.1(Nov 1975), pp.67-87)


Baltzell’s concept of an economic class hierarchy was adopted for this study of Vancouver (discussed in Chapter 6) and the group at the top called the 'economic elite'. I use the term 'economic elite' to define my 'economic class', as Baltzell has done. The difference between the economic elites and social upper classes in both studies is that the one is defined strictly in terms of function in the economic power structure, and does not imply (as a Marxian class would) a mutual consciousness among the members of the elite of being part of a distinctive group, while the other is defined both in terms of social status (rather than economic position) and group association. One group in each study is defined in terms of a group consciousness (the 'social upper class') and one is not (the 'economic class' or 'economic elite').

Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, p.6.

The new upper class which emerged in the 1880's, says Baltzell, was an associational aristocracy" (ibid., pp.18-19 and 21). Following in this
tradition, Eleanor Bruchey defines her upper class in terms of "observable upper class association" (Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914", p.236). Sociologists Seymour Martin Lipset and Hans L. Zetterburg in a recent essay suggest that this definition of the term 'social class' has been fairly widely used in stratification studies by American sociologists: "This term ('social class') as used by American sociologists refers to roles of intimate association with others. Essentially, other classes in this sense denote strata of society composed of individuals who accept each other as equals and qualified for intimate association...men may change their occupational class by changing their job, but they may improve their social position only if they are admitted to intimate relationships by those who already possess the criteria for higher rank" (Seymour Martin Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility", in Melvin M. Tumin, ed., Readings in Social Stratification, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970, p.439).

Ibid. Baltzell points out that the principal function of the most exclusive metropolitan clubs, like the Philadelphia and Rittenhouse Clubs, is "the ascription of upper-class status" (Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, p.345).

The term "one best guide" is used by Domhoff in Who Rules America?, p.13 (see also pp.14-16); the reasons for E. Digby Baltzell's and Eleanor Bruchey's use of the Social Register as an exclusive index of upper class status are stated in Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, pp.17-24 and Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914", pp.237-239 and 250-252.

Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, pp.18-19.


Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory, Vancouver; Welch and Gibbs, 1914.

No indication was given in either the 1908 or 1914 volumes of the criteria used to determine inclusion into or exclusion from them.

This general statement about club hierarchies in North American cities was made by Baltzell in Philadelphia Gentlemen, p.343. T.W. Acheson came to a similar conclusion about the status hierarchies of clubs across Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; he stated that "increasingly, the true test of status was not one of whether an industrialist belonged to any major metropolitan clubs, but rather to which clubs he belonged and whether he belonged to elite clubs in several metropolitan centers" (Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", p.214).
"In modern America", stated Baltzell in 1958, "the club serves to place the adult members of society and their families within the social hierarchy". "The best index" of the "social standing of the male family head... is his metropolitan club affiliations" (Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen*, pp.335-336). Baltzell works on the assumption that this has been the case since metropolitan clubs took on their important status-defining functions in the nineteenth century. The same assumption has been accepted for Vancouver.

These clubs are named by John Porter as the most prestigious in Canada in the 1950's (Porter, *Vertical Mosaic*, pp.304-305). They were probably some of the leading social and business clubs across the country earlier in the century as well, though others, like the Union Club of Victoria, would also have to have been included. For evidence that partially confirms this impression see Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1914", p.215.

The Vancouver Club, *Constitution and Rules and Regulations of the Vancouver Club, Vancouver, B.C., Amended to 30th June 1914*. Vancouver, ?, p.4, found in The Vancouver Club Papers, Add Mss. 306, Vancouver City Archives.


This point is developed in further detail in the following chapter.
Notes for Chapter 9 cont’d.


49 Six of these had been instructed at Upper Canada College: R.H. Alexander, S.O. Richards, J.G. Woods, Ewing Buchan, Donald von Cramer and Wm. H. Leckie. B.T. Rogers, Edward F. Allen and F.L. Beecher had attended Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, as had F.L. Beecher's father, Charles Beecher, who died in 1906. H.O. Bell-Irving had received a basic education at Merchiston School in Edinburgh before going to Carlsruhe, Germany to continue his instruction; C.G. Johnson had attended private English schools at Leamington, before going to 'Clifton Bank' at St. Andrews, Scotland; Andrew Jukes went to Trinity College School in Port Hope, and Clarence Marpole, one of the C.P.R.'s Richard Marpole, had attended Whetham College, Vancouver's first elite school; Hans von Graevenitz was educated in military schools in Germany; and E.A.C. Studd and R.F. Hayward had received instruction at Eton and Harrow respectively in England. Sources in order of the names presented are J.B. Kerr, Biographical Dictionary of Well Known British Columbians, Vancouver, 1890, pp.80-81 (Alexander); "Vancouver City: Its Wonderful History and Future Prospects", Vancouver Daily World, Souvenir Edition, April 11, 1891, p.12 (Richards); Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.3, pp.363-364 (Woods); ibid., vol.3, p.105 (Buchan); ibid., vol.3, p.804 (von Cramer); C.W. Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western Canada, Vancouver, 1911, vol.1(1911), p.235 (Leckie); Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.4, pp.22-23 (Rogers); ibid., vol.4, p.679 (Allen); Victoria Daily Colonist, Nov. 10, 1965, p.11 (F.L. Beecher); Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.4, p.934 (Chas. Beecher); H.W. McKervill, The Salmon People, Sidney, British Columbia, 1967, p.75 (Bell-Irving); Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.4, p.516 (Johnson); ibid., vol.4, p.985 (Jukes); ibid., vol.4, p.594 (C. Marpole); C.W. Parker, ed., Who's Who and Why: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Men and Women of Western Canada, Vancouver, 1912, vol.2(1912), p.594 (von Graevenitz); ibid., p.565 (Studd); and ibid., p.234 (Hayward).

50 Acheson found a similar pattern of lower social prestige among Methodist, Baptist and Irish Catholic industrialists in Canada during the 1905-1910 period. Speaking of high status social clubs, he says "Methodists, Baptists, and Irish Catholics, were least involved in such organisations" (Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", pp.214-215).

51 Mabel Newcomer was of a similar opinion, stating that "In most instances the religious preference reflects the family background from which the individuals come...". She admitted, however, that "...there is evidence that church membership is occasionally changed to conform with the group with which they will eventually associate" (Newcomer, The Big Business Executive, p.48). Acheson's conclusions about the religious affiliations of the industrial elite in eastern Canada differ from this view, however. He suggests that while "traditional ethnic denominational loyalties" were particularly strong in the maritime and St. Lawrence regions, especially among Irish Protestants (Anglican and Presbyterian), Presbyterian Scots and French-Canadian Catholics,
the relationship between ethnicity and religion was disintegrating "among most British and Protestant traditions" in the Lake Peninsula area by 1910. There, he says, "The whole movement suggests the emergence of a system built upon some measure of class identification, with Anglicans and Presbyterians entering the more evangelical churches at the lower end of the social system and, by a process of gradual osmosis, moving back at the higher status levels" (Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", pp.198-200).

52 Vancouver Province, December 10, 1945, p.19.


55 Ibid., vol.3, p.475.

56 Ibid., vol.4, p.82.


Chapter 10. THE SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR OF LEADING VANCOUVER BUSINESSMEN

1 Sources of information about the Abbott family were noted in Chapter 6, notes #3,4 and 6.

2 The Vancouver News, August 2, 1886, p.1, and Sweeny Diary, 1887, Campbell Sweeny Papers, Vancouver City Archives (hereafter cited as VCA), p.1.


6 News-Advertiser, July 18, 1889, p.8.

7 Williams' Illustrated Official British Columbia Directory, 1892, Victoria, 1892, p.796; Williams' Official British Columbia Directory 1893, Victoria, 1893, p.647; and The Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, List of Members, Amended to 31 May 1936, Vancouver, n.d.,
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.

p.13, found in the Vancouver Club Papers, Add. Mss. 306, VCA.

8 News-Advertiser, September 30, 1887, p.4, and March 28, 1888, p.4.


12 See Chapter 3, note #46 and Chapter 6, notes #11 and 12.


14 News-Advertiser, April 7, 1889, p.1, and The Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, Amended to 31 May 1936, p.13.


16 Province, February 16, 1903, p.1.


21 Clarence Marpole and his wife, for instance, belonged to the Vancouver Club, the Shaughnessy Heights Golf Club, the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club, the Vancouver Rowing Club, the Georgian Club, the Connaught Skating Club and the Union Club of Victoria, along with several other clubs of lower status. The other two business families which belonged to seven high status clubs, in addition to the Richard Marples, were the families of Alvo von Alvensleben and W.C. Nichol. Belonging to six high status clubs each were the families of Sir C.H. Tupper, B.T. Rogers, Campbell Sweeny and J.W. McFarland, and to five the families of C.S. Douglas, J.L.G. Abbott, G.H. Cowan,
E.J. Deacon, A.D. McRae, F.W. Peters, F.J. Proctor, F.W. Rounsefell and R.H. Sperling. Harry Abbott was at four, lower than several of the others because his wife had died in 1903.


23 News-Advertiser, May 1, 1894, p.8, and the Province, April 11, 1910, p.1.

24 For evidence of Campbell Sweeny's social role see Chapter 4, note #58. Sweeny's continued close ties with the C.P.R. were revealed in 1908 when he travelled east in the private railroad car of the C.P.R. president, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy (John Hendry to William McNeill, October 24, 1908, William McNeill Papers, Docket #1, Add. Mss. 46, VCA). For Charleson's economic role see C.W. Parker, ed. Who's Who in Western Canada, Vancouver, 1911, vol.1(1911), p.138; Jas Keil to Major Matthews, March 25, 1939, J.S. Matthews, Collector, Miscellaneous Papers (D.B. Charleson), vol.13, C. 158, Add. Mss.54, VCA; and the Province, July 5, 1926, p.10. The prominence of the Charlson family's social role is primarily an impression drawn from an examination of the social pages of the Province, 1900 to 1902. Charleson was also one of the founders of the Vancouver Club (The Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, Amended to 31 May 1936, p.7).

25 The Province instituted its special "Women's department" in February of 1900, and introduced its first society column on Saturday, February 17(p.7).

26 Impressions about the style of life and the composition of 'society' at the turn of the century have been drawn primarily from the women's page of the Saturday editions of the Province from February of 1900 to the end of 1902. Province stories of the following social events provide some indication of the identities of Vancouver's most prominent 'society' families during this period: the society wedding of Miss Charlotte L. Batchelor (April 16, 1900, p.9); the ball in honour of Lord Minto's visit (Sept. 6, 1900, p.1); the 'At Homes' of Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. G. McLaren Brown (July 14, 1900, p.4); attendance at the Opera House (Dec 22, 1900, p.4, and April 13, 1901, p.4); the 'At Homes' of Mrs. Gatshore, Mrs. Charleson and Mrs. Weld (May 18, 1901, p.4, May 25, 1901,p.11, and June 22, 1901,p.5); the reception for Rear Admiral Bickford (July 4, 1901, p.5); the 'At Homes' of Lady Tupper and Mrs. F.F. Burns (August 3, 1901, p.2, and Sept. 14, 1901, p.3); the 'ping-pong teas' of Mrs. Buscombe and Mrs. Twigge (Feb. 15, 1902, p.11); the 'Teas' of Mrs. B.T. Rogers and Mrs. R. Marpole (Jan. 25, 1902, p.3, and June 21, 1902, p.3); the croquet tournament of Mrs. Keith (July 12, 1902, p.4); the tennis tournament of Mrs. Kenworthy and the croquet tournament of Mrs. Coleman (July 12, 1902, p.4, and July 19, 1902, p.8); and the opera parties listed on July 26, 1902, p.7, and Sept. 6, 1902, p.4.

27 They are listed in the 1899 city directories as living on Barclay Street at the corner of Denman; by 1903 they were residing at 'Parkside' on Barclay, two blocks to the west (H.J. Morgan, ed., Types of Canadian Women,
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.


28 Vancouver Daily World, October 12, 1901, p.2.

29 Province, January 22, 1903, p.2.

30 Ibid., September 27, 1912, p.8.

31 Ibid., March 22, 1900, p.3. He was still president of the provin­
cial association in 1902 (World, March 22, 1902, p.8).

32 Vancouver General Hospital, Third Annual Report, 1904, p.67.

33 Children's Aid Society, Annual Report, 1903, and Anne Margaret
Angus, Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C., 1901-1951, Vancouver,
1951, pp.7 and 13.

34 The Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House

35 Information about the Tupper family is drawn from George MacLean
Rose, ed., A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography: Being Chiefly Men of the
Time, Toronto, 1888, p.712-713; H.J. Morgan, ed., The Canadian Men and Women
of the Time, 2nd. ed., Toronto 1912, p.1113; and the Victoria Times, March
31, 1927, p.15.

36 "Vancouver City: Its Wonderful History and Future Prospects",

37 Loc. cit., and Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the Univer­

38 For the identities of the founders see the News-Advertiser, July
18, 1889, p.8, and the Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and
House Rules, Amended to 31 May 1936, pp.7-9.

39 For Tait see R.E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia, n.p.,
1906, p.729; for Shannon see Kerr, Biographical Dictionary, p.286 and
"Vancouver City", World, April 11, 1891, p.13; and for Ramsay see Gosnell,
A History of British Columbia, p.774, and Parker, ed., Who's Who in Western
Canada, 1911, p.318.

40 For Richards see "Vancouver City", World, April 11, 1891, p.12,
the Province, April 22, 1910, p.1, and S.W. Jackman, The Men of Cary Castle:
A Series of Portrait Sketches of the Lieutenant-Governors of British Columbia
from 1871 to 1971, Victoria, 1972, pp.27-33; for Woods, Scholefield and Howay,
British Columbia, vol.3, p.363; for Cooke, "Vancouver City", World, April 11,
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.


41 News-Advertiser, November 2, 1888, p.8.

42 Ibid., April 19, 1895, p.1.

43 The classification of these men as 'leaders of society' is based on a subjective interpretation of the evidence listed above in note #26.

44 Province, November 10, 1900, p.6.


46 Stephen Leacock, Arcadian Adventures With the Idle Rich, Toronto and Montreal, 1969(1914), p.84. The Province referred to theirs as the "Society and Personal column" (February 17, 1900, p.7).

47 See note #25.

48 Province, March 9, 1900, p.5.

49 Ibid., October 17, 1902, p.1.

50 Ibid., June 16, 1900, p.13.

51 Ibid., December 17, 1910, p.5.

52 Family names which figured prominently on the 'society' page of the Province at the turn of the century, in addition to the city's socially prominent business leaders of either period, included (along with the husband's occupation of the 1900–1902 period): Wm. S. Bauer (land surveyor); H.W.C. Boak (lawyer); F.C. Hinde-Bowker (Yukon Mgr., British America Corp., 1900); C.S.V. Branch (mgr., Sun Life Assurance Co.); C.V. Brimacombe (mgr., Bank of Montreal); Geo. McL. Brown (C.P.R.); F.F. Burns (wholesale merchant); H.M. Burwell (land surveyor); H.J. Cambie (C.P.R.); F.W. Chaldecott (lawyer); D.B. Charleson (contractor); F.M. Cowperthwaite (Sup't. of Schools); A.J. Dana (C.P.R.); E.P. Davis (lawyer); W. Downie (C.P.R.); W.B. Ferrie (mgr., Canada Life Assurance Co.); Rev. G. Fiennes-Clinton (Anglican clergyman); Alex L. Gateshore (agent, Canada Life Assurance Co.); Chas. R. Gilbert (Sec. Treas., Mainland Board of Fire Underwriters); Robert Grant (capitalist); Walter Gravely (real estate and insurance); Chas. G. Henshaw (commission agent); Stratton Holt (unknown); W.C. Hutchins (retired); J. Fordham Johnson (accountant, Bank of B.C. and B.C. Sugar); R. Byron Johnson (banking, real estate and insurance); G.D. Johnston (medical doctor); H. Kemworthy (unknown); Stuart Livingston (lawyer); Herbert Lockwood (mgr., Molson's Bank); Chas. Loewen (real estate, loans and insurance); D.G. MacDonnell (lawyer); C.B. MacNeill (lawyer); D.G. Marshall (lawyer); L.G. McPhillips (lawyer); Archdeacon
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.

Pentreath (Anglican Church); Osborne Plunkett (lawyer); G.R. Quigley (C.P.R. Telegraph); R. Rintoul (ass. mgr., Bank of Montreal); F.M. Robertson (financial and insurance broker); J.H. Senkler (lawyer); Fane Sewell (unknown); Percy G. Shallcross (insurance and brokerage); Chas. Stimson (commission merchant); Chas. W. Stoess (unknown); T.H. Street (wholesale liquors); W. Sully Jr. (lumber mill mgr.); A. Dunbar Taylor ( Lawyer); A.C. Thynne (agent for Pelkington Bros. Ltd.); Seth T. Tilley (bookseller); T.O. Townley (District Registrar of Titles); Capt. Jas W. Troup (mgr., C.P. Navigation Co.); Rev. Norman Tucker (Anglican clergyman); S.J. Tunstall (medical doctor); S.K. Twigge (unknown); D.S. Wallbridge (lawyer); Col. Falkland Warren (retired soldier); Octavius Weld (medical doctor); H.T. Wilgress (C.P.R.); A. Williams (lawyer); Chas. Wilson (lawyer); C.A. Worsnop (Surveyor of Customs); Leslie Wright (insurance and commission agent); and Ludwig Wurzberg (salmon canner and commission agent). Occupations were traced in Vancouver city directories for the years 1900 to 1902. For an additional comment on the social life of west end 'society' at the turn of the century see Ethel Wilson's novel The Innocent Traveller, Toronto, 1949, chapter 12 and p.153.

54 The Vancouver Sun, May 10, 1976, p.13.
55 Province, July 24, 1940, p.10.

57 For the Sweenys see loc. cit.; for Bluthe Dupuy Rogers and Ernest Theodore Rogers see the Province, May 6, 1920, p.1, and July 26, 1939, p.1; for R.H.H. Alexander see Scholefield and Howay, British Columbia, vol.4, p.670, and for Harold Senkler the Province, January 29, 1910, p.5; Frederick Beecher's educational background was noted in the Victoria Daily Colonist, November 10, 1965 p.11; Aldyn Hendry had been educated in "Great Britain and Europe" (Province, June 27, 1958, p.3) and J.W. Stewart's daughter in Paris (Ibid., January 21, 1911, p.5).


60 The Vancouver Club, Historical Notes, Constitution and House Rules, list of Members, Amended to 31 May 1936, p.13.
61 See Chapter 9, note #50.
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.


64 British Columbia Jockey Club Papers, Minute Book, Add. Mss. 244, VCA.

65 *News-Advertiser*, September 30, 1887, p.4.


72 *Province*, December 3, 1913, p.26. The Canadian Club had originally been formed in 1906 (*World*, March 25, 1909, p.6)


76 The Women's Canadian Club was organized in 1910 (*Province*, September 30, 1910, p.5), as was the Georgian Club. The Connaught Skating Club was probably formed in 1911 or 1912 (my first reference to it is *ibid.*, October 15, 1912, p.8). The Athenaeum Club had been organized somewhat earlier. For the Musical Club, formed in 1905, see *ibid.*, May 21, 1910, p.7, mag. sec.
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.

77 Ibid., April 15, 1911, p.6.

78 See Chapter 7, pp. 177-179.

79 N.S. Fineberg, "The Canadian Financial Triangle", Moody's Magazine, vol.8 (November 1909, pp.374-380). The 21 referred to here are part of the twenty-three which he called "the directive forces in practically all of Canada's economic life" (p.380).


81 The eleven were Senator G.A. Cox, W.D. Matthew, Frederick Nicholls, William Mackenzie, Sir William Van Horne, E.B. Osler, R.B. Angus, Lord Strathcona, B.B. Hanna and D.D. Mann, in addition to Shaughnessy.


83 These business leaders and their 'important' business affiliations in the 1910-13 period are listed in detail in Appendix B.

84 For the names of officers of the St. Andrew's and Caledonian Society, found at irregular points over the 1886 to 1914 period, see the News-Advertiser, Nov. 12, 1887, p.4; Nov. 10, 1888, p.8; Nov. 9, 1895, p.8; Dec. 1, 1897, p.5; Nov. 12, 1899, p.8; and December 9, 1909, p.7, and the Province, October 14, 1912, p.26. References to the German Society were found in the News-Advertiser, July 16, 1889, p.1; Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892, p.797; the News-Advertiser, Sept.26, 1899, p.8; the Province, Nov. 8, 1912, p.8; and A.T. von Etlinger to Sir Richard McBride, Sept.17, 1912, Premiers' Papers, Public Archives of British Columbia. The German community in Vancouver was also discussed in the News-Advertiser, Oct.25, 1895, p.8; Jan. 28, 1897, p.5; Jan. 28, 1898, p.5; and Oct. 10, 1899, p.8.

85 References to the American Club were drawn entirely from the Elite Directory of Vancouver, Vancouver, Thomson Stationery Company, 1908, p.117.

86 None of the officers of the St. George's Society in 1888 or 1889 were business leaders of the 1890-93 period. See the News-Advertiser, December 7, 1887, p.4, and January 1, 1889, p.4.
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.


94. Residential locations in 1889 were located in L.G. Henderson, Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory for the Year 1889, Victoria, 1889.

95. Browning's home was located on the north-west corner of Georgia and Burrard across Burrard Street from Christ Church.


98. Ibid., pp.95-96, Illustration 3 and Map 10.

99. Ibid., p.107, drawn from the Vancouver Sun, November 9, 1919, p.32.

100. See Gibson, "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change", Map 7.

101. W.C. Van Horne to J.M. Browning, December 24, 1890, C.P.R. Papers, Add. Mss. 42, VCA.


103. Vancouver Sun, November 9, 1919, p.32.
Notes for Chapter 10 cont'd.


107 Gibson, "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change", Map 11.


109 See especially ibid., Map 5.

110 Geographer Edward Gibson has argued that Vancouver was divided during this early period between 'British Columbians', those who had come to B.C. before 1886 and who "shared common life styles", including presumably residence on the east side of the city, and 'Canadians', those arriving after 1886 who lived on the west (Gibson, "The Impact of Social Belief on Landscape Change", pp.72-75). While the argument is relevant to explaining the sources of capital and entrepreneurship in each part of the city in the 1880's and 1890's, as noted earlier (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 6), it says less about the patterns of 'common' social behavior, including places of residence, of leading businessmen. (Gibson, in fact, seems to be implying that British Columbians, regardless of their class position, whether working class or entrepreneurial class, continued to share the common lifestyles after 1886 which they may have shared before. Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, I would argue strongly against any such assumption). The thesis obscures the fact that R.H. Alexander, clearly a 'British Columbian', had received a prestigious private school education in eastern Canada, and was closely tied to the core group of C.P.R. - centered upper class families after 1886, though living apart from them; or that Charles Beecher may have lived on the east side for strictly occupational reasons, but was also socially part of the city's emerging upper class; or that the Oppenheimers and Rands, leading land promoters on the east side, and 'British Columbians' by Gibson's terms, preferred to live in the Georgia Street area on the west. The Alexanders and Beechers were acting like 'British Columbians' economically, which during this period also influenced the location of their homes, but like 'Canadians' socially, as were other 'British Columbians' like the Rands.

111 These two were, of course, the Seaton Street and West Georgia Street districts. Ed. Gibson argues that "the final decline of Strathcona as a high-status residential area" took place after the federal government's
decision in 1903 to locate the new Post Office on Hastings west of Granville, implying that it once had been a "high-status residential area" (ibid, p.79). At most this was the case only in the first two or three years after 1886 when a number of important business families, such as those noted below, lived there (also see the comment in Matthews, "Early Vancouver: Narratives:, vol.1(1932), p.103). The primary reason for this was that the segregation of the city into specific zones of function and prestige, while beginning in 1886 and 1887, became clearer only in the third and fourth years after incorporation.

112 As in other cases, residential patterns have been traced through the city directories.


114 Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, p.182.

115 News-Advertiser, May 3, 1888, p.4 and August 11, 1888, p.8; and Marjorie Allan, Christ Church Cathedral, 1889-1939; A Short History Van., 1959, pp.4-5.

116 Kalman, Exploring Vancouver, p.90.

117 St. Paul's Church, 1889-1939, Vancouver, 1939, pp.7 and 11.


119 St. Paul's Church, 1889-1939, p.11.

120 See the News-Advertiser, September 22, 1888, p.8; March 23, 1889, p.8; and January 20, 1893, p.5; and the Province, August 9, 1902, p.2; and January 22, 1903, p.9.

121 News-Advertiser, January 21, 1893, p.3; February 3, 1894, p.8; and January 30, 1896, p.8.

122 A salesman, plasterer, tailor, shoemaker and barber were listed in the 1892 city directory as living a block east of St. Andrew's on Georgia, and a lodgings house keeper, a grocer's assistant and a contractor in the same block (Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1892, pp.818 and 1002b).


126. Province, April 25, 1913, p.8.

127. A story in the Province of January 28, 1911, p.1 stated that, in addition to the $500,000 already spent or being spent in Shaughnessy Heights, a further $750,000 for 70 residences was planned, an average of just over $10,000 per home. Homes were being constructed in Shaughnessy Heights in August of 1912 for two of the city's original upper class families (R.H. Alexander and W.F. Salsbury) at reported costs of $12,000 and $25,000 respectively (ibid., August 10, 1912, p.22; and August 31, 1912, p.23).


131. Stories of the following 'At Homes' and 'Teas' of socially prominent women are a sample of those which appeared in the Province between 1909 and 1912; Mrs. J.H. Senkler's tea (Jan.13, 1909, p.9); Mrs. P.G. Shallcross' tea (Jan.16, 1909, p.3); Mrs. C.D. Rand's tea (Jan.21, 1909, p.9); Mrs. H.G. Ross' reception for Mrs. G.H. Ogilvie of St. John, N.B. (August 7, 1909, p.17); the Cambie daughters' tea (August 21, 1909, p.11); Mrs. C.S. Douglas' tea (Jan.19, 1910, p.5); Mrs. H. Macauley's tea (January 21, 1910, p.5); Mrs. C.B. MacNeill's bridge party (January 28, 1910, p.5); Mrs. H.E.C. Corry's tea (Feb.26, 1910, p.5); Mrs. F.B. Springer's tea (October 7, 1910, p.6); Mrs. C.M. Marpole's tea (Oct. 22, 1910, p.5); Mrs. J.H. Senkler's tea (June 14, 1911, p.5); Mrs. J.C. Keith's tea (May 11, 1912, p.8); Miss Ida Cambie's tea (May 14, 1912, p.8); and Mrs. Jonathan Rogers' tea (February 10, 1912, p.8).

132. August 27, 1913, p.3.

133. Tupper, The History of the Georgian Club, p.1. A great many 'society' families had attended the performance of Ben Hur at the Opera House in February of 1909, for instance (Province, February 8, 1909, p.9), as well as the Scotti-Pasquali recital there in October of 1910 (October 11, 1910, p.5). Miss Dolbey's dinner party at the Dutch Grill in November of 1910 was also noted (Nov. 9, 1910, p.5).

134. J.J. Miller, Early History of the Vancouver Exhibition Association, Vancouver, 1953, pp.38-40, from a conversation between Henry Sharpe Rolston and Major J.S. Matthews, August 1933; Tupper, History of the Georgian Club, p.1; and the Province, April 25, 1913, p.8). Baltzell points out that the "Horse Show" had always been "an important event" in Philadelphia's sporting
and fashionable life" (Philadelphia Gentlemen, p.206).

135 Province, April 23, p.8 and April 24, p.12; and November 22, 1913, p.8.


137 Vancouver Sun, October 21, 1965, p.5, and the Province, July 24, 1913, p.4. The term "snorting motor" was used in Leacock, Arcadian Adventures, p.19.


142 Ibid., Jan.21, 1911, p.5. Vacationing in California had in fact begun somewhat earlier than 1910. Mr. and Mrs. C.D. Rand had gone there for a holiday in 1903 (News-Advertiser, January 4, 1903, p.5), as had Mr. and Mrs. B.T. Rogers (B.T. Rogers to F. Buscombe, January 15, 1905, Vancouver City, Office of the City Clerk, Correspondence, vol.22(1905), microfilm, Doc. #17282, VCA).


144 Ibid., p.40.

145 Province, February 12, 1910, p.5, and January 21, 1911, p.5.


147 Ibid., January 21, 1911, p.5.

148 Ibid., January 22, 1912, p.8; and January 21, 1911, p.5.
Aileen Ross argues that this quest for prestige by those below the top rung in society became more pronounced in the city-wide organizations that emerged in Wellsville in support of the war effort during World War I (Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol.8(1952), p.480). The same motives could be suggested for the socially prominent and near-prominent who participated in specific charities in a city like Vancouver before the war.

For the Woman's Auxiliary of the Vancouver General Hospital see loc. cit.; ibid., Jan.8, 1910, p.17; and June 21, 1912, p.8. For the Royal Margarete Club of St. Paul's Hospital see ibid., Sept. 27, 1912, 8; October 5, 1912, p.5; and October 10, 1912, p.8. The boards of governors and directors of the Vancouver General Hospital are listed in its Annual Reports from 1901 to 1914. Also see E. Mackay Young, "The Hospitals and Charities of Vancouver City", British Columbia Magazine, vol.7(1911), pp.608-609.

For the Victorian Order of Nurses see the Province, February 5, 1909, p.9, and the Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory, Vancouver, Welch and Gibbs, 1914, p.124; for the Red Cross the World, March 22, 1902, p.8; for the Anti-Tuberculosis Society the Province, Feb.6, 1909, p.3; Jan. 13, 1910, p.5; May 11, 1911, p.5; and Feb.7, 1913, p.24; for the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Seaman's Institute ibid., Jan.6, 1913, p.8, and Jan. 9, 1913, p.8; and for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals ibid., Nov.22, 1913, p.8.


Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia, pp.45 and 242. Business leader Richard P. Cooke of Vancouver had been
named Vice-Chancellor of the original University of British Columbia in 1890, along with Israel W. Powell of Victoria as Chancellor (ibid., p.4).

161 While the Children's Aid Society appears to have drawn its leadership from a broader range of people than other more prestigious charities; a number of leading society families did take an active role in the Children's Aid. Most notable here were Lady Tupper, Mrs. T.E. Atkins and Mrs. James McNair. See Angus, Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C., 1901-1951, pp.6-7 and 15; the Children's Aid Society Annual Reports, 1902-03 to 1912; and Young, "The Hospitals and Charities of Vancouver City", p.610.

162 The two exceptions were Morgan and Ramsay.

163 For the identity of Y.M.C.A. executives see the News-Advertiser, April 7, 1889, p.1; October 20, 1889, p.8; and March 3, 1893, p.8; the World, January 22, 1901, p.7; and the Province, January 31, 1902, p.5, and November 22, 1935, p.4.

164 See Miles Cotton, History of the Vancouver Public Library, Vancouver, 1926, pp.1-8, and Minutes of the Free Library Board, April 19, 1892 to June 25, 1901, Vancouver Public Library.


166 She found, after a comprehensive examination of the wills of Baltimore business leaders, and using various sources of information about gifts, that 56 of the 168 men in the Baltimore study had made gifts of $5000 or more. When she added to this number the 25 who had had reputations for generosity, she concluded that 48.6% of the city's business leaders had engaged in substantial philanthropic activity (Eleanor S. Bruchey, "The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880-1914", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1967, pp.346,350 and 359).

167 Vancouver General Hospital, Third Annual Report, 1904, p.7.

168 This conclusion is based on very incomplete information, however. The probated wills of Vancouver business leaders, a potentially important source of information about philanthropic activity, have not as yet been examined.

169 Leacock, Arcadian Adventures, p.17.

Chapter 11. THE EXERCISE OF BUSINESS AUTHORITY IN EARLY VANCOUVER

1 These were lumbermen R.H. Alexander, C.P.R. officials L.A. Hamilton, J.M. Browning and W.F. Salsbury, merchants Isaac Oppenheimer and Thomas Dunn and real estate promoter J.W. Horne, in addition to David Oppenheimer.

2 The three members of the elite were E.H. Heaps, James Ramsay and Jonathan Rogers. Other business leaders of the 1910-13 period on Council between 1905 and 1914 were J.B. Campbell, C.G. Johnson, Malcolm McBeath, W.B. McKeechin, Dr. W.D. Brydone-Jack and Edward Odlum.

3 For instance, The Daily News-Advertiser described Land Commissioner J.M. Browning, candidate for Council in December of 1889, as "an official of and the avowed representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway..." (December 9, 1889, p.4).

4 The Vancouver News, December 11, 1886, p.1.

5 Ibid., December 8, 1886, p.2.

6 H. Abbott to T.F. McGuigan, February 28, 1889, Vancouver City, Office of the City Clerk, Correspondence (hereafter city as Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence), vol.2 (1889), microfilm, Doc#1646, Vancouver City Archives (hereafter city as VCA).

7 H. Abbott to D. Oppenheimer, March 19, 1889, Ibid., vol.1, microfilm, Doc's. #595-596, VCA.

8 H. Abbott to David Oppenheimer, March 20, 1888 and July 21, 1888, Ibid., vol.1, microfilm, Doc's. #605-606 and 608, VCA.

9 H. Abbott to T.F. McGuigan, November 16, 1889, Ibid., vol.2(1889), microfilm, Doc.#1627 and A.H.B. MacGowan to the Mayor and Council, March 26, 1890, Ibid., vol.3(1886-1890), microfilm, Doc.#3135, VCA; and Vancouver City Council Minutes, March 31, 1890, vol.3(Microfilm).


11 H. Abbott to D. Oppenheimer, March 19, 1888 and March 20, 1888, Ibid., vol.1, microfilm, Doc's. #595-596 and 598-599, VCA.

12 Vancouver City Council Minutes, January 12, 1891, vol.4(Microfilm).

13 H. Abbott to T.F. McGuigan, February 9, 1891, Van. City, OOTCC,
14. The Application of the City of Vancouver to the Board of Railway Commissioners re: the Matter of the Railway Act of 1903 and the Crossing of Certain Streets by the Canadian Pacific Railway in the City of Vancouver, July 4, 1904, *ibid.*, vol.19(1903-04), microfilm, Doc.#15045, VCA.


18. *Vancouver City Council Minutes*, March 17, 1890, vol.3(microfilm).

19. *News-Advertiser*, December 4, 1887, p.4 and December 6, 1887, p.4. Amendments to the City Charter which had further restricted the franchise since December of 1886 also help to explain this emergence of a business clique on Council (*ibid.*, December 4, 1887, p.2).


22. All supported David Oppenheimer's re-election in December of 1888 (*News-Advertiser*, December 4, 1888, p.5). Bodwell had nominated Oppenheimer in his first campaign in 1887 (*ibid.*, December 6, 1887, p.4); the Rands were also active supporters of both Oppenheimer and his successor as mayor, Fred Cope (*ibid.*, November 24, 1888, p.8; *Vancouver Daily World*, December 9, 1889, p.1; December 10, 1889, p.1; and December 15, 1891, p.5; and the Province, November 15, 1924, p.24). Charles Rand also appears to have had a rather immediate falling out with David Oppenheimer in 1889, however (*News-Advertiser*, December 24, 1889, p.8). For Ceperley's support see the Province, November 15, 1924, p.24.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


24 For Dunn see the *News-Advertiser*, December 4, 1887, p.4; December 6, 1887, p.4; December 4, 1888, p.8; November 24, 1889, p.8; and December 8, 1889, p.4. For Alexander see *ibid.*, December 4, 1888, p.5; November 24, 1888, p.8; and December 8, 1889, p.4.

25 These were E.V. Bodwell, president in 1889; R.H. Alexander, president from 1889 to 1891; John Hendry, from 1891 to 1892; and W.F. Salsbury, from 1892 to 1893. For Hendry's support see *ibid.*, December 8, 1889, p.4, and for Salsbury, *ibid.*, December 4, 1888, p.4.

26 Gosnell states that the C.P.R. in early Vancouver was allied with the *News-Advertiser*, which was David Oppenheimer's principal political opponent (*Province*, November 15, 1924, p.24). The implication is that the C.P.R. and Oppenheimer were on different sides of the political fence. The C.P.R. had been harshly critical of the first city councils (*Vancouver News*, December 7, 1886, p.1 and December 13, 1886, p.1), but openly supported both Oppenheimer and his successor as mayor, Fred Cope (*News-Advertiser*, December 4, 1888, p.5 and December 15, 1891, p.8; and the *World*, December 15, 1891, p.5). J.D. Townley and J.M. Browning were on the Cope campaign's executive committee in December of 1891, for instance.

27 This assessment by Alan F.J. Artibise of the role expected by Winnipeg businessmen of their local government holds equally true for Vancouver (*Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914*, Montreal and London, 1975, pp.25 and 23). Max Foran argues that the commercial class in Calgary sought political office at the municipal level because they needed "to protect interests and facilitate certain policies" which would satisfy their commitment to the town's progress ("The Calgary Town Council, 1884-1895", pp.65-66).

28 For a statement of this philosophy see the motion by W.F. Salsbury, seconded by J.W. Horne, in the *Vancouver City Council Minutes*, September 30, 1889, vol.3(microfilm), VCA.

29 Vancouver City, *By-Laws*, vol.1(microfilm), By-Law #46, pp.346-347, VCA.

30 W.H. DeWolf to David Oppenheimer, January 5, 1888, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.1, microfilm, Doc.#735, VCA, and Vancouver City, *By-Laws*, vol.1(microfilm), By-Law #42, pp.327-332, VCA

31 *Ibid.*, vol.1(microfilm), By-law #55, pp.392-393, VCA, and S.S. Fowler, "Early Smelters in British Columbia", *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, vol.3(1939), pp.190-192. For the Board of Trade's reaction to the failure of this smelter scheme, and its concern that the city's ability to offer inducements to other parties might be hindered, see the *General Minute*
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


33 Vancouver City, By-Laws, vol.2(microfilm), By-Law #159, pp.918-921, VCA.

34 Ibid., vol.1(microfilm), By-Law #33, pp.287-288 and vol.3(microfilm), By-Law #313, pp.1561-1564, VCA.

35 Tom Naylor leaves the strong impression in his recent book, The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914: Volume II, Industrial Development (Toronto, 1975), that bonusing was a relatively unimportant phenomenon in the west, at least by comparison with central Canada. He suggests that "In the West, bonusing was even more restricted than in the Maritimes" where, in turn, it had been "conducted on a far less profligate scale than in the central provinces". "In B.C.", he concedes, "bonusing was a little more energetic" (pp.144-145). Perhaps if Naylor had viewed western Canada less through the eyes of eastern publications like the Monetary Times his assessment of the bonusing system might have been quite different. City councils in Winnipeg and Calgary as well as Vancouver had actively pursued a policy of granting concessions to local businesses. For Winnipeg see Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, pp.45, 67, 69, 72 and 74; and for Calgary, Max Foran, "The Calgary Town Council, 1884-1895", pp.11, 80-81 and 93, and "Early Calgary, 1875-1895: The Controversy Surrounding the Townsite Location and the Direction of Town Expansion", in A.R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson, eds., Cities in the West, Ottawa, 1975, pp.37 and 39. John Weaver argues that the desire by western Canadian civic leaders to be "in a better position to offer inducements to industry" explains why they "were overwhelmingly in favour of the public ownership" of utility services (John C. Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920", unpub. paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, 1976, pp.14-15).

36 Vancouver City, By-Laws, vol.1(microfilm), By-Law #94, pp.561-568, VCA. Also see L.C. McPhillips and A. Williams to A. St. George Hammersley, April 29, 1901, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.17(1901), microfilm, Doc.#13507, VCA.

37 Vancouver City Council Minutes, March 17, 1890, vol.3(microfilm), VCA.

38 Ibid., March 24, 1890, vol.3(microfilm), VCA.

39 Ibid., February 3 and 10, 1890, vol.3(microfilm), VCA.

40 Ibid., April 14, 1890, vol.3(microfilm), VCA.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

41 Loc. cit.

42 Gosnell argues that Vancouver was divided into two camps, that led by Oppenheimer on one side and by Carter Cotton and the News-Advertiser on the other (Province, November 15, 1924, p.24). I am arguing that the C.P.R. constituted a third faction, even though it was linked in an ambivalent alliance with Oppenheimer.

43 For Templeton, Hobson, McDowell and Carroll see the World, January 6, 1891, p.1. Brown is discussed in Lamb, "From 'Tickler' to 'Telegram'", pp.182 and 195-196; Carroll in the Province, May 14, 1907, p.3; Templeton in the News-Advertiser, January 18, 1898, p.3; and Wilson in R.E. Gosnell, A History of British Columbia, n.p., 1906, p.730-731. The occupations of Queen and Murray were traced in the city directories. William Brown (not to be confused with carpenter W.P. Brown, who was elected as an alderman from Ward V in 1895) ran for mayor again, in 1900, against Jas. F. Garden.

44 News-Advertiser, December 9, 1889, p.4 and December 24, 1889, p.8.

45 World, May 19, 1890, p.1 and June 14, 1890, p.4; and the News-Advertiser, May 30, 1890, p.1.

46 Ibid., December 9, 1890, p.4.

47 See their platform in the World, May 19, 1890, p.1.

48 News-Advertiser, January 13, 1895, p.4.

49 Ibid., December 11, 1891, p.4.

50 Ibid., December 8, 1889, p.4.

51 Ibid., December 5, 1889, p.4.


53 World, June 14, 1890, p.4.

54 News-Advertiser, June 13, 1890, p.4.


56 Ibid., December 15, 1891, p.5 and December 26, 1891, p.6.

57 Ibid., May 19, 1890, p.1.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

58 Ibid., April 26, 1894, p.6.

59 Samuel P. Hayes argues that urban development should be considered as "a constant tension between the forces making for decentralization and forces making for centralization in human relationships and institutions, between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies, between social differentiation and social integration" ("The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America", Journal of Urban History, vol.1, no.1 (1974)). Thus, by the latter part of the century, the agents of decentralization, representing local rather than city-wide economic interests, and drawn from the middle and lower rather than upper classes, had come to dominate local governments in major cities in the U.S. (ibid., pp.8-25). For an earlier application of the thesis to the urban reform movement in the U.S. see his article, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, vol.55, no.4(1964). This thesis provides the basic framework for my analysis of local politics in Vancouver to 1914.

60 News-Advertiser, January 13, 1895, p.4.

61 World, January 3, 1895, p.4.

62 The statement was made by James Ramsay, business leader and moral reformer (ibid., January 11, 1901, p.4).

63 News-Advertiser, October 13, 1897, p.4 and the World, January 11, 1898, p.4.

64 Ibid., January 3, 1901, p.1, January 11, 1901, pp.1 and 4, January 6, 1902, p.3 and January 10, 1902, p.1; News-Advertiser, January 8, 1902, p.4, January 7, 1903, p.4, January 6, 1904, p.5, January 10, 1904, p.7 and January 12, 1904, p.3; and the Province, January 15, 1902, p.1 and January 9, 1903, p.6.

65 References to the Electoral Union cover the period from December of 1901 to December of 1908. It seems clear from the World editorial of December 7, 1901, p.4 that the Electoral Union had been a recent creation, though the precise date and circumstances of its inception are unknown. Also see ibid., December 5, 1901, p.5 and the Province, January 11, 1908, p.1 and December 19, 1908, p18. Thomas Langlois and Edwin Morgan carried on the fight for moral reform after 1908, Morgan in the Local Option League (ibid., January 6, 1909, p.14) and Langlois in the Good Government League (ibid., December 8, 1911, p.40) and News-Advertiser, January 5, 1912, p.2).

66 Province, January 2, 1902, p.1; January 8, 1902, p.3; October 24, 1902, p.2; December 22, 1906, p.11; and Thomas Langlois to Richard McBride, February 16, 1904, Premiers' Papers, 1904, Official Correspondence in, Doc. #350, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC).
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

67 Loc. cit.; Province, January 8, 1902, p.3 and December 17, 1904, p.2; and the World, December 5, 1901, p.5. One source described the Electoral Union as a potent force in Vancouver from 1901 to 1907 concerned with wresting control of city government away from the liquor interests (E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present, Vancouver, 1914, vol.4, p.822). For suggestions of the role liquor interests played in Vancouver politics between 1896 and 1904 see the News-Advertiser, January 8, 1896, p.4; January 11, 1896, p.8; and January 6, 1904, p.5; the World, January 11, 1901, pp.1 and 4 and December 5, 1901, p.5; and the Province, January 9, 1903, p.6.

68 Province, January 10, 1902, p.1; News-Advertiser, January 3, 1903, p.4; and Langlois to McBride, op.cit.

69 Loc. cit.

70 Province, November 17, 1900, p.11 and the World, December 19, 1900, p.4.

71 Foran, "The Calgary Town Council, 1884-1885", p.58. For an expression in the Vancouver press of the idea that merchants provide a natural reservoir of talent for local government see the editorials of the World, December 15, 1891, p.4 and January 6, 1896, p.4.

72 Province, November 17, 1900, p.11 and December 17, 1904, p.2.

73 Tisdall, McLennan, Malkin, Buscombe and McMillan were each Board presidents for one year between 1899 and 1908, as was lumberman E.H. Heaps, Board president in 1908-09.

74 Its objectives, stated at the inaugural meeting on November 16, 1900, of urging a direct steamship service between Vancouver and the north, direct rail communication between Vancouver and the Similkameen and Kootenay districts and a mint for Vancouver were (with the exception of the mint in the city) basic Board of Trade policies, as noted in the discussion of the Board below.

75 For the place of boards of trade in the urban reform movement generally in Canada and the United States at the turn of the century see Hays, "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America", pp.18-19; John C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosters in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920", in A.R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson, eds., Cities in the West, Ottawa, 1975, p.55; and Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, chapter 3.


77 Province, December 17, 1904, p.2.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

78 World, December 19, 1900, p.4.

79 Province, December 21, 1900, p.2.

80 Ibid., January 3, 1901, p.1; World, November 27, 1901, p.1; and the Province, November 17, 1902, p.1 and December 2, 1902, p.1.

81 Ibid., January 7, 1902, p.1.

82 Ibid., January 8, 1902, p.3 and October 24, 1902, p.2.

83 World, December 5, 1901, p.5 and News-Advertiser, January 7, 1904, p.7 and January 10, 1904, p.7.

84 Province, January 5, 1904, p.6; January 15, 1904, p.6; and January 7, 1902, p.1.

85 Ibid., January 11, 1905, p.6 and January 13, 1905, pp.6 and 11; and the News-Advertiser, January 6, 1905, p.4.

86 Province, January 9, 1905, p.7.

87 Ibid., January 13, 1905, p.11.

88 Ibid., December 17, 1904, p.2; and the World, December 2, 1904, p.3 and January 5, 1905, p.5.


90 Province, November 17, 1902, p.1; December 17, 1904, p.2; January 5, 1905, p.6; and January 13, 1905, p.1. Also see Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal", pp.49, 57 and 63; Weaver, "The Meaning of Municipal Reform: Toronto, 1895", pp.97-98; Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, p.43; and Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Reform Era", p.168.

91 Province, January 3, 1905, p.1; January 4, 1905, p.6; January 11, 1905, p.6; and January 13, 1905, pp.4 and 6.

92 News-Advertiser, January 10, 1904, p.7.

Notes for Chapter 11 cont’d.

94 Loc. cit., and ibid., December 17, 1904, p.2.


96 Province, November 17, 1902, p.1; January 3, 1905, p.1; and January 13, 1905, p.1.


98 Province, June 15, 1906, p.11, and A.N. Tregent to the Mayor and Council, July 11, 1904, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.21(1904), microfilm, Doc.#16582, VCA.

99 A.N. Tregent to the Mayor and Council, May 4, 1901, ibid., vol.17 (1901), microfilm, Doc.'s.#14150-14151, VCA.

100 Province, April 26, 1901, p.1.

101 A.N. Tregent to the Mayor and Council, May 4, 1901 and July 11, 1904, op. cit.

102 Province, June 9, 1905, p.4 and June 15, 1906, p.11. For information on the life and occupation of Alexander Newbould Tregent in Vancouver see ibid., December 7, 1936, p.5 and city directories for the decade after 1900, espec. Henderson's City of Vancouver and North Vancouver Directory, Vancouver, 1909, p.1105.

103 For the Ratepayers' Association see the World, December 20, 1894, p.4; December 21, 1894, p.5; January 2, 1896, p.4; and the News-Advertiser, July 17, 1895, p.8. For the suggested difference in the constituency of the Ratepayers' Association and Property Owners' Association see the World, January 4, 1895, p.4; January 2, 1896, p.4; and January 3, 1896, p.4; and the News-Advertiser, June 18, 1895, p.1.

104 A.N. Tregent to the Mayor and Council, April 22, 1901, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.17(1901), microfilm, Doc#14152, VCA and the Province, April 26, 1901, p.1.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

105 Ibid., June 9, 1905, p.4.

106 Unknown, Sec. of the Stave Lake Power Co., to the Mayor and Council, March 11, 1901, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.17(1901), microfilm, Doc's.#13463-13464, VCA.


109 Ibid., January 3, 1905, p.1. As John Weaver has pointed out, the call for public ownership by business reformers stemmed logically from their view of the purpose of public control, viz. the possibility of improving service and injecting virtue into civic affairs; public ownership, in short, was advocated "for business rather than wholly public ends" ("'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited", pp.3 and 5). Buscombe was particularly inspired by the examples of public ownership which had "worked advantageously in many of the cities of Great Britain" (Province, January 3, 1905, p.1).

110 Ibid., December 17, 1904, p.2.

111 Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited", p.23; also see his "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal", pp.61-62 and "The Meaning of Municipal Reform: Toronto, 1895", passim; and Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, pp.52 and 55-58.

112 The business community discussed the idea of a commission form of government as early as January of 1906 (News-Advertiser, January 11, 1906, p.4). Bethune and the Board of Trade led the call for a Board of Control early in 1907, followed by Ramsay at the end of the year (Province, January 4, 1907, p.2; Van. B. of T., A.R., 1907-1908, Vancouver, 1908, p.21; and Vancouver City Council Minutes, December 23, 1907 and January 6, 1908, vol. 15(microfilm), VCA). The Board of Trade continued to push for a Board of Control thereafter (General Minute Book, November 9, 1909, Vancouver Board of Trade Papers, vol.44, Add. Mss.300, VCA; and William Skene to William McQueen, December 8, 1909, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.24(1909-1910), microfilm, Doc.#18735, VCA). The Board refused to endorse the Commission Plan idea in 1912, however (British Columbia, Report of the Royal Commission on Municipal Government, 1912, Victoria, 1913, p.L13).

113 Vancouver City Council Minutes, January 19, 1908, vol.15(microfilm), VCA; Province, January 10, 1908, p.12; Vancouver City Council Minutes, November 17, 1910, vol.17(microfilm), VCA; World, January 6, 1912, p.3; and the Province, January 9, 1914, p.5. Also see Norbert MacDonald, "A Critical Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1914", BC Studies, no.17 (Spring 1973), p.38.

114 Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth, p.56.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

115 British Columbia, Attorney-General, Companies Office, Company Registration Files, File 1331(1897), Roll 8, microfilm, p.68.

116 Heaps was elected as a reform candidate in 1905, 1906 and 1907. Rogers was elected in 1906 and 1911; he was classified as a "retired contractor" in the city directory of 1911, though he was by then an influential property owner and capitalist. Ramsay was elected in Ward I in 1907 and yearly from 1910 to 1914.


118 He was listed as a public accountant, auditor and broker in the 1901 city directory, and as "H.H. Stevens and Co., real estate and financial agents, timber" in 1910 (Henderson's City of Vancouver and North Vancouver, 1909, Vancouver, 1909, p.1070 and Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory, 1910, Vancouver, 1910, p.1256).


121 Vancouver Sun, June 5, 1946, pp.1, 4 and 9.


126 World, January 14, 1910, p.1. The Province claimed that Taylor's win stemmed from "the solid Socialist vote of perhaps 1500" which he had received, in addition to some support from the Local Option League (Province, January 14, 1910, pp.1 and 3). Taylor's own newspaper stressed the importance of the popular support he had received in the hill districts of Fairview and Mt. Pleasant, and in the east end.

127 Province, January 12, 1910, p.6.

129 Province, January 12, 1910, p.8 and the Vancouver City Council Minutes, May 30, 1910 and October 14, 1910, vol.17(microfilm), VCA. Stevens, in addition to being a Conservative, was also a member of the Orange Lodge, (Vancouver Sun, May 6, 1967, p.8).

130 News-Advertiser, August 21, 1895, p.1; March 25, 1896, p.3; March 26, 1896, p.1; May 16, 1896, p.8; June 2, 1896, p.2; August 26, 1896, p.4; September 8, 1898, p.3; September 23, 1899, p.5; December 5, 1899, p.4; the World, January 27, 1892, p.4 and March 3, 1900, p.6; and the Province, April 25, 1900, p.2.


132 Of the 276 business leaders of the 1910-1913 period, 69 indicated a preference (at least) for the Conservatives, compared to 31 for the Liberals.

133 T.R.E. Innes to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, October 25, 1909, Laurier Papers re: B.C., Roll 5(microfilm), Doc.'s. #161311-161318, University of British Columbia (hereafter cited as UBC).


135 F.C. Wade to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, November 27, 1909, Laurier Papers re: B.C., Roll 5(microfilm), Doc.'s. #162816-162824, UBC.


Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


142 These figures exclude those businessmen who merely indicated a political preference in a biographical dictionary. It includes those who took some part (such as going to a party meeting) in the political process.

142a Robin, The Rush for Spoils, pp.81-82.

143 For the first mention of their association with the Liberal Party in Vancouver see the Province, October 3, 1900, p.5, November 16, 1900, p.9 and December 17, 1902, pp.1 and 3; and the World, January 20, 1900, p.4.

144 Daily Colonist, December 29, 1905, p.4. For additional evidence of the important role played by Kelly in the Liberal Party organization as treasurer and as member of the local patronage committee see the Province, February 7, 1902, p.1, October 23, 1902, p.1 and November 25, 1910, p.2; William McNeill to John Hendry, September 1, 1910, Williams McNeill Papers, Add.Mss.46,VCA; and F.C. Wade to A.B. Aylesworth, July 15, 1909, Laurier Papers re: B.C., Roll 5(microfilm), Doc.#158026, UBC. Hendry's association with the Liberal Party is discussed below.


146 News-Advertiser, October 13, 1899, p.4 and the World, January 20, 1900, p.4.

147 S.J. Gothard to R. McBride, September 30, 1909 and October 20, 1909, B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1909, Private Correspondence, Doc.#892, PABC. Also see the Province, January 9, 1912, p.6.


149 F.C. Wade to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, November 27, 1909, Laurier Papers re: B.C., Roll 5(microfilm), Doc's.#162816-162824, UBC.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.

150 Charles Doering to Richard McBride, February 23, 1907, BC. Premiers' Papers, 1907, Private Correspondence, Doc.#213, PABC.

151 World, January 30, 1901, p.1 and October 11, 1901, p.1; and the Province, January 24, 1902, p.9 and December 17, 1902, pp.1 and 3.

152 D. von Cramer and L.A. Lewis to R. McBride, December 28, and December 23, 1909, B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1909, Private Correspondence, Doc.#1210, PABC.

153 The Empire, Prince Rupert, February 27, 1909, p.1.

154 F.C. Wade to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, November 27, 1909, Laurier Papers re: B.C., Roll 5(microfilm), Doc's.#162816-162824, PABC.


156 "Granting of foreshore application to the B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company", Borden Papers re: B.C., Roll 7(microfilm), Marine File #13118, Doc.#93724, UBC.

157 "Red Cedar Lumber Company and sale of foreshore property at Vancouver to McFeely, Kelly et. al.", Borden Papers re: B.C., Roll 7(microfilm), Marine File #28146, Doc.#93724, UBC.

158 Province, November 24, 1911, p.27.

159 S. McCloy to A.E. Blount, June 26, 1916, Borden Papers re: B.C. Roll 7(microfilm), Marine File #28,146, UBC.

160 John Hendry to William McNeill, September 22, 1909; Williams McNeill to John Hendry, September 1, 1910 and unsigned letter (McNeill?) to J. Hendry, May 4, 1910, William McNeill Papers, Docket #1, Add.Mss.46, VCA.

161 For Guthrie's connections with Hendry see Wm. McNeill to J. Hendry, March 25, 1911 and unknown to J. Hendry, May 5, 1911, Wm. McNeill Papers, Docket #1, Add.Mss.46, VCA; and William McNeill to J. Hendry, July 29, 1910; Wm. McNeill to C.H. Cahan, May 7, 1912; C.H. Cahan to Wm. McNeill, December 22, 1911; and Wm. McNeill to C.H. Cahan, December 22, 1911, Wm. McNeill Papers, Docket #2, Add.Mss.46, VCA. Guthrie was a very successful lobbyist. For instance, McNeill pointed out to Hendry in a letter of May 19, 1911 that the Department of the Interior had agreed to their terms for a license and lease on the Stave River. "This is most satisfactory", Hendry went on, "and we must give Guthrie a good deal of the credit for his work in this connection, and I think it was worth all the money we have paid him" (Wm. McNeill Papers, Docket #1, Add.Mss.46, VCA).
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


163 Wm. McNeill to John Hendry, July 29, 1910, op. cit.

164 Wm. McNeill to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, August 3, 1910, Wm. McNeill Papers, Docket #1, Add. Mss. 46, VCA.

165 The figure of 63 noted earlier (note #142) included eight who had been active both before and after 1900.

166 As indicated in earlier notes, newspapers provided the principal source of information about active participation in Liberal or Conservative Party politics in Vancouver, and biographical sketches, where available, about inactive partisan support. No systematic check of party membership lists for the pre-war period was available.


169 News-Advertiser, September 24, 1887, p.4; November 4, 1887, p.4 and January 28, 1888, p.4.


172 The wholesale merchants (with the period of their presidency) were Frederick Buscombe (1900-1901), F.F. Burns (1901-1902), W.H. Malkin (1902-1903), H. McDowell (1904-1905), A.B. Erskine (1905-1906 and 1912-1913), R.P. McLennan (1906-1907), W.J. McMillan (1907-1908) and H.A. Stone (1909-1910).
The retail merchants were C.E. Tisdall (1899-1900), H.T. Lockyer (1903-1904) and A.G. McCandless (1911-1912). F. Carter-Cotton (1913-1914) and J. Rogers (1914-1916) were capitalists, Ewing Buchan (1910-1911) a banker and E.H. Heaps (1908-1909) a lumberman.

173 David Oppenheimer (1887-1889) and E.V. Bodwell (1889) were in real estate, and R.H. Alexander (1889-1891) and New Westminster's John Hendry (1891-1892) in lumber manufacturing.

174 Wm. Smith to D. Oppenheimer, February 12, 1890, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.3 (1890), microfilm, Doc. #2450, VCA; News-Advertiser, September 11, 1890, p.1 and November 18, 1896, p.5; and the Van. B. of T., A.R., 1907-1908, p.15.


180 Loc. cit.; News-Advertiser, December 27, 1890, p.1; July 13, 1898, p.3; August 3, 1897, p.8; August 13, 1897, p.8; and November 19, 1897, p.8; and the Van. B. of T., A.R., 1906-1907, p.27. Also see Norbert MacDonald, "Seattle, Vancouver and the Klondike", Canadian Historical Review, vol.49 (1968), pp.238-240.
Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


190 *Loc. cit.*


Notes for Chapter 11 cont'd.


198 Ibid., pp.53-55.

199 Boam, British Columbia, p.461.

200 Rowe, "Advertising a City", p.54.


202 The Board worked with the Tourist Association in promoting a Vancouver exhibition in Seattle in 1909, for instance (Vancouver City Council Minutes, March 1, 1909, vol.16, microfilm, VCA).

203 World, June 19, 1902, p.1

204 Loc. cit.; H.W. Findley to T.F. McGuigan, August 26, 1902, Van. City, OOTCC, Correspondence, vol.18(1902), microfilm, Doc. #14914, VCA; and the "Vancouver Information and Tourist Association", pp.635-636.


206 Ibid., November 19, 1913, p.8; Jas. Findlay to Sir R. McBride, November 19, 1913; and Jas. Findlay to Sir R. McBride, December 5, 1913, B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1913, Official Correspondence In, Doc. #582, PABC.

207 F. Carter-Cotton and W.A. Blair to N.G. Garrett, December 8, 1913, B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1913, Official Correspondence In, Doc. #774, PABC.

interview with B.F. Dickens.

209 Full Board Monthly Minutes, April 5, 1910, Vancouver Board of Trade Papers, vol.45, Add. Mss.200, VCA.


211 J.J. Miller to R. McBride, November 23, 1907, B.C. Premiers' Papers, 1907, Official Correspondence In, Doc. #177, PABC; and J.J. Miller, Early History of the Vancouver Exhibition Association, Vancouver, 1953, p.3.

212 Ibid., pp.3 and 5.

213 Ibid., pp.17.

214 News-Advertiser, January 5, 1894, p.5.

215 For Hendry's associations see the Province, September 21, 1910, p.14; the Western Lumberman, vol.9, no.3(March 1912), p.39; and Ibid., vol.8, no.3 (March 1911), p.35 and vol.9, no.3(March 1912), p.39. He had also been president of the regional British Columbia Lumber Association in 1905 (Van. B. of T., A.R., 1904-1905, p.23) and of the British Columbia Lumber and Shingle Manufacturers Ltd. in 1908 (Western Lumberman, vol.5, no.2 (February 1908), p.16. McRae was a director of the national Canadian Lumberman's Association in 1911 and 1912 (ibid., vol.8, no.3(March 1911), p.35 and vol.9, no.3 (March 1912), p.39, in addition to serving as the first president of the regional British Columbia Lumber, Logging and Forestry Association in 1909 (ibid., vol.6, no.3 (1909), p.15). Tucker was chairman of the inter-regional Convention of Prairie, Mountain and Coast Millmen in 1910 (ibid., vol.7, no.1(January 1910), p.19), and Alexander was active in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (Province, September 20, 1910, p.1). The conservation-minded Canadian Forestry Association granted considerable prestige to members, and hence attracted a broad range of leading businessmen, such as bankers, and a number of politicians. It was also very much an eastern Canadian organization, as was the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Less than 40 of approximately 2300 members of the Canadian Forestry Association in 1910 were from Vancouver, and the only lumbermen of note who belonged worked for Hendry's B.C. Mills, Timber and Trading Company (Report of the Nineth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Forestry Association, 1910 (Toronto, 1910), pp.121-141).

216 Western Lumberman, vol.5, no.2(February 1908), p.16 and vol.5, no.12 (December 1908), p.15; and Industrial Progress, vol.1, no.8(February 1914), p.3.

217 Western Lumberman, vol.6, no.3(March 1909), pp.4 and 15.

Western Lumberman, vol.5 no.10 (October 1908), p.28.

Ibid., vol.6, no.3(1909), p.15.


Industrial Progress, vol.1, no.6 (December 1913), p.14; vol.1, no.7 (January 1914), p.1; and vol.1, no.8(February 1914), p.3.


News-Advertiser, February 12, 1908, p.4.


News-Advertiser, July 2, 1890, p.4.

Ibid., February 12, 1908, p.4.

The Monetary Times, January 26, 1907, p.1122. Also see John K. Martin, "The Industrial Growth of Vancouver -- Its Significance", Man-to-Man Magazine, vol.6(September 1910), p.650. Martin complains about the failure of civic organizations in Vancouver to induce manufacturers to establish branch plants in the Terminal City, and contrasts this with the more ambitious campaign by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce to promote industrial expansion in its community.

News-Advertiser, February 27, 1898, p.4 and March 5, 1898, p.7.

MacDonald, "Seattle, Vancouver and the Klondike", p.239.

The Monetary Times stressed the British character of Vancouver, and its "proprietorial air". Vancouver "begins business at nine thirty", the 1907 article went on. "It has a certain leisureliness in bestowing the stores of its knowledge upon the passing sojourner" (January 26, 1907, p.1122). Vancouver businessman R.V. Winch also linked this Englishness and leisurely pace of doing business in an article in the Tacoma Ledger in 1894. "...Vancouver is a very English town in many ways", he said. "...most of the business-
men there do not get to their offices before 10 or 10:30 o'clock in the morning and they take things easy all the while" (News-Advertiser, April 14, 1894, p.2). Canadian Bank of Commerce historian Victor Ross argues that "The Bank of British Columbia", taken over by the Canadian bank in 1900, "was a gentleman's bank", run according to the fine traditions of an English public school". He goes on to speculate that "...it is probable that the officials of the Bank of British Columbia had unconsciously absorbed a certain prejudice against the aggressive commercialism of eastern Canada..." (Victor Ross, "The Bank of British Columbia", A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Toronto, 1920, vol.1, pp.335 and 348), Traveller R.E. Vernède noted in 1911 that Vancouver's "tone is new world compared with Victoria, but old world compared with Seattle. There are many English people here. Living is High". (R.E. Vernède, The Fair Dominion: A Record of Canadian Impressions, London, 1911, p.264).

232 Monetary Times, January 26, 1907, p.1121. The idea that its natural harbour and C.P.R. connection made Vancouver's success inevitable was an important part of the city's image. One expression of this view is found in the following passage from The B.C. Mining Record of December, 1895:

"Vancouver was designed by Nature to be one of the world's greatest ports", wrote Douglas Sladen in 1895. "...while the Lion's Gateway remains the sole western outlet of British commerce to the Pacific, from Alaska to Cape Horn, its future is assured" (Douglas Sladen, On the Cars and Off, London, 1895, pp.366-367).

Chapter 12. CONCLUSION


2 Failure to take these different interests into consideration is, for instance, one of the weaknesses of Alan Artibise's recent study of the influence of the growth ethic on the development of early Winnipeg (Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914, Montreal and London, 1975). Artibise tends to assume that all businessmen were essentially the same, and acted in a similar manner. Thus he finds that 83% of the members of the Winnipeg City Council between 1907 and 1914 were businessmen (p. 26),
slightly higher than the 77% during the same period in Vancouver. But while he divides this 83% into three different business categories, he gives no indication if the businessmen on Council (apart from the majors) were primarily the city's most substantial business figures, or merely corner grocers and small-time agents. As noted earlier, Samuel Hayes has argued persuasively that a comprehension of the different interests of large and small businessmen is important if their role in American cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is to be fully understood. I have suggested that this division was particularly noticeable in local politics in Vancouver, and in the types of promotional techniques adopted by various business groups. Winnipeg's business community was quite likely divided in similar ways.
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Appendix A

THE 'SIGNIFICANT' BUSINESS AFFILIATIONS
OF BUSINESS LEADERS IN VANCOUVER, 1890-1893

The following is a list for the four year period from 1890 to 1893 of the sixty-six leading businessmen in Vancouver, and of their 'significant' business affiliations. The criteria used to define both a 'significant' company and a 'leading' businessman in the city are outlined in Chapter 1. The businessman's primary occupation, i.e. the occupation from which his livelihood or wealth was principally derived, is indicated in brackets after his name. The (P) or (S) after each business affiliation indicates whether these were primary (P) or secondary (S) affiliations. This is not a list of all business affiliations of the business leaders of the 1890-1893 period. The list simply provides evidence of those 'significant' business connections which determined the businessman's inclusion in this study. Dates indicating when these positions were held are also not necessarily complete; they indicate only the periods of tenure for which concrete information could be found.

In addition, 'significant' Vancouver businesses of the 1890-93 period which business leaders helped to organize, whether during this four year period or earlier, are also listed after the term 'promoter'. Only those companies which were additional to each businessman's primary occupation are included, however.

Abbott, Harry Braithwaite (C.P.R.)
Gen. Sup't. of the C.P.R., Pacific Division, 1890-1893 (P)
Pres. Columbia and Kootenay Railway Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (S)
Promoter, British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., 1890 and 1893

Alexander, Richard H. (Primary Products: Timber)
Mgr., Hastings Sawmill, 1890-1893 (P)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company, 1890 (S)

Beecher, Charles McCulloch (Primary Products: Timber)

Bell-Irving, Henry Ogle (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Senior Partner, Bell-Irving and Paterson, 1890-1893 (P)
Promoter, Anglo-British Columbia Packing Co. Ltd., 1891

Bewicke, F.H. (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Partner, Bewicke and Wulffsohn, 1890-1891 (P)

Browning, J.M. (C.P.R.)
Land Commissioner, C.P.R., 1890-1893 (P)
Pres., B.C. Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (S)
V.-P., Columbia and Kootenay Railway Co., 1890-1893 (S)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association, 1890-1891 (S)
Promoter, British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Oriental Traders Co. Ltd., 1890

Buse, Ernest (Primary Products: Timber)
Prop., Buse Mill Co., 1891-1893  (P)

Carter-Cotton, Francis  (Publishing)
Publisher, The Daily News-Advertiser, 1890-1893  (P)
V.-P., British Columbia Building Association, 1892, and Dir., 1890-1891  (S)
Dir., Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1890  (S)
Dir., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1891  (S)
Promoter, Van. Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd.

Casement, Roger  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Partner, Casement and Creery, 1890-1893  (P)

Cassady, George  (Primary Products: Lumber)
Mgr., George Cassady and Company, 1890-1893  (P)

Ceperley, Henry Tracy  (Promotion: Real Estate)
M'ging Dir., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890-1893  (P)
Dir., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1893, and Sec.-Treas., 1891-1892  (S)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association, 1890-1893  (S)

Coleman, George  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Evans, Coleman and Evans, 1890-1893  (P)

Cook, Edward  (Construction)
Contractor  (P)

Cooke, R.P.  (Secondary Manufacturing)
Dir., Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1890
Pres., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890  (S)
Promoter, Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1888

Cope, Fred  (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., British Columbia Building Association, 1891, and Dir., 1890  (P)

Creeey, A. McCreight  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Partner, Casement and Creery, 1890-1893  (P)

Doering, Charles  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Prop., Vancouver Brewery, 1890-1892, and Senior Partner, Doering and Marstrand, 1893  (P)

Douglas, Charles S.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Senior Partner, Douglas and Co., 1890-1893  (P)

Dunbar, Charles T.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Prop., Charles T. Dunbar, Real Estate, 1890-1893  (P)

Dunn, Thomas  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Prop., Thomas Dunn and Co., 1890-1893  (P)
V.-P., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890-1891 and Dir., 1892-1893  (S)
Promoter, Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd., 1890
Eldridge, C.C. (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Major and Eldridge, 1891-1893 (P)

Evans, Ernest E. (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Evans, Coleman and Evans, 1890-1893 (P)

Evans, Percy W. (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Evans, Coleman and Evans, 1890-1893 (P)

Farrell, William (Finance: All Others)
Mgr., Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corp. Ltd., 1892-93 (P)

Ferguson, R.C. (Primary Products: Timber)
Mgr., Royal City Planing Mills, 1890-1893 (P)

Godfrey, William (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Bank of British North America, 1890-1893 (P)

Hammersley, A. St. George (Professional: Lawyer)
Chairman of the Board, Union Steamship Co. of British Columbia, Ltd., 1890-1893 (S)
V.-P., Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. Ltd., 1891 (S)

Heaps, E.H. (Primary Products: Timber)
M'ging Dir., Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. Ltd., 1891 (P)

Horne, James Welton (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1890 (S)
Pres., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890-1891 (S)
Pres., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co., 1890-1893 (S)
Dir., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890 (S)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association, 1890-1891 (S)
Dir., Northwest Loan Co., 1890 (S)
Dir., Northwest Insurance Co., 1890 (S)
Promoter, Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890

Innes, F.C. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Sr. Partner, Innes and Richards, 1890-1893 (P)
Promoter, Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd., 1890

Johnston, B.B. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Partner, Douglas and Co., 1890-1893 (P)

Jones, H.A. Sr. (Promotion: Real Estate)
V.-P., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1892, and Dir., 1891 (S)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association 1890-1891 (S)
Dir., Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. Ltd., 1891 (S)
Promoter, North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1891
Promoter, Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890

Keith, J.C. (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Bank of British Columbia, 1890-1892 (P)
Promoter, British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., 1890-1893
Lefevre, Dr. J.M.  (Professional: Doctor)
Principal Van. Executive, New Westminster and Burrard Inlet Telephone Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (S)
Promoter, Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1888

MacKay, G.G.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd., 1890-1892 (S)
Pres., Oriental Traders Co. Ltd., 1892, and Dir., 1890-1891 (S)
Promotion, Okanagan Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1890
Promotion, Oriental Traders Co. Ltd., 1890

Mahon, Edward  (Other)
Chairman, North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1893 (S)
Promoter, North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1891

Major, G.R.  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Major and Eldridge, 1891-1893 (P)

McDowell, Henry  (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., British Columbia Building Association, 1892, and Dir., 1890-1891 and 1893 (S)

McFarland, Joseph W.  (Urban Utilities)
Principal Van. Exec., Vancouver Water Works Co. Ltd., 1890-1892 (P)

McFeely, Edward John  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Partner, McLennan and McFeely, 1890-1893 (P)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association, 1890-1892 (S)

McKee, H.E.  (No Information)
Pres., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890-1891 (S)
Dir., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1891 (S)
Dir., British Columbia Building Association, 1890-1891 (S)
Promotion, Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890

McLachlan, Charles  (Real Estate)
Partner, Shannon and McLachlan, 1890-1893 (P)

McLagan, John Campbell  (Publisher)
Publisher, World Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (P)

Morgan, Edwin B.  (Real Estate)
Mgr., British Columbia Land and Investment Agency Ltd., 1891-93 (P)

Morse, H.R. SR.  (Primary Products: Timber)

Oppenheimer, David  (Commerce: Wholesale, and Promotion: Real Estate)
Partner, Oppenheimer Brothers, 1890-1893 (P)
Pres., Vancouver Improvement Co. Ltd., 1891, and Dir., 1890 (P)
Pres., Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Co. Ltd., 1890 (S)
Dir., Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1890 (S)
Promoter, Westminster and Vancouver Tramway Co. Ltd., 1890

Oppenheimer, Isaac  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Partner, Oppenheimer Brothers, 1890-1893 (P)
Pres., Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1892-1893 (S)
Dir., Union Steamship Co. of British Columbia, Ltd., 1890-1893 (S)

Paterson, R.H. (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Partner, Bell-Irving and Paterson, 1890-1893 (P)

Ramsay, James (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., Ramsay Brothers and Co. Ltd., 1893 (P)

Ramsdell, James Henry (Primary Products: Timber)
Mgr., Moodyville Saw Mill Co. Ltd., and Mgr., Moodyville Lands and Saw Mill Co. Ltd., 1891-1893 (P)

Rand, Charles D. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Chairman of the Board, British Columbia Iron Works Co. Ltd., 1892, and Dir., 1891 (S)
Partner, Rand Brothers, 1890-1893 (P)
Pres., Vancouver Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd., 1891 (S)
Dir., Union Steamship Co. of British Columbia, Ltd., 1890 (S)
Dir., Vancouver Gas Co. Ltd., 1890-1891 (S)
Promoter, Okanagan Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Electric Railway and Light Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Vancouver Gas Co. Ltd., 1886
Promoter, Vancouver Gurney Cab and Delivery Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Union Steamship Co. Ltd., 1890
Promoter, Ramsay Brothers and Co. Ltd., 1892

Rand, Edward Ethelbert (Promotion: Real Estate)
Partner, Rand Brothers, 1890-1893 (P)

Richards, Steven O. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Partner, Innes and Richards, 1890-1893 (P)

Robson, C.W. (Commerce: Retail)
Mgr., The Hudson's Bay Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (P)

Rogers, Benjamin Tingley (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., British Columbia Sugar Refining Co. Ltd., 1890-1893 (P)
Pres., B.C. Cooperage and Jute Co. Ltd., 1892 (S)

Salsbury, William Ferriman (C.P.R.)
V.-P., Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd., 1893 (S)
Dir., Columbia and Kootenay Railway Co., 1890-1893 (S)
Dir., Union Steamship Co. of British Columbia, Ltd., 1890 (S)

Shannon, William (Promotion: Real Estate)
Sr. Partner, Shannon and McLachlan, 1890-1893 (P)

Short, Benjamin J. (Primary Products: Fish)
Prop., Lulu Island Canning Co., 1891-1893 (P)
Prop., Short and Squair (Imperial Cannery), 1893 (P)

Sulley, William (Finance: All Others)
M'ging Dir., Vancouver Land and Securities Corp. Ltd., 1891-1893 (P)

Sweeny, Campbell (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Bank of Montreal, 1890-1893  (P)
Dir., Hastings Saw Mill Co., 1890  (S)

Tait, William L.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Prop., Tait's Shingle Mill, 1891-1893  (P)

Tatlow, Robert Garrett  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1892-1893, and V.-P., 1890-1891  (S)
Dir., Vancouver City Foundry and Machine Works Co. Ltd., 1890  (S)
Dir., Vancouver Manufacturing and Trading Co. Ltd., 1891  (S)
Promotion, Vancouver Loan, Trust, Savings and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1890

Thomas, Walter  (Urban Utilities)
Mgr., Vancouver Gas Co. Ltd., 1890-1893  (P)

Townley, J.D.  (C.P.R.)
Ass. Sup't. of the C.P.R., Pacific Division, 1890-1893  (P)
Dir., Columbia and Kootenay Railway Co. Ltd., 1890-1893  (S)

Woods, John G.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Mgr., Commercial Saw Mills, 1890-1893  (P)

Wulffsohn, Johann  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Sr. Partner, Bewicke and Wulffsohn, 1890-1891, and Wulffsohn and Bewicke Co. Ltd., 1891-1893  (P)
Pres., Okanagan Land and Development Co. Ltd., 1893  (S)
Dir., Union Steamship Co. of British Columbia, Ltd., 1890-1892  (S)
Promoter, Moodyville Lands and Saw Mill Co. Ltd., 1891
Promoter, North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1891
Appendix B

THE 'SIGNIFICANT' BUSINESS AFFILIATIONS OF BUSINESS LEADERS IN VANCOUVER, 1910-1913

The following is a list for the four year period from 1910 to 1913 of the two hundred and seventy-six leading businessmen in Vancouver, and of their 'significant' business affiliations. The criteria used to define both a 'significant' company and a 'leading' businessman in the city are outlined in Chapter 1. This is not a list of all business affiliations of the business leaders of the 1910-1913 period. The list simply provides evidence of those 'significant' business connections which determined the businessman's inclusion in this study. Dates indicating when these positions were held are also not necessarily complete; they indicate only the periods of tenure for which concrete information could be found.

Three additional items of information are included in the list. The businessman's primary occupation, i.e. the occupation from which his livelihood or wealth was principally derived, is indicated in brackets after his name. The 'P' or 'S' in the bracket after each business affiliation indicates whether these were primary (P) or secondary (S) affiliations.

The size of the entrepreneur's corporate connections is the next information included in the bracket behind each business affiliation. For businesses incorporated in B.C. the largest yearly assets of the 1910-1913 period are given. For private companies incorporated in B.C. for which the number of shares issued is the only information available, the letter 'S' is entered followed by the largest value of shares issued between 1910 and 1913. Companies with extensive operations in Vancouver which were not Vancouver-based companies, and especially which were incorporated outside B.C., are simply classified as 'OUTSIDE'. On several occasions a company affiliation (such as an unincorporated company) is included for subjective reasons, and is classified as 'SUBJ'.

Due to the large variety of 'important' secondary business connections maintained by leaders of the 1910-13 period, each business affiliation is also classified numerically into one of eighteen business categories numbered 01 to 18, the last of the three items included in the bracket after the name of each business affiliate. The eighteen categories represent the following types of business activity:

01. **Promotion: Real Estate**, Urban or Hinterland; or Sales of Real Estate plus Stocks and Bonds, and/or Mining Stocks and Mining Investments, Timber Limits, Insurance, Loans.

02. **Promotion: All Others** (Except Real Estate, Trust or Banking Business), Including Sales of Stocks and Bonds, and/or Mining Stocks and Mining Investments, Timber Limits (with Insurance or Loans)

03. **Primary Products: Fish** (Extraction and/or Processing), Fishing, Fish Canning.

04. **Primary Products: Timber** (Extraction and/or Processing), Logging, Log and Lumber Manufacturing, Pulp and Paper.

05. **Primary Products: Minerals** (Extraction and/or Processing), Including Mineral and Petroleum Companies, Petroleum Refining.

06. **Secondary Manufacturing**: Equipment for Primary Manufacturing, Construction Materials.
The list is divided into two parts, the twenty businessmen who were leaders from 1890 and 1893, and who continued to be classified as business leaders from 1910 to 1913, and the remaining 256 whose business success after 1893 had put them into the upper strata of business influence in Vancouver by the pre-war period.

A. Business Leaders of the 1910-1913 Period Who Had Also Been Leaders From 1890 to 1893.

Abbott, Harry Braithwaite  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Pres., Vancouver Financial Corporation Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $802,292.97/April, 1914; 13)
Dir., British Columbia Sugar Refinery Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,992,012.30/March, 1913;07)

Bell-Irving, Henry Ogle  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Pres., Bell-Irving and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $322,148.30/Sept., 1910; 09)

Carter-Cotton, Francis  (Capitalist)
Pres., Franco-Canadian Trust Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $1,586,234.76/April, 1913; 13)
Chairman, Kilgard Fireclay Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; $620,543.88/Dec., 1913; 06)
Pres., North Shore Iron Works Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; $198,579.71/Nov., 1911; 06)
V.-P., The Norton-Griffiths Steel Construction Co. Ltd., (S; OUTSIDE;16)
Dir., Union Steamship Co. of B.C. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; OUTSIDE;15)

Cepeley, Henry T.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Cepeley, Rounsefell and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $187,018.22/June, 1913; 01)
Pres., Vancouver Milling and Grain Co. Ltd., 1910-1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; S-$525,000/1911; 07)
V.-P., Investors Guarantee Corp. Ltd., 1910 (S; $669,072.13/Dec.,1913; 13)
Dir., Pacific Coast Mills Ltd., 1911-1913 (s; $472,120.69/Dec., 1913; 04)

Doering, Charles (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., Vancouver Breweries Ltd., 1910-1911 and British Columbia Breweries Ltd., 1911-1912 (P; $1,272,072.21/Dec., 1911; 07)
Dir., Canadian Brewing and Malting Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $517,551.37/Dec., 1911; 07)
Dir., World Building Ltd., 1913 (S; $645,689.38/Mar., 1913; 01)

Evans, Ernest E. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Dir., Evans, Coleman Wharf Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$100,000/Oct., 1911; 08)
Dir., Terminal Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $175,059.78/June, 1913; 15)
Dir., British Columbia Packers Association, 1911-1913 (S; $4,047,337.86/Dec., 1911; 03)
Dir., Packers Steamship Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $128,871.86/Dec., 1911; 15)
Dir., The London and British North America Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; OUTSIDE; 01)

Farrell, William (Urban Utilities)
Pres., British Columbia Telephones Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 14)
Pres., Evans, Coleman and Evans Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; S-$900,000/Mar., 1912; 08)
Dir., Evans, Coleman Wharf Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; S-$100,000/Oct., 1911; 18)

Godfrey, William (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Bank of British North America, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)

Heaps, E.H. (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $8,065,354.60/Dec., 1913; 04)
Pres., Columbia Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $434,872.19/Dec., 1911; 13)
Pres., Columbia Taxicab Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $124,768.28/Nov., 1912; 18)
Pres., Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $640,849.83/Dec., 1910; 02)
Pres., Investors Guarantee Corp., Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Pres., West Wellington Coal Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $590,656.00/Nov., 1912; 05)
Pres., Columbia Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $256,700.00/1910; 13)
Dir., Metropolitan Building Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $567,060.66/June, 1912; 01)
Dir., Bank of Vancouver, 1910-1912 (S; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)

Horne, James Welton (Capitalist)
V.-P., National Finance Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911 (S; $5,530,110.65/Dec., 1913; 01)
Dir., The Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Company Ltd., 1910 (S; $795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)

Keith, J.C. (Capitalist)
Pres., Howe Sound and Northern Development Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $444,630.15
Pres., Vancouver Estates Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 and 1913 (S; $327,400/Aug., 1913; 01)
Pres., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $139,754.77/May, 1913; 01)
Dir., East Vancouver Land Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $288,834.02/Jan., 1912; 01)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Corp., Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $669,072.12/1913; 13)
Dir., North Shore Iron Works Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $198,579.71/Nov., 1911; 06)
Dir., North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,073,255.80/Sept., 1910; 01)
Dir., Standard Fish and Fertilizer Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $579,360.92/Dec., 1912; 03)

Mahon, Edward (Promotion: Real Estate)
Mgr., London and British North America Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 01)
Pres., North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,073,255.80/Sept., 1910; 01)
Pres., Capilano Flume Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $140,335.16/July, 1910; 04)
Dir., Vancouver Wharf Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $502,730.46/Feb., 1914; 18)

McFarland, Joseph W. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Mahon, McFarland and Proctor Ltd., 1910-1911, and Mgr., London and British North America Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 01)
Dir., North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $1,073,255.80/Sept., 1910; 01)
Dir., Standard Fish and Fertilizer Co. Ltd., 1911 and Standard Fisheries Ltd., 1912 (S; $579,360.92/Dec., 1912; 03)
Dir., Vancouver Wharf Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $502,730.46/Feb., 1914; 18)

McFeely, E.J. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., McLennan, McFeely and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $3,372,676.17/Dec., 1913; 08)
Pres., Canadian Coalinga Oil Co. Ltd., 1912 and Dir., 1910-1911 (S; $1,282,830.84/Dec., 1912; 05)
Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)

Morgan, E.B. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., North West Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; S- $619,000/Feb., 1914; 13)
Dir., Dundee Gold Mine Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $375,000/Feb., 1911; 05)

Ramsay, James (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., Ramsay Bros. and Co. Ltd., 1913 (P; SUBJ; 07)
Pres., Dominion Biscuit Co. Ltd., 1911-1912, and Dir., 1910, 1913 (P; $442,940.67/Feb., 1911; 07)
V.-P., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/March, 1912; 01)
Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $290,182.39/Dec.,
Rand, Edward Ethelbert  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Dir., Dominion Biscuit Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $442,940.67/Feb., 1911; 07)
Dir., Hendry Land Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $801,855.04/Dec., 1911; 01)
Dir., Queen Bee Gold Mines Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; S-$206,585/Aug., 1910; 05)

Rogers, Benjamin Tingley  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., B.C. Sugar Refinery Co. Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $1,992,012.30/Mar., 1913; 07)
Pres., Vancouver-Fiji Sugar Co. Ltd., 1912  (S; SUBJ.; 07)

Sulley, William  (Primary Products: Timber)
V.-P., E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1910 and Dir., 1911  (P; $8,065,354.60/Dec., 1913; 04)
Dir., Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1911  (S; $640,849.83/Dec., 1910; 02)
Dir., West Wellington Coal Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $590,656.00/Nov., 1914; 05)

Sweeney, Campbell  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Sup't. for B.C., Bank of Montreal, 1910-1913  (P; OUTSIDE; 12)
Dir., British Columbia Packers' Association, 1911-1913  (S; $4,047,337/86/Dec., 1913; 03)
Dir., Western Canada Power Co. Ltd.,  (S; OUTSIDE; 14)

B.  Business Leaders of the 1910-1913 Period Only.

Abbott, J.L.C.  (Lawyer)
Dir., Pacific Metals Co. Ltd., 1910-1911  (S; $184,406.50/Sept., 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver-Nanaimo Coal Co. Ltd., 1910-1913  (S; $609,062.37/Dec., 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Springs and Indian Park Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $320,526.22/Feb., 1913; 01)
Dir., Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $1,783,427.87/Dec., 1910; 01)
Dir., East Vancouver Land Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $288,834.02/Jan., 1912; 01)

Akhurst, William A.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Mgr., Canadian Fairbanks Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 and Canadian Fairbanks-Morse Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (P; OUTSIDE; 08)
Pres., Eastern Townships Investment Co. Ltd., 1912  (S; $136,954.06/June, 1913; 01)

Allen, Edward F.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Mgr. and Dir., Western Canada Bag, Envelope and Box Co. Ltd., 1911 and Dir., Western Paper Mills Ltd.,  (P; $277,112.17/Dec., 1912; 04)
Dir., British Canadian Wood Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $427,000/April, 1912; 04)
Dir., Colonial Lumber and Paper Mills Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$2.5 million/March, 1913; 04)

Alvensleben, Alvo von (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd., 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913 (P; $1,783,427.87/Dec., 1910; 01)
Pres., Standard Fish and Fertilizer Co. Ltd., 1911, and Standard Fisheries Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $579,360.92/Dec., 1912; 03)
Pres., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1910-1911 (S; $5,650,677.13/Oct., 1912; 02)
Dir., Pacific Metals Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 (S; $184,406.50/Sept., 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Springs and Indian River Park Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $320,526.22/Feb., 1913; 01)
Dir., Vancouver-Nanaimo Coal Mining Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $609,062.37/Dec., 1911; 05)

Anderson, Andrew J. (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., Anderson Logging Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911 (S; $194,190.91/Dec., 1911; 04)
V.-P., Cruisers' Timber Exchange Ltd., 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913 (P; $161,064.85/March, 1911; 02)

Armstrong, William H. (Construction)
Pres., Armstrong, Morrison and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $656,387.22/Dec., 1912; 17)
Pres., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $139,754.77/May, 1913; 01)
Pres., Clayburn Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; SUBJ.; 06)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $290,182.39/Dec., 1910; 02)
Dir., Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., (S; $1,418,679.61/Dec., 1912; 17)
Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)

Arnold, W.R. (Finance: All Other)
M'ging Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Columbia Valley Orchards Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$920,000/April, 1913; 01)
Dir., Vermillion Irrigation Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$240,000/April, 1913; 18)
Dir., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)

Atkins, John M. (Finance: All Others)
Pres., Canadian Fishing Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $158,223.02/April, 1911; 03)
Dir., Guarantee Trust Co. Ltd., 1913, and V.-P., 1912 (S; $138,266.42/June, 1914; 13)

Austin, Albert E. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Point Grey Land and Investment Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $153,757.29/Dec., 1910; 01)

Banfield, J.J. (Promotion: Real Estate)
V.-P., The British Columbia Life Assurance Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $232,090.03/June, 1914; 13)
Dir., Canadian Home Investment Co. Ltd., 1911 and 1913 (S; $456,915.72/March, 1913; 13)

Barber, Francis H. (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., Barber Mattress and Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 and Restmore Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1913 (P; $263,765.60/Dec., 1912; 07)

Barker, William H. (Primary Products: Fish)
Pres., British Columbia Packers' Association, 1910-1913 (P; $4,047,337.86/1913; 03)
Dir., Packers Steamship Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $128,871.86/Dec., 1911; 15)

Barr, Matthew J. (Skilled Worker)
Dir., Dominion Glazed Cement Pipe Co. Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $117,603.51/Dec., 1910; 06)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Corp., Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Metropolitan Building Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $567,060.66/June, 1912; 01)

Baynes, Edgar George (Construction)
Pres., Port Haney Brick Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $109,490.73/1913/Feb., 1913; 06)
Dir., British Pacific Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $119,883.50/Dec., 1911; 01)

Beaton, Wellington (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., The National Timber Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $151,750/1914; 02)

Beazley, Ernest Henry (Transportation: Shipping)
M'ging Dir., Union Steamship Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 15)

Beecher, F.L. (Primary Products: Timber)
V.-P., British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1912 (P; $3,000,000/1909; 04)
Dir., British American Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $669,187.74/June, 1913; 13)
Dir., Greely Investment Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $188,389.71/April, 1912; 13)

Begg, Frank R. (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Begg Motor Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $100,034.79/Nov., 1911; 10)
Dir., B.C. Refining Co. Ltd. 1912-1913 (S; $304,669.94/Oct., 1912; 05)

Bell-Irving, Dr. Duncan (Doctor)
V.-P., H. Bell-Irving and Co. Ltd., 1912 and Dir., 1910-1913 (S; $322,148.30/Sept., 1910; 09)
Dir., B.C. Distillery Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $485,673.75/Dec., 1913; 07)

Berry, Mrs. Alice H. (Other N.B. Businesses)
V.-P., World Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1911 (P; $298,400.20/1911; 18)
Dir., World Building Ltd., 1911 (S; $645,689.38/March, 1913; 01)

Berry, John R. (no information)  
Pres., The Hudson Bay Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (?, $384,136.05/1913; 13)

Bonthrone, Barclay (Promotion: Real Estate)  
Pres., Western Paper Mills Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; $277,112.17/Dec., 1912; 04)  
Dir., Pacific Lime Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $118,675.03/July 1913; 18)

Braid, William (Commerce: Wholesale)  
Pres., B.C. Distillery Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (S; $485,673.75/Dec., 1913; 07)  
Dir., Vancouver Financial Corp. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $802,292.97/April, 1914; 13)  
Dir., British Columbia Packers Association, 1911-1913 (S; $4,047,337.86/Dec., 1913; 03)

Brake, A.S. (Financial: All Other)  
Dir., British Canadian Wood Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $427,000/April, 1913; 04)  
Dir., Western Canadian Bag, Envelope and Box Co. Ltd., 1911 and Western Paper Mills Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $277,112.17/Dec., 1912; 04)  
Dir., Tatlayco Lake Gold Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $606,306/March 1911; 05)

Brown, David E. (Promotion: Real Estate)  
Pres., D.E. Brown and Macaulay Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $577,243.50/June, 1914; 01)

Brown, G. Willoughby (No Information)  
Pres., John Robertson and Son, Pacific, Ltd., 1912-1913 (?, $302,060.90/June, 1913; 08)

Brown, Joseph (Commerce: Retail)  
Pres., Brown Bros. and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1910-1911 (P; $295,882.27/April, 1913; 10)

Brown, Reginald C. (Promotion: Real Estate)  
V.-P., Canadian Development Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $168,379.87/May, 1913; 02)  
Dir., Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910 (S; $239,029.94/Dec., 1910; 05)

Brydone-Jack, Dr. William D. (Doctor)  
Pres., Norma Mines Ltd., 1910-1911 (S; $140,084.50/Feb., 1911; 05)  
V.-P., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)  
Dir., Princess Royal Island Mining Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $605,235.00/May, 1913; 05)  
Dir., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)

Buchan, Ewing (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)  
Mgr., Bank of Hamilton, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)
Buck, Fred. S.  (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., Scott-Cove Timber Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (P; $394,990.02/Feb.,1912; 11)
Dir., Minnekhada Dairy and Stock Ranch Ltd., 1913 (S; $109,254.03/Feb., 1913; 18)
Dir., North American Lumber Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $533,019.87/Dec., 1912; 04)

Buckley, Frank L.  (Primary Products: Timber)
M'ging Dir., The British Canadian Lumber Corp., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 04)
Dir., Iowa Lumber Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $353,373.67/Dec., 1911; 04)
Dir., North American Securities Ltd., 1912 (S; S-$1,320,905/Dec., 1912; 01)

Burns, Domenic  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., P. Burns and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 07)

Burns, W.E.  (Lawyer)
Pres., Brad Oil Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1911-1912 (S; $477,378.17/Aug., 1911; 05)

Buscombe, Frederick  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Frederick Buscombe and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$125,000/Nov., 1912; 08)
Dir., Pacific Coast Lumber Mills Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $472,120.69/Dec., 1913; 04)
Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)

Busteed, F.F.  (Transportation: Steam Railways)
General Superintendent, Pacific Division, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910-1911 (P: OUTSIDE; 16)

Campbell, John B.  (Public Official)
Pres., Campbell Storage Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $187,487.02/Dec., 1911; 10)

Castleman, Samuel John  (Promotion: All Others)
V.-P., Grand Trunk Lands Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $3,794,934.05/Sept., 1913; 01)
V.-P., Clayburn Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 (S; SUBJ., 06)
Dir., Commonwealth Trust Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $251,400/June, 1912; 13)

Chase, W.H.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., B.C. Fir and Cedar Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $157,401.86/Dec., 1912; 04)

Chew, Joseph  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Joseph Chew Lumber and Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $115,889.01/Dec., 1911; 04)

Clarke, Harold C.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Clarke and Stuart Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$150,000/Feb., 1913; 08)

Clubb, W.H.P.  (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Pres., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1912 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)

Colter, W.A.S. (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Bankers Trust Corp. Ltd., 1911-1912, and Prince Rupert Savings and Trust Co. Ltd., 1910 (P; $319,626.89/Nov.,1912; 13)

Cooke, W.B. (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., Terminal Lumber and Shingle Co. Ltd., 1910, and V.-P., 1911-1913 (S; $321,012.27/Dec., 1912; 04)

Cope, Fred. T. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Cope and Sons Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $165,050.06/Dec.,1913; 08)

Corry, Dr. W.Y. (Doctor)
Pres., Siwash Creek Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $644,712.00/Sept.,1914; 05)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $290,182.39/Dec., 1910; 02)
Dir., Island River Coal Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $283,381.30/Jan., 1912; 05)
Dir., Standard Trust and Industrial Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $179,175.97/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., The Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $250,684.87/Dec., 1913; 13)

Coughlan, John (Secondary Manufacturing)
Proprietor, John Coughlan and Sons, 1910-1913 (P; SUBJ.; 06)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Corp. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)

Cowan, George H. (Lawyer)
Dir., J.A. Dewar Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $174,737.01/Dec.,1911; 02)
Dir., Vancouver Breweries Ltd., 1911 (S; $1,272,072.21/Dec.,1911; 07)
Dir., Dominion Permanent Loan Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; OUTSIDE; 13)

Cramer, David H. von (Finance: All Other)
M'ging Dir., Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $250,684.87/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., B.C. Platinum Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $134,951.00/May,1913; 05)
Dir., Anna L. Jenkins Estate Incorp. Ltd., 1913 (S; $801,805.69/Dec., 1912; 01)

Crosbie, C.A. (Finance; Corporate and Private Banking)
Sup't. of B.C. Branches, Royal Bank of Canada, 1910-1913 (P: OUTSIDE; 12)

Cuthbertson, Tina M. (Other)
Pres., Thos. B. Cuthbertson and Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; S= $100,000/1912; 10)

Daly, Harold M. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Dir., Burrard Trust and Loan Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $422,130/April,1913; 13)
Dir., Howe Sound and Northern Development Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $444,630.15/July, 1913; 01)
Dir., Pacific Metals Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 (S; $184,406.50/Sept., 1911; 05)
Dir., Pollock Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $615,656.00/Dec., 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $5,650,677.13/Oct., 1912; 02)

Dauphinee, Thomas T. (Promotion: All Others)
Dir., and Mgr., Pretty's Timber Exchange Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$2.5m./Nov., 1912; 02)
Pres., Capilano Rock and Gravel Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; S-$200,300/March, 1914; 18)
Dir., North West Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$619,000/Feb., 1914; 13)
Dir., Vancouver Harbour and Dock Extension Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $5,862,600/Aug., 1913; 18)

Davenport, George E. (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Jervis Inlet Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913 (P; $298,775.11/Jan., 1913; 04)
Dir., McLelan Lumber Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $241,566.17/Oct., 1911; 11)

Davidson, Hugh (Primary Products: Timber)
M'ging Dir., Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; S-$1,114,216.65/Dec., 1910; 04)
V.-P., International Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$4,176,362.83/Dec., 1913; 05)
Dir., British American Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $669,187.74/June, 1913; 13)

Davidson, William John d'Allain (Finance: All Other)
Dir., Vancouver Ice and Cold Storage Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $422,328.66/Dec., 1913; 18)
Dir., Point Grey Land and Investment Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$153,757.29/Dec., 1910; 01)
Dir., Anglo-American Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $548,561.36/Dec., 1910; 04)

Dawson, George (Primary Products: Fish)
Pres., Kildala Packing Co. Ltd., 1911-1912 (P; $260,907.82/March, 1913; 03)

Deacon, E.J. (Lawyer)
V.-P., W.J. McMillan and Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $202,477.47/Oct., 1910; 08)
Dir., Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $250,684.87/Dec., 1913; 13)

Dewar, John A. (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., J.A. Dewar Co. Ltd., 1912 and Dir., 1911 and 1913 (P; $174,737.01/Dec., 1911; 02)

Dickson, O.L. (Transportation: Steam Railways)
Pres., White Pass and Yukon Railway Co. Ltd., 1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 16)
Donnelly, Patrick  (Promotion: Real Estate)  
Pres., Canadian Financiers Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $701,537.83/Dec., 1912; 01)

Douglas, Alexander H.  (Lawyer)  
Dir., Canadian Development Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $168,379.87/ May, 1913; 02)  
Dir., Canadian Hypothec and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1913  (S; $261,467.42/ Dec., 1912; 13)  
Dir., Columbia Valley Orchards Ltd., 1913  (S; S-$920,000/April, 1913; 01)

Douglas, John A.  (Commerce: Retail)  
Pres., B.C. Ceiling and Roofing Co. Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $222,882.87/ April, 1913; 10)

Duke, Thomas  (Commerce: Retail)  
V.-P. Dominion Glazed Pipe Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $117,603.51/ Dec., 1910; 06)  
Dir., Western Pacific Development Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $244,434.14/ March, 1913; 01)

Edwards, Chandler S.  (Promotion: Real Estate)  
Pres., North Coast Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $2,846,640.12/June, 1914; 01)

Emerson, James S.  (Primary Products: Timber)  
Pres., Emerson Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1914  (P; $440,848.00/Dec., 1914; 04)  
Dir., Eburne Saw Mills Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $270,846.94/Dec., 1911; 04)

Erskine, A.B.  (Commerce: Wholesale)  
Mgr., Ames Holden Ltd., 1910-1911, and Ames-Holden-McCready Ltd., 1912-1913  (P; OUTSIDE; 08)  
Dir., Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $346,192.05/Dec., 1912; 01)  
Dir., British American Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $669,187.74/ June, 1913; 13)  
Dir., Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910  (S; $1,114,216.65/ Dec., 1910; 04)

Falls, Herbert P.  (Construction)  
Pres., Terminal Construction and Investment Co. Ltd., 1910, and Terminal Construction and Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1913  (P; $161,204.84/Feb., 1913)

Faulkner, S.C.  (Finance: All Other)  
Pres., British Canadian Wood Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd., 1910  (S; $427,000/April, 1911; 04)  
V.-P., Norma Mines Ltd., 1910-1911  (S; $140,084.50/Feb., 1911; 05)

Fisher, Arthur P.  (Promotion: Real Estate)  
Pres., Canadian National Investors Ltd., 1911-1913  (P; $315,318.18/ Jan., 1912; 01)

Ford, Richard S.  (Publisher)
Dir., Burrard Publishing Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $507,199.68/May 1914; 18)
V.-P., Vermilion Irrigation Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; S-$240,000/April,1913; 18)

Fordham, John G. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Dir., Pacific Lime Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $118,675.03/July, 1913; 18)
Dir., Vancouver Springs and Interior Park Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $320,526.22/Jan., 1913; 01)
Dir., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $5,650,677.13/Jan., 1912; 02)

Freeman, Captain Absolom (Skilled Worker)
V.-P., Canadian Fishing Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (S; $158,223.02/April, 1911; 03)
Dir., Guarantee Trust Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $138,266.42/June, 1914; 13)

Galer, H.N. (Finance: All Other)
Pres., British American Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1911, and V.-P., 1912-1913, (P; $669,187.74/June, 1913; 13)
V.-P., International Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; OUTSIDE; 05)

Gaskell, Manfred James (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Thomson Stationery Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $264,229.01/Jan., 1913; 10)

Germaine, William Letson (Finance: All Other)
V.-P., British American Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $669,187.74/June, 1913; 13)
Dir., Howe Sound and Northern Development Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $444,630.15/1913; 01)

Gillespie, Francis J. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Gillespie's Ltd., 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913 (P; $106,820.55/Dec., 1913; 01)

Godson, Charles A. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Robertson-Godson Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $484,476.61/Dec., 1911; 08)

Graham, James A. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Canadian Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $209,905.08/Nov., 1912; 01)

Griffin, J.Y. (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Royal Financial Corp. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $583,114.42/1913; 13)

Hackett, James W. (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Metropolitan Building Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $567,060.66/Jan., 1912; 01)

Hagar, Alvah L. (Primary Products: Fish)
Mgr., New England Fish Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 03)
Pres., The Canadian Fishing Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 ($158,223.02/April, 1911; 03)
Hamber, Eric W.  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking, and Primary Products: Timber)  
V.-P., British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  
(P; $3 million/1909;  04)  
Dir., The Dominion Bank, 1913 (S; OUTSIDE; 12)  
Dir., Kilgarr Fireclay Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $620,543.88/Dec., 1913; 06)  

Hanbury, John  (Primary Products: Timber) 
Pres., John Hanbury and Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(P; $1,198,249.10/Oct., 1912; 04)  

McHarg, William Hart  (Lawyer)  
Dir., Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $1,783,427.87/Dec., 1910; 01)  
Dir., Vancouver-Nanaimo Coal Mining Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $609,062.37/Dec., 1911; 05)  
Dir., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $5,650,677.13/Oct., 1912; 02)  

Harvey, James A.  (Lawyer)  
Pres., Colonial Lumber and Paper Mills Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$2,500,000/March,1913; 04)  
V.-P., F.H. Lantz Co. Ltd., 1913  
(S; $470,200.93/June,1912; 01)  
Dir., Bank of Vancouver, 1910-1913  
(S; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)  
Dir., Dominion Stock and Bond Corp. of Vancouver Ltd., 1913  
(S; $145,263.65/Feb., 1910; 01)  
Dir., Federal Trust Corp. Ltd., 1912-1913  
(S; $155,805.98/Dec.,1913; 01)  

Harvey, William H.  (Construction)  
Pres., Dominion Carbolinium Works Ltd., 1910, and Dominion Creosoting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $221,995.21/Jan., 1912; 17)  

Hayward, Robert Francis  (Urban Utilities)  
Gen. Mgr., Western Canada Power Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 14)  

Heaps, A.R.  (Primary Products: Timber)  
Dir., E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  
(P; $8,065,354.60/Dec.,1913; 04)  
Dir., Columbia Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(S; $434,872.19/Dec.,1911; 13)  
Dir., Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(S; $640,849.83/Dec., 1910; 02)  

Heaps, James Wilson  (Primary Products: Timber)  
V.-P., E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911  
(P; $8,065,354.60/Dec., 1913; 04)  
Dir., Columbia Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(S; $434,872.19/Dec.,1911; 13)  
Dir., Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(S; $640,849.83/Dec.,1910; 02)  

Heaps, John  (Primary Products: Timber)  
Dir., E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  
(P; $8,065,354.60/Dec.,1913; 04)  
Dir., Columbia Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  
(S; $434,872.19/Dec.,1911; 13)
Dir., Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $640,849.83/Dec., 1910; 02)
Dir., Columbia Taxicab Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $124,758.28/Nov., 1912; 18)
Dir., West Wellington Coal Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $590,656.00/Nov., 1914; 05)

Henderson, William  (Commerce: Wholesale)
M'ging Dir., National Drug and Chemical Co. of Canada Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 08)
Pres., B.C. Platinum Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (S; $134,951.00/May, 1913; 05)
Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $290,182.39/Dec., 1910; 02)
Dir., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., (S; $795,135.00/Dec., 1910; 13)

Hendry, John  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., British Columbia Mills, Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $3 million/1909; 04)
Pres., Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,418,679.61/Dec., 1912; 05)
Dir., Hendry Land Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $801,855.04/Dec., 1911; 01)
Dir., British Columbia Sugar Refinery Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,992,012.30/March, 1913; 07)
Dir., Dundee Gold Mine Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $375,000/Feb., 1911; 05)
Dir., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $139,754.77/May, 1913; 01)
Dir., Western Canada Power Co. Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; OUTSIDE; 14)

Hopper, David A.  (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Hopper-Phillips Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $298,051.26/Jan., 1913; 13)

Hose, Francis E.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., F.E. Hose Co. Ltd., 1910 and Hose and Brooks Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $230,087.18/March, 1913; 08)
Pres., Hose Investment Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $136,038.84/Dec., 1913; 01)

Houlgate, R. Kerr  (Finance: All Other)
Mgr., Yorkshire Guarantee and Securities Corp. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 13)
Dir., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $139,754.77/May, 1913; 01)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Corp. Ltd., 1912 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Columbia Estate Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $2,271,519.66/June, 1914; 13)

Howard, James  (Secondary Manufacturing)
V.-P., Ross and Howard Ironworks Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1913 (P; $371,698.84/Dec., 1910; 06)
Dir., Point Grey Land and Investment Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $153,757.29/Dec., 1910; 01)

Hunter, W.T. (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., Empress Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $148,165.88/Jan., 1914; 07)

Jacobs, George A. (Promotion: Real Estate)
V.-P., Pioneer Queen Charlotte Development Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $501,071.87/Dec., 1913; 01)
Dir., Vancouver Colonization Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $278,391.13/Dec., 1911; 01)

Jenkins, F.T. (Secondaring Manufacturing)
Pres., McDougall-Jenkins Engineers Ltd., 1910-1911 and Dir., North Shore Iron Works Ltd., 1912 (P; $198,579.71/Nov., 1911; 06)

Jenkins, Harry L. (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., North American Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $533,019.87/Dec., 1912; 04)
Pres., Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 (P; $5,650,677.12/Oct., 1912; 02)
Pres., Anna L. Jenkins Estate Incorp. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $801,805.69/Dec., 1912; 01)
Pres., Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $250,684.87/Dec., 1913; 13)
Pres., Minnekahda Dairy and Stock Ranch Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $109,254.03/Feb., 1913; 18)
Dir., Bank of Vancouver, 1910 (S; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)

Johnson, Charles Gardner (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Johnson Wharf Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $138,747.77/Oct., 1913; 18)

Jones, Alfred A. (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., Canadian Development Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $168,379.87/May, 1913; 02)

Jukes, Andrew (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Imperial Bank of Canada, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)

Kelly, Robert (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Kelly, Douglas and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911 (P; $989,195.00/Dec., 1911; 08)
Pres., B.C. Refining Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $304,669.94/Oct., 1912; 05)
Pres., William Hickey Canning Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $325,000/1912; 03)
V.-P., McDougall-Jenkins Engineers Ltd., 1910 (S; $198,579.71/Nov., 1911; 06).... and Dir., North Shore Iron Works Ltd., 1912
V.-P., B.C. Distillery Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (S; $485,673.75/Dec., 1913; 07)
Dir., British Columbia Packers Association Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $4,047,337.86/Dec., 1913; 03)

Ker, R.J. (Primary Products: Fish)
Dir., British Columbia Packers' Association Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $4,047,337.86/Dec., 1913; 03)
Dir., Packers Steamship Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $128,871.86/Dec., 1911; 15)
Dir., Brackman-Ker Milling Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; S-$620,600/Oct., 1911; 07)
Dir., Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $1,114,216.65/Dec., 1910; 04)

Ker, Walter Henry  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., Brackman-Ker Milling Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$620,000/Oct., 1911; 07)
Dir., Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $346,192.05/Dec., 1912; 01)
Dir., North American Securities Ltd., 1912 (S; S-$1,320,905/Dec., 1912; 01)

Kerr, John L.  (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $239,029,94/Dec., 1910; 05)

Killam, Frank William  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Bungalow Finance and Building Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $277,099.16/June, 1912; 01)

Kinman, E.L.  (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., Imperial Timberland Trading Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1910-1912 (P; $127,212.09/1913; 11)
Pres., Omineca Gold Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $535,418/Jan.,1913; 05)

Knight, Charles C.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Western Pacific Development Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $244,434.14/March, 1913; 01)
Dir., Pretty's Timber Exchange Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$2,500,000/Nov., 1912; 02)

Kolts, Greely  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Western Canada Bag, Envelope and Box Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911 (P; $277,112.17/Dec., 1912; 04)
Dir., British Canadian Wood Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $427,000/April, 1911; 04)

Kyle, Lorne C.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Dir., B.C. Anthracite Coal Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $560,477.45/Jan., 1914; 05)
Dir., Home Loan and Contract Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $222,866.94/Feb., 1914; 13)
Dir., International Mining Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $739,557.28/Dec., 1913; 05)

Langan, John F.  (Capitalist)
Pres., Vancouver Colonization Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $278,391.13/Dec., 1911; 01)
V.-P., Royal Financial Corporation Ltd., 1911-1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $583,114.42/1913; 13)
Dir., Burrard Publishing Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $507,199.68/May, 1914; 18)
Dir., Pioneer Queen Charlotte Development Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $504,070.17/Dec., 1910; 01)

Langlois, Thomas T.  (Finance: All Other)
Pres., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $4,004,152.03/1914; 13)
Pres., National Finance Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $5,530,110.65/Dec., 1913; 13)
Pres., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/March, 1912; 01)
Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1910; 13)

Lantz, Fraser H.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., F.H. Lantz Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $470,200.93/June, 1912; 01)
Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)
Dir., Trustee Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $425,315.14/April, 1914; 01)

Lawson, James H. Jr.  (Lawyer)
Dir., Gulf Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $318,579.35/Oct., 1911)
Dir., Red Cliff Land and Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $418,352.06/Aug., 1914; 01)
Dir., Pacific Coast Pipe Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $153,042.33/Dec., 1912; 06)

Leckie, Robert J.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Mgr., and V.-P., J. Leckie Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 08)

Leckie, W.H.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., B.C. Refining Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $304,669.94/Oct., 1912; 05)
Dir., Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $304,379.73/Dec., 1913; 01)

Leeson, Ernest W.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Leeson, Dickie, Gross and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $409,370.46/Dec., 1913; 08)
Dir., Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910 (S; $239,029.94/Dec., 1910; 05)
Dir., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/Mar., 1912; 01)

Legg, Gordon T.  (Transportation: Shipping)
Chairman of the Board and M'ging Dir., Union Steamship Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 (P; $1,134,063.64/Jan., 1914 ?)

Lennie, Robert S.  (Lawyer)
Chairman, Slocan Star Mines Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $2,170,937.59/Oct., 1914; 05)
Dir., Kootenay Bonanza Mines Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $2,069,634/March, 1914; 05)

Lockyer, Henry Thomas  (Commerce: Retail)
Logan, Capt. J.J.  (Commerce: Retail)
PRES., Vancouver Ice and Cold Storage Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $442,328.16/Dec., 1913; 10)

Lumsden, F.J.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
DIR., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $524,274.56/Mar., 1911; 05)
V.-P., Diamond Vale Coal and Iron Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $2,393,270.32/Oct., 1912; 05)

Lyte, Edric O.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
PRES., British Pacific Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $119,883.50/Dec., 1911; 01)

MacInnes, J.A.  (Lawyer)
DIR., Diamond Vale Coal and Iron Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $2,393,270.32/Oct., 1912; 05)
DIR., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd., 1913 (S; $524,274.56/Mar., 1911; 05)
DIR., John McLeod Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $417,695.58/Jan., 1914; 01)

MacKenzie, William G.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
V.-P., and M'ging Dir., Wood, Vaillance and Leggatt Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $1,250,860.59/Dec., 1912; 08)

MacLean, Ewen W.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
DIR., and Pres.?, E.W. MacLean and Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (P; $115,121.45/Dec., 1911; 01)
PRES., A.J. Burton Saw Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $220,558.24/Dec., 1911; 06)
PRES., Western Pacific Development Co. Ltd., 1910, and DIR., 1911-1913 (S; $244,434.14/March 1913; 01)
V.-P., Investors Guarantee Corp. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $669,072.12/Dec., 1913; 01)
DIR., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)
DIR., Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910 (S; $239,029.94/Dec., 1910; 05)
DIR., Hendry Land Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $801,855.04/Dec., 1911; 01)

Malkin, William Harold  (Commerce: Wholesale)
PRES., W.H. Malkin Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$658,000/Mar., 1914; 08)
DIR., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $4,004,152.03/1914; 13)
DIR., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)
DIR., Bank of Vancouver, 1910-1911 (S; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)

Mann, Alexander R.  (Construction)
PRES., Northern Construction Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $5,418,323.75/Dec., 1914; 17)

Marpole, Clarence M.  (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Macdonald-Marpole Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S=$100,000/Dec., 1910; 10)
Dir., Canadian Coalinga Oil Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $1,282,830.84/Dec., 1912; 05)
Dir., Canadian Pacific Oil Co. of B.C. Ltd., 1912 (S; $1,657,745.78/Dec., 1911; 05)
Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911 and 1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)

Marpole, Richard (Transportation: Steam Railways)
General Executive Assistant for B.C. Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE: 16)

Martin, George (Promotion; Real Estate)
Dir., National Finance Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $5,530,110.65/Dec., 1913; 01)
Dir., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $4,004,152.03/1914; 13)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)

Mather, Robert Addison (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Mather and Noble Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $213,907.19/Dec., 1912; 01)
V.-P., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $524,274.56/Mar., 1911; 05)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $290,182.39/Dec., 1910; 02)

Mathers, James B (Promotion: Real Estate)
V.-P., Trustee Co. Ltd., (P; $425,315.14/April, 1914; 01)...1911-13
Pres., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910 (P; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Pres., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1910 (S; $2,012,608.88/Nov., 1912; 01)
Dir., West Vancouver Land Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $293,168.91/April 1912; 01)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)

Maxwell, Clifton (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Maxwell and LeFeuvre Ltd., 1912 and Dir., 1913 (P; $140,787/Aug., 1913; 01)

Maynard, H.W. (Secondary Manufacturing)
Pres., Vancouver-Nanaimo Coal Mining Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-13 (S; $609,062.37/Dec., 111; 05)

McBeath, Malcolm (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Pacific Loan Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $189,516.92/Sept., 1912; 13)

McCaffrey, Thomas Francis (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Union Bank of Canada, 1910-1912 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)

McCormack, James D. (Primary Products: Timber)
Sec.-Treas. and Dir., Canadian Western Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 04)
V.-P., Coast Lumber and Fuel Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 04)
Dir., Canadian Tugboat Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$150,000/Jan., 1913; 15)
Dir., Columbia River Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $2,190,998.27/Mar., 1911; 04)
Dir., Fraser River Lumber Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $8,208,831.64/Dec., 1912; 04)
Dir., Wallace Fisheries Ltd., 1913 (S; $3,367,504.41/Dec., 1912; 03)

McKechnie, W.B. (Doctor)
Pres., Alberta Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $347,768.68/April, 1913; 04)
Dir., National Biscuit and Confection Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $120,649.48/April, 1912; 07)

McLellan, Archibald W. (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., McLellan Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (P; $241,566.17/Oct., 1911; 11)

McLennan, R.P. (Commerce: Wholesale)
V.-P., McLennan, McFeely and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $3,372,676.67/Dec., 1913; 08)
Pres., Bank of Vancouver, 1910-1913 (S; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)
V.-P., Columbia Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $138,747.77/Dec., 1913; 18)
Dir., B.C. Platinum Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $134,951.00/May, 1913; 05)
Dir., Ikeda Mines Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $515,052.58/May, 1912; 05)
Dir., Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $1,418,679.61/Dec., 1912; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Financial Corp. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $802,292.97/April, 1914; 13)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)
Dir., Johnson Wharf Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $138,747.77/Oct., 1913; 18)

McLeod, John A. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., John McLeod Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911 (P; $417,695.58/Jan., 1914; 01)
Dir., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd., 1913 (S; $524,274.56/Mar., 1911; 05)

McMillan, William J. (Commerce: Wholesale)

McNair, James A. (Primary Products: Timber)
V.-P., Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $1,114,216.65/Dec., 1910; 04)
Pres., Dominion Glazed Cement Pipe Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $117,603.51/Dec., 1910; 06)
Pres., Grand Trunk Lands Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $3,794,934.05/Sept., 1913; 01)
V.-P., West Vancouver Land Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $293,168.91/April, 1912; 01)
Dir., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/Mar., 1912; 01)
Dir., Western Pacific Development Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $244,434.14/Mar.,1913; 01)

McPherson, John M. (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Maritime Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and V.-P., Maritime Trust and Investment Co. Ltd., 1911 (P; $177,532.57/Sept., 1912; 13)

McRae, Alexander D. (Primary Products; Lumber)
Pres., Fraser River Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1913 (P; $8,208,831.64/Dec., 1912; 04)
Pres., Wallace Fisheries Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1913 (S; $3,367,504.41/Dec.,1912; 03)
Pres., Canadian Northern Pacific Fisheries Ltd., 1912 (S; OUTSIDE?; 03)
V.-P., Canadian Western Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 04)
V.-P., Canadian Colliers (Dunsmuir) Ltd., 1911 (S; OUTSIDE; 05)
Dir., Saskatchewan Valley Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1911 (S; OUTSIDE; 01)
Dir., Columbia River Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $2,190,998.27/Mar., 1911; 04)
Dir., Canadian Tugboat Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$150,000/Jan., 1913; 15)
Dir., Coast Lumber and Fuel Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$100,000/Jan., 1914; 10)

McTavish, Alexander F. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Dow Fraser Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $369,201.71/June, 1914; 01)

Melekov, Leon (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Standard Trust and Industrial Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $179,175.97/Dec., 1913; 13)

Menzies, John (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., False Creek Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $208,883.47/Dec., 1914; 04)

Miller, Jesse G. (Finance: All Other)
Pres., Home Loan and Contract Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (P; $222,866.94/Feb.,1914; 13)

Milne, William J. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Golden Gate Mining Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $102,603.33/ Mar., 1911; 05)

Montelius, William W. (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Montelius Piano House Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $350,362.70/1911; 10)
Pres., North American Loan, Building and Trust Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $129,533.10/Jan., 1913; 13)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Corp. Ltd., 1910 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Point Grey Estates Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $245,226.84/Dec., 1911; 01)
Dir., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $139,754.77/May,1913; 01)
Morris, H.H.  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
   Sup't. of Pacific Coast Branches, Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)

Morrison, Alexander  (Construction)
   Dir., Armstrong, Morrison and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $656,387.22/Dec., 1912; 17)
   Dir., Similkameen Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)
   Dir., Clayburn Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; SUBJ.; 06)

Murdooff, Frank L.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
   V.-P., Williams and Murdooff Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $213,620.53/Dec., 1912; 01)
   Dir., Point Grey Estates Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $245,226.84/Dec., 1911; 01)

Murray, Charles W.  (Bookkeeper)
   V.-P., Maritime Trust Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 (S; $177,532.57/Sept., 1912; 13)
   Dir., Dominion Glazed Cement Pipe Co. Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $117,603.51/Dec., 1910; 06)

Murray, William  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
   Mgr., Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE-SUBJ.; 12)
   Dir., Vancouver Financial Corporation Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $802,292.97/April, 1914; 13)
   Dir., British Columbia Packers' Association Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $4,047,377.86/1913; 03)

Neelands, Thomas F.  (Finance: All Other)
   Pres., Vancouver Ice and Cold Storage Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $422,328.66/Dec., 1913; 18)

Nichol, Walter Cameron  (Publishing)
   Prop., Vancouver Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; SUBJ.; 18)
   Dir., Inland Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $1,180,507.98/June, 1913; 05)

Nicholson, L.H.  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
   Pres., National Biscuit and Confection Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $120,649.48/April, 1912; 07)

O'Brien, John  (Primary Products: Timber)
   Pres., Brooks-Scanlon-O'Brien Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $1,081,980.18/Dec., 1913; 04)

Odium, Edward  (Promotion: Real Estate)
   Dir., Trustee Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $425,315.14/April, 1914; 01)
   Dir., B.C. Refining Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $304,669.94/Oct., 1912; 05)
   Dir., Thomson Stationery Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $264,229.01/Jan., 1913; 10)

Olts, C.O.P.  (Promotion: All Others)
   Pres., Criusers Timber Exchange Ltd., 1911-1913, and Dir., 1910 (P; $161,064.85/Mar., 1911; 02).
O'Neil, William N.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Wm. N. O'Neil Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $507,757.11/Dec.,1912; 08)
Dir., Wm. N. O'Neil Co. (Victoria) Ltd., 1913 (S; $167,020.26/Dec.,
1912; 08)

Parsons, J.R.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Parsons-Haddock Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $113,168.87/July,
1913; 08)

Passage, Albert J.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Western Canada Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $301,777.57/
June,1912; 13)

Paterson, Thomas F.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Terminal Lumber and Shingle Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P;
$321,012.27/Dec.,1912; 04)
Pres., Paterson Timber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $508,052.29/Dec.,
1913; 02)
Pres., Federal Trust Corp. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $155,805.98/Dec.,
1913; 01)
Dir., Colonial Lumber and Paper Mills Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$2,500,000/
March,1913; 04)

Pattison, Thomas  (Teacher)
Pres., Lynn Creek Copper Gold Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $194,775/
Nov., 1912; 05)

Pattullo, James M.  (Finance: All Other)
V.-P., North West Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; S-$619,000/Feb.,
1914; 13)
Dir., Point Grey Estates Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $245,226.84/Dec.,
1911; 01)

Pennock, Charles G.  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Dir., Evans and Hastings Ltd., 1913 (S; $134,495.84/June,1913; 18)
Dir., Franco-Canadian Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $1,586,234.76/
April,1913; 13)
Dir., Mather and Noble Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $213,907.19/Dec., 1912;
01)
Dir., Commonwealth Trust Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $251,400/June,1912; 13)

Peter, Charles J.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
Mgr., G.F. and J. Galt Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 08)

Peters, F.W.  (Transportation: Steam Railways)
General Superintendent, British Columbia Division, Canadian Pacific
Railway, 1912-1913  (P; OUTSIDE-SUBJ.; 16)

Pim, Henry  (Commerce: Wholesale)
District Mgr., for B.C., Canadian General Electric Co. Ltd., 1910-
1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 08)

Pretty, Charles F.  (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., Pretty's Timber Exchange Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; S-$2,500,000/
Nov., 1912; 02)
Pres., Vancouver Harbour and Dock Extension Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S; $5,862,600/Aug., 1913; 18)
Dir., Capilano Rock and Gravel Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$200,300/March, 1914; 18)

Proctor, Fred J. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Mgr., London and British North America Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 01)
V.-P., North Vancouver Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,073,255.80/Sept., 1910; 01)
Dir., Capilano Flume Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $140,335.16/July, 1910; 04)
Dir., The Crown Life Insurance Co. Ltd., (S; OUTSIDE; 13)

Ragsdale, William A. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., E.W. MacLean Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $115,121.45/Dec., 1911; 01)

Read, W.A. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Alliance Trust and Investment Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $206,504.00/Aug., 1913; 01)

Rear, James A. (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., North American Securities Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; S-$1,320,905/Dec., 1912; 01)

Reid, Robie L. (Lawyer)
V.-P., Hudson Bay Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $384,136.05/1913; 13)
Dir., Capilano Timber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $313,409.95/Feb., 1911; 02)
Dir., Investors Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Thomson Stationery Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $264,229.01/Jan., 1913; 10)
Dir., Canadian Hypothec and Guarantee Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $261,467.42/Dec., 1912; 13)

Reifel, Henry (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., British Columbia Breweries Ltd., 1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 07)
Dir., Canadian Brewing and Malting Co. Ltd., 1912 (P; $517,551.37/Dec., 1911; 07)
Dir., Vancouver Breweries Ltd., 1912 (P; $1,272,072.21/Dec., 1911; 07)

Riggs, Dr. Herbert W. (Doctor)
Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Federal Trust Corp. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $155,805.98/Dec., 1913; 01)
Dir., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)

Roberts, J.P. (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Sup't. of British Columbia Branches, Northern Crown Bank, 1911-1912 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)

Robertson, David (Primary Products: Timber)
Proprietor, Robertson and Hackett (P; SUBJ.: 04)......1910-1913

Robertson, William (Primary Products: Timber)
Ass. Gen. Mgr., Rat Portage Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE: 04)

Rogers, Jonathan (Capitalist)
Pres., Coast Shale Brick Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $428,495/1912;)
Dir., Lynn Creek Copper Gold Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $194,775/Nov., 1912; 05)
Pres., The British Columbia Life Assurance Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $232,090.13/June, 1914; 13)
Dir., Canadian National Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; OUTSIDE; 13)

Rorison, Robert D. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Royal Nurseries Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; S-$728,297/March, 1913; 18)

Ross, H.C. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Dir., Imperial Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $127,212.09 /1913; 11)
Dir., North American Loan, Building and Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $129,533.10/Jan., 1913; 13)
Dir., Omineca Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $535,418/Jan., 1913; 05)

Ross, John F. (Secondary Manufacturing)
Pres., Ross and Howard Ironworks Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (P; $371,698.84/ Dec., 1910; 06)

Rounsefell, Frank W. (Promotion: Real Estate)
M'ging. Dir., Ceperley, Rounsefell and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $187,018.22/June, 1913; 01)
Dir., Island River Coal Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $283,381.30/Jan., 1912; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Milling and Grain Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$525,000/1911; 18)
Dir., Standard Fish and Fertilizer Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $579,360.92/ Dec., 1912; 03)

Russell, Adam Lothian (Commerce: Wholesale)
V.-P., Evans, Coleman and Evans Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1912-1913 (P; S-$900,000/March, 1912; 08)
Dir., Evans Coleman Wharf Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$100,000/Oct., 1911; 18)

Salmon, George H. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Dominion Stock and Bond Corp. of Vancouver Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1912-1913 (P; $145,263.65/Feb., 1910; 01)

Sanderson, James H. (Secondary Manufacturing)
Pres., Naas River Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $371,200/Feb., 1911; 04)
V.-P., Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd., 1910 (S; $524,274.56/March, 1911; 05)

Savage, William (Lawyer)
V.-P., Home Loan and Contract Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; §222,866.94/Feb., 1914; 13)
Dir., Red Cliff Mining Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,257,873.12/Sept., 1911; 05)

Schooley, Fred T. (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Mgr., Royal Crown Soaps Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 07)

Selman, S.S. (Secondary Manufacturing)
Chairman, Canadian Wood Pipe and Tanks Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (P; $205,824.33/Dec., 1910; 18)

Sewell, Frank C. (Construction)
Dir., Investors Guaranty Corp. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $669,072.13/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Tatlayco Lake Gold Mines Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $606,360.00/March, 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Estates Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$327,400/Aug., 1913; 01)

Seymour, J.R. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Canadian Home Investment Co. Ltd., 1911-1912 (P; $456,915.72/March, 1913; 13)

Shatford, L.W. (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
V.-P., Bank of Vancouver, 1910-1913 (P; $3,056,318.67/Nov., 1912; 12)
Pres., The British Columbia Life Assurance Co. Ltd., 1913, and V.P., 1912 (S; $232,090.03/June, 1914; 13)

Shields, James C. (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., Dominion Lumber and Timber Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $125,810.09/Dec., 1912; 11)

Sigler, Henry (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Alberta Financial Corporation Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $122,428/June, 1913; 01)

Sills R.S. (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Federal Investments Ltd., 1912 (S; $227,867.95/April, 1913; 01)

Smith, A. Erskine (Promotion: All Others)
Pres., Red Cliff Mining Co. Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911-1913 (S; $1,257,873.12/Sept., 1911; 05)

Smith, Fred (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., Smith, Davidson and Wright Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $278,168.90/Nov., 1911; 08)

Smith, J. MacKay (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., MacKay Smith, Blair and Co. Ltd., 1913 (P; S-$277,100/1913; 08)

Smith, Percy N. (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Western Canada Bag, Envelope and Box Co. Ltd., 1911 (P; $277,122.17/Dec., 1912; 04)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Promotion</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Company/Co.</th>
<th>Years/Positions</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Ralph</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Federal Investments Ltd., 1913</td>
<td>(P; $227,867.95/April, 1913; 01)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith, T.J.</td>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Diamond Vale Coal and Iron Co. Ltd. 1910-1913</td>
<td>(S; $2,392,170.32/Oct., 1912; 05)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Diamond Vale Collieries Ltd. 1910-1913</td>
<td>(S; $524,274.56/Mar., 1911; 05)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spencer, Christopher</td>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Sec.-Treas.</td>
<td>David Spencer (Vancouver) Ltd., 1913</td>
<td>(P; S-$125,000/March, 1912; 10)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Vancouver Gas Co. Ltd., 1911-1913</td>
<td>(S; $2,874,878.04/Oct., 1914; 14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stark, James</td>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>James Stark and Sons Ltd. 1910-1912, and Dir., 1913</td>
<td>(P; $177,312.12/Jan., 1911; 10)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910-1912</td>
<td>(S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)</td>
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<td>Dir.</td>
<td>British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1911-1912</td>
<td>(S; $2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart, F.R.</td>
<td>Wholesale</td>
<td>V.-P.</td>
<td>Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1912-1913, and Dir., 1911</td>
<td>(S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910-1913</td>
<td>(S; $239,029.94/Dec., 1910; 05)</td>
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<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1913</td>
<td>(S; $1,418,679.61/Dec., 1912; 05)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart, J.W.</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>V.-P.</td>
<td>Canadian Coalinga Oil Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1910-1911</td>
<td>(S; $1,244,997.60/Jan., 1912; 05)</td>
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<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Bloedel, Stewart and Welch Ltd., 1911-1913</td>
<td>(S; S-$500,000/1914; 04)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart, W. Burton</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>M'ging. Dir.</td>
<td>Norton, Griffiths and Co. Ltd., 1911-1913</td>
<td>(P; OUTSIDE; 17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stone, Henry A.</td>
<td>Wholesale</td>
<td>M'ging. Dir.</td>
<td>Gault Bros., Ltd., 1910-1913</td>
<td>(P; OUTSIDE; 08)</td>
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<td>Dir.</td>
<td>E.H. Heaps and Co. Ltd., 1912-1913</td>
<td>(S; $8,065,354.60/Dec., 1913; 04)</td>
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<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Heaps Timber Co. Ltd., 1911</td>
<td>(S; $640,849.83/Dec., 1910; 02)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stuart, Lt. Col. J. Duff</td>
<td>Wholesale</td>
<td>V.-P.</td>
<td>Clarke and Stuart Co. Ltd., 1910-1913</td>
<td>(P; S-$150,000/Feb., 1913; 08)</td>
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<td>Pres.</td>
<td>British Canadian Wood Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1910</td>
<td>(S; $427,000/April, 1911; 04)</td>
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<td>V.-P.</td>
<td>Canadian Home Investment Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 and</td>
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</table>
1913 (S; $456,915.72/March, 1913; 13)
Dir., Western Pacific Development Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $244,434.14
/March, 1913; 01)

Studd, E.A.C. (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., Burrard Trust and Loan Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $422,130/April, 1913; 13)
Pres., Pollock Mines Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (S; $615,656.00/
Dec., 1911; 05)

Taylor, A. Dunbar (Lawyer)
Dir., Minnekhada Dairy And Stock Ranch Ltd., 1913 (S; $109,254.03/
Feb., 1913; 18)
Dir., Vancouver Estates Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; S-$327,000/Aug., 1913; 01)
Dir., North American Lumber Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $533,019.87/Dec.,
1912; 04)

Taylor, L.D. (Publishing)
Pres., World Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (P;
$289,400.20/1911; 18)
Dir., Bankers Trust Corp. Ltd., 1911-1912 (S; $253,573.83/Nov.,
1911; 13)
Dir., World Building Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $645,689.38/March, 1913; 01)

Taylor, Walter (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
Pres., Empress Manufacturing Co. Ltd., 1910 (P; $148,165.88/Jan.,
1914; 07)

Telfer, George F. (Finance: All Other)
V.-P., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1912-13
(P; $4,004,152.03/1914; 13)
V.-P., National Finance Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $5,530,110.65/Dec.,
1913; 13)
Dir., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/
March, 1912; 01)
Dir., Martin, Finlayson and Mather Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $121,760.18/
Dec., 1911; 10)
Dir., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S;
$795,135/Dec., 1910; 13)
Dir., North American Securities Ltd., 1912 (S; S-$1,320,905/Dec.,
1912; 01)

Tepoorten, Julius A. (Commerce: Wholesale)
Pres., J.A. Tepoorten Ltd., 1913 (P; S-$100,000/April, 1914; 08)

Thomson, James A. (No Information)
Pres., Trustee Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $425,315.14/April, 1914; 01)
V.-P., British Canadian Securities Ltd., 1910, and Dir., 1911 (S;
$2,012,605.88/Nov., 1912; 01)
Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910 (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec., 1913; 13)
Dir., Graham Island Development Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $290,182.39/Dec.,
1910; 02)

Tiffin, F.W. (Lawyer)
Dir., B.C. Fir and Cedar Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $157,401.86/
Tiffin, John B.  (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., Red Cedar Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $120,000/Aug., 1913; 11)

Tisdall, Charles E.  (Commerce: Retail)
Pres., Tisdall's Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; S-$100,000/Feb., 1914; 10)

Trites, F.N.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., McNair Fraser Lumber Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $207,127.31/Dec., 1910; 04)

Trorey, George E.  (Commerce: Retail)
M'ging. Dir., Henry Birks and Son, Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 10)
V.-P., Metropolitan Building Co. Ltd., 1913, and Dir., 1912 (S; $567,060.66/June, 1912; 01)
Dir., Graham Island Collieries Ltd., 1910-1913 (S; $239,029.94/Dec., 1910; 05)
Dir., Nicola Valley Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $1,418,679.61/Dec., 1912; 05)

Tucker, John E.  (Primary Products: Timber)
Pres., Vancouver Lumber Co. Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $4,360,342.68/Dec., 1913; 04)

Tupper, Sir Charles Hibbert  (Lawyer)
Dir., Anvil Island Brick Co. Ltd., 1911 (S; $146,855.54/Dec., 1913; 06)
Dir., Dundee Gold Mine Ltd., 1911 (S; $375,000/Feb., 1911; 05)
Dir., West Shore and Northern Land Co. Ltd., 1910-1912 (S; $139,754.77/May, 1913; 01)

Vibert, Philip  (Finance: Corporate and Private Banking)
Mgr., Union Bank of Canada, 1913 (P; OUTSIDE; 12)
Dir., Union Mortgage Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $111,999/Dec., 1913; 13)

Graevnitz, Hans von  (Finance: All Other)
Dir., Palmer, Burgmester and von Graevnitz Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; S-$100,000/Aug., 1913; 13)
Pres., B.C. Home Trust Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 (S; $274,961.91/Nov., 1912; 17)

Voss, Count Victor  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Dir., Alvo von Alvensleben Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $1,783,427.87/Dec., 1910; 01)
Dir., Pacific Metals Ltd., 1911 (S; $184,406.50/Sept., 1911; 05)
Dir., Vancouver Springs and Indian Park Co. Ltd., 1912 (S; $320,526.22/Feb., 1913; 01)

Wade, F.C.  (Lawyer)
Pres., Burrard Publishing Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913 (S;
Wade, Henry F.  (Commerce: Wholesale)
V.-P., Wm. N. O'Neil Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $507,757.11/Dec., 1912; 08)
Dir., Wm. N. O'Neil Co. (Victoria) Ltd., 1913 (S; $167,020.26/Dec., 1912; 08)

Waghorn, James Rawlison  (Promotion: All Other)
Proprietor, Waghorn, Gwynn and Company (P; SUBJ.; 02)

Wallace, Alfred  (Shipbuilding)
Pres., Wallace Shipyards Ltd., 1911-1913 (P; $545,720.35/Jan., 1914; 18)

Wallace, Peter  (Primary Products: Fish)
Pres., Wallace Fisheries Ltd., 1910-1913 (P; $3,367,504.41/Dec., 1912; 03)

Wallbridge, Angus H.  (Commerce: Retail)
Dir., Point Grey Estates Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $245,226.84/Dec., 1911; 01)
Dir., Vancouver Milling and Grain Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; S-$525,000/1911; 07)
Dir., Vancouver Trust Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $250,684.87/Dec., 1911; 13)

Ward, George  (Finance: All Other)
Dir., National Finance Co. Ltd., 1911-1913 (S; $5,530,110.65/Dec., 1913; 01)
Dir., Prudential Investment Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $1,538,809.89/March, 1912; 01)
Dir., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1913 (S; $4,004,152.03/1914; 13)

Ward, William A.  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
Chairman, B.C. General Development Syndicate Ltd., 1912 (S; $378,888.47/Aug., 1913; 01)

Webb, Frank  (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
Pres., South Shore Lumber Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (P; $192,652.89/Dec., 1912; 11)

Weeden, John Hall  (Bookkeeper)
Dir., Anna L. Jenkins Estate Incorp. Ltd., 1913 (S; $801,805.69/Dec., 1912; 01)
Dir., Minnekhada Dairy and Stock Ranch Ltd., 1913 (S; $109,254.03/Feb., 1913; 18)
Dir., North American Lumber Co. Ltd., 1912-1913 (S; $533,019.87/Dec., 1912; 04)

Welch, Arthur J.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
Pres., North West Trust Co. Ltd., 1911, and Dir., 1912-1913 (P; S-$619,000/Feb., 1914; 13)
Whalen, W.H.  (Secondary Manufacturing)
    Pres., B.C. Sulphite Fibre Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (P; $2,505,244.52/ Feb., 1914;  06)

Wickenden, C. Osborne  (Architect)
    Pres., B.C. Oilfields Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $664,009.19/1913;  05)

Williams, David G.  (Promotion: Real Estate)
    Pres., Williams and Murdoff Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $213,620.53/Dec., 1912;  01)
    Dir., Burrard Land and Improvement Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (S; $304,379.73/Dec., 1913;  01)
    Dir., British Columbia Life Assurance Co. Ltd., 1912  (S; $232,090.03/June, 1914;  13)

Williams, John  (Consumer Goods Manufacturing)
    V.-P., Vancouver Breweries Ltd., 1910-1912  (P; $1,272,072.21/Dec., 1911;  07)
    Dir., Canadian Brewing and Malting Co. Ltd., 1912  (S; $517,551.37/ Dec., 1911;  07)

Wilson, Dr. David H.  (Doctor)
    V.-P., British Columbia Permanent Loan and Savings Co. Ltd., 1912- 1913  (S; $4,004,152.03/1914;  13)
    V.-P., Pacific Coast Fire Insurance Co. Ltd., 1910  (S; $795,135/ Dec., 1910;  13)
    Dir., Dominion Trust Co. Ltd., 1910  (S; $5,416,455.72/Dec.,1913;  13)

Wilson, George I.  (Primary Products: Fish)
    Pres., Strathcona Packing Co. Ltd., 1910-1912  (P; $135,000/1911;  03)
    V.-P., Metropolitan Building Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1913  (S; $567,060.66/June, 1912;  01)
    Dir., Inland Coal and Coke Co. Ltd., 1911-1913  (S; $1,180,507.98/ June,1913;  05)

Wilson, Phil. A.  (Commerce: Retail: Lumber)
    Pres., Gulf Lumber Co. Ltd., 1912, and Dir., 1911 and 1913  (P; $318,579.35/Oct., 1911; 11)

Winch, R.V.  (Commerce: Wholesale Functions)
    Pres., R.V. Winch and Co. Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $757,974.71/Dec., 1913;  09)

Woodward, Charles  (Commerce: Retail)
    Pres., Woodward Department Stores Ltd., 1910-1913  (P; $588,105.60/ Jan.,1914;  10)

Wright, Alfred William  (Promotion: Real Estate)
    Pres., Wright Investment Co. Ltd., 1912-1913  (P; S-$175,370/May, 1913;  01)